CHAPTER 4

Exile, the Avant-Garde, and Dada: Women Artists Active in Switzerland during the First World War

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Abstract

The outbreak of World War I led to the exile of many artists and intellectuals from Germany. Marianne Werefkin and Alexei Jawlensky went to Switzerland. In Zurich, Werefkin came into contact with the artists associated with the Cabaret Voltaire, and in Ascona with the community of Monte Verità. The women artists with whom she was in touch during the war years included the performer and poet Emmy Hennings, the writer and journalist Claire Goll, the dancer and artist Sophie Taeuber, the dancer Clotilde von Derp as well as the artists and future promoters of modernist art in the United States, Hilla Rebay and Emmy Scheyer. The essay sheds new light on the émigré artists' circles active in Switzerland during World War I by highlighting the relationships between these women.

The outbreak of World War I forced many artists and intellectuals living in Germany into exile, among them the cabaret performer Emmy Hennings, the writer Claire Goll, and the painter Marianne Werefkin. In this essay, I explore the situation of these women artists in exile and the conditions under which they attempted to continue their artistic careers, specifically the influence of their interpersonal relationships, which were often intensely close as well as competitive, both personally and professionally, and the importance of their networking and support systems.

Marianne Werefkin and Alexei Jawlensky, living together in Munich in 1914, were classified as enemy aliens and forced to leave Germany immediately at the outbreak of the war. Escorted by police to the border in Lindau, they crossed into Switzerland, leaving behind most of their possessions. With the assistance of Alexander von Chruschtschoff, a Russian nobleman who had a chalet in Lausanne, they were able to rent a small apartment on Rue du Motty in St. Prex, a small fishermen's village on Lake Geneva.¹ There they lived a

rather seclusive but artistically productive life despite the European situation at large and an increasing tension in their relationship. Werefkin reported to Herwarth Walden on May 28, 1915: “We are living out in the country, in a place so tiny one can hardly turn around.”

One of their mutual friends was the dancer, painter, and choreographer Alexander Sacharoff. Sacharoff and Werefkin knew each other from Munich, where Sacharoff had been a member of the Neue Künstlervereinigung München (New Artists’ Association Munich) and worked with Wassily Kandinsky and Thomas von Hartmann on combining music, drawing, and dance into a synthetic work of art. Both Werefkin and Jawlensky had made sketches of his remarkable dance performances and also painted him. Sacharoff, who had been on holiday with his mother in Switzerland, became stranded there at the outbreak of the war. Not being allowed to return to Germany, he found himself in an involuntary “artists’ colony” in Lausanne. In 1916, Sacharoff’s dance partner Clothilde von Derp (1892–1974) joined him. She remembered:

Almost the entire Russian Munich colony was in Switzerland. Alexander had settled in Lausanne. Marianne Werefkin and Jawlensky were in St. Prex. Strawinsky lived in Morges…. Alexander met Strawinsky and Diaghilew at Jacques-Delcroze’s in Geneva. Diaghilew convened his ballet company in Lausanne. They were waiting for Massine, who was coming from Russia and would travel on with the company to America. The famous ballet master Enrico Cecchetti was preparing the group for its tour. Marianne Werefkin knew Diaghilew well and told him about me. He immediately agreed that Cecchetti should also look after me.

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Von Derp—Clotilde Margarete Anna Edle von der Planitz—received ballet lessons as a child from Julie Bergmann and Anna Ornelli of the Munich Opera. In 1910, at the age of eighteen, she gave her first performance using the stage name Clotilde von Derp. Audiences were enthralled by her striking beauty and youthful grace (fig. 4.1); among her admirers were Rainer Maria Rilke and Ivan Goll. Max Reinhardt offered her the title role in his pantomime *Sumurûn*, which proved a great success while on tour in London. From 1913 onward, von Derp performed together with Sacharoff, whom she followed to Switzerland in 1916. In Lausanne, von Derp attended ballet classes with Enrico Cecchetti. Together with Sacharoff, she performed throughout Switzerland in 1916–17, accompanied by Werefkin. Eventually, the couple settled in Zürich, where they were married on July 25, 1919, with Werefkin as their witness (fig. 4.2). Werefkin’s pension had been cut in half following the outbreak of the war and


Figure 4.1
Clotilde von Derp, c. 1914–15
PHOTOGRAPH BY HANNS HOLDT, DTK
payment stopped entirely after the October Revolution of 1917. In search of new sources of income to keep up the household, Werefkin toured once again with the Sacharoffs in 1919–20, serving as stage manager.

