# Social mobility and integration of Amsterdam Jews: the ethnic niche of the diamond industry, 1850-1940

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# 7

# From Rough to Polished Neighbourhoods? Residential Mobility and Spatial Integration

"In my youth I saw the slums of Marken and Uilenburg; I consider myself lucky to witness the spacious houses in the Transvaalbuurt in my older years."

— Abraham Vaz Dias[1]

## 7.1 Introduction

Perhaps the strongest indication of Jews' upward social mobility and increased integration can be seen in their widespread residential moves since the second half of the nineteenth century. As the city of Amsterdam expanded to fight overcrowding,[2] Jews relocated to newer and more sanitary and spacious newly-built housing. In doing so, they increasingly departed from the original Jewish centre. This created new Jewish and mixed, non-denominational streets and neighbourhoods. When, where, and why Jews moved to these types of neighbourhoods is essential in understanding their social trajectories throughout Amsterdam's history.

Thus far, the place of residence has been mentioned several times throughout this dissertation in our discussions of social mobility and integration. Residential mobility is perhaps one of the most visible expressions of *both* social mobility and integration. It has also been a topic that was among the easiest to measure in the first half of the twentieth century.[3] Many strands of sociological research related to integration and assimilation have addressed residential choices and clustering.[4] This literature has examined both the segregation of groups, measured in cross sections—aggregated and at different points in time—and the individual mobility of a person to and from one street, neighbourhood or city to another. For instance, the successive moves of American Jews from neighbourhood to neighbourhood were discussed in Louis Wirth's *The Ghetto*. There, he describes the desire of Jewish immigrants and their children to break free from the old ghetto and leave for a new "Jewish area of [s]ettlement, neighborhood[s] with a

[1] Abraham Vaz Dias, "Het Amsterdamse Jodenkwartier," in *Gedenkschrift van Het Bouwfonds Handwerkers Vriendenkring* (Amsterdam, 1937), 15–40 Abraham (1876-1939) was the son of a Jewish shopkeeper in tobacco and and cigars. He operated a tobacco factory and became well-known in the Jewish community as the treasurer for the Handwerkers Vriendenkring. Abraham wrote articles for the periodicals of the Handwerkers Vriendenkring and the weekly De Vrijdagavond; common topics included the history of the diamond industry and of Sephardic Jews in Amsterdam. For more about his life and work, see Lydia Sijes-Hagoort, "Leven en werk van A.M. Vaz Dias," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 29.2 (1995): 170–89.

[2] Michael Wagenaar, *Amsterdam 1876-1914: economisch herstel, ruimtelijke expansie en de veranderende ordening van het stedelijk grondgebruik* (Amsterdam, 1990).

[3] Wirth, *The Ghetto*.

[4] For an overview, see Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, "The Dimensions of Residential Segregation," *Social Forces* 67.2 (1988): 281–315.

new complexion, unmistakably Jewish, though not quite as genuine as that of the ghetto itself."[5] These ideas were adopted by later theorists and, although ignored by Gordon's classical assimilation theory,[6] incorporated in modern and segmented assimilation theory,[7] as well as the discussion on ethnic enclaves.[8] For instance, Alba and Nee discussed residential mobility as a form of boundary blurring. In this sense, segregation created a boundary for the interactions between Jews and Gentiles. According to these authors, the biggest impact on residential desegregation has been the suburbanization of ethnics.[9] Theoretically, it is important to distinguish between the impact of residential moves on integration and on social mobility as two separate processes. Massey and Denton, who discussed various aspects of residential segregation, believed that evenness—how evenly neighbourhoods were distributed across social or ethno-religious groups—was the most important aspect.[10] They hypothesised a direct relationship between such spatial assimilation and socioeconomic mobility.[11] Whether this was the case in Amsterdam will be one element examined in the current chapter.

Within the theoretical framework introduced in Chapter 1, moving to new areas of residence means changing, or expanding, social networks and potentially one's opportunity structure. Moving neighbourhoods can therefore fuel integration, by moving closer to non-co-ethnics, or social mobility, by increasing one's proximity to higher social classes. Either can be considered as forms of capital or resources to be used along integration and social mobility processes. However, relocating can also be the *outcome* of integration or social mobility. In that sense, a person's current residence reflects previous or current levels of resources, whereas a change impacts future resources.

In this chapter we will look at the changing residential 'settlements' of Amsterdam Jews between 1859 and 1941. Between their emancipation in 1796 and 1859, few changes occurred in Jews' housing patterns.[12] Only the wealthiest and most acculturated Jews were able to move away from the Jewish Quarter—albeit from the highest-quality housing in the area—or had never lived there in the first place.[13] By 1941, however, also working and middle-class Jews were invariably more dispersed across the city than their ancestors one century earlier.[14] Three main factors were at play here: the socioeconomic upgrading of Amsterdam Jews (discussed in Chapters 2, 4, 6, and 8), Jews' growing integration (Chapters 2, 5, and 6), and the increasing availability of housing across the city.[15]

[5] Louis Wirth, "The Ghetto," in *On Cities and Social Life*, ed. Louis Wirth and Albert Reiss (Chicago, 1927), 94, 96–97.
[6] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 29.
[7] Min Zhou, "Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation," *International Migration Review* 31.4 (1997): 975–1008; Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 248–60.
[8] Light and Gold, *Ethnic Economies*, 184–87.
[9] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 84–85.
[10] Massey and Denton, "The Dimensions of Residential Segregation," 283–84, 307.
[11] Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, "Spatial Assimilation as a Socioeconomic Outcome," *American Sociological Review* 50.1 (1985): 94–106.
[12] Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Vijgen, and Wagenaar, "Jewish Amsterdam 1600-1940."
[13] Jacqueline Vijgen, "Joden in Amsterdam. Assimilatie en segregatie van een etnische minderheid 1600-1933" (M.A. thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1983), 63.
[14] Tammes, "Residential Segregation of Jews in Amsterdam."
[15] Henk Laloli, "Beter wonen: woningmarkt en residentiële segregatie in Amsterdam 1850-1940," in *Twee eeuwen Nederland geteld: onderzoek met de digitale Volks-, Beroeps-, en Woningtellingen 1795-2001*, ed. Otto

The choice of residence was a multifaceted decision and both a cause and a consequence of social mobility and integration. It is also a story of inter- and intragenerational mobility. For Jews who left the Jewish Quarter willingly, relocation was often motivated by a search for better housing, which was in short supply in Jews' residential areas. In other cases, Jews moved as a deliberate expression of their desire to integrate, to pursue improved work opportunities, or as an attempt to evade social control from their tight-knit community. Some listed disagreements with the local Jewish community regarding observance of traditions,[16] suggestive of the relation between integration and housing decisions. Those forced to leave when the Jewish Quarter was partially destroyed since 1916 listed numerous reasons for wanting to remain. Reasons included livelihoods tied to the neighbourhood (e.g. shopkeepers), habit, and old age.[17] For them, their move to better housing with fewer coethnic neighbourhoods was neither an expression of integration nor social mobility. Yet, it signalled possible advancements in both for the future. While intentions are impossible to measure completely, a new approach, combining continuous life course information on residential moves with dynamic information regarding the ethno-religious composition and social class status of origin and destination neighbourhoods, can approach intentions as closely as possible.

Several previous studies have examined Amsterdam Jews' historical residential patterns. For instance, Vijgen and collaborators, Ultee and Luijkx, and later Tammes, have each discussed the process of desegregation starting in the nineteenth century.[18] They found that residential segregation was declining from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. However, from 1930 up to 1941, Tammes identified an increase in the segregation.[19] He suggests this was the result of Jews' residential moves towards the same neighbourhoods.[20] However, this result is based on data limited to religiously affiliated Jews, thus ignoring the increasing share of non-identifying Jews. As the author shows, non-identifying Jews lived predominantly in richer, more mixed neighbourhoods in Amsterdam Southwest.[21] Tammes' discussion also ignores the impact of Gentiles' moves on segregation indices. As I will discuss further down this chapter, much of this pattern can be explained by Gentile out-migration from districts where Jews were arriving. We should therefore interpret past findings with care and discuss how the classification of Jews can impact the discussion of residential segregation and mobility.

The current chapter will not address segregation directly, instead it will focus on locations and moves. However, this chapter does add several new dimensions to the literature. One, I follow individuals over time using life course data, rather than study

Boonstra, Peter Doorn, and René van Horik (The Hague, 2007), 153–79; For a general discussion on housing availability and ethnic segregation, see Scott South and Kyle Crowder, "Leaving the 'Hood: Residential Mobility between Black, White, and Integrated Neighborhoods," *American Sociological Review*, 1998, 17–26.

[16] Interview of Hartog Goubitz in Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 165–66.

[17] Mandy Hakker, "De sanering van de Amsterdamse Jodenbuurt 1900-1940" (M.A. thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2015), 40; Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 120.

[18] Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Vijgen, and Wagenaar, "Jewish Amsterdam 1600-1940"; Ultee and Luijkx, "Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage in Six European Cities"; Tammes, "Residential Segregation of Jews in Amsterdam."

[19] Tammes, "Residential Segregation of Jews in Amsterdam."

[20] Ibid., 252-53.

[21] Ibid., 255.

aggregations of Jews at different points in time. This allows me to not only say where Jews lived, but also specify where they lived before and examine related changes in characteristics. This is especially important if we want to consider *who* is moving and *why* they moved. Jewish diamond workers, for instance, have repeatedly been noted as the pioneers in residential mobility.[22]

Two, this life course information starts in 1873 with the births of our first research persons. While aggregated sources have been able to offer the long-term change in residential distribution of Jews, for initial waves of desegregation it has only been possible to use information for 1851, 1859, and 1906.[23] It is during this 50-year period that not only the first, but also the second and possibly third waves of Jews left the Jewish Quarter. With detailed residential information starting in 1873, we can address the timing of these moves in part.

Previous studies have limited their scope to the share of co-ethnics in the neighbourhood. Thus, it has been a story of integration and ethno-religious (de)segregation, and not of social mobility. However, these stories were interrelated. Jews' moves were motivated by both assimilatory *and* socioeconomic reasons. To disentangle this, I classify neighbourhoods by both their share of Jews *and* a wealth proxy of the neighbourhood.[24] By combining individual-level information of movers with the characteristics of the neighbourhood, we can attempt to clarify the motivations for moving from one to another neighbourhood.

This chapter will first give a background on what should be considered a 'Jewish' or 'mixed neighbourhood.' Then, after discussing the data and sources used, I will describe the main 'mixed' and 'Jewish' Amsterdam neighbourhoods and examine how they evolved over time. This is combined with a discussion of the average wealth or status associated with those neighbourhoods. Then, having provided the needed background to understand the Amsterdam casus, we turn to a descriptive overview of Jewish diamond workers residential mobility patterns over time. Using ANDB administration data and information on factories, I will examine the location of diamond workers in 1898. Following, I will examine flows between residences at the end of each decade. That is, current residence in the years 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940.

## 7.2 Jewish Neighbourhoods and Jews' Residential Spread

From their settlement until roughly 1860, virtually all Jews resided in or adjacent to the 'Jewish Quarter.'[25] This 'Quarter' consisted of a number of distinct Jewish neighbourhoods and streets. While this district was increasingly referred to as a 'Jewish Ghetto' since the end of the nineteenth century—influenced by nostalgia and international romantic Ghetto literature[26]—living in this district was not mandatory or enforced,

[22] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 122; Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 176.
[23] These are estimations of the entire population by religious affiliation in 1851 and 1859 and one contrasting between Jews and Gentiles in 1906. Van Zanten, "Eenige demografische gegevens over de joden te Amsterdam"; Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Vijgen, and Wagenaar, "Jewish Amsterdam 1600-1940"; Tammes, "Residential Segregation of Jews in Amsterdam."
[24] Earlier work has employed similar methods in Amsterdam, but have not incorporated the share of Jews in the districts. De Vries, *Electoraat en elite*; Van Leeuwen, *The Logic of Charity*.
[25] In 1859, 65 percent of Jews lived in the 'old core' of the Jewish Quarter comprising districts C, P, Q, S, and R. An additional 27 percent lived in the contiguous Plantage and Weesper, in later times also considered part of the Jewish Quarter. Together this totals 92 percent of the Jewish community.
[26] For the Dutch context, see Herman Heijermans, *Ghetto* (Amsterdam, 1898).

making Ghetto an ill-suited label.[27] Although some elites departed from the Jewish Quarter after political emancipation in 1796, the first waves of non-elite Jews only moved out of the Jewish Quarter starting in the 1860s. Population expansion in the already crowded Jewish districts pushed many of them to find new homes in other neighbourhoods. Between 1859 and 1889, the number of Jews in Amsterdam doubled from 26,275 to 54,479 as a consequence of immigration from the provinces and natural population growth.[28] Meanwhile, the number of available houses in the already over-populated Jewish Quarter remained the same.[29] As a result of Jews' exodus from the Jewish Quarter to new neighbourhoods across Amsterdam, several newer neighbourhoods became known as 'Jewish neighbourhoods.' How were these neighbourhoods defined by contemporaries and historians?

In 1924, the Jewish politician and demographer Emanuel Boekman discussed this very question in two articles published in *De Vrijdagavond* ['The Friday Evening'], a literary newsletter for the Jewish middle class.[30] In these articles, Boekman defined the five neighbourhoods with over 80 percent Jewish residents as 'Jewish neighbourhoods.'[31] Mixed neighbourhoods, he wrote, were more complex, often containing both streets that were almost completely Jewish, as well as streets where no Jews lived. Boekman offered the example of the *Weesperzijde*, a late-nineteenth-century neighbourhood to the Southeast of the Jewish Quarter. There, the streets Swammerdamstraat, Blasiusstraat, and Ruyschstraat counted over 90 percent Jewish residents, but surrounding streets were much less Jewish.[32] Residential clustering was therefore happening at two levels: the neighbourhood level, and within neighbourhoods at the street level.

Boekman essentially classified two types of neighbourhoods. One where Jews were 'concentrated' in the entire neighbourhood, and another where Jews clustered in one or multiple segments of the neighbourhood. Siegfried van Praag, the son of a Jewish diamond worker, a writer, and a contemporary of Boekman, used an apt analogy for this distinction. In *De oude Darsjan* ('The Old Preacher'[33]), Van Praag distinguished between the *Jodenbuurt* ('Jewish Quarter'), and a *Joodse buurt* ('Jewish neighbourhood'), by comparing them to the human body.[34] The Jewish Quarter formed the spine of Jews' residences, while Jewish neighbourhoods functioned as the ribs of the body. In the spine, Jews were the main actors and constituted the dominant culture. In the ribs, Jewish culture was not always and everywhere universal. Although Van Praag referred to culture as a defining feature, a neighbourhood became Jewish through the share of Jews in the neighbourhood: "a Jewish neighbourhood is always only partially a Jewish neighbourhood. It is simply a neighbourhood where many Jews live."[35] Similarly, Boekman assumed that greater shares of Jews in a neighbourhood created a stronger

[27] Meijer, *Het verdwenen Ghetto*, 7.
[28] See Chapter 2 or Hofmeester, "'Als ik niet voor mijzelf ben...,'" 23–24.
[29] Statistical Yearbook of Amsterdam 1900, Table XVI.
[30] Emanuel Boekman, "De verdwijning van het Amsterdamsche Ghetto," *De Vrijdagavond* 1.21 (1924): 324–26.
[31] Emanuel Boekman, "Oude en nieuwe jodenbuurten te Amsterdam," *De Vrijdagavond* 1.22 (1924): 349–50.
[32] In 1906, Weesperzijde belonged to district 'ZZ,' where 6.3 percent of residents were Jewish. In 1920, Weesperzijde was its own district. Then, 43 percent of residents were Jewish. In 1941, Jews comprised 46 percent of the district.
[33] *Darsjan* in Dutch-Yiddish referred to a preacher or interpreter of religious scripts.
[34] Siegfried van Praag, *De oude darsjan. Over Jodenbuurten en Joodse buurten.* (The Hague, 1971), 9.
[35] Idem.

