

THE MOUND CITY BAR ASSOCIATION, LLOYD GAINES,
AND THE LINCOLN LAW SCHOOL

Hon. Anne-Marie Clarke*

I. THE MOUND CITY BAR ASSOCIATION AND A BRIEF HISTORY
ABOUT ITS FOUNDERS

On December 23, 1921, and again on January 6, 1922, the following notice appeared in the *St. Louis Argus* newspaper, the oldest continuous Black business in St. Louis, Missouri, announcing the inaugural meeting of Black attorneys in the city:

Believing that a closer relationship of the members of the Bar will redound to the benefit of the race and the profession, and with a view of bringing about this much needed result, the undersigned attorneys hereby cordially invite all Negro members of the bar to meet at Pythian Hall, 3137 Pine Street on January 7, 1922 at 8:00pm for the purpose of perfecting a Bar Association.

Geo. L. Vaughn, Daniel W. Bowles, Homer G. Phillips,
S.E. Garner, Geo. B. Jones, W.R. Hill, Jos. A. Smith,
Robert N. Owens, Emanuel Williams, N.A. Mitchell, E.H.
Taylor, Hutchins Inge, J.H Roberts and Freeman L.
Martin.¹

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1. *Negro Lawyers Will Organize Bar Ass'n*, ST. LOUIS ARGUS, Dec. 2, 1921, at 1; *Negro Lawyers Will Meet and Organize This Saturday Night*, ST. LOUIS ARGUS, Jan. 6, 1922, at 1. A previous article in the *St. Louis Argus*, "Report on Negro Life in St. Louis," listed the Negro population at 70,000 with 50 physicians, 10 dentists, and 10 lawyers in 1920. *Report on Negro Life in St. Louis*, ST. LOUIS ARGUS, Sept. 16, 1921, at 1, 6.

The *Argus* reported on January 13, 1922, that the attorneys had met and organized the St. Louis Negro Bar Association. George L. Vaughn was elected president; Robert Owens, Vice-president; Albert Burgess, Treasurer; and George R. Jones, Secretary.² There is no record of what transpired at that meeting beyond the election of officers. One can assume since most of the Black lawyers in St. Louis had signed the meeting notice, it was very well attended. By 1924, there were twenty-eight Black lawyers in St. Louis.³ The founding lawyers had graduated from a variety of law schools across the United States. Silas E. Garner graduated from Walden University's law department in 1908,⁴ and Homer G. Phillips was a 1903 graduate of Howard Law School.⁵

The name of the St. Louis Negro Bar Association was changed to the Mound City Bar Association ("MCBA") on September 16, 1922.⁶ This change was consistent with the other Black professional organizations in St. Louis, such as the Mound City Medical Association and the Mound City Dental Association, which took the name "Mound City" after the Indian mounds in North St. Louis.⁷

The National Bar Association ("NBA"), which formed because Blacks were denied membership to the American Bar Association ("ABA"), was not founded until 1925. On August first of that year, Black lawyers from seven states and the Virgin Islands met in Des Moines, Iowa and elected the NBA's first officers.⁸ The idea for a national association of Black lawyers was spearheaded by George H. Woodson, a 1895 graduate of Howard Law School and a leader of the Iowa Negro Bar Association.⁹ At the time, there were approximately 1,200 "negro lawyers" in the country, none of whom could join the ABA because of their race.¹⁰ During the second annual meeting of the NBA, held in Chicago in 1926, Kansas City, Missouri

2. *Attorneys Organize*, ST. LOUIS ARGUS, Jan. 13, 1922, at 1.

3. J. CLAY SMITH, JR., EMANCIPATION: THE MAKING OF THE BLACK LAWYER 1844-1944 333 (1993).

4. *Id.*

5. *Id.*

6. Mound City Bar Association Directory (1953).

7. Anne-Marie Clarke, *The History of the Black Bar*, 30 ST. LOUIS BAR J. 17, 19 (1984).

8. SMITH, JR., *supra* note 3, at 556.

9. *Id.*

10. *Id.*

attorney Charles H. Calloway—one of the founders of the NBA—was elected the second president.¹¹

St. Louis's long-standing connection with the NBA began in 1927. The NBA's annual meeting was held in St. Louis with over one hundred Black attorneys attending from across the United States and the Republic of Panama.¹² St. Louis attorney and Mound City Bar Founder Homer G. Phillips was elected the third president of the NBA.¹³ NBA presidents from St. Louis include: Homer G. Phillips, 1927; Sidney Redmond, 1939-1940; Scovel Richardson, 1951-1953; Judge Billy Jones of East St. Louis, 1967-1968; Mavis T. Thompson, 2009-2010; and Pamela Meanes, 2014-2015.¹⁴ The National Bar Association met again in St. Louis in 1933 when it held its ninth convention in the city,¹⁵ as well as in 1992 and 2016.

