The trial of Eugene Aram for the murder of Daniel Clark of Knaresborough : who was convicted at York Assizes, August 5th, 1759 : to which are added the remarkable defense 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 ; also "The dream of Eugene Aram", a poem / by Thomas Hood. With additional information from the 'Gleanings & memoirs' of Norrison Scatcherd.

THE

TRIAL

OF

EUGENE ARAM,

FOR

THE MURDER OF DANIEL CLARK,

Of Knaresborough,

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ALSO

"THE DREAM OF EUGENE ARAM,"

A POEM,

By Thomas Hood, Esq.,

With additional information

FROM THE "GLEANINGS & MEMOIRS"

OF NORRISON SCATCHERD, ESQ.

KNARESBOROUGH:
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1875.

AN ACCOUNT

Of the Murder of Daniel Clark,

OF KNARESBOROUGH,

WITH THE LIFE, &c., OF EUGENE ARAM.

IF we consider the whole history of Divine Providence in this world, we shall find sin and punishment interwoven in the same place. If sin appears upon the stage, punishment waits behind the curtain. Yet for certain wise ends, Almighty God often forbears the punishment of sinners in this life; notwithstanding, should he suffer them all to go in peace to their graves, and to pass out of this life with impunity, it might stagger men's belief of his particular providence, and make them ready to say with the wicked in Psalm xciv, "The Lord seeth not, neither doth the God of Jacob regard."

Of all the crimes man is capable of committing, as there is none so offensive to Omnipotence as murder, so the Almighty seems to be more particularly intent to expose this heinous offence to mankind. By what extraordinary means murders are frequently brought to light, is no more the business of this treatise, than as it may concern the following remarkable discovery of the murder of Daniel Clark.

Daniel Clark was born in Knaresborough, of reputable parents, where he lived, and followed the business of a shoemaker. We shall pass over those

things in his life, which have no regard to 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 £200, or upwards; and being then in very good credit in Knaresborough, it is presumed that a scheme was laid by Eugene Aram, then a schoolmaster 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 most proper 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 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 a silver tankard of one, a pint of another, and the like, alleging that he was to have company that night, and he should be glad of the use of them at supper; and in order to give a colour to this his story, he got of the innkeepers (of whom he so borrowed the plate) ale, and other sorts of liquors: *this was on the 7th day of February, 1744-5.

* Among other goods he got the following, viz., three 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, Chambers' Dictionary, 2 vols. folio, Pope's Homer, 6 vols., bound.

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. was dug up in Aram's garden; but as no plate was found, it was then concluded that Clark was gone off with that: 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 due 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 the 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 the town, he (being then esteemed very poor) paid what he was arrested for, and produced 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 to be 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 1st 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 half a quarter deep, found an arm bone, and the small bone of the leg of a human skeleton. In digging forward, he discovered all the rest of the bones belonging to the body, which, by the position of it, seemed to have been put in double, as the bones were all entire. 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 the rather, as there had been no other person missing thereabouts, to any one's knowledge, for sixty years and upwards. 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 frequently given hints of her suspicion that Daniel Clark was murdered, was now examined by the coroner and the 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 8th of February, 1744-5, and that Richard Houseman was often with them; particularly, that on the 7th 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 8th of February—Aram, Clark, and Houseman came to Aram's house, and went up stairs to

the room where she was; they stayed about an hour. Her husband asked her for a handkerchief for Dicky (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: whither 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 upstairs 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, 'Dicky (meaning Richard Houseman) was below, and did not choose 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? replies 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 should let her lie where she was shot, in her clothes. She, hearing this discourse, was much terrified, but remained quiet until near 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 dunghill ; 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 dunghill, she found the handkerchief she had lent Houseman the night before, and looking at it, she found some blood upon it, about the size of a shilling ; upon which she immediately went to Houseman, and shewed 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 8th 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 7th 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 10th 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 remained at his house after he was missing."

Several other witnesses were examined by the coroner, affirming Eugene Aram and Richard Houseman to be the last persons seen with Clark, especially on the night of the 7th of February, 1744-5, being the night before Clark was missing, and other particular circumstances, which, to avoid repetition, will be shewn 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 up."

Barbara Leatham, of Knaresborough, widow, gave in 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 lain 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 order 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 anything concerning the murder.

Few men guilty of so heinous a crime as murder can conceal it. By some circumstances or other, the truth will break forth, and their own unfaithful tongues will betray them.

