The following material complements and extends Chapter 6: '"A Fair Account of All They Knew": State Witness Networks and Information Management in Jacobite Prosecutions, 1745–7' by Darren S. Layne in *Shaping Jacobitism, 1688 to the Present: Memory, Culture, Networks*, co-edited by Leith Davis and Kevin J. James (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2025), pp. 88–99.

Extended Notes, Case Studies and Figures – Online Appendix

Footnote #2 (p. 89)
Approximately 30 per cent of the total estimated Jacobite army strength was imprisoned at some point in the campaign, but the prisoners themselves were certainly not all military personnel. They also included large numbers of civilians who served as logistical support, brokers of supply and intelligence agents, and many others were turned in or detained upon suspicion of treason alone.

Most modern estimates of the Jacobite army's strength in 1745–6 range from 12,000 to 14,000 through the entire campaign. A survey of prisoner data beyond that of Seton and Arnot's 1928–9 compilation and an expansive analysis of both martial and civilian constituency are provided in Layne, 'Spines of the Thistle', 20–6, 80–121, 177–208.

Footnote #3 (p. 89)
Little demonstrable construction, repair or expansion was enacted on any significant prisons in Britain since before the previous Jacobite rising in 1715, and in the aftermath of the 'Great Rebellion' they held less than half the number of Jacobite inmates as they would thirty years later.

Joy Cameron, *Prisons & Punishment in Scotland from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), 38–67; Margaret Sankey, *Jacobite Prisoners of the 1715 Rebellion: Preventing and Punishing Insurrection in Early Hanoverian Britain* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 48–50; Layne, 'Spines of the Thistle', 179.

Footnote #4 (p. 89)
This made for some truly ghastly conditions both in the large facilities in England and amid smaller gaols and tolbooths in Scottish towns, and these disturbing environments are recorded in petitions written by those on both sides of the bars.

Some colourful examples are recorded in Pulteney to Newcastle, 1 February 1746, Secretary of State Papers [hereafter cited as SP] 44/133/60, TNA; Bracken to Ramsden, 11 March 1746, TS11/1081/5608, TNA; John Price to Newcastle, 13 April 1746, SP36/83/1/44–5, TNA; James Hulkes to Newcastle, 4 August 1746, SP36/86/1/40, TNA; William Brenan to Anon., 22 August 1746, SP36/86/2/65, TNA; John Wright to Anon., 11 October 1746, SP36/88/2/5, TNA; Many to Stone, 22 December 1746, SP36/90/2/18, TNA; Memorandum re: Alexander Garioch, n.d., Sheriff Court Records 5/75/11/24, National Records of Scotland [hereafter cited as NRS].

Footnote #5 (p. 89)
Despite a sentimental mythology that Jacobite prisoners were tried, sentenced and punished haphazardly and with extreme prejudice, the British penal system was well established and the prosecutions operated according to both precedent and necessity by personnel at all levels, from the Attorney and Solicitor Generals, Sir Dudley Ryder and William Murray, 1st Earl of Mansfield, respectively, to individual judges, counsels and clerks on the Court of King's Bench and those involved with the Special Commissions established specifically to handle the Jacobite trials.

For an example of public knowledge of these structured processes, see Lockhart to Gorthie, 15 August 1746, Montrose Muniments, GD220/5/1637, NRS.

Some examples of overstating the haphazard severity of Jacobite prosecutions can be found in:

- Robert Chambers, *History of the Rebellion of 1745–6* (7th edn, London and Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers, 1869), 442, 460–2.
- Walter Scott, *Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1897), 389.
- Joy Cameron, *Prisons and Punishment in Scotland from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1983), 39–40.
- Allan I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), 213–14.
- Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of a Nation* (London: HarperCollins, 2000), 624.
- John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, '"The Graves of the Gallant Highlanders": Memory, Interpretation and Narratives of Culloden', in *History and Memory* 19:1 (Spring/Summer 2007): 14–15.

Footnote #6 (p. 89)
Official policy needed to be contextualised and reframed to handle the flood of treason cases, but a robust correspondence was shared between George II's Secretary of State, Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle; the Lord President of the Court of Session, Duncan Forbes of Culloden; the Lord Justice Clerk in Scotland, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun; and others as they worked out the nuances of what was acceptable, what was allowable, and how to maintain the balance of justice and clemency that formed the conscious basis of Hanoverian-Whig judicial procedure.

