

Declaration of Thomas Guglielmo

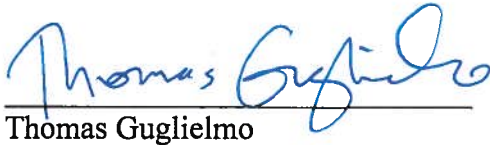
I, Thomas Guglielmo, declare under penalty of perjury that the following is true:

1. I am Associate Professor of American Studies at George Washington University. My research, writing and teaching focus is on American racial and ethnic history. My *curriculum vitae*, attached as Exhibit 1, sets forth my professional background and work.

2. I have researched, taught and written about the Virginia Racial Integrity Act of 1924, including the role of Walter Plecker, registrar of the state's Bureau of Vital Statistics from its inception in 1912 until 1947. Consumed by the fear that "racial amalgamation" would contaminate white "purity" and imperil the nation, Plecker helped pass a series of strict state segregation laws in the 1920s, most notably the Virginia Racial Integrity Act of 1924, which made it "unlawful for any white person ... to marry any save a white person." He also made it his personal mission to enforce these laws by determining and recording all Virginians' "proper" racial status. He hoped to detect the thousands who "possess an intermixture of colored blood, in some cases to a slight extent, it is true, but still enough to prevent them from being white"—and from legally marrying and mixing with whites in schools, hospitals, theaters, and other public places. Seeking any evidence of nonwhite status, he interviewed prominent white state residents and mined nineteenth-century county and federal records, including birth and death certificates, taxpayer lists, and U.S. census reports. He also closely monitored all the state's midwives, doctors, undertakers, and local registrars and explicitly, sometimes coercively, instructed them how to classify people racially on birth, death, marriage, and divorce certificates, always demanding overwhelming "proof" of whiteness. He even sought, with mixed success, to

convince U.S. census enumerators in 1930 and again in 1940 to follow his preferred racial classification schemes.

3. The foremost book-length study of American miscegenation laws is *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (2010), by the late Peggy Pascoe. Pascoe's book is recognized as reliable authority in its field. Pages 140-50 (with the attendant footnotes) of Pascoe's book address Virginia's Racial Integrity Act of 1924. I understand that counsel is making the book available as needed in litigation regarding the requirement that applicants for a marriage license in Virginia state their race.

  
Thomas Guglielmo

Dated: August 1, 2019

THOMAS A. GUGLIELMO  
Department of American Studies  
George Washington University  
2108 G St. NW  
Washington, DC 20052  
(202) 994-3170  
tgugliel@gwu.edu

EMPLOYMENT

Associate Professor, American Studies Department, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 2008-present

Assistant Professor, American Studies Department, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 2005-2008

Assistant Professor, Department of American Studies, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN, 2002-2005

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 2001-2002

HIGHER EDUCATION

Ph.D., History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 2000

M.A., History, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1996

B.A., History and German, Tufts University, Medford, MA, *cum laude*, 1991

PRIZES AND AWARDS

Frederick Jackson Turner Award, Organization of American Historians, 2004

Allan Nevins Dissertation Prize, Society of American Historians, 2001

*Horace H. Rackham Distinguished Dissertation Award, University of Michigan, 2001*

*Evans Prize (best dissertation of the year in history), University of Michigan, 2000*

*Massaro Prize in History (best essay of the year), Italian Americana, 2000*

*Distinction, Ph.D. Exam, Department of History, University of Michigan, 1998*

#### FELLOWSHIPS

*Fellowship, Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History, Harvard University, 2008-2009*

*Fellowship, Institute for Historical Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 2008-2009 (declined)*

*Fellowship, 2008 Festival of Ideas, Aspen Institute, Aspen, Colorado, July 2008*

*Fellowship, Research Institute for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity, Stanford University, 2005-2006*

*Associate Fellowship, Michigan Society of Fellows, University of Michigan, 2000-2001*

*Mellon Dissertation Fellowship, University of Michigan, 1999-2000*

*Mellon Candidacy Fellowship, University of Michigan, 1998-1999*

*Regents Fellowship, University of Michigan, 1996-1998*

BOOKS (published and in progress)

*Divisions: World War II, the U.S. Military, and the Making of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, under contract)

*White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003)

ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS

"A Martial Freedom Movement: Black GIs' Political Struggles during World War II," *Journal of American History* 104 (March 2018): 879-903.

