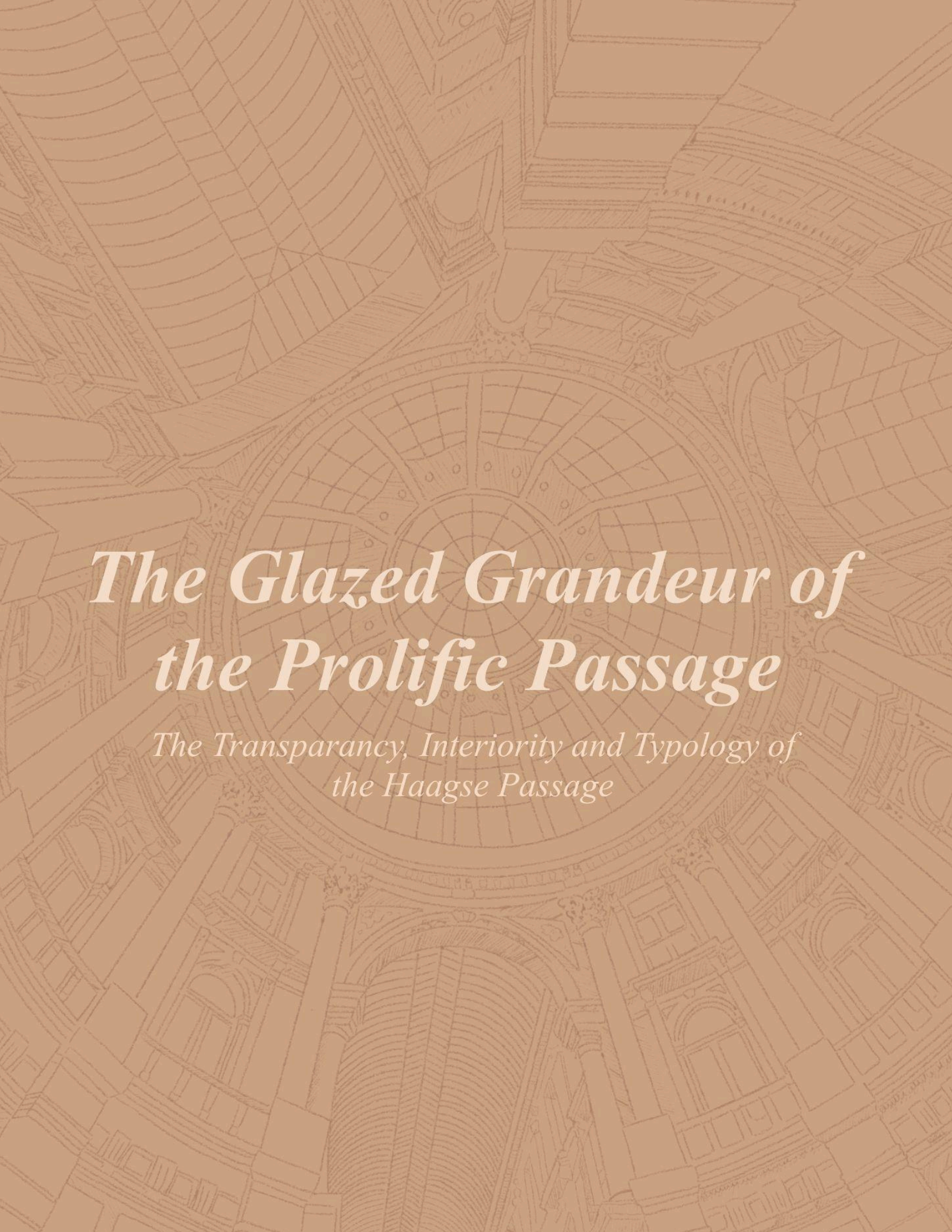

The Glazed Grandeur of the Prolific Passage

The Transparancy, Interiority and Typology of the Haagse Passage

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The Transparency, Interiority and Typology of the Haagse Passage

Claire Talbott
s1061307
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Advisor - Matthew Mullane
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Radboud Universiteit

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Introduction

Walking to The Hague Central Station after a long day of studying at the Royal Library, I pass a large building with the words *New Babylon* sprawled over the entrance. The building was designed as a multiuse complex, where leisure, living, working and shopping came together. It was supposed to be a 24-hour living space that residents and shoppers would never have to leave.[1] The new project was part of a large-scale redevelopment of the station area of The Hague in 2013, and one of the objectives was to improve the surroundings and public space, aimed to become a dynamic and lively part of the city. Although these were the goals of Meyer and van Schooten architects, the complex is huge and cavernous, an empty consumer space in an otherwise busy city. Instead of the shopping area city developers hoped it would become, *New Babylon* now only contains a CoolBlue, a hotel, offices, and a small food court that people rarely visit. Though *New Babylon* has failed to live up to its potential, a nearly century and a half old shopping structure at the city's center continues its success: *The Haagse Passage*.

In 1882 The *N.V. 's-Gravenhaagsche Passagemaatschappij* was founded by Mr. G. de Bosch Kemper, Mr. E.B. Bonn, Mr. C.J. van Roode, Mr. L.E. Uyttenhoven, Mr. P.J. Sonaville, Mr. J.E.A Tripels and Mr. H. Vreede.[2] The Hague was growing financially and so was its middle class population. The *Passagemaatschappij* saw a chance to introduce luxury products into the city through a posh new shopping experience, a shopping arcade. Shopping-arcades like this one were not necessarily new in the Netherlands and the wider world, but it signaled a significant shift for the city of The Hague.[3] The Haagse Passage was a large-scale collaborative effort, designed and built over several generations. The original designs are from 1884 (image 1), drawn up by Herman Wesstra (1843-1911), the municipal architect of The Hague, and Jan Christiaan van Wijk (1844-1891), the architect who designed the passages in Rotterdam and Zandvoort.[4] Through a series of events, after laying the foundations for The Passage, the *Maatschappij* turned to Belgium for funding, as no Dutch bank wanted to fund the construction of the building anymore.[5] The *Caisse Hypothécaire* in Brussels would sponsor the construction, but wanted the company to use a Belgian contractor and architect. The new contractor became Henri Mortiaux and he employed the architect Henri Rieck, the designer of The Passage du Nord that was built in Brussels a year prior.[6] He provided an alternative design which was meant to be cheaper. The eventual result removed the excessive lavishness of the exuberant, neo-Renaissance design that can be seen in the original architect's drawings by Wesstra and van Wijk. In the end, this did not save the *Maatschappij* any money at all, and

[1] Hoekstra, 2013
[2] 's-Gravenhaagsche Passagemaatschappij, 1882, p.4
[3] Ibid. p.23
[4] Versteeg, 1985, p.13
[5] Ibid. p.14
[6] 's-Gravenhaagse Passagemaatschappij, 1884, p.46

they ran out of funding for the third arm of the Passage. Furthermore, they could not convince the people who lived in that area there to sell their houses, so they built a mere thirteen meters of the third arm (image 2).[7] A few decades later the third arm to the Hofweg was finally built, but in an expressionist style, designed by Jos Duynstee in 1928-29.

The Passage consists of three two-sided shopping galleries connected by glazed roofs that meet at a rotunda covered by a glazed dome. In the two arms that connect the Buitenhof and the Spuistraat, the shops consist of four building layers, all ornamented with neo-classical elements (image 3).The main entrance of The Haagse Passage has a neo-Renaissance gatehouse that has two side wings on the corner of the Buitenhof and the Kettingstraat (image 4). At the end of the Spuistraat there is a simpler neo-Renaissance gatehouse and two overhangs over the Achterom, the street that runs perpendicular through this part of the arcade (image 5). From the rotunda to the Hofweg, the third arm has six building layers. This newer arm, unlike the older two arms, has expressionist and art-deco ornamentation (image 6). The gatehouse on the Hofweg is block shaped, following the architecture trends of the twenties of the latter century (image 7).

Reflecting on the monumental expense and work dedicated to the Haagse Passage over multiple expansions and renovations, a question emerges: why did shopping suddenly require a new architectural type in the nineteenth century? What cultural, political, and architectural forces led to the creation and global dissemination of this unique space? It is this question that galvanizes my research. My research question is 'How do transparency and interiority contribute to The Haagse Passage's typology of shopping architecture in the nineteenth century, and in what ways do these elements impact socio-economic dynamics of that century in The Hague?'. It is important to see The Haagse Passage, and other arcades, as an *interior* space. This 'interiorization' of the shopping space is an example of the rise in global capitalism in the nineteenth century. The arcade interiorizes all trade and commerce within one, overseeable system.[8] This interiorization also has to do with the changing notions of gender, in a time where women had more freedom to act within urban life, but were ironically re-interiorized by shopping spaces that usually cater to a highly gendered experience. Not only gender, but also class has to do with the interiority of the arcade in The Hague.[9] The design of the building, architectural details, the choice to sell luxury goods creates an environment that is appealing for the new, rich middle-class of The Hague. This interior space is created by the building materials, which are therefore important elements within the story of interiorization: the new materials glass and iron are used to manifest this ideal of interiorization while also signifying it. The mass production reproduction of building materials in the nineteenth century is further a fundamental design element in The Haagse Passage that is meant to interiorize: the storefronts,

[7] Versteeg, 1985, p.21
[8] Geist, 1979, p.37
[9] Ibid. p.54

the decorative ornaments, the windows, are all part of a prefabricated interior space. Architecture gives a spatial language to the logic of the new capitalist system. This system, just like the architectural elements of the arcades, was, indeed, being endlessly replicated around the world. My argument is based on a wide -ranging set of sources.

My work on Dutch arcades builds on existing scholarship, particularly in relation to French arcades. The popular writings of Walter Benjamin have focused attention on the glass-lined spaces, but such buildings in the Netherlands have received much less scholarly attention. The same is to be said about glass architecture as a whole, from greenhouses until the crystal palaces of the nineteenth century; these are not popular subjects to write about in relation to The Netherlands.

The main important works consulted for my research were some overview books on glass such as by Michael Wigginton's *Glass in Architecture* (1996), and Raymond McGrath's *Glass in Architecture and Decoration* (1961). Further research about glass in relationship to transparency and interiority was done in Gunther Feuersteins whose *Open Space* (2013) is about the connection of glass to openness of architecture, and Daniël Jüttes book *Transparency* (2023), which describes transparency not only as both a material and spatial property of these buildings, but also as an architectural means of representing certain social and cultural ideals. The most important book on the development of arcades *Arcades* (1979), published by Johannes Friedrich Geist. It is about all of the arcades across the world, which gives a discursive development of the evolution of the arcades. Relevant research about neo-Renaissance architecture was done by Roland Blijdenstijn and Ronald Stenvert in their overview of Dutch architecture in *Bouwstijlen in Nederland 1040-1940* (1994), as well as by Koos Bosma in his *Bouwen in Nederland 600-2000* (2007). Important publications about revivalism and the debate around style in the nineteenth century in the Netherlands are *The Art of Building: from Classicism to Modernity, The Dutch Architecture Debate 1840-1900* (2001) written by Auke van der Woud, and Petra Brouwer's *De Wetten van de Bouwkunst; Nederlandse Architectuurboeken in de Negentiende Eeuw* (2004). Glazed architecture in The Netherlands has been a less popular subject, and has not been written about a lot, but thankfully Gabri van Tussenbroek wrote a book about one of the most important examples of Dutch glass architecture in *IJzeren Ambitie: Het Paleis voor Volksvlijt en de Opkomst van de Nederlandse Industrie* (2019), as did Emile Wennekes in *Het Paleis voor Volksvlijt (1864-1929): 'Edele Uiting Eener Stoute Gedachte!* (1999). The direct research about the Haagse Passage is also quite limited to a few writers. Research relating to the architecture was done by Coos Versteeg, who wrote the 100th anniversary book about the Haagse Passage (1985), and Dion Kooijman and Marloes Tigchelaar who wrote in the book for the 140th anniversary of the Passage (2011). Research relating to the socio-economic dynamics in The Hague, consumption and shopping have primarily been researched by Jan Hein Furnée, in multiple publications such as *Plaatsen van Beschaafd Vertier* (2012), *The Landscape of Consumption* (2014) which he wrote

with Clé Lesger and his chapter in *Sekse en de City* in *Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* (2002). For theories of gender and interiority of buildings Beatriz Colomina wrote *Privacy and Publicity* (1996) which was particularly useful to set up a theory of interiority. For interiority, and the theory of the microcosm, Peter Sloterdijk's *In the World Interior of the Capital* (2013) was informative. As well as secondary literature, I also used primary sources such as minutes of numerous meetings of the *'s-Gravenhaagsche Passagemaatschappij* board spanning from 1882-1885, found in the *Haags Gemeentearchief*, and various newspaper articles about the opening of the Passage in 1885, from Delpher.

In the first chapter, I will explore glazed nineteenth century architecture in Europe and explain how glass buildings shifted in transparency from displaying plants and non-human objects to people. I will explain the building type of the passage, and give brief case-studies of various glazed buildings through the nineteenth century, concluding with the arcade. The second chapter will explore how the Haagse Passage fits into Dutch architectural history of the nineteenth century. In this chapter the Dutch neo-Renaissance architecture in relation to glass will be studied: was this something normal in The Netherlands, or was the Haagse Passage an anomaly? In the third and final chapter, interiority is the theme, and I argue that The Haagse Passage was part of a complex set of modern phenomena in the nineteenth century, including capitalism, gender and class.

Chapter I – Confined Cultivation to Lucrative Leering

The nineteenth century was a time of development and revolution, both mechanically and socially. This chapter will focus on the revolution of glass and cast-iron, and how these materials helped create the passageways of commerce.

The industrial revolution motivated many of the developments in this century, and was of great importance for construction because of the new techniques and materials that became available.[10] One of the most important materials that this revolution brought was cast-iron, as it was an important structural support method, which is obtained by smelting pig iron in a furnace.[11] New casting and rolling methods made mass production of prefabricated iron supports simpler to produce. This cast-iron was now able to support larger panes of glass, which was also becoming inexpensive and easy to create. Glass has long been used to let light into structures.[12] With standardization of sizing and manufacturing, however, glass no longer had to be cut on site to fit odd dimensions.

Industrialization facilitated the development of new building types at the beginning of the nineteenth century, including winter gardens, greenhouses, and conservatories. The use of glass made new architectural types possible, as well as a focus on publicity.[13] In turn these building types gave way to grand glass exhibition spaces that were completely glazed and prefabricated. By the middle of the nineteenth century, cast-iron used in conjunction with modular glass had become the standard technique of prefabrication and erection of new large warehouses, market buildings and railway stations. All three types of buildings were needed for urban distribution of the goods produced in the rapid industrialization of the time.[14] The commercial and technical product of the industrial revolution generated a need for building forms which did not yet exist in the conventional architecture of the nineteenth century. The arcade has its roots in these industrial materials and provided a new space for displaying goods to be purchased, as well as for being seen as a shopper.

Transparent Buildings of Display and Commerce

Although glass was already used for windows in the many centuries prior, in combination with cast iron and new technological developments, builders could make new creations, such as buildings that are completely glazed *and* structurally sound. Without glass, enclosures would, of course, struggle to resolve the conflicting demands of weather protection, visibility, privacy, and lighting.[15]

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[10] Kleijn, 1995, p.148
[11] Jutte, 2023, p.286 & Haslinghuis, 2005, p.193
[12] Haslinghuis, 2005, p.195
[13] Jutte, 2023, p.283
[14] Wigginton, 1996, p.46
[15] Ibid. p.6

A fundamental aspect of all architectural space is the duality between interiority and exteriority.[16] According to Siegfried Giedionn "new interrelationships were established between inside and outside, as in an enclosed architectural space people are made aware of the exterior".[17] Glazed buildings are different from buildings that are completely opaque, or just have a few windows, because the outside is brought further into the building, and vice versa. From the inside, the outside is visible, and from the outside the inside of the building is perceivable, and, because of a lack of visible enclosure, interior becomes connected with exterior.[18] In order to understand the origins of glass arcades, we should look at the history of hothouses and conservatories to understand the logic of transparent building, and how the objects they contained transitioned from plants to humans and goods.

Hothouses

The development of hothouses parallels the industrial development of glass to protect vegetation and keep heat in to make sure plants can grow at a warmer temperature in cooler climates.[19] Conservatories bring together the horticultural need to 'overwinter' plants and to preserve and exhibit these as trophies of oceanic exploration. The idea of growing plants out of season was not a new practice, it has been a custom deriving from antiquity that was carried on through the middle ages. It was not until the sixteenth century, however, that the idea of overwintering delicate plants developed in Italy, The Netherlands, and England. Overseas explorers brought back exotic plants from their voyages that they wanted to preserve. The most popular were orange seeds, thus *orangeries* were built to facilitate their growth. The first orangeries were built in France, made of timber and glass, and contained furnaces to keep the trees warm during the winter. The early orangeries could be dismantled to leave the trees uncovered for the summer. Following the success of these trial buildings, permanent buildings were erected with stone walls.

In the early eighteenth century, the Dutch made significant developments in the designs of glass houses: they used massive masonry, high thermal capacity back walls, heated floors and sloping glass walls on the south sides of the greenhouses.[20] By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, glass conservatories were being built with a vertical glass facade and a 45 degree roof. The early orangeries and winter gardens were not always dedicated to horticulture, but also for bringing various groups of people together. These early glass structures were dedicated to creating a false environment, so that plants could grow outside of their natural habitat. These glazed buildings were supposed to become a climate copy of

[16] Feuerstein, 2013, p.76
[17] Giedion, 1971, p.268
[18] Feuerstein, 2013, p.76
[19] Wigginton, 1996, p.30-32
[20] Ibid. p.32

an environment of a distant location. Glass architecture, from the very beginning, is all about creating artificial microcosms.