Further examples can be found in Dalrymple to Hugh Campbell, 11 February 1718, Loudoun Scottish Collection [hereafter cited as LSC] Box 18/LO8325, Huntington Library; Forbes to Cumberland, 20 May 1746, Cumberland Papers Main 15/101, Royal Archives; Memorandum of Andrew Fletcher, n.d., Fletcher of Saltoun Papers, MS17523 ff. 1–2, NLS; Robertson to Fawkener, 31 July 1746, CP/Main 17/468, RA; Report on the Conditions of the Clans, 15 October 1746, SP54/34/9d, TNA.

Footnote #9 (p. 90)
Precedents were examined from the prosecution of the 1715 rising to measure both their successes and failures, and this audit reinforces the fact that establishing an identifiable threshold of evidence was a foundational principle through both initiatives.

Newcastle's instructions to Justice Clerk Fletcher stipulated that witnesses sent to Carlisle to give evidence must have either seen the suspects involved in some hostile act or physically marching with the Jacobite army: Newcastle to Fletcher, 11 July 1746, SP36/86/2/33, TNA.

In some cases, prisoners held on suspicion were released because only second-hand evidence was presented against them, proving that a judicial standard was followed. None less than the Attorney and Solicitor Generals approved the release under bail of James and John Grant owing that the charges of treason against them alleged by Ludovick Grant, son to the chief of Clan Grant; all were conferred by parties outwith his own personal knowledge: Ryder and Murray to Newcastle, 29 August 1746, SP36/86/2/154–5, TNA.

Footnote #11 (p. 90)
With a standard thus established, agents of the Crown gathered reams of testimony both systemically in the prisons and piecemeal as accounts trickled in from the public. Sheriffs, magistrates and town clerks, all of whom would have taken oaths of allegiance to George II, were co-opted as de facto intelligencers and were expected to report any morsel of information about sedition under penalty of the law.

See also Grant to Albemarle, 23 October 1746, SP54/34/11, TNA; Cumberland to Magistrates of Manchester, 11 December 1745, CP/Main 8/7, RA; Cumberland to Magistrates of Dundee, 24 February 1746, MS439, Angus County Archives.

Footnote #12 (p. 90)
Sixteen regional commissioners of the excise in Scotland were instructed to make up lists of anyone suspected of actively engaging in rebellion or otherwise aiding and assisting the Jacobites, and were told to persuade those in their employment at the ports to volunteer as material witnesses against any suspicious characters they might have seen.

Some of these manuscripts were later published by the Scottish History Society, *A List of Persons Concerned in the Rebellion, Transmitted to the Commissioners of Excise by the Several Supervisors in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1890).

Footnote #14 (p. 91)
Along with the information-gathering methods by civilian officials, Presbyterian clergy formed a remarkably effective network of contextual witnesses that was essential to prosecuting the rising. The collective social power and reach of parish ministers was a potent inhibitor of disloyalty while Jacobites were active, and, when they had gone to ground, it was the Church of Scotland's clergy who were tasked with rooting them out.

For more on the value of Presbyterian ministers, see Layne, 'Spines of the Thistle', 183–94; D. S. Layne, 'Bucking the System' in *History Scotland* (online edn, 21:6, November/December 2021); Jeffrey Stephen, 'Hymns to Hanover: Presbyterians, the Pretender, and the Failure of the '45' in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 40 (2010): 70–114.

Footnote #16 (p. 91)
These ministers were sharply attuned to the daily lives of their parishioners, and they influenced their congregations by denouncing sedition from the pulpit while at the same time advising civic administrators about threats to the structure of urban elections from Jacobite influencers.

See also Christopher A. Whatley, '"Zealous in the Defence of the Protestant Religion and Liberty": The Making of Whig Scotland, c. 1688–c. 1746' in Allan I. Macinnes, Kieran German and Lesley Graham, eds, *Living With Jacobitism, 1690–1788* (London and Brookfield, VA: Pickering and Chatto, 2014), 55–69.

