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A Woman of Letters: Mary Anne Rawson's Letter Collection and her Compilation of the Anti-Slavery Gift Book *The Bow in the Cloud*, 1826-1834

By [Eleanor Bird](#), University of Sheffield

<1>Upon its appearance in 1834, the only known British anti-slavery gift book, *The Bow in the Cloud*, was advertised in the contemporary press as a suitable present for Emancipation Day on the 1st of August, when the Slavery Abolition Act came into force (*Morning Chronicle*, 30 July 1834, *Sheffield Independent*, 26 July 1834). Looking back from the present, it is easy to take this representation at face value and see the *Bow* as only a commemorative text to celebrate the successes of abolition, rather than an active political document. Moira Ferguson has claimed that the women-authored poems that make up part of the *Bow* are spiritually orientated and sentimental, and that the *Bow* was far less radical than the activism of other abolitionists such as the Leicester-based Quaker abolitionist pamphleteer Elizabeth Heyrick (265, 269, 91 – 112). The compiler of the *Bow*, Mary Anne Rawson, was a Congregationalist living in the rapidly urbanizing town of Sheffield, and was the Secretary of the Sheffield Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, established in 1825. Between 1826 and 1834, she solicited contributions in poetry and prose for her gift book and received over one hundred and fifty letters in response. Many of her correspondents enclosed contributions with their letters, sometimes writing them on the same pages. Rawson placed these letters and contributions in two manuscript scrapbooks, probably between the late 1850s and the early 1860s, and they now form part of the *Bow in the Cloud Manuscripts (BM)* collection at the John Rylands Library.⁽¹⁾ This article argues that to approach the gift book as the advertisements in the contemporary press framed it, or to focus on the sentimentality of some women's poems in the *Bow*, is to depoliticize Rawson's gift book project. To do so presumes as well that Rawson deliberately conforms to acceptable gender norms around women's political engagement. This separates Rawson from contemporaries such as Heyrick, who is celebrated for having championed women's participation in agitating for immediate and unconditional emancipation. This article demonstrates that Rawson should instead be recognized and understood as a leader of a politicized campaign for abolition.

<2>Women were actively involved in the second phase of the abolition campaign in Britain in the 1820s and 30s. Clare Midgley has shown the central role that women across Britain played in the

anti-slavery movement through their participation in establishing provincial anti-slavery societies that distributed print in their local communities. Midgley notes that women's campaigns were socially conservative, largely restricted to middle-class women, and reinforced accepted gender norms (*Women Against Slavery* 93 – 120). However, such campaigns also expanded their involvement in the political sphere and provided a framework for the later development of feminist activism (154 – 55, 177). As Elizabeth J. Clapp and Julie Roy Jeffrey demonstrate in *Women, Dissent & Anti-Slavery*, these campaigns were also deeply shaped by women's religious identities. For example, Heyrick was both a Quaker and one of the most prolific women authors of abolitionist pamphlets who adopted a radical anti-slavery stance (Midgley, 2011, 90). In her 1824 anonymous pamphlet, *Immediate, not Gradual Abolition*, Heyrick argues for the immediate emancipation of enslaved people in the British colonies. This marked a departure from the policy of amelioration and gradual abolition that had been advocated by the London Anti-Slavery Society, as well as the opinions of its male leaders (Midgley, *Women Against Slavery* 103 – 16). Rawson, a Congregationalist, has been seen by historians as more socially conservative than Unitarian and Quaker women abolitionists, and far more hesitant about assuming a public role (Twells, "We Ought to Obey God" 67 – 68). Yet on at least two occasions, Rawson adopted a more radical stance than this image suggests. First, in 1825-26, the Sheffield Ladies adopted the call for immediate emancipation instigated by Heyrick in her 1824 pamphlet. Second, in 1838, as the secretary of the newly formed Ladies' Society for the Universal Abolition of Slavery, Rawson criticized the male leadership and stepped beyond their authority to send invitations for anti-apprenticeship speakers to visit Sheffield (Twells 70, 76). This information indicates that women's religious identities, while formative for their activism, do not necessarily indicate their progressivism in any straightforward way.

<3>While the genre of the anti-slavery gift book flourished in the United States, the *Bow* is the only one known to be compiled and published in England.⁽²⁾ It is a rare example of an entire gift book advocating a political cause in a sustained way (Harris, *Forget Me Not* 167). Abolitionist poetry often appeared in gift books, and some abolitionists were editors of gift books, notably Thomas Pringle.⁽³⁾ Poetry collections of abolitionist verse were common, but they did not have the material features that were central to the gift book form, such as beautiful front covers and an engraved title page. *The Bow* offers an opportunity to examine not only the political significance of the gift book as a genre, but also Rawson's important role as a compiler of an anti-slavery gift book. While scholarship has been attentive to Rawson as a historical figure and her role in the abolitionist movement, her role in literary culture has not been fully elucidated.⁽⁴⁾ This article offers a holistic approach to Rawson's career, one that considers both her writing and the gift book alongside the extensive correspondence relating to its compilation, which presents an opportunity to better understand her political radicalism. Examining the interplay between the print book and the manuscript scrapbooks that Rawson compiled and kept recovers an important aspect of women's anti-slavery campaigning and writing by looking at the cultural practice itself. This approach reads Rawson's collection in the cultural terms in which it was created, and demonstrates the radicalness of Rawson's project and campaign strategy.

<4>The first section of this article examines Rawson's production of the *Bow*, reading her scrapbooks as material reflections of her network. The compilation of the *Bow* relied on Rawson's social network within her larger campaigning circle, both of which overlapped with the professional and social networks of annual contributors and editors. The production of the gift

book relied on male and female contributors and correspondents, and through the socially acceptable mode of letter writing, Rawson collaborated with men and women in a way that was unusual in the abolition movement. This section includes a data visualization of Rawson's networks to illustrate how these connections informed the production of the *Bow*. The second section compares the wide public circulation of the *Bow* with the private sharing of Rawson's manuscript scrapbooks among a smaller circle, in the wider context of manuscript circulation between members of women's abolition societies. Focusing on the scrapbooks, it explores these as a feminist project in which Rawson created her own voice and history as a campaigner by carefully placing together the letters and contributions she received. It considers how some of the poems retained in the manuscript were more radical than those included in the printed *Bow*, to argue that Rawson targeted their circulation to a smaller circle of committed women abolitionists.

Production of *The Bow in the Cloud*

<5>Literary networks, often sustained through written correspondence, were central to women's writing in the Romantic era, especially outside formalized print networks (Winckles and Rehbein 1 – 15). The *Bow* illustrates that Rawson created a correspondence network and used this to collect contributions for her gift book. She also used her network to gain advice on some of her editorial decisions. The *Bow* reminds us that writers such as Rawson were part of wider literary culture in the Romantic era and that in recovering women's abolitionist writing we need to be attentive to manuscript culture and circulation. Scholars have begun to disrupt the narrative that the rise in print culture saw a decline in manuscript culture and circulation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Levy 3). Michelle Levy explains that authors operated in a "multimodal world" where individual literary texts could enjoy "a double life, moving between script and print" (265). For women authors, print was not always the ultimate goal (Winckles and Rehbein 7). Within studies of abolitionism, work by scholars such as Ryan Hanley has shifted debates towards an exploration of how networks were central contexts for the production and circulation of print culture. As John Ernest notes, scholars have only recently begun to examine the compilation, production and circulation of abolitionist print culture (13) and manuscript culture may fill the gaps in our understanding.