'Jewish character' in the area.[36] Areas with large numbers of Jews were "complete Jewish neighbourhoods."[37] Van Velzen and Hendriks, charting Jewish areas and neighbourhoods in Amsterdam, followed the definitions of Boekman and Van Praag. They named the collective of the Jewish Quarter and the Jewish neighbourhoods "Jewish Amsterdam."[38]

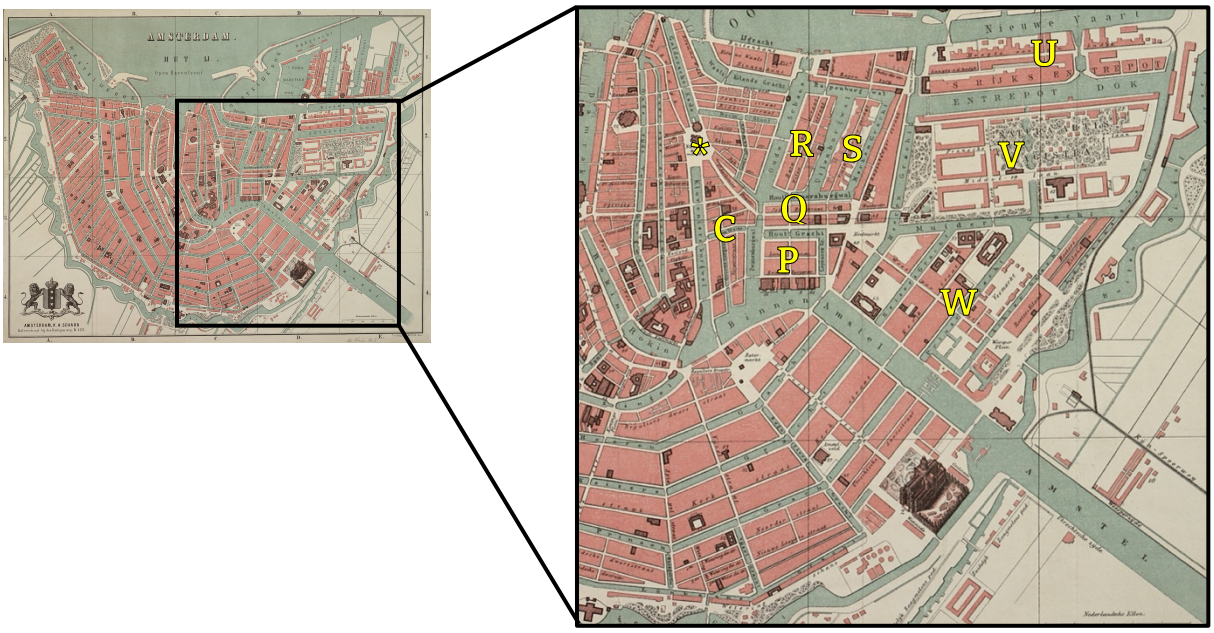
While both Boekman and Van Praag suggested population shares made neighbourhoods Jewish, neither offered a threshold for what should be considered a 'Jewish' neighbourhood, and at what point a neighbourhood is considered 'Mixed.' Moreover, while both used the term 'Jewish Quarter,' neither addressed the changing borders of this geographic area as the city expanded. Jaap Meijer, for instance, who referred to the Jewish Quarter as 'the Ghetto,' called new neighbourhoods in the east and the south of the city "Ghetto-East" and "Ghetto-South."[39] Leydesdorff argued that as the Jewish Quarter expanded, people no longer knew how to refer to it in positive terms, only in the negative, i.e. that what was *not* the Jewish Quarter. "Nobody knew where the Jewish Quarter *really* began… The association was always that many Jews lived there" (emphasis mine).[40] In terms of scope, Leydesdorff's own depiction of Jewish settlement areas was also too narrow: Amsterdam South, where 40 percent of Jews lived by 1940, is hardly addressed in her work, thereby underrating the degree of upward residential mobility. Additional problems come from municipal delineations that changed over time. The 'Jewish Quarter' initially comprised only the 'old Jewish core' around Vlooienburg, Uilenburg, Valkenburg, and the Waterlooplein and Jonas Daniël Meijerplein. These are shown in Map 7.1. Later, it also encompassed parts of Plantage and the *Oostelijke Eilanden* ('Eastern Islands') denoted by 'U' and 'T' (the latter on Map 7.2). While municipal records rarely include Weesperbuurt in the 'Jewish Quarter,' contemporaries and researchers have.[41] Thus, over time, the concept of the 'Jewish Quarter' broadened to include other neighbourhoods as Jews progressively spread to other areas.

To avoid confusion, I will contrast between a *Jewish neighbourhood*, a district with a high percentage of Jews, and the *Jewish Quarter*, the combination of districts that comprise the original settlement area of Jews. I will use the term 'old core' of the Jewish Quarter to refer to districts C, P, Q, R, and S (Map 7.1).

## 7.3 Data and Sources

In accordance with the above discussion, this chapter will examine three aspects of the neighbourhood in which Jews, Gentiles, and diamond workers resided: (*i*) the area of the neighbourhood (i.e. Amsterdam East or South), (*ii*) the share of Jews in the neighbourhood, and (*iii*) the social standing of the neighbourhood. Using neighbourhood-level statistics wherever possible, I am able to reconstitute evolutions in Amsterdam city over time with regards to the last two categories.

[36] Boekman, "Oude en nieuwe jodenbuurten," 349–50.
[37] Ibid., 350.
[38] Ariane Hendriks and Jaap van Velzen, *Van de Montelbaanstoren naar het Minervaplein. Nieuwe en oude joodse buurten in Amsterdam 1900-1944* (Amsterdam, 2004), 161.
[39] Jaap Meijer, *Het Jonas Daniël Meijerplein. Bezinning op drie eeuwen Amsterdams Jodendom.* (Amsterdam, 1961), 24.
[40] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 166.
[41] Meijer, *Het verdwenen Ghetto*, 131; Hendriks and Van Velzen, *Van de Montelbaanstoren naar het Minervaplein*, 77.




**MAP 7.1** A map of 'Jewish Amsterdam' ca. 1869.
*Source:* Amsterdam City Archive, 10035 #1155, produced by Schadd, K.H., Tresling and Co.
*Note:* scale 1:10,500. The yellow asterisk denotes the Nieuwmarkt in the city centre.

### 7.3.1 *The areas of residence*

For the purpose of this chapter, I distinguish between five parts of Amsterdam. First is the 'old core' of the Jewish Quarter. This consists of administrative districts C, P, Q, S, and R. These districts were the original settlement area of Amsterdam Jews and continued to be the main area of residence until the beginning of the twentieth century. The second area is Plantage/Weesper, containing the neighbouring districts Weesperbuurt and Plantage. In the last half of the nineteenth century, this became an important hub for Jews. The area is sometimes included in the definition of the 'Jewish Quarter,' but for descriptive purposes I separate the two entities. The Jewish Quarter and Plantage/Weesper are both located within the old city walls of Amsterdam. The third area is Amsterdam East. This includes some of the first expansions outside of the old city walls on the eastern side of the city. Districts included are the Oosterparkbuurt, Weesperzijde, and Transvaalbuurt, as well as areas where fewer Jews resided, such as the Dapperbuurt. Amsterdam South is the fourth area. Initially, this primarily contained De Pijp, also built outside of the old city walls, but later on new expansions further south—the Rivierenbuurt—and to the west—Concertgebouwbuurt—are included. The rest of the city is considered 'Other.' The lacking presence of Jews in these areas make it unnecessary to make further geographical distinctions.

### 7.3.2 *The share of Jews*

The share of Jews in a neighbourhood, or the religious affiliation of residents of a neighbourhood, are only reported at certain points in time. First estimates including the entire city and reporting district-level information originate from 1795.[42] Virtually all Jews then lived in the 'old Jewish Quarter.' The introduction of population registers in 1849 added new information. They enabled new estimates for the share of Jews in ca. 1851. [43] In 1859, an overview was presented for the number of residents in a neighbourhood by religious affiliation. Although the quality of the total enumeration of this source has been questioned,[44] it does not appear to be biased in favour or against Jews. We can therefore use it as a starting point for the share of Jews by neighbourhood. I skip 1851 since it is too similar to 1859 and is further away from the next year for which we have information.

Since there were few neighbourhood-level counts by religion, the next available source dates to 1906. Van Zanten collected information from the population registers and reconstructed the share of Jews for each neighbourhood. [45] More formal enumerations were added in 1920 (by religion), 1930 (by religion), and 1941 (share of Jews).[46] Considering the availability of sources and following existing literature, I use five time points: 1859, 1906, 1920, 1930, and 1941. Although this leaves gaps in between measurements, notably in the late nineteenth century, we can use the estimates to classify the evolution of neighbourhoods as Jewish or mixed. Complementing this data with qualitative descriptions allow us to predict when neighbourhoods evolved over time.

Using this information, I classify neighbourhoods by their Jewish population shares. Naturally, neighbourhoods where (virtually) no Jews lived, should be considered Gentile neighbourhoods. Since Jews were only about 10 percent of the total Amsterdam population, districts with over half Jewish residents can be denoted as 'Jewish.' Between these types of districts, a variety of 'mixed' neighbourhoods are found, some where Jews played a minor role in the dominant culture, and others where they have a large influence. I therefore use the classification as presented in Table 7.1.

**TABLE 7.1** Ethno-religious classifications of Amsterdam neighbourhoods.

| Neighbourhood classification | Share Jewish population |
|---|---|
| Gentile | 0 to 5% |
| Mixed | 5 to 15% |
| Jewish Influence | 15 to 30% |
| Heavy Jewish Influence | 30 to 50% |
| Jewish | 50 to 100% |

[42] Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Vijgen, and Wagenaar, "Jewish Amsterdam 1600-1940."
[43] Ekamper and Van Poppel, "Infant Mortality in Mid-19th Century Amsterdam."
[44] Van Tijn, *Twintig jaren Amsterdam*, 107–8.
[45] Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Vijgen, and Wagenaar, "Jewish Amsterdam 1600-1940."
[46] Using the definition of the Nuremberg Laws, i.e. a person with at least two Jewish grandparents and a religious affiliation or Jewish partner or three Jewish grandparents. Ultee and Luijkx, "Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage in Six European Cities"; Tammes, "Residential Segregation of Jews in Amsterdam," 247–48.

### 7.3.3 *The status of the neighbourhood*

The social standing of a neighbourhood can be measured in several ways. One can use some measure of deprivation or poverty, a measure of average wealth, or an indicator of upper-tail wellbeing. Measures include the share of poor housing, share of residents in need of assistance, the average rental value of a property, or the share of residents earning above a certain threshold. In our time period, the most consistent measure is the share of residents taxed above a threshold dependent on income. Using such tax data, we can consistently rank neighbourhoods over time relative to the average tax level in the city.

The first records we can use date to 1854. At that time, voting rights were dependent on the amount of taxes paid. The share of voters in a district is therefore a proxy for the number of high taxpayers. More specific tax data is available for the years 1878, 1898, 1915, and 1930. For these years, the information implicitly included three types of people: (*a*) those who were not taxed; (*b*) those taxed above a minimum rate; and (*c*) those taxed above a certain threshold. Since the last-named group is relatively small, we use a combination of (*b*) and (*c*) to measure whether a neighbourhood was low, middle, or high social class. From 1878, everyone with annual incomes above 600 guilders was taxed, while incomes above 2000 guilders were deemed high earnings and belonged to group (*c*). In 1898 and 1915 the latter value increased to 2400 and in 1930 to 3000 guilders.

To estimate the social class of the neighbourhood in relative terms, I compare the distribution of taxpayers in a neighbourhood to the overall Amsterdam distribution. By calculating the ratio for (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*) above, we can estimate whether a certain district had more or fewer members of each group. Table 7.2 presents the resulting classification of neighbourhood social classes. 'Low' neighbourhoods were those where the share of taxed persons was at least 20 percent lower than in Amsterdam as a whole. In 'High' neighbourhoods, both the general share of taxed persons and the share of people taxed at elite levels were at least 20 percent higher than the city average. 'Middle' neighbourhoods fall within the twenty percent margin in all taxes. If a 'Middle' neighbourhood has a high percentage of elite earners, it is considered 'Mid-High.' If it is slightly above the average, it is considered 'Mid-Mid.' And if a district has relatively fewer taxed persons than Amsterdam overall, and also is not significantly overrepresented in elite earners, it is considered 'Mid-Low.'

**TABLE 7.2** Socioeconomic classifications of Amsterdam neighbourhoods.

| | Share residents taxed | Share 'elite' taxed |
|---|---|---|
| Neighbourhood type | *As ratio, relative to Amsterdam average* | |
| Low | < 0.8 | |
| Mid-Low | ≥ 0.8 & < 1.0 | < 1.2 |
| Mid-Mid | ≥ 1 & < 1.2 | ≥ 1 & < 1.2 |
| Mid-High | ≥ 1.2 | < 1.2 |
| | > 0.8 & < 1.2 | ≥ 1.2 |
| High | ≥ 1.2 | ≥ 1.2 |

This calculation, based on the relative share of taxpayers in the district, rather than the absolute number or average incomes, enables districts' social class status to vary over time. This way I am not limited to using a static measure for a period much in the future. Thus, while the poor and rich neighbourhoods overlap frequently with neighbourhood status measures in previous research, suggesting that the classification is reliable, the present method also allows for variation over time.[47] For clarity, I will provide some examples. The island Vlooienburg (district S) in the Jewish Quarter is one example of a 'Poor neighbourhood.' This district counted 3262 inhabitants in 1915, 3049 of whom were untaxed, 209 (6.4%) were taxed at the lowest level, and four (0.001%) above the higher rate. In Amsterdam as a whole, 124 thousand out of 640 thousand residents were taxed (19.3%), with approximately 11 thousand at the elite levels (1.7%). Thus, persons in district S were much poorer than the average Amsterdammer. In contrast, district AK in the Concertgebouwbuurt was a rich neighbourhood. In 1915, roughly 32 percent of its 9092 residents were taxed, with 1272 of them (14.0%) above the elite threshold. This neighbourhood was clearly intended for upper-middle class and elite households.

Tax data have several advantages over measures like rental values. Particularly, rental values are subject to change and do not always reflect the true status of the residence. In expansionary periods, houses in newer districts had subsidised rents. In those cases, rents no longer reflect the social status of the residents. Information based on income taxes are therefore a better predictor of the types of people that resided in the neighbourhood.

### 7.3.4 *ANDB administration addresses*

For diamond workers, we can also access the addresses listed in the union's membership administration. Addresses were updated continuously for all apprentices and members. While apprenticeship cards generally listed few addresses, we can take the first address to reflect the neighbourhood of their upbringing during adolescence. For membership cards, which generally recorded more addresses, unfortunately not all were dated. Here, the first address relates to a worker's residence at the time of entering the union. After 1916, addressed were dated more precisely. Consequently, we can examine diamond workers' changing residential patterns. Moreover, the apprenticeship data can be effectively used to compare living areas of Jewish and Gentile newcomers in the industry. By combining this data with information about factories' ethno-religious distributions and locations, we can more closely observe the difference in settlement patterns of Jewish and Gentile diamond workers relative to their workplaces.

