

**United States Department of the Interior**  
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. **Place additional certification comments, entries, and narrative items on continuation sheets if needed (NPS Form 10-900a).**

## 1. Name of Property

historic name West Side School  
other names/site number Mexican School, Spanish School

## 2. Location

street & number 100 S. 3<sup>rd</sup> St

N/A
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 not for publication  
city or town Worland

N/A
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 Vicinity  
state Wyoming code WY county Washakie code 20 zip code 82401

## 3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,  
I hereby certify that this  nomination  request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.  
In my opinion, the property  meets  does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:  
 national  statewide  local

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of certifying official/Title Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property  meets  does not meet the National Register criteria.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of commenting official Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Title State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

## 4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register  determined eligible for the National Register
- determined not eligible for the National Register  removed from the National Register
- other (explain:) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

## 5. Classification

West Side School  
 Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
 County and State

**Ownership of Property**  
 (Check as many boxes as apply.)

- private
- public - Local
- public - State
- public - Federal

**Category of Property**  
 (Check only **one** box.)

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

**Number of Resources within Property**  
 (Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
1	0	buildings
0	0	sites
0	0	structures
0	0	objects
1	0	<b>Total</b>

**Name of related multiple property listing**  
 (Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

**Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register**

Educational Facilities in Wyoming, 1850-1960

N/A

**6. Function or Use**

**Historic Functions**  
 (Enter categories from instructions.)

Educational/School

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**Current Functions**  
 (Enter categories from instructions.)

Commercial

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**7. Description**

**Architectural Classification**  
 (Enter categories from instructions.)

Late 19<sup>th</sup>/Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century American Movements  
Other: WPA Art Deco

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**Materials**  
 (Enter categories from instructions.)

foundation: Concrete  
 walls: Brick

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roof: Asphalt  
 other: \_\_\_\_\_

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**Narrative Description**

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance of the property. Explain contributing and noncontributing resources if necessary. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, setting, size, and significant features.)

**Summary Paragraph**

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

Located in Worland, Washakie County, Wyoming, the West Side School was designed by Wyoming architect Leon Goodrich and built by the Workers Progress Administration in 1936. Washakie County is located in north central Wyoming. The West Side School is located at 100 South 3<sup>rd</sup> Street in an urban, mixed-use residential and commercial neighborhood at the intersection of Big Horn Avenue and 3<sup>rd</sup> Street. The façade faces 3<sup>rd</sup> street. The school building has a paved parking lot immediately in front of its façade with a row of evergreen bushes and standard width sidewalk separating the building from the lot. The parking lot wraps around the southeastern corner of the property and extends the length of the southern boundary. A level lawn extends along the northern elevation and wraps around to the western elevation. Mechanical equipment is neatly organized on a concrete pad near the western elevation. There is a gravel parking lot on the western two-thirds of the property. The historical use of the gravel parking lot is not known; currently, it is used for storage of recreational vehicles and trailers. There are not any trees on the property. A brick sign set on a concrete pad is located on the northeast corner of the property.

The school is a bi-level building, rear-facing T-plan with a stepped façade; the building measures 77' x 47'. It was constructed on a concrete foundation. Exterior red brick walls are laid in a running bond with the exception of repeating geometric patterns on the northern and southern elevations. The school has an interior brick chimney located on the southern portion of the flat roof; the roof has a parapet extending around the eastern, southern, and northern elevations. The school is an example of the unembellished WPA Art Deco buildings commonly built during the Great Depression

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## **Narrative Description**

### Exterior

#### *East – Façade*

The main entry to the school building faces east and is centered on the stepped façade. The façade has symmetrical fenestration. The red brick is laid in a running bond. The parapet is red brick laid in a soldier course. The recessed front door is glass and flanked by fixed sidelights; it is surrounded by green stone. Originally, the building had double wooden, paneled doors with fixed windows. On the second floor, centered directly above the entrance is a large window opening, which has been filled in with horizontal, wooden planks. The front entrance is flanked on either side by windows. There are two sets of two casement windows on either side of the entrance on the first floor; each set of windows is placed in a single window opening and surrounded by horizontal, wooden planks. This same pattern is repeated on the second floor for a total of sixteen windows. The original window openings contained large, casement windows without any wood planks. Rows of evergreen bushes on either side of the entrance span the length of the building and partially obscure the basement level windows.

#### *Southern and Northern Elevations*

The southern and northern elevations are identical. Both elevations are red brick laid in a running bond with the exception of a repeating diamond, geometric pattern created with brown bricks and set in between vertical columns of the same brown brick. There is a horizontal course of red bricks set in a soldier course approximately five feet beneath the parapet. The parapet is stepped on the western side of each elevation; the parapet is red brick laid in a soldier course. There are not any windows, doors, or openings on either elevation.

#### *West*

It is on the western elevation that the t-plan is evident. Originally, the wing creating the T-plan was a basement level wing only. At some unidentifiable date following the period of significance, a second story was added.

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

The original exterior of the western elevation was entirely brick laid in a running bond. The addition is wood frame with wooden planks – similar to those filling in the window openings on the façade – placed horizontally on the exterior.

There are two entrances on the western elevation. The first is a basement level entrance near the southern juncture of the wing. The door is solid metal and mint green. The second entrance is located on the southern elevation of the second story addition. This door is also metal and mint green; it is accessed by a metal, mint green, exterior staircase.

There are three fixed windows on the original wing – the first window is on the southern elevation of the wing, the second window is located on the western elevation of the wing, and the third window is located on the northern elevation of the wing. There are four windows on the wooden addition; all four windows are 2 over 2, double hung and located on the western elevation. The roof on the addition is flat with a wide overhang on the western elevation. The northern and southern elevations have wooden parapets.

## Interior

### *Historic Interior*

The interior floor plan for the West Side School has been modified multiple times; the most recent modifications were in 2020. At the time of its construction, the school had four classrooms – two on the basement level and two on the upper level. The front door led into a small vestibule located between the basement and first floor levels. Following the vestibule, there was a small landing; stairs leading to the lower level were on the right and stairs to the upper level were on the left. At the bottom of the stairs on the lower level there was a small hallway with three doorways. According to the blueprints, Classroom 4 (as stated on the blueprints) was to the right; Classroom 1 was to the left. Across from the stairs the mechanical room is flanked by the boys (left) and girls (right) bathrooms. Additionally, a short staircase led to an exit between the boy's bathroom and the mechanical room; this exit no longer exists. Classrooms 1 and 4 were nearly identical: there were two large windows located in the eastern wall, the blackboards were set on the southern and western walls, and the wardrobes were on the northern walls. The boys and girls bathrooms were also nearly identical. Each bathroom had three stalls and one sink; the boys bathroom had three urinals as well. In the girl's bathroom, the window was on the northern wall; in the boy's bathroom, the window was on the southern wall.

There were two classrooms and an office on the upper level. The office was located at the top of the staircase and was small with a single window on the eastern wall. The two classrooms (Classroom 11 on the north and Classroom 8 on the south) on the upper level were also identical and located directly above the lower level classrooms. Each classroom had large windows located on the eastern wall and a small window on the western wall. There were blackboards on the southern and western walls. The wardrobes were located on the northern walls.

Originally, the entire building had hardwood floors.

### *Modern Interior*

The front door of the West Side School leads into a vestibule; the exterior door and interior doors are glass. The flooring in the vestibule and landing is linoleum tile. The staircases between the lower and upper levels are also covered in linoleum tile.

The structural layout on the lower level has not changed substantially. The two classrooms have had multiple cosmetic changes. In each classroom, the two large window openings have been nearly completely filled in.

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

There are two smaller awning windows in each of the original window openings. The floors have been carpeted and the ceilings covered with drop ceiling tiles. An exterior door was added to the western wall of Classroom 1 near the juncture with the western wing.

There have been more substantial interior modifications made to the upper level. In Classroom 11 most of the changes have been cosmetic: the window openings have been filled and replaced with small awning windows (exactly like those in Classrooms 1 and 4), the ceiling has been replaced with a drop tile ceiling, the floors have been replaced. Classroom 8 has been divided into smaller rooms, including a kitchen. There have also been cosmetic changes similar to those in Classroom 11. The largest change is the second story addition to the western wing of the original building. This additional room is accessed through Classroom 8. It has four windows located on the western wall.

### Integrity

The integrity of the West Side School building is compromised. There have been multiple cosmetic alterations made to the building as well as several large additions and interior remodeling projects; these changes were made after the period of significance. Because the building has been owned by so many different parties, it has not been possible to determine exactly when these changes were made. Specifically, it has not been possible to determine when the second story addition was made to the western wing of the building or when the window openings along the façade were filled in with wooden planks. Interior modifications have also been done – a kitchen added to the second floor, for example; these modifications cannot be dated either. However, these alterations do not significantly affect the historic significance of the school. The window openings remain in place and the additions are on secondary elevations. As a result, the building is still recognizable as a school building. The West Side School is distinct in the annals of Wyoming history. It stands as the only remaining building that was built with the sole purpose to segregate Mexican and white children in Wyoming, and it was done so with assistance from the WPA during the 1930s. The MPDF “Educational Facilities in Wyoming, 1850-1960” pertains to this nomination, even though the West Side School has a unique history, because it is still indicative of educational trends in Wyoming during the time it was constructed. The use of WPA funding reflects a trend of increased receipt of federal funds for building projects throughout the state.

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

**8. Statement of Significance**

**Applicable National Register Criteria**

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

**Criteria Considerations N/A**

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- A Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B removed from its original location.
- C a birthplace or grave.
- D a cemetery.
- E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F a commemorative property.
- G less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years.

