The genuine account of the life and trial of Eugene Aram, school-master, for the murder of Daniel Clark ... Who was convicted at York assizes, August 3, 1759, before the Honourable William Noel, esq; ... To which are added ... the apology, which he left in his cell, for the attempt he made on his own life: and his plan for a lexicon, some pieces of poetry, etc / All taken immediately from the original depositions, papers, and the manuscripts of E. Aram. [Anon].

MURDER OF DANIEL CLARK.

LIFE OF EUGENE ARAM

BRISTOW

1759

A Full and Genuine

ACCOUNT

OF THE

MURDER of DANIEL CLARK, of *Knareſbrough*, 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 piece. 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 hei-

nous offence to mankind. By what extraordinary means murderers 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 Knareſbrough, 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*l.* or upwards; and being then in very good credit in Knareſbrough, it is preſumed 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 propereſt perſon for the intended purpoſe: accordingly Clark, for ſome few days, went to ſeveral perſons in and about Knareſbrough, and took up great quantities of linnen 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-linnen; in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that he got goods of that kind to a conſiderable amount. After this he went to ſeveral inn-keepers, and others, deſiring to borrow a 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

of them at ſupper; and in order to give a colour to this his ſtory, he got of the inn-keepers (of whom he ſo borrowed the plate) ale, and other ſorts of liquors*: this was on the 7th 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 enquiry, 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 Clark was gone off with that: upon which the ſtricteſt enquiry 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 honour of Knareſbrough, 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 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

* 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 hart, and ſix plain rings; eight watches; two ſnuff-boxs; Chambers's Dictionary, 2 vol. fol. Pope's Homer, 6 vol. bound.

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 Knareſbrough, 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 Knareſbrough 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 Knareſbrough, 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 an human ſkeleton. In digging forward, he diſcovered all the reſt of the bones belonging to the body, which, by the poſition of it, ſeem'd to have been put in double, as the bones were all entire. This remarkable accident being rumoured in the town of Knareſbrough, gave reaſon for a ſuſpicion that Daniel Clark had been murdered, and buried there; and the rather, as there had no other been miſſing thereabouts, to any one's knowledge, for ſixty years and upwards. The ſtrangeneſs of the event excited people's curioſity to enquire 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

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 Fe- " bruary, 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 ſtaid about an " hour. Her huſband aſked her for a hand- " kerchief for Dickey (meaning Richard Houſe- " man) to tye 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 " 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, *Dickey* (meaning

" Richard

" 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 being doing ſomething bad.* Then Aram
" went down with the candle. She being de-
" ſirous to know what her huſband and Houſe-
" man 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 ſa-
" tisfied, 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 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

" perceiving aſhes of a different kind to lie " upon it, ſhe ſearched amongſt them, and " found ſeveral pieces of linen and woollen " cloth, very near burnt, which had the ap- " pearance 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 a-* " *fraid they had done ſomething bad to Clark.* But he " (Houſeman) then pretended he was a ſtranger " to her accuſation, and ſaid, *He knew nothing* " *what ſhe meant.* From the above circum- " ſtances 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 Knareſbrough, 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 enquiring " 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 mo-

" ney;

" ney; 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 Knareſbrough, 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 af- " ter 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 Leetham, of Knareſbrough, widow, gave in the ſame kind of evidence.

Mr. Higgins and Mr. Locock, of Knareſbrough, 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 faultering in his ſpeech: this, with the ſtrong circumſtances given by Mrs. Aram, *&c.*

gave

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.

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

Upon the ſkeleton's 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 Knareſ-"brough." 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 Feb. 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, eſq; who, being informed from the coroner of the depoſitions taken, granted them a warrant to apprehend Houſeman, and bring

 him

him before him. He was accordingly brought and examined: here he ſays, "He was in com-
"pany with Daniel Clark the night before he
"went off, which he believes might be on a
"Thurſday, in February 1744-5; that the rea-
"ſon of his being then with him was, upon ac
"count of ſome money (*viz.* 20 *l.*) 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 poſ-
"ſeſſed 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 be-
"came of them after: and utterly diſavows
"that he came back to Aram's houſe that morn-
"ing with Aram and without Clark, as is aſſert-
"ed by Mrs. Aram; nor was he with Aram but
"with Clark at Aram's houſe that night, whi-
"ther 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

" 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 A- " ram 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 en- " tirely 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 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 ſhew 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 Knareſbrough, a ſchool-maſter, " and, as he believes, on Friday the 8th of Fe- " bruary, 1744 5; for that Eugene Aram and " Dan. Clark were together at Aram's houſe early " that morning, 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. Ro- " bert's Cave, near Grimble-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, up- " on 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 be- " lieves 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 pri- " vate rock adjoining the river) and could " diſcern a bundle in his hand, but did not " know 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

" in the turn at the entrance of the cave." Theſe words Houſeman repeated the day after to Mr. Barker.*

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 enquiry, was found to be at Lynn, in Norfolk, Mr. Thornton iſſued his warrant to apprehend him, and directed Mr. John Barker and Mr. Francis Moor, the conſtables of Knareſbrough, 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, he confeſſed, " 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 de- " nied 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 war-

* 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.

" a warrant from a juſtice of peace for a miſde-
" meanour; but, appearing before the juſtice,
" and the charge not being made out againſt him,
" he was diſmiſſed: after this he continued at
" Knareſbrough a conſiderable time, without any
" kind of moleſtation; and then removed to
" Nottingham, to ſpend a few days with ſome
" relations; from whence he went to London.
" There he reſided publickly 'till he came down
" to Lynn, which was about ſeven months before
" he was arreſted by warrant, on ſuſpicion of be-
" ing concerned in the murder of Daniel Clark.
" He admits that he might be with Clark in Fe-
" bruary, 1744-5; but does not recollect that
" he was at Mr. Carter's, who keeps a public
" houſe in Knareſbrough, with a Jew, Richard
" Houſeman, a flaxdreſſer, and Daniel Clark,
" about twelve o'clock at night, on the 7th of
" Febuary, 1744-5; nor does he recollect that
" he was in company with Clark and Houſe-
" man, 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 Grimble 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 any thing of Clark's being murder-
" ed; 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 remem-
" ber 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 com-
" pany with the aboveſaid Perſons, the 8th of