Upon the skeleton being produced, Houseman, at the coroner's request, took up one of the bones, and in his confusion, dropt this unguarded expression, "this is no more Dan 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 Dan 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 (one Parkinson) was sent for : who on being asked the question, told the coroner and the jury, "that he himself had never seen Daniel Clark after that time, viz. the 8th 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, so 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, Esquire, who being informed from the coroner of the depositions taken, granted him a warrant to apprehend Houseman, and bring him before him. He was accordingly brought and examined. Here he says, "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 then 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 of 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 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 having procured the note, which was his errand, came away directly, as was before 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 show 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 his examination, he said "he chose to waive it for the present, for 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 schoolmaster—and as he believes, on Friday, the 8th of February, 1744-5 ; for that Eugene Aram and Daniel Clark were together at Aram's house early that morning, (being moonlight 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 knew what it was. Upon this he hasted 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 to the cave." These words Houseman repeated the day after to Mr. Barker, the constable.*

* This confession Mr. Thornton gave Houseman to read

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 upon inquiry was found to be at Lynn, in Norfolk, Mr. Thornton issued his warrant to appreheud him, and directed Mr. John Barker and Mr. Francis Moore, the constables of Knaresborough, to Sir John Turner, a justice of peace in Lynn. On their arrival there they waited on this gentleman, who indorsed the warrant, and Aram was apprehended in a school where he was usher, and conducted to Yorkshire. Being brought before Mr. Thornton, and examined, said "that he was well acquainted with Daniel Clark; and to the best of his remembrance, it was about, or before the 8th of February, 1744-5; but utterly denied he had any connection with him in those frauds, which Clark stood charged with at or before the time of his disappearance, which might be about the 10th of February, 1744-5, when he (Aram) was arrested by process for a 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 misdemeanor, 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,

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.

without any kind of molestation; and then he removed to Nottingham, to spend a few days with some 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 7th of February, 1744-5; nor does he recollect that 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 or after three o'clock in the morning—nor at Grimbald-bridge—nor at or near a place called St. Robert's Cave, on the 8th of February, 1744-5, in the morning;—nor does he know anything of Clark's being murdered—nor does he recollect that he was with Clark and Houseman, when Clark called upon William Tuton, on the 8th of February, 1744-5, in the morning—nor does he remember anything 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 8th of February, 1744-5, 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 8th of February, 1744-5, who really had not seen him. But true it was, that he has often made inquiry about him, and he thinks he hath heard some persons say they have seen him since, and particularly his brother, Stephen Aram, but does not recollect any other person, except another brother of his, Henry Aram, who has said that 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 waive, that he might have time to recollect himself better, and lest anything should be omitted, which might hereafter occur to him.

Though, in this 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 alleged, 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 7th 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 this

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-keeper, 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 him 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 then thought too late in the morning, being about four o'clock on the 8th 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 into the cave, or 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 anybody 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 into his hands, and saw 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 into 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 Howe-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 them; but it appearing in the

court, upon affidavit, that the prosecutor could not be fully provided with his witnesses at that time, the trial was proposed till Lammas Assizes.

On the 3rd 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 7th and 8th of February, 1744-5, about eleven o'clock, he went to Aram's house—that after two hours and upwards, spent in passing to and fro between their several houses, to dispose of various 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 to 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 of 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 that 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, where this witness then was. Upon Clark's coming in, Aram said, how do you do, Mr. Clark, I am 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 up stairs. 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 among 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 8th 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 perceiving it to be Richard Houseman, wished him a good night, alias a good morning."

John Barker, the constable, who executed the warrant granted by Mr. Thornton, and indorsed 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 him if he knew Knaresborough? He replied, no. And 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 that Daniel Clark and you always had a spite against me when you lived at Knaresborough? Upon this he recollected the witness, and owned his residence 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 had 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 anything 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 there 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 urge in his behalf, and begged

that he might be indulged in reading his defence.

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

"My Lord,

"I know not whether it is of right, or through some indulgence of your Lordship, that I am allowed the 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 induced 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 afforded 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 immorality 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 is 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 all moral obligations 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 every one, that an action of this atrocious nature is never heard of, but when its springs are laid open, it appears that it was to support some indolence, to supply some luxury, to satisfy some avarice, or oblige some malice; to prevent some real or 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 the 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 conlusions 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, for all the vigilance of this place, in open-daylight, 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. 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 last seen with Thompson ?