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

**Areas of Significance**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Education

Ethnic Heritage: Hispanic

**Period of Significance**

1936-1956

**Significant Dates**

1936, 1956

**Significant Person**

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

N/A

**Cultural Affiliation**

N/A

**Architect/Builder**

Goodrich, Leon C., architect

Works Progress Administration, builder

**Period of Significance (justification)**

The period of significance for the Worland School is from its construction in 1936 until 1956 following the immediate aftermath of the *Brown v. Board of Education (1954/55)* Supreme Court decisions and Wyoming's repeal of its permissive educational segregation law in 1955.

**Criteria Considerations (explanation, if necessary)**

**Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph** (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance and applicable criteria.)

The Mexican or Spanish school was built in Worland, the county seat of Washakie County. It currently resides in a mixed residential and industrial neighborhood at the intersection of Big Horn Ave and 3<sup>rd</sup> St at 100 S. 3<sup>rd</sup> St. According to both the Public Works Administration (PWA) and WPA application the school was designed and built for the following: "School facilities are inadequate. Grade school is needed to relieve contestation and to segregate white and Mexican children."<sup>1</sup> The Mexican or Spanish School served as a segregated elementary school for the city's Hispanic children from 1936-1956. Children of Mexican descent attended Worland city's schools in an integrated setting until the Great Depression when anti-Mexican sentiment drove the building of a segregated school in 1936. Known most commonly as the Mexican or Spanish School it was also known as the West Side School. The Mexican school in Worland was in operation until 1956, following the immediate aftermath of the *Brown v. Board of Education (1954/55)* Supreme Court decisions and Wyoming's repeal of its permissive educational segregation law in 1955.<sup>2</sup> The school was in use for Mexican descent children until 1956, when it was temporarily used to house middle school students, served as the Worland school administration building, a bank, Wyoming Highway Patrol, and is currently used as an office building.

<sup>1</sup> Wyoming WPA Project Files, Reel 107, OP 65-83-272, Document #7382, #7896.

<sup>2</sup> The last time the "Spanish School" was mentioned was 1954, see "Mexico is Topic of Club Program," *The Billings Gazette*, May 2, 1954. In 1955 the Spanish School was referenced as the West Side School in the media, "Worland School Opening is Set," *The Billings Gazette* (Billings, MT), August 20, 1955. A survey of Worland schools in 1957 found the West Side School or Mexican School no longer in use and a sharp decline in the local Mexican American population, see *School Building Needs: A Report of a Survey in Worland School District* (College of Education, University of Wyoming, March 1957), 2, 26-27.

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

The Mexican School is nominated to the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A in the areas of Education and Ethnic Heritage: Hispanic due to it being one of the only—if not the only—public schools built in Wyoming for the sole purpose of segregating Hispanic children and illuminating how geographically expansive the segregation of Hispanic children was in public schools.

Although the building was designed by famed Wyoming architect Leon C. Goodrich and was constructed in 1936 by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) as part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program, integrity issues prevent it from being significant until Criterion C for its architectural significance.

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**Narrative Statement of Significance** (Provide at least one paragraph for each area of significance.)

Wyoming's Mexican presence dates back to territorial days of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century though a noticeably permanent Mexican population was distinctly a 20<sup>th</sup> century occurrence.<sup>3</sup> The number of Mexicans grew quickly, from 2,051 in 1920 to 7,174 in 1930, making Wyoming the state with the seventh highest percentage of Mexican population in the U.S.<sup>4</sup> Washakie County—with Worland as county seat—had the highest percentage of all counties in the state.<sup>5</sup> The majority of the Mexican population settlement was a consequence of the expanding sugar beet industry in the state that was dependent on migrant and family contract labor. They soon became invaluable to Wyoming's agricultural economy, even prompting Wyoming senators and farmers to go before Congress to protest restrictive immigration legislation in 1928.<sup>6</sup> In one telling testimony by Senator and former Governor of Wyoming, John B. Kendrick stated, "I say to you in all sincerity that if you do prevent us from getting that Mexican labor you are going to destroy the beet sugar industry of my State."<sup>7</sup>

The fact that the Mexican laborers brought their children to Wyoming influenced the way sugar beet companies went about recruiting and retaining them.<sup>8</sup> Distinct to the sugar beet industry of the Mountain States—Colorado, Montana, Nebraska, and Wyoming— was the massive Mexican colonization project focused on family recruitment and the creation of company colonies that housed them in the winter.<sup>9</sup> This strategy reached its apex during the latter 1920s, and by 1929, the colonization endeavor in Wyoming created Mexican colonies or settlements in areas such as Sheridan and throughout the Big Horn Basin and North Platte Valley.<sup>10</sup> In Worland alone, the colonization project produced a Mexican population that was almost 30% of the entire city.<sup>11</sup> Due to the family labor practice of the colonization scheme, the education of children in the sugar

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<sup>3</sup> "Mexican Immigration to Wyoming," Lawrence Cardoso Notes, Box 9, Folder 6, Lawrence Cardoso Papers, American Heritage Center, Laramie, WY (Hereafter cited as LCP); Antonio Rios-Bustamante, "Wyoming's Mexican Hispanic History," *Annals of Wyoming* 73, no.2 (Spring 2001): 2-9.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Broadbent, "The Distributions of Mexican Populations in the U.S"(PhD Dissertation, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1941), 171.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> For an excellent discussion of immigration hearings pertaining to the sugar beet industry and Mexican labor please see, "Chapter 6: Mexican Immigration and Immigration Debates," in Kathleen Mapes, *Sweet Tyranny: Migrant Labor, Industrial Agriculture, and Imperial Politics* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

<sup>7</sup> John D. Kendrick Testimony. *Restriction of Western Hemisphere Immigration* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928), 72.

<sup>8</sup> Sugar beet companies used public schools as a recruitment strategy, see: "Escuela De Ninos En Una De Las Colonias de los Trabajadores" Beet Labor Film, Great Western Sugar Digital Collection. Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado. <http://lib.colostate.edu/archives/greatwestern/item.php?id=1021731600> (accessed June 23, 2016)

<sup>9</sup> This is not to say that sugar beet companies did not do similar strategies elsewhere, but the focus was on the Mountain States. See: Frank Bajaras, *Curious Unions: Mexican American Workers and Resistance in Oxnard, California, 1898-1961* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Dennis Valdes, "Settlers, Sojourners, and Proletarians: Social Formation in the Great Plains Sugar Beet Industry, 1890-1940", *Great Plains Quarterly* 10 (Spring 1990): 110-123; Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on the Anglo-Hispanic in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1989); April Merleaux, "Sugar and Civilization: Race, Empire, and the Cultural Politics of Sweetness in the United States, 1898--1939." (Dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, CT, 2010); Ruben Donato, *Mexicans and Hispanos in Colorado Schools and Communities, 1920-1960* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007); Jim Norris, *North for the Harvest: Mexican Workers, Growers, and the Sugar Beet Industry* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Society, 2009).

<sup>10</sup> C.V. Maddux testimony, *Immigration from Countries of the Western Hemisphere: Hearings, 70<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> session* (Washington: Government Printing, 1928). 614-615; Fred Holmes interview, Labor Superintendent, Holly Sugar Company, p.121=122, Carton 11, Folder 25, Paul S. Taylor Papers, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley (Hereafter cited as PSTP); Augustin Redwine, "Lovell's Mexican Colony," *Annals of Wyoming* 51, 2(1979): 26-35.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Smith, "Racial Elements—Big Horn Basin," p.4, WPA #1252, Works Progress Administration Collection, Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne, Wyoming. (Hereafter cited as WPAC)



West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

beet fields developed into a pressing issue in Wyoming's company colony districts. At first, these students, along with the children of other laborers, attended school with the children of local white Americans. Though the congressional committee hearing testimony on the wisdom of immigration restrictions questioned the viability of mixing Mexican children, in particular, into the school, Wyomingites testified there were no issues with it. As one farmer from Cowley put it, "the white people accept them alright."<sup>12</sup>

The schooling problem produced by the sugar beet industry was on the radar of school officials as early as 1923 when Wyoming passed its first child labor laws.<sup>13</sup> But as the beet industry expanded throughout the state so did the educational problem it posed.<sup>14</sup> State officials in Wyoming were inspired to work toward a resolution to the sugar beet student attendance problem on a larger scale after observing Mexican children in beet work and encountering a Mexican foreman in Worland in 1929.<sup>15</sup> Governor Frank C. Emerson and his secretary, Amy Abbott, drove through Worland on their way to the state capital, by chance coinciding with the sugar beet harvest. They stopped and spoke to Jim Delao, the Mexican foreman for the Holly Sugar Factory, who expressed his interest in creating better educational opportunities for all sugar beet students, not just Mexicans. Abbott was impressed with Delao's straightforward discussion of Mexican sugar beet workers, in particular, commenting, "As I talked with the Mexican foreman I was impressed with the desirability of securing the co-operation of the Mexicans themselves through promotion and appreciation of what an education means to their children."<sup>16</sup> Delao's greatest objection to the beet work for children was the long hours and the interference with school attendance. According to Abbott, Delao believed "The Mexican children, considering their disadvantages, appear equally as bright as other Wyoming children, generally speaking."<sup>17</sup> The issue of concern was not the intelligence of Mexican children but the family contract labor practice of the sugar beet industry.<sup>18</sup> His focus on labor echoed how Wyoming policy makers and school officials understood the problem as well.

Between 1929 and 1931, Wyoming school and state officials launched an intrastate campaign to develop an educational policy for its sugar beet children, a policy that centered on their labor class status not their race and ethnicity. At the root of the problem was their irregular school attendance. The educational campaign consumed the governor-appointed Child Labor and Welfare Committee led by Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, a University of Wyoming professor and Americanization advocate.<sup>19</sup> Hebard and the Committee focused on creating an educational policy allowing sugar beet children to "catch-up" and integrate with American children outside of the sugar beet industry.<sup>20</sup> As Hebard noted, "in this way, directly or indirectly, the two sets of children come into contact which helps in an educational democracy."<sup>21</sup> Here the Committee embraced a view of the Mexican and sugar beet child as an "immigrant" child worthy of Americanization at a time when similar movements almost exclusively focused on European immigrants or ethnics nationally.<sup>22</sup> The placing of

<sup>12</sup> Testimony: Jess Crosby, *Immigration from the Counties of the Western Hemisphere. Hearings Before The Committee on immigration and Naturalization House of Representatives*. Seventieth Congress. First Session. February 21 to April 5, 1928 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928), 340.

