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Although immensely popular today, Martin Buber (1878-1965) was virtually unknown in the United States prior to the 1945 publication of his historical novel, *For the Sake of Heaven* (which Buber originally titled *Gog and Magog*).¹ The book was significant not only because it was Buber's introduction to a wide U.S. audience; it also marked his return to publishing after a hiatus of nearly a decade. Set during the Napoleonic wars, the novel, which according to Maurice Friedman was regarded by Buber 'as his most important book', explores the nature of Jewish life, modernity, and evil through the lens of Hasidism.² According to Jonathan Sarna, Buber's manuscript, which was initially submitted to the Jewish Publication Society of America (GPS) in 1941, was not initially well received, although it soon became the JPS' 'most important historical novel.'³

Buber spent nearly twenty years writing the Hasidic tales at the heart of *For the Sake of Heaven*. It was the advent of the war, and according to Friedman, Buber's 'personal response' to the war, that enabled the philosopher to find the 'organizing principle' necessary to complete the novel.⁴

Although Friedman is certainly correct in his assessment of the significance of World War II as a catalyst to Buber's renewing his commitment to publishing, an examination of correspondence by, and about, Martin Buber held in the Adolph Oko collection of the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives reveals a fascinating dimension to the story of how Martin Buber entered the world of American Jewish publishing.⁵ The story actually begins two years earlier than the JPS records consulted by Sarna, and it not only reveals a hitherto neglected motivation for Buber to publish, but also illustrates the forces which propelled, and inhibited, the development of Jewish scholarship in the U.S. during that time.

When studying the history of Buber's ideas the focus is most often on the text of his work.⁶ Yet as Robert Darnton has persuasively argued, in order to understand the process whereby ideas are disseminated to the reading public it is necessary to examine the circumstances behind the publication of a text. Although Darnton's interest is primarily on what he calls the 'biography of a book', his emphasis on the importance of knowing the structural circumstances behind publication - for example the politics of publishing and censorship - form an important backdrop to the history of ideas.⁷ In other words, when reconstructing the history of modern Jewish scholarship, it is necessary to take cognizance of the structural circumstances that influence an author's decision to publish, as well as the publication venue, and the forces that propel ideas into academic, and popular, consciousness. Where and when a book appears is as much a product of historical circumstances as political or diplomatic events. Thus the archival record becomes an important source for reconstructing the history of those Jewish texts that have emerged as modern classics, as well as clarifying the actions of authors, their supporters, and publishers.⁸

The migration of Buber's ideas to America provides a useful case study in linking the archival record with publication. According to Robert Goldy, Buber was relatively unknown outside a few academic circles in the United States prior to 1945 because existential philosophy was not popular. Goldy asserts that the writings of existential philosophers, such as Buber and Franz Rosenzweig, entered the North American consciousness (or what some call the market place of ideas) in several stages. For example, Buber's *I and Thou* was translated into English and published in Edinburgh in 1930, and it was through English translations, produced in Britain, that the writings of European existentialist philosophers eventually migrated to the U.S. It was not until the post-1945 era that philosophers such as Buber became known,

and popular, because pragmatic theology, based in large part around the writings of John Dewey, tended to dominate American Jewish thought.⁹

Interestingly, Goldy argues that the migration of Buber's ideas to the U.S., and the eventual prominence of existential philosophy, was given a significant 'push' when Buber toured America in 1951. Goldy's analysis, however, does not consider the circumstances that dictated the timing of the publication of Buber's books, and the means whereby the relatively unknown philosopher (from an American context) joined the intellectual melting pot of American ideas. It is at this juncture that a consideration of the archival evidence plays an important role.

