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Mapping the spaces of seduction: morality, gender and the city in early nineteenth-century Britain

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In December 1816, a young Lieutenant Allan Maclean testified on behalf of his fellow soldier and friend Henry Dive Townshend (1795-1882), during John Creighton's suit against Townshend for seducing his young daughter, Catherine Matilda Creighton.¹ One evening while Maclean and Townshend walked along the Dublin Canal, they passed fifteen-year-old Catherine walking with her four-year-old sister on an errand for their father. It was roughly eight o'clock at night. Maclean was called to testify to the nature of their meeting, describing how they passed by Catherine but Townshend turned back and ran after her, returning to meet him five minutes later. Maclean observed of her that 'She appeared to be a girl of loose character walking about the Canal'. Maclean then continued with a list of other occasions that he had seen Catherine walking through town, mentioning the street names, time of day and her company, including 'another female' and a Lieutenant Bender. John Creighton's lawyer, Mr Wallace, interrogated Maclean on the latter encounter that happened in the evening, asking him 'Was Bender's character, I say, so bad that it would be disgraceful for a female to speak to him?', to which Maclean replied:

A. I did not conceive it proper for a female to speak to him at that hour.

Q. Then it is quite right for a female who accidentally meets a person that she knows in the street to be considered by those who meet her as a woman of bad character?

A. I thought she was a stranger to Mr Bender, I believe she was. ...

Q. You met her in Merrion-square some time in August; now Merrion-square is I suppose as full of women of bad character, as the Canal?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do you believe that the Canal is a more proper place, or which scene do you think most proper?

A. Merrion Square, I believe in the day.

Q. Am I to understand, that ladies walk in the Summer there, until ten o'clock at night?

A. Protected.

Q. Then do you believe, that if an Officer's wife, happens to be unprotected, any gentleman, who chooses, may take liberties with her?

A. I do not conceive, that it is a proper place for a female to walk, at that time of night.

Q. And if it is not, do you mean to convey, that if a young girl, happens to be found there in an unprotected situation; any gentleman, who chooses, is at liberty to treat her as he pleases; do you mean to convey that?

A. Not at all.

Q. Then if so, do you believe that the man, who seduced her on that night, is guilty or innocent?

A. *(None made by the witness).*²

In this intelligent piece of cross-examination, the well-known lawyer Thomas Wallace attempted to unpick the cultural assumptions that were tied to women's movements in time and space in an Irish city, seeking to articulate and so interrogate the relationship between the urban, gender, sexual morality and manly honour. Women's movements through the city, particularly after dusk, became closely tied to their sexual reputations (with women who moved unprotected after dark viewed as immoral and therefore sexually available). Yet what about the vulnerable middle-class woman caught out in the wrong time and place? Was she to be exploited, or did the demands of masculine honour require middle-class men to take such women into their protection? And, if so, how were men to know who was an honourable woman and who was of 'loose character'? Underlying and unsaid during this discussion, of course, was the implication that women of 'loose character' were sexually available, their exploitation of little concern.

Recent work on space and human behaviour has moved from thinking about space as a fixed entity that humans behave on, or as the structures of the landscape that puts boundaries around human behaviour, to a dynamic interaction between landscape, architecture, time, the behaviours of people in particular places, and the cultural meanings attached to all of the above and their interaction.³ Space is 'performative'; as Henri Lefebvre notes, both constituted by and productive of social relations.⁴ In this, urban space is not simply the city, but the interaction between urban geographies, the people that live in and move through the city, and the values attached to both and their interaction. For Catherine Creighton and other women, urban space was formed differently and held different meanings depending upon time of day, their gender and character, and where in the city they walked. Walking by the canal held different meanings and reflected upon moral behaviour in different ways than walking on Merrion-Square; while in turn, who walked where could impact upon how such areas were interpreted, whether it was the prostitutes who defined red-light districts or the working and middle-class neighbourhoods that were identified by the background of their inhabitants.⁵ The city therefore was not simply a map to be walked across, but a dynamic component of gender and class identity, implicated in the making of moral character. Similarly, time of day or night was an important component of urban space, with both the city and those within it changing as night fell.⁶ The same body might be read and rendered differently as time moved on: the respectable woman marked as sexually-available; the polite gentleman turned libertine.