" Fe-

" February, 1744-5, in the morning; nor does " he remember that he came home that morn- " ing at five o'clock, with Houſeman, and made " a fire for them in his own houſe, which is aſ- " ſerted by his wife; nor does he remember " that he had ſo great a ſum of money as fifty " guineas about that time, or pull'd 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 enquiry 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 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 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 alledged, ſomething of conſequence to impart to him: accordingly they returned to Mr. Thornton's; where Aram, upon being a ſecond

time

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 neigh- " bours: that he could not but obſerve, that " Houſeman was all that night very diligent to " aſſiſt him, to the utmoſt of his power; and in- " ſiſted, that this was Houſeman's buſineſs that " night, and not the ſigning any note or inſtru- " ment, as is pretended by Houſeman. That " Henry Terry, then of Knareſbrough, 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 *l.* " of Houſeman, to his knowledge never bor- " rowed more than 9 *l.* which he had paid him " again before that night.

" That all the leather Clark had, which amount- " ed 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 concern- " ed 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 car- " ried them into the flat, where they and he

" (Aram)

" (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 according-
" ly ſtaid there all that day, as he believes, they
" having agreed to ſend him victuals, which
" were carried to him by Henry Terry, he be-
" ing judged the moſt likely perſon to do it with-
" out 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 diſ-
" tance on the outſide, leſt any body ſhould ſur-
" prize 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 contain'd plate. On aſking, Why Da-
" niel 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 cum-
" berſome and dangerous. After which they all
" three went into Houſeman's ware-houſe, 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 diſpos'd 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 to the court upon affidavit, that the proſecutor could not be fully provided with his 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 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

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 any thing 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 Mr. Clark? I'm glad to ſee you at home again, pray what ſucceſs?* To which Clark replied, *I have receiv'd 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, a-

among the reſt, in particular, a piece of cam brick, which he himſelf had ſold Clark a very little time before."

Thomas Barnet 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 Knareſbrough? 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? Do'nt you remember that Daniel Clark and you always had a ſpite againſt me when you lived at* Knareſbrough? upon this he recollected the witneſs, and own'd his reſidence at Knareſbrough. The witneſs then aſked him, *If he did not know* St. Robert's Cave? He anſwer'd, *Yes.* The Witneſs replied, *Aye, to your ſorrow.* That, upon their journey to York, Aram enquired 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

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 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 aſk'd what he had to urge in his behalf, and begg'd that he might be indulg'd 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 the liberty at this bar, and at this time,

to

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 ſollicit 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,

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 unſeaſonable; 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 any thing 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, or ſupply ſome luxury, to ſatisfy ſome avarice, or oblige 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 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 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, for all the vigilance of this place, in open day-light, and doubled-ironed, made his eſcape; and, notwithſtanding an immediate enquiry ſet on foot, the ſtricteſt ſearch, and all advertiſement, was never

ver 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 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 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, of 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 relicts 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 Guy's cliff 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. 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 Lindholm, near Hatfield. They were believed to be thoſe of William of Lindholm, 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

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 Knareſbrough, in a field, part of the manor of the worthy and patriot 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 antient 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 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 indentify theſe, when even to indentify 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, ſhews 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 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

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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 ranſack'd, 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 gentleman here is ignorant that Knareſbrough had a caſtle; which, tho' 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 rak'd 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. Howel, 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 du Moulin, under king Charles II. related by a gentleman who was council for the crown: and why the unhappy Coleman, who ſuffered innocent, tho' 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

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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 ſhew 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 candor, the juſtice, and the humanity of your lordſhip, and upon yours, my countrymen, gentlemen of the jury.

At the requeſt of the clergymen, 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 ſuppreſs'd a part of his ſecond confeſſion, becauſe it reflected on ſome characters that ſtand unimpeach'd, ſo we have alſo ſuppreſs'd a part of this performance, as being extremely

tremely injurious to the integrity and candor 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 ever had 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 Nether-Dale, 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 right reverend the biſhop of London, Dr. Compton, with great approbation; which occaſioned his being recommended to Newby, in this county, to Sir Edward Blackett, whom he ſerved in the capacity of 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. where he died; reſpected when living, and lamented when dead.

My

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 Sockburn, 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 knights 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; 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 conſider'd 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 Burnſal.

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 engag'd 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, Leybourn's Curſus Mathematicus, Ward's Young Mathematicians 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.

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 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 in 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 in my education, and ſenſible of my want of the learned languages, and prompted by an irreſiſtable 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 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 Cambden's Greek grammar, which I alſo repeated in the ſame manner, *memoriter*. Thus inſtructed, I entered upon the Latin claſſicks; 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, eſq; came for me from Knareſbrough, 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 thro' 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 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.

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 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 Knareſbrough 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

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 thro' 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 connexion 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 ſurprizing affinity, even beyond any expectation or conception, that I was determined to proceed thro' 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 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 Knareſbrough, 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 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 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 abominable action? he told them, "He ſuſpected Clark of having an unlawful "commerce with his wife; that he was per-"ſuaded, at the time when he committed the "murder,

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

" 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 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, ſtripp'd and buried it there; brought away his cloaths, 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, alledging 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 any thing to ſay, he anſwered, No. Immediately after he was executed, and his body conveyed to Knareſbrough-Foreſt, and hung in chains, purſuant to his ſentence.

On

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, tho' contrary to the common way of thinking, I wrong no man by this, and hope it is not offenſive to that eternal being that form'd 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, awak'd, and then writ theſe lines:

Come, pleaſing reſt, eternal ſlumber 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 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. His pride would not permit him to confeſs a crime he had once ſo ſtrenuouſly denied ; and, guilty as he knew himſelf to have been, his obſtinacy held out to his laſt moments. 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 expence of an innocent induſtrious poor woman, whom he has ever treated in an infamous inhuman manner.

MISCELLANIES:

CONSISTING OF

I. An Eſſay towards a Lexicon upon an entire new Plan.

II. Of the Origin and Antiquity of the MELSUPPER, or ſhouting of the CHURN.

III. POEMS.

IV. LETTERS.

Written by EUGENE ARAM,

while a Priſoner in *York-Caſtle.*

To Mr. BRISTOW. York, June

Good Sir, 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 book, papers, 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 can never be capacious of all I want.

