

**THE  
GENUINE ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
TRIAL  
OF  
EUGENE ARAM,  
FOR THE MURDER  
OF  
DANIEL CLARK  
LATE OF KNARESBOROUGH.  
In the County of York**

Who was convicted at York Assizes, August 5, 1759, before the honourable William Noel, Esquire, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Court of Common Pleas.

TO WHICH  
AFTER A BRIEF NARRATION OF THE FACT,  
IS PREFIXED

An Account of the remarkable Discovery of a human Skeleton, at Thistle-Hill: a detail of all the judicial Proceedings, from the time of the Bones being found, to the Commitment of Richard Houseman, Eugene Aram, and Henry Terry, to York Castle: The Depositions of Anna Aram, Philip Coates, John Yeates, &c. The examination and confession of Richard Houseman; the apprehending of Eugene Aram, at Lynn, in Norfolk; with his examination, and Commitment.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

*The remarkable Defence he made on his Trial,*

HIS OWN ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF,

Written after his condemnation; with the Apology which he left in his Cell, for the attempt he made on his own Life, &c.

FROM DR. SMOLLET'S  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

1759

If ever Murder was entitled to indulgence perhaps it might have been extended not improperly to this Man, whose genius in itself prodigious might have been exerted in works of general utility. He had in spite of all the disadvantages, attending low birth and straitened circumstances, by dint of his own capacity and inclination, made considerable progress in Mathematics and Philosophy, acquired all the languages ancient and modern, and executed part of a Celtic Dictionary which he lived to finish, might have thrown some essential light upon the origin and obscurities of the European History.

THE  
TRIAL  
OF  
EUGENE ARAM,  
&c.

DANIEL CLARK was born in Knaresborough, where he lived, and followed the business of a shoe-maker. We shall pass over those things in his life, which do not regard the affair we treat of, and content ourselves with observing, that, in or about the Month of January, 1744-5, he married a wife, with a fortune of two hundred pounds or upwards; and, being then in very good credit in Knaresborough, it is presumed a scheme was laid by Eugene Aram, then a School-master, in that town, and Richard Houseman, a flax-dresser, to defraud several persons of great quantities of goods and plate; and, that Clark should be the man to carry these schemes into execution; for, as he then lived in very good credit, and was lately married, he was the properest person for the intended purpose. Accordingly, Clark for some few days, went to several persons in and about Knaresborough, and took up great quantities of linen and woollen-drapery goods, under pretence that as he was lately married, he wanted not only clothes to appear in on the occasion, but also table and bed-linen; in which, he succeeded so well, that he got goods of that kind to a considerable amount. After this, he went to several innkeepers and others, desiring to borrow silver tankard of one, a pint of another, and the like, alledging that he was to have company that night, and should be glad of the use of them at supper: and, in order to give a good colour to this his story, he got of the innkeepers (of whom he so borrowed the plate) ale, and other sorts of liquors. (1) This was on the 7<sup>th</sup>. of February, 1744-5.

Some suspicious circumstances appearing that night and the following morning, caused a rumour in the town, that Clark was gone off; and, upon inquiry, it could not be learnt what was become of him, search was immediately made for the goods and plate he had got, when some part of the goods were found at Houseman's, and another part thereof, as some velvets, &c. were dug up in Aram's garden; but, as no plate was found, it was then concluded that Clark was gone off with it: upon which the strictest inquiry was made after him, by sending people out into several parts, and advertising him in the public papers, &c. but all to no purpose.

From the above circumstances, Aram was suspected of being an accomplice with Clark; upon which, a process was granted from the steward of the honor of Knaresborough, to arrest him for a debt sue to one Mr. Norton which was done with a view to detain Aram until such time as a warrant could be had from a justice of peace, to take him up for being concerned along

with Clark in defrauding people of their plate, &c. Contrary to the expectation of every person in town, he (being then esteemed very poor) paid what he was arrested for, and pronounced a large sum of money; and, in a few days, paid off a considerable mortgage upon his house in Bondgate, near Ripon. Soon after his releasement, he left the town of Knaresborough, and was not heard of with any certainty until the month of June, 1758, when he was found at Lynn in Norfolk.

Aram's departure from Knaresborough seems to have put a stop to any further examination into this affair; for nothing was effectually discovered, touching Clark's being murdered, until the 1<sup>st</sup>. of August, 1758, (which was upwards of thirteen years from the time of Clark's being missing) when it happened that a labourer, employed in digging for stone to supply a lime-kiln, at a place called Thistle-hill, near Knaresborough, having at the edge of the Cliff, dug about half a yard, and a half a quarter deep, found a wooden Chest, which on being removed, was found to contain a Human Skeleton, that had been put in double. A traveller, servant to a Jew, was with his stock-in-trade missing about the time that Daniel Clark disappeared, and as his employer could trace him no farther than Knaresborough, it was afterwards suspected he had been murdered, and that these were his remains. This remarkable accident being rumoured in the town of Knaresborough, gave reason for a suspicion that Daniel Clark had been murdered and buried there; and rather, as there had been no other person missing thereabouts, to any one's knowledge, for 60 years and upwards, except the Jew. The strangeness of the event, excited people's curiosity to inquire strictly into it: Upon which the coroner was sent for, and an inquisition taken thereon. The wife of Eugene Aram, who had before frequently given hints of her suspicion of Daniel Clark had been murdered, was now examined by the coroner and jury, as to what she knew concerning Clark. She said "Daniel Clark was an intimate acquaintance of her husband's; and, that they had frequent transactions together before the 7<sup>th</sup>. of February, 1744-5, and that Richard Houseman was often with them: particularly that, on the 7<sup>th</sup>. of February, 1744-5, about six o'clock in the evening, Aram came home when she was washing in the kitchen; upon which, he directed her to put out the fire, and make one above stairs; she accordingly did so. About two o'clock in the morning, on the 8<sup>th</sup>. of February, Aram, Clark, and Houseman, came to Aram's house, and went upstairs to the room where she was: they staid about an hour. Her husband asked her for an handkerchief for Dickey (meaning Richard Houseman) to tie about his head; she accordingly lent him one. Then Clark said 'It will soon be morning, and we must get off.' After which, Aram, Houseman, and Clark, all went out together: That, upon Clark's going out, she observed him take a sack or wallet upon his back, which he carried along with him: wither they went, she could not tell. That about five o'clock the same morning, her husband and Houseman returned, and Clark did not come with them. Her husband came up stairs, and desired to have a candle, that he might make a fire below. To which she objected, and said 'There was no occasion for two fires, as there was a good one in the room above, where she then was.' To which Aram (her husband) answered, "Dickie (meaning Richard Houseman) was below, and did not chuse to come up stairs:" Upon which she asked (Clark not returning with them) what they had done with Daniel? To this, her husband gave no answer; but desired her to go to bed, which she refused; and told him they had been doing something bad: Then Aram went down with the candle. She being desirous