<sup>13</sup> As early as 1922, Wyoming school officials recognized the child labor problem in the beet fields, see James R. Coxen, Wyoming State Director for Vocational Education, to Hebard, December 30, 1922, Box 2, Folder 25, GRHP.

<sup>14</sup> "Wyoming Comes to the Fore." *The American Child*, May 1923, 6; "How Schools and Farmers Work Together in Wyoming," *The American Child*, March 1924, 7; Tidball to Hebard, March 19, 1924, Box 2, Folder 26, GRHP. Also see, "Children Exploited in the Beet Sugar Fields," *The Casper Herald*, February 4, 1922.

<sup>15</sup> The entire interaction is documented in: Amy Abbot to Hebard, RE: Child Labor Research, November 7, 1929, Box 3, Folder 1, GRHP. The sugar beet industry was always connected to a child labor problem in Wyoming; see Lewis C. Tidball, Commissioner of Education, to Hebard, March 19, 1924, Box 2, Folder 26, GRHP.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> For an in depth discussion of Hebard's Americanization and overall education career see: Frank Van Nuys, *Americanizing the West: Race, Immigrants, and Citizenship, 1890-1930*(Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2002).

<sup>20</sup> This educational policy is mentioned repeatedly during the education campaign, but was especially emphasized when Hebard corresponded with Thomas Mahony of the Mexican Welfare Committee in Colorado, see Hebard to Mahony, January 18, 1930, Box 3, Folder 2, GRHP.

<sup>21</sup> Hebard to E.D. Morgan, Wyoming Commissioner of Education, February 15, 1930. Box 3, Folder 1, GRHP.

<sup>22</sup> See, "Lawrence A. Cardoso, "Nativism in Wyoming 1868-1930: Changing Perceptions of Foreign Immigrants," *Annals of Wyoming* Vol.58, No.1 (Spring 1986): 27-28; Rene Galindo, "'The Nativist Legacy of the Americanization Era in the Education of Mexican Immigrant Students,'" *Educational Studies* 47:323-346; Jeffry Mierel, *Patriotic Pluralism: Americanization Education and European Immigrants* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

Mexican children in white schools as a form of Americanization is in direct contrast to the traditional scholarly account by historians who track segregated schools and classrooms devised for the purpose of Americanization English language acquisition.<sup>23</sup> In fact, the issue of English language acquisition was not discussed in Wyoming until much later when segregation was in place.

Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard's correspondences with Delao laid the foundation for her education policy for *all* sugar beet children. In particular, she and the Committee dedicated themselves to integrating sugar beet children with "non-contract" students. In a correspondence with Delao, Hebard explained her position on educating Mexican children working in the sugar beet fields:

They are children and made to work in the sugar beet field when American children of our state are allowed to go to school. This being a fact, it is plain to you, I am sure, that native-born children in Wyoming have an advantage over your little Mexican children, who should have, while they live in Wyoming and their parents are in Wyoming, the same advantages that the Wyoming school children have.<sup>24</sup>

Despite, Hebard's initial focus on Mexican children, very quickly she had to expand her scope to include German-Russian children. As one superintendent noted to Hebard, "In Sheridan county the sugar beet growers are not only Mexicans, but Germans and Russians as well."<sup>25</sup>

Powerful members of the sugar beet industry who sought to appease the children's education-minded parents heavily influenced the educational model. County superintendents struggled with how to bring these kids into traditional schools. As the county school superintendent from Worland stated, "Until the beet harvest is completed it is an impossibility to get them in school as they all work in the fields, big and little alike. As they are paid by the acre for working the beets, even the little children are a great help in getting the work done."<sup>26</sup> It was the Committee's job to figure out a solution. Hebard and others understood their task as a moral one but also recognized the need to be sensitive to industry demands. As she explained, "All children born in Wyoming of foreign Mexican parents are native born children and can vote when they become of age without further action.... what we are trying to do, not in any way to injure their [sugar beet] enterprise, most worthy, but rather to make better citizens of Mexican children through education."<sup>27</sup>

Hebard's discussion with the superintendent of Worland schools, C.H. Stuebaker, is by far the most vivid representation that educational policy for students of Mexican descent was focused on inclusion rather than exclusion. Stuebaker and Worland school officials objected to any forms of segregation for Mexican, German Russian, or Japanese students. He objected to segregation on economic grounds, but he also objected since he believed segregated schools conflicted with Americanization. In his words, "There has been talk here several times of segregating these students [Mexicans], but we school people have always opposed it, first because it would increase our expense, which we can ill afford, and that we feel we would be doing a poor job of Americanizing them in that way."<sup>28</sup> In fact, Stuebaker's position against segregating Mexican was also informed by his opinion that Mexicans were better students than other beet children, particularly German-Russians:

What I have said about the Mexicans applies also to the Russian-German element we have here. Of the two classes though, the Mexicans are the better. Once the Mexican children start school they go

<sup>23</sup> Gilbert Gonzalez, *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation*, (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2013), xiv, 38.

<sup>24</sup> Hebard to Jim Delao, November 19, 1929, Box 3, Folder 1, GRHP.

<sup>25</sup> Sadie F. Lamb to Hebard, April 8, 1939. Box 3, Folder 2, GRHP.

<sup>26</sup> Sadie Lamb, County Superintendent of Schools, Sheridan, Wyoming to Hebard, April 8, 1930, Box 3, Folder 2, GRHP.

<sup>27</sup> Hebard to Thomas Hunter, Chairman Governor Emerson's Committee on Child Welfare; Hebard to J.J. Early, January 31, 1930, Box 3, Folder 1, GRHP.

<sup>28</sup> Stuebaker to Hebard, December 11, 1929, Box 3, Folder 1, GRHP.

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

through to the end of the year without trouble, while the other are hard to handle, and very irregular in attendance... We have several Mexican students in the upper grades who are very good students. At present there is a part Mexican girl in High School, I believe in the senior class, who is really a brilliant girl.<sup>29</sup>

As Hebard and the Committee presented their plan to educationally mainstream both groups throughout the state, they ran into pushback from a source they had not anticipated, German Russian parents. Hebard acknowledged, "We are finding practically no objection from the Mexican parents, but we find objection from the Russians and Germans and hence we feel they are the ones who need it the most."<sup>30</sup> Unlike Mexican parents, German-Russian parents objected to any educational services or interventions that conflicted with their children working on family-owned farms. Studies of other states found that unlike Mexican families, it was the German-Russian families who kept more of their school aged children in the sugar beet fields partially because many were tenant or farmer owners themselves which was not the case for Mexicans in the industry.<sup>31</sup>

Whereas sugar beet districts in states such as Colorado and other agricultural industries openly pursued or established segregated schooling policies for Mexican students during this period or simply refused to educate Mexican sugar beet students, Worland and similar communities in Wyoming refused to take such a stance.<sup>32</sup> Worland's system was not entirely open to its sugar beet students since the primary grades incorporated a separate "sugar beet" or "B" division, allowing special attention for late coming sugar beet students to catch up academically.<sup>33</sup> However, not all Mexican children were placed in the "B" division. Those Mexicans who were put into a special division were placed with other sugar beet students regardless of race. An assessment by Worland school officials stressed that their education program worked for all beet children, stating, "we place the late comers in the B division and with special work throughout the year the whole group is about equal at the close."<sup>34</sup> In other words, school officials in communities like Worland found a solution, although not ideal, to the beet child educational problem that did not focus on racial segregation. In the spring of 1930, when Governor Emerson's Child Welfare Committee met in Cheyenne, the model in Worland and similar communities was an example that special educational services could alleviate the child labor problem in Wyoming's sugar beet fields.<sup>35</sup>

### How Mexicans Became Non-White

The 1930s can be considered the nadir of race-relations for Mexicans in the United States during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>36</sup> In 1930, the U.S. Census Bureau created for the first and only time a racial category just for "Mexicans" as a way to differentiate them from native white Americans.<sup>37</sup> From 1931-33, President Herbert Hoover—largely appeasing unsubstantiated white angst over Mexicans stealing their jobs—approved a

<sup>29</sup> Studebaker to Hebard,, November 13, 1929, Box 3, Folder 1, GRHP.

<sup>30</sup> Hebard to W.E. Baker, Manager of Great Western Sugar Factory, Lovell, Wyoming, February 8, 1930, Box 3, Folder 2, GRHP.

<sup>31</sup> Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge*, 124; "Beet Field Workers," *The Alliance Herald* (Alliance, NE), April 22, 1922; Henry Schaechterle, to Henry A. Wallace, U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, September 22, 1937, Box 2, Folder Child Labor: Sugar Beets 1935-1937, William T. Ham Papers, American Heritage Papers, Laramie, WY.

<sup>32</sup> Hebard to Superintendent of Weld County, Colorado, January 3, 1930, Box 3, Folder 2, GRHP. As early as the 1910s, desegregation battles were taking place in Colorado's schools, see Ruben Donato, Gonzalo Guzman, and Jarrod Hanson, "*Francisco Maestas et al. v. George H. Shone et al.* Mexican American Resistance to School Segregation in the Hispano Homeland, 1912-1914," *Journal of Latinos and Education*, DOI: 10.1080/15348431.2016.1179190.

<sup>33</sup> Studebaker to N.D Morgan, July 7, 1930, Box 3, Folder 2, GRHP.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> "Education of Beet Worker Is Discussed," March 22, 1930, newspaper clipping, Box 1, Folder 4, GRHP.