Six weeks after the outbreak of World War II Martin Buber wrote two almost identical letters to the United States. The first letter was to Hans Kohn (1891-1971). Kohn, who lived in Palestine from 1925 to 1929, immigrated to the United States in 1931 and over the next decade solidified his reputation as one of the pre-eminent historians of modern nationalism.¹⁰ Kohn, one of Buber's proteges in the Brith Shalom Society, credited the philosopher with introducing Jews from central Europe (like Kohn) to the 'world of national, humanistic thought'.¹¹ Although Kohn had withdrawn from Zionist affairs with his emigration to the U.S., he still retained a great admiration for Buber's ideas.

Letter 1
Martin Buber to Hans Kohn¹²

Talbiyeh, Jerusalem
October 4, 1939

Dear Professor Kohn:

As you surely know, the publication of longer books in German is now as well as impossible for me. So I have been thinking for some time, whether I could translate in collaboration with Palestinian friends some new works of mine into English, both manuscripts that are already finished and books not yet completed and also such as yet are only drafted, and whether I could in the future publish as far as possible my books in English, not as translations, but as original works. Now the war compels me to make haste, as - besides the reduction of my regular income and beside the increasing expense in living - there is not any more possibility of getting allowances from my Polish estate, which has been occupied by the Russians. For this reason I should like to ask you, if you could help me to find the necessary connexions [sic]

I have not ceased to write, but I have not published any book for some years. Therefore it is now a matter of no less than five or six longer books and some short ones. All or nearly all of them in my opinion of interest for the English and American public.

The longer ones are:

I. The Problem of Man. It consists of two parts: a historical account of the question 'What is man?' and a critical inquiry into some attempts of our time (especially Heidegger and Scheler) to answer it. This is a philosophical treatise, already finished, of about 150 pages, containing some conceptions of importance, and not very difficult to understand.

II. The Faith of Israel (outline of a history of Hebrew religion till the end of the Babylonian exile, it is what I call 'Glaubensgeschichte'). This book of about 250 pages I have finished some days

ago. Although it is based on independent research and contains many new things as well in exigesis [sic] as in history of religion, it is written in rather popular style. I was induced to write it by a request of Professor van der Leeuw, the known Dutch historian of religion, to write the section on the religion of the Old Testament for a general history of religion composed by Christian Dutch scholars - I am the only Jew between them. In the fury of writing it became double the size agreed upon, and I am abliged [sic] to condense, but would publish the whole unabridged in another language. The authorisation of the Dutch editor will be available.

III. A Hasidic novel, dealing with the wars of Napoleon, as seen with the eyes of Polish Jewry. I wrote it some years ago and was not wholly satisfied with it. I think it necessary to rewrite it, but I have the impression it will be read more than all my other books. Of course it is now a most actual subject.

IV. I am also thinking of composing a collection of Hasidic stories and anecdotes and a fellow-book on Hasidism and its function in the history of religion out of published and unpublished material of mine.

V. Judaism and Christianity. Till now there is only a rough draft of this book (that will contain about 300 pages) and stenograms of my three Frankfort courses on the subject. The book consists of three parts: 1. The God, 2. Sin and Redemption, 3. The Messiah. The book can be understood by a wide public.

VI. Religion and Politics. For this book there is only a pile of schemes and sketches. It shall contain three parts: a history of the relation between religion and politics, from ancient (none [sic] up to our time; a systematic disquisition with examples; and practical conclusions for the main problems of actual society, state and civilization.) I cannot yet say anything about the volume of the book, but certainly this will be the most voluminous of all my books - and perhaps the most important too.

The little manuscripts are:

a.) On Education (about 100 pages) consisting of the already published 'Rede uber das Erzieherische' (revised), a lecture on character education and one on national education (of course antinationalistic [sic]). The second and the third lecture were delivered before a Jewish public (at Jerusalem) and treat some Jewish problems beside the general theme.

b.) Power and Powerlessness of the Spirit, two Jerusalem lectures of actual interest (about 80 pages).

c.) Abraham, an exegetical paper, rather easy to understand (about 80 pages).

