

A Biographical Sketch of Julian Wehr (1898-1970):
American Master of the Movable Book

Alan Boehm
Librarian for Special Collections
James E. Walker Library
Middle Tennessee State University

Roy Ziegler
Head of Collection Development
University Libraries
Florida State University

In the emerging popular and scholarly attention given to movable books, the name Julian Wehr often figures as an outstanding illustrator and paper engineer who in the 1940s and early 1950s published over 40 children's books notable for their appealing illustrations, but remarkable for their innovative pull-tab animations. Cleverly simple in design and widely imitated at the time, Wehr's approach to animated illustration revived a children's book format that had all but vanished from publishers' trade lists after the First World War because of production impracticalities. For although animated books had enjoyed considerable popularity in the late 1800s and early 1900s, they were typically lavish and expensive novelties that involved the manual assembly of an elaborate array of paper parts and minuscule hardware. By contrast, Wehr's animation technique--yielding pictorial movement as complex as any achieved by earlier methods--relied on only one or two pieces of paper and, moreover, his animated books were easily adapted to low-cost mass production. And mass-produced they were, for it is likely that upwards of nine million copies of Wehr's various titles--some translated into Spanish, French, German, and Icelandic--were sold in the United States, Canada, France, Great Britain, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, Iceland, and elsewhere.

Yet today Wehr is a forgotten figure. Although in recent years his books have attracted growing attention among professional readers of children's literature, historians of the book, rare book librarians, book arts teachers, and paper engineers,¹ Wehr is a cipher and nothing is publicly known of his life and career. His name cannot be found in standard bibliographies and reference works devoted to children's literature. Brief appreciations of his creative achievement appear in historical surveys and practical books on paper engineering and movable books.² And an incomplete record of his works appears in the two movable book bibliographies compiled by Ann R. Montanaro, Pop-Up and Movable Books, A Bibliography and Pop-Up and Movable Books, A Bibliography, Supplement I, 1991-1997.³

Accordingly, we offer in this essay a brief biographical sketch of Wehr's life and career. It is based chiefly on interviews conducted across the spring, summer, and autumn of 2001 with his four children, Camilla West Molinari (Wehr's daughter from his first marriage), David Wehr, Paul Wehr, and Jeanine Wehr Jones (Wehr's sons and daughter from his second marriage). The Wehr children also have made available to us their father's art work, letters, and other materials. We have been fortunate, moreover, to draw on the recollections of Eugene Cornacchia, who in the 1940s--during the height of Wehr's popularity and publishing activity--was comptroller for the Duenewald Printing Corporation, the company that produced almost all of Wehr's books. Additionally, we should note that we have consulted a small number of public records. Because the essay relies heavily on personal interviews and papers that remain in private hands, we have with a few exceptions dispensed with scholarly documentation.⁴

Julian Wehr was born June 30, 1898 on Herkimer Street in Brooklyn in New York City. Around 1920 he would change his name to Julian Wehr and, later still, would use the name Julian R. Wehr (the initial for Robert). But at birth he was given the name of his father, August Julian Wehrfritz, a German immigrant from Frankfurt-am-Main who was an accountant employed at a Brooklyn brewery. Wehr's mother, Emily née Jugardt, was an American citizen of German descent. August and Emily Wehrfritz were poorly matched and the marriage was unhappy. Emily seems to have been a persistently dour, overbearing, and difficult person to please. Her disposition possibly arose in part from frustrated ambition. She had aspired to a professional singing career, but her husband's salary was modest and he could not afford voice lessons. August seems to have been a passive but gentle man with a cheerful and sweet temperament. He may have brought his own set of problems to the marriage, for he eventually died of cirrhosis of the liver. The couple lived in a state of near-perpetual disagreement and Wehr--an only child--grew up in a tense household where he was often sad and lonely. His very existence was probably a cause of some of the tension in his parents' relationship. Emily was overprotective of the boy and prevented him from playing with other children, while August apparently had a far more relaxed approach to raising children. Wehr sympathized with his father, grew to be very close to him, and perhaps absorbed from him a gentle manner and a warm sense of humor. But Wehr also developed a painfully shy personality and he had an impulse towards reclusiveness, characteristics that no doubt can be associated with Emily's influence.

When Wehr was about seven or eight years old, the family moved from Brooklyn to suburban Westchester County, New York, living first at New Rochelle for about four years and then at Mount Vernon. Wehr

attended public schools in Brooklyn and New Rochelle, and he attended high school at Mount Vernon. He probably recognized his artistic talent at a young age, but the only early indication of such aptitude is the 1916 Mount Vernon High School yearbook, in which he is credited as the book's art editor. In these years, too, his life at home was marked by an increasingly contentious relationship with his mother and this eventually led him to run away from home without graduating from high school. He was 17 or 18 when he left and he supported himself working as a commercial artist for, among other employers, the Edison Lithography Company in New York City.

In the fall of 1918, shortly after he turned 20, Wehr entered the U.S. Merchant Marine as a common sailor. His motives for going to sea are unclear. His application form to the U.S. Shipping Board--dated August 1918 and, thus, three months before the Armistice brought an end to World War I--indicates he was not registered for the draft. He may have entered maritime service to avoid military service. Then again, he may have gone to sea to escape the intense persecution of Americans of German ancestry that swept the country during war. Or he may have entered merchant service, as other young men did, simply to see something of the world. Whatever his reasons, Wehr was only in the Merchant Marine for a year. In the fall of 1919 he was back in New York.⁵ He had determined on becoming an artist and, to further that goal, he began attending classes at the Art Students League of New York. On the League's enrollment forms he claimed he was from Winnipeg, Canada in an effort to save tuition money, for students who resided beyond the city were eligible for the League's scholarships or tuition discounts. But the ploy was unsuccessful and Wehr paid full tuition. On these forms he was also using a new name, "A. Julian Wehr."⁶

Founded in 1879, the Art Students League had quickly emerged as a forward-looking art academy, boasting a faculty of notable American artists that included John Sloan, Thomas Eakins, and J. Alden Weir. The League was closely identified with the social realism movement in painting and it enjoyed a reputation for innovation well into the twentieth century, although the famous 69th Street Armory Show held in New York in 1913 introduced European trends in modern art that would prove far more influential on American artists than the work that distinguished the League's faculty. Nonetheless, in the early decades of the twentieth century a number of key American artists attended the League, including, among others, Georgia O'Keefe, Alexander Calder, Jackson Pollack, and Adolph Gottlieb (Tully 52-53). In October 1919, Wehr enrolled in a drawing and composition class taught by Sloan and in November he enrolled in a painting class taught by Sloan. Both were one-month evening classes, for Wehr had to juggle daytime employment at a lithography company with his coursework. With the end of the November class, a year would pass before Wehr re-enrolled in League courses. He resumed study in October 1920, and between October and January 1921 he again took short month-long painting classes taught by Sloan and then enrolled in head and figure drawing classes taught by Max Weber across February and March 1921.

