

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

JUSTICE SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR MEMORIAL

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SUPREME COURT

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SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
JUSTICE SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR MEMORIAL

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SUPREME COURT

3:00 p.m.

Thursday, March 19, 2026

Courtroom
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D.C.

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P R O C E E D I N G S

(3:00 p.m.)

CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: The Court is in special session this afternoon to receive the resolutions of the Bar of the Supreme Court in tribute to Justice Sandra Day O'Connor. The Court recognizes the Solicitor General.

PRESENTATION OF RESOLUTIONS

THE HONORABLE D. JOHN SAUER,
SOLICITOR GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

GENERAL SAUER: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it please the Court:

At a meeting today of the Bar of this Court, resolutions memorializing our deep respect and affection for Justice Sandra Day O'Connor were adopted unanimously.

Today, the Bar of this Court gathers to pay tribute to Justice O'Connor, a trailblazing and bridge-building jurist who served the nation for more than 24 years as an Associate Justice of this Court.

Justice O'Connor was a towering historic figure, a brilliant lawyer, and a woman of true grit and tremendous personal courage. She was also a great American

1 patriot. Justice O'Connor loved this country
2 deeply and worked every day to help improve it.

3 Overcoming discrimination, she
4 expanded the horizons of opportunity for
5 working women and inspired generations with her
6 model of humble, principled public service.

7 She also possessed an inexhaustible
8 work ethic. She authored more than 600
9 opinions for the Supreme Court, each proving
10 her dedication to the service of her country
11 and the principle of equal justice under law.

12 Sandra Day was born in 1930 in
13 El Paso, Texas. She grew up on the Lazy B
14 Ranch in southeastern Arizona, where the rigors
15 of ranch life instilled in her the grit and
16 appreciation for hard work that served her
17 throughout her life. In fact, she later
18 described where she grew up as, "no country for
19 sissies."

20 She excelled academically, enrolling
21 in Stanford University at the age of 16 and
22 finishing her undergraduate studies and her law
23 degree in six years. At Stanford Law School,
24 she met her future husband of 57 years, John
25 O'Connor, while they were both cite-checking

1 for the Stanford Law Review.

2 Despite graduating near the top of her
3 class, Justice O'Connor had difficulties
4 landing a job. The major California law firms
5 of the day refused even to interview women, and
6 the one that did interview her offered her a
7 job as a secretary.

8 Undeterred, Justice O'Connor turned
9 her sights to the public sector. She was hired
10 by the District Attorney's Office in San Mateo,
11 California, at first for no salary and without
12 an office, and thus began what would prove to
13 be a long and storied career in public service.

14 After John O'Connor's graduation, he
15 was commissioned into the Army Judge Advocate
16 Corps. He was posted to Frankfurt, Germany,
17 where Justice O'Connor worked as a civilian
18 attorney for the United States Quartermaster
19 Corps. Following this service, the two
20 returned to Arizona, where Justice O'Connor
21 opened her own law practice.

22 During this time, she balanced the
23 competing demands of marriage, raising three
24 sons, and the still-limited opportunities for
25 professional women, all while remaining

1 extensively involved in civic organizations and
2 local politics.

3 In 1965, Justice O'Connor took a
4 position as a State Assistant Attorney General.
5 Just a few years later, in 1969, she was
6 appointed to fill a vacant seat in the Arizona
7 State Senate, where she was later elected
8 Senate Majority Leader, the first woman in the
9 country to lead a state legislative upper
10 house.

11 In 1975, she won election to a seat on
12 the Superior Court for Maricopa County. And in
13 1979, she was appointed to the Arizona Court of
14 Appeals.

15 In 1981, President Reagan nominated
16 Justice O'Connor to this Court. Recognizing
17 her superior intellect and outstanding
18 qualifications, and, no doubt encouraged by her
19 poise and personal warmth, the Senate confirmed
20 Justice O'Connor unanimously by a vote of 99 to
21 zero.