As you see some of the longer books have not yet received their final form, and one of them has to be elaborated altogether. To be able to perform this big piece of work beside my university courses, I must free myself of all the petty cares of the next future. You will understand me better, if you will realize, that not only Raphael, Dary [blank spot] are receiving their education in our house, but also Eva and the family (that are now provided at Ben [blank spot] more scantily and for an undetermined time) are needing our help and perhaps will need it more. What I must therefore strive to find, is an institution, who will grant me for some time an adequate allowance, in return for which I should deliver now my finished manuscripts and in a space of time to be agreed upon the other books mentioned. The setting [sic] of accounts would have to be made in some way on the basis of the returns from the sale of the books.

Please communicate with the men that could take part in promoting the scheme. As yet I have not written about it to anyone, but I think of writing to Dr. Oko.

I shall be very grateful for as [sic] early reply, if only temporary.

With kind regards,
Yours faithfully,
Martin Buber

P.S. If the circumstances will permit, I should like to undertake a lecture tour to America in the autumn of 1940.

Prior to forwarding a copy of this letter to Adolph Oko on 7 November, Kohn informed Buber that he would consult with Oko as to 'what could be done to arrange a grant-in-aid for him which would be sufficient to allow him some years of quiet work'. Oko was already in receipt of Buber's second letter.¹³

Oko, the former Librarian of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati and a well-known Spinoza scholar, was working for the American Jewish Committee in New York City when he received Buber's letter. Buber and Oko had corresponded throughout the 1930s, and through most of their association Oko had assisted Buber in the purchase of English language books, which the latter, then living in Germany, had difficulty obtaining. Buber's move to Palestine in 1938, and his subsequent appointment as a professor of social philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, enabled him to escape the Nazis, and one assumes made the purchase of books simpler.¹⁴

Buber's assertion that he was seeking out the U.S. market due to the lack of German publishers requires some examination. Buber's German language publisher in Germany, Schocken Verlag, had ceased publishing after Kristallnacht (9 November 1938). Although Schocken had been publishing a Hebrew language newspaper since 1935, Salman Schocken informed Buber that, due to financial constraints, his company was unable to continue printing his books in German.¹⁵ Although Buber had some hope, for a time at least, that his work would be published in Switzerland, his solicitation of Kohn and Oko's help was the logical consequence of the collapse of German-Jewish scholarly publishing in the face of the Nazi onslaught.¹⁶ The letters of 4 October reveals, in stark language, Buber's practical motivations for seeking an English-language publisher.

Simply put, the need to earn a living was one of the primary motivations for Buber to finish his manuscripts and publish. Indeed, Buber informed Oko (and Kohn) that while he had been thinking about re-entering the realm of publications 'the war compels me to make haste, as beside the reduction of my regular income and beside the increasing expense in living ... there is not any more possibility of getting allowances from my Polish estate, which has been occupied by the Russians'. In the 19 October letter to Oko, Buber also notes in an insert marked with an x and then inserted on the bottom of the page: 'There are the families of two of my children depending in some degree on me.' It is also interesting to note that the six manuscripts Buber lists become, in time, some of his most famous books.

Thus while Friedman's insight about the impact of the war on Buber's thought are correct, we can also determine from the archival record that the practical considerations of earning a living also pushed the project forward as well. One thing that this correspondence does not tell us is why Buber chose these particular manuscripts for publication. Such lacunae underscores that while the archival record can be essential to reconstructing the history of Jewish thought, it does not necessarily answer all questions.