"Defining America's Racial Boundaries: Blacks, Mexicans, and European Immigrants, 1890-1945," (co-authored with Cybelle Fox). *American Journal of Sociology* 118 (September 2012): 327-379  
"Red Cross, Double Cross': Race and America's World War II-Era Blood Donor Service." *Journal of American History* 97 (June 2010): 63-90.  
"Fighting for Caucasian Rights: Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and the Transnational Struggle for Civil Rights in World War II Texas." *Journal of American History* 92 (March 2006): 1212-1237.

"Encountering the Color Line in the Everyday: Italians in Interwar Chicago." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 23 (Summer 2004): 45-77.

Republished in *Race and Immigration in the United States: New Histories*, edited by Paul Spickard, 148-177. London: Routledge, 2011.  
Republished in *Reconstructing Italians in Chicago: Thirty Authors in Search of Roots and Branches*, edited by Dominic Candeloro, 81-112. Stone Park, IL: Italian Cultural Center/Casa Italia, 2011.

"Rethinking U.S. Whiteness Historiography." In *Whiteout: The Continuing Significance of Racism*, edited by Ashley Doane and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva,

49-61. New York: Routledge, 2003. "No Color Barrier": Italians, Race, and Power in the United States." In *Are Italians White?: How Race Is Made in America*, edited by Jennifer Guglielmo and Salvatore Salerno, 29-43. New York: Routledge, 2003. "The Changing Meaning of Difference: Race, Color, and Ethnicity in America, 1930-1964," (co-authored with Earl Lewis). In *Race and Ethnicity in America: A Concise History*, edited by Ronald H. Bayor, 167-192. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

"The Forgotten Enemy: Wartime Representations of Italians in American Popular Culture, 1941-1945." *Italian Americana* 18 (Winter 2000): 5-22.  
 "Toward Essentialism, Toward Difference: Gino Speranza and Conceptions of Race and Italian-American Racial Identity, 1900-1925." *Mid-America* 81 (Summer 1999): 169-213.

#### BOOK REVIEWS & OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Mary Elizabeth Basile Chopas, *Searching for Subversives: The Story of Italian Internment in Wartime America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017). In *Journal of American History* 105 (December 2018): 738-739.

Natalia Molina, *How Race Is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014). In *Journal of American Ethnic History* 35 (Fall 2015): 100-101.

Richard Griswold del Castillo, ed., *World War II and Mexican American Civil Rights* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008). In *Journal of Southern History* 75 (November 2009): 1100-1101.

Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004). In *American Historical Review* 111 (February 2006): 617.

Nancy Foner and George M. Fredrickson, eds., *Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004). In *Journal of American History* 92 (September 2005): 635-636.

Christopher M. Sterba, *Good Americans: Italian and Jewish Immigrants during the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). In *Italian Americana* 22 (2004): 227-229.

Michael Miller Topp, *Those Without a Country: The Political Culture of Italian American Syndicalists* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001). In *International Labor and Working-Class History* 63 (spring 2003): 184-185.

Lawrence DiStasi, ed., *Una Storia Segreta: The Secret History of Italian American Evacuation and Internment during World War II* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2001). In *The Italian American Review* 9 (fall/winter 2002): 145-148.

"Notorious B.I.G." In *Scribner Encyclopedia of American Lives*, v. 5, ed. Kenneth T. Jackson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2002), 422-424.

#### INVITED LECTURES

"'Red Cross, Double Cross': The Untold Story of Race, Blood, and World War II," École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, December 11, 2018

*"Battling Over the Boundaries of Blackness: The U.S. Military and Racial Classification Struggles during World War II," Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent, Université Paris 8, December 7, 2018*

*"Mustering a Military in Black and White: America's World War II Draft and the Making and Meaning of Race," Bard College, September 17, 2018*

*"Prejudice & Privilege: Capturing the Complexity of Italian American History," Abruzzo Molise Heritage Society, Washington, D.C., June 10, 2018*

*"Mustering a Military in Black and White: America's World War II Draft and the Making and Meaning of Race," Institute for Research on Race and Public Policy, University of Illinois at Chicago, September 14, 2017*

*"Fighting 'Jim Crow in Uniform': Black GIs' Freedom Struggles during World War II," DC-Area African American Studies Works-in-Progress Seminar, August 5, 2015*

*"'Red Cross, Double Cross': The Untold Story of Race, Blood, and World War II," Colonial Inauguration Academic Experience, George Washington University, June 30, 2014*

*"Fighting 'Jim Crow in Uniform': African-American GIs, World War II, and the Rise of the Civil Rights Movement," Smithsonian Institution Contemporary History Colloquium, June 19, 2014*

*"Raising a Military in Black and White: America's World War II Draft and the Making of Race," War & Race Symposium, Potomac Center for the Study of Modernity, September 27, 2013*