22 As the first woman to serve on the
23 Supreme Court in its then 192-year history,
24 Justice O'Connor left an enduring legacy on
25 this Court, on our law, and on the country in

1 countless ways. For example, her Western roots
2 and her long service in state government gave
3 Justice O'Connor an acute appreciation for the
4 role of the states in our system of federalism.

5 She elucidated the principles of
6 federalism in opinions like Gregory against
7 Ashcroft and New York against United States,
8 policing the line between state and federal
9 power.

10 She also authored influential opinions
11 on Equal Protection Doctrine, emphasizing the
12 equality of all Americans regardless of race
13 before the law.

14 Justice O'Connor also wrote eloquently
15 of the Constitution's promise of religious
16 freedom and religious equality for all,
17 defending the rights of religious people and
18 institutions to participate freely and fully in
19 American life.

20 In all areas, Justice O'Connor
21 remained attuned to the practical nature of the
22 law, embracing pragmatism and judicial
23 restraint, qualities that dovetailed with her
24 prior experience in the legislative arena.

25 Her deliberate, cautious, moderate

1 approach defined this Court's jurisprudence for
2 decades on a host of issues, including
3 federalism, constitutional structure, voting
4 rights, affirmative action, civil rights,
5 criminal procedure, and many others.

6 Off the bench, Justice O'Connor was no
7 less influential on the Court's social life.
8 From morning aerobics classes to afternoon
9 tennis matches, Justice O'Connor's tireless
10 energy and her competitive spirit lifted the
11 building and all those who were brave enough to
12 follow her.

13 And her commitment to fostering
14 collegiality was renowned. She was praised by
15 Justice Thomas as the glue of the Court. She
16 revived the tradition of lunches for the
17 Justices after oral arguments and conferences,
18 where everything was on the table for
19 discussion except the cases.

20 That compassion for the individual
21 extended to her generations of law clerks, who
22 fondly remember her as a lifelong mentor who
23 cared for them and their families long after
24 they left her service.

25 Even after Justice O'Connor retired

1 from the Court to care for her husband's
2 health, she remained active in public life.
3 Her proudest contribution was her work to
4 promote civic education, a commitment dating
5 back to her days in Arizona.

6 Today, millions of students across the
7 country learn about our nation's basic founding
8 ideals through programs founded in her
9 retirement by Justice O'Connor.

10 When President Reagan announced her
11 nomination to the Supreme Court, he admirably
12 summarized Justice O'Connor's character by
13 stating, "She is truly a person for all seasons
14 possessing those unique qualities of
15 temperament, fairness, intellectual capacity,
16 devotion to the public good, which have
17 characterized the 101 Justices who have
18 preceded her."

19 Gathered here together to look back at
20 her life, the members of the Bar of the Supreme
21 Court express our profound admiration and
22 respect for the late Justice Sandra Day
23 O'Connor, our deep sense of loss upon her
24 death, our appreciation for her contributions
25 to the law and the nation, and our gratitude

1 for her life of trailblazing and extraordinary
2 achievements.

3 On behalf of the Supreme Court Bar, it
4 is my privilege to present to the Court the
5 Resolutions adopted today so that the Attorney
6 General may move their inscription on the
7 Court's permanent record.

8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
9 General Sauer.

10 The Court recognizes the Attorney
11 General of the United States.

12 REQUEST TO ACCEPT RESOLUTIONS

13 THE HONORABLE PAMELA BONDI,

14 ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

15 GENERAL BONDI: Mr. Chief Justice, and
16 may it please the Court:

17 To the O'Connor family, to members of
18 this Court, and to the members of the Bar, I am
19 honored to be here today to pay tribute to the
20 life and legacy of Justice Sandra Day O'Connor.

