

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

SUSMAN GODFREY LLP,

Plaintiff,

v.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, *et al.*,

Defendants.

NO. 1:25-cv-01107-LLA

**BRIEF OF *AMICI CURIAE* 777 SOLO AND SMALL FIRM LAWYERS IN SUPPORT
OF PLAINTIFF'S MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT AND FOR
DECLARATORY AND PERMANENT INJUNCTIVE RELIEF**

Carolyn Elefant
LAW OFFICES OF CAROLYN ELEFANT
7315 Wisconsin Ave. #400W
Bethesda, MD 20814
Telephone: (202) 297-6100
carolyn@carolynelefant.com
Counsel for Amici Curiae

April 25, 2025

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Executive Order No. 14237, competitors sought to exploit the situation by attempting to poach the firm's clients. See Tatyana Monnay, Paul Weiss Chairman Accuses Rival Firms of Pursuing Its Clients, Bloomberg Law (Mar. 23, 2025).....	7

IDENTITY AND STATEMENT OF INTEREST OF *AMICI CURIAE*

Amici Curiae are 777 independent solo practitioners and small firm lawyers from across the United States who represent individuals, small businesses, nonprofits, and community organizations across diverse practice areas.¹ We join this brief not only to support Plaintiff Susman Godfrey LLP (“Susman Godfrey”) but to warn that the challenged Executive Order dated April 9, 2025 entitled *Addressing Risks from Susman Godfrey*² has repercussions extending far beyond one large law firm. Of particular concern, the Order empowers the President to target any attorney or law firm who represent politically disfavored clients. This includes denying access to federal buildings, agency personnel, and security clearances. These actions threaten the livelihood of solo and small firm practitioners as well as the rights of the millions of clients who depend on *amici* for access to justice.

Amici are all attorneys actively practicing or retired from solo ventures and small law firms. These attorneys account for 75% of law firms in the United States.³ *Amici*’s practices span a wide variety of specializations, including family law and estate planning, criminal defense, personal injury, bankruptcy, immigration, intellectual property, construction, energy and environmental justice, regulatory and compliance, corporate start-ups, ERISA, social security disability,

¹ *Amici* are listed in Appendix A at the back of this brief. *Amici* Andrea Goldman co-authored this brief and *Amici* Kimberly Russell edited this brief and drafted the Motion for Leave to File.

² Online at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/04/addressing-risks-from-susman-godfrey/>.

³ Embroker Team, *50 Surprising Solo Law Firm Statistics for 2025*, EMBROKER (Mar. 13, 2025), <https://www.embroker.com/blog/solo-law-firm-statistics/> (last visited April 3, 2025) (noting that solos account for 40 percent of law firms while firms of six attorneys or fewer comprise 75 percent of all law firms).

employment law, whistleblower representation and civil rights and constitutional law. More than half of *Amici* represent clients in some federal matters and roughly 20% of *Amici* represent clients in federal courts or federal agencies exclusively.

In the spirit of Atticus Finch in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, many lawyers in solo practices and small firms uphold a proud tradition of representing marginalized, controversial, or unpopular clients against the government – not merely as occasional *pro bono* matters but as the bread and butter of their practices.⁴ Solo and small firm lawyers accept court-appointed criminal defense assignments in federal court and comprise the vast majority of the more than 12,000 panel appointments.⁵ Solo practitioners also account for 42% of immigration lawyers who practice exclusively in federal court.⁶ With the looming specter of the Executive Order, these lawyers would have to “toe the line” for fear that they are “next.” For these reasons, *Amici*’s brief focuses on the very real and disruptive consequences that we—the proverbial foot soldiers of the legal profession—face if the Executive Order stands.

BACKGROUND AND SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

The legal profession was shaken in early 2025 when the President Donald J. Trump and his Administration (“Trump Administration”) launched an unprecedented campaign against law firms deemed adversarial to the President. The opening salvo came on March 6, 2025, with the issuance

⁴ Andre Wharton, *Representing the Unpopular Client of Cause*, 31 GPSolo 62 (2014) (“The job of solo and small firm practitioners is difficult but invaluable to our system of justice; nowhere is this clearer than in the representation of ‘sensitive’ or ‘high-profile’ (read: unpopular) cases or clients.”).

⁵ Admin. Office of the U.S. Courts, *Defender Services*, U.S. Courts, <https://www.uscourts.gov/about-federal-courts/defender-services> (last visited Apr. 4, 2025).

⁶ *Building Dreams*, The Practice (Harvard Law Sch. Ctr. on the Legal Profession), Mar./Apr. 2024, <https://clp.law.harvard.edu/knowledge-hub/magazine/issues/immigration-lawyering/building-dreams/>.

of the Executive Order which targeted Perkins Coie by imposing sweeping penalties on the firm, including potential suspension of security clearances and denial of access to federal buildings and federal personnel.⁷ The Executive Order quickly progressed into a broader attack on more law firms. Within weeks, a series of orders followed and took aim at Paul Weiss,⁸ Jenner & Block,⁹ and WilmerHale.¹⁰ Most recently, on April 9, 2025, the Executive Order challenged here was issued against Susman Godfrey, accusing the firm of “weaponizing” the legal system and threatening to bar its attorneys from accessing federal agencies, contracting with government entities, or engaging with federal personnel.

For now, the Trump Administration’s assault on lawyers has been largely confined to large law firms, but could easily expand to any lawyer—including lawyers who frequently serve as adversaries to the government in their solo practices or as employees of small firms. Solo and small firm lawyers face even greater vulnerability because they lack the financial buffers, institutional protections, and diversified client bases needed to withstand such governmental pressure.

To shield solo and small firm lawyers and the clients we serve from the disastrous, real-world consequences of the Executive Order, *Amici* file this brief urging the court to grant Susman

⁷ Executive Order No. 14230, *Addressing Risks from Perkins Coie*, 90 Fed. Reg. 11,781 (March 6, 2025), Section 2a and 5.

⁸ Executive Order No. 14237, *Addressing Risks from Paul Weiss*, 90 Fed. Reg. 13,039 (March 14, 2025). The Order was withdrawn when Paul Weiss entered into a settlement with the Administration. See Matthew Goldstein, “Another Big Law Firm Reaches Agreement with Trump,” *The New York Times* (Apr. 2, 2025).

⁹ Executive Order No. 14246, *Addressing Risks from Jenner & Block*, 90 Fed. Reg. 13,997 (March 25, 2025).

¹⁰ Executive Order No. 14250, *Addressing Risks from WilmerHale*, 90 Fed. Reg. 14,549 (March 27, 2025).

Godfrey’s Complaint for Declaratory and Injunctive Relief for the following reasons: **First**, the Order undermines constitutional protections—particularly the First and Sixth Amendments—and forces lawyers to choose between ethical advocacy and professional survival. **Second**, the Order invites political manipulation by enabling opposing parties to exploit disqualification tools, undermining the professional norms that sustain legal practice. **Third**, the Order exceeds executive authority by imposing new legal constraints without legislative approval. For these reasons, the Court must declare the Order unconstitutional.

ARGUMENT

I. The Executive Order Endangers Access to Justice for Solo and Small Firm Clients by Eviscerating Constitutional Guarantees and Ethics Imperatives that Protect Free Advocacy and the Right to Counsel.

The Executive Order leverages government power to intimidate or punish attorneys for advocating on behalf of clients whose positions are adverse to the Trump Administration. This contravenes established precedent in *NAACP v. Button*, 371 U.S. 415, 431 (1963), holding that the First Amendment protects litigation as “the most effective form of political association” for many groups. It also undermines the Sixth Amendment right to counsel of choice articulated in *United States v. Gonzalez-Lopez*, 548 U.S. 140, 146 (2006), which “commands, not that a trial be fair, but that the accused be defended by the counsel he believes to be best.” Although the President attempted to justify the Order as necessary to protect national interests, the government may not “under the guise of prohibiting professional misconduct ignore constitutional rights.” *Button*, 371 U.S. at 439.

Not only does the Executive Order eviscerate longstanding constitutional imperatives, but in doing so it disproportionately impacts solo and small firm lawyers—not to mention the millions of ordinary Americans who comprise the majority of the clients *Amici* serve. The Order would devastate the legal ecosystem by imposing crippling practical barriers through security clearance

revocations and denial of access to government buildings and officials. Unlike large firms with diversified practices, solo practitioners often specialize in one practice area such as bankruptcy, employment law, immigration or white-collar criminal defense that relies on access to federal agencies and courts. When a solo immigration attorney gets banned from USCIS offices or a small-firm bankruptcy lawyer cannot enter the federal courthouse, these lawyers cannot serve their clients and may be forced to shutter their businesses. The same holds true for the small law firm handling Veteran Affairs benefits and social security disabilities claims appeals, a solo specializing in challenging Internal Revenue Service collection actions on behalf of small businesses, or court-appointed federal criminal defense panel attorneys representing accused individuals. Loss of clearance to protected government data or access to federal officials and agency buildings would end these firms' ability to represent clients entirely. Even a seemingly benign matter like challenging an award of a trademark to a competing business could erupt into a political melee if one party is a political donor who taps into connections to bar the opposing attorney from access to the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office.