*"Red Cross, Double Cross': The Untold Story of Race, Blood, and World War II," University of Mary Washington, November 15, 2012*

*"Raising a Negro and 'So-Called White' Military: Race-Making and the World War II Draft," History Department Workshop, University of Delaware, April 10, 2012*

*"Who is an American? Who is White? Race and Naturalization Law in U.S. History," School Without Walls, Washington, D.C., November 7, 2011*

*"Encountering the Color Line in the Everyday: Italians in Interwar Chicago," Great Works Symposium, Pennoni Honors College, Drexel University, Philadelphia, PA, April 5, 2011*

*"Red Cross, Double Cross': The Untold Story of Race, Blood, and World War II," School Without Walls, Washington, D.C., February 6, 2011*

*"Red Cross, Double Cross': The Untold Story of Race, Blood, and World War II," The Second Annual Robert Tucker Lecture Series, Hastings High School, Hastings-on-Hudson, NY, December 15, 2010*

*"Who is an American? Who is White? Race and Naturalization Law in U.S. History," keynote address for the U.S. State Department's International Visitor Leadership Program, Washington, D.C., June 23, 2010*

*"Race-Making and the World War II Draft," Race Symposium, Medieval and Early Modern Studies Institute, George Washington University, March 5, 2010*

*"Race-Making and the World War II Draft," History Department Seminar, New York University, February 5, 2010*

*"Red Cross, Double Cross': Race and the World War II-Era National Blood Donor Service," History Department Seminar, Johns Hopkins University, October 5, 2009*

*"Who is an American? Who is White? Race and Naturalization Law in U.S. History," Primary Source Summer Institute for Teachers, Reading High School, Reading, MA, July 23, 2009*

*"Jim Crow Goes Abroad: African-American Servicemen and the International Politics of Race during World War II," Charles Warren Center, Harvard University, February 23, 2009*

*Comment on Matt Garcia's work-in-progress, Boston Immigration and Urban History Seminar, Massachusetts Historical Society, October 2, 2008*

*"Who is an American? Who is White? Race and Naturalization Law in U.S. History," School Without Walls, Washington, D.C., November 7, 2006*

*"Race, the United States, and World War II: An International and Multiracial Perspective," Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity, Stanford University, May 12, 2006*

*"Fighting for Caucasian Rights," College of Ethnic Studies, San Francisco State University, April 27, 2006*

*"Fighting for Caucasian Rights," Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity, Stanford University, December 1, 2005*

*"Fighting for Caucasian Rights," Global Black Studies Speaker Series, University of Illinois at Chicago, November 3, 2005*

*"Fighting for Caucasian Rights," Department of History, Williams College, October 18, 2005*

*"Fighting for Caucasian Rights," Immigration History and the University of Minnesota Conference, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, May 13, 2005*

*"Encountering the Color Line in the Everyday: Italians in Interwar Chicago," Center for History and Social Change, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay, April 22, 2005*

*"Who is an American? Who is White? Race and Naturalization Law in U.S. History," Bowling Green State University, April 16, 2005*

*"Fighting for Caucasian Rights," Migration Studies Group Seminar, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, December 9, 2004*

*"Encountering the Color Line in the Everyday: Italians in Interwar Chicago," Oberlin College, December 3, 2004*

*"Fighting for Caucasian Rights," Law & . . . Lecture Series, University of Notre Dame Law School, November 17, 2004*

*"Italian American/African American Relations in Chicago, 1900-1945," Center for African American Urban Studies and the Economy, Carnegie Mellon University, October 29, 2004*

*"No Color Barrier": Italians, Race, and Power in the United States," Casa Italiana Zerilli-Marimo, New York University, October 17, 2003*

*"White On Arrival," University of Notre Dame, October 8, 2003*

*"White On Arrival," Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, IL, May 22, 2003*

*"White On Arrival," John D. Calandra Italian American Institute, City University of New York, New York, NY, March 12, 2003*

*"White On Arrival," University of Michigan, February 9, 2001*

*"Rethinking Whiteness Historiography: 'New' Immigrants, Race, and Color in the U.S., 1890-1945," Symposium: "Defining Whiteness: Race, Class, and Gender Perspectives in North American History," University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, October 13-15, 2000*

*"Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945," Immigration History Research Center, Minneapolis, MN, May 1999*

#### CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

*Chair, "The Immigrant Promise: Making of Desirable Americans through U.S. Immigration Policy and Enforcement in the Twentieth Century," Law & Society Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., May 30, 2019*