The other major issue revealed in the correspondence was the practical one of translating Buber's work from German, which was his primary language of scholarship. There had been several attempts prior to 1939 to publish Buber scholarship in the U.S. For example, in the earlier 1920s Kohn himself proposed the translation and publication of seven lectures by his mentor in the *Menorah Journal*.¹⁷ During the interwar years the *Menorah Journal*, published under the auspices of the Intercollegiate Menorah Society, was one of the premier journals of Jewish thought in the U.S.¹⁸ Despite Kahn's arranging for the translation of Buber's work into English free of charge, only a few examples of Buber's work appeared in English prior to World War II.¹⁹

The relative paucity of knowledge about Buber's writings is somewhat surprising given that it was in this period that several European scholars, who knew Buber and his work, came to teach at American institutions. A partial explanation is provided by Goldy, whose migration concept posits a time lapse between publication and acceptance. One of the keys to understanding how ideas migrate, and become popular, can be ascertained by an examination of another work of Jewish scholarship published at the same time that Buber began his efforts.

The story of how Gershom Scholem (1897-1982), another European Jewish intellectual, entered into American Jewish publishing is instructive. In 1937 Scholem, a professor of Jewish Thought at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, was invited by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise to give the 1938 Struck Lectures at the Jewish Institute of Religion (CTIR) in New York.²⁰ After sponsoring Scholem's lectures on Jewish mysticism, Wise and the JIR arranged for their publication as *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (1941) in English with the Schocken publishing house in New York. In addition to subsidising publication, Wise also arranged for its distribution among intellectuals and lay readers, often free of charge. Wise's actions not only promoted the study of Jewish mysticism among Jewish academic circles, it also provided Scholem with wider venues for his ideas than he had previously enjoyed, and positioned him to publish a number of books after the war.²¹ Scholem's story demonstrates that even during the time of depression and war, Jewish scholarship continued to grow, especially in the U.S., provided of course an author had the opportunity.²²

Buber's dilemma appears to have been of several parts. In addition to the collapse of his ability to find a German language publisher, was his lack of a suitable American patron, such as Rabbi Wise, to support his efforts. Even Kohn's attempts to arrange a lecture tour for Buber, which Kohn hoped would be accompanied by an invitation to Buber to assume a visiting professorship at 'one of the great rabbinical schools or in some department of history or philosophy of religion' required greater institutional support than seemed forthcoming.²³ Although Kohn was initially optimistic about a lecture tour, neither he nor Kohn had any illusions that obtaining an American publisher for Buber would be easy. As Kohn remarked:

As regards the publishers, I have my doubts whether any of them would invest relatively large amounts in books which may, in spite [sic] of immense intrinsic value, not produce any financial returns. But I think that everything should be tried and I am sure that Buber would agree and be most grateful to you if you would broach the matter as soon as possible to Knopf or Balch or any other publisher and get their reactions.²⁴

Such concern about the appeal of Buber's work, to the degree that publishers would find it profitable, seems to confirm Goldy's point about the dominance of pragmatic philosophy. In the quest for an American publisher for Buber Alfred A. Knopf was the logical starting place for Oko. During the 1930s Knopf was one of the main publishing houses introducing European writers to a U.S. audience.²⁵ Oko wrote to Alfred Knopf in early December 1939, enclosing Buber's letter. Knopf's reply on 6 December is worth quoting at length:

I am afraid we could not possibly enter into the sort of an arrangement with him [Buber] that you suggest. Indeed I doubt very much if any of his books would be saleable over here but, of course, one could only judge after reading the manuscript. It is kind of you to offer to come in to answer questions, but I really don't think there are any useful ones that we could ask.²⁶

While Knopf's assessment that Buber was unlikely to sell in a U.S. market ranks as one of the more erroneous assessments in the history of Jewish publishing, he was not alone in his scepticism. Over the next few weeks Buber's work, via his proxy Oko, was also turned down at G.P. Putnam as well. Earle Balch, the editor at Putnam, suggested that the major problem was that 'so far as the American public is concerned, we should be practically starting from scratch as I don't think any considerable group realizes his quality or would be waiting for his book'. Balch went on to suggest that Buber's best chance would be 'with a firm that has a religious book department'. Since Buber was asking for a commitment to publish a number of his works, as outlined in his letters, few publishers would be able to make the necessary financial outlays. Balch concluded by suggesting that Oko approach the Jewish Publication Society of America.²⁷

Buber's supporters continued to work on his behalf, if only to find a means to ameliorate his financial woes. For example, in May 1940 Oko and Kohn tried to obtain a grant of some three hundred dollars for Buber (the source of the money is not stated).²⁸ Yet the effort to assist Buber also reveals the general crisis many academics of European origin found themselves in during the war years.