After the Sacharoffs had settled in Zürich, Jawlensky also began looking for an apartment there. We know this from another Russian émigré, Ivan Goll, who reported in a letter to his new love and later wife, Claire Goll, from Lausanne on September 16, 1917:

Yesterday I... visited Werefkin.... First of all: she was alone, for eight days already, entirely alone, as Jawlensky and Andre are spending their time in Zurich looking for an apartment. (Did you know that?)

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Then we went for a walk. A divine landscape. The last, calm summer day.... Marianne told me all about her life. All of it. Now I know Jawlenski and—despise him....

After Marianne's confession came mine: we talked a lot about you. How well she knows you.... She thinks very highly of you, expects a great deal from our being together.6

The writer and journalist Claire Goll (née Aischermann; later Studer, then Goll; 1891–1977, fig. 4.3) was one of many pacifists who immigrated to Switzerland during World War I. She enrolled at the University of Geneve, became active in the peace movement, and wrote for a number of leftist newspapers. Werefkin is mentioned in her diary entry from October 18, 1917: “Visited Ehrenstein. Saw Werefkin in the evening, at the train station, just as she was arriving back from

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Freiburg. She kissed me joyfully. I’m happy that she’s here. An enrichment for the city.”

In 1917, Werefkin and Jawlensky moved into an apartment in the Drosselstraße in Zürich-Wollishofen. Jawlensky remembered: “In 1917 we moved from St. Prex to Zurich, where, at the time, Alexander Sacharoff was living with his wife Clothilde von Derp. They were our very best friends. We were in Zurich for half a year. It was an interesting time, during which we met many interesting people.”

During World War I, Zurich served not only as a refuge for pacifists, deserters, and European intellectuals, but also as a center for the artistic avant-garde and as the birthplace of Dadaism. Claire Goll later reported:

When I arrived in Zurich, in mid-1917, still before Goll, there was no sign of Dada fever in the city. As a matter of fact, Switzerland had never seen such a collection of avant-garde heads, from Arp to Stefan Zweig, from Tristan Tzara to Else Lasker-Schüler, from Hugo Ball to Emil Ludwig, and for a time Werfel, Lehmbrock, Janco, Jawlensky, and others. We were outraged by the horrors of the war and fought reactionary art as well as the dishonesty of the word. But the pacifist ideal was not universal. Since our move to Zurich, we’ve been on cordial terms with Arp, Richter, and Hugo Ball. In the literary discussions, there was much talk about Expressionism, Cubism, and Futurism, but the word “Dada” was hardly mentioned at all, other than when someone referred to the journal or the Dada gallery.
The center of Dadaist events was the Cabaret Voltaire, which opened its doors on February 5, 1916, in the Spiegelgasse in Zurich; its organization was in the hands of Hugo Ball, along with Hans Arp, Richard Huelsenbeck, Marcel Janco, Tristan Tzara, and later Hans Richter. The cabaret featured spoken word, dance, and music. The soirees were often raucous events with artists experimenting with new forms of performance such as sound poetry and simultaneous poetry. Hans Richter commented: “It seemed almost as if it was the utter diversity, indeed, the irreconcilability of the character, background, and outlook on life of the Dadaists that was the source of the ‘dynamic’ direct energy behind this fortuitous meeting of people from all corners of the globe.”

The only woman in the Dada circle was Emmy Hennings (1885–1948, fig. 4.4). Hennings was a cabaret performer, chanteuse, and poet who lived a truly bohemian life, traveling with various variété and vaudeville troupes all over Europe and eventually spending extended periods in Berlin and Munich. She performed at the Berlin Café des Westens (Café of the West) and worked as a *diseuse* at the Munich Artists’ Cabaret Simplizissimus, but also wrote poetry and published texts in avant-garde periodicals. Hennings became an intimate of a number of the avant-garde poets, playwrights, and novelists who populated the cafés and clubs in Berlin and Munich. In 1913, she met Hugo Ball at the Café Simplizissimus and in November 1914 she joined him in Berlin. To escape the increasing nationalism, Hennings and Ball left Berlin for Zurich in May 1915. They arrived completely destitute and were dependent on the assistance of Hennings’ literary friends until they found work with a vaudeville troupe.

