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“With Extreme Diffidence”:
Anna L. Snelling’s *Kabaosa* (1842)
A Provisional Publishing History and Census¹

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A little-known American novel set in the Great Lakes region during the War of 1812, *Kabaosa* has left a negligible amount of evidence concerning its conception, writing, printing, and ultimate publication. However, in spite of the absence of the author’s manuscript and the printer’s records, a plausible reconstruction of its publication history can be made using the extant documentary evidence as well as an examination of surviving copies of the book itself. What at first glance appeared to be a self-published run-of-the-mill historical romance of marginal literary merit was discovered to have a much more complex and interesting life story.

There is scant—and often incorrect—biographical information about the author of *Kabaosa*, Anna Lowell Putnam Snelling (1812-1865).² She was born in Brunswick, Maine to a venerable Massachusetts family: her parents were Henry Putnam, a lawyer, and Catherine Palmer, a schoolteacher; her great uncle was the Revolutionary War hero Israel Putnam of Bunker Hill fame. She and her four siblings were educated in her mother’s school. Her younger brother, George Palmer Putnam (1814-1872) founded the eponymous New York publishing house, G.P. Putnam, in 1838. She died in New York City on 25 November 1865.³

Henry Hunt Snelling (1817-1897) was the fourth of nine children of Colonel Josiah Snelling and his wife, Abigail Hunt. Colonel Snelling was a veteran of the War of 1812 and in the 1820s oversaw the construction of Fort St. Anthony at the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers, later renamed Fort Snelling in his honor. Henry Snelling allegedly received his early education in the District of Columbia, but by 1831 he had moved to Detroit. On his first visit to New York City in 1835 he met and immediately fell in love with Anna Putnam. Henry began regular correspondence with Anna over the next year that resulted in their marriage in November 1836 in New York City.

The writing, publishing, and distribution of *Kabaosa* in 1842 were not done by amateurs. After living in Detroit for nearly two years, the Snellings acquired a print shop and by September 1838 they began an ambitious periodical publishing program over the next year. Their first effort was the *Michigan Agriculturalist*, edited by Henry Snelling. More or less a weekly, it began in November of that year and ceased with the sixteenth issue on 3 April 1839.

Under the editorship of Anna Snelling they began a weekly literary paper in January 1839. *Eglantine* appeared six times under that name before it was rechristened *The Mirror of the Lakes* in February 1839. Only three more issues were published before ending with the ninth number in March of that year.

¹ I am grateful to the many institutional librarians and archivists who answered, with good grace and patience, repeated detailed queries about the copies of *Kabaosa* in their collections. Thanks also to the Columbia University Library, Detroit Public Library, and the Beinecke Library at Yale University for the images of their copies. The title of this essay is taken from Anna Snelling’s introduction to *Kabaosa*: “It is with extreme diffidence that the Author of this work makes her first appearance as a novelist” (p. vi).

² Her nephew George Haven Putnam refers to her as “Anne” in *George Palmer Putnam; a Memoir...* (New York, 1912), his book about his father and his publishing house (hereafter cited as *Putnam*). The nephew is also quoted in the note appended to the *Kabaosa* entry (85411) in Joseph Sabin’s *Bibliotheca Americana: A Dictionary of Books Relating to America* that Anna “...died in New York about 1859.” Additional biographical information is given about her in Barbara K. and John C. Luecke’s *Snelling: Minnesota’s First First Family* (Eagan, Minn., 1993); hereafter cited as *Luecke*.

³ *New York Times*, 27 Nov. 1865, 5.

A third serial publication that Henry Snelling published in Detroit was *The Spirit of '76 and Theller's Daily Republican Advocate* with Dr. E.A. Theller as editor. The first number appeared in August 1839, its primary function was to support the Canadian rebels in their Patriot War.⁴ This newspaper, along with their publishing firm, was sold to Theller when Henry and Anna Snelling left Detroit for Boston in September 1839. By November 1840 they were living in New York City.

Sometime during the 1840s Henry Snelling became interested in the newly invented photographic processes of the daguerreotype and calotype. His serious avocation resulted in his writing of one of the first books on the subject, *The History and Practice of the Art of Photography; or, The Production of Pictures through the Agency of Light*, published in 1849 by — not surprisingly — G.P. Putnam. In January 1851 he founded and edited the *Photographic Art Journal* which was published until 1860 and to which Anna Snelling also contributed many articles.

After his wife's death in 1865 and with his health becoming fragile, Henry Snelling moved to upstate New York where he briefly tried his hand at farming and ultimately became the editor of a weekly newspaper. By the late 1880s he was becoming blind, and finally relocated to St. Louis where he died in 1897.⁵

*Kabaosa*⁶

Henry Snelling, according to his manuscript journals held at the Newberry Library in Chicago,⁷ seems to have been the principal motivator and advocate for his wife's literary creation. His name, rather than hers, was entered in the clerk's office of the southern district of New York for copyright; and he was the one who employed a printer, hired engravers for the two illustrations in the book, took review copies to various New York City newspapers in an effort to publicize the novel, and had handbills printed as advertisements. There is no evidence that Anna Snelling took part in any aspect of the printing, distribution, or marketing of her own novel.

It is not known whether either Anna or Henry Snelling approached her brother George P. Putnam, who at this time had partnered with publisher John Wiley, for advice on the publication of *Kabaosa*, or even to add it to the Wiley & Putnam line. During the years 1841 and 1842 that firm published no fiction, although books of poetry, travel narratives, and works dealing with American Indians did appear. In the absence of family correspondence or other documentation, it is tempting to speculate that the siblings Anna and George had a falling out; it is equally likely that her manuscript did not meet the literary standards of quality set by Wiley & Putnam. More plausible, however, is that the lack of advice and assistance from George Putnam may be due to both his travels to London on book-trade business and his marriage during the time that Henry Snelling was seeking a publisher for *Kabaosa*.⁸

There is a further literary connection to Anna Snelling. Her brother-in-law, William Joseph Snelling (1804-1848), was a writer and journalist who in the last years of his life became editor of the *Boston Herald*.⁹ Among his publications are a biography of Andrew Jackson, a satire in verse about local poets, a geography of the polar regions, and an account of his incarceration at the Boston House of

⁴ Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Wayne County and Early Michigan*. 3rd ed. Detroit: Silas Farmer & Co., 1890, 673. This "war," a part of the Canadian rebellions of 1837-38, was over by the end of December 1838.

⁵ Luecke, 208.

⁶ *Kabaosa; or, The Warriors of the West. A Tale of the Last War*. By Mrs. Anna L. Snelling. New-York: Printed for the Publisher by D. Adee, 1842. See figure 1.

⁷ Henry Hunt Snelling, *Memoirs of a Life from My Notebook and Journal: With Additions and Reflections* (1867) [Edward E. Ayer Collection, MS 815]; hereafter cited as *Memoirs*. These are three manuscript volumes that Snelling compiled in 1867 from his journals and notebooks that he kept at intervals from the age of twelve, as well as from memory.