While attending League classes, Wehr met another art student, Marguerite Elizabeth West. Marguerite was born in 1898 in Oroville, California and had grown up on her parents' ranch there. In the late 1910s, she attended on scholarship the art school now known as the San Francisco Art Institute. She also married into a prominent San Francisco family, but the marriage ended in divorce when she discovered her husband was a drug addict. In an effort to make a fresh start in new surroundings, Marguerite applied to and won a scholarship from the

Art Students League, moved across the country to New York, and enrolled in League classes around 1920. She met Wehr at the League and subsequently married him. The couple lived in Hoboken, New Jersey, where in November 1923 their daughter, Camilla, was born. When Camilla was a year old, Wehr and Marguerite decided to move to Europe to pursue their art. They crossed the Atlantic on a tramp steamer and settled in Italy, spending most of their time at Genoa.

The cost of living in Italy proved to be much higher than the couple anticipated and their finances were under constant pressure. Their circumstances were even more straitened when for some reason Wehr decided to buy a sailboat and sail along the coast, despite the efforts of local sailors and fishermen to dissuade him. He seems to have encountered rough water on the maiden voyage and he wrecked the boat. After the wreck, Wehr and Marguerite realized they were fast running out of money and so they returned to the United States around 1926, crossing the country to San Francisco, and briefly renting a small apartment in the city before moving out to Mill Valley.

At the time, Mill Valley was home to numerous painters, sculptors, and other artists, and Wehr and Marguerite were attracted to the area because of the art community. They rented a small house and decorated its walls with their paintings. To support the family, Wehr found work carving wood picture frames in San Francisco, but he occasionally refused to carry out certain jobs and when he did his pay was reduced. Even had he been a thoroughly docile employee, Wehr probably earned little money at the job and so the couple wrestled with persistent financial problems. With the advent of the Great Depression, money matters became much worse. Wehr was forced to pick grapes in the Napa vineyards, to draw pencil sketches of houses in

affluent Bay-area neighborhoods and peddle them--priced at a \$1.25--to the owners, and to work other odd jobs.

In 1932 August Wehrfritz died at Hackensack, New Jersey. Wehr came east and at the funeral he met Julia Ruth Laubinger, a cousin he had met in childhood. Born in her parents' home on the Boston Post Road in the Bronx on November 29, 1906, Julia--she generally went by the name Juliette--was the daughter of Emily Wehrfritz's sister, Leonora, and Ernest Laubinger, who had come to the United States from Germany as a sales representative for the Baucher China Company and had decided to stay. Leonora and Ernest treasured Juliette and her older brother, Ernest, for the couple had lost two children in the five years that separated Juliette's and Ernest's births. They were a liberal and cultured middle-class couple with interests in theosophy and music. When Wehr met Juliette at the funeral, she had been teaching at Abraham Lincoln High School in Brooklyn since her graduation from Hunter College in 1929. At Lincoln, she had been assigned to teach the toughest and most difficult students simply because she was taller than the other teachers. She seems to have been surprisingly effective in the classroom and she established a close rapport with many of the "problem" students, some of whom maintained friendships and corresponded with her decades after she left the school. All in all, she was a kind and an intensely idealistic woman, but she was also decidedly pragmatic and she had a patient strength of character. She hoped someday to establish and run an orphanage and, towards that end, she started making small but regular payments out of her teaching salary to acquire a five-acre plot of land situated on a hill in Danbury, Connecticut.

The Wehr family history avers that Wehr and Juliette literally met over August Wehrfritz's casket and fell in love. But it also

recounts how members of the family opposed the emerging relationship. To be sure, this was a relationship beset by early difficulties and seemingly insurmountable obstacles. In the first instance, there was family opposition because Wehr was a married man and a father. But there also was considerable uneasiness about a possible marriage between Wehr and Juliette, who, as first cousins, would be entering into a union that violated social convention. And the whole situation was further exacerbated by an antipathy that had long reigned between Wehr's mother Emily and her sister Leonora, Juliette's mother, whom the family regarded as the "feuding sisters."

After the funeral, in late 1932 or early 1933, Wehr returned to California for a few months. There he told Marguerite about Juliette and he asked for a divorce. The news devastated Marguerite and at one point--no doubt in a moment of anger--she had Wehr thrown in jail for a day or two for failure to support Camilla. But Marguerite eventually acquiesced to the divorce. At the proceedings, the judge asked Camilla to choose the parent she would rather live with. She chose her mother. Wehr would pay child support for many years and he would correspond with Camilla; in turn, Camilla would write to her grandmother, Emily, who would in time send along photographs of Camilla's half-siblings, David, Paul, and Jeanine. When Camilla married in 1949, Wehr sent her a \$25 check as a wedding gift, a sizeable sum at the time. But Wehr never again saw Camilla in person after he left California in 1932 or 1933. And after her wedding in 1949, Camilla never again heard from her father.

With the divorce concluded, Wehr returned east. What other problems might have surrounded his and Juliette's relationship were worked out or set aside, and the couple were married by a justice of the peace at Brooklyn on April 25, 1933. The civil ceremony was held

early in the morning, and after the couple exchanged vows Wehr and Juliette both got on the subway and went to their jobs. Thereafter the family grew. Wehr's and Juliette's first child, David, was born in 1934; a second son, Paul, followed in 1937; and a daughter, Jeanine, was born in 1941. And as the family grew, Wehr and Juliette lived in various communities outside New York City, from Mount Vernon to Valhalla, New York, and from Valhalla to Ridgewood and then to Closter, New Jersey. In these years, Wehr concentrated as much as possible on his art, most likely sculpting but also working at wood-block printing and designing dust-jackets and illustrations for various book publications. These included Sidney Kingsley's play, Dead End (the play was a Broadway success and gave the cast members known as the "Dead End Kids"--later known as the "Bowery Boys"--a leg up to their numerous films). Other projects included the leftist poet Lola Ridge's Dance of Fire and various contemporary novels, among them the first American edition of the English translation of André Malraux's The Royal Way. Wehr also worked as a sculptor at Radio City Music Hall, the 1939 World's Fair, and Rockefeller Center. Wehr may have undertaken some of this sculpture work independently, but he also did some of it as a commercial artist employed by the Jenters Exhibits Company, designers and producers of various commercial and museum displays and exhibitions. To make ends meet, Juliette earned money selling ladies corsets door-to-door and she also arranged for the family to live rent-free in a farmhouse in the middle of the Kensico Cemetery at Valhalla, New York, in exchange for operating a tea room and serving lunches to visitors and funeral parties.