In 1916, they decided to start their own cabaret and, on February 5, 1916, they opened the Cabaret Voltaire. There Hennings became one of the star attractions; her wide repertoire included popular songs from Denmark, Paris, and Berlin, Chinese ballads, folk songs, her own poems, and poetry written by other dadaists. Hennings’ charisma as a performer and her previous cabaret
experience contributed to the success of the venture; according to the Zuricher Post, Hennings was the “shining star of the Voltaire” and the incarnate cabaret artist of her time. In 1917, Hennings and Ball left their bohemian lifestyle behind, moving to the Tessin and converting to Catholicism. They eventually married on February 21, 1920.

Werefkin and Jawlensky associated with many of the Dadaists, but did not participate in their performances. Hugo Ball noted on June 26, 1917: “Visit from Mme. Werefkin and Jawlensky. They were in Lugano, helped Sacharoff with the staging of his dances and admired Jancos’s pictures.”


Although the Dadaists had their own (if short-lived) venue, most of the intellectuals, writers, and émigrés spent their days in the Zurich coffee houses. Hugo Ball reported to his sister Maria in November 1916: “Here in Zurich, we’ve got the Café des Westens (Berlin) in the flesh. You can see quite clearly just how sick the entire German intelligentsia is. Almost all are on a leave of absence in Switzerland (and perceive their stay as exile).”

The Café de la Terrasse and the Café Odeon were the main meeting places of the Berlin and Munich avant-garde scenes. Claire Goll remembered: “Everyday we went to the café, where I would see once more old friends from the Berlin Café des Westens.” The poet Else Lasker-Schüler was in residence at the Terassen-Café (fig. 4.5). Claire Goll describes her appearance as follows:

At the terrace café, we usually would find Else Lasker-Schüler, surrounded by her court of admirers and playing with bonbons. She always had some with her, in all shapes and colors, wrapped in crinkly cellophane or silver paper. She would fish them out of her handbag, her dress, her

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13 “Hier in Zürich haben wir das leibhaftige Café des Westens (Berlin). Man sieht so recht, wie krank die ganze deutsche Intelligenz ist. Fast alle sind beurlaubt in die Schweiz (und empfinden den Aufenthalt hier als Exil).” Hugo Ball, Letter to Maria Hildebrand-Ball, Zurich, November 28, 1916, in Ball and Hennings, Damals in Zürich, 111.

cleavage, then arrange them on the table into pyramids or use them as dominoes. She even used the sweets for paying, and the waiters would play along, as her reputation as an eccentric was known far and wide.... At the time she was the greatest female poet in Germany and no one dared to refuse her.\textsuperscript{15}

The Café Odeon was another meeting place for intellectuals, writers, and poets:

We spent our afternoons at the Café Odeon, the meeting place of our generation, discussing news of the war and new artistic events, but to a large extent, our conversations turned now to the expressionist dance. The musician Laban had started a dance class on Seehofstraße. Sophie Taeuber, Arp's girlfriend, danced there, and all ballerina fanciers danced along behind.\textsuperscript{16}

Sophie Taeuber (1889–1943, fig. 4.6) was the only Swiss citizen among the émigré artists and while she joined the Dadaists on many occasions, she was also the only one who had a daytime job and a regular income. Starting in May 1916, she was head of the textile department at the Zurich Arts and Crafts School. Taeuber had been born to German parents in Davos, but her mother took up Swiss citizenship after the untimely death of her father. Taeuber studied at the textile department of the École des arts décoratifs in St. Gallen from 1906 to 1910 as well as at the Debschitz-Schule in Munich and the Arts and Crafts School in Hamburg between 1911 and 1914. When World War I broke out, she moved to Zurich. In addition to her art and design work, she began