The Order also contravenes ethical mandates by violating the principle that "representation of a client does not constitute endorsement of the client's views" and manufacturing conflicts of interest between attorneys and clients. MODEL RULES OF PRO. CONDUCT R. 1.2(b) and R. 1.7 (AM. BAR ASS'N 2025). A small-firm attorney who takes on a politically controversial case could suddenly find their entire client base at risk as the Order forces lawyers to choose between zealous advocacy and professional survival. This ethical bind particularly impacts attorneys in smaller communities and legal deserts, where a solo practitioner might be the only lawyer willing to challenge government overreach. For example, the Order could brand a rural attorney who brings civil rights claims against local federal officials as untrustworthy or a threat to national security,

and the rural attorney could lose all access to the very courthouse where that attorney must file claims.

The Order disproportionately harms vulnerable clients who rely on solo and small firm lawyers to access justice. Solo and small firm practitioners often uphold the proud tradition of representing marginalized, controversial, or unpopular clients against the government. These attorneys are uniquely susceptible to targeted retaliation as they lack the institutional buffers of large firms. A solo practitioner who loses a security clearance has no colleague who can step in; a small partnership blacklisted from federal courthouses may lose a substantial income stream with no alternative practice area to fall back on. Consider the three-lawyer firm specializing in challenging denials of disability benefits, or the solo practitioner representing military whistleblowers—both serve clients who would find no representation elsewhere if these attorneys were intimidated into silence or forced to withdraw after being stripped of their ability to effectively represent clients.

II. The Executive Order Enables Gamesmanship and Weaponizes Disqualification to Silence Adverse Representation.

One of the tenets of working in litigation is the importance of collegiality within the Bar. The Massachusetts Bar Association, among others,¹¹ has established formal guidelines to promote civility and professionalism among attorneys.¹² Even in larger cities, solo and small firm lawyers in specific practice areas develop supportive networks amongst their peers. Today's attorneys build

¹¹ American Bar Association, Professionalism Codes, https://www.americanbar.org/groups/professional_responsibility/resources/professionalism/professionalism_codes/ (last visited Apr. 5, 2025).

¹² Massachusetts Bar Association, Civility and Professionalism Guidelines (2016), <https://www.massbar.org/docs/default-source/publications-document-library/ejournal/2016-17/civilityandprofessionalismguidelines.pdf>.

professional connections nationwide through legal organizations and social media groups.¹³ An Executive Order such as this encourages exactly the opposite kind of legal environment.

The Executive Order is the first step toward a return to the McCarthy Era pressure to “name names” that will result in attorneys being blacklisted from numerous practice areas. The potential for disqualification or agency retaliation creates a chilling effect on advocacy and encourages gamesmanship. The Order invites abuse by creating a pathway for opposing parties to weaponize politics against counsel—especially solo and small firm attorneys who frequently take on controversial cases. Lawyers will be motivated to snitch on their colleagues for failure to comply with the Order or taking action adverse to the Trump Administration in order to steal clients¹⁴ or curry favor with the President. They will feel the need to be more guarded and less candid with opposing counsel for fear of being “found out” or accused of noncompliance.

The Executive Order also directly affects *Amici*’s clients by placing attorneys in a position where their interests are in conflict with those of their clients. Lawyers may not be able to communicate with agency officials or access information necessary for effective representation. Lawyers may be forced to choose between their livelihood and service to their clients. Clients involved in cases impacted by the Trump Administration’s restrictions may have difficulty finding representation altogether if their lawyers are forced to withdraw. If allowed to stand, the Executive Order marks the start of a slippery slope that threatens the traditional collegiality of the legal profession and solo and small firms’ ability to zealously represent clients.

¹³ The authors of this *amicus* brief met through their involvement with the American Bar Association.

¹⁴ Reportedly, after Paul Weiss was targeted by Executive Order No. 14237, competitors sought to exploit the situation by attempting to poach the firm’s clients. *See* Tatyana Monnay, Paul Weiss Chairman Accuses Rival Firms of Pursuing Its Clients, *Bloomberg Law* (Mar. 23, 2025), <https://news.bloomberglaw.com/business-and-practice/paul-weiss-chairman-accuses-rival-firms-of-pursuing-its-clients>.

III. President Trump Exceeded His Authority by Issuing an Executive Order that Enacts New Regulations Interfering with Lawyers' Ability to Practice their Trade.

One of the basic tenets of our democracy is that we have three branches of government: the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial branches. our forefathers created a system of checks and balances to prevent any given branch from exceeding its authority.

The doctrine of the separation of powers was adopted by the convention of 1787 not to promote efficiency but to preclude the exercise of arbitrary power. The purpose was not to avoid friction, but, by means of the inevitable friction incident to the distribution of the governmental powers among three departments, to save the people from autocracy.

Myers v. United States, 272 U.S. 52, 293 (1926). Article II of the Constitution vests the President with executive power over the government, including the obligation to “take care that the laws be faithfully executed.” An executive order is a written directive, signed by the President, that orders the government to take specific actions to ensure “the laws be faithfully executed.”¹⁵

Executive orders are typically issued to ratify given laws, or during a time of national emergency. *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co., et al. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579 (1952). In *Youngstown*, the President issued an order directing the Secretary of Commerce to seize control of the nation’s steel mills in order avert a strike and assure the continued availability of steel. The Court granted a preliminary injunction at the District Court level preventing the seizure. The United States Supreme Court affirmed the judgment of the District Court, holding that the President did not have the right to create new law.

¹⁵ Christopher Anders, *What Is an Executive Order and How Does it Work?*, ACLU (Feb. 4, 2025), <https://www.aclu.org/news/privacy-technology/what-is-an-executive-order-and-how-does-it-work>.

As stated in *Youngstown*, “It is clear that if the President had authority to issue the order he did, it must be found in some provisions of the Constitution.” *Id.* at 587. The Court explains:

Nor can the seizure order be sustained because of the several constitutional provisions that grant executive power to the President. In the framework of our Constitution, the President’s power to see that the laws are faithfully executed refutes the idea that he is to be a lawmaker. The Constitution limits his functions in the lawmaking process to the recommending of laws he thinks wise and the vetoing of laws he thinks bad.

Id. at 579.

The Court reminds us, “In the framework of our Constitution, the President’s power to see that the laws are faithfully executed refutes the idea that he is to be a lawmaker.” *Id.* at 587, *see also PFLAG, Inc., et al. v. Donald J. Trump, et al.*, Civil No. 8:25-cv-00337-BAH (D. Md. Feb. 4, 2025).

Through the Executive Order, President Trump has effectively created new law that restrains trade for lawyers—particularly solo and small firm practitioners disproportionately impacted by denials of access to federal buildings or security clearances. When the President circumvents Congress by enacting new law contrary to the separation of powers doctrine, solo and small firm lawyers bear the brunt of this unprecedented overreach.

CONCLUSION

The Executive Order represents an unconstitutional assault on the legal profession’s independence and the right to counsel. The Order paves a path for the President to threaten solo and small firm practitioners with professional ruin, for zealously advocating for clients and causes adverse to the Trump Administration’s policies.

Amici, solo and small law firm practitioners who serve as frontline defenders of the rights of millions of Americans, cannot be forced to “toe the line” to avoid governmental retaliation.

Unlike large firms, we lack the institutional resources to defend against these attacks. When our access is denied, our clients—often society's most vulnerable—are silenced.

The President has no authority to redefine attorneys' ethical obligations or erect barriers to federal buildings through bureaucratic fiat. Allowing this Order to stand would establish a dangerous precedent enabling future administrations to disqualify opposing counsel at will. To preserve our legal system's integrity and protect our clients' access to justice, the Court should grant Susman Godfrey's Complaint for Declaratory and Injunctive Relief, and find the Order unconstitutional.

Dated: April 25, 2025.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Carolyn Elefant

Carolyn Elefant D.C. Bar No. 425433

LAW OFFICES OF CAROLYN ELEFANT

7315 Wisconsin Avenue

Bethesda, Maryland 20814

(202) 297-6100

carolyn@carolynelefant.com

Counsel for *Amici Curiae*

777 Solo and Small Firm Lawyers

CERTIFICATE OF COMPLIANCE

Pursuant to LCvR 7(o), I hereby certify that this brief conforms to the requirements of LCvR 5.4, complies with the requirements set forth in Fed. R. App. P. 29(a)(4), and does not exceed 25 pages in length.