You were pleas'd to promiſe me ſome aſſiſtance in my affair; in hopes of which, I have ſubjoin'd 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 that fact, can poſſibly 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?

AN

AN

ESSAY

TOWARDS

A LEXICON

Upon an entire new PLAN.

TO attempt the work of a Lexicon, and at a time too, when ſo many, and thoſe ſo conſiderable, have already appeared, valuable for the excellence of their compoſition, and reſpectable for the authority of their authors, may poſſibly be looked upon as an unneceſſary, if not altogether a ſupernumerary labour. How far ſuch an opinion may be juſt, or premature, will be better elucidated by a very curſory peruſal of, and a little deliberation upon the ſubſequent plan. And this, whatever appearances of novelty it may be attended with, however ſtrongly the current of general opinion oppoſes it, is not ſo recent, not ſo foreign to the ſervice of letters, as by ſome may be imagined.

Before I open the Plan I have to offer to the literati, and upon which the ſuperſtructure is intended to be built, it perhaps may not be improper to throw out a few preliminary reflections, which have occurred to me in the courſe of my reading,

reading, a part of which are theſe that follow:

All our Lexicographers, a very few excepted, for aught I have adverted to, have been long employed, and have generally contented themſelves too, within the limits of a very narrow field. They ſeem to have looked no farther than the facilitating for youth the attainment of the Latin and Greek languages, and almoſt univerſally conſider the former, as only derived from the latter. Theſe two ſingle points ſeem to have confined their whole view, poſſeſſed their whole attention, and engroſſed all their induſtry.

Here and there indeed, and in a few pieces of this kind, one ſees interſperſed, derivations of the Engliſh from the Latin, Greek, &c. inferred from a conformity of orthography, ſound, and ſignification, and theſe very true. But whence this relation, this conſonancy aroſe, why it has continued from age to age to us, has floated on the ſtream of time ſo long, and paſſed to ſuch a diſtance of place, how antient words have ſurvived conqueſts, the migrations of people, and the ſeveral coalitions of nations, and colonies, notwithſtanding the fluctuating condition of language in its own nature, they have neither obſerved with diligence, nor explained with accuracy.

Almoſt every etymologiſt that has fallen into my hands, and detained my eye, have not been miſtaken then in the compariſons they have made, or the uniformity they have obſerved, between the Latin and the Greek, and between both thoſe languages, and our own; but then their inſtances have been but ſhort and few, and they have failed in accounting for this uniformity; they have

have indeed ſufficiently evinced a ſimilarity, but produced no reaſons for it. It is not to be thought of, much leſs concluded, that the multitude of words among us, which are certainly Latin, Greek, and Phœnician, are all the relicks of the Roman ſettlements in Britain, or the effects of Greek or Phœnician commerce here; no, this reſemblance was co-eval with the primary inhabitants of this iſland, and the acceſſion of other colonies, did not obliterate, but confirm this reſemblance, and alſo brought in an encreaſe, and acceſſion of other words, from the ſame original, and conſequently bearing the ſame conformity. How nearly related is the Cambrian, how nearly the Iriſh, in numberleſs inſtances, to the Latin, the Greek, and even Hebrew, and both poſſeſſed this conſimilarity long ago, before J. Cæſar, and the Roman invaſion. I know not, but the Latin more differed from itſelf in the ſucceſſion of ſix continued Centuries, than the Welſh and Iriſh at this time from the Latin. Concerning this agreement of theirs with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, not to mention others, Gentlemen of great penetration, and extraordinary erudition; Dr. Davis may be conſulted; and the learned Sheringham, who has exhibited a long and curious ſpecimen of Greek and Cambrian words, ſo exactly correſpondent in *ſound* and *ſenſe*, or at leaſt ſo viſibly near, that, as far as I know, no gentleman has ever yet queſtion'd, much leſs diſputed their alliance.

This ſimilitude ſubſiſting in common between the Iriſh, Cambrian, Greek, Latin and even Hebrew, as it has not eſcaped the notice, and animadverſions of the learned, ſo their ſurprize has generally encreaſed with their reſearches, and con-

conſiderations about it: new circumſtances of agreement perpetually ariſing. A great many gentlemen, converſant in antiquities, and pleaſed with literary amuſements of this kind, have aſcribed theſe palpable connexions to conqueſt, or to commerce: they have ſuppoſed, that the intercourſe, which on the latter account, antiently ſubſiſted between the Phœnicians, Greeks, and the Britons, (See Boch. Huet, &c.) occaſioned this very remarkable community between their languages. Indeed this accident of commerce muſt needs have had its influence; but then this influence muſt have been but weak and partial; not prevalent and extenſive. Commerce has, and always will make continual additions to any language, by the introduction of exotic words; yet would words of this kind and at that time, hardly extend a great way; they would only effect the maritime parts, and thoſe places frequented by traders, and that but feebly, and would be very far from acting or making any conſiderable impreſſion upon the whole body of any language.

But even ſuppoſing that a number of Greek vocables may have found admittance and adoption in Britain, and after this manner, yet could they never penetrate into the more interior parts of it, into receſſes remote from the ſea; ſtrangers to all correſpondence, without the temptation, without the inclination to leave their natural ſoil, their own hereditary village, yet is Greek even here; we find pure Greek in the Peak itſelf, whither foreigners, eſpecially at the diſtance of more than twice ten centuries, can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to have come. There could have been but few invita-

vitations to it then; and perhaps there are not many now.

Since then I have taken notice of this almoſt community of language obſervable between the Greek, and the Celtic, in ſome dialect of it, or other, and have attempted to ſhew, it could ſcarcely be imported, in the manner ſo generally believed; it ſeems incumbent upon me, to offer a more probable conjecture, if it is a conjecture, how it has arrived; which is the ſubject of the following diſſertation.

AFTER what has been produced as prefatory, it is now time, if it may not be thought it was ſo before, to exhibit the Plan I mentioned, not attempted in confidence of my own, but to excite ſuperior abilities to think farther, and for the farther illuſtration and ſervice of letters, and ſubmitted with the greateſt deference to the learned, and with the extremeſt diffidence of myſelf.

