

“In the Eye of Power: The Notorious Madam Restell”

An e-journal article by Cynthia Watkins Richardson

Madame Restell was a woman before her time. Living in New York between 1830 and 1877, she led a notoriously public life despite her best efforts to conduct her livelihood without interference. As a female health practitioner and abortionist she was victim to the sharp swift change of public opinion about the practice which took place in the early 1840s. A discussion on the relative morals and merits of abortion is not the subject of this paper, although the topic deserves serious and sensitive study. Rather, the focus is on the process of Madame Restell’s increasing notoriety, her agency in that notoriety, and its implications for the social constructions of gender, and the role of a woman’s conduct in public as it relates to business, the press and privacy. Madame Restell’s life story provides visual images illustrating the interlocking relationships between a person and the press’s agency in shaping both her public and private life. She looms large as an example of a nineteenth century woman in public: one who, under the observing gaze of the media, took care of other women and was publicly chastised for it, but was nonetheless successfully employed at it for her entire lifetime. In the process she successfully managed to contradict the norm of domesticity for women. Moreover, she acted as an affront to those in the media who repeatedly tried to ensnare her in their nets in their roles as the moral policemen of the “greatest city in the world,” New York.

Born as Ann Trow on May 6, 1812 or 1811, in Painswick, southeast of Gloucester in Gloucestershire England, she was the daughter of John Trow, a laborer. At the age of 15, she became a maid in a butcher’s family, and at age sixteen she married Henry Summer of Wiltshire. Together they spent three years in England, and in 1831 they

emigrated to New York. In New York her husband succumbed to yellow fever. As a result, Ann began work as a seamstress. This was hard and marginal work in a growing city at a time when widowhood was synonymous with impoverishment,

In 1836, she married Charles Lohman, another immigrant, born in Russia of parents of German descent. Lohman had emigrated and was in New York by 1829, where he had become a compositor for the *Herald*. Presumably it was his profession as a printer which led him to meet and become friends with George Matsell, publisher and seller of the *Free Inquirer*, a radical journal begun by Robert Dale Owen and Frances Wright. An avowed freethinker, Lohman maintained his beliefs throughout his life, and his influence over Ann Lohman provides an interesting topic for further research, especially since Lohman was involved in publishing, with Matsell, Robert Dale Owen's *Moral Physiology; or, a Brief and Plain Treatise on the Population Question* (1831) as well as Charles Knowlton's *Fruits of Philosophy; or, The Private Companion of Young Married People*(1831).¹

Soon after her marriage to Charles Lohman, Ann Lohman began selling patent medicines, marking the beginning of her career as a healer and caretaker for women. We can surmise that Ann collaborated with and learned pharmacy work from her brother Joseph, who had also emigrated to New York and was clerking in a pharmacy when Ann's first husband died. It is probable that she entered a partnership with her husband and brother to create the birth control products which she advertised as being produced by "Madame Restell."

One of her advertisements reads in part:

¹Clifford Browder, *The Wickedest Woman in New Town: Madame Restell the Abortionist*, (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Press, 1988), 10.

ADVERTISEMENT

To married women: Is it but too well known that the families of the married often increase beyond what the happiness of those who give them birth would dictate? In how many instances does the hard-working father, and more especially the mother, of a poor family remain slaves throughout their lives, urging at the oar of incessant labor, toiling to live, living but to toil, Is it desirable, then,for parents to increase their families, regardless of consequences to themselves, or the well-being of their offspring, when a simple, easy, healthy, and certain remedy is within our control?²

Because women were often unskilled and dependent, the specter of poverty caused by unplanned pregnancy was very real to fertile women. Her burgeoning family relied on the sole support of a husband, who at any time might grow ill and die, be gone for months in search for work, or, worse still, decide he has had enough of toiling for his family and leave for a possibly better life elsewhere. Many families could relate to this predicament. Women sought the sympathetic “Madame Restell” to help them with gaining control of their precarious lives.

Restell’s success in her practice reflected tensions inherent in the social life of New York. Living in the city was a new experience for many; and the city of New York was filled with former rural women unacquainted with the perils of urban life. Repelled, threatened and frightened by a way of life they did not understand, many middle- or even upper-class women sought to shore up their social boundaries by curbing family size, a preferred strategy for the maintenance of financial and social security. It was from the more genteel, middle- and upper-class reading public that Madame Restell sought her clientele.