to know what her husband and Houseman were doing, and being about to go down stairs, she heard Houseman say to Aram, 'She is coming.' Her husband replied 'We'll not let her.' Houseman then said 'If she does, she'll tell.' 'What can she tell?' replied Aram, 'poor simple thing! she knows nothing.' To which Houseman said, 'If she tells that I am here, 'twill be enough.' Her husband then said, 'I will hold the door to prevent her from coming.' Whereupon Houseman said, 'something must be done to prevent her telling,' and pressed him to it very much; and said, 'If she does not tell now, she may at some other time.' 'No,' said her husband, 'we will coax her a little, until her passion be off, and then take an opportunity to shoot her.' Upon which Houseman seemed satisfied, and said 'What must be done with her clothes?' Whereupon they both agreed, that they would let her lie where she was shot in her clothes. She hearing this discourse, was much terrified, but remained quiet until seven o'clock in the same morning, when Aram and Houseman went out of the house. Upon which, Mrs. Aram coming down stairs, and seeing there had been a fire below, and all the ashes taken from out of the grate, she went and examined the dung-hill, and perceiving ashes of a different kind to lie upon it, she searched among them, and found several pieces of linen and woollen cloth, very near burnt, which had the appearance of belonging to wearing apparel. When she returned into the house from the dung-hill, she found the handkerchief she had lent Houseman the night before; and looking at it, found some blood upon it, about the size of a shilling: Upon which, she immediately went to Houseman, and showed him the pieces of cloth she had found; and said, she was afraid they had done something bad to Clark. But Houseman then pretended he was a stranger to her accusation, and said he knew nothing what she meant. From the above circumstances, she believes Daniel Clark to have been murdered by Richard Houseman and Eugene Aram, on the 8<sup>th</sup>. of February, 1744-5.

Mr. Philip Coates, of Knaresborough, brother-in-law, to Daniel Clark was then examined by the coroner; who said, "he knew Daniel Clark from a child; and that he was with him on the 7<sup>th</sup>. of February, 1744-5 about nine o'clock at night, and that Clark promised to call upon him in the morning: But, he not calling, he went to Clark's house, about nine o'clock in the morning. After inquiring for him there, Clark's maid told him he was gone to Newall, to his wife. On the 10<sup>th</sup>. of February Mr Coates went to Newall to seek Clark, but could not hear of him, nor ever did, though he had been advertised for some time. That a week or ten days before Clark was missing, he received a large sum of money; and that no money was remaining at his house after he was missing."

Several other witnesses were examined by the coroner, affirming that Eugene Aram, and Richard Houseman, to be the last persons seen with Clark, especially on the night of the 7<sup>th</sup>. of Feb. 1744-5, being the night before Clark was missing, and other particular circumstances, which to avoid repetition, will be shown at large when we come upon the trial. We shall only add, that of Mr. John Yeates, a barber in Knaresborough, who said, "He knew Daniel Clark, and the last time he saw him, was then about thirteen or fourteen years ago, and that he had been missing ever since. Some time after which, as he, Mr. Yeates, was going over Thistle-Hill, near the rock, he observed a place to be fresh dug, and oblong, he presumed it might contain a boy of about twelve years of age; that he had seen the place where the bones of a deceased man were found, and said it was the same he saw so fresh dug."

Barbara Leetham of Knaresborough, widow, gave the same kind of evidence.

Mr. Higgins and Mr. Locock of Knaresborough, surgeons, upon breaking a thigh bone of the Skeleton, and viewing it, gave it as their opinion, that the body might have laid in the ground about thirteen or fourteen years.

These testimonies were given before the inquest, in the manner related, and Houseman, by the coroner's orders, being present, it was observed that he seemed very uneasy; discovering all the signs of guilt, such as trembling, turning pale, and faltering in his speech: This, with the strong circumstances given by Mrs. Aram, &c. gave a suspicion that he must have been concerned in the murder of Clark, though he gave no account of the matter, and denied that he knew any thing concerning the murder.

Upon the Skeleton's being produced, Houseman at the coroner's request, took up one of the bones; and, in his confusion, dropped this unguarded expression, "*There is no more Daniel Clark's bone than it is mine!*" From which it was concluded, that if Houseman was so certain that the bones before him were not Daniel Clark's, he could give some account of him; and being told so, he answered, "That he could produce a witness who had seen Daniel Clark upon the road two or three days after he was missing at Knaresborough." Accordingly the witness, on Parkinson, was sent for; who, on being asked the question, told the coroner and jury, "That he himself had never seen Daniel Clark after that time, viz. the 7<sup>th</sup>. of February, 1744-5; that a friend of his (Parkinson's) told him he had met a person like Daniel Clark, but, as it was a snowy day, and the person had the cape of his great coat up, he could not say, with the least degree of certainty, who he was."

This is far from being satisfactory, increased the suspicion, that Houseman was either the murderer of Clark or an accomplice in the murder, whereupon, the constable applied to William Thornton, Esq. who, being informed from the coroner, of the deposition taken, granted them a warrant to apprehend Houseman, and bring him before him. He was accordingly brought and examined: here he said, "He was in company with Daniel Clark the night before he went off, which he believes might be on a Thursday, in February, 1744-5; that the reason of his being them with him, was upon account of some money, viz. £20, that he had lent Clark, which he wanted to get again of him, and for which he then gave him some goods that took up a considerable time in carrying from Daniel Clark's house to his, viz. from eleven, (the hour at which he went to Clark) till some time the next morning: That the goods he took were leather, and some linen cloth, which as soon as he had possessed himself of, and also a note of the prices he was to sell them at, he left Clark in Aram's House with Aram and another man, unknown to this examinant: Who further saith, that Aram and Clark, immediately after, followed him out of Aram's house, and went into the market-place, with the other unknown person, which the light of the moon enabled him to see; that he does not know what became of them after: and utterly disavows that he came back to Aram's house that morning with Aram and without Clark as is asserted by Mrs. Aram, nor was he with Aram, but with Clark, at Aram's house that night, whither he went to seek him, in order to obtain from him the note, as above; that when he had lodged the goods he had got at Clark's house safely in his own, he went to seek Clark, found him at Aram's, with the unknown

person, and after, he having procured the note which was his errand, came away directly, as was related. He further saith, that he did not see Clark take any wallet, plate, or things of value along with him when they came out of the house the last time, which was early in the morning. But admits, that some time after Clark was missing, Anna Aram came to him in a passion, and demanded money of him, and said he had money of her husband's in his hands, and pretended to shew him some shreds of cloth, and asked if he knew what they were? To which he answered, that he did not know. And entirely denies that he ever has been charged with the murder of Daniel Clark, till now by Anna Aram.

Being asked if he chose to sign this examination, he said he chose to wave it for the present; for that he might have something to add, and therefore desired to have time to consider of it.

As he chose not to sign this examination, it was presumed that he was conscious he had not declared the truth of the matter; and Mr. Thornton thought proper to commit him to York Castle the morning following. At Green-Hammerton, in the road to York, he behaved to his conductors in such a manner, as to show that he was concerned in the murder, or knew of it, and that he was desirous of making a more ample confession on their arrival at York. Being come to the Minster in Micklegate, they were acquainted that Mr. Thornton was then passing by; Houseman desired he might be called into the house, and in his presence made the following confession.