II. LLOYD GAINES, MOUND CITY BAR AND LINCOLN UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL

Lloyd Gaines was born in Mississippi but moved to St. Louis with his family, where he graduated from Vashon High School, an all-Black public school, in 1931.¹⁶ He went on to attend Lincoln University, the only public, four-year institution of higher learning open to Black students in Missouri, where he graduated with high honors in August 1935.¹⁷

Wanting to become a lawyer, Gaines applied to the University of Missouri School of Law, part of the public, state-financed university system. Like many states wishing to maintain segregation, Missouri's policy was to pay for its Black residents to attend schools in other states if no segregated education programs existed locally.¹⁸ This was codified by state statute dating from at least 1929.¹⁹

11. *Id.* at 557.

12. *Id.*

13. *Id.* at 557–58.

14. See NAT'L BAR ASS'N, <https://www.nationalbar.org/NBA/History.aspx> (last visited Dec. 29, 2021).

15. SMITH, JR., *supra* note 3, at 563.

16. Todd Barnett, *Lloyd Gaines*, HISTORIC MISSOURIANS, <https://historicmissourians.shsmo.org/lloyd-gaines> [<https://perma.cc/4QXL-P8H9>].

17. Ernesto Longa, *A History of America's First Jim Crow Law School Library and Staff*, 7 CONN. PUB. INT. L.J. 77, 78 (2007).

18. *Id.*

19. Section 9622 of the Revised Statutes of Missouri (1929), MO. ST. ANN. § 9622, p. 7328, providing as follows:

Gaines submitted his application for admission to the University of Missouri School of Law in June and again in August 1935.²⁰ He was denied admittance on the ground that it was “contrary to the constitution, laws and public policy of the State to admit a Negro as a student.”²¹ He then filed a Writ of Mandamus on April 15, 1936, in the Boone County Circuit Court.²² The suit’s defendants were the university registrar, Silas W. Canada, and the Curators of the University of Missouri. He was represented by a legal team comprised of Charles Hamilton Houston, Dean of Howard University Law School from 1929-1935 and Special Counsel and Litigation Director for the NAACP from 1935-1940,²³ and noted St. Louis attorneys and Mound City Bar Association members Sidney Redmond, a graduate of Harvard Law School and former MCBA President,²⁴ and Henry Espy, a Howard University Law School graduate.²⁵

The NAACP, led by Charles Hamilton Houston, had begun filing so-called “equalization” cases across the country, which advocated against race-based inequalities in the segregated United States public education system.²⁶ Gaines’s case and others were partially based on *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which upheld segregated public facilities if they were “separate but equal.”²⁷ But the attorneys also argued that the Fourteenth Amendment

May arrange for attendance at university of any adjacent state—tuition fees. Pending the full development of the Lincoln university, the board of curators shall have the authority to arrange for the attendance of negro residents of the state of Missouri at the university of any adjacent state to take any course or to study any subjects provided for at the state university of Missouri, and which are not taught at the Lincoln university and to pay the reasonable tuition fees for such attendance; provided that whenever the board of curators deem it advisable they shall have the power to open any necessary school or department.

20. James Spencer Blake, “The Sun Do Move”—Interconnected Histories of the NAACP’s Campaign For Educational Equality, at 31, 33 (May 6, 2015) (M.A. thesis, University of Kansas).

21. Longa, *supra* note 17, at 2.

22. Barnett, *supra* note 16.

23. SMITH, JR., *supra* note 3, at 17.

24. MOUND CITY BAR ASS’N 75TH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATIVE JOURNAL (1997).

25. *Id.*

26. Millicent Brown, Jon Hale & Clerc Cooper, *Somebody Had to Do It, School Equalization*, LOWCOUNTRY DIGIT. HIST. INITIATIVE (May 2015), https://ldhi.library.cofc.edu/exhibits/show/somebody_had_to_do_it/struggle_for_equal_ed/school_equalization [<https://perma.cc/9NHY-MLZB>].