Permit me next, my Lord, to observe a little upon the bones which have been discovered. It is said, which is perhaps saying very far, that these are the skeleton of a man. 'Tis possible, indeed, it may—but then is there any certain known criterion, which incontestibly 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 all places in the world, none could have mentioned any one, wherein there was greater certainty of finding human bones, than a hermitage, except he should point out a church-yard ; 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 were 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 bones, 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. Stukeley.

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 Lindholm, near Hatfield. They were believed to be those of William of Lindholme, 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 a 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 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 its 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 gentleman 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, in commons, lie frequent and unsuspected bones. And our present allotments for rest for the departed, is 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 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 indeterminable.

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 at random as containing them, in this case, shows him 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 labourer, 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 those bones that earth hath 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? It 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 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 gentleman 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 the parliament ; at which siege, in sallies, conflicts, flights, 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 yet 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 are 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 in 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 Jaques de Moulin, under King Charles II. related by a gentleman who was counsel for the crown; and why the unhappy Coleman, who suffered innocent, though convicted upon positive evidence, and whose 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 this are well authenticated—that the revolutions in religion, or the fortune of war, has 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 candour, the justice, the humanity of your Lordship—and upon yours, my countrymen, 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 up 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 alleged 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 on his countenance. Whether this was the expression of indignation, or the affectation of heroism, we pretend not to determine.

At the request of the Clergyman, who, by his own particular desire, attended him after his condemnation, 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 candour of the court.

——*Anima fugit indignata sub umbras.*

REVEREND SIR, *

I always believed any relation of my life of no manner of importance or service to the public, and I never either had any temptation or desire to appear in print. The publications ushered to the world, which I had ever little concern for, and have as little now, by persons in my situation, always appeared to me only calculated for the advantage 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 draughtsman. He served the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of London, Dr. Compton, with great approbation; which occasioned his being reccommended 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 thirty years. Upon the decease of that Baronet, he went and was retained in the service of Sir

* The Rev. Mr. Collins, of Knaresborough.

John Ingilby, of Ripley, Bart., where he 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 bank of the Tees, and opposite to Stockburn, in Bishopric; 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, or 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, Esquire, sometime of Gray's Inn, and one of the commissioners of the Salt-office, under the late Queen Anne. 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 ostentatious 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 was ever taught, except, a long time after, about a month, in a very advanced age for that, with the Reverend Mr. Alcock, of Burnsall.

After this, at 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 propension 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 very 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 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 accompting 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 those brought me from Newby, I renewed not only my mathematical studies, but began 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 into Netherdale, my native air—where I first engaged in a school—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 marriage here, perceiving the deficiencies of 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 labonr of grammar. I selected Lilly from the rest, all which I got and repeated by heart. 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 my 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, Theocritus, 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, Esquire, 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 the 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 18th, 1744, I went again to London. [The reasons shall follow.] Here I

agreed to teach the Latin and writing for the 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 continual 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.

Some time after this, I went to Hays, in the capacity of writing master, and served a gentlewoman there, since dead, and staid after that, with a worthy and reverend gentleman.

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 there so extensive a display of nature. I well knew Turneforte, Ray, Miller, Linnæus, &c. I made frequent visits to the Botanic Garden, at Chelsea, 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 I had not time to obtain any great knowledge of the Arabic; the Chaldee I found easy enough, because of its connection with the Hebrew.

I then investigated the Celtic, as far as possible in all its 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 hoped would account for numberless vocables in use with us, the Latins, and the Greeks, before concealed and unobserved. This, or something like it, was the design of a clergyman of 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.* 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 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

* It was generally believed, and upon good grounds, that Aram got all the money Clark had received for his wife's fortune, viz. above £160, and there were strong circumstances to prove it; but it was thought unnecessary, as there was sufficient proof against him without it.

far distant? I must needs 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 justice of it to two clergymen, (who had a license 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 abominable action? He told them "he suspected Clark of having an unlawful commerce with his wife—that he was persuaded at the time when he committed the murder he did right—but since he has thought it wrong."

After this, pray, says Aram, what became of Clark's body, if Houseman went home (as he said upon my trial) immediately upon 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 should 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 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 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 hold, some time before. By proper applications he was brought to himself, and though weak, was conducted to Tyburn, where being asked if he had anything 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 the following paper, containing his reasons for the above said 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 solici-

tously 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 slumber fall,
Seal mine, that once must seal the eyes of all;
Calm and composed, 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 the razor.