That Daniel Clark was murdered by Eugene Aram, late of Knaresborough, a school-master; and as he believed, on Friday the 8<sup>th</sup>. of February, 1744-5, for the Eugene Aram and Daniel Clark were together at Aram's house early that morning, (being moon-light, and snow upon the ground) and that he (Houseman) left the house and went up the street a little before, and they called to him, desiring he would go a short way with them, and he accordingly went along with them to a place called St. Robert's cave, near Grimbald-bridge, where Aram and Clark stopped and there he saw Aram strike him several times over the breast and head, and saw him fall as if he was dead; upon which he came away and left them. But whether Aram used any weapon or not, to kill Clark, he could not tell; nor does he know what he did with the body afterwards; but believes that Aram left it at the mouth of the cave; for that seeing Aram do this, lest he might share the same fate, he made the best of his way from him, and got to the bridge end; where looking back, he saw Aram coming from the cave side (which is in a private rock adjoining the river) and could discern a bundle in his hand, but did not know what it was; upon this he hastened away to the town, without either joining Aram, or seeing him again till the next day, and from that time to this, he never had any private discourse with him. Afterwards, however, Houseman said that Clark's body was buried in St. Robert's cave; and that he was sure it was then there, but desired it might remain till such time as Aram should be taken. He added further, that Clark's head lay to the right, in the turn at the entrance of the cave. These words Houseman repeated the day after, to Mr. Barker the constable. (2)

On Houseman's commitment to the castle, proper persons were appointed to examine St. Robert's cave, where, agreeable to his confession, was found the skeleton of a human body, the head lying as he before had said; upon which, an inquisition was taken by the coroner.

Houseman having thus declared that Clark was murdered by Aram; who, was found to be at Lynn, in Norfolk; (3) Mr. Thornton issued his warrant to apprehend him, and directed Mr. John Barker, and Mr. Francis Moor, the constables of Knaresborough, to Sir John Turner, a justice of the peace, in Lynn, with orders to call at every Post Office on the road, and enquire for Letters directed for Aram – they did so, and found only one, in which was wrote – “*Fly for your life, you are pursued.*” On their arrival there, they waited on this Gentleman, who endorsed the warrant, and Aram was apprehended in a school, where he was usher, and conducted to Yorkshire. Being brought before Mr. Thornton, and examined, he confessed that he was well acquainted with Daniel Clark; and, to the best of his remembrance, it was about, or before the 8<sup>th</sup>. of February, 1744-5, but utterly denied he had any connexion with him in those frauds which Clark stood charged with, at or before the time of his disappearance, which might be about the 10<sup>th</sup>. of February, 1744-5, when he (Aram) was arrested by process, for debt: That, during the time of his being in custody, he first heard that Clark was missing: That, after his release, he was apprehended by a warrant from a justice of the peace, for a misdemeanour; but appearing before the justice, and the charge not being made out against him, he was dismissed: After this he continued at Knaresborough a considerable time, without any molestation; and then removed to Nottingham, to spend a few days with his relations; from whence he went to London: There he resided publicly till he came down to Lynn, which was about seven months before he was arrested by warrant, on suspicion of being concerned in the murder of Daniel Clark. He admits that he might be with Clark, in February, 1744-5, but does not recollect that he was at Mr. Carter’s, who keeps a public-house in Knaresborough, with a jew, Richard Houseman, a flax-dresser, and Daniel Clark, about twelve o’clock at night, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of February, 1744-5; nor does her recollect he was in company with Clark and Houseman, after two o’clock in the morning, at any particular time or place, in February, 1744-5; nor at Grimbold-bridge; nor at, or near a place called St. Robert’s cave, on the 8<sup>th</sup>. of February, 1744-5, in the morning; nor does he know any thing of Clark’s being murdered; nor does he recollect that he was with Clark and Houseman, when Clark called upon William Tuton, on the 8<sup>th</sup>. of February, 1744-5, in the morning; nor does he remember any thing of a mason’s tool being found in his own house, when he was arrested by a warrant in 1744-5; nor does he remember meeting Mr. Barnett or seeing him in company with the above said persons, the 8<sup>th</sup>, of February, 174-5, in the morning; nor does he remember that he came home that morning at five o’clock, with Houseman, and made a fire for them in his own house, which is asserted by his wife; nor does he remember that he had so great a sum of money as fifty guineas about that time, or pulled any such sum out of his pocket; nor did he seek to suborn or ask any one person to say that he had seen Clark since the 8<sup>th</sup> of February, 1744-5, who really had not seen him; but true it was, that he has often made inquiry about him, and particularly his brother, Stephen Aram, but does not recollect any other person, except another brother of his, Henry Aram who has said he saw him, nor does he know where it was those brothers say they saw him. The declaration of other circumstances, and the signing this examination he chose to wave, that he might have time to recollect himself better, and lest any thing should be omitted, which might hereafter occur to him.

Though, in his examination, he denies the murder that was charged upon him by Houseman, in his confession: yet, notwithstanding, Mr. Thornton thought proper to commit him; and thereupon made out his commitment, in obedience to which, Barker and Moor were about to convey him to York castle, and had taken him a mile from Mr. Thornton's house, when Aram desired to return back to Mr. Thornton, having, as he alledged, something of consequence to impart to him. Accordingly they returned to Mr. Thornton's; where Aram, upon being a second time examined, said, that he was at his own house the 7<sup>th</sup>. of February, 1744-5, at night, when Richard Houseman and Daniel Clark came to him with some plate, and both of them went for more several times, and came back with several pieces of plate, of which Clark was endeavouring to defraud his neighbours: that he could not but observe, that Houseman was all that night very diligent to assist him to the utmost of his power, and insisted that it was Houseman's business that night, and not the signing any note or instrument, as is pretended by Houseman. That Henry Terry then of Knaresborough, ale-draper, was as much concerned in abetting the said frauds, as either Houseman or Clark; but, was not now at Aram's house, because as it was market-day, his absence from his guests might have occasioned some suspicion: that Terry, notwithstanding, brought two silver tankards that night, upon Clark's account, which had been fraudulently obtained: And, that Clark, so far from having borrowed £20 of Houseman, to his knowledge never borrowed more than £9, which he had paid again before that night.

That all the leather Clark had, which amounted to a considerable value, he well knows was concealed under flax, in Houseman's house, with intent to be disposed of by little and little, in order to prevent suspicion of his being concerned in Clark's fraudulent practices.

That Terry took the plate in a bag, as Clark and Houseman did the watches, rings, and several small things of value, and carried them into the flat, where they and he (Aram) went together to St. Robert's cave, and beat most of the plate flat. It was though too late in the morning, being about four o'clock, in the 8<sup>th</sup>. of February, 1744-5, for Clark to go off, so as to get to any distance, it was therefore agreed he should stay there till the night following, and Clark accordingly staid there all that day, as he believes, they having agreed to send him victuals, which were carried to him by Henry Terry, he being judged the most likely person to do it without suspicion, for as he was a shooter, he might go thither under the pretence of sporting. That the next night, in order to give Clark more time to get off, Henry Terry, Richard Houseman, and himself, went down to the cave, very early; but he (Aram) did not go in to see Clark at all; that Richard Houseman and Henry Terry only went into the cave, he staying to watch, at a little distance on the outside, lest any person should surprise them.

That he believes they were beating some plate, for he heard them make a noise; they staid there about an hour, and then came out of the cave, and told him that Clark was gone off. Observing a bag they had along with them, he took it in his hand, and saw that it contained plate. On asking 'why Daniel did not take the plate along with him?' Terry and Houseman replied, that they had bought it of him, as well as the watches, and had given him money for it, that being more convenient for him to go off with, as less cumbersome and dangerous. After which they all three went to Houseman's warehouse, and concealed the watches with the small plate there, but that Terry carried away with him the great plate: That afterwards

Terry told him he carried it to How-Hill, and hid it there, and then went into Scotland, and disposed of it: But as to Clark, he could not tell whether he was murdered or not, he knew nothing of him, only that they told him he was gone off.

After he had signed this second confession, he was conducted to York castle, where he and Houseman remained till the assizes.

From the above examination of Aram, there appeared great reason to suspect Terry to be an accomplice in this black affair; a warrant was therefore granted, and he likewise was apprehended, and committed to the castle. Bills of indictment were found against him: but it appearing to the court, upon affidavit, that the prosecutor could not be fully provided with witnesses at that time, the trial was postponed till Lammas assizes.

