THE CASTLE ON HIGH STREET:
ANALYZING THE TENSIONS PRESENT IN 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY NEWARK
THROUGH THE LENS OF THE KRUEGER-SCOTT MANSION

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ABSTRACT

Although the Krueger-Scott Mansion has been a fixture on Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard for over a hundred years, the building, its former residents, and its relevance to the City of Newark remain forgotten. The erasure of this building from collective consciousness is symptomatic of larger trends in Newark, New Jersey wherein history and memory have been ignored. The consequences of this negligence often result in a loss of useable history which can inform future generations of Newarkers. For example, Louise Scott, who is considered the first African-American female millionaire, worked for the explicit purpose of uplifting the African-American community in the city, her work is currently only remembered by scholars and historians.

This research was conducted primarily through archival research which included, newspapers, historical documents, biographies, and books that detail the history of the city. From the research done, it is quite clear that the current state of the mansion is symptomatic of present issues regarding memorialization, while also serving as a microcosm of the larger history in Newark’s history. The same racial, class, and spatial tensions that resulted in the class and ethnic discrimination of late nineteenth century Newark can be traced, linearly, through the twentieth century up until today. The evidence shows a cyclical pattern in which factions of Newarkers are always in competition with one another to gain social, political, and/or economic dominance.

This information is pivotal to not only our understanding of how Newark works as a city, but
clarifies the historical problem that Newarkers will need to solve to progress. A comprehensive and qualitative analysis of the Krueger-Scott Mansion can help to activate and memorialize important history, as well as inform how future leaders and residents can address the tensions of shifting populations and factions.
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I offer my sincerest gratitude to my adviser Sherry Linkon, without whom, none of this would have been possible. I thank her for her mentorship and being patient with me throughout this arduous process. Finally, I thank her for awakening my interest in the wonderful, complex spaces known as cities.

Many thanks to my classmate in the American Studies Program for nurturing and encouraging my procrastination habits (I’m jesting, of course).

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction........................................................................................................................................... 1

Chapter 1: Newark’s Castle on a Hill: Looking at the Past to Guide the Future ........... 10

Chapter 2: Protestant Outrage and German Enclaves: The Development of Newark’s Insider-Outsider Tensions ........................................................................................................... 18

Chapter 3: Black Newark: Louise Scott and Her Efforts to Build Community and Uplift the Third Ward ........................................................................................................................................ 29

Chapter 4: Who’s Mansion? Memorializing the Krueger-Scott Mansion ............... 48

Chapter 5: Lessons from the Past: Using the Krueger-Scott Mansion for the Benefit of the City … 62

Bibliography ........................................................................................................................................... 65

Appendix ................................................................................................................................................ 67
INTRODUCTION

From the moment Germans living in Newark formed a coalition to elect the first German-born mayor in 1878, to when African-Americans coalesced together to elect the first black mayor of the city in 1970, Newarkers, within their own communities, have a history of banding together to achieve a specific goal for their community.¹ Oftentimes these communities attain success within their groups, but not for the whole of Newark. An unintended result of these factitious groups is that it has prevented the formation of a citywide identity. In addition, the development of these factions often exacerbated Newark’s existing tension with race, class, and gender. While the Newark Riots in 1967 are considered as the culmination of the rising tensions, the riots did not result in the eliminations of related tensions such as housing and employment discrimination.

Exploring how those conflicts were created and why they developed can offer present-day Newark a roadmap on how to not repeat the mistakes of the past. **In this thesis, I argue that while there appears to be no connection between the communities that were associated with the Krueger-Scott Mansion in three separate eras, a deeper analysis of Krueger, Scott, and Newark City Council reveals that both German immigrants and the African-American community shared the need for a space to empower their communities against the dominant forces of their times.**

**Literature Review**

The first conversation I am entering is centered around the city of Newark and is largely within the timeframe of the 20th century. The Newark Riots of 1967 are typically used to divide twentieth century Newark into two eras: pre-riot Newark and post-riot Newark. From that

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watershed moment, people outside of Newark have often held negative perceptions of the city, and those perceptions have often prevailed in the national consciousness. Many people who have never been to Newark conceptualize the city on a set of assumptions revolving around poverty, crime, and destitution. It was not until recently that Newarkers have begun reclaiming the narrative to tell their oft-forgotten side of the story. Important authors who have contributed to this shift are Robert Curvin, Brad Tuttle, and Julia Rabig. These scholars focus on the people and movements before, during, and after the riots, and their focus generally encompasses race and class. I hope to contribute to this conversation by exploring the power of a space during times of intense disruption. Furthermore, I hope to expand my scope prior to 1967 as well as explore the intersections of race, class, space, and politics in Newark. By doing so, I hope to find new layers about Newark’s culture and history.

Due to Newark’s industrial past, it is impossible for me to make an argument without mentioning the industrial revolution and the deindustrialization that followed. However, the authors mentioned above often minimize the role of the industry in defining Newark, specifically, they ignore the role of individuals such as capitalists and industrialists. To properly discuss Gottfried Krueger and Louise Scott, it is necessary to discuss modes of capitalism and employ theories of Marxism to obtain a coherent analysis. Furthermore, Newark’s industrial history must be put in context with other cities that underwent similar struggles. Integral to this conversation are authors like Sharon Zukin, Jane Jacobs, and other influential urban scholars. While these scholars use specific cities as case studies, they are generally concerned with creating general theories that help people understand most cities.
Using information obtained from my research in both circles, I hope to combine the historical and individual aspects of Curvin and Tuttle with the theoretical frameworks found in urban studies to develop a richer understanding of Newark.

While Brad Tuttle’s *How Newark Became Newark* and Robert Curvin’s *Inside Newark* engage in a specific analysis of Newark, the authors explore the city from a strictly historical lens. Tuttle charts the trajectory of the city, from its Puritan origins in 1666 to the present day—detailing how the city rose to national prominence and the fall that happened shortly after. Robert Curvin takes a different approach. Rather than begin from Newark’s founding date as an historical observer, he limits his analysis to the mid-twentieth century and provides a firsthand experience of the 1967 riots and the events that subsequently followed. I plan to diverge from these scholars by using an Urban Studies lens to analyze the 20th century. The advantage of this process is that it allows me to put Newark in the context of other similar cities, rather than analyzing the city in a vacuum. Thus, I am able to engage in a present day comparative analysis.

A good example of talking about industrial cities is Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott’s *Beyond the Ruins: The Meanings of Deindustrialization*. The editors begin by first rebuking the propositions that deindustrialization was specific to a particular period and that the world is in a postindustrial age. The idea of a postindustrial world, they believe, obscures information that is necessary to understand “deindustrialized” cities and the people within them. Post-industrialism obscures the “impact on community networks” and the struggles many families and economies have to go through. Most importantly for this thesis, the authors always form their larger observations by analyzing specific places or people. For the purposes of this

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3 Ibid., 4.
thesis, I hope to follow their process and use some of their more applicable conclusions about deindustrialization to parse out of the phenomenon affected Newark.

Continuing with the conceptual frameworks, Sharon Zukin in *The Cultures of Cities* recognized that “building a city…depends on how they manipulate symbolic languages of exclusion and entitlement.”4 Zukin’s argument is powerful because it implies that buildings can contribute to a “symbolic economy,” or a city’s “visible ability to produce both symbols and space.”5 Developing a symbolic economy can be purposefully controlled by private citizens, private corporations, or the local government. However, places are also subject to the natural and random forces of the era they are in. Krueger-Scott falls under the latter classification. To show this phenomenon, Zukin used the example of a vacated storefront located in an upscale commercial district of Manhattan. The sight of the building, stripped and bare, revealed the very real fact that the city was amid an economic recession. However, once an artist used the store, exposed brick and all, the symbolic power of the exhibit was able to galvanize a reaction from passersby and the local government. While the space remained static, its uses, owners, and importance changed based on the circumstances of the city.

Even in a thesis that is fundamentally concerned about places and spaces, it is fundamentally impossible to ignore the impact people, or actors, have on these spaces. Jane Jacobs alludes to this in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. While her primary concern is about urban planning and its consequences, she always has to frame the discussion in terms of actors—whether they are individuals, corporations, or the local government. As Jacobs, Zukin, and other authors on urban studies have shown, no work on spaces is complete without

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analyzing the actors involved with the space. I hope to draw from this practice and explore beyond the three main actors associated with the Krueger-Scott.

Another book and essay that do not fit neatly into the two categories but are integral to this project are Beauty Shop Politics: African American Women’s Activism in the Beauty Industry, written by Tiffany Gill and The Right to the City by David Harvey. Gill’s book is especially important because it traces the history of beauty salons in black culture and how that affected black women in the United States. Gill explains the origins of the profession through pioneers like Madame C.J. Walker and Annie Malone and how their efforts helped to create an avenue for black wealth. These two pioneers set the foundation for Louise Scott and were an early template for how she would build her own wealth and engage with the black community. David Harvey’s essay is important for the latter section of this thesis in that it grapples with tensions of who a city belongs to and how people of different backgrounds must negotiate space and resources.

**METHODOLOGY**

As Newark begins the process of urban renewal, city officials are looking at redevelopment models from throughout the country to inform their next plans. They are searching for innovative technologies and solutions to address issues that have beleaguered Newark for years. For the future, officials and everyday Newarkers alike have expectations of prosperity and renaissance. However, excitement for the future can result in neglecting errors of the past and the lessons they offer. While this thesis analyzes a singular building, it utilizes the building as a lens to explore three different eras and deconstruct seemingly isolated events and characteristics that are still prevalent in Newark today.
The research into the Krueger-Scott mansion is separated by three different owners over the course of several decades, from 1889 to 2000. The three different periods are embodied in the owners of the building at the time: Gottfried Krueger, from the 1880s to the 1930s; Louise Scott, from 1950-1983; and the City of Newark from 1984 to 2000. In addition to looking at the individuals, this thesis will explore the sociological circumstances that surrounded each period and how each resident influenced, or was influenced, by external forces.

For the first part of the research, I chose to focus on Louise Scott, the second owner of the mansion. I hypothesized that information regarding her would be less robust and that I would have more information on Krueger and the city council members. For Krueger and the City Council, both entities were involved in industries that were well documented. Scott’s story, however, overlaps with a period in the city’s history that is often associated with the 1967 riots and racial and economic strife. Furthermore, I assumed that she did not have the same stature in the city as Krueger did. My assumptions turned out to be the opposite, I found that there was substantially more information on Mrs. Scott in the form of newspaper clippings and audio interviews. I stumbled on this information through networking with another researcher from Rutgers-Newark. From my conversations with Katie Singer, a PhD candidate at Rutgers-Newark’s American Studies Department, I learned that while the mansion is obscure to everyday residents, it is an important site for cultural researchers. According to Katie, during the 1990s, when many people thought that the mansion would definitely become a cultural center, the City of Newark had authorized the creation of The Krueger-Scott Oral History Collection, which was an electronic database of African-American narratives from the Great Migration. Furthermore, she told me that because of Mrs. Scott’s involvement in the African-American community, there were numerous newspaper clippings of her scattered across Newark.
After connecting with Katie, she put me in contact with Tom Ankner, a librarian at the Newark Public Library, who provided me with biographical information about Louise Scott. In addition to speaking with Tom, I emailed several other organizations in Newark, like the Newark Archives and the New Jersey Historical Society. Apart for a few newspaper clippings from the library about Mrs. Scott, the organizations informed me that most of the information I required were only obtainable in person. The implications this had for my research were immediate. The lack of tangible information meant that a large portion of my research would be done in Newark. As for the newspaper clippings, I found a variety of information about Louise Scott—some articles revolved around the Krueger-Scott Mansion, while others had surprising detail about her social involvement. Through this small sample, I developed a foundational understanding of the Krueger-Scott Mansion.

