

## Theme: Residential Development

Pomona's advantageous location and increased accessibility with the advent of the automobile led to booming residential growth in the 1920s. Most residential development during this period was for single-family residences, although some multi-family residences, such as duplexes, fourplexes, and bungalow courts, were also constructed. Prevalent architectural styles include Period Revival styles, including Spanish Colonial Revival, Tudor Revival, Mediterranean Revival, English Revival, and American Colonial Revival.

Residential development during this period reflected both continued tract development, as well as the establishment of larger estate properties. Table 5 at the conclusion of this section lists the largest housing developments from the period within the city limits. Details about selected tracts in Pomona are included in Appendix A.

Pomona was improved with several estates in the 1920s. The "Roaring '20s" as they came to be known brought many people large amounts of wealth and prosperity. Consequently, many decided to invest in real estate, and large, sprawling estates were constructed across Southern California. Pomona was no exception. Notably, in 1925, cereal magnate W. K. Kellogg built a winter residence in Pomona that became known as the Kellogg Ranch. Designed by master architect Myron Hunt with landscaping by Charles Gibbs, the residence was constructed on 377 acres of land which included olive, citrus, pomegranate, and avocado trees.



Kellogg House, c. 1925 (left) and 2022 (right). *Cal Poly Pomona and HRG*.

Kellogg constructed the nation's largest privately owned airport on his land, which was rarely used. Kellogg also established extensive horse pastures and the growing of feed for his horse ranch. Kellogg founded the Arabian Horse Center, and beginning in 1932, he welcomed the public to watch free demonstrations. The horse shows were a major success. A number of Latinos were also employed by the Kellogg Ranch to tend the crops and care for the Arabian horses.

In 1932, Kellogg gave the Arabian Horse Center to the University of California with the stipulation that the popular horse shows continue and be free to the public. The property subsequently became known as the Institute of Animal Husbandry, and later became the site for the California State Polytechnic University, Pomona (Cal Poly Pomona).



Kellogg Ranch and Institute of Animal Husbandry, 1938. *Los Angeles Public Library*.

Multi-family residences were rare in Pomona prior to the 1920s, and even during this period remained a relatively uncommon property type. Multi-family properties during this time were typically limited to low-scale housing, including duplexes, fourplexes, and bungalow courts, although there were also some larger courtyard apartments. These multi-family properties were often built as in-fill development in otherwise largely single-family residential neighborhoods.



Representative Courtyard Apartment. *HRG*.

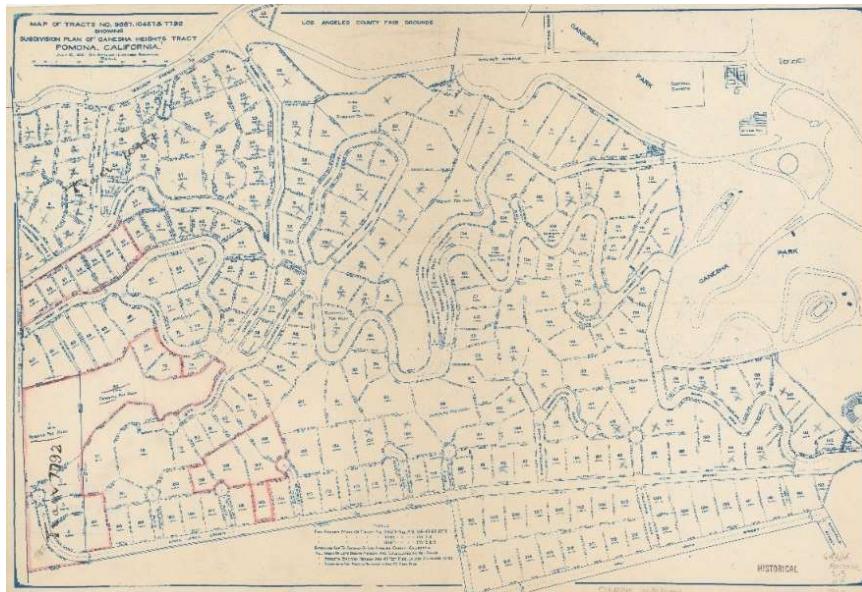
Excluding the few residential estates and multi-family properties of the period, most residential development in Pomona during the 1920s was characterized by single-family residential tract developments. Although the entry in World War I had halted “unnecessary land development projects and construction work” in Pomona, single-family residential subdivisions resumed following the end of the war. By the 1920s, many larger residential tracts were already plotted.

