

Richmond Newspapers v. Virginia

448 U.S. 555

Supreme Court of United States

July 2, 1980

5 RICHMOND NEWSPAPERS, INC., ET AL. v. VIRGINIA ET AL. No. 79-243. Argued February 19, 1980.
Decided July 2, 1980. APPEAL FROM THE SUPREME COURT OF VIRGINIA. Laurence H. Tribe argued
the cause for appellants. With him on the briefs were Andrew J. Brent, Alexander Wellford, Leslie W. Mullins,
and David Rosenberg. Marshall Coleman, Attorney General of Virginia, argued the cause for appellees. With
10 him on the brief were James E. Moore, Leonard L. Hopkins, Jr., Martin A. Donlan, Jr., and Jerry P. Slonaker,
Assistant Attorneys General. Briefs of amici curiae urging reversal were filed by John J. Degnan, Attorney
General, and John De Cicco, Anthony J. Parrillo, and Debra L. Stone, Deputy Attorneys General, for the State
of New Jersey; by Stephen Bricker and Bruce J. Ennis for the American Civil Liberties Union et al.; by Arthur
B. Hanson, Frank M. Northam, Mitchell W. Dale, and Richard M. Schmidt, Jr., for the American Newspaper
Publishers Association et al.; by E. Barrett Prettyman, Jr., Erwin G. Krasnow, Arthur B. Sackler, and J. Laurent
15 Scharff for The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press et al.; and by Edward Bennett Williams, John B.
Kuhns, and Kevin T. Baine for The Washington Post et al. MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER announced the
judgment of the Court and delivered an opinion, in which MR. JUSTICE WHITE and MR. JUSTICE
STEVENS joined. MR. JUSTICE POWELL took no part in the consideration or decision of this case. MR.
JUSTICE WHITE, MR. JUSTICE STEVENS, MR. JUSTICE STEWART, and MR. JUSTICE BLACKMUN,
20 each filed concurring opinions for themselves, and MR. JUSTICE BRENNAN filed a concurring opinion joined
by MR. JUSTICE MARSHALL. MR. JUSTICE REHNQUIST filed a dissent.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER.

25 The narrow question presented in this case is whether the right of the public
and press to attend criminal trials is guaranteed under the United States
Constitution.

I

30 In March 1976, one Stevenson was indicted for the murder of a hotel manager
who had been found stabbed to death on December 2, 1975. Tried promptly in
July 1976, Stevenson was convicted of second-degree murder in the Circuit
Court of Hanover County, Va. The Virginia Supreme Court reversed the
conviction in October 1977, holding that a bloodstained shirt purportedly
belonging to Stevenson had been improperly admitted into evidence. Stevenson
was retried in the same court. This second trial ended in a mistrial on May 30,
1978, when a juror asked to be excused after trial had begun. A third trial
35 also ended in a mistrial. It appears that the mistrial may have been declared because a
prospective juror had read about Stevenson's previous trials in a newspaper and
had told other prospective jurors about the case before the retrial began.

40 Stevenson was tried in the same court for a fourth time beginning on
September 11, 1978. Present in the courtroom when the case was called were
appellants Wheeler and McCarthy, reporters for appellant Richmond
Newspapers, Inc. Before the trial began, counsel for the defendant moved that it
be closed to the public:

5 [T]here was this woman that was with the family of the deceased when we were here before. She had sat in the Courtroom. I would like to ask that everybody be excluded from the Courtroom because I don't want any information being shuffled back and forth when we have a recess as to what—who testified to what.

10 The trial judge, who had presided over two of the three previous trials, asked if the prosecution had any objection to clearing the courtroom. The prosecutor stated he had no objection and would leave it to the discretion of the court. The record does not show that any objections to the closure order were made by anyone present at the time, including appellants Wheeler and McCarthy.

15 Later that same day, however, appellants sought a hearing on a motion to vacate the closure order. The trial judge granted the request and scheduled a hearing to follow the close of the day's proceedings. When the hearing began, the court ruled that the hearing was to be treated as part of the trial; accordingly, he again ordered the reporters to leave the courtroom, and they complied.

20 At the closed hearing, counsel for appellants observed that no evidentiary findings had been made by the court prior to the entry of its closure order and pointed out that the court had failed to consider any other, less drastic measures within its power to ensure a fair trial. Tr. of Sept. 11, 1978 Hearing on Motion to Vacate 11-12. Counsel for appellants argued that constitutional considerations mandated that before ordering closure, the court should first decide that the rights of the defendant could be protected in no other way.