The second portion of research focused on Gottfried Krueger and his life in Newark. As stated above, I had assumed that there would be a wealth of information on the beer baron, seeing that he financed the most expensive residence in the history of the city. However, information regarding Mr. Krueger was limited, most documents only mention him with respect to his positions within the city. Since this was a significant portion of my proposed research, I attempted to supplement information of Krueger with information regarding the period he lived in. While this was unexpected shift, this research offered me more contextual information on Krueger’s German community, which would provide me with the necessary content for the chapter surrounding his time in Newark. That research primarily involved looking at the German population during the late nineteenth century as well as Newark’s industries during this era. The information I acquired during this portion of my research helped me in formulating my final thesis question.
When I returned to Newark, I went to the Newark Library to continue my research. Priority on my list was filling any gaps that I had found in the two sections of my research regarding Krueger and Scott. I focused on these two individuals rather than the last section because I assumed information regarding the City of Newark, for the third section, could be found in City Hall minutes. Through researching I found out more information on Scott and Krueger (though documents regarding Krueger were still the generic list of positions and accomplishments). However, another roadblock I encountered was that the city council minutes I found for the third section of the research were non-descriptive and included information that was documented in shorthand form. The research process has shown me that my final project may not be equal in regards to discussing each era equally.

**OVERVIEW**

This thesis is divided into five separate sections. The first chapter is an introduction to the Newark. It introduces the tensions that will be explored throughout the paper. Of those tensions, special attention is given to race, class, gender, and power since those are the intersecting identities that are present in all the individuals and the events surrounding their experiences. Chapters two through four will focus on the three eras that I have delineated in my methodology: Krueger, Scott, and the City of Newark. Although chapter two is centered through Krueger, he is not the focal point. The analysis uses his identities as a wealthy German immigrant to explore how Newark experienced fragmentation through fostering divisions based on ethnicity/race, class, and insider-outsider power dynamics. Chapter three features Louise Scott at the foreground and uses her individual experiences, endeavors, and hopes as an analytical tool to determine why and how African-Americans in Newark could not achieve the same level of influence as earlier ethnic groups. In chapter four, although the Krueger-Scott Mansion remains the same, the entity
associated with it becomes the city, rather than it being an individual. The reason for this is because after Louise Scott’s passing, the City of Newark foreclosed the house and gained ownership, thus, the fate of the building resided with politicians. The chapter includes analysis that explores how the decisions, and indecisions, of city officials represent the tensions were associated with the period. The final chapter is an overview of the current state of Newark and the sentiment of hope and revitalization that many city politicians feel, but many residents do not see. The chapter explores how the Krueger-Scott Mansion fits into the changing Newark landscape and how it can be used to guide future efforts.
CHAPTER 1:
Newark’s Castle on a Hill: Looking at the Past to Guide the Future

“For a city struggling to rebuild its shattered ego, the Krueger-Scott project has become an outsized symbol of Newark’s faded glories, bungled opportunities, and aspirations for a more glorious future.”


In 1983, Newark residents petitioned the city council to rename High Street, Martin Luther King Boulevard, in honor of the late activist. While many residents were elated to honor the legacy of Dr. King, two prominent African-American leaders opposed the change: future Mayor Sharpe James and city historian Dr. Clement Price. They argued for keeping the name High Street because this street was the embodiment of Newark; the name evoked an image of old Newark that MLK Boulevard could never conjure. During Newark’s rise in the late nineteenth century, High Street was home to Newark’s wealthy elite, most of whom were German and Jewish. Then during the twentieth century demographic shifts changed the composition of High Street from mostly affluent whites to poor blacks. Despite the racial change, High Street remained the heart of Newark’s Central Ward. Recognizing this history, Mayor James said “we could honor Dr. King without destroying a part of our city’s history.”

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8 O’Brien, “Renaming a Street”.


10 Tuttle, How Newark Became Newark, 142.

11 O’Brien, “Renaming a Street”.
Clement Price made points that urban study scholars like Jane Jacobs and Sharon Zukin have written extensive commentary on. Both Newarkers were cognizant of both the significance of the name High Street, and the various events that occurred on that street to make it a unique space. The petitioners who were hasty to call for the name change may not be able to make that claim.

The push to rename High Street signified that like all cities, Newark was changing, and as a matter of fact, it will continue to change. The concern that gripped Mayor James and Dr. Price, however, is that changing without a communal introspection would cause aspects of the city to be lost to time. Although the struggle to keep the name High Street “failed,” there are many more examples of intra-city struggles and tension that occur all around Newark. One current contentious space is a building that is currently located on what was formerly known as High Street, the Krueger-Scott Mansion.

Constructed in 1889, the Krueger-Scott Mansion served as a residence for Gottfried Krueger, one of Newark’s wealthiest individuals.12 [SEE FIGURES 1 AND 3] During his time, Krueger was considered locally as a “Beer Baron,” or someone who made his fortune from the breweries that dotted Newark’s landscape. Prior to constructing the residence, Krueger lived near his brewing company on a different side of town.13 The proximity to his factory allowed him to monitor his business and interact with his, mostly German, workers. After the completion of the mansion, Krueger relocated to High Street, a neighborhood known for housing the city’s wealthy elite.14 His move to High Street was significant because it signified that the Germans, a group

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13 Cunningham, Newark, 184.

14 Ibid., 184
that had once been marginalized by the mainstream community, had gained, at least a semblance of economic and political influence.

After his death, Krueger’s estate sold the mansion to the Scottish Rite Freemasons in 1925, and although the neighborhood and lost one of its prominent members, High Street remained a favored location for Newark’s wealthy.\textsuperscript{15} Between 1925 and 1958, major changes occurred throughout the city that would eventually turn the Central Ward (then known as the Third Ward) into the main African-American neighborhood. Perhaps because of these demographic changes, the Freemasons sold the mansion in 1958 to Louise Scott, a businesswoman who made her fortune through the hairdressing and cosmetology industry.\textsuperscript{16} Mrs. Scott occupied the building up until her death in 1982, after which the City of Newark foreclosed the building and gained ownership of it. Before she passed, however, Mrs. Scott built a legacy as an influential figure in the Central Ward community. She repurposed the first floor of her mansion as a beauty college and converted several rooms in the building into spaces for the community, such as a daycare and a church.\textsuperscript{17} After her death, however, the City of Newark left the historic building abandoned and unprotected; this negligence led to looting and the gradual decay of the exterior and interior façade of the residence.\textsuperscript{18} Several years later, city councilmembers and some community members sought to memorialize the building by turning it

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{15} National Register of Historic Places, Krueger-Scott Mansion, Newark, Essex County, New Jersey, National Register # 72000778
  \item \textsuperscript{16} Robert W. Krischbaum, “Turns Mansion into Haven: Ex-Domestic Buys Krueger Site to Aid Needy,” \textit{Newark Star Ledger}, September 23, 1958.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} Krischbaum, “Turns Mansion into Haven”.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} Frederick W. Byrd, “Architectural treasures looted from landmark Newark Mansion,” \textit{Newark Star Ledger}, June 8, 1984.
\end{itemize}
into an African-American Cultural Center. Unfortunately, however, the proposed center never came to fruition.

An analysis of the mansion and the people involved with it (whether residents or owners) will show that the Krueger-Scott Mansion can serve as a lens into Newark’s history. **Specifically, the mansion can help reveal the complexities of the tensions around race, class, gender and politics in ways that many other spaces in Newark cannot.** This analysis is possible due to people who occupied this space—Krueger, Scott, and Newark—and the events that occurred within the house’s immediate vicinity. In using the Krueger-Scott Mansion, the insider-outsider dynamics that some Newarkers have experienced since the nineteenth century will be revealed and analyzed thoroughly.

The first of these tensions revolved around Newark’s nativist, Protestant majority. This group sought to curtail alcoholism, especially drinking on the Sabbath. Although their calls for temperance appeared to cast a wide net, they adversely targeted the German population at the time since a majority were accustomed to drinking on Sunday.19 The temperance laws alienated a significant portion of the German population, creating one of the first instances of an insider-outsider culture in the city. Furthermore, the law had the corollary effect of unifying Germans under a single cause—the first instance of an immigrant group coalescing to combat a larger demographic force.20 As Germans, and other ethnic minorities from Europe eventually integrated into Newark’s society, the previous generation’s aversion to drinking immigrants had all but vanished.

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20 Cunningham, *Newark*, 198.
Replacing this power dynamic in Newark was a new form of insider-outsider dynamic that drew from the discriminatory practices of the Jim Crow era. African-Americans who arrived in Newark due to the Great Migration were subject to the disenfranchisement and discrimination that were all too common during the first half of the 1900s. For example, one-third of Newark’s African-American population was redlined into what was then the Third Ward, and would later become the Central Ward (decades earlier, this ward had housed Newark’s wealthy elite). [SEE FIGURE 4] Unlike the Germans’ ability to mobilize as a unit, African-Americans were denied this same characteristic due to local and national institutional forces, thus, they were unable to mobilize effectively as a unit against the barriers created to suppress them. Surprisingly enough, white Newarkers did not see the elements of insider-outsider dynamics at play—in fact, they believed that there was a symbiotic relationship present in Newark that was not present elsewhere in the country. New Jersey historian John T. Cunningham attributed Newark’s perceived immunity from societal ills to “long [and] sincere dialogue between volunteer Negro and white leaders.” History would prove that this was not in fact the case—Newark had all the symptoms required for the “riot and disorder that had swept other cities.” A year after the city’s 300th birthday, Newark erupted in riots caused by rising racial tensions in the city; city officials eventually admitted that “Newark [was] a city in trouble.”

While some historians and scholars consider the riots as the turning point in the city’s racial demographics, white Newarkers had already been leaving the city for the suburbs.

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22 Tuttle, How Newark Became Newark, 4.
23 Ibid.
24 Tuttle, How Newark Became Newark, 6.
including Gottfried Krueger himself in the 1910s. The phenomenon of white flight has largely contributed to Newark’s current demography (white flight was a national phenomenon that consisted of white city-dwellers leaving the city for the suburbs). Per the United States Census Bureau, in 2010 Newark was fifty percent black and about thirty-three percent Latino, while whites constituted only a quarter of the population. In addition to being a majority-minority city, City Council members and most governmental appointees are ethnic and racial minorities. In this current form, Newark may appear to have rid itself of the identity tensions that defined the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, opening room for city leaders to focus on other problems such as economics, crime, and urban redevelopment. Contrary to this sentiment, those tensions have not disappeared in Newark. Beginning with the way the insider-outsider dynamics influenced how Germans and Protestants interacted with each other in the nineteenth century, to the discrimination African-Americans experienced in the twentieth century, unresolved tensions in Newark remain, even if the demography appear homogenous.

That there is an amorphous tension that is traceable throughout Newark’s history is not a farfetched claim. Urban sociologists and scholars have noted that individual cities often build upon past iterations of themselves, as opposed to completely reinventing themselves. One such theorist, Louis Wirth, argued that:

Since the city is the product of growth rather than of instantaneous creation, it is to be expected that the influences which it exerts upon the modes of life should not be able to wipe out completely the previously dominant modes of human

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association. To a greater or lesser degree, therefore, our social imprint bears the imprint of an earlier folk society. . . .

