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Was Hannah Twynnoy Killed by a Tiger in England in 1703? A Historical Sociological Approach

Matthew David

Abstract

This paper approaches globalization through the lens of folk lore, myth, and John Law's hopeful monsters, focusing on Hannah Twynnoy, a woman allegedly killed by a tiger in Malmesbury (England) in 1703. Hannah's death was taken up three hundred years later as a metaphor for globalization when local factory jobs were relocated to a 'tiger economy' (Malaysia). Taken to manifest Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury's 'state of nature', Hannah's story also illustrates the reverse. Globalization can fragment and deregulate, but globalization assembles and regulates to. Hannah's gravestone and burial records blend real and virtual, local, and global; the genealogy of 'tigers' challenges Michel Foucault; and questions regarding blame echo across centuries, in ongoing conflict over agency and causation (as per Edmund Evans). Is globalisation a 'jungle out there'? No. Local factory jobs did go. Nevertheless, sustaining global intellectual property regulation means the company employs more people in Malmesbury today than before manufacturing relocated. After it was announced that local jobs would be 'eaten up' by a 'tiger economy', a spate of alien big cat (ABC) sightings near Malmesbury did express what Susan Lepselter calls the inchoate injuries of class and power. Indeed, experiencing such fabulous things did resonate with something real.

Department of Sociology, Durham University, Durham,UK

Correspondence: Matthew David. Email: matthew.david@durham.ac.uk

WHO WAS HANNAH?

IN MEMORY OF
HANNAH TWYNNOY
Who died October 23rd 1703
In bloom of Life
She's snatched from hence,
She had no room
To make defence ;
For Tyger fierce
Took Life away.
And here she lies
In a bed of Clay,
Until the Resurrection Day.

So reads the gravestone standing in Malmesbury Abbey's graveyard (the typo in line seven being in the stone; see Figure 1: Hannah's Gravestone 2021). However, various historical documents give conflicting accounts of the wording. Moffatt (1805, p. 72) records the gravestone reading "in bloom of youth", not "Life"; does not record the space between "defence" and the semi-colon; records "snatch'd life away" not "Took Life away", as currently written; records "now she lies" rather than the current "here she lies"; and does not capitalise the first letters of "clay", "resurrection", or "day", which are capitalised in the present text. Bird's (1876) recording is identical to

FIGURE 1 Hannah's Gravestone 2021. Photograph by Maria Zerva.

Moffatt in all the above differences from the present wording, except that Bird records the typo — gap — in line seven, noted above. Bird does, however, record 'tiger', rather than either Moffatt's 'tyger' or the current 'Tyger'.

Curiously, Moffatt's (1805) text refers to Hannah Twynnoy, as does today's gravestone, whilst Bird's (1876) text refers to Hannah Tywnney, in line with the only recently 're'-discovered 1703 burial record (see below). This might all be simply poor recording, but the face of the stone itself suggests another explanation: the practice of cleaning off and re-lettering gravestones. A town guide (Beak, 1960) contains a photograph in which the positioning of the text is different. In the past, the text 'HANNAH TYWNNOY' is carved horizontally about two centimetres below the start and finish of the 'IN MEMORY OF' text, which, itself, curves around just below the top of the stone. Today that gap is around ten centimetres. An older photograph (in Vernon, 2005, p. 19), a 1930s postcard, and a photographic negative from 1966 (taken by local photographer David Forward; see Figure 2: Hannah's Gravestone 1966) all confirm the older physical spacing. Whilst the spacing changes are most striking, the lettering also changes between the first of these three images and that used in Beak's 1960 book. It is comforting to believe that evidence set in stone is 'reliable data' but this is not true. The surface of the stone in the poetic-text area is free of the lichens and pitting that covers the outer area. The stone had been cleaned off and the text re-carved. Set in stone, it might be. Immutable evidence, it is not.

David Forward provided me with a pair of Victorian photographs. One shows the right-hand side of the Abbey graveyard (viewed looking towards the Abbey's front), where Hannah's gravestone is today. Most of the graves in the photograph are not present today, but Hannah's grave, present on that side today, does not appear in the photograph. The vast majority of 'the past' has disappeared (slate cracks and sandstone crumbles). What has not disappeared is potentially just as problematic. The second photograph presents the left-hand side of the graveyard (see Figure 3: Painting Gravestones). It shows two figures sat repainting gravestones. Most physical artefacts do not last, and those that do last do so because they have been altered (in content and/or location).

FIGURE 2 Hannah's Gravestone 1966. Photograph by David Forward.

FIGURE 3 Painting Gravestones.

The landlord of the public house that backs onto the Abbey graveyard today remains convinced that Hannah's gravestone is a nineteenth-century stonemason's practical joke. For a long time, the lack of supporting evidence regarding Hannah's life and death led many to share this suspicion — though the town's museum does a 'roaring' trade with tiger-related souvenirs. However, in 2017, Ancestry.com released a searchable database of the Abbey's records of births and deaths. These records had been indexed in 2009–11 by the Wiltshire Family History Society, but, without a searchable online portal, the information contained could not be used, by any interested party, to look for Hannah. Previously, burial records were held in the Abbey, but in a very disordered fashion. This disorder was common and led to calls for central storage of such documents. In 1978, records were transferred to Wiltshire's county town of Trowbridge — chosen to avoid conflict between the county's only large conurbations, Swindon to the north and Salisbury to the south, and so rarely visited by anyone.