Now at some point in the early to mid 1930s Wehr began toying with the idea of creating movable books. It is impossible to explain exactly how or why Wehr's attention was drawn to movable books, but

there was nothing at all unusual or inspired about his interest. Although there had been an ebb and flow in their popularity, movable books had been published in America or imported from Europe and sold in the United States since the late nineteenth century. Indeed, in his own childhood Wehr had owned a copy of a movable book--an animated version of the German folktale, "Struwelpeter." Moreover, some of the basic mechanical effects embodied in movable books were also employed in various movable signs and billboards that had punctuated the American urban landscape since the late nineteenth century, and Wehr was surely familiar with such mechanical displays, which he would have seen throughout New York City advertising all manner of goods and services. But Wehr's attraction to movable books was probably also prompted by other, more immediate causes. The company that employed him, Jenters Exhibits, designed animated displays for the windows of department store and other businesses. There was also considerable publishing activity in the realm of illustrated pop-up books in the 1930s. This was the decade, for instance, when Blue Ribbon Books offered to the public a steady fare of pop-up stories drawn from fairy tales, popular radio shows, and movies.

In June 1937, Wehr submitted to the U.S. Patent Office an application for what he called a "Moving Illustration" technique for animated books, which the Patent Office granted two years later in March 1940. Subsequently, he would seek and be granted three additional "Animated Illustration" patents--two in 1945 and one in 1947--reflecting improvements to his movable book technique and their extension to toys, but the initial 1940 patent represents the basic principles Wehr worked out for creating animated illustrations. These mark a departure from the existing approach to the design and construction of animated books. Indeed, Wehr's innovative approach can

be regarded as a stroke of pure genius. Animated books fashioned by earlier paper engineers--for example, the celebrated books crafted by Lothar Meggendorfer or the illustrator-animators working for Ernest Nister's publishing firm--relied on multiple, odd-shaped pieces of heavyweight paper that were often complexly interlocked and, in the case of many of Meggendorfer's works, fastened with metal rivets. Still other paper engineers contrived moving parts by employing springs, wires, string, and other materials. But Wehr's patented method relied on a lightweight piece of paper that was die-cut to form a "rocker" with movable pictorial elements and a pull-tab. (For more intricate movement, Wehr would use two rockers that were either attached by a ball-and-socket joint cut into the paper or were shaped to push and pull each other.) The rocker was then inserted into the book between a double folded leaf, forming an animated panel on one side and a page for text and illustration on the other. By employing this simple but ingenious design, Wehr could fashion highly complicated animated illustrations, typically with four to six pictorial elements that simultaneously moved up and down and back and forth when the pull-tab moved the rocker.

Significantly, Wehr's approach was simple enough to accommodate efficient mass production, which in turn affected retail prices and sales. By contrast, Meggendorfer's movable books represented a costly labor-intensive production process in which each book had to be painstakingly assembled by hand from numerous rivets and paper levers, cogs, and cams, and they were undoubtedly rather expensive books aimed at the children of middle and upper-class households.⁷ Similarly, many of Nister's books, although less complicated in structure than Meggendorfer's, had to be carefully glued or taped together from several pieces of paper and were assembled, as well, book by book. But

Wehr's "moving illustration" approach relied on simple paper parts that could be fitted together quickly. The technique reduced labor costs and helped keep retail prices low. Most of Wehr's titles sold for \$1.00. Some may have sold for less.

The patent was in Wehr's hands in early 1940 and at the outbreak of World War II he was probably already working on the book that would eventually become The Exciting Adventures of Finnie the Fiddler. But America's entrance into the war had a disruptive impact on the family and this impeded Wehr's work on Finnie the Fiddler. He lost his job in early 1942 when Jenters quickly shifted its business concerns from exhibitions and advertising displays to the war effort and began manufacturing gliders. Around the same time, Wehr and Juliette grew increasingly anxious at the rumors circulating on the east coast: German bombers would strike New York and other cities at any time, U-boats were poised to launch commando raids up and down the eastern seaboard, serious food shortages and draconian rationing would result in starving Americans. Wehr and Juliette decided to find a safer place than northern New Jersey to live and to raise children. Through a friend of Juliette's, the couple learned of a remote farm for rent on top of a mountain near the small village of Roxbury, Vermont, and through the village postmaster they made arrangements with the farm's owner to lease the farm. On June 4, 1942 movers packed their belongings into a truck and the family journeyed from Closter to Roxbury. Along with the three children, they brought Juliette's parents, Ernest and Leonora, who first rented a house in a village near Roxbury and who later bought a house in Roxbury. And in time Wehr's mother, Emily, also arrived in Vermont and was settled in an apartment in Montpelier.

The farm had been uninhabited for some time and it was in ramshackle condition. It also lacked central heating, running water, and electricity. It was isolated, with a main approach consisting of a steep, narrow, and at certain points perilous two-mile dirt road in much disrepair, and with a less harrowing but longer and similarly neglected back entrance that ended about a mile from the farmstead. Here Wehr and Juliette and the children would live for between two and three years, eventually buying the property as well as a house in Roxbury village, which allowed them to use the farm as a summer home. The family endured bitterly cold winters, acquired a handful of friends among the local Yankees, gardened and canned vegetables for food, and bought a dairy cow and a horse. At one point they received a visit from Vermont State Police officers, who in response to a village rumor were dispatched to ascertain if the Wehrs were Nazi spies. Young David and Paul attended a two-room school house. Juliette looked after the house and the toddler Jeanine, but she also served as Roxbury's town auditor (she was appointed in 1943 and was then elected to the office in 1944, serving a single term that ended in 1947). In her spare moments, Juliette found time to write lengthy and often humorous letters to her New York friends about life on the farm, which she then transformed these into a book-length narrative titled "The Wehrwithal." Meanwhile, Wehr tried to make money. On first arriving in Roxbury, a local man hired him to chop firewood. But either the work ran out or Wehr could not sustain the hard labor, and so he returned to Finnie the Fiddler and brought it to completion.