Footnote #19 (p. 91)
At Derby, which marked Charles Stuart's farthest southern reach before retreating back to Scotland, ten citizens from a variety of trades and stations gave evidence against a single man, James Sparks, for enthusiastically greeting the Jacobite soldiers and drinking to the Pretender's health.

Sparks had apparently telegraphed his sentiment before the army had even arrived, as a 'Mrs Redfern' at the Bull's Head pub later recalled him exclaiming with a laugh after joining the rebels: 'I told you I would never piss backward', Evidence Against James Sparks, 18 August 1746, TS20/91/9, TNA.

Footnote #23 (p. 92)
Indeed, Fletcher knew the value of a sustained intelligence offensive and he expressed to Newcastle that the best way to get 'regular and certain' information was by keeping his agents secret and paying them well.

Some of these hired spies were in fact overseen by handlers in the clergy who were particularly well suited to organising and transmitting intelligence, sometimes working together with the military to do so. Examples can be found in the letters of George Ogilvy to David Blair, 13 March 1746, CP/Main 12/105, RA; Intelligence from John Garden and David Blair, 14 March 1746, CP/Main 12/101, RA; Intelligence from Alexander Wilkins, 26 March 1746, CP/Main 12/349, RA.

Footnote #26 (p. 93)
Interpreters were needed to decipher the range of Gàidhlig dialects for nearly half the prisoners at York, and servants who could translate 'the Irish language' were 'absolutely necessary' for the examinations in Scotland. Government officials likewise struggled to keep straight the many variations of Scottish names, especially for those elites only known by the title of their lands.

As one investigator explained, 'every Question, with ye Answer to it, is (necessarily) to be repeated twice over, quite thro' ye Examination, which, with the double repetition of so many Names, has protracted my Inquiry more than can be well imagined': Masterman to Newcastle, 9 April 1746, SP36/83/1/27-8, TNA.

Footnote #29 (p. 93)
Masterman's expedition lasted two months during the spring of 1746 and in this time he conducted over 460 examinations in the prisons at Lincoln, York, Lancaster and Chester, the results of which he proudly boasted 'laid the foundation for most of the present Prosecutions for High Treason'.

At Lancaster alone, seventeen prisoners were deemed to be sufficient witnesses after 140 interviews. At Chester, thirty-eight were used as witnesses out of 124: Observations of Prisoners, n.d., TS20/74/2, TNA; Totals of Prisoners, n.d., TS20/74/4, TNA. See Figure 6.1.

Footnote #32 (p. 94)
As Judge Advocate of Cumberland's army, Bruce additionally was given the freedom to imprison those suspected of treasonous behaviour and, conversely, to dismiss captives upon bail who appeared to be wrongfully incarcerated or who had no substantial proof against them.

See also Bruce and Ancram's Report, n.d., CP/Main 17/318, RA; Bruce's Report, 10 August 1746, CP/Main 18/57, RA.

Footnote #33 (p. 94)
Willing witnesses appear to have been less forthcoming in Scotland, perhaps partly due to their perceived distance from the English courts.

In Aberdeen, where 112 prisoners were held in the late spring of 1746, thirteen were singled out as witnesses, but only three of around one hundred prisoners confined in the Inverness tolbooth by early July had volunteered to testify: Prisoners in Inverness, 8 July 1746, CP/Main 17/133, RA; Prisoners in Aberdeen, n.d., Jacobite Papers, Parcel L/H/2, Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire Archives.

Footnote #34 (p. 94)
By the end of July, government agents had moved their attention for further witnesses to Tilbury Fort and the nearby transport ships, where some four hundred inmates were kept amid grotesque conditions.

Stratford Eyre (or Ayers), a dutiful captain in Battereau's 62nd Regiment of Foot, was responsible for taking precognitions and witness statements on the Thames and, along with a

surgeon named Minshaw, was given the unenviable task of experiencing first-hand the miasma of odium and 'malignant fever' that gripped so many of the captives as he recorded their experiences and personal details. Eyre's reports are nonetheless some of the most concise and well-organised documents in all of the Jacobite prosecution papers from 1745 and after. See, for example, Eyre's Reports: 27 July 1746, TS20/15/3, TNA; 11 September 1746, TS20/80/16, TNA; 11 September 1746, CP/Main 18/181, RA; 11 October 1746, SP36/88/1/167–88, TNA. See also Minshaw's Reports on Pamela: 21 August 1746, TS20/80/15, TNA; 21 August 1746, SP36/86/2/56–7, TNA.