On the 3d of August, 1759, Richard Houseman and Eugene Aram were brought to the bar. Houseman was arraigned on his former indictment, acquitted, and admitted evidence against Aram, who was thereupon arraigned. Houseman was then called upon, who deposed, that in the night between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> of February, 1744-5, about eleven o'clock, he went to Aram's house: that after two hours spent in passing to and fro between their several houses, to dispose of several goods, and to settle some notes concerning them, Aram proposed first to Clark and then to Houseman to take a walk out of town: That when they came into the field where St. Robert's cave is, Aram and Clark went into it, over the hedge, and when they came within six or eight yards off the cave, he saw them quarrelling, that he saw Aram strike Clark several times, upon which Clark fell, and he never saw him rise again. That he saw no instrument Aram had, and knew not that he had any: That upon this, without any interposition or alarm, he left them and returned home: That the next morning he went to Aram's house, and asked what business he had with Clark last night; and what he had done with him? Aram replied not to this question; but threatened him if he spoke of his being in Clark's company that night; vowing revenge either by himself or some other person, if he mentioned anything relating to the affair.

Peter Moor (Clark's servant) deposed that a little time before his disappearing, Clark went to receive his wife's fortune, that upon his return, he went to Aram's house, which this witness then was. Upon Clark's coming in, Aram said, 'How do you, Mr. Clark? I'm glad to see you at home again, pray what success?' To which Clark replied 'I have received my wife's fortune, and have it in my pocket, though it was with difficulty I got it.' Upon which Aram said to Clark, (Houseman being present) 'Let us go upstairs:' accordingly they went; upon which this witness returned home.

Mr. Beckwith deposed, that, when Aram's garden was searched, on suspicion of his being an accomplice in the frauds of Clark, there were found buried there several kinds of goods bound together in a coarse wrapper; and amongst the rest, in particular, a piece of cambric, which he himself had sold Clark a very little time before.

Thomas Barnett deposed, That, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of February, about one in the morning, he saw a person come out from Aram's house, who had a wide coat on, with the cape about his head,

and seemed to shun him; whereupon he went up to him, and put by the cape of his great coat, and perceived it to be Richard Houseman, wished him a god night, alias, a good morning.

John Barker, the constable, who executed the warrant, granted by Mr. Thornton, and endorsed by Sir John Turner deposed, that, at Lynn, Sir John Turner and some others, first went into the school where Aram was, the witness waiting at the door. Sir John asked if he knew Knaresborough? He replied No. And he being further asked if he had any acquaintance with one Daniel Clark? He denied that he ever knew such a man. The witness then entered the School, and said, How do you do Mr Aram? Aram replied, How do you do, Sir? I don't know you. What! said the witness, don't you know me? Don't you remember Daniel Clark? And that you had a spite against me when you lived at Knaresborough. The witness then asked him, if he did not know St. Robert's cave? He answered yes. The witness replied, aye, to your sorrow. That upon their Journey to York, Aram inquired after his old neighbours, and what they said of him. To which the witness replied, that they were much enraged against him, for the loss of their goods: That upon Aram's asking, if it was not possible to make up the matter? The witness answered, He believed he might save himself if he would restore to them what they had lost. Aram answered, that was impossible: but he might perhaps find them an equivalent. Aram was then asked by the judge, if he had any thing to say to the witness before him? He replied, that, to the best of his knowledge, it was not in the school, but in the room adjoining to the school, where Sir John Turner and the witness were, when he first saw them.

The skull was then produced in court, on the left side of which was a fracture, that from the nature of it, could not have been made but by the stroke of some blunt instrument; the piece was beaten inwards, and could not be replaced but from within. Mr. Locock, the surgeon, who produced it, gave it as his opinion, that no such breach could proceed from any natural decay! that it was not a recent fracture by the instrument with which it was dug up, but seemed to be of many years standing.

After these several depositions, Aram was asked what he had to say in his behalf, and begged he might be indulged in reading his defence.

The following is a faithful copy of it, printed from his own original, and retaining even it's accidental grammatical inaccuracies.

MY LORD,

I KNOW not whether it is of right, or through some indulgence of your lordship, that I am allowed liberty at this bar, and at this time to attempt a defence; incapable and uninstructed as I am to speak. Since, while I see so many eyes upon me, so numerous and awful a concourse, fixed with attention, and filled with I know not what expectancy, I labour, not with guilt, my lord, but with perplexity. For, having never seen a court but this, being wholly unacquainted with law, the customs of the bar, and all judiciary proceedings, I fear I shall be so little

capable of speaking with propriety in this place, that it exceeds my hope, if I shall be able to speak at all.

I have heard, my lord, the indictment read, wherein I find myself charged with the highest crime, with an enormity I am altogether incapable of; a fact, to the commission of which there goes far more insensibility of heart, more profligacy of morals, than ever fell to my lot. And nothing possibly could have admitted a presumption of this nature, but a depravity, not inferior to that imputed to me. However, as I stand indicted at your lordship's bar, and have heard what is called evidence adduced in support of such a charge, I very humbly solicit your lordship's patience, and beg the hearing of this respectable audience, while I, single and unskilful, destitute of Friends, and unassisted by counsel, say something, perhaps like argument, in my defence. I shall consume but little of your lordship's time: what I have to say will be short, and this brevity probably will be the best part of it: However, it is offered with all possible regard, and the greatest submission to your lordship's consideration, and that of this honourable court.

First, my lord, the whole tenor of my conduct in life, contradicts every particular of this indictment. Yet I had never said this, did not my present circumstances extort it from me, and seem to make it necessary. Permit me here, my lord, to call upon malignity itself, so long and cruelly busied in this prosecution, to charge upon me any immortality, of which prejudice was not the author. No, my lord, I concerted not schemes of fraud, projected no violence, injured no man's person or property. My days were honestly laborious, my nights intensely studious. And, I humbly conceive, my notice of this, especially at this time, will not be thought impertinent or unreasonable; but, at least, deserving some attention: Because my lord, that any person, after a temperate use of life, a series of thinking and acting regularly, and without one single deviation from sobriety, should plunge into the very depth of profligacy, precipitately and at once, is altogether improbable and unprecedented, and absolutely inconsistent with the course of things. Mankind are never corrupted at once; villainy is always progressive, and declines from right, step after step, till every regard of probity is lost, and every sense of moral obligation totally perishes.

Again, my lord, a suspicion of this kind, which nothing but malevolence could entertain, and ignorance propagate, is violently opposed by my very situation at that time, with respect to health: For, but a little space before, I had been confined to my bed, and suffered under a very long and severe disorder, and was not able, for half a year together, so much as to walk. The distemper left me indeed, yet slowly and in part; but so macerated, so enfeebled, that I was reduced to crutches; and was so far from being well about the time I am charged with this fact, that I never to this day perfectly recovered. Could then a person in this condition take anything into his head so unlikely, so extravagant, I past the vigour of my age, feeble and valetudinary, with no inducement to engage, no ability to accomplish, no weapon wherewith to perpetrate such a fact; without interest, without power, without motive, without means.

Besides, it must needs occur to everyone, that an action of this atrocious nature in never heard of, but when it's springs are laid open, it appears that it was to support some indolence, or

supply some luxury, to satisfy some avarice, or urged by some malice; to prevent some real or some imaginary want: Yet I lay not under the influence of any one of these. Surely, my lord, I may, consistent with both truth and modesty, affirm thus much; and none who have any veracity, and knew me, will ever question this.