<6>In creating the *Bow*, Rawson mimicked the genre of the literary annual. Literary annuals were collections of verse and prose pieces often compiled by famous authors. They were a popular genre on both sides of the Atlantic in the 1820s and 30s and were often given as gifts. Gift books were very closely related to the annual genre and shared many of their features, but a key difference was that they were only intended to be published once, rather than for a succession of years (Harris, "Borrowing, Altering and Perfecting" 20).⁽⁵⁾ Predominately aimed at a female readership and with a "gendered, sentimental reputation", gift books were beautiful objects, with gilt-edges, silk or morocco leather bindings, and engraved title pages (Fritz and Fee 62). Unlike anthologies that could collate published and unpublished works, the annual genre collected together original and previously unpublished materials (Harris, "Borrowing, Altering and Perfecting" 16). Rawson's letters mention several annuals – the *Amulet*, the *Landscape Annual*, and the *Literary Souvenir (Anti-Slavery Letters and Papers letters 33, 42)* – demonstrating familiarity with their form and content, which allowed her to adopt their successful features. In Rawson's hands, however, the gift book genre functioned like a petition, listing as its contributors the names of those who wished to make a public statement of their deep and individual feelings against the continuation of slavery

in the British colonies. For contemporaries the names of the contributors mattered more than the creative content. In a letter dated 31 July 1834 to thank Rawson for a copy of the *Bow*, contributor Eliza Conder playfully describes quickly “reading” the gift book and focusing on two aspects in particular: checking whether the printer had made any errors and identifying the names of the other contributors to find out “who are our companions?” (*BM Letter 16*).

<7>The annual and gift book genres were associated with memorialization and a desire to capture the present moment. For example, Sara Lodge examines how letters are part of the rhetoric of memorialization in Romantic-era gift books and were seen as preserving the letter-writer’s presence and body (29, 31). Katherine D. Harris notes that contemporaries saw the annuals as “represent[ing] memories,” and editors “offered the literary annuals as a living moment” (*Forget Me Not* 10, 5). Speaking to these contexts, the *Bow* allowed Rawson to create a printed memory and memento of the moment, one that recorded the sins of colonial slavery and that served as a permanent reminder of the struggle of abolitionists. Gift books were treasured objects associated with sentimentality, and there was an expectation that they would be prized by their owners. In a letter in 1826, Rawson wrote that the *Bow* would be “calculated to enlighten the judgement and affect the feelings”, and stated that the gift book would “arrest the attention” and help to win people over to the abolitionist cause in a print marketplace saturated with pamphlets (*Anti-Slavery Letters and Papers* letter 33).

<8>The material form of the *Bow* would have placed it within the recognizable annual genre. The *Bow* has an engraved frontispiece from a design by H. Corbould, who was a well-known steel plate engraver. Well aware of commercial trends and popular tastes, he was involved in several successful serial projects including the artwork for *Forget Me Not* (*Harris Index*). For the *Bow*, Rawson also chose the same kinds of binding as the successful literary annuals: foolscap octavo in expensive green and red morocco leather.⁽⁶⁾ The *Bow* brought together the work of notable literary figures, abolitionists, members of parliament, and Congregationalist ministers. Rawson included the work of eminent authors with experience of editing and writing contributions for annuals. In this, Rawson was like other annual editors who, as Barbara Onslow has noted, drew on “interlocking circles” of friends, acquaintances and family for contributions (76). For example, her contributors included Thomas Pringle, the secretary of the London-based Anti-Slavery Society in 1827-34 and editor of the annual *Friendship’s Offering*, and James Montgomery, the poet, hymn-writer and abolitionist. Montgomery and Pringle corresponded, and Montgomery had contributed to the *Friendship’s Offering* (*Miscellaneous Letters to James Montgomery* letter 702).⁽⁷⁾ Both advised Rawson on her curation of the *Bow*.

Visualizing Rawson’s Network

<9>Looking at the statistical and demographic breakdown of Rawson’s correspondents enables us to examine how her social network informed the production of the *Bow*. Rawson’s correspondents included Congregational ministers, men and women abolitionist leaders such as Lucy Townsend, the secretary of the West Bromwich Ladies Society, the first women’s abolitionist society established in Britain, and Thomas Clarkson, Ralph Wardlaw and James Douglas, all Glasgow Congregationalist ministers who spoke against slavery.⁽⁸⁾ During the process of writing to potential contributors, Rawson exchanged letters with Members of Parliament, esteemed writers, and women friends. These letters were ostensibly about contributing to the gift book, but also

performed a range of other functions, such as providing windows onto the abolitionist debate in Parliament, forging and sustaining social relationships with campaigners and literary figures, and sourcing recommendations for anti-slavery reading. Rawson's top correspondents in terms of the number of letters she received were Montgomery, Pringle, and the Rev J.W.H. Pritchard, the Congregational minister of the Attercliffe Zion Chapel where Rawson and her family worshipped. Her top women correspondents were Eliza Conder, Elizabeth Abney Walker, and Ann Gilbert. Conder lived in Walford northwest of London. Her husband Josiah had strong Congregational links and was the editor of the *Eclectic Review* between 1814 and 1837. In 1839 he became a member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Abney Walker was an abolitionist living at Clifton House in Rotherham. Gilbert, the wife of a Congregational minister, lived in Nottingham and wrote successfully for children with her sister.

<10>While previous analyses have tended to focus entirely on women's poetry in the *Bow*, such a focus overlooks the greater number of men correspondents and contributors. Of one hundred and fifty-four letters in the *Bow Manuscripts*, twenty-one percent were from women correspondents and seventy-nine percent were from men correspondents. Rawson's ability to work on a project that involved men and women was unusual within British abolitionism, in which women had separate anti-slavery societies and engaged in gender-specific activities. Having men correspondents within women's literary networks could represent an earlier phase in some individual women's access to the world of print (Beshero-Bondar and Donovan-Condron 142). However, in Rawson's case, given the gendered nature of campaigning and the strict limits around what was deemed appropriate in terms of women's political engagement and public activities, the letters represent a more open space where she could collaborate with men and women writers. This encourages us to look beyond the apparent sentimental and ameliorationist message of the women-authored poetry to give more holistic consideration to men and women's contributions in Rawson's creation of her gift book.

<11>The publication date of the *Bow* in 1834 seems to support a reading of it as a reflective document that aimed to celebrate for posterity the 1833 Abolition Act coming into effect. However, Rawson's letters remind us that she was curating this collection in a much more heated political context, before the Act was passed and during the first half of 1833 when many abolitionists expressed their dissatisfaction with plans for compensation for slave owners and with the apprenticeship system. The volume of Rawson's correspondence peaked in three specific years before the gift book's publication in 1834: 1826, 1833 and 1834. Of one hundred and thirty-two letters that contain legible dates, Rawson received thirty-two in 1826, eighty-one in 1833, and seventeen in 1834. This reflects the gestation of the project and its political context. Rawson began the gift book in 1826, during a period of intense abolitionist campaigning on a national scale. In 1823, the new Anti-Slavery Society was formed, and the Sheffield Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, one of the many women-led anti-slavery societies across Britain, was established in 1825, with Rawson as a founding member and the society's secretary. Rawson was working on the collection throughout 1833 and into 1834. This was a period of fervent abolitionist activity and interest, with debates raging in Parliament. During the first half of 1833, many abolitionists opposed proposals for the compensation scheme for slave owners and the apprenticeship scheme. Far from ending the abolitionist campaign, there were moves in April 1834 for a shift towards the universal abolition of slavery, with an initial focus on the United States.

<12>From her base at Wincobank Hall in Sheffield, Rawson maintained a network that, based on the one hundred and forty-nine letters it has been possible to locate, stretched across England and Scotland. The highest numbers of letters came from Sheffield and Rotherham (twenty-eight), London (thirty-nine) and Nottingham (eleven). This suggests that the networks Rawson retained from the places she had lived – Sheffield and Nottingham – helped to shape the gift book.

