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Ernst Jäckh: A Broker of Turkish-American and German-American Relations 1940-59

Introduction

“Here a German-American, to whom Germany and the USA are equally familiar and dear, writes about the inner affinity between the two peoples as the future of their cooperation.”¹ With these words, Ernst Jäckh describes his 1951 book *Amerika und Wir* directly on the cover, so that everyone is immediately aware of his position as speaker. He speaks from two perspectives, the German and the American, or rather from a combination of the two. During his time in the United States, Jäckh worked intensively on German-American relations and the ongoing rapprochement between the two former enemies. Here he saw a special function for himself, the “German-American,” namely that of a broker of bilateral relations. He sought this role on his own authority and independently of state structures and did not have an “official” mandate for his activities. However, Jäckh focused his work not only on German-American relations, but also on American-Turkish relations. Through the founding of an American-Turkish Society,² extensive academic work and many public lectures and op-eds in newspapers, Jäckh tried to promote greater understanding of Turkey in the United States in the 1940s and 1950s. Again, Jäckh saw himself as a broker of these two spheres, as will be shown in this paper. However, Jäckh was not only valued as a scholar and publicist in the USA, but also as an ideological representative of the “new Germany”:

He is one of the great and forward-looking men of the new Germany. As the head of the “Hochschule für Politik” at

Berlin and as the expert and right-hand man of Stresemann at Locarno and subsequent conferences, as well as a writer and historian Ernst Jäckh has come to be known as an outstanding authority on international relations. He is even more than a scholar, expert and politician, he is the German representative of the new political ideology.³

But why did Ernst Jäckh, a German academic and publicist who arrived in his “second exile” in 1940, choose these activities at the end of his academic and journalistic career? Why is it that he devoted the last years 20 years of his life and work to these two bilateral spheres?

Biographical Background

Ernst Friedrich Wilhelm Jäckh (or later anglicized and interchangeably used) Ernest Jackh was born on February 22, 1875, in Urach near Reutlingen in the Kingdom of Württemberg. After graduating from the Karls-Gymnasium Ernst Jäckh continued his education and studied in Stuttgart, Breslau, Geneva, Munich and Heidelberg, focusing on German and French literature, history and art history, political science and psychology and subsequently obtained his doctorate in Heidelberg in 1899. Jäckh then worked for various newspapers and magazines before becoming editor in chief of the Neckar-Zeitung in 1902 at the age of just 27. The Neckar-Zeitung, which he politically oriented in a liberal democratic way, quickly gained a nationwide readership under his tenure.⁴

During this activity, he formed a formidable collaboration and friendship with Theodor Heuss, the future first President of Germany. Heuss, while studying in Munich, worked as a correspondent for the Neckar-Zeitung. In 1907, Heuss and Jäckh helped Friedrich Naumann,⁵ one of the leading liberal thinkers in Germany, by organizing his election campaign for the Reichstag seat in Heilbronn, which ultimately was successful and got Naumann elected. The two journalists, Jäckh and Heuss, became close friends in the progress, which can also be said about Jäckh and Naumann.⁶ Naumann later also played a key role in introducing Jäckh to other influential German political figures, such as the ambassador to the Ottoman Empire Marschall von Bieberstein.⁷

At this time, Jäckh's political and ideological positioning can best be characterized as national-social-liberal according to the ideas of Friedrich Naumann. He would remain more or less faithful to this political direction throughout his life, expanding and modifying it to suit his own purposes. On Naumann's advice and to recover from the tedious 1907 election campaign, Jäckh traveled to the Ottoman Empire for the first time in 1908. Planned

merely as a vacation trip, Jäckh found a vocation there that would accompany him for the rest of his life: the German-Ottoman and later German-Turkish relations.

In Constantinople, Jäckh befriended Alfred Kiderlen-Wächter⁸, at that time Deputy State Secretary at the Foreign Office. Kiderlen-Wächter managed to “finally” bring Jäckh to Berlin, to get the organizationally gifted journalist a position in the civil service, which he turned down. Jäckh was then appointed to the position of managing director of the Deutscher Werkbund,⁹ which he held for over twenty years despite his other activities.¹⁰ This independence from government and state institutions, which Jäckh always tried to maintain also impressed his contemporaries. The art critic and publicist Karl Scheffler wrote retrospectively in his autobiography about Ernst Jäckh:

Jäckh knew the whole world, had irons in the fire everywhere, was interested committed, took a political view of all issues. But he never pushed for the front row. He had a need for power from a second row. His nature had the characteristics of those men who are called ‘kingmakers.’¹¹

