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# LETTER

T O A

# MEMBER

o F

## PARLIAMENT,

RELATING TO

The BILL for the opening of a TRADE, to and from Persia through Russia.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. COOPER, at the Globe in Pater-Noster-Row. 1741.



**T**O A

MEMBER of PARLIAMENT, &c.

SIR,
Was obliged with your's of the 30th past, and send you in compliance with your request, my Thoughts, in this publick manner in Answer: and though I am persuaded, that yourself, and those other Gentlemen who attended the Committee, came into the Resolution which was the soundation of bringing in this Bill. from a persect Conof bringing in this Bill, from a perfect Con-viction, "That the opening of a Trade to A "and

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" and from Persia through Russia, will be a " great Advantage to this Kingdom, and " particularly in promoting the Consumption " of the Woollen Manufactures thereof." Yet I cannot, from any thing that appears to me, bring myself to be of this Opinion: On the contrary, I am fully convinced, that the opening of this Trade, will be fo far from promoting the Consumption of the Woollen Manufactures of this Kingdom, that it will be a very great Discouragement to the Exportation of them to those Countries to which they are now exported; and this, without making the Nation in any degree Amends, by the Exportation of its Woollen Manufactures to Persia through Russia.

This I conceive myself fully warranted in faying, from Papers which I had put into my Hands near two Months ago, and have been since laid before your House; for besides it's appearing that some Passages in the Paper B, are contrary to other Passages in it, it also appears by every one of these Papers, "that this "Trade will at all Times be at the Pleasure " of Two very great Powers, both at a very " great Distance from this Kingdom. That "the Privileges and Regulations declared in "Paper A, necessary for carrying it on, are not " obtained from the Government of Russia; " and also by Paper B, that the Duties to be " paid in Persia are not settled; and that the " opening

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opening this Trade will be the Loss of the Exportation of the Tin, Lead, the Woollen, and other the Manufactures of this King-dom to Turkey, and occasion a large Importation of Persia Raw-Silk into this King-dom purchased only with Money."

This appeared to me on first reading these Papers, and immediately brought into my Mind an Observation made many Years ago, "That the Councils of a Country are always "inquisitive after Truth, but, to hide it from them, and to perplex Things which have Relation to Trade, is the Interest of fo many, that, in the greatest Deliberations, "wise Men are often misled by such as in all their Actings consult more their private Profit than the Publick Welfare."

I am persuaded, not any one of the Gentlemen, who appeared before the Committee, consult more their private Profit than the Publick Welfare on this Occasion, no not even either of the Two Gentlemen whose Partners in Petersburgh write to them to encourage their Principals, to fend fo large Cargoes as to the Amount, the one of 25,000 l. and the other of 10,000 l. proper for the Persian Market; but this I cannot persuade myself, with regard to those Persons, who prepared the two Papers marked A and B, which were put into the Hands of Mr Finch, his Majesty's Minister at the Court of Russia, and by him tranf-A 2

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transmitted to one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State: For if ever there was a Paper calculated to mislead, and prepared with a View to private Profit more than the Publick Welfare, or ever had the Marks of a Romantic Performance, it is the Paper marked B.

This clearly appears to me from a Number of Passages in it, some of which in the Course of this Letter, I shall take the Liberty of laying before you; and, had the Lords for Trade and Plantations seen Paper B in the Light in which it appears to me, I am very confident their Lordships would not have made any Report upon this and the other Papers referred to them, without having been first attended by the principal Traders to the Levant, as well as the principal Traders to Rufsia, who it is probable might have as strongly declared to their Lordships, "That the great and many Difadvantages, which would ac-"crue to this Kingdom, by this new Channel of Trade, appeared to them so mani-" fest, that they humbly conceived the Proposal deserved the utmost Attention, be-" fore it was permitted to be carried into ex-" ecution."

If their Lordships, who are Superintendants of the Trade of this Kingdom, and who by their Commission, "are required to inform themselves relating to its Trade, and "the

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"the promoting and encouraging thereof; "and particularly directed to fend for Per-" fons for their better Information in any "Matters under their Consideration;"—had taken a Step, which appears to me so necesfary to have been taken on so important an Article of Commerce, -I cannot help thinking, but that both yourself and other Gentlemen would have been much better, than you have yet been, informed of the Advantages or Disadvantages which may attend Great Britain from this new Channel of Trade. And I am in your Judgment, whether the Lords of Trade themselves, by having heard all other the Parties concerned, besides the Parties only immediately interested, would not have had a much better Foundation for reprefenting to his Majesty, "That it appeared to "them, that the Scheme for opening a new "Branch of Trade to Persia through "Russia may be very beneficial, and may " deserve his Majesty's Royal Protection."

The Lords of Trade, in their Report to his Majesty, are pleased to call Captain Elton's Scheme for opening this Trade, "a new "Branch of Trade to Persia," which I take it their Lordships were induced to from several Passages in Paper B, particularly a Passage running in these Words: "It seems to ap-" pear from what hath been above observed, "that the Trade that may be so easily car-

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" ried on in futuro from Landon to Mesched and " the Bucharias, would be an entirely new "Branch of Trade, and may shortly become " a most important one; that it may be en-" tered on by the British Russian Merchants " with the greatest Prospect of Advantage, and " may be vastly extended; and that this Trade "they can never be supplanted in, so long " as they can secure a Passage for their Goods "through the Empire of Russia, and a Free-"dom of Navigation on the Caspian, both " which it will ever be the Interest of the " Sovereign of Russia to grant the British "Subjects."

I doubt not, Sir, but you will be pleased to observe, that all the Advantages so strongly painted to attend the Nation by the opening of a Trade to Perha through Rusha, will entirely depend on a fecure Paffage through the Empire of Russia, and the Freedom of Navigation on the Caspian Sea; - and though this may be a new Channel of Trade to Persia; yet, that it will not be a new Branch of Trade to that Empire, will appear, besides many others, from the following Paragraphs in the Report of the Lords of Trade, and Paper B. viz.

"That Captain Elton's Papers contain a " Proposal to the Russia Company for supply-" ing Mesched, the present Capital of Persia,

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and the Countries adjacent, with all Sorts " of Woollen Goods, to a far greater Degree, " and at much easier Rates than they are " now carried there, and for vesting our Re-" turns to Great Britain in the best Raw " Silks, and other Commodities produced in " those Countries, near 50 per Cent. cheaper "than at present by the Way of Turkey. " That the Charge of bringing Raw Silk " from Persia to Petersburgh will be very in-" considerable, in proportion to the Land-" Carriage from Gilan in Persia to Aleppo " or Smyrna, the only two Ports in Turkey " for Exportation to England. " That the Sophy of Persia, from an In-" clination to distress the Turks, his natural " Enemies, and to favour the Russians, may " possibly prohibit all Trade into Turkey,

" for his Silk through Russia. "That the Persians who have a settled " Aversion for the Turks, are too well in-" formed of the Advantage the Turkish Em-" pire derives from being the principal Mar-" ket for Persian Silks, and this is what they " have been endeavouring to prevent for upwards of an Hundred Years past. They are likewise well apprized, that the only " Way to succeed in this Design is to encou-" rage the British Merchants to come and " fettle in Gilan, by which Means they hope,

" provided he can have a sufficient Demand

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" in Time, to divert the Channel of Trade " for Gilan Silks, which now runs through " the Turkish Dominions, and make it cur-" rent through the Empire of Russia. Could " this be once effected, it would not only be " a fingular Advantage both to the Empires " of Russia and Persia, with regard to their "Trade; but it would not fail of confidera-" bly distressing the Turk, who is the com-" mon Enemy of both those Empires. " That if the Turks and Turkish Armeni-" ans shall be continued to be denied the Ex-" portation of Gilan Silks by the Way of "Turkey, or be obliged to purchase them " upon such unequal Terms, we can hope for little or no Silk from the Turkey Com-" pany, or else they can't afford to sell what " they import into Great Britain but at a " very extravagant Price, which is a Cir-" cumstance which ought to have its Weight, " should the British Russia Merchants meet " with any Opposition on their importing " Persia Silk into Great Britain, from ei-"ther the Turkey or any other Company." These are Proofs produced by the Russia

Traders themselves, that the opening of a

Trade to and from Perha through Rushia.

will not give a new Branch of Trade to this

Kingdom, but will only take away from it

the whole, or a Share of that Traffic which

to the Dominions of the Grand Seignior, in order to throw it into the Hands of the Subjects of Russia, to which Country the Balance of Trade is so greatly against Great Britain at this Time.—This is what the the Russia Traders, nay even the Russian Government, have been many Years labouring to bring about by a Repeal, in their Favour, of the Clause in the Act of Navigation, whereby all Persian Commodities are prohibited from being imported by the Way of Russia; and which, if the Bill now depending in your House should pass into a Law, the Russia Merchants will be enabled to do, to the great Advantage of the Russian Government indeed, but to the great Prejudice of the Turkey Merchants, who have for a long Course of Years imported Perha Raw Silk from the Grand Seignior's Dominions, and to which, if I am not mis-informed, the Turkey Merchants have carried on their Commerce in the most

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It is a true Remark, which I have fomewhere met with, "That what has been "tryed and found a wholesome Dyet for the "Body Politic, should be kept to, and not "lightly altered:" And, as this holds in nothing

advantageous Manner for this Kingdom, by

the purchasing not only Persia Silk, but all

other the Commodities they import from

Turkey, entirely with the Product and Wool-

len Manufactures of Great Britain.

is now carried on by the Turkey Merchants

thing more truly than in all Measures concerning Trade, I am not without Apprehensions, that the altering the present Channel of Trade to Persia through Turkey, and turning it through Russia, will inevitably bring such Inconveniencies on the British Commerce to the Dominions of the Grand Seigniar, as are not easily to be foreseen, and may be impossible to be retrieved.