The court case that arose after the seduction of Catherine Creighton provides a useful case study in exploring the ways that urban space was created through the interaction between the streets of the city and the gendered body. Seduction cases had a long history. In Ireland, as in England and Wales, they provided compensation to the parents or employers of seduced women for a loss of their services.⁷ Like annulments and legal separations, they had been tried in the ecclesiastical courts for centuries.⁸ There was, however, an alternative option of suing in the civil courts, and over the course of the eighteenth century, this became the most popular venue for such cases.⁹ Tales of seduction

fascinated the eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century public, inspiring a genre of novels where the seduction of an innocent woman and her subsequent social fall was the central story arch.¹⁰ Such stories, as well as considerable moral commentary, filled the press of the period, with columns in newspapers, letters to the editor and numerous pamphlets and books.

The narrative of seduction relied on a young, innocent female soiled by a calculating lover, who deprived her of her physical and emotional chastity by having her fall in love with him, but ultimately not marrying her.¹¹ In both instances, as her chastity was 'corrupted', her marketability as a wife was compromised, but as importantly in a sentimental era, her innocence was lost. Catherine was the daughter of John Creighton, a Dublin slate merchant, recently bankrupted. She was one of nine surviving children, the second eldest child and eldest daughter. They lived on Grattan Street near the Dublin Grand Canal in one of three houses on the street that had been built by her father. Grattan Street was a new street in the wealthy south of the city, marking part of its outward expansion in the building of homes for the nobility, gentry and professions. As the child of an embarrassed businessman, she was both used to wealth and educated to her social class, but now lived with only one servant in the household, an old woman. Catherine was expected to run errands for her family where necessary, usually taking a younger sibling with her for company — and perhaps for protection.¹² On one occasion, while out performing her filial duties, she met Henry Townsend.

Over the next few weeks, they met regularly and promenaded across Dublin, before she finally agreed to accompany him to his barracks, where they had sex. She stayed there for three days, before her father tracked her down and threatened to sue Townsend. Townsend then turned her onto the street, after 9 p.m., and Catherine returned to her parent's home. As a courtship that primarily happened during walks across the city, Catherine's movements were the central focus of witness testimony during the trial, as the court attempted to assess the implications of her perambulations for her moral character and so to assess whether she was truly seduced. Through the subsequent court case, held in

Dublin's Court of Common Pleas in December 1816 and incorporating five witnesses, some of the most high-profile barristers of the age and a speech by Charles Phillips that was published across Britain (due to his claim that seduction was not native to Ireland), the often unspoken boundaries that shaped women's movements in the city were explicitly articulated, allowing them to be mapped and observed.¹³

Moving through the British city

The difficulty that Lieutenant Allan Maclean had in trying articulate why both geography and time of day would justify the dishonourable seduction of a middle-class woman reflected the ambiguity of women's place within the city during the long eighteenth century. The confusion felt by many eighteenth-century men and women as they negotiated the increasingly anonymous urban street and tried to distinguish the respectable from the rough is now commonly recognised in histories of the period.¹⁴ The problems that this caused for women, in particular, has been highlighted, as people found it increasingly difficult to differentiate between prostitutes and respectable women, leading to the plot device in novels where the eighteenth-century heroine found to her horror that she had befriended an immoral woman and been seduced into a brothel. In more everyday contexts, sexual harassment on the streets has been noted as commonplace experience of the era for women across social classes, while the ways that beautiful women used this to their advantages has also been noted.¹⁵

The relationship between 'sex', both in terms of gender and sexuality, and the city was a central concern of the era, with large cities and towns, most particularly London, but also Dublin, Bristol and similar places, causing anxiety for their corrupting potential.¹⁶ The sexual purity, particularly of young women, became a central focus for moral commentators on city life. The downward fall of the innocent 'country' girl as she arrived unprotected in town only to be seduced in her naivety by either a rake or brothel madam was a popular feature of novels, poetry and even purportedly 'real life' stories of seduction and suicide that

filled the press. In such accounts, the sexual corruption of young women stood for wider social anxieties over the increasingly anonymous nature of the city, with its decline of community discipline, its disruption of clear and knowable social hierarchies, the intermingling of different ethnicities and nationalities, the introduction of new consumer goods and the threat of luxury, and the disruption to families as new opportunities dislocated the individual from their roots.¹⁷

