The police kept the grounds in order by patrolling them. Observers however complained about their reluctance to deal with petty theft at the pavilion stalls.[73] Plain-clothed police were also tasked with collecting dues from the concessioners who were supposed to supply 10% of their proceeds to the organizers. The police, and this included uniformed policemen and women, kept an eye on the popular performance and their law abidance. The most famous case was the Sally Rand fan dance, performed first in the Streets of Paris, later in the Italian and finally the Oriental Village. She was arrested for obscenity and displaying nudity and was fined $25. This was, nevertheless, a rather negligible amount given the lucrative proceeds from her performance.[74] Rand's case, nevertheless, is characteristic of the disruptions that often took place at world's fairs. While order was expected not only in the presentation of nations, people and objects, disruption necessarily occurred in many forms, including petty crime like theft, as well as corruption, illegal sale of alcohol or prostitution.

"Native" experience

Sally Rand was not the only case of a subversive element in a world's fair but most prominent and talked about one. In Chicago, there were other partly or fully nude female dancers in the Dance Ship or the various "exotic" reimaginations of the Oriental Village, Cuban Rhumba or Old Mexico.[75] The women dancers certainly managed to find a profitable source of income at the fair, but they were an exception. Employment of women across the fair took various forms, but very often female attendants were exploited, as the case of the sales assistants from the Czechoslovak pavilion showed. In his critical account, Klír also noticed the waitresses in the Czechoslovak pavilion who, he described scornfully, had to wear "national costumes or something that is reminiscent of them."[76]

The Czechoslovak restaurant in Chicago, as much as all other Czechoslovak food outlets at interwar world's fairs, was equipped with beer and some light refreshments, like Prague ham. The consumption was accompanied by entertainment provided by musicians, singers and to an extent by waitresses in national dresses. In Chicago, adverts in newspapers announced for example the Bohe-

73 Štícha, "Něco o Americe," 2.
74 Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress* (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 20.
75 Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago*, 24.
76 Klír, "Čsl. Legionář píše svému bratrstvu – z Chicaga!" *Věstník*, October 1933, 2.

Fig. 50. Two singing waitresses at the Czechoslovak restaurant.

mian String Quintet that featured the "light opera star of international reputation," Mr. Anton J. Wagner who emigrated to the USA in his teens and sang popular melodies at the restaurant together with a Mrs. Frances Trnka.[77] Further, there were also two singing waitresses Blanche Peichmann and Hattie Talecek, who indeed wore something reminiscent of national costumes and greeted and entertained guests at the restaurant (fig. 50).

The entire food and drink establishment also met with harsh criticism, as it was seen as not Czechoslovak enough. Klír understood the restaurant as unpatriotic because, as another commentator remarked disparagingly, it was run by a "Austrian Jew" from Vienna and a German from the German Reich.[78] Nationalistic prejudice and racist stereotypes were therefore nothing alien to at least some members of the diaspora, like Klír. Part of the disillusion with the restaurant came from the fact that originally, the Slovak diaspora suggested to build an "authentic," originally furnished Slovak "búda," or a village hut which where wine from the southwestern town of Pezinok would be served in Modra jugs, food would include biscuits with pork rinds, and sausages with horseradish while "a gypsy band playing Slovak melodies would make everyone merry."[79] The idea was nevertheless turned down by the pavilion organizers from Czechoslovakia and a Czechoslovak restaurant was built next to the national pavilion.

77 "Wagner Sings for Czeko-Slovakians (sic)," *Century of Progress Scrapbooks*, June 26 – July 22, 1933, box 1, folder 3, CPL.
78 "Skutok, ktorý sme veru neočekávali," *Náš svet,* 4, no. 25, 1933, 2.
79 Jarábek, "Slovenské zprávy o svetovej výstave," *Svornost*, May 3, 1933, 2.

The refusal of the Slovak proposal was interpreted as another instance where the American Czechs and Slovaks were ignored.