Before the move to Vermont, Wehr as well as Juliette may have approached various New York printing and publishing firms with the idea of producing an animated children's book that employed Wehr's "moving illustration" patent. But at some point either before the move or on a

trip back to the city shortly after the move, Wehr contacted the Duenewald Printing Corporation and met its owner, Ralph Duenewald, who was confident that such a book would sell, and who thus agreed to print Finnie the Fiddler and to negotiate marketing and distribution arrangements with a publisher. In having hitherto worked for New York lithography companies, Wehr was familiar with the business and its technical processes, and he no doubt knew the reputations of numerous companies. Duenewald may have been among his first choices. The firm was young, having been established in 1934, and it was already known for high-quality printing. It had earned much public praise for its fine work on the limited edition of Audubon's Birds of America published by Macmillan in 1937. Wehr, then, was surely pleased when Duenewald agreed to carry out the book's printing and to locate a publisher to distribute it. Indeed, Wehr and Juliette were ecstatic when a phone call, probably from Ralph Duenewald, reached them in Vermont with news that a publisher had decided to issue Finnie the Fiddler. This was the New York firm of Cupples and Leon, which published Finnie the Fiddler in 1942. As it turned out, this was the only book by Wehr they would publish.

Soon all Roxbury heard that Wehr was publishing a book and would be a wealthy man, because the village's telephone system was a party line and someone had listened in on the call from Duenewald. But in truth Wehr probably received scant payment for Finnie the Fiddler. Of greater importance was the fact that the book sold well and that its strong sales indicated a demand for more animated books. The promise of future success motivated Wehr and he seems to have quickly begun work on at least two other "Finnie" books, for the Wehr family papers show evidence of two separate projects that continued Finnie's adventures. One of these was "Finnie the Fiddler in Topsyturvia,"

which appears to survive in only two pencil sketch designs of a cover and a title page. On the title page, Wehr included the words "Cupples and Leon Company publishers," anticipating that the firm would want to issue his subsequent work. The other project was "The Further Adventures of Finnie the Fiddler." Wehr worked this up to a nearly complete state, creating a full-color, fully animated mock-up book that lacks only the text. This mock-up contains some of the most complex animation work of all his books, with a single panel fashioned with two pull-tabs that set in motion eight pictorial elements. And therein lies a likely reason why the work never saw publication, for the complexity of the design may have rendered production difficult or may have driven up production costs and, thus, the book's retail price.

Wehr followed up Finnie the Fiddler with the first of his several versions of Mother Goose, which also appeared in 1942. Thereafter, from 1943 to 1945, he fashioned at least two dozen more animated books, with seven in 1943, nine in 1944, and eight in 1945, according to the lists of Wehr's works compiled by Montanaro in her movable book bibliographies. It was a period of heady and hectic work, and each book Wehr created represented untold days or weeks of intense imaginative planning and careful crafting. Materials in the Wehr family's hands suggest that in developing each book Wehr worked out the illustrations and their movable elements with pencil sketches, drawing in orange or red pencil the outline of moving components over the sketches. He also made separate pencil sketches of the rockers with their pictorial details. On both sketches he might write brief notes to himself, indicating refinements to the illustrations or improvements in the animations. He next fashioned preliminary animations to test out his ideas. These generally seem to have been in pencil but some were partially colored. At this point in the design process Wehr might

have sent preliminary animations and sketches to Duenewald, either inviting general comments on the artwork or, more practically, with the aim of working out how the typography would fit with illustrations and animations on the page.⁸ When Wehr was satisfied with his illustrations and their mechanics, he at last fashioned complete mock-up books using pen and ink, colored pencil, and pastel crayon. Wehr would then take a train from Vermont to New York and hand-deliver the mock-ups to Duenewald's offices at West 18th Street. He would usually remain in the city for about a week, probably to explain production and assembly details and resolve problems. In this, Wehr seems to have worked rather closely with Duenewald's production staff, for he identified some of them and their responsibilities in a whimsical sketch of Duenewald's printing operation that he drew as a design for a possible company Christmas card.

Wehr's intense labor on the books was matched by the efforts of the Duenewald company to produce and find publishers to distribute them. Although there may have been variations in the production process, the general outlines of printing and manufacture are clear enough. Wehr's mock-ups were photo-lithographed and printed, with the moving components die-cut at Duenewald's New York City printing operation. All the materials were then shipped upstate to a company in Ticonderoga, New York, where the movable components were married to the appropriate panels and the panels and pages were gathered, bound with red plastic spiral binders, and placed in dust jackets. Meanwhile, Duenewald negotiated terms with various publishing companies, including, among others, Grosset and Dunlap, E.P. Dutton, Stephen Daye, and Saalfield Publishing Company. Juliette, too, seems to have journeyed down to New York in the role of a salesperson, but instead of

meeting with publishers she may have met with department store buyers, encouraging them to stock Wehr's books.

Press runs were determined by the orders for the individual titles the publishers placed with Duenewald, and Wehr's books were likely printed in larger and larger press runs as they became more and more popular. Wehr's children all recall that Finnie the Fiddler was printed in an edition of 10,000 copies. This would have been a prudent press run as befit a first book by an author-illustrator unfamiliar to the public. But subsequent titles were often printed in surprisingly large press runs. Eugene Cornacchia, Duenewald's comptroller in the 1940s, recalls that Saalfeld would typically place orders for 200,000 copies of a title and that they would sell every one of them. But press runs varied, for Cornacchia also remembers other publishers ordering smaller editions. Grosset and Dunlap's orders, he recalls, typically amounted to only 50,000. Even so, several titles saw more than a single edition or printing. Montanaro has noted "various editions" of E.P. Dutton's 1943 and 1949 editions of Little Black Sambo with "5,6, or 7 tab-operated plates" (Pop-up and Movable Books, Supplement I 226).⁹ And in the Wehr family papers is yet another indication of multiple editions or printings. In the papers is an article from an unidentified magazine dating from the fall of 1943. The writer noted that Little Black Sambo as well as The Gingerbread Boy were Wehr's "latest books," but then suggested that subsequent printings were planned or already underway and that "the publishers of Little Black Sambo and The Gingerbread Boy have been able to promise the retail trade only 400,000 copies before Christmas with the demand more than double that."

