cal were selected for the display, the fact of their inclusion also contributed to their representative status.

The decisions on what commercial items and goods to display were also driven by predictions of what markets in the given location and the potential partners would welcome. Czechoslovak exhibition commissioners reported on exhibits of other countries so that the Ministry of Trade could consider the information for the next large exhibition. After Barcelona, the next large world's fair in which Czechoslovakia took part, was held in Chicago in 1933. As the export industry of Czechoslovak goods plummeted during the Depression, participation in Chicago became even more important despite the high cost.

Recovery: *Chicago 1933*

The Century of Progress world's fair opened on May 27 and closed on November 12, 1933 after being extended by two weeks from the official closure. It was also renewed the following year to run between June 1 and October 31, 1934.[70] The exhibition was accompanied by the end of the Great Depression and the ensuing recovery measures, with one key event in its course being the abolition of prohibition. This event helped to boost visitors' attendance, alcohol consumption and revenue generated by the fair [fig. 10].

Many fairs were organized to commemorate specific events or earlier exhibitions and the Chicago world's fair recalled the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition that took place in the same city in its southern parts. The very idea of the exhibition, located centrally by Lake Michigan, originated in the mid-1920s while the theme of progress was added later when the emphasis on renewal became even more pertinent during the Great Depression years. To finance the world's fair, A Century of Progress corporation was founded in 1928 as a not-for-profit organization with membership fees and golden notes issued to guarantors. The Chicago organizers proudly proclaimed that the fair was put together with no cost to the taxpayer and in the end, ended in a profit of 688,000 dollars.[71] And unlike many previous exhibitions in the USA, for instance, the

70 John E. Findling, "Chicago 1933–1934," *Encyclopaedia*, 268–277; John E. Findling, *Chicago's Great World's Fairs* (Manchester – New York: Manchester University Press, 1994); Cheryl R. Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress* (Urbana, Chicago, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2012); Marcy Cameron, The Dual Identity of the Czechoslovak Pavilion at the 1933 Chicago World's Fair. A Master Thesis at the School of Architecture, The University of Virginia, 2012.

71 Findling, "Chicago 1933–1934," 276.

Fig.10. Vintage 1933 Chicago World's Fair Postcard, A Century of Progress International Exposition - Looking South over The World's Fair Grounds.

fairs in Chicago of 1893, St. Louis of 1904 and San Francisco of 1915, The Century of Progress was not subsidized by the local or federal government.

Several features of the fair were aimed at making the visitors forget the hardships of ordinary life. In the fair ground, they could encounter things out of the ordinary, whether it was the Sky Ride transporter bridge or the nude dancer Sally Rand. Still, many critics saw the very existence of such a costly enterprise as an unnecessary extravaganza. Like numerous other public and private organizations, the city of Chicago went bankrupt in 1929 and recovery was slow. The plans for the exhibition therefore received substantial criticism, especially from left-leaning parties, organizations and individuals who stressed the poor economic situation of people outside the exhibition grounds as well as poor working conditions at the fair.

This is a topic I discuss further in Chapter Five in relation to casual workers who were key to the success of any world's fair. They consisted of hostesses, waitresses and performers, as well as builders, craftspeople, and guards, which were positions often taken up by members of the local diaspora. Twenty countries built their national pavilions here and many became showcases of modernism as well as key locations for their respective diasporas. This was the case not only of Czechoslovakia but for example of Yugoslavia, Italy, and Ukraine too, for whom the national pavilion became a vital representation of homeland.

With regard to the architecture of the pavilions, the grounds comprised of temporary buildings mainly made of a steel frame clad with wallboard. Very few windows were included not only to avoid disrupting the facades but also to allow better regulation of the interior lighting. Illumination was key on the outside too, where electrical light in different colors were used at night. Science and its progress had their dedicated pavilions in the Hall of Travel and Transportation, Hall of Science, and Hall of Social Science, which were built next to large company buildings that included enterprises of for example Ford, General Motors or the Electrical Group. Their spectacular displays, that for instance involved suspended cars, contributed to the visualization of progress.