For, Sir, if Permission be given by this Bill of importing Persia Raw Silk from Peter burgh, it must, supposing the carrying on a Trade to and from Persia through Russia, to be so easy and cheap as is represented by the Russia Traders, necessarily put a stop to the Turkey Merchants having any Persian Silk in that Tract of Trade, by which it has been imported into this Kingdom for such a Number of Years past; consequently also to their felling any Cloth for the Persian Market, and will certainly occasion not only the Loss of this Branch of Trade, but all other Branches to the Dominions of the Grand Seignior, who, it cannot be supposed, will continue to countenance and encourage the Trade of a Nation with his Subjects, who have been the means of turning fo advantageous a Commerce to his Government into another Channel.

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This, Sir, I conceive a Matter very well deserving the Consideration of yourself, and other Gentlemen, before the passing the Bill, now depending in your House; which, as I am very fure, will not be for the Interest of the Nation to have pass into a Law, so I cannot see why the Russian Traders should follicit its paffing; if what you tell me be true, viz. "That the Woollen, and other " the Manufactures of this Kingdom, may " be fent through Russia to Persia, and there " fold for Gold Ducats, and other Species of "Money: And that, by reason of the low "Rate of Carriage through Russia, these " Manufactures can be afforded much cheap-" er than those carried through Turkey." For it must certainly be more convenient for the Traders to Russia, to whom there is so great a Balance in Dis-favour of Great Britain, that the Return for the Goods sent to Persia should be in Gold Ducats, and other Species of Money which pass in the Dominions of Russia, rather than in Raw Silk, or in any other Commodities. However, if the Russia Traders will not allow that this will be equally for their Interest, I am fure they will not dispute its being more for the Interest of Great Britain, and that many National Advantages will arise from it. First, The Woollen, and other the Manufactures B 2

nufactures of this Kingdom will be fent to Persia, and the Returns of them go in Aid of paying Debts, contracted for the Commodities of Russia, which otherwise Money must be sent to answer; or, which is equal, Bills of Exchange drawn payable in other Countries. Secondly, It will not occasion the Loss of the Trade which is carried on through Turkey to Persia with Cloth, since Persia Silk would continue to be exchanged for it, in the same Manner as it has been for so long a Course of Years; therefore if this Bill pass into a Law, I shall be confirmed in my Apprehensions, of the many ill Consequences, which will attend the Nation from the Liberty of importing Persia Raw Silk from Russia.

I own, Sir, I am perfectly at a loss for any one Instance, that Trade ever returned to any Country, when by Errors and salse Steps it was once lost; and I am very sure, you will forgive me in troubling you with, and recommending to your Consideration, on this Occasion, a Passage in Mr Locke's Pieces on Money, Trade, &c. which runs in these Words: "When Trade is once lost, 'twill be too late by a mis-timed Care, easily to retrieve it again; for the Currents of Trade, like those of Waters, make themselves Channels, out of which, they are after- wards as hard to be diverted, as Rivers "that

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"that have worn themselves deep within their Banks."

I submit to you, Sir, whether so known and experienced a Trade, and which has been fo very profitable, and is likely to be lasting, ought to be diverted from its present Channel? and whether it is not the proper Business of the Legislature to preserve and encourage such a Trade, and to take care that the trading Stock of the Nation be employed in fuch Commerce, which may bring a certain and known Gain to it, rather than by any Means divert any Part of this Stock, in the carrying on a Trade in which the Gain may be uncertain; but if as large as what the Projectors have declared may be expected from it, must necessarily be the Loss of a Branch of Traffick, at this Time equally as valuable to the Nation.

But, Sir, besides the Apprehensions I am under, that the opening of this Trade will decrease not only the Exportation of the Product and Manusactures of this Kingdom to Turkey, but also the Importation of Raw Silk, Cotton, and Mohair, from Turkey: I likewise apprehend, when the Subjects of Great Britain, with their Stock, and at the Expence of the Nation, shall have rendered the carrying on a Trade from Petersburgh to Persia, both practicable and profitable: That the Russian Government

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will engross this Commodity of *Persia* Raw Silk, and set their own Price upon it, in like Manner as they have done upon Rhubarb, which has been raised from 15 s. to near 3 l. per Pound

per Pound. I persuade myself, you will not think this. any uncharitable Suggestion, when you shall recollect what is given by the Russia Traders, to the Lords of Trade, as their Opinion. "That the Sophy, from an Inclination to di-" stress the Turks, his natural Enemies, and " to favour the Russians, may possibly pro-" hibit all Trade with Turkey, provided he " can have a fufficient Demand for his Silk "through Russia." I affure you, Sir, this Declaration, compared with a Passage in Paper B, in which we are told "that the " Schach's principal Merchants denied to all " the Turks and Armenians, which came " from Turkey, any last Year's Silk, unless " at an advanced Price of Twenty per Cent. " declaring they had positive Orders to fell " no Silk, on any Account, for Turkey "Exportation, could they find a Vent for " it any other Way, or possibly by any "other Means dispose of it;"—gives me very strong Suspicions, that this is a Matter, which has not only been talked of, but under the Confideration of the Court of Russia, with those Persons who prepared the two Papers marked A and B, and put them

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into the Hands of his Majesty's Minister at Petersburgh;—and points out clearly tome, that when the Season shall be proper, the Government of Russia will, by all possible Ways, prevent Persia Raw Silk from coming to Great Britain by any other Channel than through Russia; in order to the making Petersburgh the sole Mart for this Commodity.

This, Sir, I conceive you will agree with me may be easily effected, by suitable Encouragements given by the Russian Government to their own Subjects, the Armenians, Persians, and the Subjects of all other Nations, when you are informed, that Persia Raw Silk is not to be purchased at the Plaees of its Growth, but with Money only, the Inhabitants of which Places confuming very little Cloth, as being scarce in Circumstances to live, much less to purchase a Commodity fold at so high a Price in Persia; occasioned by the Expence of bringing it from so distant a Country as Great Britain; and as all Commodities are purchased in the East with Silver, on much better Terms than with any Thing else, I conceive, that the greatest Part, if not the whole, of the Raw Silk, which will be brought from Persia to Petersburgh will be purchased with Silver; unless it can be supposed, that the Russians, Armenians, Persians, and the Subjects of all other Nations, who have equally (16)

a Right, for ought that has yet appeared to the contrary, with the Subjects of Great Britain, to trade to and from Persia through Russia,—will, in tender Regard to the People of this Kingdom, carry on their Traffick with it's Woollen and other Manufactures. and at the fame Time forego fo great an Advantage to themselves, as between Thirty and Forty per Cent. a Profit which the Russia Traders have owned is to be made by Perfian Silk bought with Money at Recht. - But as it cannot be supposed, that any foreign Trader will forego any fuch considerable Advantage in Trade, in Regard of his own Country, much more in Regard of Great Britain; therefore it must follow, that the Exportation of any great Quantity of our Woollen Cloth to Petersburgh, to be fent to Persia through Russia, in order to be exchanged for the Raw Silk of Persia, is a Thing not to be expected, much less to be depended upon.

Besides, Sir, If this Bill should pass into a Law, and if, at the same Time it be true what the Russia Traders affert, "that the "bringing of Raw Silk from Persia through "Russia to Petersburgh is practicable, and "will be much the cheapest Way of im"porting this Commodity into this King"dom;" it must in a very short Time, if not almost immediately, put a stop to its be-

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ing imported into this Kingdom by the Way of Turkey, and necessarily make the City of Petersburgh the only Mart in Europe for Persian Raw Silk: And then it may be concluded, that as any Person who pleases, may be free of the Russia Company for five Pounds, every Silkman in London, and every Weaver in the Suburbs, will purchase his Freedom, and import Silk from thence, as they now do from Piedmont, and other Parts of Italy; and pay for the same by Bill of Exchange, in like Manner as they now pay for the Raw Silks they import from such Countries, which must be such an Addition to the Balance of Trade with Russia, so great against this Nation already, that it will be impossible for its long continuing to pay, when it shall have lost so great a Branch of its Trade to Turkey, with Woollen Cloth, and other the Manufactures of this Kingdom, in Exchange for Raw Silk.

This, Sir, is a Matter very well deserving the Attention of yourself, and every Person of any Rank or Condition in this Kingdom, who may have any Estate in Land; since by a Trade so carried on, all the Persian Silk wanted for the carrying on the Silken Manusacture of this Kingdom may be imported into it, and not one Piece of Cloth sent to purchase Silk, or given in Return for Silk: And as this Channel of Trade is strongly

afferted

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afferted by the Russia Traders to be the cheapest Way of coming at Persia Raw Silk, it must infallibly, in a very little Time, prevail over, and exclude that Channel, by which it has been so long brought into this Kingdom.

