Scholar of Tomorrow

Harry Kessler: The Count of Weimar

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> [Count Harry Kessler,] one of the most cosmopolitan men who ever lived… a crown witness of our times.[i]
>
> —W. H. Auden[ii]

In many people's minds, German aristocrats conjure up an image of arch-conservatives who represented wealth, sought power both at home and abroad, and embodied traditional, martial values. These were the men and women who were responsible for the rise of the German Empire and later supported right-wing national parties in the Weimar Republic. However, there were exceptions among them, and one such man was Count Harry Clément Ulrich Graf von Kessler.

Kessler's pastimes were eclectic and spanned the conservative-liberal divide. Despite his birth into a wealthy, influential family, Kessler was branded as a communist sympathizer and even as the "Red Count" in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. He was an admirer of the finer things in life, an aesthete, a patron, a collector of art, and a curator of museums. In art, Kessler's taste was toward the avant-garde, regarded by some of his contemporaries as deviant and degenerate. Kessler was also an avid world traveler, a publisher, playwright, socialite, and enthusiastic advocate of the works of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900). In a tumultuous era of right-wing putsches and left-wing revolutions, Kessler was on the frontlines of the cultural foment of the era.

Kessler's presence at the intersection of right-wing and left-wing politics put him in contact with an amazing variety of people. A steadfast diarist, the individuals he met, meticulously documented in his diaries written over fifty-seven years, were estimated to number

an astonishing forty thousand.[iii] Across the arc of his life, there was a gradual transformation of his contacts from a conservative to more liberal and socialist types. Kessler's life should not be consigned to the category of personal stories, but should instead be seen embodying the vicissitudes of the aesthetic and political situation from Imperial Germany to the Weimar Republic and exemplifying the struggle between conservatism and cosmopolitanism.

The lives of some people are notable because they change the course of history. Kessler's life is notable because of his influence on culture as a result of his place at the intersection between ideas, art, politics, and culture. Kessler was significant for the Weimar Culture because he shaped and contributed the cosmopolitanism of the Weimar Republic. Using his status as an aristocrat and his role as museum curator and patron of the arts, he utilized existing official cultural institutions to spread avant-garde ideas. In addition, he was responsible for the preservation, interpretation, and promulgation of the work of philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche. This essay will show how Kessler, a man of privilege used his wealth and status to advance cultural forms and ideas that shaped Germany's cosmopolitan culture. Though his work would be undone by the Nazis, Kessler advanced a vision of Germany—and Europe more generally—that embraced diversity, open-mindedness, and a commitment to equality.

Kessler's Formative Years (1868-1893)

A defining feature of Harry Kessler's life was its cosmopolitanism. From an early age, he experienced life in a multicultural world. Kessler's father Count Adolf Wilhelm Kessler (1839-1895) was from a banking family based in Hamburg who ran the Parisian branch of their family

business and often went on business trips in England and the United States. Due to the family's long stay in France, Kessler was born in Paris on May 23, 1868.

Harry Kessler's mother, Countess Alice Blosse-Lynch (1844-1919) was an Irish aristocrat. Her grandfather Colonel Robert Taylor (1760-1839) was a British diplomat, once the minister of Britain to Baghdad; during his tenure, Taylor famously discovered King Sennacherib's prism.[iv] Taylor had quite a reputation: Kessler's biographer Mcleod Easton states that Taylor abducted and married a twelve-year-old relative of the Shah against the wishes of the Persian royal family. Dr. Jo Wright, on the other hand, argued that Taylor married an Armenian-Persian woman named Rosa Moscow.[v] Regardless of this controversy, Alice Kessler's grandmother appeared to at least be affiliated with the Persian Royal family, as she lived long enough to receive a state visit from the Shah during the latter's 1873 visit to London.[vi] Thanks to his great-grandmother's long life, the young Kessler met her in London. This woman, by then blind, caressed Kessler's face and proclaimed his facial features to be similar to his great-grandfather, Colonel Taylor.[vii] This part of Kessler's background may explain his affection towards the music, dance, and literature of the Middle East and Asia.

Alice Kessler herself was described as captivating and elegant and contributed much to her son Harry's aristocratic upbringing. She befriended the German emperor Wilhelm I (1797-1888) in 1870, who long wanted to be introduced to her.[viii] For his affection towards Alice Kessler, the emperor even became the godfather to Kessler's sister, Wilma (1877-1963), upon her birth in 1877. The emperor then decided to ennoble Alice's husband Adolf Kessler and his heirs to the rank of counts in 1881. This was unprecedented in the history of the Second Reich, as this ennoblement skipped the intermediary stage of baron. This was likely due to the

emperor's close relationship with Alice Kessler rather than its stated reason: recognition of Adolf's service to the German community in Paris.[ix]

The salient royal favor sparked speculation that Kessler and his sister were Wilhelm I's illegitimate children.[x] Such rumors can be dismissed, at least for Kessler, as he was born two years before the emperor met his mother. Yet, gossip about Kessler's sister was more persistent. The royal favor also led to Alice's acquaintance with Germany's chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), who engaged with Alice, not because of her beauty, but to counter the influence of Empress Augusta (1811-1890) in the court. For the friendship between the Kesslers and Bismarck, Harry Kessler at six-year-old was sent to Bismarck's bedside with a bouquet of flowers after an assassination attempt on the German statesman. Bernhard von Bülow (1849-1929), a future German chancellor, was enamored of Alice, and he ingratiated himself with the Kessler family, playing the role of a "good uncle" in front of young Harry. However, when he made an advance on Alice, he received "a pile of religious tracts" admonishing him to reform himself. Embarrassed, Bülow would, fifty years later, condemn the Kesslers as "pseudo-counts" and spread lurid rumors about Alice.[xi]

Kessler's life as a cosmopolitan began young as he attended schools across Europe's great powers. The young Kessler began his education in a French school in 1878. As a German surrounded by French students and staff only years after the Franco-Prussian War, the pressure and the antagonistic atmosphere in the school eventually led to Alice sending Kessler to the St. George School in Ascot, England in 1880.[xii] The St. George School was a preparatory school for Eton, one of the UK's most prestigious schools that cultivated British elites. The most famous

among them was Winston Churchill (1874-1965), to whom Kessler referred to as "a rambunctious redheaded boy, always in trouble".[xiii]

Although Churchill and many of Kessler's British friends would depict the school years therein as miserable time, perhaps given the contrast of the squalor from his previous school, Kessler regarded his English school as a "happy garden-state."[xiv] He admired the model of English education which focused on developing characters of English gentlemen—the qualities of "nobility, poise, and truthfulness." Years later, many of his friends would recall the omnipresence of the gentlemen's qualities on Kessler.[xv] Kessler took pleasure not only in the ordinary activities of a young boy, but made a group of close friends (who would go on to great things later in life[xvi]) who together founded the *St. George's Gazette*. The creation of this school newspaper would be the beginning of a lifelong obsession of Kessler's: editing, printing, and publishing. Kessler was taking to his education well, but he was, after all, the son of a German aristocrat, and because of his father's desire to prepare him for the German diplomatic service, Kessler was transferred back to Germany to study at *Gelehrtenschule des Johanneums*, a German school in the Hanseatic city of Hamburg.[xvii]

In Hamburg, Kessler experienced a sharp identity crisis. Though he immediately fell in love with the city due to its cosmopolitan nature as a port,[xviii] being accustomed to the English lifestyle, he almost questioned everything at the school from the taste of furniture to the philosophy of German education. The latter, in particular, was not to his liking. A critical thinker, he disliked the rote memorization emphasized by the German education system. He reflected mournfully that

> We only knew that the goal of our schooling was to become educated, and therefore our duty was to educate ourselves day and night with never-ceasing studiousness. What the content, not to mention the goal, of this so strenuously acquired [education], this veiled idol, was, however, remained unclear.[xix]

He also disliked the martial emphasis of the education, which was in stark contrast to the English education system that aimed to produce gentlemen who would serve in the British government and throughout the Empire.[xx] This might be the result of Prussian militarism pervading his epoch.

Between cultures, Kessler struggled in the search of his identity. He was viewed as a foreigner in France and Britain, but, with limited stays in Germany until then, he was hardly a German. After being moved to tears by a performance of Bach's *St. Matthew's Passion*, he convinced himself that he was more of a German and in 1891,[xxi] switched the writing of his diaries from English to his native language.[xxii] Nevertheless, Kessler would never fully resolve his identity crisis, having a childhood scattered across many nations. This, in turn, contributed to Kessler's budding aspiration for a more united Europe and his cosmopolitan qualities personally. Kessler for the rest of his life faced challenges both internally and in his professional life because of his attachment to cosmopolitanism and his simultaneous commitment to being German.

After graduation, instead of attending a school of commerce or serving an apprenticeship, common pathways for becoming a banker like his father, Kessler decided to pursue university education in 1888 at the University of Bonn. This was not a welcome decision in his family: his father, troubled with financial difficulties, expected his only son to assist him amid the crisis while his mother continued to send hysterical letters to Kessler during his first year in university, chastising and warning him for foolishly abandoning "the brilliant future Papa's son could have

had." Yet, Kessler persisted, making the case that "[university education] permits me to be useful to Papa and us all in money matters and to earn my own fortune as well; on the other hand it does not preclude me becoming something in Germany later."[xxiii]

It was unclear what the "something" in Kessler's mind was at the time, but it indicated that the young Kessler had ambition. Perhaps it was to become one of the *Reichstag* delegates or a diplomat, for it was exceptionally difficult to play these roles without graduating from universities. Or given his later focus in studies of the arts at universities, it could be his interest in the arts that propelled him to insist. Alternatively, indecisiveness was his reason. Before potentially confronting a financial whirlwind with his father, he might have wanted more time to explore his interests, and a university was the perfect venue for such exploration.