⁸ *Putnam*, 33-34. It is probably through this family connection, however, that G.P Putnam & Co. published Henry Snelling's *The History and Practice of the Art of Photography* in 1849; in the book's fourth edition (1853) Anna Snelling contributed her translation of a French treatise on photography.

⁹ *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. New York: Appleton & Co., 1888, 5:601.

Corrections.¹⁰ However, his early short story collection, *Tales of the Northwest*,¹¹ may have given Anna Snelling some general ideas for her own later literary endeavor. These ten stories, published anonymously as “by a resident beyond the frontier,” are variously set in areas that would become Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas but were at the time part of the Michigan Territory. William Joseph Snelling, during the years he lived in and around Fort Snelling, had frequent and extended contact with American Indians and his depiction of them in his stories were accurate and for the most part objective and unbiased.¹² It seems likely that Anna Snelling would have encountered this book written by her husband’s brother and that its subject and settings could have given some influence in the composition of *Kabaosa*, but the reality is that it did not. Her Native Americans are the romantic versions of the Noble Red Man so favored in fiction of that era.

In her self-effacing introduction to the novel, Anna Snelling makes no mention of her brother-in-law and instead states that she was inspired by the words of an unnamed “western” editor,¹³ who encouraged writers to make use of the history and scenery of that part of the country. In a footnote to this section she adds that she originally began the work a few years previously as a long dramatic poem but ultimately decided to turn it into a novel.¹⁴ Serving as epigraphs at the beginning of many of the *Kabaosa* chapters are unattributed verses that may be the remnants of this original poem. The author also mentions that she was allowed to make use of “original manuscripts presented to her by some of the principal actors” in the western theater of operations during the War of 1812.¹⁵ This would suggest that the composition that would eventually become the novel began when the Snellings were in Detroit during 1838-1839, where some of these veterans of the war were residing. In her two-page dedication “to the surviving officers of the northern campaigns of war of 1811, ’12, &c.” she also alludes to the election of William Henry Harrison to the Presidency of the United States as she began the writing of her novel, and refers to him as the Washington of the West. From the date appended to the conclusion of these dedicatory remarks, she completed the novel in June 1841 in New York City.

Although supposedly based on original source materials and interviews with veterans, the novel is overly sentimental, written in stilted and romantic language, often ignores the chronology of historical events, and coincidences abound. Briefly, it tells the story of Anna Snelling’s thinly-disguised late father-in-law, Colonel Josiah Snelling, and his adventures during the War of 1812, with cameo appearances by William Henry Harrison. The cast of fictional characters includes the usual stereotypes found in many historical novels of the time: the noble American Indian warrior (in this case a Shawnee), an adopted white son, and a duplicitous Canadian soldier and Indian agent. The novel ends happily for two couples who are reunited; however, the foreordained death of a young American Indian woman prevents her from expressing affection for an American soldier.¹⁶

¹⁰ Luecke, 205.

¹¹ *Tales of the Northwest; or, Sketches of Indian Life and Character*. By a Resident Beyond the Frontier. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little and Wilkins, 1830.

¹² For an extended critical examination of William Joseph Snelling’s short stories, as well as biographical information and details of his other writings, see John T. Flanagan’s introduction to the University of Minnesota Press edition of *Tales of the Northwest* (1939; reprinted 1971).

¹³ Probably James Hall (1793-1868), the editor of the Cincinnati literary journal, *Western Monthly Magazine*.

¹⁴ *Kabaosa*, vi.

¹⁵ *Kabaosa*, vi.

¹⁶ This summarizes the views expressed by G. Harrison Orians in the only modern critical evaluation of *Kabaosa*, “Cannon through the Forest: Novels of the Land Battles of the War of 1812 in the Old Northwest,” *Ohio History*, 72 (July 1963), 195-219. Orians’ copy of the novel, replete with his marginal notations, is now in the Grand Valley State University Libraries’ collection.

Printing and Distribution

For whatever reasons, it was three months before any action was taken to see *Kabaosa* in print. In late September 1841 Snelling had written to several publishers in the hope that one would undertake the printing his wife's novel.¹⁷ Four days later he noted with evident satisfaction:

Wrote to Uncle Charles¹⁸ of Maumee, enclosing a prospectus for subscriptions to Anna's book (*Kabaosa*). I succeed beyond my expectations here. What an agreeable surprise it will be to dear wife if I can on the anniversary of our wedding [i.e. 12 November], present her with fifty or one hundred dollars as its proceeds. I must work hard to gratify my desire in this respect.¹⁹

From this short entry it appears that between September 21 and 25, Snelling was able to select and engage a printer (who is never identified as Daniel Adee), determine that the novel would be available by subscription, and have a form printed for that purpose.

The novel and its progress at the printer are not mentioned again until early December 1841. During the intervening weeks at least two sets of proofs were delivered to Henry Snelling for his review. It also appears that the total number of copies to be printed was agreed to, as well as the matter of the novel's initial issuance in serial parts.

Read third proof of *Kabaosa*. It is certainly very gratifying to hear the encomiums bestowed upon this work by the printers—for their judgments are almost always preferable to that of aspirants for literary fame, who generally think their own productions are enhanced in value in proportion to the undervaluation of others.²⁰

The laudatory remarks that Snelling reports should be expected from a firm engaged to print his wife's novel; the second part of the day's entry may refer, however, to an uncomplimentary review or comment on *Kabaosa* made by another writer who had been given one of the early proofs.

Whether planned from the outset or after the printer had already been selected, Henry Snelling decided that his wife's literary work should have two illustrations. He engaged two separate wood engravers for two "embellishments," as they are denoted on the printed wrappers of Binding A. The first, "The Prophet," was done by William W. Britt and the other, "Fitz Clarence and Luke Davis," was executed by William W. Hooper.²¹ The former is the frontispiece and the latter faces page 83. The quality of Britt's engraving is much superior to that of Hooper (see figures 2 and 3). It is puzzling why Henry Snelling did not employ just one engraver to do both illustrations, unless time was a factor. In the event, the frontispiece did not find its way into Part 1 when it was made available to the public on 15 December, but it and the other engraving are present in the complete novel bindings A, B, and C.²²

The subsequent journal entries of Henry Snelling that mention the progress of publication are as follows:

Dec. 10 Friday. Read ...the fifth proof of *Kabaosa*.

Dec. 13 Monday. Received the first sixteen copies of the first number of *Kabaosa*; the expectation of which pleases me exceedingly. Took eight of them to Editor's [sic] of Newspapers. Also received the showbills for the above work. They are miserably printed.

¹⁷ *Memoirs*, 21 September 1841.

¹⁸ Most likely a relative of Henry Snelling; his mother, Abigail Hunt Snelling, married her second husband, Rev. Jonathan Chaplin, in Maumee, Ohio in May 1841.

¹⁹ *Memoirs*, 25 Sept. 1841.

²⁰ *Memoirs*, 6 Dec. 1841.

²¹ W.W. Britt (b. ca. 1818) had his establishment at 208 Broadway, and W.W. Hooper was located at 126 Nassau Street; both were within a few blocks of Daniel Adee's printing shop at 107 Fulton Street.