But these are Inconveniencies that can never attend the Nation, by continuing the Trade for Persian Silk in the Channel it is now in; fince Persia Silk, imported by the Way of Turkey, can only be in Return for, Lead, Tin, the Woollen, and other the Manufactures of this Kingdom, there being no Exchange between Great Britain, and any Part of the Dominions of the Grand Seignior: And it may deserve Consideration, that the Turkish Empire doth not produce Commodities proper for the British Market, sufficient to invest the Produce of the Goods sent thither. Therefore, if Perhan Silk, which has hitherto come through Turkey, in Return for Cloth, shall, any Time hereafter, be brought through Russia, the Traders to the Levant will be reduced at all Events, to the Necesfity of exporting so much less Cloth, as as was used to be taken in Barter for Persia Silk. But it is much to be feared, that the Loss of so confiderable a Branch of Trade, may be the Consequence of losing some other Branches now enjoyed

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by the British Subjects to the Turkish Dominions; through which, as Persia Silk has been brought for a very long Course of Time, great Advantages have arisen to the Grand Seignior, as well as his Subjects; and should this Channel of Trade be diverted by the sole Means of the Legislature of Great Britain, from passing through the Turkish Dominions, and given to the Russian Government; it is more than probable, our great, and only Rivals in the Turkey Trade will readily lay hold of the Opportunity of making Advantage of it, to the Prejudice of the Subjects of Great Britain, -by procuring either to have the Turkey Merchants present Privileges curtailed, or to have their own Privileges enlarged; either of which would be the entire Ruin of the whole Trade which is now carried on from this Kingdom to Turkey.

I wish, Sir, those Gentlemen, who you tell me so zealously sollicit the passing this Bill, would be so kind as to inform your House, how Great Britain is to be made amends, or what Security the Nation is to have for the Loss of a Trade of such infinite Concern to every Man in the Kingdom, from the Prince to the Parish-Poor; and though I am not able, for want of Materials at this Place, to send you a Computation, for a

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Medium of Years, either of late Years, or at any former Time, what the Nation would fuffer by this Loss of it's Traffick to Turkey; yet I can pleasure you with an Observation made by Mr Martin, who was a few years ago Inspector-General of the Customs; and tho' the Advantages accruing to the Nation by the Turkey Trade, may be computed by Mr. Martin much higher than they really were; yet I am persuaded you will agree with me, that as well the Turkey Trade must be a very beneficial one, as that the Observation itself is a very masterly one;—it runs in these Words: " The last Out-set for Turkey " was above the Value of 700,000 l. and at " least Six Seventh Parts of that Value was "the Price given for English Labour: Now "as the poor working People of both Sex-"es, great and small, are annually subsist-" ed for about Six Pounds a Head, at a Me-" dium; it is plain, that 100,000 People " must have been subsisted a whole Year "by the Preparation of that Out-fet. A-"gain, our Returns from Turkey are gene-" rally Raw Silks, and Grogram Yarns; and "that they may be sufficient to answer " the Cost of the Out-set, the Freight, In-" furance, and Customs, the Commission " and other Charges; and, at last, a reaso-" nable Profit to the Merchant, I should "think, they ought to be of the Value of

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" at least a Million and half. The next " Enquiry therefore should be, how much " Labour is bestowed upon these Returns; " and for this I have had the Curiofity to " weigh a Pound of the cheapest manufa-" ctured Silk, which yet was of three times " the Price that was given for it Raw, when " it was first fold at the English Market. " If the Returns are, as I have fancied, " of the Value of One Million and a " Half; and if they generally increase to " treble their Value by the English Manu-" facture; and if they employ as many " cheap Hands in Proportion as the Out-fet, " it would follow, that Three Millions, or " five Times 600,000 given for the Manu-" facture of the Returns, must employ five " Times as many People as the Out-fet. A " Turkey Fleet is fitted out but once every " two Years; yet even so, upon the former " Supposition, 300,000 People are annually " employed by that Trade; and confe-" quently, by the Loss of it, must be de-" prived of their annual Subfistance, and " must come to the Parish for a Mainte-" nance."

I am aware it will be objected, "that I have been fighting in the Dark; for it is intended by the Bill, that Care shall be taken, that all the Raw Silk imported from Petersburgh, shall be in Return for the Product

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Product and Manufactures of this King-"dom actually fent through Russia to Persia." I will not say how impossible it will be to frame a Law, which can answer the Purport intended by it; how impracticable it must be to carry such a Law into Execution; or how contrary any fuch Law will be to the Genius of a trading People; however sensible I am, fuch Laws have passed in the Times of our Ancestors, and may be found in the Statute Books; but at fuch Times, the Natives of this Kingdom were in a manner entirely Strangers, not only to Traffick, but even to Manufacture; consequently not versed in any of the many Arts and Frauds, which have been long practifed by some or one of the Traders in all Parts of the commercial World. Nor will I in the least question the Sincerity of the Russia Traders, constantly residing in this Kingdom, in proposing to have this Point fettled by Oath; for I am willing to believe, that they have no other Thought at this Time, than the carrying on their Traffick to Persia through Russia with the Product and Manufactures of this Kingdom; and that they are perfectly candid, not only in the Offer of such Oath, but also in what they informed the Lords of Trade; "that "this Branch of Trade, will confift prin-" cipally in the Exports of Woollen Goods, " and Importation of Raw Silks." But,

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But, Sir, I am free to declare, that they are led into this Way of thinking from the Information they have had from those Gentlemen, who were the Framers of Paper B, and by contemplating this most extraordinary Performance, and giving too easy Credit to the many remarkable Passages in it, such as, First, " That not only the serving the Ca-" pital City of Persia, with Woollen Goods " and European Commodities, is the princi-" pal Motive that should determine the Bri-" tish Merchants to establish the principal "Mart at Melched, but the happy Situa-" tion of the City to supply all the Demands " of both Bucharias, the Kingdoms of Ton-" quet, and Thibet, and those Tracts of "Land that border on them, with the many " great and populous Cities in them; nay, " even the uncultivated Lands, which con-" tain fome Millions of People to whom " European Commodities are in the highest "Esteem, and on which Side an advanta-" geous Trade might be almost infinitely ex-"tended, of which Trade the British Mer-" chants may posses themselves whenever "they please, for it only remains for them " to fend their Goods (partly by Land and " partly by Water) to Astracan, and from "thence cross the Caspian, and so by Land " to Mesched. Secondly, That were it ne-" ceffary, it might be easily proved, that at " Mesched,

" Mesched, and the Bucharias, Woollen "Goods would bear a much better Price "than in the Russian Empire, and greater " Profit would ensue on their Returns: For " they would fell all their Goods for ready "Money. - Thirdly, That Mesched, stands " fo advantageously, with regard to the Pro-" vinces of Gillan, Sherwan, and Arrask, " from whence the British Merchants might " bring for Goods fold at Mesched, in Raw " Silk, to the amount almost of any Sum. " --- Fourthly, That, when the British " Merchants come to be acquainted with "the Bucharias, and those Cities to the " Eastward, they will find other Commo-"dities there, as Gold, precious Stones, "Bezoar, Musk, and the like, to invest "their Returns in, should not the produce " of the Northern Provinces of Persia prove " fufficient. — And, Fifthly, That there " is no other Part of the known World to " which it is possible to strike out a new "Branch of Trade, that can in the least vie " with the Advantages this Trade promises "both to Silk, and Woollen Manufactures" " of Great Britain; it would create a vast " additional Confumption of our Woollen' " Manufactures, for which Returns may be made in Gold, Raw Silk, Cotton, fine "Wool, Silk-Yarn, and other manufactur'd " Commodities." These Passages, and the Information

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Information they have had from those Gentlemen who framed Paper B, must certainly have led the Russia Merchants to think as they do upon this Occasion, more especially if they are fully satisfied of the Truth of what is advanced in Paper B, viz. "That in Rullia "the prices of their Commodities are beat "down, or Russa Merchants may import " them from Great Britain themselves, and "that the British Merchants are likewise " obliged to give long Credit there, which " not only robs them of part of their Profit, " but subjects them annually to contract bad " Debts for no small Sum," which Assertion it appears they must admit, by so readily grasping at a Trade in which they are told, if they will enter in earnest upon it, they will find their Account more than in the Trade they now carry on to Petersburgh, and in which they will fell all their Goods for ready Money.