It is then this: that the antient Celtæ, by the numberleſs veſtiges left behind them in Gaul, Britain, Greece, and all the weſtern part of Europe, appear to have been, if not the Aborigines, at leaſt their ſucceſſors, and maſters, in Gaul, Britain, and the weſt; that their languages, however obſolete, however mutilated, is at this day diſcernable in all thoſe places, that victorious people conquer'd and retained; that it has extended itſelf far and wide, viſibly appearing in the antient Engliſh, Greek, Latin, &c. of all which it included a very conſiderable part, and indeed unqueſtionably in all the languages of Europe emerges, in the names of ſprings, torrents, rivers,

woods, hills, plains, lakes, ſeas, mountains, towns, cities, and innumerable other local appellatives, many of which have never, that I know of, been accounted for: that it ſtill partially continues as a language, in its dialects in the declining remains of it, diſperſed among the Iriſh, in Baſſe Britagne, St. Kilda, in Cantabria, and the mountains of Wales; that much of it is ſtill extant in the works of our earlier poets and hiſtorians, and much yet living upon the tongues of multitudes, *inter rura Brigantum*, in Cumberland, &c unknown and unobſerved. As I hope the ſucceeding exerciſes will make apparent, that the original of both the Latin and the Greek is, in a great meaſure, Celtic; that Celtic which, poliſhed by Greece, and refined by Rome, and which only, with dialectic difference, flowed from the lips of Virgil, and thundered from the mouth of Homer.

The deſign then of all, is to exhibit and illuſtrate theſe connexions.

AFTER having proceeded thus far, and ſo often reiterated *Celtæ* and *Celtic*, it is high time to come to an explication of theſe words, and enumerate the people to whom they have been uſually applied. The Celtæ then were confeſſedly Scythians or Tatars, the poſterity of Gomer, and agreeable to the name of their patriarch, called themſelves in their own language, Cimmeri, Cummeri, or contractedly Cimbri; and the Welch to this day call themſelves Cummeri, whence Cumberland pointing out very lucidly their *extraction* by their *name*. But what becomes of Celtæ in all this? and why were theſe

Cimmeri

Cimmeri denominated Celtæ? As they were Tatars or Scythians, and both their name, country, and original, at firſt unknown; and it being obſerved by the people they invaded, that they were all or moſtly horſemen, and of great celerity. The Greeks, almoſt the only hiſtorians of the earlier ages, very naturally diſtinguiſhed theſe Cimmerians or Gomerians by the name of Κελτες, Celtæ, *i. e. light horſemen.* They made ſeveral very terrible irruptions into the faireſt parts of Aſia, and thence into Europe, and back again like a retiring tide, under the conduct of Brennus, to the number of one hundred and fifty thouſand. Callimachus relates, that the original of the temple of Diana at Epheſus, was owing to a little ſtatue of that goddeſs, which theſe Cimmerians erected in the hollow of a tree, while their armies and depredations, under *Lygdamis* their captain, waſted Aſia. Their migrations were frequent and noted; for they, obliged by real or imaginary neceſſity, in ited by avarice, or ſtimulated only by a ſpirit of war, became often vexatious to one another, and always formidable to their neighbours. They alſo in another prodigious ſwarm poured out of Tartary, about nine hundred and fifty years after the flood, and made another dreadful irruption, under Alcon their leader, into the greater Armenia, and in a little ſpace made themſelves maſters of Pontus, Cappadocia, Phrygia, and the greater part of the leſſer Aſia, where, as in ſeveral other countries, continued a great many memorials of their name and conqueſts. But Phrygia ſeems to have been their principal reſidence, and there they have been moſt diſtinguiſhed. They had various appellations impoſed

upon them, as thoſe of *Gigantes*, *Titanes*, both ſignifying ſprung from the earth, in this referring to the obſcurity of their origin. Of this eminent people was *Saturn*; he himſelf was a Cimmerian; and paſſed, one may believe, not unattended into Italy; upon ſome diſagreement with *Jupiter*, his ſon. The body of theſe Cimmerians, or Celtæ, which is but an adventitious name, the time not aſcertained, proceeded far into Europe, even to Britain and its iſlands, &c. And that the name of Cimmeri, or Cimbri, was alſo remembered in Gaul as well as Britain, is clear; for the ſoldier who was ſent for the execution of Maius the conſul, is by ſome hiſtorians called a Gaul, by others a Cimber; which two names, as is evident from hence, were eſteemed ſynonymous, and indifferently applied to the ſame perſon. There is alſo the Cimbric, Cherſoneſe, &c. But theſe Cimmerians ſcarcely advanced together, and at once, but gradually, and time after time eſtabliſhed their ſettlements, where and as they could. Their government was the oldeſt known, *i. e.* it was patriarchal, and ſo remained in Scotland, 'till within our own memories. Afterwards there was an abſolute coalition in many nations, of this people and their language; with thoſe they conquered, and with the colonies from Greece, Tyre, Carthage, &c. and theirs. And all of them, a-while after this incorporation, are formed in hiſtory under the common name of Celtæ. The very ſame accident happened between the Saxons and the Britons, and alſo between the Scots and Picts in the North. It can ſcarcely be imagined, that the Saxons deſtroyed all the Britons that eſcaped not into Wales, or that the Scots extinguiſhed all the

race

race of the Picts that did not croſs the ſeas. No; 'tis unlikely, 'tis impoſſible; theſe two nations united with the two ſubdued, and became one people, under the name of the moſt predominant. So it was with the Celtæ, when of themſelves, or upon their incorporation with the conquered, they became populous and powerful, eſpecially in Greece, their principal ſeat; colony peopled colony ſtill farther and farther, 'till they, with the language they brought along with them from the Eaſt and Greece, &c. arrived in and about Britain, and whither elſe we can fix no bounds; as waves departing from ſome center, ſwell with a wider and a wider circumference, wave impelling wave, 'till at laſt their circles diſappear.