The Palm House at Kew Gardens

Kew in West London had always been a horticultural center with royal connections.[21] In a time of technical developments in greenhouses and the rapid growth of the gardens, the Crown thought it was fitting to establish a new palm house in Kew Gardens.[22] There was already a palm house at Kew Gardens that, as it was a mere 18 meters long, had become inadequate. The construction of a new structure was approached by Decimous Burton (1800-1881) for the designs, who would later work on the Chatsworth Conservatory with Joseph Paxton (1803-1865), who would later design the Crystal Palace, and Richard Turner (1798-1881), an Irish iron-grounder, who got a contract to be the constructional engineer of the building.[23] The building was finished in 1848 with enormous dimensions: the overall length is 99.5 m and the central section 42 m which has a height of 19.2 m (image 8). The structure consists of curved wrought-iron ribs supported on cast-iron columns and brackets, all braced with post-tensioned wrought-iron tie rods and cast-iron tubes. The glazing is smooth and in simple curved panes with the glass draped over the iron glazing bars, to create a curvilinear roof. The plan is cruciform, symmetrical on both axes with a low 'nave' with 'intercepts' and a central elongated dome to accommodate the tallest trees.

Palmhouses were built according to functional reasoning. The glass was supposed to let sunlight into the structure, where it was absorbed by the plants and, furthermore, converted to heat. Before the industrial revolution, greenhouses looked like actual houses, with the exception of more and larger windows, because the technology was not yet available to create a complete glass structure *and* to be able to keep the heat in.[24] Greenhouses were constructed purely as functional buildings: to be able to overwinter plants and create a warmer climate for tropical plants. As people grew richer because of the industrial revolution, there were technological advances in materials *and* the new bourgeoisie wanted to flaunt their foreign vegetation as trophies of their travels. For these reasons, greenhouses grew to be not only horticultural glazed palaces to keep these plants alive, but also to be a way for the owners to showcase their riches and imported vegetation. Through the transparent church-like Palm-House at Kew, Burton and Turner created a herbaceous religious experience, almost like an ode to oriental greenery. As stated earlier about Chatsworth Conservatory, these structures were not only used to house plants, but also to welcome guests for entertainment. They later became exhibition spaces.[25]

[21] Wigginton, 1996, p.38
[22] Desmond, 1975, p.177
[23] Wigginton, 1996, p.38
[24] McGrath, 1961, p.115
[25] Ibid. p.115

The construction of eighteenth century orangeries experienced an astonishing boom, and the development of orangeries continued in the subsequent century, as they became larger and used industrial materials to create the new greenhouses.[26] Progress was being made in higher industrialized countries, such as The United Kingdom and France, in iron and glass manufacture, and there was a gradual transition from wood to cast-iron as a building material. This offered architects new opportunities for the development of these winter gardens and planthouses.[27] The most important experiment was done by the botanist John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843), who experimented with curvilinear structures for the Bayswater Hothouse (image 9).[28] He changed the rectilinear form imposed by iron and gave the transverse section of the building a spherical barrel shaped arch. He wanted the incidence of the light to be at a maximum, hence he increased the glass surface of the building. Loudon influenced many architects with his curvilinear profiles,[29] including Paxton who took inspiration from him for his Chatsworth Conservatory built in 1837, and later with his Crystal Palace.

The Crystal Palace

As the Nineteenth Century progressed, greenhouses shifted from the display of overseas greenery to enormous glass warehouses meant to display commercial goods from overseas. The Crystal Palace is the best example of this new culture of exhibition and empirical power. When Paxton built the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, he filled it with trees and plants, almost as an homage to the palace's architectural precedents, as if it was a gigantic winter garden.[30]

Joseph Paxton visited many different hothouses in his search for the best glass architecture. He went to the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, which the architecture historian Siegfried Giedion has called ‘the prototype of all large iron framed conservatories and the first large structure consisting mainly of iron and glass’ (image 10).[31] He also took notes on Loudon’s buildings and cited their curvilinear roofs in his own conservatory (image 11). At the time, Paxton’s Chatsworth Conservatory was one of the most ambitious glasshouses. The building was 84.4 m by 37.5 m with a 20.4 m high roof, and contained a world of microclimates and garden events with exotic birds in the trees and tropical fish in the pools. The extensive mechanical engineering designed to sustain it was the key to its success and fundamental to its importance as a building type. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visited in 1843, which helped him win the competition for the building of the Great Exhibition of 1851.[32]

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[26] Feuerstein, 2013, p.73
[27] Ibid. p.75
[28] Ibid. p.75
[29] Ibid. p.76
[30] Jutte, 2023, p.289
[31] Siegfried Giedion, in Wigginton, 1996, p.36
[32] Wigginton, 1996, p.37

The Crystal Palace was built in Hyde Park in 1851 to house the Great Exhibition (image 12).[33] It was built within nine months, and was a landmark in the development of civil engineering and of architecture.[34] It was over 536 m long and its maximum height was 33 m (image 13).[35] The building was completely prefabricated and was not per se built, but rather assembled using a precise modular system. Almost 300.000 glass panes were used and the total glazed surface amounted to just over 83600 square meters of glass.[36] Trussed girders were mounted on the cast-iron columns and bolted together up to three stories. The exterior modular unit included a tripartite panel and a delicate semicircular arch connecting a pair of columns.[37] This structure was the experience of transparency in all directions.[38] The success of the building lies in its glazing, a technical skill that Paxton honed in his conservatory buildings.[39] The repetition of standard components and careful modular coordination ensured the successful on-site assembly of factory-made components. Paxton's sense of efficiency showed in the palace's interior design, which maximized floor space. The Crystal Palace was a multifunctional space that served as a concert hall and convention space. The commissioners of the space sought to attract many wealthy visitors and to earn a large revenue. Although the Crystal Palace is the paradigm of modern, industrial materials, there is a hint of revivalism to be found in Paxton's building. Despite his buildings being made from a new material, his architecture still conforms to existing stylistic expectations. His works often include neo-Gothic touches, such as in iron supporting glass ceilings that often feature Gothic ornamentation.

After this structure, the nineteenth century saw many more proposals for huge glazed structures, some that would even cover entire streets. Even though Paxton's proposal for *The Great Victorian Way*, a glass construction of a glass-roofed, 18.5 km long street that crossed three bridges over the Thames was not approved, glass covered streets on a smaller scale became popular in the nineteenth century.[40]

The Crystal Palace as an Exhibition Space

The enormous winter garden had a greater transparency than anything known to date. Though the architecture of the Crystal Palace is important, the building was ultimately in service of the objects it contained. It had to have enormous proportions to fit all the different exhibits and direct the masses of people who were expected to attend the exhibition. World Exhibitions became popular in the second half of the nineteenth century and primarily celebrated scientific, technological, and colonial progress by

[33] Feuerstein, 2013, p.78
[34] Wigginton, 1996, p.45
[35] Feuerstein, 2013, p.78
[36] Jutte, 2023, p.286
[37] Feuerstein, 2013, p.78
[38] Jutte, 2023, p.286-89
[39] Wigginton, 1996, p.44
[40] Jutte, 2023, p.290

enforcing competition between Western nations.[41] From public reports we know that the visitors were young and old, men and women, illiterates and intellectuals, laborers and entrepreneurs, politicians and aristocrats.[42] The World Exhibitions served as spaces for public consumption and entertainment, combining different visual attractions.[43] Visitors were able to watch, meander and indulge in the pleasure of looking. The Crystal Palace, and the exhibition which it housed, was a manifestation of British industrial preeminence.[44] In the 1851 exhibition there were 17.000 exhibitors of whom 7.200 came from Great Britain and its 32 colonies alone.[45] The Crystal Palace is, in essence, a massive celebration of the British empire and all the goods that could be bought and sold within its reach. Wandering this enclosed glass space of The Crystal Palace could have also suggested being in the center of the world, in which one could survey the past and future while measuring the difference between different civilizations – the whole world at one's fingertips, in a glass, canopied space.[46] The glazed construction emerged as a preferred architectural expression for nineteenth century building types such as international fairs and exhibitions. Just like plants are being put in other environments that they are supposed to be in to create herbaceous microcosm, the Crystal Palace is also taking industrial commodities and products from colonies out of their original context and placing them in a construction where they are supposed to be looked at. Just like the hothouses model distant environments, the Crystal Palace creates a microcosm of the British empire and its commerce. The nineteenth century had a boom of public glass architecture as it was seen as an enhancement to urban space.[47]

Arcades

The Crystal Palace was a precursor of new industrial glass megastructures of commerce, as well as smaller buildings meant for consumption and shopping.[48] The nineteenth century saw not only revolutions in technology and industry, but in commerce as well.[49] The industrial revolution intensified trade and commerce and brought an unprecedented abundance of goods to the marketplace. As the activity of shopping became popular, new mercantile buildings developed to meet demands. In the early nineteenth century industrialization not only revolutionized mechanisms of distribution but also introduced a new concept of competition.[50] A number of shops tended to be grouped into various spatial

[41] Grever, 2006, p.164
[42] Ibid. p.165
[43] Ibid. p.166
[44] Wigginton, 1996, p.38
[45] Sloterdijk, 2013, p.170
[46] Ibid. p.167
[47] Jutte, 2023, p.290
[48] Wigginton, 1996, p.46
[49] Lemoine, 1998, p.154
[50] Ibid. p.155

configurations in order to attract customers, and arcaded streets that aligned shops along a sheltered walkway were an old tradition in some European countries. The shopping arcade was a novel architectural solution to the new demands of the marketplace. Arcades emerged at a time when shops were achieving their commercial and architectural identities. At the same time, the first large novelty stores were making their appearance. Arcades were public, but interiorized, skylit streets that were connected on both sides by a roof and housed a form of organized, luxury retail.[51] Arcaded streets that aligned shops were an old tradition in some European countries already, but the *passages couverts* in France became a new typology of building all in itself. It was the architectural solution to the new demand of the marketplace, and they became centers of trade, luxury items and clothing shops.[52]

Arcades were more than just covered commercial streets, they were complete, self-contained mercantile spaces with stores, entertainment, restaurants, cafés, banks and more, where the nineteenth century bourgeoisie could find everything within reach.[53] They functioned as spaces where merchants could display their riches, and above all it was a place to see and be seen.[54] A step up from the exhibition spaces – where it was still mostly about the goods on display – the passages were also about showing off society. The arcaded street provides pedestrian protection and an opportunity for promenading and flaneurism.[55] Passage de Panoramas in Paris (image 14), built in 1800, is one of the earliest passages, featuring a roof with small panels of glass held up by wood structures. It was where one could find fashion goods, luxury items, culinary delicacies, paintings and furniture.[56] Passage de Panoramas connects to Passage Jouffroy (image 15) and Passage Verdeau creating an entire network of arcades, where the bourgeoisie barely had to move onto the busy boulevards to have all their needs satisfied.[57]

Transparent buildings such as the new arcades created new ways of separating people. In buildings that are not open and transparent, it instantiates social distinction as one can not see inside, and are either restricted or allowed to go in. With glazed buildings people can see inside and a new kind of separation is instigated, not an architectural separation, but a social one, that has to do with class, gender and other social constructs that separate people. In arcades the clientele is limited, and it is a section of the city where the privileged class wants to be treated differently.[58] It was a place where the bourgeoisie could interact with each other, and be in a world perfectly catered to their every wish and shopping needs, without interruptions of people of other classes or the bustling traffic just outside. The arcade becomes an

[51] Geist, 1979, p.3
[52] Lemoine, 1998, p.155
[53] Ibid. p.155
[54] Ibid. p.156
[55] Geist, 1979, p.17
[56] Ibid. p.39
[57] Kooijman, 1999, p.34
[58] Geist, 1979, p.38

undisturbed situation for window shopping and a variety of additional amusements and attractions, and it becomes a social center for the upper-middle class.

The early arcades reflected a tendency with roots in the eighteenth century: the increasing use of glass in commercial settings.[59] The custom of displaying merchandise in windows was not new, but before the eighteenth century, shop windows featured wooden shutters and iron grilles which were opened during business hours. Instead of shutting off the goods, glass made commercial display windows possible. Early glazed shops consisted of several small sized panes held together by wood, but in the latter part of the nineteenth century cast-iron structures held up a single, large, uninterrupted pane of glass for the entire shopfront. This was to show all the goods on the inside, encouraging window shopping for curious customers.

The first glass roof appeared in 1808 in the *Passage Delorme* in Paris, and this set the standard for later arcades.[60] These original glass roofs were not supported by iron, but by wood. The first passages had much smaller glass panes, because the weight of large panes could not be supported by wood. The first continuous glass roof built by Pierre Fontaine (1762-1853) was on top of the *Galerie d'Orléans*, built in 1829, in the gardens of the *Palais Royal* in Paris (image 16).[61] The arcade was the large covered public space of the palace, measuring 65 m by 8.5 m, surpassing all the smaller arcades at the beginning of the century.[62] The passage had three spaces: two outer colonnades which were attached to the colonnade of the *Jardin* and the *Cour*, enabling a continuous circuit, and the wide central space which opened into the peristyles and provided access to the streets bordering the palace. The glass roof relates to garden and greenhouse architecture by transforming vaulted arbors and wooden gates into iron and glass vaulted construction. The first curvilinear glass roof applied to an arcade had great significance for the development of the building type. The ribs had a cast-iron groove to hold the inserted glass plates and the roof structure terminated diagonally at the ends.[63]

The architects of many different cities took inspiration from *Galeries d'Orléans*' iron-supported, glazed, vaulted roof. One of the original architects of the Haagse Passage, Jan Christiaan van Wijk, was in close contact with Jean Pierre Cluysenaar (1811-1880), the architect of the *Galeries St Hubert* in Brussels.[64] Van Wijk was influenced by the Belgian architect and used the design of the *Galeries d'Orléans* for the *Galeries St Hubert*, and this in turn was the inspiration for the roof of the Haagse Passage.[65] Before he helped Van Wijk, Cluysenaar also advised Giuseppe Mengioni (1829-1877), the

[59] Jutte, 2023, p.291
[60] Geist, 1979, p.24
[61] Ibid. p.24
[62] Ibid. p.528
[63] Ibid. p.529
[64] Versteeg, 1985, p.9
[65] Geist, 1979, p.269

architect of the Galleria Vittorio Emmanuele in Milan, hence the Italian arcade would be part of the interconnected inspiration from the *Galeries d'Orléans* as well.[66] The Haagse Passage was part of an international network of expertise in constructing these new glass spaces.

Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II

Influenced by the new exhibition buildings, Milan's *Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II* was designed by Giuseppe Mengoni and completed in 1877 (image 17).[67] The late nineteenth century arcade's floorplan was cruciform (image 18), recalling St. Peter's Basilica, and was an attempt at legitimizing the Italian nation through such historical citations (image 19). The plan is a Latin cross whose center has been expanded into an octagon, connecting two squares and two smaller secondary streets to one another.[68] The gallery uses Roman models, more than any other gallery, especially through the use of Roman imperial arches. This seven-floored gallery is part of the monumental phase of arcades, wherein huge public passageways are constructed, almost serving as a secular counterpart to cathedrals.[69] Although the galleria in Milan is a national symbol, its second function is commercial. It stretches 196 m in one direction and 105 m in the other, creating a flow of people and shopping from one end to the other, bordered by shops with mass produced merchandise, cafes and restaurants. The building of the *Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II* is one of the great representative buildings of the nineteenth century, where bourgeois society becomes definite. At all times of day people are able to wander around the shopping microcosm, where, even more so than in the Crystal Palace, everything the bourgeois could ask for is within grasp.

The arcade was widely publicized, from the daily press to illustrated magazines, influencing other passages to come. Even though the level of transparency of arcades is significantly less than greenhouses and exhibition spaces, the ability to show commercial goods through large shop windows had become more important than ever. On the other hand, almost more important than the goods being displayed, are the people walking around, promenading and gallivanting for the whole world to see.[70] The *Galleria Vittorio Emmanuele II* was well suited for these activities with its luxury stores and numerous comforts for pedestrians, while attracting a public that was ideal for people watching.

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To conclude, the development of glazed buildings before the advent of passages progressed through three steps in the nineteenth century: from greenhouses to exhibition spaces, and then, finally, to arcades. Industrialization played an important part in this development because architects were able to use

[66] Versteeg, 1985, p.9
[67] Geist, 1979, p.371
[68] Ibid. p.392
[69] Ibid. p.74
[70] Lemoine, 1998, p.158

new materials and techniques to create new architectural types. What started as a functional glazed building to grow plants evolved into a building focused on selling opulent goods, bringing certain people from a certain class together but keeping other people from other classes apart. The development from one side of the glazed building spectrum to the other is about the display of goods in relation to industrialization, trade and commerce.

Although these glass houses were new in many ways, they often featured historical citations that helped specify the new materials as national. This is seen in Paxton's work that includes gothic touches and in all of the different kinds of arcades relating to their country. This is especially evident in *Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II* which is supposed to be representative for the unification of Italy through its floor plan but also other decorations in the arcade. This was also the case for the Haagse Passage, the style and the techniques are appropriated by the country and displayed as a Dutch architecture, even though that is not completely the truth. In other words, although the glass-topped passages dazzled visitors with their new lightness, the buildings were nonetheless full of historical citations.

Chapter II – At the Intersection of Tradition and Innovation

In every country, arcades are built in a distinct way, and to find out what makes the Dutch counterparts representative, The Passage in the Hague must be dissected into two parts – a base made from brick and natural stone, with storefronts and a glazed, iron-wrought roof. Both parts have an important architectural significance with different typological origins. Regarding the opaque base of the Haagse Passage, the structure is built in an international neo-Renaissance style. Nineteenth century architecture is known for its revival styles, not just in England or in France. The architects in The Netherlands used a variety of neo-styles as well. Similar to other European architects, they were experiencing a huge upswell of nationalist fervor. In the latter part of the nineteenth century neo-Renaissance became the dominant style, surpassing neo-Classicism and neo-Gothic.[71] These neo-styles were used to connect a given country to its imagined cultural history, thus establishing an "origin" for the new nation-state.