In second place, the disappearance of Clark is suggested as an argument of his being dead. But, the uncertainty of such an inference from that, and the fallibility of all conclusions of such a sort, from such a circumstance, are too obvious, and too notorious to require instances: yet, superseding many; permit me to produce a very recent one, and that afforded by this castle.

In June, 1757, William Thompson, amidst all the vigilance of this place, in open day light, and double-ironed, made his escape; and, notwithstanding an immediate inquiry set on foot, the strictest search, and all advertisements, was never seen or heard of since. (4) If then Thompson got off unseen, through all these difficulties, how very easy was it for Clark, when none of them opposed him; But, what would be thought of a prosecution commenced against any one seen last with Thompson?

Permit me next, my lord, to observe a little upon the bones which have been discovered. It is said, which perhaps is saying very far, that these are the skeleton of a man. It is possible indeed it may; but, is there any certain known criterion, which incontestably distinguishes the sex in human bones? Let it be considered, my lord, whether the ascertaining of this point ought not to precede any attempt to identify them.

The place of their depositum too, claims much more attention than is commonly bestowed upon it. For, of all places in the world, none could have mentioned any one, where there was greater certainty of finding human bones, than an hermitage, except he should point out a churchyard. Hermitages, in time past, being not only places of religious retirement, but of burial too: And, it has scarce or never been heard of, but that every cell, now known, contains or contained, these relics of humanity; some mutilated, and some entire. I do not inform, but give me leave to remind your lordship, that here sat solitary sanctity, and here the hermit, or the anchoress hoped that repose for their bones, when dead, they here enjoyed when living.

All this while, my lord, I am sensible this is known to your lordship, and many in this court, better than I. But, it seems necessary to my case, that others, who have not at all perhaps, adverted to things of this nature, and may have concern in my trial, should be made acquainted with it. Suffer me then, my lord to produce a few of many evidences, that these cells were used as repositories of the dead, and to enumerate a few in which human bones have been found, as it happened in this in question; lest, to some, that accident might seem extraordinary, and consequently occasion prejudice.

1. The bones, as was supposed, of the saxon St. Dubritius, were discovered buried in his cell at Guiscliffe, near Warwick, as appears from the authority of Sir William Dugdale.

2. The bone, thought to be those of the anchoress Rosia, were but lately discovered in a cell at Royston, entire, fair, and undecayed, though they must have lain interred for several centuries, as is proved by Dr. Stukely.
3. But our own country, nay, almost this neighbourhood, supplies another instance: for, in January, 1747, was found by Mr. Stovin, accompanied by a reverend gentleman, the bones in part of some recluse, in the cell at Lindholmn, near Hatfield. They were believed to those of William of Lindholmn, a hermit, who had long made this cave his habitation.
4. In February, 1744, part of Woburn-abbey being pulled down, a large portion of corpse appeared, even with the flesh on, and which bore cutting with a knife; though it is certain this had laid above 200 years, and how much longer is doubtful, for this abbey was founded in 1145, and dissolved in 1538 or 9.

What would have been said, what believed, if this had been an accident to the bones in question?

Farther, my lord, it is not yet out of living memory, that, at a little distance from Knaresborough, in a field, part of the manor of the worthy and patriotic baronet, who does that borough the honour to represent it in parliament, were found, in digging for gravel, not one human skeleton only, but five or six, deposited side by side, with each an urn placed at it's head, as your lordship knows was usual in ancient interments.

About the same time, and in another field almost close to this borough, was discovered also in searching for gravel, another human skeleton; but, the piety of the same worthy gentlemen ordered both the pits to be filled up again, commendably unwilling to disturb the dead.

Is the invention of these bones forgotten, then, or industriously concealed, that the discovery of those in question may appear the more singular and extraordinary? Whereas, in fact, there is nothing extraordinary in it. My lord, almost every place conceals such remains. In fields, in hills, in highway sides, and on commons, lie frequent and unsuspected bones. And our present allotments for rest for the departed, are but of some centuries.

Another particular seems not to claim a little of your lordship's notice, and that of the gentlemen of the jury; which is, that perhaps no example occurs of more than *one* skeleton being found in one cell: and in the cell in question was found but *one*; agreeable, in this to the peculiarity of every other known cell in Britain. Not the invention of one skeleton, then, but of two would have appeared suspicious and uncommon.

But then, my lord, to attempt to identify these, when even to identify living men sometimes has proved so difficult, as in the case of Perkin Warbeck, and Lambert Symnel at home, and of Don Sebastian abroad, will be looked upon perhaps, as an attempt to determine what is undeterminable. And I hope too it will not pass unconsidered here, where gentlemen believe with caution, think with reason, and decide with humanity, what interest the endeavour to do this is calculated to serve, in assigning proper personality to those bones, whose particular appropriation can only appear to eternal Omniscience.

Permit me, my lord, also very humbly to remonstrate, that, as human bones appear to have been the inseparable adjuncts of every cell, even any person's naming such a place as random, as containing them, in this case, shows them rather unfortunate than conscious prescient, and that these attendants on every hermitage only accidentally concurred with this conjecture. A mere casual coincidence of words and things.

But it seems another skeleton has been discovered by some laborer, which was full as confidently averred to be Clark's as this. My lord, must some of the living, if it promotes some interest, be made answerable for all the bones that earth has concealed, and chance exposed? And might not a place where bones lay be mentioned by a person by chance, as well as found by a labourer by chance, or, is it more criminal accidentally to name where bones lie, than accidentally to find where they lie?

Here too is a human skull produced, which is fractured; but, was this the cause, or was it the consequence of death; was it owing to violence, or was it the effect of natural decay? If it was violence, was that violence before or after death? My lord, in May, 1732, the remains of William lord archbishop of this province, were taken up by permission, in this cathedral and the bones of the skull were found broken; yet, certainly he died by no violence offered to him alive, that could occasion that fracture there.

Let it be considered, my lord, that upon the dissolution of religious houses, and the commencement of the reformation, the ravages of those times both affected the living and the dead. In search after imaginary treasures, coffins were broken up, graves and vaults dug open, monuments ransacked, and shrines demolished; your lordship knows that these violations proceeded so far, as to occasion parliamentary authority to restrain them; and it did, about the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth. I entreat your lordship suffer not the violences, the depredations, and the iniquities of those times, to be imputed to this.

Moreover, what gentlemen here is ignorant that Knaresborough had a castle which, though now a ruin, was once considerable both for its strength and garrison. All know it was vigorously besieged by the arms of parliament. At which siege, in sallies, conflicts, flights, and pursuits, many fell in all the places round it; and where they fell were buried; for every place, my lord, is burial earth in war; and many, questionless, of these rest unknown, whose bones futurity shall discover.

I hope, with all imaginable submission, that what has been said, will not be thought impertinent to this indictment; and that it will be far from the wisdom, the learning, and the integrity of this place, to impute to the living what zeal in its fury may have done; what nature may have taken off, and piety interred; or what war alone may have destroyed – alone deposited.

