



Impeachment: A Bibliography of Federal Law Sources in the Law Library of Congress

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I. Introduction

We present a revised edition of *Impeachment: A Bibliography of Federal Law Sources in the Law Library of Congress*, by James W. Martin and Emily Carr.¹ The original report was completed in November 1998, after the House of Representatives voted to begin impeachment proceedings against President Clinton but before President Clinton was impeached in December 1998. This revised and updated edition contains resources published during and after the Clinton impeachment through the present, but does not include resources directly related to the impeachment of President Trump. The original report is available in the [Law Library Reading Room](#).²

This report provides a bibliography and guide to locating materials on impeachment available in the Law Library. It presents sources of information about the different questions that researchers may have about the impeachment process and individual impeachments and trials. The items listed in this guide have been selected and gathered from the Law Library and the general collection of the Library of Congress. Not all of the items dealing with impeachment in the collections are included in this bibliography, however. Some items were excluded, for example,

¹ The authors would like to thank the staff of the Public Services Division for providing assistance in completing this bibliography.

² In addition to adding sources published since the original edition, there are several notable changes between the original report and the revised edition:

- In this edition, the organization of resources listed within sections is primarily chronological or alphabetical; the organization of a particular section or subsection will be clearly stated in the introductory comments or the major headings.
- The section containing scholarly articles (originally titled “Law Journal Articles”) has been reduced and is now titled “Scholarly Articles.” Hundreds of scholarly articles have been written on the topic of impeachment since the original report was published, and the means of identifying relevant articles have greatly expanded with the increased availability of computer-assisted legal research databases. We have transferred all of the articles classified as “essential” in the original report and added to the updated edition a handful of recent articles that have high impact metrics based on the number of citations to them.
- Sections VII and VIII of the original report—“Trials” and “Richard M. Nixon”—have been reorganized into three sections in the revised edition, now Section VII, “Inquiries, Impeachments, and Trials—History and Treatises”; Section VIII, “Inquiries, Impeachments, and Trials—United States Presidents”; and Section IX, “Inquiries, Impeachments, and Trials—Other than Presidential.”
- The format of the report has been converted to the style currently used by the Global Legal Research Directorate of the Law Library, including a modified Bluebook citation style.
- Hyperlinks have been added to item records in the Library of Congress catalog and to digitized versions of the items whenever possible.

because of duplication of content or because they appeared less useful from a legal reference or analysis perspective. Although the bibliography focuses on federal impeachment, some relevant material on British practices has also been included. For information about impeachments in individual states, please consult a reference librarian.

Researching impeachment involves using primary materials, such as congressional procedures, hearings, reports, and proceedings, and examining scholarly commentary in journals and treatises. For the uninitiated researcher, the process of locating answers to questions can be difficult and time-consuming. Questions that cannot be answered by the sources listed in this bibliography should be referred to the reference staff of the Law Library.

Researchers can access the items in this bibliography in the Law Library Reading Room and may, within the limits of copyright law, make photocopies. However, because of the anticipated demand for these items, circulation will be limited to congressional leadership, committee members, and congressional staff, and the number of items that can be checked out will be restricted.

II. Constitutional Convention and Ratification

The main impeachment provision can be found at Article II, Section 4, which provides for removal of the “President, Vice President and all civil officers of the United States . . . from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.”

Other provisions include: Article I, Section 2, Clause 5, stating that the House has the sole power to impeach; Article I, Section 3, Clause 6, containing several provisions concerning impeachment trials in the Senate, including the requirement of a vote of two thirds of the members present to convict; Article I, Section 3, Clause 7, concerning the result of a conviction from an impeachment trial; Article II, Section 2, Clause 1, prohibiting the President from using the pardon power in cases of impeachment; and Article III, Section 2, Clause 3, exempting impeachment cases from the jury trial requirement.

Sources listed below are displayed in chronological order.

1. Jonathan Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution* (J.B. Lippincott, Co. 1937) (1896).
 - Popularly known as “Elliot’s Debates.” Volume V contains the text of the debate of the Federal Convention.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation](#)
 - [KF4502 .E5 1896](#)

2. *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (Max Farrand ed., Yale Univ. Press, 1934) (1911).
 - The 1911 edition of this work was published in three volumes. A revised edition, published by Farrand in 1937, added a fourth volume containing new material. A 1987 Supplement, with new material and edited by James H. Hutson, is also available. Useful references can be found by checking the index and the provisions tables in volume IV. Volume IV and the Supplement are only available in print.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation \(1911 ed., vols. 1-3\)](#)
 - [KF4510 .F3 1911](#) (1911 ed.)
 - [KF4510 .F3 1937](#) (1937 revised ed.)
 - [KF4510 .U547](#) (Supplement)
3. Office of Legal Counsel, U.S. Dep't of Justice, *Legal Aspects of Impeachment: An Overview* (1974).
 - Appendix II provides a very detailed review of the debate in the Convention and the ratifying states. Use this source as a primer before consulting Farrand or Elliot.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF4958.A84](#)
4. A. Stephen Boyan, *Constitutional Aspects of Watergate: Documents and Materials* (1976).
 - Text from Farrand begins at page 413 of volume I. Volume I also includes the text of *The Federalist* numbers 65 and 66, its main essays on impeachment.
 - [KF5076. N5 A2 1976](#)
5. *The Federalist: American State Papers* (Jacob E. Cooke ed., 1984).
 - The main essays on the topic are numbers 65 and 66.
 - [The Federalist Papers: Primary Documents in American History](#)
 - [KF4515. F4 1984](#)
6. *The Founders' Constitution* (Philip B. Kurland & Ralph Lerner eds., Liberty Fund, 2000) 1987.
 - Volume I provides a compilation of materials dealing with the impeachment clauses beginning at page 148. In the online edition, see "Impeachment Clauses" under Article I. Included are excerpts from commentators on the Constitution and debates in the state ratifying conventions.
 - [University of Chicago Press](#) (online edition)
 - [KF4502 .F68 2000](#)

III. Basic Overviews

1. U.S. House of Representatives, Comm. on the Judiciary, *Impeachment: Selected Materials*, H.R. Doc. No. 93-7 (1973).
 - A valuable compendium of materials, including excerpts from Madison's *Journal* on the question of the removal of the executive, reprints of relevant sections from *Hinds' Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States* and *Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States*, articles of impeachment voted for all cases from Blount through Ritter, selected documents on the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, and selected secondary sources. If using the *U.S. Congressional Serial Set*, the associated volume is 13,035.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF4960 .A45](#)
2. Staff of the Impeachment Inquiry, H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 93d Cong., *Rep. on Constitutional Grounds for Presidential Impeachment* (Comm. Print 1974).
 - Somewhat dated, this still very useful source provides a brief, but well researched, annotated study of the subject of impeachment as it developed in Great Britain prior to 1789 and throughout United States history. Excellent annotated bibliography. This report was extensively cited and updated during the Clinton impeachment. For the updated version, see section VIII.C. of this report on the Clinton impeachment materials.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF5075 .A25 1974c](#)
3. Raoul Berger, *Impeachment*, in *Encyclopedia of the American Constitution* 957-61 (Leonard W. Levy et al. eds., 1986 & Supp. 1992).
 - Berger provides a detailed discussion of the English precedents on impeachment and traces the use of the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors."
 - [KF4548. E53 1986](#)
4. Robert C. Byrd, *The Senate, 1789-1989* (Bicentennial ed. 1988).
 - This title encompasses a four-volume set. Material on impeachment is covered in chapter four of volume II. A brief analysis is presented of each Senate trial, with a longer explanation of the evolution of Senate procedures. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 13,724. In volume IV, table 7-10 on pages 731-33 provides brief information about each resolution of impeachment presented to the Senate.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [JK1158 .B97 1988](#)
5. Congressional Quarterly, Inc., *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to the Presidency* (Michael Nelson ed., 1989).
 - Detailed discussion of the subject is found on pages 367-78. The discussion focuses on presidential impeachment. Consult index for other references.
 - [JK516 .C57 1989](#)

6. Congressional Quarterly, Inc., *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to Congress* (4th ed. 1991).
 - Main discussion is found on pages 283-310. Reviews history of all motions of impeachment approved by the House and other major attempts to bring impeachment resolutions against government officials. Consult index for other references.
 - [JK1021 .C565 1991](#)
7. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 105th Cong., *Impeachment: Selected Materials* (Comm. Print 1998) (Ser. No. 10).
 - Supplements number 1, above, with articles of impeachment and reports of the House Committee on the Judiciary for impeachments from Richard Nixon through Walter Nixon. Includes the text of the Independent Counsel Act and selected law journal articles concerning judicial discipline and removal. Reprints the text of the 1973 compilation.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF4958 .A25 1998](#)
8. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, *Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation* (Michael J. Garcia et al. eds., Centennial ed. 2017).
 - Popularly known as the *Constitution Annotated*, this work explains in layman's terms the Constitution's origins, how it was crafted and ratified, and how every provision in it has been interpreted. Detailed discussion of impeachment provisions can be found in the annotations to Article II, Section 4. Discussion provides references to Farrand's *The Records of the Federal Constitution*. Includes discussion of impeachment in both judicial and executive cases and of the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors." The online edition can be searched using keywords related to impeachment. Further resources on impeachment are available on the online edition in the table titled "Beyond the Constitution Annotated: Table of Additional Resources."
 - [Constitution Annotated \(online ed.\)](#)
 - [GovInfo \(Centennial ed. 2017\)](#)
 - [KF4527 .U54 2013](#)
9. Jared P. Cole & Todd Garvey, Congressional Research Service, R46013, *Impeachment and the Constitution* (2019).
 - A discussion of the constitutional considerations relevant to impeachment, with copious footnotes.
 - [Congress.gov](#)

IV. Guides to Procedure in the House and Senate

Sources listed below are displayed in reverse chronological order; sources with multiple editions are ordered based on the most recent edition.