Respectfully submitted,
/s/ Carolyn Elefant

ATTACHMENT A

LIST OF AMICI

AMICI CURIAE 777 SOLO AND SMALL FIRM LAWYERS

Andrea Goldman

Goldman Law Group
Newton, MA

Charlie Germano

Washington DC

Bill Singer

Singer & Fedun, LLC
Belle Mead, NJ

Marc Meyer

Law Office of Marc Meyer PLLC
Montgomery, TX

Cynthia Replogle

Cynthia Replogle IP Law
San Luis Obispo, CA

Lainey Feingold

Law Office of Lainey Feingold
Berkeley, CA

Meagan McElroy Nardone

McElroy Nardone Law LLC
Livingston, NJ

Ryan Semerad

Fuller & Semerad, LLC
Casper, WY

Morgan Leigh

MEL Legal PLLC
Washington, DC

Kimberly Bennett

K Bennett Law
Philadelphia, PA

Mytili Bala

Sitara Human Rights Law
San Diego, CA

Brandi M. Bennett, Esq., CIPP/US

Bennett IP Law
Minneapolis, MN

Steven Brown

S Brown Law LLC
Denver, CO

Angelik Holloway

Edmonds Law Office
Atlanta, GA

Moloy K. Good

The Good Law Clinic, PLLC
Vancouver, WA

Renee Sophia Coulter

Omnus Law
Detroit, MI

Julia A. Clayton

Law Office of Julia A. Clayton, P.C.
Emeryville, CA

Victoria Santoro & Jessica Gray

Santoro & Gray LLC
Boston, MA

Taylor Tieman
Legalmiga Law PC
Palos Verdes Estates, CA

Kimberly Russell
The Russell Law Firm PLLC
Washington, DC

Michele Magar
Oakland, CA

Tracey Ingle
Ingle Law, P.C.
Southborough, MA

Renee Glover Chantler
ChantlerLaw LLP
San Mateo, CA

Robin E. Miller
Law Office of Robin Miller
Berkeley, CA

Christine Tetreault
Law Office Of Christine M. Tetreault
West Springfield MA

Virginia McMichael
Appellate Law Group LLC
Radnor, PA

Jordan Howlette
Justly Prudent
Washington, DC

Barbara Quinn Smith
Law Offices of Barbara Quinn Smith
Mentor, OH

Michael Neff
Neff Injury Law
Atlanta, GA

Russell W. Dombrow
Dombrow Law Firm
Syracuse, NY

Jo Anne Simon
Jo Anne Simon, PC
Brooklyn, NY

Rukayatu Tijani
Firm for the Culture
Sacramento, CA

Michelle K. Camp
Kay Camp Law

Danielle Bess
South Atlanta Injury Lawyers, LLC
Atlanta, GA

Crystal G. Lovett
Crystal Sapphire Legal
Des Moines, IA

Nancy Baum Delain
Delain Law Office, PLLC
Schenectady, NY

Anjana Turner
Anjana Turner & Associates, PLLC
Dan Anjana Turner Law
Washington, DC

Debby Winters
Cascade Law Group
Fayetteville AR

Cynthia Swanson
Swanson Law Center, P.A.
Gainesville, FL

Erika Bryant
The Bryant Firm
Indianapolis, IN

Mark Silver
Law Office of Mark Silver, PLLC
Brooklyn, NY

Wendi Lawson See
Southeastern Law LLC
Summerville, SC

Lenore C. Garon
Law Office of Lenore C. Garon,
PLLC
Falls Church, VA

Roseanne Eckert
The Eckert Law Firm, PLLC
Orlando, FL

Mandi Clay
Three Thirteen Law PLLC
Plant City, FL

Erica McKinley
Erica McKinley, PLLC
Washington, DC
Jackson, MS

Eric Toscano
Tenant Law Group, PC
San Francisco, CA

Sara Ovando
Ovando Bowen LLP
CA

Charity Anderson, Esq.
Charity Anderson Law
La Jolla, CA

Kimberly DeCarrera
Springboard Legal
Atlanta GA

Rhonda Cates
Law Office of Rhonda Cates PLLC
Garland, TX

Shannon McNulty
The Village Law Firm
New York, NY

Julie Hancock
Your Virtual Advocate
De Pere, WI

Mirriam Seddiq
Seddiq Law
Rockville, MD

Keisha Garner
Garner Law PLLC
Washington, DC

Amber D. McClain
Jones Law Firm, PC
Centennial, CO 80112

Elisabeth R. Myers
Strategix Legal
Marrakech, Morocco

**Valentine Austriaco & Bueschel,
P.C.**
Chicago, IL

Renee M. Fairbanks
Law Office of Renee M. Fairbanks
Santa Barbara, CA

Grace E Wein
Wein& Associates
Northbrook, IL

Christopher J Chan
Christopher J Chan IP Law LLC
Atlanta GA

Brian Tannebaum
Brian L Tannebaum PA
Miami FL

Philip A. Feigin
PFeiginLaw LLC
Morrison CO

Stacy Bauer
BauerGriffith, LLC
Beachwood, OH

Antonio Glenn
AMG Counsel, PLLC
Dallas, TX

Mary Ellen Hulce
Attorney At Law
Geneva, IL

Natasha Nazareth
Nazareth Bonifacino Law Benefit
LLC
Rockville, MD

Sue Saign
Saign Law, PC
Morgan Hill, CA

Andrea Vacca
Vacca Family Law Group
New York, NY

Michelle Cohen Levy
The Law Office Of Michelle Cohen
Levy
Lighthouse Point, FL

Shayla N Waldon
The Waldon Law Firm, PLLC
Delray Beach, FL

Lara Pearson
Law Office of Lara Pearson Ltd, PBC
d/b/a Brand Geek
Incline Village, NV