21 Justice O'Connor's life embodied the
22 American dream. She grew up on a ranch in
23 southeastern Arizona far from this great
24 institution where she would one day leave her
25 mark. Yet, through her determination,

1 extraordinary work ethic, brilliant intellect,
2 unwavering commitment to serving her country,
3 she rose to serve on the highest court in the
4 land.

5 She not only shaped the laws of our
6 nation but inspired generations of judges,
7 lawyers, and law students. As a girl, I
8 vividly remember my mom giving me a plaque with
9 her picture on it.

10 Yet, one of my favorite quotes was, "I
11 think the important thing about my appointment
12 is not that I will decide cases as a woman but
13 that I am a woman who will get to decide
14 cases."

15 Justice O'Connor's opinions reflect a
16 deep commitment to the rule of law while also
17 understanding the real-world impact of the
18 Court's decisions in cases affecting the rights
19 of victims involved in prosecutions who witness
20 some of the most difficult questions in front
21 of the Court.

22 In *Maryland v. Craig*, Justice O'Connor
23 wrote for the Court that the Constitution
24 permitted a child victim of sexual abuse to
25 testify through closed-circuit television

1 instead of having to testify face-to-face with
2 the accused abuser. This protected children
3 for generations.

4 In doing so, she endeavored to
5 faithfully apply the Constitution's guarantees
6 for criminal defendants while still protecting
7 the most vulnerable in our judicial system. Of
8 course, many law students will forever
9 associate Justice O'Connor with her opinion in
10 Strickland v. Washington, which established the
11 standard for ineffective assistance of counsel
12 claims.

13 Decisions such as these and many
14 others reflect the thoughtfulness and practical
15 wisdom that defined Justice O'Connor's approach
16 as a Justice. This approach earned the deep
17 respect and admiration of her colleagues, her
18 clerks, and the many members of the Court staff
19 who worked alongside her.

20 And this respect and admiration for
21 her was evident long before she arrived at the
22 Supreme Court. It was evident when she served
23 as an Assistant Attorney General in Arizona,
24 Majority Leader of the Arizona State, on the
25 Arizona Superior Court for Maricopa County, and

1 the Arizona Court of Appeals.

2 In every role she held throughout her
3 career, she served her country with absolute
4 distinction, and she did so for 24 years as the
5 first woman ever to serve on this Court.

6 She leaves behind more than just
7 influential court opinions but a legacy of
8 integrity, dedicated public service, and love
9 for America and its civic institutions.

10 In her own words, "We don't accomplish
11 anything in this world alone, and whatever
12 happens is the result of the whole tapestry of
13 one's life and all the weavings of individual
14 threads from one to another that create
15 something."

16 It is my distinct privilege to submit
17 these Resolutions to honor the lasting legacy
18 of Justice O'Connor.

19 Mr. Chief Justice, I respectfully
20 request that the Resolutions presented in honor
21 of Justice Sandra Day O'Connor be accepted by
22 the Court and that together with the chronicle
23 of these proceedings they be ordered preserved
24 for all time in the records of this Court.

25 Thank you.

1 THE HONORABLE JOHN G. ROBERTS, JR.,
2 CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES
3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Your motion is
4 granted, and the Resolutions and chronicle of
5 these proceedings will be made part of the
6 permanent record of the Court.

7 Thank you, General Bondi and General
8 Sauer, for your presentations in memory of
9 Justice Sandra Day O'Connor.

10 We also extend our appreciation to
11 Co-Chairs William Nardini and Patricia Bellia
12 and members of the Committee on Resolutions and
13 to Co-Chairs Ruth McGregor and Scott Bales and
14 members of the Arrangements Committee.

15 As you have heard, Justice Sandra Day
16 O'Connor was born in El Paso, Texas, on
17 March 26th, 1930, and grew up on the
18 198,000-acre Arizona ranch called the Lazy B.
19 She attended Stanford University for college
20 and law school, and despite graduating near the
21 top of her law school class, a class that
22 included William Rehnquist, she was unable to
23 find paid employment in the law. The future
24 Justice thus began her legal career in 1952 as
25 an unpaid Assistant District Attorney.