²² In Binding B, the frontispiece is protected by a tissue guard.

Dec. 14 Tuesday. Received from printers 166 copies of *Kabaosa*, Part One: Presented eight to Editors and send one hundred to Saxton & Pierce Boston.²³

Dec. 15 Wednesday. Received 600 copies of Part One of *Kabaosa* and distributed part of them among the booksellers here an[d] in Philadelphia.

Dec. 23 Thursday. *Kabaosa* has now been several days before the public, but not having been noticed by many of the papers does not sell very rapidly.

Dec. 24 Friday. Mr. Hooper called about the engraving for No. 2 of *Kabaosa*.

Jan. 24 [1842] Monday. Got the second, third and fourth parts of *Kabaosa* ready for delivery. Paid Mr. Britt for engraving.

Feb. 14 Monday. The last “Part” of Anna’s book—*Kabaosa*—is complete, and it is now for us to see whether it is feasible to commence a second.²⁴

While Snelling’s journal entries provide a basic outline of the publication history of *Kabaosa*, from conception to marketing, there remain a number of questions regarding the sequence of printing, choices of binding formats, total number of copies printed and sold, and retail price of the book.²⁵

In addition, his reference in September 1841 to selling the book by subscription raises the question of whether or not this plan was actually put in place. One argument in favor of this method of sales is the availability of the novel in three distinct classes of bindings, choices to appeal to any budget. On the other hand there are factors that militate against the subscription supposition: such books are normally not published serially in parts; it seems unlikely that *Kabaosa* could have garnered 600 subscribers in less than three months to account for the print run, unless the excess were printed on speculation of future sales; and Snelling himself makes no further reference to the marketing of *Kabaosa* by subscription, and in fact refers to public sales of the first serial part on December 15, 1841.

***Kabaosa* as a Novel in Parts**

The issuance of the serial parts took place over a span of eight weeks, as Snelling refers to the last (probably the fifth) part being available as of 14 February 1842. There is only one known exemplar as evidence of this serial publication, a copy of part 1 in pale lilac printed wrappers at the Beinecke Library, Yale University.²⁶ It consists of the first five quires of sixty pages and is side stitched²⁷; at the head of the wrapper is printed “Part 1. Price 18 pence.” The height of the untrimmed pages varies from 201-203 mm., somewhat taller than the wrappers which measure 199 mm.

It is also interesting to note that the wrapper, besides the “Printed... by D. Adee” statement, contains two other printer/publisher attributions: “Boston: Saxton and Pierce” and “Philadelphia: David Perkins.” These two publishers—or booksellers—are not included on the title page of the later bound edition of the novel (see figure 4).

Since no examples of the other four parts have come to light as a separate publication, the actual division of them by quires can only be presumed. Using part 1 as a template for parts 2-5, it is possible that the sections were comprised thusly:

²³ A publishing firm in operation from ca. 1835 until 1844. It appears that they also acted as booksellers.

²⁴ Henry Snelling seems to suggest that another literary work might be forthcoming, but no evidence exists of a second endeavor.

²⁵ The pricing of the book remain partially unknown. Part 1 of the serialized version was priced at 18 “pence” [cents], and the complete novel in wrappers [binding A] was 37½ cents. Based on the latter figure, Michael Winship has opined that the cloth-bound edition [binding C] would have been priced between 50 and 62½ cents. For the deluxe embossed roan and gilt edges [Binding B] the price could have been as much as \$1.

²⁶ Shelf mark: Za Sn26 842. See figure 4.

²⁷ There are three stab-holes, each 27 mm. apart. See figure 5a.

part 1: quires 1-5 (pages i-vi, 7-60);
[part 2: quires 6-10 (pages 61-120)];
[part 3: quires 11-15 (pages 121-180)];
[part 4: quires 16-20 (pages 181-240)];
[part 5: quires 21-27 (pages 241-320)].

Another explanation for the lack of examples of parts two through five could be that they were never issued as side-stitched separates. Snelling's journal entry for 24 January 1842 may be interpreted that the second, third, and fourth parts were completed more or less at the same time and Snelling collected them for "delivery"—whether to a bookseller, distributor, or binder is not clear.

The total print run of part 1, according to Snelling's journal entries, was at least 600 and perhaps as many as 800 copies since it is not clear whether the figures he mentions represent discrete numbers or if they are cumulative. In any event, it is likely that the number of copies printed for the next four parts were the same. A possible explanation of the sole survivor from the serial publication may be that the sales of these parts was extremely poor, and Henry Snelling's subsequent response was to collect the five parts from all of the booksellers charged with handling his wife's novel. Despite any mention of the fact in the *Memoirs*, these five parts of the novel were soon bound into one volume.²⁸ Was the entire remaining print run of the five parts bound, or only a portion thereof? Absence of any copies of unbound parts 2, 3, 4, or 5 would suggest that all were bound as the complete novel, perhaps in February 1842.

In most of the bound copies, the first five quires (pages 1-60, corresponding to part 1) have three stab-holes to accommodate side stitching (see figures 5a and 5b). As the spacing between the holes in all the examples vary, they must have been done by hand. It cannot be determined whether any of these were previously sewn and subsequently had their stitching removed for binding. In two examples of the complete novel, however, it is reported that all quires have stab-holes.²⁹

Bound Edition

The curious history of the publication of *Kabaosa* continues with its three distinct binding formats: stiff paper wrappers, embossed roan, and ribbed cloth. These choices seem to reflect a conscious marketing plan—presumably that of Henry Snelling—to offer the public copies in three price categories: inexpensive paper wrappers, standard cloth, and the more expensive deluxe "gift book" variety. It would seem financially risky for the Snellings to pay for copies to be bound in one of the three formats ahead of time in the hope all would eventually sell; more likely that the purchaser of the novel did so in its unbound state and would at that point select which of the three. Another possibility is that the novel was bound in its three distinct formats in this order: wrappers → embossed roan → ribbed cloth (for the reasoning behind this supposition, see the section *printing anomalies*, below). The total numbers of copies bound in each of the three formats is unknown.

- **Binding A:** *Stiff paper wrappers*. Printed cover, within ornamental border: ROMANCE | OF | Border Life. | [rule] | Complete in One Volume. | [rule] | EMBELLISHMENTS. | I—THE PROPHET'S CURSE. | II—THE HUNTER AND THE SPY. A variant copy includes printed in italics: *Price 37½ Cents*, within ornamental border at upper left. Title on spine: Snelling's Warriors of the West. All edges trimmed; leaf height 192-194 mm. Price: 37½ cents. Two copies known: Detroit Public Library³⁰ (variant 1) and Grand Valley State University (variant 2). It is possible that other copies in this state were later bound and original wrappers discarded (see figures 6a and 6b).

²⁸ A bound copy with Anna Snelling's inscription to a "Miss Rawlins Pickman" dated 4 March 1842 is owned by the Beinecke Library, Yale University [shelf mark Za Sn26 842b; acquired 1944].

²⁹ Copies at Boston Public Library and Wesleyan University. See census of copies, p. 12 below.