<sup>36</sup> Also in 1930 the U.S. Senate voted to restrict immigration from Mexico, "News Bits About Our City, Our Country, and Elsewhere," *The Cheyenne Citizen* (Cheyenne, WY), May 18, 1930.

<sup>37</sup> For more on the controversy surrounding the categorization of the Mexican race see, Jennifer L. Hochsild, and Brenna M. Powell, "Racial Reorganization and the United States Census 1850-1930: Mulattoes, Half Breeds, Hindoos, and the Mexican Race," *Studies in American Political Development* 22, no.1(Spring 2008): 59-96; Natalia Molina, "'In a Race All Their Own': The Question to Make Mexicans Ineligible for U.S. Citizenship," *Pacific Historical Review* (May 2010), V. 97(2): 167-201; Patrick D. Lukens, *A Quiet Victor for Latino Rights: FDR and the Controversy over "Whiteness"* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012).

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

federal program that would result in the deportation of Mexicans and Mexican Americans back to Mexico by the end of the decade. The repatriation program eventually would deport almost 500,000 people of Mexican descent.<sup>38</sup> Many communities throughout the U.S. experienced a massive depopulation of Mexicans; Wyoming alone saw almost two-thirds of its foreign born Mexican population depart by 1940.<sup>39</sup> However, Wyoming still had the largest portion of Mexican population of all Mountain States outside of the Southwest (e.g. Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico).<sup>40</sup> In public schools this anti-Mexican sentiment resulted in moves to expand racial segregation throughout the Southwest and in some cases make it legal to segregate Mexican children in schools (e.g. California).<sup>41</sup> However, Mexican Americans and the Mexican consulate resisted such racist moves vehemently.<sup>42</sup>

For instance, in 1930, members of the newly formed Mexican American civil rights organization, the League of United Latin American Citizens, filed *Salvatierra v. Del Rio ISD* on behalf of parents against the Del Rio school district in Texas, contesting the segregation of children of Mexican descent into a "Mexican school."<sup>43</sup> Lawyers representing Mexican American parents argued segregation of Mexican children was illegal because Texas had no Jim Crow laws that required the segregation of Mexican children and thus Mexicans were "legally white." The school district countered, and eventually the courts agreed that Del Rio did not practice racial segregation. Instead, the court found that Mexican American children posed a special educational problem because of their use of the Spanish language, and thus the school district was engaging in pedagogical segregation, which was permitted in Texas. Although other desegregation cases occurred in the 1930s this case marked a shift in segregationist rationale for Mexican American children throughout the Southwest shifting from racial reasoning to an educational one.<sup>44</sup> This shift was well documented in a 1933 survey of Spanish-speaking children throughout the Southwest by the U.S. Department of the Interior that found that there was much desire to segregate Mexican children by the request of white parents. However, it was illegal to segregate Mexican children on account of race or nationality, so instead segregation was achieved on another ground: the educational needs and gaps peculiar to Mexican children.<sup>45</sup>

In Wyoming, school districts did the opposite, instead moving away from pedagogical reasoning for special educational services targeting Mexican children to straightforward racial segregation. By 1931, both Hebard and educators throughout Wyoming began to describe the education of Mexican sugar beet students in racial and cultural terms, illuminating a rising anti-Mexican bias. Nothing displayed the drastic racialization that Wyoming Mexicans would encounter better than one of Hebard's last correspondences with fellow Child Welfare Committee member, J.J. Early, the superintendent of Sheridan city schools:

in making the preparation for six or seven weeks of special instruction for these children, who even though Mexican and dark skinned are human beings.... Not for publication, I would like to say I believe that Wyoming would be economically, socially, and educationally better off today if we had no Mexican

<sup>38</sup> Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexicans Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929-1939* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974).

<sup>39</sup> Lawrence Cardoso, "Mexican Immigration to Wyoming," Box 9, Folder 6, LCP.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> See Victoria Maria Macdonald and Gonzalo Guzman, "Revolutionary and World War I Civil Rights?: Mexican Consuls and U.S. Diplomatic Relations in Mexican American Education History, 1910-1929," *Education Histories* (forthcoming); Francisco Balderrama, *In Defense of La Raza: The Los Angeles Mexican Consulate and the Mexican Community, 1929 to 1936* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982).

<sup>42</sup> See "The Mexican Government and Segregation" in F. Arturo Rolsales(ed.), *Testimonio: A Documentary History of the Mexican-American Struggle for Civil Rights* (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 2000), 151-152.

<sup>43</sup> Ruben Donato and Jarrod Hanson, "Legally White, Socially 'Mexican': The Politics of De Jure and De Facto Segregation in the American Southwest," *Harvard Educational Review*, V.82, No.2 (Summer 2012): 202-225; Richard Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Struggle for Educational Equality* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 1-7.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. For a discussion of the desegregation victory during this era in *Alvarez v. Lemon Grove* (CA—1931), see Donato & Hanson, 214-215; Mike Madrid, "The Lemon Grove Desegregation Case: A Matter of Neglected History," in Anaida Colon-Muniz and Magaly Lavadenz(eds.), *Latino Civil Rights In Education: La Luche Sigue* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 47-57.

<sup>45</sup> Annie Richards, "The Education of Spanish-Speaking Children in Five Southwestern States," in Carlos E. Cortes (ed.), *Education and the Mexican American* (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 1974), 9.

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

laborers within our boundary. There would be a period, of course, of semi-adjustment that might be depressing, but ultimately there would be a standard of living and social equilibrium, which we do not possess now in some localities where there are numerous Mexicans.<sup>46</sup>

The anti-Mexican sentiment was a stark contrast to Hebard's discussion of Mexicans earlier in the educational campaign. Her mention of skin color and focus on Mexicans as a social problem that should be removed from Wyoming became widespread public sentiment by white residents and institutionalized in New Deal policy in the state.

The Great Depression ushered in an age of unprecedented federal intervention in local affairs in Wyoming.<sup>47</sup> Responding to the economic crisis the federal government, under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, launched a massive national relief program focused on both economic and social assistance known as the New Deal.<sup>48</sup> Unlike most states in the West, Wyoming resisted federal assistance until late in 1933, when local relief agencies were finally exhausted.<sup>49</sup> Wyoming was so committed to "self-reliance" to survive the Depression it was the last state to opt into the New Deal.<sup>50</sup> Such actions on the part of Wyoming state and local officials created a drastic depressive state for sugar beet laborers in the colonies, who were always last regarding relief disbursement. In an account from a schoolteacher in Torrington, Wyoming, the situation was so dire, "[O]ne [Mexican] family ate dogs."<sup>51</sup> In Worland, one Mexican beet worker wrote to Wyoming's labor department for some relief stating, "me and my family are starving to death."<sup>52</sup>

Before the Great Depression, the fact that Mexican laborers worked in the fields while whites worked in the factories meant little economic competition between the groups.<sup>53</sup> What started as a symbiotic relationship turned into a competitive one once sugar beet workers at all levels lost their jobs. Now they competed for the same relief funds, which made drawing a distinction between different racial categories a useful strategy. Even when Wyoming relief agencies attempted to grant relief to Mexicans, relief officials met much criticism from the white community.<sup>54</sup> For instance, one local Wyoming WPA official refused to hire Mexicans on relief projects because "white men refused to work on the same jobs as Mexicans."<sup>55</sup> Anti-Mexican sentiment was so strong in Wyoming that many counties adopted a Jim Crow relief system targeting Mexicans.<sup>56</sup> The Wyoming Emergency Relief Administration allowed counties to implement a wage differential system based on race—white and Mexican—where Mexicans made 25 cents an hour versus 45 cents for white workers on work relief projects.<sup>57</sup> Children's Bureau representatives found this race wage differential was only observed in Wyoming and was in place in Big Horn, Park, and Washakie County, including Worland.<sup>58</sup> Mexicans protested said discrimination, with a group of Mexicans from Garland, Wyoming, even writing to President Franklin D.

<sup>46</sup> Hebard to J.J. Early, December 25, 1930, Box 3, Folder 2, GRHP.

<sup>47</sup> For a recent discussion of the Great Depression and New Deal programs in Wyoming see, Michael Cassity, *Building Up Wyoming*.

<sup>48</sup> For the social implications on immigration and race of the New Deal see, Cybelle Fox, *Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration, and the American Welfare State from the Progressive Era to the New Deal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

<sup>49</sup> For a political history of Wyoming during the Great Depression is T.A. Larson, "The New Deal in Wyoming", *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol.38, No.3 (Aug. 1969): 249-273.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> "Mexican School Letter", Torrington, Wyoming, to Stuart Marshall Jamieson, Carton 1, Folder 12: Colorado Notes and Interviews, Stuart Marshall Jamieson Collection Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley. (hereafter cited as SMJC)

<sup>52</sup> "Beet Workers Complain of Low Wages," *The Torrington Telegram* (Torrington, WY), February 22, 1934.

<sup>53</sup> Senator Kendrick to June E. Downey, January 13, 1930. Box 3, Folder 1, GRHP.

<sup>54</sup> The anti-Mexican sentiment was acknowledged in Wyoming government reports. See: Helen T. Hence, "Racial Elements-Platte County," p.3-4, WPA File #1363, WPAC; Eri Hulbert, *The Public Welfare Services Of The State Of Wyoming* (Cheyenne: Wyoming Charities and Reform Board, 1934), 108.

<sup>55</sup> Juanita Patton Interview, September 22, 1940, p.5, Box 1, Folder 12, SMJC.

<sup>56</sup> Hostility towards Mexicans was so widespread, many were kicked off relief rolls, see "Force Mexicans to Accept Jobs," *The News Letter-Journal* (Newcastle, WY), May 2, 1936; "WPA Enrollees Who Refuse Jobs to Be Dropped from Rolls," *The News Letter-Journal*(Newcastle, WY), May 12, 1937.