27. *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896), *overruled by* *Brown v. Bd. of Ed. of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

of the U.S. Constitution guaranteed “the equal protection of the laws” for everyone in the state.²⁸

State of Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada was heard in the Boone County Courthouse in July 1936 before Judge W.M. Dinwiddie, a University of Missouri School of Law graduate.²⁹ When judgment was entered in favor of the University, the attorneys appealed the case to the Missouri Supreme Court. In May 1937, the case was heard before the Court, where three of the seven judges were University of Missouri School of Law graduates.³⁰ The Missouri Supreme Court ruled against Gaines on December 9, 1937.³¹

After losing in the Missouri courts, the attorneys appealed to the United States Supreme Court, where the case was argued on November 9, 1938.³² Joining Houston, Redmond, and Espy as part of the NAACP litigation team was future U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall.³³ On December 12, 1938, the Supreme Court reversed the Missouri courts and ruled in Gaines’s favor.³⁴ While not striking down *Plessy* and “separate but equal” facilities, the Court held that denying Gaines admittance to the University of Missouri and forcing him to attend an out-of-state school was a violation of his Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection.³⁵ This was because he was denied the opportunity to gain a legal education, one that was available to white students, anywhere in the state because of his race.³⁶ The Supreme Court further held Gaines should be admitted to the University of Missouri School of Law “unless a comparable and substantially equal school existed,” which would have been at Lincoln University.³⁷ The decision did not abolish the Jim Crow educational system in Missouri, and the state moved quickly to perpetuate segregation.

28. Barnett, *supra* note 16.

29. *Id.*

30. *Id.*

31. *Id.* See *State ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 113 S.W.2d 783 (Mo. 1937) (en banc).

32. Barnett, *supra* note 16.

33. *Justice Thurgood Marshall Profile*, U.S. CTS., <https://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/justice-thurgood-marshall-profile-brown-v-board> [<https://perma.cc/SV6X-HFAE>].

34. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U.S. 337, 352 (1938).

35. *Id.*

36. *Id.*

37. *Id.*

Rather than admit Lloyd Gaines to the University of Missouri School of Law, in February 1939, Rep. John D. Taylor, from Keytesville, Missouri and chair of the House Appropriations Committee, introduced House Bill No. 195, known as the Taylor Bill.³⁸ The bill authorized Lincoln University to “establish whatever graduate and professional schools are necessary to the equivalent of the University of Missouri.”³⁹ The Lincoln University Board of Curators ordered its president to have a law school ready for Lloyd Gaines’s enrollment by September 1, 1939.⁴⁰ The State of Missouri appropriated \$200,000 for its budget; in contrast, the University of Missouri was appropriated \$3 million.⁴¹ Mound City Bar member and former president of the Lincoln University Board of Curators, Joseph McLemore, asked whether it was reasonable to believe “that with six months’ time, and two hundred thousand dollars, there can be produced at Lincoln University what it took seventy-five years to produce at Missouri?”⁴² Hundreds of others also called for the bill to be defeated, but it was signed into law in May 1939.⁴³

Just *nine months* after the Supreme Court decision, Lincoln University Law School began registering students on September 20, 1939. It opened two weeks later with thirty-one students, most of them from the St. Louis area.⁴⁴ The Lincoln Curators had decided to locate the Law School in St. Louis, rather than on the Jefferson City campus.⁴⁵ The Law School was housed in the Poro College building at St. Ferdinand and Pendleton (now Billups) in the heart of The Ville neighborhood.⁴⁶ Poro College was the former home of the Poro Beauty College founded by Annie Malone. (The building was razed in 1965 and is now the site of the James House, apartments for seniors.⁴⁷)

38. *Lloyd Gaines: The Mystery*, LINCOLN UNIV., https://bluetigercommons.lincolnu.edu/lgaines_sec3/index.html [<https://perma.cc/QUA7-67G2>].

39. *Id.*

40. *Id.* at 1.5.

41. Longa, *supra* note 17, at 80.

42. *Id.*

43. *Id.*

44. *Id.* at 81.

45. *Id.* at 80.

46. *Id.*; *The Ville Neighborhood*, ST. LOUIS CITY TALK, <http://www.stlouiscitytalk.com/posts/2010/02/ville-neighborhood> [<https://perma.cc/R37N-7QHV>].