25 Counsel for defendant Stevenson pointed out that this was the fourth time he was standing trial. He also referred to "difficulty with information between the jurors," and stated that he "didn't want information to leak out," be published by the media, perhaps inaccurately, and then be seen by the jurors. Defense counsel argued that these things, plus the fact that "this is a small community," made this a proper case for closure. *Id.*, at 16-18.

30 The trial judge noted that counsel for the defendant had made similar statements at the morning hearing. The court also stated:

35 "[O]ne of the other points that we take into consideration in this particular Courtroom is layout of the Courtroom. I think that having people in the Courtroom is distracting to the jury. Now, we have to have certain people in here and maybe that's not a very good reason. When we get into our new Court Building, people can sit in the audience so the jury can't see them. The rule of the Court may be different under those circumstances. . . ." *Id.*, at 19.

40 The court denied the motion to vacate and ordered the trial to continue the following morning "with the press and public excluded." *Id.*, at 27; App. 21a.

What transpired when the closed trial resumed the next day was disclosed in the following manner by an order of the court entered September 12, 1978:

"[I]n the absence of the jury, the defendant by counsel made a Motion that a mis-trial be declared, which motion was taken under advisement.

“At the conclusion of the Commonwealth’s evidence, the attorney for the defendant moved the Court to strike the Commonwealth’s evidence on grounds stated to the record, which Motion was sustained by the Court.

5 “And the jury having been excused, the Court doth find the accused NOT GUILTY of Murder, as charged in the Indictment, and he was allowed to depart.” *Id.*, at 22a.

10 The criminal trial which appellants sought to attend has long since ended, and there is thus some suggestion that the case is moot. This Court has frequently recognized, however, that its jurisdiction is not necessarily defeated by the practical termination of a contest which is short-lived by nature. See, e. g., *Gannett Co. v. DePasquale*, 443 U. S. 368, 377-378 (1979); *Nebraska Press Assn. v. Stuart*, 427 U. S. 539, 546-547 (1976). If the underlying dispute is “capable of repetition, yet evading review,” *Southern Pacific Terminal Co. v. ICC*, 219 U. S. 498, 515 (1911), it is not moot.

15 More often than not, criminal trials will be of sufficiently short duration that a closure order “will evade review, or at least considered plenary review in this Court.” Accordingly, we turn to the merits.

II

20 In prior cases the Court has treated questions involving conflicts between publicity and a defendant’s right to a fair trial; as we observed in *Nebraska Press Assn. v. Stuart*, “[t]he problems presented by this [conflict] are almost as old as the Republic.” But here for the first time the Court is asked to decide whether a criminal trial itself may be closed to the public upon the unopposed request of a defendant, without any demonstration that closure is required to protect the defendant’s superior right to a fair trial, or that some other overriding consideration requires closure.

A

30 The origins of the proceeding which has become the modern criminal trial in Anglo-American justice can be traced back beyond reliable historical records. We need not here review all details of its development, but a summary of that history is instructive. What is significant for present purposes is that throughout its evolution, the trial has been open to all who cared to observe.

35 From early times, although great changes in courts and procedure took place, one thing remained constant: the public character of the trial at which guilt or innocence was decided. Sir Thomas Smith, writing in 1565 about “the definitive proceedings in causes criminall,” explained that, while the indictment was put in writing as in civil law countries:

40 “All the rest is done openlie in the presence of the Judges, the Justices, the enquest, the prisoner, and so manie as will or can come so neare as to heare it, and all depositions and witnesses given aloude, that all men may heare from the mouth of the depositors and witnesses what is

saide.” T. Smith, *De Republica Anglorum* 101 (Alston ed. 1972) (emphasis added).

5 Three centuries later, Sir Frederick Pollock was able to state of the “rule of publicity” that, “[h]ere we have one tradition, at any rate, which has persisted through all changes.” F. Pollock, *The Expansion of the Common Law* 31-32 (1904). See also E. Jenks, *The Book of English Law* 73-74 (6th ed. 1967): “[O]ne of the most conspicuous features of English justice, that all judicial trials are held in open court, to which the public have free access, . . . appears to have been the rule in England from time immemorial.”