List of contributors, following the order of the contents page in the gift book

Bernard Barton

James Montgomery

Ann Gilbert

Joseph Watson

Eliza Conder

Allan Cunningham

Archdeacon Wrangham

William Howitt

Mary Howitt

Rev R. W. Hamilton

Jeremiah. Holmes Wiffen

Miss Ball

James Baldwin Brown

Mary Sterndale

John Bowring

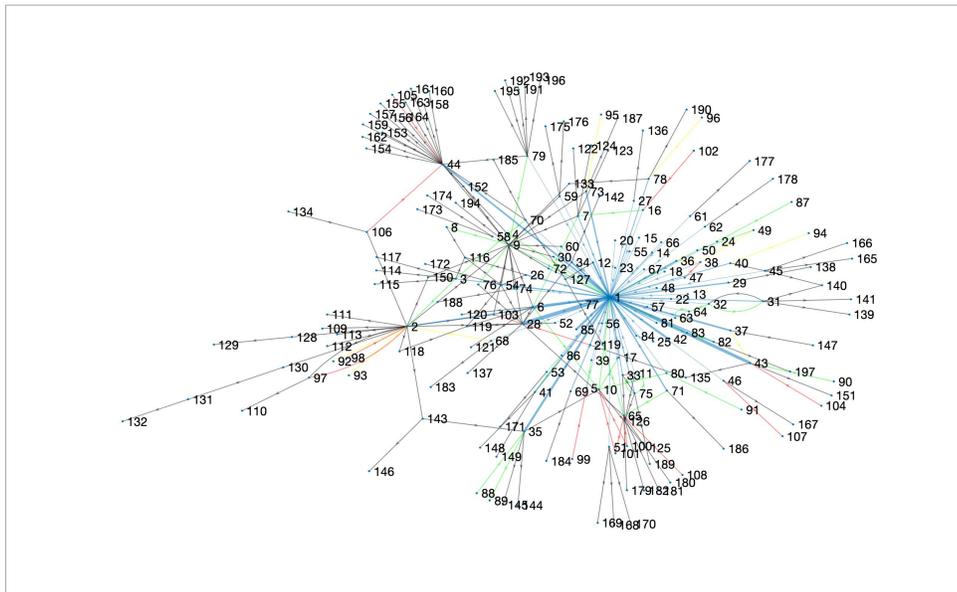
James Edmeston

P Moon James

Agnes Bulmer

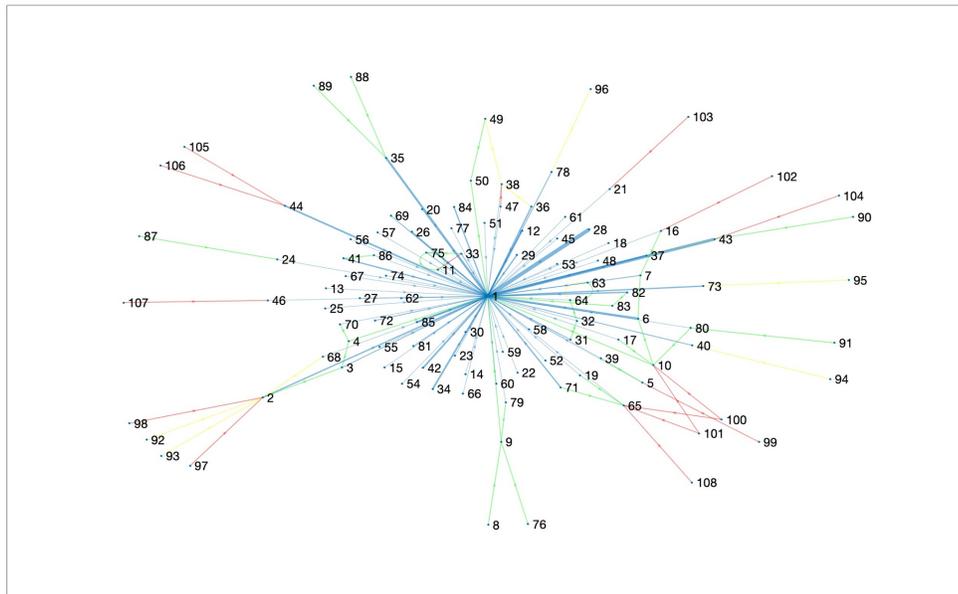
Joseph John Gurney
T. R. Taylor
Rev William Knibb
Miss Maria Benson
Rev J. W. H. Pritchard
Rev. Edward William Barnard
Elizabeth Jones
George Pilkington
Rev W. Knibb
Dinah Townley
William Howitt
Rev Joseph Gilbert
James Riddall Wood
Josiah Conder
Jane Hornblower nee Roscoe
John Holland
Thomas Pringle
Richard Hill
Rev Eustace Carey
R-C-L.
Samuel Carter Hall
J. R
Rev J Pye Smith

Matthew Bridges
Thomas Burchell
Elizabeth Abney Walker
James Douglas
Lucy Townsend
Rev Chauncey Hare Townsend
Anthony H. Smith
Edward Henry Abney
Lord Morpeth
Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton
John Parker
Rev John Ely
Rev Thomas Hill
J W H Pritchard
Rev James Townley
From the Emerald Isle
Sarah J Williams
Rev William Marsh
Maria Stevens
Rev. Thomas Best
Charlotte Elliott
John Sheppard