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  \item \textsuperscript{15} "Im Terassen-Café fanden wir meist, umgeben von einem bewundernden Hofstaat, Else Lasker-Schüler vor, die mit Bonbons spielte. Sie hatte immer welche bei sich, in allen Farben und Formen, in knisterndes Zellophan oder Silberpapier gewickelt. Sie kramte sie aus ihrer Tasche, dem Kleid, dem Ausschnitt, schichtete sie auf dem Tisch zu Pyramiden auf oder benutzte sie als Dominosteine. Sie zahlte sogar mit diesen Süßigkeiten, und die Kellner machten den Zirkus mit, denn ihr Ruf als Exzentrikerin hatte sich bis zum letzten Piccolo herumgesprochen. Ihr verzieh man alles. Sie war damals die größte deutsche Dichterin, und niemand wagte es, ihr etwas abzuschlagen." Goll, \textit{Ich verzeihe keinem}, 50–51.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} "Im 'Café Odeon,' dem Treffpunkt unserer Generation, verbrachten wir unsere Nachmittage mit Diskussionen über die Kriegsberichte und neue künstlerische Ereignisse, zum großen Teil aber kreisten unsere Gespräche jetzt um den expressionistischen Tanz. Der Musiker Laban hatte nämlich in der Seehofstraße einen Tanzkurs eröffnet. Sophie Täuber, Arps Freundin, tanzte dort, und alle Ballerinenliebhaber tanzten hinterher." Goll, \textit{Ich verzeihe keinem}, 52.
\end{itemize}
to study dance at the School of Rudolf Laban in 1915. The following summers, she performed with the Laban dance group at the artists’ colony on Monte Verità near Ascona. Taeuber met Hans Arp at an exhibition of modern tapestries, embroidery, paintings, and drawings in the Galerie Tanner in November 1915, and he introduced her to the Dada circles. She participated in Dada performances as a dancer, choreographer, and puppeteer and designed puppets, costumes, and sets for performances at the Cabaret Voltaire as well as for other Swiss and French theaters. At the opening of the DADA Gallery, in March 1917, Taeuber danced to verses by Hugo Ball, wearing a shamanic mask by Marcel Janco.

Taeuber and Arp (fig. 4.7) shared similar artistic interests; rejecting traditional forms of expression, they explored a broad variety of materials and techniques. Claire Goll gives us a lively description of their experimental studio:

At most anytime you would find them busy with gluing, stitching, cutting, weaving or building marionettes, which they would let dangle from hooks in the ceiling. The mood was like the first day of Creation, Arp and Sophie re-inventing the world, together with new laws and possibilities
of understanding. There was something ethereal about this couple; they resembled two winged ants or butterflies above a flowering meadow: she gracious, smiling, calm; he amused and comical, with hands that were constantly busy kneading, caressing, and assembling...17

Among the women artists discussed here, Taeuber seems to have been the most self-assured and versatile, able to bridge the responsibilities of everyday life and her artistic work.

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She did not distinguish between washing dishes and writing poetry, embroidery and shining shoes. Every activity merited the same regard and commitment. This utter adaption to the moment made it possible for her to perform eccentric dances at night and then by day to very seriously pursue her office as teacher at the arts and crafts school. She had not the slightest difficulty in reconciling the role of housewife with that of an avant-garde artist.

The relationship between Taeuber and Arp, however, which appeared so eminently suitable and productive to their friends, put Taeuber into a position similar to Werefkin’s. Like Werefkin, who not only inspired and promoted but also supported Jawlensky financially and artistically, Taeuber provided the main financial support for Arp; she organized the massive collection of objects and materials they amassed, brought home from the school colored papers and other artistic materials, and let him use the tools available at the school. She even executed a good number of his works. In an exhibition at the Kunstsalon Wolfsberg in Zurich in November 1916, eleven textile works by Arp were shown, eight of which had been executed by Taeuber.

Her main achievement lay in her intuitive understanding of Arp and her translation of his ideas into something doable.... If he was curious as to how an effect would be perceived in another medium, she would grab her sewing kit and thimble and cheerfully and meticulously embroider away until exactly the desired effect had been achieved.

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20 “... ihr Hauptverdienst lag darin, Arp unmittelbar zu verstehen und seine Ideen ins Machbare zu übersetzen. Wollte er etwas zu Malerisches an seinen Werken überkleben, so brachte sie ihm alsbald, zweifellos aus ihrer Schule, massenhaft Papier in allen Farben. Fand er, daß die Schere beim Schneiden noch zuviel persönliche Merkmale des Künstlers verriet, so verschaffte sie ihm den präzis-mechanischen Schnitt einer Papierschneidemaschine. War er neugierig, wie sich ein Effekt bei der Übertragung auf andere Mittel
In late 1915, Arp became involved with another artist who went on to play an influential role in the history of European modernism—non-objective art, in particular: Baroness Hilla Rebay von Ehrenwiesen (1890–1967, fig. 4.8). Like Arp, Rebay was from Alsace; she came from an aristocratic officer’s family based in Strasbourg and received a rather traditional artistic training at the Arts and Crafts School in Cologne, beginning in 1908–09, and the Académie Julian in Paris in 1909–10. Her interest in modern art she acquired while living in Munich, in 1910–13, and in Berlin in 1913. In December 1915, Rebay traveled to Zurich, where she became acquainted with Hans Arp, who immediately fell in love with her. Rebay and Arp kept up a long-distance relationship until 1917, and in his passionate letters to her, which are preserved at the Guggenheim Museum, he pleaded his only love to her: “Do not disappoint me. I do not believe that you will ever be happy with someone else. I have never written so to a woman before.”