1 She later followed her husband and
2 fellow Stanford law grad, John O'Connor, to
3 Germany during his Army posting, and over the
4 next decade, the O'Connor family grew to five
5 with the addition of three boys, born in 1958,
6 1960, and 1962.

7 Between 1965 and 1980, Sandra O'Connor
8 served in all three branches of the Arizona
9 government. She began as an Assistant Attorney
10 General before entering the State Senate in
11 1969. Four years later, she became the first
12 woman to serve as Arizona's or any state's
13 Majority Leader.

14 Now, after two terms in the Senate,
15 she found her true calling as a judge.
16 Following four years as a trial judge,
17 Judge O'Connor was elevated to the Arizona
18 Court of Appeals, where she was serving when
19 President Reagan came calling in the summer of
20 1981 upon the retirement of Associate Justice
21 Potter Stewart.

22 Now, although Judge O'Connor was
23 largely unknown in most Washington circles, she
24 was not at all a stranger to the Supreme Court.
25 In addition to her friendship with then Justice

1 Rehnquist from their Stanford days, soon to be
2 Justice O'Connor was known and admired by Chief
3 Justice Warren Burger, whom the O'Connors had
4 helped host during a boating trip on Lake
5 Powell a few years earlier.

6 I met then Judge O'Connor 45 years ago
7 at the time of her nomination to serve as the
8 102nd member of the Supreme Court. As a rookie
9 lawyer fresh off a clerkship with Justice
10 Rehnquist, I had just taken a job as a Special
11 Assistant to Attorney General William French
12 Smith. Among my first assignments was helping
13 the nominee prepare for her confirmation
14 hearing.

15 Now I later learned from biographer
16 Evan Thomas that her main recollection of my
17 role was that I was slow in getting materials
18 to her. All I can say is that it was 1981 and
19 Xeroxing took time.

20 In any event, I think it's safe to say
21 that Justice O'Connor did not really need our
22 help anyway as she was confirmed 99 to zero.
23 The absent vote was that of Max Baucus of
24 Montana, an ardent O'Connor supporter who was
25 so chagrined about missing the historic vote

1 that he sent her a gift to make amends.

2 It is difficult today to appreciate
3 what it was like to be a woman lawyer or judge
4 before Justice O'Connor blazed the trail as the
5 first. The distance between now and then is
6 not only a measure of time but also a measure
7 of Justice O'Connor's life and work. In nearly
8 a quarter century on the Court, she was a
9 strong, influential, and iconic jurist. Her
10 leadership reshaped the entire legal
11 profession.

12 Indeed, she was so successful that the
13 barriers she broke are today almost
14 unimaginable but not so in her lifetime.
15 Sandra Day O'Connor had to study and launch a
16 career in the law when the profession did not
17 welcome women lawyers let alone judges. That
18 was true in politics too, where she began her
19 public life.

20 At every turn, she ignored the critics
21 and doubters, moving forward in her own
22 inimitable style and always getting it done
23 with characteristic excellence in every role.

24 She and her husband, John, were
25 supremely skilled at bringing people together,

1 combining a rich social life with their
2 devotion to each other and their three sons of
3 whom they were so proud, all as
4 Justice O'Connor rose to become the most
5 important woman in our government and in many
6 ways in the country as a whole.

7 I admired Justice O'Connor from a
8 distance of approximately six feet, which is
9 all that separates the advocates at the lectern
10 from the bench in this courtroom. She was on
11 the bench for all of my arguments. As a
12 questioner, as in most other things in her
13 life, she was direct. Her questions typically
14 came early and always cut right to the heart of
15 the matter.

16 When Justice O'Connor found out that I
17 had been nominated to fill her seat, she is
18 reported to have said that I was good in every
19 way except one -- I did not wear a skirt.
20 Fortunately, that qualified endorsement seemed
21 to be good enough, so I was not put to any
22 difficult personal choices.