1. Rawson	51. Rev Ralph Wardlaw	101. Miss Bengier	151. Dr John Philip
2. J. H. Wiffen	52. Thomas Moore	102. Poetical friends	152. Miss Greaves
3. Mary Howitt and William Howitt	53. George Thompson	103. My wife	153. Mr Holdsworth
4. Mr William Rawson	54. Joseph Hunter	104. Others of my acquaintance	154. Mr Gilbert
5. Rev F W Hamilton	55. Isaac Taylor	105. My dear mother	155. Miss Kidd
6. Eliza Conder and Josiah Conder	56. William Wordsworth	106. My brother	156. Jane, Henry and Josiah Gilbert
7. James Baldwin Brown	57. Robert Southey	107. Maria Jane Jewsbury	157. Miss Wilson
8. Mary Stensdale	58. Mary Roberts	108. Miss Mary Russell Mitford	158. Rebecca Morley
9. Read Family	59. Rev William H Vale	109. Hannah Kibam	159. Josiah Gilbert
10. Miss Maria Benson	60. Thomas Smith	110. Our two girls	160. Mrs Cecil
11. Joseph Watson	61. Sarah Bradley	111. West-Indian body	161. Mr Burnet
12. Thomas Hill	62. John Angell James	112. Russel Memoirs	162. Mr Browne
13. John Bowring	63. Matthew Gisborne	113. Mary Howitt	163. Mr Williams
14. T R Taylor	64. John Riland	114. Charlotte Elizabeth Phelan, Birmingham Ladies Anti-Slavery Society	164. Mr Harrison
15. William Knibb	65. Mrs (Barbara) Hofland	115. William Howitt	165. The British public
16. Jane Hombrowler Roscoe	66. Dean Millman [Henry Hart Millman]	116. Samuel Roberts	166. We (abolitionists)
17. Alan Cunningham	67. Rich? Waldizer?	117. Mr Davidson	167. Rev. William K. Fletcher
18. John Sheppard	68. Richard Matthews, Anti-Slavery Society	118. My dear husband, Mr Conder	168. Eminent and excellent friends of religion and humanity
19. Rev Eustace Carey	69. Mary Martha Sherwood	119. Anti-Slavery Society, London	169. Mrs Wardlaw
20. Rev John Pye Smith and his daughter	70. Richard Cecil	120. My sister and her boy	170. Both families with which you are connected
21. S. C. Hall	71. Thomas Campbell	121. Our youngest boy	171. Peter Borthwick
22. Matthew Bridges	72. James Everett	122. Henry Roscoe	172. Elliott
23. Joseph John Gurney	73. Thomas Raffles	123. The Patriot	173. Miss Hargreaves, Librarian to our Ladies Anti-Slavery Society
24. George Pilkington	74. Thomas R Birks	124. Mr Conder	174. My Aunt
25. James Riddall Wood	75. T G Wright	125. Mr Basil Montagu	175. My late uncle
26. John Holland	76. Williams Collins	126. Aurora Borealis	176. Harriet and Emily
27. Eleanor Elliott	77. Lord Suffield	127. Your circle	177. Mr Duelsley?
28. James Montgomery	78. H. Corbould	128. Mrs Bowring	178. Your friends from Nottingham
29. Thomas Burchell	79. John Rawson	129. Her mother	179. Mr Rhodes
30. James Douglass	80. Archdeacon Wrantham	130. Mrs Carey	180. A pious young clergyman
31. Lucy Townsend	81. Miss D Ball	131. Our beloved Anne	181. Sheffield friends
32. Rev Chancy Hare Townsend	82. James Edmeston Homerton	132. Her beloved friend Elizabeth	182. Mrs Read
33. Anthony, H. Smith	83. Miss Jemima Sabine	133. Mrs Rawson	183. Our Society (Anti-Slavery Society?)
34. Bernard Barton	84. Agnes Bulmer	134. Doves	184. Friends from the West Indies
35. Mrs Elizabeth Walker	85. Rev J W Pritchard	135. The Town	185. Mrs Cecil and our children
36. Lord Morpeth	86. Miss H Parker	136. Charlotte Elliott	186. Mrs Campbell
37. T. F. Buxton	87. An officer of the Black Regiment	137. Mrs D Townley	187. Mrs Raffles
38. John Parker	88. Edward Henry Abney	138. Mrs Burchell and child	188. The circle at Chesterfield
39. Rev John Ely	89. Lady residing in Dublin	139. Duke of Wellington	189. Mrs Waterhouse
40. Rev William Marsh	90. Reverend Richard Hill	140. The British Parliament	190. Gentlemen (Jackson and Walford)
41. Sarah J Williams	91. Rev Edward William Barnard	141. Birmingham and West Bromwich etc Negro Friend's Society	191. Mr Ellis
42. Rev Thomas Best	92. Richard Warrington and Paul Moon	142. William Cowper	192. Mr Jackson
43. Thomas Pringle	93. John Lord Russell	143. Mr Walker	193. H Corbould
44. Ann Gilbert	94. Phillis Wheatley	144. Anne Bradbury	194. The Mills
45. Thomas Clarkson	95. Mr Roscoe	145. Emily	195. Fisher & Co
46. Robert Stephens McAll	96. Edward or William Finden (engravers)	146. Our son	196. Hatchard
47. Henry Galy Knight	97. Mrs Wiffen	147. Priscilla Johnston, nee Buxton	197. The Spirit of the Age
48. John Clare	98. Mr Wiffen's brother	148. Rev J Williams Mansfield	
49. Thomas Babington Macaulay	99. My sister, Bodley of Hull	149. Some ladies obtaining signatures	
50. To My dear Sir	100. Miss Letitia Elizabeth Landon	150. Mrs Best	

Figure 1. Network graph visualizing the relationships between Rawson and her correspondents, including references to people in the text of the letters



1. Rawson	37. T. F. Buxton	73. Thomas Raffles
2. J. H. Wiffen	38. John Parker	74. Thomas R Birks
3. Mary Howitt and William Howitt	39. Rev John Ely	75. T G Wright
4. Mr William Rawson	40. Rev William Marsh	76. Williams Collins
5. Rev R W Hamilton	41. Sarah J Williams	77. Lord Suffield
6. Eliza Conder and Josiah Conder	42. Rev Thomas Best	78. H. Corbould
7. James Baldwin Brown	43. Thomas Pringle	79. John Rawson
8. Mary Sterndale	44. Ann Gilbert	80. Archdeacon Wrangham
9. Read Family	45. Thomas Clarkson	81. Miss D Ball
10. Miss Maria Benson	46. Robert Stephens McAll	82. James Edmeston Homerton
11. Joseph Watson	47. Henry Gally Knight	83. Miss Jamima Sabine
12. Thomas Hill	48. John Clare	84. Agnes Bulmer
13. John Bowring	49. Thomas Babington Macaulay	85. Rev J W Pritchard
14. T R Taylor	50. To My dear Sir	86. Miss H Parker
15. William Knibb	51. Rev Ralph Wardlaw	87. An officer of the Black Regiment
16. Jane Hornblower Roscoe	52. Thomas Moore	88. Edward Henry Abney
17. Allan Cunningham	53. George Thompson	89. Lady residing in Dublin
18. John Sheppard	54. Joseph Hunter	90. Reverend Richard Hill
19. Rev Eustace Carey	55. Isaac Taylor	91. Rev Edward William Barnard
20. Rev John Pye Smith and his daughter	56. William Wordsworth	92. Richard Warrington and Paul Moon
21. S. C. Hall	57. Robert Southey	93. John Lord Russell
22. Matthew Bridges	58. Mary Roberts	94. Phillis Wheatley
23. Joseph John Gurney	59. Rev William H Vale	95. Mr Roscoe
24. George Pilkington	60. Thomas Smith	96. Edward or William Finden (engravers)
25. James Riddall Wood	61. Sarah Bradley	97. Mrs Wiffen
26. John Holland	62. John Angell James	98. Mr Wiffen's brother
27. Eleanor Elliott	63. Matthew Gisborne	99. My sister, Bodley of Hull
28. James Montgomery	64. John Riland	100. Miss Letitia Elizabeth Landon
29. Thomas Burchell	65. Mrs (Barbara) Hofland	101. Miss Bengier
30. James Douglass	66. Dean Millman [Henry Hart Millman]	102. Poetical friends
31. Lucy Townsend	67. Rich? Waldize?	103. My wife
32. Rev Chancy Hare Townsend	68. Richard Matthews, Anti-Slavery Society	104. Others of my acquaintance
33. Anthony. H. Smith	69. Mary Martha Sherwood	105. My dear mother
34. Bernard Barton	70. Richard Cecil	106. My brother
35. Mrs Elizabeth Walker	71. Thomas Campbell	107. Maria Jane Jewsbury
36. Lord Morpeth	72. James Everett	108. Miss Mary Russell Mitford

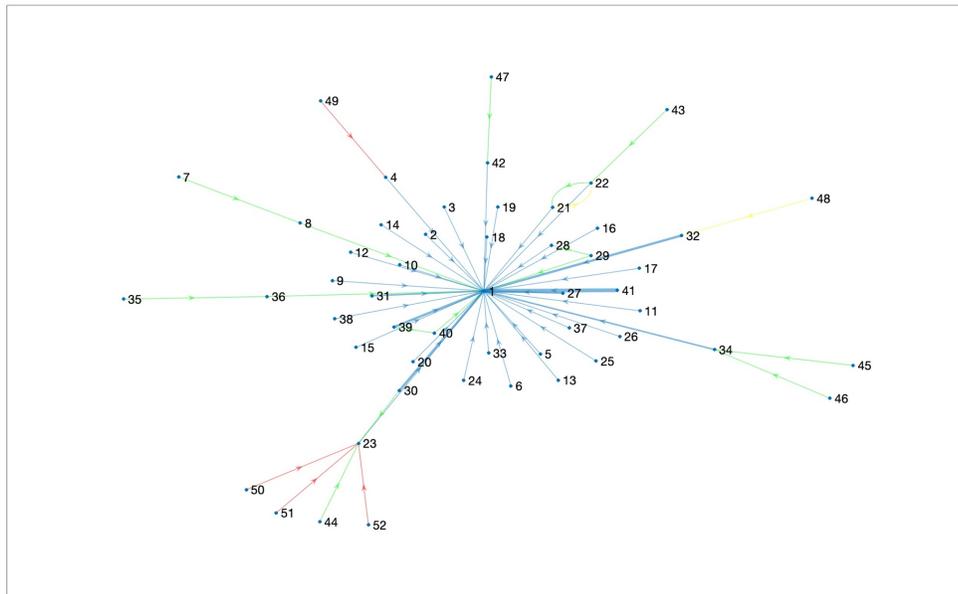
Figure 2. The relationships between Rawson and her correspondents, excluding references in the text of the letters