The Greeks, the poſterity of Javan, as is generally allowed, and as is plain from their name Touian and hiſtorical evidence, and by the connexions their language has with the Hebrew and Phœnician, &c. arrived at firſt from Aſia, and colony after colony, peopled Peloponneſus, the iſlands of the Archipelago, and thoſe of the Mediterranean; and there continued, with no conſiderable variation of language, but what was naturally made by time, and what is incident to all, 'till this inundation of theſe Cimmerians, which they called Celtæ. Particular appellations, indeed, were annexed to their tribes; but from this difference of names, in thoſe tribes, we muſt not ſuſpect them to be of different extraction, by no means; they were all but portions of the ſame vaſt body. Their dominions, after their union with the original Greeks, became very extenſive; and all the north-weſt parts of Europe were from them called, by the Greeks, Celto-Scythia.

Bodin,

Bodin, 'tis true, has affirmed, that the name of Celtica was peculiar to Gaul; but he is a *writer* of very inconſiderable authority, and is learnedly confuted by Cluverius, who, I think, in his fourth chapter, ſhews that Celtica included Illyricum, Germany, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; and Mr. Irvin, a Scots gentleman of great abilities, aſſerts that the colonies of the Celtæ alſo covered Italy, the Alps, Theſſaly, &c. And all this, I am induced to believe, may be ſatisfactorily proved; if by nothing elſe, yet by the very great conſimilarity in their language, when carefully conſidered in compariſon with one another; eſpecially in many old local appellatives, which have certainly exiſted before commerce or intercourſe could poſſibly be concerned in impoſing them. But becauſe I am unwilling to convert what is only meant as prefatory, into a Lexicon, I muſt ſupercede the proofs of this, or what I take to be ſuch, 'till I come to treat of the words themſelves. Should this be doubted or conteſted, and any objections, and thoſe not apparently immaterial, ariſe or be imagined to ariſe, in oppoſition to any particular that has been advanced, I humbly apprehend that an accurate examination into this plan, will never contradict, but ſupport every obſervation contained in theſe papers. But what will appear moſt deciſive upon this head, is, that unqueſtionable remains of their *language* exiſt at this day, in countries where their *name* is entirely forgotten; and what is yet more convincing, tho' probably unſuſpected, is, that a very great number of topical names, &c. are continually occurring where the Celtæ have penetrated, and been eſtabliſhed from time immemorial, as Engliſh, Latin, and Greek, &c.

which

which can never be inveſtigated from any other original.

Add to this, that wherever hiſtory fails in accounting for the extraction of any people, or where it is manifeſtly miſtaken, how can this extraction be more rationally inferred, and determined, or that miſtake rectified, than from the analogy of languages? Or is not this alone ſufficiently concluſive, if nothing elſe was left? Thus Cæſar, ſo conſpicuous for either Minerva, and whoſe opinions will ever have their proper weight with the learned, aſſerts that the Britons were from Gaul; not ſo much from their vicinity to one another, as from the remarkable analogy of their tongue to the Gallics: and admit there was not a record left in the world, to prove the original of our American ſettlements, I would aſk if their language itſelf, notwithſtanding many words both now and formerly unknown in England, and adopted into it, was not ſufficient to prove it? And muſt not a ſimilitude as near, conſidering the very great diſtance of time, an extenſive commerce, the admiſſion of new colonies, the revolutions of kingdoms, and the natural inconſtancy of languages, equally prove an alliance among thoſe in queſtion? The traces of the Celtic, notwithſtanding the ruins conſequent upon all theſe, have hitherto remained indelible. They almoſt perpetually ariſe in the general geography of all the weſt of Europe; and often in more confined and topographical deſcriptions. Not a county in Britain, ſcarce any extent of ſea or land from Kent to St. Kilda, wherein the moſt ſatisfactory evidences of this may not be found. The ſame congruity holds too in Gaul, Spain, Italy, &c.

and

and a work of this kind begun with circumſpection, and conducted with regularity, could not fail of throwing great light upon all the languages concerned, and upon the obſcurity of thouſands of local names, and in ſhort ſeems to promiſe fair to contribute as a lamp to the elucidation of many dark antiquities.

The Greek and Hebrew then, &c. obſervable in our language, and not unnoticed by the learned, and found in receſſes where they might lie but little expected, as will be ſhewn in the courſe of theſe remarks, was not imported by Phœnician merchants, and Greek traders only; but entered along with the earlieſt colonies from the Eaſt into Britain; after each colony had protruded others thro' all the intermediate continent of which Britain probably was once a part. Not that the whole of a people entered into any long migration; I believe, never. The aged, the infirm, and the youth of either ſex, incapable of engaging in war, or of enduring the fatigues of travel, of ſurmounting the oppoſition of mountains, and foreſts, and rivers, remained a feeble company behind; and certainly retained the ſame language their itinerant countrymen had carried with them, which ſometimes was very far remote. Hence that almoſt identity of languages is ſometimes found in places at a great diſtance from each other, and hence that agreement in many vocables between the Greek, and the Cambrian, and Iriſh Celtic. Nor is there ſo much inconſiſtence as has been imagined, in that immemorial tradition exiſtent among the Welſh, that they were the deſcendants of the Greeks. That they came with any Brutus, is not only fabulous but ridiculous; but that they

are of Greek extraction, perhaps, is neither. The tradition is undoubtedly falſe with regard to the *perſon*, Brutus; but certainly real as to the *thing*, this Greek extraction. It may be objected, indeed, that this is only tradition: What elſe could it poſſibly be? Could they have hiſtory, annals, and inſcriptions, before they had letters? Was there not alſo a period wherein Greece herſelf, afterwards ſo illuſtrious for arts, was deſtitute and ignorant of theſe? Could theſe then be expected in Britain, ſo far detached from the ſources whence Greece drew all her ſcience? No: memory, or ſome rugged uninſcribed ſtones, in theſe obſcure and early ages, was the ſole regiſter of facts, and tradition all their hiſtory.