After moving to Berlin, Jäckh handed over the editorship of the Neckar-Zeitung to Theodor Heuss. He also traveled more often to the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East in general and agitated for a German-Turkish alliance. These activities only increased with the outbreak of the First World War and Jäckh founded the Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung (German-Turkish Association). For his work behind the scenes on the German-Turkish alliance, he was awarded the Iron Cross First Class. In this context, he also used his position and standing to obfuscate emerging knowledge about the Armenian Genocide.¹²

The war ended badly not only for the German Reich, as Jäckh lost his only son Hans, who fell on his first day on the Western Front in France at the age of 18 in the final days of the war. The lost war and the lost son marked a turning point in Jäckh’s life and political thinking, as from then on Jäckh was preoccupied with peace and international understanding. He founded the German Union for the League of Nations and the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik, which Jäckh was to lead as its president until 1933.¹³

As President of the Hochschule für Politik and in the course of his many other activities, Jäckh increasingly became a player in and broker of cultural and academic policy – not only in Weimar Germany. Jäckh sought all kinds of financial support for the Hochschule and applied for funding from the Carnegie Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation. In this context, Jäckh developed a close relationship with the president of Columbia University and

of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Nicholas Murray Butler.¹⁴ In the course of the 1920s, Jäckh also became one of Rockefeller Foundation's more important advisors in Europe.¹⁵

American Approaches

Starting in 1925, Jäckh traveled to the United States annually, visiting all 48 states (Alaska and Hawaii were not yet incorporated) and lecturing at over 200 institutions.¹⁶ On these trips, Jäckh spoke on many topics, but above all on his blueprint for a new "Western" world order and on the Hochschule für Politik. In Jäckh's design, the United States was the "world builder" and the new Germany an important cornerstone of the new Western world, which could and should take over leadership in Europe. Jäckh can be regarded as one of the foremost brokers of post-war reconciliation between Weimar Germany and the United States. Liberal politicians and educators were among the most important players in this field at the time, and Jäckh played his role among the likes of Prussian Minister of Culture Carl Heinrich Becker, economist Alfred Weber, legal scholars Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Walther Schücking, and scientists Albert Einstein and Max Planck.¹⁷ The German Foreign Office regularly tried to approach these brokers, if there was an article to be written, a conference to be attended or a lecture to be held that could be useful for its transatlantic endeavors.¹⁸ Ernst Jäckh played an especially vital role with his Hochschule für Politik and his friendship with Nicholas Murray Butler, providing spaces and networks for rebuilding Germany's transatlantic academic relations.¹⁹

Ernst Jäckh was not only regarded as one of the foremost representatives of this new transatlanticism in Germany. In the United States, he quickly developed a reputation to be representing the "new Germany" with his lectures, interviews and op-eds. He also managed to secure more funding for the Hochschule from the Carnegie Endowment through Nicholas Murray Butler.²⁰ In America, Jäckh also wrote short articles for local newspapers and gave his first radio lecture on the Hochschule für Politik in 1926. The Hochschule was seen by a broad mass of the informed and educated American upper class as a good example of political education for the "citizen" that could serve as a model for the United States.²¹ On one of his trips in 1926, he also married his second wife Marta in New York City.²²

He published the aforementioned book *America und Wir* in 1929, which summarized six of his Berlin radio lectures for a German and international audience. This work was generally reviewed very positively in Germany and the United States and was seen as an important book for international understanding.²³ However, he also argued for a German-American "alliance of

ideas” and for the clear recognition of the new world order: the democratic, free and capitalist West, consisting largely of the axis “United States - Germany - Turkey” against the “spectre of communism,” the Soviet Union.²⁴

The year 1933 naturally changed everything for Ernst Jäckh. His Hochschule für Politik, which also had many Jewish lecturers, was to be incorporated into Goebbels Ministry for Propaganda. Jäckh at first tried to adapt to the new National Socialist Government, tried to bend the Hochschule into shape but to no avail.²⁵ He ultimately resigned from his post and emigrated to the United Kingdom in the same year.

Emigration and Exile

His work in Great Britain is not the subject of this paper, so I will only briefly mention the most important stages of his career. Together with other influential figures in the field of international relations, he founded the New Commonwealth Society, an association to promote pacifism and disarmament.²⁶ He also founded an Anglo-Turkish association, at least somewhat modeled after his Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung, which does not seem to exist anymore. Before and after becoming a naturalized British citizen in 1938, he worked for the British Foreign Office in different (freelance) jobs. In these contexts, he used his contacts in Turkey and the Balkans to work against Nazi Germany on behalf of the British government.²⁷ When it became known that he was watched by and finally put on a blacklist of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt,²⁸ he received a call from Nicholas Murray Butler to Columbia University in 1940 to protect him from a possible German invasion of the United Kingdom.²⁹