<13>Visualizing the data as network graphs demonstrates the complexity of relationships between the contributors to the *Bow*. It shows there is a dense web between correspondents and their social worlds, as crafted in the letters, and that the gift book depended on other relationships, and not only on the direct relationship between Rawson and her correspondents. Figure 1 visualizes the

people and relationships involved in creating the *Bow* based on the information about individual people contained in Rawson's letter collection. Each node represents an individual person (or, less often, a group, organization or print publication) and they are linked to other individuals by edges that represent a connection between them. This graph uses information about people and organizations contained within the text of the letters. Figure 2 shows the people and relationships but removes the references to people, places and organizations contained in the body of the letters, and includes a key of names. The expansiveness of the Figure 1 and 2 graphs shows that the wide-ranging network was essential to completing the book. Rawson wrote to well-known figures such as William Wordsworth, Robert Southey and John Clare. Some of Rawson's correspondents were supportive and some were not, but the fact that they replied indicates her social standing and the strength of her social network. In Figure 1, the black edges visualize the wider social world contained within the letters by showing how individuals and organizations such as Montgomery and the London Anti-Slavery Society became a common frame of reference for Rawson and several of her correspondents.

<14>Men and women correspondents frequently made suggestions for contributors, and sometimes forwarded poems on their acquaintance's behalf, as visualized in Figure 3. Mrs Walker forwarded part of her own letter with a contribution from Edward Henry Abney to Rawson. Rawson's network of contributors often knew her family and passed on regards to them, and correspondents often mention other individuals from whom Rawson was receiving letters: for instance, Eliza Conder mentions Montgomery, and the Gilberts mention Richard Cecil. The green, red and yellow edges represent when a correspondent facilitates a link between Rawson and a new individual. The green edges show when a correspondent successfully informs and encourages someone to contribute or passes on a contribution to Rawson on somebody else's behalf. This illustrates how certain individuals could be super-spreaders, distributing knowledge about Rawson's collection, and inspiring others to contribute. This graph shows how letter-writing enabled Rawson to stretch her reach into her correspondents' social circles and demonstrates how interwoven and connected the lives of her correspondents were. It also suggests that the process of compiling such a volume created an opportunity for relationships and connections between individuals to flourish.

<15>Some of Rawson's correspondents went beyond providing a contribution and gave her editorial advice and support in compiling the gift book (Figure 5). Their recommendations for the title, preface, engraved frontispiece and motto show that there was a communal element to her editorial approach. These paratextual spaces of her printed book, which framed the way the contents were asked to be read, finalized last by Rawson and seen as needing to be more sensitive to the immediate political context, were more collaborative than other parts. Rawson received advice by letter on the title of her volume from the Quaker poet Bernard Barton, Eliza and Josiah Conder, Ann Gilbert, the Quaker librarian at Woburn Abbey Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen, the Sheffield-based travel writer Mary Sterndale, Montgomery and Pringle. All eight had prior experience of writing for publication, as newspaper and annual editors and contributors. The Congregationalist minister Richard Cecil wrote a draft advertisement for the *Bow*, which Rawson drew from heavily in writing her Preface.



1. Rawson	19. Sarah Bradley	37. Lord Suffield
2. Eleanor Elliott	20. John Angell James	38. John Rawson
3. Thomas Clarkson	21. Matthew Gisborne	39. James Edmeston Homerton
4. Robert Stephens McAll	22. John Riland	40. Miss Jemima Sabine
5. Henry Gally Knight	23. Mrs (Barbara) Hofland	41. Rev J W Pritchard
6. John Clare	24. Dean Millman [Henry Hart Millman]	42. Miss H Parker
7. Thomas Babington Macaulay	25. Rich? Waldize?	43. Rev Chancy Hare Townsend
8. To My dear Sir	26. Richard Matthews, Anti-Slavery Society	44. Rev Eustace Carey
9. Rev Ralph Wardlaw	27. Mary Martha Sherwood	45. Joseph Watson
10. Thomas Moore	28. Richard Cecil	46. Anthony. H. Smith
11. George Thompson	29. Mr William Rawson	47. Sarah J Williams
12. Joseph Hunter	30. Thomas Campbell	48. Mr Roscoe
13. Isaac Taylor	31. James Everett	49. Maria Jane Jewsbury
14. William Wordsworth	32. Thomas Raffles	50. Miss Mary Russell Mitford
15. Robert Southey	33. Thomas R Birks	51. Miss Letitia Elizabeth Landon
16. Mary Roberts	34. T G Wright	52. Miss Bengier
17. Rev William H Vale	35. Williams Collins	
18. Thomas Smith	36. Read Family	

Figure 4. Correspondents who did not contribute to the *Bow* and their recommendations for contributors