Wirth’s last sentence anchors the statement in which he asserts that a city’s social character is influenced by the past. This argument manifests itself in Newark’s history from its incorporation to present day. For example, because of Newark’s inability to annex other small towns in the nineteenth century, Newark was unable to expand physically—and in turn, economically. The inability to expand acreage in the past and build a stable economic base affects the city’s current “dependence on subsidies from other levels of government.” Similarly, the tension between Newark’s Protestant majority and German immigrants had consequences that reverberated throughout the centuries. While there were German Protestants, nativist protestants sought to legally abolish Sunday drinking citywide, a move that incensed German immigrants used to drinking on the Sabbath. After the Germans coalesced as a political unit, the phenomenon signaled to other immigrant populations that congregating is equivalent to gaining social and political capital. Coalitions like these caused the city to become increasingly segregated and fragmented; perhaps it was this coalition building which caused different ethnicities to occupy different parts of the city, and forced African-Americans and other politically disadvantaged minorities into inhabitable sections of the city.

Exploring the complexities of the past informs how a city can navigate the future. In a rapidly changing city like Newark’s, current residents must understand their city’s past. The conflicts that defined the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are bound to repeat. As Newark is

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29 Curvin, Inside Newark, 32.

30 Ibid., 33.
undergoing redevelopment, it will inevitably undergo another demographic change. Millennials and young professionals, most of whom are white, college-educated, and affluent, are moving back into cities. A city that is unaware of its past cannot plan how to address the future tensions that it will surely face. For this reason, it is imperative that Newarkers, governmental officials and citizens alike, understand their history so that they can resolve differences in places where past Newarkers have failed. The best way to begin this process is by understanding the history of a building that has been present through those eras.

CHAPTER 2:
Protestant Outrage and German Enclaves: The Development of Newark’s Insider- Outsider Tensions

A wondrous tide of Germans has flooded Newark, dropping into all the vacant lots and spreading itself over the flats to the east and the hills to the south and west. . . . The Germans who dwell here are chiefly employed in the factories and nearly all own their own houses. They live economically and save money.32

In an effort to curb the violation of the Fourth Commandment, a group of protestant Newark clergymen formed the Newark Law and Order League in 1877.33 To the clergymen, the greatest transgression of these saloons was not only that they represented the destruction of “character, health, fortunes, and souls of individuals,” but also that they conducted business during the Christian Sabbath.34 The clergymen sought to halt this practices completely by pressuring the city attorney to begin enforcing preexisting Sunday laws that banned drinking.35 Though the Sunday laws ostensibly applied to the general public and saloon owners, but disparately targeted Newark’s immigrant population, specifically, the German constituency. Of the over 1,000 saloons in the city, 850 of them were owned by foreign born residents.36 For the Germans in the city, the laws and their enforcement were an attack on both their way of life and their presence in the city. The city’s Germans traditionally celebrated the completion of Sunday services by drinking beer, singing, dancing, and playing games—all activities that the Protestant


35 Cunningham, *Newark*, 201.

clergy viewed as sacrilegious. Through advocating for enforcements, the city’s protestants created an atmosphere of tension that actively pitted Newark’s Protestant mainstream against a burgeoning German minority. The tensions reached a climax in 1879, when German voters elevated German-born candidate William Fielder to mayor. Fielder’s victory was symbolic for two reasons: it represented the defeat of the Protestant majority, and solidified German influence within Newark. The outsiders had finally become the insiders.

The tension for outside groups like the Germans, and other immigrant groups, would replay itself beyond this iteration in the late nineteenth century. However, the Germans’ victory is important for analysis as their victory signaled the first time a minority group triumphed over the majority. The story of Gottfried Krueger is nestled inside this context—it is impossible to analyze his story without describing one of the communities he belonged to.

Although Krueger arrived in Newark in 1853 penniless, he was welcomed by a thriving German community. [SEE FIGURE 3] Through family connections, networking, and perhaps hard work, he purchased a brewery and eventually established Krueger Brewing Company. Then in the late 1880s, Krueger commissioned what would be known as the Krueger Mansion to be built on High Street. High Street served as a prime location for Krueger because of its proximity to other Newark capitalists and important cultural sites. Through building the mansion, Krueger created a physical representation to display the extent of his wealth and influence in the city. However, this thesis will argue that beyond the success of the individual, Krueger’s mansion was also exemplary of the German community’s success in Newark.

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37 Cunningham, Newark, 198.
38 Ibid., 200.
Prior to the arrival of Germans and other immigrant groups in the nineteenth century, Newark was largely homogenous in demographic makeup. The original settlers of the town were Puritans who had descended from Connecticut to establish a more insular and theocratic community. The group sought isolation so much that when the Dutch—who then controlled New Jersey and New York area—required the Puritans to relinquish oversight and administrative powers in exchange for creating a religious community, the group balked. After the region came under the control of the British, the future Newarkers were able to negotiate complete autonomy and create “theocratic community that for decades had seemed just out of reach.” The founding characteristics of isolation and homogeneity would pervade through Newark’s society. It was the desire to maintain a homogenous Christian city that caused the Protestant clergymen to discriminate against Germans and other migrants.

The above reason represents why German success in the city was both unique and important. Despite not being in control of the city’s institutions—prior to the election of Fielder—, Germans successfully created communities and institutions that thrived in the presence of a mainstream institutions that worked against them. This was not the case for many of the minority communities in Newark. Aside from the Germans, there were Irish, Jewish, Italian, and other immigrant groups; while these groups also inhabited their own enclaves within the city, their organizing and economic abilities were severely limited. The Germans on the other hand, possessed both. In a Harper’s Magazine article from 1876, the author described the German section of Newark as “one of the interesting features of the city. A section nearly two

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40 Tuttle, How Newark Became Newark, 15.

41 Ibid., 16.

42 Ibid.
miles square is a snug, compact, well-paved city within a city, giving evidence of neither poverty nor riches.” \(^{43}\) [SEE FIGURE 5] The article continues to describe the Germans as “chiefly employed in the factories and nearly all own their own houses.” \(^{44}\) Furthermore, the reaches of German economic independence ventured into industries like brewery and leather production where the bloc owned their own factories and breweries. Additionally, the group occupied vital professions within the city such as banking and medicine, as well as a pronounced visibility in the arts. \(^{45}\) Thus, in addition to their self-sustainability, Germans, through their presence in important professions, made themselves indispensable to mainstream Newarkers.

**Transitions into the Mainstream**

By becoming “indispensable” through industry, Germans became a valuable group to mainstream Newarkers who might have held initial reservations about them. Mainstream acceptance eventually helped to mainstream Germans into the dominant Newark community. Exploiting Newarkers’ growing desire to become an economically prominent city, Germans’ business prominence propelled them onto the insider population of the city. However, another theory that explains why Germans could integrate into the mainstream is the idea of whiteness. Contemporary scholars of Newark history, such as Robert Curvin and Brad Tuttle, often fail to emphasize the effects “whiteness” had on late nineteenth and early twentieth century Newark. Although the scholars often distinguished between ethnic groups such as Germans, Irish, Italians, and Jews when they discussed nineteenth and early century Newark, they would often conflate these ethnicities together as white once they began describing events of the mid twentieth


\(^{44}\) Ibid.

\(^{45}\) Ibid.
century without explanation. By not explaining how these groups became white, scholars neglect the process of whiteness that enabled the once fringe populations to become mainstream. The constant omission has led to a contemporary narrative that simply paints Newark’s racial history and tension as a division between white and black residents. Germans did not simply become a part of the Newark mainstream after they immigrated to the city, neither did the Italians, Irish, or Jews. In fact, each group experienced marginalization at the hands of the mainstream and other ethnic groups. How then, were these groups able to become part of the mainstream in the twentieth century?

Charles Mills provides an analysis of this phenomenon in The Racial Contract. Mills explains that whiteness, and those who could be defined as white, often undergoes shifts in definition and application. City and national historians have put forth numerous reasons why African-Americans could not ascend into the same economic and social strata that mainstream white Americans were at. However, previously discriminated groups like the Irish, Catholics, and Italians could break through to the mainstream. Mills argues that for the latter group, they became white because “the criteria for who counts as white and nonwhite” shifted to include the aforementioned groups. Mills continues to trace the trajectory of “intra-European varieties of racism” and reaches the conclusion that although these groups came to be seen as white, there are hierarchies within whiteness that still limit the group. In the case of Newark, for example, there are documents wherein commentators have written of Irishmen as better than Italians, or another instance when a contractor described Italians as “better than the Hungarians, Poles, and

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Stereotypes like these explain why the Germans’ assimilation was easier relative to the other migrant groups as evidenced the *Harper’s Magazine* article which begins by describing the migration of Germans into the city as “a wondrous tide”; other depictions of Germans later described them as industrious and literate—compliments that were not afforded to other migrant ethnicities. Mills’ analysis and arguments are useful in analyzing Krueger’s period in that it provides another reason as to why Germans assimilated into a once toxic environment; it also provides context as to how community successes contributed to Krueger’s individual success.

**Class and Ethnic Breaks**

Returning to Krueger, it is evident that he was a beneficiary of German economic independence and the group’s transition into whiteness. Additionally, Krueger benefited from his socioeconomic status as one of the wealthiest men in the city. Through constructing the mansion on High Street, Krueger secured his position in Newark’s elite. The sidewalks of High Street were dotted with factories, worship spaces such as synagogues and churches, and mansions of Newark’s wealthy. Aside from being the street address for Krueger, High Street would also house Christian Feigenspan, another wealthy German brewer; Andrew Albright, a wealthy state Democrat, and other stately houses. Within Krueger himself, the intersections reveal a lot about the state of Newark during this period. Prior to living in the mansion in the late nineteenth century, when Krueger opened his brewery in 1865, he lived next to the factory. The

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49 Ibid., 198.

50 Ibid., 184;


52 Cunningham, *Newark*, 184.
assumption is that he lived close to the brewery to monitor and respond to the brewery’s around the clock operation. From another perspective, his proximity to his factory could represent the need to monitor the workers to prevent strikes or damages to his property.53

Krueger’s wealth and success was tied to his brewery, and although he employed many Germans, national camaraderie was not enough to dispel the class tensions between the wealthy and the, presumably, poor. In the commemorative novel Newark, another Newark historian, John T. Cunningham, glosses over this tension by reducing Krueger’s philanthropic efforts as working “hard for the city.”54 Although this paper also argues that Krueger’s philanthropic efforts helped to elevate and maintain the German community, it does not forego the possibility that Krueger had dual motives for providing for his community. Krueger, while German, was still a capitalist in a period where employers and barons sought to control all the means of production and workers as well. Though there is not a definitive document that points directly to this motive, his tactics mimics that of every other capitalist and industrialist from his period. Although to a lesser degree, Krueger employed the same paternalistic tactics that capitalists like George Pullman had championed, albeit to a lesser degree.55 For example, while he still resided close to his factory, Krueger turned one of the rooms in his residences “into a show place tavern, where a nickel beer and free lunch attracted crowds.”56 By offering a tavern where his workers could have idle and chat, Krueger was attempting to make himself endearing towards his workers. This gambit seems

53 Cunningham employs this argument when he describes why the wealthy chose to live in neighborhoods near the downtown district. The residences were proximate to the factories and offices, optimal places for supervision.