At Bonn, Kessler was to study law to prepare for the state examinations prerequisite for diplomatic service. But, with the final examination still three years away, Kessler diverted himself from law studies to social matters. Shortly after his enrollment into the university, Kessler was invited to join the "Borussia" Corps, an aristocratic fraternity of which emperor Wilhelm II (1859-1941) was once a member. This was strictly forbidden by Kessler's father Adolf, likely due to Adolf's liberal beliefs. In this Kessler obeyed, and he instead joined a student society in which he and other individual members held a cosmopolitan outlook. Several of them would go on to play an important role in Germany's politics and culture, as well as being Kessler's future friends and allies:

> Adolf von Maltzan [(1877-1927)], state secretary of the Foreign Office under Gustav Stresemann [(1878-1929)] and one of the key figures of the Weimar Republic; Count Hans-Albrect Harrach [(1873-1963)], sculptor and brother-in-law of the future chancellor,

> Bethmann Hollweg [(1856-1921)]; Karl von Mutzenbecher [(1866-1938)], later head of the Royal Theater in Wiesbaden; and, most importantly, Eberhard von Bodenhausen [(1868-1918)], the art critic, patron, and industrialist who later became Kessler's 'brother-in-arms' in the struggle over [cultural politics].[xxiv]

Here, an even clearer cosmopolitan inclination of Kessler can be seen, as well as a gulf between him and conservative German aristocrats, Wilhelm II among them. Indeed, it was at the University of Bonn that Kessler first immersed himself into the social whirlpool, meeting people from all walks of life. Socializing would turn out to be one of Kessler's great talents and would eventually result in him making friends and acquaintances across Germany's great social and political divides.

After a year at Bonn, in 1889, Kessler transferred to the University of Leipzig. There he attended the seminar of economist Lujo Brentano (1844-1931), a famous socialist who advocated for German trade unions. Under Brentano, Kessler did research on workers' insurance and working conditions; however, he had not yet considered exploring the works of Karl Marx to further his understanding of these issues. As he later admitted in his memoirs, Marx was considered too revolutionary for his younger self among his circle of well-to-do friends.[xxv] Kessler also studied under art historian Anton Springer (1825-1891) and the experimental psychologist Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920). Springer contended that one's psychological perception and response to art was a part of the objective fact and thus, arts history was a scientific subject to yield "objective" results after critiques of examined materials. Kessler was fascinated by Springer's ideas, but dismissed Springer's arguments after an 1893 visit to Italy, where Kessler affirmed that art evoked subjective feeling and impression on their audiences. Of

Wundt's theory, Kessler was more convinced: Wundt held that various combinations of "feeling tones" could provoke individualized feelings akin to how notes form harmonies and melodies. Once the feeling's intensity grows, the emotions in crescendo then propel one to act.[xxvi]

In 1889-1891 at Leipzig, along with his navigation of the academics, Kessler had not shifted away from domestic German politics and preparation for his diplomatic corps exam. In the summer of 1891, Kessler refused the invitation to be the head of the students' delegation that would deliver a speech to honor and welcome the retired Bismarck at a reception in the town of Kissingen. This was likely due to Kessler's partial disagreement with Bismarck's domestic policies, though Kessler went to Kissingen anyway to hear this past German chancellor's ideas on the future of Germany.[xxvii]

The day after the reception, Kessler and five other students had a coffee talk with Bismarck at his residence. Kessler's own diary provides an intriguing record of their conversation, including a detailed portrait of Bismarck: surprisingly squeaky voice, "the bushy, disheveled eyebrows above the steel-blue eyes," and an adept use of language refined by a 40-year political career.[xxviii] While impressed with Bismarck, Kessler was held back from any critique straight to Bismarck. He lamented that

> the longer and apparently more freely [Bismarck] spoke, the more a feeling of numb hopelessness grew stronger...His conversation had something ghostlike, as if we had hauled him from the company of his dead contemporaries out of the grave. Up to foreign policy, the outlines of which are valid for centuries, all appeared in a light that was no longer of this world. To us, us youth, he evidently had nothing to say.[xxix]

This episode with Bismarck occurred towards the end of Kessler's two years at Leipzig. In the fall of 1891, Kessler passed the state legal examination for doctorate with the ranking of *magna cum laude*, qualifying him for an unpaid apprenticeship in government service.[xxx] Before he joined the barracks at Potsdam for his mandatory military service, Kessler decided to embark on a world tour and set sail for New York on December 22, 1891. In New York, with the help of his father's business connections, Kessler became an unpaid assistant in a law firm as preparation for his future diplomatic career in Germany.

During his stay in New York, Kessler also experienced, observed, and commented on the society, economy, and politics of the United States during its Gilded Age. Kessler paid special attention to the democratic sentiments in American society. Through his father's connections, Kessler was granted an audience with then-Vice President Levi P. Morton (1824-1920), to whom Kessler expressed concerns about the corrosion of equal rights as a result of moneyed interests.[xxxi] Morton, impressed by the young Kessler (and possibly his connections), brought Kessler to the White House, where Kessler observed the American public, from "men...with large cowboy hats" and "fat store owners" to "little middle-class girls giggling in the corners of the large hall"; the height of his visit, surely, was seeing President Benjamin Harrison (1833-1901).[xxxii] Reflecting on his visit, Kessler stated that the German emperor would not act in the same way, sensing that the US President was "to be the first servant of one's people."[xxxiii] Kessler judged America's achievements in equality and democracy with reservation. In his diary, Kessler recorded that "Mrs. Morton praised Washington society...because money plays no role." Immediately after this, Kessler satirically added that "she has a fortune of 50 million marks."

Kessler also noticed "indescribably ragged, dirty" streets where there were "shanties out of which a black child's face with large white eyes stares."[xxxiv]

After two months of law internship in New York, as well as several interim side trips to Philadelphia, Washington, and beyond, Kessler departed to California, and from there, to Japan. In his eighteen-day voyage, Kessler read Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra* and refreshed his knowledge of *The Odyssey* before arriving in Yokohama. Kessler searched for everything he thought had not yet been corrupted by European influence.[xxxv] Thus, on his first day in Japan, Kessler became impatient and was rather disappointed when he found the "coolie...clad in a mushroom-shaped hat" as the only "Oriental" element he had spotted so far. This xenocentric tendency might be attributed to a thirst for novelty, but it was certainly a clash with his views of a cosmopolitan order in which ideas and trends freely moved from one part of the world to another.

Kessler did, however, find something he loved in Japan: a place where he believed arts pervaded all aspects of life. He was particularly enchanted by the synergetic integration of Japanese architecture with its surrounding landscape. He wrote

> In this connection between art and landscape lies perhaps a fruitful thought for our stagnate European architecture; enough themes and inspirations may be found in the villas and designs for villas of the Cinquecento; in...[encompassing landscape and architecture together as one whole] the Japanese surpass us immeasurably.[xxxvi]

He would later carry some of these ideas with him as he gradually made his way back to Europe.

After Japan, Kessler had brief stays in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Saigon, and Singapore before he continued his voyage to India.[xxxvii] In his reflection on these colonial or semi-colonial societies, Kessler pondered empires' moral roots: how territorially small countries were able to govern and dominate larger territories, and sometimes even a massive sub-continent. He also noted countless human types in these societies which, in Kessler's mind, was much unlike the uniformity he saw in European societies. Kessler travelled to Egypt and Italy before eventually arriving back in Leipzig in August 1892 after eight months of world travel.

Kessler upon arrival was different from his previous self; more culturally relativistic and internationally-minded than before. This might explain his increasingly unique tone, akin to a detached observer, in diary writings: differences between cultures made social norms in one culture less self-explanatory and inevitable, and definitely no more authoritative.

Once back in Germany, Kessler joined his regiment, the prestigious and much-coveted Prussian Third Guard-Lancers, to serve his one year of military service in Potsdam, a period that, to his own surprise, became one of his most cherished experiences, alongside his time in Ascot, England, as he fondly remembered in 1902.[xxxviii] Unlike much of the Prussian Army, for Kessler, there was neither much officers' shouting, nor an unbearably rigid discipline, partly thanks to his privilege as a German aristocrat. In fact, Kessler was able to maintain a decent intellectual life at Potsdam given the numerous reading groups available. Upon the completion of his one-year service in the Third Guard-Lancers in the autumn of 1893, Kessler became a Prussian reserve officer, thereby concluding his formal education. This pivotal moment marked the commencement of Kessler's sojourn to Berlin, where he embarked on an unpaid apprenticeship before he could join the German diplomatic corps.

However, what was envisioned as a preparatory interim phase inexplicably extended into nearly a decade of professional uncertainty as his call-up for service never came. During this interlude, as Kessler awaited his diplomatic appointment, he diverted his fervor and intellectual energy towards the arts. Weimar became the focus of his artistic engagements; from Weimar he would travel to Berlin, Paris, and London, among other places. Kessler's destiny, it would turn out, was not in diplomatic service, but rather arts in the cultural epicenters of Europe and, in particular, in the city of Weimar. It was there that Kessler's artistic sensibilities flourished, underscoring a period of rich, albeit unplanned, intellectual, and artistic development.