He accepted this call and began his work as Professor of International Relations in New York City in the same year. Here, Jäckh used his old connections, especially from the time he served as the president of the Hochschule für Politik in the 1920s and was also awarded a Carnegie Fellowship. However, Jäckh did not just intend to teach at the university, he also wanted to shape the structures that he now found himself surrounded by. According to his ideas of politics, democracy and international understanding, Jäckh first wanted to influence American academia and then also American politics. He set out to establish a Near- and Middle-East Institute at Columbia and an American-Turkish Society. Jäckh saw Turkey and consequently the entire Middle East, as an emerging region and the most important pillar against the current threat of fascism and the potential threat of communism.³⁰

For Jäckh, Turkey’s geographical position and its neutrality made it one of the most important players in stopping Hitler from military success in Northern Africa and the Caucasus. If the Nazis were to be granted free passage through Turkey and Asia Minor, the Allies would be divided and greatly

weakened. Even though Jäckh was a staunch anti-communist, he saw the necessity of a united “common” front against Nazi Germany that included the Soviet Union as well. This Turkish neutrality, which in his eyes stood firm against Germany, he called “Red-Light Neutrality.”³¹ He contrasted Turkey’s neutrality with Sweden’s and Switzerland’s, which he called “Green-Light Neutrality”, as they let Hitler’s troops freely pass through their territories. Turkey, on the other hand, would even fight against the Nazis to protect its neutrality and therefore sovereignty.³²

He was convinced that it was necessary to move closer to this region academically and politically and that the United States had a lot of catching up to do here. His endeavors, mainly the planned Middle East Institute and the American-Turkish Society, were important possible players to achieve exactly that. It can be argued that Jäckh built up the importance of Turkey for the war effort so eagerly to strengthen his own importance. As he regarded himself to be one of the foremost experts on Turkey with an extensive network of old friends, acquaintances and colleagues in the region, he would naturally be the one to broker this (renewed) US-Turkish relationship.

“Türken-Jäckh” in America – Institutionalization of his Ideas

According to his own accounts in the US, Jäckh found a lot of “buzzwords, ignorance, stereotypes, Tales from One Thousand and One Nights” about Turkey and the Middle East.³³ This was unacceptable to him, especially because of the important position Turkey had in his worldview. As a first step, he proposed the founding of the Near and Middle East Institute mentioned above, which was met with open arms but also with empty wallets. He was reassured that such a project could only be tackled after the war was won. As part of his talks to acquire funds, Jäckh founded the American Turkish Society with American and Turkish colleagues in 1949. This association was intended to strengthen cultural and political ties between the United States and Turkey and to promote understanding between the two peoples. According to Jäckh, his excellent relations with the State Department was vital in the success of the American Turkish Society, as it won over Edwin Wilson, then ambassador to Turkey, to be its inaugural president.³⁴

But even after 1945, there was neither much interest from the university management nor any money for his Near- and Middle-East Institute. His friend and advocate at Columbia, Nicholas Murray Butler, who previously told Jäckh that the Institute could be established after the war, lost his sight in 1945 and resigned from his post shortly after. His interim successor showed little interest in Jäckh’s ideas, which forced him to seek support elsewhere. Renewed interest and support he found with two colleagues: Historian William

Westermann and Professor of Government Schuyler C. Wallace, both experts on the Middle East. Meanwhile, Jäckh was told that the necessary funds for his Institute would not be available for at least another ten years.³⁵

In order to be able to implement his plans anyway, Jäckh set about doing what he was best at: Acquiring funds. According to Schuyler C. Wallace, Jäckh went looking for money “with a freshness and enthusiasm that is otherwise natural for a man in his thirties.”³⁶ Jäckh calculated that he needed to provide half of the funds from outside the University and thus turned to the respective government representatives of the countries in the Middle East. The networks he had built up over decades in the region helped him greatly: He spoke to statesmen from Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Israel, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Greece, Syria and the Arab League. These men knew Jäckh from many different occasions. Some studied under him in Berlin during World War I (Turkey, Egypt), some worked with him at the New Commonwealth Institute in London (Turkey), others visited his seminars in London (Pakistan, Egypt, Arab League) or at Columbia (Iran), or were simply old friends like Nahum Goldmann (Israel).³⁷ This process illustrates how Jäckh used his networks that he built up throughout his life to fund and achieve his goals, regardless of where he currently resided. As a result, he received a binding commitment from each government for the annual sum of \$100,000 over a period of ten years, a total of 1 million dollars from each country. With these funds and the enthusiastic approval of the new president of Columbia University, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Jäckh was finally able to establish his institute.³⁸ By the end of the 1950s, over 300 students were already studying there on average, supervised by 26 lecturers.³⁹ Columbia was also very grateful for Jäckh’s persistent commitment to the establishment of the Institute, as documented by a letter of Provost Grayson Kirk.⁴⁰