10 We have found nothing to suggest that the presumptive openness of the trial, which English courts were later to call “one of the essential qualities of a court of justice,” *Daubney v. Cooper*, 10 B. & C. 237, 240, 109 Eng. Rep. 438, 440 (K. B. 1829), was not also an attribute of the judicial systems of colonial America. In Virginia, for example, such records as there are of early criminal trials indicate that they were open, and nothing to the contrary has been cited.

15 In some instances, the openness of trials was explicitly recognized as part of the fundamental law of the Colony. The 1677 Concessions and Agreements of West New Jersey, for example, provided:

20 “That in all publick courts of justice for tryals of causes, civil or criminal, any person or persons, inhabitants of the said Province may freely come into, and attend the said courts, and hear and be present, at all or any such tryals as shall be there had or passed, that justice may not be done in a corner nor in any covert manner.” Reprinted in *Sources of Our Liberties* 188 (R. Perry ed. 1959).

25

B

As we have shown, and as was shown in both the Court’s opinion and the dissent in *Gannett*, 443 U. S., at 384, 386, n. 15, 418-425, the historical evidence demonstrates conclusively that at the time when our organic laws were adopted, criminal trials both here and in England had long been presumptively open. This is no quirk of history; rather, it has long been recognized as an indispensable attribute of an Anglo-American trial.~ Jeremy Bentham not only recognized the therapeutic value of open justice but regarded it as the keystone:

30 “Without publicity, all other checks are insufficient: in comparison of publicity, all other checks are of small account. Recordation, appeal, whatever other institutions might present themselves in the character of checks, would be found to operate rather as cloaks than checks; as cloaks in reality, as checks only in appearance.” 1 J. Bentham, *Rationale of Judicial Evidence* 524 (1827).

40 Panegyrics on the values of openness were by no means confined to self-praise by the English. Foreign observers of English criminal procedure in the 18th and early 19th centuries came away impressed by the very fact that they had been freely admitted to the courts, as many were not in their own homelands. See L. Radzinowicz, *A History of English Criminal Law* 715, and n. 96 (1948). They marveled that “the whole juridical procedure passes in public,” 2 P. Grosley, *A*

Tour to London; or New Observations on England 142 (Nugent trans. 1772),
quoted in Radzinowicz, *supra*, at 717, and one commentator declared:

5 “The main excellence of the English judicature consists in publicity, in
the free trial by jury, and in the extraordinary despatch with which
business is transacted. The publicity of their proceedings is indeed
astonishing. *Free access to the courts is universally granted.*” C. Goede,
A Foreigner’s Opinion of England 214 (Horne trans. 1822). (Emphasis
added.)

10 The nexus between openness, fairness, and the perception of fairness was not
lost on them:

 “[T]he judge, the counsel, and the jury, are constantly exposed to public
animadversion; and this greatly tends to augment the extraordinary
confidence, which the English repose in the administration of justice.”
Id., at 215.

15 When a shocking crime occurs, a community reaction of outrage and public
protest often follows. See H. Weihofen, *The Urge to Punish* 130-131 (1956).
Thereafter the open processes of justice serve an important prophylactic purpose,
providing an outlet for community concern, hostility, and emotion. Without an
awareness that society’s responses to criminal conduct are underway, natural
20 human reactions of outrage and protest are frustrated and may manifest
themselves in some form of vengeful “self-help,” as indeed they did regularly in
the activities of vigilante “committees” on our frontiers.

 Civilized societies withdraw both from the victim and the vigilante the
enforcement of criminal laws, but they cannot erase from people’s consciousness
25 the fundamental, natural yearning to see justice done—or even the urge for
retribution. The crucial prophylactic aspects of the administration of justice
cannot function in the dark; no community catharsis can occur if justice is “done
in a corner [or] in any covert manner.”

30 People in an open society do not demand infallibility from their institutions,
but it is difficult for them to accept what they are prohibited from observing.
When a criminal trial is conducted in the open, there is at least an opportunity
both for understanding the system in general and its workings in a particular
case[.]