³⁰ Acquired from the Carnegie Book Store, New York City ca. July 1968; they had purchased it at the Thomas W. Streeter sale, 24 October 1967 (lot 1340). Shelf mark: Burton Collection Reserve 973.5293 S671k.

- **Binding B:** *Embossed roan*. Brown to reddish brown. Embossed medallion of Aurora in horse drawn chariot 75 mm. diameter with vines and florets at top and bottom, on front and rear covers, signed “Turpin Sc. N.York.”³¹ Embossed spine with six compartments; five with embossed rosettes, one with KABAOSA stamped in gold.³² All edges gilt; leaf height 185-188 mm. Price unknown. Six copies known; and perhaps as many as seven additional that were completely rebound due to the fragility of this binding (see figure 7).
- **Binding C:** *Ribbed cloth*.³³ Dark brown. Blind-stamped on front and rear covers with oval floral frame with connecting vines at top and bottom; spine stamped KABAOSA in gold between two horizontal lines also stamped in gold. All edges trimmed; leaf height 190-193 mm. Price unknown. Errata slips usually tipped-in to face page 320. Ten copies known; and likely an additional ten that have been rebound (see figure 8).

It is not known what firm or firms were responsible for the binding of the novel. It is possible that Daniel Adey printed the stiff paper wrapper of Binding A and bound the quires therein at his own establishment. Presumably bindings B and C were outsourced. In two copies evidence of the binder’s inattention, incompetence, or rushing through a backlog of work. The copy at Chicago History Museum (Binding B?) lacks pages 229-240, corresponding to quire 20; interestingly when this book was rebound sometime after its acquisition in 1907 the binder added stubs in place of the missing quire. The other copy at the Library of Congress (unknown binding) is reported to lack pages 137-140, corresponding to conjugate leaves 3-4 of quire 12; and pages 159-166, corresponding to conjugate leaves 2-5 of quire 14.³⁴ It is to be regretted that the Library of Congress copy, stored at some off-site facility, has been missing since 2008 and cannot be located after repeated searches.

Nearly half of the surviving copies have been rebound at some point.³⁵ This is indicative of the age of the book, rough usage, and the relative fragility of both bindings B and C. Binding B is the easiest to detect among the rebound copies mainly because of the three gilt edges being retained, as well as its trimmed page height. It is certainly possible that among these rebound copies not deemed Binding B are some that were originally Binding A, but lost their printed wrappers in the process.

Printing Anomalies

There are two printing peculiarities that seem to be independent of binding formats. The first is an error in the running head on page 159 which reads THEARRIORS OF THE WEST (instead of THE WARRIORS OF THE WEST); this occurs in all extant copies. The second is a printing variant in the copyright statement on the verso of the title page. In six copies (both bindings B and C) the copyright date is 1837; in all of the others it is 1841.³⁶ It is presumed that the earlier date was printed first and the error quickly discovered and corrected (see figures 9 and 10).

On the other hand, a printed errata slip is present in only ten copies, all of which occur in the six examples in binding C (ribbed cloth), and four that have been rebound but are believed to have been originally bound in ribbed cloth because of their leaf size. The slips are invariably found tipped in

³¹ This is one of the bindings discussed in Edwin Wolf’s *From Gothic Windows to Peacocks: American Embossed Leather Bindings, 1825-1855* (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1990). The Aurora medallion was used on at least two other books, the earliest dating 1836. The designer was possibly John Turpin, an engraver and die-sinker.

³² The only surviving original embossed spine is the Columbia University Library copy [shelf mark: Park Benjamin 812 Sn27 S4]. See figure 7.

³³ Andrea Krupp, *Book Cloth in England and America 1823-1850* (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2008). *Kabaosa* is bound in what Krupp classifies as Rib3 (p. 40).

³⁴ *National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints* (London: Mansell, 1978), 553:33.

³⁵ Eighteen copies. See Census.

³⁶ Henry Snelling registered *Kabaosa* for copyright on 2 December 1841 (registration no. 209, Southern District of New York Records of Copyright, no.66, Oct.-Dec. 1841).

between page 320 and the facing blank leaf (see figure 11). From this information it is tempting to theorize that the novel was made available in binding B (embossed roan) for purchase before binding C. Only after the former's appearance in the marketplace were the printing defects discovered and corrected in the errata slip for the copies in binding C.

Kabaosa's Printer, Daniel Adee

After an apprenticeship with Harper & Brothers, Daniel Adee (1819-1892) established himself in the printing trade at 107 Fulton Street in New York City in 1840. The first publication from his press seems to have been *The Retrospect of Practical Medicine and Surgery*, a semiannual periodical that reviewed the latest discoveries and innovations in medical science. Edited and issued in London, Adee was the American publisher for this serial from 1840 until 1853 when another printer took it over.

By this time the relatively inexperienced twenty-two-year-old Adee had only published, besides the aforementioned journal, one small pamphlet; it is unclear whether Adee asked Henry Snelling to fund the publication himself or if Adee accepted the commission with expectation of monies from the sale of the book. *Kabaosa* was Adee's only product of his press that was a novel; likewise he issued no other work of fiction or poetry.

Unquestionably Daniel Adee's most important contribution is his publication of the first American edition of Sir Isaac Newton's *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* in 1848, and reprinted at least three times using the same plates. First appearing in England in Latin in 1687, *Principia* was not translated into English until 1729. Two articles providing bibliographical descriptions of the Adee editions appeared in the *Harvard Library Bulletin* in the 1970s, the first proposing a narrow timeframe of publication, and the second proposed corrections to the printing sequence.³⁷ Both contain preliminary notes and speculations on Adee's printing and publishing career, but raised more questions than they answered. Both writers mention the fact that in 1850 an edition of Newton's *Principia* was published by George P. Putnam using Adee's plates; one of them suggests a connection between the two publishers that now seems obvious. Henry Snelling, as George P. Putnam's brother-in-law, must have introduced the two printer-publishers at some point in the 1840s.

According to his obituary Adee abandoned his printing business in 1845 to manufacture cast steel, forming the New-York Cast Steel Works.³⁸ This does not seem to be true, however, because a number of publications were issued under his imprint through 1853. It is further alleged in the obituary that by 1870 prices for cast steel had fallen so low that the company failed and Adee returned to the printing business; although Adee is listed in the 1877 New York City Directory as "publisher," no direct evidence that he published anything later than 1853 has come to light, the assertions made by P.J. Wallis in footnote 37 below, notwithstanding.

Distribution, Sales, and Initial Reception

As publisher of *Kabaosa*, Henry Snelling collected the printed parts as they became available from the printer and personally placed them in bookstores in New York City and Philadelphia, as he indicates in his journal entry for 15 December 1841.³⁹ While he only refers in this instance to Part 1, it would seem logical that he would do the same for the next four parts, assuming they were also sold individually. When the five parts were finally bound together sometime in late February or before 4 March 1842, the

³⁷ I. Bernard Cohen, "The American Editions of Newton's *Principia*." *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 18 (October 1970), 345-358; and P.J. Wallis, "The Popular American Edition of Newton's *Principia*." *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 26 (July 1978), 355-360. Cohen discovered that although the book was copyrighted 1846, it was not actually published until 1848. Wallis, after examining many copies of the various editions and using New York City directories for the period, proposes 1848, 1849, 1874, and 1885 as dates for the Adee printings.