As to the circumstances that have been raked together, I have nothing to observe; but, that all circumstances whatsoever precarious, and have been but too frequently found lamentably fallible; even the strongest have failed. They may rise to the utmost degree of probability; yet are they but probability still. Why need I name to your lordship the two Harrisons, recorded by Dr. Howell, who both suffered upon circumstances, because of the sudden disappearance

of their lodger, who was in credit, had contracted debts, borrowed money, and went off unseen, and returned again a great many years after their execution. Why name the intricate affair of Jacques du Moulin, under king Charles II, related by a gentleman who was council for the crown. And why the unhappy Coleman, who suffered innocent, though convicted upon positive evidence, and those children perished for want, because the world uncharitably believed the father guilty. Why mention the perjury of Smith, incautiously admitted king's evidence: who, to screen himself, equally accused Fainloth and Loveday of the murder of Dunn; the first of whom, in 1749, was executed at Winchester; and Loveday was about to suffer at Reading, had not Smith been proved perjured, to the satisfaction of the court, by the surgeon of the Gosport hospital.

Now, my lord, having endeavoured to show that the whole of this process is altogether repugnant to every part of my life; that it is inconsistent with my condition of health about that time; that no rational inference can be drawn that a person is dead who suddenly disappears; that hermitages were the constant repositories of the bones of the recluse; that the proofs of these are well authenticated; that the revolutions in religion, and the fortune of war, have mangled or buried the dead; the conclusion remains, perhaps, no less reasonably than impatiently wished for. I, last, after a year's confinement, equal to either fortune, put myself upon the candor, the justice, and the humanity of your lordship, and upon your's, my country, gentlemen of the jury."

It might have been expected that the prisoner, in his defence, should have remarked upon Houseman's testimony, which certainly in many instances lay open to him; but, this defence was drawn upon long before his trial, and he seems not ever to have entertained a suspicion of the fidelity of his confederate. The judge stated the evidence very particularly to the jury; and, after having observed how the testimonies of the other deponents confirmed that of Houseman, he proceeded to remark upon Aram's defence, in order to show that he alledged nothing that could invalidate the positive evidence against him. Without leaving the court, the jury presently found the prisoner guilty. During the whole trial he behaved with great steadiness and decency. He heard his conviction, and received his sentence with profound composure, and left the bar with a smile in his countenance. <sup>(5)</sup> Whether this was the expression of indignation, or the affectation of heroism, we pretend not to determine.

Aram wrote the following short account of his family and his life, some time in the interval between his sentence and the night that preceded his execution. So far as it is given to the public, it is given with the same scrupulous exactness with which his defence has been printed. It must, however, be declared, that as we suppressed a part of his second confession, because it reflected on some characters that stand unimpeached, so we have also suppressed a part of this performance, as being extremely injurious to the integrity and candor of the court.

REVEREND SIR <sup>(6)</sup>

I ALWAYS believed any relation of my life, of no manner of importance or service to the public; and, I never had either any temptation or desire to appear in print. The publications

ushered to the world, (which I ever had little concern for, and have as little now) by persons in my situation, always appeared to me only calculated for the advantages of the press, and for the amusement of a very idle curiosity. But to oblige you, and not to forget my promise, I will recollect as many particulars as I can, upon so sudden a notice, and the small pittance of time which I have left me will allow.

I was born at Ramsgill, a little village in Netherdale, in 1704. My maternal relations had been substantial and reputable in that Dale, for a great many generations: - My father was of Nottinghamshire, a gardener of great abilities in botany, and an excellent draftsman. He served the Rev. The bishop of London, Dr. Crompton, with great approbation: which occasioned his being recommended to Newby, in this county, to Sir Edward Blackett, whom he served in the capacity of a Gardener, with much credit to himself and satisfaction to that family, for above 30 years. Upon the decease of that baronet, he went and was retained in the service of Sir John Ingilby, of Ripley, bart. he where died; respected when living, and lamented when dead.

My father's ancestors were of great antiquity and consideration in this county, and originally british. Their surname is local; for they were formerly lords of the town of Haram, or Aram, on the southern banks of the Tees, and opposite to Stockburn, in Bishoprick; and appear in the records of St. Mary's at York, among many charitable names, early and considerable benefactors to that abbey. They, many centuries ago, removed from these parts, and were settled, under the fee of the lords Mowbray, in Nottinghamshire, at Aram-Park, in the neighbourhood of Newark-upon-Trent; where they were possessed of no less than three knight's fees, in the reign of Edward III. Their lands, I find not whether by purchase or marriage, came into the hands of the present Lord Lexington. While the name existed in this county, some of them were several times high-sheriffs for this county; and one was professor of divinity, if I remember right, at Oxford, and died at York. The last of the chief of this family was Thomas Aram, esq. some time of Grey's-Inn, and one of the commissioners of the salt-office, under the late queen Ann. He married one of the co-heiresses of Sir John Coningsby, of North-Mims, in Hertfordshire. His seat which was his own estate, was at the Wild, near Shenley, in Hertfordshire, where I saw him, and where he died without issue.

Many more anecdotes are contained in my papers, which are not present; yet these perhaps may be thought more than enough, as they may be considered rather as ostentations than pertinent: But, the first was always far from me.

I was removed very young, along with my mother, to Skelton, near Newby; and thence, at five or six years old, my father making a little purchase in Bondgate, near Ripon, his family went thither. There I went to school: where I was made capable of reading the Testament, which was all I ever was taught, except, a long time after, about a month, in a very advanced age for that, with Reverend Mr. Alcock, of Burnsall.

After this, about thirteen or fourteen years of age, I went to my father, at Newby, and attended him in the family there, till the death of Sir Edward Blackett. It was here my propensity to literature first appeared: For, being always of a solitary disposition, and

uncommonly fond of retirement and books, I enjoyed here all the repose and opportunity I could wish. My study at that time, was engaged in the mathematics: I know not what my acquisitions were; but I am certain my application was at once intense and unwearied. I found in my father's library there, which contained a great number of books in most branches, Kersey's Algebra, Leyburn's Cursus Mathematicus, Ward's Young Mathematician's Guide, Harris's Algebra, &c. and a great many more: But, these being the books in which I was ever most conversant, I remember them the better. I was even then equal to the management of quadratic equations, and their geometrical constructions. After we left Newby, I repeated the same studies in Bondgate, and went over all the parts I had studied before; I believe not unsuccessfully.

Being about the age of sixteen, I was sent for to London, being thought, upon examination, by Mr. Christopher Blackett, qualified to serve him as book-keeper in his accounting-house. Here, after a year or two's continuance, I took the small pox, and suffered severely under that distemper. My mother was so impatient to see me, that she was very near upon a Journey to London, which I, by an invitation from my father, prevented, by going to her.

At home, with leisure upon my hands, and a new addition of authors to these brought me from Newby, I renewed not only my mathematical studies, but begun and prosecuted others of a different turn, with much avidity and diligence: these were poetry, history, and antiquities, the charms of which quite destroyed all the heavier beauties of numbers and lines, whose applications and properties I now pursued no longer, except occasionally in teaching.

I was, after some time employed in this manner, invited to Netherdale, my native air, where I first engaged in school, and where I married, unfortunately enough for me: For, the misconduct of the wife which that place afforded me, has procured me this place, this prosecution, this infamy, and this sentence.

During my continuance here, perceiving the deficiencies in my education, and sensible of my want of the learned languages, and prompted by an irresistible covetousness of knowledge, I commenced a series of studies in that way, and undertook the tediousness, the intricacies, and the labour of grammar; I selected Lilly from the rest: All which I got and repeated by art. The task of repeating it all every day, was impossible, while I attended the school, so I divided it into portions; by which method it was pronounced thrice every week: And this I performed for years.