35 In earlier times, both in England and America, attendance at court was a
common mode of “passing the time.” See, e. g., 6 Wigmore, *supra*, at 436;
Mueller, *supra*, at 6. With the press, cinema, and electronic media now supplying
the representations or reality of the real life drama once available only in the
courtroom, attendance at court is no longer a widespread pastime. Yet “[i]t is not
40 unrealistic even in this day to believe that public inclusion affords citizens a form
of legal education and hopefully promotes confidence in the fair administration
of justice.” *State v. Schmit*, 273 Minn. 78, 87-88 (1966). Instead of acquiring
information about trials by firsthand observation or by word of mouth from those
who attended, people now acquire it chiefly through the print and electronic
45 media. In a sense, this validates the media claim of functioning as surrogates for
the public. While media representatives enjoy the same right of access as the
public, they often are provided special seating and priority of entry so that they

may report what people in attendance have seen and heard. This “contribute[s] to public understanding of the rule of law and to comprehension of the functioning of the entire criminal justice system. . . .” *Nebraska Press Assn. v. Stuart*, 427 U. S., at 587 (BRENNAN, J., concurring in judgment).

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C

From this unbroken, uncontradicted history, supported by reasons as valid today as in centuries past, we are bound to conclude that a presumption of openness inheres in the very nature of a criminal trial under our system of justice.

10

III

A

The First Amendment, in conjunction with the Fourteenth, prohibits governments from “abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.” These expressly guaranteed freedoms share a common core purpose of assuring freedom of communication on matters relating to the functioning of government. Plainly it would be difficult to single out any aspect of government of higher concern and importance to the people than the manner in which criminal trials are conducted; as we have shown, recognition of this pervades the centuries-old history of open trials and the opinions of this Court. *Supra*, at 564-575, and n. 9.

The Bill of Rights was enacted against the backdrop of the long history of trials being presumptively open. Public access to trials was then regarded as an important aspect of the process itself; the conduct of trials “before as many of the people as chuse to attend” was regarded as one of “the inestimable advantages of a free English constitution of government.” 1 Journals 106, 107. In guaranteeing freedoms such as those of speech and press, the First Amendment can be read as protecting the right of everyone to attend trials so as to give meaning to those explicit guarantees. “[T]he First Amendment goes beyond protection of the press and the self-expression of individuals to prohibit government from limiting the stock of information from which members of the public may draw.” *First National Bank of Boston v. Bellotti*, 435 U. S. 765, 783 (1978). Free speech carries with it some freedom to listen. “In a variety of contexts this Court has referred to a First Amendment right to ‘receive information and ideas.’” *Kleindienst v. Mandel*, 408 U. S. 753, 762 (1972). What this means in the context of trials is that the First Amendment guarantees of speech and press, standing alone, prohibit government from summarily closing courtroom doors which had long been open to the public at the time that Amendment was adopted. “For the First Amendment does not speak equivocally. . . . It must be taken as a command of the broadest scope that explicit language, read in the context of a liberty-loving society, will allow.” *Bridges v. California*, 314 U. S. 252, 263 (1941) (footnote omitted).

5 It is not crucial whether we describe this right to attend criminal trials to hear, see, and communicate observations concerning them as a “right of access,” cf. *Gannett, supra*, at 397 (POWELL, J., concurring); *Saxbe v. Washington Post Co.*, 417 U. S. 843 (1974); *Pell v. Procunier*, 417 U. S. 817 (1974), or a “right to gather information,” for we have recognized that “without some protection for seeking out the news, freedom of the press could be eviscerated.” *Branzburg v. Hayes*, 408 U. S. 665, 681 (1972). The explicit, guaranteed rights to speak and to publish concerning what takes place at a trial would lose much meaning if access to observe the trial could, as it was here, be foreclosed arbitrarily.

10

B

15 The right of access to places traditionally open to the public, as criminal trials have long been, may be seen as assured by the amalgam of the First Amendment guarantees of speech and press; and their affinity to the right of assembly is not without relevance. From the outset, the right of assembly was regarded not only
20 as an independent right but also as a catalyst to augment the free exercise of the other First Amendment rights with which it was deliberately linked by the draftsmen. “The right of peaceable assembly is a right cognate to those of free speech and free press and is equally fundamental.” *De Jonge v. Oregon*, 299 U. S. 353, 364 (1937). People assemble in public places not only to speak or to take action, but also to listen, observe, and learn; indeed, they may “assembl[e] for any lawful purpose,” *Hague v. CIO*, 307 U. S. 496, 519 (1939) (opinion of Stone, J.). Subject to the traditional time, place, and manner restrictions, see, e. g., *Cox v. New Hampshire*, 312 U. S. 569 (1941); see also *Cox v. Louisiana*, 379 U. S. 559, 560-564 (1965), streets, sidewalks, and parks are places traditionally open,
25 where First Amendment rights may be exercised, see *Hague v. CIO, supra*, at 515 (opinion of Roberts, J.); a trial courtroom also is a public place where the people generally—and representatives of the media—have a right to be present, and where their presence historically has been thought to enhance the integrity and quality of what takes place.