<sup>57</sup> Elizabeth Johnson to Nels Anderson, November 29, 1938, Box 97, Folder: 20-164-8, Record Group 102, National Archives Records Administration, College Park, MD; Johnson, *Welfare of Families*, 72.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

Roosevelt demanding justice, stating, "The employees want to pay the Spanish American [Mexican American] people just half the wages they pay white men. Do you suppose that is right? I don't believe so."<sup>59</sup>

The worsening conditions of the sugar beet industry and the avalanche of protests by Mexican American beet workers forced federal intervention, with the passage of the 1934 Sugar Act.<sup>60</sup> The Act, included a minimum wage scale for beet workers and child labor clause that fundamentally changed the relationship between schools and the sugar beet industry in Wyoming. Now, sugar beet growers could not receive federal loans or assistance if they utilized child labor under 14 years old.<sup>61</sup> A survey from the National Child Labor Committee found widespread compliance with the clause in the sugar beet industry, reporting, "statements by land owners, renters, and laborers indicated that the child labor provisions of the 1935 contracts had been carried out in both in the letter and spirit of the law."<sup>62</sup> As historian April Merleaux argued the 1934 Sugar Act, renewed in 1937, focused the national spotlight on child labor in the sugar beet industry on an unprecedented scale bringing child labor reform and the Mexican child into the New Deal.<sup>63</sup>

In communities like Worland, this had an immediate impact on schools. Worland recorded among the highest uses of child labor in the Wyoming, with almost 19% use by 1934.<sup>64</sup> According to a 1934-1935 study by the U.S Department of Labor's Children Bureau of Northern Wyoming, the usage of child labor ages 6-12 dropped from 22.5% to 7.35% in the state in one year.<sup>65</sup> The most dramatic impact of the child labor clause from 1934-35 was on the children in the primary grade system. By 1935, a number of school districts eliminated special educational programs for beet children believing the Sugar Act would reduce the number in beet work and force children to attend school based on the normal school schedule.<sup>66</sup> Though it was a child welfare victory on the ground and especially in Wyoming, Mexican American children left the sugar beet fields for segregated classrooms and schools based on race.

## **Racially Segregated Schools Come to Wyoming**

By 1934, the schooling of German-Russians and Japanese was of little concern. Although still using child labor and considering ethnically different from "native" born Americans, German-Russians were viewed as white.<sup>67</sup> The Japanese were small in number and in Worland and were not considered a racial problem demographically.<sup>68</sup> This was not the case for Mexicans in Worland who became *the* educational problem of the community in the Depression era.<sup>69</sup> By 1934, Worland school trustees entertained a motion by the elementary school principal, Frank Watson, "Mr. Watson brought up the matter of a separate school building for foreign children near the foreign settlement. It was thought the matter was worth looking into to see what might be

<sup>59</sup> J.W. Duram to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, April 12, 1935, Box 330, Folder Wyoming Complaints, Record Group 69, NARA.

<sup>60</sup> The Sugar Act of 1934 was also known as the Jones-Costigan Amendment to the 1933 Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) that designed sugar beets/crop as a basic commodity in an attempt to salvage the domestic sugar production in the U.S. Also see, "Conclude Hearings On Sugar Question," *The Lovell Chronicle*, October 4, 1934;"Sugar Beet Labor Provisions Signed," *The American Child* XVI, no.9 (December 1934):2; Andrea Sunby Morgan, "The New Deal in Wyoming, 1933-1938" (master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 1969), 72..

<sup>61</sup> Adela J. Ballard, "The Migrant Mexican", November 14, 1933, Home Mission Council Records, Box 15, Folder 11, p.3, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.(hereafter cited as HMCR)

<sup>62</sup> Charles E. Gibbons, "The Beet Fields Revisited," *The American Child* XVIII, No.6 (September 1936): 1.

<sup>63</sup> April Merleaux, "Sugar and Civilization: Race, Empire, and the Cultural Politics of Sweetness, 1898-1939,"(PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 2010), 210.

<sup>64</sup> William T. Ham, "Sugar Beet Field Labor under the AAA," *Journal of Farm Economics* 19, No.2 (May 1937): 645.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* Also, Johnson, *Welfare of Families of Sugar Beet Laborers*, 86.

<sup>66</sup> Johnson, *Welfare of Families*, 50.

<sup>67</sup> For literature on Europeans gaining whiteness in the American West see, Frank Van Nuys, *Americanizing the West*; Katherine Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the American Borderlands* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Jessie L. Embry and Brian Q. Cannon (eds.), *Immigrants in the Far West: Historical identities and Experiences* (Logan: University of Utah Press, 2015), 10-15; W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness*(Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2015).

<sup>68</sup> See Robert Smith, "Racial Elements—Big Horn Basin," p.1-3, WPA File #1252, WPAC.

<sup>69</sup> This reflected an overall centralization of the public school system in Wyoming, including increased bussing, passage of equalization funds based on student enrollment, and student advancement based on age not ability, see "The Migratory Workers," p.7, Box 10, Folder 11, HMCR.

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

accomplished.”<sup>70</sup> The suggestion of a segregated school symbolized the rise of race in Worland, especially considering Watson and other school officials opposed segregating Mexican children as recently as 1929. Another symbol of their “other” status was that now “foreign” meant only Mexican (and Mexican American), not German Russian and Japanese children. As calls for segregating Mexican children grew louder, Worland school officials wrote to the local chairman of the Wyoming State Planning Board and Holly Sugar factory manager, inquiring about possible assistance in building a separate school for the “non American” students. They wrote, “Knowing the Holly Sugar Corporation has co-operated in other places along this line, the Board asked that the matter be taken up with you and solicit such co-operation here. We have in mind that possibly some Government Relief Agency would co-operate also.”<sup>71</sup> Soon after Worland officials received federal and state support, they moved quickly to construct the school, which opened in 1936.<sup>72</sup>

The construction of what would be called the “Mexican” or “Spanish school” in Worland constituted a drastic policy change for a community that once considered Mexican children a “better class” than German Russians. It also demonstrated the continued collaboration between school officials and the sugar beet industry. Whereas in the educational campaign from 1929-1931, schools and the sugar beet industry cooperated to assist Mexican children to attend schools with white children, in 1936, the relationship shifted to creating segregated schools for Mexicans. The continued collusion between white factory owners and white school officials regarding school policy left Mexican children in Wyoming vulnerable to shifting attitudes toward race.

On the eve of the opening of the segregated school, a front-page article in the newly established *Wyoming News* justified the new school to the general public:

The new grade school in the Mexican Colony, which is being built for the children of the Spanish-speaking people to segregate them from the regular schools, is being rapidly completed. The school will be a model building....It is the intention of the board, as soon as practical, to employ only the best grade teachers of the Spanish race....with the ever increasing attendance of more children in the regular schools here it has been impossible to accommodate them and it was decided by the educational board here that by segregating the children of the different race, it would work out more economically and more satisfactory to all concerned. As the Mexican labor is always in demand here in the valley, the children growing up will be developed into the highest class of citizens.<sup>73</sup> (emphasis added)

The newspaper never mentioned that Dr. Hebard and Worland school officials regarded the segregation of the races in schools as detrimental to developing the “highest class of citizens” as recently as 1929. The attention to the increase in population was ironic considering the overall Mexican population in Wyoming was decreasing.<sup>74</sup> Thus the response by the white community to schooling the Mexican child was based on a change in racial views and the presence of a more stable Mexican student population. As political scientist Benedict Anderson so aptly demonstrated, sometimes imagined communities are more powerful than real ones.<sup>75</sup> In this case, the imagined view of the Mexican race countered the reality of the decreasing Mexican demographic in the community.

<sup>70</sup> “District No.6, Director’s Meeting Feb.10, 1934,” Washakie Co., Board of Trustee Minutes, WSA; “School District No.6, Directors Meeting –April 7, 1934,” Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Board of Trustees, School District No.6 to L.E.Laird, Superintendent Holly Sugar Corporation, Worland, Wyoming, July 9, 1934, Washakie Co. School Board of Trustee Minutes. WSA; *First Biennial Report State Planning Board 1935-1935*(Cheyenne: State Printing Office, 1937), 2.

<sup>72</sup> “School Started in New Spanish Bldg.” *The Worland Grit* (Worland, WY), December 3, 1936.

<sup>73</sup> “Spanish School Is Nearing Completion,” *The Wyoming News* (Worland, WY), October 16, 1936.

<sup>74</sup> According to Mexican consul records from Denver, Colorado, from 1929-1933, almost 14, 068 Mexican citizens were returned to Mexico from Colorado and Wyoming. See: “Beet Field Work Aids Employment,” *The Worland Grit* (Worland, WY), August 10, 1933.

<sup>75</sup> Robert Miles, *Racism After ‘Race Relations’* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 56-59.