In 2017, Claire Skinner, Principal Archivist at the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, using Ancestry.com's newly searchable digital archive of the Wiltshire Parish Registers, first connected the record from 24th October 1703 for "Hannah Twynney [with an 'e'] Kil'd by a Tygre at the p.h [public house] white lyon" (see Figure 4: Hannah's Burial Record) with the gravestone of Hannah Twynnoy (with an 'o'), dated 23rd October of that year. Skinner (2017: no page number) also suggested: "According to Athelstan [Malmesbury's town] Museum there used to be a memorial to Hannah in Hullavington church" (just south of Malmesbury). My discussions with Skinner and with staff at the museum identified no memorial plaque, only a mention on the museum's webpage of a Victorian account that refers to a plaque describing how the tiger "by an extraordinary effort drew out the staple, sprang towards the unhappy girl, caught hold of her gown and tore her [Hannah] to pieces". I visited Hullavington Church. None of the wardens working there had ever seen such a plaque and there was no evidence of it. A letter in the museum (allegedly written by a William Clarke in the late Victorian period) notes the epitaph on Hannah's grave and then sets down a string of words very similar (but not identical) to the text on the museum's webpage, which the museum, at the time, attributed to the Hullavington plaque. This segment of Clarke's letter is set in speech marks, implying a prior source. However, these speech marks (and an asterix just before the opening speech mark) are in a much darker ink. Perhaps they were added later, creating an impression of a prior source when none existed. After cross-referencing accounts, it transpires that Clarke's quote mark enclosed text, attributed to the Hullavington plaque, is in fact taken from page 72 of John Moffatt's (1805) book, *The History of the Town of Malmesbury*. The text, then, is Moffatt's description, not a quotation of a prior source. The museum subsequently altered its webpage.

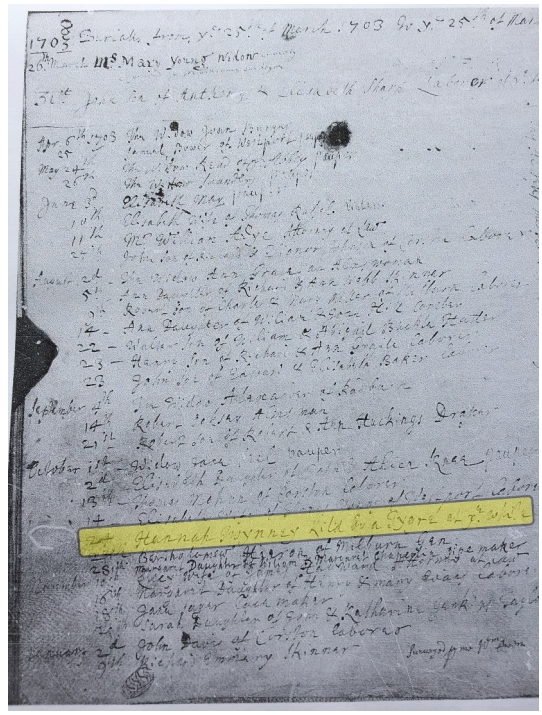

FIGURE 4 Hannah's Burial Record.

From the 1950s to the 1990s Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, and Taiwan became the original 'four tiger' economies. By 2002, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines were being referred to as the 'new tigers' or the 'tiger cubs' (Smith, 2010). A tiger killing Hannah is one metaphor for globalisation as 'state of nature'/'a jungle out there', such as when Malmesbury jobs were relocated to a 'tiger economy' in 2002. However, globalisation, in the form of Ancestry.com's globe spanning and digitally connecting archive, also reunited Hannah's grave and her burial record.[1] If Hannah was torn apart by an early globalising encounter, one that can then be taken as a metaphor for globalisation today, her reunification was also the result of global forces operating in a different direction.[2] Globalisation is not simply a 'jungle out there'.

WHERE? MALMESBURY'S WHITE LION

Hannah worked at the White Lyon in Malmesbury's Gloucester Street, itself connecting Oxford Road from the east to Bristol Road in the west. The inn was a coaching station on the route from London, via Oxford to Bristol. The stables and yard on the western side were built over in Victorian times, whilst the vicarage, next door on the eastern side in Hannah's day, has also since relocated. A double-decker bus demolished the first-floor bay window in 1964. Then a motorcycle crashed through the ground-floor window into the bar, finally 'forcing' the closure of the White Lyon in the 1970s.

The claim, repeatedly made, was that the closure of Malmesbury's vacuum-cleaner factory and the relocation of manufacturing to Malaysia was 'inevitable'. Malaysia was seen at the time as the new and rising 'tiger economy'. At the time the decision was announced in February 2002, James Dyson, quoted in the Guardian, said: "We don't want to present them [the workers] with a fait accompli, but I have to say that the end decision is fairly inevitable" (Gibbs, 2002). Sir Richard Needham, the former Member of Parliament for Malmesbury, and the 'Deputy Chairman

[sic]' of Dyson Appliances in 2002, added: "Looking at our future made us realise with stark intensity that we could not hope to survive if we stayed making our mass market cleaners in Wiltshire" (Valler, 2002, p. 10).

Robert Uhlig was the business and technology correspondent for the British Daily Telegraph newspaper group in 2002, having edited *James Dyson's History of Great Inventions* (2001). Uhlig repeats the 'inevitability' claim. Writing in the Telegraph, Uhlig (2002) sets an earlier quote from James Dyson – stating "I do not believe that the nation that was the home to the Industrial Revolution can remain great if it loses the ability to make things" - against the following claim: "Yesterday he [Dyson] was forced to abandon his beliefs to the economic imperative." Uhlig further cites James Dyson as saying: "I agonised over it particularly because I put so much faith in manufacturing in Britain, but the decision became inevitable when I looked at the facts."

In addition, production foreman Bob Tidey was cited in the Gazette and Herald (Valler, 2002): "I think the cost of making the vacuum-cleaners on this site is spiralling out of control, so the move is inevitable." A subsequent letter to the Gazette and Herald on 21st February (no name given), entitled "Firm not to Blame", blamed Malmesbury's high wages, productivity issues and planning barriers, concluding "what did they expect?" given cheaper and more flexible alternatives. The BBC (2002a) reported: "[Tony] Blair 'disappointed' over Dyson jobs"; but the then prime minister was also noted to have said it was for the market to decide. Whilst lower labour market regulation encouraged Dyson Appliances to relocate manufacturing to Malaysia (and for its owner to support Brexit), the company's subsequent decision (in 2019) to relocate its headquarters to Singapore was not on grounds of cost or tax. Rather, Singapore has the strictest intellectual property rights regulations in Asia, and second only to Finland in the world (Property Rights Alliance, 2024).