Weimar Culture

> Only please do not imagine Weimar and the court as a museum full of intrusive, dead memories. Quite the contrary. It is so lively, so animated and *rerum novarum cupidus* [fond of new things] as no other place now in Germany. I hope that we will, here at the court, gradually build up a real *Public,* what Germany otherwise lacks.[xxxix]
>
> -Kessler to Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929)
>
> What kind of trouble is Kessler making in Weimar? Well, you can be sure I won't forget what he has done. He will have cause to remember me in his lifetime.[xl]
>
> -Wilhelm II[xli]

The German town of Weimar is a classical and elegant cultural center that earned renown well before the Republic which was given the same name. Being home of poets and playwrights like Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832) and Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), Weimar gradually gained momentum in arts and turned into a vibrant hub for artists.[xlii] It was the artistic town of Max Liebermann (1847-1935) and Arnold Böcklin (1827-1901), [xliii] the musical town of Richard Strauss (1864-1949), Franz Liszt (1811-1886), and J. S. Bach (1685-1750) as well as the pensive town of Martin Luther (1483-1546) and Friedrich Nietzsche,[xliv] all seminal characters in their own epochs.[xlv]

Following the establishment of the Weimar Republic in 1919, the city continued to flourish and was on the forefront of an evolving style of art. Not only was it the refuge for German politicians to draft their Republic's new constitution when Berlin was in turmoil, but it was also a forum for leading musicians, painters, philosophers, novelists, and architects' ideas and innovation to flow. The town's stimulating atmosphere during the Republic could be traced to the flourishing of the Weimar Artists School led by Henry van de Velde (1863-1957) and along with the founding of the Bauhaus School of Design and Architecture.[xlvi] These artistic influences radiated from Weimar to many other cosmopolitan cultural centers like Berlin and later cities outside of Germany, like Paris, London, and New York.

Weimar was a creative caldron of music, painting, literature and philosophy, forming a "cultural whirlpool" that blended European and American, antique and modernist elements into its unique "hues" of art genres. In this sense, Weimar pushed at the conservative limits of Germany's aristocratic establishment. It was into this milieu that Kessler stepped in 1894. Kessler, it would turn out, was a particularly subversive force for conservatives in Germany.

The son of a German aristocrat, Kessler had authority and connections to high society, but he championed ideas that challenged the establishment of which he was part. In Wilhelmine Germany (1890-1918), German emperor Wilhelm II was at the forefront of the conservative establishment in both politics and art. The emperor often intervened in the arts and demanded that they serve politics, making the art establishment far more political in Germany than in other more liberal European countries like Britain. During an 1895 celebration at Berlin's ,[xlvii] Wilhelm II declared:

> Here an eternal, ever constant law rules; the law of beauty and harmony, of aesthetics. This law has been expressed by the ancients in such a surprising and overwhelming fashion—in such a perfect form—that we, for all our modern sensibilities and mastery of technique, can be proud if someone should say, of a particularly good achievement, 'That is almost so good as it was done 1900 years ago!'[xlviii]

Kessler disagreed with Wilhelm II's elevation of the past over the present, and Kessler remarked in his diaries that "[the arts] must find [their] own form...every time, for no form is eternally and absolutely valid. Rather every form is only the best, and therefore classic, in so much as it is suitable to express the thoughts that must be expressed."[xlix]

Kessler's interest in the arts drove him to become involved in the creation and publication of the arts magazine *Pan*, which would become the first step in his journey to becoming a professional man of the arts. *Pan* was a monthly arts magazine founded by intellectuals in Berlin in 1893 in the hope that their avant-garde arts would not be confined to a small circle, but would reach the wider masses in Germany.[l] The publishers of *Pan* proclaimed to publish "without

reference to commercial, moral, personal or polemical questions, appreciating only the purely aesthetic viewpoint." This vision was in accord with Kessler's personal position on aesthetics. Kessler's involvement in the magazine came from a desire to spread new ideas, as well as the need of *Pan*'s founders for high-level support and money. Kessler, who came from a wealthy family, frequented its meetings and fund-raising suppers before he officially joined as a board member in November 1894. In May 1895, Kessler's father died, and he inherited a substantial estate. Artists in Germany and beyond were always looking for patrons and though Kessler had lost his father, his father's resources would enable Kessler to become an influential figure in the arts world of Germany practically overnight. From 1895-1900, Kessler became deeply involved in the leadership of *Pan* and became the de facto editor for its literature section.[li]

The core members of *Pan* made up a group known as the "Berlin Secession," an umbrella organization for artists dissenting from the traditional and official art style. The Berlin Secession was under the leadership of Max Liebermann, whose art was frequently published in *Pan*. Though Kessler was never directly involved in the Secession, his affiliation with *Pan* put him in opposition to the German arts establishment, and was a plausible reason to explain why Kessler's diplomatic appointment was slowed down by the German government. Though Kessler never openly speculated about the relationship between his work in the arts and his diplomatic appointment, the delay was probably not all that upsetting to him given that it enabled him to continue working on what he loved.

Kessler became ever more involved in *Pan*, which was helping the emerging symbolist and naturalist movements gain momentum in the 1890s.[lii] Symbolism originated largely as a reaction against naturalism. While naturalists urged to analyze human nature through a scientific,

objective, and detached perspective, symbolists were anti-idealistic in that they favored imagination, spirituality, and dreams.[liii] This demonstrated *Pan*'s openness and tolerance towards a multitude of ideas and styles under the collective leadership of Kessler and others. Additionally, the journal championed impressionist and neoimpressionist artworks, including those of Van Gogh (1853-1890), which contributed to the legendary artist's mounting popularity after his death in 1890. In sensing upcoming tides in arts and humanities, Kessler seldom misjudged, allowing him to spread the influence of new artists far beyond the narrow confines of intellectual and artistic circles in the world's great capitals.

Along with the journal's influence on the German and European art movements, *Pan* also deeply affected and shaped Kessler's own belief of aesthetics and his artistic taste. For the sake of *Pan*, along with his general interest in aesthetics, Kessler began to make repeated visits to galleries and other arts exhibitions in France and Britain, during which he became increasingly impressed with impressionist artists including Claude Monet (1840-1926), whom Kessler met in person. As the editor of *Pan*, Kessler was in touch many styles of art, putting him at the center of the avant-garde arts movement in Europe. Kessler thus developed a blended taste in aesthetics and furthered his appreciation of a wide variety of art. It was at this point that Kessler began stepping out beyond just a patron of art and began writing about culture and arts; his first writings on art were published in *Pan*, marking the start of his public authorship.

Even with Kessler's generous financial backing, *Pan* failed after five years due to its expensive printing costs. *Pan* ultimately failed to forge a connection with the German public. Despite *Pan*'s failure, Kessler's role and efforts in *Pan* were not altogether unsuccessful. The magazine aligned with Kessler's vision of an "unprejudiced, tasteful, and nonphilistine journal

with the funds to support true artistic interests"[liv] and allowed many leading artists and writers in the 1890s to find a much-needed outlet via the journal. Among them were a host of influential internationally-minded German artists and writers, including Richard Dehmel (1863-1920),[lv] Max Liebermann, Hugo von Hofmannsthal,[lvi] Arno Holz (1863-1929),[lvii] Lovis Corinth (1858-1925),[lviii] and Max Dauthendey (1867-1918).[lix] Their articles, poems, and artworks published in *Pan* contributed to many trending, contemporary arts movements in Wilhelmine Germany. While the magazine did not find an audience among the general public, Kessler had succeeded in spreading cosmopolitan messages among Germany's cosmopolitan elite and, in the process, increased his credibility and authority among them. Kessler developed relationships with Edward Munch (1863-1944) and Henry van de Velde.[lx] The latter was a Belgian artist and interior decorator who collaborated closely with both Kessler and Eberhard von Bodenhausen; van de Velde was also an art critic and contributor to *Pan*. Both Kessler and Bodenhausen funded much of van de Velde's work, with Kessler commissioning van de Velde to design and decorate Kessler's new Berlin apartment in 1897.

Following the liquidation of *Pan*, as his diplomatic career continued in limbo, Kessler decided to turn his interest in arts and aesthetic from part-time duties into his main career. An opportunity soon came as twenty-five-year-old Wilhelm Ernst (1876-1923) ascended the throne as the new Saxony-Weimar-Eisenach grand duke, previously held by his grandfather.[lxi] Kessler and his friend Bodenhausen persuaded the new Grand Duke, who was ambitious and was eager to make distinctive achievements in Germany's highly competitive aristocratic circles, to appoint van de Velde as the director of the Weimar Art School. With that appointment, van de Velde would be able to provide Kessler and Bodenhausen with prominent positions in the world of

official Weimar art, which the two could use to advance avant-garde art. The Grand Duke and Bodenhausen were fellow members of "Borussia," the student fraternity at Bonn that Kessler once refused to join, so Kessler believed van de Velde's appointment was all-but-guaranteed. Unexpectedly, the Grand Duke first appointed a more conservative candidate.[lxii] Kessler, believing that the Grand Duke was concerned about Kessler himself, assured the Grand Duke and others in the Weimar-Saxony court that his arts agenda would not be too radical and avant-garde. Van de Velde was eventually given the position and Kessler was offered a position as the director of a museum in Weimar and in October 1902 took charge of the Grand Ducal Museum of Arts and Crafts.

During his period of directorship, Kessler organized exhibitions for several controversial artists and arts movements. One arts movement Kessler advocated was pointillism. Kessler defended and insisted on the aesthetic value of pointillism against critiques.[lxiii] Several conservative critics proclaimed pointillists' approach, which deviates from the traditional approach of brush strokes, as radical and absurd.[lxiv] Kessler, however, argued that different styles of arts work as distinct system of signs, each evoking a unique reality for audiences.