The Need for Revivalism and the Neo-Renaissance

The Development of Revivalism

During the nineteenth century the knowledge of history of architectural styles expanded considerably, and the repertoire and decorations of forms available to architects grew significantly. As a result, the knowledge of the history of architecture provided more means of expression.[72] Egyptian, Indian, Greek, Roman and medieval-Germanic styles became popular to work with for various buildings, for reasons such as nationalism, representation and appearance. These styles were called *neo-styles* or *revival styles*: the umbrella-term for styles that reuse features of an earlier style.[73]

The question in this time was how to move forward with architecture: what should style in the nineteenth century be? Within the German intellectual circles of the nineteenth century, there were many debates on why architects should or should not use revival styles. Certain intellectuals and architects believed in the absolute value of Greek architecture and thought that this should be the style to emulate further.[74] Others thought that modifying this style was bound to fail, and that "we must therefore accept that its time has passed".[75] Others considered Gothic architecture as a starting point from which to develop a new style. They found it had a spirit that was misunderstood and unfulfilled; yet others thought it was fulfilled and "died a natural death".[76]

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[71] Blijdenstein & Stenvert, 200, p.97
[72] Brouwer, 2011, p.333
[73] Haslinghuis, 2005, p.337
[74] Herrmann, 1992, p.9
[75] Quote Carl Albert Rosenthal in Ibid. p.10
[76] Ibid. p.9

The opponents of revivalist architecture thought that the Greek, Roman, Gothic, and other buildings of past civilizations should be left alone as they did not exude an expression of modern times.[77] On the other side, the supporters agreed that bringing back these architectural styles was for the reason that the modern nations wanted to show their heritage, and wanted to show these previous expressions to legitimize their country in the contemporary world. Historical references were used to evoke connections between the current cultural and political conditions and past golden ages.[78] For example, Karl Friedrich Schinkel's neoclassical monuments referred to a Greek ideal for the modern state of Prussia (image 20), and the neo-Gothic Palace of Westminster in London designed by Charles Barry and Augustus Pugin to recreate the moral tone of national integrity and high civilization (image 21)

Viollet-le-Duc's thoughts on Style and Technology

French architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) was a celebrated French neo-Gothic architect and theoretician and had very distinct views on style. His goals when first starting out as an architect were to revive medieval French construction methods, and he worked on the restoration of many different French Gothic churches.[79] When he first came into contact with using iron as an architectural material, he was doubtful and was not sure how to integrate the new material, as his goals when first starting out as an architect were to revive old French construction methods.[80] Iron was being used more and more by his contemporaries and was championed as a beginning of an entirely new architecture.[81] Eventually, when publishing articles critiquing the use of iron, he stated that new industrial means could only be put to meaningful use through historical introspection.[82] If iron was to be used it could not be merely as an expedient, it had to become a means to reactivate the arts of a remote past, thereby regenerating the national architectural tradition. Eventually he formulated a model of architectural history linking the expression of building construction and materials to the modern progression of history.[83]

Viollet-le-Duc was aware of the impact of industrialization on architecture, for example, the use of new materials such as glass and iron, and felt that the architects in the nineteenth century must try to formulate a new style by finding forms appropriate to the new techniques, and to alter social and economic conditions. Slightly contradictory to his former statement, Viollet-le-Duc's formulation of 'the nineteenth century's own style' was rationalist neo-Gothic architecture supported by new industrial materials, instead of creating a completely new style that represented the nineteenth century; he believed

[77] Curtis, 1987, p.21
[78] Ibid. p.22
[79] Bressani, 2014, p.426
[80] Ibid. 2014, p.426
[81] Ibid. p.427
[82] Ibid. p.428
[83] Curtis, 1987, p.24

that the past could have its uses in discovering new styles.[84] He wrote extensively about style and new industrial materials, and how to combine them into one amalgamation. He had a dislike for buildings entirely made of iron and thought that architects were only capable of building either iron 'sheds' or over-designed 'citadels of stone'.[85] He sought hybrid solutions in which iron and stone were combined, and wanted to establish a dynamic relationship whereby iron worked *with* the masonry, and had a distinct Gothic vision for iron. This is evident in plans for replacing a medieval corbeled masonry construction with a single oblique iron column (image 22), plans for using the same iron bracing strategy for a masonry hall spanning 20 meters below a domical roof structure (image 23), and a vaulted hall that follows an unusual central plan derived from octagonal geometry (image 24).[86] He even designed an iron-frame house with glazed earthenware cladding for a window-display in Paris (image 25). Viollet-le-Duc may have not been aware of it, but his ideals of mixing iron and masonry were realized in arcades around Europe.

Dutch Neo-Renaissance Architecture

Dutch architects in the nineteenth century possessed more knowledge of ancient and Gothic architecture than of their own sixteenth and seventeenth architecture.[87] Gradually, however, Dutch architects were learning more about their own country's architecture. The German architect Eugen Heinrich Gugel was an important figure within this field of research. He published key survey texts, including *Architectonische Vormleer* in 1880, a four volume set full of templates of architectural components based on Renaissance motifs (image 26).[88] These kinds of books were not only in vogue in the Netherlands, but also in England with other revivalists. The books by Gugel were based on the 'Specimens', the neo-Gothic counterpart of *Architectonische Vormenleer*, published in 1821 by Pugin which was also meant for later use by architects. These books were made to publish new building opportunities, breaking down old types to create new types of architecture, just like Viollet-le-Duc was doing.

The Dutch Renaissance style was based on forms of the seventeenth century – the mannerist style. There was an attempt at making the Dutch Renaissance applicable to the new age. The Dutch Renaissance is characterized by reorientation to secular life and was an era of important inventions such as printing, voyages of discovery, colonialism, and an interest in natural sciences and classical antiquity.[89] Neo-Renaissance, together with all other revivalist styles, was used to carry a particular atmosphere that

[84] Curtis, 1987, p.27
[85] Bressani, 2014,p.430
[86] Ibid. p.435-441
[87] Blijdenstein & Stenvert, 2000, p.98
[88] Ibid. p.103
[89] Brouwer, 2011, p.329

was used to trigger emotions of patriotism and nationalism in contemporary viewers.[90] Using this style was an attempt to preserve the past in the present.[91] In the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the first Renaissance motifs were applied in The Netherlands, a good example is the Antwerp City Hall, built in 1561-65 (image 27). The Dutch Renaissance was characterized by the combination of ornaments from the Italian Renaissance and the vernacular Dutch building style. The resulting architectural style was characterized by the rich use of ornamentation with pilasters and columns, as well as the alternation of brick with natural stone layers, banding, and scrollwork.[92]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the economy in the Netherlands expanded, and there was a renewed orientation toward classical forms: revivalism became of the utmost importance.[93] Around 1830, a decorated, strongly romanticized form of neo-Gothic was adopted by Dutch architects, from English architects.[94] Particularly characteristic for this style were the neo-Gothic details executed in plaster and cast-iron. In 1850 this resulted into a neo-Gothic style that was based on French examples from the thirteenth century, that architects used for churches and government buildings.[95] In 1875 the third, and most important for The Haagse Passage, revivalist style was implemented by national architects. This was the neo-Renaissance, which referred back to the Dutch Renaissance architecture of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[96] Because of an economic boom resulting from trade in the Indies and industrialization, there was a growing need for buildings that reflected Dutch history.[97] Dutch nationalism at this time was framed by differentiation, namely because of the Belgian revolution and the need for Dutch architects to set themselves apart from other countries.

In the 1880's there were many discussions about national vernacular character for the Netherlands, and this was one of the most important interpretations.[98] Architecture shifted towards a nationalist trend, reflecting the ideals of the Dutch wealthy upper class by reusing ornaments from a 'golden age' in a period of time when the country was innovative and wealthy. This was also a very important notion for The Dutch to distinguish themselves from Belgians, Germans or other European nations, as the style was specifically based on a Dutch past. The high point of the neo-Renaissance coincided with a strong population growth, and consequently an explosion of building activities followed. As a result of mechanization, cheaper transportation and harder brick and roof tiles came onto the market,

[90] Hvattum, 2019, p.9
[91] Denslagen, 2009, p.164
[92] Blijdenstein & Stenvert, 2000, p.22
[93] Ibid. p.25-26
[94] Ibid. p.26
[95] Ibid. p.26
[96] Ibid. p.27
[97] Ibid. p.97
[98] Bosma, 2007, p.464

and the use of natural stone became easier.[99] This led to a significant amount of neo-Renaissance architecture in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Neo-Renaissance Buildings

One of the paradigms of this nationalistic style was the Asylum for Sailors in Brielle, in 1872, by Cornelis Outshoorn (1810-1875) (image 28).[100] The brick, gabled roof building contains cornices, stepped gables, alternating brick and natural stone layers, keystones at the arches above the windows – all architectural elements that commemorated the neo-Renaissance. Another important neo-Renaissance building is the castle *Oud-Wassenaar* in Wassenaar (image 29), built in 1876-79 by Constantijn Muysken (1843-1922).[101] Characteristic of the neo-Renaissance is the use of brick and stone, architecturally articulated by horizontal bands in natural stone or white pilaster. Parts of the facade were given a vertical accent above the roofline through the use of stepped gables. Other elements were also reapplied such as medallions, cartouches, and diamondheads. Relief arches above the window were fitted with a keystone that would sometimes have a human or ornamental head decoration, while the arch fills consisted of colored tiles or decorative brickwork. The walls had ornamental wall anchors, these were also distinctive to the neo-Renaissance style.

An important architect from this period is Dutch architect Pierre Cuypers (1827-1921), who started his career building Catholic churches.[102] He became popular in the Roman Catholic circle in Amsterdam, which enabled him to realize a profane building: The Rijksmuseum. The Rijksmuseum shows how he used neo-Renaissance mixed with Gothic additions. It was not received very positively when it was first built, because people thought it was too religiously oriented, too church-like for a secular building.[103] Even though it was not received well it still serves as a case in point that he and other revivalists were open to experimentation in style.

Glass and Iron Architecture of the Netherlands

Dutch Industrialization

Even though looking back at older examples was a prominent part of the nineteenth century, this century was often characterized by progress, movement and a striving for greatness; the Industrial Revolution acted as the catalyst of many different kinds of developments.[104] For construction companies, industrialization was of great importance because of the new techniques and materials that became

[99] Blijdenstein & Stenvert, 2000, p.102
[100] Broekhoven, 2004, p.27
[101] Blijdenstein & Stenvert, 2000, p.91
[102] Dettingmeijer, 2014, p.185
[103] Woud, 2001, p.102
[104] Kleijn, 1995, p.185

available, the most important being cast iron. Initially it was only used in the Netherlands for fittings and ornaments, but from the 1830's it replaced wood and served as a structural element in the form of columns and arches. By 1840, iron as a construction material slowly began to enter Dutch streetscapes. Construction such as swing bridges for new railroad tracks and bridges that were completely made out of iron were developed.[105] Although these projects used domestically manufactured materials, most required help from surrounding, highly industrialized countries such as France and England.

Dutch industrialisation was quite slow in comparison to other countries.[106] In turn, the Dutch infrastructure was not up to par in comparison to its surrounding, already further industrialized, countries.[107] Technical developments were related to the materials, which paved the way for new industrial methods of production.[108] As a result we see glazed buildings only in the latter part of the nineteenth century, instead of earlier in the century such as in England and France. For example, the orangeries in the Netherlands that had already been built since the sixteenth century never looked like the Chatsworth Conservatory or the Palm House at Kew; they looked like regular houses that implemented more windows than usual. An example is the orangerie in Meer en Berg complete with murals and stucco ornamentation that was popular at that time (image 30).[109] It looked like a lavish townhouse made out of natural stone, but it had more windows than a normal country house would. The winter garden Elswout in Overveen, near Haarlem, built in 1873 is one of the most glazed hothouses one can find in The Netherlands (image 31).[110] The structure had a high middle part with a glazed roof which housed the entrance of the building flanked by two lower parts that also had glass canopies. The entrance and the mainstays throughout the winter garden are partially made of iron, but are externally made out of bricks, for better support. The roof of the building is completely glazed, which was quite exceptional up until that time. Only after Paxton had built his technical masterpiece in London, did enthusiasm to build with glass and iron grow in the Netherlands.[111] It seems as if iron is consistently hidden behind bricks in the Dutch architecture of this period, which could allude to the reluctance to embrace new materials. There were, of course, some exceptions, such as a building erected in Amsterdam in 1864, made almost exclusively from new industrial materials.

[105] Tussenbroek, van. 2019, p.65
[106] Wennekes, 1999, p.15
[107] Ibid. p.15
[108] Ibid. p.56
[109] Geytenbeek, 1991, p.45
[110] Ibid. p.154
[111] Bucht, 1994, p.17

The Paleis voor Volksvlijt

The Dutch entries at The Great Exhibition in London in 1851, reflect the state of their industrialization: of the 14000 entries, 14 were from the Netherlands, and the Dutch entries were at the bottom of the list next to The Vatican.[112] In 1853 a group was established that wanted to change the status of industrialisation in the Netherlands: the *Vereeniging voor Volksvlijt (V.V.V.)*, founded in Amsterdam and led by the physician Samuel Sarphati.[113] The *V.V.V.* thought there was a need for more development in the industrial sector of the Netherlands.[114] Sarphati wanted to achieve this through industrial exhibitions that were permanent and large-scale in format. The World Exhibition did not exhibit often enough and was too far away, so the V.V.V. was lacking an exhibition space. It took from 1853 to 1858, but Sarphati was able to find a location, enough capital, and a design for the new exhibition space in the country's capital. The *Paleis voor Volksvlijt* was to be built at the Utrechtse Poort in Amsterdam, designed by Cornelis Outshoorn.[115] Employed by the *Hollandsche IJzeren Spoorweg Maatschappij* at the time, Olsthorn together with other architects, designed the first Dutch train station buildings in Amsterdam and Haarlem. Outshoorn designed many types of buildings such as the Amstel Hotel, houses for bankers, the municipal museum in Arnhem, and much more. He was furthermore responsible for the designs of the former Royal Post Office in Amsterdam, where the middle part of the building had a glass roof of which the side view had a strong resemblance to the Crystal Palace (image 33).[116] It was evident that Outshoorn already had experience introducing industrial materials into his architecture, and this is what Sarphati wanted for his palace of industry in Amsterdam. Outshoorn had been to the Crystal Palace on numerous occasions and used this as his main source of inspiration.

Built in 1864, The *Paleis voor Volksvlijt* was seen as the culmination of Dutch iron architecture at the time.[117] It was definitely based on the Crystal Palace, but in contrast to the English exhibition building, the Palace in the Netherlands was not just a mostly ornamentless glazed building. The structure had many Neoclassical ornaments throughout, as the architect took inspiration from the popular architecture styles of the time.[118] The building was also not as transparent as the English exhibition hall. The interior had opaque partitions and on the lower floors and the halls had opaque ceilings, as the Netherlands did not possess the technical skills to have an entirely glazed surface. Although the palace was also five times smaller than its British counterpart, it was a monumental building which was considered to be an architectural and urban masterpiece, able to be seen from many parts of the city.

[112] Tussenbroek, 2020, p.89
[113] 1. Wennekes, 1999, p.13 / 2. Samuel Sarphati started many projects in Amsterdam to improve quality of life and the health of its inhabitants.
[114] Ibid. p.39
[115] Ibid. p.45, 54-55
[116] Tussenbroek, van, 2020, p.91
[117] Wennekes, 1999, p.57
[118] Bucht, 1994, p.18

The floor plan of the building was rectangular, the length was 126 m and the maximum width was 81 m long (image 34).[119] The median height was 31 m, and the cupola was much higher, with 57 m (image 35). The facade from the Utrechtsestraat formed the main entrance of the palace and was equipped with a covered corridor for carriages that would bring in goods for exhibitions. Through the entrance visitors were led into a vestibule from which the porters lodge and waiting rooms were located. In the middle of this entrance were the stairs leading to the gallery as well as two entrances to the northern side rooms. One could reach the great hall through these rooms, or directly from the vestibule while walking under the elliptical dome. Opposite the main entrance there was also a vestibule, giving access to the garden, the side halls and ventilation rooms.

The building was primarily intended as a performance building, but also grew to have an educational function as well, with a library.[120] In the original statues of the V.V.V. It is explicitly stated that the exhibition building should contain rooms for the service of various institutions for the arts and sciences. Early on in the architectural competition rooms for different purposes were taken into account, there was no doubt that the initiators envisioned a multifunctional use of the Palace. The programme of the *Paleis voor Volksvlijt* ranged from industrial exhibitions to concerts and from scientific lectures to exhibiting paintings and photographs. The palace was, just as The Great Exhibition, a place to see and be seen.[121] Setting up the exhibitions, going to the exhibitions, just being in the building meant a significant amount to the general public and was a form of flaneurism.

The *Paleis voor Volksvlijt* is not commonly featured in overviews of Dutch architecture as an emphasis is usually placed on neo-styles, and not on industrial materials. The lack of mention in Dutch histories alludes to the idea that these materials were not proudly Dutch until the materials became more widespread in the Netherlands. The fact that the building is under-mentioned is remarkable, as the *Paleis voor Volksvlijt* could be considered one of the most important buildings of the Netherlands for the development of glazed architecture that implements the use of iron and other industrial materials. The canopies of the many new railroad stations designed afterwards, for example, drew on the experience with iron structures gained from the construction of the palace.[122] It also paved the way for other buildings with glazed roofs, such as passages in the Netherlands.