Next I became acquainted with Camden's Greek Grammar, which I also repeated in the same manner, memoriter. Thus instructed, I entered upon the latin classics: whose allurements repaid assiduities and my labours. I remember to have at first, hung over five lines for a whole day; and never, in all the painful course of my reading, left any one passage, but I did, or thought I did, perfectly comprehend.

After I had accurately perused every one of the latin classics, historians, and poets, I went through the Greek Testament; first parsing every word as I proceeded; next I ventured upon Hesiod, Homer, Theocrites, Herodotus, Thucydides, and all the Greek Tragedians: A tedious labour was this; but, my former acquaintance with history lessened it extremely; because it

threw a light upon many passages, which, without that assistance, must have appeared obscure.

In the midst of these literary pursuits, a man and horse, from my good friend William Norton, esq. came for me from Knaresborough, along with that gentleman's letter, inviting me thither; and accordingly I repaired thither, in some part of the year 1734, and was, I believe, well accepted and esteemed there. Here, not satisfied with my former acquisitions, I prosecuted the attainment of the Hebrew; and with indefatigable diligence. I had Buxtorff's Grammar; but that being perplexed, or not explicit enough, at least in my opinion at that time, I collected no less than eight or ten different Hebrew grammars; and here, one very often supplied the omissions of others; and this was I found, of extraordinary advantage. Then I bought the Bible, in the original, and read the whole Pentateuch, with an intention to go through the whole of it, which I attempted, but wanted time.

In April, I think the 18<sup>th</sup>. 1744, I went again to London. (the reason shall follow) Here I agreed to teach the v and writing, for Rev. Mr. Painblanc, in Piccadilly, which he, along with a salary, returned, by teaching me french; wherein I observed the pronunciation the most formidable part, at least to me, who had never before known a word of it: But this my continued application every night, or other opportunity, overcame, and I soon became a tolerable master of french. I remained in this situation two years and above.

Sometime after this, I went to Hays, in the capacity of a writing-master, and served a gentlewoman there, since dead: and staid, after that, with a worthy and reverend gentleman. I continued here between three and four years.

I succeeded to several other places in the south of England, and all that while used every occasion of improvement. I then transcribed the acts of parliament, to be registered in chancery, and after went down to the free-school, at Lynn.

From my leaving Knaresborough to this period, is a long interval, which I had filled up with the farther study of history and antiquities, heraldry and botany, in the last of which I was very agreeably entertained; there being so extensive a display of nature. I well knew Turneforte, Ray, Miller, Linnæus, &c. I made frequent visits to the botanic garden, at Chelsea; (7) and traced pleasure through a thousand fields. At last, few plants, domestic or exotic, were unknown to me. Amidst all this, I ventured upon the chaldee and Arabic; and, with a design to understand them, supplied myself with Erpenius, Chapelhow, and others: But had not time to obtain any great knowledge of the Arabic; the chaldee I found easy enough, because of it's connexion with the Hebrew.

I then investigated the celtic, as far as possible, in all it's dialects; begun collections and made comparisons between that, the english, the latin, the greek, and even the hebrew. I had made notes, and compared above three thousand of these together, and found such a surprising affinity, even beyond any expectation or conception, that I was determined to proceed through the whole of all these languages, and form a comparative Lexicon, which I hope would account for numberless vocables in use with us, the latins and greeks before concealed and unobserved. – This, or something like it, was the design of a clergyman a great erudition,

in Scotland; but it must prove abortive, for he died before he executed it, and most of my books and papers are now scattered and lost.

Something is expected as to the affair upon which I was committed, to which I say, as I mentioned in my examination, that all the plate of Knaresborough, except the watches and rings, were in Houseman's possession; as for me I had nothing at all. (8) My wife knows that Terry had the large plate, and that Houseman himself took both that and the watches at my house, from Clark's own hand; and if she will not give this in evidence for the town, she wrongs both that and her own conscience; and if it is not done soon, Houseman will prevent her. She likewise knows that Terry's wife had some velvet; and, if she will, can testify it: She deserves not the regard of the town if she will not. That part of Houseman's evidence wherein he said I threatened him, was absolutely false; for what hindered him, when I was so long absent and far distant? I must need observe another thing to be perjury in Houseman's evidence, in which he said he went home from Clark; whereas he went straight to my house, as my wife can also testify, if I be not believed.

EUGENE ARAM.

Aram's sentence was a just one, and he submitted to it with that stoicism he so much affected; and, the morning after he was condemned, he confessed the justness of it to two clergymen, (who had a licence from the judge to attend him) by declaring that he murdered Clark. Being asked by one of them, what his motive was for doing that abomination action; he told them "He suspected Clark of having an unlawful commerce with his wife;" *But supposing that had been the case, had you a right to murder the man?* was then asked – to which he replied – *Sir, I had as much right, as George the first had to do it, for the same reason to Count Coningsmark.*

After this, *Pray, says Aram, what became of Clark's body, if Houseman went home ( as he said upon my trial) immediately on seeing him fall?* One of the clergymen replied, *I'll tell you what became of it, you and Houseman dragged it into the cave, stripped and buried it there; brought away his clothes and burnt them at your own house:* To which he assented. He was asked whether Houseman did not earnestly press him to murder his wife, for fear she would discover the business they had been about, he hastily replied *He did, and pressed me several times to do it!*

This was the substance of what passed with Aram, the morning after he was condemned; and as he had promised to make a more ample confession on the day he was executed, it was generally believed that every thing previous to the murder would have been disclosed; but he prevented any further discovery, by a horrid attempt upon his own life. When he was called from bed to have his irons taken off, he would not rise, alleging he was very weak. On his examination, his arm appeared bloody; proper assistance being called, it was found that he had attempted to take away his own life, by cutting his arm in two places, with a razor, which he had concealed in the condemned cell, some time before. By proper applications he was brought to himself, and though weak, was conducted to Tyburn; where, being asked if he had

any thing to say, he answered, No. Immediately after, he was executed, and his body conveyed to Knaresborough forest, and hung in chains, pursuant to his sentence.

On his table in the cell, was found a paper, containing the following reasons for the aforesaid wicked attempt.

“What am I better than my fathers? To die is natural and necessary. Perfectly sensible of this, I fear no more to die, than I did to be born. But the manner of it is something which should, in my opinion, be decent and manly. I think I have regarded both these points. Certainly nobody has a better right to dispose of man’s life than himself; and he, not others, should determine how. As for any indignities offered to my body, or silly reflections on my faith and morals, they are (as they always were) things indifferent to me. I think, though contrary to the common way of thinking, I wrong no man by this, and hope it is not offensive to that Eternal Being that formed me and the world: And, as by this I injure no man, no man can be reasonably offended. I solicitously recommend myself to the Eternal and Almighty Being, the God of Nature, if I have done amiss. But perhaps I have not; and I hope this thing will never be imputed to me. Though I am now stained by malevolence, and suffer by prejudice, I hope to rise fair and unblemished. My life was not polluted, my morals irreproachable, and my opinions orthodox.

I slept soundly till three o’clock, awaked, and then writ these lines:

Come pleasing rest! Eternal slumbers fall.  
Seal mine, that once must seal the eyes of all;  
Calm and compos’d, my soul her journey takes,  
No guilt that troubles, and no heart that aches!  
Adieu, thou sun! all bright, like her, arise,  
Adieu, fair friends! and all that’s good and wise.

These lines, found along with the foregoing were supposed to be written by Aram, just before he cut himself with a razor.