I believe, Sir, you must have observed, that there is nothing more common in Conversation than for Gentlemen, not from any Knowledge in Commerce, unless what they have gained by reading Books of Travels, and Voyages, to set forth, in very strong Terms, the many, great, and manifold Advantages, which would accrue to Great Britain, by a Trade being carried on to such and such distant Countries, with the Woollen and other Manufactures of this Kingdom; and, how easily Re-

turns may be made, in Gold, and Silver, Fewels, and other precious Stones, with Commodities of almost all Species proper for European Markets; — but those, who are converfant with the Commercial World, are too fenfible, that, however eafily our Woollen and other Manufactures may be fent to these Countries, yet, when they are arrived there, it is not so very easy to dispose of them; or, even when they are fold, to procure either Gold, Silver, or other Commodities, in return for them, at least Commodities proper for European Markets, or fuch as will answer the bringing to this or any other Market in Europe. — He, who can believe, that, by opening a Trade through Russia to Persia, Great Britain will be enabled to supply " both the Bucharias, the "Kingdoms of Tonquet, and Thibet, and " those Tracts of Land bordering on them, " with the many great and popular Cities in "them, and the uncultivated Lands in them " which contain some Milions of People, " with the Woollen Manufactures of this "Kingdom," or that (should the Traders of this Kingdom be fo weak as to fend any great Quantities of these Manufactures thither) the Inhabitants of these Countries will be capable to pay for them either in Gold, Silver, or any other Commodities. He, I fay, who is capable of believing

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this, may be capable of believing any thing, however so romantic or incredible, and must be but little acquainted with the State of Great Britain, where still it may be with Truth affirmed, the body of the Inhabitants are not only much better fed, but alfo much better cloathed, than the People of any other Country in the World, and yet how few of them wear Cloth, either the best, or even so high as the middling Sort or any of the Sortments of Cloth, which can be afforded to be fent as Merchandize to fuch distant Countries! — Now, if the People of Great Britain, who are Free, and what they procure by their Labour can call their own, are not capable of wearing the middling Cloth made in this Kingdom; how, is it possible to believe, that Millions of Persons who from the Nature and Constitution of their Government are Slaves, and who have no Property which they can affuredly call their own, — can bear the Expence of wearing Cloth fent through such a great Tract of Country as from Great Britain to Persia, and that too mostly by Land!

But, Sir, if great Tracts of Country will give great Branches of Trade to a Nation, I very much admire, that, at the same Time this Proposal was sent from *Petersburgh*, why another was not sent likewise, setting forth

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the great Advantages of supplying with our Woollen Manufactures, so great a Tract of Country as the Russian Empire, or that a Proposal was not offered for supplying Crim Tartary, on its being conquered by the Rufsigns; for as the greatest part of the Russian Dominions are much nearer to this Kingdom than Perfia; so it might be reasonably supposed, from the Money yearly paid them by us, and other Nations in Balance of Dealings with them, that they are equally or more capable of taking off our Manufactures than the Persians. — But as the body of the People of Russia are, notwithstanding this great Balance in their Favour, unable to purchase Foreign Manufactures even for wearables, by reason of the low price of their Labour and general Poverty; so, for the same Reason, the Persians, and the Inhabitants of those Countries adjoining to Persia, will be ever incapable of doing it.—And, indeed, what Traffick can be expected, either with a People fo uncivilized, and fo unaccustomed to Labour; or with Regions mostly inhabited by Tartars, and Coffacks, who are continually preying upon each other, as well as their Neighbours? Or, who can expect the People of a Country, whose Profit by Labour is not Four-pence a Day, can purchase the Manusactures of a Country, whose Natives gain five Times and more that Sum a Day? Or, that there can

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can be any fo confiderable a Confumption of our Manufactures, as is represented in Paper B, in such Lands where Labour is so vastly cheaper than in this Kingdom, where the Generality of the People are so poor and miferable, where there are fo few Commodities either proper for the Markets of Europe, or not prohibited from coming into Great Britain; and where so great a Part of unwrought Commodities fit for such Markets, are worked up, through mere Necessity, into Manufactures, either for the common Uses of their own People, or for Sale to Foreigners. Therefore, as the Confumption of Woollen Goods in fuch distant Countries, can only be made by the Great Ones, and very few other of the Inhabitants, and, as I have already observed, very little Part of the Cloth carried into Perha through Turkey, is consumed in the Provinces where Silk is produced; and as it is chiefly in the great Cities that Cloth is to be feen, either on the Backs of the Persians themselves, or their Horses; and, as the Persian, Armenian, and other Merchants, who buy Cloth of the British Factors in Turkey, sell it at the great Cities in their Way, and before they come to the Provinces producing Silk. - I am persuaded, there will not be any confiderable Quantity of the Woollen, and other Manufactures of (30)

this Kingdom, annually fent through Russia to Persia; but, on the contrary, that very great Quantities of Raw Silk, and other Perhan Commodities, will be annually brought from Persia to Petersburgh, and imported

from thence into this Kingdom.

Therefore, Sir, I conceive it may deferve particular Attention, whether an Oath on this Occasion, is not too slender a Thread to hold those who may become Traders, however it may bind those who are already Traders to Russia; but it is not from either, that my Apprehension is grounded, that there will be a large Importation of Persia Raw Silk from Russia, purchased with Money, and not in Exchange for the Woollen and other Manufactures. But,

First, Because, notwithstanding the many Advantages set forth in Paper B, to accrue to Great Britain by the opening of a Trade, by the British Merchants, to and from Persia through Russia, there is a Passage in it which runs in these Words; " The "Trade across the Caspian, from London to " Mesched might, in the Course of a sew "Years, be made as considerable a Branch " of Trade, with regard to the Consump-"tion of our Woollen Manufactures, as "any we now enjoy." This is an Admission, either that the Consumption of our Woollen Cloth, will not be very considerable

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to Perha; or that the Exportations of our Woollen Cloths are very confiderable to Turkey: if the latter, it is an Admission that entirely makes against the Russia Company, who so zealously labour to lessen the Exportation of Cloth to Turkey, which yet is the best and greatest Market for this Manufacture of any, either in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America.

Secondly, Because in the fourth Article of the Treaty of Commerce concluded at Peter [burgh, the 4th of Dec. 1734, between the Crowns of Great Britain and Russia, by which it is agreed, "That the Subjects of " Great Britain may import by Sea or by " Land, into any and all the Parts of Russia, " where the Subjects of any other Nation " are allowed to come, all Sorts of Goods " and Merchandize, the Trade and Impor-" tation whereof are not prohibited;—as " likewise the Merchandizes of the Product " or Manufacture of Aha, provided the " fame be not actually prohibited by any " Law now in Force in Great Britain."-It is declared, "That the Russia Merchants " shall enjoy the same Liberty and Privile-" of Trade in England, as are granted to the " English Merchants of the Russia Company, " provided that nothing in this Permission " be contrary to the Laws of each Country." Thirdly.

Thirdly, Because, notwithstanding, in the eighth Article of the faid Treaty it is agreed, "that the Subjects of Great Britain may import all Sorts of Goods and Merchandize in-" to Russia, and transport them through Russia " into Persia, by the shortest and easiest " Way, paying 3 per Cent. in Rix-Dollars, ad " valorem, for the Duty and Transit thereof. " And likewise, that they may bring all Sorts " of Goods and Merchandizes from Perfia " and transport the same through Russia, up-" on paying 3 per Cent. only, in Rix-Dollars, " ad valorem, for the Duty and Transit there-" of.—Yet, by the 29th Article it appears, " that the faid Treaty is only to last for the "Space of fifteen Years, to be computed " from the Day of it's being figned; unless " the contracting Parties shall agree to re-" new or prolong it before it expires."

Fourthly, Because however, there may be a Liberty granted by the said Treaty of Commerce, to trade to Persia thro' Russia; yet there is not, at least to my Knowledge, any Treaty concluded between Great Britain and Russia, whereby it is stipulated, that the Subjects of Great Britain shall, either in Perpetuity, or for any Number of Years, or even so much as one Year, be the only Traders, not only to Persia through Russia with Woollen Goods,

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Goods, but also from Persia through Russia with Raw Silk.

Fifthly, Because, as the Subjects of all other Nations will have equally the Liberty of trading to and from Persia through Russia, they will be the better enabled to rival the British Subjects in the Silk Trade, when once proper Carriages and Embarkations are provided, for the introducing the British Manusactures into Persia, as the bringing of Silk from Persia to Petersburgh, will necessarily be much easier and safer.

Sixtbly, Because, as the opening this Trade will, if there be any Truth in what the Russia Merchants affert, cause the Trade now carried on to Persia through Turkey, to be carried on to Persia through Russia, it must occasion not only the Decrease of the Exportation of Cloth to Turkey, and of Raw Silks from Turkey; but also the Importation of greater Quantities of Silk from Russia into this Kingdom.

Therefore, Sir, for these Reasons, I cannot think that any Oath can be framed, or any Law made by the Legislature, that can assure to Great Britain, when once the Channel of Trade shall be altered, that its Cloth shall be sent to Persia through Russia, and there exchanged for Raw Silk, brought to Petersburgh, and from thence imported into this Kingdom; or that any Traffick

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can possibly be carried on by the British Merchants, to and from Persia through Russia, which can make the Nation, in any degree, amends, for the Loss of its present Commerce to the Dominions of the Grand Seignior:— And am fully convinced, in a few Years after the opening of this Trade, unless Great Britain contents herself to permit Persian Raw Silk to be imported from Petersburgh, without insisting on such Silk being the Return of its own Manusactures carried to Persia, that it's Silk Manusacture will be found to be generally interrupted, and daily decreasing.