In the ſubſequent ſpecimens, I have been very prolix; but as the ſubject had been unattempted before, and ſeemed ſo repugnant to the general opinion, I ſuppoſed there was really ſome neceſſity for enlargement, that the connexions I had intimated might appear the more viſible and ſtriking, and leave the leſs of uncertainty upon the mind. And I humbly conceive, that the congruity among the languages induced here, is made as obvious as the nature of the thing is capable of; particularly regarding this diſtance of time, this imitation of kingdoms, times, and manners, and under ſuch abilities as mine. I cannot but beg pardon, for ſome little oriental introductions in the word *Beer*; I would very gladly have ſuperceded them, had I not believed it preferable to refer to the original, and to produce the evidences together and at once, that they might poſſeſs the force of union. I am

led to think, that a very little deliberation upon this ſubject, will be required to perceive the utility of it, and a ſmall acquaintance with languages to be ſenſible of the pertinence of the compariſons. I imagine too, that to a moderate portion of letters and ſagacity, it will ſoon be clear, that the Greek, the Latin, and the Celtic, conſidered and compared together, will abundantly dilucidate one another. And perhaps the *examples* to be hereafter produced, in ſupport of this plan, will better evince the reaſonableneſs of it, than whole *reams* employed in arguments.

N. B. That the examples to follow, are as much as poſſible fetched from the Iriſh; I induſtriouſly omitting the Britiſh, leſt it ſhould be thought, as I know it has been ſometimes, that the Romans left us the words that bear any relation to the Latin, while this can never be objected to the Iriſh, ſince the Romans never ſet foot in Ireland. Pardon inaccuracies too, ſince I have had no aſſiſtance but memory.

EXAMPLES.

EXAMPLES.

BEAGLES, a race of hounds, ſo named for being little; and perfectly agreeable to the primary ſignification of the Celtic *Pig*, i. e. *little*. The Greeks have anciently uſed this word too, and in the ſenſe of *little*, of which they ſeem to have conſtituted their πυγμαῖος, *i. e.* a dwarf. It ſtill ſubſiſts among the Iriſh, and ſtill in that language conveys the idea of *little*; as, Fir *pig*, a little man; Ban *pig*, a little woman; Beg aglach, little fearing. It was common in Scotland, in the ſame acceptation alſo: for one of the *Hebrides* is named from this cubital people, Dunie Begs (ſee Mr. Irvin), and it exiſts in Scotland in the word Phillibeg, *i. e.* a little pettycoat. And we ourſelves retain it in the provincial word Peagles, *i. e.* cowſlips, a name impoſed upon them of old, from the littleneſs of their flowers. And our northern word Peggy, is properly applicable to no female as a Chriſtian name; but is merely an epithet of ſize, and a word of endearment only.

NID, nothing ſeems more ſuitable than this Celtic name for this river; which after running a conſiderable way from its foundation, again enters the earth by a wide and rocky cavern; then taking a ſubterraneous courſe of ſome miles, again emerges to the light, by two iſſues; whoſe waters are immediately united below. This word *Nid*, among the Celtæ, ſignified,

under, *below*, or *covered*; and ſo it does yet. The Iriſh Celtæ ſay, *Neth ſhin*, i. e. under a place; *Neſ-ſene*, i. e. a bird's-neſt; and nad, a neſt ſimply, where *t* is converted into *s*, as is common; ſo the Greek has γλῶττα or γλωσσα; and ſo the Germans of their antient *Waſſer*, have made *watter*, i. e. *water*. This word *Nid* is very diffuſed too; there is found Nithiſdale, or Niddiſdale, in Scotland; *Nid* near Knareſbrough, the ſeat of —— Traps, Eſq; both probably named from their having been formerly hid in the depth and obſcurity of woods. Nidum is alſo found in Glamorganſhire; there are the rivers, *Niderus* in Norway, and *Nid* even in Poland. It is part of the modern words, *beneath*, *nether*, and *Netherlands*. This *neath* was formerly written *nead*; for an epitaph, tranſcribed from a monumental ſtone at Kirkley's, by Dr. Gale, has

"Undernead this little ſteane."

Where the former part of the word *under*, is only explicatory of the latter part *nead*. This ſignification of *nid*, leads to the true and original meaning of Shakeſpear's *niding*, i. e. a perſon that hides himſelf; Mr. Johnſon interprets it, a *coward*, but that is only its ſecondary ſignification, and that but true ſometimes; for a perſon does not always conceal himſelf thro' fear. It appears to be the radical of the Latin *Nidus*, *nidifico*, *nidulor*, *nidificatio*; and alſo of the Greek νεοσσὸς, in the Attic νεοττὸς, *pullus avium*, &c. which all know to be very well *hidden*; and they bore this Greek name, not becauſe they were young, but becauſe they were *hidden*. So

νεοσσία,

νεοττία, or νεοττία, *nidus*, &c. whence our word *Neſts*.

Nir, this word is and that preciſely enough the celtic Fir; its very great antiquity, and uſe with the Celtæ, appears in the Iriſh regal proper name firgus, as firſt and ſecond; in our modern ſurname *Fer*guſon: Alſo in the word Firbolgs (i. e. *viri Belgici*) by which the old Iriſh called a colony of the Belgæ, which ſettled amongſt them. And of this word *Bolgs*, Cæſar, and the Romans form'd the Latin *Belgæ*, which indeed imports the ſame, and is the ſame word with the Greek *Pelaſgi*, either from their coming by ſea, or from their vicinity to it. *Fir* in moſt words, into whoſe compoſition it enters, implies ſomething of ability, and ſtrength; as in the Iriſh *Fertambuill*, *i. e.* a man of an able body, and in the Latin, *fortis*, *virtus*, &c. neither was it unfrequent in Gaul; it compoſes a part of Cæſar's Vercingetorix, Viridomarus, &c. *Cæſ. Com. l. 7. &c.* The German Celtæ likewiſe uſed it, for it exiſts yet with them in the compound word *Werewolf*. This *wer*, in the Latin ſenſe of *vir*, appears alſo among the Anglo-Saxons; for in the Saxon Pentateuch of Ælfric, the monk, publiſhed at Oxford, is, "And God made them þæȝman, *i. e. male*, &c. The word man, homo, antiently, as in our modern tranſlation of this place, included both ſexes; and the Saxons prefixed þæȝ, to man, to determine the ſex.