The penny press was instrumental to the success of Restell’s advertising, and as such, provided a forum not only for advertising her business, but also one which was to

²Bowder, 9

open her to censure by the public eye. The proliferation of similar kinds of advertisements is testimony to its effectiveness as a vehicle for reaching customers. There were many others who provided the same services of abortifacient medicines and abortions. They competed through their advertisements, each claiming greater effectiveness, better safety, and more confidentiality than the others.

Reporting on this flourishing business was the publishing industry itself, a group whose powers of observation and description were keenly focused on the activities of this tightly knit community of printers, pill vendors and medical practitioners who flourished in a regulation-free atmosphere which is difficult for us to imagine today. Over time, the role played by the mass-circulation newspapers in New York's cultural life grew in complexity, and not only did abortion advertisements dot their pages; but the newspaper editors, in their battle for increased circulation, transformed abortion into sensationalist news.³

Madame Restell was one object of this news. Her practice was the subject of Horace Greeley's self-righteous editorial tirades against abortion and quack medicine advertisements. Hurling epithets from his editorial command post at the *Tribune*, Greeley focused public attention on the advertisements of people such as Restell and her free-thinking husband Lohman, and avowed his hatred of them.

Timothy Gilfoyle tells us that the "sporting press" that thrived after 1840 made the newspapers and penny press look tame: *The Rake*, *The Whip*, and *Flash* were published from 1841 to 1843. The most successful, the *National Police Gazette*, flourished from 1845 to 1933. These weekly journals covered the urban underworld and other forms of "sport." Like the penny press, sensationalist journals, and certain moral

³Carroll Smith-Rosenburg, "The Abortion Movement" in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1985), 226.

reformers, the sporting press defended its unprecedented coverage of salacious topics by feigning objectivity. As one newspaper, *The Rake*, claimed, “Our part is to hold the mirror up to nature, to show vice in its own image.”⁴

In addition to these accounts, many urban guides appeared. Mirroring the larger cultural trend for guidebooks of rural scenery and domestic expertise, these volumes wordily detailed and illustrated all the renowned social institutions of the city, and combined their descriptions with moral dictums and stern warnings about the dangers and excitement of city life. *Sights and Sensations of New York City* is one such volume. As part of its chapter on Fifth Avenue, the 1870s edition of *Sights and Sensations* described Madame Restell’s landmark residence, as part of an entire chapter on Madame Restell, her physique and character, her trial, and her practice.

In this metropolitan vortex whirled the press, its technology and teams of reporters at the ready to regulate the lives of Gotham citizens through its panoptic gaze. Acting as town criers, the guidebooks and the penny papers created a chorus which attempted to restrain any whiff of public sexuality on the part of women, even as prostitutes deployed themselves throughout the city.

Yet this media gaze, so overpowering and penetrating, could also be subverted and controlled in the way that Foucault describes in the “Eye of Power.”⁵ The *New York Times* reported that Madame Restell “occupied a handsome house, sumptuously furnished, drove fast horses, kept many servants, [sic] she also exhibited herself in public so boldly as to excite the general disgust.”⁶ Being the object of intense curiosity and

⁴Quoted in Timothy Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex: 1790-1820* (New York: Norton, 1992), 135-136.

⁵Michel Foucault. “The Eye of Power,” in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

⁶“End of a Criminal Life,” *New York Times* (April 2, 1878).

public printed scrutiny did not restrain Restell, and she was able to practice her craft in such a way that the privacy of even the most upper-class of women was assured.

In New York, a society in the throes of rapid change, residents experienced physical and sexual disorder as particularly threatening. Those who were perceived as marginal to society, outside its regulation, or between social categories, like Madame Restell, were treated as simultaneously dangerous and physically polluting. Stern efforts were made to control and contain them.

Editorials about Restell and other abortionists are examples of these attempts at containment.⁷ News reports about them abounded, especially in the *New York Police Gazette*. By 1841, the *Gazette* and other sensationalist papers had created a metaphoric language that expressed in a psychologically covert and distorted manner the many alarms that beset the new men of the new cities. The papers targeted Restell as an agent of the change and sexual liberation that made their world seem so frighteningly uncontrollable. The conservative editor of the *New York Sunday Morning News*, Samuel Jenks Smith, wrote on July 7, 1839 of Restell's practice as a "monstrous and destructive" service that "strikes at the root of all social order -- is subversive of all family peace and quiet....will demoralize the whole mass of society, and make the institution of marriage a known farce." A week later, Smith once again editorialized on Restell, impugning her character and decrying her practice of "going out alone unattended every evening,"⁸

Madame Restell's practice, openly advertised in the press, became the object of scrutiny by the very press which relied upon income received from advertisements like Restell's. Restell cleverly subverted the public's eye on the press itself, and responded with her own editorial on July 15, 1839, in the *New York Herald*. In this editorial, she

⁷Smith-Rosenburg, "The Abortion Movement," 226.