'Inevitability' is not so clear cut. While deregulation of labour markets was presented as making redundancy 'inevitable' for UK assembly-line workers because Malaysia offered cheaper and more flexible alternatives, regulation (over intellectual property rights -IPRs) was presented as equally natural and necessary. A fully deregulated market would see pirate capitalism undo the 'monopoly rents' of patent (and other IPR) holders. Companies that outsource production still seek regulation to offset such threats. Maintaining intellectual-property-based pricing in global network capitalism requires global IPR regulation (David & Halbert, 2015).

Until 1997, Richard Needham had been the member of parliament (MP) for Malmesbury's North Wiltshire constituency; and he was the Minister of State for Trade between April 1992 and July 1995. During his time as an MP and just after leaving ministerial office the then Mr Needham (he was knighted in 1997) also took up the directorship at Dyson Appliances, which he held until 2011. In 2002, Sir Richard also held the role of 'Deputy Chairman [sic]' at Dyson Appliances and oversaw the relocation to Malaysia. Before working for Dyson Appliances, Richard Needham's ministerial trade missions to Malaysia created the conditions for the company's later pilot production in the that country, which began in the year 2000, and for their subsequent full relocation of production in 2002/2003.

Ninety days after leaving his ministerial position (during which time he had overseen the development of Far-East Trade Boards in China, Malaysia and Indonesia) but still 2 years before leaving Parliament, Richard Needham was appointed to the boards of a number of companies with strong connections to his ministerial missions. At the time, the most controversial of these was GEC, the general electrical and arms-related manufacturer. GEC then merged with BAE Systems; the company Needham had defended whilst in office against claims that it had knowingly supplied ground-attack Hawk aircraft to the Indonesian government for use against civilians in East Timor (UK Parliament, 1994). Mr Needham also took up the directorship at Dyson Appliances in 1995. Strong personal connections with both the UK and Malaysian governments (Blackhurst, 1994) allowed him to set in motion a transfer of the company's production operations to Malaysia, and whereby Dyson Appliances' IPRs would be secured. Today, Sir Richard's public speaking resume announces: "He [Sir Richard] was also responsible for Dyson's decision to move its manufacturing to Malaysia. He has close personal ties with many of ASEAN's business and political leaders" (London Speaker Bureau, 2024).

Whilst the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is best known for championing 'free' trade, its first act, the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) was a binding framework for

upholding foreign held IPRs by all national signatories. Malaysia was the only developing country to ratify the TRIPS Agreement at its inception on 1st January 1995. Deregulation in labour combined with tighter regulation in IPRs created the perfect conditions for intellectual property-based businesses. Consequently, more people work for Dyson Appliances in Malmesbury today than did when manufacturing was still located there, mainly in the research, development, and legal services that manage the company's IPRs worldwide (Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard, 2012). Globalisation is not a Hobbesian 'state of nature'. Claims that 'it's a jungle out there' are rhetorical devices, not matters of fact.

WHAT, A TIGER?

"Thus, at the very beginning of the eighteenth century, [Hannah] Twynnoy had the dubious honour of being the first person [in England] to die at the hands — or perhaps the paws of a tiger" — or so says Christopher Plumb (2015, p. 117). However, he (2015: 129) goes on to note that a female employee at the Tower of London was killed by a lion in 1684, with a male colleague killed shortly thereafter. Velton (2013) notes a female visitor killed by the Tower lions in 1686. Hahn (2003) names her as Mary Jenkinson. Hannah was not England's first 'Alien Big Cat' (ABC) victim. Was she England's first tiger victim, then? Even this claim is problematic given the changing nature of classification. This element of Foucauldian archaeology shows, however, that Foucault was right about tigers but wrong about something even more fundamental to his work (of which more shortly).

The burial record from 24th October 1703 says "Kil'd by a Tygre", but there is a problem: in the early eighteenth century, there were a lot of 'tigers'. Julia Allen (2002, p. 145), for example, offers a print from around 1750 of "a young Man Tyger", which is clearly a monkey of some kind. She also documents "a tyger-cat" from Senegal and another "tiger" from Africa that is most likely a cheetah. Writing from a Victorian perspective, meanwhile, Frost (1875: 155) notes that, in the eighteenth century, a "man-tiger" was most likely to have been a gorilla; and makes reference to a collection in 1748 that proclaimed it possessed "the only Tiger in England" (whilst dismissing a rival show's alleged tiger as "being only a common leopard"). Grigson (2016) and Hahn (2003) between them document a raft of so-called 'tiger'/'tyger'/'tygerr'/'tygre's before 1775: hunting tiger (cheetah), mush-tiger (Muscovy cat or lynx), spotted tiger (leopard), and Brazilian, American, and African tigers, as well as a man-tiger (most likely a baboon or mandrill). Reference to an Indian tiger might be what we think of as a tiger today, but that is not absolute. The word tiger, coming from the river Tigris, was, for the Romans, a word for all big cats beyond the bounds of their known world. Similarly, until the mid-eighteenth century, the word 'tiger', in English, applied to all big cats (and more besides) originating from outside of Western Europe.

It was only in 1775 that the French naturalist George-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon's classification of 'tiger' (now in common usage) was translated into English. This restricted the term 'tiger' to a smaller subset of big cats — with the 'Royal Bengal Tiger' being the primary member of that family (Grigson, 2016; Plumb, 2015). That Hannah's burial record said "tygre" is no assurance that what the Reverend Charles Handry (who wrote the burial notice and whose vicarage adjoined the White Lyon) believed killed Hannah was what we understand by that word. Still, it was not likely to have been the "unicorne" that naturalist John Evelyn saw at a London exhibition in 1684 (Velton, 2013, p. 148). At least the rhinoceros was not classified as a 'tygre'.