Subsequently, residences developed in the 1920s and 1930s were located on the empty lots in extant tract developments, infilling previously scattered residences. Tracts were typically developed with residences filling in available lots over time, rather than the rapid development of post-World War II tracts.

Development of these tracts was partially made possible by the influence of the automobile, as residences were no longer developed at a walkable scale, but could be built farther away from the downtown corridor. New residential development included features directly related to automobile transportation, including curb cuts, sidewalks, driveways, and detached garages.

Although most residential development was completed on existing tracts, one notable exception was the Ganesha Heights Tract. This subdivision that was established in the 1920s by Allen P. Nicholas and planned by Charles Cheney. Cheney was a well-known city planner who had assisted on the planning commissions of Portland, Oregon; Berkely; Palos Verdes Estates; and Claremont. Ganesha Heights Tract was comprised of several smaller land developments, notably Tract 7900 and Tract 9687 and was located within the hills near Ganesha Park. Ganesha Heights was envisioned as an “exclusive” subdivision. As recorded in a 1927 article entitled “San Jose Hills to Become Home Tract of Better Class”:

Distinctly a subdivision of the first order, planned with the utmost attention to the most minute detail of landscape, natural beauty, convenience, accessibility and restrictions, Ganesha Heights exclusive home sites will be offered to the people of Southern California within the next few weeks.<sup>269</sup>



Ganesha Heights Tract Map, 1930. *University of California, Los Angeles, Henry J. Bruman Collection.*

The National Housing Act of 1934 established the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), which helped reignite the construction of single-family homes by establishing mortgage terms that were

<sup>269</sup> “San Jose Hills to Become Home Tract of Better Class,” *The Bulletin*, January 1, 1927.

conducive to the average American family and would regulate the interest rates and terms of interest that had ballooned out of control in the aftermath of the stock market crash. Although the agency's programs would have little impact until the years following World War II, the FHA's efforts to establish a protocol for the construction of single-family dwellings during this period had a lasting impact on both residential design and community planning.

By the 1930s, in addition to the Period Revival styles popularized in the 1920s, residences with a simpler, more restrained use of traditional architectural detailing were prevalent. This includes the simplified Minimal Traditional designs influenced by the FHA's minimum property standards required for receiving a loan. Minimal Traditional houses were immensely popular in large suburban residential developments throughout the United States starting in the 1930s and into the 1940s.

## **HOUSING DISCRIMINATION**

In the 1920s and 1930s, private developers participated in institutionalized racism by attaching restrictive covenants to their new residential developments. Restrictive covenants were legal clauses written into property deeds dictating that a property owner could only sell or rent a property to "Caucasians," otherwise the owner could lose the property. In some covenants, the excluded groups were mentioned by name, and invariably included "African Americans, Mexicans, Asians, and Jews." A typical covenant lasted for 20 to 50 years.<sup>270</sup> Local, state, and federal jurisdictions all became involved in promoting and enforcing restrictive covenants. Restrictive covenants were challenged in the California and U.S. Supreme Courts in 1919 and 1926, but were ultimately upheld as constitutional, which unleashed their widespread use.

The real estate industry also reinforced discriminatory practices and the "color line." In 1924, the National Association of Real Estate Boards established a "code of ethics" which prohibited realtors from introducing "members of any race or nationality" to a neighborhood if it would threaten property values. This resulted in the practice known as "steering"—not showing properties in white neighborhoods to people of color. The penalty for not adhering to the ethics code, which stayed in effect until the late 1950s, was loss of license.<sup>271</sup>

Federal programs also played a significant role in systemic racism. Two New Deal housing institutions, the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC, founded in 1933) and the 1934 FHA, which were both created to encourage homeownership and to protect homeowners at risk of foreclosure during the Great Depression. In practice, they only provided protection for white property owners. Through an overt practice of denying mortgages based upon race and ethnicity, the FHA played a significant role in the legalization and institutionalization of racism and segregation.