In a number of seduction stories, the metaphor of movement was central to the imagining of the loss of innocence. While the male walker, epitomised in 'The Rambler' Samuel Johnson, was encouraged to roam the streets and so become acquainted with his urban environment, such familiarity with the urban was dangerously portent for women, who faced corruption through knowledge.¹⁸ It is telling that *Betsey Warwick, the Female Rambler*, whose adventures were novelised at the end of the century, walked about the city dressed as a man, while her escapades in female garb almost exclusively happened in convents.¹⁹ Her maleness — and fascinatingly in the novel she is referred to as 'he' when in male clothing — acted as her protection when in public, ensuring that her chastity was never in question; when female, she needed to be contained in private for her safety. Several accounts reflected on the importance of travel and distance to understanding seduction, both in terms of the movement of women from the protection of their families and using their travel across the city as a metaphor for their moral decline. One article that appeared in the *Caledonian Mercury* in 1798 recorded the tragic story of a young girl taken by a family friend to a brothel, where she was 'seduced' before being returned home. The report noted that the girl and her seducer 'went to the Circus, and on returning the girl frequently observed that she was sure the coach was going wrong'. This mistravelling across the city — the 'going wrong' — acted as a metaphor of both the girl's physical and moral journey.²⁰

Similarly, in an 1810 news article of a Scots girl who eloped with her English lover, the journey south operated as a metaphor for her downfall. The *Caledonian Mercury* reported that: 'He first took her to Carlisle, where he succeeded in triumphing over her virtue; from thence he proceeded to Whitehaven, and advanced by slow degrees to London. He

never again talked of marriage, but became negligent and brutal in his conduct...'.²¹ When they arrived in London, he abandoned her: 'Deceived and cheated out of her affections, deprived of her character and honour — deserted — pregnant — robbed of her money and her clothes — enfeebled by continued ill-usage and starvation — several hundred miles from her poor mother and friends'. The distance from her family acted to reinforce her downfall with physical distance in miles signifying how far she had travelled from her state of innocence, just as the journey south marked her tragic decline. In contrast, her saviour, at least in the short-term, was 'a gentleman, who expressed great feeling for her situation, and pledged his word of honour to take a post chaise and convey her back to Hampton'. Her journey north acted as the beginning of her recovery.

Mapping seduction

It is within this context, where movement across the city acted as a metaphor for female corruption, that Catherine Matilda Creighton's journeys across Dublin could come to act as a metaphor for her moral character during her seduction trial. In 1800, Dublin city had a population of 170,000, the largest city in the United Kingdom behind London. Like cities across the country, it was rapidly growing and had almost doubled to 318,000 by 1850. It was Ireland's capital, home to its law courts, a major centre of trade, and an important port that linked the country to Empire. In the aftermath of the 1798 Irish rebellion, it was also a city that played host to a large and consistent military presence, housed across seven barracks that could hold up to 5,500 men.²² As a result, it was a city with an increasingly international population, incorporating those brought through trade and migration networks and as part of a military force that had recruited members from across the British Empire. Despite this demographic expansion, the first few decades of the nineteenth century were economically difficult. The Union of Ireland with Britain in 1800 had closed the Irish parliament and moved the political elite to London, leading to a downturn in trade, particularly for those that created luxury goods. This was exacerbated at the end of the

Napoleonic War when renewed trade with Europe flooded Britain with cheap goods that priced the Irish out of the market. With no major industries, Dublin's economy was unstable, experiencing recurrent economic depressions, leading to widespread un- and under-employment.²³

<Insert Figure x.1 around here – full page if possible>

<Caption/> Figure X.1: Samuel Neele, *A plan of the city of Dublin as surveyed for the use of the divisional Justices* (London: W. Faden, c. 1808-1820), Image Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland </Caption>

The layout of the city, in 1837 still only taking up five kilometres square, had been set in the previous century, where major building works had replaced narrow medieval streets with large Georgian promenades and brick terraces.²⁴ Like in many British cities, rich and poor had traditionally lived alongside each other, but population expansion and the building works of the late eighteenth century had started to demarcate space along classed lines (although the small area that the city encompassed ensured that such neighbourhoods sat cheek to jowl). Catherine lived in the wealthy south-east district (Division 4 in Figure X.1), alongside the nobility, gentry and liberal professions (many of whom had moved from the city centre, leaving their Georgian tenements for the poor). Above her, in the north-east (Division 3) lived the mercantile and 'official' (civil servant) classes. The old medieval city (Division 5 around the castle area) had traditionally been home to the aristocracy, but in 1816, was increasingly occupied by less wealthy families and tradespeople. The south-west (Division 5 & 6), 'formerly the seat of the woollen and silk manufactures' was in 'a state of lamentable dilapidation, bordering on ruin' in 1837, housing many of the more economically precarious. The poorest area however was the north-west, across the river, the location of the Royal Barracks and Smithfields, which presented 'striking indications of poverty' in that same year.²⁵ Over the early nineteenth century, without the economic resources to continue building works and a growing population, Dublin became seriously over-crowded and slum

housing became a significant problem.²⁶ Catherine's father's bankruptcy was situated against this economic backdrop, a context that allowed his situation to be viewed in a considerably more sympathetic light by a jury of his Dublin peers, than it might at other times.²⁷ Henry Townsend, in contrast, was a military interloper in a city where such intervention continued to chafe.²⁸