In addition to their negotiations with American publishers, Duenewald sought publishers outside the United States and prepared

foreign-language editions after the war. Thus, in the late 1940s, Duenewald made arrangements with the London publishing company, Raphael Tuck, to issue books in the United Kingdom. A Tuck company publicity photograph in the Wehr family's possession, which recorded England's Queen Mary being shown a copy of Snow White by Desmond Tuck, has a typescript press release pasted to the back stating that "six different titles of animated books were brought out by Raphael Tuck & Sons in a first edition of 600,000 copies." Presumably, the six titles were published in editions of 100,000 copies each.¹⁰ Additionally, Pilot Press of London published at least two Wehr titles; these include a 1947 Animated Picture Book of Alice in Wonderland and an edition of Rip Van Winkle that is undated but was likely published in or around 1947. In France and possibly Quebec, Wehr's books were distributed and sold in the series "les albums animés" by the publisher J. Barbe Editeur of Paris. These included Snow White, Little Red Riding Hood, The Happy Little Choo Choo, Animated Animals, and possibly others. Similarly, Spanish-language versions of Little Black Sambo, Snow White, Little Red Riding Hood, and possibly other titles were published by the Editorial Cervantes firm of Barcelona. Several Wehr titles were translated into German and published by Azed AG of Basel, Switzerland. And at least one of Wehr's books, Hansel and Gretel, was translated into Icelandic and issued by the Bókfellisútgáfan publishing firm of Reykjavík.

It is important to dwell on press runs, foreign editions, and other publishing details because these point towards the enormous popularity of Wehr's books when they originally appeared. In the United States, "Julian Wehr" may not have been a household name in the 1940s. Yet for their clever animations and the style of their illustrations, Wehr's books seem to have enjoyed a recognizable identity in the marketplace and Wehr's name probably had at least some

recognition value among the general public and, more particularly, among those of the general public who had children and who bought children's books. This circumstance was not lost on Duenewald or Wehr. In an effort to promote Wehr's works in 1945, Duenewald negotiated with the fledgling New York CBS television station (then known as WCBW) to broadcast the books on a children's television program. Although it is now difficult to fathom how the books would be used, the show probably would have included a "story time" that featured Wehr's books: the pages would fill the screen while someone read the story, with a hand reaching in to move the pull-tabs. But there were other, more conventional avenues for promoting Wehr. Among the books Wehr did not write, but merely illustrated and animated, the phrases "Animated by Julian Wehr" or "Animations by Julian Wehr" were typically printed on covers in the same size lettering as the author's name. But on some covers Wehr's name figured rather more prominently than the author's name, as it did on the 1944 edition of Martha Paulsen's Toyland. And in a similar effort to take advantage of recognition value, Wehr's name was included in the title of the 1945 Julian Wehr Mother Goose.

Although it is not easy to precisely determine the scope of his popularity or the sales of his books, Wehr's work undoubtedly reached myriad young readers. Looking back on the publication of the books from the 1960s, Juliette noted that the total sales of his books amounted to over nine million copies. This figure, which the Wehr family believes originated with Duenewald, seems no exaggeration when we consider the large American press runs, multiple printings or editions, and the various foreign editions. Wehr's books, moreover, were deliberately printed and assembled to be affordable to a wide audience, for their production values--notably, the plastic spiral bindings and their often mediocre paper--kept production costs low and,

consequently, kept retail prices low. And we should also bear in mind that in the United States Wehr's movable books were a temporary substitute for toys. They appeared at a time when numerous toys--particularly toys made of tin and other metals--could not be readily manufactured because of wartime and postwar material and labor shortages. Finally, we should note that Wehr himself was astonished at the popularity of what he called his "monkey books." In a November 1945 letter to Juliette that he wrote from New York City, Wehr recounts how he spent hour after hour wandering about Manhattan trying to locate a vacant hotel room in a city already overcrowded with transient servicemen on leave or on their way home. In walking up and down city streets, he was amazed to see his books displayed in numerous department store and book shop windows. "I see those monkey books of mine all over--it is evident that it wasn't just a flash in the pan but that the call for such books still continues--and cannot be met--therefore I think that before it is over and done with we shall have made our little nest egg."

The money Wehr made from the books may not have generated a vast nest egg. The Wehr children, for example, remember their father mentioning that his earnings only represented about two cents or two and a half cents for every book published, a calculation that may or not be correct. Nonetheless, an enormous number of books sold and, among his other obligations as Duenewald's comptroller, Eugene Cornnachia found himself sending off check after check to Vermont, now one for \$700, now one for \$1,500, and these checks arrived rather frequently between 1944 and 1946. The money provided the family with the financial wherewithal to buy the Vermont farm as well as a house in Roxbury village, and to convert the barn at the farm into a studio. Likewise, the animated books comprised a steady source of income for

Duenewald as well--a circumstance hinted at in the humorous Duenewald Company Christmas card we glanced at on a previous page of this essay. For the card, Wehr sketched out an elaborate, Rube Goldberg-like assembly line where parts of animations and illustrations are fed into a hopper that spews out books. It would appear, then, that the Wehr-Duenewald collaboration was mutually advantageous to artist and businessman. Wehr placed much trust in Ralph Duenewald and Duenewald apparently came to rely on Wehr, for during the war years Wehr's animated books represented his company's bread-and-butter work and steady revenue. Unfortunately, however, because Wehr and Duenewald produced the books within a brief period, and because Wehr's earnings were likewise confined to a brief period, placing him in a high tax bracket, the money he made from the books was subject to a sizeable federal income tax. Juliette may have been irked with Duenewald over the tax situation, or she may have been more broadly concerned with her husband's earnings, when in late 1944 she asked Ralph Duenewald for a certified statement detailing the costs, transactions, and profits associated with Wehr's books. Duenewald was hurt and angry at what he took to be a sign of distrust, but he seems to have complied with Juliette's request.

With the Duenewald checks arriving steadily from 1944 to 1946, Wehr found time in these years to devote an increasing amount of attention and energy to his studio artwork. He fashioned woodcuts and perhaps worked in other media, but he was most intensely focused on sculpture. Near Roxbury was an abandoned quarry that proved a good source for marble. Granite was plentiful in the area and there were abundant and diverse supplies of hardwoods in the local forests. With the natural materials near at hand, Wehr worked long hours in his studio, trudging up the mountain road on snowshoes in the winter when

the family was living in town. He created numerous stone and wood sculptures, crowding the barn with various pieces, and soon there were plans in the making for an exhibition in New York. In short, for the first time in his life he was independent, profoundly happy, and doing exactly what he felt he was born to do. And then Wehr's happiness abruptly ended. In late 1946 or early 1947, the studio caught fire and burned to the ground. With the exception of a single work he plucked from the fire, all Wehr's sculptures were destroyed. The wood pieces burned to ashes and those of stone expanded in the intense heat and broke apart or exploded. Wehr was heartbroken and despondent. He would not sculpt again for 16 years.