Magister; how natural, eaſy, and lucid does its original appear from the Celtic *maighis*, whence the Latin *magnus*, and Greek μεγας, *great*, and *Tor*, dominus; nor has the firſt of theſe entirely

tirely left us; it remains in the northern obſolete word *mickle*, *much*, or *great*; and in Micklegate, a large ſtreet in York. And *meg*, in many places is yet commonly heard, and ever ludicrouſly applied to a very tall woman; 'tis alſo uſed for a huge ſtone in an erect poſition. Mr. Cambden, I think, in Cumberland, takes notice of a tall upright ſtone there, called *Longmeg*. And the great cannon in Scotland, taken at Mons, the Scots call Mons *Meg*. It ſeems a radical uſed in common by many of the Celtic nations, each agreeable to its dialect. And *tor* is the Greek and Latin τυραννος, and Tyràndus.

Beer, this word has been one oriental name for a *well* or *water*; and very probably has been tranſmitted along with the earlieſt ſettlements into Europe. It is found ſtill in this iſland, both in its primary and tranſlated ſignification; *i. e.* for *water*, and for *beer*. It is read Gen. xxix. 2. &c. וירא והנה באר, Va yare ve hinneh Beer; and in the Chaldee ויחזא והא בירא, Va chaza ve ha Bera, i. e. "*He looked, and behold, a well.*" Water was the firſt beveredge of mankind; and was, as was undoubtedly natural, applied to other drinkables, as they were invented: the great ſimplicity of antient languages, and times, not directly afor dingany other than *Beer*. So we apply the word wine, once, perhaps peculiar to the juice of the grape, to liquids extracted from many other fruits; as gooſeberries, elderberries, &c. and here tho' the copiouſneſs of modern languages diſtinguiſhes theſe, which the poverty of the antients did not, or not early; yet they retain the name of wine ſtill. Hence *Beer*, tho' originally a word for *water*, became expreſſive of

ſome

ſome liquors drawn from vegetables, becauſe they became, like water, a beveredge. In the very ſame manner the Celtic *Iſca*, originally ſignifying *water*, was impoſed on other liquids; there being at firſt no other, whereby readily to expreſs them *iſca*, water: ſo *whiſky*, a liquor uſed in Scotland, is nothing but a corruption of this antient *iſca*, water; yet it is not ſimply water. *Iſca* too is found in Ireland, in the word Uſque-bagh, to which time has ſuperadded the epithet *bagh*, i. e. ſtrong, by way of diſtinction from common water.

Beer yet continues in its primary acceptation of a rivulet from a ſpring, or water ſimply, in the receſſes of this county, but little frequented; and in Scotland for water itſelf. For to theſe places colonies and conqueſts have carried but few innovations; for *words* annexed to *things* of ſuch frequent uſe as *water*, *fire*, &c. heard mentioned every day for years, muſt neceſſarily have maintained their ground long, and reſiſted the ſhocks of time better than thoſe but ſeldom uſed, and as ſeldom named. Hence about Roxborough, it is uſual to aſk, "Have you any Burn?" *i. e.* water ſimply, meaning in the houſe; where the final *n* only terminates the word after the taſte and genius of the German, and alters nothing.

In Netherdale are two torrents, *i. e.* Bierbeck, and Doubergil, deſcending from the Moors; in the firſt of theſe, the latter ſyllable *beck* is only put as explanatory, and as the ſenſe of the prior ſyllable Beer, water, or a rivulet; 'tis the ſame in another torrent in Cumberland near *Longtown*, called Bierburn, where *burn*, in like manner explains

plains *Bier*. In Doubergil, the laſt ſyllable **gill* an old Iriſh word for water, is only affixed to explain *ber*, the ſyllable immediately preceding it: and *Dou*, in the Celtic, implies *black*, a colour proper to this torrent, and contracted from its paſſage thro' peat earth, and moraſſes, and even ſo low as our own times, this affixing a word explaining the foregoing continues; as Halſhaughhill, at Ripon, Michaelhaughhill near that town, where *hill*, a more modern word, is only explanatory of *haugh*, or *how*, a more antient one for the very ſame *thing*.

And to ſhow *Ber*, *Bier*, &c. is not confined to theſe retirements, no, nor to Britain; there is the *Ver* a rivulet, near St. Albans, of which the Romans formed their Verolamium; we have more ſtreams poſſeſſed of this name alſo. There is the *Var* too in France, the *Iberus* in Spain, and the *Tiber* in Italy, all including this Beer in their names. Where, by the way, *Ti* in the Celtic did, and does at this day in St. Kilda, ſignify *great*, and *ber* is water, or a river; the whole then will be, the *Great River:* a name that ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes it there, as it is far the greateſt river in that part of Italy. I cannot recollect whether *Ber* for water is in the Britiſh, but I ſuſpect it has; however the Britons uſed *Aber* for the mouth of a river, except it may be thought the latin *Aperio*. But the Iriſh retain *Ber* ſtill for water; as, *Inbher ſlainge*, a river by Wexford; *Inbher domhnoin* in Connacht, *i. e.* the *deep* river,

* It is the Hebrew גל gel, *i. e.* unda, from rolling and rapidity of moſt torrents; it remains in the Engliſh alſo.

domhnoin

domhnoin importing *deep*. Neither is the Latin deſtitute of this *ber* in the ſignification of water too, for of this ſeems formed the Roman *imber*; and it is alſo the Greek ὄμβρος, *i. e.* υετος, which laſt is the modern Engliſh *wet*.

An Apple-tree, *i. e.* Apollo's tree. But it may at firſt be thought, what reference this can have to Apollo; that is yet to appear. This name in the Daniſh is, I think, *æble traee*. The Saxon Pentateuch, before referred to, if I remember right has apel, the Iriſh *abal*, and the Welſh a conſonant word, whoſe orthography I forget. Other original of the name, tho' ſought for, I have no where found; but it is certainly very antient, as antient as heatheniſm, and the worſhip of Apollo, from whom it was, tho' not always, diſtinguiſhed by this name. For it was once one of the ſymbols of that god, and dedicated to his deity, and hence with ſome inconſiderable variation in different countries, delivered down to us. The name was probably introduced hither by very early colonies, and continued its name, when the cuſtom that gave it riſe, was forgotten. And that this is its original, will be eaſily deducible from a little reflexion on the proofs in ſupport of it. The prizes in the ſacred *games* were the olive crown, *apples*, parſley, and the pine. Lucian, in his book of games, affirms *apples* to have been the reward in the ſacred games of Apollo. And Curtius of gardens, aſſerts the ſame thing. It appears alſo that the Apple-tree was conſecrated to Apollo, before the laurel: for both Pindar and Callimachus obſerve, that Apollo put not on the laurel, 'till after his conqueſt of the Python; and

he appropriated it to himſelf, on account of his paſſion for Daphne. The victors wreathe at firſt, was a bough with its apples hanging on it, ſometimes along with a branch of laurel, and theſe antiquity united together in the Pythian games.