1. House Parliamentarian's Office, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives*, H.R. Doc. No. 115-177 (2019) (prepared by Thomas J. Wickham).
 - In *Jefferson's Manual*, discussion on impeachment is found at section LIII. The main text discusses English precedents and provides superscript notes to practices in the House of Representatives. References are provided to English sources and to the precedents and proceedings of the House of Representatives. Consult the index for other relevant sections. Earlier editions are available.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF4992 .U54](#)
2. Charles W. Johnson, John V. Sullivan & Thomas J. Wickham, Jr., *House Practice: A Guide to the Rules, Precedents, and Procedures of the House*, ch. 27 (115th Cong. 2017).
 - Chapter 27 provides a synopsis of impeachment procedures, primarily in the House but also in the Senate. References compilations of precedents and congressional legislation and publications. A good, brief source.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF4992 .B77 2017](#)
3. S. Comm. on Rules & Administration, *Senate Manual Containing the Standing Rules, Orders, Laws, and Resolutions Affecting the Business of the United States Senate*, S. Doc. No. 113-1 (2014) (prepared by Matthew McGowan).
 - Rules of procedure and practice for impeachment trials in the Senate are in sections 170-95. Consult the index for other listings. Earlier editions are available.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF4982 .U48 1988](#)
4. *Precedents of the U.S. House of Representatives (newest to oldest)*.
 - Lewis Deschler & Wm. Holmes Brown, *Deschler-Brown, Precedents of the U.S. House of Representatives*, H.R. Doc. No. 94-661, vol. 10-16 (1994).
 - Chapter 14, volume 3, concerns impeachment. Chapter 15 in volume 4 discusses congressional investigations of the executive branch. Each chapter begins with a subject index.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF4992 .D486](#)
 - 6 Clarence Cannon, *Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States*, ch. 193-202 (1936).
 - Materials on impeachment begin in volume 6 at chapter 193 and continue through chapter 202. Includes proceedings for the trials of Archbald and Louderback and proceedings that did not result in an impeachment trial for the years 1908 through 1932.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF4992 .H552](#)
 - 3 Asher C. Hinds, *Hinds' Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States*, ch. 63-79 (1907).

- Material on impeachment begins in volume 3 at chapter 63 and continues through chapter 79. Includes general discussion of the nature of impeachment and proceedings for each trial up through that of Judge Charles Swayne. Much of this material has been republished in later sources, but users may still want to consult the original. Also, chapter 79 covers impeachment proceedings that did not result in a trial.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF4992 .H552](#)
5. Floyd M. Riddick & Alan S. Frumin, *Riddick's Senate Procedure: Precedents & Practices*, S. Doc. No. 101-28 (1992).
- Discussion at pages 865-79. Reprints Senate rules for impeachment trials and Standing Rule IV, para. 1(d), which requires the keeping of a separate journal of proceedings when conducting impeachment trials. Also provides discussion of the rules of procedure with concrete examples and references to published proceedings and the journals.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF4982 .R5 1992](#)
6. S. Comm. on Rules & Administration, *Procedure and Guidelines for Impeachment Trials in the United States Senate (Revised Ed.)*, S. Doc. No. 99-33 (1986) (prepared by Floyd M. Riddick & Robert B. Dove).
- Provides an in-depth discussion of Senate impeachment procedures from commencement in the Senate to conclusion of the trial. References are to Senate Rules, the *Senate Journal*, and published proceedings. An earlier edition (1974) is also available.
 - 1986 edition
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF4958 .A25 1986](#)
 - 1974 edition
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF4958 .A25 1974b](#)
7. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 93d Cong., *Impeachment: Selected Materials on Procedure* (Comm. Print 1974).
- Contains extracts from *Hinds'* and *Cannon's* compilations of precedents on impeachment. Very useful concerning procedures in the House and includes some coverage of procedures in the Senate. Not indexed but provides access through table of contents by broad subject matter and by defendant.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF4958 .A25 1974](#)

8. Staff of S. Comm. on Rules & Administration, 93d Cong., *Impeachment: Miscellaneous Documents* (Comm. Print 1974).
 - Provides an analysis of the following issues: (1) procedures at trial in the Senate, (2) effect of the end of a Congress and start of a new Congress on a pending impeachment proceeding and on a Senate trial, (3) judicial review of impeachment proceedings, and (4) rules of evidence for Senate impeachment trials.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF4958 .A25 1974c](#)
9. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, Special Subcommittee on H. Res. 920, 91st Cong., *Legal Materials on Impeachment* (Comm. Print 1970).
 - Contains a variety of materials, including the 1957 Legislative Reference Service report on impeachment and references from *Hinds'* and *Cannon's* compilations of precedents on impeachment, as well as materials concerning the impeachment of three federal judges.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8781 .A25 1970](#)
10. De Alva Stanwood Alexander, *History and Procedure of the House of Representatives* (1916).
 - Chapter 17 provides a historical analysis of the major impeachment actions up through 1913. Dated but useful for researching obscure matters.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF4990 .A4 1916](#)

V. Treatises and Books

These treatises and books discuss the English origins of impeachment, debates at the Constitutional Convention, and the development of procedures and practices. The following are recommendations of scholarly resources, unless otherwise noted in the annotations. Popular accounts written during the Watergate era and the Clinton impeachment proceedings, which are not listed but can be found in the Library's collection, should be consulted with the understanding that they may be written from a partisan viewpoint. The resources in this list are organized in alphabetical order by author.

1. Raoul Berger, *Impeachment: The Constitutional Problems* (1973).
 - This is a classic source. It includes extensive treatment on the English origins of impeachment, debate at the Constitutional Convention, and development of impeachment practices over time. Somewhat dated on certain issues such as judicial review, but still a preferred source.
 - [KF4958 .B46](#)

2. Charles L. Black, Jr., *Impeachment: A Handbook* (1974).
 - This short work written during the Nixon impeachment proceedings provides a straightforward introduction to many of the more obscure problems associated with impeachment. The discussion on what constitutes an impeachable offense is especially useful. A new edition with updated information, edited by Philip Bobbitt, was published in 2018 (see next entry).
 - [KF5075 .Z9 B55](#)
3. Charles L. Black, Jr., *Impeachment: A Handbook* (Philip Bobbitt ed., new ed. 2018).
 - The acclaimed standard on presidential impeachment (see previous entry), updated to reflect developments and precedents that occurred after the first edition's publication.
 - [KF5075 .B57 2018](#)
 - Preface and new material available online at [The Yale Law Journal](#) (Philip Bobbitt, Forum, *Impeachment: A Handbook*, 128 Yale L.J. F. 515 (2018)).
4. Lowell Brown, *High Crimes and Misdemeanors in Presidential Impeachment* (2010).
 - This volume is limited to summarizing impeachment proceedings against U.S. presidents, with appendixes providing the text of selected articles of impeachment against presidents, judges, and a senator. This is a good resource for those who want a brief summary of presidential impeachment proceedings, rather than a direct review of original House or Senate documents.
 - [KF5075 .B76 2010](#)
5. William S. Carpenter, *Judicial Tenure in the United States* (1918).
 - Chapter 3 presents the evolution of views on the removal of judges through impeachment by examining the trial of Judge Archbald. A review of procedures in certain states is also presented.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8776 .C3](#)
6. Michael J. Gerhardt, *The Federal Impeachment Process: A Constitutional and Historical Analysis* (3d ed. 2019).
 - Analyzes many of the problems involved with the impeachment process, along with its historical underpinnings. The bibliography is expansive. This is the most recent treatise on this list; earlier editions are available.
 - [KF4958 .G47 2019](#)

7. Michael J. Gerhardt, *Impeachment: What Everyone Needs to Know* (2018).
 - This book was written for readers who do not have a legal background and want an easy-to-use reference guide. It is presented in a question-and-answer format on topics such as the impeachment process, potential penalties and punishments, and procedures similar to impeachment in foreign jurisdictions. This book was written during the investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election by Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III (the “Mueller investigation”), but published before the [corresponding report](#) was released; approximately 50 of 200 pages are dedicated to the Mueller investigation.
 - [KF5075 .G47 2018](#)
8. Peter Charles Hoffer & N.E.H. Hull, *Impeachment in America, 1635-1805* (1984).
 - Reviews the development of impeachment in the U.S. from the colonial period through the end of the trial of Associate Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase. Considerable focus on state impeachment trials along with the development of the institution under the federal Constitution. Very thoughtful analysis with extensive notes.
 - [KF4958 .H63 1984](#)
9. *Impeachment: An Overview of Constitutional Procedures and Practices* (M.E. Kuo ed., 2003).
 - A collection of brief essays on different aspects of impeachment, including its historical background, scope, process, and burden of proof. Pages 112-14 include a table listing each impeached official, his office, the outcome, and relevant dates.
 - [KF4958 .I47 2003](#)
10. David E. Kyvig, *The Age of Impeachment: American Constitutional Culture Since 1960* (2008).
 - Provides a historical context of 20th century impeachment proceedings against federal judges and presidents. The analysis includes histories of impeachment attempts against federal officials that were never formally initiated. Some of these federal officials include Justice William O. Douglas, Vice President Spiro Agnew, and President Ronald Reagan. Contains an extensive bibliography of congressional documents, articles, and books on impeachment.
 - [KF5075 .K98 2008](#)
11. John R. Labovitz, *Presidential Impeachment* (1978).
 - A scholarly commentary on the problems associated with presidential impeachments. Some of the issues examined include a review of the Framers’ intentions; the trials of Justice Chase and President Johnson; how the process worked in the case of Richard Nixon; the role of executive privilege in impeachment investigations; the congressional power to impeach; and the influence of executive orders.
 - [KF5075 .L33](#)