Jäckh, now 80 years old, was far from ready to retire. He continued to publish books on Turkey and the Middle East, increasingly in the 1950s with his close collaborator and later rumored romantic partner, Ruth Nanda Anshen. His books continued to be reviewed quite favorably, with the exception of his translated and revised version of *Der aufsteigende Halbmond* published in 1944 as *The Rising Crescent* for a US audience, that, according to Jäckh, was not as well versed in the region and its politics and history. The book received mixed reviews, among them an especially negative one by the Armenian historian Arshag Ohan Sarkissian:

This work by a former German professor who now teaches at Columbia University is a highly colored apologia for Turkey. [...] Everywhere the Turk bestowed the blessings of good government upon all his subjects. Religious and racial mi-

norities were given privileges unknown in western Europe; and if at times these minorities were maltreated, or even massacred en masse, one must not condemn such acts without “bearing in mind the time factor” and the circumstances under which these acts were committed (p. 42).⁴¹

Ernst Jäckh, from the onset of his interest in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the century, could never fully distance himself from the Hamidian and later Young Turk propaganda, especially when it came to the so-called Armenian Question. His whole life he downplayed the massacres⁴² of the Armenians under Ottoman rule and subsequently the 1915/16 Genocide altogether. The apologia Sarkissian is writing about (p. 42 of *The Rising Crescent*) is regarding Jäckh’s description of the massacres. In not more than two pages of his 278-page book, Jäckh explains that “massacring the enemy has been an age-old endemic instrument of total warfare” and:

When the Christians have been the unfortunate victims [of massacres by “Mohammedans”], the incident has been headlined and dramatized and used as just one more example of the practices of the “bloody Turk.” On the other hand, when innocent Mohammedans have been the victims, likely as not the case has been disregarded or misrepresented. This has been particularly true since the Treaty of Berlin, which made the Armenians the wards of Britain.⁴³

In the past, Jäckh was often criticized for his taking sides and reproducing Turkish propaganda about the massacres and the Genocide, and he continued in the US what he started in the 1910s in Germany.

With the founding of NATO in 1949, Jäckh expanded his field of activity and argued vehemently for the inclusion of Germany and Turkey in the new defensive alliance. He actively tried to influence the relevant authorities in American politics and traveled to Germany and Turkey for meetings.⁴⁴ He also continued to serve on the Board of Directors of the American Turkish Society as Executive Vice-President.⁴⁵

“Amerikakunde für Europa”⁴⁶ – Jäckh as a Transatlantic Educator?

After Turkey was admitted to NATO in 1952, he concentrated increasingly on Germany and tried to exert influence through his good relationships with Bundeskanzler Konrad Adenauer, Bundespräsident and long-term friend Theodor Heuss and Dwight D. Eisenhower, who had been US President since

1953. When in 1953 Adenauer and Eisenhower declared that their respective countries and peoples should move closer together through cultural and political initiatives, Jäckh saw this as a personal call-to-action. He wanted to establish a “George-Washington-Institut” for American Studies in Stuttgart, which he saw as a necessity to follow Adenauer’s and Eisenhower’s political directive.⁴⁷

Jäckh secured the support of long-term friend and representative of Robert Bosch (of Robert Bosch GmbH) Hans Walz, who repeatedly helped to acquire funds (mainly from Bosch himself) for Jäckh’s many endeavors – like the Hochschule für Politik, Deutscher Werkbund, Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung, Deutsche Völkerbundliga or the New Commonwealth Society. The two men chose Stuttgart for their institute, mainly because of their personal connections to the city and the region, but also because they planned to use the 1949 reestablished Washington-Gedächtnis-Bücherei as a base upon which the institute was to be built.⁴⁸ Together with Ruth Nanda Anshen, Jäckh, again, set out to seek funding in the US. He asked his contacts at the Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford foundations and managed to win over the High Commissioners for Germany John McCloy and Lucius Clay. The foundations were reluctant to fund his institute, but McCloy and Clay were convinced and offered federal support.⁴⁹ However, Washington DC demanded proof of “stability and continuity” from the German side, i.e., long-term funding from the city (Stuttgart), the state (Baden-Württemberg) and the federal government in order to be independent of US funds in the future. After some negotiations, Jäckh managed to obtain commitments from all of these bodies: The city of Stuttgart provided DM 50,000 per year and a building plot worth DM 1 million in the center of the city (Stadtgarten), the state of Baden-Württemberg provided DM 50,000, the federal government DM 100,000 and businesses from the region another DM 100,000 per year. Jäckh had the explicit approval of Adenauer and Heuss, but in the end the institute, which was already believed to be set in stone, failed due to the Minister of Finance, who, against Heuss’ and Adenauer’s protest, cut all funds for “cultural activities” from the budget for “austerity reasons.”⁵⁰ In the end, the “only” thing that remained was the establishment of the “Institute for Empirical Sociology, George Washington Foundation” at the Mannheim School of Economics, which was set up without federal funding, but with the help of Jäckh’s acquired funds and lobbying.⁵¹