Kohn's dilemma was spelled out succinctly:

I have some slender resources myself, but I am afraid that they may be needed at any moment for my relatives and intimate friends who still are in Central Europe, in the Netherlands and in France. I speak of cabling the money to Buber because it is uncertain in my opinion how long the Mediterranean will be open to mail. Although, of course, the whole war may be over rather soon. If there would be more time one could try to interest some of the great funds or foundations in financing Buber's work, but that may take some time and would need a number of sponsors like Reinhold Niebuhr who is probably willing to do it. On the other hand, the amount involved, is, objectively, so small that it is probably not worth while to put the apparatus of foundations into motion.²⁹

The reference to the Christian theologian Reinhold Niebuhr requires some explanation. During the inter-war years Niebuhr (1892-1971) played a dominant role in the revival of Protestant theology in America and helped move American religious thought away from 'existing schools of liberal and naturalistic thinking with his own brand of neoOrthodoxy'.³⁰ By 1941 he was reaching the height of his popularity and influence on American thought. Goldy lists Niebuhr as playing a pivotal role in exposing American Jewry

to existential philosophy and in sparking 'a vigorous debate within the Jewish community'.³¹ Thus Kohn's belief that Niebuhr's involvement might be critical to promoting Buber's work is easily understood. There is no evidence in the correspondence, however, that Niebuhr was actually solicited.

There is no correspondence from any other publisher in the Oka collection until 30 January 1941, when Solomon Grayzel of the JPS acknowledged receipt of Buber's German manuscript 'Die Chassidische Legende'. Thus sometime in early 1941, as Sarna's research demonstrated, Buber's manuscripts arrived on the desk of the JPS. At this point in the affair a fourth voice was added: Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907-72). Heschel was one of those scholars who escaped Nazi Germany under the auspices of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, which appointed Heschel a professor of modern Jewish thought.³² Heschel and Buber's early relationship was marked by a number of controversies. Despite this earlier tension Heschel joined the effort to help Buber find an American publisher.

Letter 2

Abraham Joshua Heschel to Adolph Oka (April 26, 1942)

Dear Dr. Oka;

You will remember that when you were in Cincinnati we discussed M. Buber's publication problem. In a letter from him of April 4 he refers to it, and I am most eager to help him. Knowing our common friendship for him, I would like to discuss with you the whole issue.

He mentions that several months ago he sent a manuscript directly to the J.P.S. in Philadelphia, but received no answer. It is called Gog and Magog [transliterated from Hebrew], 'ein Roman aus dem Leben der Chassidim zur Zeit Napoleons' [A novel depicting the life of the Hasidim during the time of Napoleon].³³ He writes: in das Buch 'habe ich mein Herz eingetan' [I put all my heart into the book]. The question is: what can we do in order to explain to the readers of the J.P.S. that they should accept this book? Should I talk to Marcus, Morgenstern and Philipson³⁴ and ask them to promote the matter? I could also write to Newman, President of Dropsie College and J. Spiegel.³⁵ But I prefer to wait till I have your opinion. The gentlemen mentioned above are members of the Publications committee. The main problem is: who is really influential [sic] in the J.P.S.? Dr. Dolfson, Cambridge, is also on the Committee.

Buber mentions the manuscript of *Der Glaube Israel*,³⁶ sent to you. He hadn't heard from you for a whole year. The last thing was your cable, in which you referred to a letter which you were going to write, but the letter did not arrive.

I was glad to learn that you read my article. I'll be very glad to have the opportunity of seeing you again and continuing our talk.