The studio fire may have soured Wehr on life in Vermont. But there were other circumstances enveloping him and the rest of the family that were steadily encouraging them to move on. Paul and especially David were getting to an age when they required a better education than the two-room schoolhouse could provide. Juliette, too, had grown increasingly dissatisfied with Roxbury's small-town, backwater atmosphere. She had organized a hot lunch program at the school, she had arranged evening activities for local teenagers, and she had urged parents to pressure the town fathers into raising teacher salaries. But for all her efforts to improve the life of the community, she only figured as a boat-rocking outsider in the eyes of some villagers. Moreover, in fulfilling her duties as Roxbury's town auditor, her unhappiness and ire no doubt increased when she discovered several questionable circumstances surrounding village finances and involving the board of selectmen. But perhaps the most compelling reason to move on was Wehr's and Juliette's growing realization that in the future the animated books were unlikely to provide a steady and secure source of family income.

In the postwar period, Wehr's books became more expensive to produce. Although their uncomplicated animations were easy enough to put together compared to the elaborate moving parts and rivets of earlier movable book designs, they nonetheless involved manual assembly and their labor costs were affected by the volatile inflation rates of the late 1940s. The market for movable books, moreover, had become saturated. At the height of their popularity in the mid 1940s about two dozen of Wehr's animated books were on the market at the same time. And in department stores, book shops, and other retail outlets, Wehr's books were jostling for the buyer's attention with pop-up and animated books created by George Zaffo, Marion Merrill, Geraldine Clyne, and other illustrators and animators. Indeed, the pressure of competition had led Wehr to seek and be granted the additional 1945 and 1947 patents for his animation techniques, to retain a lawyer to protect his interests in the techniques, and to become entangled in a series of thorny legal negotiations pertaining to his patents. And the pressure of competition also may have led him to seek a patent, granted in 1950, that represented an extension of his animation ideas to an "animated display." Yet in the late 1940s and the early 1950s, the competition was diminishing as publishing companies began viewing movable books as a fad that was losing momentum. "Animated or novelty books for children to put together just does [sic] not appeal to the trade in general," wrote Duenewald to Wehr in 1951. "While crayon books [i.e., coloring books] do well, none of the other activity books are in the same class. At best it isn't a steady business for either of us."

The studio fire, the discontent with Roxbury, the increasing perception that the animated books would provide less and less income--these and other considerations determined the family to leave Vermont. At some point in 1947, Wehr and Juliette began looking towards

Juliette's Danbury property as a new homestead. Accordingly, Wehr likely visited the property and had it surveyed, and then started designing a house. He initially contemplated a building that relied on rammed earth construction, but he may have concluded that adobe-like building materials would require constant maintenance in the damp atmosphere of southwestern New England and he settled for a more conventional wood-frame structure. He left the family behind in Vermont and lived in Danbury during the construction phase, working alongside carpenters and stonemasons he hired for the job, and coming to appreciate their skills. In the late summer of 1948 the house was completed, or at least ready enough for the family to occupy, and so the Wehrs sold their properties in Vermont and moved to Connecticut. Wehr had originally designed the house so that his mother and Juliette's mother and father would each occupy one of two wings, with the wings separated by a main section that Wehr, Juliette, and the children could claim as their space. But construction of the second wing proved too costly and it had to be abandoned, and so Wehr's mother merely had a room to herself while Juliette's parents occupied their wing. This spatial arrangement often tested Juliette's abilities to maintain domestic peace and harmony.

After the move to Connecticut, Juliette found work with Stanley Home Products, but Wehr struggled to contribute to the family coffers. From the late 1940s and on through the 1950s, he seems to have worked odd jobs and to have put various irons in the fire. Shortly after arriving in Connecticut, he was a hod carrier for a brief period, but lifting loads of bricks was hard enough labor for a young man, and certainly not work for someone who had reached the age of 50. In these same years, Wehr also corresponded with Ralph Duenewald and other New York contacts about art and design jobs at advertising agencies,

greeting card companies, and publishing firms. Although Duenewald seems to have gone to some lengths on Wehr's behalf, there is no evidence that his efforts or those of Wehr's other New York contacts led to anything. Wehr also sought work with his employer of earlier years, Jenters Exhibits. From 1947 to 1949, he developed the idea of a crank-operated toy incorporating the animation principles he patented in 1947 and that were further protected by his 1950 patent. Jenters helped Wehr promote the toy concept and the firm embarked on preliminary negotiations with the American Plastics Company of Worcester, Massachusetts, but the company never produced the toys. In the 1950s, Wehr sought to interest Hallmark Cards in a line of animated greeting cards, but he sold only a few designs. And in 1948, Wehr established a relationship with General Foods as a freelance commercial artist, a relationship that generated an irregular income until the late 1950s or early 1960s.

Meanwhile, Wehr continued to publish animated books, but his efforts in these years did not match the hectic activity of the early to mid 1940s, and this we can probably attribute to despondency about the studio fire as well the diminishing market for animated books. Thus, between 1946 and 1951, in a period roughly encompassing a short time before the fire and a short time after the move to Connecticut, Wehr published only five known new books with pull-tab animations. These included Animated Antics in Playland and The Cock, the Mouse, and the Little Red Hen, which appeared in 1946 but which Wehr had probably created and sent off to Duenewald before the studio fire; the 1949 Night Before Christmas; the 1950 Fun with Faces, with verses by "Van"; and the 1951 Fun with Animal Faces, with verses by Laura Harris. Meanwhile, Wehr or rather Duenewald was much busier republishing select titles for markets in Europe and elsewhere, and with republishing

especially popular titles for the American market. Titles re-appearing in America included the 1949 Little Black Sambo (first published in 1943); two separate 1949 versions of Snow White (first published in 1945); and the 1950 Mother Goose (first published in 1942 and again in 1943).