Kessler's role allowed him to experiment with the arrangement of exhibitions. Even for exhibitions focused on one theme or style, Kessler liked to include artworks from various artists to demonstrate nuanced modes of expression within the arts movement. For instance, in the early 1900s, when Paul Gaunguin (1848-1903) became one of the most influential pointillist and symbolist artists, Kessler included in the same exhibition paintings by Max Klinger (1857-1920), whose style starkly contrasted with that of Gaunguin.[lxv] While Klinger achieved his symbolic

effect by selections of subject matter, Gaunguin did so through his strange and novel color harmonies.[lxvi]

Kessler quickly made a name for himself as museum director, but he was becoming frustrated by what regarded as conservative resistance to his efforts. Kessler's most formidable opponent was the General German Art Cooperative, an official umbrella organization for German artists to champion "official arts."[lxvii] In 1903, Kessler formulated plans to establish the German Arts Association with his former *Pan* colleagues; Kessler was seeking to give the avant-garde an official cover and also an official blessing. The Association's goal would be to allow artists creative freedom without limit. Kessler envisioned the Association organizing its own exhibitions, studios, and museums and avoiding official salons. In late 1903, Kessler travelled all around Germany to consult and gain support from many German Artists, founded the Association in December 1903, with its founding session well-attended by almost every museum director and important artist connected with modern arts.[lxviii] Kessler became the first vice-president of the Association, responsible for daily organization.

Kessler's stance on arts and his position in the Association ended up influencing both German cultural politics in general and Germany's outward-facing presentation of arts. As Germany planned to attend the World's Fair, Kessler was in a unique place to influence Germany's contributions. The German Art Cooperative's dictatorial selection of artworks to be presented in the 1904 St. Louis World Fair caused controversy among German artists and intellectuals who were concerned that the conservative art championed by Germany's establishment would present to the world a vision of Germany as a deeply conservative (and

possibly even backward) country. Kessler seized the opportunity and planned a public debate on the subject to push for the inclusion of more contemporary art.

Kessler, wishing to embrace this opportunity to showcase Germany's art and culture to the world, wrote two letters to the Reichstag (German parliament) on behalf of his Association of German Artists to advocate for artists' freedom and for more equitable official treatment of differing artistic movements. This, Kessler believed, would show the world that Germany was a truly cosmopolitan country. Eventually, in the Reichstag debates on February 15 and 16 of 1904, at least one member of each political party condemned the government on its approach towards preparation for the St. Louis World Fair, making it a triumph for the German Arts Association and a political embarrassment for the government. Both the *New York Times* and the London *Times* reported the incident as a setback for Wilhelm II.[lxix] Still, the letters changed little for the 1904 World's Fair. Nevertheless, in the longer term, the imperial German government did pursue a more balanced, moderate policy at subsequent World's Fairs.[lxx]

If Kessler's involvement in the St. Louis incident was merely about domestic politics, Kessler's entry into international politics came in the wake of the 1905 Moroccan Crisis (a diplomatic dispute between Germany and France). Germany's rising ambitions in Europe and beyond and the United Kingdom's concerns about them led to increased tensions between the two countries. While working on *Pan*, Kessler befriended many French and British artists and utilized those connections to engage in cultural diplomacy aimed at easing tensions between the two countries. These efforts led to the joint publication in the 12 January 1906 edition of the London *Times* of two letters affirming the close ties between British and German science and culture which were signed by the two countries' leading artists, intellectuals, writers, and

scientists. These efforts also resulted in the Modern German Art Exhibition arranged by the German Artists Association in collaboration with the Lyceum Club, which opened in London in May 1906.[lxxi]

Just as Kessler's cosmopolitan endeavor gained momentum on an international stage, he suffered a setback in Germany. In 1906, an exhibition of French artist Auguste Rodin's (1840-1917) nude watercolors at the Grand Ducal Museum sparked a public outcry, with German conservatives deeming the artwork obscene and morally objectionable. Despite losing his official post, Kessler felt that he'd accomplished his goal of using an official position to spread new ideas about culture and art. Kessler recorded his relief in his diary: "I have only one feeling: the happiness after a dangerous adventure to feel free again."[lxxii] Kessler quickly shifted his focus to patronizing more artists who he admired and forging new creative partnerships, such as his collaboration with composer Hugo von Hofmannsthal on the libretto for Richard Strauss's opera, *Der Rosenkavalier*.

Amid Kessler's numerous projects, the Serbian crisis in June 1914 escalated into a full-scale world war. Kessler paused all his work and reported for military service. Oddly for a self-styled cosmopolitan, Kessler was enthusiastic and his loyalty to Germany overrode his internationalist ideals. In the early period of the war, Kessler even developed an admiration for German generals such as Hindenburg and Ludendorff. From 1914 to 1916, Kessler served on both the Western and the Eastern fronts. On the Western front, he participated both in the occupation of Belgium in 1914 and the 1916 Battle of Verdun; his time on the Eastern Front proved less uplifting since it mostly contained endless disputes on administration of occupied foreign land. In January 1915, as Kessler waited in a small, barren railway station on the Polish-

Austrian border, Kessler wrote that “There is little in the mood that speaks of a great adventure and yet we are on one of the most adventuresome journeys in world history.”[lxxiii] The station’s name was Oswiecim, later known as Auschwitz.

In 1916, Kessler was reassigned to Berlin and then to the German embassy in Bern, Switzerland. Having waited so long for a diplomatic appointment, Kessler now had one. In Bern, Kessler would serve out the rest of the war as a diplomat. Towards the end of the war, in August 1918, Kessler remarked from his post that “I have actually spent my life seeking a bridge between [the German aristocracy] and intellect, now between Ludendorff and Europe.”[lxxiv] Soon after this, Kessler witnessed Germany’s debacle.

Germany’s defeat in the war dulled Kessler’s imperial ambitions and he began to turn into a pacifist. Immediately after the end of the German Empire, Kessler served shortly as Germany’s first ambassador to Poland. Kessler supported the principle of self-determination and the ideas behind the League of Nations, though he disliked how the League welcomed only victors from WWI and excluded defeated countries like Germany. In the starting years of the Weimar Republic, Kessler continued to perform informal diplomatic duties on request from the German Foreign Office, including for Germany’s acceptance into the League of Nations.

Kessler's activities during the war were driven by a commitment to Germany's interests, but also by a personal ethos that valued courage, loyalty, and a profound sense of duty to his country and its cultural heritage. These values always sat uneasily with each other, but the war pushed Kessler, at least initially, toward the nationalism and narrow interests that his cosmopolitanism would have theoretically repudiated. However, the horrors of the war and

Germany's defeat eliminated practically all of Kessler's nationalist tendencies and he remained a pacifist for the rest of his life.

Throughout the 1910s, Kessler's involvement in the war and his diplomatic duties led to his gradual disengagement from the arts arena in Weimar. Disillusioned by the city's conservative atmosphere, Kessler shifted his artistic endeavors to Berlin, never again establishing Weimar as his creative home base. The same anti-modernist sentiment that drove Kessler away would later contribute to the resignation of van de Velde from the directorship of the Weimar Arts School during World War I. However, the legacy of Kessler and his associates was not entirely erased. Van de Velde's school would eventually evolve into the renowned Bauhaus, with van de Velde himself appointing Walther Gropius (1883-1969) as his successor.[lxxv] In retrospect, the choice of Weimar as a stronghold for modernism proved to be a misstep. The conservative opposition exploited Weimar's rich cultural heritage, invoking the legacies of renowned artists, playwrights, and musicians who had once called the city home, to bolster their arguments against the modernist movement and undermine the efforts of visionaries like Kessler, van de Velde, and Gropius.

Kessler and Nietzsche (1891-1914)

One of Kessler's most important contributions to culture in Germany (and beyond) was not necessarily in the realm of visual art, but in philosophy, due to his unique relationship with Friedrich Nietzsche. Nietzsche was a German philosopher, cultural critic, and poet who had a profound influence on modern intellectual history. He is known for his critical texts on religion, morality, contemporary culture, philosophy, and science, displaying a fondness for metaphor,

irony, and aphorism. Some of his key ideas include the Übermensch, the death of God, the will to power, and eternal recurrence.

From an initial interest in Nietzsche, Kessler would eventually go on to cultivate a relationship with the man and those around him. After Nietzsche's death, Kessler became a critical figure in shaping Nietzsche's philosophy and legacy by playing a role in the preservation, interpretation, and promulgation of Nietzsche's ideas.

Kessler was among the first generation of German readers to discover Nietzsche. Kessler first mentioned his reading of Nietzsche's works in 1891 while at Leipzig University. In particular, Kessler took a liking to Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886). Section 256 of that book read like a manifesto of cosmopolitan thinking. In that part of the book, Nietzsche excoriates the "morbid estrangement which the lunacy of nationality has produced and continues to produce between the peoples of Europe" and declares them as unmistakable signs that "Europe wants to become one."[lxxvi] His aspiration for a united Europe was an important philosophical justification for both part of his career as a diplomat and part of himself as a cosmopolitan. Kessler's reception of Nietzsche, who clearly reckons art as the source of cultural and personal renewal and the road to the unity of Europe, was likely the main reason for Kessler's shifting interest from law and diplomacy to the arts after his 1893-1894 Potsdam military service.