### 7.3.5 *Life course residential data*

For 800 randomly-selected diamond workers born between 1873 and 1922, we have complete residential histories throughout Amsterdam collected from Amsterdam's population registers (discussed in Chapter 1.4). To more easily assess the addresses and the types of neighbourhoods they worked in, I summarise the residential information

[47] Van Leeuwen, *The Logic of Charity*; Riswick, Muurling, and Buzasi, "Exploring the Mortality Advantage of Jewish Neighbourhoods in Mid-19th Century Amsterdam," 725–26; Owen Lammertink, "De opkomst van het moderne ziektepatroon? Doodsoorzaken, degeneratieve aandoendingen en sociale ongelijkheid in Amsterdam, 1854-1926" (PhD diss., Radboud University, 2023); Ekamper and Van Poppel, "Infant Mortality in Mid-19th Century Amsterdam."

into the last residence of the decade. I therefore have neighbourhood information for 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940. In order to concentrate on the experiences of Jewish diamond workers, I limit the life course analyses to the 486 Jewish and Amsterdam-born diamond workers.

## 7.4 Amsterdam Neighbourhoods

Below follows an overview of the neighbourhoods, and their origins and changes, that comprised 'Jewish Amsterdam.' These are divided into three parts: the original *Jewish Quarter*, which formed the core residential area of Jews between their arrival and roughly 1900; Jewish neighbourhoods in East established since 1880; and Jewish neighbourhoods in South since roughly 1900, including De Pijp since the 1870s.

### 7.4.1 *The Old Core: The Jewish Quarter and Plantage-Weesper*

The first Jews to permanently settle in Amsterdam arrived soon after the first expansion of Amsterdam in 1578. In the second expansion, which commenced in 1591, several 'islands' were created to the east of the historical city centre. These islands—Uilenburg, Valkenburg (also known as Marken), Rapenburg, and slightly later Vlooienburg—became the main settlement area for Jews upon their arrival.[48] Sephardic Jews initially settled on Vlooienburg, whereas Ashkenazi Jews, arriving later, primarily took residence on the other three islands. The islands, together with the districts surrounding the St. Anthoniebreestraat (in district C) and the Waterlooplein (district P), were the centre of Jewish life up to the mid-nineteenth century. This was especially true for the main streets and the squares, with the Jonas Daniël Meijerplein (district R), named after the lawyer who helped orchestrate Jews' emancipation in 1796, being the main one.[49] The area was described as the Jewish Quarter for the first time in the eighteenth century and was home to the first synagogues in Holland. Notably, the Portuguese Israelite Synagogue, colloquially 'Snoge' or 'Esnoga,' was the largest synagogue in the world when construction finished in 1675.[50] Additionally, virtually all offices related to Jewish social care were set up here. Despite possessing the wealth to move to other districts, Jewish elites primarily remained in this area until at least the mid-eighteenth century.[51] Jewish economic life was abundantly present here, represented by market areas and, since then, nineteenth-century diamond factories.[52]

In the centre of the city, the border of the Jewish Quarter is generally considered the Nieuwmarkt square.[53] Until the twentieth century, few Jews settled to the West of this square. Starting at the Nieuwmarkt in southeast direction was the St. Anthonie-breestraat. Continuing in southeast direction, the St. Anthoniebreestraat turned into the Jodenbreestraat in district Q. It was these two streets where most of the Jewish shops were located and, for a long time, this is where the middle-class and wealthier Jews

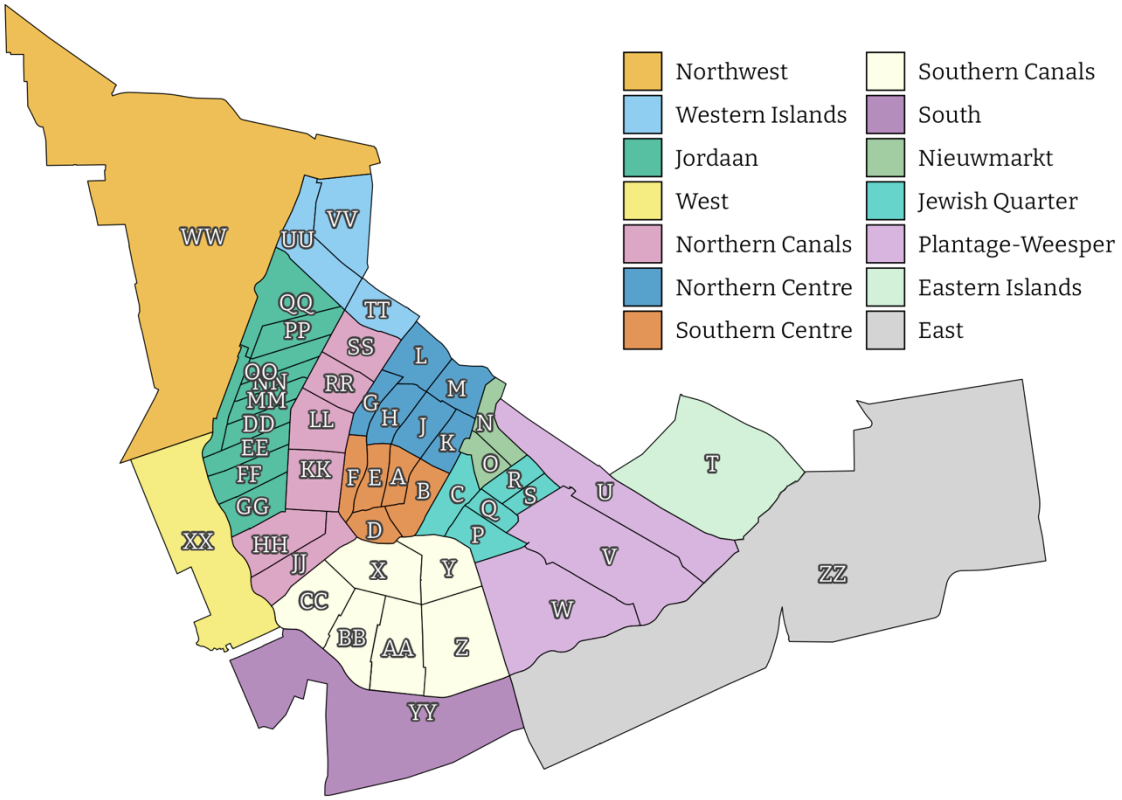
[48] Hendriks and Van Velzen, *Van de Montelbaanstoren naar het Minervaplein*, 11–13.
[49] Meijer, *Het Jonas Daniël Meijerplein*, 31.
[50] Mirjam Knotter, "De feestelijke inwijding van de Esnoga in 1675," in *De Portugese Synagoge in Amsterdam*, ed. Pieter Vlaardingerbroek (Amsterdam, 2013), 124.
[51] Based on residences of wealthy Jews in the *Kohier van de personeele quotisatie 1742*.
[52] Metz, *Diamantgracht*, 27–30.
[53] In 1859, the Nieuwmarkt area counted less than 5 percent Jewish residents. In 1906, 19 percent of residents were Jewish.

lived.[54] The home of Isaac da Pinto (1717-1787),[55] an affluent eighteenth-century Sephardic-Jewish merchant and economist, can still be visited there today. Nonetheless, social classes mingled here as Jewish peddlers sold their wares along this street until 1882. The Jodenbreestraat also housed important Jewish institutions, such as the *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, *the* Jewish newspaper since 1865, and numerous Jewish-owned businesses. The Jodenbreestraat led into the Waterlooplein, a commercial centre, and the Jonas Daniël Meijerplein, a cultural centre.[56] Vlooienburg's Waterlooplein, built on the dampened Leprozengracht and Houtgracht canals in 1882 adopted peddlers who had formerly sold their wares along the Jodenbreestraat and St. Anthoniebreestraat.[57] Its opening marked a move for Jewish economic life away from the main streets and towards a central market square, one that became a popular destination and attraction for Gentiles. The Jonas Daniël Meijerplein was home to several Synagogues, including the Ashkenazi Synagogue complex—encompassing, among others, the Great Synagogue and *Neie Sjoel*—and the Portuguese Synagogue.[58] Social life was mixed here, too, for instance through the presence of *sjnorrers* (Jewish beggars) waiting in front of the *Neie Sjoel* in hopes of receiving donations from weddinggoers.[59]

Further southeast from the J.D. Meijerplein, crossing the bridge, the street continued onwards as the Weesperstraat, initially an important gateway to the neighbouring town of Weesp. The surrounding district, known as the Weesperbuurt, contained the most eastern parts of the *Grachtengordel* ('Canal Belt'). Initially, this is where many affluent Jews had taken up residence along the Nieuwe Prinsengracht, Nieuwe Herengracht, and Nieuwe Keizersgracht. At the end of the nineteenth century it also included the epicentre of the diamond industry, which was predominantly concentrated around the Nieuwe Achtergracht.[60] Subsequently, many Jewish diamond workers moved here.[61] The affluent residents that lived here before, found new residences elsewhere, commonly in the wealthy Sarphatistraat or in the Plantage. Also located here was the *Diamantbeurs* ('Diamond Exchange'), the main diamond trading location since 1911,[62] and Concordia, a smaller competitor.[63] On the district's large square, the Weesperplein, the *Joodsche Invalide* ('Jewish Invalid') was located here since 1912, a care institution for Jewish elderly and handicapped.[64]

Adjacent to the Weesperbuurt in northeastern direction was the Plantage. This was part of the last expansion of Amsterdam (ca. 1665) but originally attracted few buyers. Instead, the land was used for parks and gardens. In 1682, the Hortus Botanicus was opened here, and in 1838, the Artis zoo opened to the public. The latter became an important location for middle-class Jews to spend their weekends.[65] Memberships to

[54] Hendriks and Van Velzen, *Van de Montelbaanstoren naar het Minervaplein*, 29–30.
[55] Meijer, *Het verdwenen Ghetto*, 12, 15.
[56] Ibid., 27-28, 41-42.
[57] Hendriks and Van Velzen, *Van de Montelbaanstoren naar het Minervaplein*, 11; Kirsten van Kempen and Hetty Berg, *Waterlooplein. De buurt binnenstebuiten* (Zutphen, 2020).
[58] Meijer, *Het Jonas Daniël Meijerplein*, 31–32.
[59] Gans, *Memorboek*, 658.
[60] Metz, *Diamantgracht*, 27–28.
[61] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 122.
[62] Simone Lipschitz, *De Amsterdamse diamantbeurs* (Amsterdam, 1990).
[63] Metz, *Diamantgracht*, 93–95.
[64] Hannah van den Ende, *De Joodsche Invalide. Bloei en ondergang van een Amsterdams verpleeghuis* (Meppel, 2020).
[65] Meijer, *Het verdwenen Ghetto*, 132, 138.




**Map 7.2** District clusters of Amsterdam ca. 1850.
*Source:* author's calculations based on the map created by Henk Laloli. For Laloli's map, see https://amsterdamhistorie.nl/buurten/buurten1850.html.
*Note*: the presented district letters were used starting in 1850, the names of district clusters were introduced in government statistics in the early twentieth century.

Artis were seen as a status symbol in the Jewish community.[66] Greenery surrounding Artis was replaced with housing in the nineteenth century to fight overpopulation. Houses were built with middle-class residents in mind.[67] It was generally more expensive due to the lower population density and wide streets.[68] Despite its attractive features, few Gentiles moved to this area, since living there meant going through the old Jewish Quarter to get to the centre.[69] Plantage also became home to numerous cultural institutions, including Plancius, where many weddings were celebrated and diamond workers' meetings were held, and the *Hollandsche Schouwburg*. Plantage was also where the ANDB headquarters, the *Burcht*, was constructed and opened in 1900. Although disagreements exist regarding the boundaries of the Jewish Quarter, Plantage-Weesper is generally considered part of it.[70]

[66] Polak, *De strijd der diamantbewerkers*, 14.
[67] Interview of Mozes de Leeuw in Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 134.
[68] Michiel Wagenaar, "Van 'gemengde' naar 'gelede' wijken. Amsterdamse stadsuitbreidingen in het laatste kwart van de negentiende eeuw," in *Van stadskern tot stadsgewest: stedebouwkundige geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, ed. Michiel Jonker, Leo Noordegraaf, and Michiel Wagenaar (Hilversum, 1984), 160–61.
[69] Wagenaar, "Van 'gemengde' naar 'gelede' wijken," 174.
[70] Meijer, *Het verdwenen Ghetto*, 131.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the 'old core' of the Jewish Quarter and Plantage/Weesper became, in relative terms, more Jewish. While Leydesdorff alleged that Gentiles living in the old Jewish Quarter were hardly different from Jews,[71] this group showed a tendency for leaving the area in the second half of the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, Weesper/Plantage especially saw large inflows of Jews. Similar tendencies occurred in the areas neighbouring these Jewish districts. Nieuwmarkt and Lastage, to the north of the old Jewish Quarter, also became increasingly Jewish, going from less than 5 percent to over 20 percent Jewish residents between 1859 and 1906. The area to the northwest of the Nieuwmarkt (K; see Map 7.2) and the St. Anthoniebreestraat area (C), and the southern canal areas (Y and Z), to the southwest of district P and the Weesperbuurt, also saw large influxes of Jews during this period. These three districts had Jewish population shares of below 5 percent in 1859 but ranged between 17 and 25 percent Jewish residents in 1906. The collection of 'border regions' around the Jewish Quarter grew as much in their absolute number of Jewish residents as the Jewish Quarter plus Plantage/Weesper itself in this span of five decades.

Since nearly all Jews lived in the Jewish Quarter until the end of the nineteenth century, all Jewish social classes were represented in this geographic area. Consequently, economic conditions varied greatly by streets and neighbourhoods. Valkenburg was one of the poorest neighbourhoods in the city.[72] While roughly 7 percent of mid-nineteenth-century Amsterdammers were eligible to vote, only one percent was able to vote on Valkenburg. The Valkenburgerstraat is repeatedly remembered for its extreme poverty and poor living conditions. [73] Contemporaneously, in district C, containing the Jodenbreestraat and St. Anthoniebreestraat, middle- and upper-class Jews were well-represented, counting over 11 percent voters. Thus, when Leydesdorff writes "who lived in the old Jewish Quarter, lived in poverty,"[74] this is only true for the poorer segments of the area. While poverty was apparent where it existed, it was heavily concentrated in the two northern islands Valkenburg and Uilenburg. The residents around the Waterlooplein and Jonas Daniël Meijerplein area, and early residents of Plantage-Weesper, were much closer to the Amsterdam average.

Housing conditions in the old core of the Jewish Quarter deteriorated more quickly than elsewhere in the city. This was only partly caused by Jews' economic misfortunes. Additionally, it was pushed strongly by lack of housing availability. Population density in this area was twice as high as the rest of the city since there was no space to build additional houses for the growing Jewish population.[75] Only the Jordaan, the Gentile's working-class district, had greater concentrations of inhabitants per square meter. In contrast, in the Plantage-Weesper area, where many Jews lived, population density was far below the city average.

[71] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 150.

[72] This was fourth-lowest in the city, lower only than districts PP (0.3%), NN (0.41%), and QQ (0.52%) in the *Jordaan*, a Gentile labourers' neighbourhood. This is excluding neighbourhood ZZ, which was then still under construction.

[73] Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 126–28.

[74] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 112.

[75] In 1859, the Jewish Quarter counted 644 persons per square kilometre, compared with 324 in Amsterdam (excluding the spacious eastern islands in district T) and 632 in the Jordaan. In 1889, population density had risen to 754 people/km$^2$ in the Jewish Quarter, 407 in Amsterdam's districts built before 1860 and excluding T, and 965 in the Jordaan. In districts Plantage and Weesperbuurt, where a majority of residents were Jewish, population density was far below the Amsterdam average: 149 in 1859 and 231 in 1889.