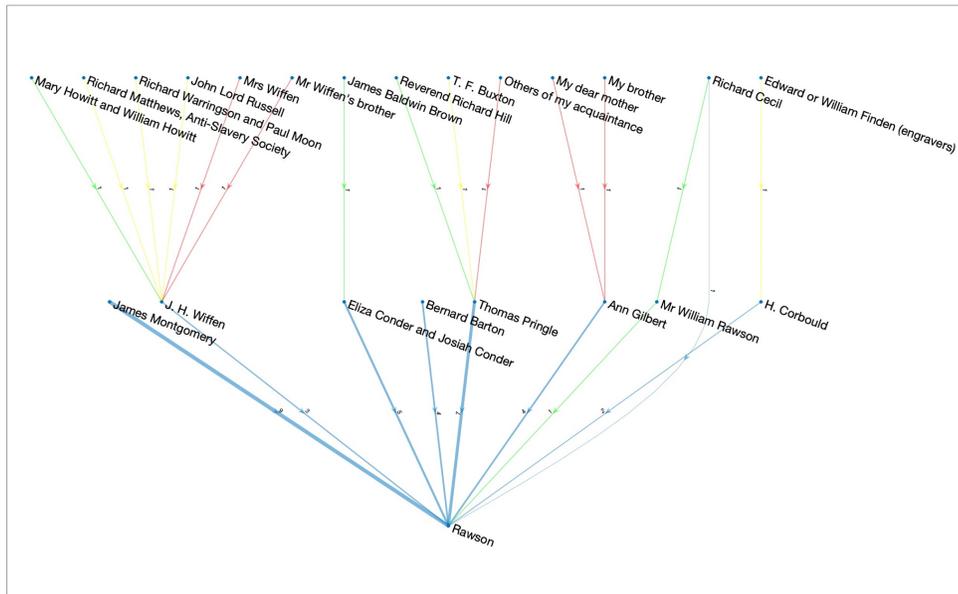


Figure 5. Correspondents who gave editorial advice to Rawson

<16>Montgomery’s letters to Rawson reflect a particular kind of relationship between them. The frequent and hurried notes that he sent her, often without full dates, and in quick succession, suggest informality and reflect their proximity to each other, as both lived in Sheffield. Although we only have one side of the correspondence, the letters suggest that Rawson encouraged Montgomery’s involvement and advice when it came to putting together certain parts of her volume, particularly the Preface, motto and titles for some poems. Nine letters from Montgomery in the *Bow Manuscripts* show that there is a thick interchange of letters between March 1833 and May 1834. The letters show they had a close collaborative relationship as Rawson formatted, finished and polished the contents of her collection. Montgomery suggested titles for individual contributions and seems to have provided Rawson with close-at-hand support as she went through the final stages of bringing her book to press (*BM* 18 Jan 1834 Letter 81). On 8 May 1834 Montgomery wrote to Rawson ‘[i]n very great haste’ and gave his comments on the title page and Preface which he had proofread (*BM Letter* 83). Montgomery also sent more informal and brief letters to Rawson than she received from her other correspondents, suggesting a more intimate and close friendship. For example, a brief letter with no postmark, which was probably delivered by hand, was signed off “10 o clock Thursday evening” and accompanied the “proofs.” Montgomery frequently informed Rawson that he was writing in haste and unable to answer her at length, suggesting a sense of urgency in sending his replies and copies of proofs to her.

<17>Rawson involved Thomas Pringle in decisions about the title of her gift book. Her appeal for his advice may have been a tactical decision to encourage his involvement in the creation of the volume and to invest him with some concern about its success. Pringle’s seven letters to Rawson between February and December 1833 show there was a dense web of contact between them. His support was significant given his status as the secretary of the London-based organizational centre of the national abolition movement. In 1826 Richard Matthews, then the secretary of the Anti-

Slavery Society, wrote to Rawson informing her that he hoped to produce a contribution for her. In a letter dated 16 March 1826, Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen had suggested this contact (*BM*, Letter 31). Her letters to and from Pringle mapped onto the contact she had established with his predecessor. Pringle offered to circulate the prospectus for Rawson's book using the network already established to deliver print to the provincial anti-slavery societies: "I could send out a couple of hundred copies through the country" with the monthly deliveries. He also offered to mention the work "to others of my acquaintance" (*BM* 27 Feb 1833 Letter 140).

Rawson's Preface and Letters

<18>Rawson produced her gift book, in part, to commemorate the Abolition Bill of 1834, but she also wanted to preserve the memory of the guilt and national shame of British colonial slavery. Rawson's Preface and the letters sent to her show that, rather than producing a reflective and backward-looking document, she was already aligning herself with the short-lived movement in 1834 for the Universal Abolition of Slavery, which later reignited with the renewal of the national campaign in 1837. Rawson's Preface in the *Bow* itself was a kind of pamphlet and her gift book a collection of voices designed to remind the British public and abolitionists of the sins and horrors of slavery, and push forward in the fight for its extinction globally. Looking more holistically at Rawson's writing offers an opportunity to re-evaluate her project, and to reflect upon its rebellious and radical aims.

<19>Still the purpose of Rawson's gift book is hard to decipher completely. In her Preface to the *Bow* and the letters she sent, Rawson apologizes for the confused nature of her volume, suggesting that it may appear out of date in light of the recent passage of the Abolition Bill (MS 724, Letters 36 and 40). Rawson waited until the last moment to provide a title and a preface for her volume, acknowledging that the abolition campaign was still unfolding in early 1834, despite the passage of the bill in August 1833 to come into effect the following year (MS 742 Letters 10 and 35). When it came to writing her Preface, Rawson was heavily influenced by the wording of the address *To the Anti-Slavery Associations, and the Friends of Negro Emancipation throughout the United Kingdom* by the short-lived Agency Society for the Universal Abolition of Negro Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World on 14 March 1834. This address drew British abolitionists' attention to the global existence of slavery, with some five million fellow human beings still enslaved. It highlighted slavery in the United States and the use of British capital in the slave trades in the French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Rawson's copy of this address, in the Wilson Anti-Slavery Collection, shows handwritten marks next to part of the address, which she drew from and referred to in her own Preface. A draft version of Rawson's Preface, written on the back of an envelope that appears to have originally contained the contribution of Rev Eustace Carey, shows that she targeted slavery in the United States as one of the evils she wanted to see defeated. The prospectus for the *Bow* also invites readers to see it as an active political tool. It describes the gift book as showing the "[e]vils of slavery", as well as commemorating "its abolition in the British colonies" (*BM*).

<20>In creating the gift book, Rawson cut and pasted from the letters she received to produce its textual fabric. In Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton's letter, he used large crosses to mark out the part of his letter that he gave Rawson permission to use as his contribution, which she printed (*BM* Letter 117). John Sheppard wrote to Rawson on 22 March 1834, including a poem on the same sheet,

and informed Rawson that he had written a poem, the “so imperfect a trifle which I send”, “this morning” (*BM Letter 12*). This indicates the temporal closeness between the compilation of the poem and the letter. There is only one letter from Samuel Carter Hall. It shows that he quickly responded to and dealt with Rawson’s request in sending a poem. In his letter dated 15 May 1833, Hall half-apologetically noted that he only received Rawson’s note the day before, perhaps to allow for sending her an unoriginal work. He wrote his poem, “The Cup of Gold”, on the back of his letter on the same sheet and informed Rawson that he had already published this anonymously in his newspaper, *The Town* (*BM Letter 97*). Rawson’s decision to print Hall’s poem subverted the expectation that the gift-book genre should only contain original contributions. It is not possible to know why Rawson made an exception in Hall’s case. Perhaps, she hoped few people had seen it previously as Hall had originally published it anonymously in a weekly newspaper. She may have otherwise been motivated to include it because of Hall’s prestige as the editor of the *Amulet*.

<21>The number of letters Rawson received through 1833 shows that the Abolition Bill did not dampen her desire to publish her gift book. In a letter from the abolitionist leader Thomas Clarkson, from Ipswich, Norfolk, dated 14 April 1833, Clarkson reveals something of Rawson’s letter to him: “I am obliged to you for your wish that I may live to record the total abolition of slavery” (*BM Letter 155*). The use of language reflects Rawson’s stance for total and complete abolition, without the period of apprenticeship, and it anticipates her move in writing the Preface in the *Bow* the following year to evoke the language of the Agency Society for the Universal Abolition of Negro Slavery. This desire is one shared by many of her contributors, whose attitudes sometimes became more progressive over time. For instance, in May 1833 Eliza Conder noted that the public feeling was becoming “increasingly intense” (*BM Letter 14*), and Ann Gilbert wrote to Rawson from Nottingham in May 1833 about the vigorous campaigning efforts of women in Nottingham, who collected fifteen thousand women’s signatures for their petition in support of emancipation (*BM Letter 151*). On 12 May 1833, J. H. Wiffen expressed his disillusionment and his hope that the public papers were incorrect in stating that the government wanted to propose a period of apprenticeship, which would mean “twelve years more of principle effect – sacrifice and labour – to obtain the consummation so seriously to be wished” (*BM Letter 32*), of complete emancipation. Lucy Townsend wrote to Rawson on 14 May 1833, the day before Parliament was to make a decision on slavery, and mentioned this to Rawson in her letter. On 17 June 1833, Rev Chauncy Hare Townsend in Keswick wrote to Rawson telling her that she could alter line ten of his sonnet, “And wavering counsels planned by selfish men!”, if she judged this to be best, as it reflected his critical view of those advocating “half and half measures” (*BM Letter 107*). In his letter dated 28 June 1833 Joseph Watson stated that he did not agree with the period of apprenticeship or compensation for slave owners “which the ministerial plan sanctions” and welcomed Rawson’s work, which he saw as able to rouse the public and push for a “more humane, just and speedy measure of emancipation” (*BM Letter 13*). In her letter dated 3 November 1833, the writer and Unitarian Jane Hornblower Roscoe, whose father had been an abolitionist in Liverpool, wrote: “I cannot but lament that it was not a fuller and more immediate emancipation on many accounts” (*BM Letter 6*). Roscoe provided a poem, passed to Rawson by James Baldwin Brown in 1827, entitled “Sonnet: The African Mother,” and later went on to contribute to the American anti-slavery gift book *The Liberty Bell*. Other correspondents noted their satisfaction with the passage of the Abolition Bill, while many, notably William Wordsworth, declined to contribute and spoke of their anxiety of inciting slave rebellions.