With kind regards,
Very Sincerely Yours,
A. Heschel

Although Heschel was one of the experts consulted by the JPS on whether to publish Buber's manuscript, that correspondence, cited by Sarna, dates from May 1943.³⁷ Thus we see again, based on the archival record, that the story takes on more nuance as Heschel was already predisposed to see Buber's work translated into English.

Although Buber's financial plight continued to cause concern, his success in finding publishers for his manuscripts, in English and other languages, promised long-term relief of his financial situation.³⁸ In July 1944 Buber wrote his last letter to Oko.

Letter 3

Martin Buber to Adolph Oko

Dir Abu Tor, Jerusalem
July 2, 1944

Dear Doctor Oko,

In the last years I have heard nothing from you and can only hope all with you is well. Please tell me about it. As to me I have done much work in these years. [sic] I have also concluded with some English and American publishers about translations of several books of mine. The novel you know will be published (in a translation by Ludwig Lewisohn³⁹) by the Jewish Publication Society. Now I have been asked to authorize a Spanish translation of it. Could you please send the manuscript that as far as I know is yet in your hand registered to Dr. Sigisfredo S. Krebs, 5 de Julio 734, Vicente Lopes, F.C.C.A. (Buenos Aires), Argentina, and let me know that you have sent it. Many thanks.

With kind regards,
Sincerely yours
Martin Buber

Oko's response to Buber in August marks the end of the correspondence.

Letter 4

Adolph Oka to Martin Buber

August 11, 1944

My dear Dr. Buber;
Many thanks for your letter. I am answering it at once.

First, however, I want to ask your forgiveness for my very long silence; I was quite ill for a period for a period of two and a half years, and only slowly came out of it.

I knew of your forthcoming novel in English. In fact, I tried to persuade Marc Chagall to illustrate it. The manuscript of the novel is not in my possession - indeed, it never was. I have the one on Israel. This manuscript I submitted at the time to Scribner's; they liked it well enough but could not undertake its publication. Yes, I also have a portion of the manuscript on the Hasidic Legends in which I tried in vain to interest the Jewish Publication Society. When I am in Ridgefield (about the end of this month) I shall try to gather together the correspondence and send it to you.

Please accept my kindest regards, also to Mrs. Buber.

Cordially yours,

[Handwritten notation at bottom of page]
Please forgive haste - I am leaving for a little holiday.

By the summer of 1944 Oko was extremely ill (he died on 4 October). His illness might account for the fact that he did not realize that the 'Hasidic Legends' manuscript was already accepted for publication by the JPS. Although not a man of any substantial financial means, Oko worked tirelessly during the war years to assist fellow scholars. As with Buber this was primarily done by seeking to help them earn a living at their profession, in this case publishing. Although Oko only played a minor role in Buber's eventual emergence as a major figure in the English-speaking world, the correspondence is significant for it reveals the tribulations of continuing scholarship during a time of crisis. It also reveals something of the nature of networking at a time when Jewish scholarship was still developing in the U.S.⁴⁰ Fundamentally, students of the history of ideas need to consider the factors detailed in this particular case study when evaluating the spread of ideas, for it removes from the historical record a sense of the inevitability of Buber's success, and forces his ideas to share the stage with the actions of human players.

NOTES

1. For the Sake of Heaven, trans. by Ludwig Lewisohn (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1945).
2. Maurice Friedman, *Martin Buber's Life and Work: The Middle Years 1923-1945* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1983), p.313.
3. Jonathan D. Sarna, *JPS: The Americanization of Jewish Culture, 1888-1988* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), pp.209-10.
4. *Ibid.*, pp.307-309.
5. The Buber correspondence is in Ms. Col #14 (Adolph Oko Papers), Box 1, File 13, The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio (hereafter AJA).
6. In addition to Friedman (see note 2 above) see Gilya Gerda Schmidt, *Martin Buber's Formative Years: From German Culture to Jewish Renewal, 1897-1909* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995).
7. Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopedie, 1775-1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 1-2.
8. In addition to Darnton (see note 7) some examples of scholarship that combine both archival sources with textual studies are Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York: Norton, 1996); Jay A. Gertzman, *Bookleggers and Smuthounds: The Trade in Erotica, 1920-1940* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); and James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001).
9. Robert Goldy, *The Emergence of Jewish Theology in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp.29-31. Goldy's insightful examination does not take into account primary source documents.