More generally, the Czechoslovak restaurants and national pavilions provided a "native" experience by serving local food and drink, entertaining visitors by music and, indeed, dressing female attendants in national costumes. This practice also arose criticism which pointed out that such clothes were removed from everyday reality and gave out the wrong idea about modern Czechoslovakia. These comments appeared not only at Chicago, but for instance in relation to the preparatory works for the Czechoslovak pavilion in Paris in 1937 where women in folk costumes were to appear. In their disapproval of this inclusion, the Czechoslovak consulate in Strasburg referred to the earlier Czechoslovak pavilion in Brussels in 1935. It criticized the fact that the waitresses in the restaurant there were dressed in what *appeared* as national "Czechoslovak costumes" which was not an appropriate way of representing the country.

In this connection, the consulate also recalled protests about the planned Alsatian village for the 1937 fair that came from Alsace.[80] The emphatically entitled article "Elsässer als Ersatz für die Neger" (Alsatians as substitute for the Negro) published in *Elsässer Bote* compared the planned costumed participants in the Alsatian village to the recreations of Black villages at French colonial exhibitions.[81] Following the paper's disapproval of any possible connotations that costumed Alsatians could have with black people, the Czechoslovak consulate warned against exoticizing Czech and Slovak folk culture.

The Ministry of Trade that organized the Czechoslovak exhibit refuted these remarks and disputed the comparison between what the article called "negrocising" of the regional culture. It pointed out that national costumes were occasional, festive wear which increased attractiveness of the display when used in the context of a national pavilion. This was, according to the Ministry, the case in Brussels where the costumes on the waitresses contributed to the popularity and success of the Czechoslovak restaurant and to increased sales of beer. The Ministry also explained that the costumes were not meant as national, rather they were "stylized colorful dress for serving" beer, designed by Antonín Heythum for this purpose.[82] For the Czech commentators, whether from the consulate or the Ministry of Trade, there were different levels of primitivism that were

80 "Výstava v Paříži 1937, protest Alsasanů, aby jejich svéráz sloužil jako atrakce," letter from The Consulate of the Czechoslovak Republic in Strasburg to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Trade of December 5, 1936, section III, part V, MFA Archive.

81 Quoted in "Výstava v Paříži 1937," 2.

82 "Výstava v Paříži 1937," 2.

stressed in the Czech and Slovak people in the context of world's fairs. Yet none was fully comparable to the exoticism of African and other indigenous villages and their "native" inhabitants in the colonial displays.

While indigenous people from outside of Europe were shown as *exotic* through their native attire and dwellings, the same attributes applied to Europeans had different meanings. Dressing female attendants in folk costumes was a common trope not only for the Czechoslovak pavilion but for other European exhibits too, including Poland, Sweden or Italy. The main reason for the inclusion of such attire was to bring up the country's historicity as well as authenticity, which folk art indicated to many, with the added value of attractiveness. Individuals and groups in native costumes had been included from the onset of these events and provided the markers of ethnic origin and difference.[83] Placed in a juxtaposition with the attributes of progress and modernity, ranging from scientific and technological inventions, man-made building materials, to hygiene displays, they were more than an attractive spectacle. They also showed human evolution from the somewhat primitive origins of local cultures to civilized modernity.

Yet as I have discussed in the chapter on Art and Design, folk culture held this position of ambiguity when it came to international displays and representation of Czechs and Slovaks abroad. While folk culture had played a major role in the late 19th century exhibitions that took place in Prague, during the interwar period, it was often maneuvered into a manifestation of lost traditions and nostalgia in the interwar period. As such, folk culture stayed an important and integral part of émigrés' expression of belonging to the home country articulated in special events at world's fairs. This included official openings and closures of national pavilions, parades, Sokol gatherings and national days, which I will explore in more detail.

Gendered fairs

First, however, I would like to address the issue of gendered culture that I have mentioned a few times and place it in the context of the more general questions of gender presence and absence at world's fairs. Recently, scholars of world's fairs and large exhibitions have been paying more attention to gender, with publications focusing on women's roles and spaces in individual case studies, and those

83 Sadiah Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire and Anthropology in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 119.