47. JOHN A. WRIGHT, *THE VILLE: ST. LOUIS* 77 (2001).

There were protests in St. Louis and across the country from the Black community about the Jim Crow Law School.⁴⁸ The Lincoln University Law School was seen as continuing segregation, rather than ending it. There were daily picket lines around the school.⁴⁹ There was nothing equal about the hastily created Lincoln University Law School and the University of Missouri School of Law.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruling had ordered the Missouri Supreme Court to rehear the case, and attorneys Houston and Redmond planned to argue the facilities were not equal.⁵⁰ However, when looking to depose Lloyd Gaines they realized he had disappeared and had not been seen or heard from since March 19, 1939.⁵¹ After searching for Gaines for four months—and with no plaintiff—the lawsuit was dismissed in January 1940.⁵²

But for those young, Black men and women desirous of becoming lawyers, and particularly for those wanting to do so in their home state of Missouri, Lincoln University Law School was their pathway to their future. Lincoln University Law School was only the second Black law school in the country when it was founded;⁵³ Howard University Law School was the other.

In a span of just a few months, and although woefully underfunded, Lincoln University Law School was fully accredited by the American Bar Association in 1939.⁵⁴ It became a member of the American Association of Law Libraries in December 1939. The law library contained more than 23,000 volumes. The minimum needed for accreditation was 7,500 volumes. The school was approved by the Missouri Board of Law

48. Longa, *supra* note 17, at 81–82.

49. *Id.* at 81.

50. *Id.*

51. *Id.* at 82.

52. *Id.* Edward T. Clayton, *The Strange Disappearance of Lloyd Gaines*, EBONY MAG., May 1951, at 26–34. There were many other news stories done about his disappearance. But, at the time, there was nothing thought about his silence. The Missouri Bar awarded Lloyd Gaines a bar license, and Missouri University awarded him an honorary degree. *See, e.g.*, David Stout, *A Supreme Triumph, Then Into the Shadows*, N.Y. TIMES (July 11, 2009), https://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/12/us/12_gaines.html [<https://perma.cc/XR77-LTQB>]. The generally held belief has been that he was killed, although one of his Lincoln professors said he believed he was alive but hiding.

53. *The World's Smallest Law School*, MOUND CITY BAR ASS'N 75TH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATIVE JOURNAL (1997).

54. Longa, *supra* note 17, at 83.

Examiners in February 1940 and awarded membership in the Association of American Law Schools in December 1941.⁵⁵

The first dean of Lincoln University Law School was William L. Taylor, who came from Howard Law School and served until 1943.⁵⁶ Scovel Richardson was dean from 1944-1953, followed by Daniel W. Bowles from 1954-1955.⁵⁷ Members of the faculty included prominent St. Louis attorneys: Daniel W. Bowles (MCBA Founder and its second president), Scovel Richardson (Howard University Law School graduate), Wilson Gray (University of Wisconsin at Madison School of Law graduate), Silas E. Garner (MCBA Founder), and Virgil Lucas (Howard University Law School graduate).⁵⁸

The law school closed for a year in 1943 due to World War II,⁵⁹ then closed for good after the 1954-1955 school year following the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*.⁶⁰ *Brown*, overturning *Plessy*, declared racial segregation in public schools did violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.⁶¹ By 1953, at least sixty-three students had graduated.⁶² Seventy-nine students graduated before the school closed in 1955; the last and final graduate was James A. Bell.⁶³

These graduates were men and women who were taught in the tradition of Charles Hamilton Houston that a lawyer was either a “social engineer or a parasite on society.”⁶⁴ They included:

Dorothy Freeman, the first Black woman to pass the Missouri State Board Examination, who was admitted to practice law in Missouri on

55. *Id.*

56. *Id.* at 81.

57. 1955-1956 OFFICIAL MANUAL: STATE OF MISSOURI 479 (Sec’y of State Walter H. Toberman comp., 1955).

58. *The World’s Smallest Law School*, *supra* note 53.

59. Longa, *supra* note 17, at 100.

60. Longa, *supra* note 17, at 95, 103.

61. *Brown v. Bd. of Educ. of Topeka*, 348 U.S. 886 (1954).

62. STATE OF MISSOURI OFFICIAL MANUAL: FOR THE YEARS NINETEEN FIFTY-THREE NINETEEN FIFTY-FOUR 467 (Sec’y of State Walter H. Toberman comp., 1954).