Notwithstanding he pleads a sovereign right over himself, in vindication of this last horrid crime, and appears, at first view, actuated by honour and courage; yet, a little reflection will convince any one, his motive for such an inhuman deed was nothing more than the fear of shame. That he murdered Clark is beyond all doubt, as he himself voluntarily confessed it; but the excuse he afterwards made for it is greatly to be suspected, it being at the expense of the character of an innocent, industrious, poor woman, whom he ever treated in an infamous, inhuman manner.

The Dream of Eugene Aram,

BY THE LATE THOMAS HOOD, ESQ.

The late Admiral Burney went to school at an establishment where the unhappy Eugene Aram was usher, subsequent to his crime. The Admiral stated, that Aram was generally liked by the boys, and that he used to discourse to them about murder, in something of the spirit attributed to him in this poem.

—o—

'TWAS in the prime of summer time,
An evening calm and cool,
And four-and-twenty happy boys
Came bounding out of school:
There were some that ran, and some that leapt,
Like troutlets in a pool.

Away they sped with gamesome minds,
And souls untouched by sin;
To a level mead they came and there
They drave the wickets in:
Pleasantly shone the setting sun
Over the town of Lynn.

Like sportive deer they coursed about,
And shouted as they ran,—
Turning to mirth all things of earth,
As only boyhood can;
But the usher sat remote from all,
A melancholy man.

His hat was off—his vest apart,
To catch heaven's blessed breeze;
For a burning thought was in his brow,
And his bosom ill at ease;
So he lean'd his head on his hand, & read
The book between his knees.

Leaf after leaf he turn'd it o'er,
Nor ever glanc'd aside;
For the peace of his soul he read that book
In the golden even-tide:
Much study had made him very lean
And pale and leaden ey'd.

At last he shut the pondrous tome,
With a fast and fervent grasp;
He strained the dusky covers close,
And fix'd the brazen hasp:
O God, could I so close my mind,
And clasp it with a clasp.

Then leaping on his feet upright,
Some moody turns he took—
Now up the mead, then down the mead
And past a shady nook,
And lo! he saw a little boy
That pored upon a book.

My gentle lad, what is't you read—
Romance or fairy fable?
Or is it some historic page,
Of kings and crowns unstable?
The young boy gave an upward glance—
It is "the death of Abel."

The usher took six hasty strides,
As smit with sudden pain—
Six hasty strides beyond the place,
Then slowly back again;
And down he sat beside the lad,
And talked with him of Cain:

And long since then of bloody men,
Whose deeds tradition saves;
Of lonely folk cut off unseen,
And hid in sudden graves;
Of horrid stabs in groves forlorn
And murders done in caves:

And how the spirits of injured men
Shriek upward from the sod—
Ay, how the ghostly hand will point,
To show the burial clod—
And unknown facts of guilty acts
Are seen in dreams of God.

He told how murderers walk the earth,
Beneath the curse of Cain—
With crimson clouds about their eyes,
And flames about their brain;
For blood has left upon their souls
Its everlasting stain!

And well quoth he, I know for truth,
Their pangs must be extreme—
Woe, woe, unutterable woe—
Who spill life's sacred stream!
For why? methought last night I wrought
A murder in my dream.

One that had never done me wrong—
A feeble man and old;
I led him to a lonely field,
The moon shone clear and cold,
Now here, said I, this man shall die
And I will have his gold.

Two sudden blows with a ragged stick,
And one with a heavy stone,
One hurried gash with a hasty knife—
And then the deed was done;
There was nothing lying at my foot,
But lifeless flesh and bone.

Nothing but lifeless flesh and bone,
That would not do me ill;
And yet I fear'd him all the more
For lying there so still:
There was a manhood in his look,
That murder could not kill.

And lo, the universal air
Seem'd lit with ghastly flame,
Ten thousand thousand dreadful eyes
Were looking down in blame;
I took the dead man by the hand,
And call'd upon his name!

O God it made me quake to see
Such sense within the slain!
But when I touch'd the lifeless clay,
The blood gush'd out amain!
For every clot—a burning shot,
Was scorching in my brain!

My head was like an ardent coal,
My heart was solid ice;
My wretched, wretched soul I knew
Was at the devil's price:
A dozen times I groan'd—the dead
Had never groan'd but twice.

And now from forth the frowning sky,
From the heaven's topmost height,
I heard a voice, the awful voice
Of the blood avenging sprite;
Thou guilty man! take up thy dead,
And hide it from my sight!

I took the dreary body up,
And cast it in a stream—
A sluggish water, black as ink,
The depth was so extreme;
My gentle boy, remember this
Is nothing but a dream.