The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) insured bank mortgages that covered 80 percent of purchase prices. To be eligible, the FHA conducted an appraisal of the property in order to select properties that had a low risk of default. The guidelines included a "whites only" requirement. The

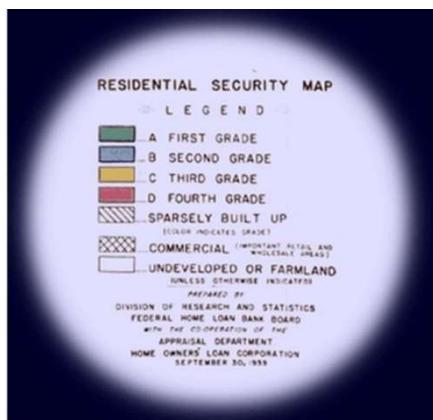
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<sup>270</sup> SurveyLA: African American Historic Context Statement, 38.

<sup>271</sup> SurveyLA: African American Historic Context Statement, 40. As Richard Rothstein points out in his book, *The Color of Law*, the state licensure of these realtors did not make them government agents but in effect the state did contribute to *de jure* segregation by licensing organizations that utilized these practices. Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law* (New York, NY: Liveright, 2017).

FHA underwriting manual for its appraisers also recommended against “an infiltration of inharmonious racial or nationality groups,” and discouraged loans in older, urban neighborhoods.<sup>272</sup> The 1936 FHA *Underwriting Manual* recommended “deeds to properties for which it issued mortgage insurance should include an explicit prohibition of resale to Black citizens.”<sup>273</sup>

To fulfill their missions of refinancing mortgages and granting low-interest loans to those who had lost their homes, the agencies began rating neighborhoods as “security risks.” What emerged was a racial ranking of neighborhoods that relegated African American, Mexican, and Asian neighborhoods to the bottom. Although other factors such as class, the presence of industry, density, housing stock, and tax blight were also considered, racial composition was a key factor in ranking, or coloring, those neighborhoods red (as in *redlining*). These areas were barred from receiving federal assistance, effectively segregated, and plunged into a vicious circle of decline.



Key to redlining maps of the 1930s. *Mapping Inequality*.

The FHA's original system for appraising risk used letter grades. "A" areas, in green, indicated areas where maximum loans were granted. "B" areas, in blue, were not as desirable, but still considered relatively low risk. "C" areas, in yellow, were considered in decline. "D" areas, in red, were considered to be in full decline; properties in neighborhoods with a "D" rating were rejected for mortgage insurance.

The 1939 redlining map of Pomona shows that agencies had already identified the majority of Pomona as “definitely declining” due to an influx of Latino and African American families” (yellow areas) suggesting that these areas were hazardous for lenders and thereby establishing a pattern of disinvestment and discrimination that reinforced systemic racism in the city.

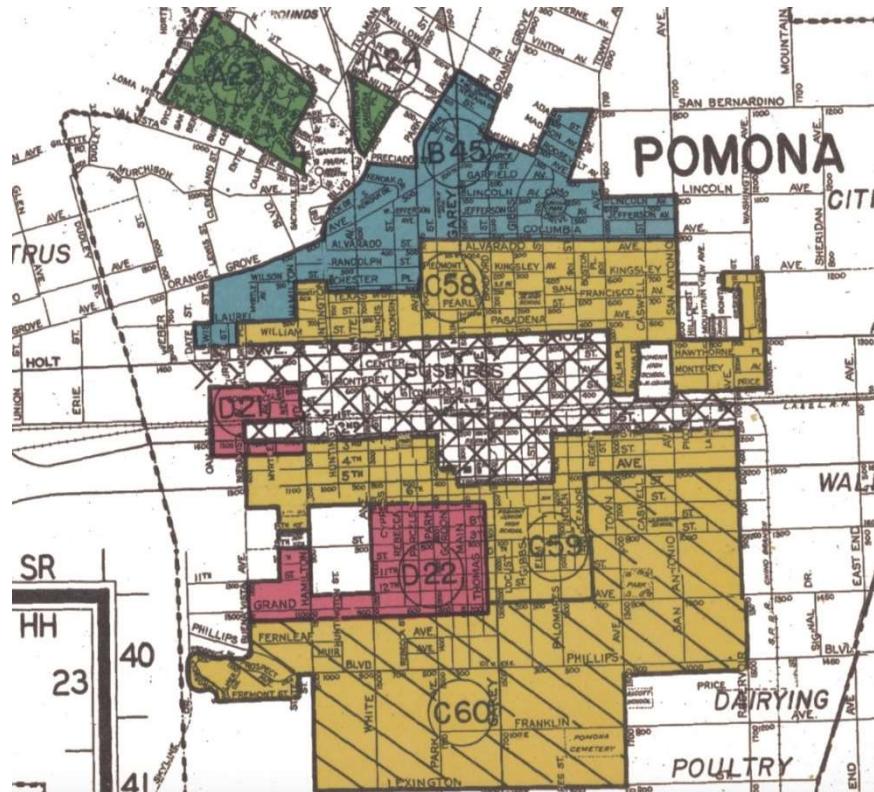
Two neighborhoods (red areas) were identified as being “in full decline” resulting from “an infiltration of Mexicans...not built in the typical Mexican farm labor shack type, but are the relics of a once acceptable neighborhood.”<sup>274</sup> These two areas included a small neighborhood spanning both sides of the railroad tracks near east of Oak Avenue and west of Hamilton Boulevard and a