I shall be extremely affected, Sir, whenever this happens; because a general Interruption, and a daily Decrease in the Silken Manufacture must, in a very sensible manner, affect the Woollen Cloth-manufacture of Great Britain, which has at all times, fince its Erection in this Kingdom, been thought the great Basis of our Foreign Trade, and the first Spring of our Dealings abroad; and is a Manufacture, which. by its Consumption at home, as well as Exportation, gives the greatest Employment to the Poor of this Nation; as being the Foundation, in great Measure, of the Employment they have had, for about Seventy Years past in the Silken Manufacture; the

whole Price of the Increase of which, (ad-

mitting

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mitting our Manufacture, and native Product is only given in Exchange, for the Raw and Thrown Silks imported from *Turkey*, *Italy*, and the *East-Indies*,) from the Worm to the Mercer's Shop, is paid to the Product of our Lands, and Labour of our People.

But, Sir, however the whole Price of the Silken Manufacture, from the Worm to the Mercer's Shop, is paid to the Product of our Land, and the Labour of our People; when Raw Silk is only exchanged for the Woollen and other Manufactures; yet this will not be the Case, when, by means of this Bill, and the monopolizing of Persia Raw Silk at Petersburgh, Great Britain shall be reduced to the unhappy Necessity of having, either its Silken Manufacture partly stand still, or of purchasing the Persian Raw Silk it may want with Money, and probably at exorbitant Prices.—Therefore, I freely own, I shall be much more affected at any Misfortune attending the Woollen Manufacture than the Silken; unless the Foundation of the latter continues to be, as it is at present in the Turkey Trade, the Exchange of Woollen Goods for Raw Silk; because the Woollen Manufacture is entirely the Produce of Great Britain and Ireland; and the first Material of the Silken not fo, but a Manufacture only made beneficial to this Kingdom, by its first Material being purchased with (36)

with the Product, the Woollen, and other the Mannfactures of Great Britain.

This, Sir, brings me to observe, that, however it may be the Concern of Great Britain to work up its Manufactures cheap, as well as to have Freight cheap, in order to the fending them, on easy Terms, to foreign Markets; yet it is not so much the Concern of the Nation, what Price it may give for Raw Silk in foreign Countries, provided it be given in Exchange for its Product and Manufactures; nor what Price Raw Silk bears in this Kingdom, unless it occasions our manufacturing so dear, as to prevent us from having a foreign Exportation.—And therefore, should the opening this Trade bring us never so many more Bales of Silk, unless such Silk is taken in Exchange for the Woollen and other Manufactures of this Kingdom, and not purchased with Money, this will not be of any Advantage to the Nation, even provided it was a true Affertion in Paper B, "that this Commodity may be impor-"ted into Great Britain, by this Trade, " full Fifty per Cent. cheaper than by the " Turkey Company," which indeed is a Declaration, without the Framers of that Paper having any Experience in, or Knowledge of, the Trade carried through Turkey to Perfia, and absolutely as romantic, as any other Parts

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Parts of the same Paper; and probably made with a Defign of imposing upon the Credulous, as well as of inducing the Russia Merchants to engage in this Traffick, whereby to procure for themselves Posts of Honour and Profit; which I am led to imagine, from the Conclusion of Paper B, which runs in these Words; "The British Merchants must " likewise establish a House at Mesched, one Branch of which should reside at Reschd, " and the Chief be invested with the Title " of Conful to the King, and Agent to the " Company: Such a Character given to the " Chief of their House, will have great "Weight with the Persians, and firmly e-" stablish the Affairs of the new Under-" takers."

But admitting this Commodity could be imported into this Kingdom, full Fifty per Cent. cheaper, by the Russia, than by the Turkey Company; this would indeed be an Advantage to the Persons immediately interested in such Silk, but of little Consideration to the Nation; unless the Persons importing it, sold it at a proportionable Price to the Manusactures of this Kingdom; and by such means it should be the Cause of lowering the Price of all other the Raw Silk imported from Turkey, the East-Indies, Italy, and other Countries; and that this lowering the Price of all Sorts of Silk, should occasion a greater Exportation

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Exportation of the Silken Manufactures of this Kingdom to foreign Countries not under the Government of Great Britain. But I do not expect any such Advantages will be given the Nation by any Traders whatfoever. It would be acting contrary to the known Practice of Traders, who always endeavour to make the most, as indeed they have a Right to do, of the respective Commodities they import; the Price of which is always governed, by the Plenty, or Scarcity at Market, in Proportion to the Demand; and not what may be their Cost in any foreign Countries, or what Charges may be upon them, either in such Countries in which they may be purchased; or in this Kingdom, upon, or after, their Importation into it.

This I was led to observe from a Passage in your Letter "not only relating to the "Russia Merchants being able to import Silk, "cheaper by Fifty per Cent. than the Turkey "Merchants, but also relating to the great "Difference in the Charges of carrying our "Woollen Goods through Turkey to Persia, "and from Persia to the British Factories in "Turkey, to what there will be in carrying fuch Goods, through Russia to Persia, and from Persia to Petersburgh." I own myself persectly un-informed, with respect to the giving any certain Satisfaction on this Article; however, have no Notion that one

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can be so much greater than the other, when I confider the Conveyance of Goods, now thro' one Province by Land, then embarking them on Vessels, and afterwards re-imbarking them, now passing them by Land again, then embarking them again on the Caspian, and finally re-imbarking them, and carrying them to the different Marts in Persia; --together with the Expence of housing these Goods, and of Quarentines.——All which must be very great Risques run by the Russia Traders, (besides the Risque to and from Petersburgh) if the Cloth thus sent to, and the Silk thus brought from, Perha through Russia, shall be all this Time all their own Property, and are such Risques as will require a very confiderable Profit; and are not run by the Turkey Merchants, who run no Risque after the Arrival of their Goods at the Turkish Ports; nor of the Silk they take in Exchange for such Goods, until they are housed at the respective Factories, and shipped for this Kingdom: And as the Armenian, Persian, and other Merchants, who take from the Turkey Merchants Factors, Cloth in Barter for Silk, notwithstanding the Charges, find their Account in continuing this Traffick; and that the Persia Raw Silk is not governed, in this Kingdom, by the Cost abroad, but wholly by the Prices of other Raw Silk; and that the Prices of all

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Sorts of Raw Silk are governed by the Demand, in proportion to the Quantity at Market: Therefore, the Charges of trafficking in these Countries can only be faid, to concern those who are the Traders in and to fuch Countries.—But that Perfia Raw Silk will not be imported into this Kingdom, full Fifty per Cent. cheaper, by the Russia Traders, than the Turkey Merchants, I dare promise myself, you will be fully convinced, funless carrying great Quantities of Goods to a Country, be the certain Way of felling them dearer; and taking great Quantities of Commodities from a Country, be the Certainty of buying them cheaper,) from two Passages in Paper B, which run in these Words:

"It is not to be questioned, when these Cities shall be once well informed, that "European Goods can be had at Mesched, in "such Plenty, as the British Merchants" may, in time, import them thither; and that at the same Time, they shall find a greater Demand for their own Commodities; but these Caravans must soon be-

" come more rich and numerous.

"Thus, because Great Britain can supply them with Woollen Goods in such Plent ty, and at so easy a Rate; and at the fame Time, afford to give a better Price for

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for their Raw Silk, and other Commodi-

I am very fensible, Sir, of what you tell me, "That the Turkey Trade is represented " to be a very inconfiderable Trade at this "Time." — Now supposing that this Trade, which so much Pains is taken to have believed by the Members of both Houses of Parliament, is not so considerable at this Time, as it was before the French were at Leizure, or had Stocks, and Encouragement given by their Government, not only to improve their Woollen Manufactures, but to enlarge their Traffick to the Grand Seignior's Dominions, as well as to many other Parts of the World.—Is this to be affigned as a Reason for destroying it Root and Branch; for the Sake of one Set of Merchants, to the Prejudice of another; to the Advantage of the Government of Russia, and to the great Loss of the Government of the Grand Seignior?

But, Sir, if the Turkey Trade be an inconsiderable Branch, with respect to the taking off our Woollen Cloth, (for that is the true State of the Question) I should be glad to be informed, What other Branch of Trade is a more considerable one?—However, I am apt to believe, you will not think this Trade so very inconsiderable a Trade, when you are informed, that, besides other Com-

F modities,

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modities, the Growth of Turkey and Persia, there are expected in the Ships which are now loading in the Ports of Turkey, upwards of 1600 Bales of Silk, the Value of which only is near 300,000 l. in Return for Lead, Tin, Woollen Cloths, and other the Manufactures of Great Britain. This cannot possibly be esteemed an inconsiderable national Trade; on the contrary, it must be esteemed a very considerable one, as well as a most advantageous one to Great Britain; especially, if the Calculation, which was made some Years ago, by a Gentleman who was many Years a Commissioner of Trade, be a just one; viz. "That 100 Cloths sent " to Turkey, purchased such a Quantity of "Silk, as that the manufacturing, &c. of " the faid Cloth, with the manufacturing, " &c. of the Silk brought in Return, paid " 5000 l. to the Subfistence of our own "People."—Because, upon the Foot of fuch Calculation, the manufacturing, &c. of the Cloth which purchased these 1600 Bales of Silk; and the manufacturing, &c. of the Silk itself, will pay upwards of 700,000 l. to the Subfistence of the People of Great Britain. Therefore, I am very sure, it is a Trade that ought to be the Care of yourself, and every other landed Gentleman in Great Britain; and that you will think it is of fuch infinite Advantage to this Kingdom,

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that it deserves the Favour and Protection of the Government, and all possible Encouragement from the Legislature, at all Times, and upon all Occasions; and am ready to flatter myself, that, when Gentlemen shall have given themselves Time to consider, they will not risque the losing of a Trade, which is so very valuable to the Nation; and at the fame Time, a Trade that may be so greatly increased, provided it shall meet with any the least Encouragement from a House of Commons; and this in bare Expectation only, of gaining a Traffick, which is but a Traffick in Embryo; and by all that has yet appeared, may be entirely precarious; and a Trade from which Great Britain (if the Projectors themselves are to be believed) will not bring any greater Advantages to it, than it now enjoys from the Commerce carried on to Turkey with Lead, Tin, Woollen, and other Manufactures of this Kingdom, in Exchange for Raw Silk, and other un-manufactured Commodities.