Footnote #39 (p. 95)
It may be assumed that some captive Jacobites were threatened by their interrogators to cough up details and also by their fellow prisoners to keep quiet. For many, it would have been a no-win situation, and some who initially agreed to comply later reneged, much to the frustration of the prosecutors.

Fawkener suggested to Newcastle that for those who agreed to turn evidence, 'hope would be a powerful motive on the one side, & fear must operate on the other', but that ultimately the government would have no control over them if they were freed in exchange for their service. He therefore disdainfully expressed hope that those common people who gave evidence and were subsequently pardoned would plead guilty instead of returning home so 'they may be so disposed of as to be rendered of some use to the world': Fawkener to Newcastle, 16 July 1746, SP54/32/50, TNA; Fawkener to Newcastle, 29 June 1746, SP54/32/28, TNA.

'Disposed of' in this case meant being transported to the New World colonies, which was allowable upon an admission of guilt, even without corroborating evidence.

Footnote #40 (p. 95)
Newcastle sought funding from the Treasury Solicitor to defray the fees of handling these 'material evidences', including transportation, accommodation and subsistence, but despite being sanctioned, these necessities were not always provided.

After serving 'without Blemish for many Moneths' and without the pay they were promised, a trio of volunteer witnesses for the Crown petitioned the Secretary of the Lords Justices, Andrew Stone, for the state's help. While waiting out their service in London 'without Money, without Friends, without Credit', they complained about defaming reports against them back home in Scotland and claimed to be so destitute that 'the Rebel Evidences are happier than we': Newcastle to Fletcher, 21 March 1746, SP54/29/22, TNA; Petition to Andrew Stone, 19 January 1747, SP54/35/7, TNA.

Edinburgh cordwainer Walter Scott spent the funds from his military allowance travelling to London to speak against numerous rebels, but was detained there for so long that he ran out of money, and for penury was consequently kicked out of the troop of General Charles Cadogan's horse guards in which he served: Petition of Walter Scott, n.d., SP36/95/1/26, TNA.

Footnote #41 (p. 95)
Complaints about the time and costs required for travel were common, and both issues snarled up judicial operations that were severely dependent upon efficiency and holding to a strict schedule.

The tardiness of two witnesses journeying from Banffshire for the defence of John Farquharson at Southwark, for example, forced the defendant to submit a guilty plea: SP36/86/1/180–6, TNA; Petitions of John Farquharson, 13 November 1746, SP36/89/2/9–21, TNA; SP36/104/1/55–6, TNA. Thomas Drake, constable of Derby, submitted a receipt for £13.25 for

his service as a Crown evidence, including travel and care for his business over the thirty-five days of his stint. Perth excise officer Henry Edwards pleaded extreme hardship for his time at court and the interruption of his salary and was still seeking remuneration nearly two years later. Understandably, he was reluctant to return to Scotland for fear of retribution against him and was recommended for a position in England: Drake to Newcastle, n.d., SP54/26/190, TNA; Edwards to Sharpe, n.d., TS20/25/14, TNA; Sharpe to Stone, 3 September 1747, SP36/101/1/7; n.d., SP36/159/1/27, TNA. See also Petition of Edgar Howe, n.d., SP54/26/189, TNA.

Footnote #42 (p. 95)
Therefore, legally binding summonses were only allowable for witnesses relevant to those suspects who were already officially charged with high treason.

See also Newcastle to Fletcher, 1 August 1746, SP36/86/2/34, TNA; Fletcher to Webb, 11 August 1746, SP 36/86/1/181–2, TNA; Fletcher to Newcastle, 18 August 1746, SP54/33/12, TNA. See also SP54/29/18, TNA; Fletcher to Newcastle, 27 March 1746, SP54/29/28a, TNA.

Footnote #43 (p. 95)
Concern ran through the Justice Clerk's office that false summonses were issued in Scotland on behalf of indicted Jacobites to 'witnesses' who had no actual knowledge of the situation in the hopes they would decline to attend and, by doing so, delay the proceedings.