12. Barbara A. Radnofsky, *A Citizen's Guide to Impeachment* (2017).
 - A primer on impeachment in the United States, geared toward readers with no legal background. Contains a listing of each official who has been impeached, the background of the proceedings, and “key lessons” from each case. The back of the book has detailed notes and a bibliography with primary and secondary British and American impeachment resources.
 - [KF4958 .R33 2017](#)
13. U.S. Dep’t of Justice, Office of Legal Counsel, *Legal Aspects of Impeachment: An Overview* (1974).
 - Analyzes various issues concerning the Richard Nixon impeachment inquiry. Also provides a detailed review of the debate at the Constitutional Convention of several clauses concerning impeachment and citations to relevant debates in the ratifying states.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF4958 .A84](#)
14. U.S. Nat’l Comm’n on Jud. Discipline & Removal, *Report of the National Commission on Judicial Discipline & Removal* (1993).
 - Chapter 3 reviews the role of Congress in removing judges; however, the study also contains useful commentary on the topic of impeachment in general. Topics examined include the drafting of articles of impeachment, use of Rule XI trial committees in the Senate, and recommended reforms in trial procedures.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8779 .N38 1993](#)

VI. Scholarly Articles

Hundreds of scholarly law articles have been written on the topic of impeachment and impeachment-related issues. What follows is neither a comprehensive listing of journal articles on the subject of impeachment nor an endorsement of any particular ideas. We have endeavored to provide a sampling of what appear to be the most significant titles based on citation metrics. Links to articles available on open access institutional repositories are provided when available. Additional articles can be located using the Index to Legal Periodicals, Gale OneFile, and numerous other [legal research databases](#) available at the Law Library of Congress. The resources in this list are organized in alphabetical order by author.

1. Akhil R. Amar, *On Impeaching Presidents*, 28 Hofstra L. Rev. 291 (1999).
 - Explains the framework for presidential impeachment, the role of independent counsel, the definition of high crimes and misdemeanors, and the role of public opinion in impeachment.
 - [Scholarly Commons at Hofstra Law](#)

2. Ass'n of the Bar of the City of N.Y., Comm. on Federal Legislation. *Committee Report: The Law of Presidential Impeachment*, 29 Rec. Ass'n B. City N.Y. 154 (1974).
 - Provides an analysis of the process of impeaching a president. Reviews the evolution of the "high crimes and misdemeanors" standard and the role of the House and Senate. A concise review.
 - [New York City Bar: Committee Reports](#)
3. Raoul Berger, *Impeachment for "High Crimes and Misdemeanors,"* 44 S. Cal. L. Rev. 395 (1971).
 - Reviews differences in English and American approaches to impeachment. Argues that the Framers designed impeachment as a means to check executive abuses and oppressions.
 - [HeinOnline](#) (subscription database)
4. Raoul Berger, *The President, Congress, and the Courts*, 83 Yale L.J. 1111 (1974).
 - Reviews questions concerning the possibility of indicting a sitting president and arguments advanced by James St. Clair, Richard Nixon's chief counsel, in his brief on impeachment.
 - [Yale Law Journal](#)
5. *Symposium, Bidding Adieu to the Clinton Administration: Assessing the Ramifications of the Clinton "Scandals" on the Office of the President and on the Executive Branch Investigations*, 60 Md. L. Rev. 1 (2001).
 - Symposium issue, with several articles on the Clinton impeachment.
 - [Maryland Law Review](#)
6. Albert Broderick, *Citizens' Guide to Impeachment of a President: Problem Areas*, 23 Cath. U.L. Rev. 205 (1973).
 - Provides a review of the origins and history of American impeachment.
 - [Scholarship at CUA \[Catholic University of America\] Law](#)
7. Theo. W. Dwight, *Trial by Impeachment*, 6 Am. L. Reg. (N.S.) 257 (1867) (also cited as 15 Am. L. Reg. (O.S.) 257).
 - Reviews the development of the impeachment process from medieval English procedures through the Constitutional Convention. Argues that a president can be removed only for committing a crime. Useful for historical developments.
 - [LOC.gov](#) (Digitized Books)
 - [JF295.D8 1867](#)
8. Paul S. Fenton, *The Scope of the Impeachment Power*, 65 Nw. U.L. Rev. 719 (1970).
 - Argues that, for a violation to be an impeachable offense, it must be a major offense and not a minor or technical violation of law or ethics.
 - [HeinOnline](#) (subscription database)
9. Edwin Brown Firmage & R. Collin Mangrum, *Removal of the President: Resignation and the Procedural Law of Impeachment*, 1974 Duke L.J. 1023 (1974).
 - Analyzes the American procedure of impeachment and examines the effect of a resignation or a pardon on the impeachment process.
 - [Duke Law Journal](#)

10. Eric M. Freedman, *The Law as King and the King as Law: Is a President Immune from Criminal Prosecution before Impeachment?*, 20 *Hastings Const. L.Q.* 7 (1992).
 - Argues that there should be no blanket immunity from criminal prosecution.
 - [Scholarly Commons at Hofstra Law](#)
11. Michael J. Gerhardt, *The Constitutional Limits to Impeachment and Its Alternatives*, 68 *Tex. L. Rev.* 1 (1989) (reprinted in S. Doc. 106-3 (1999)).
 - Very detailed study of impeachment, focusing on its history and constitutional interpretation. Examines the scope of impeachable offenses and the intersection of the Independent Counsel Act and impeachment proceedings.
 - [GovInfo](#)
12. Michael J. Gerhardt, *The Lessons of Impeachment History*, 67 *Geo. Wash. L. Rev.* 603 (1999).
 - Presents the Framers' desire to narrow the range of impeachable offenses and officers, the likeliest definition of "other high Crimes and Misdemeanors," and lessons learned from past impeachments.
 - [William & Mary Law School Scholarship Repository](#)
13. Michael J. Gerhardt, *Rediscovering Nonjusticiability: Judicial Review of Impeachments after Nixon*, 44 *Duke L.J.* 231 (1994).
 - Argues that judicial review of impeachment cases is not available because of their political nature.
 - [Duke Law Journal](#)
14. Joseph Isenbergh, *Impeachment and Presidential Immunity from Judicial Process*, 18 *Yale L. & Pol'y Rev.* 53 (1999).
 - Discusses the impeachment consequences resulting from a president's compulsory participation in judicial process.
 - [Yale Law & Policy Review](#)
15. Karen Kalmanir, *Trial by Senate: Identifying Evidentiary Principles in Impeachment Proceedings*, 37 *Fed. B. News & J.* 289 (1990).
 - Discusses the need for standards of evidence in impeachment actions.
 - [HeinOnline](#) (subscription database)
16. Brian C. Kalt, *The Constitutional Case for the Impeachability of Former Federal Officials: An Analysis of the Law, History, and Practice of Late Impeachment*, 6 *Tex. Rev. L. & Pol.* 13 (2001-2002).
 - Argues that late impeachments (impeachment proceedings after the federal official is out of office) are constitutional.
 - [Digital Commons at Michigan State University College of Law](#)
17. William Lawrence, *The Law of Impeachment*, 6 *Am. L. Reg. (N.S.)* 641 (1867) (also cited as 15 *Am. L. Reg. (O.S.)* 641).
 - Reviews the historical development of impeachment. Argues that officials can be impeached for conduct that does not amount to an indictable offense.
 - [HeinOnline](#) (subscription database)

18. Daniel Luchsinger, *Committee Impeachment Trials: The Best Solution?* 80 Geo. L.J. 163 (1991).
 - Argues that current trial procedures for impeachment in the Senate are unfair and unconstitutional.
 - [HeinOnline](#) (subscription database)
19. Buckner F. Melton, Jr., *Federal Impeachment and Criminal Procedure: The Framers' Intent*, 52 Md. L. Rev. 437 (1993).
 - Discusses the Framers' views toward extending the constitutional protections afforded to those accused of committing a crime to defendants in impeachment actions.
 - [Maryland Law Review](#)
20. Richard K. Neumann, Jr., *The Revival of Impeachment as a Partisan Political Weapon*, 34 Hastings Const. L.Q. 161 (2007).
 - Discusses historical examples of partisan and nonpartisan uses of impeachment.
 - [Scholarly Commons at Hofstra Law](#)
21. William H. Rehnquist, *The Impeachment Clause: A Wild Card in the Constitution*, 85 Nw. U.L. Rev. 903 (1991).
 - Argues that the impeachment clause gives Congress potentially too much power. Cites the Chase and Johnson impeachments as examples.
 - [HeinOnline](#) (subscription database)
22. Stephen M. Ryan & Catherine Newcombe, *Commentary: The Power of Independent Counsel Referrals for Impeachment*, 44 Fed. L. 30 (Mar./Apr. 1997).
 - Discusses the ability of an independent counsel to refer investigations to the House Judiciary Committee.
 - [HeinOnline](#) (subscription database)
23. Alex [Alexander] Simpson, Jr., *Federal Impeachments*, 64 U. Pa. L. Rev. 651 and continued at 64 U. Pa. L. Rev. 803 (1916).
 - An early influential article (in two parts) on the topic of impeachment.
 - [Penn Law Legal Scholarship Repository](#), and continued at [Penn Law Legal Scholarship Repository](#)
24. Jerome S. Sloan & Ira E. Garr, *Treason, Bribery, or Other High Crimes and Misdemeanors – A Study of Impeachment*, 47 Temp. L.Q. 413 (1974).
 - Reviews what constitutes an impeachable offense.
 - [HeinOnline](#) (subscription database)
25. Cass R. Sunstein, *Impeaching the President*, 147 U. Pa. L. Rev. 279 (1998-99).
 - Discusses original understanding and historical practice of congressional power to impeach and analyzes the Clinton impeachment.
 - [Penn Law Legal Scholarship Repository](#)