In Jäckh’s final years he pivoted more and more from trying to directly influence transatlantic politics and relations as a political broker to a cultural actor that tried to influence public perception in Germany and the US, respectively. He repeatedly asked himself if there would be “historical understanding, human experience and political trust” for the new Germany in the old United States, after everything that Germany did after “thirteen years of

the Hitler-Episode of terrorist Pan-Germany?"⁵² In order to achieve this brokering of understanding between the American and (West-)German people, Jäckh tried to elevate himself to some kind of unofficial messenger or even ambassador of Heuss and Adenauer. He writes clearly why he thinks he is the right man for the job and where his credentials and legitimacy come from:

Just as for Weimar, it was now necessary to gain trust for the men and the mentality of Bonn – through advice in the State Department, especially in the German department, through interviews, lectures and publications. My legitimization was not only my Weimar past of a proven straightforwardness, but also the part of it that was known: long-standing friendship with the presidential candidate prophesied years ago and soon to be elected President by the Bundestag, Theodor Heuss (since 1902), and with the equally earlier announced and characterized Chancellor Konrad Adenauer (since our cooperation in 1913-1914 and again from 1920-1933).⁵³

For the Encyclopedia Americana Jäckh was tasked to organize the article about the new Germany – among the authors for the sub-sections were Ruth Nanda Anshen, Emil Dovifat, Karl Löwenstein and Theodor Heuss.⁵⁴ Heuss was responsible for the sections "People" and "Political Division."⁵⁵ With his close collaborator Ruth Nanda Anshen, Jäckh established the World Perspectives series in 1954 published by Harper & Brothers (now HarperCollins). The series was planned and edited by Anshen, Jäckh mainly served on the Board of Editors, together with Niels Bohr, J. Robert Oppenheimer and others. The series was dedicated to "the concept of man born out of a universe perceived through a fresh vision of reality. Its aim is to present short books written by the most conscious and responsible minds of today."⁵⁶ Jäckh used his position to grant volume five to such a "conscious and responsible" mind: Konrad Adenauer. The volume, designed to be an anthology of Adenauer speeches, was titled and introduced by Jäckh himself. According to him, the book was supposed to illustrate Adenauer's ideas about German and European politics, economy, culture and social problems for an American and worldwide audience.⁵⁷ Jäckh, who "prophesied" Adenauer's chancellorship, also saw himself as the facilitator of his thoughts and political ideas in the United States. This self-fashioning becomes undoubtedly obvious in his introduction of *World Indivisible*:

The present Chancellor of the German Federal Republic has been called by Prime Minister Churchill "the best German statesman since Bismarck," and by President Eisenhower

“one of the great statesmen of the world.” [...] Twenty-five years ago I myself ventured to prophesy that “Adenauer’s statesmanlike qualities of intuition, initiative and courage will give him historic rank as a European statesman.”⁵⁸

First, Jäckh elevates Adenauer to one of the greatest statesmen in the world using quotes from Churchill and Eisenhower to add gravitas, then he directly inserts himself as the prophet of this statesman, who saw his qualities before others. In the introduction Jäckh explicitly stresses Adenauer’s idea of the “New Era of World Unity,” which directly corresponds to Jäckh’s own design for a new world order.⁵⁹ According to him, the book received widespread acclaim and was reviewed unanimously positively,⁶⁰ but some reviews were, in fact, devastating:

In 15 chapters we are handed a hodgepodge of material. The fragmentary content and questionable sequence of the chosen passages are clear proof that Nanda Anshen and Ernest Jackh are unfamiliar with the spiritual and political philosophy of Konrad Adenauer [...]. For this lack we must not blame Adenauer himself, but the reprehensible ignorance of Adenauer’s ethico-political creed and statesmanlike program shown by the compilers of this anthology. [...] And then there is the questionable ten-page introduction by Ernest Jackh, with its embarrassing formula of identification, “Adenauer and I.”⁶¹

In 1949, Jäckh had also tried to get newly elected President Heuss to agree to a similar book with short articles and speeches, which the latter then declined. For the first volume of his autobiography, Jäckh had also proposed an “Introduction by the Bundespräsident” without consulting with Heuss beforehand. Heuss seemed very much not amused by that and declined again.⁶² Ironically, Heuss commented in the same letter: “But I don’t think your memories need a herald in front of them.”⁶³ Just five years later, Jäckh himself “herolded” Adenauer’s *World Indivisible*. For his 1951 revised edition of *Amerika und Wir*, Jäckh again tried to get Heuss to write an introduction to the book.