Michel Foucault (1989 [1966]) suggests our systems of classification lead us to see the past through modern eyes and thereby misunderstand what made sense to our ancestors. The case of tigers certainly accords with Foucault's meaning; Foucault was, however, fundamentally wrong regarding French naturalism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on a matter far more pressing to his (Foucault's) intellectual legacy. Foucault connects Jeremy Bentham's design for the modern prison, the panopticon, with the French royal menagerie at Versailles, which had an octagonal room: one entrance for observers and seven sides with cages: "Bentham does not say whether he was inspired in his project, by LeVaux's Menagerie at Versailles; the first menagerie in which the different elements are not, as they traditionally were, distributed in a park" (1978: 201). Foucault simply asserts the

connection, but is wrong. The 'Lion Tower' in the Tower of London had been around for centuries. Foucault correctly writes: "The panopticon is a royal menagerie; the animal is replaced by man" (1978: 201). However, Bentham never saw the French animal house (nor could he have, as Foucault admits — "By Bentham's time, this menagerie had disappeared" (1978: 201)). Unknown to Foucault, Bentham was a regular visitor to the Lion Tower at the Tower of London (Hahn, 2003, p. 189). The Lion Tower/Turret was constructed to house exotic cats by the 'Leopard Prince' (later Edward I) in the thirteenth century; but it was James I/VI who added a high central viewing platform in the central turret in 1604/5, to observe unseen the caged animals arrayed in a circular fashion around the outer wall. Christopher Wren modified the Lion Tower in the 1660s, at around the same time that the menagerie at Versailles was first constructed. By Bentham's day, paying spectators could observe the Lion Tower's exotic animals as King James once had. According to Hahn, the Lion Tower was the true origin of the modern prison. Jeremy Bentham (2017, p. 161), in a letter to his brother, Samuel, notes his visit to the Lion Tower. This letter was dated 23rd April 1783. Only in December 1786 did Jeremy credit his brother with the idea of the panoptic design, when Samuel used the 'central inspection principle', observed by Jeremy 3 years before in the Lion Tower, to observe apprentices in his (Samuel's) engineering works (Bentham, 2017, p. 502).

HOW DID A TIGER GET TO MALMESBURY IN 1703?

If Hannah was killed by an alien big cat in 1703, in a small Wiltshire town, how did the 'tiger' come to be there? Three candidate theories arise: Bentham's 'aristoc(r)ats', Jonathan Swift's 'monster-mongers', or Ned Ward's 'boobily bumpkins'.

Myriad sources claim the 'tiger' was part of a visiting circus (for example, BBC, 2002b, 2003). This is not possible. The Roman circus (circular circuit) amphitheatres were long gone. The revival of the circus in modern times did not begin until 1768, when former cavalry sergeant-major Philip Astley and his wife Patty began 'the modern circus' in London. Taking the idea of riding in a circuit/circle (the centrifugal force aiding balance) from the equestrian showman 'Old' Sampson, who Astley had apprenticed with after leaving the cavalry, Philip and Patty established the now standard 42-foot-wide circuit; they added clowns to fill in between horse-riding sets, and later introduced the travelling 'big top' (Twitchett & Richley, 2018). The addition of high-wire acts and the trapeze came later, as did the introduction of 'wild animals' to complement the original horse stunts. There were no circuses in 1703. We read history backwards at our peril, often through categories whose meaning today does not correspond to the things to which we think they refer.

Ever since the twelfth century, the Tower of London was home to big cats and other exotic animals, gifted to monarchy (Hahn, 2003) but often passed on or bred from to satisfy the taste for distinction/emulation on the part of the aristocracy. Kisling (2001: 28) writes: "Relatively small and scattered royal, monastic, and municipal [animal] collections from the medieval period began to increase in size and numbers. These collections became known as menageries (although the term did not come into use [in English] until about 1712)". The word menagerie does, then, originate in France. Menage, meaning housekeeping (to manage), being extended to 'menagerie' to describe the new Versailles animal-house, opened in 1664. Meanwhile, the prototype for the panoptican, the Tower of London's Lion Tower, came earlier but was only called a menagerie in the later eighteenth century. Foucault simply 'managed' to confuse the sequence of words and things.

Christopher Plumb (2015: inside-front of dust-jacket), in his account of eighteenth-century London's collections of exotic animals, claims: "Many aristocratic families sought to create their own private menageries, with which to entertain their guests, whilst for the less well healed, touring exhibitions of exotic creatures — both alive and dead — satisfied their curiosity for the animal world".

One theory for the 'tiger' that killed Hannah Twynnoy is that it belonged to a local aristocratic family. In post-Restoration England, exotic animals symbolised monarchy and naturalised aristocracy. Elephants, lions, and tigers

were particularly in demand to display the natural order of royalty (Plumb, 2015). Was Hannah killed by a 'tiger' that had escaped the bonds of feudal order?

Malmesbury historian Tony McAleavy has (in conversation) suggested an aristocratic connection. In the late seventeenth century, Sir Thomas (Lord) Wharton, the prominent Whig politician, in order to control the appointment of Malmesbury's two parliamentary seats, bribed his way to being appointed the town's High Steward, but was then removed from office for corruption in 1702. He set about various 'good works' to regain the stewardship — which he did, in April 1705 (Luce, 1979, p. 166). A staunch anti-Catholic, Wharton composed the rabble-rousing Whig anthem 'Lillibullero'. McAleavy suggests this composition has a similar structure to the epitaph on Hannah Twynnoy's grave — erected exactly at the moment Wharton was seeking to regain favour by extending his largess across the town. I consulted two musicologists and one historical linguist. All observed that Hannah's epitaph has an iambic poetic form, whilst 'Lillibullero' does not. There is some similarity, but not enough to prove common authorship. However, McAleavy is right to point out that burial in the Abbey, a headstone, and a poetic epitaph were not within the budget of a barmaid with no identifiable family in the town. Wharton had the money, the motive, and the lyrical form. If the cat in question had belonged to a local 'big-whig', Wharton may have gained some political advantage from smoothing things out with a fancy memorial. Wharton's 'debauched' life is also well documented, and McAleavy suggests Hannah's 'bloom of life' may refer to her being pregnant by Wharton.