26. William F. Swindler, *High Court of Congress: Impeachment Trials, 1797-1936*, 60 A.B.A. J. 420 (1974).
 - Reviews history of impeachment trials in the Senate. Lists votes on individual articles.
 - [William & Mary Law School Scholarship Repository](#)
27. Jonathan Turley, *Congress as Grand Jury: The Role of the House of Representatives in the Impeachment of an American President*, 67 Geo. Wash. L. Rev. 735 (1999).
 - Discusses impeachment as a check on executive power and the role of the House of Representatives in the impeachment process.
 - [HeinOnline](#) (subscription database)
28. Jonathan Turley, *Senate Trials and Factional Disputes: Impeachment as a Madisonian Device*, 49 Duke L. J. 1 (1999).
 - Discusses the use of impeachment as a means of resolving partisan disputes over legitimacy.
 - [Duke Law Journal](#)
29. G. Willett Van Nest, *Impeachable Offences under the Constitution of the United States*, 16 Am. L. Rev. 798 (1882).
 - Provides a review of the historical development of what has been considered to be an impeachable offense.
 - [HeinOnline](#) (subscription database)

VII. Inquiries, Impeachments, and Trials – History and Treatises

This section provides a select list of sources on impeachments through history. Only federal inquiries and trials are listed, with the exception of Warren Hastings' trial in the House of Commons, which influenced the concept of impeachment for the Constitution's Framers. Sources are organized chronologically.

A. Multi-Trial Resources

1. U.S. Senate, *Extracts from the Journal of the United States Senate in all Cases of Impeachment Presented by the House of Representatives: 1798-1904*. S. Doc. No. 62-876 (1912).
 - Covers impeachment trials in the Senate through the trial of Charles Swayne. Useful for a quick overview of proceedings.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [JK1268 1912](#)
2. Alexander Simpson, Jr., *A Treatise on Federal Impeachments* (1916).
 - The main text is a reprint of Simpson's article on impeachment (also listed in section VI of this document). The appendix contains accounts of all the English impeachment trials that the author could locate.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF4958 .S5](#)

3. Richard E. Ellis, *The Jeffersonian Crisis: Courts and Politics in the Young Republic* (1971).
 - Summarizes the impeachments and trials of John Pickering and Samuel Chase. Discussion is from a scholarly, historical focus.
 - [KF5130 .E44](#)
4. Irving Brant, *Impeachment: Trials and Errors* (1972).
 - Written in a narrative style, with each chapter devoted to one trial. Covers the trials through Andrew Johnson and the attempt to impeach William O. Douglas. Lacks footnotes and a comprehensive bibliography.
 - [KF8781 .B7](#)
5. Peter Charles Hoffer & N.E.H. Hull, *Impeachment in America, 1635-1805* (1984).
 - Contains materials on the impeachments of multiple federal judges, including William Blount, John Pickering, and Samuel Chase.
 - [KF4958 .H63 1984](#)
6. Eleanore Bushnell, *Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials* (1992).
 - Covers the trials from Blount through Claiborne, with detailed historical analysis of the procedures in each case. Excellent bibliography and notes. A table at the beginning provides basic information about the composition of each trial's Congress; the managers appointed to present the House's case to the Senate; and a breakdown of the final Senate vote by political faction.
 - [KF8781 .B87 1991](#)
7. William H. Rehnquist, *Grand Inquests: The Historic Impeachments of Justice Samuel Chase and President Andrew Johnson* (1992).
 - Provides historical context for the impeachments of Justice Samuel Chase and President Andrew Johnson. From the preface, "[t]his book is about two episodes in American history in which the country witnessed a visible demonstration of play in the joints between constitutional provisions. . . . The outcome of each of these trials was of extraordinary importance to the American system of government." Includes a short bibliography and index.
 - [KF5075 .R44 1992](#)
8. Mary L. Volcansek, *Judicial Impeachment: None Called for Justice* (1993).
 - Covers the trials from Claiborne through Walter Nixon. Reviews the development and course of each investigation and trial and suggests where imperfections occurred in the proceedings. Although this is a thorough study, the bibliography contains a number of citation errors.
 - [KF8782 .C53 V65 1993](#)

B. Warren Hastings

Warren Hastings was the Governor-General of Bengal. Edmund Burke charged him with dishonesty in the House of Commons in 1786. The House of Commons impeached Hastings, but he was acquitted by the House of Lords after a trial that occurred over a number of years.

1. U.K. Parliament, *The History of the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq., Late Governor-General of Bengal, before the High Court of Parliament in Westminster-Hall (1796)*.
 - Covers the entire trial in the House of Lords and provides a review of action in the House of Commons.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KD376.H37 H3776 1796](#)
2. P. J. Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (1965).
 - Reviews the Hastings case; covers the main events without extensive detail.
 - [DS473 .M3](#)

VIII. Inquiries, Impeachments, and Trials – United States Presidents

This section covers impeachment proceedings against three presidents. The entries are broadly organized by president, chronologically, starting with Andrew Johnson.

A. Andrew Johnson

Attempts were first made to impeach President Johnson in 1867, but it was not until 1868 that the House succeeded in impeaching him for violating the Tenure of Office Act, for the dismissal of Secretary of War Stanton, and for challenging congressional policies on Reconstruction. Johnson was acquitted by the Senate. There are several books on Johnson's presidency and impeachment that provide additional background information, some of which are shelved at the Law Library Reference Desk. The most useful of these may be Michael Les Benedict's *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson* (1973) ([E666 .B46 1973](#)), which provides an excellent critical bibliography on the topic.

1. H. Journal, 40th Cong., 2d Sess. 392-93 (1868).
 - The vote on Johnson's impeachment is located on pages 392-93. The proceedings concerning the adoption of the articles of impeachment are located on pages 439-50.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation](#)
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)

2. Cong. Globe, 40th Cong. 1382-1402 (1868).
 - Proceedings in the House concerning the resolution of impeachment appear on pages 1382-1402. The debate and vote on the approval of the articles appear on pages 1613-20. A supplement to the text reprints the Senate trial along with written opinions of the members concerning the trial.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation](#)
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF35](#)
3. U.S. Senate, Trial of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, Before the Senate of the United States, on Impeachment by the House of Representatives for High Crimes and Misdemeanors (1868).
 - Volume 1 contains a brief summary of the proceedings in the House leading to the vote to approve the articles of impeachment. The Senate trial is printed in the remainder of volume 1 and all of volume 2. Volume 3 contains the written opinions of the senators regarding the trial. This set is easier to use than the *Congressional Globe* set.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF5075 .J6 1868](#)
4. U.S. House of Representatives, Impeachment of the President. H.R. Rep. No. 40-7 (1867).
 - Committee report produced during the first attempt to impeach Johnson in 1867. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 1314.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
5. U.S. House of Representatives, Impeachment of the President: Articles of Impeachment, H.R. Misc. Doc. No. 40-91 (1868).
 - Document includes testimony given by individuals to the Committee on the Judiciary concerning Johnson's attempt to remove Secretary Stanton. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 1350.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
6. U.S. Senate, Letter from the Hon. S.P. Chase, Chief Justice of the United States, S. Misc. Doc. No. 40-43 (1868).
 - Brief letter stating some of Chase's opinions on the procedure that should be followed by the Senate. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 1319.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)

B. Richard Nixon

Nixon, the 37th president of the United States, was investigated by the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities and by two special prosecutors for activities relating to the obstruction of the investigation of the burglary at the Democratic National Committee headquarters ("Watergate"). Hearings were held by the Senate Select Committee in 1973.

During this time, Nixon was also under investigation by special prosecutor Archibald Cox, who Nixon ordered to be fired in October 1973. After Cox's dismissal, several resolutions of impeachment were introduced in the House. In February 1974, the House approved a resolution authorizing the Committee on the Judiciary to investigate if grounds existed for Nixon's impeachment. At the same time, Leon Jaworski, the second Watergate special counsel, sought to release transcripts of recorded conversations concerning the burglary's cover-up.

During the spring of 1974, the Committee on the Judiciary conducted an investigation of Nixon's actions. Beginning in July, the Committee conducted televised hearings, during which three articles of impeachment were adopted.

In late July, Nixon's claim of executive privilege concerning the transcripts was rejected by the Supreme Court. In compliance with the decision on August 5, 1974, Nixon released the transcripts of three conversations that showed his involvement in the attempt to hinder the investigation of the break-in. In reaction to these materials, Nixon's political support disappeared, and he resigned on August 9, 1974.

The following is only a partial listing of the materials published about Watergate.