David Boundy
Cambridge, MA

Edmond Ford
Ford, McDonald & Borden, P.A.
Manchester, NH

Katya Sverdlov
Sverdlov Law PLLC
New York NY

Adam Cohen
Cohen & Siegel, PLLC
White Plains, NY

Perry Chappano
Chappano Wood PLL
Columbus, OH

Joi G. Kush
Johnson Kush, P.C.
Colorado Springs, CO

Barney Brannen
Brannen & Loftus, PLLC
Hanover, NH

Jason Meyer
Princeton Business Law
Princeton NJ

Elizabeth Baker
Seattle WA

Sean T. Carter
The Carter Law Group, PC
Oakland, CA

Gregory K Wells
Shadoan, Michael & Wells, LLP
Rockville, MD

James Hein
Hein Business Law LLC
Portland, OR

Dana Cisneros
Cisneros Firm
Anaheim Hills, CA

Jessica R. Friedman
Attorney at Law
New York City

David Hricik
Macon, GA

Madalyn McElwain
McElwain Law
Denver, CO

R. Griffith Thomas
Griffith Thomas Law
St Petersburg, FL

Gerry J. Elman
Elman IP
Denton, TX

Randolph Gaw
Gaw | Poe LLP
San Francisco, CA

Katrina Zafiro
ZafiroLaw, PLLC
Seattle, WA

Eric Greenwald
Law Offices of Eric A. Greenwald
Austin, TX

David Saperstone
Lawyers for Therapists PLLC
Remote in CO and MA

Evan Goodman
Goodman Corporate Law PLLC
Washington, DC

Paul Rosenzweig
Paul Rosenzweig, Esq.
Washington DC

Michael Peacock
Hotchkiss Hoffecker Peacock llc
Atlanta, GA

Gregory L. Poe

Joshua Noffke

Noffke Law
Birmingham, MI

Lara DeCaro

Bond Legal & Dispute Resolution
Services PC
San Francisco, CA

Marc Jacobson

Law Offices of Marc Jacobson, PLLC
New York, New York

Jill Switzer

Jill Switzer Attorney Mediator
Pasadena, CA

Julian Sarafian

For Creators by Creators PC
Folsom, CA

Abigail Molina

Molina Immigration
Springfield, OR

Suzann Beckett

Beckett Law LLC
Hartford, CT

Elise Buie

Elise Buie Family Law Group, PLLC
Seattle, WA

John A. Gleason

Gleason Law Office LLC
Columbus, OH

Julie Reczek

Reczek Chase Law
Louisville, KY

M David Johnson

Modern Family Law
Denver, CO

Nick Coulson

Coulson P.C.
Detroit, MI

TM Law & Associates

St Louis MO

Denise Kirby

The Law Office of Denise Kirby, LLC
Kansas City, MO

Alexander Hartley

The Hartley Law Firm
Kansas City, MO

Elana Goodman

Horowitz Law
Fort Lauderdale, FL

Stephen Chahn Lee

Law Office of Stephen Chahn Lee,
LLC
Chicago, IL

Inti Martínez-Alemán

Ceiba Fôrte Law Firm
St. Paul, MN

Steve Zemanick

Four Reasons Legal
Denver, CO

Reena Sikdar

Valentine Austriaco & Bueschel, P.C.
Chicago, IL

Kathleen E. Brennan

The Brennan Law Group LLC
Chicago, IL

Emily Sexton

Sexton Law PLLC
Washington, DC

Catharine Blake

Resolve Family Law
Concord, MA

Ethan Chase

Reczek Chase Law, PLLC
Louisville, KY

Melissa Bobrow

Law Office of Melissa Bobrow
San Diego, CA

Amanda R. Conley

Conley Law, P.C.
Alameda, CA

Shaun Watchie Perry

Law Office of Shaun Watchie Perry
Grapeview, WA

Jennifer Hill

Rosehill Law, PLLC
Tacoma, WA

Starleigh Smith

SKS Legal, PLLC
Wenatchee, WA

Timothy Zerillo

Zerillo Law Firm, LLC
Portland, ME

David Heller

The Law Office of David Heller,
PLLC
Plant City, FL

Carol L Johnson

C L Johnson Law Office, PLLC
Redmond, WA

Carla N. McKain

McKain Law, PLLC
Ithaca, NY

Spears Manning & Martini

Southport, CT

Jennifer Bucher

JB Law LLC
Seattle, WA

David Shaw

Shaw Law Group
Portland OR

Nicholas Yanchar

Yanchar Law Office
Portland, OR

Rebecca Cambreleng

Cambreleng & Marton LLC
Portland, OR

Peter Crocker

Law Office of Peter Crocker, PLLC
Seattle, WA

Ashley Marton
Cambreleng & Marton LLC
Portland, OR

Eric D. Morton
Clear Sky Law Group, P.C.
Oakland, CA

Rachel Roberts
Roberts Law PLLC
Shoreline, WA

Oliver Platz
Platz Law P.C.
New York, NY

David Bouchard, Esq.
Atlanta, GA

T.R. Hoefle
Hoefle Law, LLC
Belton, MO

Jo Ritcey
JRD Law PLLC
Washington, DC

Elena Sullivan
Endereza Law, PLLC
San Antonio, TX

Nita Kundanmal
Law Office of Nita Kundanmal
Hackensack, NJ

Peter Holland
Holland Law Firm, PC
Annapolis, MD

Jay Alexander
Alexander Arbitration LLC
Dillon, CO

Subodh Chandra
The Chandra Law Firm LLC
Cleveland, OH

Sheila M Lake
Lake Law Firm, P.A.
St Petersburg, FL

Tahmina Watson
Watson Immigration Law
Seattle, WA

Elizabeth McMahon
Law Office of Elizabeth L McMahon
Branford

Stacy Grossman
SGIP
Harrison, NY

Ramon de la Cabada
Law Office of Ramon de la Cabada,
P.A.
Miami, FL

Lindsey Phoenix
State of Missouri
DESE - Jefferson City MO

Stephen Dane
Dane Law LLC
Perrysburg, OH

Demian Jackson
Jackson IPG PLLC
Shipman, VA

Danielle Van Lier

Van Lier Law
Los Angeles, CA

Candice O'Neil

Hudkins and O'Neil PLLC
Hampton, NH

Katrin Lewertoff

Lewertoff IP Law Group, LLC
New York, NY

Christopher Reid

Reid Legal Consulting LLC
Princeton, NJ

Jill G Weiss

Jill G Weiss PA
Palm Beach Gardens, FL

Rona L. Platt

Eric F. Pierson

Pierson Law
Oakland, CA

Roger Sagal

Sagal Law, LLC
Ridgway, CO

Sejal Mistry

Law Offices of Sejal Mistry
Oakland, CA

Aubrie Hicks

Dobson Hicks PLLC
Seattle, WA

Suzann Moskowitz

The Moskowitz Firm
Cleveland, OH

Jennifer Arnett

Arnett Litigation, LLC
Lafayette, CO

Teveia R. Barnes

Pro Bono Law Office
Sausalito, CA

Alan R. Sankin

Pro Bono Law Office
Sausalito, CA

Rosanne Felicello

Felicello Law P.C.
New York, NY

Juliana Saxberg

LexArtia Professional Corporation
Ottawa Ontario

Charles Barquist

Eric Maschoff

Los Angeles, CA
Park City, UT

Elizabeth Marx

PA Utility Law Project
Harrisburg, PA

Lilah Rosenblum

Rosenblum Immigration Law, PLLC
Washington, DC

Annette M. Lamoreaux

Law Offices of Annette Lamoreaux
Huntsville, TX

Ciara Faber
Monarch Legal Movement LLC
Denver, CO

Julie King
King Business and Patent Law, PLLC
Champaign, IL

Kelly K Sondrini
Sondrini Law Office
Hinsdale, MA

Cheryl Morrison
Law Office of Cheryl A Morrison
Mokena, IL

Rebecca M. Young
Rebecca M. Young, Attorney at Law
Marblehead, MA

Emily Klick
Klick Law
Boise, ID

Michael D. Steger
Law Offices of Michael D. Steger, PC
Orangeburg, NY

Pamela Parker
Parker Counsel Legal Services
Austin, TX

David Boundy
Boston, MA

Marc Borbely
D.C. Tenants' Rights Center
Washington, DC

Kenneth John Laska
Segal & Laska, LLC
Plainville, CT

Amy Robinson
Giskan Solotaroff & Anderson
New York, NY

Luecretia Dillard
Lue Dillard, Attorney at Law PLLC
Houston, TX

David Baum
Baum Law Corp.
Los Angeles, CA

Daniel Dykes
Oakdale, CT

Nicole Gardner
Gardner Skelton PLLC
Charlotte, NC

Betsy Brazy
Law Office of Betsy Brazy
Alameda, CA

John L Burnett
Lavey and Burnett
Little Rock, AR

David G. Sacks
Judge David G. Sacks (Ret.)
Holyoke, MA

Robert Kaufman
Law Offices of Robert C. Kaufman
Bellevue, WA

Breanna Geiger
Geiger Family Law
Portland, OR

Gavin Lentz, Esquire
Gavin Lentz, Esquire
Philadelphia, PA

Kristi Rothschild
Santa Barbara, CA

Devereux Chatillon and Lisa Weiss
Chatillon Weiss PLLC
Mt. Kisco, NY

Gregory M. O'Boyle
Alpern Myers Stuart LLC
Colorado Springs, CO

Casey D. Mayell
The Mayell Legal Group, LLC
North Royalton, OH

Abigail Schmitz
Abigail Schmitz Law
Chicago, IL

Susan M. Jenkins
Washington, DC

David Benowitz
Price Benowitz LLP
Washington, DC

David P. Heim, Esquire

Kean Maynard
Philadelphia, PA

Dineen Wasylik
DPW Legal
Tampa, FL

Esther Dominguez
Esther Dominguez, Esq
Cambridge, MA

Charles Sipio
Sipio Law P.C.
Princeton, NJ

John Mack Green
John M. Green, Esq.
Solo, Murfreesboro, TN

Marcus Pearson
Pearson Law Group, PLLC
Bozeman, MT

David Hoffman
Boston Law Collaborative, LLC
Newton, MA

Carmen Casado
Casado Law
Berkeley, CA

Joseph Scrofano
Scrofano Law PC
Washington, DC

James A Penney
Seattle, WA

Robert S. Fleishman
Energy Resolve LLC
Columbia, MD

Joseph T Monahan
Monahan Law Group, LLC
Chicago, IL

Maria T. Vullo
Vullo Advisory Services, PLLC
New York, NY

Deborah K. Marcuse
Marcuse Law
Baltimore, MD and New York, NY

Evan Raynes
Symbus Law Group PLLC
Washington, DC

Dana Cisneros
The Cisneros Firm
Anaheim, CA

A Antonio Pedrero
Beauceant Foundation
Reston VA

Jeffrey I. Gordon
Javanti Law
Raleigh, NC

Tonya Baña
Tonya Baña LLC
Baltimore, MD

Cody Salfen, Esq.
The Salfen Law Firm, APLC
Los Gatos, CA

Leah Gillis
Leah Gillis Law
San Jose , CA

Zachary Margulis-Ohnuma
ZMO Law PLLC
New York, NY

David Bosland
Bosland Law, PLLC
Seattle, WA

Perry M Chappano
Chappano Wood PLL
Columbus, OH

Mehdi Essmidi
The Law Offices of Mehdi Essmidi
P.L.L.C.
New York, NY

Jennifer LaBaire
Law Office of Jennifer L. LaBaire
Leominster, MA

Stephanie J. Vardavas
Law Office of Stephanie J. Vardavas
Portland, OR

Stephen Adams
Law Office of Stephen Adams
Santa Cruz, CA

Ronald R. Ward
Law Office of Ronald R. Ward PLLC
Seattle, WA

Jeff Bauer
BLG PLLC
Minneapolis, MN

Hirsch Roberts Weinstein LLP
Boston, MA

Asia Wright
The Wright Choice
Dallas, TX

Tom Spiggle
The Spiggle Law Firm
Alexandria, VA

Dean N. Alterman
Alterman Law Group PC
Portland OR

Jessica Adler
The Law Office of Jessica E. Adler
Washington, DC

Owen McGrann
McGrannLAW LLC
Pittsburgh, PA

Mona Reza
Stellar 5 Legal, LLC
Greenbelt MD

Erdal Turnacioglu
Erdal Employment Law, LLC
Verona, NJ

Mindy Yocum
Yocum Law
Shelby OH

Carl Fink
Blue Planet Energy Law, LLC
Portland, OR

Brandy Mai
Brandy Mai, PC
Savannah, GA

Thomas G. Martin
Foresight Legal Group, P.C.
Long Beach, CA

Ben Golden
Ben Golden Consulting PC
Seattle, WA

Doris W. Gelbman
Gelbman Law PLLC
Charlottesville, VA

William Mansfield
Law Office of William M. Mansfield
Indianapolis, IN

Mitch Jackson, Esq.
Jackson & Wilson, Inc.
Laguna Niguel, CA

Margaret A O'Reilly
Fairfax, VA

Sarah Nichols
Nichols Law, P.C.
San Francisco, CA

Elizabeth L.A. Garvish
Garvish Immigration Law Group,
LLC
Atlanta, GA

Neil Forester
Forester Family Law PC
El Dorado Hills, CA

Ryan McCarl and John Rushing
Rushing McCarl LLP
Los Angeles, CA

Christopher J. Huber
The Huber Law Firm LLC
Atlanta, GA

Anne Brafford

Merrill Baumann
Merrill Baumann LLC
Lake Oswego OR

Stacey Eunnae
Eunnae at Law PLLC
Washington DC

Karl Mill
Mill Law Center
Los Angeles, CA

Nancy J Mertz
Mertz Law PLLC
New York, NY

John Ratnaswamy
The Law Office of John Ratnaswamy,
LLC
Chicago, IL

Todd N. Hallock
Hallock & Hallock, a professional
corporation
Logan, UT

Linda Priebe
Washington, DC

Farrin Solero

Julia Sullivan
Law Office of Julia E Sullivan LLC
Annapolis MD

Jana FitzGerald

Cat Moon
C Moon Law
Franklin, TN

Alexandra Golden
Golden Law Center
Newton, MA

Diana L. Bartolotta
B-Law LLC
Glastonbury, CT

David S. Secrest
Law Offices of David S. Secrest. PC
Santa Barbara CA

Suzelle Smith
Howarth & Smith
Malibu, CA

Mikaela McDermott
Mikaela McDermott Law
New Bedford, MA

J. Paul Vance, Jr., Esq.
Logan, Vance, Sullivan & Kores, LLP
Torrington, CT

Danielle M. Wood
Law Office of Danielle M. Wood
Boston, MA

Daniel Berner
Austin, TX

Kathleen Megill Strek
KMS Juvenile Law, PC
Eugene and Corvallis, OR

Trudi Foutts Loh

Trudi Foutts Loh , Attorney at Law
Westlake Village, CA

Dana E. Heitz

Heitz Legal, P.C.
New York, NY and Berlin, Germany

Kai Jacob

Kanzlei Jacob
Baden-Wurttemberg, Germany

Melissa Hall

MRH Enterprises, LLC
Arlington, VA

Jennifer Wazenski

Watershed Legal Counsel
Annapolis, MD

Michael E. McCabe, Jr.