<sup>272</sup> Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, 67.

<sup>273</sup> Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, 84.

<sup>274</sup> Clean and Green Pomona, <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/c5b6b05808014b5a9e24cf82b2a4dd1b> (accessed March 1, 2022).

larger area south of 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue southward to Grand Avenue, west of Garey Avenue extending westward to Buena Vista Avenue. The first area spanning the railroad tracks was occupied by vernacular residences. The second area west of Garey Avenue consisted of a mix of vernacular structures and large two-story homes in poor condition. It was further noted that Latinos were beginning to move in on Fillmore Place and on Holt west of Fillmore Place. Only the Ganesha Hills area of Pomona was identified as good for investment. These redlined areas establish the dividing line that postwar realtors would later characterize as “no broker that valued his livelihood would show a house north of Holt Avenue to a Mexican American.”<sup>275</sup>



1939 redlining map identifying most of Pomona as “definitely declining” due to an influx of Latino and African American families” (declining neighborhoods shown in yellow); and two neighborhoods (shown in red) in full decline. These maps established patterns of disinvestment and discrimination that remain in Pomona to this day. *Mapping Inequality*.

## ELIGIBILITY STANDARDS

### Summary Statement of Significance

The period from 1920 to 1940 saw a boom in residential development in Pomona, as the automobile allowed greater sprawl away from the central downtown core. While single-family residences remained the primary property type, multi-family residences, including duplexes, fourplexes, bungalow courts, and courtyard apartments are also scattered throughout Pomona

<sup>275</sup> Pomona Gropes for Stability in Storm of Ethnic Change,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 24, 1971, A1.

from the period. Resources that are eligible under this theme may be significant as the site of an important event, for their association with the increase in tract residential development in Pomona, or for an association with an ethnic or cultural group or a person important in local, state, or national history.

While individual tract housing is typically not eligible for individual listing under Criterion A/1/1,9, it can be significant as a collection that reflects important development patterns of the period; or as a residential enclave resulting from discriminatory practices, for example, the center of the African American community because of exclusionary practices elsewhere. Properties may also be significant as an example of a style or type; architectural styles in Pomona are discussed in the Architecture and Design Section.

<b>Period of Significance</b>	1920-1940
<b>Period of Significance Justification</b>	Broadly covers the residential boom in Pomona from 1920 to 1940.
<b>Geographic Location</b>	Citywide.
<b>Property Type Description</b>	Significant property types are those representing important periods of residential development in Pomona, including single-family residences, multi-family residences, tract features and amenities including street trees/other significant landscape features and streetlights.

#### **Criterion A/1/1,9 (Events/Patterns of Development)**

Individual residential properties that are eligible under this criterion may be significant:

- As the site of an event important in history; or
- For exemplifying an important trend or pattern of residential development.

Note that in order to be individually eligible for designation for representing a pattern of development, the property must be the first of its type, a rare remnant example of a significant period of development, or a catalyst for development in the city or neighborhood. Merely dating from a specific period is typically not enough to qualify for designation. Residences that are eligible for an association with a trend or pattern of development from this period may be more appropriately evaluated as part of a historic district.

A collection of residential properties that are eligible under this criterion as a historic district may be significant:

- For representing an important pattern or trend in residential development, such as the establishment of a notable tract.
- As an intact collection of residences that represent the growth of Pomona during the period.