*"Divisions: The U.S. Military and the Lost Promise of Interracialism in Mid-Twentieth-Century America," American Historical Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Ill., January 5, 2019*

*“Divisions: The U.S. Military and the Lost Promise of Interracialism in Mid-Twentieth-Century America,” American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Ga., November 8, 2018*

*Discussant, “Doing Immigration History in the Present Political Climate,” Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, Sacramento, CA, April 14, 2018*

*“Transnational Racisms and Civil Rights Internationalisms: Notes on Race and World War II in a Global Frame,” Society for the History of American Foreign Relations Annual Meeting, Arlington, VA, June 24, 2017*

*“White, Nonwhite, Nonblack, and Japanese: Boundaries, Leveraging, and Japanese Americans’ Racial Status in the World War II Army,” Council of European Studies Annual Meeting, Paris, France, July 9, 2015*

*“White, Nonwhite, Nonblack, and Japanese: The Strange Career of Japanese Americans’ Racial Status in the World War II Army,” Association of Asian American Studies Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 24, 2015*

*Discussant, “Sociocultural Leveraging: How and Why Status Majorities Elevate One Minority Group to Downgrade Another,” Council for European Studies Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., March 15, 2014*

*“The Price of Freedom App: Discussing a Collaboratively Produced Alternative Tour of the Smithsonian’s History of American Wars,” American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., November 24, 2013*

Chair, "New Race Histories: Color Lines and Freedom Struggles,"  
Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA,  
April 12, 2013

"What Is the Price of Freedom?," American Studies Association Annual  
Meeting, Baltimore, MD, October 27, 2011

"Civil Rights Maternalism: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Motherhood in  
World War II America," 2011 Berkshire Conference of Women Historians,  
Amherst, MA, June 11, 2011

"Race Studies: State of the Field," Organization of American Historians  
Annual Meeting, Houston, TX, March 18, 2011

"'Red Cross, Double Cross': Race and America's World War II-Era Blood  
Donor Service," American Studies Collected Stories Conference, George  
Washington University, April 16, 2010

"The World War II Draft and Battles Over the Boundaries of Nonblackness,"  
American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., November  
5, 2009

"Jim Crow Goes Abroad: African-American Servicemen and the  
International Politics of Race during World War II," Society for Historians of  
American Foreign Relations Annual Meeting, Falls Church, VA, June 26,  
2009

Comment, "Choc'late Soldiers from the USA: U.S. Armed Forces and Race  
Relations in Britain, 1942-1945," Society for Historians of American  
Foreign Relations Annual Meeting, Falls Church, VA, June 25, 2009

*Chair, "Rejection, Selection, and Adaptation: New Perspectives on United States Immigration History," Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA, March 29, 2009*

*Comment, "Strangers in the Windy City: Race, Ethnicity, and Global Influence on Immigrant Communities in Chicago between the 1900s and 1940s," American Historical Association Annual Meeting, New York, NY, January 3, 2009*

*"Truly In-between People: A Comment on David Roediger's Working Towards Whiteness," Social Science History Association Conference, Chicago, IL, November 17, 2007*

*Chair, "Racial Apathy, White Ignorance, and Colorblindness," American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, New York, NY, August 12, 2007*

*"Civil Rights Internationalisms: World War II and the Globalization of American Freedom Struggles," American Studies Collected Stories Conference, George Washington University, April 6, 2007*

*"Whiteness Studies and the History of European Immigrant Incorporation: An Appraisal," Eastern Sociological Society Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, March 17, 2007*

*Chair/Comment, "The State of the Field: Migration and Ethnic Studies," Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, San Jose, CA, March 31, 2005*

*"Fighting for Caucasian Rights: Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and the Struggle for Civil Rights Legislation in World War II Texas," Western History Association Conference, Las Vegas, Nevada, October 16, 2004*

*Comment, "Neighborhoods and the Construction of Race in Chicago," Urban History Association Conference, Milwaukee, WI, October 9, 2004*

*"Encountering the Color Line in the Everyday: Italians in Interwar Chicago," International Oral History Association Conference, Rome, Italy, July 25, 2004*

*"'The Feelings and Traditions of White People': Italians, Race, Color, and Identity in Wartime Chicago, 1939-1945," American Italian Historical Association Conference, Loyola University, Chicago, IL, October 25, 2002*

*"The Feelings and Traditions of White People," North American Labor History Conference, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI, October 20, 2001*

*"Toward Essentialism, Toward Difference," American Italian Historical Association Conference, Hunter College, New York, NY, November 12, 1998*

*"The Forgotten Enemy," World War II and Ethnic America Conference, New York University, New York, NY, March 9, 1997*