Henry Townshend was a Welsh Lieutenant in the 41st Regiment stationed at the Great George Street Barracks in Dublin.²⁹ He was about twenty-one years old at the time of these events, having taken a commission in 1812. Townshend never married, becoming a career soldier, eventually rising to Colonel and inheriting his father's estate of Trevelyan in Denbighshire, Wales, after his eldest brother, John's, decease.³⁰ When Townshend came to court in 1816, he brought with him fellow officers that lived in the same barracks, including Allan Maclean, a Canadian of Scots parentage; Benoit Bender, a French Canadian who described himself as 'North American', and James Lewis Hill, who was probably Scottish.³¹ They had all been stationed in Canada during the War of 1812 (between the US and Britain), and had arrived in Dublin with their regiment in April 1816. Henry was also supported in court by his brother Thomas, who was then living in Liverpool (the fact that he died three years later in Calcutta may indicate that he was a merchant; it was a truly international family, as a third brother had emigrated to Australia).³² Thomas testified exclusively to Henry's age and income.

As a group, they embodied the glamorous cosmopolitanism that military officers suggested to early nineteenth-century audiences; they were the sorts of men who excited Jane Austen's young female characters.³³ They were the men that reminded society of female desire and its dangers, threatening chastity and innocence. Moreover, in this case, the men's 'foreignness', and that they were in Ireland as an occupying force, heightened the threat they posed to Dublin's daughters. As a result, while it was ultimately Catherine's moral character at stake, these military gentleman were also required to walk carefully, showing that their steps remained within the boundary of honourable manhood.³⁴ It is notable, however, how quickly these men learned the physical and moral topographies of Dublin city.

Within months of arriving, they were able not only to flirt with women on Dublin's streets but use that information strategically in court – perhaps reflective of an education bought through similar experiences at home and in Empire.

Throughout the trial, Catherine's movements across the city were central evidence; they were used to support her claims of respectability and Henry's claims that she was 'a woman of loose character'. Benoit Bender's testimony serves as an example of how witnesses were pressed on this issue. He was asked:

Q. Where did you walk to?

A. From what she told me, we were within three or four hundred yards of her home.

Q. When did you see her again, where did you see her?

A. In George's-street.³⁵ ...

Q. Where did you walk with them?

A. We walked around Merrion-square

Q. How long did you continue walking?

A. As I said I believe until a little after nine o'clock, when we parted. ... I had appointed to meet her in Hamilton's-row, and saw her in George's Street ... I drew back to the gate where I saw her at the corner of George's street.

Q. ... Did you see her then?

A. We passed into a street, upon the other side, before you go into Dame-street, a narrow lane ...

Q. Which way did she go?

A. Somewhere near College-Green, towards the Barracks.

Q. And she walked with you, as far as College-green?

A. Yes, Sir.³⁶

Similar narratives of movement were central features of all the major witnesses' testimonies.

<Insert Figure x.2 around here. Large enough to read streets. >

<Caption/> Figure x.2: Detail of Neele, *A plan of the city of Dublin*. </Caption>

Such accounts were more than a simple accounting of Catherine's movement. Through having her walk in both respectable and non-respectable streets at hours of the evening where respectable women should not be walking alone, the mapping of Catherine's movement became implicated in her moral character. Catherine lived on Grattan Street (unmarked on Figure x.2, but sits at the top-right of Merrion-Square, between Lower Mount Street and Artichoke Road, parallel to Holles Street), a short walk from the Grand Canal that acted, at this time, as Dublin's southern boundary, framing the lower part of the city. Most of her movement takes place in the main shopping district and wealthy south-east. Great George Street, where the barracks were located, acted as the boundary of her movement inwards to the city centre (see top left of Figure x.2, beneath Dame Street and parallel to the castle). Catherine located most of her courtship with Townshend on the banks of the Canal, which she walked to run errands for her father. She also described meeting him when walking to St Andrew's Street (top centre of x.2; beneath Dame Street, on the boundary line for Division 4/5) to take a message to a businessman and, on the night she was taken to the barracks and seduced, she described how she was walking to Abbey Street, across the Carlisle-bridge to collect books from a friend (on the mercantile sector of the north-bank, Division 3 of Figure x.1). She also admitted to having met Townshend and his friends on several occasions while she was promenading in Merrion-Square park. Catherine's account always safely located her on busy main roads, where businesses were located, carefully skirting the red-light district in Temple Bar (Between Dame Street and the river, top left of figure x.2), as well as the smaller areas that housed prostitutes near most of the city barracks, such as on Digges Lane and Dame Street (Digges Lane is described on Figure X.2 as 'Great Alley', running beneath Drury Lane, left of Division 4/5 boundary line).³⁷