30

C

The State argues that the Constitution nowhere spells out a guarantee for the right of the public to attend trials, and that accordingly no such right is protected.

35 But arguments such as the State makes have not precluded recognition of important rights not enumerated. Notwithstanding the appropriate caution against reading into the Constitution rights not explicitly defined, the Court has acknowledged that certain unarticulated rights are implicit in enumerated guarantees. For example, the rights of association and of privacy, the right to be presumed innocent, and the right to be judged by a standard of proof beyond a reasonable doubt in a criminal trial, as well as the right to travel, appear nowhere
40 in the Constitution or Bill of Rights. Yet these important but unarticulated rights have nonetheless been found to share constitutional protection in common with explicit guarantees.

We hold that the right to attend criminal trials is implicit in the guarantees of the First Amendment; without the freedom to attend such trials, which people have exercised for centuries, important aspects of freedom of speech and “of the press could be eviscerated.” *Branzburg*, 408 U. S., at 681.

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D

10 Having concluded there was a guaranteed right of the public under the First and Fourteenth Amendments to attend the trial of Stevenson’s case, we return to the closure order challenged by appellants. The Court in *Gannett* made clear that although the Sixth Amendment guarantees the accused a right to a public trial, it does not give a right to a private trial. 443 U. S., at 382. Despite the fact that this was the fourth trial of the accused, the trial judge made no findings to support closure; no inquiry was made as to whether alternative solutions would have met the need to ensure fairness; there was no recognition of any right under the Constitution for the public or press to attend the trial. In contrast to the pretrial proceeding dealt with in *Gannett*, there exist in the context of the trial itself various tested alternatives to satisfy the constitutional demands of fairness. See, e. g., *Nebraska Press Assn. v. Stuart*, 427 U. S., at 563-565; *Sheppard v. Maxwell*, 384 U. S., at 357-362. There was no suggestion that any problems with witnesses could not have been dealt with by their exclusion from the courtroom or their sequestration during the trial. See *id.*, at 359. Nor is there anything to indicate that sequestration of the jurors would not have guarded against their being subjected to any improper information. All of the alternatives admittedly present difficulties for trial courts, but none of the factors relied on here was beyond the realm of the manageable. Absent an overriding interest articulated in findings, the trial of a criminal case must be open to the public. Accordingly, the judgment under review is

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Reversed.

MR. JUSTICE STEVENS, concurring.

30

This is a watershed case. Until today the Court has accorded virtually absolute protection to the dissemination of information or ideas, but never before has it squarely held that the acquisition of newsworthy matter is entitled to any constitutional protection whatsoever.

35

Today for the first time, the Court unequivocally holds that an arbitrary interference with access to important information is an abridgment of the freedoms of speech and of the press protected by the First Amendment.

40

[F]or the reasons stated in Part II of my *Houchins* opinion, 438 U. S., at 30-38, as well as those stated by THE CHIEF JUSTICE today, I agree that the First Amendment protects the public and the press from abridgment of their rights of access to information about the operation of their government, including the Judicial Branch; given the total absence of any record justification for the closure order entered in this case, that order violated the First Amendment.

MR. JUSTICE BRENNAN, with whom MR. JUSTICE MARSHALL joins, concurring in the judgment.

5 Publicity serves to advance several of the particular purposes of the trial (and, indeed, the judicial) process. Open trials play a fundamental role in furthering the efforts of our judicial system to assure the criminal defendant a fair and accurate adjudication of guilt or innocence. See, *e. g.*, *Estes v. Texas*, 381 U. S., at 538-539. But, as a feature of our governing system of justice, the trial process serves other, broadly political, interests, and public access advances these objectives as well. To that extent, trial access possesses specific structural significance.

10 The trial is a means of meeting “the notion, deeply rooted in the common law, that justice must satisfy the appearance of justice.” *Levine v. United States*, 362 U. S. 610, 616 (1960). For a civilization founded upon principles of ordered liberty to survive and flourish, its members must share the conviction that they are governed equitably.