After thorough investigation, a report from 1901 concluded that parts of the Jewish Quarter had to be destroyed and rebuilt.[76] Soon after, the Housing Act of 1901 was enacted. This law intended to prevent housing with unhealthy conditions to be built or continue to exist, while ensuring future housing quality and quantity. Consequently, in 1916, the most unsanitary segments of Uilenburg were destroyed. In 1926 and 1936, once enough housing was acquired to resettle residents, additional Jewish islands were razed. Residents of these areas were, voluntarily or involuntarily, moved to newer neighbourhoods.[77] During these decades, the Jewish Quarter, once the marker of all things Jewish in Amsterdam, increasingly became a more mixed neighbourhood. In 1906, Jews comprised 87.9 percent of its residents, in 1941 only 57.6 percent.[78] As middle-class Jews moved to newer neighbourhoods, only the poorest Jews remained in the 'old core' of the Jewish Quarter. However, by then it no longer formed the social, cultural, and economic centre of Amsterdam Jewry. Meijer formulated this more strongly, proclaiming that "the Ghetto as central Jewish neighbourhood of Amsterdam no longer existed [already] before 1940."[79]

### 7.4.2 *Amsterdam East: Weesperzijde, Oosterparkbuurt and Transvaalbuurt*

Plans for new neighbourhoods were designed as demand for housing continued to grow in Amsterdam since the mid-nineteenth century. In 1876, the director of *Dienst der Publieke Werken* ('Department of Public Works'[80]) Jan Kalff designed a plan for the *Oosterparkbuurt* ('East Park District'), a residential neighbourhood surrounding a large park to the east of the old city borders. This plan also included a small expansion adjacent to the Amstel, which became the start of Weesperzijde. The Oosterparkbuurt was located alongside, and further southeast from, Plantage-Weesper, separated by the Singelgracht. Construction of houses commenced in 1881, and the park was built between 1886 and 1891. Initially, the houses were intended to be for the middle-class. However, many of the streets were ultimately built more rushed and in slightly lower quality.[81] Jews, who lived in closest proximity to this neighbourhood, moved there in large numbers. Especially the streets nearest to the Weesperstraat, such as the Tilanusstraat, Ruyschstraat, and Blasiusstraat, counted many Jewish residents. Many diamond workers moved to these streets, which were among the most commonly listed streets on the ANDB membership cards.

In post-war interviews of survivors, the Oosterparkbuurt (part of district ZZ, later WE) often gets only limited attention. Most of the interviewees had not been born when this neighbourhood was constructed. Instead, greater attention was placed on the Transvaalbuurt, which became a more important centre of Jewish life in the twentieth century. Due to the timing of Oosterparkbuurt's construction, coinciding with relatively prosperous times in the diamond industry, many diamond workers moved to these

[76] Louis Hermans, *Krotten en sloppen. Een onderzoek naar den woningtoestand in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1901).
[77] Hakker, "De sanering van de Amsterdamse Jodenbuurt 1900-1940," 39.
[78] Using area 4 in 1930 (district codes C, P, Q, S, and R) and area 10 in 1941 (C, P, Q, S, R, U, and V1).
[79] Meijer, *Het Jonas Daniël Meijerplein*, 23.
[80] The Dienst der Publieke Werken was a municipal department aimed at improving and expanding public space and housing. For more information, see Ida Jager, "Hoofdstad in gebreke. Manoeuvreren met publieke werken in Amsterdam 1851-1901" (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2003).
[81] Hendriks and Van Velzen, *Van de Montelbaanstoren naar het Minervaplein*, 145.

streets.[82] Further southeast in the neighbourhood we find the Vrolikstraat, another common destination for Jewish residents.[83] Hartog Goubitz (1889-1980), who previously lived in an overpopulated house in Valkenburg, moved there in 1904.[84] He described the Vrolikstraat as a massive improvement over the old Jewish Quarter. One of Leydesdorff's interviewees repeats the sentiment after moving to the Blasiusstraat, "...everything was better than to live [in the Uilenburgerstraat]... in that time change often meant improvement."[85] Leydesdorff's own opinion on the matter is mixed. On the one hand, her interviewees denote new neighbourhoods in close proximity to the old Jewish Quarter as "overcrowded and dirty."[86] On the other hand, she characterises such districts as follows:

> "[S]anitation there was better, and the streets were wider. There was room to breathe, space to clean, without losing the coziness of the old Jewish Quarter. Living in the Oosterparkbuurt was the first step out of the ghetto, a first step towards life adjusted to Gentiles, and therefore a first step towards assimilation."[87]

According to eyewitnesses, the Oosterparkbuurt differed minimally from the Transvaalbuurt. Moving to either was a conscious decision to live a different type of life, with smaller families to create better future perspectives. Within these neighbourhoods, there were good and bad parts, as there were Jewish, Gentile, and mixed parts. For instance, Iepenplein was denominationally mixed and relatively well off.[88] However, the dominant culture, if there was any, was Jewish. Gentiles are said to have adapted to their Jewish neighbours, rather than the other way around.[89] Yet, according to some interviewees, Gentiles knew little about Jewish traditions in the Transvaalbuurt.[90]

The Transvaalbuurt was constructed to the southeast of the Oosterparkbuurt starting in 1910. The area was designed by the famous architect Hendrik Petrus Berlage, who had also been responsible for the ANDB headquarters. The neighourhood and its streets themselves were predominantly constructed by individual building cooperations. The 1901 Housing Act had set the stage for the government to place more building responsibility in private hands. Now, a wide range of pillarised building cooperations set out to construct new houses and streets. Since there was no Jewish pillar, Jews predominantly made use of the services of Social Democratic building cooperations. These includes the *Algemene Woningbouwvereniging* ('General Building Cooperation'), *Bouwfonds Handwerkers Vriendenkring* ['Building Fund Hand Workers' Friend Circle']—officially non-denominational but unofficially specifically for Jews[91]—and *De Dageraad*. Two attempts at building cooperations specifically for diamond workers failed in 1905 and 1920.[92]

[82] Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 176.
[83] Idem.
[84] Ibid., 126, 176.
[85] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 135.
[86] Ibid., 159.
[87] Ibid., 161.
[88] Ibid., 181.
[89] Ibid., 182.
[90] Ibid., 184.
[91] Ab Caransa, *Handwerkers Vriendenkring 1869-1942. Belangenbehartiging, ziekenzorg, volkswoningbouw.* (Alkmaar, 1998), 57–63; Heertje, *De diamantbewerkers*, 227.
[92] Heertje, *De diamantbewerkers*, 234.

The Transvaalbuurt eventually became a 'Jewish' neighbourhood by our definition. While the true number of Jews in this area is hard to estimate in 1906—when it was part of agglomeration ZZ where 6 percent of residents were Jewish—the share of Jews grew rapidly to 26 percent in 1920, 45 percent in 1930, and 58 percent in 1941. Since the varying building cooperations each designed (parts) of their own streets, Jews and Gentiles ended up somewhat segregated within the neighbourhood. Jews primarily lived in streets built by Social-Democratic building cooperations *Algemeene Woningbouw-vereniging* and *Bouwvereniging Handwerkers Vriendenkring*—such as the Retiefstraat, Cillierstraat, and Tugelaweg[93]—Gentiles in those by their respective cooperations *Patrimonium* (Protestant) and *Het Oosten* (Catholic). Furthermore, landlords played a role in further spatial clustering. Liesbeth van Weezel, whose family moved to the Pretoriusplein in the Transvaalbuurt in 1911, mentioned that there had been few Jews living there when they arrived.[94] According to her, their landlord "tactically" placed all newcoming Jews in the same building, leading to clusters of Jews within the street.[95] Besides segregation by ethno-religious background, Liesbeth also remarked on class differences. While the Transvaalbuurt was home to numerous intellectuals and middle-class families, including many diamond workers,[96] it also became socially mixed. When parts of Uilenburg were destroyed in 1916, one half of the Retiefstraat was designed to take up the transplanted, but "[t]his occurred outside of the 'golden edge' of the Pretoriusplein,"[97] where richer inhabitants lived.

In their discussion of the Transvaalbuurt, contemporaries more frequently mention social class differences within the Jewish community than ethno-religious differences between them and Gentiles. A common theme is the arrival of poor Jews, previous residents of Uilenburg, who had to 'learn how to live' outside of poverty. Jacques Presser recalled the chicken bones thrown on the streets, remnants of Friday night's chicken soup, and the public nuisance from radios blasting through open windows.[98] Emmanuel Aalsvel remembers how, during his comfortable youth in the Transvaalbuurt, his father addressed these new arrivals and told them how to behave in the new neighbourhood. Meanwhile, Emmanuel mentioned the following about ethno-religious differences:

> "There was no difference between Jews and Christians, there we simply lived next to one another. There was a difference with the Smitstraat, because the Catholics lived there. We played football against them, but not as Jews, but as Socialists."[99]

The Transvaalbuurt, with its many Social Democratic inhabitants, was known as the "red village."[100] Differences between Jews and Gentiles were often minimal, coming from similar socioeconomic backgrounds and with comparable political beliefs. They also arrived in the Transvaalbuurt at the same time. Nonetheless, Gentiles gradually moved away from the neighbourhood. In 1930, the neighbourhood was fully occupied with

[93] Caransa, *Handwerkers Vriendenkring*, 60–62.
[94] Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 176.
[95] Ibid., 177.
[96] Ibid., 179-80.
[97] Ibid., 177.
[98] Jacques Presser, *Louter verwachting. Autobiografische schets 1899-1919* (Amsterdam, 1985), 43.
[99] Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 182.
[100] Bregstein, *Gesprekken met Jacques Presser*, 15.

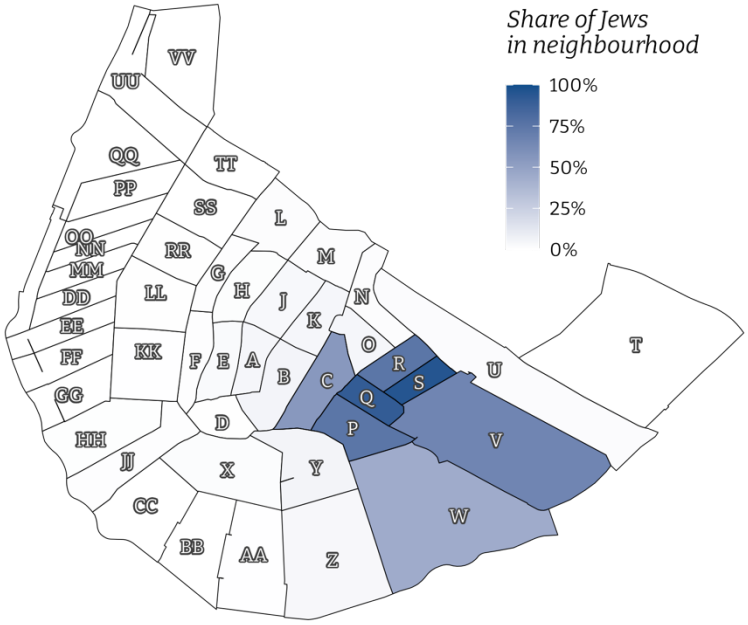
roughly 19,000 inhabitants, among whom were 11,000 Gentiles. By 1941, over 2000 Gentiles had left, making place for new, often poorer Jews, to take up residence in their former homes. The Transvaalbuurt could therefore only become 'Jewish' in our definition through the departure of Gentiles, not simply the arrival of Jews.

### 7.4.3 *Plan South: De Pijp, de Rivierenbuurt, and wealthy neighbourhoods to the west*

Expansions towards the South of Amsterdam relevant for Jews occurred in two stages. In the 1870s, De Pijp was constructed. Its houses surrounded the *Paleis voor Volksvlijt* ('Palace for Industry'), paid for by Samuel Sarphati and, in later years, a symbol for Jews' pride of emancipation.[101] While this neighbourhood would never become a 'Jewish neighbourhood' per se, it became an important destination for upwardly mobile Jews. Nonetheless, the reputation of De Pijp varies. It was one of the first cases of *revolutiebouw* ('jerry-building')—the construction of large new neighbourhoods using cheap materials without systematic or long-term plans—in Amsterdam.[102] This was evidenced by two collapsing buildings, due to poor quality construction, amidst constructions in 1876. Later on, Heertje described the buildings in De Pijp as ugly.[103] Yet, as a destination for skilled labourers, it was known as middle class and richer than other workers' neighbourhoods, like the Staatsliedenbuurt.[104] In 1878, after the first waves of residents had moved in, the average inhabitant of De Pijp was more likely to be taxed, but rarely at the highest levels, indicating middle-class but not elite inhabitants. Among them were many Jewish diamond workers who brought the industry with them. Many new diamond factories arose in this area,[105] including Asscher's 1907 factory with nearby housing for their workers.[106] In 1915, the neighbourhood De Pijp was administratively split in three parts: two average, lower middle-class districts, and one upper-middle class area. During this time, it had become an important place for nightlife.[107] Especially for Jews, as it was a common venue and topic for Jewish comedians and singers like Eduard Jacobs.[108] In the mixed denominational districts such as those in East and De Pijp, Jews were confronted with their 'Otherness' as Jews.[109] Nonetheless, Jews were also able to be themselves. In the Gerard Doustraat in De Pijp, where many Jews concentrated, a Synagogue was opened in 1892.

In the 1910s, Amsterdam South expanded. Constructions on 'New-South,' once again designed by Berlage, started between 1917 and 1925. New South was divided in two parts. On the eastern side, the Rivierenbuurt was intended to house families of the working and middle classes.[110] This later also included an extension of De Pijp, known as the Nieuwe

[101] Hendriks and Van Velzen, *Van de Montelbaanstoren naar het Minervaplein*, 143.
[102] Vijgen, "Joden in Amsterdam," 78; For more on jerry-building in Amsterdam, see Jos Smit, "'Uit de groote schande van den revolutiebouw'. Over de moeizame waardering van laatnegentiende-eeuwse woningarchitectuur," *Bulletin KNOB*, 2012, 83–98.
[103] Heertje, *De diamantbewerkers*, 233.
[104] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 190.
[105] Hendriks and Van Velzen, *Van de Montelbaanstoren naar het Minervaplein*, 79.
[106] Interview of Lodewijk Asscher in Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 182–83; Hendriks and Van Velzen, *Van de Montelbaanstoren naar het Minervaplein*, 148.
[107] Vincent Baptist, Julia Noordegraaf, and Thunnis van Oort, "A Digital Toolkit to Detect Cinema Audiences of the Silent Era: Scalable Perspectives on Film Exhibition and Consumption in Amsterdam Neighbourhoods (1907-1928)," *Studies in European Cinema* 18.3 (2021): 252–73.
[108] De Haas, *De minstreel van de mesthoop*.
[109] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 162.
[110] Hendriks and Van Velzen, *Van de Montelbaanstoren naar het Minervaplein*, 151.