McCabe & Ali LLP
Potomac, MD

The Basile Law Firm

Adria Notari

Notari Law
Fort Lauderdale, FL

Edward J. Ungvarsky

Ungvarsky Law, PLLC

Daniel N. Arshack

Arshack, Hajek & Lehrman
New York, NY

Christina A. Jump

Const'l Law Center for Muslims in
America
(division of Muslim Legal Fund of
America)
Richardson, TX

Steven Chizen

Chizen Law, PC
Oakland, CA

Kathleen McDermott

McDermott Law LLC
Annapolis, MD

Anuar Ramirez-Medina, Esq.

Seven Hills Law Firm
Oakland, CA

Autumn Witt Boyd

Law Office of Autumn Witt Boyd
PLLC d/b/a AWB Firm
Chattanooga, TN

Michael W. Bartnik

Law For Baby Boomers, PLLC
Bloomfield Hills, MI

Rahil K. Swigart

Swigart Law Group, APC
San Diego, CA

Annette P. Heller

Trademark & Copyright Attorney
Chesterfield, MO

Andi Mazingo

Lumen Law Center
Los Angeles, CA

Paul D. Murphy
David E. Rosen
Murphy Rosen LLP
Santa Monica, CA

Jodi Green
Antithesis Law PC
Los Angeles, CA

John G. Balestriere
Vittoria M. Fariello
Michael J. Weiner
Balestriere
New York, NY

Nathalie Ferro, Esq.
Law Office of Nathalie Ferro
Oakley, CA

Klavens Law Group, P.C.
Boston, MA

Nathan A. Holcomb Esq., PC
New York, NY

Sarah Desormiers
Integrated Tax Consultants, LLC
Falmouth, ME

Bridget Elizabeth Butler, Esq.
New York, NY

Lissett Costa Ferreira, Esq.
Meenan & Associates, LLC
New York, NY

Joe Scroppo, Ph.D., J.D.
Licensed Psychologist/Attorney &
Counselor at Law
Forensic Psychology Consulting
PLLC
Woodmere, NY

Alan Rosenthal
Law Office of Alan Rosenthal
Syracuse, NY

Scott B. Tulman
Law Offices of Scott B. Tulman &
Associates, PLLC
New York, NY

Law Office of David Louis Cohen
Kew Gardens, NY

Theodore Bruce Godfrey
Silver Spring, MD

John M. Thompson
Linda J. Thompson
Thompson & Thompson P.C.
Springfield, MA

Maurice H. Sercarz and Roland G. Riopelle
Sercarz & Riopelle, LLP

Cathy Iles
Attorney at Law
Long Beach, CA

Joel Leonard
Portland, OR

Joseph R. DeMatteo, Esq.
Bernfield, DeMatteo & Bernfield,
LLP
Tarrytown, NY

Greg D. Lubow, Esq
6026 Main Street
Tannersville, NY

Tracy Green
Green & Associates
Los Angeles, CA

Virginia G. Alvarez, Esq.
New York, NY

James E. Neuman, Esq.
James E. Neuman, PC
New York, NY

Michele Hauser
Attorney at Law
Brooklyn, NY

Mary R. Robberson
Maggie E. Schroedter
Rachel M. Garrard
Lane C. Hilton
Robberson Schroedter LLP
San Diego, CA

Amber Fayerberg
Law Office of Amber Fayerberg
Santa Fe, NM

Daniel A. Hochheiser
Attorney At Law
Scarsdale, NY

Elizabeth Kelley
Law Office of Elizabeth Kelley

Krantz & Berman LLP
New York, NY

Terrence Buehler
The Law Office of Terrence Buehler
Oak Park, Il

David J. Fryman
Fryman PC
Valley Stream, NY

EJ Hurst II
Lexington, KY

Daniel P. Donahue
Donahue Law Firm, PLLC
Nags Head, NC

Scott E. Squillace
Katherine Triantafillou
Squillace & Associates
Boston, MA 02116

Sercarz & Riopelle, LLP
New York, NY 10022

Lisa Solomon, Esq.
Ardsley, NY

Kristi A Bodin
Kristi A Bodin Esq
Montague, MA

Scott J. Goldstein
Law Offices of Wenarsky & Goldstein
Ledgewood, NJ

Ashley N. Minton

Minton Law, PA
Fort Pierce, FL

R. Wayne Richter

Law Offices of R. Wayne Richter,
P.A.
Palm City, FL

David Schwartz

Ozurovich Schwartz and Brown
Torrance CA

Mark Jaffe

5 Bridges Law, PC
Sacramento, CA

Patricia Bloom-McDonald

Law Offices of Patricia Bloom-
McDonald
Westport, MA

Cary Jacobson

Jacobson Law, LLC
Columbia, MD

Andrew Schierberg

Stages Elder Law & Estate Planning
Florence, KY

Miya Nazzaro, Esq

Nazzaro Law
Seattle, WA

Anthony G. Ryan

Anthony G. Ryan, P. A.
Sarasota, FL

Greg Siskind

Siskind Susser, P.C.
Memphis, TN

Parth Kalaria

Kalaria Law PLLC
Dallas, TX

Erin M. Glynn

Atlanta, Georgia

Joung W. Hwang, Esq.

LawQuant LLC
Seoul, South Korea (NY-admitted)

The Honorable Eric S. Brown

former OH Chief Justice and retired
Judge
Columbus, OH

Jennifer Ellis

Bryn Mawr, PA

Xinying Valerian

Valerian Law, P.C.
Berkeley, CA

Nydia Shahjahan

Nydia Shahjahan, Esq. P.C.
New York, NY

Michelle A. Estlund

Estlund Law, P.A.
Coral Gables, FL

Thomas J. Crane

Law Office of Thomas J. Crane
San Antonio, TX

Jake M. Gilbert
Gilbert Law PLLC
New York, NY

Wendy Musell
Law Offices of Wendy Musell PC
Oakland, CA

Roseanne Eckert
The Eckert Law Firm, PLLC
Orlando, FL

Samuel J. Vincent, Esq.
Washington, DC

Lynda Hinkle, esq.
Law Office of Lynda Hinkle
Turnersville, NJ

Ronni Jillions
Washington DC

Susan F. Smith
Law Office of Susan F. Smith
Arlington, TX

John Trimble
The Law Office of John Trimble
Northville, MI

Mary Winchell
Winchell Law Firm
Shreveport, LA

Linda L. Mastandrea
Law Offices of Linda Mastandrea
Crystal Lake, IL

Maureen Krasner
Grosse Pointe Farms, MI

Lisa Tanner
Lisa Tanner Law, PLLC
Bee Cave, TX

Wayne Novick
Wayne Novick And Associates
Dayton OH

Kenneth Ormes
Law Office of Kenneth Ormes
Waltham MA

Laura A. Curliss
Laura A. Curliss Co. LPA
Yellow Springs, OH

Lynne M. Carreiro
Boston, MA

Cathie Saadeh
Saadeh P.C.
Bethesda, MD

Michael Gao
New York, NY

Diane A. Seltzer
The Seltzer Law Firm
Bethesda, MD

Caroline S. Soodek
Seasongood Law, Inc.
Chicago, IL

Lawrence A. Husick
Lipton, Weinberger & Husick
Malvern, PA

Erica Doran, Esq.
Law Office of Erica Doran, Esq.
Syosset

Luana Horstkotte
Law Office of Luana J Horstkotte
Martinez CA

Shefali Lakhani
Lakhani Legal PLLC
New York, NY

Bridget Butler, Esq.
Law Office of Bridget Butler, Esq.
New York, NY

Nancy Chausow Shafer and Taryn Fisher
Sage Counsel, LLC
Highland Park, IL

James W. Hart
The Hart Law Firm, P.A.
Raleigh, NC

Seth A. Davis
Seth A. Davis, Attorney at Law
Rye, New York

David N
Salem OR

Joan C. Lenihan
Joan C. Lenihan, Attorney at Law
Brooklyn, NY

Ariel Berschadsky, Esq.
Law Office of Ariel Berschadsky
New York, NY

Cathleen Cooper Moran
Moran Law Group
Redwood City, CA

Marc Laredo
Laredo, Smith & Kane, LLP
Boston MA

Kathy A. Biehl
Law Office of Kathy A. Biehl
Oak Ridge, NJ

Adam P. Whitney, Esq.
Law Office of Adam P. Whitney
Boston, MA

George C. Palaidis
Palaidis Law, PA
Fort Lauderdale, FL

Erin Mae Glass
Bellingham, WA

Keith Doniphan Elston
Elston Law Office, PLLC
Lexington, KY

Andrea M. Wieder
Jacobs, Anderson, Potter, Harvey &
Cecil, LLP
Chico, CA

Ann F. Kiernan
New Brunswick, NJ

Thomas B. Cochrane
Westerville, OH

Virginia L Morrison
New Orleans, LA

Shona Armstrong
Armstrong Law
Oakland, CA

Julia Manela
Eugene, OR

James R Dole
Eugene, OR

Martin C. Brook
Bloomfield Hills, MI

Jessica E. Adler, Esq.
The Law Office of Jessica E. Adler
Washington, D.C.