**TEACHING: CLASSES**

*University of Michigan*

*U.S. History, 1900-1941*

*U.S. History since 1941*

*University of Notre Dame*



*Race and Ethnicity in the Twentieth-Century United States*

*Who is an American?*

*Whiteness Studies*

*World War II in History and Memory*

*George Washington University*

*American Social Movements*

*The Civil Right Movement*

*Interrogating GW*

*Race and Racism in U.S. History*

*The U.S. State: History & Theory*

*The United States and the World*

*U.S. Immigration History*

*U.S. Social History*

*World War II in History and Memory*

**PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

*American Historical Association*

*American Studies Association*

*Organization of American Historians*

**PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

*Advisory Board Member*

*American Soldier Digital Archive, NEH Foundation Grant, 2018-present.*

*Potomac Center for the Study of Modernity, 2012-2016*

*Award Committee Member*

*Organization of American Historians Liberty Legacy Foundation Award,  
2012*

*Dissertation Committee Member*

Miguel Unzueta, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University (2006)

Danielle Battisti, History Department, University of Buffalo (2010)

Jason C. Chang, Program in American Culture, University of Michigan (2010)

Suzanne Tralongo Orr, History Department, University of Notre Dame (2010)

Jessica H. Lee, History Department, Columbia University (2016)

*Lecturer*

Organization of American Historians Distinguished Lecturer, 2016-2019

*Museum Work*

Participant, "The Scholar Is In" program, "Race: Are We So Different" exhibition, National Museum of Natural History, September 21, 2011

Historical consultant, "Americans All: The Immigration and Migration Initiative," Smithsonian Institution, 2012

*Program Committee Cochair*

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, 2013

*Program Committee Member*

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, 2019

*Referee*

American Quarterly, Du Bois Review, Ethnography, Harvard University Press, Journal of American Ethnic History, Journal of American History, Oxford University Press, Palgrave, Theory and Society, University of

California Press, University of Chicago Press, University of Pennsylvania Press, Wadsworth

*Tenure Reviewer*

Carnegie Mellon University, Northwestern University, University of British Columbia, University of Mary Washington, University of Missouri - St. Louis

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY SERVICE

*University and College*

Advisor, Abigail Brook, Senior Honors Thesis, University Honors Program, Spring 2018

Global Initiatives Task Force, Spring 2014

Advisor, Nicholas Kelly, Senior Honors Thesis, University Honors Program, Spring 2014

Speaker, Race Symposium, Medieval and Early Modern Europe Institute, March 1, 2010

University Committee on Research, 2006-2008

Advisor, Sara Marks, Senior Honors Thesis, Department of History, Spring 2007

Speaker, Immigration Roundtable, University Honors Program, September 26, 2006

*American Studies Department*

MA Advisor, 2013-2016, 2017-2018

Black Studies Now Committee, 2017

Department By-Laws Committee, 2013-2014

Director of Graduate Studies, 2010-2012, 2014

MA and PhD program admissions, 2010-2012, 2014

Curriculum committee, 2010-2012

Political Economy search committee, chair, 2012

*African American Studies search committee, 2009-2011*

*Director of Undergraduate Studies, 2007-2008*

*Latino Studies search committee, 2006-2007*

*Chair, dissertation committee: Lindsay Davis, Laura Kenna, Clara Lewis, Greg Borchardt, Sara Awartani, Kimberly Probolus, Colin Anderson, 2006-present*

*Member, dissertation committee: Sara Berndt (History), Megan Black, Stacy Lowe Bondurant (History), Ashley Brown, Emily Dufton, Charity Fox, Jon Keljik (History), Matthew Kohlstedt, Laurie Lahey, Brittany Lewis (History), John O'Keefe, Patrick Nugent, Katie Rademacher, Kevin Strait, Joan Fragaszy Troyano, 2006-present*

*Departmental dissertation reader: Yusuke Torii, Rahima Schwenkbeck, 2006-present*

*Member, MA and PhD exam committee, 2006-present: Colin Anderson, Sara Awartani, Megan Black, Greg Borchardt, Ashley Brown, Lindsay Davis, Thomas Dolan, Diana Dinerman, Emily Dufton, Matthew Kohlstedt, Shannon Davies Mancus, Eid Mohamed, Patrick Nugent, Zaynab Quadri, Katie Rademacher, Richard Rydecki, Joan Fragaszy Troyano, Sarah Wilkes*

*MA thesis adviser: Elizabeth Cammarata, 2008*

*Adviser/Sponsor, Fulbright Fellow Tasuku Todayama, University of Tokyo, 2010-2011*