<22>In addition to the voices of white abolitionists, the *Bow* contained texts by Black authors who had connections to Black Atlantic rebellion. In 1833, Rawson approached Thomas Burchell to write about the economic advantages of free labor. Burchell was a Baptist minister and abolitionist in Montego Bay, Jamaica. He was suspected of involvement in the Baptist War Slave Rebellion in 1831 and had links to the abolitionist Samuel Sharpe. He published his contribution anonymously because he feared the outcry of West Indian planters and was due to return to Jamaica at the time of writing. The intellectual equality of Black and white people was a strong impetus for some of the contributors' writing. William Marsh's contribution to the *Bow* includes extracts from the poetry of the African American poet Phillis Wheatley. George Pilkington provides a narrative related by his friend, an officer of the Black Regiment, "The Black Soldier". Similarly, Rawson included the contribution of the Black abolitionist Richard Hill who had previously written for other annuals and gift books. Hill wrote a description of his travels to Haiti for Rawson's volume, "The Creole Maiden's Song," and Pringle facilitated the link between Hill and Rawson, suggesting his inclusion and forwarding Hill's contribution on to Rawson in his letters to her. (9) In 1830, the Anti-Slavery Society commissioned Hill to undertake research on Haiti. Rawson's desire to represent the work of Black abolitionists in the *Bow* is evidence of her intention to work within a literary network that advocated not only on behalf of, but alongside, Black people.

Circulation of the *Bow* and its Scrapbooks

<23>The printed *Bow* had a wide public circulation. Rawson's publishers, Jackson and Walford, in a letter dated 10 May 1834, mentioned that five hundred copies of the gift book would be printed and sold for 12 shillings each (*Anti-Slavery Letters and Papers*). This section focuses on two scrapbooks that Rawson made that contained materials relating to her compilation of the *Bow*: the letters and poetry and prose contributions she received, drafts of the contributions in her own handwriting, and autographs, newspaper cutting and photographs. The scrapbooks are a collection in their own right and can be understood not only as Rawson's attempt to store her papers relating to the gift book, but to preserve a record of her relationships and a memory of her writing project. In her scrapbooks, Rawson accumulated contemporary ideas while she also authored an archive of her own voice. While maintaining an appearance of gendered conformity in her abolitionist work, Rawson collected and layered together the letters and contributions of people in her social network and in doing so she preserved and created a story of her own campaigning activities and connection to literary and political culture. Rawson's *Bow in the Cloud* scrapbooks contain poems about slave insurrection that demonstrate that she kept and circulated more radical poetry in manuscript form rather than print.

<24>It is likely that a more intimate circle of Rawson's family and friends circulated the *Bow* scrapbooks instead of the printed gift book. Ellen Gruber Garvey examines how, in the nineteenth century, ordinary Americans created scrapbooks: they clipped scraps from newspapers and magazines and pasted them into new contexts. Garvey shows that scrapbook makers were "part of an elaborate circuit of recirculation": when they gleaned texts and lifted them into new contexts they created "a new tier of private circulation" with new meanings ("Scissoring and Scrapbooks" 208). She shows, in *Writing with Scissors*, that scrapbooks partly came out of the commonplace book genre – popular since the Renaissance – in which readers copied out portions of texts and which could be records of reading (15). Scrapbooks had close links to the diary genre (15). They were "filing systems" which people compiled to tell their own stories (4, 22). This made them "a

form of life writing ... that preserves elements of life experience and memory cues" (15).⁽¹⁰⁾ While there is no evidence in the *Bow* scrapbooks of how they were circulated and among whom, women's anti-slavery societies in Britain certainly co-created and shared manuscripts. In 1828, the Female Society for Birmingham produced anti-slavery albums that were communal and designed to be passed around amongst their women members (James and Shuttleworth 47 – 72). The Sheffield Ladies also produced an album, the *Negro's Album of the Sheffield Anti-Slavery Society* in 1828, and this was filled with handwritten poems and had a handwritten title page. The Sheffield Ladies had their own librarian who apparently kept track of these manuscript books. Mary Roberts told Rawson that the librarian had informed her that the album was at "White House" but that she would be able to procure it and send it on to her (Letter 167). Michelle Levy's *Literary Manuscript Culture in Romantic Britain* establishes that manuscript culture and circulation within close circles was prevalent during this period. The ornate brass metal clasps and the lettering on the embossed spines of the scrapbooks, stamped "Autographs: The Bow in the Cloud, Vol 1 and Vol 2." suggest that they were designed to be displayed, perhaps on a bookshelf. The poems and letters appear not to have been stuck down and this meant that readers could have lifted out a single poem or letter for study and discussion. There was a long tradition in Britain of women dating back to the English Civil War circulating radical poetry in manuscript form amongst their family and friends, and Rawson's scrapbooks seem to fit within this tradition.

<25>The scrapbook genre allowed Rawson to accumulate contemporary ideas about slavery while creating an archive of her own experience. Creating the scrapbooks also allowed Rawson to save her manuscripts from being lost, forgotten or separated. Garvey examines how, after the US Civil War, Henry Ingersoll Bowditch, whose son had died in the war, created scrapbooks of poems from newspapers that related the experiences of soldiers during the war. She shows how Bowditch used the voices of the soldiers to connect his personal grief over the loss of his son to a moment of national mourning "to experience his grief as something in common with his fellow citizens" ("Anonymity, Authorship, and Recirculation" 175). Similarly, Rawson placed the letters and contributions she received into the scrapbooks without cropping or editing them, and thus created a record of her contemporaries' attitudes. By presenting these voices wholesale, Rawson connected to a moment of national reflection on the legacy of British colonial slavery in 1833-34 and placed her own abolitionist ideas and activism within this wider context. The scrapbooks therefore not only preserve the contributions and letters but collate a vaster archive that represented a wider social network than was involved in the printed version. Moreover, as many of those who declined to contribute gave a range of views on the "slavery question" such as hesitancy around immediate emancipation, Rawson's manuscripts reflect a more multivocal response to slavery than the printed *Bow*. The scrapbooks contain ten thank-you letters, twenty-two letters from those who declined to contribute and one hundred and eighteen letters from contributors, as well as four other letters relating to the publication of the *Bow*. Rawson's scrapbooks were not a direct reflection of the printed version, but rather a record of the process of creating the gift book.

<26>The scrapbooks do not appear to have been used as a working copy for the *Bow* while Rawson compiled the volume. Rawson likely created the scrapbooks retrospectively, in the late 1850s or early 1860s, although she gleaned newspaper reviews and biographies and photographs over a much longer period. The boards and clasp of the *Bow* scrapbooks are very similar to another manuscript text she created: her handwritten "Memorials of James Montgomery." Montgomery died in 1854, and based on references in her handwritten text, Rawson probably wrote this down

between 1857 and 1862. The contents of the *Bow* scrapbooks – including newspaper reviews from 1834 and a newspaper obituary from 1848 – suggest that at least some of the contents were gleaned over a much longer period. This reflects that Rawson was engaged with these manuscripts over a sustained period between 1834 and 1862. The letters and contributions that Rawson received were kept in pristine condition and there is no evidence that she added editorial comments or revisions directly onto these original manuscripts.