63. Commencement Programs, 1940-1955, Lincoln University Law School.

64. Angela J. Scott, *Human Rights Hero: The African American Social Engineer*, ABA: HUMAN RIGHTS MAG. (Jan. 6, 2020), https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsj/publications/human_rights_magazine_home/black-to-the-future-part-ii/human-rights-hero--the-african-american-social-engineer/ [https://perma.cc/EK7Y-9L6L].

November 7, 1942.⁶⁵ She served briefly as an assistant librarian at Lincoln University Law School beginning in June 1942.⁶⁶

Margaret Bush Wilson, a St. Louisan who was the second Black woman licensed to practice in Missouri on March 27, 1943.⁶⁷ Her and her father's involvement in the U.S. Supreme Court case of *Shelley v. Kraemer*, which outlawed restrictive covenants, is told in the self-authored book *Twigs from the Bush*, which was published in 2009 just before her death.⁶⁸ She was the first Black woman chair of the National Board of NAACP, serving from 1975-1984. She was married to her Lincoln University Law School classmate Robert Wilson, Jr.⁶⁹

Lula M. Howard, the third Black woman licensed to practice law in Missouri, in 1943. She was the law librarian of the Lincoln University Law School from 1946 until the school closed in 1955, and she maintained a law practice with Robert Witherspoon.⁷⁰ She was the first woman president of the Mound City Bar Association, serving from 1953-1956.⁷¹

Joseph McDuffie, who along with a later Lincoln Law graduate William P. Russell, were the architects of the landmark lawsuit of *Liddell v. St. Louis Board of Education*, filed in February 1972.⁷² This case established, among other things, the Voluntary Interdistrict Desegregation Program allowing for the transfer of students between the St. Louis City school district and metropolitan districts in St. Louis County.⁷³ The school desegregation case was filed alleging discrimination based on housing patterns. The *Liddell* case continues to this day.⁷⁴

My father, Thomas P. Clarke, was a long time staff attorney and, later, managing attorney of the Legal Aid Society, which became Legal Services

65. Longa, *supra* note 17, at 99.

66. *Id.*

67. Carlynn Trout & Elizabeth E. Engel, *Margaret Bush Wilson*, HISTORIC MISSOURIANS, <https://historicmissourians.shsmo.org/margaret-bush-wilson> [<https://perma.cc/MZ6V-LLCQ>].

68. MARGARET BUSH WILSON, *TWIGS FROM THE BUSH* (2009). *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (1948).

69. Trout & Engel, *supra* note 67.

70. Longa, *supra* note 17, at 100.

71. *Id.* at 101-04.

72. *Liddell v. Bd. of Educ.*, 567 F. Supp. 1037 (E.D. Mo. 1983); *Joseph S. McDuffie*, HALL OF FAME, LINCOLN UNIV. (2014), <https://www.lincolnu.edu/web/advancement/national-hall-of-fame> (select "Joseph S. McDuffie ('47)" hyperlink) [<https://perma.cc/Y25E-QGC8>].

73. *Liddell*, 567 F. Supp. 1037.

74. Telephone Interview with William Douthit, Jr., *Liddell* plaintiff's attorney (Oct. 2021).

of Eastern Missouri.⁷⁵ He and Lincoln Law alum Melton Lewis signed their court filings “Lewis and Clarke” in a nod to St. Louis’s early history. These two were responsible for mentoring countless lawyers at Legal Services.

Other graduates include James A. Bell, a well-known criminal and civil rights attorney;⁷⁶ Curtis C. Crawford, District Director of the U.S. Small Business Administration and a member of United States Probation and Parole Commission;⁷⁷ and Harold F. Fullwood, an elected magistrate judge who was later elevated to Associate Circuit Judge.⁷⁸

These men and women contributed immensely to the legal fiber of the St. Louis community and across the United States. Their contributions all stem from the desire of Lloyd Gaines to pursue a career in law in Missouri and to the legal dedication of attorneys Charles Hamilton Houston and Sidney Redmond.

III. THE LEGACY OF THE MOUND CITY BAR

“Legacy: something transmitted by or received from an ancestor or predecessor or from the past, the legacy of the ancient philosophers.”⁷⁹

Approaching the centennial anniversary of the founding of the Mound City Bar Association is monumental. How did we get here? By following the leadership of the men and women who **have served** as president of Mound City. How will we continue to exist for another one hundred years? By following the leadership of the men and women who **will serve** as president of Mound City.