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

The evolution of segregated schooling in Worland connected with similar developments throughout the state as racial segregation in schools became the norm for “Mexican” children.<sup>76</sup> The explanation of the need for segregated schools took on an overtly racist tone in some instances, a tone that was at odds with how Mexican students had been described in the past. In Torrington, an opportunity school [South Torrington School] that was built for all sugar beet children—German-Russian and Mexicans—in 1929 was exclusively for Mexican students by 1936 and recorded as the “Mexican school” in superintendent reports. In Torrington, it was public policy that no children from the Mexican Colony or Mexican District were allowed in the city schools.<sup>77</sup> In Lovell a segregated ungraded classroom, recorded in official ledger as the “Mexican room,” was reserved only for “maladjusted” Mexican children—all Mexican children were considered maladjusted. These children, a paper explained, “are backward because they are unable to speak the English language, and the white children do not accept them into the social life of the school. This condition gives rise to an educational problem.”<sup>78</sup> In neighboring Powell, officials debated the creation of an entirely separate school based on the same logic, ultimately opting to maintain a segregated classroom for Mexican children.<sup>79</sup> In Basin, the school board actively recruited a teacher to just teach the Mexican children in the community.<sup>80</sup> By 1941, the segregation of children of Mexican descent was not an aberration but was the norm in most sugar beet districts in Wyoming, effectively creating a Mexican and non-Mexican social world.<sup>81</sup>

The segregation of Mexican children was never about solving an educational problem but a race one.<sup>82</sup> For Worland’s white community and Wyoming-at-large the Mexican/Spanish school solidified racial boundaries or as historian David Torres-Rouff aptly argued, “segregated schools...simultaneously functioned as architects of race and as signifiers of Mexican Americans’ subordinate status in the realm of social and political citizenship.”<sup>83</sup> Some considered it similar to the racism experienced by blacks in the Jim Crow South. For instance Susie Alamos, an alum of the Mexican school in Worland, remembered, “We came from a town where they treated you like colored people....In fact, I’ll tell you how bad that town was, while we stayed there so long, they built us our own school, they wouldn’t let us go with [whites] to school. They did our own school and we had to go to the Mexican school.”<sup>84</sup> White community members, like John Davis, also remembered the Jim Crow experience: “I didn’t go to school with a single person of Mexican descent until the 6th grade; they had a separate (but probably not equal) school called the ‘Spanish school.’ We on the east side of the tracks didn’t think much about this situation, just seeing it as the way life was lived. Hispanic kids sure did; they were very sensitive to being discriminated against.”<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> For an account of segregated schools for children of Mexican descent in Wyoming, see: T. Joe Sandoval, “A Study of Some Aspects of the Spanish-Speaking Population in Selected Communities, in Wyoming” (master’s thesis, University of Wyoming, 1946), 45-49,70,85.

<sup>77</sup> “News From The Public Schools of Torrington,” *The Torrington Telegram* (Torrington, WY), September 14, 1933; “Mexican School News,” *The Torrington Telegram* (Torrington, WY), December 5, 1935. For a larger discussion of the school see, “Notes Taken From Mr. Dixon’s Interviews April 28, 1931,” p.1-4, Box 3, Folder 2, GRHP.

<sup>78</sup> J.A. Caudill, “A Survey of Certain Phases of the Public Schools of Lovell, Wyoming”(masters thesis, University of Wyoming, 1938) 5, 46-47.

<sup>79</sup> “Problem Faces School Board of Providing Room For Grade School,” *The Powell Tribune* (Powell, WY), March 18, 1937.

<sup>80</sup> “Increase Staff” *The Billings Gazette* (Billings Montana), March 16, 1934.

<sup>81</sup> This is not to say Mexican children did not experience discrimination in other communities that deviated from earlier experiences, for an account in the mining districts of Wyoming see Ronald Mize and Alicia Swords, *Consuming Mexico Labor: From The Bracero Program to NAFTA* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), xvi; Timothy Dean Draper, “‘A Little Kingdom of Mixed Nationalities’: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in a Western Urban Community—Rocky Springs, Wyoming, 1869-1969”(Dissertation, Northern Illinois University), 233-234.

<sup>82</sup> David Garcia, Tara J. Yosso, Frank Bajaras, “A Few of the Brightest, Cleanest, Mexican Children,” 8.

<sup>83</sup> David Torres-Rouff, “Becoming Mexican: Segregated Schools and Social Scientists in Southern California, 1913-1946,” *Southern California Quarterly* 94, no.1 (Spring 2012): 93.

<sup>84</sup> Susie Alamos interview in Elizabeth Mendoza, “The Mexicanization of the Yakima Valley, 1940-2007” (BA thesis, Dartmouth College, 2008), 43. (In author’s possession); Sandoval, “A Study of Some Aspects of the Spanish Speaking,” 65.

<sup>85</sup> John Davis, “The good and the bad from then and now,” *The Northern Wyoming Daily News* (Worland, WY), January 28, 2014. For an account of desegregation in Worland see “Board Meeting of Worland School District”, September 11, 1956, Board of Trustee Minutes, Washakie School District No.6, Worland, WY, WSA; Mary Ellen Coca Interview, March 28, 1983, Loose Files, Box 15, LCP. According to Coca’s account integration in Worland was piecemeal until completed in the 1960s, this description substantiates the description in Jennifer Majera, *The Borderlands of Race: Mexican Segregation in a South Texas Town* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), 2.



West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

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**Developmental history/additional historic context information** (if appropriate)

The West Side School was owned by the Washakie County School District until 1996. Hamilton Properties owned the property until 2008. Sovereign Grace Bible Church owned the property until 2019 when it was purchased by its current owner Khan Muhummud I.

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West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

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Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

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West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

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**Previous documentation on file (NPS):**

preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67 has been requested)  
 previously listed in the National Register  
 previously determined eligible by the National Register  
 designated a National Historic Landmark  
 recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # \_\_\_\_\_  
 recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # \_\_\_\_\_  
 recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # \_\_\_\_\_

**Primary location of additional data:**

State Historic Preservation Office  
 Other State agency  
 Federal agency  
 Local government  
 University  
 Other  
Name of repository: \_\_\_\_\_

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): \_\_\_\_\_

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### 10. Geographical Data

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**Acreage of Property** .8 acres  
(Do not include previously listed resource acreage.)

#### UTM References

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

1	<u>13</u> Zone	<u>1146049</u> Easting	<u>1610183</u> Northing	3	<u>        </u> Zone	<u>        </u> Easting	<u>        </u> Northing
2	<u>        </u> Zone	<u>        </u> Easting	<u>        </u> Northing	4	<u>        </u> Zone	<u>        </u> Easting	<u>        </u> Northing

#### Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The northern boundary of the West Side School parallels Big Horn Avenue. The eastern boundary is parallel to South 3<sup>rd</sup> Street. The southern boundary is adjacent to an alleyway, which separates the West Side School from an industrial complex south of the building. The western boundary is adjacent to two residential properties.

#### Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The boundaries for the West Side School form a periphery around the historic site containing the West Side School.

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### 11. Form Prepared By

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name/title Dr. Gonzalo Guzman and Bethany Kelly  
organization Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office date June 1, 2021  
street & number 2301 Central Avenue telephone 307-777-7530  
city or town Cheyenne state WY zip code 82002  
e-mail bethany.kelly@wyo.gov

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### Additional Documentation

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Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

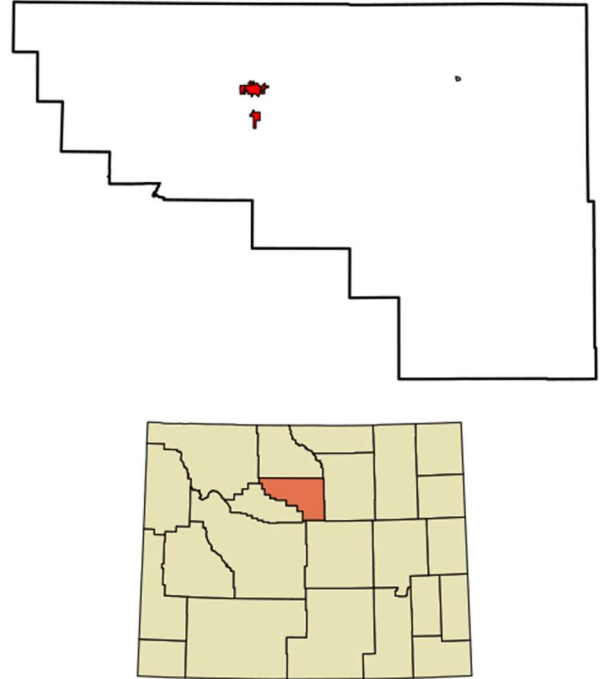


Figure 1: Worland, Washakie County, Wyoming, Coordinates: 44°1'0"N 107°57'30"W



Figure 2: Worland Mexican School N: 44.01652°, W: 107.96542°. Greenwood Mapping accessed October 24, 2020. The orange box marks the nomination site boundary.

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.