⁸Quoted in Browder, 17-18.

challenged Smith to press charges against her, and offered \$100 to anyone who could prove that her medicine was harmful:

I cannot conceive how men who are husbands, brothers or fathers can give utterance to an idea so intrinsically base and infamous, that their wives, their sisters, or their daughters, want but the opportunity and “facility” to be vicious, and if they are not so, it is not from an innate principle of virtue, but from fear. What! Is female virtue, then, a mere thing of circumstance and occasion?⁹

Restell’s attempt at subversion was short-lived, however: Smith responded with another editorial that reiterated his charge and called for her arrest.

A month later, there was a warrant out which indicted Madame Restell for procuring abortion. Her bail was set for \$2000, and she spent the night in jail. Through a series of legal maneuverings, the charge was never prosecuted, and Restell was released. The witness never pressed charges, and died in an almshouse in March 1840.

Ever diligent, Madame Restell expanded her practice to a corner location which maintained two addresses. The press continued its carping, with George Dixon, famous yellow journalist, joining the chorus to accuse her of fraud and immoral behavior. Restell countered with editorials, asserting that her advertisements and products were not immoral, that she was only providing women the tools to be effective women. Restell’s notion of an “effective woman” was sufficiently challenging to the norm that in March, 1841, she was once again arrested. The police had set a snare by finding a young woman to testify against her. The press broadcasted the entire affair.

The testimony was in the papers the next morning, and in another series of legal maneuverings, Restell was accused of aiding and abetting an unknown person for procuring an abortion. Her bail was set for \$5000, and she went to jail. Ultimately, Restell was found guilty. When her lawyers appealed, the court ruled that the deposition

⁹Browder, 74.

was improper and it was decreed that a new trial should be granted. By this time, however, the witness had died, and eventually in 1844 the indictment was formally dropped.

Throughout the several years between her arrest and the dropping of the indictment, Restell was arrested twice, once on an abortion charge, and another time on a child-napping case, in which she was accused of deceiving a woman by putting her child up for adoption. These unsuccessful bids at snaring Restell revealed in the process of their testimonies that both married and single women had need of her service, for instance, a widow who was a mistress of a bank president, a young wife and her much older husband, a seduced factory worker, the mistress of a congressman, and a victim of incest, all found themselves in pregnant and in need of Madame Restell.

These courtroom scenes gave George Dixon the opportunity to speechify about birth control:

“Young man, you take to your bosom the image of purity, a thing upon which you think the stamp of God has been printed. That virgin blossom, that rosy cheek, that sparking [*sic*] eye, assures you that the treasure is yours--yours alone. Not so. Madame Restell's preventive Powders have counterfeited the hand-writing of Nature; you have not a medal fresh from the mint, of pure metal, but a base, lacquered counter, that has undergone the sweaty contamination of a hundred palms.”¹⁰

Likening the spouse to a coin, the woman's unregulated behavior became uncontrollable. The empowerment of woman's sexuality tainted the man's regulatory power over his wife, and handed him a counterfeit.

No longer content with inflammatory rhetoric, the Congress of New York State enacted a new law against abortion which made the woman herself liable for 3 to 12 months in prison, in addition to a fine. Seemingly overlooked was the fact that this

¹⁰Browder, 5-6

provision had the effect of discouraging any woman herself who had an abortion from testifying in prosecution against an abortionist.¹¹ This law was a violent form of power that, in Foucault's words, "tried to attain a continuous mode of operation through the virtue of examples."¹² Often, though, this use of power was deemed too costly in proportion to its results, and society would turn instead to a system of surveillance, such as editorials and reporting in the newspapers, in place of draconian laws.

In this instance, the perceived threat to the social order was so great that both means were employed. *Gazette* investigators assisted the New York police in posting officers around Restell's house. In addition to the rhetoric contained in the newspapers' text, images of Restell became increasingly bizarre, and it was during her trial in 1847 that the ubiquitous image of the bat woman first appeared.