Heuss declined, stating that the request would put him in an awkward position, as he generally declined such requests, but suggested that Jäckh could simply curate a selection of quotes about German-American relations from Heuss for the book. Jäckh appeared highly irritated by Heuss’ refusal, writing to him that he simply “could not understand his feeling of awkwardness” and additionally telegraphed Heuss: “Thanks for not writing introduction.”⁶⁴ In the following correspondence of the same year, Jäckh and Heuss grew visibly

apart and the tone in the letters changed drastically. Heuss was increasingly annoyed by Jäckh and his brazen requests for Amerika und Wir and later in the year also about early drafts of Jäckh's autobiography, which Heuss harshly criticized for its style and self-fashioning, calling parts of it full of "pointed egocentricity."⁶⁵

Jäckh's plans to educate the United States about the new Germany and vice versa, was also not always well received. Elly Heuss-Knapp, politician (FDP), author and wife of Theodor Heuss, received an anonymous letter signed by "Ein Warner" (A Warner) on December 8, 1950. In the letter, the anonymous writer denounces Jäckh in the strongest terms. He alleges, that Jäckh, together with his "girlfriend" Ruth Nanda Anshen, and the State Department, was trying to "educate us Germans," even though he only found his interest in Germany after the war, when it suddenly suited him. Before, Jäckh supposedly had said to be "done with Germany" and his "girlfriend" Ruth Nanda Anshen was "an enemy of Germany" until she had met Jäckh and noticed the potential for her career. The anonymous writer also attacked Jäckh's character, e.g., that he would use the alias Mr. Edward James to covertly check into hotels with Ms. Anshen and furthermore treat his wife Marta horrendously.⁶⁶ A direct reaction to this letter by Elly Heuss-Knapp or Theodor Heuss is not available, but it is known that Heuss' friendship with Jäckh quickly deteriorated after they learned of his affair with Anshen.⁶⁷ Later Theodor Heuss also denounced Jäckh's character, in regard of the latter's treatment of his second wife Marta and Jäckh's supposed affair with Anshen.⁶⁸

In Germany, newspapers generally wrote positively about Jäckh if he visited his old home country or published a new book. He was regarded as a "political educator of international caliber" by some papers, and an important broker of German-American understanding and relations.⁶⁹

Legacy

How influential or in the end relevant Jäckh's work and endeavors in the United States were, is of course difficult to assess and requires further research. In any case, shortly after his 80th birthday in 1955, Ernst Jäckh was awarded the *Großes Verdienstkreuz* (Grand Cross of the Order of Merit) of the Federal Republic of Germany in recognition of his academic, cultural and political activities.

Ernst Jäckh enjoyed excellent health up until shortly before his 85th birthday, when he died unexpectedly of a stroke in 1959. The memorial service was held at St. Paul's Chapel at Columbia University. The eulogies were delivered by long-time friends Nahum Goldman (President of the World Zionist Organization), Seyfullah Esin (Turkish Ambassador to the UN) and the German Consul General in New York, Dr. Georg Federer.⁷⁰

In the context of his work in the US and also in the broader picture of his life's work, Jäckh can be seen as a representative of a special type of political actor who entered the field of international politics in the first half of the 20th century: a private individual who, usually completely detached from state structures and political parties, who tries to influence and shape the politics of a state according to his own political ideas and ethical convictions. This is also what he set out to do in the final chapter of his life in the United States. From the very beginning, he tried to influence and shape existing institutions, politics and politicians and subsequently managed to create his own tools to do just that: The American-Turkish Society and the Near- and Middle-East Institute at Columbia. He competently used his established networks to acquire funds and political good-will for his plans. In his final ten years, he more and more shifted from influencing institutions to shaping discourse and public perception through his own publications and edited works. For Turkey, he tried to achieve this with the 1944 version of the *Rising Crescent*, in which he painted the same whitewashed and euphemized image of Turkish and Ottoman history that he propagated during WWI in service of the Kaiser. Especially when it came to the Armenian Genocide and preceding massacres, Jäckh was heavily criticized for his accounts. However, it can be attested that he did have success when it came to brokering American-Turkish relations after WWII, using his aforementioned institutions and publications.

When it comes to the German-American relations, he championed his *Amerika und Wir* as a guidebook on American history and German-American relations of the two "Schwester-Republiken" – as he liked to call the two countries. He repeatedly tried to position himself as one of the foremost representatives of the "New Germany" in the US, again using his publications, networks and planned institutions like the George-Washington-Institut in Stuttgart. That he was, in fact, perceived to be such a representative is shown by the quote from Rudolf Syring at the beginning of this paper—one of many similar ones. However, the last thing that Jäckh tried to broker was perhaps his own legacy, when he tried to write in existence a triumvirate consisting of Heuss, Adenauer and himself.