One hundred years is monumental. The continued existence of the Mound City Bar Association is its legacy. The Association was born of adversity and rejection. The difficulties of surviving the day-to-day issues of the practice of law. The rejection of not being able to fraternize with other lawyers and judges. The Association has continued in spite of adversity and

75. Interview with Dan Glazier, Exec. Dir. & Legal Counsel, Legal Services of E. Mo. (Oct. 2021); *Generations of Justice*, Legal Services of Eastern MO (2006) (on file with author).

76. Program, Mound City Bar Ass’n Awards Recognition Dinner - Dance, June 19, 1982.

77. *Id.*

78. *Id.*

79. *Legacy*, MERRIAM-WEBSTER, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/legacy> (last visited Sept. 23, 2021).

rejection. Members of the Mound City Bar Association have figured prominently in the landmark civil rights litigation of *Gaines v. Canada*, *Shelley v. Kraemer*, and *Liddell v. St. Louis Board of Education*, to name just a few. Members of Mound City Bar Association have figured prominently in all manner of civil rights and social matters in not just our Community but across the State and this Nation. Members of Mound City Bar: have served as Mayor of the City of St. Louis; currently head the prosecuting attorney's office in both the City and the County; currently serve as Attorney for the City of St. Louis; are partners in majority law firms; serve in leadership roles on countless Boards and Commissions; serve in municipal and State legislatures; sit on all levels of the Judiciary. Our Survival is our Legacy. Our Resiliency is our Legacy.

I can think of no better way to close this paper than to recognize those who have served as president of the Mound City Bar Association. The list of Past Presidents is not complete and there are some gaps in the early years, but it is a tribute to those who have served and a guide for those who will serve, by seeing the names of those who have led the Mound City Bar Association over the past one hundred years.⁸⁰

<u>MCBA President</u>	<u>Term</u>
George L. Vaughn	1922
Daniel W. Bowles	1923
Silas Garner	1924
Joseph McLemore	1927
John A. Davis	1930
Harvey Tucker	1931
Sidney Redmond	1932
Freeman Martin	1933

80. *Past Presidents*, MOUND CITY BAR ASS'N, <https://www.moundcitybar.com/PastPres.html> [<https://perma.cc/P9FC-UR3E>]. Additional primary sources which supplement this published list are on file with the author.

Robert L. Witherspoon	1935
Virgil Lucas	1946-1950
Lula Howard	1953-1956
Wilson Gray	1957-1958
Alphonse Lynch	1959
David Grant	
Joseph McDuffie	1966-1968
William P. Russell	1968-1970
Ira M. Young	1970-1972
Harold Fullwood	1972-1974
William P. Russell	1974-1976
Harold Whitfield	1976-1978
Charles Kirksey	1978-1980
Charles Willis	1980-1981
Anne-Marie Clarke	1981-1983
Morgan Stewart	1983-1985
Reuben A. Shelton	1985-1986
Freida L Wheaton	1986-1987
Loretta W. Moore	1987-1988
Jimmie M. Edwards	1988-1989
Donald L. McCullin	1989-1990
Dorothy White-Coleman	1990-1991
Thomas Carter II	1991-1992

Elaine Harris Spearman	1992-1993
Lloyd J. Jordan	1993-1994
Mary E. Nelson	1994-1995
Michael T. Jamison	1995-1996
Luther Rollins Jr	1996-1997
Donald L. McCullin	1997-1998
Mildred Motley	1998-1999
Mavis Thompson	1999-2000
Lee Goodman	2000-2001
Freeman Bosley Jr.	2001-2002
Jerryl Christmas	2002-2003
Hope Whitehead	2003-2004
Kimberly Franks	2004-2005
Marvin Teer	2005-2006
Pamela J. Meanes	2006-2007
Rufus J. Tate Jr	2007-2008
Robert S. Kenney	2008-2009
Ronda F. Williams	2009-2010
Ebony M. McCain	2010-2011
Micah D. Hall	2011-2012
Michael L. Walton	2012-2013
Nicole Colbert-Bochway	2013-2014
Kendra R. Howard	2014-2015

L. Jared Boyd	2015-2016
Annette Slack	2016-2017
Monique D. Abby	2017-2018
J. Danielle Carr	2018-2019
Shira Truitt	2019-2020
Chalana Scales-Ferguson (interim)	2020
Steven Harmon	2020-2021
Ken Goins	2021-