It could be said that it was Restell's resistance to the press, police surveillance and social opinions concerning genteel behavior that was to prove her undoing. Ultimately her flaunting of public opinion became too much, but not before more newspaper attention. Madame Restell was repeatedly attacked by the press for her ostentatious public display. She was described in the press as "one of the dangerous individuals in our midst, who has amassed a fortune, and is daily adding to it....driving through our midst in her flashing carriage with its 2 bays, a chestnut and a gray, up and down the finest city boulevards...in silks and diamonds, who felt the need to parade her illicit wealth and success."¹³

Restell rejoined in her own editorial, "Can not we drive in public, with two or four horses, without spiteful comments from a bystander, published in respectable

¹¹Browder, 55.

¹²Foucault, "The Eye of Power," 155.

¹³Browder, 74.

papers?”¹⁴ She became recognized as a public figure, coded as she was by the public surveillance of her behavior and dress, recognizable for her bright dress, comparative absence of coverings (most tellingly, the absence of a hat), and her gaze, which met the eyes of those observing her. Her ermine riding robes, richly white and flecked, attracted the attention of the passers-by who expected a genteel woman to demurely deflect the gaze of strangers. Her dress took on the hyperbole of urban legend, as exemplified by the lavish descriptions of her appearance when she hosted the opening of her Fifth Avenue brownstone. She became legend in print, and Bennett of the *Herald* noted astutely that hundreds of others in the city performed abortions, but that it was her ostentation that was her undoing.¹⁵

And undone she was: on September 10, 1847, Restell was arrested for procuring an abortion for Marie Bodine. The trial was the scandal of the day, its drama heightened by the fact that the only women in the courtroom were the witness and Madame Restell. The testimony given was detailed and intimate, and the cross-examination was rigorous, with rampant character assassination. This time the prosecution was successful, and Madame Restell was sentenced to a year at Blackwell’s Island.

Even in prison, she was no stranger to controversy: her confinement was the subject of public censure. The press reported on her comfort while in jail, and it was implied that she had bribed the aldermen of New York who had allowed her to sleep on a featherbed and brought her a light for night reading. The public debate concerning Restell continued, and it was decried that she was thought while in jail to have “lived like a lady in confinement” instead of criminal. It was probably no accident that they used language that usually referred to a pregnant woman.

¹⁴Browder, 74.

¹⁵Browder, 91, 135.

While she was incarcerated, the Grand Jury investigated the deputy keeper, whom they accused of having accepted bribes to house Restell in greater luxury than the other prisoners. There was no evidence of bribes to be found, though, and Restell remained at Blackwell's Island doing special sewing and confined to her own cell where she was fed three times a day, her room lit by night. But the ordeal proved too much for Restell, and when she was released she publicly avowed she would *never* go to jail again.

Following her prison sentence, Restell moved her business uptown to follow the more middle-class clientele in expanding New York. She escaped any further prosecution for some time, and although it was rumored that her apparent immunity was the result of bribes, it is just as likely that her clientele, mostly respectable, middle-class women, came from families reluctant to prosecute or to collude in surveillance. According to medical historiography, abortion continued to be a lucrative enterprise. Many consider it the first subspecialty in American medical history. Its practice was so widespread and publicly linked to Restell that the term "Restellism" was coined by the feminist journal *The Revolution* to refer to abortion, which it maintained was widespread amount the fashionable in the dress circle.¹⁶

Despite social disapproval, Restell's taste for ostentation and conspicuous consumption continued unabated, and in 1857, she and her husband purchased property on the northeast corner of Fifth Avenue and 52nd street, where they built a grand four story mansion that they publicly put on display during a lavish housewarming.¹⁷ It had frontage of 41 feet on the Avenue; and was of brownstone trimmed with marble. *Sights and Sounds* contains four pages of detailed descriptions of it.

¹⁶James C. Mohr, *Abortion in America: The Origins and Evolution of National Policy: 1800-1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 47.

¹⁷Charles Lockwood, *Manhattan Moves Uptown: An Illustrated History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), 208.

Restell's presence became a genuine embarrassment to the neighborhood. She was one of the few New Yorkers who could not buy her way into polite society with a Fifth Avenue address, a mansion, and fine horses. "There she has seated herself, in all the splendor of wealth, her great palace frowning down upon the street," wrote *Leslie's Illustrated*, "while inside Madame sits a pariah, amid velvetssatin and rosewood, mirrors and bronzes, and longs for the sympathy and respect that all her wealth cannot buy, even in this city, where we are told it can buy anything."¹⁸ It was claimed that Restell's mansion lowered real estate values nearby and that she flaunted her unwanted presence by taking an afternoon carriage ride everyday. Her stylish equipment and liveried coachmen were well known to all who frequented the Fifth Avenue promenade and Central Park Drives.