Overview and Chronology

1. *Watergate: Chronology of a Crisis* (Mercer Cross & Elder Witt eds., 1975).
 - Provides a detailed week-by-week chronology of the break-in, cover up, investigation, and hearings. Reprints excerpts from testimony, transcripts, court decisions, and other documents.
 - [E860 .C64 1975](#)
2. *Constitutional Aspects of Watergate: Documents and Materials* (A. Stephen Boyan Jr. ed., 1976).
 - An in-depth analysis spanning six volumes. Volume 1 reprints the significant congressional and executive documents regarding the impeachment process and the charges against Nixon; volumes 2 and 3 examine the question of executive privilege; volume 4 examines the national security issues of the investigation; and volumes 5 and 6 contain additional materials on executive privilege and national security, many of them issued after the conclusion of the Watergate investigation.
 - [KF5076.N5 A2 1976](#)

Senate Investigation

1. *The Watergate Investigation Index: Senate Select Committee Hearings and Reports on Presidential Campaign Activities* (Hedda Garza ed., 1982).
 - A useful index to the hearings and final report, this source provides access by name of witness and subject. Should be consulted unless a precise citation is available.
 - [KF26.5 .P7 1973 Suppl. 3](#)

2. U.S. Senate, Presidential Campaign Activities of 1972, Senate Resolution 60 (1973-74).
 - This collection encompasses 26 volumes in 20 parts, as well as three supplements and an index, containing hearings and other congressional materials arising from the Watergate investigation. It includes the Ervin Committee's full transcripts and exhibits.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF26.5 .P7 1973](#)
3. U.S. Senate, The Final Report of the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, United States Senate, Pursuant to S. Res. 60, February 7, 1973: A Resolution to Establish a Select Committee of the Senate to Investigate and Study Illegal or Improper Campaign Activities in the Presidential Election of 1972, S. Rep. No. 93-981 (1974).
 - Provides a review of the Watergate break-in and subsequent cover-up. Reviews problems with campaign financing. Indexed by Hedda Garza. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 13,060-8.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF31.5 .P7 1974](#)

House Impeachment Investigation

1. *The Watergate Investigation Index: House Judiciary Committee Hearings and Report on Impeachment* (Hedda Garza ed., 1985).
 - Indexes all of the published proceedings and major reports of the Committee on the Judiciary. Also provides a list of the indictments brought by the special prosecutor.
 - [KF27 .J8 1974e Suppl. 4](#)
2. U.S. House of Representatives, Investigatory Powers of Committee on the Judiciary with Respect to Its Impeachment Inquiry, H.R. Rep. No. 93-774 (1974).
 - Outlines the grounds by which the Committee conducted its investigation. Includes supplementary views of members. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 13,061-1.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
3. U.S. House of Representatives, Impeachment of Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, H.R. Rep. No. 93-1305 (1974).
 - The final report of the Committee on the Judiciary reviews the procedures followed and the evidence gathered in the Committee's investigation of Nixon and the vote approving three articles of impeachment. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 13,064-3.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF32 .J8 1974](#)

4. *Testimony of Witnesses. Hearings . . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803, 93d Cong. (1974).*
 - Spanning two volumes in three parts, includes testimony before the House Committee on the Judiciary by the major defendants in the Watergate scandal and submitted exhibits; hearings were held in July 1974.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J8 1974](#)
5. *Minority Memorandum on Facts and Law. Hearings . . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803, 93d Cong. (1974).*
 - Reviews the law and evidence in regard to charges of illegal wiretapping, abuse of the Internal Revenue Service, and other alleged abuses of power. Also examines the subpoena power of the House of Representatives in impeachment inquiries. Written by the minority members of the House Committee on the Judiciary.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J8 1974a](#)
6. *Debate on Articles of Impeachment. Hearings . . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803, 93d Cong. (1974).*
 - Verbatim record of the debate concerning the approval of the articles of impeachment by the House Committee on the Judiciary. Includes opening statements by members and roll call votes on each article.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J8 1974b](#)
7. *Brief on Behalf of the President of the United States. Hearings . . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803, 93d Cong. (1974).*
 - Presents the oral and written arguments of Nixon's counsel, James St. Clair, before the House Committee on the Judiciary, regarding the particular facts and law involving the Watergate investigation. The final section presents an argument concerning the constitutional limitations on impeachment proceedings.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J8 1974c](#)
8. *Statement of Information Submitted on Behalf of President Nixon. Hearings . . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803, 93d Cong. (1974).*
 - A four-volume set containing evidence and materials submitted by Nixon's counsel in support of their presentation to the House Committee on the Judiciary.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J8 1974d](#)
9. *Statement of Information. Hearings . . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803, 93d Cong. (1974).*
 - Prepared by the House Committee on the Judiciary in support of its investigation, this hearing provides extensive evidence in 12 volumes relating to all aspects of Watergate and the abuse of power.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J8 1974e](#)

10. *Summary of Information. Hearings . . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803*, 93d Cong. (1974).
 - Reviews the evidence and law in regard to abuse of presidential powers, refusal to comply with subpoenas from Congress, and tax evasion. A good summary of the prosecution's case presented to the House Committee on the Judiciary.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J8 1974f](#)
11. *Impeachment Inquiry. Hearings . . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803*, 93d Cong. (1974).
 - Holds three volumes of transcripts of the House Committee on the Judiciary's business meetings and executive sessions. Volume 3 has several useful appendixes that reprint materials dealing with the Committee's rules and procedures.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J8 1974h](#)
12. Congressional Record
 - Hundreds of pages in the *Congressional Record* are devoted to the Watergate investigation and the impeachment inquiry. Readers are advised to have specific search terms before consulting the index. For procedural matters on the floor, also consult the *Daily Digest*. Both of these resources are available in print and online.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF35](#)

C. Bill Clinton

The impeachment of President Clinton originally stemmed, in part, from a civil suit involving sexual harassment claims against Clinton by Paula Jones, based on an alleged encounter that took place in Arkansas before he was elected president. During the pendency of *Jones v. Clinton*, and after he was reelected for a second term, evidence emerged that Clinton had had an extramarital affair with Monica Lewinsky, a White House intern at the time. In early 1998, Clinton was deposed by Jones' lawyers and denied having a sexual affair with Lewinsky; Lewinsky also submitted a sworn affidavit corroborating Clinton's testimony.

At this time, Kenneth Starr was serving as an independent counsel, charged with investigating some of the Clintons' business dealings that resulted in a failed real estate investment in Arkansas ("Whitewater"). After Lewinsky was secretly recorded by the Federal Bureau of Investigation discussing her relationship with Clinton, Starr's investigation was expanded to include determining whether Clinton had lied under oath during his deposition. Lewinsky was granted immunity and testified before Starr's grand jury in July that she and Clinton had had a sexual relationship; Clinton subsequently admitted to lying under oath.

On September 8, 1998, the House opened an impeachment inquiry before the Judiciary Committee, which returned four articles of impeachment for a House vote in December. The articles of impeachment included two articles related to perjury, one for obstructing justice, and one for abuse of office. On December 19, the House voted in favor of two articles of impeachment, finding that Clinton had committed perjury before the grand jury and had obstructed justice, but rejected the remaining articles. The Senate held a trial in early 1999; on February 12, 1999, the Senate acquitted Clinton.

Overview and Chronology

The Impeachment and Trial of President Clinton: The Official Transcripts, from the House Judiciary Committee to the Senate Trial (Merrill McLoughlin ed., 1999).

- Synthesizes congressional documents and summarizes the proceedings before the House and Senate. Appendix VI includes a House roll call on the articles of impeachment. Appendix VII contains a Senate roll call of the votes on Clinton's trial.
- [KF5076.C57 A2 1999b](#)

House Proceedings

1. *Independent Counsel Report . . . Providing for a Deliberative Review by the Committee on the Judiciary of a Communication from an Independent Counsel, and for the Release Thereof, and for Other Purposes*, 105th Cong. (Sept. 10, 1998).
 - Includes statements from members of the Judiciary Committee, as well as non-committee Representatives. The exhibits entered into the record include the 1974 House Judiciary Committee Print referenced in section III of this bibliography, information on the use of grand jury transcripts, and the text of H.R. Res. 525, which initiated the review before the Judiciary Committee.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF27 .R8 1998a](#)
2. U.S. House of Representatives, Report Together with Dissenting Views to Accompany H. Res. 525, H.R. Rep. No. 105-703 (1998).
 - This brief House Rules Committee report describes the resolution directing members to review independent counsel Kenneth Starr's investigative report. It also addresses the House's ability to obtain and use grand jury materials from *Jones v. Clinton*. Dissenting view from the Rules Committee can be found on pages 7-8. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 14,516.
 - [Congress.gov](#)
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
3. U.S. House of Representatives, Referral from Independent Counsel Kenneth W. Starr in Conformity with the Requirements of Title 28, United States Code, Section 595(c), H.R. Docs. No. 105-310, 105-311, and 105-316 (1998).
 - Popularly known as the "Starr Report," this communication (Doc. No. 105-310) provides a detailed background of the events giving rise to Clinton's impeachment. Includes appendixes (Doc. No. 105-311, in two parts) and supplemental materials (Doc. No. 105-316, in three parts).
 - [GovInfo](#) (105-310)
 - [GovInfo](#) (105-311)
 - [GovInfo](#) (105-316)
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF5076.C57 A2 1998](#)

4. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 105th Cong., *Votes of the Committee in Executive Session Pursuant to H. Res. 525* (Comm. Print 1998) (Ser. No. 7).
 - Contains voting records related to actions by the House Judiciary Committee on September 17, 18, and 25, 1998. Also includes information about motions that were offered by Committee members.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF5076 .C57 A2 1998b](#)
5. U.S. House of Representatives, *Preliminary Memorandum of the President of the United States Concerning Referral of the Office of the Independent Counsel and Initial Response of the President of the United States to Referral of the Office of the Independent Counsel*, H.R. Doc. No. 105-317 (1998).
 - Communication from the White House sent in anticipation of the Starr Report's findings. This document summarizes the legal arguments in defense of Clinton and offers an admission of impropriety regarding his relationship with Monica Lewinsky.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF5076.C57 A2 1998d](#)
6. U.S. House of Representatives, *Investigatory Powers of the Committee on the Judiciary with Respect to Its Impeachment Inquiry*, H.R. Rep. No. 105-795 (1998).
 - After the submission of the Starr Report, the House Judiciary Committee was tasked under H.R. Res. 581 with investigating whether sufficient grounds existed to impeach Clinton. This report discusses the Starr Report, the scope of the Committee, the potential felonies involved, and the issues related to a possible impeachment. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 14,519.
 - [Congress.gov](#)
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
7. *Background and History of Impeachment: Hearing before the Subcommittee on the Constitution of the Committee on the Judiciary*, 105th Cong. (1998).
 - Includes testimony on impeachment from more than 15 scholars, including Lawrence Tribe, Michael Gerhardt, and Cass Sunstein. The volume also includes letters and prepared statements.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J8565 1998](#)
8. *Impeachment Inquiry: William Jefferson Clinton . . . Appearance of Independent Counsel*, 105th Cong. (1998) (Ser. No. 66).
 - This volume holds Kenneth Starr's testimony before the House Judiciary Committee regarding his investigation into Clinton and his subsequent report. The table of contents directs readers to letters, statements, and other materials that were entered into the record during the hearing.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF27 .J8 1998h](#)

9. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 105th Cong., *Constitutional Grounds for Presidential Impeachment: Modern Precedents* (Comm. Print 1998) (Ser. No. 9).
 - Discusses the constitutional standards for impeachment and summarizes the impeachment of Judges Claiborne, Nixon, and Hastings in the 1980s, as well as the impeachment proceedings against President Nixon. This report updates and frequently cites a similar report from 1974 (see section III of this report, *Basic Overviews*).
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF5075 .A25 1998](#)
10. *The Consequences of Perjury and Related Crimes: Hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary*, 105th Cong. (1998).
 - Contains testimony on the crime of perjury, including its history, prevalence in the criminal justice system, and associated punishments. Witnesses include legal scholars, federal judges, and attorneys in private practice. The table of contents directs readers to letters, statements, and other materials that were entered into the record during the hearing.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF27 .J8 1998a](#)
11. *Hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary . . . Presentation on Behalf of the President*, 105th Cong. (1998) (Ser. No. 68).
 - Contains transcripts of hearings that occurred over December 8 and 9, 1998, along with letters, statements, and other materials entered into the record. The statements in this record were made in support of Clinton, and include testimony from law professors, private practice attorneys, and former members of Congress. The table of contents directs readers to letters, statements, and other materials that were entered into the record during the hearing.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF27 .J8 1998j](#)
12. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 105th Cong., *Authorization of an Inquiry into Whether Grounds Exist for the Impeachment of William Jefferson Clinton, President of the United States* (Comm. Print 1998) (Ser. No. 8).
 - Holds a presentation by inquiry staff, consideration of an inquiry resolution, and adoption of inquiry procedures. Materials submitted for the record include news articles, prepared statements from members of the House and Senate, and prepared statements from investigative counsel.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF5076 .C57 A2 1999a](#)

13. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 105th Cong., *Impeachment Inquiry: William Jefferson Clinton, President of the United States, Presentations by Investigative Counsel* (Comm. Print 1998) (Ser. No. 19).
 - Primarily a compilation of exhibits presented during the impeachment inquiry, including charts, court documents, and testimony. The documents are preceded by statements from the Committee's chairperson and investigative counsel.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF5076 .C57 A2 1998c](#)
14. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 105th Cong., *Impeachment Inquiry: William Jefferson Clinton, President of the United States: Consideration of Articles of Impeachment: Impeachment Inquiry Pursuant to H. Res. 581, Consideration of Articles of Impeachment* (Comm. Print 1998) (Ser. No. 18).
 - Includes letters and statements submitted for the record by members of Congress on December 10, 11, and 12, 1998. The appendix also contains a letter from Kenneth Starr in response to questions from members of the Judiciary Committee.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF5076 .C57 A2 1999c](#)
15. U.S. House of Representatives, *Impeachment of William Jefferson Clinton, President of the United States, Report of the Committee on the Judiciary . . . to Accompany H. Res. 611, H.R. Rep. No. 105-830* (1998).
 - This Judiciary Committee report provides a narrative of the events leading up to the impeachment inquiry, beginning with the Paula Jones litigation. It lists and describes the four articles of impeachment, including two articles related to perjury in a civil case, one article on obstruction of justice, and one on abuse of power. Arguments for and against impeachment are also set forth in the report.
 - [Congress.gov](#)
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF5076 .C57 A2 1998a](#)

Senate Proceedings

1. U.S. Senate, *The Evidentiary Record Pursuant to S. Res. 16, S. Doc. No. 106-3* (1999).
 - This collection, spanning 24 volumes, reprints all materials submitted to the House, including the Starr Report, deposition and courtroom transcripts from *Jones v. Clinton*, call logs, correspondence, records from congressional hearings, and other materials gathered by the independent counsel. Volume I contains an index to the evidentiary record related to the Clinton impeachment. Volumes 13 and 18 include committee prints from the House Judiciary Committee that are otherwise not available at the Law Library in stand-alone volumes.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF5076.C57 A2 1999](#)

2. U.S. Senate, Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Impeachment Trial of President William Jefferson Clinton, S. Doc. No. 106-4 (1999).
 - This four-volume set contains the complete impeachment trial proceedings before the Senate. Volume 1 holds the preliminary proceedings, volume 2 includes the floor trial proceedings, volume 3 has depositions and affidavits, and volume 4 contains statements of senators regarding the impeachment trial.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF5076.C57 A2 2000](#)

IX. Inquiries, Impeachments, and Trials – Other than Presidential

This section covers impeachment proceedings against federal judges, one cabinet secretary, and one senator. Multiple federal officers have been subjected to impeachment investigations but were not ultimately impeached. Some of these officers were censured by the House and others resigned from their positions in lieu of facing an impeachment inquiry. This list includes only federal officers against whom articles of impeachment were adopted by the House.

References to different stages of impeachment investigations, inquiries, and trials can be found throughout the *Congressional Record*, *House Journal*, and *Senate Journal*. For a full listing of impeachment-related debates and discussions in these resources, researchers may wish to consult the relevant index for the official's name or the corresponding resolution number. The entries below are organized in chronological order from earliest to most recent impeachment. Each subsection lists the pertinent (1) *House Journal* or (2) *Senate Journal* entry, (3) information about congressional debates, (4) reports or hearings documents, and (5) secondary sources. The below information is not necessarily an exhaustive list of every debate or reference to each federal officer's impeachment proceedings, but should be a useful starting point for researchers.

A. William Blount

Blount was a senator from Tennessee in the fourth Congress. In 1797, he was charged with conspiring with the Cherokee and the British to conquer Spanish Florida. The Senate voted to expel him in July 1797, but because of the gravity of the charges Congress continued to investigate the matter. In January 1798, the House voted for five articles of impeachment, which were referred to the Senate for trial. Charges against Blount were dismissed in January 1799 for lack of jurisdiction.

1. H. Journal, 5th Cong., 2d Sess. (1798).
 - Proceedings against Blount commenced in the first session, with his impeachment occurring on July 7, 1797; the text of the proceedings is located on pages 72-73. The reporting of the articles and their approval occurred in the second session and can be located on pages 150-58.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)

2. 7 Annals of Cong. 447-62 (1798).
 - For a complete record from this series, consult volumes 7-9. Report of the House Committee and the Journal of the Court of Impeachment are at the end of volume 8. The debate on the resolution impeaching Blount appears on pages 447-62 in volume 7. The debate concerning the approval of the articles of impeachment appears on pages 947-53.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation](#)
 - [KF35](#)
3. Buckner F. Melton, Jr., *The First Impeachment: The Constitution's Framers and the Case of Senator William Blount* (1998).
 - Detailed narrative of the attempt to impeach Blount and the effects of the action on the development of the institution in the United States. A bibliography and the articles of impeachment appear in the appendix.
 - [KF4961 .B58 M45 1998](#)

B. John Pickering

U.S. District Judge John Pickering was impeached by the House of Representatives in 1803 for misconduct as a judge and for intoxication. He was convicted by the Senate in 1804.

1. H. Journal, 7th Cong., 2d Sess. 352-53 (1803).
 - The proceedings on the impeachment vote are located on pages 383-84 of the volume for the 7th Congress, 2d Session. The proceedings on agreeing to the articles are located on pages 252-58 of the volume for the 8th Congress, 1st Session.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)
2. 12 Annals of Cong. 641-42 (1803).
 - The vote of impeachment in the House is published on pages 641-42 of volume 12. A brief synopsis of the trial in the Senate appears on pages 315-68 in volume 13.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation](#)
 - [KF35](#)

C. Samuel Chase

In 1804, Associate Justice Chase of the Supreme Court was impeached by the House for conduct that impaired respect for the Court. After a highly partisan trial in the Senate, Chase was acquitted on all accounts on March 1, 1805.