The entertainment features varied from attractions like the already mentioned Sky Ride, half a kilometer long, overground transportation system, to the sections with various reconstructions of American and non-American past or present in sections like Old Europe and the European village. Reimagined Europe, for example, consisted of "typical" buildings, displays of handicrafts and regional costumes, or the sale of traditional food and drink. It aimed at depicting the diversity of people in America and their ancestry. The plan was to present the traditional European structures in juxtaposition with the modernity of Chicago and bring in more visitors who could explore their own European roots.[72]

A single old European village, as it was designed, did not materialize, though, for mostly financial reasons. Moreover, many European countries objected to being presented in a village but rather opted for individualized modern pavilions. Ethnic and ethnographic reconstructions were therefore also left to individual countries and to local entrepreneurs. For instance, the Belgian village, "a faithful reproduction of an actual Old-World City," and the Streets of Paris which were constructed in 1933 turned out to be very popular. They were followed the next year, for example, by the Swiss, Irish, English, and Dutch villages, and the German pub, the Old Heidelberg Inn, advertised as "the most popular restaurant at the world's fair grounds."[73] Alongside the Oriental, Colonial or Mexican Villages, they were therefore driven by profit rather than authenticity, but their popularity also signaled which exhibits visitors found most entertaining.

The Czechoslovak pavilion at the Century of Progress was officially opened on June 17, 1933. The pavilion was an elongated, mostly one-floor building by the architect Kamil Roškot (1886–1945) and the engineer Bedřich Sirotek

72 Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago*, 128.

73 Advertisement in "Century of Progress Scrapbook, June 3–June 29, 1933," Century of Progress Collection (COP) Box 1, folder 2, Chicago Public Library.

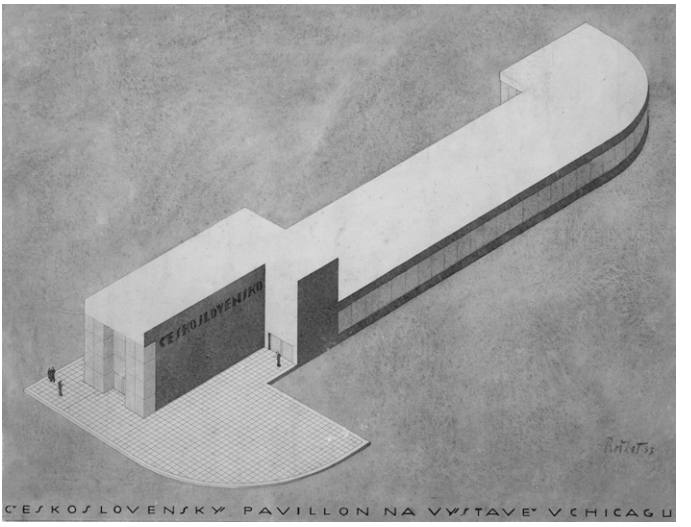

Fig.11. Kamil Roškot, The Czechoslovak pavilion for the Chicago world's fair, 1933.

(1899–1974) [fig. 11]. The higher side of the entrance to the pavilion contained the reception hall and had a glass front, which was followed by a sequence of exhibition rooms. The design was a compromise between the involved ministries and was affected by limited finances, little time necessary for the decisions and installations, and the local circumstances. They included the already mentioned keen involvement of the diaspora, which planned their own exhibit in the pavilion. Turnovský, the exhibition commissioner, was in charge of the interior mood and distribution of exhibits.[74] A major role was played by Bohuslav Soumar whom Czech-language papers in Chicago mentioned in relation to staffing and dissatisfaction of the diaspora with the management of the pavilion, all topics explored deeper in Chapter Five.[75]

The exact distribution of objects in the pavilion, apart from a few works, is unclear. The interior of the pavilion housed the now-established tropes of Czechoslovak representation—Masaryk's statue and large panoramas of Prague by Šetelík and the High Tatras by Štáfl [fig. 12]. However, in the case of the Czechoslovak pavilion in Chicago, there is a curious lack of visual evidence that would provide a good sense of the appearance of the interior displays. Apart from a couple of photographs and building plans, the content can only be reconstructed from descriptions in articles and reports by Czechoslovak officials. Official

74 Halada and Hlavačka, *Světové výstavy*, 145.

75 Critical articles of Soumar Josef Falta, "Pan Propagandista," *New Yorské Listy*, October 23, 1945, 4, "Okolo článku o čsl. pavilonu na světové výstavě," *Spravedlnost*, October 13, 1933, 8.