Grigson (2016) documents the raft of aristocratic collections that arose in the late seventeenth and (into the) eighteenth centuries. Hampton Court was remodelled in 1688, to add an animal house that would only later be called a menagerie. The Duke of Chandos followed suit shortly thereafter, as did most aristocrats who could afford to (along with many that could not — often turning out cats they could no longer afford to feed). Just a few miles south of Malmesbury, the Earls of Sherbourne started collecting big cats at Bowood. It was here that Jeremy Bentham later met a 'tyger' and stroked a leopard in August 1781 (Bentham, 2017: 50 and 69) before visiting the Tower of London's lions, discussing this with his brother, and thereby devising the panopticon. Aristsoc(r)ats are therefore a possibility.

What then of a travelling menagerie? In 1703, the term menagerie was not in use in English, but travelling collections existed. Jonathan Swift, in his parody of Hobbes' *Leviathan* (2017 [1651]), *A Tale of a Tub* (originally written in 1697 but not published until 1704) calls them "monster-mongers" (1975 [1704]: 81). Paul White (1972) suggests that business-minded showmen saw how popular the Tower of London's animals were and sought to copy the idea. In the 1660s, Robert Boyle published instructions on the transportation of exotic animals (Kisling, 2001, p. 32), although only dead ones. However, in June 1698, the then president of the Royal Society (Sir Hans Sloane) visited diverse London fairs to see *living* exotic animals (Velton, 2013, p. 148). Frost (1875, p. 89) suggests: "In 1708, the first menagerie seems to have appeared at Bartholomew Fair", but it then moved on to Smithfield that same year (Frost, 1875, p. 91). However, another fellow of the Royal Society, Robert Hooke, claimed in his diary to have paid two pence to see a "tigre" at the Bartholomew Fair in 1677 (Altick, 1978, p. 35). Frost (1875, p. 91) notes his inability to identify the 1708 menagerie's owner — and for good reason. Travelling displays of exotic animals had been prohibited since 1697. Following the Restoration, the sight of exotic animals made the Tower of London the most popular visitor attraction in the city. However, the tower was not without rivals: "That the Master-keeper of his Majesty's Lion-office in the Tower of London [a Thomas Dymocke], is informed that several persons do expose to publick-view several wild beasts against his Majesty's prerogative-royal" (Tower notice from 1697, cited in Hahn, 2003, p. 137). Velten (2013, p. 148) also records that the Tower "faced competition from showman travelling with exotic animals". But he immediately adds: "Royalty had always known how to look after proprietorial rights, so they issued a warning in 1697 prohibiting the exhibition of other exotic animals". However, the edict, "designed to preserve the monopoly of the Royal menagerie at the Tower, forbidding the display of 'lions, lionesses, leopards, or any other beasts which are feroe natura', had proven ineffective" (Malcolm, 1811, p. 210). In 1700, the publican Ned Ward claimed that "tigers" were, in London at least, "grown now so common they are scarce worth mentioning" (cited in Strauss, ed., 1924, p. 176). Beyond London, we do not know. Was it monster-mongers, then, that brought a 'tygre' to Malmesbury in 1703? It is another possibility.

A third suspect, not aristocrat or travelling show, exists: the 'boobily bumpkins'. In the early eighteenth century, London and Bristol were the only large cities in England, and harvest time saw what Ned Ward referred to as the 'boobily bumpkins' taking their produce to town. "Reports of … Inticing Rarities, to be visited at a small Expense" were relayed to country cousins by "Boobily Bumpkins, who had stolen so much time from their wagons and Hay-Carts, as to be spectators of these surprising Curiousities" (cited in Altick, 1978, p. 35). 23rd October would be relatively late for a travelling show to be out of London, but boobily bumpkins, with empty post-harvest wagons, having stolen so much time, might have taken (bought or stolen) more than just tall tales back to the countryside. Grigson (2016, p. 52) writes: "During the reign of Queen Anne [1702–1714] … many large exotic mammals were to be seen or sold at London pubs and at fairs (especially Bartholomew Fair), and were occasionally in provincial towns, as Hannah Twynnoy's tombstone shows". Grigson notes that Queen Anne had, on 1st October 1703, taken possession of two new lions. Aping aristoc(r)ats, monster-mongers, and boobily bumpkins would have all jumped at the change to buy or steal a 'tiger' — and take it to Wiltshire if they could.

WHY? WITCHES, WERE-WOLVES AND TIGERS

Witch trials peaked in late-seventeenth-century England and then burned themselves out, with the last English execution for witchcraft taking place in 1684. John Aubrey (1972), contemporaneous biographer of 'Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury', documented and fuelled Malmesbury's last witch trial. The town's seven leading families consolidated their power by persecuting twelve impoverished women, two eventually sent to the gallows in Salisbury in 1672 (McAleavy, 2015). Robert Boyle, Hobbes' scientific rival, maintained the notion of an immaterial vacuum — the immaterial acting within the material world aligning with his belief in witchcraft. Fellow Royal Society member Joseph Glanvill's 1662 account of witchcraft, levitation, and poltergeists (the 'daemon of Tedworth') in the home of Wiltshire's senior magistrate John Mompesson is arguably the first 'haunted house' story (Hunter, 2005). Hobbes, in contrast to Boyle (and Glanvill), doggedly opposed all spirits, metaphysical explanations, and witch trials. However, despite his best efforts, by the time of Hobbes' death, supernatural beings were recognised in law, immaterial vacuums became accepted in science, and the anti-Hobbesian authorities arguing for both were one and the same people (Hunter, 2020).