Her journey encircles Dublin's city centre, but her only incursion inwards was when taken by Townshend on the fateful day of her seduction. Moreover, almost all of her travels fall within Division 4 of Samuel Neale's map of Dublin (c.1808, Figure x.1).³⁸ Neale's six divisions refer to the administrative divisions of the police court, established by the 1808 Dublin Police Magistrate's Act, and may suggest that, while partially lines of convenience,

they were significant in shaping the public's relationship with city geography.³⁹ Whether it was coincidental or reflective of imagined boundaries within urban space, mapping Catherine's movement against Neale's map highlights how curtailed her travels were — she remained not only on particular streets but within a relatively small area of the city. At average modern walking speeds, Catherine was never more than twenty to twenty-five minutes from home. Far from an urban flâneur, Catherine's experience of the city was restricted, familiar and repetitive; if she is to be believed, it was also productive — to run errands — rather than leisured.

Allan Maclean's testimony not only confirms Catherine's account, but also attempts to widen her sphere of movement, noting that they walked around Merrion-square together, and that he saw her on both Dame Street and York Street (the latter runs west of St Stephen's Green at the boundary of Division 4/5 of Figure x.1). He also observed that when he met her for the first time on the canal, it was by the horse barracks (marked as 'Portobello' at the southern end of the Division 4/5 boundary line of Figure x.1).⁴⁰ As suggested in the testimony that opened this paper, Merrion-square was an ambiguous space. An up and coming elite area, twenty-years later it would be the height of respectability, and it was certainly progressing towards that reputation in 1816. Later in the century, it was a known location for prostitution after dark, perhaps taking advantage of the wealthy clientele that lived in the area. There is no evidence that Merrion-square had a particular reputation for prostitution in 1816, but, the idea that a woman would walk there in the evening 'unprotected' seemed to cause some concerns for Maclean.⁴¹

Catherine's respectability was also challenged by placing her on Dame Street, a major thoroughfare but one that bordered the red-light district and had a reputation for streetwalkers in the evening, and on York Street, which was in the centre of the red-light district that was bounded by Aungier Street and St Stephen's Green (centre left of figure x.2).⁴² This was also noted in Benoit Bender's testimony who testified not only to seeing her in Dame Street, but in 'a narrow lane' leading from it.⁴³ Moreover to get to York Street, by either of the routes that Catherine acknowledged walking, would have taken Catherine past

one of the barracks. Catherine consistently denied being near the barracks, except for when she was taken to Great George Street by Henry. All of the men testifying placed her in the streets around them.

Maclean puts their first meeting outside the Portobello barracks by the Canal.⁴⁴ Hill not only has Catherine skirting the red-light district in walking her by St Stephen's Green to the top end of the main shopping centre of Grafton Street, but also positioned her outside the main entrance to the Great George Street barracks. Moreover, Hill testified to escorting her out of the barracks after her seduction and, upon asking her where she would go, claimed that she replied that she would go to her friend at Arbour-hill (Division 1 of Figure X.1, just above the river and beneath the market garden).⁴⁵ Arbour-hill was the location of the Royal Barracks, the largest in Dublin, and would have required Catherine to traverse both the red-light district and the poor area of Smithfield alone (Division 1 of Figure X.1). While Hill did not explicitly state that she was going to visit another soldier, he did his best to highlight the problematic nature of this decision noting: 'I left her under the impression that she would go in the dusk of evening, either to her friend at Arbour-hill or to her father'.⁴⁶ The 'dusk of evening' acted to situate Catherine, like her movements on the boundaries of red-light districts, at the edge of respectability, neither pure not entirely fallen — perhaps suggesting that her decision on where to go (either to her friend or her father) acted as a moral tipping-point for the seduced woman. Catherine testified that she went straight home after the events at the barracks, where she sought protection from her mother.⁴⁷