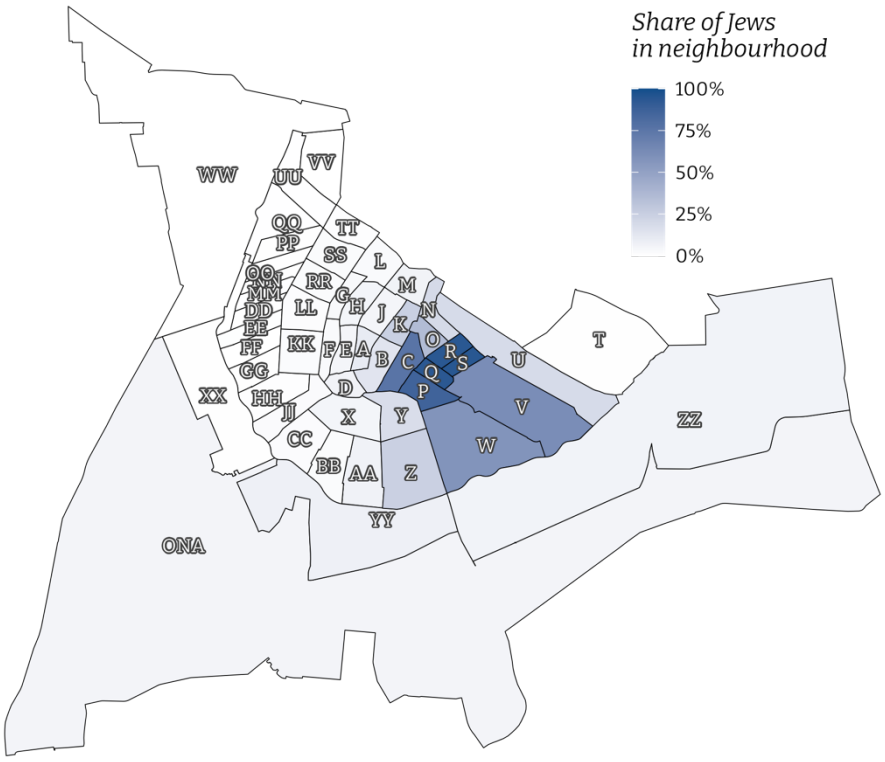



**Map 7.3** Residential spread of Jews in 1859.
*Source:* Amsterdam City Archive, 5007#314, "Maandstaat van de aantallen inwoners van Amsterdam per buurt, uitgesplitst naar godsdienstige gezindte, burgerlijke staat en soort inwonerschap (vast of tijdelijk)."

Pijp, intended for similar residents. The western side of New South was designed for upper-middle class families. It included the Apollobuurt, for the elite, and the areas around the Museum square and Concert Hall, intended for middle classes. However, it took until the late 1920s that people could afford to live here because of the towering rents.

In the 1920s, especially after a lowering of the rents, many Jews moved to these neighbourhoods. Yet, New South is rarely discussed in post-war interviews with Jewish survivors. For Leydesdorff, who focused on the Jewish proletariat, this means missing Jewish workers who were upwardly mobile into the middle classes. That 40 percent of Jews lived in South in 1941 attests their high rates of upward mobility in prior decades. Nonetheless, some have doubted the influence of Jews on the district's culture.[111] Jews, however, definitely left an impact. For instance, the square at the centre of the Rivierenbuurt—the Daniël Willinkplein—was commonly referred to as the Jonas Daniël Willinkplein as a joke, referring to the Jonas Daniël Meijerplein in the old Jewish Quarter.[112] Jewish peddlers came here to sell authentic Jewish food, and Jaap Meijer repeatedly called New South "Ghetto South."[113] In the Concertgebouwbuurt, a Synagogue was completed in 1928, and another Synagogue was completed in 1937 in the Rivierenbuurt. These signify Jews' thriving presence already prior to the arrival of many non-Dutch Jews who settled here after 1933.

[111] Ibid., 139.
[112] Ibid., 154.
[113] Meijer, *Het Jonas Daniël Meijerplein*, 24.



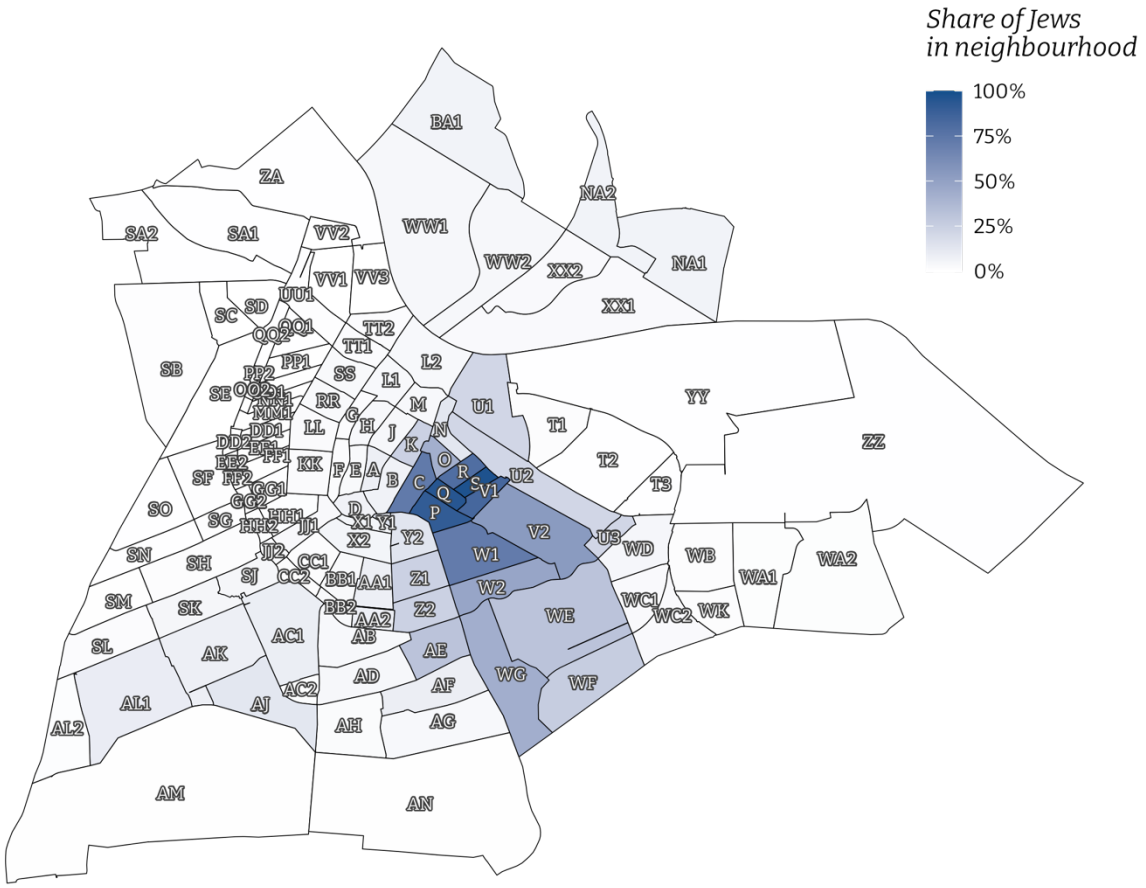

**Map 7.4** Residential spread of Jews in 1906.
*Source:* Vijgen, "Joden in Amsterdam. Assimilatie en segregatie van een etnische minderheid 1600-1933" (1983).

### 7.4.4 *Summary: movements between 1850 and 1940*

The movements from 1859 until 1941 can be shown in maps using data from municipal records. In 1859, before the expansions beyond the original city borders, Jews lived almost exclusively in the 'old core' (C, P, Q, S, and R in Map 7.2) or in Plantage/Weesper (V and W). Jews were also found in streets in neighbouring districts, where small percentages of Jews lived. At this time, the 'old core' was not exclusively Jewish. A non-negligible number of Gentiles co-resided with Jews in this area.

By 1906, many of these Gentiles had left the Jewish Quarter. The concentration of Jews in the Jewish Quarter therefore strengthened—following outflows of Gentiles—while Jews simultaneously spread across new areas. The urgent need for housing among Jews caused moves to adjacent neighbourhoods. Nieuwmarkt and Lastage, counting less than 5 percent Jews in 1859, now counted over 20 percent Jews. District Z, across the river Amstel from Weesperbuurt, similarly became noticeably more Jewish. Jews also settled in the Weesperbuurt and towards De Pijp and the Oosterparkbuurt. Regrettably, the latter two are included in larger district agglomerations YY and ZZ, and therefore we cannot observe the true percentage of Jews in De Pijp and Oosterparkbuurt at this time. In districts adjacent to these 'neighbouring' districts—that is, those with an additional neighbourhood between it and the Jewish Quarter—percentages of Jewish residents also increased. For instance, in district D on the southern of the city centre covering the end of the Kalverstraat and alongside Rokin, the share of Jews increased from 0.5 percent in 1859 to 6.5 percent in 1906. The annexed area *Oud-Nieuwer Amstel* (ONA) also attracted large numbers of Jews.

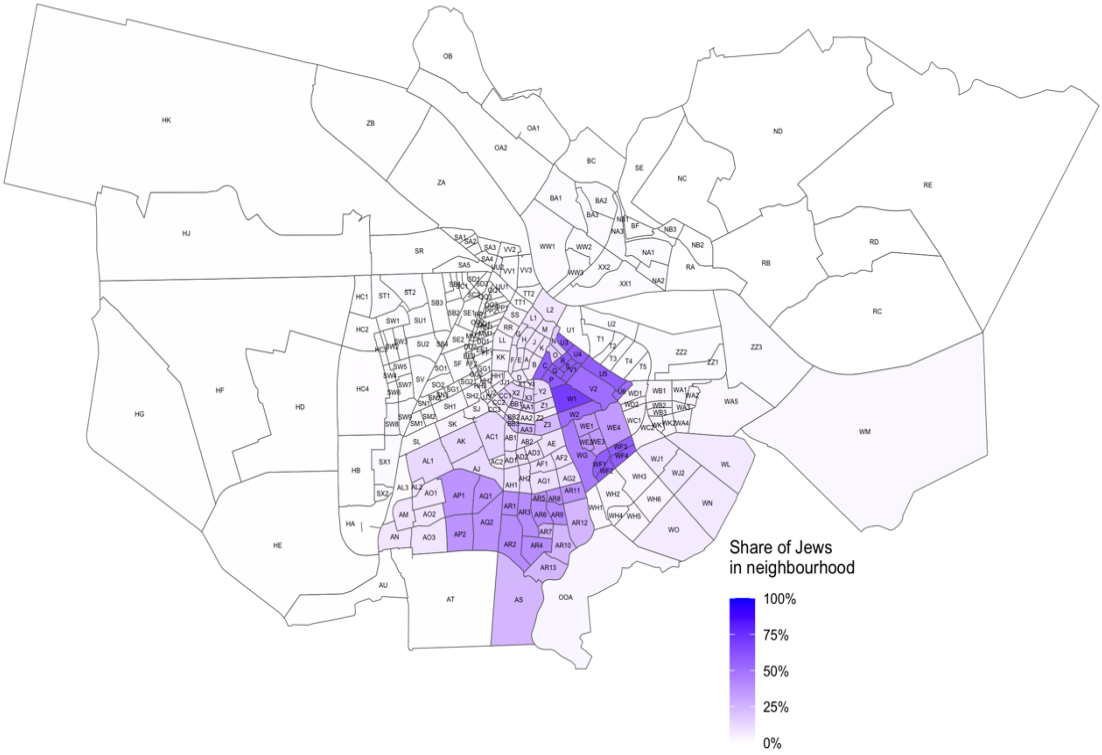
In 1920, the spread of Jews away from the Jewish Quarter had progressed substantially. The share of Jews increased in neighbourhoods in all directions from the old core of the Jewish Quarter. Within ONA, now split into various districts, we see increases in Weesperzijde and the Transvaalbuurt. To the west of De Pijp, Jews had already started settling in the richer areas around the Concertgebouwbuurt. We even see increasing Jewish shares north of the river IJ.




**MAP 7.5** Residential spread of Jews in 1920.
*Source:* Statistische mededeelingen van het Bureau der Statistiek der Gemeente Amsterdam" (1924), 72; Vijgen, "Joden in Amsterdam. Assimilatie en segregatie van een etnische minderheid 1600-1933" (1983).

Although Jews now settled in the eastern part of De Pijp and to the west near the Concert Hall, few Jews settled in the middle, in the western parts of De Pijp. The lack of Jews in this area reveals, to some degree, the settlements patterns of Jews. They moved to newer districts, with better housing, and preferably near other Jews. In the western parts of De Pijp, many Gentiles had already settled and the culture was dominantly Gentile. The quality of the housing, however, did not compensate enough for confrontation with non-Jews. In new areas, Jews could choose their own lifestyle without exceedingly adjusting to Gentiles.

Comparing the map of 1941 (Map 7.6) with 1859 (Map 7.3), we see that Jews now lived considerably more spread out across the city. Jews are seen more to the north, east, south, and southwest of the former Jewish centre. Jews are now particularly well-




**Map 7.6** Residential spread of Jews in 1941.
*Source:* Statistisch Jaarboek der Gemeente Amsterdam (1949): 71-2, "De Joodsche bevolking in de verschillende wijken der Gemeente (Mei 1941)."

represented in the Transvaalbuurt in East, Rivierenbuurt in South, and the Concertgebouwbuurt in Southeast. A non-insignificant number of Jews have now settled above the Vondelpark, getting close to exclusively Gentile areas like the Jordaan. Many Jews have willingly or forcedly left the Jewish Quarter. In the administrative delineations of 1941, the strongest concentration of Jews is seen in the northern part of the Weesperbuurt, where 70 percent of the residents are Jewish. This is a stark decline compared with 1906, when the largest concentration of Jews was seen in the Jewish Quarter where over 90 percent of residents were Jewish.

Foreign Jews should also be included in the discussion. Between 1933 and 1940, thousands of Jews fled from Germany and many settled in Amsterdam. Comparatively affluent, many of these foreign Jews moved to well-regarded neighbourhoods in Amsterdam South.[114] This boosted the share of Jews in this part of the city. However, data from 1930 indicates that Jews had already begun migrating to these districts—particularly the Rivierenbuurt, Concertgebouwbuurt, and Apollobuurt—prior to the arrival of post-1933 Jewish refugees.[115] Settlements patterns of foreign and Dutch Jews in Amsterdam did not differ all that distinctively, as can be noted from insignificant

[114] Ultee and Luijkx, "Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage in Six European Cities," 177.
[115] Bureau der Statistiek der Gemeente Amsterdam, Statistische mededeeling no. 100 (Amsterdam, 1934), Table 21, "De bevolking van elke buurtcombinatie bij de Volkstelling van 1930 naar kerkelijke gezindte en het geslacht 1930."

differences in dissimilarity indices calculated with and without the presence of foreign Jews.[116] Thus, changing residential areas of Jews were driven first and foremost by relocations of Dutch, and not foreign, Jews.

Unequivocally, Jews have spread across the city, in neighbourhoods of varying social classes and with diverging shares of non-Jewish neighbours.

## 7.5 Residential locations of diamond workers

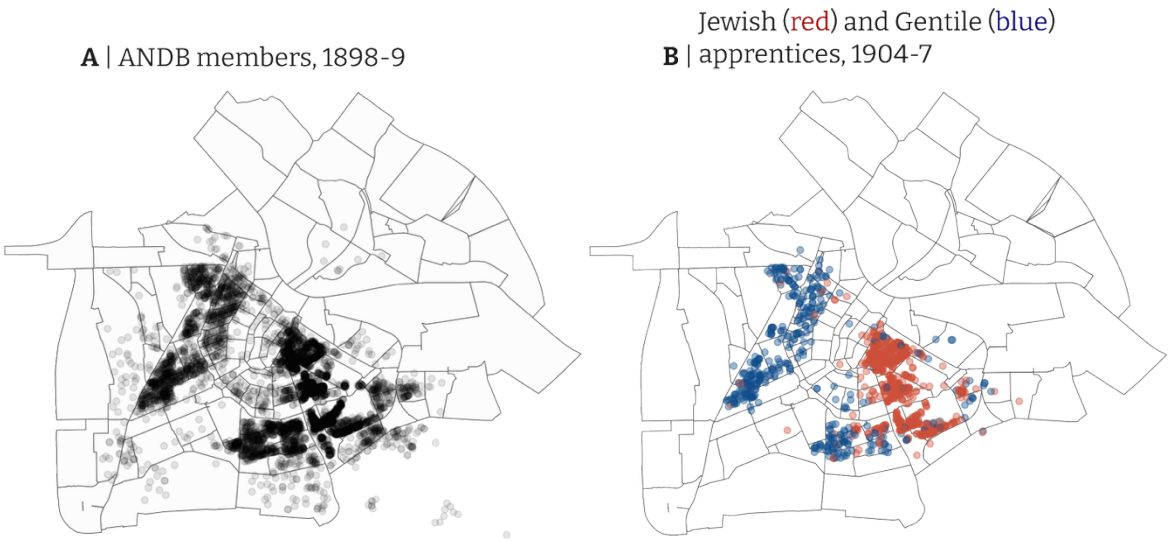
So far, we have looked at the residential spread of all Jews. In our discussion, we have come across the tendencies of diamond workers to move towards certain areas. And the residential spread of Jewish diamond workers has been addressed in previous research.[117] However, the union administration enables us to take a much closer look at the residential spread of diamond workers, both Jewish and Gentile. The comparison between Jewish and Gentile diamond workers is key here, since it is beyond the scope of this chapter to follow residential trajectories of all Gentiles. Thus, in this section, I will describe the residential patterns of diamond workers by ethno-religious backgrounds using the membership and apprenticeship cards of the ANDB administration. Additionally, I will showcase how these residences correlated with workplaces, using the largest diamond factories in Amsterdam and information on the ethno-religious backgrounds of the apprentices that were trained there.