Christopher S. Lucas
Christopher S. Lucas and Associates
LLC
Camp Hill, PA

Wayne A. Silver
Law Office of Wayne A. Silver
Redwood City, CA

Marcia S. Ginley, Esq.
Boulder, CO

Avani Shah
San Jose, CA

David Wright
Law Office of David S Wright
San Francisco CA

Dawn Capp
Sacramento, CA

Alexandra Golden
Golden Law Center
Newton, MA

Erica Peresman
Birmingham, MI

Sarah A. Peters
Clear Compass Legal, LLC
Eugene, OR

Emil Lippe Jr
Lippe & Associates
Dallas, TX

Julie Reczel
Reczek Chase Law
Louisville, KY

Doris W. Gelbman, Esq.
Gelbman Law PLLC
Charlottesville, VA

Donna M Sheen
Laramie, WY

Rona L. Platt
Smithtown, NY

Lynsey M. Barron
Barron Law LLC
Atlanta, GA

Antonia Reyes
ANTONIA REYES LAW P.C.
Woodland Hills, CA

David B. Jaffe
Jaffe Counsel plc
Birmingham, MI

Shaun Watchie Perry
Law Office of Shaun Watchie Perry
Grapeview, WA

Christopher Reid
Reid Legal Consulting
Princeton, NJ

Lynda M. Zukaitis
Eugene, OR

Heather Estep
Long Beach, CA

Samuel Salvatico Saltman, Esq.
Belleville, NJ

Douglas G. Robinson
Retired Partner, Skadden, Arps, Slate,
Meagher & Flom LLP
Washington, D.C.

Sue Ellen Lunbeck
Orinda, CA

Sue Ellen Lunbeck
Orinda, CA

EJ Hurst II
Lexington, KY

Susan Elizabeth Mackenzie
Memphis, TN

Jessica Eaves Mathews
Leverage Legal Group LLC
Seattle, WA

Patricia Gillette
San Francisco, CA

Denise M. Quinterri
Law Office of Denise M. Quinterri
PLLC
Tucson, AZ

Elizabeth K. Abdnour
Abdnour Weiker LLP
Lansing, MI

Carrie LeRoy
Palo Alto, CA

Tricia Frances Lister
Solo practitioner
Louisville, KY

Dan Wachtell
Law Office of Daniel F. Wachtell
New York, NY

Suzanne Rosentswieg
West Hollywood, CA

James J. Belanger
JBelanger Law PLLC
Tempe, AZ

Nancy Gray
Gray & Associates, P.C.
Los Angeles, CA 90064

Scott DH Redman
Scott DH Redman LLC
Chicago, IL

Michael W. Malter
Law Office of Michael W. Malter
Saratoga, CA

Scott Ellerby
Seattle-Kitsap Law, PLLC
Bainbridge Island, WA

Catherine Reilly
Reilly Immigration Law, PLLC
New York, NY

Charles L Murray III
CM3LAW
Los Angeles, CA

David A. Bahr
Bahr Law Offices, P.C.
Eugene, OR

Jason A. Crotty
Portland, OR

Karen C. Burgess
Burgess Law PC
Austin, TX

Lesley Beth Curtis
Langenkamp, Curtis, Price, Lindstrom
& Chevedden
Sacramento, CA

Bonnie Smith
Smith Law
Minneapolis, MN

George H. Guyer, Attorney
Guyer Law
Lake Oswego, OR

Dawn Garcia
Garcia Immigration Law PLLC
Franklin, TN

Kevin Carolan
Carolan Law, PC
Bend, OR

Sharon Appelbaum
Appelbaum Law, P.C.
San Diego, CA

Barbara Katz
Barbara Katz Law Firm
Atlanta, GA

**Jamie Rubin, Justine Young
Gottshall and Heather Nolan**
InfoLawGroup LLP
Chicago, IL

Bhavleen Sabharwal
Law Office of Bhavleen Sabharwal
NY, NY

Jaimie Tucker
Jaimie L. Tucker
Portland, OR

Lauren G. Klein, Esq.
Law Office of Lauren G. Klein
Nantucket, MA

Jason J. Galek
Galek Tax Law
Folsom, CA

Dan Roth
Law Office of Dan Roth
Berkeley, CA

Loftus & Eisenberg, Ltd.
Chicago, IL

David W. Hsia
Tjong & Hsia LLP
New York, NY

Nancy K. D. Lemon
Berkeley, CA

Vonda Wolcott
VKV Law Group, LLC
Baltimore, MD

Ryan Moore
Win on the Papers LLC
Lake Forest, IL

Hung V. Nguyen
The Nguyen Law Firm
Miami, FL

Alicia M. Gamez
Gamez Law
San Francisco, CA

Chris P. Housh
Housh Tax Law, A.P.C.
El Cerrito, CA

Maureen P Williams
Law Offices of Maureen P Williams
LLC
Trumbull CT

Andres J. Correa
Correa & Martinez
Miami, FL

Matthew B. Kaplan
The Kaplan Law Firm
Arlington, VA

Michael D. Donovan
Donovan Litigation Group, LLC
Malvern, PA

Nuris E. Portuondo
Juno Beach, FL

Jordan D. Becker
White Plains, NY

Charles Spiegel, Esq.
CharlesSpiegelLaw
San Francisco, CA.