From the time Kessler first read Nietzsche, he would often refer to Nietzsche's ideas in his social commentaries and philosophical musings. This engagement with Nietzsche, including both his ideas and related affairs, would gradually increase, and by the time of Nietzsche's death

in 1900, as Easton rightly described, Kessler would spend "more time on obsequies of Nietzsche than that of his own father."[lxxvii]

Though Kessler admired Nietzsche's ideas, Kessler remained a critical reader, keeping distance from the fervor of Nietzsche's fanatical worshippers. Kessler stated that:

> Who only picks and chooses from Nietzsche's dogmas or, just the opposite, bewitched by the magic of his language, allows himself to be seduced into thinking them true, must always misjudge him, or apply a mistaken, incommensurable standard to him.[lxxviii]

Kessler was a careful reader of Nietzsche and, at times, used Nietzsche's ideas as a contrast against which he could form his own beliefs. Nothing perhaps illustrates this manner better than Kessler's commentary on Nietzsche's explanation of *schadenfreude*, the enjoyment obtained from the trouble of others. In 1895, the young Kessler wrote

> [*schadenfreude*] has much more complicated origins than those Nietzsche gives…First of all our vanity is tickled…[but] our instinct for self-preservation has its say. The suffering which has struck the other could have struck us…Perhaps this ingredient forms the the bridge between schadenfreude and compassion, and probably the two emotions are closely related.[lxxix]

Kessler was thus not a dogmatic follower of Nietzsche, but used interactions with Nietzsche's work as a kind of "dialogue," with Kessler carefully examining Nietzsche's ideas, taking what he liked, and rejecting or minimizing the things that he thought were unreasonable or problematic.

Though the then-27-year-old Kessler had not yet met Nietzsche, Nietzsche probably would have appreciated Kessler's approach, as Nietzsche disliked dogmatically imposing ideas on others.[lxxx]

Certainly unknown to Kessler when he was young, Kessler would make a shift from being a reader and admirer of Nietzsche to actively shaping his works and their reception in Germany. In 1889, Nietzsche suffered a mental breakdown, ending his career as a writer and philosopher; he would die of illness 11 years later in 1900. While Nietzsche the person had passed away, his legacy and works were becoming more popular and a fight over his legacy would begin.

Kessler possessed a cosmopolitan understanding of Nietzsche's ideas, which was in stark contrast to the nationalist narrative promoted by Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche (1846-1935), Nietzsche's younger sister. In 1893, Förster-Nietzsche began to care for her brother full time and created the "Nietzsche Archive" in order to both preserve her brother's work, as well as benefit financially from becoming the sole source of primary documents by Nietzsche. Förster-Nietzsche and her late husband, Bernhard Förster (1843-1889),[lxxxi] were German nationalists and antisemites and Förster-Nietzsche, through her control of documents and copyright, sought to create an ultra-nationalist portrait of Nietzsche. Suing any challengers, mostly Friedrich Nietzsche's close friends, she tried to restrict others from publishing compromising and contradictory material to her nationalist narrative.

Kessler was in touch with Förster-Nietzsche through *Pan* as he began to involve himself in arranging, publishing, and occasionally republishing Nietzsche's works. In 1895, with Förster-Nietzsche's permission, the previously unpublished text "The Giant" was published in *Pan*.[lxxxii] From that point forward, Kessler arranged for the publication of further unpublished works, such

as “From the Saying of Zarathustra,” some of Nietzsche's poetry, and “Five Letters from Friends.”[lxxxiii]

Beginning in 1896, Kessler provided financial backing to the Nietzsche Archive and became more involved with Nietzsche’s works. In January 1896, Kessler pledged 6,000 marks to help secure a bank loan of 30,000 marks for the Archive. [lxxxiv] The loan was then used by Förster-Nietzsche to gain formal ownership and full control of her brother’s writings from her mother.[lxxxv] Kessler’s motivation was to ensure that more of Nietzsche’s unpublished works could be published in *Pan*: he was told by Förster-Nietzsche that further publication was opposed by Nietzsche’s mother, who was then serving as Nietzsche’s legal guardian. Kessler knew that Nietzsche still had many unpublished manuscripts. His admiration of Nietzsche and the devotion to the cause of the arts thus drove him to provide financial backing as the cost of ensuring these works saw the light of day. Unfortunately, as Kessler would later discover, Förster-Nietzsche had lied to him: Nietzsche’s mother did not actually oppose the publication of Nietzsche’s unpublished works.[lxxxvi] Förster-Nietzsche, knowing that Kessler was wealthy and dedicated to the arts, used Kessler’s money to take control of all of Nietzsche’s writings. With control over Nietzsche’s papers, Förster-Nietzsche sought to advance an idea of her brother and his work as promoting German nationalism and antisemitism.

Though Kessler was developing a positive relationship with Förster-Nietzsche, Kessler noticed some things that worried him. In 1896, Kessler discussed with Förster-Nietzsche the idea of publishing *Ecce Homo* (1888), Nietzsche’s autobiographical writing and his last book. Förster-Nietzsche refused to publish the work as it contained uncomplimentary comments about her. Förster-Nietzsche’s pride and her unwillingness to publish the works of this great man upset

Kessler. He realized that Förster-Nietzsche did not share his dedication to spreading Nietzsche's work in its original form.

In 1897, Kessler met Friedrich Nietzsche for the first time. Kessler noted in his diary that "[Nietzsche] lay sleeping on a sofa. The mighty head rested, as if too heavy for his neck, sunk on his chest, hanging halfway to the right… In his flat, loose face deep furrows from thought and desire are engraved but gradually fading and becoming smooth again."[lxxxvii] Thereafter, Kessler often visited and spent the night when he discussed publication-related affairs with Förster-Nietzsche, giving Kessler some time with Nietzsche in the latter's final years. Sometimes, Kessler would hold Nietzsche's hand and stare at him while the sick man also looked up at him, "earnest and peaceful like a beautiful, loyal animal." In other times, Kessler found himself aroused from sleep as he "heard two or three times the long, raw, moaning sounds which [Nietzsche] screamed into the night with all his might; then all was still again."[lxxxviii] Kessler's diary entries of these instances are some of the only surviving accounts of Nietzsche after the latter was stricken with mental and physical illness.

Even with his concerns about her, Kessler never ceased contact with Förster-Nietzsche and continued to try to persuade her to permit the publication of Nietzsche's works. His approach to Förster-Nietzsche could then be perceived as in part pragmatic: he needed to collaborate with her to publish or republish Nietzsche's works, and he had to both confront and collaborate with her to promote a cosmopolitan interpretation of Nietzsche's philosophy.

Though Kessler never became a close friend to Förster-Nietzsche, their relationship continued. Förster-Nietzsche was amicable towards Kessler, perhaps for his noble identity or because of her affinity toward charismatic young men. Even so, Kessler did not think particularly

highly of Förster-Nietzsche. He disliked what he considered her poor taste, but far more serious was her arbitrary management of the Archive and her appointment of nationalist and antisemitic editors to the Archive.[lxxxix] In August 1897, Förster-Nietzsche offered Kessler the editor position of the Nietzsche Archive, which he carefully and politely declined.

In the final issue of *Pan*, Kessler placed at the center a rather unidealized portrait etching of the old and incapacitated philosopher based on photographs taken in the summer of 1899, a year before Nietzsche's death.[xc] The realistic approach in Kessler's arrangement was in contrast to Förster-Nietzsche and other Nietzsche's followers, who deified the philosopher. Next to the etching Kessler added a biographical sketch, "Some Things About our Ancestors," written by Förster-Nietzsche. This inclusion was probably Kessler's attempt to placate Förster-Nietzsche, for she had originally opposed inclusion of the etching that showed her brother as a weak and old.[xci]

In August 1900 Nietzsche died and Kessler, then in Paris for the World's Fair, booked a train ticket to Weimar immediately after receiving the news from Förster-Nietzsche.[xcii] Kessler arrived the next day and arranged to make Nietzsche's death mask with the help of a young designer. He remarked that "the wide, arched forehead, the robust, powerful jaw and cheekbone appear still more sharply under the skin than when [Nietzsche] was alive. The total impression is one of strength despite the pain." Eventually, it was Kessler who closed Nietzsche's eyes for the final time before closing his coffin. Nietzsche's life ended, but the struggle for his legacy would continue.

Kessler soon formulated an idea of memorializing Nietzsche, though he focused on his role as a museum curator until 1905. In February 1905, Kessler discussed designing a bust of

Nietzsche with sculptor Auguste Rodin, who was reluctant to take the commission. He cited the "great difficulty of doing someone whom he had never seen alive."[xciii] Though Kessler assured him that Nietzsche's death mask could make up for the absence of the model, Kessler failed to persuade Rodin, and Kessler's plan to commemorate Nietzsche continued in limbo.

In 1908, Förster-Nietzsche established the Nietzsche Archive Foundation to formalize the archive's operation, and a seat on the board was given to Kessler. Talks on planning a memorial of Nietzsche soon began and lasted three years: a finalized, detailed plan was not made until 1911 when the board agreed upon the completion date of the memorial—1914, what would have been Nietzsche's seventieth birthday. While van de Velde proposed a great hall, Förster-Nietzsche, concerned with the archive's financial difficulties, proposed to construct a "modest temple." Kessler, on the other hand, envisioned a much more grandiose temple that would serve as both a physical manifestation of Nietzsche's ideas,[xciv] but would also advance a cosmopolitan interpretation of Nietzsche's ideas.