10. Kohn is one of the more fascinating figures in modern historical thought. On his involvement with Zionism see his autobiography, *Living in a World Revolution: My Encounter with History* (New York, Pocket Books, 1964) and the entry in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 'Kohn, Hans', s.v.
11. Shalom Ratzabi, *Between Zionism and Judaism: The Radical Circle in Brith Shalom, 1925- 1933* (Leiden: E.J. Brill 2002), pp.34-35.
12. The letter is in the same file as the 18 October letter. I suspect some of the differences in titles and wording is the result of Kohn translating from German.
13. Buber's letter to Oko was dated 19 October and was substantively the same as the letter to Kohn in organisation and substance. Where it differed was in the detailed provided on the context of the proposed manuscripts.
14. For basic biographical detail on both men see *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 'Oko, Adolph' and 'Buber, Martin' s.v. For the German language correspondence between Buber and Oko see Ms. Col #14, 1/13, AJA.
15. Salman Schocken to Martin Buber, 23 May 1939 in *The Letters of Martin Buber: A Life of Dialogue*, ed. by Nahum N. Glatzer and Paul Mendes-Flohr; trans. by Richard and Clara Winston and Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1991), pp.487-88.
16. See Martin Buber's letter to the Swiss theologian Leonhard Ragaz on 26 September 1939 in *Letters of Martin Buber*, pp.489-90. Buber held out hope as late as 1942 that the book he titled *Gog and Magog* would be published in Switzerland.
17. On Buber and Kohn see Friedman, (note 2), pp.10-11, 14-15. On Kohn's efforts on behalf of Buber see his correspondence between 1924-26 with the *Menorah Journal* in Ms Col. #2, 26/9, AJA. Kohn also wrote a biography of Buber [*Martin Buber, Sein Werk und Seine Zeit. Ein Versuch uber Religion und Politik* (Hellerau: J. Hegner, 1930)] and in English, 'The Religious Philosophy of Martin Buber', *Menorah Journal* 2612 (1938), 173-85.
18. See Seth Korelitz, 'The Menorah Idea: From Religion to Culture, from Race to Ethnicity', *American Jewish History* 85/1 (March 1997), 75-100 and Lauren Strauss, 'Staying Afloat in the Melting Pot: Constructing an American Jewish Identity in the *Menorah Journal* of the 1920s', *American Jewish History* 84/ 4 (December 1996), 315-31.
19. Letter, Hans Kohn to Henry Hurwitz, 23 July 1924, Ms. #2, 26/9, AJA. One of the Buber articles that was published was interestingly enough 'Sayings of the Baal-ShemTov' (trans. by Clifton P. Fadiman), and appeared in the *Menorah Journal* 17 /1(1929).
20. The invitation to Scholem, and the material relative to the lectures can be found in Ms. Col.# 19 (*Jewish Institute of Religion Papers*), Box 33, File 5, AJA.
21. The material on the publication of Scholem's lectures is in Ms Col. #19/7-9. Schocken's decision to publish Scholem's work in English raises an interesting question: why publish Scholem's study of mysticism and not Buber's existentialism? Although only a tentative conclusion is possible at this time, it is likely that the decision to publish Scholem was due to a promised subsidy and wide circulation. It is worth mentioning that Scholem did not always think highly of Buber's work.
22. See Sarna, *JPS* (note 3), chapters 6 and 7 for the development of American Jewish scholarship during the 1930s and 1940s.