While the men in this story are happy to admit that they observed Catherine in some of the less respectable areas, such as York Street or Dame Street, or outside of the barracks, when they escort her, they also skirt the problematic areas of the town — if walking considerably closer than Catherine would attempt alone. In doing so, they tried to locate Catherine's corruption as a personal failing, rather than a symptom of their own rakish behaviours, acknowledging the importance of protecting vulnerable, middle-class women to male honour during the period — a role that the all-male jury were being asked to perform during the trial when they passed judgement on their behaviour.⁴⁸ They also reinforced a

double standard, where male sexual character was considerably more resilient than their female counterparts, allowing them greater freedom of movement and activity.⁴⁹ For both sides of this dispute however, the city was implicated in character and movements across it acted to define its occupants.

Gender, morality and urban space: a conclusion

A fascinating case study, the case of *Creighton v. Townshend* allows a number of conclusions. It provides insight into the ways that middle-class women's movements in the city were constrained, with respectable women not only having to avoid 'disreputable' areas, but also often having to provide considerable distance between those areas and themselves as they walked through the city. In small cities like Dublin, where respectable and disreputable areas overlapped, this could cause significant difficulties, especially for women like Catherine, who did not have male protection. The case reinforces the importance of time of day to how women's movements were read, with darkness creating a curfew for women. It provides insight into how men 'read' women on the street, and the confusion created for men when they found 'respectable' women in places, or at times, where they were not expected to be. Yet, such confusion may have been more legal justification than reality. While both Maclean and Hill blamed Catherine for the attention that she got by saying that 'she smiled' at them, Bender, when asked 'What induced you to speak to her?', answered, 'Nothing but her being female, I went up and spoke to her'.⁵⁰

In a seduction suit that focused on the vulnerability of an innocent woman as she travelled across Dublin, Catherine's movements became a metaphor for her morality. Both Catherine and the male officers hoped to use her placement in the city as evidence of her character, with the reputation of particular streets directly informing Catherine's own reputation as she walked upon them. As many streets acted as boundaries between areas with different reputations, as well as main thoroughfares often playing host to people from all walks of life, this could create a sense of ambiguity about the nature of the character of the

women that used them. In this particular case, this ambiguity was deliberately employed by Townshend's fellow officers, who were not trying to suggest that Catherine was a working prostitute — something that would have strained the imagination of the male jury given her age, social class and location within her father's household — but rather to locate her 'of loose character', that is, as a woman of respectable social background but without appropriate morality. The corruption of innocence threatened by the city was not always absolute, but rather the city became implicated in the making of character, with corruption the risk that operated to constrain middle-class women's activities within it.

Urban space then was created in the intersection between these gendered bodies, their movements through the streets of the city, and the meanings attached to both. As such, urban space was a gendered space, a moral space, and a fluid space, shifting over the course of the day and with the various bodies that moved through it. Catherine and her lover's perambulations vested the city with desire and in turn the city informed how that desire was understood by the couple, their families and friends, and ultimately, the legal system. In this, urban space was a performative space, serving to define and construct the identity of both the city and its inhabitants. The city corrupted because it was not just a map to walk across, but an active performer in the making of the gendered self. Catherine's father was awarded £750 damages for the seduction of his daughter.

¹ The case is detailed in: *An Accurate Report of a Trial for an Alleged Seduction, wherein John Creighton ... was Plaintiff and Henry Dive Townshend, ... was Defendant* (Dublin: William Henry Tyrell, 1816).

² *An Accurate Report*, 38-39.

³ The methodology used here is heavily informed by Mitch Rose in 'The Seductions of Resistance: Power, Politics, and a Performative Style of Systems,' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 20 (2002): 383-400. See also: Nicky Gregson and Gillian Rose, 'Taking Butler Elsewhere: Performativities, Spatialities and Subjectivities,'

Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 18 (2000): 433-52; Katie Barclay, 'Place and Power in Irish Farms at the End of the Nineteenth Century,' *Women's History Review* 21, no. 4 (2012): 571-88.

⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (London: Wiley, 1991); Deidre Conlan, 'Productive Bodies, Performative Spaces: Everyday Life in Christopher Park,' *Sexualities* 7 (2004): 462-79; Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).

⁵ Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 182-83.