Throughout the 1950s and into the early 1960s, Wehr continued to design and publish books, but it is difficult to provide a full and accurate accounting of his work in this period. Some of these books were his own creations. Others represented a collaboration, with Wehr serving as animator or illustrator for an author's story. Still others may have amounted to journeyman illustration work that Wehr undertook for money alone. Insofar as the publishing circumstances or the creative collaborations allowed, Wehr seems to have approached these books as a way of experimenting with different kinds of dimensional or activity books, hoping--perhaps desperately hoping--to strike a rich vein and find a form that would allow him repeat the success of the mid 1940s. Thus, in 1950 Wehr published at least four "hankie books"--Puss in Boots Hankies, Peter Rabbit Hankies, Snow White Hankies and Gingerbread Boy Hankies--with colorfully printed handkerchiefs folded and tucked into slots cut into illustrations. In 1951 he fashioned his only known pop-up book, Pop-up Cowboys and Indians. In 1957 he published his only known fold-out panorama book, Mother Goose Panorama. In the late 1950s and early 1960s he undertook illustrations for books published by the Capitol Publishing Company. Although the extent of his work for Capitol is unclear, he seems to have had a hand in at least two books issued by the outfit. One was titled Woodland Friends, with text by William Jerr, and the other Dinosaurs, with text by Mary Patsuris. Both were "color and wipe" books issued with crayons and pages that could be marked up and erased clean.

The last known books that can be described unequivocally as "Julian Wehr books" and the last known books, as well, in which he utilized his pull-tab animations were both published in 1962: Animated Mother Goose and Animated Nursery Tales, a work--not noted by Montanaro--that bears the same title of a book Wehr published in 1943, but that presents different stories and animations. Both were published by McLoughlin Brothers, which at the time was a division of Grosset and Dunlap. Doris Duenewald probably helped Wehr get these books published, for she was then an editor with Grosset and Dunlap.

During the years at Danbury, Wehr's and Juliette's children grew up. For two years David attended a preparatory school, Williston Academy at Easthampton, Massachusetts. But David as well as Paul and Jeanine all graduated from Danbury High School and went on to earn college degrees, and all eventually earned graduate degrees. As the children grew, Wehr's mother and Juliette's parents passed away. By the time Jeanine was ready for college, the Danbury house must have felt painfully empty and quiet to the parents. The prospect of being separated from all the children was no doubt unbearable to Wehr and Juliette, and so in 1959 when Jeanine began attending Stetson University in Florida her parents followed shortly afterwards and moved to Florida, settling at the town of New Smyrna Beach on the eastern shore. While Jeanine took classes during the day, Juliette took classes in the evenings, aiming to update her teaching credentials to meet state standards. Following her Florida certification in 1961, Juliette taught elementary school at New Smyrna Beach, but she found teaching in a small, southern community during the civil rights era an occasionally frustrating experience for someone with her decidedly liberal social and political values.

Before the move to Florida, Wehr seems to have made some tentative efforts at sculpting, but he could not overcome the despondency that had settled on him after the studio fire. Juliette worried about him and at times probably worried about him intensely whenever his mood was particularly bleak. One day she was deeply upset when she found him sitting at one of fireplaces in the Danbury house, methodically burning most of the woodcut blocks he had created over the years. But two years after the move to Florida, with Juliette earning a teacher's salary and offering much encouragement, Wehr set up a studio at the Florida house and at last returned in earnest to sculpture. He recognized he would have only a few remaining years of creative life and he responded by working long hours and producing numerous pieces. On the one hand, he seems to have pursued ideas he had set aside long ago and to have explored areas of his imagination he had not been able to fully explore in earlier years. Thus, he carved in wood and chiseled in stone numerous sculptures, and among these are several striking abstract pieces that have about them a brooding, intensely contemplative feel. But on the other hand, he was searching, drawing on fresh ideas, and working in media like mosaic and various metals that were new for him. On the whole, his art in these years reflects exploration and experiment rather than stylistic unity. Paul was especially sensitive to his father's creative circumstances. He had connections with Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana and helped organize an exhibition there. Paul also sought out galleries in Philadelphia and New York that would promote and sell his father's sculpture. A number of pieces did sell, but the gallery owners generally shied away from Wehr's art, explaining to Paul that his father's works were too diverse for the market, that their gallery clientele sought in an artist sculptural pieces that were similar in

style and had a similar appearance. Yet Wehr continued with his sculpture. In 1966, one his metal pieces, "Balancing Form," took third prize at the Florida Sculptors Association Exhibition.

One senses that at some point between moving to Florida and setting up his studio, Wehr took stock of his life and what life had yielded up to him. No doubt, such reflections would not be out of the ordinary for someone in his 60s, and undoubtedly the act of looking back lay behind Wehr's long hours in the studio. But it also seems to have led Wehr to take pride in his three children and their accomplishments (and to savor a similar satisfaction in his and Juliette's growing circle of grandchildren). The three children were making their way in the world and doing so with some success. David was emerging as an accomplished musician and composer who would eventually earn a PhD in music from the University of Miami and hold various academic positions; Paul completed a PhD from the University of Pennsylvania in 1968 and embarked on an academic career as a sociologist; and Jeanine would finish college and then live in Turkey, where she taught English for a church-related humanitarian organization and where she met and married her husband. And the process of reflecting and measuring his life also seems to have led Wehr to set aside some of his habitual shyness, for in Juliette's company he began to socialize more in these years and to go on various outings, and he and Juliette were making plans for a trip to Europe.

In contemplating his life and fortunes, Wehr most likely shared his feelings and insights with Juliette, who after three decades of marriage knew him well enough to sense the range and tenor of his inner life without his having to articulate it. She knew "a little of what it has cost you to be a husband and father," as she wrote to him in 1967 letter, in which she tried to put into words her deepest feelings

for him. She remarked his gentleness, his fortitude in "sticking to an occupation you hated just so we could have a beautiful place for the children to grow up in, your patience with and care of my parents and all the many thoughtful things that have helped make this family the happy, close, loving family it will always be." And she closed the letter by asking him to "Keep on doing beautiful sculptures to leave in your name, my dearest, besides the three exceptional monuments of children we are leaving as memorials to our love."

On Friday April 24, 1970, the evening before their thirty-seventh wedding anniversary, Wehr and Juliette went out to dinner to celebrate. The next day Wehr suffered a heart attack and was taken to a local hospital. Juliette probably waited there for his condition to stabilize before contacting the children. Paul arrived from Pennsylvania, where he was teaching at Haverford College, and then Jeanine arrived from Columbia, Missouri, where her husband Lawrence was working on a PhD at the University of Missouri. But David was involved with a music production in Miami and he could not get away until the next day. In part because the heart attack left Wehr weak and in part because of the different distances of travel, Paul and Jeanine visited their father at separate times and they were mindful of not staying too long. Wehr passed away that night. The family arranged a memorial service at a New Smyrna Beach funeral home, which drew a small group of local friends, and subsequently Wehr's body was cremated.