³⁸ *New York Times*, 26 April 1892, 4.

³⁹ Because the Boston firm of Saxton & Pierce also appears on the cover of Part 1, they too probably figured as commercial purveyors of the novel.

complete volume was similarly marketed. Evidence for this marketing strategy is found in only one example: a contemporary bookseller's ticket for Thomas J. Crowen's Bookstore and Library (633 Broadway, New York City) is attached to the front pastedown in Binding C.⁴⁰

Sales information is non-existent, but it may be presumed that the number of copies sold was quite low if only from Henry Snelling's remark in his journal on 15 December 1841 that [the first part] "does not sell very rapidly." It is possible that the eventual availability of the bound edition of the complete novel had a better showing in the stores; however, with the thirty-eight known surviving copies representing only six percent of the lowest estimated print run of 600,⁴¹ would seem to indicate a lack of interest among the public.

As Henry Snelling noted in his journal on 23 December, there was little notice from newspapers or periodicals concerning the publication of *Kabaosa* or its availability in the marketplace. The only contemporary mention of the novel occurred in three periodicals, two published in New York and the third in Boston. The earliest was printed in the short-lived monthly *Arcturus* among miscellaneous notices: "Kabaosa...the publication of which was commenced in monthly parts, is now completed in a very handsome volume."⁴²

In an unsigned short review, a writer for *The Merchants' Magazine*—possibly its editor Freeman Hunt⁴³—besides giving a succinct summary of the plot, ends with a fairly warm recommendation:

...Mrs. S. has taken up her pen, and wielded it with considerable effect in her delineations of western scenery, the Indian character, habits, pursuits, etc. Inasmuch as we desire to foster a national literature, we trust that every effort directed to that object may meet with an appropriate consideration from a patriotic people.⁴⁴

This positive reception should be viewed with some skepticism, however: the publisher of *The Merchants' Magazine* was Daniel Adee himself. The final contemporary mention of *Kabaosa* comes in *The North American Review* as merely an author, title, and publisher entry listed in the magazine's quarterly compilation of new publications.⁴⁵

Institutional Copies and Provenance

All of the known copies are in institutional libraries, but it is likely that a few may exist in private collections. It appears that no library purchased *Kabaosa* upon its publication or even shortly thereafter, with the possible exception, ironically, of the British Library. The earliest copy to be added to an institution's collection in the United States is probably that in the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, thought to have been purchased circa 1870.

As previously mentioned, the British Library copy was acquired—allegedly by purchase—in 1846⁴⁶; coincidentally it could have served as the copy text for what seems to be a pirated British edition that was issued by the London firm of Bruce and Wyld that same year.

Five copies carry presentation inscriptions, three of which are from Anna Snelling herself. All are contemporary, dating from 1842 to 1844:

⁴⁰ Grand Valley State University Libraries, copy 3 [shelf mark: PS 2879 .S27 K33 1842].

⁴¹ Or only 4.75 percent based on an 800-copy print run.

⁴² *Arcturus, a Journal of Books and Opinion*, no.17 (April 1842), 400. The frequency of publication is misstated.

⁴³ Although no direct evidence has been found that the New Englanders Freeman Hunt and Henry Snelling's mother, Abigail Hunt, were relations it is suggestive.

⁴⁴ *The Merchants' Magazine, and Commercial Review*, 6 (June 1842), 581.

⁴⁵ *The North American Review*, 55 (July 1842), 265.

⁴⁶ Personal communication from Matthew Shaw, Curator of U.S. Collections, British Library (26 July 2007).

Binding C?: “Miss Rawlins Pickman. | With the affectionate regards | of The Authoress. | New York, March 4th 1842.” [Yale University]
 Binding C?: “H. Allen Grant M.D. | With the respects of the Authoress. | New York March 7th, 1842” [Wesleyan University]⁴⁷
 Binding B: “A. Philippoena Prewitt for | Miss Elizabeth Elmendorf. In remembrance of the night of the 26th of December 1842. Somerville May 18 1843.” [Albion College]
 Binding B: “To | Miss Louisa Hobby | from her friend | Mary Ann | N.Y. January 1st 1844.” [Grand Valley State University]
 Binding C: “Presented to Edna B. Green | By Mrs. A.L. Snelling | N. York, Aug 30. 1844” [Ohio State University]

Two copies have connections with the printer, Daniel Adee. At Marietta College, in a probable Binding C, are three ownership stamps of Charles T. Adee of New York City. The stamps are embossed, two in brown ink and the other in red. Charles Timpson Adee (1823-1881) and Daniel Adee were first cousins once removed (for its subsequent provenance, see below).

The second has a *possible* Adee relationship. The Grand Valley State University copy 1 in Binding B contains a presentation inscription from a “Mary Ann” in New York to a Louisa Hobby. Hobby Adee was the name of Daniel Adee’s grandfather and also the last name of his great grandmother, but the connection between Louisa Hobby and Daniel Adee has not been verified and is only speculative.

A number of copies came to their respective institutions as a part of gifts or purchases from important collectors of Americana. The first of these was the January 1899 gift of 100,000 books and pamphlets from the sons of Gordon Lester Ford (1823-1891) to the New York Public Library. Ford, a prominent Brooklyn lawyer and businessman, accumulated a renowned collection of Americana, one of the largest in the United States.

Rodney M. Stimson (1822-1913), donated his 19,000-item collection to his alma mater, Marietta College in 1900. Its strengths were in the areas of Ohio, Old Northwest, American Indians, and the western frontier. Stimson was a lawyer, politician, librarian of the State of Ohio, and librarian and trustee at Marietta College.

Indiana Fletcher Williams (1828-1900), established a school for young women that would ultimately become Sweet Briar College through terms of her will. It is believed that the college’s copy of *Kabaosa* belonged to Williams or her father, Elijah Fletcher.

Among the first trustees of Chicago’s Newberry Library, Edward Everett Ayer (1841-1927) donated his massive and important collection of books and manuscripts dealing with the American Indian to that institution in 1911. His collection also contained the manuscript memoirs, previously mentioned, of Henry Hunt Snelling (see footnote 7).

The University of Chicago in 1913 purchased from Reuben T. Durrett his collection of Kentuckiana and Ohio River Valley materials that included 20,000 books.

George Seymour Godard, long time Connecticut State Librarian, amassed a collection of over 30,000 volumes, comprising mostly of Americana. His family donated the books to Wesleyan University in 1937.

Jens Christian Bay (1871-1962), writer, collector, and librarian at the John Crerar Library at the University of Chicago, sold his sizable collection of western Americana to the State Historical Society of Missouri on 27 June 1941. One of the strengths of the collection is Midwestern literature.

⁴⁷ H. Allen Grant, M.D. (b. ca. 1812), the first owner of the Wesleyan University copy, was a physician in Hartford, Connecticut. His book seems to have traveled the fewest miles to its ultimate home: Middletown is a mere eighteen miles from Hartford.