### 7.5.1 *Residences of ANDB member and apprentices, 1898-1940*

Panel A of Map 7.7 shows the residences of all diamond workers who were registered on a membership card in 1898 and 1899, the first two years possible. Large concentrations are seen in old Jewish Quarter, Weesperbuurt, Weesperzijde, Oosterparkbuurt, and in De Pijp. Additionally, we also see a large group in the Western side of the city, particularly in de Jordaan, de Staatsliedenbuurt, and the Borgerbuurt. Moreover, a split is seen in the middle of the two regions. Few Jews lived in the richer parts of the *Canal belt* or to the west of Nieuwmarkt in the centre. It is safe to say that virtually all of the diamond workers in the Western side were Gentiles. Nearly all Jews are expected to have lived in the east and south of Amsterdam, but here we could also expect to find Gentiles who worked in the mixed diamond polishing factories.

We can verify this by looking at the addresses of apprentices who started their apprenticeships between 1904 and 1907, right after the apprenticeship halt ended. These are shown in panel B of Map 7.7. We indeed see that nearly all apprentices in the West were Gentiles, and virtually all of the apprentices in the east were Jews. An interesting mix is observed in the south, however. Jews lived in Weesperzijde and across the Amstel in the northeastern parts of De Pijp, but rarely lived in the western and southern parts of De Pijp. Here we find a neighbourhood which is clearly mixed along street lines. The locations of apprentices in Map 7.7 remain more or less constant over time, although Jewish apprentices increasingly move into the Transvaalbuurt since the 1910s. Moreover, between 1909 and 1913 we see the largest number of Gentile apprentices in Amsterdam East. Later we find them more spread across the city. This may reflect the fact that Amsterdam East became 'more Jewish' as Gentiles left for other

[116] Tammes, "Residential Segregation of Jews in Amsterdam," 250.
[117] Heertje, *De diamantbewerkers*, 229–35; Hofmeester, "'Als ik niet voor mijzelf ben...,'" 24–26.




**Map 7.7** Residences of all ANDB members, 1898-1899, and all apprentices, 1904-1907. *Source:* "ANDB Apprentice Cards," release 2019; and "ANDB Membership Cards," release 2021.

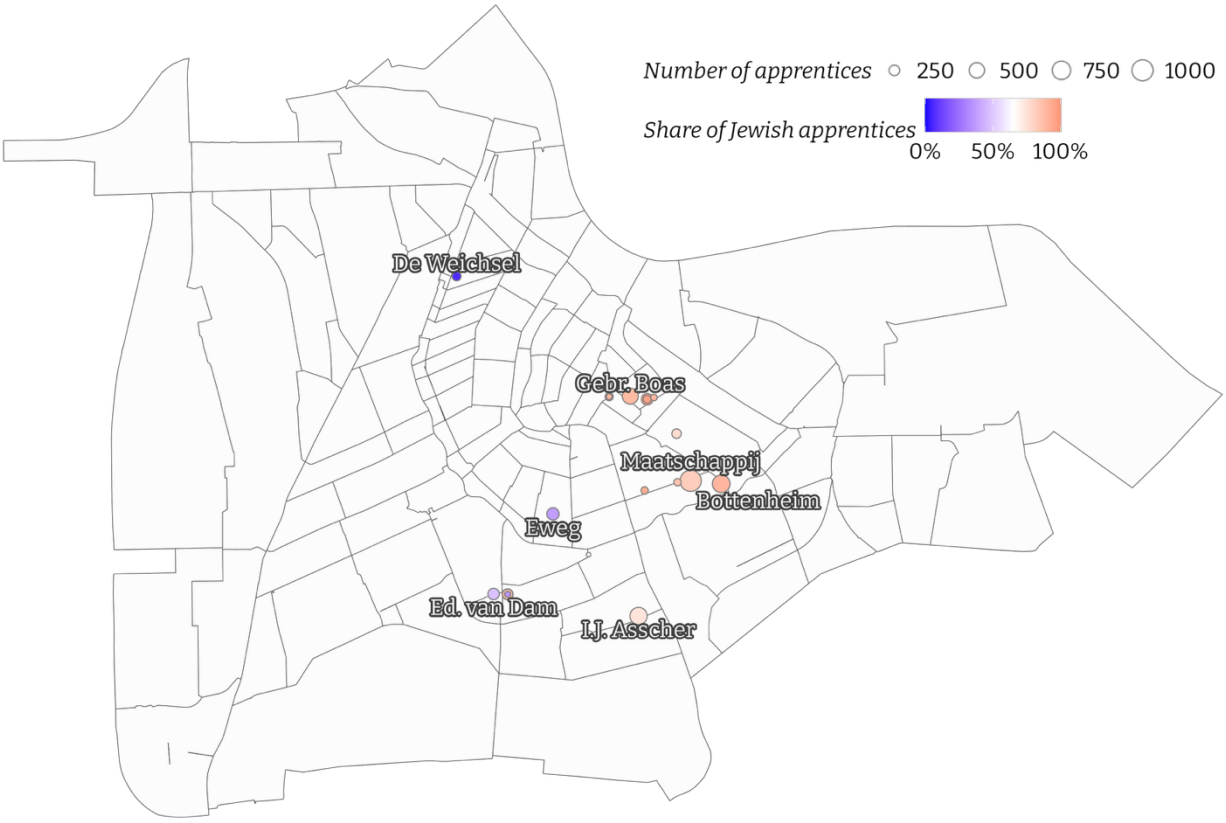
neighbourhoods, as had happened before to the old Jewish Quarter up to the mid-nineteenth century.

Gentile apprentices primarily lived in three areas. Most of them lived in the Jordaan area. Like the old Jewish Quarter for Jews, the Jordaan was where many Gentile labourers lived until the end of the nineteenth century. A second agglomeration was found in the Jacob van Lennepbuurt. This was a newer neighbourhood, built as part of the 1876 building plan of Jan Kalff. The third area is the Western part of De Pijp. Here we see many Gentiles living in the Eerste Jan Steenstraat and other streets to the West of the Sarphatipark (built in 1885). However, the Gentile diamond workers resided everywhere where diamond factories were located. We therefore also find them in the more Jewish areas, including Weesperzijde and Plantage.

### 7.5.2 *Locations of workplaces*

We can compare the locations of workers in Map 7.7 with the location of the factories where most of the diamond workers worked. To accomplish this, I identified the 25 diamond factories that trained the most apprentices between 1904 and 1939. After geolocating the factories, I estimate the share of apprentices that were Jewish. The locations of the factories are plotted in Map 7.8. The colours indicate the share of Jewish apprentices, the size of the circle the number of apprentices. Dark blue circles relate to factories with many Gentile apprentices, while more red colours refer to Jewish factories.

In the Jordaan, in the northwest of Amsterdam where virtually all apprentices were Gentile, the largest factory—*De Overtoom* owned by the Gentile Johan Gerrit Nicolaas Eweg (1881-unk.)—trained primarily Gentile workers, who made up 62 percent of all their apprentices. Near the Jewish Quarter and in Amsterdam East, we find factories with high shares of Jews. In the *Koningin Sophia* factory, located in the Uilenburgerstraat, 96 percent of apprentices were Jewish. In the same street, the factory owned by the Boas brothers from 1879 had 88 percent Jewish apprentices. In Plantage, the *Concentratie I* had 77 percent Jewish apprentices, much closer to the true representation of Jews among all




**MAP 7.8** The locations of the 25 largest diamond polishing factories and the share of Jewish apprentices, 1904-1940
*Source:* author's calculations using "ANDB Apprentice Cards," release 2019; and "Diamond factories in Amsterdam," release 2021.

apprentices. Similarly, the I.J. Asscher factory in the Tolstraat of the Nieuwe Pijp had 74 percent Jewish apprentices. More to the West, three factories in De Pijp show mixed results. Each located in the Albert Cuypstraat, the apprenticeship body of these factories—*Grupping & Schaap*, *Kampfraath*, and *Van Moppes*[118]—were primarily Gentile, mixed, and Jewish, respectively. Thus, while nearly all apprentices and workers lived relatively close to the locations of diamond factories, the composition of the factories varied heavily by the ownership of the factory and the location of the workers. In areas with more mixed populations, factories could be more mixed or vary significantly in the ethno-religious background of its workers while being located in the same street.

[118] It must be noted that the Van Moppes firm did not operate this factory until 1947. Prior to World War II, the Van Moppes firm was located in the Plantage Middenlaan. Marinus Gerardus Emeis, *A. van Moppes & Zoon: 1809-1959* (Amsterdam, 1959), 19–25, 35.

## 7.6 Diamond workers' life course data

The twentieth century in Amsterdam was a period of city expansion and renewal. We have now observed Jews living in districts outside of the Jewish Quarter as time progressed. We also saw diamond workers spread across different regions of the city. But how did Jewish diamond workers move from one neighbourhood to another? And how did origin and destination districts differ in characteristics? Did Jews simply move to new neighbourhoods with similar social class and ethno-religious compositions? Or did their areas of residence change drastically each time they relocated? In this section we will assess these questions by examining residential trajectories of the diamond workers by decade. We will look at three dimensions: (*a*) the area of residence; (*b*) the share of Jews in the district; and (*c*) the social class of the neighbourhood.

### 7.6.1 *Area of residence*

Early on, Jewish diamond workers, similar to all other Jews, primarily lived in the 'old core' of the Jewish Quarter, in the neighbouring districts Plantage/Weesper, and in the border areas around this Jewish Quarter. By 1880, few had moved to Amsterdam East or South yet as these districts were still under construction. And, although a small but significant percentage lived outside of these areas—contiguous to districts directly adjacent to the Jewish Quarter—this was only a select minority. Progressively, Jewish diamond workers moved out of the 'old core' and later also turned away from Plantage/Weesper. We can see this in Figure 7.1. For each start of a decade (i.e. 1880, 1890, etc.), the share of the diamond workers in that cohort living in a specific area is calculated. These percentages are shown in the columns. For instance, in 1880, 45.8 percent of our first cohort lived in the old Jewish core, seen at the bottom left of Panel A. Flows are drawn between two successive columns. These flows indicate how many people moved between, or stayed within, neighbourhood types over time, with each line corresponding to one person. Thus, between 1880 and 1890, the flow between the old Jewish core and Plantage/Weesper consists of eight lines pertaining to eight persons in cohort 1. The flows help us understand whether Jews moved incrementally to newer neighbourhoods, for instance from Plantage/Weesper to Amsterdam East and then to South, or made big jumps, such as from the old core to South immediately.

The flows indicate that nearly all diamond workers made small steps from older to newer neighbourhoods. Between 1880 and 1910, Jews successively moved from the old core to Plantage/Weesper, and from Plantage/Weesper to Amsterdam East. In these migrations, diamond workers were among the first to make the moves. This is evident when we compare the diamond workers' situations in 1900 with the overall Jewish population in 1906. In 1906, 19.1 percent of all Jews lived in the new areas XX ('Amsterdam West), YY ('South'), ZZ ('West'), or ONA. In 1900, already 23.3 percent of our first cohort of Jewish diamond workers did, and by 1910, 46.7 in our first cohort had made this trek. In contrast, in 1906 still 33.5 percent of all Jews lived in the old Jewish core, compared with 30.8 percent of our first cohort in 1900 and 16.8 percent in 1910. In other words, the diamond workers and the families that they came from—often also diamond workers—were remarkably mobile in their residences, moving to newer areas earlier than other Jews.

Much of this pioneering was done already before our diamond workers reached adulthood. Since intergenerational following was common, many of them had parents who had worked in the same occupation. Among the diamond workers we sampled,

those whose fathers worked as diamond workers were more likely to be born outside of the Jewish Quarter than those whose fathers had worked in other occupations. In this sense, intergenerational mobility and residential mobility were linked; those who were upwardly mobile intergenerationally were also residentially more mobile.

In our second cohort, we observe many families moving from the old core to the Plantage/Weesper between 1890 and 1900. They originated from both diamond worker and other types of families, so that this does not seem to be directly related to their parents' occupational status. However, their residences in adolescence in 1900 contrast with those of the younger third cohort. In cohort 2, nearly 50 percent lived in Plantage/Weesper in 1900, compared with about 33 percent in cohort 3. Meanwhile, 8 percent of cohort 2 lived in East, compared with 21 percent of cohort 3. Where someone was born or grew up therefore heavily depended on time and the family someone was born into.

Most of those who moved to East before 1910, remained there. Similarly, few that had not yet moved to East by 1910, moved there afterwards. Most of those from cohort 1 who moved to East early on, remained living in Oosterparkbuurt or moved to Transvaalbuurt and stayed there. Although some have stated that Jews moved back and forth between the old Jewish core and Amsterdam East,[119] our flows show that this was rare. At most, Jews moved from Weesperbuurt to Amsterdam East. Many of the first cohort also remained in Plantage/Weesper for long periods of time.

Relocations to South occurred later in time. By 1900, only one member of our first cohort had moved to De Pijp. David Mot (1875-1950) had lived in the Kerkstraat, across the Amstel from the Weesperstraat in district Z, before moving to the Govert Flinckstraat in De Pijp in 1899. Soon after, David moved to the Tweede Jan Steenstraat and remained there at least until 1940. By 1910, 10 of his 107 peers from the same birth cohort had made the trek to South. In 1940, 20 more resided in South.

Members of our second cohort made the move to De Pijp earlier. Already four of them lived in De Pijp by 1890. Judith Pais-Van Es (1885) was the first in our sample to be born there. Together with her family, she frequently moved between the older and newer parts of De Pijp and Amsterdam East. After her marriage, Judith and her husband settled in the Nieuwe Pijp, moving to the Rivierenbuurt in 1934.

Besides differences between cohorts, we can also note distinct differences between diamond worker specializations. Due to the limited sample sizes, this variation can most astutely be seen by comparing cleavers, the elite of the industry, and brilliant polishers, in the middle of the workers' distribution. Since relatively few men were trained as cleavers after the first cohort, we limit the comparison to the first cohort. This cohort counted 24 polishers and 11 cleavers. Among the brilliant polishers, 13 were born in old core of the Jewish Quarter. Nine of them were born in R and S, the poorest areas of the neighbourhood, and only two came from C, the richest part. Among the 11 cleavers, only three were born in the Jewish Quarter, of whom two were born in the richest part, C. None of the polishers yet lived in the Weesperbuurt (W), while two of the cleavers did. Two had also moved to Amsterdam East (ZZ) already, compared with only one of the 24 polishers. Since the specialization of workers was strongly correlated with the social position of their parents (see Chapter 4.4), the neighbourhoods that one grew up also correlated strongly with the social status of the father. These differences accumulated over the

[119] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 196.

span of the life course. In 1930, 10 of the 24 polishers (42%) still lived in the 'old core' of the Jewish Quarter or in Plantage/Weesper. Among the cleavers, only three of 11 (27%) still did, and none of those lived in the 'old core.' Cleavers were also more likely to live in 'Gentile' districts.