Shortly after her father's death, Jeanine found pinned up on the walls of Wehr's studio a transcription in his handwriting of Robinson Jeffer's poem, "Let Them Alone." The opening lines, one suspects, had a resonant and perhaps rueful irony for Wehr: "If God has been good enough to give you a poet, / Then listen to him. But for God's sake

let him alone / until he is dead; no prizes, no ceremony, / They kill the man."

Juliette kept Wehr's ashes, but after several years she and the children decided they should be scattered on the coast of Maine, where Paul as well as Jeanine and her husband had summer homes. Julian had always had a reverence for nature and the family agreed that a fitting place for the ashes would be at Paul's cabin, which was situated in a wildlife refuge on the Petit Menan peninsula near Milbridge. Paul was entrusted with the final act, scattering some of his father's ashes on the land behind his cabin and some on a rock ledge that juts out into the water and that lies submerged at high tide.

Juliette remained in Florida and continued teaching at New Smyrna Beach until her retirement in 1973. She was persuaded to move to Raleigh, North Carolina, where she was close to Jeanine and Lawrence, who was and remains a faculty member at North Carolina State University in Raleigh. Throughout her life, Juliette had always been a forward-thinking individual and she remained, late in life, alert to various social and environmental causes, supporting a number of prominent progressive political and environmental organizations. In these later years, too, she patiently gathered together what survived of Wehr's records, letters, sketches, paintings, and other documents and artifacts that were connected to the animated books. Juliette had always had a strong faith in her husband's art, but she seems to have had an especially vigorous faith in the animated books, and she apparently assembled the materials with a confident realization that someday people would want to know about the person who created them.

Juliette passed away on December 29, 1993 at a Quaker retirement home in Greensboro. The family held a memorial service on January 1, 1994. Her body was cremated and the ashes brought to Maine that

summer. Again, Paul was entrusted with the final act. He buried the ashes beside his cabin and over them he planted a lilac bush, his mother's favorite flower. It grows in the soil that received half her husband's ashes, and it commands a view of the rock ledge and sea where the other half were dispersed.

Notes

¹ The growing interest in Julian Wehr and, more generally, in movable books is reflected in a handful of recent rare book exhibitions and scholarly publications. The most visible of the exhibitions--"Brooklyn Pops Up"--was held at the Brooklyn Public Central Library and subsequently at branch libraries from September 2000 to January 2002. It presented movable books published from the sixteenth century to the present. Other exhibitions have included "Pop Goes the Page: Movable and Mechanical Books from the Brenda Forman Collection" at Alderman Library, University of Virginia (May to August 2000); "World of the Child: Two Hundred Years of Children's Books" at Morris Library, University of Delaware (February to June 1998); "The Great Menagerie: The Wonderful World of Pop-Up and Movable Books" at Willis Library, University of North Texas (November 1997 to February 1998); and "Magical Movable Books" at University of Southern California (March to July 1995). Scholarly publications concerned in whole or part with movable books--some of which take note of Wehr's original approach to animation--include Hildegard Krahé, Lothar Meggendorfers Spielwelt (München: Hugendubel, 1983); Cynthia Burlingham, Picturing Childhood: Illustrated Children's Books from University of California Collections, 1550-1990 (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, UCLA, 1997); Michael Dawson, "A Short History of Pop-ups and Movable Books" Children's Books History Society Newsletter 58 (July 1997): 4-9; Ann R. Montanaro, Pop-Up and Movable Books, A Bibliography (Metuchen [New Jersey]: Scarecrow P, 1993); and Ann R. Montanaro, Pop-Up and Movable Books, A Bibliography, Supplement I, 1991-1997 (Lanham [Maryland]: Scarecrow P, 2000).

² For a representative example of how Wehr figures in the literature of movable books, see Montanaro's introductory historical essay on the form published in Pop-up: An Exhibition of Movable Books and Ephemera from the Collection of Geraldine Roberts Lebowitz (Fort Lauderdale: Bienes Center for the Literary Arts, 2001): 13. Her remarks on Wehr are confined to a brief description of his animation technique and his identification with a "new group of artists and publishers [who] entered the movable book market in the 1940s."

³ Montanaro's attempt to record English language movable books deserves high praise, but there are undoubtedly many titles that escape notice in her two published bibliographies cited in the first note. These include books by Wehr. For example, Montanaro does not note Animated Nursery Tales, published by Grosset and Dunlap in 1962; the London edition of Snow White, published by Raphael Tuck in 1949; and an undated edition of Rip Van Winkle--published by Pilot Press in London--that probably appeared in or around 1947, the year Pilot Press also published Animated Picture Book of Alice in Wonderland.

Here we should point out that the 1962 Animated Nursery Tales is wholly different from the book of the same title Wehr published in 1943, and we should also mention that Montanaro's description of the 1943 book actually describes the 1962 book.

⁴ The interviews with Wehr's children were tape-recorded and the tapes are available to researchers at the Special Collections department, James E. Walker Library, Middle Tennessee State University.

⁵ United States Bureau of Maritime Inspection and Navigation; Record Group 41; Personnel Records of Recruits, 1918-1942; file of August Julian Wehrfritz.

⁶ Information about Wehr and his education at the Art Students' League of New York is reflected in Wehr's enrollment forms, which survive among the League's student records, and the course offerings printed in the 1919-20 and the 1920-21 Catalog of the Art Students' League of New York. We are grateful to the League's archivist, Stephanie Cassidy, for locating Wehr's enrollment forms.

⁷ We have been unable to determine the original retail prices of any of Meggendorfer's or Nister's movable books. Copies we have seen do not have printed prices. We cannot locate periodical announcements or advertisements that indicate prices. And we have discovered no surviving trade catalogs.

⁸ The only evidence we have of creative exchange between artist and printer or publisher is an undated letter in the Wehr family's hands--undoubtedly written in the early 1960s--from Ralph Duenewald's daughter, Doris, who worked at her father's firm from the mid 1940s to 1949, when she joined Grosset and Dunlap as an editor. In the letter, Doris offers Wehr several suggestions about the cover illustration of the Animated Nursery Tales that Grosset and Dunlap published in 1962. Wehr seems to have accommodated some of these suggestions. But such exchanges may not have occurred, or Wehr may not have embraced any suggestions that were proffered, in the mid 1940s heyday when he was quickly working up book after book.

⁹ In addition to Snow White, we can verify only one other title published by Tuck: The Night Before Christmas (1949). We are grateful to Michael Dawson for pointing out this edition.