54 Cunningham, Newark, 184.

55 Mark W. Summers, The Gilded Age, or, the Hazard of New Functions (Upper Saddle River: NJ, Prentice Hall, 1997), 240.

56 Cunningham, Newark, 184.
to have worked since there is scant evidence of worker-owner tension while Krueger owned the brewery. Despite the lack of class tension with Krueger, other industries and wealthy businessmen would encounter their own class conflicts. These conflicts would also often involve inter-ethnic conflict as well. For example, Irish employers, and other well established immigrant groups, would “fleece” newer immigrant groups like the Greeks and Italians.\textsuperscript{57} Thus, even though Krueger personally navigated the waters of class tensions, the tensions very much developed during this era and maintained through several decades into Louise Scott’s period.

Conclusion

As noted above, even though Krueger might have used his wealth to control his workers, he also used it to support the German community. For example, Krueger would go on to finance the construction of Saenger Hall (which was later named Krueger Auditorium). The hall hosted German songfests and was a venue that supported the burgeoning German singing societies in the city.\textsuperscript{58} His philanthropic efforts would span more areas across the city and his success as a businessman undoubtedly endear him to the German and mainstream population to the city.

Using the Krueger Mansion as a lens into Krueger, Newark, and the immigrant population of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the birth (or exacerbation) of the class, spatial, and ethnic tensions that will later describe decades of Newark interactions. Although the mansion serves a less prominent role in this analysis, it provides a focal point to orient historians and scholars to Krueger’s era. Particularly, it’s location on High Street is salient. The street, during Krueger’s period and into the twentieth century, served as the hub for the both

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 205-207.

the city’s wealthy individuals and cultural institutions. By the next half century, High Street and its corresponding Ward (local government structure) would become associated with Newark’s African-American population as well as poverty and dilapidation. Before discussing Louise Scott and her associations with the Kruger Mansion, it is paramount to explore Newark from the 1930s (after Krueger died) to the late 1950s (when Louise Scott purchased the residence).

Developing Spatial Tensions

Krueger’s decision to build his mansion on High Street represents the creation of another set of tensions that have come to define most American cities: spatial. The location of the mansion was notable because it sat squarely in the center of the most economically viable neighborhood in the city. Other enclaves for the wealthy included neighborhoods that were near the city’s downtown such as Washington and Military Parks. In addition to class segregation, groups self-segregated based on ethnicity as well. A 1911 map commissioned by the Presbyterian Church demarcated the city based on the different ethnic groups. [See Appendix Figure 2] Immediately noticeable are the three large German quarters on the north, east, and western ends of the city. Of the seven immigrant groups depicted on the map, Germans occupied the largest geographic space. The other noticeable aspect of the map are the unlabeled sections of the map which likely represent where the non-foreign born population lived. While the map’s primary purpose is to depict different neighborhoods, it also highlights the weight that citizens placed on physical space. City scholar Robert Curvin laments that in regards to square mileage, Newark is only twenty-six square miles. Although physical size was not relevant for most of the

59 Cunningham, Newark, 203.

60 Ibid., 205.
nineteenth and century, as the city expanded to what would be its largest population in the twentieth century, space and neighborhoods became a premium and tensions began to rise. While these tensions would culminate in the mid-twentieth century, actions (or inactions) of the decades before reveal the nurturing of spatial tension that were simply considered “areas where different nationalities predominate” during Krueger’s period.61 [SEE FIGURE 2]

The City of Industry and Blissful Ignorance

In 1912, the Newark Board of Trade commissioned a document recognizing “Facts and Figures Concerning the Metropolis of New Jersey” titled, Newark: The City of Industry. Rather than a factual document, the document resembles a marketing brochure meant to aggrandize the features of the city. For example, while most of the information within the binds are indeed facts and figures, the language and tone allude to an optimistic city that is devoid of urban ills. In the foreword, the authors claim that the book shows Newark as “a place in which it is good to work and well to live.”62 Further aggrandizing the city, the document’s introduction boasts that though “business is king,” the city is also “the playground of its residents and a parlor for its visitors.”63 The last grand claim the document makes is that anyone can find work, and whether rich or poor, “there is amusement for all.”64

This statement is striking because this was not the case at all. Newark in the 1910s, and up until the middle of the century, had all the marks of a struggling city. The only difference is

61 “A Map of Newark With Areas Where Different Nationalities Predominate,” Presbyterian Church in Newark, 1911.


63 Ibid., 15.

64 Ibid.
that in the early twentieth century, Newark was at its economic height; also during this period,
Newark experienced its largest boom regarding its population.\textsuperscript{65} Despite the growing number of
people into the city and the continued practices of enclave building, the city of Newark (mainly
city officials and influential businessmen) declined to acknowledge the budding inequalities and
tensions across the city. As a result, avoidable consequences like dilapidated housing and income
inequality between races seethed under the surface of the economic prosperity. This negligence,
unfortunately, was at the loss of the African-American population in Newark. The de facto
practice of self-segregating for white/European ethnic groups had morphed into an institutional
practice of forcing African-Americans into compact and high-density neighborhoods. Returning
to the map of Newark in 1911, a few blocks away from the wealthy High Street neighborhood
that the Krueger Mansion was located were three separate African-American neighborhoods that
were each smaller that even the smallest German enclave. Unlike the immigrant groups who, for
the most part, chose where they lived, African-Americans were conscribed to the dilapidated
center of the city. Through this early instance, the aforementioned tensions of space, class, and
race coalesce in one demographic. Despite the signs—such as an early report from the Works
Progress Administration about the status of housing and African-Americans in the city—Newark
officials failed to address the tensions. These early twentieth century failures would set the
context for the arrival of Louise Scott during the middle of the century.

\textsuperscript{65} “Compendium of censuses 1726-1905: together with the tabulated returns of 1905,” \textit{New Jersey State
Library}, accessed, April 26, 2017,
Chapter 3:  
**Black Newark: Louise Scott and Her Efforts to Build Community and Uplift the Third Ward**

*It will be a good neighbors house for all people of all races and creeds. In addition to youth activities, we hope to provide facilities for the poor and the aged.*

-Louise Scott

There is almost a sense of poetry that surrounds the fact the most expensive residence in Newark would be sold to Louise Scott, a black woman philanthropist from rural South Carolina. If Krueger embodied the zeitgeist of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Newark, Louise Scott is the figurehead for the mid twentieth century. Like Krueger, Louise Scott was one of the most prominent private citizens in the city; also like Krueger, Scott was not native to Newark. During the Great Migration of the twentieth century, Scott emigrated from South Carolina and initially settled in New York City as a domestic. During this period, she worked during the day while attending cosmetology classes at night, it was not until she owned her own beauty salon that she moved to Newark permanently. As a permanent resident Mrs. Scott not only opened several beauty salons, she also established several beauty colleges along with running a hotel. It was this entrepreneurial spirit that would cause the socialite to be considered as Newark’s first female African-American millionaire.

The city that Scott would arrive in in the 1950s, however, was not the Newark of the early twentieth century. Newark was on the decline based on economic output, population

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66 Newark Star Ledger, “Krueger Mansion Sold, to be Community Center”


68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.
growth/stagnation, and industrial prestige. Specifically, the urban phenomenon of white flight would reach its apex during Scott’s tenure in the city. But before urban blight would come to define Newark in the media, Louise Scott tried to uplift the African-American community in her neighborhood. Her chosen vehicle for social change was the Krueger Mansion, which she had purchased from the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry in 1958 (Per local lore, Mrs. Scott purchased the building with $85,000 in cash).\(^{70}\) Scott’s purchase of the mansion was not just a show of her wealth and influence in the city. Quite the contrary, **Louise Scott bought the mansion, in part, to serve a community function for the African-American residents in the majority black Central Ward.**

In an article profiling the socialite, Scott described one of her motivations for buying the Krueger Mansion was to use it as a community center for its black residents, in one anecdote, Scott says “I have been stopping youngsters I see walking the streets and ask them to be sure to come to the neighborhood house when it opens next mont.”\(^{71}\) Immediately after opening the mansion, Scott delivered on her promise. She converted the first floor of the mansion into the Scott College of Beauty Culture and converted several rooms for other purposes such as a daycare center and a church.\(^{72}\) [SEE FIGURE 6]

Scott’s dedication to community serves as an important point of analysis and comparison. Unlike Gottfried Krueger, Louise Scott used her mansion for the explicit purpose of benefitting the, then minority, African-American population in the city. And while Krueger did support efforts to benefit the German community, his competing identity as a wealthy businessman

\(^{70}\) “Krueger Mansion Sold, to be Community Center,” *Newark Star Ledger.*

\(^{71}\) Kirschbaum, “Turns Mansion into Haven”.

\(^{72}\) Ibid.
allowed him to be serve in a detached manner. Also important is that in nineteenth century Newark, there were a number Germans who possessed wealth and influence, in addition to Gottfried Krueger—the brewer Christian Feigenspan and mayor William Fielder come to mind. Scott was one of the few African-Americans who possessed both the political and economic clout that the wealthy Germans of the nineteenth century possessed. Additional differences with between Scott and Krueger include their tactics in providing for their communities. Rather than donate money to a cause, or finance a building, and then recuse herself from that industry, Scott ensured that she was always visible in her philanthropy. Furthermore, Scott’s philanthropy and activism are notable for historical analysis. In a period before the Civil Rights Movement and Black Power Movement all became mainstream, Louise Scott had the intention of building an African-American community in the same mold as the German community of the late nineteenth century. Unfortunately, though, Newark was a changing city that would not be conducive to lifting another minority population. To understand the hurdles Scott encountered in creating a cohesive black community, it is paramount to understand the history of African-Americans in Newark.

While African-American residents have been part of the city for a better part of its three-hundred-year history, this analysis will begin a little before the Great Migration era of the twentieth century. Revisiting the 1910 demographic analysis of the city conducted by the Presbyterian Church in Newark, of the 347,469 Newarkers that resided in the city, only 11,000 “Negroes” lived in the city.73 [SEE FIGURE 2] In addition to that estimate, the map presents a rough depiction of where most ethnicities resided in city; immediately apparent is that European migrants occupied multiple enclaves within the city, in addition the general non-immigrant

73 “A Map of Newark With Areas Where Different Nationalities Predominate,” Presbyterian Church in Newark, 1911.
population that comprised the city. And though African-American were in five different sections of the city, those neighborhoods were the smallest allocations of land on the map, in addition to being congregated in what was then the Third Ward of the city—not too far from Krueger’s mansion. For comparison, Italians and Jews constituted the largest makeup in the city with 50,000 each, with German and Irish immigrants following. Furthermore, the more longstanding groups like the Jews, Italians, and Germans occupied the largest sections in the city, with the Germans having the largest enclaves of any group.  