Down went the corse with a hollow plunge,
And vanished in the pool;
Anon I cleans'd my bloody hands,
And wash'd my forehead cool,
And sat among the urchins young
That evening in the school!

O heaven! to think of their white souls
And mine so black and grim;
I could not share in childish prayer,
Nor join in evening hymn;
Like a devil of the pit I seem'd
'Mid holy cherubim.

And peace went with them one and all,
And each calm pillow spread;
But guilt was my grim chamberlain
That lighted me to bed,
And drew my midnight curtains round
With fingers bloody red.

All night I lay in agony,
In anguish dark and deep;
My fever'd eyes I dared not close,
But started aghast at sleep,
For sin had rendered unto her
The keys of hell to keep.

All night I lay in agony,
From weary chime to chime,
With one besetting horrid hint,
That rack'd me all the time—
A mighty yearning like the first
Fierce impulse unto crime.

One stern, tyrannic thought that made
All other thoughts its slave;
Stronger and stronger every pulse
Did that temptation crave—
Still urging me to go and see
The dead man in his grave.

Heavily I rose up—as soon
As light was in the sky,
And sought the black accursed pool
With a wild misgiving eye;
And I saw the dead in the river bed,
For the faithless stream was dry.

Merrily rose the lark, and shook
The dewdrop from its wing,
But I never marked its morning flight,
I never heard it sing:
For I was stooping once again
Under the horrid thing!

With breathless speed like a soul in chase
I took him up and ran—
There was no time to dig a grave
Before the day began;
In a lonesome wood, with heaps of leaves,
I hid the murder'd man!

And all that day I read in school,
But my thought was other where:
As soon as the mid-day task was done,
In secret I was there;
And a mighty wind had swept the leaves
And still the corse was bare!

Then down I cast me on my face,
And first began to weep,
For I knew my secret then was one
That earth refused to keep;
Or land or sea, though he should be
Ten thousand fathom deep!

So wills the fierce avenging sprite,
Till blood for blood atones!
Ay, though he's buried in a cave,
And trodden down with stones,
And years have rotted off his flesh—
The world shall see his bones.

O God, that horrid, horrid, dream
Besets me now awake!
Aga'n—again, with a dizzy brain,
The human life I take:
And my red right hand grows raging hot,
Like Cranmer's at the stake.

And still no peace for the restless clay
Will wave or mould allow;
The horrid thing pursues my soul—
It stands before me now:
The fearful boy look'd up and saw
Huge drops upon his brow!

That very night, while gentle sleep
The urchins eyelids kiss'd,
Two stern-faced men set out from Lynn
Through the cold and heavy mist,
And EUGENE ARAM walk'd between,
With gyves upon his wrist.

APPENDIX.

The following depositions and additional particulars taken from the "Gleanings" of Norrison Scatcherd, Esq., may not prove uninteresting to the reader, as they relate more especially to the principal characters mentioned in this pamphlet.

Mrs. Ann Benson said:—"I know very well where the house was in which Aram lived, when Clark's clothes were burnt. It was behind Mr. Richard Mason's, in the Vicarage Lane, and near the High Street. It has since been partly pulled down. There were two old cottages together under the same roof. Old Polly Powell lived in one, and Aram in the other. Old Polly and I used to spin for Houseman. While we were spinning together she frequently related to me the affair of the murder. She said that Anna Aram, after the missing of Clark, frequently gave her hints that something unfair had been done to him, as she had found among the ashes, a patch of his coat, partly burnt

the morning after his disappearance. She also said that she believed, from what was said in the chamber, by Houseman, when they went to see if she was asleep—that Houseman urged her husband to the necessity of dispatching her for their safety, but he reconciled him by saying there was no fear, as she would take no notice of them. Old Polly, also, always stood to it that she heard the footstep of a person come to Mrs. Aram's house, in the dead of the night, and that her curiosity prompted her to listen at the top of her stairs, where she could hear from Aram's house, and she plainly heard that it was Eugene who had arrived. (This was sometime after he had left her.) That she mentioned the subject the next day to Anna, who denied it: That upon one of Daniel Clark's family going to Limerick to find him (as it was rumoured he was living there) Mrs. Aram observed, it would be of no use, as she was positive he could not be found. That a Daniel Clark, a shoemaker, was found there, but not the right man. That when Aram arrived from Lynn, in a post chaise, with Barker and Moore, the constables, the streets were so choaked with people that they could scarcely get down to the Bell Inn, where they alighted, and were received by the Vicar, Collins, and the Rev. ——— Brotheric; that Aram was dressed in a very genteel suit of clothes, with beautiful frills to his shirt wrists, and had every appearance of a gentleman; that he was quite composed and collected among the many Knaresborough gentlemen in the room, talked much, and said he could clear himself of the crime imputed to him."