23 Of course -- of course, Chief Justice
24 Rehnquist passed away shortly thereafter. That
25 meant a different promotion for me and the

1 unforgettable opportunity to sit alongside
2 Justice O'Connor for my first four months on
3 the Court, as she graciously postponed her
4 planned retirement until her successor, Justice
5 Alito, joined the Court. By then, of course,
6 Justice O'Connor was a living legend and a role
7 model for the next generation of lawyers, women
8 and men, who aspired to careers in the law and
9 public service.

10 She left the bench at age 75, which is
11 early in our line of work. Once again, duty
12 called, in this instance, to care for her
13 husband and to embark on a new mission to
14 promote civics education.

15 One of her signal projects, iCivics,
16 has brought quality educational materials to
17 almost 10 million U.S. students since its
18 founding in 2009. It stands today as an
19 enduring legacy of the Justice's path-breaking
20 work off the bench.

21 From her earliest days on the Lazy B,
22 Sandra Day O'Connor approached every challenge
23 with courage and determination. She changed
24 for the better what it meant to be and to look
25 like a judge. Her boundless energy and utter

1 lack of pretense served her and our branch
2 well.

3 And her model as a wife, mother,
4 legislator, jurist, educator, public servant,
5 and historic first continues to inspire all of
6 us to, in her words, "get it done." She was,
7 as President Reagan so memorably put it, a
8 person for all seasons.

9 (Whereupon, at 3:22 p.m., the special
10 session in the above-entitled matter was
11 adjourned.)