⁶ Craig Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Lynn Avery Hunt, *Measuring Time, Making History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008); Karen Davies, 'Capturing Women's Lives: a Discussion of Time and Methodological Issues,' *Women's Studies International Forum* 19, no. 6 (1996): 579-88.

⁷ On British colonisation, Ireland's legal system had been shaped to the English model. Over the centuries, Ireland's system evolved its own distinctive features, but, at least in the early nineteenth century, the Irish system continued to look to England for precedent, ensuring that they were never too dissimilar.

⁸ Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 192-205.

⁹ In England & Wales, this was due to changes in the law as a result of Hardwick's marriage act (1753), Susan Staves, 'British Seduced Maidens,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14 (1980-1): 109-34; David Lemmings, 'Marriage and the Law in the Eighteenth Century: Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753,' *Historical Journal* 39, no. 2 (1996): 339-60.

¹⁰ Anna Clark, 'The Politics of Seduction in English Popular Culture, 1748-1848,' in *The Progress of Romance: the Politics of Popular Fiction*, ed. Jean Radford (London: Routledge, 1986), 47-70; Ruth Perry, *Novel Relations: the Transformation of Kinship in English*

Literature and Culture, 1748-1828 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004);

Katherine Binhammer, *The Seduction Narrative in Britain, 1747–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

¹¹ Staves, 'Seduced Maidens'; Katie Barclay, 'From Rape to Marriage: Questions of Consent in the Eighteenth-Century United Kingdom.' in *Interpreting Sexual Violence: 1660-1800*, ed. Anne Greenfield (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), 35-44.

¹² *An Accurate Report*, 6-7.

¹³ *An Accurate Report*, *Exeter Flying Post*, 2 January 1817.

¹⁴ Penelope Corfield, 'Walking the City Streets: the Urban Odyssey in Eighteenth-Century England,' *Journal of Urban History* 16 (1990): 132-74; Krista Cowman, 'The Battle of the Boulevards: Class, Gender and the Purpose of Public Space in Later Victorian Liverpool,' in *Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City Since 1850*, ed. S. Gunn and R.J. Morris (London: Ashgate, 2001), 152-64; Kate Hill, "'Roughs of Both Sexes": the Working Class in Victorian Museums and Art Galleries,' in *Identities in Space*, ed. Gunn and Morris, 190-203; Patty Seleski, 'Domesticity is in the Streets: Eliza Fenning, Public Opinion and the Politics of Private Life,' in *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850*, ed. Tim Harris (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 265-90; Fiona Williamson, 'Space and the City: Gender Identities in Seventeenth-Century Norwich,' *Cultural and Social History* 9, no. 2 (2012): 169-85; James Grantham Turner, 'Pictorial Prostitution: Visual Culture, Vigilantism, and "Pornography" in Dunton's Night-Walker,' *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 28 (1999): 55-84.

¹⁵ Anu Korhonen, 'To See and to be Seen: Beauty in the Early Modern London Street,' *Journal of Early Modern History* 12 (2008): 335-60.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Munson, 'Walking on the Periphery: Gender and the Discourse of Modernization,' *Journal of Social History* (2002): 63-75; Amy Wyngaard, 'Libertine Spaces: Anonymous Crowds, Secret Chambers and Urban Corruption in Rétif de la Bretonne,' *Eighteenth-Century Life* 22 (1998): 104-22.

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- ¹⁷ Corfield, 'Walking the City Streets'; John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 53-4; Peter Burke, 'Imagining the Early Modern City', in *Imagining the City, volume 1: The Art of Urban Living*, ed. Christian Emden, Catherine Keen and David Midgley (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006), 23-38; Steve Poole, "'Bringing Great Shame upon this City": Sodomy, the Courts and the Civic Idiom in Eighteenth-Century Bristol,' *Urban History* 34, no. 1 (2007): 114-126.
- ¹⁸ Paul Tankard, 'Johnson and the Walkable City,' *Eighteenth-Century Life* 32, no. 1 (2008): 1-22; Deborah Epstein Nord, 'The Urban Peripatetic: Spectator, Streetwalker, Woman Writer,' *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 46, no. 3 (1991): 351-75; Alison O'Byrne, 'The Art of Walking in London: Representing Urban Pedestrianism in the Early Nineteenth Century,' *Romanticism* 14 (2008): 94-107; Göran Rydén, 'Viewing and Walking: Swedish Visitors to Eighteenth-Century London,' *Journal of Urban History* 39 (2013): 255-74; Lucy Frost, 'Untrodden Dresses, Loose Trousers, and Trailing Skirts: Walking through Colonial Space,' *Women's Writing* 5, no. 2 (1998): 201-12; Joanna Guldi, 'The History of Walking and the Digital Turn: Stride and Lounge in London, 1808-1851,' *Journal of Modern History* 84 (2012): 116-44;
- ¹⁹ *The History of Betsey Warwick, the Female Rambler* (London: Sabine and Son, 1800).
- ²⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 April 1798.
- ²¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 3 November 1810.
- ²² *The Picture of Dublin: or, Stranger's Guide to the Irish Metropolis* (Dublin: William Curry, 1835), 318; Anne Power, *Hovels to High Rise: State Housing in Europe since 1850* (London: Routledge, 1993), 319.
- ²³ Jacqueline Hill, 'Religion, Trade and Politics in Dublin 1798-1848', in *Cities and Merchants: French and Irish Perspectives on Urban Development, 1500-1900*, ed. P. Butel and L. M. Cullen (Dublin: Trinity College, 1986), 247.
- ²⁴ Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland...* 2 vols (London: S. Lewis, 1837), i, 532.