> In 1685, a were-wolf, supposed to be the incarnation of a deceased burgomaster in Ansbach, did much harm in the neighbourhood of that city, preying upon the herds and even devouring women and children. With great difficulty the ravenous beast was finally killed; its carcass was then clad in a tight suit of flesh-coloured cere-cloth, resembling in tint the human skin, and adorned with a chestnut brown wig and a long whitish beard; the snout of the beast was cut off and a mask of the burgomaster's features substituted for it, and the counterfeit presentiment thus produced was hanged by order of the court. The pelt of the strangely transmogrified wolf was stuffed and preserved in the margrave's cabinet of curiosities as a memorial of the marvellous event and as ocular proof of the existence of were-wolves. (Evans, 1906: 195–196)

As with the trial of a pig, hung for killing a child and eating their flesh on a Friday, and a cockerel burnt at the stake for laying an egg (Evans, 1906), pre- and early modern jurists sought by blood to reconcile what today's criminalists seek to resolve with ink: the question of liability. Less than a decade after the above mentioned were-wolf hanging, two dogs were hung for witchcraft in Salem (Schiff, 2015). Shortly thereafter Hannah Twyonny/Twynney was killed by a tiger in Malmesbury.

It is easy to conclude from our readings of such were-wolfs and witch killings, mystery tiger stories, and animal trials, that 'we' are enlightened, and 'they' languished in dogmatic darkness. Yet, Evans (1906) shows that the 'criminalists' of his own (relatively recent) day (followers of Lombroso's or Durkheim's causalities — heredity or

society, respectively) were no more capable of reconciling the question of free will versus determinism in the case of criminal 'pathology' as any medieval or early-modern jurist seeking to determine how to deal with a tree falling, a horse killing its rider, a cart-wheel crushing a child, or a tiger killing a barmaid. Modern notions of human 'free will' would be no less absurd to our ancestors as animal trials might seem to us today.

Our ancestors had supernatural entities in their legal codes. We do today. Companies outsourcing work and making workers redundant can invoke the 'invisible hand' of the market to deny responsibility for their actions just as a metaphysical jurist might stay the execution of an animal client by arguing that the infestation of rats, flies, or locusts in question were merely the agents of divine will. Today, a company is a legal person, just not a physical person. Companies are, in effect, supernatural entities, existing whilst disembodied, and being both in multiple places and nowhere at once (for tax and other purposes). They can also avoid death (and taxes), which real persons find harder. Such legal persons even claim they can 'fly' (capital flight). Creativity, genius, and originality are spiritual categories in modern law — mystifying social processes, turning invention into the irreducible action of individual 'unmoved movers'. Intellectual property requires a distinction between idea and tangible expression, but then distinguishes expression from tangible *object*, again creating a spiritual category — 'intangibles', immaterial entities that can only 'exist' by law (David & Halbert, 2015). Whether a plague of rats, or a fatal boat accident, were attributed to God, the devil, witchcraft, or simply the 'vicious' nature of the animal or object on trial may seem (and is) arbitrary. Once we assume the devil does not exist, explanations that invoke 'him' need to be explained sociologically. The same applies when we seek to explain events where such supernatural or spiritual entities as 'the invisible hand', 'genius', 'disembodied persons', and 'intangibles' are being invoked.

We do not know where the tiger that killed Hannah Twynnoy came from. We should be modest, though, as John Law notes 'epistemological modesty' (1991: 15) does not mean we can know nothing even if it does mean we cannot know everything. Our ancestors used the notions of were-wolves, witches, and divine/demonic interventions to make sense of the world. These illusions reflected and helped assemble their social hierarchy. We have our legal fictions too.

EVIDENCE AND GUILT: THE DEODAND?

Records of the Malmesbury witch trials of the 1670s remain (McAleavy, 2015). Hannah Twynnoy's record of death, likewise, still exists, but there is no coroner's court record. Other coroners' records do exist from that time. In 1703 (the year of Hannah's fatal encounter), when a person was killed by a non-human actor/agent, that object or creature was 'deodand' (a gift given to God). In Saxon law, such 'banes' were directly given to the victim's family. In post-Norman England, 'deodand' were given over to the church or state, sold, and the money used for (supposedly) good purposes (Hunnisett, 1961).

Deodand was neither compensation for the family of the deceased, nor punishment for the owner of the lethal 'chattel'. Neither did deodand presume intent in the non-human 'agent' of death. Rather, deodand was atonement in relation to divine annoyance vented though an unwitting instrument. When a person was killed under a cartwheel, was the cart deodand, or the cart and horses, and what of the cargo carried? Coroners' court decisions varied wildly in this regard, as did valuations put on deodand when owners sought to buy back their former chattels (Sutton, 1997).

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw early-modern concerns around responsible action increasingly shape the decisions of coroners in measuring deodand — with an owner's negligence regarding their chattel's fatal effects influencing whether a wheel, the whole cart, or the whole cart along with its horses and cargo, for example, might be forfeit. Also, by 1703, most licences to issue deodand had been sold by the state to large landowners or liberties, that is, incorporated towns, authorities, or districts, of which Malmesbury was one (Berry, 1989).