Moving to South was correlated with having grown up in diamond workers' families and specializing in higher positions in the industry. For instance, in 1930, 47 percent of the first cohort of female rose cutters lived in East, compared with 32 of the female brilliant cutters. Only 15 percent of rose cutters lived in South, compared with 36 percent of brilliant cutters. 20 percent of brilliant cutters lived outside of the Jewish Quarter, East, or South, compared with 9 percent of the rose cutters. Moving to new neighbourhoods was therefore a function of higher social status for both men and women.

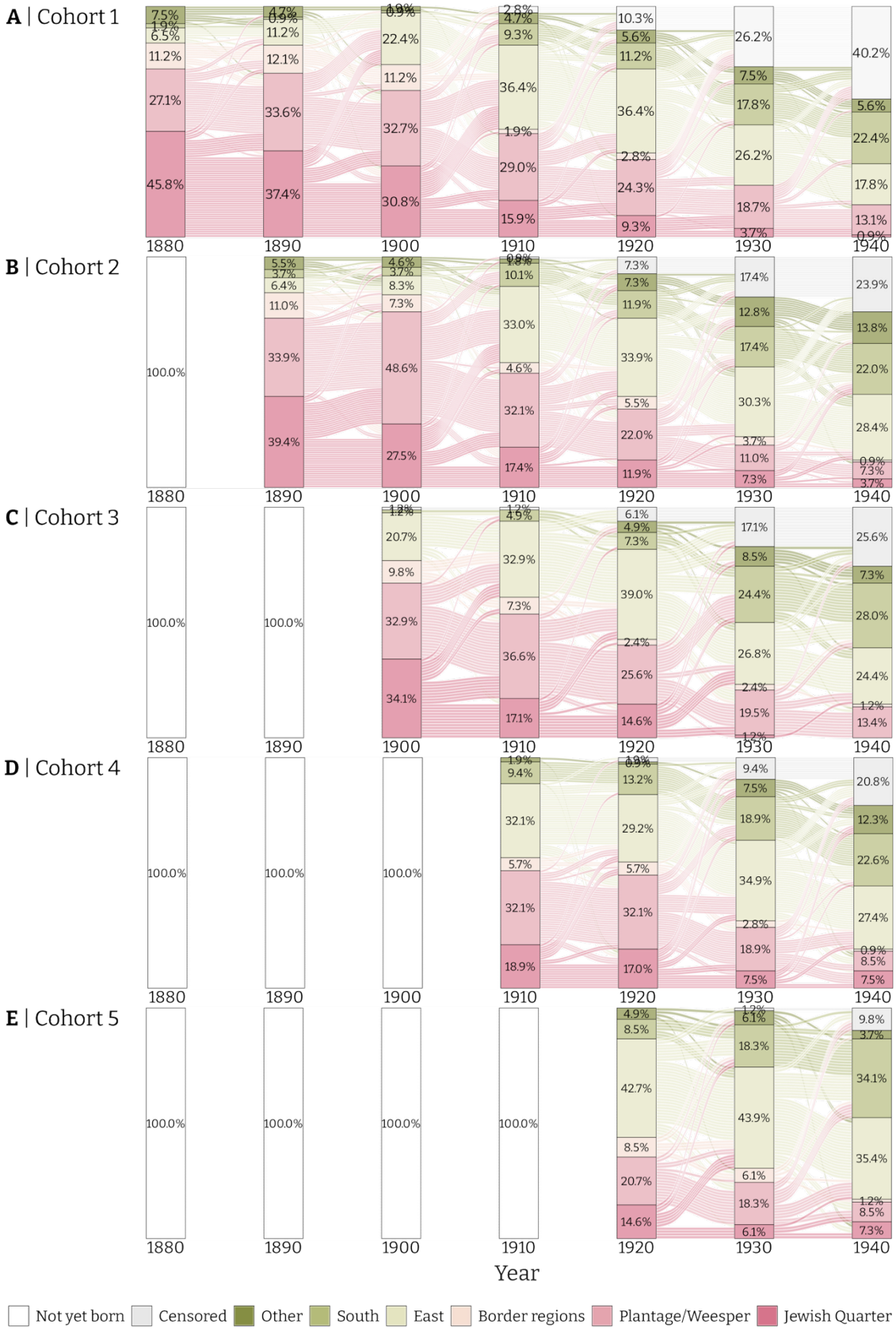



**FIGURE 7.1** Residential trajectories of Jewish diamond workers across Amsterdam areas by birth cohort, 1880-1940.
*Source:* author's calculations using "ANDB Members' Life Courses," release 2024.
*Note:* percentages in grey are 'censored' due to death or out-migration.

### 7.6.2 *Jewish areas*

Moving outside of the Jewish Quarter, where some districts counted over 90 percent Jewish residents, often meant moving to neighbourhoods with fewer Jewish neighbours. How Jewish were the neighbourhoods that Jews moved to? And how did those neighbourhoods change in composition over time? Initially, Jewish diamond workers lived in predominantly Jewish districts. Over time, they left areas where most residents were Jewish. Jewish diamond workers, often pioneering in their moves to new neighbourhoods, commonly moved to districts that were new but 'Gentile' or 'Mixed' in nature. When they arrived, few other Jews had made the move there. The diamond workers arrived at the same time as Gentiles similarly aiming for better housing circumstances and with the money to do so. Thus, until 1890, a large number of Jewish diamond workers lived in 'Gentile' areas, and until 1920, 'Mixed' areas.

The most important 'Mixed' district was ZZ, until 1909 the district code for 'Amsterdam East.' Later, this neighbourhood split into districts Oosterparkbuurt (WE), Weesperzijde (WG), Transvaalbuurt (WF), and Dapperbuurt (WD). Jews settled in the first three but relatively rarely in the latter.[120] Thus, in 1920, after Amsterdam East split into the above areas, the first cohort saw a major transition from 'Mixed' (5-15%) to districts where Jews have a 'Heavy Influence' (30-50%) due to increasing geographic specificity in the data. Compared with Figure 7.1, where we saw that Jews made only small transitions from older to newer neighbourhoods, we see in Figure 7.2 that these flows were often more dramatic in terms of the Jewish population in the destination district. Between 1890 and 1910 we see large flows from Jewish to Mixed areas. These moves primarily saw diamond workers move from Plantage/Weesper to Amsterdam East.

The last two cohorts, despite being somewhat negatively selected in terms of talent—since only Jews with less access to education entered the diamond industry after 1920—were more likely to end up in the Rivierenbuurt and Weesperzijde, neighbourhoods with heavy Jewish influence, and the Transvaalbuurt, considered a Jewish district in 1940. It was also particularly these cohorts that moved to the Nieuwe Pijp.

After 1920, few people continued to leave the Jewish Quarter, except for cohort 4 seen in Panel D. Between 1920 and 1930, these Jews moved mostly from Weesperbuurt and the old Jewish core to a variety of Mixed and Heavy-Jewish-influence areas. They moved to East but also South, and a small number left for district L, in the city centre, or Watergraafsmeer. Many of them had parents that worked as diamond workers, but in relative terms, this group consisted more of lower-status occupations.

[120] In 1941, the share of Jews in these districts was 35 percent in the Oosterparkbuurt, 46 percent in Weesperzijde, 58 percent in the Transvaalbuurt, and 4 percent in Dapperbuurt.

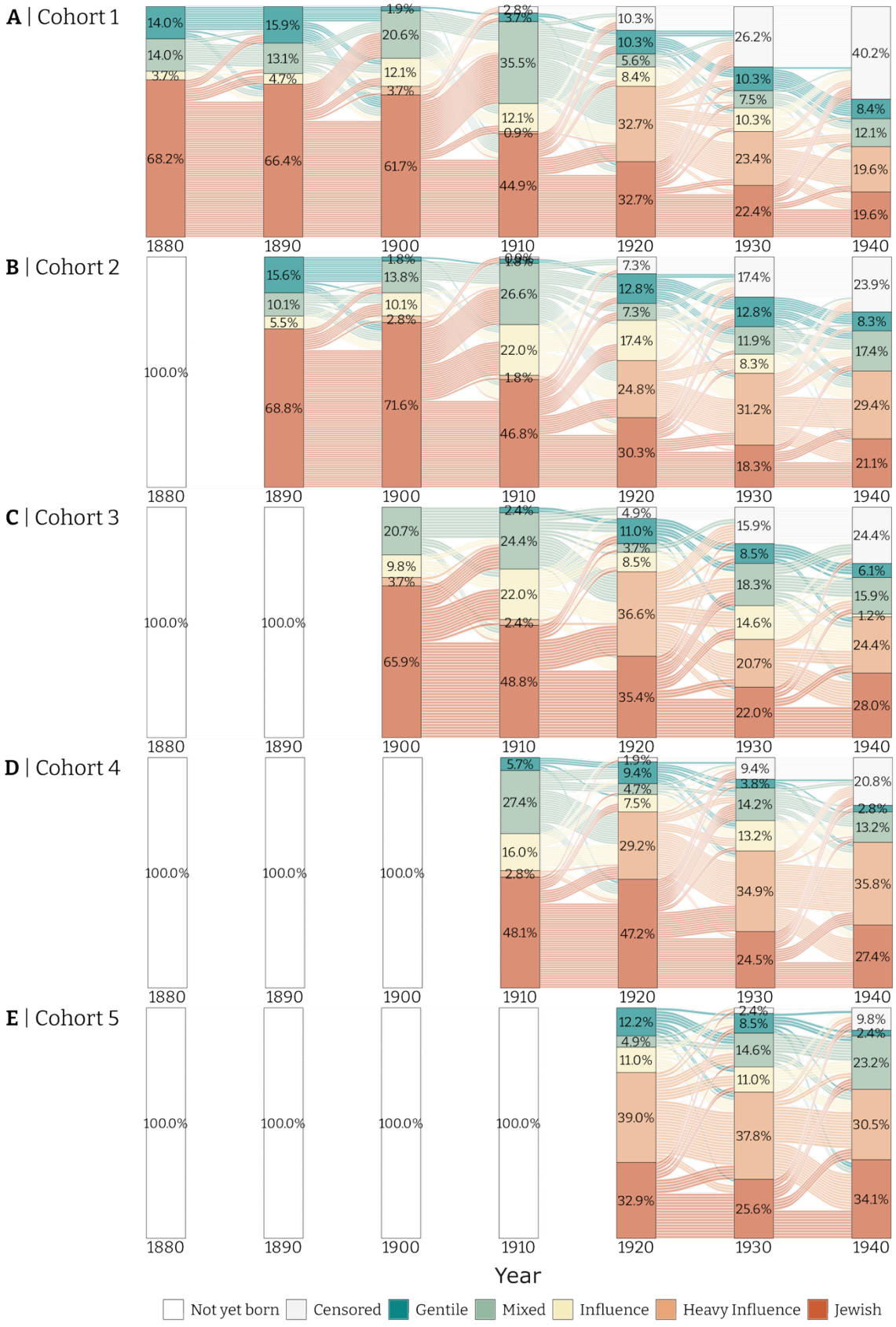



**FIGURE 7.2** Residential trajectories of Jewish diamond workers across ethno-religious classifications by birth cohort, 1880-1940.
*Source:* author's calculations using "ANDB Members' Life Courses," release 2024.
*Note:* percentages in grey are 'censored' due to death or out-migration.

### 7.6.3 *Residential class mobility*

Thus far, we have seen that Jews moved to newer neighbourhoods, often with fewer Jewish coresidents. But how did these neighbourhood changes associate with the social class of the neighbourhood? While newer neighbourhoods were often more expensive than the older, poorer neighbourhoods that many mid-nineteenth-century Jews lived in, neighbourhoods were also built for poorer working classes in mind. Moves to newer neighbourhoods and with fewer Jews were therefore not always upward in social class. Here, we look at five different categories of neighbourhood social classes, shown in Figure 7.3.

The residential class mobility of Jewish diamond workers can, in short, be summarised as one towards more middle-class housing. While early-life residences were spread across social classes, few continued to live in poor housing later in life. However, the diamond workers did not exclusively move to prestigious neighbourhoods. In fact, although many of them had lived in the expensive neighbourhoods C and Plantage, by 1940 only a small minority lived in the most prestigious neighbourhoods of Amsterdam.

Until the first decades of the twentieth century, Jewish diamond workers either lived in lower status neighbourhoods, such as Valkenburg and Marken in the Jewish Quarter, or in higher-middle or higher status neighbourhoods, such as C, including the Jodenbreestraat and St. Anthoniebreestraat, and Plantage. From circa 1910 onwards, the diamond workers were most frequently in neighbourhoods classified as 'Mid-Mid,' where residents were similar to those across Amsterdam.

Between 1880 and 1890, and 1890 and 1900, some Jewish diamond workers still moved from 'Low' to 'High' status neighbourhoods. These Jews moved from the poorer areas of the Jewish Quarter to districts C and V (Plantage). These movements are symbolic of Jews' upward social mobility at the end of the nineteenth century. After 1900, however, such drastic moves were less common. By 1900, much fewer Jews lived in the poorest parts of the Jewish Quarter, and many increased their residential status more incrementally, progressively moving into more (upper-)middle class neighbourhoods. This was only possible through the expansion of liveable districts in Amsterdam. Between 1900 and 1910, we see a massive expansion of the 'Mid-Mid' category. This is the result of the Oosterparkbuurt, which initially was home to mostly poorer workers, but later housed many of thriving skilled workers, including the diamond workers. By 1930, nearly half of all our diamond workers lived in a Middle-Middle class neighbourhood. These included the Weesperbuurt, Oosterparkbuurt, Weesperzijde, and the Nieuwe Pijp area, all areas built after the expansion of the diamond industry in the 1870s.