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Notes

1. This essay is part of my doctoral project "*Türken-Jäckh* - Ein Player zwischen den Welten. Eine Biografische Analyse eines Politischen Akteurs" that I am conducting at the Institute for Diaspora and Genocide Research and the Institute for Social Movement at the Ruhr University in Bochum. The goal is to create a first political biography and analysis of Ernst Jäckh as a political actor and self-empowered broker of international relations.

2. Ernst Jäckh, *Amerika und Wir 1926-1951. Amerikanisch-deutsches Ideen-Bündnis* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1951), cover. In the following: Jäckh, *Amerika und Wir*. For publications in the US Jäckh used an anglicized version of his name (Ernest Jackh), however, for his German readers and in private correspondence he still used his birthname. Therefore, "Ernst Jäckh" will be used throughout this paper.
3. The society still exists today: <https://americanTurkishsociety.org>.
4. Rudolf Syring, Review of *Amerika und Wir*, by Ernst Jäckh, *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (January 1930), 331-33.
5. Wilhelm von Kampen, *Studien zur deutschen Türkeipolitik in der Zeit Wilhelms II.* (Kiel University, 1968), 282. In the following: von Kampen, *Türkeipolitik*.
6. Friedrich Naumann (1860-1919), German theologian, liberal politician and co-founder of the Deutscher Werkbund and the Deutsche Demokratische Partei (DDP).
7. Von Kampen, *Türkeipolitik*, 282 and: Theodor Heuss, *Friedrich Naumann. Der Mann, das Werk, die Zeit* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1937), 324f. & 384f.
8. Ernst Jäckh, *Der goldene Pflug* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1954), 123.
9. Before Kiderlen-Wächter's death in 1912, Jäckh was entrusted by the same to manage and publish parts of his estate, which Jäckh subsequently did in two volumes 1924/25: Ernst Jäckh, *Kiderlen-Wächter. Der Staatsmann und Mensch. Briefwechsel und Nachlaß* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1924/25).
10. Deutscher Werkbund (founded 1907) is an association of artists, designers, artisans and architects. Its initial aim was to improve German manufacturing quality and design to make German goods more competitive on the global market.
11. von Kampen, *Türkeipolitik*, 282.
12. Author's translation of: „Jäckh kannte alle Welt, hatte überall Eisen im Feuer, war nach vielen Seiten
13. interessiert und engagiert, sah alle Fragen politisch. Doch drängte er nie an die erste Stelle. Er hatte das Machtbedürfnis aus einer zweiten Position heraus, sein Wesen hatte Eigenschaften jener Männer, die man "Königsmacher" nennt.“ Karl Scheffler, *Die fetten und die mageren Jahre* (List Verlag, 1948), quoted
14. in: Jäckh, *Der goldene Pflug*, 184, also in: van Kampen, *Deutsche Türkeipolitik*, 283.
15. For more context on Jäckh's involvement during the Armenian Genocide refer to: Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "Helden in Zeiten eines Völkermords? Armin T. Wegner, Ernst Jäckh, Henry Morgenthau", in *Johannes Lepsius Eine deutsche Ausnahme. Der Völkermord an den Armeniern, Humanitarismus und Menschenrechte*, ed. Rolf Hosfeld (Wallstein, 2013), 127-72.
16. For more context on the Hochschule für Politik refer to: Rainer Eisfeld, *Ausgebürgert und doch angebräunt. Deutsche Politikwissenschaft 1920-1945* (Nomos, 1991) or Siegfried Mielke, *Einzigartig. Dozenten, Studierende und Repräsentanten der Deutschen Hochschule für Politik (1920 - 1933) im Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus ; Begleitband zur Ausstellung* (Lucas-Verlag, 2008).
17. Nicholas Murray Butler (1862-1947), was an American philosopher, diplomat and educator. He served as President of Columbia University, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.
18. Ernst Jäckh, *Weltsaat. Erlebtes und Erstrebtes* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1960), 79-93. In the following: Jäckh, *Weltsaat*.
19. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 105-20.
20. Elisabeth, Piller: *Selling Weimar. German public diplomacy and the United States, 1918-1933* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2021), 249. In the following: Piller, *Selling Weimar*.