By the nineteenth century, deodand was being used to exert compensation by the victims of accidents. When a lion attacked a stagecoach in Wiltshire in 1816, nearly killing a horse, the menagerie owner bought the horse (called

Pomegranate) to avoid deodand and toured the horse and lion together (Ervine, 2013). The case sparked a revival of deodand actions. Of these, the most infamous action, perhaps, occurred in respect of George Wombwell's big cats, who continually escaped. For example, in 1835, Wallace the lion (along with a tiger) escaped from Wombwell's menagerie. Wallace killed a man and some sheep. The tiger killed a woman, an infant, and an eleven-year-old boy. A verdict of accidental death still saw Wombwell charged deodand of £10 (Plumb, 2015), but he was not found liable for any criminal charge, as, according to the *Northampton Herald* (Plumb, 2015, p. 129), Wombwell "offered the funerals of the sufferers to take place at his expense and promised to make good all damages arising from the melancholy event". The tiger was shot dead, but the publicity only increased Wallace's commercial appeal. Wallace still attracts audiences today – being on display at Sunderland's Museum and Winter Gardens. In 1839, another tiger escaped, mauled a dog, and generated further lucrative publicity. Later still, the menagerist Charles Jamrach's tiger escaped and attacked a child (John Wade). Jamrach was fined £60. Wombwell's menagerie paid the fine, touring the animal as "the tiger that swallowed the boy on Ratcliffe Highway" (Simons, 2012, p. 19). Nero the lion sitting atop Wombwell's tomb (see Figure 5: Nero the Lion) looks remarkably like his contemporary Karl Marx, atop his tomb also in Highgate cemetery. Whilst Marx's tomb carries the line: 'Workers of all nations unite…', it was Wombwell's big cats that were routinely losing their chains.

However, railways saw the abolition of deodands. Just to the east of Wiltshire, a train crash on Christmas Eve 1841 caused nine deaths. Deodand of £1,000 — set against the whole train and carriages — was proposed. The railway engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel, who had just completed his Great Western Railway line through Wiltshire, raced eastwards along it from Bristol (just to the county's west) to secure his assets. He also began lobbying parliament and deodands were abolished (Kostal, 1994).

FIGURE 5 Nero the Lion.

Extensive records of deodand exist in Wiltshire (Meekings, ed., 1961), just none for Malmesbury in 1703. There was no subsequent publicity regarding Hannah's 'tiger', as in the cases of Pomegranate or Wallace. As a 'liberty' (free town), did the freemen of Malmesbury, England's oldest Saxon borough, take a liberty: directly raising a deodand and pocketing the money? As with Wombwell and Wallace above, perhaps the deodand was used to afford Hannah's burial and expensive gravestone, and hence enable the 'tiger's' owner to avoid further legal action. Nobody knows. When it is claimed Malmesbury workers are 'eaten by tigers', then and now, reality, law, and liability get buried. Mythical creatures and vicious beasts may become 'hopeful monsters' (Law, 1991, p. 17), if in understanding how we created them, we come to understand how these fabrications co-created us: '… that we are *all* monsters, outrageous and heterogeneous collages' (Law, 1991, p. 18).

TIPU'S TIGER REVISITED

A *London Review of Books* (LRB) article entitled 'Thus were the British defeated' (Munro, 2018) recalls how Hector Sutherland Munro was killed by a tiger on Saugor Island, near Calcutta in December 1792. A consequent letter in the LRB 3 weeks later (Down, 2018) 'reminded' readers that Hannah Twynnoy was Britain's first tiger victim, having become so 89 years prior to Munro.

In the late eighteenth century, Tipu Sultan, the self-styled 'Tiger of Mysore', fought the British to control Southern India, where the tiger symbolised both Muslim blessing, or *barakat*, and Hindu warrior-goddess power, or *sakti* (Qureshi, 2012, p. 218). Tipu's weapons were adorned with tiger motifs. Tipu's father had defeated the British at Pollilur in 1780 (Stronge, 2009, p. 73), but was forced to cede territory to Britain after subsequent defeat by Sir Hector Munro the following year. The death of Sir Hector's son, Hector Sutherland Munro, in the jaws of a tiger would have struck a chord with Tipu. Tipu commissioned a life-size mechanical automaton of a tiger mauling a flailing European, complete with a twenty-four-note internal bellow-organ and special pipes to replicate the tiger's roar and its victim's howls. However, it is not certain which event (the death of Munro junior or the commissioning of the automaton) came first.

After Tipu's final defeat and death, during the battle of Seringapatam in 1799, 'Tipu's Tiger' was sent to London (arriving in 1800). Initially destined for the Tower of London as a prisoner of war (Stronge, 2009), 'Tipu's Tiger' was put on display first in the museum of the East India Company, and then in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where it is one of the most visited exhibits today. The British presented Tipu as a cruel tyrant, and the organ was used repeatedly to play 'God Save the King' and 'Rule Britannia' (the V&A Museum website still makes a recording available, at time of writing). British medals minted to commemorate Tipu's defeat at Seringapatam depict a lion vanquishing a tiger, under the inscription (in Arabic): 'Assadullah al-Ghaleb' (The Conquering Lion of God). Tipu's Tiger had been the inverted model for the medal (Stronge, 2009, p. 84). Whilst British offices and men received copies, by far the greater number were given to Indian soldiers serving the British, for whom the message — Britain's lion rules India by the will of God — was primarily directed.

In Britain, Philip Astley's circus rendition of the defeat of Tipu ran for 28 years, an opera was written, and engravings of Tipu's Tiger became the basis for popular pottery figurines of 'The Death of Munrow'. The claim that Tipu's Tiger specifically 'celebrated' the death of Munro junior was only formally made in the twentieth century by Mildred Archer (1959), and is open to question. According to Stronge (2009), in the year 1215 AM (by the Islamic calendar used in Mysore at the time), Tipu Sultan had a silver flintlock mount made depicting a European being killed by a tiger. 1215 AM corresponds to 1787-88 AD, at least 4 years prior to Munro junior's death. MacGregor (2018, p. 175) claims that the clothes worn by the European victim of 'Tipu's Tiger' are those of a civilian, not an East India Company officer — as Munro junior was. These dates and the clothes suggest the symbolic victim of Tipu's Tiger is not Munro. However, Tipu had changed Mysore's calendar system in 1784 AD, just before the gun hilt was made (Stronge, 2009). Some confusion may have arisen in dating items. Tipu hearing

of Munro's death in 1792, before his own death 7 years later, is highly likely; he was in diplomatic communications with France and Britain the whole time. That he was not following European fashion to the letter proves nothing.