Joanne S. Agruso
Hauppauge, NY

Ruth O'Meara-Costello
Law Office of Ruth O'Meara-Costello
Cambridge, MA

Carol A. Shelly
Shelly Law Offices
Doylestown, PA

Daniel R. Zim, Esq.
Zim Travel Law, PLLC
Vienna, VA

Susan Gibbs
Tiburon, CA

Rita A. Sethi
Sands Point, NY

Bonnie H. Walker
Law Office of Bonnie H. Walker
PLLC
New York, NY

C. Paige Lee

Paige Lee, Attorney at Law, PC
Stillwater, OK

Susan Carns Curtiss

Carns Curtiss Law, PLLC
Oklahoma City, OK

Jordan Reis Cohen

Brick & Mortar Legal PC
San Francisco, CA

Arthur K. Thexton

Thexton Law Offices
Wauwatosa, WI

Brenda Gould

Ashland, OR

Peggy J. Bristol

Law Office of Peggy J. Bristol, PC
Point Richmond, CA

Shantel J. Kuntuzos

Law Offices of Shantel J. Kuntuzos
Simi Valley, CA

Norman J Ryker, III

Chico, CA

Erica McKinley

Erica McKinley, PLLC
Washington, DC and Jackson, MS

Gretchen W Taylor

Beverly Hills CA

Johanna B. Steinberg

Johanna Steinberg Law PLLC
New York, NY

Nicholas Goldman

Nicholas Goldman Law
San Francisco, CA

Eric O'Brien Kelley and Elizabeth Martin

The Kelley Firm, PLLC
East Hampton, NY

David B. Newdorf

Newdorf Legal
Oakland, CA

Ciarán O'Sullivan

The Law Office of Ciarán O'Sullivan
San Francisco, CA

A.T. Kippes

A.T. Kippes, Lawyers & Counselors
San Francisco, CA

Ruth Bogatyrow Kraft

Falcon Rappaport & Berkman LLP
New York, NY

Cynthia Granata

Brookline MA

Jonathan D. Lane

JD Lane Law
Washington, DC

Jonathan Katz

Jon Katz, P.C.
Fairfax, VA

Nathaniel P. T. Read

N. Read & Co. PLLC
New York, NY

Karen Bower

Law Office of Karen Bower
Washington, DC

Ilene B Belinsky

Law Offices of Ilene B. Belinsky, P.
C.
Brockton, MA

Kristin Rhodus

Rhodus Law Firm, PLLC
Largo FL

Muhammad Elsayed

Elsayed Law PLLC
Fairfax, Virginia

Beth J. Kushner

Milwaukee, WI

Philip Leland Partridge

Partridge Dispute Resolution, LLC
Orlando, FL

M Nicol Padway

Padway & Padway Ltd.
Milwaukee, WI

Annie Seifullah

Incendii Law PLLC
Brooklyn, NY

Terry R. Leoni

Leoni Law
Walnut Creek, CA

Law Office of Israel Chávez

Las Cruces, NM

Stacy Monahan Tucker

Monahan Tucker Law
Woodinville WA

Sharon M. Davison

Law Office of Sharon M. Davison
New York, NY

Krislyn M Holaday

Brookfield, WI

Jenifer Foster

Washington, DC

Carol L. Buell

Carol L. Buell Law & Mediation
PLLC
New York, NY

Karen J Langsley

Langsley Mills Law LLC
Denver, CO

Robert M. Finkel

FINKEL LAW GROUP, PLLC
NY, NY

Diana M. Savit

Savit Law Firm, LLC
Bethesda, MD

Lorraine M. Greenberg

Chicago IL

Pamela H. Roth

The Roth Law Firm PLLC
Washington DC

P. Tristan Bourgoignie
Tristan Bourgoignie, P.A.
Miami, FL

Kym B. Rivellini
deVlaming & Rivellini, P.A.
Clearwater, FL

Stephen Navarre
Chicago, IL

Timothy W. Davis, Esq.
Law Office of Timothy W. Davis LLC
Baltimore, MD

Amy F. Stengel
Amy F. Stengel, Attorney & Mediator
LLC
Boulder, CO

Stacie H. Rosenzweig
Milwaukee, WI

Hillary Sobel, Esq.
New York, NY

Scott E. Squillace
Squillace & Associates, P.C.
Boston, MA

Lee Brown, Attorney, retired
Cambridge, MA and Hancock, NH

Clay H. Greenberg
Law Office of Clay H. Greenberg
PLLC
New York, NY

Stephen K. Burt, Esq.
S.K. Burt Law, P.A.
Orlando, FL

Inga Miller
Miller Property Law
San Francisco, CA

Kevin Dillon
Voice for Justice Law PLLC
Richmond, VA

Cindy Horesh
Cindy L. Horesh, PLLC
New York, NY

Tyler Rougeau
San Francisco, CA

Anna Braun
Braun Law LLC
Salem, OR

Annie Lilienthal Mason
Holt & Mason, PC
Las Cruces, NM

John Gear
John Gear Law Office
Salem, OR

Robyn Smith
Law Office of Robyn Smith
Louisville, KY

Brian K. Esser
Law Office of Brian Esser PLLC
Brooklyn, NY

Dorene A. Kuffer

Law Office of Dorene A. Kuffer, P.C.
Albuquerque, NM

Justie Nicol

Colorado Lawyer Team
Denver, CO

Benjamin Charkow

New York, NY

Jonathan Pollard

Pollard PLLC
Fort Lauderdale, FL

Karen A. Kishbaugh

Kishbaugh Law Firm, LLC
Denver, Colorado

Daniel Wayne

San Francisco, CA

Ira D. Joffe

Attorney at Law
Bellaire, TX

Sandra Cohen

Cohen & Buckmann PC
New York, NY

Christine Spagnoli

Greene, Broillet & Wheeler
El Segundo, CA

Paul D. Newell

Law Office of Paul D. Newell
New York, NY

Anne Mania

Law Office of Anne Mania
Oakland CA

Deborah A. Stencel

Milwaukee, WI

Kathleen Anne Clark

Servant Lawyership
Pleasant Hill, CA

Roujin Mozaffarimehr

ImmiCore Law, PLC
San Jose, CA

Marc Dann

DannLaw
Cleveland, OH

E.J. Hong

Law Offices of E.J. Hong, P.C.
Palo Alto, CA

Elizabeth Jester, Esq.

Jester and Williams LLC
Washington, DC

Neil J Berman

Common Sense Legal Counseling
Somerville MA

John O'Grady

O'Gady Law Group
San Francisco, CA

Nitin Sud

Sud Law P.C.
Bellaire, TX

Charles T.C. Compton
Compton Antitrust Law Office
Portola Valley, CA

Matthew S. Brockmeier
Antithesis Law
Boulder, CO

Robert P. Goldman
Goldman Drake LLP
Salem, MA

Barbara J Baird
Attorney at Law
Indianapolis, IN

Fariba Faiz
San Francisco, CA

Karen Dorothy Amos, Esquire
Columbia, MD

Barry S. Balmuth
Barry S. Balmuth, P.A.
Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33410

James Pooley
James Pooley PLC
Menlo Park, CA

Pegah Afshar
Fortis Law, LLC
Bethesda, MD

Christopher Millard
The Law Office of Christopher
Millard, LLC.
Baltimore, MD

Richard S. Dodd II
Dodd Legal LLC
Bethesda, MD

Sam Wayne
Wayne Law S.C.
Madison, WI

Raegen N. Rasnic
Skellenger Bender, P.S.
Seattle, WA

Elizabeth Conklyn, Esq
Frederick MD

Christopher Cooke
Murphy Cooke LLP
Burlingame, CA

Alexander Porro
Porro Law PLLC
Miami, FL

Russell W. Dombrow
Dombrow Law Firm
Syracuse, New York

David S. Goldberg, Esq.
Gaithersburg, MD

Patricia Kakalec
Kakalec Law PLLC
New York, NY

Omar Figueroa
The Law Offices of Omar Figueroa,
Inc.
Sebastopol, CA

Donald D. Hecht

Law Office of Donald D. Hecht
Baltimore, MD

Gerardine M. Delambo

Attorney at Law
Baltimore Md

Christopher Marlborough

The Marlborough Law Firm, P.C.
Lynbrook, NY

Julie Anne Short

Fitchburg, WI

Kimberly P Sebranek

Madison, WI

Laila Khosroabadi

Law Office of Laila Khosroabadi,
APC
San Diego, CA

Luis M. Montes, Esq.

Law Offices of Luis M. Montes
Walnut Creek, CA

Benjamin L. Jerner

Jerner Law Group, P.C.
Philadelphia, PA

Hannah Stitt

Tectonic Law PC
San Francisco, CA

**Michael P. Richman and Claire Ann
Richman**

Richman & Richman LLC
Madison, WI

Judith A Parker

The Winemakers' Lawyer
Portland, OR

Ryan Knutson, Esq.

Knutson Law Offices
Oakland, CA

Kevin Mintzer

Law Office of Kevin Mintzer, P.C.
New York, New York

A Joseph Ross

Law Office of A Joseph Ross, JD
Newton, MA

Deborah H. Karpatkin

Law Office of Deborah H. Karpatkin
New York, New York

Stephen Bergstein

Bergstein & Ullrich
New Paltz, NY

James Stuart

Law Offices of James Stuart
Rockville, MD 20850

Christopher D. Watkins

Watkins Law
New Paltz, NY

Kristina L. Selset

Attorney at Law
Seattle, WA

Tabetha Hinman

Hinman Legal PC
San Jose, CA

Keith Doniphan Elston
Elston Law Office, PLLC
Lexington KY

Mark Herbst
Herbst Law, LLC
Annapolis, MD

Matthew J. Gluck
Gluck Daniel Atkinson LLP
San Francisco, CA

Jianwei Wang, Esq.
San Mateo, CA

Christie Dudley
Christie Dudley, Attorney at Law
San Francisco

Dwight M. Kealy
Las Cruces, NM

Michelle J Adams
M. J. Adams Law
Darnestown, MD

Jason C. Crump, Esq.
JAY CRUMP, P.A.
Lanham, MD

Lester A. Pines
Madison, WI

William T. Bishop
T.D. Bishop Law, PLLC
Virginia Beach, Virginia

James Ristvedt
Consumer Justice Law Firm
Scottsdale, AZ

Paul Glusman
Law Office of Paul Glusman
Berkeley, CA

David Mou
Mou Legal PLLC
Queens, NY

James Williams, Esq
Jester and Williams LLC
Washington DC

Feras Mousilli
Lloyd & Mousilli, PLLC
Houston, TX

Stephen E Moss
Rockville, MD

Ilana Haramati
New York, New York

Diana Valle
The Valle Law Firm, LLC
Bethesda, MD

Mary L. Topliff
Law Office of Mary L. Topliff
San Francisco, CA

Willy Wilson
Wilson Williams LLC
New York, NY

Vanessa Pena
San Diego, CA

Stephan Kyle
KYLE LAW CORPORATION
San Francisco, CA

Michael J. Allen, Esq
McFarland, WI

Olivia Sanders
Los Angeles

Shaina Jensen
Boise, Idaho

Charles J Herring
Law Office of Charles J. Herring
Towson, MD

Teresa D. Bishop, Esq.
T.D. Bishop Law, PLLC
Virginia Beach, VA

Penny Marshall
Newark, DE

Therese M. Lawless
Lawless, Lawless & McGrath
San Francisco, CA

Joanne S. Agruso
Hauppauge, NY

Catherine Merino Reisman
Reisman Gran Zuba LLP
Cherry Hill NJ

Lakeila Rayshawn Stemmons
Stemmons Strategies
Washington, DC

Cynthia Hatten Unglesbee
Capriolo & Unglesbee, P.A.
Westminster, MD

Dorene Haney
Neal and Haney PLLC
Washington DC

Lisa A. Coppola
The Coppola Firm
Buffalo, NY

Lacey L. Gourley
Austin, TX

Laura Tise Magnuson, Esq.
Germantown, MD

Diana Magazine Schobel, Esquire
DMS LAW, LLC
Frederick, MD

Timothy Tinsman
Law Office of Timothy J. Tinsman,
Esq., LLC
Gaithersburg, MD 20878

Heather M. Taylor DuCharme
HMTD Law Office, LLC
New Prague, MN

David H. Friedlander
David H. Friedlander, Esq., P.C
Mount Kisco, NY

Zoa D. Barnes
Zoa D. Barnes Law, Inc
Westminster, MD

Carol A. Wright
St. Petersburg, FL

Andrea Levy
Burke Levy PC
Westborough MA

Margaret Lynn Williams, Esquire
M. LYNN WILLIAMS, LLC
Hagerstown, MD

Molly R. Soiffer & Karen L. Witherell
Bove Langa Witherell & Soiffer P.C.
Boston, MA