Kessler believed that Nietzsche's worldview was embodied by Apollonian principles and Dionysian principles. According to Nietzsche, Apollo represents harmony, progress, clarity, logic and the principle of individuation; Dionysus represents disorder, intoxication, emotion, ecstasy and unity. Kessler saw these values and combinations of them as the embodiment of Nietzsche's beliefs, not nationalism or conservatism, as Förster-Nietzsche and some of her supporters maintained. In Kessler's plan, a naked youth carved by Aristide Maillol would be featured in the courtyard to represent the Apollonian principles, and bas reliefs as well as a bust of Nietzsche within the temple would be designed by Klinger to symbolize the spirit of Dionysus. Quotes from Nietzsche would be carved by Eric Gill (1882-1940) into the temple's walls.[xcv] This

temple would, if completed, consolidate a cosmopolitan interpretation of Nietzsche's philosophy and would make it extremely hard to change that.

Though Förster-Nietzsche was initially reserved in her attitude on Kessler's plan, with his eloquence, Kessler persuaded her to go forward with it in 1911.[xcvi] The informal committee on organizing Nietzsche's memorial was then transformed into a formal board with Kessler as president. This time, Förster-Nietzsche was not a member of the board, likely due to Kessler's fear of her influence over the project. Regardless, Kessler still had to seek permission from Förster-Nietzsche on important decisions. For instance, the board soon decided to add a stadium next to the temple so that the memorial better represented Nietzsche's ideas and practically that gymnastic clubs and sport leagues would help finance the memorial's construction. Nevertheless, Förster-Nietzsche was horrified by the addition of a stadium, believing that this was financially impractical. Kessler wrote letters to her, explaining that "Your brother was the first . . . to teach joy in one's body, on physical strength and beauty; the first who brought physical culture, force, and grace back into relation with the spirit and the highest things."[xcvii] Förster-Nietzsche eventually consented that the stadium could be built if enough money was collected by fundraising.[xcviii] From 1912-1913, Kessler and his board waited for more funding. They sold facsimile editions of Nietzsche's works and introduced an 8000 *mark* subscription–Walther Reinhardt (1872-1930) in Berlin, Richard Strauss in Paris, Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) in Vienna, and many others were all subscribers.[xcix] Through these methods, Kessler and the board did collect a substantial amount of funding.

The outbreak of World War I in 1914, however, changed the plan. The grand memorial envisioned by Kessler never came to fruition, as the war shattered the cultural milieu that had

made such a scheme seem feasible. In the meantime, Förster-Nietzsche exploited the war to further distort her brother's legacy, publishing articles claiming Nietzsche would have supported the war, despite his disdain for German nationalism. The German government even distributed 150,000 copies of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* to soldiers, alongside the Bible.[c]

In the post-war years, the battle over Nietzsche's legacy was dominated by Förster-Nietzsche. By then a member of the ultra-conservative German National People's Party, she actively cultivated far-right admirers of Nietzsche, especially those willing to financially support the Nietzsche Archive. Kessler, dismayed by this development, lamented in 1932, "It is enough to make one weep to see what has become of Nietzsche and the Nietzsche Archives."[ci]

Under the Third Reich, Förster-Nietzsche's years of molding Nietzsche's work and memory to align with her right-wing beliefs paid off. Nazi leadership hailed Nietzsche as a hero, and starting in 1934, Hitler personally awarded Förster-Nietzsche a monthly stipend in recognition of her services in promoting Nietzsche's work. When she died in 1935, Hitler himself attended her memorial service,[cii] a final testament to her success in shaping Nietzsche's legacy to suit her own ideological agenda.

Ultimately, Kessler failed to find an effective outlet to opine his cosmopolitan interpretation of Nietzsche in his lifetime since the only outlet was controlled by Förster-Nietzsche. However, Kessler's meticulous documentation of his struggle against Förster-Nietzsche and his insights into the manipulation of Nietzsche's legacy have proven invaluable to post-World War II scholars.[ciii] By providing an insider's perspective on the battle over Nietzsche's ideas, Kessler's accounts have helped modern researchers piece together a more accurate and nuanced understanding of the philosopher's beliefs and intentions. In this way,

although Kessler may have lost the battle in his own time, his efforts have contributed significantly to the ongoing process of reclaiming Nietzsche's legacy from the distortions imposed upon it by his sister and the ideological movements she supported.

Historiography

Kessler's diaries and his prominent social engagements have made him a pivotal reference and source of evidence in publications focused on other figures and topics, yet academic investigations specifically centered on Kessler, in the English-speaking scholarly domain, including translations from German, remain relatively few in number. Discussions of Kessler in non-German and non-English speaking countries are even more sparse. This pattern underscores the unique position Kessler occupies in historical scholarship, more often illuminating the lives and times of his contemporaries than being directly examined himself. Nevertheless, owing to Kessler's vibrant social network and a plethora of historical materials—including letters, diaries, obituaries, recorded conversations, interviews, and writings from Kessler's circle of friends and acquaintances—scholars frequently reference his observations.[civ]

First-hand accounts from many who met Kessler provided detailed portraits on certain attributes of Kessler, noticeably those that can be attributed to his nationality, family, education, and/or sense of belonging. German Artist George Grosz (1893-1959), who later migrated to the United States, recalled Kessler as "perhaps the last great gentleman he had encountered," highlighting Kessler's quality mostly derived from his partly British education and ancestry.[cv] No one perhaps provides a better encapsulation of Kessler's many qualities better than Franco-

German novelist Annette Kolb (1870-1967). In her tribute to Kessler after his death, she said of Kessler

> Sometimes he appeared German, sometimes English, sometimes French, so European was his character. In truth the arts were his home. For he reacted to everything artistic with a storm like swiftness; even in music, of which he was an ardent enthusiast, he was always first to make a discovery, in this so like his friend [novelist Hugo von] Hofmannsthal…He took part fully in the fate of the world, especially in Germany's misfortune at the end of the war. He placed his great speaking talent in the service of reconstruction and in the detoxification of the atmosphere. One could hear Harry Kessler back then in the meeting halls of the small border cities, as, surrounded by great crowds, he explained Germany's situation to the people, who found consolation and hope in his words and could take heart in them…He was in his seventieth year when he died; those who didn't know that would scarcely have believed it. Sickness often, but never old age, afflicted him. What a lesson such an existence teaches us, and what a worthy exit it was allowed to find![cvi]

Compared to those who knew Kessler in person, Kessler's biographers and editors of his writings were those who attempted to evaluate Kessler's life as a whole. Gerhard Schuster, the editor of Kessler's collected writings, asserted that Kessler's life was too enigmatic and fragmented to yield any meaningful outcome or inspiration. He remarked that

> Harry Kessler's biography lacks guidelines in the same way his diary foregoes all perambulatory justifications. No, to treat him as simply 'a child of his times,' measuring, comparing and ordering is not the way to comprehend such an existence.[cvii]

Conversely, biographer Laird M. Easton reckoned that "the raw material of all lives is chaotic" and it would be the job for posterity to organize the clutter into a plausible arrangement. Besides, he added that Kessler's long diaries provided " a thread of Ariadne to traverse this labyrinth."[cviii]

In considering Kessler as a dilettante who refused to abide to professional narrow rules, Easton states that it was this "never-lost contact to the world…that makes him a figure of enduring interest," ensuring that his diaries are intriguing and worth-reading "so long as men can breathe, and eyes can see."[cix] Many historians, including Robert Gerwarth, would agree in the value of Kessler's diaries, especially his detailed portrait of many renowned figures, only possible thanks to his extensive social life and dabbles in many fields. On the other hand, Gerwarth also pointed out that such a lifestyle was based on Kessler's "fortunate position of never having to work too hard": Kessler's noble identity permitted him entrance into the European high social life, and the huge wealth Kessler inherited from his father allowed him to become a respected patron in touch with many talented and famous artists.[cx] Theodore Fiedler noted that "Kessler seems to have been destined by family background, circumstance, and connections, as well as by education and temperament, to play a leading role in the politics that attended the emergence of modernism in the visual arts in turn-of-the-century Germany."[cxi]

Regarding Kessler's view on race, Dutch writer Ian Buruma adopted a critical and pessimistic stance.[cxii] He labelled Kessler's focus on physical appearance as indicative of racist attitudes. In this he pointed to Kessler's apathy to (and possibly hatred of) blacks and allusions to

antisemitism in Kessler's writings. Buruma observes with displeasure that even for a man so cosmopolitan as Kessler, Kessler apparently felt little for the dehumanization of people of color. For example, when observing a game "tossing a pin at a live Negro," Kessler made no evident disapproval and instead recorded the disturbing details of the scene: "[the black man] sticks his head through a hole and for a penny anyone who wishes can throw a ball at his skull; who hits the target gets a prize." This, according to Buruma, exemplified Kessler's tacit acceptance of racial inequality.[cxiii]

On antisemitism, Buruma critiques Kessler's comments about his friend's Jewish wife, Isi, as evidence of his antisemitism, "Isi has something physically repellent for me, as if she belonged to another species." Despite noting Kessler's friendships with Jewish individuals like Walther Rathenau (1967-1922), [cxiv] Buruma ultimately concludes that Kessler harbored fundamentally racist views, and thus, he expressed lament and disappointment that an intellectual of his stature could succumb to the same racist ideologies prevalent in Germany before and during the Nazi era. In his words, "Cultural sophistication, alas, is no prophylactic against the allure of terrible ideas."[cxv] He also believed that this racist element must be viewed in tandem with Kessler's overall social and political views: this might explain Kessler's initial champion of World War I. In contrast, Easton characterizes Kessler's attention on races as "occasional eugenic musings" and a general interest in "physical appearance" of humans

In fact, Kessler was not a hardline antisemite like Förster-Nietzsche and wrote a highly positive biography of Walther-Rathenau.[cxvi] In the biography, Kessler included Walther-Rathenau's own words intended to break antisemitic bias, "Although a Jew, I am not by nature suspicious, but, on the contrary, eager to trust people."[cxvii] These views, while somewhat

progressive (or at least not actively malicious) for their time, showed that antisemitism was deeply ingrained in Europe. It is also hard to deny that Kessler's views on race were, sadly, consistent with those of his time, but considering his actions throughout his life and his writing of Walther-Rathenau's biography, it is clear that there existed a complex relationship between his biases and cosmopolitanism.