It took the zealot Anthony Comstock to entrap Madame Restell. He found his calling when he successfully lobbied for a federal anti-obscenity law (the famed Comstock Law), organized the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, and was eventually named as special agent by the Postmaster General. For four decades, Comstock tracked down what he considered to be smut, lewdness, and filth in all forms. Although he concentrated on visual forms of "sexual depravity," on several occasions his moral forays extended to the sexual behavior itself, and he was known to costume himself and covertly enter brothels and arrest performers.

Comstock used a similar ruse to successfully entrap Restell. He visited her three times during the winter of 1878, purportedly to obtain contraceptive powders for his wife. On the third visit, he came accompanied by the police, deputies, and reporters from the *World* and the *Tribune*, and, under a state law of 1875, produced a warrant to search the

¹⁸Lockwood, 208.

premises and seize any articles for miscarriage or the prevention of conception. After searching the entire house, they seized what was inventoried as “15 bottles of a ruby-colored medicine, 100 boxes of white pills, 500 packages of powders, 250 circulars, 3 syringes, and 10 dozen condoms.”¹⁹ The following morning, Comstock explained his motives in making the arrest, and after a series of legal maneuverings, Restell was indicted, and her trial date was set for April 1, 1878.

Since the advent of the Comstock Law, her advertisements had become less frequent and more terse, but she had nonetheless continued her practice under the noses (and in the convenience) of New York’s elite at her brownstone. In the interval between her arrest and her trial, on the advice of former judge and attorney Orlando Stewart, she had taken down the sign affixed to her building, and for the first time had begun to travel inconspicuously. In a statement indicating her own role in provoking the attacks upon her, when asked why she was persecuted, she replied, “They are envious because I have such a fine house in such a splendid location.”²⁰

While courtroom observers gathered for the trial on April 1, 1878, they waited in vain. On Fifth Avenue, after having noticed that Madame was in her bath for a longer than usual amount of time, her maid found Restell’s body lying in the tub, her throat cut. Rumors swept through the courtroom when Restell did not appear at the appointed time. It being April 1st, however, Anthony Comstock, like many others, dismissed rumors of her suicide as a joke.

That afternoon, Orlando Stewart gave the press a lengthy statement concerning his client’s state of mind, and a crowd gathered outside Restell’s residence where a policeman was on hand to keep order. At 5PM a coroner’s jury was impaneled in

¹⁹Browder, 163.

²⁰Browder, 166.

Restell's bedroom adjacent to the bath. In addition to touring the house, reporters were allowed to view the remains which lay in an ice-chest in a small reception room north of the parlor-floor hallway. After hearing testimony, touring the house, and viewing the body, the jury reached a verdict of death by suicide. When the jury viewed the remains, it was reported "When the black pall was drawn back, Ann Lohman's features seemed calm, kindly, and youthful, her bloodless face white as marble, her dark brown hair faintly tinged with gray, her throat traversed by a thin red line."²¹

The next morning, the newspaper headlines were predictable. In addition to detailed descriptions of the sumptuous house interior, they editorialized. "A fit ending to an odious career," announced the *Times*; while the *Tribune*, declaring the "end of sin is death" labeled her suicide as an admission of guilt.²² Only the *Sun* was generous, "whatever she was, she had her rights, and the man who cunningly led her into the commission of misdemeanor acted an unmanly and ignoble part."²³ This ironic twist by the *Sun* would have satisfied Restell. Echoing the genteel manners of the day, in her death Restell the female was recognized by *The Sun* as being vulnerable to an unprincipled man. Anthony Comstock denied any wrongdoing and justified his entrapment as necessary and defensible. His Society for the Suppression of Vice hailed the closing of her practice and insisted that the Society's agent had in no way seduced Restell into committing a crime.

Madame Restell is buried in the Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in Tarrytown, New York. Urban legend produced rumors of her survival: the body in the tub, some said, was one of her patients, and Restell herself was on her way to Canada, or had taken a

²¹*Times, Tribune, and Sun.* April 2, 1878.

²²*Tribune,* April 2, 1878.

²³*Sun,* April 2, 1878.

steamship to Europe. The steamship companies hastened to check their passenger lists but denied her among them. Others insisted that she had been murdered by one her clients fearful of being revealed at the trial, and still others said they saw her driving her ghostly carriage down Fifth Avenue.