<27>Rawson’s handwritten contents for the two scrapbooks are evidence that they were compiled by her, and that their organization today reflects her original ordering plan. The first is filled with those who contributed and the second with those who did not:

This volume contains the original manuscripts of the ‘Bow in the Cloud’ with portraits of the authors. M. A. R

This volume contains the portraits and autographs of those who declined to contribute to ‘The Bow in the Cloud’ and is filled with other anti-slavery letters (and papers) (pictures). M. A. R (*Bow in the Cloud*)

<28>As has already been noted, the scrapbooks contained poems that were more radical in terms of their depiction of slave insurrection than the printed gift book. Two poems that Rawson did not publish were “Toussaint Louverture” by Miss Ball and “The Reign of Terror” by James Everett. Everett sent his poem from Manchester on 14 June 1826, and it describes the bloody violence and vengeance that he predicted would be inflicted in the case of an uprising against those who held people in slavery in the West Indies. Specifically, it describes God’s vengeance on those in plantation societies who had inflicted a reign of terror over enslaved people. The description of the violent nature of this vengeance, “the voice of blood”, and the allusions to the French Revolution and the overthrow of authority in the poem contain echoes of slave insurrection. Miss Ball’s poem also describes the “negro-vengeance” and “deluge of blood” (*BM manuscript poem 37*). It celebrates and commemorates Toussaint Louverture, the leader of the only successful slave rebellion, which led to the creation of the free Black republic of Haiti. Ferguson believes that Rawson’s decision not to print a poem about Toussaint Louverture is reflective of her selection of conservative evangelical poems, which she suggests we might expect from Rawson’s Congregational faith. However, she overlooks that Rawson retained this poem within her manuscript scrapbooks (Ferguson 269 – 70). While this suggests that Rawson was conscious of her public image when it came to including radical poetry in her printed *Bow* with its wide and public audience, her decision to keep this in the manuscript scrapbooks seems to indicate that she did circulate this text amongst a smaller and more tightly controlled readership within her social network, which held more radical views.

Conclusion

<29>Rawson drew on traditions of women’s writing as well as the new and successful gift book form. Her Congregational religious identity was important in shaping the content and meanings of her gift book, her letters and her manuscript scrapbooks, and she included Congregationalist contributors who also played a role in her network. Both the printed gift book and the letters and scrapbooks were informed by the multiple traditions of Congregationalism and formed part of the literary culture and manuscript production and circulation that was central to women’s writing in

the Romantic period. The letters also reveal the extent of collaboration between Rawson, Montgomery and Pringle, her publisher and Corbould, the contributors who supplied work, and those contacts who recommended her project to friends. Rawson used letters to connect herself to the male-dominated center of the London Anti-Slavery Society, through its secretary Thomas Pringle. For Rawson, letters and the project of compiling a collection of poetry and prose in the form of a feminine and sentimental gift book, allowed her to work with men and women abolitionists in a way that was unusual within the restrictive cultural ideals around women's political activism.

<30>Rawson's gift book, in print and manuscript form, demonstrates how manuscript production and circulation remained a vital political tool for abolitionist women writers in the early nineteenth century. Rather than a linear progression from manuscripts leading to print production, Rawson's *Bow* blurs these lines and shows how manuscripts – valued in their own right – became printed texts that retained traces of their origins in letters and had a parallel life as scrapbooks. Scholars of abolitionism need to take far greater account of the resilience of manuscript culture and circulation amongst both men and women. When we approach women's abolitionist campaign writing from this more expansive sense of their work, some of the divisions that we have created between women of different religious denominations begin to blur, and we see moments where what unites them – such as their shared sense of their campaign as well as their political methods – appears stronger than their differences. Given that we are learning how much contemporaries valued letter-writing culture and manuscript literary culture, it seems fitting to explore this culture and its meanings, and to use this as an opportunity to re-examine women's political participation. The example of Rawson's print and manuscript writing show a more radical and aggressive abolitionism which centers her more squarely in the vein of her contemporaries.

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Notes

(1)The two scrapbooks containing the letters relating to the *Bow* are in the manuscript collection Eng MSS 414-415 at the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester. Previously housed in two blue leather scrapbooks, in 2017 the collection was removed from these two books and placed into four boxes.(△)

(2)See Thompson, Fritz and Fee. On gift books more broadly within the American culture of reprinting, see McGill.(△)

(3)*The Amulet* printed abolitionist poetry (Harris, *Forget Me Not* 167).(△)

(4)Clare Midgley and Alison Twells have examined Rawson as a historical figure and abolitionist campaigner, but they have not examined her gift book or considered her as part of literary culture. While there have been some excellent discussions of several of the letters Rawson received and some of the contributions in the printed book, neither the letter collection nor the printed *Bow* has

been examined holistically. In an early discussion of the *Bow*, N. B. Lewis identified and discussed the contents of several of the letters from the Romantic poets Wordsworth and Southey and the abolitionist leader Thomas Clarkson. Karen Halbersleben discussed the *Bow* as an aspect of Rawson's "conservative" abolitionist campaigning activities and sees it as helping Rawson to "build anti-slavery links nationally" (4, 188, 186). In the fullest discussion of it to date, Ferguson argued the *Bow* was a "spiritually orientated volume" that made Heyrick's "radical demands" for immediate unconditional emancipation less forceful (265, 269, Chapter 12). Ferguson argued that Rawson only used white-authored texts while Heyrick was supportive of Black Atlantic protest. She described a poem that Rawson did not publish as "unpublished notes to Rawson's [*Bow*]" (269), suggesting that the manuscript poems were inferior and did not constitute a collection in their own right.(^)

(5)The first annual in Britain was Rudolph Ackermann's 1823 *Forget Me Not* published in November 1822. In the United States it was the *Atlantic Souvenir*, published in 1826 (Faxon xi – xii).(^)

(6)*Friendship's Offering* used morocco leather in red, and the *Landscape Annual* used green morocco leather in 1830-39. Rawson mentioned the binding of *Landscape Annual* in one of her letters (*Anti-Slavery Letters and Papers*, letter 42).(^)

(7)For a substantial discussion of Pringle's editorship of *Friendship's Offering* and his role as secretary of the London Anti-Slavery Society, see Randolph Vigne. *Thomas Pringle: South African Pioneer, Poet and Abolitionist*. Boydell and Brewer, 2012, especially Chapters 16 and 18.(^)

(8)For a discussion of the Glasgow Congregationalist ministers, see Iain Whyte. *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838*. Edinburgh University Press, 2006, pp. 224 – 6.(^)

(9)Hill. 'The Wanderer' in *Friendship's Offering* for 1829. For further details of Hill and his connection to Pringle, see Ryan Hanley. *Beyond Slavery and Abolition* 85. For Pringle's letters to Rawson regarding Hill, see the letters to Mary Anne 27 February 1833 and 20 June 1833, in the *Bow Manuscripts*.(^)

(10)Commonplace books were antecedents to scrapbooks but contained copied passages, and were records of reading. Rawson's scrapbooks used clipped rather than copied texts, and this included some newspaper clippings. However, for the *Bow* Rawson did not make the scrapbooks predominately from newspaper clippings, as were most scrapbooks in the 1800s, according to Garvey, and Rawson did not use scissors (the letters were inserted loose and completely). See *Writing with Scissors* 15, 18.(^)

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