Typology of The Haagse Passage

It is worthy to mention that the Netherlands did not have any entirely glazed buildings in the nineteenth century. This means that the character of these partially glazed buildings was quite different

[119] Wennekes, 1999, p.62-63
[120] Ibid. p.77
[121] Ibid. p.38
[122] Ibid. p.64

from the immensely industrialized countries such as France and England. The glazed buildings the Netherlands created were usually merged with the popular style of the time, creating an amalgamation of masonry and industrial materials. This is exactly what we see with the passages in the Netherlands. Not only The Hague, but three other cities also had the luxury of having a shopping arcade in their city: Rotterdam (1879-1940), Amsterdam (1883-1886) and Zandvoort (1881-1925), all designed by J.C. van Wijk.[123] There are fewer resources to be found about these arcades, as they no longer exist because of external circumstances such as fire or war damage that shortened their lifespan. In some cases economic dysfunction also initiated premature decline.

Life at the end of the nineteenth century in The Hague changed drastically because of an economic boom developing in an exponential growth in population. These new developments were seen through the architecture of the late nineteenth century in The Hague. This nationalist style was meant to show that the city was innovative and wealthy, and that the city's residents had a certain prestige. [124] It seemed fitting that the revivalist style was implemented into the new buildings for shopping, further emphasizing the city's wealth. The Passage also reflects The Hague's desire to be international, to use a building type that connects the city to all the different developments of arcades around the world. This connects back into The Hague as a city with economic power that wants to prove itself as a force to be reckoned with.

Because of the two facets of the Haagse Passage, revivalism and industrial materials, the arcade has a very distinct style. Even before the Belgian architect Henri Rieck was put in charge of the plans, Jan Christiaan van Wijk had contacts with Jean-Pierre Cluysenaar, the builder of the *Galeries Royal St. Hubert* in Brussels which would become an important example for the passage in The Hague (image 36).[125] The style of the Haagse Passage is described in most books as 'International Neo-Renaissance'.[126] The first designs by Herman Wesstra Jr. and van Wijk, were *just* neo-Renaissance, only looking at Dutch examples from the mannerist period.[127] Their neo-Renaissance drawings were characterized by an abundance of horizontal bands that suggested alternation of natural-stone and brick, bay windows on richly executed volute consoles, stepped gables, pediments, and obelisks (image 37). The Dutch architects had plans to use many different kinds of marble, Swedish granite, and white sandstone for different parts of the building.[128] The main facade was to be decorated with sculptures representing the four seasons, the coat of arms of The Hague flanked with sculptures of women. If it had been up to Wesstra and van Wijk,

[123] Booij, 2011, p.79
[124] Bosma, 2007, p.464
[125] Kooijman, 1999, p.51
[126] Ibid. p.49
[127] Ibid. p.53, note 24
[128] Wijck, van & Wesstra, 1885, p.71

there would have also been terraces that could contain up to 200 people attached to the entrance on the side of the Buitenhof-Kettingstraat.

In view of the fact that there was a change in the designer of The Haagse Passage, and to the lack of funding, the passage also has a resemblance to another Rieck-designed passage in Brussels; The *Passage du Nord* (image 38). The Dutch architects had planned for an enormous dome, but it was changed to a simpler, smaller, round shape. The terraces, and a viewing tower planned above the entrance were scrapped, many ornaments were removed, and the cupola was lowered by one story.[129] The international aspect of the neo-Renaissance comes from Rieck, as he does not only use classic Dutch Renaissance elements in the Passage, but also components of the German, French and Belgian Renaissance. This turned the main focus of the Dutch mannerist style, to a broadly oriented, less nationalistic building. This makes sense as a Belgian architect would not have the same sense of nationalism for the Netherlands as the Dutch architects would have. Although Wesstra and van Wijk were highly disturbed by all the changes Rieck was making to their designs, as they expanded on thoroughly in the *Bouwkundig Weekblad* of March 1885, the main form of the arcade remained the same in both designs (image 39) (image 40).[130] While not explicitly mentioned in the article, the fact that a Belgian architect and contractor was taking over a Dutch project, does not seem to have been received positively at this time. It was only 40 years after the Belgian revolution and there was still a lingering opposition against Belgium in general. This is evident even today as the Haagse Archive only carries the plans made by Wesstra and van Wijk, and not Rieck's plans, and in many texts written about the Haagse Passage there is high praise for the Dutch architects, and often only a brief mention of the Belgian architects, with little to no praise. In the *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage* the editors thought it was important to mention which parts of the Passage were made by Dutch people, so that the public would know "that the Passage would have been built with Belgian money, entirely by Belgians, is not entirely correct".[131]

It was known that van Wijk was familiar with the passages in Paris, Liege, Cologne and Berlin as their dimensions appear on drawings of the Haagse Passage. The size of the passage and architectural structure of the facades are similar to the St Hubert Galleries, but also the technical solution of the glass roof was applied there earlier.[132] The glass roofs were constructed of vaulted cast-iron T-beams, into which the panes of glass were inserted directly.[133] The plans were originally for the roof to be domed, but Rieck changed this into a simpler pyramidal roof as it was easier and cheaper to construct (image 41).[134]

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[129] Geist, 1983, p.269
[130] Wijck, van & Wesstra, 1885, p.69-72
[131] *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage*, 1885
[132] Kooijman, 1999, p.51
[133] Geist, 1983, p.269
[134] Versteeg, 1985, p.16

The other passages in the Netherlands also had pyramidal roofs, so a dome would have been a technological advancement, exceptional for the time.

Old and New Materiality

Although the architects of the Haagse Passage drew inspiration from the seventeenth century, the glazed canopy is an unmistakable sign they did not use the same materials as a few centuries prior. The use of industrial materials are evident in storefronts, such as the insertion of large panes of glass into a cast-iron structure.[135] These storefronts were enmeshed into the stone masonry of the base of the passage, connecting old and new building materials together. In contrast to Viollet-le-Duc's storefront mentioned earlier, the materials are integrated into the old materials instead of being the focal point of the design. Iron to him is a support and he uses it to support larger spans, but in contrast, the Passage uses the new techniques to facilitate the insertion of glass.

Moving up a few stories, this connection of industrial materials using new techniques with older materials with long-existing techniques is a theme in the building, particularly in the roof. As mentioned earlier, the roof is made completely of industrial materials because there were new techniques that made it possible to configure a glazed canopy over the passage. But the cast-iron and glass structure is attached to a neo-Renaissance building, which is an astute choice of the architects. If the architects had decided to configure the masonry part of the passage in a neo-Gothic style then there would be spires and pinnacles with crockets and there would not be a flat surface to put the roof and the base together. Neo-Renaissance, on the other hand, lends itself well to this purpose, as it uses motifs from the renaissance, the entablature, with a flat cornice which is ideal to attach something to. Instead of a pediment or a frieze placed on top of the cornice, the glass roof is able to sit on the horizontal band easily, and old and new techniques are able to come together easily to create a new kind of architecture.

Advanced techniques and underdeveloped methods of building came together in the Haagse Passage. Neo-Renaissance architecture with all of its ornaments and arches was combined with the pyramidal glass roof, instead of a barrel vaulted ceiling, because the Dutch and Belgian architects did not yet possess the skills to build this yet.[136] As these techniques were brought together, there was a meeting of two different historical and technological paradigms.

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The Haagse Passage arose from multiple precedents: revivalist neo-Renaissance buildings, industrially formed buildings inspired by the Crystal Palace, the *Paleis voor Volksvlijt* and other arcades

[135] Geist, 1983, p.269
[136] Versteeg, 1985, p.16

in the Netherlands and beyond. The neo-Renaissance style particularly alluded to the successes of previous centuries, that the architects wanted to present in the nineteenth century, as the Dutch empire and colonialism continued to make the country wealthy. In turn this wealth facilitated the use of new industrial materials, and new techniques in architecture. The shopping arcade that combines the new and old techniques does not seem out of place in the architectural developments of The Hague. At that time there were many buildings built in a neo-Renaissance style, such as the Kurhaus, the concert-hall and hotel, at the Scheveningen Beach. There was also a large development in glass-store fronts in the center of the Hague.[137]

The two-dimensional aspects of the Haagse Passage are important when talking about the facade, the ornamentation and why the building looks the way it does. What is also important is the three-dimensional aspect of the Dutch arcade, the space of the building, what people do with that space and how it creates unique programs within the architecture. When talking about three-dimensionality of the building it is important to keep in mind who will be using the building, and the consumer expresses when making use of the space of the Haagse Passage.

[137] Furnée, 2003, p.82

Chapter III – The Captivating Interiority of the Consumerist Passage

The third and final chapter revolves around the interiority of the Haagse Passage. Interiority has a double meaning in this case. On the one hand, interiority relates to the architecture of the arcade, the glass canopied 'enclosed' space that is partially inside but also partially outside. This openness means a lack of closure, that there is a direct connection between the exterior and the interior, a connection to the outside.[138] Yet there is not a complete lack of closure, because the building is glazed. Glass creates a physical boundary for a building, it encloses but also offers an unobstructed view in and out, so it theoretically creates a closed space.[139] Even if it is 'closed', the material is completely transparent, which means it blurs the categories of open and closed. The new public space of the arcade connects different parts of the city creating a transparent 'interior' which makes it easier to stroll through the bustling city where the upper class could come to shop. Architecture is not simply a platform that accommodates the viewing subject, it is a viewing mechanism that produces the subject, preceding and framing its occupant.[140] This new interiority incubates the flâneur, as described by Charles Beaudelaire and interpreted by Walter Benjamin in his Passagen-Werk, who develops new ways to move through consumer space.[141] The Passage and the flâneur are inextricably linked in their relationship to the transparency of the consumer space, to see and be seen by others.

On the other hand, interiority relates to the experiential aspect of the arcade, the microcosmic aspect of the Passage and by whom this new site of consumption was visited. In this sense it is connected to what this building type meant for class and gender in The Hague, and what kind of ideals were being upheld by the implementation of the Passage. The building was created with the bourgeoisie in mind, and had little to nothing to do with the lower classes and their developments within The Hague.The interiority of the arcade has to do with the upper-middle class developments of the city outside of it, and brings those developments inside. Interiority does not only refer to class, but it is also a gender-loaded term.[142] The exterior is often linked to men, and the interior is to women. The interior is often seen as the scene of sexuality and reproduction, all the things that would divide it from the outside world. The Haagse Passage became a female space in the nineteenth century, which is remarkable at the time.

The goal of this chapter is to bring both senses of interiority together, first to examine the climate of consumption of the late nineteenth century in The Hague, and second to understand who was supposed to be captivated by and lured into the Dutch arcade.[143] At first glance this seems to be the new upper class

[138] Feuerstein, 2013, p.17
[139] Ibid. p.18
[140] Colomina, 1992, p.83
[141] Parsons, 2000, p.34
[142] Colomina, 1996, p.274
[143] Versteeg, 1985, p.60

that had grown larger, because of the cyclical upturn in the economy of The Hague. There will also be a focus on the development of the new 'shopper,' being predominantly female, and how there were plans to cater to this new target audience.[144] Finally, all the aforementioned socio-economic dynamics will be connected to the architectural details of the Haagse Passage and further analyzed as a microcosm – an idealized miniature of Dutch capitalist society.

Capitalism and Consumption in The Hague

The Development of The Hague's Population in the Late Nineteenth Century

In the second half of the nineteenth century, The Hague started to grow out of its intimate character as a small provincial city in the West of the country.[145] In the 1870's drastic measures were taken to improve the quality of life in the city such as a water supply system, better hygiene and better medical facilities.[146] Next to these measures the economy in The Hague picked up significantly in the latter half of the nineteenth century. By this time half of the population of the city worked in the industrial sector, but The Hague was not a typical industrial city.[147] Almost all the companies in this sector had a service function and mainly made products that the people of The Hague consumed themselves. There was increased prosperity and employment thanks to the accelerating pace of the rise in this industrialization, which also brought a flow of the rural population to the cities.[148]

Like many other cities in the Netherlands the population grew explosively in this period, and, by 1889, The Hague was housing a large population of 156.000 people. The Hague's growth was similar to other cities, such as Rotterdam and Amsterdam, which was partly the result of an increase in living standards and improved sanitation, but was also caused by a continuous flow of immigrants.[149] Because of its leisure activities and rich nightlife, The Hague developed into an attractive residential city for pleasure-seekers such as wealthy noblemen, retired civil servants and officers, unmarried ladies of good means, wealthy merchants, and a fast-growing contingent of guests from the Indies. There was a new elite which was made up of entrepreneurs that had become rich because of new branches such as industry, railroads, banking and insurance.[150] At the same time after 1870 the city also attracted a large group of fortune seekers such as young and poor couples, bachelors from the province who tried by trial and error to make a living there as laborers, store clerks or servants.

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[144] Furnée, 2002, p.44
[145] Furnée, 2012a, p.41
[146] Nijs, de & Sillevis, 2005, p.156
[147] Ibid. p.157
[148] Ibid. p.26
[149] Furnée, 2012a, p.42
[150] Kleijn, 1995, p.148

As early as 1858, the municipality of The Hague had commissioned a plan for expansion of the town, for new roads and public spaces.[151] Around 1880 there were many changes in The Hague, in comparison to the decades before it.[152] It was clear that the city center could not accommodate the new population, and the solution was to create new neighborhoods and new living space. In the center, the retail trade, industry and cultural infrastructure had undergone significant increases in scale. Because of the increase in population, the upper middle class had also increased significantly, causing there to be a larger need for luxury items and a drive for consumption.

Shopping as a Bourgeois Leisure Activity

With the rise in incomes in The Hague, the industrial mass production of consumer goods and the expansion of retail infrastructure in the second half of the nineteenth century, shopping for pleasure changed from only being for the small urban elite, to a popular pastime for a fast-growing section of the new urban citizens.[153] There was also a rise in industrial production and the modernisation of transport that further enhanced the size and importance of the retail sector.[154] This was a time when marketing to consumers required specialized building types and methods of display. It was a time of defining a new relationship between the public and an ever-widening array of accessible merchandise.[155] New shops arose around the city center and new residential quarters, while the concentration of main shopping streets further increased.[156] It was precisely around 1880 when the verb *winkelen* was presented as a brand-new concept in Dutch language and culture.[157] *Winkelen* referred to shopping as a leisure activity, consisting of pleasurable strolling in the shopping streets, looking at appealing window displays, visiting shops without necessarily buying or making spontaneous purchases, as well as being seen by other shoppers and taking a break in a confectionery shop or a cafe for refreshments.

Increasingly shopkeepers and artisans stepped away from small latticed windows, sliding windows and external showcases at street level for a different type of shop front. The new shop fronts were characterized by singular panes of glass framed set into wooden or iron pilasters and decorated friezes.[158] The shopkeepers piled their merchandise in horizontal rows behind the windows and increasingly used their shop front to convey information and to stimulate the desire to buy.

[151] Kooijman, 2011, p.38
[152] Furnée, 2012a, p.84-85
[153] Furnée & Lesger, 2014, p.209
[154] Ibid. p.218
[155] Lemoine, 1998, p.154
[156] Furnée & Lesger, 2014, p.218
[157] Ibid. p.208
[158] Ibid. p.218

Another important part of the new culture of *winkelen* was the establishment of elevated footpaths to make it easier for pedestrians to move through the city.[159] Alongside implementing sidewalks, the city council also decided to introduce one-way traffic in narrow streets to reduce the risks of accidents involving carts and coaches. As a result the local government created a metropolitan stage where window-shopping, strolling, going in and out of shops could increasingly be cultivated as a leisure activity. Eventually all of these developments put together led to the creation and eventual realization of the Haagse Passage in the center of The Hague. A walkable arcade, meant for strolling and taking one's time to shop, look around, but also, importantly, to be seen. The arcade, even years after it was built, was described as "a covered shopping street with great advantages over the surrounding streets. One is not dependent on bad weather, on the contrary, when it rains and rains again then the Passage is a real godsend. One is outside, and yet inside".[160] It is a building type that responds to the specific needs and desires of consumption, creating a space where every shopping need could be fulfilled within a few hundred meters, clearly catering to a certain, prosperous demographic.[161] Individual retail shops with fashion goods, luxury items, culinary delicacies, paintings and furniture were all sold side by side. Shopping, leisure, living, everything was at the bourgeoisie's fingertips without having to go 'outside'.

Grandiose Goods of the Passage

Another type of consumer develops in these arcades, not only in Paris but also in the Netherlands: the flâneur, an idling figure deriving delight and pleasure from the life of the city streets, moving among the urban crowd, continuously watching.[162] The habitat of the flâneur is the arcade, anonymously viewing the selection of luxury goods and luxury people walking around.[163] Not so different from Paris, but a little later in the nineteenth century, the Netherlands had a new need for consumer and luxury goods.[164] Instead of thinking of inner-city solutions, such as adding more sidewalks or creating one-way streets, there was a need for an upscale shopping center. The Passage was developed by a private initiative, supported by the government. It had 53 stores, 50 rental apartments, 4 spacious apartments, a luxury hotel with 54 rooms, a Wiener café, a beer-cave, a milk parlor, and even a museum.[165]

When the Haagse Passage opened it was during a period of economic prosperity where the textile branch was growing rapidly.[166] The Passage had an array of different kinds of shops, and finally all the

[159] Furnée & Lesger, 2014, p.222
[160] *De Rotterdammer*, 1929. Translation by the author.
[161] Geist, 1979, p.12
[162] Southerton, 2011, p.606
[163] Hanssen, 2006, p.35
[164] Kooijman, 2011, p.38
[165] Furnée, 2012b, p.2
[166] Ibid. p.60

retail spaces were rented out in 1888, according to the annual report of that year.[167] There were shops for ladies and children's clothing, and other fashion items such as gowns, lingerie, corsets, hats, shoes and much more.[168] Other shops in the Passage sold perfumes, soaps, umbrellas and fashionable walking sticks for the flâneurs. Furniture and home-goods were also for sale, such as luxury basketry, glass, porcelain, pottery, carpets and more. As well as stores for goods, the Passage also contained shops where services could be performed, such as a hairdresser, a photographer and a place for laundry and drycleaning Everything the bourgeoisie could ever want and consume, which they would usually have to walk through the whole city for, was close at hand in one glass covered building.