Quasi-Facsimile Title Pages

A. American Edition

K A B A O S A ; | OR, | THE WARRIORS OF THE WEST. | A TALE OF THE LAST WAR. | [rule] | BY MRS. ANNA L. SNELLING. | [rule] | Say, have ye not one line for those ?— | — One brother-line to spare ?— | Who rose but as your fathers rose, | And dared as ye would dare ?—SPRAGUE. | [rule] | ~~New York~~: | PRINTED FOR THE PUBLISHER BY D. ADEE. | [dash] | 1842.

Collation: 1-26⁶ 27⁴ [quire 3 incorrectly signed as 2; quire 4 incorrectly signed as 3].

Pagination: [i]-vi, [7]-320 p.

Illustrations: Two engravings. 1) Frontispiece (“The Prophet”), by W.W. Britt; 2) facing page 81 (“Fitz-Clarence and Luke Davis”), by Hooper.

Copyright page variant: majority of copies have copyright date as 1841; a few 1837.

Errata slip: Errata | On page 214, last line, for “*instructive*,” read “*instinct-ive*.” | Same page, 11th line from top, read “*the pale-faces*,” | for *her*,” &c.

Running head error at top of page 159: THEARRIORS OF THE WEST

Paper: Laid, unwatermarked.

B. British Edition

K A B A O S A : | OR | THE WARRIORS OF THE WEST. | ~~A Tale of the Last War~~. | BY MRS. ANNA L. SNELLING. | Say, have ye not one line for those? | One brother line to spare? | Who rose but as your fathers rose, | And dared as ye would dare? | SPRAGUE. | LONDON: | BRUCE AND WYLD, 84, FARRINGDON STREET. | SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS | [short rule] | 1846.

Collation: [1-7]⁸

Pagination: [1-4], 5-112.

Illustrations: None.

Paper: Laid, Unwatermarked.

Printed in double columns.

Corrections made to text as indicated on errata slip in American edition.

At foot of page [3]: The Novel Newspaper.—No. 460.

At foot of page 33: The Novel Newspaper.—No. 462.

At foot of page 49: The Novel Newspaper.—No. 463.

At foot of page 65: The Novel Newspaper.—No. 464.

At foot of page 81: The Novel Newspaper.—No. 465.

At foot of page 97: The Novel Newspaper.—No. 466.

The issues of *The Novel Newspaper* for 1846 were designated volume 19 and consisted of 38 numbers. This British printing of *Kabaosa* may have been pirated: there is no copyright statement therein, nor is there any indication from the publisher, Bruce and Wyld, that the novel first appeared in New York in 1842 and was protected by American copyright.

This British edition contains alterations made to the American edition text. Other than the deletion of the entire two-page dedication (pages [iii]-iv), most of these changes are minor. These include British spelling preferences (e.g., favourable instead of favorable) and typographic changes to dashes and contractions. The final chapter of the novel was written by Henry Snelling, as it is signed with his initials, H.H.S.; it also has a lengthy footnote stating that this last chapter had been first published as a newspaper article. In the British edition, however, the H.H.S. initials as well as the concluding footnote are deleted.

Citations in Bibliographies

- Sabin, Joseph. *Bibliotheca Americana: A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from Its Discovery to the Present Time*. New York, 1868-1936. Item 85411.
- Black, Albert G. *Michigan Novels: An Annotated Bibliography*. Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963. Item 245.
- Wright, Lyle H. *American Fiction 1774-1850: A Contribution Toward a Bibliography*. 2nd ed. San Marino, Calif., 1969. Item 2476.
- VanDerhoof, Jack. *A Bibliography of Novels Related to American Frontier and Colonial History*. Troy, N.Y., 1971. Item 5653.
- Rinderknecht, Carol and Scott Bruntjen, comps. *A Checklist of American Imprints for 1842*. Metuchen, N.J., 1992. Item 42-4583.
- Beasecker, Robert, comp. *Michigan in the Novel, 1816-2006: An Annotated Bibliography*. 2nd ed. Allendale, Mich., 2013. Item S-141.
- § Not in Orville A. Roorbach's *Bibliotheca Americana: Catalogue of American Publications... from 1820 to 1852* even though other books printed by Daniel Adeë during that time have been included.

Entries in Booksellers and Auction Catalogues

- Anderson Galleries, Sale 1680. *Americana from the Library of Mr. Frank H. Severance of Buffalo, N.Y.* New York, 1922. Item 474. Binding C. \$6.00. [→ Huntington Library]
- Edward Eberstadt & Sons. *Catalog 114: Americana*. New York, 1939. Item 501. Binding C. \$8.50.⁴⁸
- Parke-Bernet Galleries, Sale 2605. *The Celebrated Collection of Americana Formed by the Late Thomas Winthrop Streeter*, vol. 3. New York, 1967. Item 1340. Binding A. \$175.00. [→ Detroit Public Library]

Final Observations

As the research on this obscure novel progressed, more questions presented themselves—and fewer have been satisfactorily answered; and many of these answers are only speculative and provisional. What looks like strange and in some cases illogical choices made by Henry Snelling as he undertook the publication of his wife's novel may merely reflect familial dynamics, current practices in the printing trades, and vagaries of the marketplace.

Unexpectedly, *Kabaosa* turned out to have a complex publishing history. Further points of inquiry include: Why three distinct binding formats? How many copies were actually sold? What happened to the 93% (based on 600 copies printed) not in institutional libraries? Some of these mysteries might be explained with a more detailed examination of other books from Daniel Adeë's printing establishment and the discovery of more copies of *Kabaosa* containing internal evidence.

The case of the British edition needs further investigation. Was it pirated by Bruce and Wyld for their "Novel Newspaper" series? And if was pirated, was the copy of the Adeë printing in the British Library its source? Were the Snellings aware that *Kabaosa* had been published in London?

These and a number of other avenues of further research may shed more light on Anna and Henry Snelling, her self-published historical novel, their printer Daniel Adeë, and the book's distribution and reception.

⁴⁸ Possibly purchased by either Cincinnati Historical Society or Indiana Historical Society. The Library of Michigan copy, originally in the Flint Public Library (Michigan) collection before being transferred in 1984, was also purchased in 1939, but has the penciled price of \$7.50 on the front free end paper.