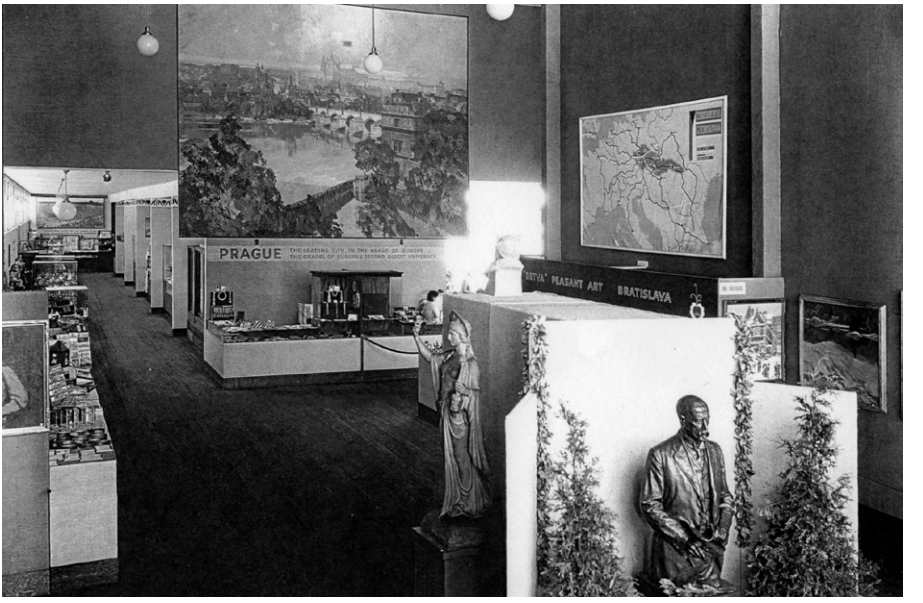

Fig.12. Interior of the Czechoslovak pavilion, Chicago, 1933.

world's fairs guidebooks generally did not devote much space to descriptions of "minor" national pavilions. The *Official Guide* to the 1933 fair, for instance, only noted that the Czechoslovak display contained a "gorgeous display of products of its varied industries, colorful and gay, the glassware and needlework of this industrious nation. Handicrafts, Bohemian glass, porcelain synthetic and precious stones, garnet jewelry, and official tourist displays are the main features among the exhibits."[76]

The guide also mentioned Czechoslovakia in the description of possible trips visitors could make in Europe, mentioning for example the glassware from Gablonz (Jablonec nad Nisou), china from Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) or "peasant style" textiles as objects originated in Czechoslovakia which could be purchased in the "great bazaar" of the pavilion.[77] These cursory descriptions of the exhibits and Czechoslovakia as a destination nevertheless suggest what was deemed important by external reporters. In this case, it was the displayed objects like crafts and applied arts alongside the fact that many of these could be purchased in the booths and stalls of small traders. Sales of artistic and commercial goods be-

76 *Official Guide. Book of the fair 1933* (Chicago: Century of Progress, Administration Building, 1933), 95.
77 *Official Guide*, 195.

came a common addition to the exhibitions and were often purveyed by traders of émigré origin.

Because of the lack of presence of large industries in the Czechoslovak pavilion in 1933, the display was ultimately orientated towards the promotion of tourism to Czechoslovakia, and this included advertising not only Karlovy Vary as the home of glassmaking, china and the spa industry, but also destinations like the mountain ranges of the Slovak Tatras and the historic sites of Prague. The Czechoslovak pavilion in Chicago was therefore conceived to be a condensation of the country's most recognizable features with which foreign audiences as well as the Czech and Slovak diaspora in the USA could identify.

Colonial company: *Brussels 1935*

Marketing countries as tourist destinations at world's fairs developed gradually during the interwar period. The Universal and International Exposition (Exposition Universelle et Internationale) that took place in Brussels in 1935 combined the commercial aspects of tourism with the justification of colonialism [fig. 13]. Following the model of the French Colonial Exposition of 1931, the Belgian equivalent lasted between April 27 and November 6, 1935, and fo-

Fig.13. View of the The Universal and International Exposition in Brussels, 1935, postcard.