Not only the roof was completely glazed, but so were the new shop windows that consisted of single large panes of glass.[169] In the mid nineteenth century technology made it possible to use larger glass surfaces for windows and to hang sizable mirrors to make the space seem larger, and to reflect the customers. The displays were not aesthetically arranged by any particular method, but about presenting as much merchandise as possible and giving the shopper a sense of what could be found in the shops.[170] In the Haagse Passage the display windows were not always separate showcases, sometimes the entire store became a display window. This was different from how shopping used to be, where customers haggled about a price, and did not see a product until they asked for it. At the end of the nineteenth century fixed prices on products became more standard, creating an increasingly impersonal shopping experience. This method was devised to create a more frictionless shopping experience that was more about the pastime of shopping and consumer culture, than actually going out to buy certain items and then heading back home. In the Passage one looked into the shop window at the articles, but while shopping 'looking' also attained a social meaning, one also fixed one's gaze on the fellow consumer.

Visitors of the Haagse Passage

Knowing what kinds of products the Passage housed, it should come as no surprise that the Dutch arcade was trying to appeal to the increased upper and upper-middle class of The Hague. As the population and social classes became larger, a new group started to dominate the shopping scene: respectable women.[171] The Haagse Passage has a few different programs.[172] One of the most important is shopping and specifically for women. The striking part about this specific program for the Haagse Passage, is that women were being actively taken into account, which was not customary at this point in time. It is curious that there seems to be a relationship between glass, transparency and the construction of

[167] 's-Gravenhaagsche Passagemaatschappij, 1888
[168] Furnée, 2012b, p.62-63
[169] Furnée & Lesger, 2014, p.219
[170] Kooijman, 2011, p.47
[171] Furnée, 2002, p.30
[172] Program being the way that the building has been designed to move people around in space.

gender. Looking back at the Crystal Palace one of the most prominent groups of visitors were wealthy women, who were also represented in prints of the time (image 42). There is a connection to be made between the transparent interiors and femininity in the nineteenth century, as the glass lets people be seen by all. Women are slowly freed from their domestic interiors, to be confined once more into another interior, but with a broader view on the outside world.

The ideal demographic of the Passage did not just have to do with gender, but also had to do with class. Both gender and class come together in The Haagse Passage and are closely tied to style, ornament, nationalism and the program of the building. People walking through this building were supposed to feel Dutch, or supposed to feel like a woman because of the milieu the Passage was creating. The Haagse Passage was facilitating identity formation through its architecture.

A New Visitor: Women of the Growing Upper-Middle class

The new shopping culture becomes the specialization of women.[173] The new target group is identified by all the relevant stakeholders, and are repeatedly named and distinguished. In the opening speech given by P.J. de Sonnaville, the president of the *'s-Gravenhaagsche Passage Maatschappij,* on the fourth of May 1885, he specifically focussed on the female consumers. He concluded his speech for the opening of the Haagse Passage with "Long live the ladies of 's-Gravenhage!", referring to the fact that women were the intended audience of the new shopping experience.[174] At this point in time in the latter nineteenth century there was a profound distinction between woman and man.[175] This kind of building blurred these personal distinctions, opening up more possibilities for women no longer to be completely interiorized and offered them essentially a limbo between outside and inside. The Passage, although often overlooked as typical architecture for its time, serves a modern purpose and becomes a unique building that can be connected to the notion of nineteenth century gender issues.

Generally, women from the upper class would come downtown and to the Passage, and because of the improved conditions women could be on the street longer.[176] Without a decent opportunity to rest, use a public bathroom, have something to eat or drink at a milk parlor or bakery, no woman who wanted to present herself as civilized or honorable could stay in the shopping streets for a long time. As there used to be a strict divide between the public domain, for men, and the private domain, for women, which meant that all amenities outside of the private domain were solely created for men. For example, coffee and beer houses, with their billiards and card tables, liquor and cigars were distinctly male territories that

[173] Kooijman, 2011, p.48-49
[174] Quote P.J. de Sonnaville, *Het Vaderland*, 1885. Translation by the author.
[175] Colomina, 1996, p.274
[176] Furnée, 2002, p.44

did not permit women.[177] They were not places for a 'decent' woman to be. This saw to it that the leisurely experience of shopping and walking around for long periods of time was effectively limited to men.[178] It used to be the case that rich women would send their servants to fetch things for them from the shops, but now women wanted to enter the consumer space.[179]

Not many of these facilities existed until this point in the century, but in the development of the Haagse Passage they were implemented into a new shopping experience that catered to women.[180] Conscious of the decisive power of female consumers the board of the Passage tried to present and decorate the covered shopping streets as attractively as possible for the female consumer, making it a comfortable location which removed all inconveniences that had previously hindered female shopping pleasure. The opening of the first public bathrooms for both sexes helped tremendously, for example. In the notes of the committee of daily management of the Haagse Passage, there was talk of *cabinets d'aisance*, public bathrooms, accessible through the unfinished part of the third arm (image 43).[181] In the original plan these bathrooms were planned to be behind stores no.22 and no.23, but the numbering was changed on the final floorplan, and as mentioned by the committee, the bathrooms were realized behind shop no.48 and no.49 (image 44).[182] The board also sought to reduce the social impediments that shopping ladies were experiencing, such as the leering glances of men. At one point there was a suggestion that the windows of the coffee house at the entrance of the Buitenhof side of the Passage should be made opaque with etching as the coffee house was considered an exclusively male domain. This was eventually not implemented because it seemed like an exaggerated measure. The solution came after the cafe space was rented: The Wiener Café in the Passage was groundbreaking, in that it permitted not only a mix of classes but also a mixed company of gentlemen and ladies.[183] When the board of the Haagse Passage took over the operation in 1888, renaming the establishment *Café Riche*, they continued this trend.

The development of shopping as a leisure activity was closely linked to the transformation of these urban hospitality establishments. The Passage gave honorable ladies safe shopping facilities with woman-friendly amenities. Gender was being accommodated by the architecture, and constructed simultaneously with the program of the building. This shows that the Passage was responding to the social conditions outside, and interiorizing them.

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[177] Furnée, 2002, p.47
[178] Southerton, 2011, p.641
[179] Kooijman, 2011, p.50
[180] Furnée, 2002, p.44
[181] Committee of Daily Management of the 's-Gravenhaagsche Passagemaatschappij, 1885
[182] Ibid.
[183] Furnée, 2002, p.48

Walking, watching, window-shopping

It is not only important to understand who visited the Haagse Passage, but also why people would visit such a building. The Passage became an icon of economic prosperity and technical progress, a traffic breakthrough, and a symbol of urban pride in which The Hague could rank with Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Brussels as the embodiment of the ultimate shopping and strolling pleasure.[184]

The environment of consumption in The Hague had grown significantly and added a new layer to the shopping domain in the center of the city. The Hague's fashionable classes started to identify themselves as flâneurs and flâneuses. In the seventeenth century the bourgeoisie would take a daily walk in the aristocratic quarter of the Lange Voorhout and the Haagse Bos, called the *slipper parade*, but this promenading of wealth moved to the main shopping streets in the 1870's.[185] This promenade had a very strong ritualistic character, which occurred daily in every season, and every sort of weather.[186] During the *slipper parade*, between two and four or five o'clock, stylish ladies tried to impress each other with tasteful and showy walking, while dressed men took no less care of their appearance dressing in fashionable suits and carrying elegant walking sticks.[187] The change of location of the social promenade was inextricably linked to the pleasures of shopping. The implementation of sidewalks was important, but the Passage carried it one step further: not only did it provide climatic shelter, but the pedestrian could become a stroller, or a flâneur without the hindrances of the traffic outside.[188] The Passage was a place where the bourgeoisie could step outside of the city center that was busy and dangerous for pedestrians, and were able to shop undisturbed by the outside traffic.[189] The Hague was increasingly represented as a city of flâneurs who enjoyed walking as a popular pastime.[190] The Haagse Passage added on to this promenading, serving as a protection of the elements and transitional space between two parts of the city that contained a multitude of shops, making sauntering through the center of The Hague even easier.

Even though the focus for the Haagse Passage was predominantly on the bourgeoisie, they did not make up the majority of the population of the Hague. There was a large difference between the 'noble' upper class and the 'ordinary' lower class, and they both lived different lives within the city.[191] There were luxury neighborhoods that were being created for the new upper-middle class, but the working-class neighborhoods were being expanded, as there was an increase in the working-class population as well. Some of these neighborhoods merged together, such as the Archipel-neighborhood, which contained large villas for the wealthy, courtyard apartments for service staff and poorer people, and also housing for the

[184]Furnée, 2002, p.42
[185] Ibid. p.37
[186] Furnée & Lesger, 2014, p.223
[187] Ibid. p.224
[188] Kooijman, 2011, p.46
[189] Nijs, de & Sillevis, 2005, p.30
[190] Furnée & Lesger, 2014, p.217
[191] Nijs, de & Sillevis, 2005, p.178

middle class.[192] At the end of the nineteenth century classes segregated even more into their own neighborhoods, which the microcosm of the Haagse Passage foreshadowed. The arcade was a place where wealthy people could be amongst each other, as only they could afford the goods being sold there. The building was a segregated part of the city where the bourgeoisie could be in their ideal scaled down version of The Hague, which was never rainy, filled with luxury goods and void of poverty.

The Haagse Passage as a Microcosm

The Haagse Passage is essentially the microcosmic idealistic model of The Hague, shrunk into one building. It is the ideal version of The Hague according to the bourgeois, the target class that the Haagse Passagemaatschappij was catering to. The microcosm reflects the ideals of society on the exterior, and keeps certain ideals in place on the interior, such as that of gender but also of capitalism. Peter Sloterdijk uses the example of the Crystal Palace, as a place where cities around the globe were connected through new buildings and interiors like exposition halls and arcades.[193] These new crystalized spaces were designed for comfort and convenience. The arcade is a model microcosm of a global capitalism, which in Sloterdijk's words "will never stop growing and flowing".[194] The microcosm of the Haagse Passage seems like it has an endless program, where the bourgeoisie could stay forever in a never ending circle of consumerism.

The Passage in Den Haag has a double interior. People can wander through the gatehouse of the arcade, be inside covered by a glass canopied roof, but still see other facades of the shops even though they are inside and shielded from the elements. The consumer can step inside once more, to be engulfed by fashion, furniture, curiosities from far away lands and other luxury items. When going into the Passage, there is an elimination of a direct contact between interior spaces and the outer world, as if being in a space that is not a real place. Benjamin touches on this subject, calling the Passage a phantasmagoria.[195] To him they were magical places, cities in miniature, offering just about everything the modern city had to offer.[196] The Haagse Passage did exactly the same through many different parts of the building. Through its revivalist architecture, the use of industrial materials and the luxury stores and modern facilities it offered, the Passage is a model for Dutch capitalism. Important to note was that Dutch capitalism was heavily centered around colonial import, yet when the Passage alluded to colonialism it did so in a very implicit way. This was referenced in these neo-Renaissance facades, which point to the

[192] Nijs, de & Sillevis, 2005, p.187
[193] Sloterdijk, 2013, p.170
[194] Ibid. p.171
[195] 1. Hanssen, 2006, p.3 / 2. A phantasmagoria is a magic lantern used for horror theater to project frightening images. Walter Benjamin used it as a term to describe the experience of the arcades, associating it with commodity culture and its experience of material and intellectual products.
[196] Furnée, 2012b, p.2

seventeenth century and its wealth that came through colonial expeditions. However, nowhere in the building is it referenced explicitly. This draws back into the point of the ideal version of the world, where exploitation is never mentioned, and the economy seems to be completely unproblematic.

Eat, Sleep, Shop, Repeat

Leisurely gazing was easily done from the new restaurants and cafes established in the Haagse Passage. In the design phase of the Passage a large catering complex was planned on the prominent Buitenhof side, which was based on Van Wijk and Wesstra's plans as two interconnected halls, continuing across the mezzanine floor.[197] One was semi-circular and located on the outer high side, the other square with a sunroom behind it and located in the Passage, while the halls were connected by a wide corridor. (image 45). This is where *Grand Café du Passage*, or the Wiener Café, originally was settled but it later changed owners and was renamed *Café Riche* (image 46). It was turned into a French style café, complete with a new French interior, where men and women could sit together. The square room ended up being a billiard room and then was transformed into a store later on. A few doors down from *Riche* at number 42, in the corner of the arm to the Spuistraat, was another café where people could buy Bordeaux wine, called *Maison Bordelaise*.[198] It was next to the not-yet finished annex of the third arm that was closed off by a wooden structure that was called the *Indische Zaal*, the only reference of a colonial economy in the entire Haagse Passage, which furthermore had nothing to do with the Indies.[199] Because *Maison Bordelaise* was set in the rotunda of the Passage, it was perfect for flâneurs to watch people from afar, but also be watched by the people sitting on the terrace in front of the Bordelaise.

Above the semi-circular and square rooms, there were two casino halls envisioned that would continue onto the second floor (image 47). Even more than just having every possible amenity that an upper-middle class person could ever imagine, there was also a gambling room to keep people here for even longer. When shopping, eating, and gazing at passersby became too much, the bourgeois men could spend even more time in the Passage, sucked into the building even further by having a drink and trying to win more money to spend. There was no need to go home after a long day of shopping, gambling, and watching because *Hôtel du Passage* was conveniently inside of the building.[200] Just like in Rotterdam, The Hague's passage also had a hotel, and in both Van Wijk and Wesstra's and Rieck's plans it was detailed to be situated along the Buitenhof-arm and the roundabout in the middle of the Passage. The plans of the ground floor included a dining, dessert, reception, waiting and smoking room in addition to the sixty rooms for customers to sleep in. In the floor plan there is an oval *cour* drawn out, which was an elongated

[197] Tigchelaar, 2011, p.108-110
[198] Ibid. p.135
[199] Versteeg, 1985, p.21
[200] Tigchelaar, 2011, p.115-118

sunken courtyard with staircases on both of the shorter sides (image 48). Over the years the hotel would be operated by different organizations and renamed to *Hôtel du Grand Passage*, to make it sound more important to the consumer.[201]

It is clear that there are separate programs for women and men within the Haagse Passage. The two programs focus on consumerism in two ways. For women it is focused on leisurely shopping and for men it is focused on hedonistic drinking and gambling. Women experienced a liberation of interior, to another kind of interior that was slightly more exterior. They went from the insides of their own homes to the "almost outside" of arcades. This architecture was transitional of nature, and let women swap interiors, giving the simulation of outside even if that was not completely the truth yet. This is reiterated by the spatialization of endlessness in the Passage. It is important to distinguish the glass surfaces of the Passage, as there is only one glazed area which lets in light and shows customers what time of day it is, which is the roof. The only other windows that the building has are shopfronts or windows that look into the inside of the Passage, which did not give the customer a chance to see the surroundings outside of the building. This is the architecture of introversion, which is undistracted by the outside world, and lets the customer focus on the artificial interior and spaces designed to focus attention on consumption.[202] While encapsulating the consumer, the building also encapsulated the existing gender roles. The building is quite literally a glass ceiling which keeps social distinctions in place. While it seems as if it is an emancipated space, it is not at all, just brings the interiorization of women to another space.

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As mentioned at the beginning the Haagse Passage has a double case of interiorization, as people can walk inside the building through the gatehouse, and then walk inside the shops in the building. This has to do with the interiority of the architecture of the building. There is a lack of complete closure, a certain kind of transparency. There is an openness to the building created by the glazed surfaces, the roof and the display windows, which welcome in the clientele it was designed for. These kinds of shopping spaces became more widespread, standardized and were tailored increasingly to the upper class and to well-off women. *Winkelen* became something inherently female and changes in amenities had to be made to allow women into this new world of consumption, to the extent that women even had their own facilities in the Haagse Passage. This relates to the experiential interiority of the Passage.

We are confronted with the Passage as a miniature, ideal version of its exterior, which is The bourgeoisie's experience of The Hague. It begins with the revivalist exteriors as reflection of Dutch capitalism of the nineteenth century, and ends with the multitude of shops, hotels, casinos and restaurants.

[201] Tigchelaar, 2011, p.118
[202] Jutte, 2023. p.385

The microcosm creates a never ending cycle of idealism and capitalism, where ideals from outside are interiorized, and are set in place.

Conclusion

I grew up shopping in the city center of the Hague, and often sat in a bookstore with a café which looked out on the rotunda of the Passage. Over the years, the café turned into an Apple store and the aerial view of the people walking through the Passage was no longer. This provoked questions of why shops would switch, and what was originally there in the first place? I wanted to know what kind of consumer culture this building used to have, and what it meant for the city. The question that was answered in this thesis is 'How do transparency and interiority contribute to The Haagse Passage's typology of shopping architecture in the nineteenth century, and in what ways do these elements impact socio-economic dynamics of that century in The Hague?'.

The Haagse Passage is still standing today, and is still a successful shopping center in the middle of the Hague. Over the years the building has gone through many changes, with many different shops and shop-owners, the addition of an expressionist third arm in the 1920's, and it even survived a large fire in the 1990's.[203] The burnt down part of the Passage was rebuilt, and it even received another addition; the 'Nieuwe Haagse Passage' built between 2011 and 2014 to extend the shopping experience from an original exit on the Spuistraat to the Grote Marktstraat. The shopping experience has been expanded, and broadened for the average public. It is a place where not only the bourgeoisie can shop, women are allowed to roam through the entire building, and shopping is no longer a female dominated experience. The sense of transparency and interiority have changed throughout the years, but have remained within the same building as was opened in 1885.