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1	<p>achievements [1] 10:2 across [1] 9:6 action [1] 8:4 active [1] 9:2 acute [1] 7:3 addition [2] 15:5,25 admirably [1] 9:11 admiration [3] 9:21 12:17,20 admired [2] 16:2 18:7 adopted [1] 10:5 advocate [1] 5:15 advocates [1] 18:9 aerobics [1] 8:8 affecting [1] 11:18 affirmative [1] 8:4 after [5] 5:14 8:17,23,25 15:14 afternoon [1] 8:8 again [1] 19:11 against [2] 7:6,7 age [2] 4:21 19:10 ago [1] 16:6 alito [1] 19:5 all [14] 5:25 7:12,16,20 8:11 9:13 13:13,24 15:8,24 16:18 18:3,9,11 almost [2] 17:13 19:17 alone [2] 13:11 17:17 alongside [2] 12:19 19:1 also [6] 4:7 7:10,14 11:16 14:10 17:6 although [1] 15:22 always [2] 17:22 18:14 am [2] 10:18 11:13 amends [1] 17:1 america [1] 13:9 american [2] 7:19 10:22 americans [1] 7:12 among [1] 16:12 an [9] 4:7 5:12 6:24 7:3 12:23 14:25 15:9 16:24 19:18 and [86] 4:2,5,11,15,21,22 5:5,11,12,13,24 6:1,12,17,18,19,25 7:2,7,8,16,17,18,22 8:5,10,11,13,17,23 9:21,25,25 10:1,15,18,20 11:7 12:13,14,17,18,20,20,25 13:4,8,9,11,13,22 14:4,4,7,11,12,12,13,13,17,20,20 15:1,3,6,7 16:2,18 17:5,7,9,15,21,22,24 18:2,5,14,25 19:6,8,8,13,23,24,25 announced [1] 9:10 another [1] 13:14 any [3] 15:12 16:20 18:21 anything [1] 13:11 anyway [1] 16:22 appeals [3] 6:14 13:1 15:18 apply [1] 12:5 appointed [2] 6:6,13 appointment [1] 11:11 appreciate [1] 17:2 appreciation [4] 4:16 7:3 9:24 14:10</p>	<p>approach [3] 8:1 12:15,16 approached [1] 19:22 approximately [1] 18:8 ardent [1] 16:24 are [1] 17:13 areas [1] 7:20 arena [1] 7:24 arguments [2] 8:17 18:11 arizona [13] 4:14 5:20 6:6,13 9:5 10:23 12:23,24,25 13:1 14:18 15:8,17 arizona's [1] 15:12 army [2] 5:15 15:3 arrangements [1] 14:14 arrived [1] 12:21 as [30] 4:18 5:7,17 6:4,22 8:15,22 11:7,12 12:13,16,23 13:4 14:15,24 15:9,12,15,16 16:7,8,10,22 17:4 18:3,6,11,12 19:3,18 ashcroft [1] 7:7 aspired [1] 19:8 assignments [1] 16:12 assistance [1] 12:11 assistant [5] 6:4 12:23 14:25 15:9 16:11 associate [2] 12:9 15:20 at [11] 4:21,23 5:11 9:19 12:21 15:24 16:7 17:20,25 18:9 19:10 attended [1] 14:19 attorney [9] 5:18 6:4 10:5,10,14 12:23 14:25 15:9 16:11 attorney's [1] 5:10 attuned [1] 7:21 authored [2] 4:8 7:10 away [1] 18:24</p>
2	<p>2009 [1] 19:18 24 [1] 13:4 26th [1] 14:17</p>	<p>approach [3] 8:1 12:15,16 approached [1] 19:22 approximately [1] 18:8 ardent [1] 16:24 are [1] 17:13 areas [1] 7:20 arena [1] 7:24 arguments [2] 8:17 18:11 arizona [13] 4:14 5:20 6:6,13 9:5 10:23 12:23,24,25 13:1 14:18 15:8,17 arizona's [1] 15:12 army [2] 5:15 15:3 arrangements [1] 14:14 arrived [1] 12:21 as [30] 4:18 5:7,17 6:4,22 8:15,22 11:7,12 12:13,16,23 13:4 14:15,24 15:9,12,15,16 16:7,8,10,22 17:4 18:3,6,11,12 19:3,18 ashcroft [1] 7:7 aspired [1] 19:8 assignments [1] 16:12 assistance [1] 12:11 assistant [5] 6:4 12:23 14:25 15:9 16:11 associate [2] 12:9 15:20 at [11] 4:21,23 5:11 9:19 12:21 15:24 16:7 17:20,25 18:9 19:10 attended [1] 14:19 attorney [9] 5:18 6:4 10:5,10,14 12:23 14:25 15:9 16:11 attorney's [1] 5:10 attuned [1] 7:21 authored [2] 4:8 7:10 away [1] 18:24</p>
4	<p>45 [1] 16:6</p>	<p>approach [3] 8:1 12:15,16 approached [1] 19:22 approximately [1] 18:8 ardent [1] 16:24 are [1] 17:13 areas [1] 7:20 arena [1] 7:24 arguments [2] 8:17 18:11 arizona [13] 4:14 5:20 6:6,13 9:5 10:23 12:23,24,25 13:1 14:18 15:8,17 arizona's [1] 15:12 army [2] 5:15 15:3 arrangements [1] 14:14 arrived [1] 12:21 as [30] 4:18 5:7,17 6:4,22 8:15,22 11:7,12 12:13,16,23 13:4 14:15,24 15:9,12,15,16 16:7,8,10,22 17:4 18:3,6,11,12 19:3,18 ashcroft [1] 7:7 aspired [1] 19:8 assignments [1] 16:12 assistance [1] 12:11 assistant [5] 6:4 12:23 14:25 15:9 16:11 associate [2] 12:9 15:20 at [11] 4:21,23 5:11 9:19 12:21 15:24 16:7 17:20,25 18:9 19:10 attended [1] 14:19 attorney [9] 5:18 6:4 10:5,10,14 12:23 14:25 15:9 16:11 attorney's [1] 5:10 attuned [1] 7:21 authored [2] 4:8 7:10 away [1] 18:24</p>
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