Madame Restell's life history raises many questions concerning her own role in provoking the attacks against her. Her provocative display in an era of stringently proscribed genteel public behavior can be analyzed either as rebellion or as her own political statement about the very nature of those standards. Her public editorials ignored the proscription that women were not to be seen in public or in print, and her practice was an affront to the editors during an era in which women were relegated to a private domain that required public acquiescence in political and intellectual life and passivity in their sexual lives. Restell's public ostentation, her abortion practice so openly advertised in print, her editorials in answer to the excoriation of the press, and her conspicuous consumption in the form of her Fifth Avenue Brownstone were a public affront to the sense of social order. In these ways, Madame Restell fueled the public debate about social and sexual danger; the multiplicity of discourses about the body, sexuality, privacy, and the state. Utilizing an "eye of power" which located itself in the pages of the press, the restrictive dominant culture succeeded in regulating, and ultimately ending, the life of Ann Lohman, alias Madame Restell.

Picture Credits

Figure One: Ann Lohman, as sketched by an artist for the *National Police Gazette* at the opening of her trial on October 25, 1847.

Figure Two: “The Poor in Winter,” from McCabe, James Dabney. *Lights and Shadows of New York Life, or the Sights and Sensations of New York City*. Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1872.

Figure Three: Title page of Charles Knowlton. *Fruits of Philosophy; or, The Private Companion of Young Married People*. 3rd. ed. Boston, 1834.

Figure Four: “Tenement Houses in Winter,” from Hornberger, Eric. *Scenes from the Life of the City: Corruption and Conscience in Old New York*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Figure Five: The building that housed Horace Greeley’s *New York Tribune*.

Figure Six: Horace Greeley, from McCabe, James Dabney. *Lights and Shadows of New York Life, or the Sights and Sensations of New York City*. Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1872.

Figure Seven: McCabe, James Dabney. *Lights and Shadows of New York Life, or the Sights and Sensations of New York City*. Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1872.

Figure Eight: Title page of McCabe, James Dabney. *Lights and Shadows of New York Life, or the Sights and Sensations of New York City*. Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1872.

Figure Nine: Courtroom scene, from McCabe, James Dabney. *Lights and Shadows of New York Life, or the Sights and Sensations of New York City*. Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1872.

Figure Ten: Halls of Justice, from McCabe, James Dabney. *Lights and Shadows of New York Life, or the Sights and Sensations of New York City*. Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1872.

Figure Eleven: A supposed likeness of Restell, published in the *National Police Gazette*, March 13, 1847. Reprinted in Browder, Clifford. *Madame Restell the Abortionist: The Wickedest Woman in New York*. New York: Archon Books, 1988.

Figure Twelve: Fifth Avenue, from McCabe, James Dabney. *Lights and Shadows of New York Life, or the Sights and Sensations of New York City*. Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1872.

Figure Thirteen: Marie Bodine, in a newspaper engraving at the time of Restell's arrest.

Figure Fourteen: The penitentiary on Blackwell's Island, with adjoining gardens, from Gleason's Pictorial, May 28, 1853. Reprinted in Browder, Clifford. *Madame Restell the Abortionist: The Wickedest Woman in New York*. New York: Archon Books, 1988.

Figure Fifteen: Madame Restell in prison, from the *New York Illustrated Times*, February 23, 1878.

Figure Sixteen: Madame Restell's Fifth Avenue brownstone mansion, from a lithograph of the 1860s. Reprinted in Browder, Clifford. *Madame Restell the Abortionist: The Wickedest Woman in New York*. New York: Archon Books, 1988.

Figure Seventeen: Anthony Comstock, from Broun, Heywood, and Margaret

Leech. *Anthony Comstock: Roundsman of the Lord*. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1927.

Figure Eighteen: Comstock's arrest of Madame Restell, from the *New York Illustrated Times*, February 23, 1878. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Figure Nineteen: The suicide of Madame Restell. From Walling, George W. *Recollections of a New York Chief of Police*. New York: Caxton, 1888.

Figure Twenty: Madame Restell's monument in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, Tarrytown, New York, pictured in Hornberger, Eric. *Scenes from the Life of the City: Corruption and Conscience in Old New York*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Figure Twenty-one: "Ann Lohman in later years; a drawing based on a photograph." From Walling, George W. *Recollections of a New York Chief of Police*. New York: Caxton, 1888; reprinted in Browder, Clifford. *Madame Restell the Abortionist: The Wickedest Woman in New York*. New York: Archon Books, 1988.

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