In the introduction of this thesis I gave the example of New Babylon as a failed multi-use building, a structure that failed to create a space where one would want to stay forever. It did not make good enough use of the successful world of commerce, only a few streets away from the site of a place that did successfully do this. Possibly if New Babylon thoughtfully used the architecture of its time, combined with new innovations and a meticulous eye for what kind of public was to be brought in and how to accommodate them, it would have been as successful as the Haagse Passage. New Babylon failed today, as Dutch historical centers have these passages, these historical shopping centers. Essentially Dutch cities have put high value on the pedestrian program, which over time has turned centers of cities into enlarged versions of arcades. They are not canopied by glazed roofs, but these historical centers often have 'environmental zones' which ensure that cars can not enter them, and they are completely pedestrian and public transport oriented. As mentioned in the introduction, the Passage has been ignored as a crucial place for the national and cultural identity of The Hague. It is an important building, not just locally but also nationally and has had an influence on how we see Dutch centers. All of these historical centers can

[203] Tigchelaar, 2011, p.106

be seen as enlarged nineteenth century arcades. To touch back on the failure of Babylon, such a shopping center was made obsolete because of the logic of passages in Dutch city centers. The residents of The Hague did not need another building that housed its own microcosm in a modern way, because they already had one that had expanded to the entire city center. Babylon is also not directly situated in the center, but next to the station, so it is more linked to transport, temporality, and not to a broader urban web of the rest of the city center. Even though Babylon's project did not turn out the way the designers had planned, the system of the Haagse Passage has stood, and will continue to stand, the test of time.

Summary

The first chapter was about transparency, about the development of glazed buildings up until the arcades. Important insights from this chapter were how displays continuously become more glazed and more transparent as technologies develop further in Western Europe in the nineteenth century. It started with masonry greenhouses, to enormous greenhouses which could let in light from all sides through new technologies and curvilinear glass roofs. This in turn inspired exhibition spaces such as The Crystal Palace. These enormous, completely glazed buildings demonstrated goods from all over the world. They created a space where people could come look at the commodities, and be looked at in turn. This type of building then transitioned into the arcade, a partially glazed building, which used the curvilinear roofs in combination with a historicized base. The demonstrated goods were scaled down to luxury merchandise where the bourgeoisie could come to shop, but just like in the exhibition spaces could also be seen. Every arcade had its own national ornamentation and building style, which fit the spirit of the time of the construction of the building.

In the second chapter there was a more in depth analysis of the arcade and the effect of nationalism on the building type in the Netherlands. The Dutch passages were made out of a neo-Renaissance base, and a curvilinear glass roof. Buildings with a Neo-Renaissance were common, but what was important within revivalism was the involvement of industrial materials in an older style, which people such as Viollett-le-Duc were forerunners for. Continuing in his footsteps, Cornelis Outshoorn designed the *Paleis voor Volksvlijt*, housing industrial exhibitions. The building combined revivalist ornaments with new materials, important for the progress of architectural history, and one of the most important developments in glazed buildings in The Netherlands. This building paved the way for architects to develop the building type of Dutch arcade, a place to look and be looked at.

The concluding chapter is about interiority and how that relates to the Haagse Passage. It is about the double interiority of the building. Firstly, interiority relates to the building itself and the stores, amenities, goods the building housed. *Winkelen* had become a term that was widely used, and it was something the upper-middle class loved to do. In this part the Passage is related to a microcosm; an idealized, sized down version of the capitalist system of The Hague, where no one ever has to leave, because everything is at the fingertips of the upper-middle class. Secondly, interiority relates to the people who came to shop there, and how the program of the building had bourgeoisie women in mind. This was quite progressive, or at least so it seems. In theory having facilities for women was quite advanced for the time, but in reality women were re-interiorized in the Passage. The Haagse Passage quite literally created a glass ceiling for women, which kept the existing ideals in place, but just relocating the female domain to another building.

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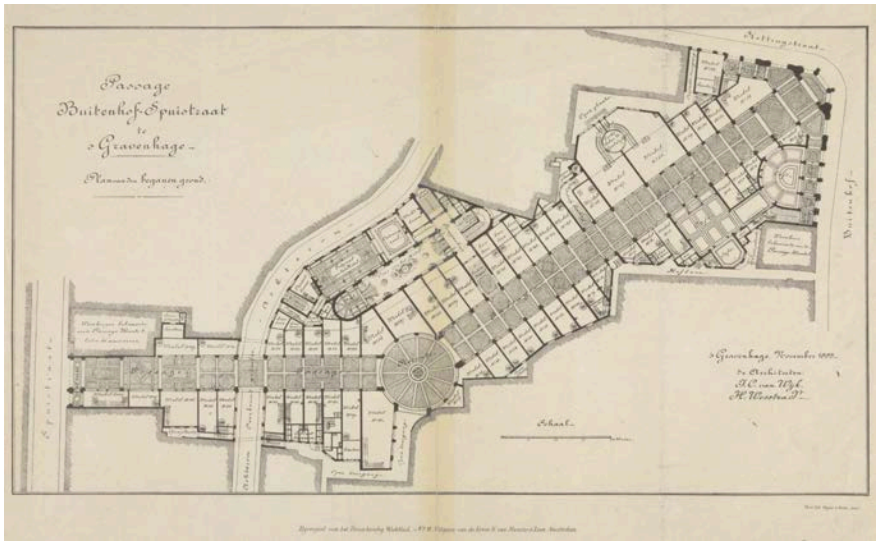

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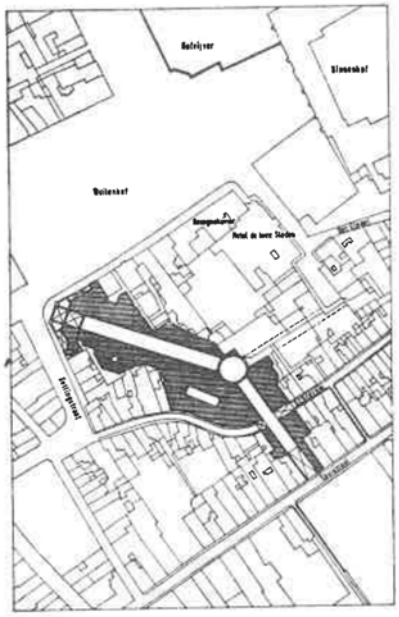
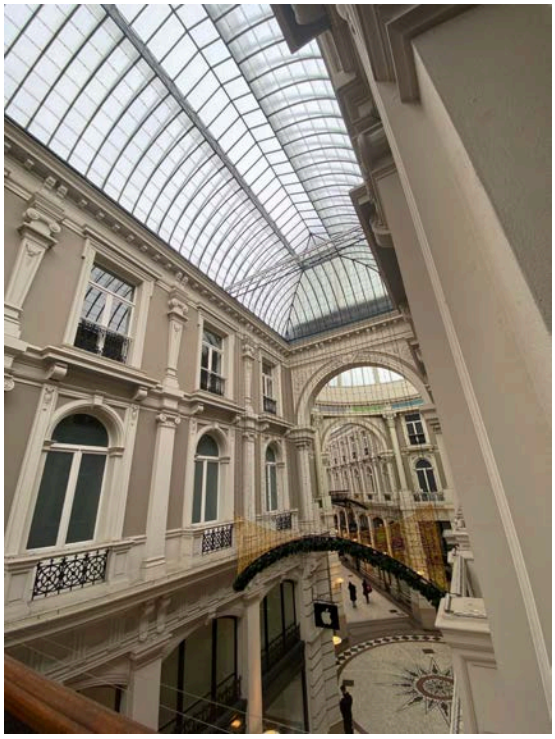


The Haagse Passage before it had its third arm

Image 2 - Johann Friederich Geist, site of the arcade in The Hague before 1900. Image from Geist, J.F. *Arcades: The History of a Building Type*, p.261, 1979.



View on the original two arms and the cupola of the Haagse Passage

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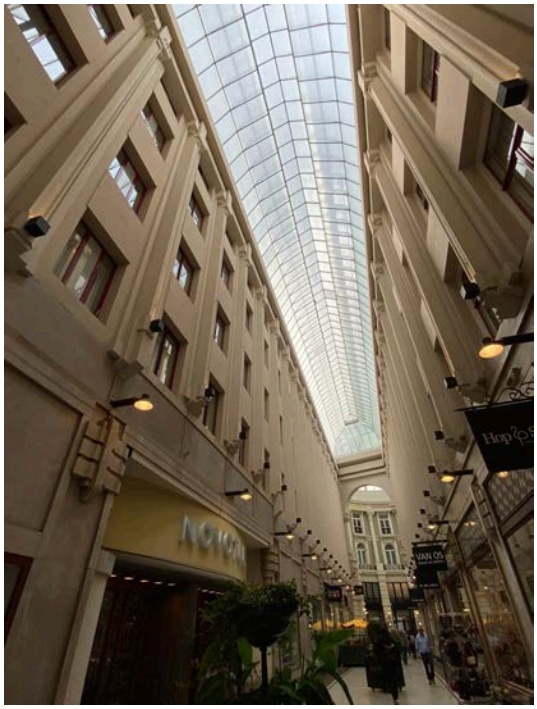
Image 4 - Henri Rieck, Gatehouse Kettingstraat/Buitenhof of the Haagse Passage, The Hague, the Netherlands, 1885. Glass, iron, natural stone, brick, wood. Picture by the author, 2023.

Image 5 - Henri Rieck, Gatehouse Spuistraat of the Haagse Passage, The Hague, the Netherlands, 1885. Glass, iron, natural stone, brick, wood, The Hague. Picture by the author, 2023.



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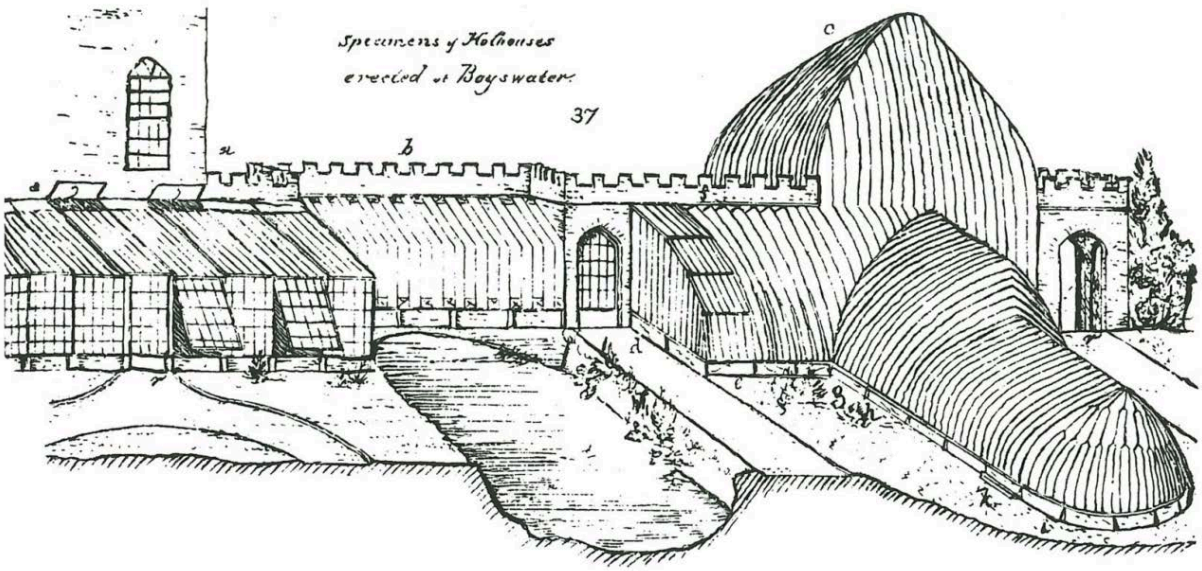

Image 9 - John Claudius Loudon, Sketches for Bayswater House, London, United Kingdom, 1817/18. Image from Feuerstein, G. *Open Space; Transparency Freedom Dematerialisation*, Stuttgart, 2013.

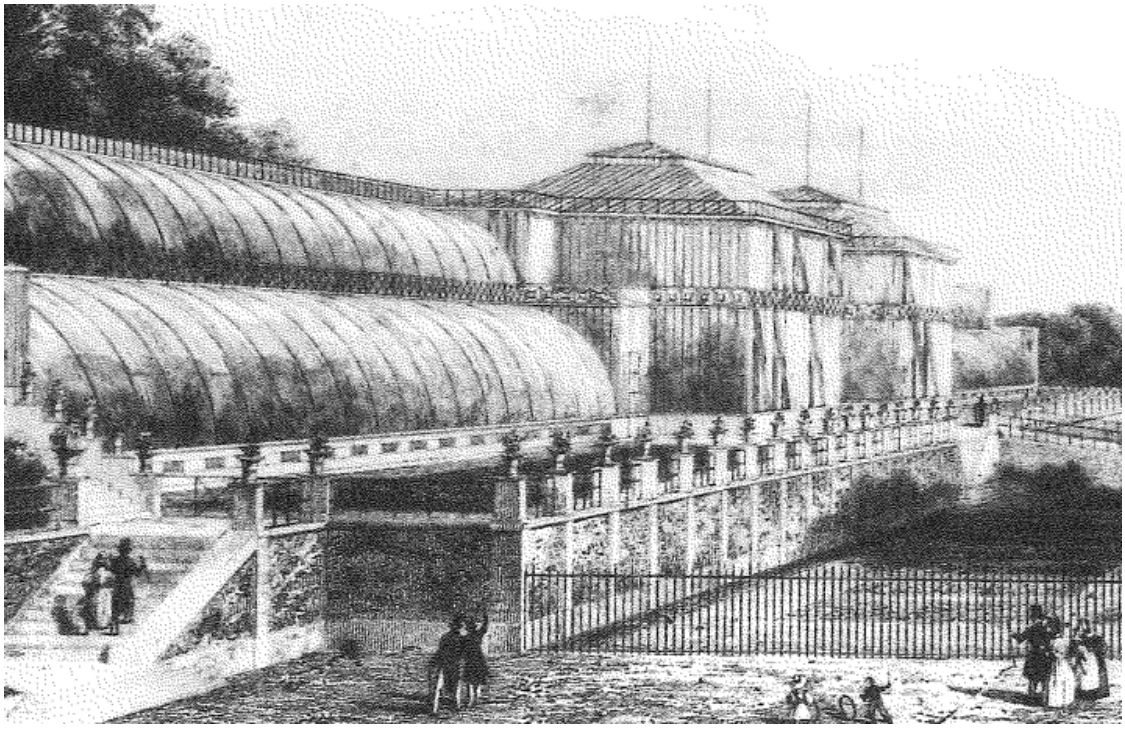

Image 10 - Unknown, Sketch of Jardin des Plantes, Paris, France, 1833. Image from Wigginton, M. *Glass in Architecture*, London, United Kingdom, 1996.

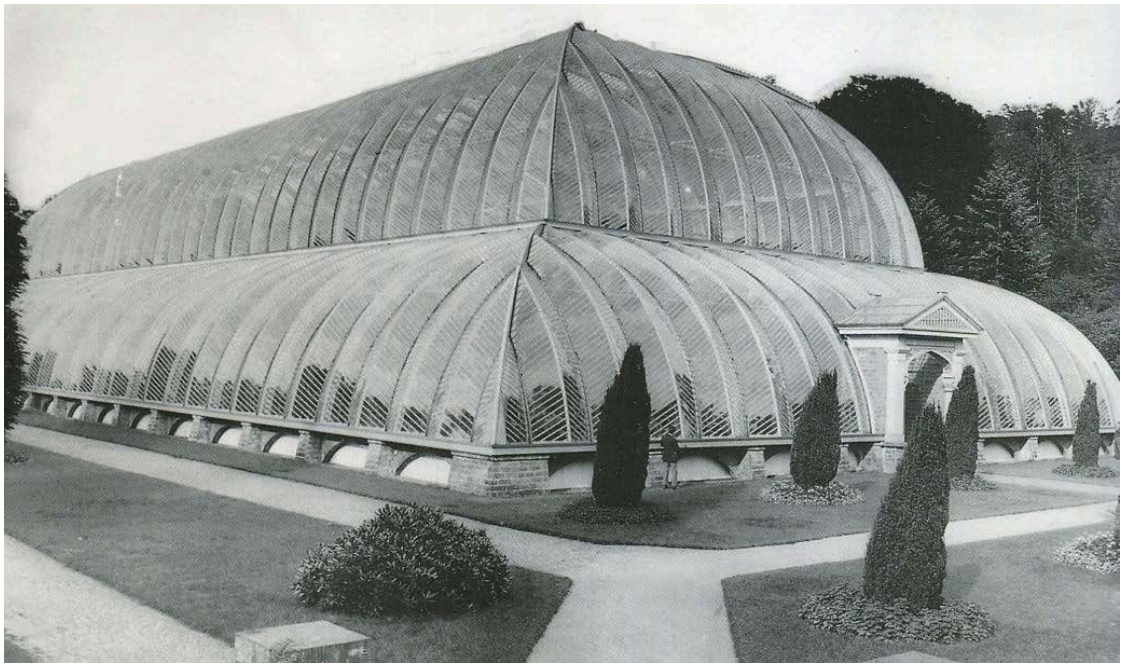

Image 11 - Decimus Burton and Joseph Paxton, The Great Conservatory at Chatsworth, Chatsworth, United Kingdom, 1840. Glass, steel. Image from Leyland, J. et. al. *Gardens, old and new; the country house & its garden environment*, London, 1900.