Various Subpoenas: 18 June 1746, FSP, MS17526 ff. 221–2, NLS; 12 August 1746, FSP MS17527 f. 60, NLS; 28 November 1746, Seafield Papers, GD248/24/1 f. 16, NRS; 18 June 1746, SP36/96/1/60–1, TNA; Fletcher to Webb, 9 September 1746, SP54/33/23b, TNA.

Footnote #44 (p. 95)
Some exculpatory witnesses who were issued subpoenas refused to heed them, sending into question the fates of the condemned.

Evidently refusing to travel 300 miles to testify, John Sanderson's witnesses missed his trial date of 15 July 1746 despite being issued summons for his defence, and did not show up even after multiple stays of his sentencing. Copies of the subpoenas were entered into evidence along with statements by the serving agents and numerous petitions from the defendant, and Sanderson was still imprisoned nearly a year later in a 'very dangerous State of health' waiting for a hearing: Documents re: John Sanderson, 1746, SP36/96/1/58–72, TNA.

Footnote #50 (p. 96)
Yet individual snapshots show the success of the government's information-gathering campaign through domestic witness networks, but also that prosecution of Jacobite rebels was a heavily representative endeavour.

Masterman's reports from his 'sandbox' circuit in England matched two or more witnesses against an average of nearly 34 per cent of the total prisoners across four locations, with just under 15 per cent bearing only one witness and a likely dismissal. At Newgate, a remarkably detailed matrix of prisoners, linked with informers and their depositions, provides demographic data for both parties. Here the witnesses are separated by 'bundle' relating to the region from which they originated or, in the case of Jacobite prisoners who were fit to testify, the location of their jail: Newgate Evidence, n.d., TS11/760/2363, TNS; Rebels in Scottish Prisons, 12 July 1746, SP54/32/41c, TNA. This information is compiled from data in Figure 6.1.

One hundred and thirty-one people provided evidence against thirty-five suspects at Newgate, with 112 facing charges of treason themselves, which offers a hint at the frequency of how often

prisoners were turned. Only four of these witnesses were women, and the 20 per cent of the total whose ages were recorded represent an average of twenty-two years. Though many of the Newgate inmates were in the Jacobite Manchester regiment, only sixteen of the known witnesses against them resided in England, the great majority of evidence coming from Scottish accounts, especially from the north-east. See Figure 6.2.

This particular group also represents a broad cross-section of British society, featuring a distribution of occupations that reflects the greater constituency of Jacobite participation. See Figure 6.1. Further analysis with a broader range of data is possible. See Figure 6.3. The relatively low frequency of agricultural labourers and producers here is likely due to the fact that it was more difficult to bring poor tenant farmers and labourers to London and convince them to take the stand. For more on Jacobite occupations by sector, see Layne, 'Spines of the Thistle', 103–7.

Footnote #51 (p. 97)
To track all of this information and from where it came, some judicial clerks created indices or matrices that matched the identification number of each witness to a given prisoner, allowing easier reference to compiled evidence from different sittings.

For other matrices, see SP54/32/41c; TS20/60/4, 7; 20/74/12; 20/86/10–12; 20/97/1–3, all TNA.

Footnote #55 (p. 97)
Kept either in confinement separately or in the homes of court-appointed messengers at 6s. 8d. per day for both supervision and protection, most remained isolated from those against whom they were informing.

See also Witnesses in Custody of Messengers, n.d., TS20/53/1–3, TNA; Bruce to Webb, 14 August 1746, FSP, MS17527 ff. 170–1, NLS; Bruce to Fawkener, 8 July 1746, CP/Main 17/132, RA.

Footnote #58 (p. 97)
Threats against informants were common, and special care was taken to shield them from unnecessary exposure.