You will be pleased, Sir, to observe, that I have hitherto only been arguing, on a Supposition, that the carrying on a Trade, to and from Persia through Russia, will be, as the Traders to Russia assert, "entirely practicable, and much the cheapest Way of conveying our Woollen, and other Goods to Persia, in Exchange of Raw Silk from
F 2 "thence;"

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thence;"—which Argument I was induced to discuss from the first Part of your Letter:—But having finished what I thought proper to trouble you with, in regard to the Danger, which I apprehend Great Britain will be in, should this Bill pass into a Law, of losing the whole Branch of its Trade to Turkey. I shall now proceed to answer the second Paragraph of your Letter, in order to which I beg leave to observe,

First, That not any of the Privileges and and Regulations, declared absolutely necesfary in Paper A, for the carrying on this Trade, are obtained from the Government of Russia, not even those relating to the Navigation; although in one Part of Paper B it is declared, "That for the Reasons too te-"dious to mention, the Success of this "Trade does folely depend, on the British "Merchants having their own Vessels "to navigate the Volga and Caspian." And in another Part, " that without having "their own Veffels, it will be absolutely " impossible for the British Merchants to " carry on their Trade to Mesched, or even " to Gilan."

Secondly, That the Rates to be paid for Carriage through Russia, are not settled, otherwise than that in the eighth Article of the Treaty abovementioned, it is declared, That the English Merchants shall be obliged

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" to enter into an Agreement with the Russia Merchants, for the Charge of transporting fuch Goods, either by Land or Water; and make them a reasonable Allowance for the same." Which Words seem a plain Indication, that the Russian Government are determined to keep the Navigation on the Volga and Caspian, as well as the Carriage

by Land, to themselves.

Thirdly, That there is not any Agreement made by, or in behalf of, the Subjects of Great Britain, what Duties shall be paid, either on the Importation of our Woollen, and other Manufactures into Persia; or on the Exportation of Raw Silk, and other Commodities from Persia, more than a Declaration from a Son of the present Sophy, viz. " That no more than the usual Duties " shall be demanded," without specifying what those Duties are, and this not confirmed by Treaty, or otherwise; but only made to one, or more Englishmen, who came from Russia to Persia. Therefore such a Declaration cannot be looked upon by those who are acquainted with the absolute Power of Eastern Monarchs, and the Rapaciousness of their Governors, to be any Security for the British Subjects, either to settle in, or carry on a Trade to and from, such Countries.

Fourthly, That it appears by Paper B, That Captain Elton left Resched, on his Re-

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"turn to Astracan, about the middle of Au"gust, 1739; that it was the middle of No"vember following, before he reached Astra"can; having had the tedious Passage of a
"Month cross the Caspian, although that Sea
is not 170 English Miles in Length; and
that being detained two Months in Quarentine, it was the latter End of January, before he arrived at Petersburgh, after a Voyage from Resched to Petersburgh of six
months, and of one near as long in going
thither."—Now, if this Journey through
Russia to Persia, as well as back again, was so
tedious to a single Person, it is submitted what
it must be with Carriages heavily laden!

Fifthly, That, as it is declared "absolutely impossible for the British Merchants to carry on this Trade, without having their own Vessels on the Volga and Caspian; and such Vessels commanded by a Native of Great Britain, and navigated with Half British, and half Russ Seamen: This must of course breed Discontents and Differences, between the Natives of Russia, and the British Subjects, employed in navigating, and passing those Seas, consequently bring great Inconveniences to the Trassick to and from Persia through Russia; and at the same Time, probably may occasion a Jealousy in the Persians, of the Subjects of Great Britain, as they

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they have been always jealous of any Foreig-

ners navigating the Calpian Sea.

Sixthly, That though it is declared, "That the British Subjects can never be supplant"ed in this Trade;" yet it is admitted at the same Time, "that this is only, so long as they have a secure Passage through the "Russian Dominions, and a Freedom of Navigation on the Caspian Sea;" and as to this Security or Freedom, they have no better Assurance of it's being either granted or continued, than at the Pleasure, or as it may suit the Interest, of the Sovereign of Russia.

I cannot think, Sir, but that these Observations, with others I have occasionally dropt in fome former Parts of this Letter, will shew, " that every thing necessary for the carrying " on a Trade to and from Persia through Rus-" sia, is not adjusted, either between the " Crowns of Great Britain and Russia, or be-" tween the Crowns of Great Britain and " Perha; and that it will not be either so ve-" ry practicable or fecure a Trade, either at " first, or at all Times hereafter, as you are " pleased to tell me you have Assurances from " some Gentlemen, who have given this Affair " a full Confideration." I must own myself not a little surprized, that any Person should make Application for this Bill being brought into your House, before Points so absolutely necessary

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necessary for carrying on the Trade proposed by it, had been first obtained from the Courts, both of Russia and Persia: And as there is no Law wanting, to introduce the Woollen Manusactures into Persia through Russia; and as the Russia Traders themselves have acknowledged, "that they may be sold "for Gold Ducats, and other Species of Mo-"ney in Persia;" therefore this is a further Confirmation to me, that the passing this Bill, will occasion the Importation into this Kingdom, of very great Quantities of Raw Silk, and other Persian Commodities, purchased with Money, not with the Manusactures of Great Britain.

But, Sir, however practicable, or secure it may be, to bring Raw Silk, which is a light Commodity, from Persia, the carrying of our Woollen, and other Goods, which are bulky Commodities to that Kingdom, cannot be equally as practicable or secure; and I am fure you will agree with me, that the Trade proposed, will be attended with great Risque to those who are engaged in it; and that only fuch Persons can engage therein, who are Owners of very large capital Stocks, when you are reminded, "That. these Merchants must run a Risque, not " only of the Goods which they shall fend "through the Empire of Russia, both by " Land and Water, to the Places of Mart

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in Persia; but also of the Raw Silk, and other Commodities they may purchase, in Return to Petersburgh, and from thence

" to this Kingdom."

This, Sir, is not the Case of the Traders to Turkey, they run no risque, either of the Goods they export thither, or those they import from thence, surther than to and from the Ports or Places of their respective Factories: Nor are they subject to the Rapaciousness of Governors, by reason they sell their Goods at such Factories, to the Turks, Persians, Armenians, and other Persons trading into Persia, and by Treaties between the Crown of Great Britain, and the Grand Seignior, not only their Tariff is settled, but many other valuable Privileges are enjoyed by them, both for the Security of themselves and their Effects.

But, Sir, to evince that this Bill, permitting the British Subjects to carry on a Trade, to and from Persia through Russia, should not pass into a Law, I beg leave to offer to your Consideration the Authority of Mr De Witt, who in his Book of the Interest of Holland, expresses himself in the following Words: "But in all Events it would be needful, for the greater Improvement of the Navigation of Holland, that all foreign imported Goods should be less charged, than those that come in by Land:

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"Whereas, on the contrary, we fee daily, " that very many Levant, Italian, &c. fine "Wares are brought in by Land-Carriage. " And how much it concerns our Inhabi-"tants, we may eafily imagine, when we " consider that the Ships built here, are sent "to Sea victualled and manned; but the " Carriers and their Waggons are foreign, " and of no Concern to us: And besides, " our Merchandize on board Ships is always " in our Power; or at least, we may con-"voy and defend them with our Men of "War as they go and come; whereas those "which go by Land Carriage, are in the "Lands and Power of other Princes; fo "that they may at all Times make Seizure " of them."

The Act of Navigation was owing to this Principle of Mr De Witt's; in regard of which Law, Sir Josiah Child expresses himfelf in this manner: "For my own Part, I am of Opinion, that, in relation to Trade, "Shipping, Prosit, and Power, it is one of the choicest, and most prudent Acts that ever was made in England, and without which, we had not now been Owners of one Half the Shipping, nor Trade, nor employed one Half the Seamen we do at present."—And as to this very Principle it was owing, that Encouragement was given, both in the Reigns of King Charles the Second.