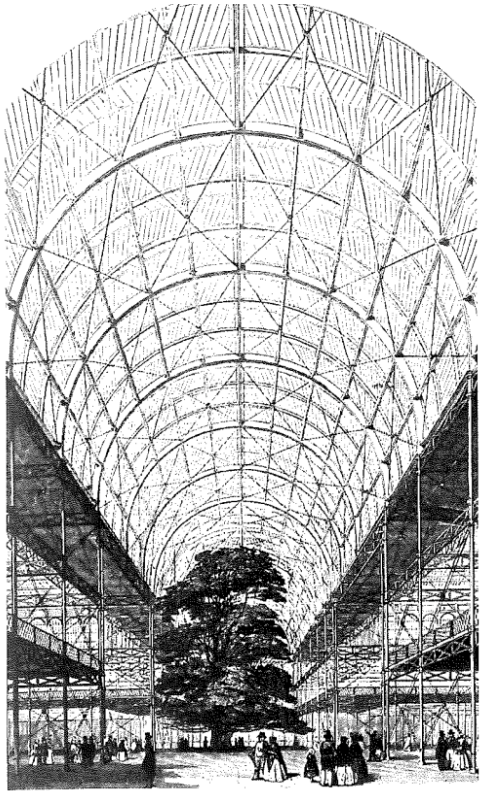

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Image 16 - Pierre Fontaine, *Passage d'Orléans*, Paris, France, 1892. Wood, glass, cast-iron. Image from Geist, J.F. *Arcades: The History of a Building Type*, Cambridge (MA), 1979.

Image 17 - Giuseppe Mengoni, Plan of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, Milan, Italy, 1877. Glass, steel, natural stone. Image by Chris Brown, from https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=3358948.

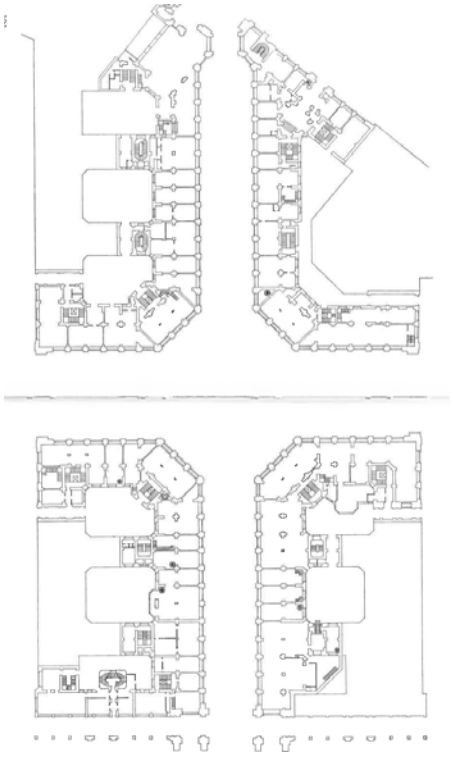
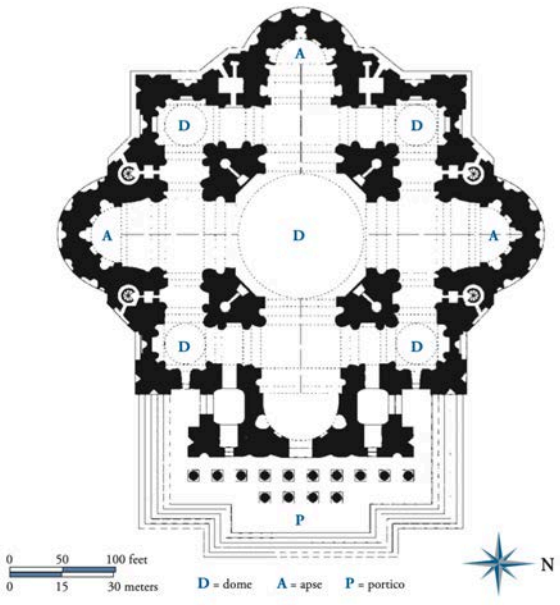


Image 18 - Giuseppe Mengoni, Plan of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, Milan, Italy, 1877. Image from Geist, J.F. *Arcades: The History of a Building Type*, Cambridge (MA), 1979.



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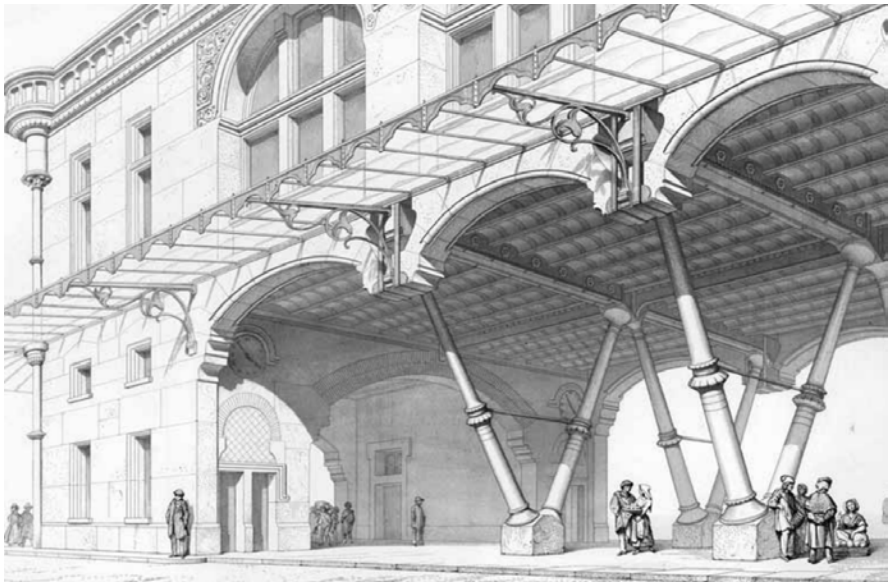

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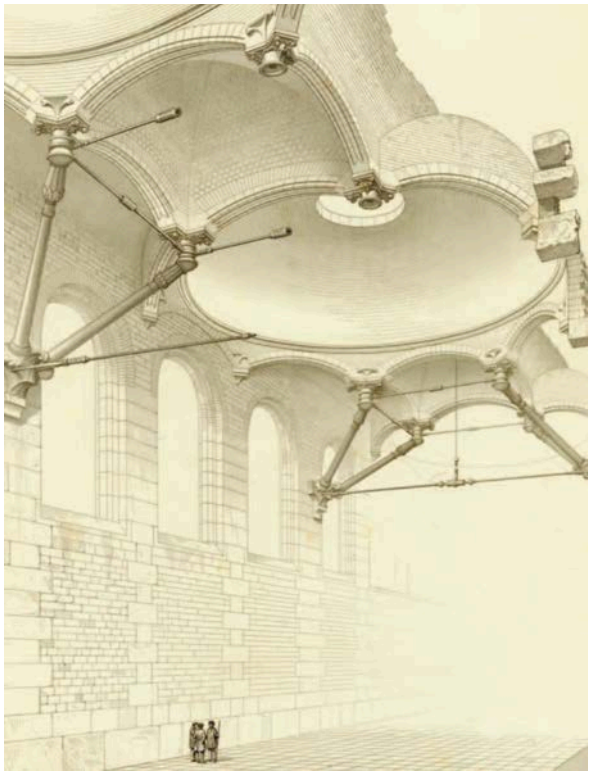

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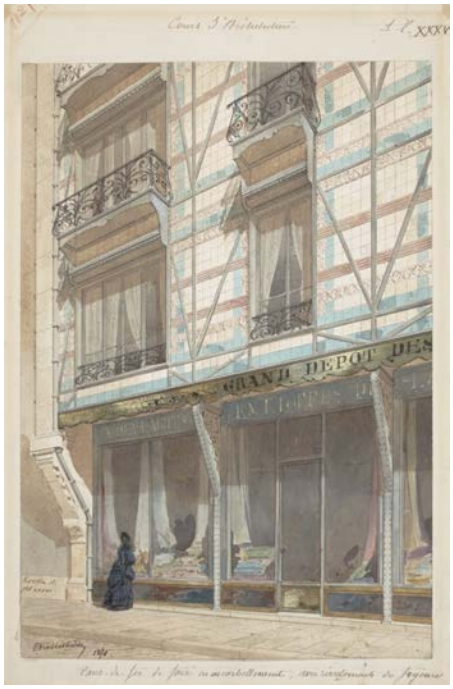

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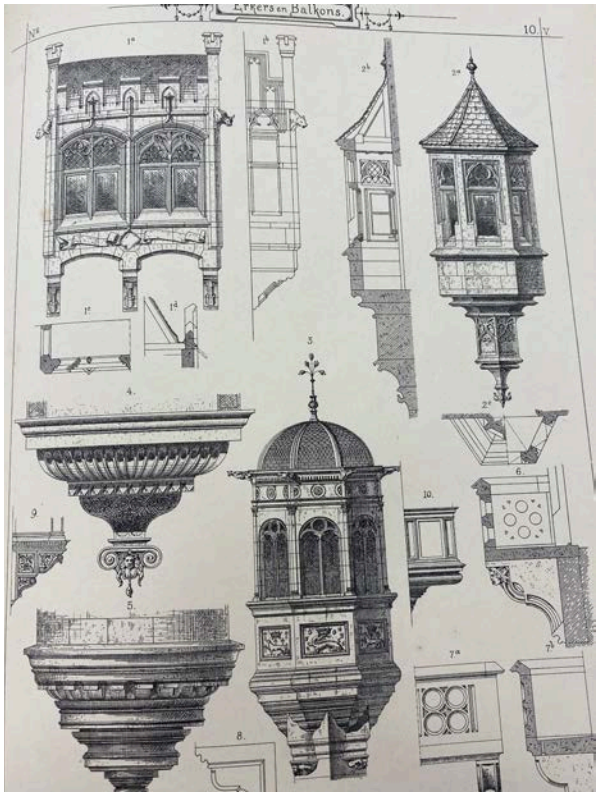

Image 26 - Eugen Heinrich Gugel, *Erkers en Balkons*, 1880. Image from Gugel, E.H. *Architectonische Vormleer,* 1880-1887.

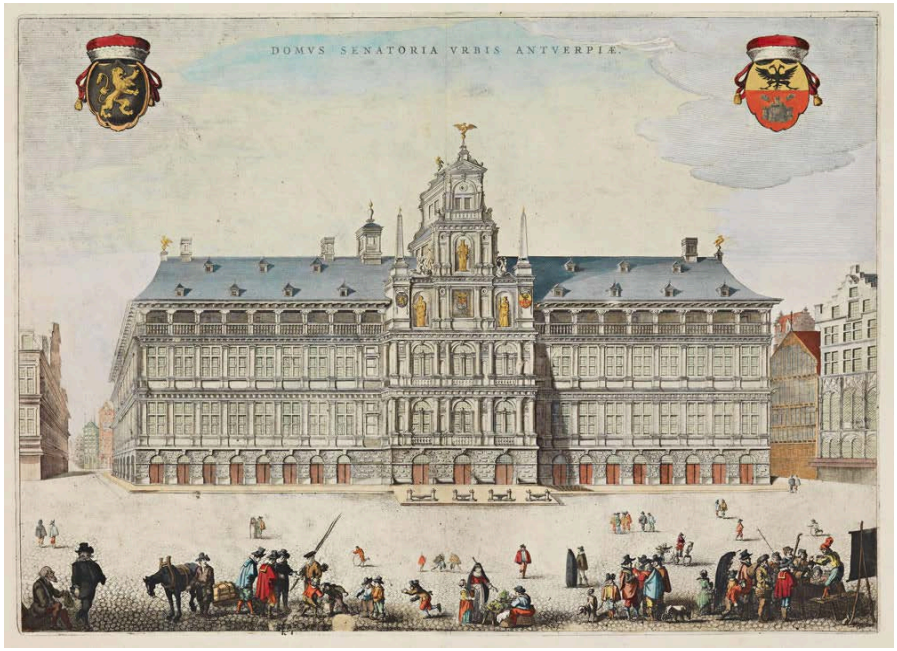

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Image 30 - Interior Orangery Meer en Berg, Heemstede, the Netherlands 1953. Image from Geytenbeek, E. *Oranjerieën in Nederland*, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1991.

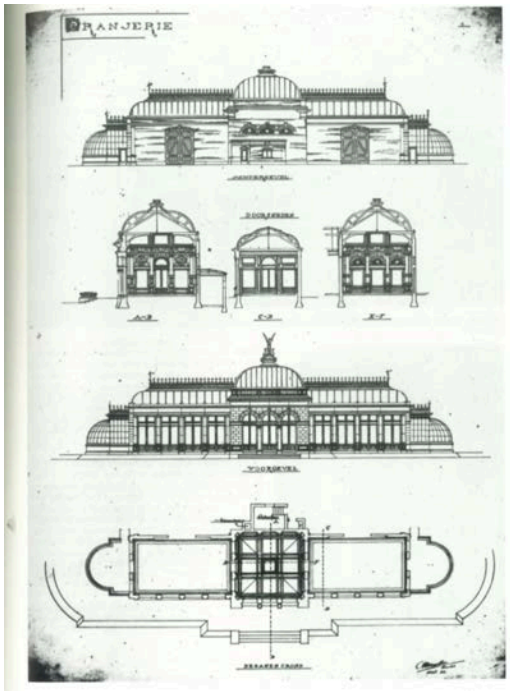


Image 31 - Constantijn Muysken, Sketches for Winter Garden Elswout, Overveen, the Netherlands, 1873. Ink on paper. Image from Geytenbeek, E. *Oranjerieën in Nederland*, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1991.

Image 33 - Cornelis Outshoorn, *Paleis voor Volksvlijt*, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 1858. Iron, glass. Image from Meer, H. van der, & Schmidt, F. (ed.) *Het Paleis in de Verbeelding: Het Paleis voor Volksvlijt 1860-1961*, Amsterdam, 2003.

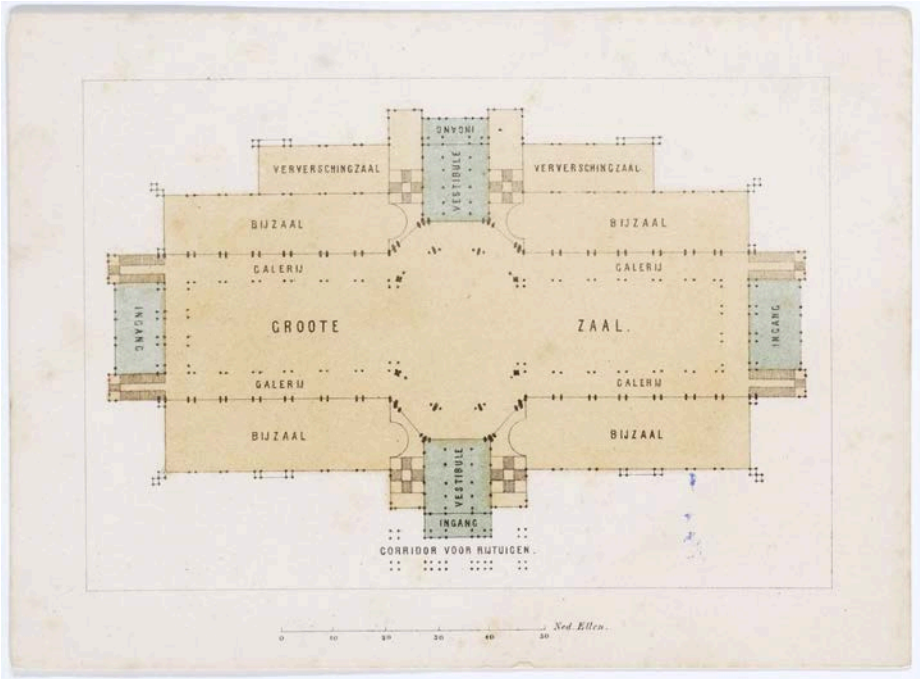


Image 34 - Cornelis Outshoorn, *Floorplan Paleis voor Volksvlijt*, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 1858. Paper, ink. Image from *Het Geheugen*, https://geheugen.delpher.nl/nl/geheugen/view?identifier=UBL01%3APK-1979-P-43.

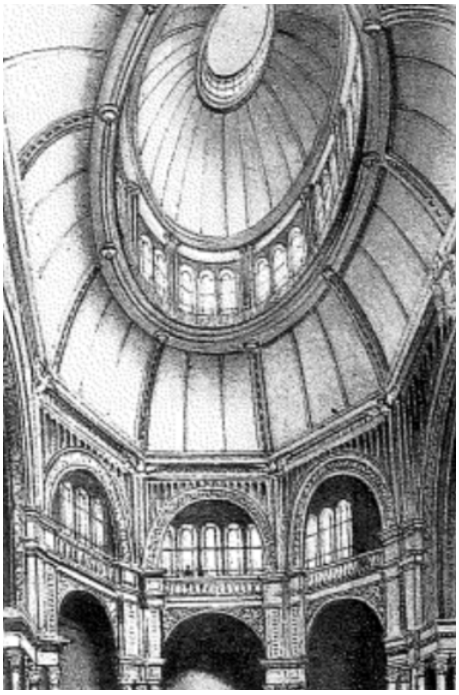


Image 35 - Unknown, Sketch of Cornelis Oudshoorn's Cupola in Paleis voor Volksvlijt, Amsterdam, the Netherlands 1858. Paper, ink. Image from Wennekes, E. *Het Paleis voor Volksvlijt (1864-1929): 'Edele Uiting Eener Stoute Gedachte!'*, Den Haag, 1999.