1. H. Journal, 8th Cong., 1st Sess. 562-65 (1804).
 - The proceedings approving the resolution of impeachment appear on pages 643-44 of the Journal for the 8th Congress, 1st Session. The House proceedings and vote on the articles of impeachment appear on pages 31-44 of the Journal for the 8th Congress, 2d Session.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)

2. 13 Annals of Cong. 1171-77 (1804).
 - Some actions concerning the investigation are published in volume 13, including the debate on and approval of the resolution, which appears on pages 1171-77. The actual impeachment and trial are published in volume 14; the debate on the articles appears on pages 726-62, with approval of the committee report on page 762.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation](#)
 - [KF35](#)
3. Samuel H. Smith & Thomas Lloyd, *Trial of Samuel Chase, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Impeached by the House of Representatives, for High Crimes and Misdemeanors before the Senate of the United States* (1805).
 - Detailed narrative of the proceedings before the House and Senate regarding Justice Chase's impeachment. This two-volume account was created by two individuals who sat through all relevant proceedings before Congress.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF223 .C443 T75 1805](#)

D. James H. Peck

Peck was a federal district court judge in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1825, Peck issued an opinion concerning a land grant under Spanish law. The ruling was criticized by Luke Lawless, the attorney who represented the losing side. After Peck cited Lawless for contempt of court, Lawless petitioned for Peck's impeachment. The impeachment resolution was first introduced in 1826; after two rejections, a resolution was approved in 1830. Peck was acquitted of all charges by the Senate in January 1831.

1. H. Journal, 21st Cong., 1st Sess. 565-67 (1830).
 - The impeachment vote is on pages 565-67. The proceedings approving of the articles of impeachment are published on pages 591-96.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation](#)
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)
2. 7 Reg. Deb. (1830).
 - References are scattered throughout the first part of the volume. The account is not detailed.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation](#)
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF35](#)

3. Arthur J. Stansbury, *Report of the Trial of James H. Peck, Judge of the United States District Court for the District of Missouri, before the Senate of the United States on an Impeachment* (1833).
 - An account of the proceedings in the House culminating in Judge Peck's impeachment and the subsequent trial in the Senate. Includes a name index at the beginning of the item.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8782.P4 S8 1833](#)
4. U.S. House of Representatives, Judge Peck, H.R. Rep. No. 21-325 (1830).
 - Contains the evidence gathered by the Committee on the Judiciary, including sworn testimony by Lawless and others. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 201.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)

E. West H. Humphreys

Humphreys was a federal district court judge from Tennessee. Impeachment charges were brought against him for accepting an office under the Confederacy and his stated disloyalty. The House approved the articles, and the Senate voted for conviction in 1862. In a separate action, the Senate voted to disqualify Humphreys from holding any further public office.

1. H. Journal, 37th Cong., 2d Sess. 646 (1862).
 - The adoption of the resolution of impeachment appears on page 646. The proceedings concerning the adoption of the articles of impeachment appear on pages 709-12. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 1126.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation](#)
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)
2. Cong. Globe, 37th Cong., 2d Sess. 1966-67 (1862).
 - Proceedings concerning the impeachment by the House appear on pages 1966-67. The approval of the articles by the House appears on pages 2205-06. Proceedings concerning the debate on and approval of the articles of impeachment in the Senate are published on pages 2942-53.
 - [A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation](#)
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF35](#)
3. U.S. House of Representatives, Impeachment of West H. Humphreys, Judge of the United States District Court of Tennessee, H.R. Rep. No. 37-44 (1862).
 - Includes the votes on impeachment, as well as a colloquy of Representatives and witness testimony. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 1144.
 - [KF12 .U5](#)

F. William W. Belknap

Belknap was President Grant's fourth Secretary of War. He was accused of committing improprieties in administering government contracts. During the pendency of the House investigation, Belknap resigned his office on March 2, 1876. However, the Committee on the Judiciary proceeded to draft articles of impeachment, which were approved by the full House in April 1876. Belknap was acquitted by the Senate in August 1876.

1. H. Journal, 44th Cong., 1st Sess. 496 (1876).
 - The vote of impeachment is located on page 496. The proceedings approving the articles of impeachment are on pages 696-703.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)
2. 4 Cong. Rec. (1876).
 - The trial proceedings are published in part 7, which also includes excerpts from the House's proceedings and the articles of impeachment approved by the House.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF35](#)
3. U.S. Senate, 44th Cong., 1st Sess., Proceedings of the Senate Sitting for the Trial of William W. Belknap, Late Secretary of War, on the Articles of Impeachment by the House of Representatives (1876).
 - Same materials as in number 2, above. Indexed. This source is easier to use than the *Congressional Record*.
 - [KF5091.B45 B45 1876](#)
4. U.S. House of Representatives, Impeachment of William W. Belknap, H.R. Rep. No. 44-345 (1876).
 - Reported articles of impeachment from the Committee on the Judiciary. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 1709.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
5. U.S. House of Representatives, Report of the House Managers on the Impeachment of W. W. Belknap, Late Secretary of War, H.R. Rep. No. 44-791 (1876).
 - A post-trial justification of the impeachment and trial of Belknap. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 1713.
 - [KF12 .U5](#)

G. Charles Swayne

Swayne was a federal district court judge from Florida. He was impeached by the House in December 1904 for submitting false expense claims, making use of a private railroad car, not living in his district as required by law, and abusing the contempt powers of his court. The Senate acquitted him of all charges in February 1905.

1. H. Journal, 58th Cong., 3d Sess. 51 (1905).
 - The adoption of the resolution of impeachment is published on page 51. The proceedings concerning the adoption of the articles of impeachment are located on pages 158-63.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)
2. 39 Cong. Rec. 214-48 (1905).
 - The House debate on the resolution of impeachment and the vote can be located on pages 214-49. The debate on and approval of the articles are located on pages 1021-56.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF35](#)
3. U.S. House of Representatives, Proceedings in the House of Representatives, 58th Congress, Concerning the Impeachment of Charles Swayne, Judge of the Northern District of Florida (1912).
 - Contains excerpts from the *Congressional Record* pertaining to the impeachment and trial of Swayne. Indexed.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8782.S98 S93 1912](#)
4. U.S. Senate, Proceedings in the Senate of the United States in the Matter of the Impeachment of Charles Swayne, S. Doc. No. 58-194 (1905).
 - Text of the trial proceedings in the Senate. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 4773.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
5. U.S. House of Representatives, Judge Charles Swayne, H.R. Rep. No. 58-3021 (1904).
 - Restates testimony gathered by the Committee on the Judiciary concerning the charges in the articles of impeachment. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 4760.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
6. U.S. House of Representatives, Judge Charles Swayne, H.R. Rep. No. 58-1905 (1904).
 - Provides a restatement of the evidence and testimony gathered by the Committee on the Judiciary against Swayne. Part two includes views of the minority. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 4582.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
7. U.S. House of Representatives, Impeachment of Judge Charles Swayne: Evidence before the Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives (1904).
 - Contains the full text of evidence gathered by the Committee on the Judiciary, including depositions of witnesses. Very useful but not indexed.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8782.S93 S926 1904](#)

H. Robert W. Archbald

Archbald was a justice of the U.S. Commerce Court. He was impeached by the House in July 1912 for misconduct and the improper appointment of a juror. He was convicted by the Senate in January 1913, and was, by a subsequent vote, barred from holding further office. Archbald's counsel was Alexander Simpson, a noted scholar on the law of impeachment.

1. H. Journal, 62d Cong., 2d Sess. 854-58 (1912).
 - Proceedings on the consideration of the articles of impeachment appear on pages 854-58.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)
2. S. Journal, 62d Cong., 3d Sess. (1912).
 - Contains the proceedings of Archbald's Senate trial. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 6328.
 - [KF45 .A22](#)
3. 48 Cong. Rec. 8904-34 (1912), 49 Cong. Rec. (1913).
 - Debate and vote on the articles of impeachment in the House can be located on pages 8904-34. Information about the Senate trial is held in volume 49; pre-trial proceedings can be found in volume 48.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF35](#)
4. U.S. Senate, Proceedings of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives in the Trial of Impeachment of Robert W. Archbald, S. Doc. No. 62-1140 (1913).
 - Volumes 1 and 2 contain the proceedings in the Senate. The index for both volumes is in volume 2. Volume 3, which is indexed, contains the proceedings in the House along with documents submitted to the House and testimony taken from witnesses. A very valuable and well-organized document useful for tracing Archbald's trial and the evolution of the impeachment process. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volumes are 6356-58.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
 - [KF8782.A73 A734 1913](#)
5. U.S. House of Representatives, Robert W. Archbald, Judge of the United States Commerce Court, H.R. Rep. No. 62-946 (1912).
 - Contains the articles of impeachment and a review of the evidence concerning each article. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 6137.
 - [KF12 .U5](#)

6. *Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary . . . in Relation to the Conduct of Robert W. Archbald*, 62d Cong. (1912).
 - Investigative hearings conducted by the House Committee on the Judiciary. Very detailed but not indexed.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J8 1912p](#)

I. George W. English

English, a federal district court judge from Illinois, was impeached by the House in 1926 for official misconduct. English resigned his judgeship a few days before the scheduled start of his Senate trial. At the request of the House of Representatives, the Senate voted to dismiss the charges.