Note that some residential tract development may span several themes or periods of development. Local designation for historic districts includes Criteria 4, 6, and 8.

**Integrity Considerations:**

In order to be eligible for designation under this criterion, a property must retain sufficient integrity to convey its historic significance.

- Residential properties from this period should retain integrity of location,<sup>276</sup> design, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association, at a minimum, in order to convey their significance.
- An individual property that is eligible for a historic association must retain the essential physical features that made up its character or appearance during the period of its association with an event or historical pattern.
- Note that some properties that may not retain sufficient integrity for listing in the National Register may remain eligible for listing at the state and local levels.

For historic districts:

- The majority of the components that add to the district's historic character must possess integrity, as must the district as a whole
  - The historic district must retain a majority of contributors that date from the period of significance.
  - A contributing property must retain integrity of location, design, workmanship, setting, feeling, and association to adequately convey the significance of the historic district.
  - Some alterations to individual buildings, such as replacement of roof materials, replacement garage doors, and replacement of windows within original openings may be acceptable as long as the district as a whole continues to convey its significance.
  - Original tract features may also be contributing features.

**Registration Requirements:**

To be eligible under this criterion, an individual property must:

- Date from the period of significance; and

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<sup>276</sup> Unless the property was moved during the period of significance.

- Have a proven association with an event important in history; or
- Represent an important catalyst for a pattern or trend in residential development; or
- Display most of the character-defining features of the property type or style; and
- Retain the essential aspects of historic integrity.

To be eligible under this criterion, a historic district eligible under this theme must:

- Retain a majority of contributing buildings from the period of significance; and
- Retain significant character-defining features from the period of significance, including any important landscape or hardscape features; and
- Retain the original layout, reflecting planning and design principles from the period; and
- Retain the essential aspects of historic integrity.

### **Criterion B/2/2 (Important Persons)**

Individual residential properties eligible under this criterion may be significant:

- For an association with persons significant in our past; or
- For a proven association with a specific significant ethnic or cultural group that made a demonstrable impact on the community.

Note that according to National Park Service guidance, persons significant in our past refers to individuals whose activities are demonstrably important within a local, state, or national historic context. A property is not eligible if its only justification for significance is that it was owned or used by a person who is a member of an identifiable profession, class, or social or ethnic group. In addition, the property must be associated with a person's productive life, reflecting the time period when he or she achieved significance.

#### **Integrity Considerations:**

In order to be eligible for designation under this criterion, a property must retain sufficient integrity from the period of significance to convey its association with the important person.

- Residential properties from this period should retain integrity of design, workmanship, feeling, and association, at a minimum, in order to convey the property's association with the significant person's productive period.
- A general rule is that the property must be recognizable to contemporaries of the person with which it is associated.

#### **Registration Requirements:**

To be eligible under this criterion a property must:

- Have a proven association with the productive period of a person important to local, state, or national history; and

- Display most of the character-defining features of the property type or style from the period of significance (i.e., the period when the property was associated with the important person); and
- Retain the essential aspects of integrity.

### **Criterion C/3,5,7 (Architecture and Design)**

Individual residential properties that are eligible under this criterion may be significant as:

- An excellent example of an architectural style, property type, or method of construction; or
- A distinctive work by a noted architect, landscape architect, builder, or designer.

#### **Integrity Considerations:**

In order to be eligible for designation under this criterion, a property must retain sufficient integrity from the period of significance to convey its architecture.

- Residential properties significant under this criterion should retain integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and feeling, at a minimum.
- A property that is eligible for designation as a good/excellent or rare example of its style or type retains most - though not necessarily all - of the character-defining features of the style.
- A property important for illustrating a particular architectural style or construction technique must retain most of the physical features that constitute that style or technique. A property can be eligible if it has lost some historic materials or details but retains the majority of the essential features from the period of significance. These features illustrate the style in terms of the massing, spatial relationships, proportion, pattern of windows and doors, texture of materials, and ornamentation.
- A property is not eligible if it retains some basic features conveying massing but has lost the majority of the features that once characterized its style.

#### **Registration Requirements:**

To be eligible under this criterion a property must:

- Date from the period of significance; and
- Represent an excellent or rare example of a style or type; and
- Display most of the character-defining features of the style or type; and
- Represent quality of design and distinctive details; and
- Retain the essential aspects of integrity.