Irrespective of the truth, in Britain, 'Tipu's Tiger' became the model for 'The death of Munrow', just as Tipu Sultan became the emblematic 'figure' in Orientalist discourses about India and empire (Said, 1978): representing both "wild nature" and "mindless/mechanical automaton" (Qureshi, 2012, pp. 215–216). The parallel drawn in the LRB between Munro/Munrow and Twynnoy/Twynney highlights historical and contemporary representations of the 'state of nature'.

FROM THE MOUTHS OF TIGERS

> Truly men hate the truth; they'd liefer meet a tiger on the road.
>
> (Robinson Jeffers' *Cassandra*, cited in Monbiot, 2014, p. 49)

There is a further twist in this tiger's tale of myth, genealogy, classification, and ways of seeing. Two weeks after it was announced that vacuum-cleaner production would be ceasing in Malmesbury (with 800 jobs being relocated to Malaysia), Malmesbury police issued a warning. After a spate of sheep killings on farms near the town, PC Millward announced: "We are looking at an animal the size of an Alsatian or bigger" (Gazette and Herald, 2002: no page number). What came to be called 'the Minety Monster' started out being the size of a very large dog, but soon morphed into an 'alien big cat' (ABC), after "a local woman reported encountering a large feline whilst walking her dog" (BBC, 2006: no page number). A member of the Bristol Big Cat Society was soon on hand to claim that paw-prints and injuries were consistent with an ABC, rather than a dog (Burchall, 2006). In addition, Beastwatch and the Weird Wiltshire Big Cat Forum "investigated" and "reported" on the story, with calls for the public to "come forward" with more accounts — which they did: dozens of local people, contacting an amateur investigation 'hotline' or adding comments on the local BBC Wiltshire's big cat blog. Over time, the story was retold to the point where the police's initial warning (above, about something the size of a very large dog) was re-told as: "what they [police] described as an incident that had all the hallmarks of a big cat attack" (Burchall, 2006: no page number). Starting just after the announcement that 800 local workers were to have their jobs consumed by a tiger economy, the story faded after all the towns girls under eleven called Hannah laid flowers at Hannah Twynnoy's grave on October 23rd 2003 (Gazette and Herald, 2003).

George Monbiot (2014) estimates that there are around 2,000 big-cat reports annually in the UK. In 2002, numbers were much lower (though, whilst ABC 'sightings' are up, curiously, the rise of smart phones with cameras has coincided with a very sharp decline in 'sightings' of UFOs[3] and the Loch Ness Monster). The Minety Monster is not unique. Such sightings say something about human perception and the ability to see things if we believe them. Workers believed their jobs had been eaten by an Asian tiger economy. They were told it is a jungle out there. The figure in the discourse, the 'Minety Monster', speaks of something. On the wall in Malmesbury's Athelstan Museum stands a tiger's face. It is very popular; and visitors put coins into the tiger's mouth to trigger a 'roar'. If tigers could talk, would we understand them? Discussion of gravestones, circuses, tigers, and menageries suggests we hardly even understand ourselves.

There is a final twist in this tale/tail. Researchers at Cirencester's Royal Agricultural University (12 miles/20 kilometres from Malmesbury) analysed bones from one hundred farmed animals killed locally by other non-human animals. In sixteen cases, distinctive teeth marks could be identified. Of these, five could only have been made by large, non-native felines (Dickinson, 2020). Susan Lepselter (2016) claims not to be researching the 'reality' of UFOs within the 'American uncanny'; but does claim to be 'working with the real' when seeking to understand UFOs 'resonance' with real experience. Likewise, then with England's ABCs.

IN CONCLUSION

Even when cast in stone, words are not unproblematic truth. Global networks can dismantle and reassemble identities. 'Tiger' changes its meaning over time; and disputed meaning offers space to enact and resist power. Blame is always contested: aristoc(r)at/owners, monster-monger/markets, and boobily bumpkins/local actors blame each other, then as now. Supernatural forces and material constraints populated the law, and still do. Raising the spectre of 'the jungle out there' to naturalise a course of action is a disputable strategy, but challenging stories is not to say that discursively fabricated monsters are only illusions.

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This work is based on archival research and all source material is publicly available via the sources cited in the text. All images to be included in the work are either copyright cleared with the photographers (as per Figures 1 and 2), in the public domain as per Figures 3 and 4), or is the author's own work (as per Figure 5).

CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

There are no external funding sources and no conflict of interests.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that supports the findings of this study are available in the reference section of this article, either in the form of links to the relevant archive web-pages (BBC, local newspapers and historical/ancestory databases, or to literature cited in the work.

ORCID

Matthew David https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4651-3437

ENDNOTES

[1] Ancestry.com affords new levels of connectivity across space and time, further stretching the tension between Foucauldian genealogy (the ever-expanding number of pathways running backwards from the present to the past), and notions of linear 'identity' (lineage – or direct descent) associated with ideas of ancestry. Ancestry.com is a Utah-based commercial outshoot of the Church of Mormon. Mormons believe it possible to enrol ancestors of church members into heaven, just as they also seek to evangelise globally amongst the living. As such, Mormons undertake missionary work and worldwide ancestry research to fulfil their global mission.

[2] Sometimes '… the inchoate injuries of class, and power, and change' (Lepselter, 2005, p. 262) can dislocate, explaining (ibid: 257): 'Why Rachel isn't buried at her grave'. The town of Rachel, Nevada (on the edge of Area 51), was named after Rachel Jones, who, whilst born in that location, moved away as her parents lost their jobs locally. Carrying her name, the 'ghost town' (population 91) put up a gravestone in her honour, but she is not there. In contrast, global networks in the form of web based Ancestry.com, have re-united Hannah Twynnoy's gravestone and her ghost (memory, record and story).

[3] Susan Lepselter's (2016) account of cultural connections, resonances, explosions, and vulnerabilities in relation to unidentified flying objects – UFOs – explores something particular to the United States, but her account of suspicion, power, loss and the uncanny parallel the experiences I document in this study.

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