The First Great Migration would change all this, causing a rapid demographic shift in favor of the black population. The migration involved African-Americans from the American South travelling to northern cities in search for better paying jobs and better livelihoods. Because of Newark’s booming economy, and its status as an industrial center, the city was appealing to Southern blacks. In addition to the job opportunities, Brad Tuttle argues that the established African-American community enabled the integration of black southerners. In the 1930s, black residents were nine percent of the population, and by the 1950s, the percentage ballooned to seventeen percent of the population. The period between 1920 and 1950 are important for analysis because Newark’s population was at its apex. In 1930, Newark recorded

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74 Ibid.; As a disclaimer, though this map presents the city as it was during the turn of the twentieth century, it was commissioned by the Presbyterian Church of Newark and its accuracy and methodology has not been verified. The United States Census Bureau would estimate that the black population was 2.7 percent of the population, or about 9,475 residents; “New Jersey - Race and Hispanic Origin for Selected Large Cities and Other Places: Earliest Census to 1990,” U.S. Census Bureau, accessed, April 27, 2017, https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/NJtab.pdf

75 Tuttle, How Newark Became Newark, 147.

76 Ibid., 148.

77 Ibid.
its highest population total to date with over 442,000 people—of those, 402,000 people, or ninety-one percent of the population, was white.\footnote{78}{"New Jersey - Race and Hispanic Origin for Selected Large Cities and Other Places: Earliest Census to 1990," \textit{U.S. Census Bureau}, accessed, April 27, 2017, \url{https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/NJtab.pdf}.}

Continued analysis of the population trends reveal more information about the city in the twentieth century. First, Newark’s population never eclipsed the 1930 census mark. This fact will become important in addressing the notion that the 1967 Newark Riots were the primary reason white residents started to leave the city. Population data shows a stark decline in overall population from 1930 to 1940; conversely, as the overall population was falling, the African-American population in the city gradually rose from decade to decade. By 1950, of the 438,776 recorded residents in the city, 74,965 of them were black, it would not be until 1960 that African-Americans would become the majority in the city.\footnote{79}{Ibid.}

Despite the growing black population in the city, African-Americans did not gain the same political and economic clout as their German counterparts did in the late nineteenth century. And while the African-American community did not follow the same template used by the German immigrants, people like Louise Scott might have saw it as possible that the black community gained influence the same way the German community did. An analysis of institutional barriers within Newark reveal how African-Americans were denied the ability to create a cohesive social block. Furthermore, it will provide a background in which to analyze Louise Scott’s monumental task of empowering the black community.
Housing and the Rise of Spatial Tensions

As black people from the south migrated to Newark, they expected to find work and a better life. While Newark was a booming hub for industry during this period, mainstream institutions began forming the structures that would limit African-American progress. Specifically, rather than have the agency to live anywhere in the city, African-Americans were conscripted to live in the five small and dense neighborhood tracts—four of which were in what was the Jewish enclave in the Third Ward. In this ward alone, the African-American population increased exponentially between 1910 and 1940; in 1910, African-Americans were less than four percent of the population, but by 1940, that percentage increased to sixty-three percent of the Third Ward, or over sixteen thousand. In addition to being conscripted to the Third Ward, black residents were often given the worst housing available in the city. This was one of the main institutional barriers that African-Americans had to endure during mid-century Newark and the discrimination resulted in continued spatial tensions that are present in today’s city. While housing discrimination was nationwide, Newark had a part in nurturing the discriminatory practices. As mentioned in the earlier, city officials institutionalized and racialized the voluntary practice of immigrant groups, like the Germans and Italians, residing in the same neighborhoods and forced African-Americans to live in one ward of the city. Furthermore, because of Newark’s economic success, and the new-found prosperity that most European immigrants had attained, the economic and housing plight of the African-American community went ignored for several years.

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80 Tuttle, *How Newark Became Newark*, 149.
81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
The housing condition for African-Americans was so dire that the Works Progress Administration (WPA) had issued a report that not only detailed the housing situation, but also provided recommendations on how to address the issue. The report, written between 1930 and 1945 detailed the issues that African-American residents had to endure. Particularly damning was the finding that not only were newly arrived African-American migrants all constricted to “the older parts of the city,” but also that these built neighborhoods “did not expand rapidly enough with the sudden population growth.” Thus, as the African-American population in the city was increasing, rather than providing new housing, or modernizing older residences, city policy and laws forced black residents to live in deteriorating buildings. The WPA’s report goes on to detail the housing crisis that black residents faced, in addition to describing how institutional and systemic barriers formed. The power of the WPA’s document resided in its ability to quantify the destitute circumstances those in the Third Ward faced.

In 1934 the Newark Department of Health found that in the city alone, 8,558 families—or 57,636 people—were living in overcrowded conditions. In 1937, a more surgical study of the Third Ward was conducted wherein the department found that eighty percent of the 2,010 dwellings surveyed were infested with “rats, mice or vermin”; “seventy percent of the buildings were built before 1902”; and that tuberculosis and syphilis cases were more frequent in the ward than anywhere else in the city. In response to the housing crisis, the Newark Housing Authority (NHA) was created and the United States Housing Authority help fund six new housing projects across the city. Despite building new housing projects, the construction of these housing

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83 Works Progress Administration, Outer World: Housing in Newark, 1.

84 Ibid., 4.

85 Ibid., 5
projects hardly helped in lifting the black community. On the contrary, they may have contributed to the housing and economic stagnation that black Newarkers faced during the 1940s and 1950s. The WPA’s report expressed this same doubt when the authors expressed their concerns about the larger institutional and societal causes of the housing crisis that afflicted black Newarkers. It is plausible that by building the new housing projects, the city perhaps thought it had vindicated itself of its ill-treatment towards African-Americans, and ended its efforts to further integrate African-Americans into the mainstream. The report notes. For the black Newarkers who were economically able to live in better parts of the city, no “provisions” were made to allow them to rent or buy in other areas of the city. In fact, “these Negroes [were] still compelled to live in segregated areas, despite their economic adequacy to provide excellent quarters for themselves.”

The above statement is part of the history of segregation in Newark. Rather than have the agency to live in whatever part of the city, as other immigrant groups did, black Newarkers were redlined into small decrepit neighborhoods. Consequently, the same circumstances that yielded German prosperity could not be replicated for the black community in the city. In addition to the constructed barriers that African-Americans faced, there were also practical reasons why the German model of community building could not be replicated. Namely, Newark had solidified its infrastructure; from 1870 to 1950, Newark had matured as much as any industrial city could. Economic functions were molded by the capitalists, politicians made efforts to create a physical infrastructure appealing to wealthier newcomers, and rivaling ethnic political blocs already controlled different function of the local political machine. In effect, arriving migrants from the southern United States did not have the same ambiguity that defined the late nineteenth century.

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86 Ibid., 15.
Compound this rigidity with the racial discrimination that African-Americans had to face and a plausible explanation of why black Newarkers were unable to gain political power in the city emerges.

With this history as the background, Louise Scott’s accomplishments in the city appear even more impressive. By 1958, the year when Scott purchased the Krueger Mansion, the once vaunted High Street had become part of Central Ward, a new iteration of the Third Ward. Thus, the Krueger Mansion was not surrounded by opulence as Krueger had wanted, rather, it was now in the center of African-American life in Newark. Louise Scott would use this circumstance to her advantage in becoming a mainstay in the black community. In a 1958 interview of the philanthropist, Mrs. Scott stated “I have always wanted to help people less fortunate than myself. I have tried to do this in a small way before—I now hope to do it in a bigger way.” Scott’s philanthropy was also unique in that she actively encouraged members of the community to visit her mansion. In one example, she recounts, “during the last few weeks I have been stopping youngsters I see walking to be sure to come to the neighborhood house when it opens next month.” Her continued presence in the neighborhood would result in her being “feted” as a “good neighbor.”

Personal successes aside, Louise Scott is an important figure in Newark history for what she represented in the larger narrative of Newark’s history. Not only was she part of the larger wave of migrants that arrived during the Great Migration, she had qualities that are reminiscent of Benjamin Franklin, and other Americans that society considers “self-made.” For example,

87 Krischbaum, “Turns Mansion into Haven”.
88 Ibid.
when reporters asked Scott the secret to her success, she said “hard work has never hurt anyone, when I was getting started in the business, my day began at six in the morning and didn’t end until near midnight.” Success, to Scott, was simply the result of her hard work—a sentiment that follows the American belief in meritocracy. And it is this belief that makes Scott an interesting figure to analyze, especially during the period between 1950 and 1980. Her story also provides insight to how the tensions that were present in late nineteenth century Newark manifested themselves in Louise Scott’s era. First, Louise Scott’s personal story would indicate that she was aware of the barriers that African-Americans faced in becoming successful, not only in Newark, but in the United States. According to several newspaper articles profiling her, Scott’s parents were sharecroppers in rural South Carolina—though Scott describes her situation as “comparatively well off” as compared to other families. Furthermore, after Scott had moved to New York, in order to pay for her classes and livelihood, she worked as a domestic. This was in 1938, and it was not until 1944 that she could open her own salon, fifteen years later, she would purchase the Krueger Mansion. Scott’s experience is interesting for analysis because it all happened during the Jim Crow period of the twentieth century. African-Americans in the south were systematically discriminated against—a fact that could not be lost to Scott, whose parents were sharecroppers. In the north, only a few jobs were available to black workers—Scott’s day job was one of the most common for black women during this period. Finally, in cities like Newark, black workers were in constant competition for the same jobs, since factories and other industries did not employ African-American workers. With this context in mind, it is surprising that Louise Scott would attribute her success to simply “hard work.” Of course, this is not a

90 Turns Mansion into Haven.

91 Ibid.
criticism of Mrs. Scott, rather it follows a larger trend in American and Newark history that mythicizes meritocracy, while ignoring the larger social forces at play.

History would later show that hard work would not be enough for African-Americans to combat work discrimination, segregation, and political disenfranchisement. And despite Scott’s statements on success, it is also difficult to claim that Scott believed her statements wholly. The evidence for this presents itself in how Scott helped the community. The mansion was not simply a “neighborhood house” as she described, rather, it was an example of the social services that contemporary society deems necessary to combat poverty. Furthermore, Scott’s entrepreneurial spirit may also have been a vehicle for dismantling the institutional forces within the city. Scott’s most famous venture was the Scott College of Beauty Culture which was housed on the first floor of the Krueger Mansion.\textsuperscript{92} The college trained women in not only cosmetology, but also provided them a foundation to establish their own beauty salons.\textsuperscript{93} By establishing a college, Scott created an institution that was meant to combat the societal ills of her time.

**Memorializing the Krueger Mansion**

One notable urban redevelopment plan called for the widening of street lanes; one of the streets slated to be widened was Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard—the same street the Krueger Mansion was located on. In 1965, the Newark Redevelopment and Housing Authority sought to purchase the building to demolish it—all in the name of redeveloping High Street.\textsuperscript{94} To avoid damage to the building, and by extension the neighborhood house, Scott and other community


\textsuperscript{93} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{94} “Krueger Mansion Proponents Granted One-Year Reprieve,” *Newark Star Ledger*, January 5, 1967.
activists applied to have the Krueger Mansion on the National Register of Historic Places. The application argued that the building should be elevated to a local landmark mainly on its architectural merits. An analysis of the 1972 nomination form reveals a great deal about what people valued about the monument. Despite Scott’s dedication to the neighborhood, and her accomplishments in the city, the statement of significance hails the building as “representative of the great mansions of Newark’s famed German ‘Beer Barons.’” Scott’s was only referenced as the current owner of the building. The ploy would work, however, and the Krueger Mansion became a protected landmark in the city. After obtaining stability, Scott would further formalize her services in the community by establishing the Scott Civic Center, which the Krueger Mansion would be known as until Scott’s death.