23. Letter, Hans Kohn to Adolph Oko, 7 November 1939, Ms. Col. #14, 2/19, AJA. The copy of the letter to Buber is in 1/13, along with the original letter to Oko. I have found no indication that Kohn approached Wise about supporting Buber. It is important to remember that in this period a number of Jewish scholars managed to flee Europe after receiving academic appointments at American universities. For examples see Michael A. Meyer, 'The Refugee Scholars Project of the Hebrew Union College', in *Judaism Within Modernity: Essays on Jewish History and Religion* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001); Anthony Heilbut, *Exiled in Paradise: German Refugee Artists and Intellectuals in America, from the 1930s to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
24. Letter, Hans Kohn to Adolph Oko, 10 November 1939, Ms. Col.# 14, 2/19, AJA. 25.
25. Gertzman (see note 7), p.220.
26. Letter, Alfred A. Knopf to Adolph Oko, 6 December 1939, Ms. Col. #14, 1/ 13, AJA.
27. Letter, Earle Balch to Adolph Oko, 20 December 1939, Ms. Col. #14, 1/13, AJA.
28. Letter, Hans Kohn to Adolph Oko, 14 May 1940, Ms. Col. #14, 2/19, AJA.
29. Ibid. For examples on the financial difficulties of the emigre scholars see Anthony Heilbut, *Exiled in Paradise: German Refugee Artists and Intellectuals in America from the 1930s to the Present* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997).
30. Goldy (see note 9) p.4.
31. Goldy (see note 9), p.30. On Niebuhr's involvement see Sarna (see note 3), pp.250-51.
32. On Heschel coming to the U.S. see Meyer (see note 23), pp.353-54. On Heschel's sometimes difficult relationship with Buber see Edward K. Kaplan and Samuel H. Dresner, *Abraham Joshua Heschel: Prophetic Witness* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), chapter 15, *passim*, which covers the pre-war years.
33. My thanks to Professor Barry Kogan of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion for helping decipher Heschel's Hebrew penmanship and to Ms. Ina Remus of The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives for translations of the German.
34. Jacob Rader Marcus (1896-1995) was a professor of Jewish history at the Hebrew Union College and a member of the editorial board of the JPS. Julian Morgenstern (1881-1977) was president of the Hebrew Union College and a biblical scholar of some note. David Philipson (1862-1949) was a prominent Reform rabbi in Cincinnati, a member of the first class to graduate from HUC, and also influential at the JPS.
35. Abraham Aaron Neuman (1890-1970) was a rabbi and educator who served as president of Dropsie College between 1940 and 1970. Heschel may be referring to Shalom Spiegel (1899-1984), professor of medieval Hebrew literature at the Jewish Institute of Religion, and the second scholar consulted by the JPS about Buber's manuscript.
36. 'The Faith of Israel', which Buber listed in his September 1939 letter as 'The Prophetic Faith', one of the manuscripts near completion. There is no mention in the correspondence of Oko receiving the manuscript.
37. Sarna (see note 3), p.210.

38. According to a letter from Werner Senator of the Hebrew University, in a letter sent to Hans Kohn and then forwarded to Oko, Buber was falling into a spiral of debt. In addition to high rents, he was also helping to support his son and daughter and their families. Buber was so concerned that he was considering selling his library, and Senator was looking for a group of individuals who would fund the purchase. See Letter and Enclosure, Hans Kohn to Adolph Oko, 8 April 1943, Ms. 14, 1/13, AJA.

39. Ludwig Lewisohn (1882-1955) was a sometimes controversial novelist and essayist. His translation of Buber's novel caused some controversy and delayed publication for several months. See Ralph Melnick, *The Life and Work of Ludwig Lewisohn*, 2 vols. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998).

40. Paul Ritterband and Harold S. Wechsler, *Jewish Learning in American Universities: The First Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).