William Davis, for example, was committed to Newgate for threatening to 'spirit away' one of the king's witnesses, and in April 1747 the solicitor John Kent was tried and found guilty of trying to persuade others not to give evidence against the rebels two months prior. William McGhie petitioned that he saw informant John Urquhart receive a letter at his home 'threatening him with distrucion [sic]' if he spoke against Aeneas Macdonald in court. Prosecutors were understandably concerned that their crucial witnesses could be compromised by 'Jacobite Advice' or could meet with 'Bad Company', and Ryder had complained about obstinance and corruption among the witnesses even before the treason trials began in earnest. Memoranda of Sharpe, n.d., TS20/49/1b, TNA; Sharpe to Newcastle, 23 April 1747, SP36/96/1/124, TNA; Prisoners in Chester Castle, 31 January 1747, SP36/93/2/129–30, TNA; Prisoners in England, n.d., SP36/92/1/50–4, TNA; Statement of William McGhie, n.d., TS 20/92/11, TNA; Statement of John Urquhart, n.d., TS20/92/26, TNA; CP/Main 69 Series XI.38.9, RA; SP36/84/2/66–7, TNA; Fletcher to Newcastle, 9 August 1746, SP54/33/6a, TNA.

Footnote #60 (p. 98)
For those facing charges of treason, turning King's evidence could lead to their release on bail or even full pardons. Four surgeon's apprentices imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle were allowed to roam freely within its walls after assisting state solicitors, and two servants of prominent Jacobite officers were admitted to bail by the Justice Clerk upon promising to tell 'every thing that was true'.

Alexander Stewart and a number of prisoners at Carlisle were brought lists of fellow inmates and were offered their freedom if they would admit incriminating knowledge of the persons therein: Forbes and Paton, *Lyon in Mourning*, ii, 237–8.

Footnote #64 (p. 98)
Prisoners of station like Simon Fraser of Lovat; Charles Douglas, 5th Lord Mordington; and Arnprior could afford to stifle evidence against them or summon groups of exculpatory witnesses, and prosecutors were frustrated by the tedium occasioned by the entrance of floods of new people to examine.

See also Queries for Exculpatory Witnesses, n.d., TS 20/131/11, TNA; SP 54/33/23b, TNA. Remarkably, Webb uncovered two rather bold Jacobite infiltrators among the witnesses at Carlisle who were caught distributing propaganda from 1715 in an attempt to sway their consciences, and the men were committed 'for High Treason in Levying War' shortly thereafter: Webb to Newcastle, 14 September 1746, SP36/87/2/1, TNA.

Footnote #65 (p. 98)
Indeed, informants were still being sent from Scotland for this purpose in February 1747, well after the bulk of the trials had been settled. Seven prominent evidences used by the government were only released from service after the trial of Aeneas Macdonald secured a guilty verdict in late December 1747, upon which time it was considered that they had 'Compleated the business for which they were detained'.

Angus Mackinnon, a Jacobite from Skye who turned King's evidence, was discharged from his duties in late March 1747 after providing depositions against twenty-seven individuals. Upon petitioning the Treasury Solicitor for money to conduct him home, however, Sharpe instead had Mackinnon detained once again as 'the most material witness' against the laird of his own clan: Evidence of Angus Mackinnon, n.d., TS20/105/10, TNA; Sharpe to Ramsden, 28 March 1747, SP36/95/1/121, TNA; Examination of Angus Mackinnon, 18 April 1747, TS20/87/86, TNA.

Figures

FACILITY	DATE	TOTAL PRISONERS	TOTAL WITNESSES	2+ WITNESSES	1 WITNESS	NO WITNESSES
Chester	Spring 1746	124	38	36	6	82
York	Spring 1746	87	20	48	15	24
Lincoln	Spring 1746	112	27	21	17	74
Lancaster	Spring 1746	140	17	46	29	65
Newgate	Summer 1746	35	131	35	-	-
New Prison	Summer 1746	42	-	37	5	-
Tilbury & Transports	October 1746	430	23	-	-	-
Aberdeen	July 1746	51	13	26	2	23
Stirling	July 1746	198	-	142	5	0
Edinburgh Castle	Spring 1746	25	-	6	0	19
Canongate	Spring 1746	37	-	11	1	25
Edinburgh	August 1746	270	160	-	-	-
Perth	Spring 1746	132	150	-	-	-

Figure 6.1 Witness distribution by facility, 1746. The last three columns show the number of persons with two or more, one, or no witnesses for the Crown against them. All figures are from pretrial returns.