**Beauty Culture and Madame C.J. Walker**

Furthermore, by teaching skills that were specific to women, Scott was countering the idea—whether knowingly or not—that women could not be the breadwinners of the family. In addition to dismantling gender stereotypes, Scott was also providing a means for wealth building that was being denied to African-Americans. The idea of using beauty shops, or cosmetics, to build wealth was not an entirely novel idea by Scott. In fact, decades earlier, entrepreneurs like Madame C.J. Walker and Annie Malone would pioneer the field of beauty culture as a legitimate industry for African-American women. Through understanding the struggle the two early entrepreneurs encountered, it becomes easier to see how Scott attained fame and success in Newark. Also, Walker and Malone would have to navigate spaces that were not made for them, in addition to legitimizing an industry that was looked down upon. Scott would face her own

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95 National Register of Historic Places, Krueger-Scott Mansion, Newark, Essex County, New Jersey, National Register # 72000778, 3.
tribulations that mirror the same struggles of her predecessors; this is another way in which larger American culture replicates itself in smaller locales.

In Beauty Shop Politics: African American Women’s Activism in the Beauty Industry, Tiffany M. Gill discusses how African-American women used their beauty shops to not only build community amongst themselves, but also to build wealth for the greater community. Specifically, Gill discusses the early 1900s wherein figures like W.E.B DuBois and Booker T. Washington sought to uplift the black community by encouraging the creation and cooperation of black businesses across the nation. Black businesses would not only increase the wealth within the black community, it would become a tool utilized to uplift African-American to the same status as whites.\footnote{96 Tiffany M. Gill, Beauty Shop Politics: African American Women’s Activism in the Beauty Industry, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 14.} To meet this goal, Washington created the National Negro Business League in 1900.\footnote{97 Gill, Beauty Shop Politics, 7.} Unfortunately, the league placed an undue emphasis on black male entrepreneurship, relegating the topic of women in business to their roles as “consumers and nurturers of the next generation of young male entrepreneurs.”\footnote{98 Ibid., 12.} Women were continuously attributed with what they could provide the next generation of businessmen, rather than being associated with their successes in business.

Madame C.J. Walker and Annie Malone would seek to change this conventional view through several different means. First, both women pioneered haircare products specific to African-Americans throughout the United States and across the western hemisphere. As they built their wealth individually, they devised schemes to maintain that wealth. For example,
Walker and Malone established their own beauty schools, Poro College and Lelia Beauty College respectively.\(^9^9\) (These schools were perhaps the inspiration for the Scott Beauty College that Scott would establish in Newark). Walker would revolutionize the field further by introducing a curriculum that was integrated in black colleges like Tuskegee, Roger Williams, and other black colleges. Doing this not only made beauty culture and cosmetology a legitimate industry in the black community, it also gave women a new industry to work in that was not being a domestic or a housekeeper. Beauty culture enabled a certain agency in the black woman that none of occupations could, particularly because they were focused on the uplifting the black race, and not serving the dominant white race. While the beauty culture became legitimized, it was not a guarantee for success for many black women. In fact, Walker and Malone understood that other women taking a beauty course would not turn them into entrepreneurs, but according to Gill, “by placing beauty culture in the curriculum of black colleges, beauticians could claim the status of being college-educated even though a bachelor’s degree was not earned.”\(^1^0^0\)

Finally, a corollary of Walker adding her curriculum to black colleges was philanthropy. Universities knew that if they accepted Walker’s curriculum for beauty culture, they would have an established relationship with her, which increased their likelihood of receiving donations from her.\(^1^0^1\) Thus, through the example of beauty culture, philanthropy, and entrepreneurship an early mold for Louise Scott was created in the examples of Madame C.J. Walker and Annie Malone whether she was aware of them or not.

\(^9^9\) Ibid., 25.

\(^1^0^0\) Ibid., 28.

\(^1^0^1\) Ibid., 27.
Understanding the history of beauty culture is important to the story of Louise Scott because it reveals how her wealth was possible in a time when African-Americans, especially women were struggling. Louise Scott would later become an entrepreneur in the same way Walker and Malone were, though in a more local setting. In addition to creating the Scott College of Beauty Culture, Scott later established several initiatives within the Krueger Mansion. Located in the mansion was a nursery school for children of the women in the college, a “Good Neighbor” church in which a room was dedicated to church services, and finally, Scott’s headquarters for her businesses, several beauty salons and one hotel. It appears Scott would have continued entrepreneurial endeavors, but external factors imperiled not only her business but also the fate of the mansion.

1967 Riots: Decline of the Krueger Mansion and Rise of the Krueger-Scott Mansion

Though there is no information about how the 1967 Newark riots affected Scott, based on the larger narrative of the incident, it is possible that the riots had an adverse effect on her business and on the community. For brief history, contemporary historians use the 1967 rebellion as signifier for modern Newark. The Newark Riots (known as Newark Rebellion to some) were a result of police brutality against a cab driver named John Smith; the beating resulted in six days of rioting that left dozens of people dead, many more injured, property looted, and a blemish on the city’s reputation. Some historians and city elders also consider it the turning point when Newark went from a majority white city to a majority African-American city. As mentioned above, the previous statement is factually incorrect in that Newark had become majority-minority years earlier. The then mayor of the city, Hugh J. Addonizio, recognized that “long before a similar national trend became noticeable,” the city’s wealthier residents had begun to

102 Curvin, Inside Newark, 2.
move into the suburbs.\textsuperscript{103} The previous quote comes from a proposal/application sent by Mayor Addonizio to the Department of Housing and Urban Development’s (HUD) Model Cities program. HUD’s Model Cities program was part of President Lyndon B. Johnson’s domestic strategy, or War on Poverty. The purpose of the program was to “concentrate public and private resources in a comprehensive five-year attack on the social, economic, and physical problems of slum and blighted neighborhoods.”\textsuperscript{104} That Mayor Addonizio applied to have Newark become a Model City is representative of the fact that he recognized the intersecting tensions that surrounded Newark (he specifically acknowledged the phenomenon of white flight, substandard housing, and an “uncommon racial situation.”\textsuperscript{105} However, even though Addonizio and city officials recognized these issues as present, the issues themselves had gone beyond the point of fixing. By 1967, the city of Newark had become reactive, and not proactive—it could only react to the racial, class, and spatial tensions. Prior to this breaking point, city officials continued their delusions about the tensions within the city. In one example, the Louis Danzig of the Newark Housing Authority claimed that “integration in public housing was ‘a fact and it is working.’”\textsuperscript{106} Another instance of obliviousness is exposed when the chief of the Newark Police Department claimed that the police force was completely integrated.\textsuperscript{107} In either of the examples, both city officials chose to ignore the institutional mechanisms that contributed to the ninety percent

\textsuperscript{103} Model Cities Program. US Department of Housing and Urban Development. Title 1 Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966.

\textsuperscript{104} Model Cities Program. US Department of Housing and Urban Development. Title 1 Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966.

\textsuperscript{105} Model Cities, 1-5.

\textsuperscript{106} Tuttle, 154.

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid. 154.
police force and segregated public housing. The lasting legacy of racism and housing discrimination still reverberate into the present and attempts to address these tensions are still reactive rather than proactive.

Three months after the city applied for the Model Cities program, Newark experienced the riots that have come to define the city’s current social and political life. After the riots, Addonizio and other white city officials could not stop the outflow of white Newarkers out of the city, and not only did the demography begin to change, but black residents also began to gain more political power.

Another important document that serves to analyze Newark during the tumultuous period of the 1960s is the Report for Action commissioned by the then Governor of New Jersey to “examine the causes, the incidences, and the remedies for the civil disorders which have afflicted New Jersey.” Although this report documented civil disorders across the state, it becomes increasingly clear after reading a few pages that the Newark Riots played a major role in the creation of this report. The report reads like an autopsy of Newark, and although the members of the commission stated the recommendations were applicable to all cities and towns across the state, the remedies are framed around their usefulness in Newark. However, the report also recognized that the causes of the riots were not spontaneous, but a result of decades of tension—the article also acknowledges the conflict between Germans and the protestant population of Newark, although it does not delve too deeply into the topic. Finally, the report acknowledges

108 Ibid. 154.
110 Report for Action, 2-5.
the institutional and historical barriers that contributed to not only the ’67 Riots, but also the poverty and struggles that black Newarkers faced.

Although the Model Cities Proposal and Report for Action documents appear tangential to Louise Scott and the Krueger-Scott Mansion, the documents are important analytical tools for understanding Louise Scott’s uphill battle in uplifting her community. The two documents acknowledge and prove that not only did black Newarkers face institutional barriers, they also acknowledged that Newark’s tensions were self-made and very present. Institutional barriers and tensions can only be dismantled from an institutional level, for an individual to dismantle and address those mechanisms require vast amounts of wealth and influence. And although Mrs. Scott possessed wealth and influence, she did not possess the clout to upend decades of discrimination and tensions.

Conclusion

Despite her best efforts, Scott would eventually lose ownership of the Krueger Mansion to the City of Newark Housing Authority due to her inability to pay the taxes on the house.111 Surprising enough, the city allowed Mrs. Scott to remain in the building until her death because of her commitment to the Central Ward and the city. Louise Scott’s story is important for understanding Newark because it is the story of a changed city. She experienced Newark at a time when it became unrecognizable from the Newark of the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, she also had to overcome the consequences and social constructions of not only her time, but also the consequences of decades prior. Scott’s success would have been impossible if Madame C.J. Walker and Annie Malone had not laid the groundwork for her. And while Scott may or may not have known of the two pioneers, she undoubtedly understood the need for

African-Americans in the city to uplift themselves as a bloc in a city that was defined by its ethnic and racial groups. She later tried to influence a city that became homogenous in racially and economically. While she lost ownership of the mansion, her legacy remained—in the same way that Krueger’s did—and it would influence the next chapter in Newark’s history.
CHAPTER 4:
Who’s Mansion? Memorializing the Krueger-Scott Mansion

Creating Culture

In 1997, Newark opened the New Jersey Performing Arts Center (NJPAC) to statewide acclaim. Former governor Tom Kean said, “I saw first-hand, how the arts could bring a place back, and when I decided we should have a first-class venue in New Jersey, Newark was the obvious place.” Kean was referring to how the Lincoln Center, in New York, had transformed a rundown, drug-saturated neighborhood on the Upper West Side into an appealing neighborhood. NJPAC, to state governor Tom Kean and Newark mayor Sharpe James, was the physical and cultural vehicle that would turn Newark from a city associated with crime, poverty, and destitution to a city known for its culture and appreciation of the arts. With this state of the art center, city and state officials sought to rebrand Newark and erase decades of tumultuous history. Newark would not be the first city to use the arts to rebrand itself, it will not be the last either. In The Culture of Cities, Sharon Zukin explores the concept of a “symbolic economy,” or how investments in culture (or modes for consumption) help to transform a city. Zukin uses the example of New York in the 1990s to prove her point. When the planners sought to revitalize the city, they began to exploit people’s “appetite” for art spaces and galleries which allowed the planners to commercialize art, and thus culture. Not before long, art galleries and artists were used as tools to push redevelopment plans across blighted neighborhoods. Zukin reasoned that art and institutions that promote culture, such as NJPAC, provided city with a competitive edge

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114 Sharon Zukin, The Culture of Cities, 19.
against other cities and created a new industry for consumption.\footnote{Sharon Zukin, \textit{The Culture of Cities}, 12.} Thus, culture became a new mode for capital accumulation rather than “the socially constructed” system that is experienced in public life.\footnote{Ibid., 11.} Thus, when Governor Kean envisioned NJPAC, he saw it as both a tool to redevelop valuable land and a tool to make Newark a “first-class arts venue” (place for capital consumption).