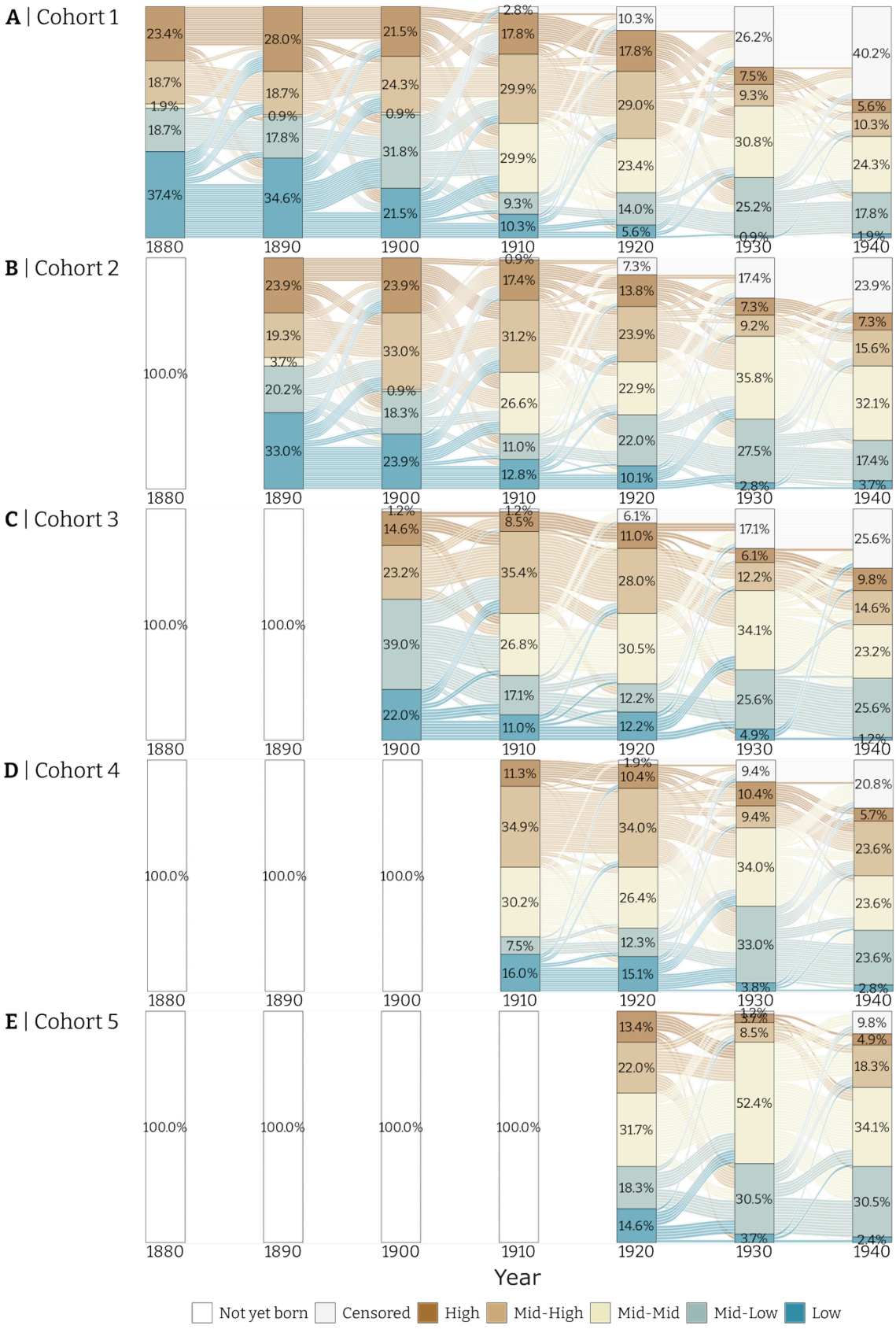



**FIGURE 7.3** Residential trajectories of Jewish diamond workers across social class classifications by birth cohort, 1880-1940.
*Source:* author's calculations using "ANDB Members' Life Courses," release 2024.
*Note:* percentages in grey are 'censored' due to death or out-migration.

### 7.6.4 *Types of movers*

Putting the three district categories together—area, percentage of co-ethnics, and the socioeconomic composition of the neighbourhood—allows us to categorise the diamond workers as different types of movers. Although the average diamond worker was a pioneer among the Jewish (skilled) labourers, moving to newer and better neighbourhoods with fewer Jews, not all followed the same path. Part of this could be explained by the social upbringing and careers of the workers. Those with fathers in higher status positions, including those in the diamond industry, often had already left the Jewish Quarter before or during adolescence. Better positions in the diamond industry allowed them to afford moving to more expensive neighbourhoods. Others were less fortunate and, perhaps through a stronger association to the Jewish Quarter, remained there their entire lives.

**'Remainers'**

One group of diamond workers never left the Jewish Quarter or returned soon after they had left. This was a relatively small group, but a culturally important one, nonetheless. For some, this was the result of renting good housing or homeownership in the Jewish Quarter. Most people left the Jewish Quarter due to a lack of good housing; thus, if one owned a proper house, they were less incentivised to leave. Mina Dreese-Aap (1880-1943), a merchant's daughter, co-resided with her parents in a good house in the Waterlooplein district from 1914 until World War II. During this time, Mina contributed to the household income through her thriving career in the diamond industry which lasted until 1931. In her case, high incomes did not spur residential mobility, but rather kept her immobile in the old core of the Jewish Quarter, surrounded by other Jews. Others remained in the Jewish Quarter due to less fortunate economic conditions, such as recurring unemployment or the destruction of their homes after 1916.

**'Quick pioneers'**

Another group was quick to leave the Jewish Quarter, moving to less Jewish and more expensive neighbourhoods. In earlier cohorts, these persons moved to De Pijp or Oosterparkbuurt, and in later cohorts this type of mover relocated to the Transvaalbuurt or Amsterdam South at young ages. In many cases, these early pioneers continued to make use of new housing opportunities in the city, moving from the old Jewish Quarter to East and later to South. Thus, they initiated patterns of mobility later seen across the average Jewish population. Alexander Booleman (1873-1942) was one of our diamond workers that lived in each of the districts that became popular among Jews. Alexander was born in a diamond worker's family in neighbourhood P, one of the lower-middle class neighbourhoods in the Jewish Quarter. Soon after his birth, his family moved to Weesperbuurt, swiftly followed by a move to Plantage in 1876. Before Alexander's tenth birthday, they had relocated to the Swammerdamstraat in the new Weesperzijde. After moving to Hilversum—where a small diamond centre was located—and back, he settled in the expensive Valeriusstraat near the Vondelpark in 1916, and after a prolonged stay in Antwerp, he moved to the Jekerstraat in the Rivierenbuurt. In doing so, Alexander continued a pattern, started by his parents, of moving to new neighbourhoods when they became available. Rachel Judels (1880-1942) also moved often in her youth. She was born in the Weesperbuurt, the daughter of a cobbler, but her family soon moved back to Marken. In the 1880s, the family moved to De Pijp, to the Oosterparkbuurt, temporarily

to Z—the southern end of the 'Canal Belt'—and back to the Nieuwe Heerengracht in the Jewish Quarter. After continuing to move between these districts for most of her life, she settled in the Rijnstraat in the Rivierenbuurt in 1925. For her, the frequent moves may be explained more by the impact of economic instability than chasing new opportunities.

### 'Real pioneers'

While those moving to newly-built and mixed neighbourhoods should rightfully be considered pioneers among Jewish labourers, some ventured beyond the limits of neighbourhoods close to the Jewish Quarter. They moved to the neighbourhoods in Amsterdam West, where few Jews would settle, or to the newer districts across the IJ in Amsterdam North. Boaz Menist (1874-1933) was one such pioneer. Boaz was born in the poor Houtkopersburgwal in the Jewish Quarter, the son of a diamond setter. In his early life, his family moved to the Rechtboomsloot street, stretching the central districts Nieuwmarkt and Lastage. These districts became a buffer for the Jewish Quarter when it became especially overcrowded. In 1903, Boaz moved from the Weesperbuurt to Antwerp, where he worked for eight years and met and got married to his Belgian-Jewish partner. In 1911 he returned to Amsterdam, moving to the Eerste van Swindenstraat in the Dapperbuurt, a district northeast from the Oosterparkbuurt where nearly all residents were Gentile. In 1917 he moved to "Irisstraat across the IJ," as it reads on his membership card; even fewer Jews settled there. His residential trajectory in Amsterdam came to end with emigration to New York in 1919. Boaz' life story is a prime example of the correlations that could exist between 'pioneering' demographic events such as residential mobility, intermarriages, and emigration.

Marianna Vleeschhouwer Duyts (1891-1943) was born to a 'meat seller' in the Utrechtsedwarsstraat in district Z, the southeastern end of the Grachtengordel and across the Amstel from the nineteenth century diamond epicentre, Roeterseiland. In 1902, her family moved back to the Uilenburgerstraat in the Jewish Quarter. Economic need may have been a factor, because the Uilenburgerstraat was one of poorer quality and later partially destroyed. In 1914, she moved to Zaandam for a brief period, marrying her partner, a diamond worker. The same year, the couple relocates to Buiksloot, an area that would be annexed by Amsterdam in 1921. By 1941, Buiksloot only counted nine Jews in a population exceeding 3000. Later on, Marianna and her husband moved around in the Stadionbuurt, an area for mixed social classes, including those from the poor working classes, built in the 1920s to address the city's housing deficit. Marianna's family was not rich, did not intermarry, and did not religiously disaffiliate. They did, however, move to areas where virtually no Jews had lived. Moving to the Stadionbuurt, where housing was cheap, may have been an economic rather than an assimilatory decision.

## 7.7 Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at the residential mobility of Jews and Jewish diamond workers. We have examined how these changes in living spaces were associated with living among co-ethnic or Gentile peers, and how the neighbourhood changes of Jews varied in social standing. This showed that, since the late nineteenth century, Jews experienced remarkable neighbourhood upgrading. Nearly all Jews left the old Jewish Quarter for larger, cleanlier, and more equipped houses and streets. These changes were not always easy. Modern amenities required new residents to 'learn how to live [op

stand],' and exposure to Gentiles could cause friction. Nonetheless, as Amsterdam expanded, Jews spread out over the new districts in the nearest vicinity to the old Jewish Quarter. In doing so, they left streets where nearly all their neighbours had been Jews and moved to lanes where neighbours could be of any denomination. Partly through choice, partly through institutional forces, Jews often ended up in the same districts and the same parts of the streets. Jews from the same districts faced the same needs for newer houses and were sometimes placed in the same or neighbouring houses by building cooperations or landlords.[121] Moreover, after enough Jews arrived in these initially mixed denominational neighbourhoods, Gentiles increasingly left for other neighbourhoods, leaving some of these districts to quickly 'turn Jewish.' The Weesperzijde, Oosterparkbuurt, Transvaalbuurt, and later the Rivierenbuurt, were all areas where Jews and Gentiles arrived at the same time, but where the Jewish presence progressively grew, creating new, highly Jewish spaces. Physical representations of the growing Jewish presence in these areas include (Jewish-owned) diamond factories and newly-constructed Synagogues.

Moving to newer neighbourhoods together with other Jews was not always the intention. The timing of Jews' residential moves suggests that often it was the result of a dire need for improved housing rather than a deliberately timed decision. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Jewish Quarter was overcrowded. Consequently, Jews with the resources to do so, moved to new neighbourhoods as soon as the streets were completed. These Jews searched "for light and air," as Jacques Presser put it.[122] New Jewish spatial concentrations followed as Jews, facing the same housing pressures, moved at the same time, were limited in their residence by the *pillarised* building corporations, were placed in the same houses or streets by those same building corporations and landlords, and following lacking Gentile inflows or growing outflows from increasingly Jewish streets and neighbourhoods. Few upper-middle-class Gentiles moved to Plantage, considering the proximity to the Jewish Quarter as a social hurdle,[123] whereas middle-class Gentiles slowly moved out of Amsterdam East to make space for stronger Jewish concentrations. Thus, even though Amsterdam East was never designed to be a Jewish neighbourhood, but rather one for all types of families in all variations of social class and ethno-religious backgrounds, it progressively became more Jewish over time.

Another factor, clearly observed among the diamond workers, is the dimension of work. Both Jewish and Gentile diamond workers settled in close vicinity to the factories where they worked. Contemporaneously, new factories were constructed near workers' living spaces, which further fostered socioeconomic ties and belonging to the neighbourhood. Moving far away from the diamond industry was infeasible for a Jewish diamond worker hoping to work for a Jewish employer. Livelihoods were also one of the main reasons listed by Jews who desired to continue living in the soon-to-be destroyed areas of the Jewish Quarter.[124] Besides the diamond factories, physical representations of work in the neighbourhoods are also seen in the Waterlooplein market and cart stalls for peddlers and sellers in the Transvaalbuurt. Yet, regardless of this strong link between work and residence, Jewish diamond workers were pioneers in the exodus from the

[121] Interview of Liesbeth van Weezel in Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 176.
[122] Presser, *Louter verwachting*, 43.
[123] Wagenaar, "Van 'gemengde' naar 'gelede' wijken," 174–75.
[124] Hakker, "De sanering van de Amsterdamse Jodenbuurt 1900-1940," 40.

Jewish Quarter and moved to more sanitary neighbourhoods with fewer Jewish neighbours.

The destinations of Jews' residential mobility suggest that the primary reason for relocation was not to incorporate oneself more deeply in non-Jewish society. If this had been the case, we would have observed more Jews moving to the western ends of De Pijp, rather than limit themselves to the eastern parts of the streets, closest to the Jewish Quarter and Amsterdam East. Instead, most Jews aimed to live in nicer houses, ideally while paying less in rent. Moves to Plantage and Weesperbuurt between 1860 and 1900 coincided with massive increases in living conditions as circumstances had been abysmal in their former homes. "We had to leave the [Jewish Quarter] because our home was declared uninhabitable. The bedbugs practically fell in your soup, so to speak" remarked Nathan Stodel.[125] Subsidised rents attracted Jews to Amsterdam East in the following decades, and even Amsterdam South only became a desirable destination after rents were drastically lowered.[126]

However, although it may not have been their intention, these moves *did* lead Jews to live closer to Gentiles. In 1859, the average Jew lived in a neighbourhood where 65 percent of other persons were Jewish. By 1906, this had dropped to 50 percent, and in 1941 to 36 percent.[127] For the first time since their arrival in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Jews now comprised a minority of the residents in their neighbourhoods. Jews moved away from neighbourhoods where they were the majority of the inhabitants, and instead started living in areas where they were merely overrepresented. The Transvaalbuurt was the only area built after 1900 where, by 1941, a majority of residents were Jewish. However, this was caused by outmigration of Gentiles from the area in the 1930s. Ever since Jews started leaving the Jewish Quarter, they moved *towards* Gentiles. Gentiles did the same until the 1930s, when they increasingly started moving away from the Jews. The increase in segregation measured by earlier researchers between 1930 and 1941 is therefore largely the result of a 'Gentile flight,' more so than Jews deliberately moving to create Jewish areas. This is backed by earlier discussions on Jewish migration. In Amsterdam South, where 40 percent of Jews lived in 1941, Jews were said to have only a limited influence on the neighbourhood's culture.[128] Thus, Jews did not seek this neighbourhood to create a new Jewish space, but rather to live in improved residential conditions. Furthermore, although I have followed the literature here and defined neighbourhoods as 'Jewish,' 'Mixed,' or 'Gentile,' based on the percentage of Jewish residents, neighbourhoods were rarely *fully* Jewish or Gentile. Culture was shared within living spaces. Eyewitness accounts attest to the mutual adaption of Jews and Gentiles to one another.[129] Especially in the socialist areas, individuals self-identified by their shared political beliefs, rather than their diverging religious heritage.[130]

Other than moving closer to non-Jews, Jews' movements across the city also strengthened and redefined spatial class differences. In the mid-nineteenth century, Jews of all social classes lived in close proximity. In the decades to follow, Jews

[125] Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 180–81.
[126] Hendriks and Van Velzen, *Van de Montelbaanstoren naar het Minervaplein*, 154.
[127] Calculated based on Jewish and Gentile counts by neighbourhood.
[128] Ibid., 122.
[129] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 182.
[130] Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 182.

increasingly segregated by class. Elite Jews moved to Plantage, and later to the Apollobuurt. Middle class Jews moved to Amsterdam South, and Jewish skilled labourers moved to Amsterdam East. This trend of relocating by class was comparable to the 'Gentile flight.' Once enough Jews from lower social classes arrived, middle- and upper-class Jews looked for better housing with more of their socioeconomic peers. This is what happened in the Plantage, once one of the richer Jewish neighbourhoods, but which increasingly became a poorer district as elite Jews left. For middle-class Jews we observe a similar trend in the Transvaalbuurt, where the former residents of the destroyed parts of the Jewish Quarter were housed. Not all left the neighbourhood and, as a result, micro-segregation by social class between and even within streets is identifiable.

Another side-effect of better housing was the availability of new amenities. Importantly, in their new living spaces, Jews' offspring had access to schools of higher quality than had existed in the Jewish Quarter. Not only in their streets, but also in the non-denominational schools, Jews were directly face-to-face with their Gentile peers. By changing the opportunity structure for work and schooling, residential mobility could impact future upward social mobility, both within and across generations. Chapter 8 will look at how the Jews, and especially the Jewish diamond workers, fared in terms of education by looking at the children of the persons whose life courses we have studied thus far.