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Second, and King William the Third, for the building good and defensible Ships, which are only made use of in the Turkey Trade: fo I hope this very same Principle, will induce the House of Commons not only not to pass this Bill, but to be very careful at all Times, of doing any thing, or passing any Law, which may weaken and enervate a Law, that has been of fuch publick Utility. and given such great Encouragement to the Exportation of the Product and Manufactures of this Kingdom; and I am willing to flatter myself, if the Season is ripe for it, that your House will lose no Time, in giving to the Merchants of Great Britain Encouragement, for the building in this Kingdom, good failing, as well as defensible Ships; however, fuch Encouragement not to be given, in proportion to the Quantities of foreign Commodities imported; but in proportion to the Quantity of the Product and Manufactures of this Kingdom exported.

As this Observation of Mr DeWitt's is a very just one, I believe, Sir, you will agree with me, that those who may be concerned in Traffick carried on to so distant a Country as Persia, through another great Country, very remote also from this Kingdom, ought to be apprehensive that any Injuries they may receive in carrying on their Traffick will hardly ever meet with Redress; because those

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who should obtain it for them, are always unwilling to come to an open Breach with any foreign Powers, for the Loss or Damage of a few Individuals; but rather chuse to endeavour the redressing such Injuries by Negotiation, which, besides being tedious and expensive, seldom brings Reparation to the Sufferers.

This, Sir, brings me to observe, that the Merchants, in carrying on their Trade to Turkey, have to do with one Power only, and with the respective Governors only of the Provinces in which their Factors reside; whereas, the Merchants carrying on a Trade to and from Persia through Russia, will have to do not only with two Powers, but with the Governors of many Provinces in both Empires: And, as I believe, you will hardly think it possible for Great Britain to right itfelf, on Account of any Injuries, which its Subjects may receive in Persia; so I conceive you will think it much more difficult for Great Britain to get any Satisfaction, for any Injury offered by the Russian Government to its Subjects, than from any of the Governors in the Grand Seignior's Dominions. The Turks are not ignorant of the Strength and Power of Great Britain; but this perhaps is not so much known by the Subjects of Russia, how well soever it may be known by the Court of Russia; at least it is certain, this is not at all known by the Subjects of Persia, if

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by the Court of *Persia*: And there are always at *Constantinople*, besides an Ambassador from *Great Britain*, other Christian Mininisters, who, in case of an Injury, are ready to represent, and to afford their Assistance in procuring Redress, which though probably may at some Periods of Time, be the Case at the Court of *Russia*, will hardly ever be

the Case at the Court of Persia. Besides, Sir, the Grand Seignior and his Ministers know that Great Brioain, in Case of any Wrong, or Injury done their Merchants, is in a Condition to right itself by its Fleet, which they are sensible can make Captures of the Turkish Ships and Vessels, lay waste their Coasts, and even infult the Imperial City.——But, whatever Great Britain may be able to do, with respect to the Ships, or Sea Ports of Russia, this is not possible to be done against Persia: And therefore, were the Privileges and Regulations, declared so absolutely necessary for the carrying on this Trade, to and from Persia through Russia, obtained from both these Empires; nay, were they much more favourable, than any that may have yet been granted, or even asked for, it would still be of very little Confideration: For, as the Writer of the last Age observes,-" As Con-" tracts would be vain and ineffectual, where "no Law could be had; fo a Treaty of " Commerce

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" Commerce and Alliance would be abfurd " and fruitless between Princes, who, in " Case of a Breach, are so distant, that "they cannot make war the one upon the " other." And it is my fixed Opinion, Sir, that there is an End of this Trade, in case, either Great Britain should have any Difference with Russia, or the Government of Russia should quarrel with the Persian: Whereas, though we have had not a few Differences, and almost come to an open Rupture with Russia; yet, we never hitherto have had any Dispute or Rupture with the Turks, and never can have any; unless we are the Instruments of turning a Channel of Trade, now carried on through their Country to another; and thereby, so incense the Grand Seignior, as to give him cause to curtail the Privileges of the British Traders, and enlarge those of other Nations; nor lose that Branch of Traffick, of felling to the Armenians, &c. at our Factories in Turkey, our Woollen Cloths in Exchange for Persian. Raw Silk, unless during any Rupture between the Turks and Persians.

These Considerations, Sir, I conceive, clearly demonstrate, that the carrying on a Trade by the Subjects of Great Britain, to and from Persia through Russia, with the Woollen, and other Manusactures of this Kingdom,

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Kingdom, in Exchange for Raw Silk, and other the Commodities of *Persia*,—must be attended with almost insuperable Difficulties.—That there can be no Certainty of its being lasting;—and that the Proprietors of the Goods sent, must run such a Risque, as scarce any Profit will be able to countervail.

But, Sir, I perceive, by what you inform me in your Letter, that those who follicit the passing this Bill, are, in this so important a Question, only regarding themselves, not the Nation; otherwise it had not been possible for them to have made the Declaration you mention, viz. "That if, after the " enacting of this Law, the proposed Trade " shall be found, neither practicable nor pro-"fitable; that then the Russia Merchants " will not continue it: and that at the same "Time no Harm will be done." Indeed, Sir, if this Bill were only a Key for the opening a Trade, to a Country, whither not any of the British Subjects had ever before traded, or our Woollen, and other Goods, had never been before introduced;—then this had been a proper Declaration enough; but I apprehend you will look upon it, as a very improper one, when you hall recollect, that all the Papers which the Russia Traders have produced, plainly shew, that what they ask is not a new Branch of Trade, but only an Alteration, or turning of a Channel Channel of Trade, now carried through Turkey, in order to be carried through

Russta.

I wish Gentlemen would carefully confider, what must be the Consequence to the Nation of losing the Trade to Turkey, if the Traders to Russia should decline sending thro' that Country to Persia, the Woollen, and other the Manufactures of this Kingdom, whenever they may not find it, either practicable or profitable; and yet at the fame Time that this Bill, if passed into a Law, shall remain in full Force, as to the Liberty of importing Raw Silk, and other the Persia Commodities, from Russia into Great Britain.—And, Sir, as I cannot think, but that, whenever this Trade shall be opened, great Quantities of Raw Silk, of the Growth of Persia, and probably of some other Eastern Countries, will be imported from Russia into this Kingdom, not purchased with the Manufactures of Great Britain, but only with Money; fo I am under no little Apprehension, that were there a Clause in this Bill, (which there is not at present, and it was possible to carry it into Execution) "That " no Raw Silk, or any other Commodity, " of the Growth, Produce, or Manufacture " of Perha, should be imported into this "Kingdom, but what should be in Return (57)

of the Product and Manufactures of this k Kingdom, the Government of Great Britain would be under a very great Difficulty of acting, in a political Sense, with the Government of Russia, provided that Court should insist upon a Liberty of their Subjects importing Raw Silk, and other the Commodities of Persia, from the Dominions of Russia into this Kingdom; though neither the whole, or any Part, in Return of the Manufactures of Great Britain.

Therefore, Sir, I conceive this a Matter, highly deserving the Consideration of Parliament; and, as there are already so very great Quantities of Raw and Thrown Silk, imported into this Kingdom, and paid for only with Money; whether the Money so paid, does not amount to a greater Value than the Amount of the Value of the manufactured Silks, exported to all Countries, exclusive of

the British Plantations in America.

I own, Sir, I cannot think the Persons who made this Declaration, were even ferious on the Occasion, or could possibly imagine no Harm could attend the Publick; when, by means of this Bill, one Set of Men shall have taken their Stock out of Trade, and those to whom such Trade may be transferred, shall immediately drop it, as soon as they find it, neither so practicable or profit-

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able as they flattered themselves, Such a Declaration calls upon you, and every other Gentleman of your House, to give this Matter a very full and particular Consideration; for surely, it is of the utmost Concern to the Nation, to preserve a known and experienced Trade, and a Trade which is, as I have before manifested, even at this Time, so very valuable to the Kingdom, before you pass a Law, which will inevitably be the Loss of it.

This leads me, Sir, to observe, That no Sum of Money employed in this Trade for a few Years, can make the Nation amends for the Loss of the Trade to Turkey; the Traders to which Country, it cannot be supposed, will, after the passing this Bill, continue their Stock in a Traffick they will be in so great a Danger of losing, sooner or later; and at the same Time, of being ruined by the Loss of it: That, it is not the giving Encouragement to a few Merchants, to carry on a Commerce at Random, and in an uncertain Manner; but only a large Stock of Money flowing in every Channel of Trade, with a constant and continued Course, can enrich Great Britain: And That Experience has shewn, by numberless Instances, in this last Century, to the great Loss of this Kingdom, that whenever a great (59)

Stock of Money has been employed in any particular Branches of Commerce, and afterwards taken out of them; it is not so easy a Matter to bring back an equal Quantity, or almost any Stock of Money, into such

Trades again.