15 Secrecy is profoundly inimical to this demonstrative purpose of the trial process. Open trials assure the public that procedural rights are respected, and that justice is afforded equally. Closed trials breed suspicion of prejudice and arbitrariness, which in turn spawns disrespect for law. Public access is essential, therefore, if trial adjudication is to achieve the objective of maintaining public confidence in the administration of justice.

20 Finally, with some limitations, a trial aims at true and accurate factfinding. Of course, proper factfinding is to the benefit of criminal defendants and of the parties in civil proceedings. But other, comparably urgent, interests are also often at stake. A miscarriage of justice that imprisons an innocent accused also leaves a guilty party at large, a continuing threat to society. Also, mistakes of fact in civil litigation may inflict costs upon others than the plaintiff and defendant. Facilitation of the trial factfinding process, therefore, is of concern to the public as well as to the parties.

30 Publicizing trial proceedings aids accurate factfinding. Popular attendance at trials, in sum, substantially furthers the particular public purposes of that critical judicial proceeding. In that sense, public access is an indispensable element of the trial process itself. Trial access, therefore, assumes structural importance in our “government of laws,” *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cranch 137, 163 (1803).

35 **MR. JUSTICE STEWART, concurring in the judgment.**

 [T]he First and Fourteenth Amendments clearly give the press and the public a right of access to trials themselves, civil as well as criminal.

40 But this does not mean that the First Amendment right of members of the public and representatives of the press to attend civil and criminal trials is absolute. Just as a legislature may impose reasonable time, place, and manner restrictions upon the exercise of First Amendment freedoms, so may a trial judge impose reasonable limitations upon the unrestricted occupation of a courtroom by representatives of the press and members of the public.

45 Since in the present case the trial judge appears to have given no recognition to the right of representatives of the press and members of the public to be

present at the Virginia murder trial over which he was presiding, the judgment under review must be reversed.

It is upon the basis of these principles that I concur in the judgment.

5 **MR. JUSTICE REHNQUIST, dissenting.**

In the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta “Iolanthe,” the Lord Chancellor recites:

“The Law is the true embodiment of everything that’s excellent, It has no kind of fault or flaw, And I, my Lords, embody the Law.”

10 It is difficult not to derive more than a little of this flavor from the various opinions supporting the judgment in this case. The opinion of THE CHIEF JUSTICE states:

15 “[H]ere for the first time the Court is asked to decide whether a criminal trial itself may be closed to the public upon the unopposed request of a defendant, without any demonstration that closure is required to protect the defendant’s superior right to a fair trial, or that some other overriding consideration requires closure.”~

20 For the reasons stated in my separate concurrence in *Gannett Co. v. DePasquale*, 443 U. S. 368, 403 (1979), I do not believe that either the First or Sixth Amendment, as made applicable to the States by the Fourteenth, requires that a State’s reasons for denying public access to a trial, where both the prosecuting attorney and the defendant have consented to an order of closure approved by the judge, are subject to any additional constitutional review at our hands. And I most certainly do not believe that the Ninth Amendment confers upon us any such power to review orders of state trial judges closing trials in such situations. See *ante*, at 579, n. 15.

25 We have at present 50 state judicial systems and one federal judicial system in the United States, and our authority to reverse a decision by the highest court of the State is limited to only those occasions when the state decision violates some provision of the United States Constitution. And that authority should be exercised with a full sense that the judges whose decisions we review are making the same effort as we to uphold the Constitution.~

30 However high-minded the impulses which originally spawned this trend may have been, and which impulses have been accentuated since the time Mr. Justice Jackson wrote, it is basically unhealthy to have so much authority concentrated in a small group of lawyers who have been appointed to the Supreme Court and enjoy virtual life tenure. Nothing in the reasoning of Mr. Chief Justice Marshall in *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cranch 137 (1803), requires that this Court through ever-broadening use of the Supremacy Clause smother a healthy pluralism which would ordinarily exist in a national government embracing 50 States.

40 The issue here is not whether the “right” to freedom of the press conferred by the First Amendment to the Constitution overrides the defendant’s “right” to a fair trial conferred by other Amendments to the Constitution; it is instead whether any provision in the Constitution may fairly be read to prohibit what the trial judge in the Virginia state-court system did in this case. Being unable to find any such prohibition in the First, Sixth, Ninth, or any other Amendment to the United States Constitution, or in the Constitution itself, I dissent.