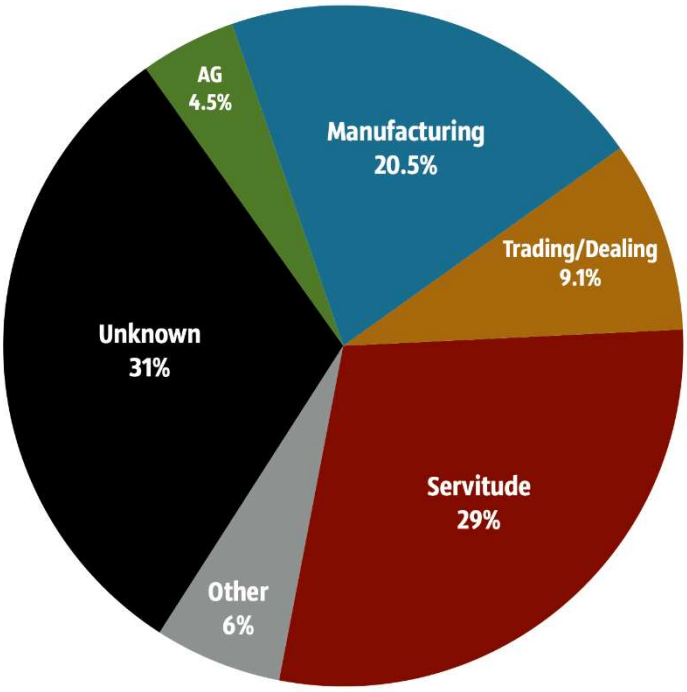

Figure 6.2 Newgate witnesses by occupation, 1746. Source: Newgate Evidence, n.d., TS11/760/2363, TNA.

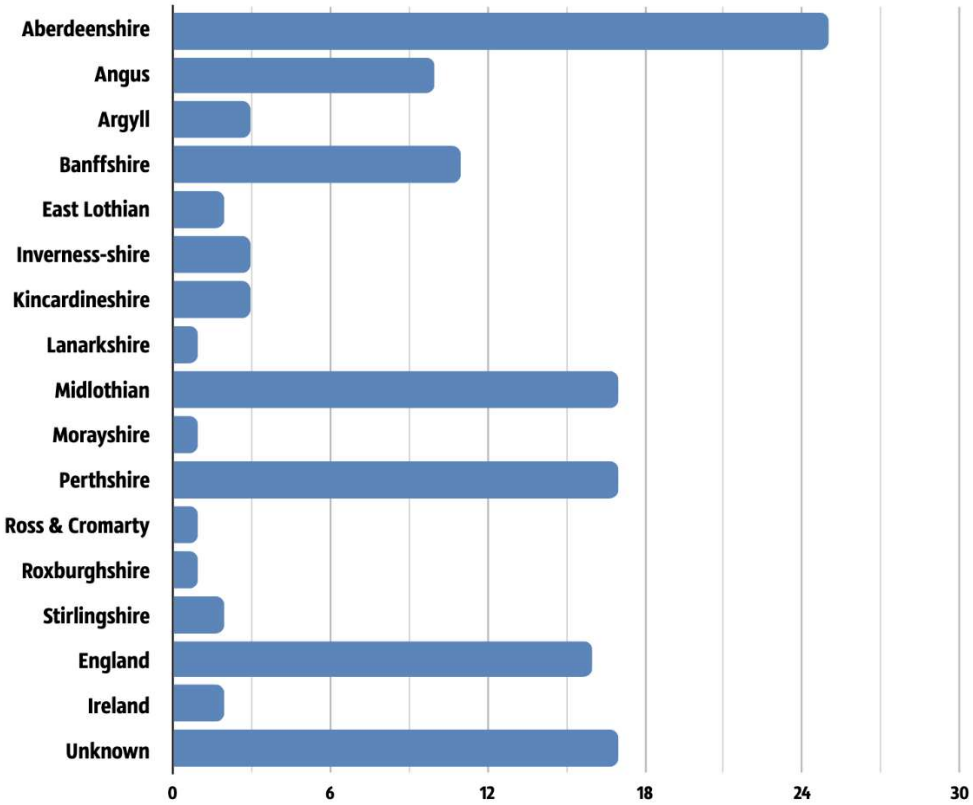

Figure 6.3 Newgate witnesses by location, 1746. Source: Newgate Evidence, n.d., TS11/760/2363, TNA.