HAMILTON, (or more properly Hamildun) hill, a name of very remote antiquity, and impoſed upon ſeveral hills in this county, and it occurs too in ſeveral other places. I am not able to recollect preciſely, if it remains in the Welſh; but if it does not, 'tis probable that it has once exiſted in it. This name is derived, not from the elevation of theſe hills, but from their figure to the eye; which is, as far as I have had opportunity to remark or inform myſelf, that of half a globe with its convexity upwards; which has a gradual deſcent like them, from its ſummit every way. Now any hill or mountain of ſuch a form, the Iriſh to this time call *himmel*, and they impoſed this name immediately from their reſemblance to the appearance of the Heavens, conſider'd as to their convexity. And that they were conſider'd thus, is plain from Ovid's remark, "Convexaque Cœli." And which from our zenith, ſeem to decline on every ſide 'till terminated by the horizon. The Latins call'd Heaven *Cœlum* from κοῖλον, *i. e.* the *hollow*, conſidering it as a concave. But the Teutonic in himmel and hemel has looked upon them as a *covering*, and the Germans yet call a bedteſter *himmel*, from its *covering* the *bed*, as they call the Heavens *himmel* from their *covering* the *earth*. And that antiquity looked upon them as a *covering* alſo, is evident from *Cœlum quod omnia tegit*. This initial *him* or *hem* in *himmel*,

mel, is the old Saxon *helm*,* only the liquid *l* is dropt, as with us in walk, talk, &c. firſt in pronunciation, as with us; after in orthography, as with them. And this word *helm*, and all its relations, ever imply *covering*; hence *helmet*, to *cover* the head; *home*, to cover a family, &c. and in the rura of this county, they commonly call a little *ſhed*, wherein are put inſtruments of huſbandry, a *helm*. So peaſe *hame*, and houſe regard the very ſame thing, implying covering; and ſo does a *ſheep cote*, a cottage and cote, our upper garment, which are from the Britiſh *coed*, a wood, the moſt antient *covering*.

The final *el* in himmel, is the radical of the Latin *a'tus*, juſt as the Celtic *ard*, high, is that of the Latin *arduus*. *Himmel* then ſignifies, the *lofty covering*. The ſyllable don or dun, mons that concludes hamildun, is ſo notorious, that it wants no illuſtration; hence the downs, and the hills in Surry; and hence Lugdunum Battavorum, &c. &c. but here one may obſerve, that himmel was not a name applied to hills, as to any *covering*, but only as they were thought to reſemble the appearance of the ſky, which is ſo.

The hills called Hamilton are that, where are the races near Gormire; that near Kirkbymalzeard; one near Tadcaſter, another towards Kendal.

EBORACUM: if it is evident, as I conclude it is, that *Ber*, or *Ver*, originally ſignifying a well, was

* If this Saxon *helm* is not the Hebrew שלל *ſhell*, the ſkins of beaſts, which were the antient *covering* of mankind, I know not whence it is.

afterwards applied to the ſtream uſually flowing from it, it ſeems to me to enter into the compoſition of Eboracum. *Bor*, here really appears no more than the antient *ber*, or *bir*, ſo generally uſed among the Celtæ, and that exility of ſound in the *e* or *i*, a Roman ear, or ſome peculiarity of dialect, might eaſily change into an *o*. For the Romans, I believe, ſeldom, if ever, abſolutely altered the antient names of people, cities, rivers, &c. but often ſtrip'd them of ſome barbarities, ſmoothed their aſperities, and gave them a more harmonious pronunciation. The initial letter *e* is a Celtic article, and appears among the Celtæ, ſituated at a great diſtance from one another, with no material variation; as the *Iberus* in Spain, *Iſurium* with us, &c.

The Brigantes were alſo called Wicci, from their being collected in little villages, and hence Wic is a very uſual termination in many of them. *Ac* in Eboracum, ſeems nothing but this Celtic *uic*, *vic*, *wic*, or *vig*; which is probably the radix of the Latin *Vicus*, *viculus*, &c. and not differenced but by the termination, which means nothing. It is very likely the Greek ϖαγ◎ alſo; for the people of the North have ſometimes pronounced ϖ as a *W*, which is a letter particular to the north. And formerly here, as among the Romans of old, the articulation, as well as orthography of *u* and *v* was as little diſtinguiſhed as obſerved. For the Romans ſaid, and writ either *ſylvæ* or *ſyluæ*: and yet in Surrey, the populace never do, or ſcarcely can pronounce *v*, but conſtantly ſubſtitute for it *u* or *w*, ſaying *uinegar* or *winegar* for *vinegar*; pronouncing *v*, as we do the Greek ου◎. This *wic* was ſo common among the Anglo-Saxons,

that

that inſtances would be needleſs and tedious; and this was from very antient uſage; for in the Feroes, ſo far detached from the continent, and who maintained little or no commerce with ſtrangers, we find, Boardeviig, Joteviig, Qualviig, *&c.* The firſt appropriation of *vig* or *vic* ſeems to have been to places on the ſea ſhore, and banks of rivers, as in Eboracum, *&c.* but in length of time it became applicable to places near neither. *Wic* has ſpread far and wide: it occurs in Germany, and is met with in the Iberian *Vigo* too. And the Romans themſelves uſed *c*, and *g*, either promiſcuouſly or ſucceſſively, as appears from the inſcription upon the Duilian pillar, where is read *pucnando* for *pugnando*. The final *um*, is nothing but a termination ſuiting the genius of the Latin.

THE