Census of Copies

Institution	State	Binding*	Copyright	Acquired**	Errata slip	Stab-holes†	Inscription‡
A. Lincoln Presidential Library	Ill.	B?	1841	P: 1902 May 24	No	1-60	-
Albion College	Mich.	B	1841	P: ca. 1938	No	1-60	X; 1843
American Antiquarian Society	Mass.	C?	1841	?: 1951	No	None	-
Boston Athenaeum	Mass.	C	1841	P: 1882 Nov 8	No	1-60	-
Boston Public Library	Mass.	C?	1841	?: 1892 June 22	No	1-320	-
British Library	[U.K.]	C	1841	P?: 1846	Yes	?	-
Chicago History Museum	Ill.	B?	1837	P: 1907 June 25	No	None	-
Cincinnati History Library	Ohio	B?	1841	P: 1939	No	1-60	-
Columbia University	N.Y.	B	1841	P: 1954/55	No	1-60	-
Detroit Public Library	Mich.	A	1841	P: 1968	No	1-60	-
Grand Valley State University 1	Mich.	B	1837	G: 2001 March	No	1-60	X; 1844
Grand Valley State University 2	Mich.	A	1841	P: 2007 July 13	No	1-60	-
Grand Valley State University 3	Mich.	C	1841	P: 2009 Dec 15	Yes	1-60	-
Huntington Library	Calif.	C	1841	P: 1922 Nov 15	No	1-60	-
Indiana Historical Society	Ind.	C	1841	P: 1939	Yes	1-60	-
Indiana University	Ind.	B	1841	?: ?	No	1-60	-
Lehigh University	Pa.	B?	1841	?: 1888 June 2	No	None	-
Library of Michigan	Mich.	C	1841	G: 1984 Sept	No	1-60	-
Marietta College	Ohio	C?	1841	G: 1900	No	None	-
Marquette Historical Society	Mich.	B?	1841	P: 1920 Mar 23	No	1-60	-
Minnesota Historical Society	Minn.	C	1841	P: <1930	Yes	1-60	-
New York Historical Society	N.Y.	C?	1841	?: ?	No	1-60	-
New York Public Library	N.Y.	B?	1841	G: 1899	No	None	-
Newberry Library	Ill.	B?	1841	G: 1911	No	?	-
Ohio State University	Ohio	C	1841	?: ?	Yes	1-60	A; 1844
Peabody Essex Museum	Mass.	C	1841	G: 1942 Jan 27	Yes	1-60	-
Princeton University	N.J.	B	1841	P: 1939 Feb 25	No	1-60	-
Public Library of Cincinnati	Ohio	C?	1841	P: ca. 1870	Yes	None	-
State Hist. Soc. of Missouri	Mo.	C?	1841	P: 1941 June 27	No	?	-
Sweet Briar College	Va.	C?	1841	G: 1901	No	None	-
University of British Columbia	[Can.]	C	1841	?: ?	No	1-60	-
University of California Berkeley	Calif.	C?	1841	?: ?	No	?	-
University of Chicago	Ill.	B?	1837	P: 1913	No	?	-
University of Illinois	Ill.	B?	1837	P: 1947 July 1	No	?	-
University of Pennsylvania	Pa.	B	1837	P: 1931 Nov 19	No	1-60	-
Wesleyan University	Conn.	C?	1841	G: 1937	Yes	1-320	A; 1842
Wisconsin Historical Society	Wis.	C?	1837	?: <1930	Yes	?	-
Yale University	Conn.	C?	1841	P: 1942 or 1944	Yes	1-60; 61-320?	A; 1842

Census of Missing and Ghost Copies

Institution	State	Copyright	Acquired	Notes
Library of Congress	D.C.	1841?	≤1908	Copy lacked pages 137-140, 159-166.
University of Connecticut	Conn.	?	?	Record now deleted from UC online catalog
<i>Brown University</i>	R.I.		Never owned	Erroneously listed in Wright's <i>American Fiction, 1774-1850</i>
<i>University of Windsor</i>	[Can.]		Never owned	Erroneously listed in OCLC/WorldCat; record now deleted

* Binding types with question marks indicate book is rebound and original binding not present; binding type assumed from leaf size and/or presence of gilt edges.

** P = purchase; G = gift; ? = unknown.

† Page numbers where stab-holes are present; those marked “?” have been rebound too tightly for adequate inspection.

‡ Those denoted with “A” indicate presentation from Anna Snelling; “X” indicate presentation from another person.

Figures

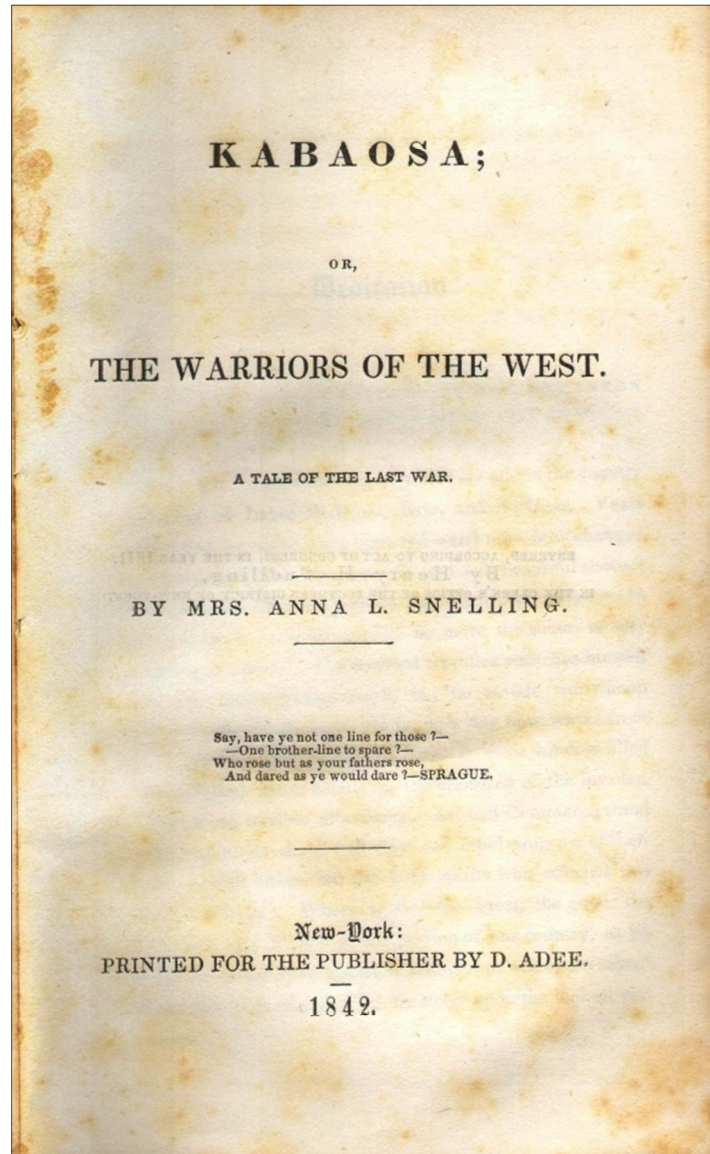


Figure 1. Title page
Grand Valley State University, copy 3



Figure 2. Frontispiece (W.W. Britt)
Grand Valley State University, copy 3



Figure 3. Engraving facing page 83 (W.W. Hooper)
Grand Valley State University, copy 3