Arp introduced Rebay to the works of Marc Chagall, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Franz Marc, and others and connected her with Herwarth Walden's

Sturm Galerie in Berlin. Through Arp, she turned to non-representational art and took up collage. In May 1917, she participated in a group show at the DADA gallery in Zurich and, in December 1917, one of her woodcuts appeared on the cover of the DADA magazine. At the Sturm Galerie, Rebay met Walden’s assistant, Rudolf Bauer, in 1917, who became the main focus of her attention, care, and obsessions.

In 1927, Rebay relocated to New York, where she was introduced to the industrialist Solomon R. Guggenheim, who commissioned her to paint his portrait. In Guggenheim, she found an open-minded and generous patron of the arts who made it possible for her in the following twenty years to assemble a remarkable collection of abstract works of art, particularly the work of Kandinsky and Bauer. Guided by Rebay’s expertise and her access to various artistic networks, Guggenheim acquired numerous works by contemporary European and American abstract artists. Their mutual trust and admiration became not only the basis for a remarkable art collection, but also for the construction of one of the most innovative museum buildings in the Western world.

Unlike Rebay, whose affair with Arp was relatively short-lived, the young woman artist who entered the lives of Werefkin and Jawlensky, first in St. Prex and then in Zurich and Ascona, stayed to play a lasting role. This was Emmy Esther Scheyer (1889–1945, fig. 4.9), who succeeded Werefkin (thirty years her senior) as the second woman in Jawlensky’s life to give up her own artistic career in order to promote his work. Scheyer came from a middle-class Jewish family in Braunschweig and had studied painting, sculpture, music, and languages in various European cities, including Munich, London, Paris, and Brussels. From 1912 to 1914, she was a part of the circle around the post-Impressionist painter Gustav Lehmann, who was active in Braunschweig and Munich.

In 1916, Scheyer first encountered Jawlensky’s work, specifically his painting Der Buckel (The Hunchback), which deeply affected her. Paul Bachrach, father of the expressionist dancer Lotte Bara, subsequently arranged for Scheyer to meet the artist; she visited him in St. Prex and, in May 1917, followed Jawlensky.

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to Zurich; a close friendship soon developed between the two. As a sign of their friendship and “bonding of souls,” Jawlensky painted for Scheyer, in 1917, a second, smaller version of *The Hunchback*—a painting that was to accompany her throughout her life. The same year, Jawlensky began working on his mystical heads, a series of stylized women’s heads strongly influenced by Scheyer’s features. After Jawlensky moved with his family from Zurich to Ascona in April 1918, Scheyer visited him there often. In Ascona, Jawlensky continued to work on his variations and mystical heads and Scheyer wrote poems about his art.

In light of Jawlensky’s complicated family situation and under pressure from her family, Scheyer returned to Germany in 1919 and became Jawlensky’s impresario. She promoted the artist and a market for his work in Germany; the resulting exhibitions, in connection with lectures and appropriate press coverage, were meant to clear the way for the publication of a monograph as well as sales of his work.23 Between 1919 and 1924, Scheyer established contacts with

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numerous museum directors and art dealers all over Germany and organized a traveling exhibition of Jawlensky's paintings. As a result of her efforts and the successful sale of a number of Jawlensky’s works in Wiesbaden, the artist relocated there in 1922.

When, in the fall of 1923, Scheyer received an invitation to come to the United States, she decided that she would represent not only Jawlensky’s work but also that of the newly founded association of the Blue Four, consisting of Feininger, Jawlensky, Kandinsky, and Klee.24 She promoted the works of the artists through exhibitions and lectures, first in New York, then in San Francisco in the 1920s, and in Hollywood in the 1930s.