21. Piller, *Selling Weimar*, 249.
22. Piller, *Selling Weimar*, 250f.
23. Piller, *Selling Weimar*, 252.
24. See for example: Rose C. Feld “New University Trains Germans for Politics; Dr. Jäckh, Its President, Comes to Urge Cooperation between Americans and Future Leaders in this Country. His Hope Is for Youth,” *New York Times*, December 20, 1925, XX8.
25. New York City Department of Records & Information Services, *Marriage Certificate of Ernst F W Jackh and Marta Ruben*, M-M-1926-0013127.
26. See for example the aforementioned review by Rudolf Syring in *The Modern Language Journal*.
27. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 105-20.
28. Eisfeld, *Ausgebürgert und doch angebräunt*, especially 93-136. Also, using material from the *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts* (PAAA, Political Archive of the Foreign Office) and the *Bundesarchiv* (Federal Archive) it is possible to reconstruct Jäckh's efforts and negotiations with the new Nazi regime, to preserve the Hochschule's independence by adjusting its profile to the needs of the Hitler and Goebbels.
29. On the *New Commonwealth Society* and Jäckh's involvement refer to: Christoph Ploß, *Die “New Commonwealth Society”* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017).
30. He writes extensively about his endeavors working for the British in *Weltsaat*. Parts of his depictions could also be verified and reconstructed through records at the *National Archives (UK)*, for example: National Archives, HO 405 24235.
31. Dossier über Tätigkeiten politischer Feinde des RSHA 1937, Referat II, *Bundesarchiv [BArch]* R58/6614 and Sonderfahndungsliste G.B. der Gestapo, 1940, *Hoover Institution Library & Archives*, DA585.A1 G37 (V).
32. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 210ff.
33. Ernst Jäckh, *The Rising Crescent. Turkey Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* (Farrar & Rinehart, 1944), 226-43. In the following: Jäckh, *The Rising Crescent*.
34. Jäckh, *The Rising Crescent*, 244ff.
35. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 221.
36. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 251.
37. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 230.
38. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 252f.
39. Author's translation of „mit einer Frische und Begeisterung, die sonst für einen Mann in den dreißiger Jahren natürlich ist“, quoted in Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 253.
40. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 254.
41. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 255.
42. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 259.
43. BArch N 1221/155.
44. A.O. Sarkissian, “untitled”, *The American Historical Review* 50, No. 3 (1945), 536f.
45. Here especially the so-called Hamidian Massacres 1894-96 and the Adana Massacre in 1909.
46. Jäckh, *The Rising Crescent*, 42.
47. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 229.
48. BArch, N 1221/155.
49. „American Studies for Europe“, Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 260.
50. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 260.
51. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 261f.
52. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 262.
53. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 263-70.

54. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 270.
55. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 272.
56. Author's translation of: „So wie für Weimar, so galt es jetzt, für die Männer und die Mentalität von Bonn Vertrauen zu werben - durch Beratung im State Department, besonders in der deutschen Abteilung, durch Interviews, Vorträge und Publikationen. Meine Legitimation war nicht nur meine Weimarer Vergangenheit einer bezeugten Gradlinigkeit, sondern auch der Teil daraus, der bekannt war: langjährige Freundschaft mit dem vor Jahren prophezeiten Präsidentschaftskandidaten, dem jetzt vom Bundestag zu wählenden Präsidenten Theodor Heuss (seit 1902) und mit dem ebenso früher schon angekündigten und charakterisierten Bundeskanzler Konrad Adenauer (seit unserer Zusammenarbeit 1913-1914 und nochmals 1920-1933).“, in: Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 273.
57. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 273.
58. Ernst Wolfgang Becker, *Theodor Heuss. Erzieher zur Demokratie. Briefe 1945-1949* (K.G: Saur, 2007), 462, footnote 6.
59. Konrad Adenauer: *World Indivisible. With Liberty and Justice for All* (Harper and Brothers, 1955), ii-ix. In the following: Adenauer, *World Indivisible*.
60. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 273.
61. Ernst Jäckh, “1930-1955” [Introduction], in Adenauer, *World Indivisible*, xxi.
62. Ernst Jäckh, “1930-1955” [Introduction], in Adenauer, *World Indivisible*, xxiii.
63. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 273f.
64. Edgar Alexander, “Adenauer – poorly presented. World Indivisible”, review of *World Indivisible. With Liberty and Justice for All*, by Konrad Adenauer. *America Magazine: The Jesuit Review of Faith & Culture* 93, Issue 24 (1955), 566f.
65. BArch N 1221/155.
66. Author's translation of: „Aber ich glaube, deine Erinnerungen brauchen garnicht einen vorangesandten Herold.“, in: BArch N 1221/155. In a letter from Dec. 1951, Heuss also wrote to Jäckh, that the latter “did not need to go arm in arm with him [Heus] and Adenauer”, because Jäckh's achievements in life would surely speak for themselves.
67. BArch N 1221/155.
68. BArch N 1221/155.
69. BArch N 1221/155.
70. In Theodor Heuss' estate are many letters that reference this deterioration.
71. BArch N 1221/155 and N 1221/240.
72. BArch N 1221/155.
73. Picture of the memorial service's program, in: Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 332.