²⁵ Ibid., 532-3.

²⁶ Power, *Hovels to High Rise*, 319.

²⁷ Margot Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

²⁸ John Gamble, *Society and Manners in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. Breandán Mac Suibhne (Dublin: Field Day, 2011), 40.

²⁹ *An Accurate Report*, 31 and 53.

³⁰ Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Harrison, 1863), vol. 2, unpaginated 'Townshend of Trevallyn'.

³¹ Maclean was the son of Donald Maclean who migrated from Mull to New York and later to York (Upper Canada): Sandy Antal, *Wampum Denied: Procter's War of 1812* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1997), 84. Bender details his origins in *An Accurate Report*, 41; Hill joined the 92nd regiment (his first) in July 1803 along with his twin brother, John. For Hill's career, see: Lionel S. Challis's 'Peninsula Roll Call,' accessed 23 March 2015,

http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/c_ChallisIntro.html. The regiment was based and heavily recruiting in Scotland at this time: C. Greenhill Gardyne, *The Life of a Regiment: the History of the Gordon Highlanders* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1901), 136.

³² Keith Binney, *Horsemen of the First Frontier (1788-1900) and the Serpent's Legacy* (Melbourne: Volcanic Productions, 2005), 278-9.

³³ See for example, Catherine and Isabella in Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (1817), and Lydia Bennet in *Pride and Prejudice* (1813); Louise Carter, 'Scarlet Fever: Female Enthusiasm for Men in Uniform, 1780-1815,' in *Britain's Soldiers: Rethinking War and Society, 1715-1815*, ed. Kevin Linch and Mathew McCormack (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), 155-79.

³⁴ Matthew McCormack, 'Dance and Drill: Polite Accomplishments and Military Masculinities in Georgian Britain,' *Cultural and Social History* 8, no. 3 (2011): 315-30.

³⁵ The transcript here and throughout refers to Great George Street as George Street, but the location of the barracks there confirms that they mean Gt George St. Gt George St was the contemporary name, so this seems to be a quirk of the transcription.

³⁶ *An Accurate Report*, 41-45.

³⁷ *An Accurate Report*, 7-30.

³⁸ See figure X.1. The map says 1797, but these divisions were not created until 1808 and were abolished in 1824. Based on street naming and layout, it appears that the divisions were a later addition to the 1797 map.

³⁹ For a discussion of the importance of police courts to shaping urban space, see: David Barrie and Sue Broomhall, *Police Courts in Nineteenth-Century Scotland, Volume 2: Boundaries, Behaviours and Bodies* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

⁴⁰ *An Accurate Report*, 31-41.

⁴¹ *An Accurate Report*, 39.

⁴² Maria Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish Society, 1800-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 98.

⁴³ *An Accurate Report*, 43.

⁴⁴ *An Accurate Report*, 31.

⁴⁵ *An Accurate Report*, 49.

⁴⁶ *An Accurate Report*, 49.

⁴⁷ *An Accurate Report*, 17.

⁴⁸ For discussion see: Katie Barclay, 'Emotions, the Law and the Press in Britain: Seduction and Breach of Promise Suits, 1780-1830,' *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* (forthcoming).

⁴⁹ Katie Barclay, 'Illicit Intimacies: the Many Families of Gilbert Innes of Stow (1751-1832),' *Gender & History* 27, no. 3 (2015): 576-90.

⁵⁰ *An Accurate Report*, 41.