That NJPAC would be used as a vehicle for galvanizing Newark’s cultural scene is interesting because it was not the first option, at least for Newark mayor Sharpe James.

\textbf{The Fate of the Castle on a Hill}

In the years before her passing, Scott allowed roomers to rent rooms in the house for a small fee, even though she herself was living in the house under a special arrangement with the city.\footnote{Byrd, \textit{“Architectural treasures looted from landmark Newark Mansion,”} 1984.} After Louise Scott’s death in 1983, the City of Newark foreclosed the residence due to Scott’s “nonpayment of taxes.”\footnote{Ibid.} After the foreclosure, the City, unfortunately evicted all roomers occupying the building and left the residence abandoned and unguarded, subjecting the treasures within the mansion to looting and vagrancy.\footnote{Ibid.} Over the course of several years, the façade of the mansion gradually worsened to the point where one of the roomers stated that the building would have been in a better physical state had they not been evicted.\footnote{Ibid.} The physical damage to the mansion was done: the interior of the building had been gutted of its riches, such
as stained glass, porcelain tubs, and inlaid precious metals. But perhaps the most egregious consequence of the city’s negligence was that the mansion and the efforts of Louise Scott began to fade in the city’s consciousness. Mayor Sharpe James began to recognize the failure in not recognizing a place that had meaning to so many people in the Central Ward, and so, he lobbied to have the mansion refurbished and repurposed as a space for the community. After the City Council approved his proposal for the mansion, Mayor James in 1993 recruited Catherine Lenix-Hooker to lead a committee dedicated to raising funds and heading the restoration efforts (also included in this partnership was the New Jersey Historic Trust and the Newark Preservation and Landmarks Committee, organizations that also lobbied to have the mansion memorialized through formal channels). In addition to Lenix-Hooker, the city solicited the help of the Newark-based architectural firm Grad Associates to consult on technical matters. Finally, Mayor James’s proposal involved renovating the building for public use for the African-American community in the Central Ward, mirroring the way Louise Scott had used the mansion a few years earlier. Finally, Mayor James and Lenix-Hooker would verbally express the intent that the new space would be an African-American cultural center. Turning the Krueger-Scott Mansion into an African-American cultural center was a splendid idea, however, there were errors in the process that contributed to the failure of the restoration. Particularly, Mayor James, Lenix-Hooker, and the New Jersey Historic Trust failed to address and capture the contested history of the mansion. The planners sought to de-historicize the building and its residents by insulating their actions to separate eras rather than providing a linear history. By creating a center that

121 Ibid.


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separates isolates the histories of the Krueger-Scott Mansion, the planners continued the practice of neglecting voices within the city.

Restoration Efforts Begin

At the beginning of the restoration process, the city poured a substantial amount of energy into memorializing the building (an indication of the initial excitement surrounding the possibilities of what the final product could offer the community). In addition to the city financing the restoration, Lenix-Hooker applied for additional funds from the New Jersey Historic Trust. For the NJHT to provide funding to the cause, they commissioned a report on the condition of the building. The 1992 report contains information on the city’s initial preparations regarding the mansion as well as the NJHT’s opinions on the process. Although NJHT eventually awarded funds to the city, the report presented concerns and comments that were critical of the city’s capability to restore the historic building. Of note was the Trust’s concern that the city’s Preservation Plan developed by Lenix-Hooker was not thorough enough and too general. Lenix-Hooker had neglected to outline the future use of rooms as well as an “outline of what programs or activities will be provided for public use or viewing.”

The lack of a detailed plan for public use may be indicative of the struggle mentioned above—the inability to determine what to include and emphasize in the center.

Furthermore, in the appraisal, NJHT expressed their concern with Grad Associates as the city’s technical consultants on the restoration of the mansion. Particularly, the authors of the report concluded that “Grad Associates is not in the business of historic preservation,” though

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124 Ibid.
they did note that only one member in their office had experience in preserving historic buildings.\textsuperscript{125} Finally, the report included an assessment of the “Ability of Applicant,” wherein the comments suggest a lack of preparation, specificity, and understanding on the part of Lenix-Hooker and her team of planners. For example, the report commented that though “The project budget appears to be adequate for the scope of work, [the] individual line items in the application are incorrect,” it then goes on to assert that “The line items do not match the scope and …are purely estimated guesses.”\textsuperscript{126} Finally, the surveyors insisted that in order for the plan to come to fruition, not only will the city need to conduct more historical research into the building and employ preservation consultants, but they would also need to “be clearer on their preservation philosophy…and develop specific programs which will be employed when the restoration is complete.”\textsuperscript{127} Through the last comment, the Trust recognized that intent to build an African-American Cultural Center was not enough to turn the Krueger-Scott Mansion into a site of cultural production. The process required concrete plans and dedication from all parties involved in the restoration. As evinced by the previous comments, there were strong doubts about the specificity of the plans; however, there were also signs that Newark officials lacked the wherewithal to meet the demands that the mansion required.

The city’s unpreparedness is evident just by looking at the timeline from when the city foreclosed the house up until Mayor James and the City Council resolved to memorialize the building, and finally culminating in abandonment of the project in the late 1990s. The city foreclosed the house from Scott’s estate in 1984, although it left the mansion unattended until

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., 4.

\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., 5.

\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., 6.
1986. Between 1986 and 1990, Mayor James lobbied to have the building converted into a site for the Central Ward public. His efforts were successful because in 1990, city officials announced that the Castle on the Hill would be restored to its formal splendor—they estimated the center would be complete within two years. Sparse resources and the inability to secure funding extended the timeline for completion, and so in 1992, the restoration committee got involved with the NJHT by applying for additional funding. NJHT conducted its own independent review of the mansion and they correctly predicted that incomplete planning and preparation would cause the project to languish for years. After a decade of funding through taxpayer money without seeing results, the Newark City Council halted the project entirely. Even though the stoppage of the project was long coming, there is evidence that the city itself was not fully committed to the mansion.

From the moment the house came under Newark’s possession, between 1984 and 1990, the city did not initially want to retain possession. In 1984, after evidence of vagrancy became known, the city’s Office of Real Property began preparing a “resolution for the city council on leasing the property.” In a time when the city was attempting to redefine itself, it is surprising that city officials considered leasing a building that was considered “Newark’s most identifiable…Victorian mansion.” Typically, cities with storied histories seek to preserve and memorialize historic buildings such as the Krueger-Scott Mansion. That city officials thought of

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129 Andrew Jacobs, “Costs Hinder Efforts to Reclaim a Castle.”

130 Ibid.

131 National Register of Historic Places, Krueger-Scott Mansion, Newark, Essex County, New Jersey, National Register # 72000778.
selling the mansion to a private individual signal that they did not think the building, and those who inhabited it, worthy of memorializing.

City Councilmembers would later vote on a resolution to keep the mansion public. One councilman recognized that the building was “one of the few remaining landmarks of [his] childhood.”¹³² The regretful state of the mansion would lead Mayor James to propose turning the mansion into a cultural museum honoring the legacy of Louise Scott. James had known Scott when she was active in the community and had been impacted by her activism. By recognizing the history in the building, James explicitly and implicitly recognized Scott’s influence on the community. To that end, the city sought to establish a new version of the Scott Civic Center that would serve as a cultural center for African-American history in Newark.

The efforts to turn the Krueger-Scott Mansion from city property to a community monument expose the tensions that surround a city that has undergone several changes in terms of class, racial demography, and political structure. As the city confirmed its intentions to repurpose the building, they employed the help of a local architecture firm, Grad Associates, to determine potential uses for the building. In the firm’s report, they divide the potential uses for the mansion into private sector use and public sector use. In their analysis, Grad Partners indicated that the most compatible public uses for the building were: cultural center, conference center, community center, college reception center, museum/restored to original and a small business consulting center, among other uses.¹³³ Of that list, Grad Associates suggested that the building be used as a “Newark Reception Center.” Though the reception center was listed under


¹³³ Grad Partnership
public use, the description suggested a more commercialized and privatized use. The explanation the firm offered was that:

The recent decades of ‘blighted Newark’ are drawing to a close. … The engines of this expansion are those major corporations that elected to remain in Newark. … The missing element is a single focal point of identity for all these activities; some single point which provides a platform for the projection of the image of the re-emergent City and the commitment of its Mayor. … The spatial allocation plans…demonstrate the ability of the Mansion complex to support conferences, meetings…and all the hospitality functions that are involved with encouraging resident business to expand or inviting investment from outside of the city.\textsuperscript{134}

The rationale for a “Newark Reception Center” for private businesses could be that the more businesses are impressed with a renovated castle, the more likely they are to view Newark as a rising city. Thus, they are more likely to invest in the city, a trickle-down effect which inevitably benefits the city’s residents. City officials did not adopt this proposal, however, that Grad Partnership saw that the most appropriate use for the mansion was to serve the business community reveals another tension in Newark’s contentious history. The essential question being, who does Newark belong to? This question would follow the efforts to memorialize the Krueger-Scott Mansion, even after the city decided on making the mansion a cultural center. With the concept of the reception center city officials faced the quandary of appealing to business people—who were mostly white—or memorializing a figure instrumental to the uplift of the black community. The former group held sway within the city because a majority of them had ties to city. The mass exodus of white people that began during the 1930s was largely a residential departure. White families left the city for the suburbs, but most of them they kept their businesses in the city.\textsuperscript{135} Thus, despite the absence of the formerly majority population, city officials (who were mostly black) still had to consider their interests in redeveloping the city.

\textsuperscript{134} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{135} The same is true for Gottfried Krueger. In the 1920s, he left Newark for the surrounding suburbs.
David Harvey addresses this dilemma in his essay “The Right to the City.” In the essay, Harvey discusses how cities are spaces in which constant negotiations take place amongst individuals and groups. Particularly of note, Harvey says:

The right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart’s desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right since changing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization.\(^\text{136}\)

In this quote, Harvey captures the theoretical essence that belies cities. Far from theory, Harvey’s arguments provide the framework to analyze city officials’ efforts to not only restore the Krueger-Scott Mansion, but to also create a city that is equitable for all. Often times in talking about cities, planners skip the necessary step of addressing the collective as Harvey says. Rather, they prioritize the voices of those who hold the most money and influence. By doing so, “the right to the city” is undemocratically bequeathed to those who disregard the wellbeing of minority groups—thus creating inequality.\(^\text{137}\) Thus, Harvey defines the “right to the city” not as an abstract idea, but as the belief in “the right to remake ourselves by creating a qualitatively different kind of urban sociality.”\(^\text{138}\) Thus, Harvey argues, those who possess “the right to the city” possess the right to remake and reshape the city. In the case of Newark, Harvey’s chronology replicated itself; the right to the city was in the hands of the business elite, smothering the voices of black and poor residents. The remedy to this inequality, as Harvey provides, is “to let force decide.”\(^\text{139}\) Force does not denote violence, rather Harvey argues that

\(^{136}\) David Harvey, *The Right to the City*, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 27, no. 4 (December 01, 2003).

\(^{137}\) David Harvey, *Right to the City*, 2003.

\(^{138}\) Ibid.