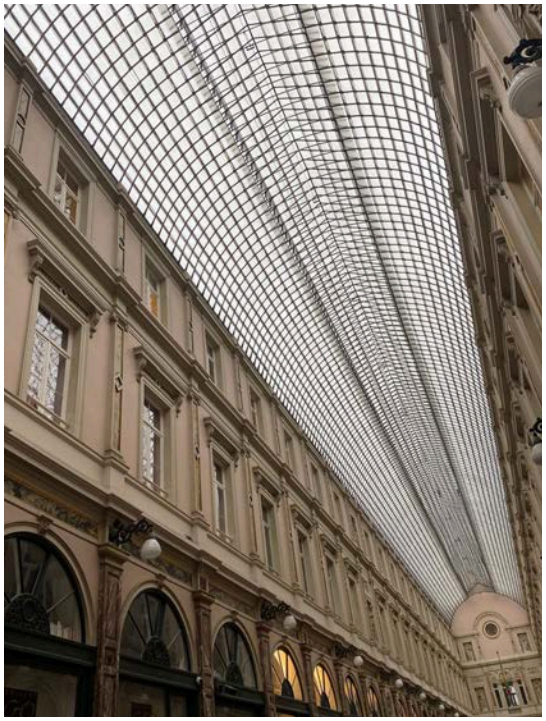


Image 36 - Jean-Pierre Cluysenaar, *Les Galeries Royales St. Hubert*, Brussels, Belgium, 1847. Glass, wood, natural-stone, iron. Image by the author, 2023.

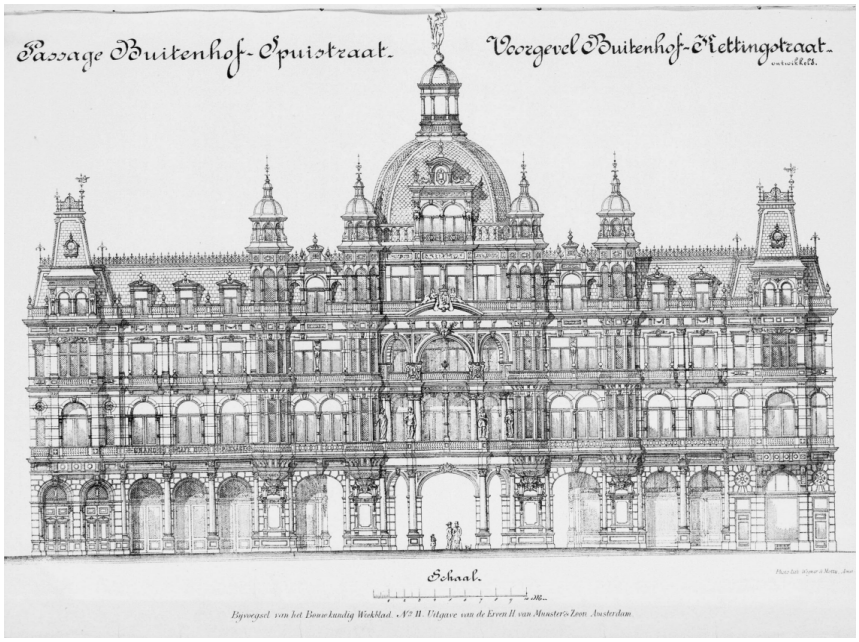


Image 37 - Herman Wesstra Jr. & Jan Christiaan van Wijk, Proposal for the facade of the Haagse Passage on the Buitenhof-Kettingstraat, The Hague, the Netherlands, 1883. Ink on paper. Image from Wijck, J.C. & Wesstra Jr. H. van 1885, "De Nieuwe Passage te 's-Gravenhage", in *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 5, no.11 (1885), p. 69-72.

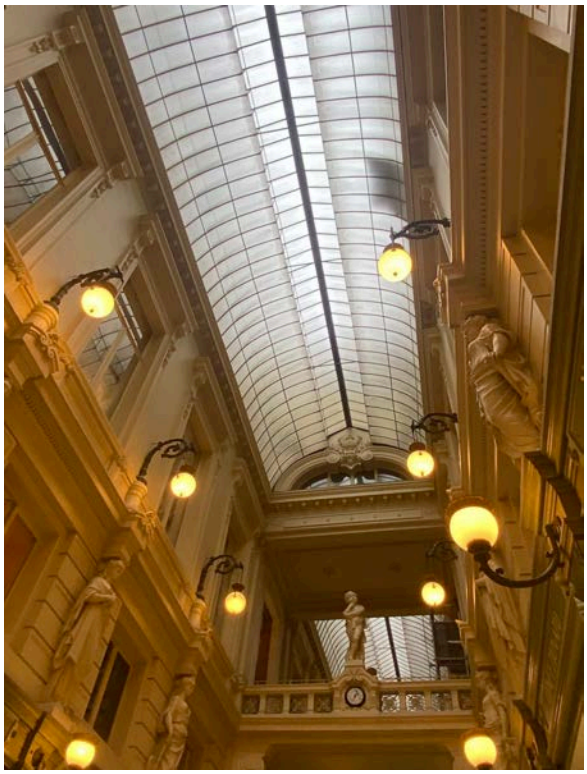


Image 38 - Henri Rieck, *Passage du Nord*, Brussels, Belgium, 1881-1882. Glass, wood, natural-stone, iron. Image by the author, 2023.

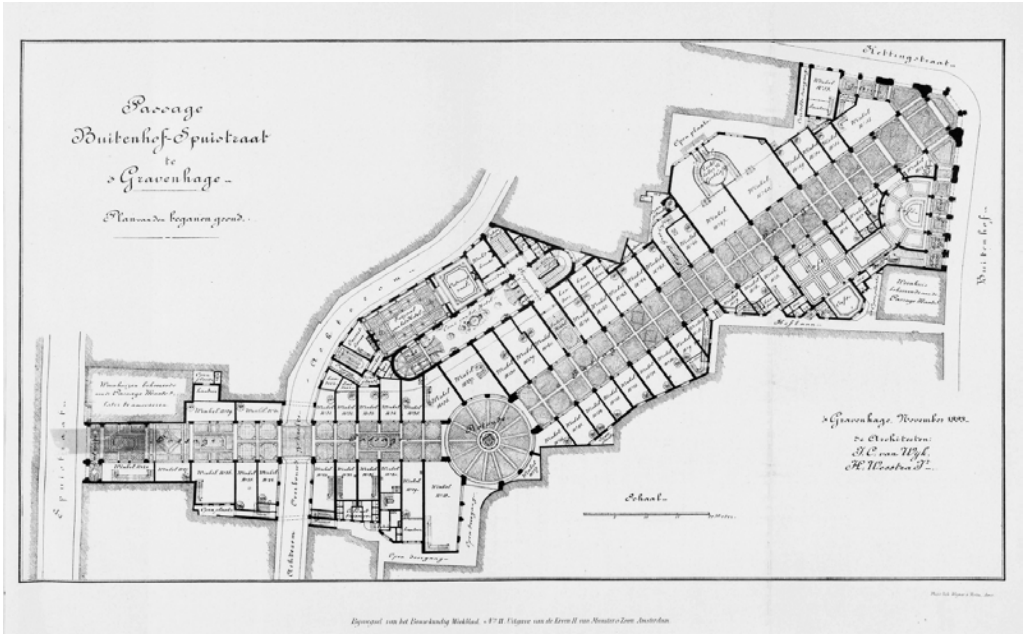


Image 39 - Herman Westra and Jan Christiaan van Wijk, *Passage Buitenhof-Spuistraat te 's Gravenhage*, The Hague, the Netherlands, 1883. Photolithography. Image from Wijck, J.C. & Wesstra Jr. H. 1885, "De Nieuwe Passage te 's-Gravenhage", in *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 5, no.11 (1885), p. 69-72.

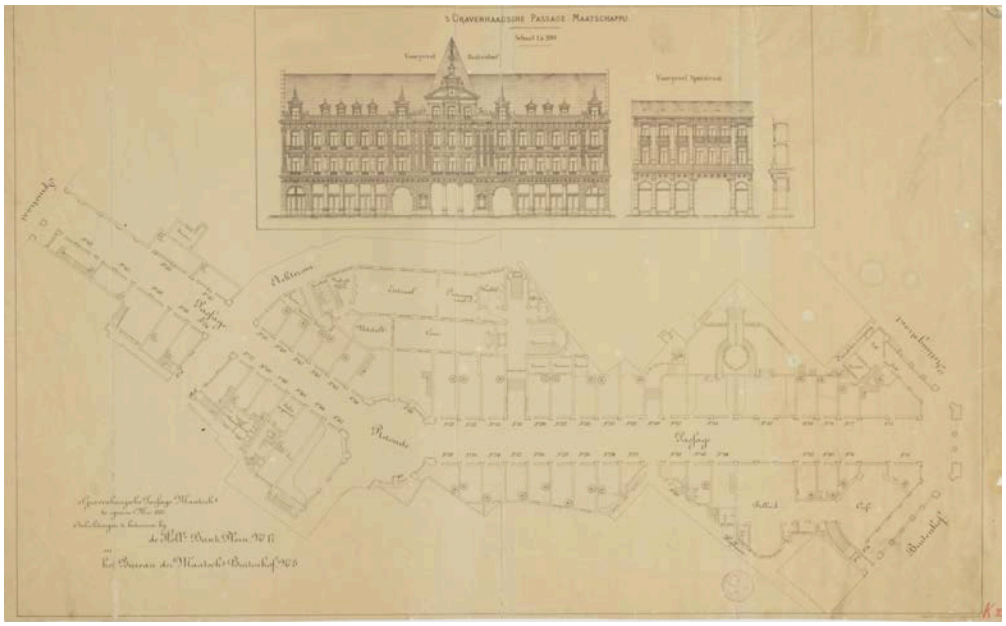


Image 40 - Henri Rieck, Floor plan of the ground flood Passage Buitenhof-Spuistraat, 1885, The Hague, the Netherlands. Pencil on paper. Image from the Haags Gemeentearchief.

(Although the website of The Haagse Gemeentearchief states that this is a floor plan and facade drawing by Wesstra and van Wijk, the design of the facade is not the same as the one made by the original architects. This is the facade the way the passage looks like now, which we know to be designed by Henri Rieck.)

Image 41 - Henri Rieck, (reconstructed) Pyramidal Roof of the Haagse Passage, The Hague, the Netherlands, 1885. Glass, iron. Image by the author.

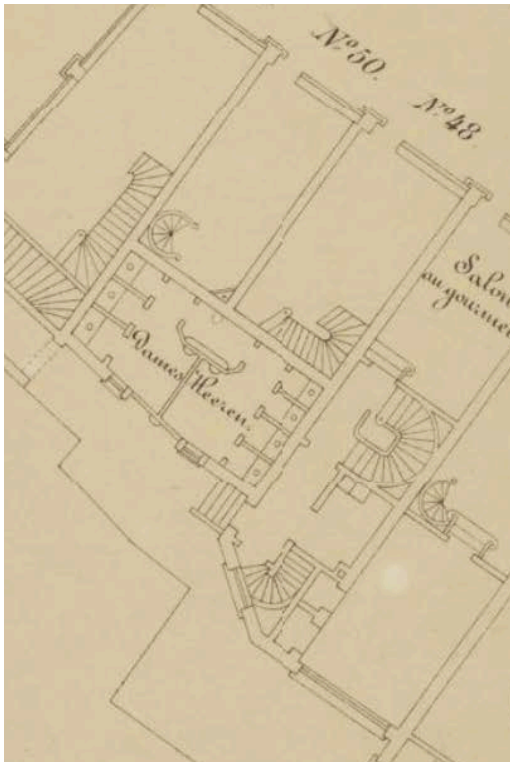
Images Chapter III

A look at the wealthy women in expensive clothing in the Crystal Palace

Image 42 - Joseph Nash, *The Transept of the Crystal Palace 1851*, London, United Kingdom.. Color Lithography. Image from *Dickinsons' Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851,* London, 1854.

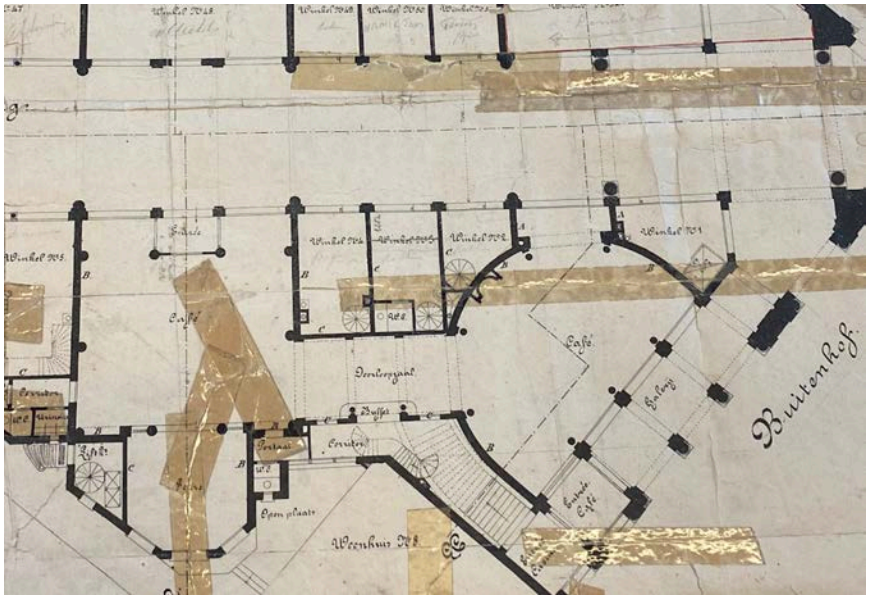
Preliminary plans for 'Cabinets d'Aisance' (public bathrooms) behind stores no.21 & no.22 ('open doorgang' was the passageway from the not-yet-built third arm to these rooms)

Image 43 - Herman Wesstra Jr. & Jan Christiaan van Wijk, Floor Plan of the Ground Floor of the Haagse Passage, 1883. Ink on paper. Image from the Haags Gemeentearchief, 0696, 1.2.4, 70E.



Executed plans for 'Cabinets d'Aisance' (public bathrooms) behind stores no.48 & no.50

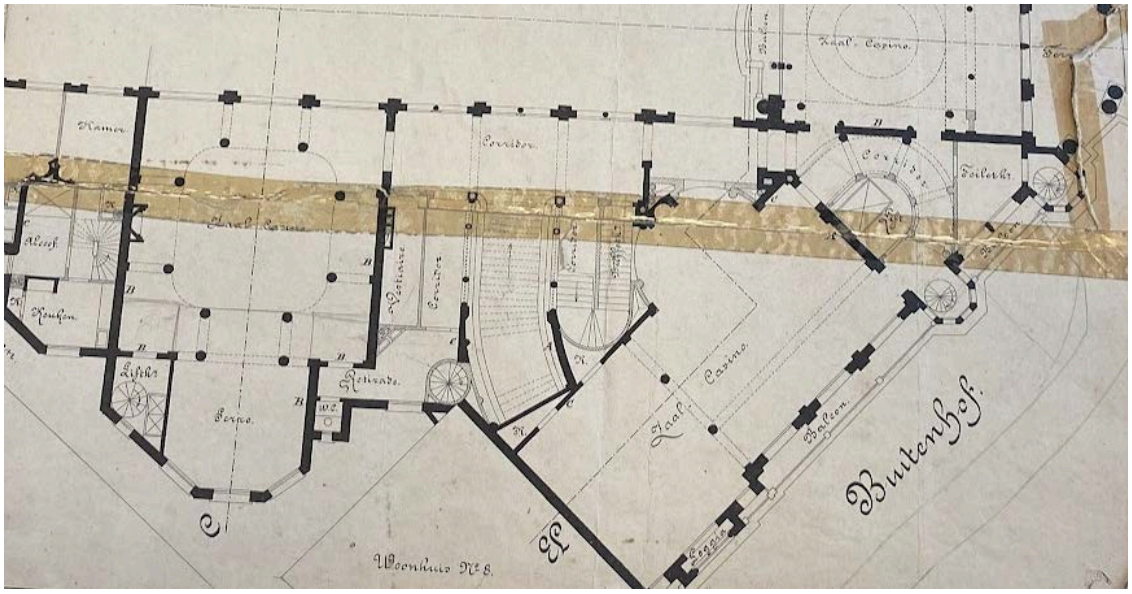
Image 44 - Henri Rieck, Floor plan of the Ground Floor of the Passage Buitenhof-Spuistraat, 1885, The Hague, the Netherlands. Pencil on paper. Image from the Haags Gemeentearchief.



The plans for the connecting halls for the café-restaurant. The oval room and the square room.

Image 45 - Herman Wesstra Jr. & Jan Christiaan van Wijk, Floor Plan of the Ground Floor of the Haagse Passage, The Hague, the Netherlands, 1883. Ink on paper. Image from the Haags Gemeentearchief, 0696, 1.2.4, 70E.

Image 46 - Unknown, Café Riche with terrace and awning, The Hague, the Netherlands, 1908. Photography. Image from Booij, de Rolf. *De Haagse Passage: Geschiedenis van een Nieuw Winkel* 2011, 's-Hertogenbosch.



Preliminary plans fo the Casino in The Haagse Passage (Multiple rooms)

Image 47 - Herman Wesstra Jr. & Jan Christiaan van Wijk, Floor Plan of the First Floor of the Haagse Passage , The Hague, the Netherlands, 1883. Ink on paper. Image from the Haags Gemeente Archief, BNR 0696, 1.2.4, 70G.

Executed plans for the Hotel in the Haagse Passage

Image 48 - Henri Rieck, Floor plan of the ground flood Passage Buitenhof-Spuistraat, 1885, The Hague, the Netherlands. Pencil on paper. Image from the Haags Gemeentearchief.