Conclusion

The late life of Kessler in the 1930s was miserable. First, Kessler lost his fortune because of the collapse of the German economy and the Great Depression. Kessler was forced to sell most of his arts collections to keep his press running, including works by Van Gogh. Starting in the summer of 1930, Kessler reluctantly asked for loans from his sister Wilma because he saw impatient sales of his collections as "throwing away between 200,000 and 300,000 Marks."[cxviii] He assured her that the loans would be soon paid back after the invaluable paintings by Van Gogh were sold. Yet, amid the political whirlwind from 1932-1933, Adolf Hitler and the Nazis rose to power. To avoid the violence amid the last Nazi election in March 1933, Kessler decided to leave Germany for Paris. Ten days later, Kessler learned that he could never return to his homeland, or he would face imprisonment for his championing of "degenerate" art and ideas. His denunciation of the Nazis in February 1933 certainly did not help his precarious status in Germany.[cxix] Kessler left most of his belongings in Germany because he did not anticipate that he had be going to exile; his possessions were confiscated by the Nazi government not long thereafter. As a result, for the rest of his life, Kessler relied on loans from his sister's family.

After March 1933, Kessler eventually decided to settle in Palma, the capital city of Mallorca, largest of Spain's Balearic Islands. This settlement was to avoid the rumbustious exile politics, partly due to old age, and partly to avoid having his German passport revoked: he was still officially a German citizen, and he ultimately longed to set foot on his homeland once again.

Kessler's plight incentivized him to start writing his memoir to ease his economic woe and to divert his attention from the dreary reality of the 1930s. Because of illness, his writings were intermittent and generally slow. By the time he had completed his first volume, the Spanish Civil War had broken out, and Kessler escaped to Pontanevaux, France. His last diary entry recorded that "the little town…is reminiscent in style and atmosphere of Weimar, but is of a much more southern character." On November 30, 1937, Kessler passed away. Heartbroken, his sister, Wilma, added on the last entry of his diary "Don't leave me."[cxx]

When Kessler died, few of his friends attended his funeral, some of whom had passed away while others were in exile far from France. Even for those in Germany, few dared to attend the funeral of a "subversive" cosmopolitan.[cxxi] The poorly attended funeral was a microcosm of the apparent effects of Kessler's life on Germany and Europe. The tumultuous world meant his death hardly caused a ripple on a sea already roaring with waves: few had surplus time to commemorate him as the world was once again on a road to war.

Modern-day critics can question the meaning of Kessler's life on several grounds. Firstly, the 1939 collapse of international peace seems a direct proof of Kessler's failure in achieving his cosmopolitan vision. Most of his efforts were undone by the rise of the Nazis: arts exhibitions and publications he helped organize were banned in Germany, and the Nietzsche Archive became a hub for the Nazis. In short, with rising nationalistic sentiment in the 1930s, Kessler's

cosmopolitan ideal was no longer avant-garde but outdated. Secondly, one could also question his lifestyle, for he belonged to the last generation of European aristocrats, soon to be destroyed by World War II.

Nevertheless, such pessimistic view goes too far. Although Kessler failed to see his cosmopolitan vision realized in his lifetime or the imminent future, it hardly nullifies his efforts and lifelong aspirations. For one thing, Kessler was undeniably fighting an uphill battle, advocating for globalization and interconnectedness during an era of heightened nationalism and political fragmentation. From a historical perspective, no matter how capable individuals may be, they can still be overtaken by the forces of geopolitics. In Kessler's particularly transformational epoch, many other powerful minds, including his friends Albert Einstein and Walther-Rathenau, could hardly resist the trend of their time. Einstein went into exile while Walther-Rathenau was assassinated by the extreme rightists. There was a limit to what individuals could accomplish.

Parts of Kessler's cosmopolitanism started gaining momentum after World War II. In 1950, some former members of the German Arts Association, disbanded in 1936, re-established the organization, picking up the thread of modern, cosmopolitan art.[cxxii] Today, the association continues to take political initiatives and organize numerous annual exhibitions. Members of the association still regard Kessler as its founder.[cxxiii] When extending the timeframe further, the 1993 formation of the European Union was also in accord with Kessler's yearning for a united Europe. Hence, Kessler's endeavor towards cosmopolitanism was hardly in vain and holds value even today.

Kessler was not forgotten, either. Along with the continuation of the German Arts Association, research on Kessler and his cosmopolitan projects started in the 1960s as many

extricated themselves from the aftermath of World War II. The 1983 discovery of Kessler's earlier dairies on the Island of Mallorca sparked further enthusiasm and interests in researching Kessler. Regarding doubts about his lifestyle as a dilettante, such doubts can be understood, but specialization is a focus of our time, not his. Kessler lived at a time when development of multiple skillsets and cultivating multitudinous interests increased one's adaptability in an era of uncertainty. It will be the human ability to make creative connections between fields of study, such as the arts, politics, and philosophy, that can stand out from the astonishing computational capabilities of emerging technologies. Perhaps the early 21st century is not so unlike the early 20th century in which Kessler lived.

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[i] Ross, "Diary of an Aesthete." "A Saint-Simon of Our Time," *New York Review of Books*, August 31, 1972. Auden says that Kessler seems to have known everybody except T.S. Eliot and Winston Churchill. Kessler, in fact, missed having met Churchill by a school term.

[ii] Wystan Hugh Auden was a British-American poet. He read and annotated the English editions of Kessler's diaries.

[iii] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*.

[iv] Wright, "The Taylor Collection."

[v] Wright.

[vi] *The Memoirs of Prince von Bü low,* vol. 3 (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1931), 502–3.

[vii] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, 16.

[viii] *The Memoirs of Prince von Bü low,* vol. 3 (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1931), 502–3.

[ix] von Kessler, *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918*, xx.

[x] Kessler, 54–60.

[xi] For Kessler's version of the "Bü low Affair," see *Gesammelte Schriften [Collected Writing]*, 76 – 78; see also Bü low, *Memoirs,* 502 – 3, cited in Laird Easton, *The Red Count* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 18.

[xii] *Gesammelte Schriften [Collected Writing]*, 98-99, cited in Laird Easton, *The Red Count* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 23.

[xiii] von Kessler, *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918*, 3.

[xiv] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, 24.

[xv] George Grosz, Briefe (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1979), 305; Max Beckmann, Tagebücher, 1940–1950 (Munich: Langen Müller, 1979). September 18 and 21, 1944, 98–99.

[xvi] It included Roger Fry and Claud Schuster, later permanent secretary to the prime minister.
[xvii] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, 29.
[xviii] *Gesammelte Schriften[collected writing],* 123-24 cited in Easton, 25–31.
[xix] *Gesammelte Schriften [collected writing],* 125-28 cited in Easton, 25–31.
[xx] *Gesammelte Schriften [collected writing],* 104-21, 120-21 cited in Easton, 25–31.
[xxi] Gesammelte Schriften *[Collected Writing*, 89 cited in Easton, 25–31.
[xxii] von Kessler, *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918*, 4–42.
[xxiii] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, 32–36.
[xxiv] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*.
[xxv] *Gesammelte Schriften [Collected Writing],* 158 cited in Easton, 25–31.
[xxv] Gesammelte Schriften *[Collected Writing]*, 89 cited in Easton, 36-41.
[xxvi] Wundt, "Classics in the History of Psychology -- Wundt (1897) Section 7."
[xxvii] Empire.
[xxviii] von Kessler, *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918*, 30–42.
[xxix]*Gesammelte Schriften [Collected Writing],* 221–23 cited in Easton, 41-52.
[xxix] Gesammelte Schriften *[Collected Writing*, 89 cited in Easton, 25–31.
[xxx] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, 47.
[xxxi] Levi P. Morton (1824–1920) was the vice president under Benjamin Harrison, 1889–1893.
[xxxii] Benjamin Harrison (1833–1901) was the twenty-third president of the United States and was in office from 1889 to 1893. von Kessler, *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918*, 10-42. See also the description of his White House visit in his memoirs, *Gesammelte Schriften [Collected Writing],* 242. This criticism of the United States could be found across the political spectrum in Germany; Heinrich von Treitschke alluded to it in his lecture, "The Democratic Republic," in Politics, ed. Hans Kohn, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1963), 219.
[xxxiii] von Kessler, *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918*, 56–57.
[xxxiv] von Kessler,57.
[xxxv] von Kessler, 76-77.
[xxxvi] von Kessler, 77.
[xxxvii] von Kessler, 87-143
[xxxviii] von Kessler, 278.
[xxxix] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, 99.
[xl] Easton, 99.