\(^{139}\) Ibid.
having force decide means the “mobilization of sufficient power through political organization or in the streets if necessary.”

Copying Harvey’s framework, the collective must refer to not only a racial and ethnic community group, but also groups that may appear impermanent, such as business people and young professionals. The Krueger-Scott Mansion during the 1990s was representative of the dilemma between the individual and the collective—the present population, and the future population.

As black city officials were working attempting to make the city theirs, the influence of the white business owners who lived in the suburbs was still prominent. The result was the creation of a vague and inconsistent plan created by Catherine Lenix-Hooker and others tasked with restoring the mansion. First, there were inconsistencies between people regarding the building’s purpose. For example, some newspaper articles would refer the upcoming project as an African-American Cultural Center, while other sources described it simply as the Krueger-Scott Cultural Center. The former denotes that the space is to recognize African-American culture in the city, while the latter implies that the building will honor Newark culture—Germans, Irish, and other ethnicities included.

There is also reason to believe those tasked with requesting funds for the mansion relied on this ambiguity to leverage more funds. To receive more funds and donations for the mansion, planners had to reach a wide range of donors. Having a building with an ambiguous purpose meant that the planners could be more flexible in their pitches to donors. In addition to soliciting donors from different backgrounds, planners faced the issue of how to address competing interests and what to include in the mansion.

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140 Ibid.
For example, the question of how much representation Gottfried Krueger should receive would hang throughout the duration of the planning process. Here, is the man who not only built the mansion but also had a sizeable influence in the city. The questions that planners had to grapple with reflects the struggles that the city still has to acknowledge in the present day, such as discrimination and structural oppression: how does a city that has a clear demarcation in its history (pre-1967 and post-1967) acknowledge its past, while celebrating its present and looking towards its future? Catherine Lenix-Hooker and the planners had what appeared to be a quick fix to tension. The initial designs for the new center had designated the house’s library as a museum for Gottfried Krueger, and Krueger family, artifacts. Through doing this, however, the question simply transformed to whether such recognition is enough. Delegating only one small room to a portion of the city’s history seems a convenient gesture. The room, had it been built, would have acknowledged that the building was owned by a wealthy German, but would likely have failed in capturing the specific tensions Krueger and his community faced. A surface level presentation of the mansion’s history is problematic because it continues the diametric tensions between the mainstream and the minority. The burden of deciding who and what is represented, in addition to how it is portrayed falls on the mainstreamed population. By not designating more attention to Krueger, the planners (and the City of Newark) engaged in the same deletion and omission that Harvey described in *The Right to the City*.

Some could argue that even with the ambiguity, the Krueger-Scott Mansion restoration efforts were concentrated on replicating the work of Louise Scott, who sought to uplift the black community. From this perspective, there was no need to even dedicate a room to Kruger—the

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renewed mansion was to celebrate African-American culture and history in Newark, something that had never been done when the white, business class elite were in power. That the planners even provided a room for Krueger is ample recognition of the past. Those arguments are undeniable and have merit to them. However, utilizing Harvey’s framework for creating more equitable cities, by not peeling the layers of history Newarkers increase the risk of de-historicizing events that have had a pivotal impact on the formation of the current city. By solely focusing on one era of the mansion, the planners lose the historical contexts that shaped that era. Thus, to keep the integrity of making the mansion a space for black Newarkers while also recognizing Gottfried Krueger, planners could have reconciled the two figures by including Krueger’s history in relation to African-American history. This method does not frame African-American history in the city from a German perspective, rather, it acknowledges that the actions of Krueger and the Germans, whether knowingly or not, affected the situation of African-Americans in the city. A similar situation happened during Krueger’s period in the late nineteenth century. During Krueger’s period, it was the Protestant clergy who dominated and they were oblivious to the shifting dynamics of their city. Without properly recognizing the present, the Protestant majority created a new system wherein ethnic coalitions and divisions became normalized—even encouraged. By neglecting to address the complexities of history-telling, Lenix-Hooker and the city of Newark succumbed to the same practice as the Protestants and ethnic coalitions before them.

142 An additional argument could be made that even though renovation for the mansion was commissioned by black Newarkers, the influence of “white Newark” never disappeared. According to Katie Singer of Rutgers-Newark, all decisions about the mansion had to be approved by the New Jersey Historic Trust, which was at the time dominated by white Newarkers. Thus, some would argue that their influence diminished black Newark’s “right” to define the mansion.
After the city determined it was going to abandon the project, blame started going around from person to person. Mayor James would blame Catherine Lenix-Hooker’s abilities by saying the project “was beyond her talents.” Lenix-Hooker for her part, interestingly, blamed the construction of the New Jersey Performing Arts Center as one of the reasons for the failure of the Krueger-Scott project. There is a strong basis for Lenix-Hooker’s argument as more city funds were diverted from the project to the development of NJPAC. Thus, in this instance, the Krueger-Scott Mansion was competing with NJPAC for relevance in the city. Metaphorically, this competition is another example of historic city tensions playing out due to the inability of city officials and activists to recognize the cyclical tensions. At this juncture, had Mayor James advocated for the Krueger-Scott Mansion project to continue, it would have represented an acknowledgement that Newark’s past was important in guiding the actions of the future. Instead, by backing the construction of the performing arts center, Mayor James subscribed, at least partly, to the same idea as Governor Kean. Both believed that this new art center, that held no meaning to residents of the city, would be the driving force of redevelopment and reinvestment in Newark.

After the project stopped, the mansion has returned to the original state it was in after Newark had foreclosed it—unattended and crumbling. The only difference between then and now is that there is currently a greater attention paid to the security of the building, a fence surrounding the building and a police watch station on the grounds. However, these precautions may be useless now as the only people who understand the gravitas of the Krueger-Scott

143 Andrew Jacobs, “Costs Hinder Efforts to Reclaim a Castle.”

144 Also, Mayor James was considered an ardent supporter of the New Jersey Performing Arts Center and served as one of its most strident lobbyists. He was also the main proponent for memorializing the Krueger-Scott Mansion. His jump from one project to another left some city activists wondering about his motives for promoting the latter’s restoration efforts.
Mansion are historians or older Newarkers who were impacted by Louise Scott. Younger
generations do not know who Louise Scott was, and it is doubtful that they even know the name
of the mansion known as the “Castle on a Hill.” The gradual removal of the Krueger-Scott
Mansion from local consciousness erases a source of epistemology that can provide a guide map
for future generation of Newarkers. It is imperative for politicians, businesspeople, and everyday
citizens to begin to unearth the history behind the Krueger-Scott Mansion. In this way, they
unearth the larger tensions that Newarkers of generations past have faced, and tensions that
Newarkers of the future will face.
CHAPTER 5:
Lessons from the Past: Using the Krueger-Scott Mansion for the Benefit of the City

On April 25, 2017, the Newark Star Ledger published an article titled “After Decline, Victorian Mansion in Newark is Restored as Office Space.”145 The building is located on 569 Martin Luther King Boulevard and has been remodeled to house the Newark Foundry Workspaces, the offices will serve as a “co-working space for entrepreneurs and small business owners.”146 The building was once a private residence in the 1950s and an one woman who attended the ribbon-cutting for this new space had remarked “Back then it was a mansion, then it was down. Now it is up again.”147 Although the similarities are striking, the building in question is not the Krueger-Scott Mansion, rather, it is another mansion that is representative of the splendor that was once on High Street. Newark city officials are trying to recreate that splendor, albeit through an economic framework. Thus, rather than have MLK Boulevard house the city’s wealthy, city officials and planners are reimagining the neighborhood as an economic engine that will drive part of the city’s redevelopment. This line of thought is unfortunate. Although city officials and planner are imagining new purposes for once forgotten spaces, they forget to acknowledge the history within the spaces. During the opening of Foundry, current Mayor Ras Baraka’s remarks were purely utilitarian. He did not see a building that was steeped in history, instead Mayor Baraka saw the building as a representation of the economic growth to come; the only comment about the history of the building came from the elder woman who simply

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147 Strunsky, “After Decline, Victorian Mansion in Newark is Restored as Office Space”.

62
remarked that the building was “up again.” The same fate cannot befall the Krueger-Scott Mansion.

The Krueger-Scott Mansion is a reminder of Newark’s glorious and turbulent past. And as presented above, it is not the only building of its kind, there are countless other buildings that can offer residents a glimpse into the Newark of old. For a city that is currently undergoing rapid change, these spaces can serve as sites for negotiation and edification. Gentrifying neighborhoods and cities across the country—often racially segregated and economically striving—face the dilemma of integrating new residents, while uplifting the existing population. For Newark, gentrifying is not a new phenomenon. The city has been accommodating and inviting new populations since its founding; the continual challenge however, is addressing the inevitable tensions that will arise between these groups.

As the arguments in this thesis have shown, Newark has largely neglected these tensions, for a variety of reasons. During Krueger’s period, the Germans had to form an ethnic coalition to be socially and politically present—in a sense, this action was a necessity. Later however, a booming economy allowed the white majority in the city to neglect the brewing tensions. While Louise Scott’s efforts to uplift the African-American community in the same way the Germans had done decades earlier were thwarted by institutional barriers. Finally, the City of Newark sought to memorialize the mansion in recognition of the work of Louise Scott, but in that process, it failed to properly assess how memorialization of a complex space should occur.

Presently, the Krueger-Scott Mansion remains empty and future plans are unknown. However, as the city is continuing to “redevelop” it is imperative to understand the history of the already built environment before ascribing a new purpose. Louis Wirth argues, the social
imprints of the past, for better or worse, will always influence the present, thus, failure to understand and address the past is to ignore the pieces and parcels of our identity as Newarkers.

Finally, even if the city decides to memorialize the mansion as an African-American museum, as argued earlier, we must also situate African-American history thorough the perspective of the larger narrative of Newark. This action will thus celebrate the accomplishments and tribulations of black Newarkers and is a step to addressing racial, class, and spatial tensions that had been ignored. Though the Krueger-Scott Mansion was the focus of this thesis, other spaces in the city hold an insightful lens into Newark’s long history. Those buildings are repositories of Newark’s histories and should be unearthed to show the historical mosaic of the constantly shifting city on the Passaic.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


National Register of Historic Places, Krueger-Scott Mansion, Newark, Essex County, New Jersey, National Register # 72000778.


Figure 1: Krueger-Scott Mansion in 2010
Figure 2: Map of Newark Ethnic Groups from 1911, Newark

This map, the only one of its kind, was commissioned by the leaders of the Presbyterian Church in Newark in 1910 as part of a study of the city's health needs.
FIGURE 3

Figure 3: Image of Gottfried Krueger, History of Essex County, New Jersey
FIGURE 4

Figure 4: "Negro Population by Wards in Newark" From the WPA

FIGURE 5

Figure 5: "A Bit of Germantown." [Link](http://riseupnewark.com/chapters/chapter-1/germans/)
FIGURE 6

Figure 6: Graduating class of the Scott College of Beauty Culture taken in the 1963 or 1964

FIGURE 7

Figure 7: Rendering of the Krueger Mansion from 1915
FIGURE 8

Figure 8: Inside of the Krueger-Scott Mansion, 2008 [http://1889victorianrestoration.blogspot.com/2011/12/most-endangered-krueger-scott-mansion.html](http://1889victorianrestoration.blogspot.com/2011/12/most-endangered-krueger-scott-mansion.html)
Figure 9: Picture of the inside of the Krueger Mansion from the 1890s