Therefore, Sir, upon these Considerations, I submit, whether you, and other Gentlemen, ought not to be strictly careful, how you go about to divert, by a Bill of this Kind, the present Channel of Trade, to and from Persia through Turkey; to which Country the Trade carried on at this Time is fo very valuable to the Nation, either upon Supposition, or in bare Expectation, of enlarging the Export of our Woollen, and other Manufactures; more especially, when this Nation has, in feveral Instances, fo fatally experienced, by fuch Bills being enacted into Laws, that very confiderable Branches of its Commerce have been lost; and, notwithstanding the utmost Endeavours have been used, and the greatest Encouragements given by the Legislature, fuch Trades have never been able to be retrieved. Many Instances I could point out; but Two I believe will be sufficient for your Satisfaction: The one was a Law, that occasioned the Loss of the Exportation of our Woollen Manufacture to Flanders; H 2

Flanders; and the other, of the Greenland Trade: The first was to gratify a Town in Great Britain, and the other to gratify one or more great trading City, or Cities abroad.

You will be pleased, Sir, to observe, that the Russia Company, in their Petition set forth, "That the opening of a Trade to " and from Persia through Russia, will be at-"tended with many advantageous Confe-" quences to this Kingdom, as it will con-" fist principally, if not wholly, in the Ex-" portation of our Woollen Goods, and Im-" portation of Raw Silk, much cheaper than " in any other Channel of Trade; and "that Persian Silk is risen very considerably " fince the War with Spain; and the Price " must always, upon any Rupture, either " with France or Spain, greatly advance; " which can only be remedied by opening " the Trade, and thereby having the Choice " of two Ways to supply this Kingdom " with this Commodity."

Now, Sir, I am willing to flatter myself, that I have given you entire Satisfaction, that the opening of this Trade, will be so far from being attended, with many advantageous Consequences to this Kingdom; that many disadvantageous ones will arise to it, from the enacting the Bill now depending in your House, into a Law; and that Raw

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Silk will not be purchased in Persia, principally with the Woollen Manufactures of this Kingdom, but principally with Money; which if it shall be, then indeed it is admitted, Raw Silk may be imported into this Kingdom from Russia, much cheaper than in any other Channel; otherwise, Issue is ready to be joined in this Question, whenever the Russia Gentlemen shall be pleased to ascertain the whole Expence of the Conveyance of any Number of Cloths from this Kingdom, through Russia to Persia, with the Cost of such Cloths on board of Ship; together with the Charge of Conveyance of any Quantity of Raw Silk from Perfia, and the Price of felling such Silk in this King-

I am informed, it is true, "That Persia" Silk has risen since the War with Spain;" but, at the same Time, "That all Sorts" of Raw and Thrown Silks have risen, e-"qually as much or more in proportion:" And this I am assured, the Committee was acquainted by a Gentleman, than whom there is no Person more knowing in the Silk Trade, and the Price of Silk of every Denomination, and of every Country. It is not improbable, but that Raw Silk, as well as Thrown, may advance, upon a War with either France or Spain; but yet, for many Reasons

Reasons that may be given, there is a greater Probability that it will not advance. However, admitting this was to be the Cafe, I am very fure, this Matter may be answered much more effectually than by opening this Trade; and that is either, by granting the Turkey Company Convoys once a Year, and the Italian Merchants twice, or more a Year; and by keeping a Number of proper Ships cruizing on the Coasts of France and Italy, as well to annoy the Enemy in the Mediterranean, as to protect our Navigation in that Sea, and other Parts.—But, if this should not prove effectual, then Liberty might be given, to import Raw and Thrown Silk from every Country, supposing it a good Reason, which is laid down by the Russia Company, for asking this Bill, viz. "Be-" cause they can bring Raw Silk from Rus-" sia, much cheaper than in any other "Channel of Trade." -- But however, I cannot think the Legislature will do a Thing, which they prevented by an Act of the 6th of his late Majesty, (entitled, "An Act for pro-" hibiting the Importation of Raw Silk, and " Mohair-Yarn, of the Product or Manu-" facture of Afia, from any Ports or Places, in the Streights, or Levant Seas; except " fuch Ports and Places, as are within the " Dominions of the Grand Seignior:") The Preamble

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Preamble of which runs in these Words, " And whereas, at the Time of the paffing " the said recited Act, the Subjects of France " exported very little Woollen Manufacture " into Turkey, and were then supplyed with " great Quantities of Woollen Goods from " England, for their own Use; and likewise "Raw Silks, and other Goods of Turkey, " which were the Returns of English Wool-" len Manufactures; for all which, the Im-" portation into France, was then free for " the Subjects of England: And whereas, " the Woollen Manufacture in France, has "fince that Time, been greatly increased, " and very large Quantities of such Goods " are now annually imported from thence to "Turkey, in return whereof they bring " from thence Raw Silk, and other Com-" modities, to Marseilles, and other Parts in " France; great Quantities whereof are car-" ried into Italy, and from thence imported " into Great Britain, in English Shipping, " greatly to the Discouragement of the " Woollen Manufactures of Great Britain, " and the Advancement thereof in France; " and without some speedy Care therein, the " British Trade to Turkey will be daily lef-" fened, and is in danger of being entirely 66 lost."

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This Law put a Stop to the Importation into this Kingdom, by Way of Legborn, of of upwards of 600 Bales of Silk of a Year purchased with French Woollen Cloths in Turkey; and for which the French received Money at Leghorn.—And if the Reason be a good one, which is affigned by the Russia Company, for the Repeal of fo much of the Act of Navigation, as to give them Liberty to import Raw Silk, from Russia into this Kingdom; certainly, it will be equally as fufficient a Reason, to repeal the abovementioned Act of the 6th of the late King; nay, even to allow the Importation of Raw Silk from all Countries whatfoever.—But, I hope never to see the Act of Navigation so weakened, unless it is first known by Experience, that every Country, from whence Raw Silk can be imported, has annually taken off great Quantities of the Product and Manufacture of this Kingdom; or, will, after such a Liberty is granted, take off an additional Value, to the Amount of the Silk purchased there.

But, Sir, how Great Britain is to be supplied with Silk two Ways, cheaper than one, I cannot see; especially in Exchange for our Woollen Goods; unless the Traders, both to Turkey and Russia, are determined to carry on their respective Trassicks, though they prove never so disadvantageous to them.

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This, Sir, the Russia Merchants have declared they will not do; and I am ready to imagine the Turkey Merchants will be prudent enough to act in like Manner.

I can easily perceive, that by this Kingdom being supplied from different Countries, with any particular Commodity; such Commodity will become cheaper to the Confumer; but am perfectly at a Loss how to conceive, that one Set of British Merchants, trading to Persia through Russia, and another Set, to Persia through Turkey, with our Woollen Manufactures, can possibly be the Means of our purchasing Persia Raw Silk, as cheap as if there was but one Body of Traders to that Country only: For, when Traders to any one particular Country, are either Rivals, or offer Goods to Sale, one against another, through different Channels, the Consequence must be, that the Inhabitants of fuch Country, will not only purchase the Manufactures of this Kingdom much cheaper; but at the same Time, will also sell their own Commodities much dearer; and this will be the Case, in a greater Degree, when the Goods sent, as well through Turkey, as through Russia to Persia, are chiefly to be exchanged for Raw Silk; because this is a Method of Traffick, which will necessarily depreciate the Price of the British Manufactures, and advance that of Raw Silk (66)

in Persia;—fo that I am of Opinion there is nothing can make the Nation amends by the carrying on such a Trade; but it's selling a much greater Quantity of it's Manusactures, and importing a much greater Quantity of Raw Silk; and that such greater Importation be the Consequence of lowering the Price of Silk to the Manusacturers, so as to occasion a larger Exportation of the Silken Manusactures, to Countries not under the Dominions of the Crown of Great Britain.

- However, Sir, I believe you will agree with me, That the Russia Traders are not serious in faying, "That, by opening this Trade, "there will be a Choice of two Ways to supply " this Kingdom with Raw Silk," when you recollect, that besides their declaring, in their Petition "That the Importation of Raw "Silk, will be cheaper in the Channel of "Trade through Russia, than in any other "Channel of Trade:" It is declared in Paper B, "That the Russia Company will " be able to invest their Returns to Great " Britain in the best Raw Silk, near 50 per " Cent. cheaper than at present, by the Way " of Turkey. That the Schach's principal " Merchants denied to all the Turks and " Armenians, which came from Turkey, any " last Year's Silk, unless at an advanced " Price of 20 per Cent. And that, if the sc Turks (67)

"Turks and Armenians shall be denied the Exportation of Gilan Silks by the Way

" of Turkey; or be obliged to purchase them upon such unequal Terms, little or no

" Silk will be imported by the Turkey Com-

" pany."

Thus, Sir, I have troubled you with my Thoughts, in relation to the Bill depending in your House, for opening a Trade to and from Persia through Russia; to which I could have added many other Things, proper for your Consideration, both of a political, as well as mercantile Nature; but having already taken up too much of your Time, I shall defer mentioning them, until I have the the Honour of seeing you, and in the mean time am, with Respect,

### SIR,

Kensington, Jan. 13, 1740.

Your most humble Servant.

### ERRATA.

PAGE 22. Line 4. for Purport read Purpose. p. 37. l. 26. for Manufactures, read Manufacturers. p. 53. l. 28. for the read a. p. 64. l. 3. dele of.

Tor Lord Landerdale

the first of the following for the design of the contract of t

income, St. I have tooded ved with my income in the condition of the condi

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