[xlii] Foundation of the Weimar Classical Period et al., "Classical Weimar."
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (28 August 1749 – 22 March 1832) was a German polymath and writer.
Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (10 November 1759 – 9 May 1805) was a German polymath and poet, playwright, historian, philosopher, physician, lawyer.
[xliii] Max Liebermann (20 July 1847 – 8 February 1935) was a German painter and printmaker, and one of the leading proponents of Impressionism in Germany and continental Europe.
[xliv] Covington and Tribune, "Weimar Dons the Mantle of Europe's Capital of Culture."
[xlv] Max Liebermann (20 July 1847 – 8 February 1935) was a German painter and printmaker, and one of the leading proponents of Impressionism in Germany and continental Europe.
Arnold Böcklin (16 October 1827 – 16 January 1901) was a Swiss Symbolist painter, best known for his painting, *Isle of the Dead*.
Richard Georg Strauss (11 June 1864 – 8 September 1949) was a German composer and conductor best known for his tone poems and operas.
[xlvi] Foundation of the Weimar Classical Period et al., "Classical Weimar."
[xlvii] Tiergarten was and still is the largest inner-city park in Berlin.
[xlviii] Quoted in Die Berliner Moderne, 1885–1914, ed. Jürgen Schutte and Peter Sprengel (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1987), 572; *Gesammelte Schriften [Collected Writing],* 194 cited in Easton, 36-41.
[xlix] von Kessler, 30-33.

[l] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, 64.
[li] Easton, 69.
[lii] Symbolism was a late 19th-century art movement of French and Belgian origin in poetry and other arts seeking to represent absolute truths symbolically through language and metaphorical images, mainly as a reaction against naturalism and realism. Naturalism was a literary movement from the late 19th and early 20th centuries that analyzed human nature through a scientific, objective, and detached perspective. It observed how environmental, social, and hereditary factors impacted human nature.
[liii] Taylor, "1.7: Modernism and Symbolism."
[liv] Fiedler, "Weimar Contra Berlin," 110-112.
[lv] Richard Fedor Leopold Dehmel (18 November 1863 – 8 February 1920) was a German poet and writer.
[lvi] Hugo Laurenz August Hofmann von Hofmannsthal (1 February 1874 – 15 July 1929) was an Austrian novelist, librettist, poet, dramatist, narrator, and essayist.
[lvii] Arno Hermann Oscar Alfred Holz (26 April 1863 – October 1929) was a German naturalist poet and dramatist. He was nominated for a Nobel prize in literature nine times.
[lviii] Lovis Corinth (21 July 1858 – 17 July 1925) was a German artist and writer whose mature work as a painter and printmaker realized a synthesis of impressionism and expressionism.
[lix] Max Dauthendey (25 July 1867 – 29 August 1918) was a German author and painter of the impressionist period.
[lx] Edvard Munch (12 December 1863 – 23 January 1944) was a Norwegian painter. His 1893 work, *The Scream*, has become one of Western art's most acclaimed images. Henry Clemens van de Velde (3 April 1863 – 15 October 1957) was a Belgian painter, architect, interior designer, and art theorist.
[lxi] Wilhem Ernst's grandfather was Charles Alexander (Karl Alexander August Johann; 24 June 1818 – 5 January 1901), the ruler of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach and its grand duke from 1853 until his death in 1901.
[lxii] Johannes Wilhelm (Hans) Olde (27 April 1855– 25 October 1917) was a German painter and art school administrator.
[lxiii] Pointillism is a technique of painting in which small, distinct dots of color are applied in patterns to form an image. It was developed in the late 1880s.
[lxiv] Wolfgang von Oettingen (birth and death unknown) was the standing secretary of the Academy of Art.
[lxv] Eugène Henri Paul Gauguin (7 June 1848 – 8 May 1903) was a French painter, sculptor, printmaker, ceramist, and writer, whose work has been primarily associated with the Post-Impressionist and Symbolist movements. Max Klinger (18 February 1857 – 5 July 1920) was a German artist who produced significant work in painting, sculpture, prints and graphics, as well as writing a treatise articulating his ideas on art and the role of graphic arts and printmaking in relation to painting.
[lxvi] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, 124-134.
[lxvii] Easton, 107.
[lxviii] Easton, 110.
[lxix] Easton, 114.
[lxx] The signatories of the two letters are listed in Kessler 1988, 2:313-314 cited in Fiedler, 119. See also Bodenhausen/ Kessler 1978, 175, and Van de Velde 1962, 273-277, for additional details of Kessler's initiatives and the London exhibition.
[lxxi] Fiedler, "Weimar Contra Berlin," 119. The International Association of Lyceum Clubs was a women's club founded in London, England in 1903 by Constance Smedley.
[lxxii] von Kessler, *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918, 373-375*.
[lxxiii] Buruma, *Theater of Cruelty: Art, Film, and the Shadow of Wars*, 208.
[lxxiv] von Kessler, *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918*, 854.
[lxxv] Walter Adolph Georg Gropius was a German-American architect and founder of the Bauhaus School.
[lxxvi] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, 44.
[lxxvii] von Kessler, *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918*, 40–41.
[lxxviii] von Kessler, 40-41.
[lxxix] von Kessler, 30-41.
[lxxx] Prideaux, *I Am Dynamite!*, 269–70.
[lxxxi] Ludwig Bernhard Förster (31 March 1843 – 3 June 1889) was a German teacher and anti-Semitic activist.

[lxxxii] Nietzsche, "'Der Riese' [The Giant]."
[lxxxiii] Fiedler, "Weimar Contra Berlin," 111–12.
[lxxxiv] von Kessler, *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918,* 140-157.
[lxxxv] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, 92.
[lxxxvi] Franziska Nietzsche (February 2, 1826 – April 20, 1897) was a German pastor's daughter and wife as well as the mother of Friedrich Nietzsche.
[lxxxvii] von Kessler, *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918*, 188–89.
[lxxxviii] von Kessler, 190.
[lxxxix] Fiedler, "Weimar Contra Berlin," 111–12.
[xc] Fiedler, 110–11.
[xci] Fiedler, 110–11.
[xcii] von Kessler, *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918*, 231.
The Exposition Universelle of 1900, better known in English as the 1900 Paris Exposition, was a world's fair held in Paris, France, from 14 April to 12 November 1900, to celebrate the achievements of the past century and to accelerate development into the next.
[xciii] von Kessler, 331–32.
[xciv] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, 191–92.
[xcv] von Kessler, *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918*, 505–6.
[xcvi] von Kessler, 505-506.
[xcvii] Kessler to Fö rster-Nietzsche, April 15, 1911, GSA 72 1393 cited in Easton, 191-201.
[xcviii] Hindley, "Nietzsche Is Dead."
[xcix] Walther Gustav Reinhardt (24 March 1872– 8 August 1930) was a German officer who served as the last Prussian Minister of War and the first head of the army command within the newly created Ministry of the Reichswehr of the Weimar Republic.
Gustav Mahler (7 July 1860 – 18 May 1911) was an Austro-Bohemian Romantic composer, and one of the leading conductors of his generation.
Richard Georg Strauss (11 June 1864 – 8 September 1949) was a German composer and conductor best known for his tone poems and operas.
[c] Hindley, "Nietzsche Is Dead."
[ci] Kessler, *Berlin in Lights: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler (1918-1937)*, 409–38.
[cii] Hindley, "Nietzsche Is Dead."
[ciii] Post-WWII scholars include Mazzino Montinari and Sue Prideaux etc.
[civ] For example, Richard Evans cited Kessler's accounts of Richard Strauss in his book *The Third Reich in Power*; Modris Ekstein cited Kessler for descriptions of Igor Stravinsky and Vaslav Nijinsky in his book *Rites of Spring*; Sue Prideaux frequently cited Kessler's diaries in her biography on Friedrich Nietzsche.
[cv] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, 3.
[cvi] Kolb, 630-631.
[cvii] Schuster, "Kessler. Tagebuch Eines Weltmannes. Zur Eröffnung Der Jahresausstellung 1988 [Kessler. Diary of a Man of the World. at the Opening of the Annual Exhibition in 1988]" cited in Easton, 7.
[cviii] Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, 7.
[cix] Easton, 411.
[cx] Gerwarth, "The Weimar Republic."
[cxi] Fiedler, "Weimar Contra Berlin," 107.
[cxii] Ian Buruma (1951–) was an editor of the New York Times Review of Books and the Paul W. Williams Professor of Human Rights and Journalism at Bard College. He was a student of Susan Sontag.
[cxiii] Buruma, *Theater of Cruelty: Art, Film, and the Shadow of Wars*, 210.
[cxiv] Walther-Rathenau (1867-1922) was a German industrialist, writer and politician who served as foreign minister of Weimar Germany from February to June 1922. He was assassinated by the far right in June 1922.
[cxv] Buruma, *Theater of Cruelty: Art, Film, and the Shadow of Wars*, 205–17.
[cxvi] Walther Rathenau (September 29, 1867 - June 24, 1922) was a German industrialist , writer and liberal politician.
[cxvii] Kessler, *Walther Rathenau, His Life and Work*, 1–18.

[cxviii] Kessler to Wilma de Brion, November 10, 1920, February 25 and 28, 1931, KN cited in Easton, 386-396.
[cxix] *Twenties,* February 19, 1933, 445–46 cited in Easton, 186-196.
[cxx] Kessler, *Berlin in Lights: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler (1918-1937)*, 24–26.
[cxxi] Maria van Rysselberghe, "Ce matin, obsè ques de Kessler," *Cahiers André Gide:* 6 *Cahiers de la Petite Dame,* 3 (1975), 59 cited in Easton, 398-408.
[cxxii] Fischer and Lauter, *24. Jahresausstellung Mannheim [Mannheim annual exhibition]*.
[cxxiii] "Deutscher Künstlerbund [The German Arts Association]."