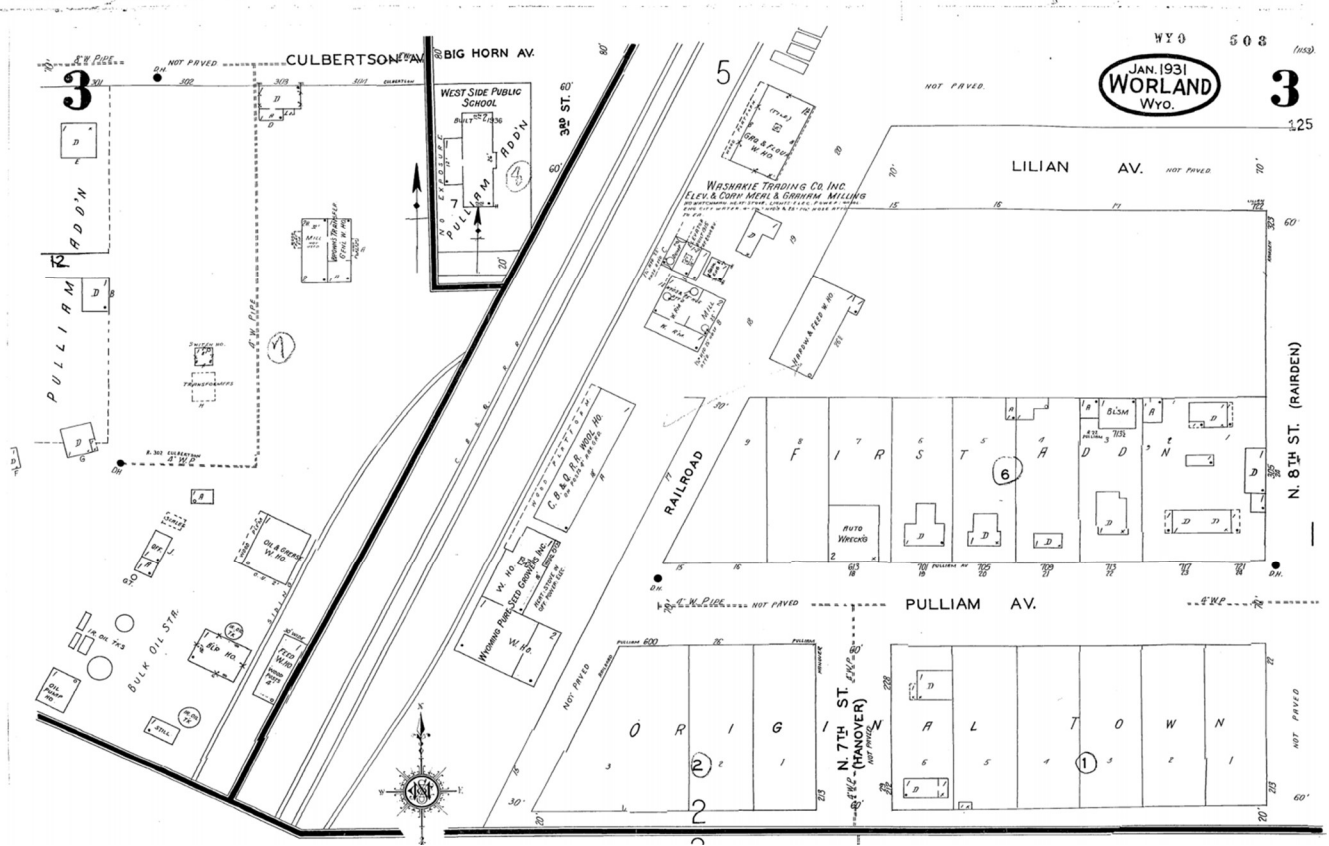
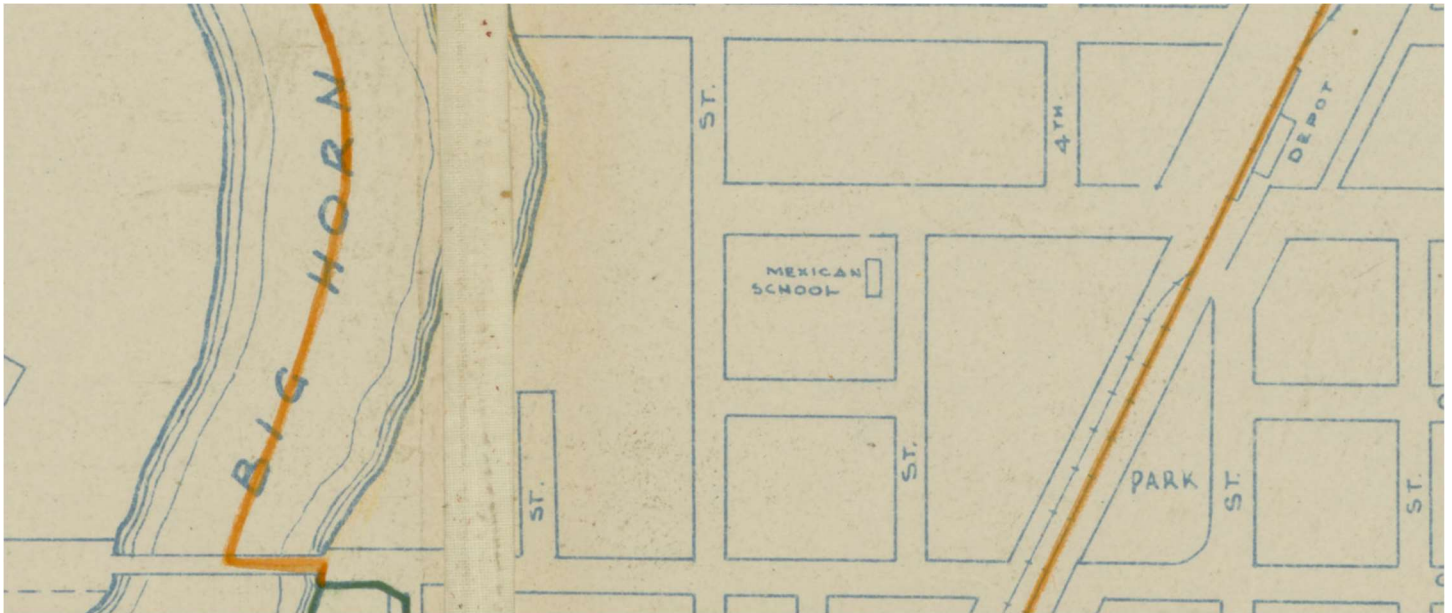


Figure 4: 1939 Sanborn Map showing location of school.



West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

- **Continuation Sheets**
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items.)



West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State



Figure 5: Mexican/Spanish School front view, 1946



Figure 6: Mexican American school children on side of Mexican/Spanish School, 1946

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**Photographs:**

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map.

**Name of Property:** West Side School

**City or Vicinity:** Worland

**County:** Washakie

**State:** WY

**Photographer:** Kurt Mellinger (Photos 1 – 3); Khan Muhammad I (Photos 4-20)

**Date Photographed:** Spring 2021

**Description of Photograph(s) and number:**

East facade, photographer facing west.

1 of 20

East façade, photographer facing northwest

2 of 20

East façade, photographer facing southwest

3 of 20

South elevation and west elevation, photographer facing northeast.

4 of 20

Office space in second floor addition, photographer facing northwest.

5 of 20

Office space in upper floor original section, photographer facing west.

6 of 20

Office space in upper floor original section, photographer facing west.

7 of 20

Hallway in upper floor of original section, photographer facing north.

8 of 20

Office space in lower floor of original section, photographer facing northeast.

9 of 20

Storage space/utility room in lower floor of original section.

10 of 20

Bathroom space in lower floor of original section.

11 of 20

Staircase between entrance and upper floor of original section, photographer facing west.

12 of 20

Office space in lower floor of original section, photographer facing northeast.

13 of 20

Office space in upper floor of original section.

14 of 20

Hallway in lower floor of original section, photographer facing south..

15 of 20

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

Staircase between lower floor and entrance of original section, photographer facing east.  
16 of 20

Kitchen space in upper floor of original section.  
17 of 20

Office space in upper floor of original section, photographer facing east.  
18 of 20

Office space in upper floor of original section, photographer facing south.  
19 of 20