Patrick Burke
Burke Levy PC
Westborough MA

Darcy A. Shoop
Darcy A. Shoop, LLC
Rockville, MD

Nathan E. Hoyle, Esquire
Mount Airy, MD

Cristal Robinson
Robinson Law
Charlotte, NC

Laureen Mullins
Law Office of Laureen J Mullins
Fort Washington, MD

Robert Thurston, Esq.
Thurston Law Offices LLC
Marlton, NJ

Jeanne K. Aelion, Esq.
Bowie, MD

David R. Giles
Law Office of David R. Giles
South Orange, NJ

James N. Charles
Law Office James N. Charles
Celebration, FL

Thomas W. Cook
Thomas Cook Intellectual Property
Attorneys
Corte Madera, CA

Victor Berger
Berger & Burns, LLC
Columbia MD

Crystal Gaudette
Gaudette Law & Mediation, Inc.
Pacific Grove, CA

Whistleblower Law Collaborative LLC
Boston, MA

Nancy N. Fey
Silver Spring, MD

Joseph C. Hangarter
Barbour & Hangarter, P.A.
Waldorf, MD

Elaine Fitch
Kalijarvi, Chuzi, Newman & Fitch,
P.C.
Washington, DC

Kara Jennings
Law Office of Kara Jennings LLC
Toledo, OH

Jessica Block and Sigmund J. Roos
Block & Roos, LLP
Boston, MA

Joseph C. Hutcheson, II
Plymouth, MA

Stephen J. Kleeman
Law Offices of Stephen J. Kleeman
Towson, MD

Nina J. Ginsberg
Greenspun Shapiro Ginsberg & Yang,
PC
Fairfax, Virginia

Julie Stoil Fernandez
Law Firm of Julie Stoil Fernandez
Kingston, NY

Shekar Jayaraman, Esq., LL.M.
Jayaraman Law, LLC
Chicago, IL

Matthew Sutton
Law Office of Matthew Sutton
Medford, OR

Elisabeth A Gavin
Mount Prospect, IL

Sara Matlin
Law Office of Sara Matlin
Redwood City, CA

Evangeline Stratton
Stratton Legal, PLLC
Bainbridge Island, WA

Emil Lippe Jr
Lippe & Associates
Dallas, TX

Rasham Nassar
PHAROS LAW PLLC
Poulsbo, WA

Stephen A. Friedman
Joseph, Greenwald & Laake, P.A.
Rockville, MD

Miriam H. Sievers
Amos Perrick, LLC
Columbia, MD

Lynne Bernabei
Bernabei & Kabat, PLLC
Washington, DC

Alan R. Kabat
Bernabei & Kabat, PLLC
Washington, DC

Gregory Gann
Gann Partnership
Baltimore, Md.

Shari Gribbin
CNK Solutions
Washington, DC

Jeffrey V. Mehalic
Mehalic Law PLLC
Morgantown, WV

Carla Fassbender
Fassbender Law, PLLC
Cleveland, NC

Scott N. Richardson

Law Office of Scott N. Richardson.
P.A.
West Palm Beach FL

Michael Rapkin

Rapkin & Associates, LLP
Marina del Rey, CA

Jeff Griffith

Law office of Jeff Griffith, chartered
Westmisnter MD

Lawrence Finegan

Lawrence Finegan, LLC, Attorney at
Law
Frederick, Md

Susan Hintze

Hintze Law PLLC
Seattle, WA

Michael Hintze

Hintze Law PLLC
Seattle, WA

Neubia L. Harris, PLLC

The Law Office of Neubia L. Harris,
PLLC
Raleigh, NC

Rowena C. Seto

Medina Seto Law Group
San Francisco, CA

Sam Castic

Hintze Law
Seattle WA

Jessica Eyland

Stern Tannenbaum & Bell LLP
New York NY

Amanda Beane

Law Office of Amanda Beane, P.C.
Seattle, Washington

Rosemary Halligan

Stern Tannenbaum & Bell LLP
New York, New York

Jonathan Bressman

Dover, NJ

Cheryl G. Kushida

Compass Legal
Palo Alto, CA

Paula Heyman

Austin, TX

Distinguished Emeritus Professor

Ron Bretz

Lansing, MI

David S. Tannenbaum

Stern Tannenbaum & Bell LLP
New York, NY

Astkhik Levantian

Law Office of Astkhik Levantian
Oakland, CA

Jonathan R. Bell

Stern Tannenbaum & Bell
New York, NY

Gregory T. Victoroff, Esq.
Greg Victoroff & Associates
Santa Monica, CA

Anne Gyemant Paris
Gyemant Paris Law
San Francisco, CA

Antonio P. Garcia, Jr.
Law Office of Antonio P. Garcia, Jr.
San Francisco, CA

David Sanchez
Sanchez & Amador, LLP
Los Angeles, CA

Kathryn Jenkins
Seattle WA

Karen S. Frieman
Stern Tannenbaum & Bell LLP
New York, New York

David N.Hoffman
New York, New York

Kanika Chander
Cloudbreak Legal PLLC
Seattle, Washington

Jason Wolford
San Francisco, CA

Jennifer Ruehr
Hintze Law PLLC
Ravenna, OH

Nikki Kolhoff
Sanchez & Amador, LLP
Los Angeles, CA

Alexander Rufus-Isaacs
Rufus-Isaacs Acland & Grantham
LLP
Beverly Hills, CA

Caitlin Elledge Bankston
Sobieski, Messer & Elledge, PLLC
Knoxville, TN

Aegis J. Frumento
Stern Tannenbaum & Bell LLP
New York, NY

Lucinda Lee
Law Office of Lucinda Lee
San Rafael, CA

Stewart Stern
Stern Tannenbaum & Bell LLP
New York, NY

Jessica S. Kern
The McKeon Law Firm
Gaithersburg, MD

Jennifer Jaynes
Law Offices of Jennifer Jaynes, P.C.
San Francisco, CA

Shelly D. McKeon
The McKeon Law Firm
Gaithersburg, MD

**Eva G. Jellison & David J.
Nathanson**
Jellison & Nathanson, LLP
Boston, MA

Philip W. Hoffman
San Marcos, CA

Alan Pick
Los Angeles CA

Nathaniel P. T. Read
N. Read & Co. PLLC
New York, NY

Christian Schreiber
Olivier & Schreiber PC
Oakland, CA

Lawrence Schaner
Schaner Dispute Resolution LLP
Chicago, IL

Keith R. Galbut
Galbut Beabeau, PC
Scottsdale, AZ

Linda Redlisky, Esq.
Pelham, NY

Benjamin J. Rowland
Cheyenne, WY

Matthew B. Hand
Rockville, MD

A. Thomas Stubbs
Stubbs Law Office, LLC
Decatur, GA

Alicia Calzada
Alicia Wagner Calzada, PLLC
San Antonio, TX

Charles Morrow
Galbut Beabeau, P.C.
Scottsdale, AZ

Jonah Chew
Law Office of Jonah Chew
San Francisco, CA

Kathryn McCollough Long
Evanston, IL

Lucy Lu
aiLegal Law
Atlanta, GA

David Trachtenberg
Trachtenberg & Arena, LLP
New York, NY

Stephen Arena
Trachtenberg & Arena, LLP
New York, NY

Brittaney D. de la Torre
Sanchez & Amador, LLP
Los Angeles, CA

John E. Fasesky
Law Offices of John E. Fasesky
San Francisco, CA

Richard C. Dayton
Dayton Law Firm, P.C.
San Jose, CA

Boaz Green
Boaz Green Law LLC
Washington, DC

Steven S. Michel
Santa Fe, NM

Dr. Gregory B. Adams
Charleston, SC

Julia Barnes
Barnes Mediation and Law, P.C.
Santa Fe, NM

Valerie McGinty
Law Office of Valerie T. McGinty
San Mateo, CA

Sean D. Doddy
Doddy Law, PLLC
New York, NY

Laurie Phillips
Law Office of Laurie Phillips
Tulsa, OK

Corinne Taylor-Davis, Esq.
Rosetta Law LLC
Oklahoma City, OK

Rudolph Delson
Law Office of Rudolph Delson
Sacramento, CA

S. Mona Reza
Stellar 5 Legal, LLC
Greenbelt, MD

Paige Mackey Murray
Paige Mackey Murray LLC
Boulder, Colorado

Maria Hall
Maria Hall Law, APC
Long Beach, CA

Brian A. Ford
Law Office of Brian A. Ford
San Francisco, CA

Eva Elisdriel Grooters
The Grooters Law Office
Eugene, OR

Robert Goodman
Law Office of Robert A. Goodman
Oakland, CA

Beatriz Martinez
Juvemi Law
Oklahoma City, OK

Tarsila Reybitz Crawford
Lebanon, TN

Karen R. Cole
Law Firm of Karen Cole
Minneapolis, MN

S. Leeann Thornhill
Thornhill & Holt
Louisville, KY

Erika K. Orcutt
Orcutt Law Offices, LLC
Kennesaw, GA

Anthony Kornarens
Anthony Kornarens, APC
Long Beach, CA

Katie L. Griffin
Griffin & Sears, PLLC
Claremore, Oklahoma

C. Noah Sears

Griffin & Sears, PLLC
Claremore, OK

Jay Stratton

Stratton immigration pllc
Seattle, WA

Amanda L. Smith

Law Office of Amanda L. Smith,
PLLC
Cape Girardeau, MO

Kathleen J Becket

Law Office of Kathleen J Becket
Altadena, CA

Ginger Murray

Your Family Law Center
Madison, WI

Monique Olivier

Olivier & Schreiber
Oakland, CA

Adrienne Fischer

Basecamp Legal PC
Denver, CO

Neal Cohen

Neal Cohen Law
Takoma Park, MD

Kyle Carney

Carney Law PLLC
Fort Worth, TX