His daughter, Sally Aram, was with her father at Lynn, when he was arrested, after which she went to London, where she called upon a York Bookseller, who happened to be there at that time, and told him she was in distress, and hoped he would be so good as make her a present out of the profits which had arisen from the publication of her Father’s Trial, &c, and added, she would not long struggle with difficulties, for if she could not meet with a comfortable situation, she was determined to throw herself into a Canal, in St. Jame’s Park. In a letter she wrote to an acquaintance at Knaresborough, she said, “As to my Father, he is now in Elysium, enjoying the company of Virgil and Homer, with the rest of the celebrated Poet’s of antiquity.”

She afterwards married an Innkeeper whose house stood on the Surry side of Westminster-bridge, where the Editor saw and conversed with her, about the year 1767, at which time she had two or three children, the eldest of which might be about five years old. They had been educated by their Mother, and told us the names of the different utensils in the room, both in the latin and greek languages.

Aram had two other daughters besides Sally, and two sons, of whom Joseph survived and settled at Green-Hammerton, where he acquired some property, which his son, who succeeded him, sold and retired to America.

Houseman on his return to Knaresborough, met with a very unwelcome reception – a mob assembled and threatened to pull down his house, but were prevented by the persuasions of Mr Shepherd, whose house and warehouse were close adjoining. He never after appeared in public, but employed himself privately for some years, till his death, in dressing flax; after his decease, his remains were removed in the night, and interred at Marton.

## MISCELLANIES

*Written by Eugene Aram, while a Prisoner*

*in York Castle.*

### LETTER I.

SIR,

YORK, June 2, 1759

To satisfy my promise and your request, I have transcribed part of the papers, and propose copying, and transmitting to you the remainder of them next week, or as early as I can, I am only able to employ half of my time in this, but wish I could dispose of all my time that way, either for your amusement or your service. I have no materials for my purpose by me: not so much as a book, paper, or MS. of any kind; so that it is easy to conceive under what disadvantages I write. Memory is all I have to trust to; and that cannot be capacious of all want.

You were pleased to promise me some assistance in my affair; in hopes of which, I have subjoined the only question, I think of any importance to me, and beg satisfaction in it, by what way you judge best. I am, Sir, (under great obligations, and with all possible respect).

Your most obedient, and most humble Servant,

E.ARAM.

Q. Whether Houseman, who, after his being apprehended and in custody, and commitment, upon a charge of murder accused me of the fact, can possible be admitted evidence for the king against me, as he says his counsel tells him he may; the fact with which he impeaches me being fourteen years ago, and there being nothing against me but what he pretends to say? Whether is the power of admitting evidence for the king, invested in the judge, or king's counsel, or both?

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### LETTER II.

SIR,

*THE very humble opinion I ever entertained of anything I wrote, prevented me retaining any copies: There remains an elegy on Sir John Armytage, who fell at St. Cas; if I can possibly recover it, it shall come accompanied with a transcript of some of the papers you procured, and the rest shall follow as speedily as I can write them, which indeed if you had not had the curiosity to desire, I could not have had the assurance to offer. Scarce believing I, who was hardly taught to read, have any abilities to write, I am, sir,*

*With much gratitude for your kindness,  
And with all possible respect,  
Your most humble, most obliged servant,*

E. ARAM.

### LETTER III.

SIR,

I THANK you much for your kind concern for me: and which you have expressed so well> Mr. Wharton begged my defence of yesterday, and there is no other but that, which is only genuine. If you think it will be either pleasure or advantage to you, I will, upon the least intimation, speak to Mr. Wharton, that he suffer you to copy it. As to my life, it is of no importance to the public, nor would it be of service to any body; nor does any one know much about it. Nor, if it was material to write it, have I time. But I am certain it was spent much more commendably than that of any one of my enemies.

I have three books of your's, and thank you for the amusement some of them have afforded me; and wish you could send for them, it not being in my power to get them to you. Yet, sir, if any general particulars of my life will oblige you, you have nothing to do but let me know.

*I am, with great respect, sir*

*Your most humble servant,*

SATURDAY, 10 o'Clock.

E. ARAM.

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### LETTER IV.

SIR,

I HAD both your favours, for which I thank you, you have enclosed, what I thought proper to say, concerning myself, family, and affair. I promised it to the Rev. Mr. Collins. If you choose to order any of your people to transcribe it, you may keep this, and I will subscribe my name to such transcript. Do which you please. I thank you again and again. I write in great haste, as I doubt appears, but you will pardon inaccuracies. I should be very glad to see you to-morrow, if it can be allowed: and am

*Your most obliged humble servant,*

E. ARAM.

August 4, 1759.

*Copy of a letter from E. Aram, to the Rev. Mr. Collins, Vicar of Knaresborough. August 27, 1758.*

REVEREND SIR,

*I KNOW not loaded with public odium as I am, and charged with a crime, nay a complication of crimes, all of which I detest, whether I ought to be solicitous to procure any thing in support of life, particularly under such aggravated circumstances, wherein it is better to die than to live; but the propensities of nature are strong; her calls frequent and importunate, and few but have, or think they have, some interest to some social connexions or other, not easily to be dispensed with. Admonished by these, but most by the generous concern, I know you bear for humanity however distressed and wherever situated, I venture to ask, and that with reluctance enough, that you would charitably intercede for something, how and to whom you think proper, whereby to render the remains of being a little more supportable, a little less uneasy, if you conceive it not inconsistent with your convenience and character, to serve*

*Your most humble servant,*

E. ARAM.

Mr. Collins shewed the above to some friends, when five pounds was collected and sent to him.

# Appendix

1. (p.2) Among other goods, he got the following, viz. Three silver tankards; four silver pints; one silver milk pot; one ring set with an emerald, and two brilliant diamonds: another with three rose diamonds: a third with an amethyst in the shape of a heart, and six plain rings; eight watches; two snuff boxes; Chamber's Dictionary, 2 vols. folio; Pope's Homer, 6 vols. bound.
2. (p.6) This confession Mr. Thornton gave to Houseman, to read over; and, after he had so done, Mr. Thornton asked him if he chose to sign it; to which he consented, replying "that it was the truth, and the real truth." Upon which he was committed to the castle.
3. (p.7) It was not then known where Aram was, till a man who had formerly lived in the neighbourhood of Knaresborough, and travelled about the country with a stallion, happening to be in the town and hearing Aram's name mentioned, said he had seen that a man lately at Lynn, in Norfolk, and added, "but he was too proud to speak to me."
4. (p.12) The skeleton of the above mentioned William Thompson, was found on Saturday, the 8<sup>th</sup>. of July, 1780, behind the Old Court house, in the castle of York near the foundation, and about three feet from the wall, with double irons on, having lain there 23 years. It is supposed that he got on the top of the Old Court house, by the assistance of a ladder, which stood there, had dropped down the wall, and was killed by the fall. As nothing but nettles and weeds grew in the place, where the bones were found, it was seldom gone into by any person.
5. (p.15) – *Anima fugit indignata sub umbras.*
6. (p.15) The Rev. Mr. Collins, of Knaresborough.
7. (p.18) The Rev. Mr. Hinton said, that, when Aram was with him, he had frequently observed him, when walking in the garden, to stoop down and carefully remove a snail or worm out of the path, to prevent it's being destroyed, hoping, (as Mr. Hinton afterward's supposed) to atone for the murder he had perpetrated, by showing mercy to every animal and insect.
8. (p.19) It is generally believed, and upon good grounds, that Aram got all the money Clark had received for his wife's fortune, viz. about 1601, and there were strong circumstances to prove it; but, it was thought unnecessary, as there was sufficient proof against him without it.

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