Office space in upper floor of original section.  
20 of 20



*Figure 7 Front view of former Mexican/Spanish School, 2021*

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State



Figure 8 Side view of former Mexican/Spanish School, 2020

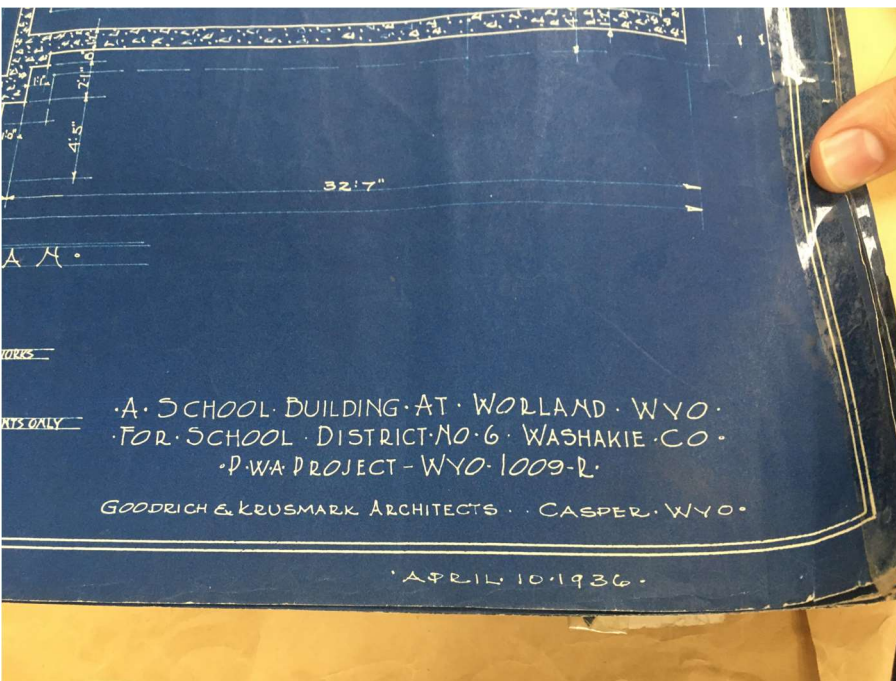


Figure 9 Original blueprint

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

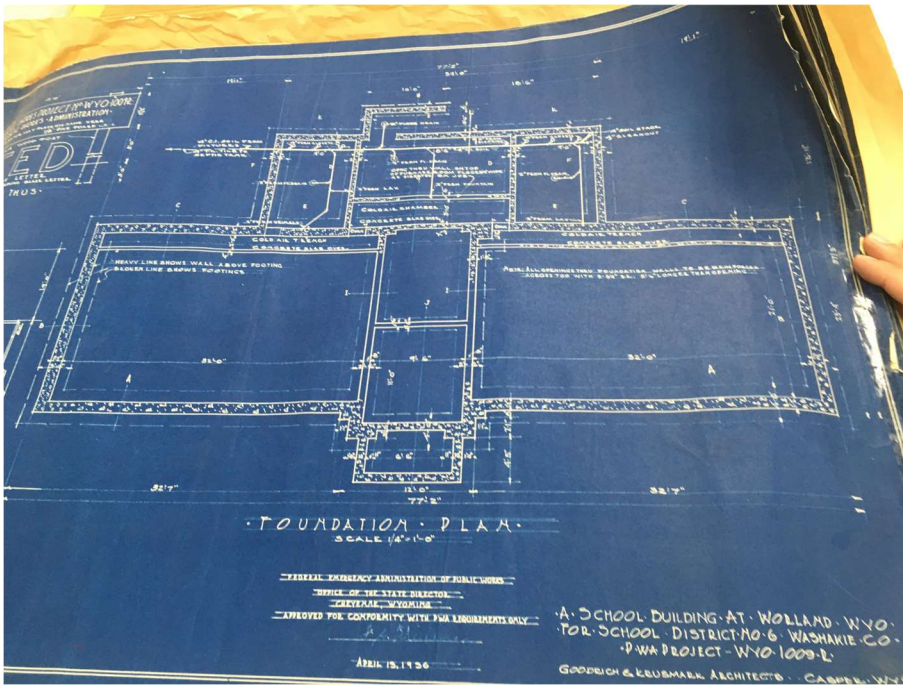


Figure 10 Original blueprint

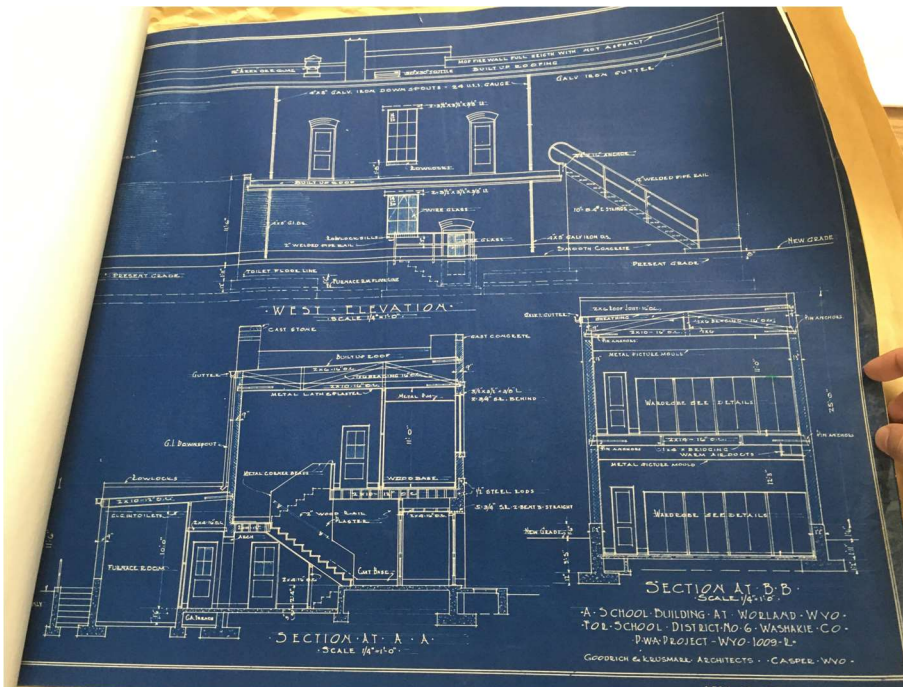


Figure 11 Original blueprint

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

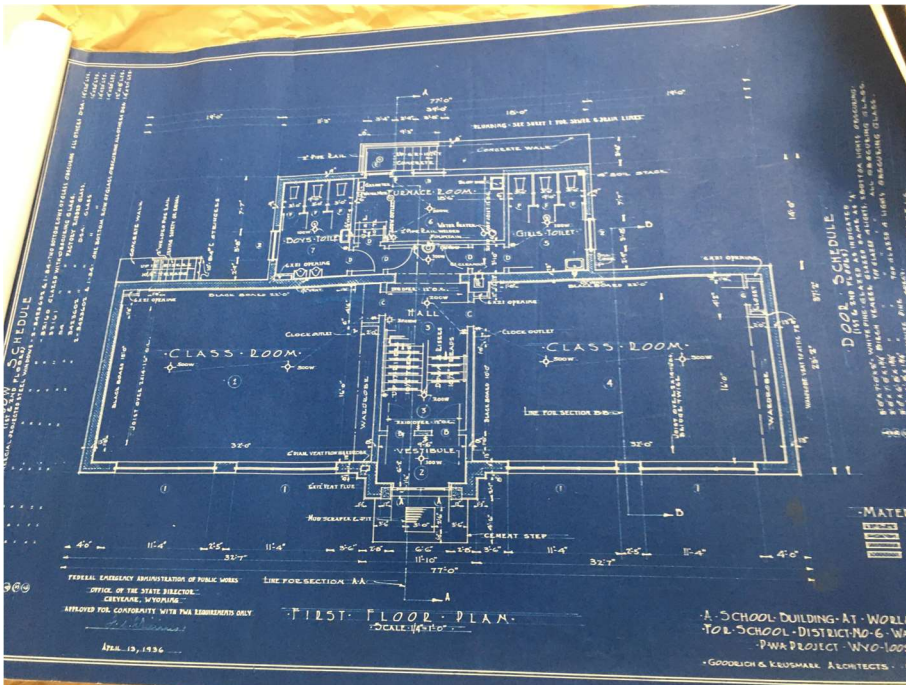


Figure 12 Original blueprint

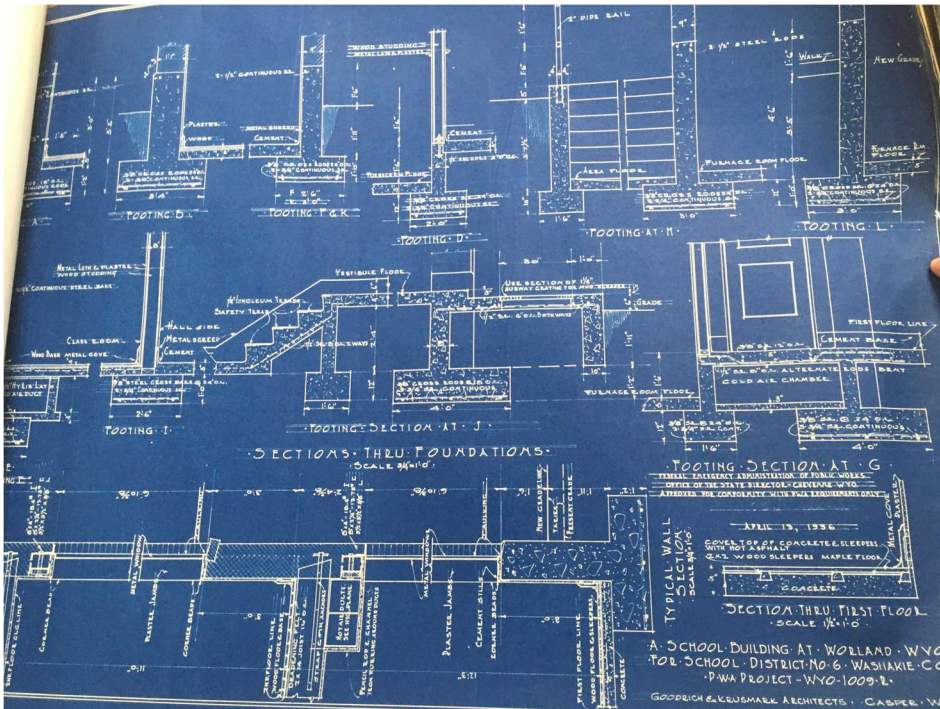


Figure 13 Original blueprint

West Side School  
Name of Property

Washakie, Wyoming  
County and State

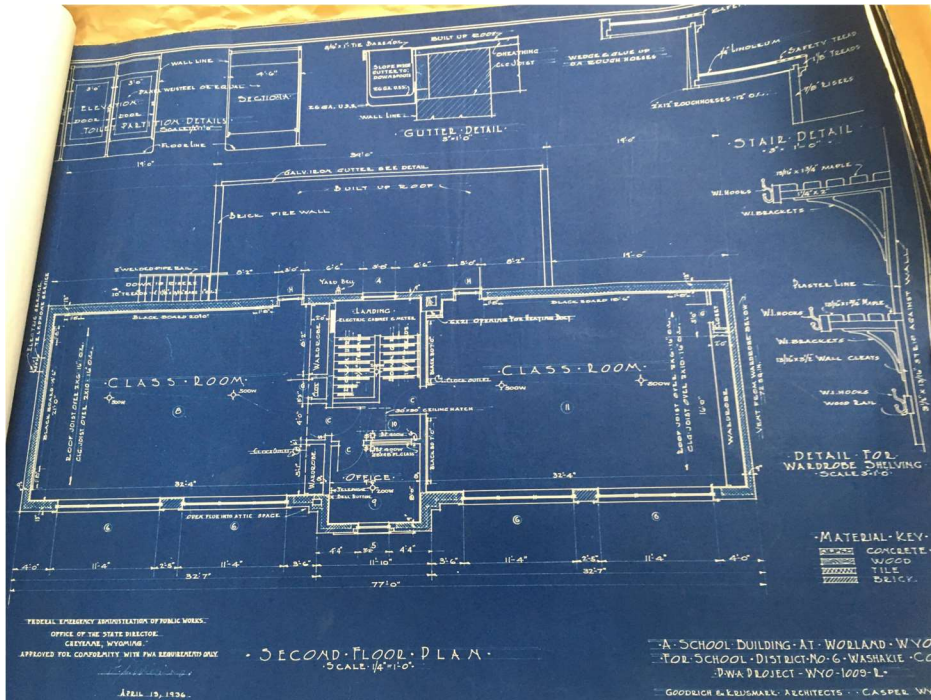


Figure 14 Original blueprint

1 of \_\_\_\_.

Figure 9: 1950 U.S. Census Map showing "Mexican School".

**Property Owner:**  
(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

---

name KHAN MUHUMMAD I

---

street & number 100 S. 3<sup>rd</sup> St telephone \_\_\_\_\_

---

city or town Worland state WY zip code 82401-3526

**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

**Estimated Burden Statement:** Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.