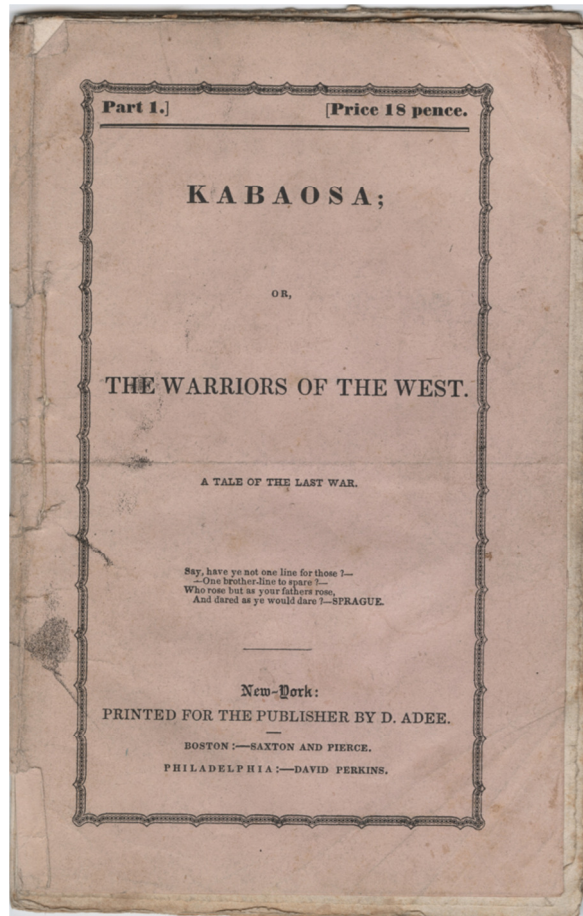


Figure 4. Front wrapper of Part 1
Beinecke Library, Yale University



Figure 5a. Stab holes and stitching, Part 1
Beinecke Library, Yale University

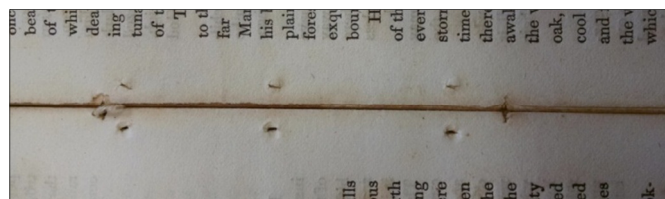


Figure 5b. Stab holes, bound copy
Grand Valley State University, copy 1

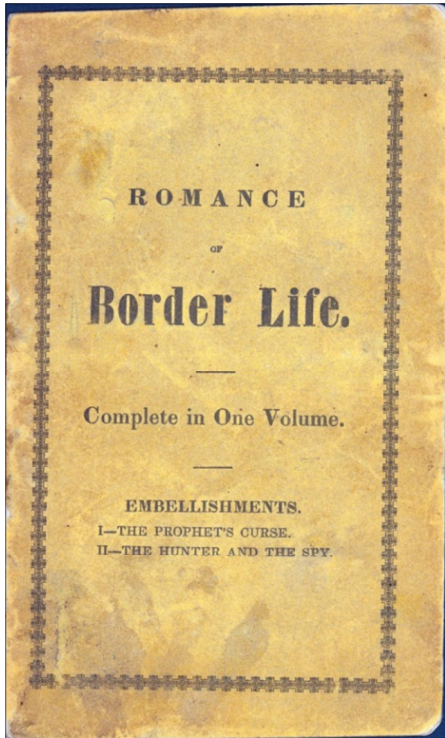


Figure 6a. Binding A, variant 1
Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library

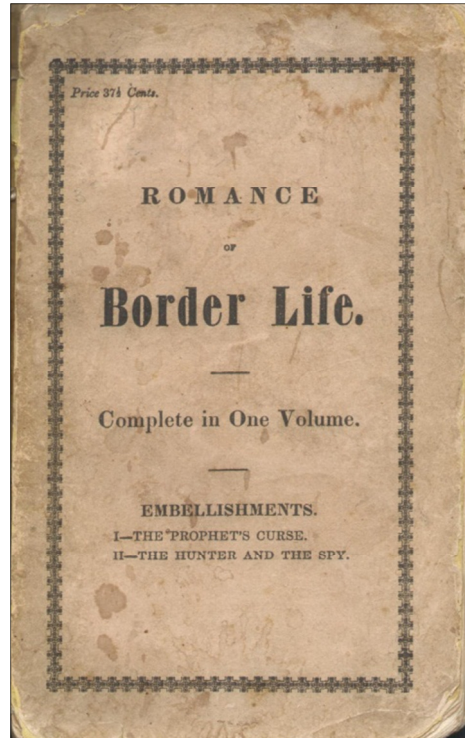


Figure 6b. Binding A, variant 2 [price added]
Grand Valley State University, copy 2



Figure 7. Binding B, spine and front cover
Columbia University (L) and Grand Valley State University, copy 1 (R)

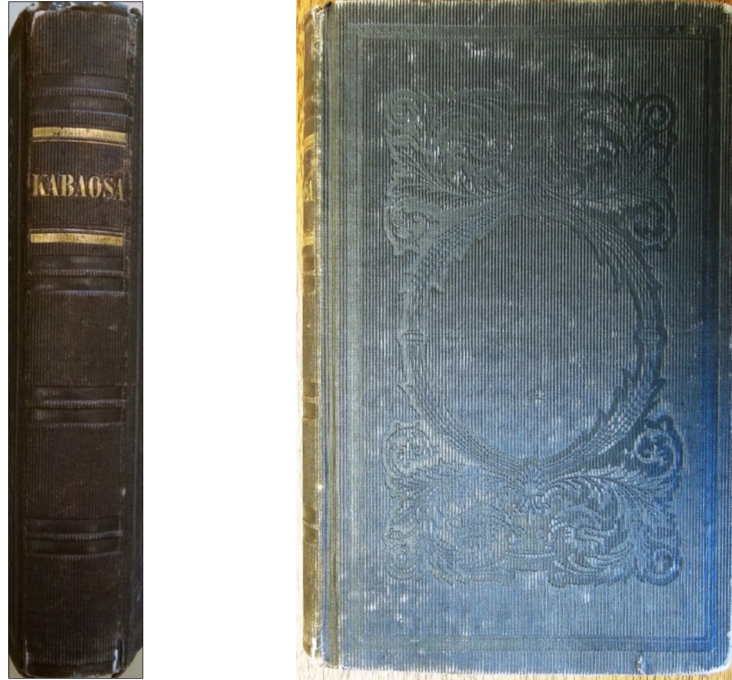


Figure 8. Binding C, spine and front cover
Grand Valley State University, copy 3

ENTERED, ACCORDING TO ACT OF CONGRESS, IN THE YEAR 1837,
By Henry H. Snelling,
IN THE CLERK'S OFFICE OF THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW-YORK.

Figure 9. 1837 Variant
Grand Valley State University, copy 1

ENTERED, ACCORDING TO ACT OF CONGRESS, IN THE YEAR 1841,
By Henry H. Snelling,
IN THE CLERK'S OFFICE OF THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW-YORK.

Figure 10. 1841 Variant
Grand Valley State University, copy 3

ERRATA.

On page 214, last line, for "*instructive*," read "*instinctive*."
Same page, 11th line from top, read "*the pale-faces*,"
for *her*," &c.

Figure 11. Errata Slip
Grand Valley State University, copy 3