It appears that Polly Powell afterwards visited him in York Castle, when he inveighed bitterly against the perjured testimony of Houseman.

Mrs. Benson further stated "that she remembered Houseman's solitude after his acquittal—that he never durst stir out, the inhabitants being so much enraged against him. That he (generally being considered the worst in the transaction) his house was beset two or three times, and would have been pulled down to the ground, had not Mr. Shepherd, his next door neighbour, appeased the people by opening his cellar, and giving them all his liquor. She says that Houseman's death when it happened, was kept a profound secret, and he was taken away in a cart to Marton, in the night time to the great regret of many, especially of Clark's family, who had determined to wreak their vengeance upon him, either living or dead. She says that he died before she was married, and her eldest son is now above fifty years of age—that his dwelling was the house adjoining the White Horse Inn, in High Street, (now occupied by Mr. Goodwin, glass and china dealer)—that he was a broadset, round-shouldered man, and never went out by daylight after his acquittal."

John Barber, a weaver, (aged four score years and ten at the time this deposition was taken) was bred and born in Knaresborough. "He remembers very well where Eugene Aram lived, when the murder of Daniel Clark took place. It was behind Mr. Richard Mason's, in Vicarage Lane, *up a passage.* The house was afterwards made into a weaving shop, and he wove in it for above twenty years. When he was in it there was both the fire place and chamber remaining." This old man corroborates Mrs. Benson's accounts in many particulars, and does not contradict them in any.

Mrs. Brown deposed that "she was niece to Daniel Clark, who was murdered—her father and

he being brothers. He was the oldest, and my father, Robert Clark, was the youngest of three, there being Joseph between them. Daniel's wife's maiden name was Foster; she came from Emsay, and had £300 to her fortune. It is rather singular, but my mother was born on the very night on which my uncle Daniel was killed. My grandmother never entertained any idea that her son was murdered, but thought that he had run away with his wife's fortune. My aunt, Daniel Clark's widow, had one child, a boy, with whom she had been pregnant a month before Daniel disappeared. This child died soon after it was born."

George Crow said:—"I am a native of Scotland, but have lived in Knaresborough 42 years. Houseman was dead before I came. Aram's school was the second cottage, now a brewhouse up the White Horse Yard. (Now occupied by Mr. Mc'Lean.) Houseman's shop was over some stabling, a little higher up and adjoining it. Houseman's back door came into the same yard, below. I, myself, for several years lived in the cottage where Aram had his school, and during my residence, it always attracted the notice of the old natives—who said it was Aram's school-house."

The assizes at York, (at which Aram was tried) were held before the honourable Mr. Justice Bathurst and Mr. Justice Noel. Four counsel for the crown were employed against Aram; namely, Messrs. Norton, Stanhope, Hartley, and Yates. After sentence of death was passed, the Grand Jury hearing that Noel had ordered his body to be dissected, came immediately into Court, and petitioned him to reverse that part of the sentence, and command it to be hung in chains; which he afterwards consented to.

Edward Day confirms many of the foregoing depositions, and adds that Terry's house was nearly opposite the present Crown Inn.

Aram's gibbet stood upon the forest, south or south-east of the Low-bridge, and on the right hand side of the road leading thence to Plompton; perhaps about 70 or 80 yards. It was studded with nails, to prevent people from cutting it down. When the forest was enclosed in 1778 it was taken away. The skeleton had disappeared long prior to this time.

The gibbet-post may yet be seen at Mr. Hammond's the Brewer's Arms, formerly the Windmill Inn, for which it was purchased as a balk or beam, by one William Gowland, a joiner, as agent for one Wright, when the house was building.

Houseman married the widow of one Johnson, who had a daughter (Nancy) by her first husband, but no issue by Houseman. With this his daughter-in-law, after her mother's death, he lived; and it is said she once or twice cut him down, after he had hung himself upon an apple tree in his garden. It was remarked by many people, and long remembered, that for many years after Aram left Knaresbro', whenever the river there overflowed, Houseman was always seen prowling down the banks, and one old woman told the coroner she had once seen him creeping out of St. Robert's Cave, and then going to the water to wash his hands. The general opinion afterwards was, that he lived in a state of great alarm, fearing that every flood would expose the body of Clark.

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