Despite Scheyer’s arrival, it was Werefkin who arranged the family’s move from Zurich to Ascona after Jawlensky fell gravely ill with the Spanish flu. Ascona was known for its mild climate and had been a refuge for artists for quite some time, but it also promised a more affordable life after Werefkin and Jawlensky had lost their sources of income. Besides Werefkin and Jawlensky, Emmy Hennings, Hugo Ball, and the painters Arthur Segal, Ernst Frick, and Hans Looser also lived there (fig. 4.10). The center of artistic activities in Ascona was the art school on Monte Verità, which had been established by Rudolf von Laban in 1913. Although the artists kept a healthy distance from the “Naturmenschen” on Monte Verità, Laban’s dance students, together with the Dadaists, organized choral festivals, masquerades, and other events during the summer months, and Sophie Taeuber performed with them.

Opinions about Ascona differed greatly. Claire Goll characterized it as a paradise:

Ascona, on the shore of Lake Maggiore, truly seemed to us like a village from another star. Spanning the main street, through the center of the village, were grape vines, from which one only had to pluck the muscadine grapes. Everywhere grew sweet chestnuts, corn and tomatoes. You could

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live from the fruit of the land. Money seemed to be a superfluous concept here. Unbeknownst to us, we were in Paradise.25

Hugo Ball, on the other hand, found it rather uninteresting when he reported to Tristan Tzara:

You ask about Ascona. A place with no comforts, where it is currently impossible to rent a room. A bunch of dim-witted nature lovers in sandals and Roman tunics wandering about. No diversions or entertainment, no books, no newspapers. Only nice weather.26

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26 “Sie fragen mich nach Ascona. Das ist ein Ort ohne jeden Komfort, wo man momentan kaum ein Zimmer mieten kann. Es gibt eine Menge schlafblöder Naturmenschen, die in Sandalen und römischer Tunica wandeln. Es gibt keine Unterhaltung, keine Bücher,
Jawlensky was pleased with the move and later wrote: “We had a very lovely place with a garden directly on the lake. It was on the edge of Ascona. Next to it began the Campagna [landscape], and this Campagna was enchantingly beautiful, like a dream.”27 In other respects, however, the enchantment was less dreamlike: Scheyer’s presence made the already tense family relationship more so, and the disagreements and fighting soon were obvious to everyone. Claire Goll later reported: “The run-down little castle where they lived in Ascona echoed from morning to evening with the quarrel of their voices. Eventually things would go so far that the Grandseigneur Jawlenski repudiated Werefkin and married the cook.”28 Jawlensky left for Wiesbaden; Helene, Werefkin’s maid and the mother of Jawlensky’s son—“the cook”—soon followed and they were married in 1922. Scheyer moved on to the United States in 1924, and Werefkin remained the rest of her life in Ascona.

Like most of their male colleagues, the women artists discussed here found themselves sooner or later in (involuntary) exile in Switzerland during the First World War. Switzerland provided them with a safe haven, but its restrictive policies on immigration and conservative artistic and cultural climate did not make for an easy transition. Removed from the artistic avant-garde circles of Munich and Berlin, the struggle to maintain their artistic careers and personal independence became even greater. Difficult financial situations and an uncertain social status forced many of them to take up odd jobs to secure a living—e.g., Werefkin working as a stage manager for von Derp and Sacharoff and Henning taking up with the “first available” vaudeville troupe. The professional and personal uncertainties of an exile existence in Switzerland brought increased dependence on male partners and colleagues; already difficult personal relationships often became further strained. The need for social stability and financial security is attested to by the marriages concluded during this period and shortly thereafter, e.g., Clotide von Derp and Alexander Sacharoff (Zurich 1919), Emmy Henning and Hugo Ball (Tessin 1920), and Claire and Ivan Goll (Paris 1921).


28 “Das baufällige Schlößchen, das sie in Ascona bewohnten, schallte vom Morgen bis zum Abend von zankenden Stimmen. Eines Tages sollte es so weit kommen, daß der Grandseigneur Jawlenski die Werefkin verstieß und die Köchin heiratete.” Goll, Ich verzeihe keinem, 73.
As the diary notes and memories from this period in Switzerland suggest, the networks the women artists established remained informal and even tentative, and tended to arise along national lines such as the Russian colony in Lausanne or the German pacifists in Geneva. Only towards the end of the war, did the urban environment of Zurich gradually begin to draw together many of the artists and intellectuals in exile and then become an international basis for artistic collaboration and cultural exchange.