1. H. Journal, 69th Cong., 1st Sess. 434-49 (1926).
 - Preliminary consideration of the articles of impeachment is published on pages 434-39. The vote approving the articles appears on pages 447-48. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 8523.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)
2. S. Journal, 69th Cong., 2d Sess. (1926).
 - Contains the proceedings of English's Senate trial. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 8683.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF45 .A22](#)
3. U.S. Senate, Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Trial of Impeachment of George W. English, District Judge of the United States for the Eastern District of Illinois, S. Doc. No. 69-177 (1926).
 - Reprints the text of the proceedings in the Senate, the articles of impeachment, and Judge English's answer to the articles. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 8694.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
 - [KF8782.E5 U553 1926](#)
4. 67 Cong. Rec. 6735-36 (1926).
 - Proceedings and debate in the House are located in volume 67. The vote approving the resolution appears on pages 6735-36. Proceedings in the Senate appear in both volumes 67 and 68, with the proceedings regarding the dismissal appearing on pages 344-48 of volume 68.
 - [GovInfo](#) (vol. 67)
 - [GovInfo](#) (vol. 68)
 - [KF35](#)

5. U.S. House of Representatives, *Conduct of Judge George W. English*, H.R. Rep. No. 69-653 (1926).
 - Reviews the facts of the case and recommends passage of five articles of impeachment. Includes minority views. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 8536.
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
 - [KF8782.E5 U552 1926](#)
6. U.S. Senate, *Answer of George W. English, District Judge of the United States for the Eastern District of Illinois to the Articles of Impeachment Exhibited Against Him by the House of Representatives of the United States*, S. Doc. No. 69-104 (1926).
 - Provides Judge English's answer to each of the articles of impeachment. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 8558.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
7. *Conduct of George W. English, United States District Judge, Eastern District of Illinois: Hearing before the Special Committee of the House of Representatives Pursuant to House Joint Resolution 347, 69th Cong.* (1925).
 - The second part of this three-part item includes the text of the report of the special subcommittee of the Committee of the Judiciary empaneled to investigate Judge English's conduct.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27.5 .O38 1925](#)

J. Harold Louderback

U.S. District Court Judge Harold Louderback of the Northern District of California was impeached by the House in 1933 for alleged misconduct in administering bankruptcy cases. He was acquitted by the Senate in May 1933.

1. H. Journal, 72d Cong., 2d Sess. 303-06 (1933).
 - The vote on the articles of impeachment is published on pages 303-06. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 9646.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)
2. S. Journal, 72d Cong., 2d Sess. 299-01 (1933).
 - The Louderback proceedings are published on pages 299-301. The Senate trial record is found in the *Senate Journal* for the 73d Congress, 2d Session at pages 307-44. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volumes are 9645 and 9738.
 - [HathiTrust](#) (vol. 9645)
 - [HathiTrust](#) (vol. 9738)
 - [KF45 .A22](#)

3. 76 Cong. Rec. 4913-26 (1933), 77 Cong. Rec. 4083-88 (1933).
 - Proceedings in the House concerning the approval of the resolution of impeachment are published on pages 4913-26 of volume 76. Proceedings in the Senate concerning the final vote are published on pages 4083-88 of volume 77.
 - [GovInfo](#) (vol. 76)
 - [GovInfo](#) (vol. 77)
 - [KF35](#)
4. U.S. House of Representatives, Conduct of Judge Harold Louderback, H.R. Rep. No. 72-2065 (1933).
 - The Committee on the Judiciary originally censured Louderback for his alleged misconduct but did not recommend impeachment. The minority disagreed with the recommendation and called for his impeachment, which was approved by the full House. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 9654.
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
 - [JK1595 .L6 1933b](#)
5. U.S. Senate, Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Trial of Impeachment of Harold Louderback, S. Doc. No. 73-73 (1933).
 - Contains the articles of impeachment, Louderback's response, and supporting documents and testimony. Indexed by date of proceedings, subject, and witness name. (Note: Print copy is missing several pages; missing pages are noted on the inside back cover.) If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 9746.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8782.L69 L69 1933](#)
6. U.S. Senate, Answer of Harold Louderback, S. Doc. No. 73-21 (1933).
 - Provides Judge Louderback's answers to the individual articles of impeachment. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 9748.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)

K. Halsted Ritter

Judge Ritter, of the Southern District of Florida, was impeached by the House after a lengthy investigation in 1936 for a number of offenses related to his official conduct. He was convicted by the Senate on one article.

1. H. Journal, 74th Cong., 2d Sess. 193-97 (1936).
 - The proceedings for the adoption of the articles of impeachment appear on pages 193-97. The articles were later amended; the proceedings for amending the articles appear on pages 278-80.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)

2. S. Journal, 74th Cong., 2d Sess. 473-512 (1936).
 - Materials on the Ritter impeachment appear on pages 473-512. The articles are published on page 477. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 9981.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF45 .A22](#)
3. 80 Cong. Rec. 3066-92 (1936).
 - The House's consideration of the impeachment resolution is published on pages 3066-92. The Senate's final consideration and vote appear on pages 5602-08.
 - [GovInfo](#) (vol. 80, House consideration)
 - [GovInfo](#) (vol. 80, Senate final consideration)
 - [KF35](#)
4. U.S. Senate, Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Trial of Impeachment of Halsted Ritter, S. Doc. No. 74-200 (1936).
 - Text of the proceedings in the Senate trial. Index allows access by date and subject. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 10,006.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
 - [JK1595 .R55 1936e](#)
5. U.S. House of Representatives, Impeachment of Halsted L. Ritter, H.R. Rep. No. 74-2025 (1936).
 - Unlike most reports on impeachment, this one is rather brief. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 9995.
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
6. U.S. Senate, Answer of Halsted L. Ritter, H.R. Doc. No. 74-192 (1936).
 - Provides Judge Ritter's answers to the individual articles of impeachment. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 10,015.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)

L. Harry E. Claiborne

Judge Claiborne, of the District of Nevada, was impeached by the House in 1986 after being convicted of tax fraud in 1984. As a part of its proceedings, the Senate, for the first time, used a twelve-member committee to collect and hear evidence. Claiborne's attempt to block this procedure in court failed. He was convicted by the full Senate on three of the four counts.

1. H. Journal, 99th Cong., 2d Sess. 832-33 (1986).
 - Proceedings concerning the consideration and approval of the articles of impeachment are published at pages 832-33.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)

2. S. Journal, 99th Cong., 2d Sess. 683 (1988).
 - Proceedings for the trial start on page 683.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF45 .A22](#)
3. Bernard D. Reams, Jr., & Carol J. Gray, *The Congressional Impeachment Process and the Judiciary: Documents and Materials on the Removal of Federal District Judge Harry E. Claiborne* (1987).
 - Includes the text of all of the congressional documents and proceedings generated during the impeachment process and of selected documents generated during the prosecution of Claiborne for tax fraud and his appeal of his conviction on those charges. This source is easy and convenient to use. A table of contents for the set appears at the beginning of the first volume.
 - [KF8782.C53 C66 1987](#)
4. 132 Cong. Rec. 17,294-306 (1986).
 - The House's consideration and approval of the articles of impeachment appear on pages 17,294-306. The Senate's vote for conviction appears on pages 29,870-72.
 - [GovInfo](#) (vol. 132, House consideration)
 - [GovInfo](#) (vol. 132, Senate vote)
 - [KF35](#)
5. U.S. Senate, Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Trial of Impeachment of Harry E. Claiborne, S. Doc. No. 99-48 (1986).
 - Contains the text of Senate proceedings as published originally in the *Congressional Record*, the text of the investigatory committee report, supporting exhibits, documents filed in Judge Claiborne's challenge to the use of the investigatory committee, and House and Senate resolutions. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 13,670.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
 - [KF8782.C53 U54 1986](#)
6. *Report of the Senate Impeachment Trial Committee, 99th Cong., S. Hrg. 99-812* (1986).
 - A four-part volume containing the text of the proceedings of the Committee; documents submitted by the Committee and the respondent; and testimony given by witnesses before the Committee. Part 4 and the addendum are missing from the physical collections but available in volume 5 of Reams and Gray (see above) and online through HathiTrust.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF26 .I42 1986](#)
7. U.S. Senate, On the Impeachment of Harry E. Claiborne, S. Doc. No. 99-511 (1986).
 - Summary of the Report of the Senate Impeachment Trial Committee. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 13,680.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)

8. U.S. House of Representatives, Impeachment of Judge Harry E. Claiborne, H.R. Rep. No. 99-688 (1986).
 - Summarizes the House Committee on the Judiciary's proceedings and the evidence gathered against Claiborne. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 13,703.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)

9. *Conduct of Harry E. Claiborne, U.S. District Judge, District of Nevada: Hearing before the Special Committee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary House of Representatives, 99th Cong.* (1986).
 - Includes testimony of witnesses supporting and opposing the resolution of impeachment and certain exhibits and supporting documents on Claiborne's case and the topic of impeachment.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J857 1986](#)

10. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 99th Cong., Subcommittee Markup of House Resolution 461, Impeachment of Judge Harry E. Claiborne before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Judges of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives (Comm. Print 1987) (Ser. No. 12).
 - Prints of the Subcommittee's proceedings concerning the impeachment resolution.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8782.C53 S83 1987](#)

11. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 99th Cong., Markup of House Resolution 461, Impeachment of Judge Harry E. Claiborne before the Committee on the Judiciary (Comm. Print 1986) (Ser. No. 11).
 - Prints of the Committee's proceedings concerning the impeachment resolution.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8782.C53 U55 1986](#)

M. Alcee L. Hastings

Judge Hastings, of the Southern District of Florida, was tried and acquitted on charges of bribery in 1983. After his acquittal, however, a special judicial investigatory committee reviewed the trial and concluded that Hastings had lied and fabricated evidence. Additionally, he was accused of leaking evidence obtained through wiretaps in an unrelated investigation. The committee recommended that Hastings be impeached, a recommendation that was forwarded by the Judicial Conference of the United States to the House of Representatives. The House Committee on the Judiciary assigned the matter to a subcommittee, which held investigatory hearings in 1988. After the conclusion of the hearings, seventeen articles of impeachment were approved and submitted to the entire House, which, in turn, approved a resolution of impeachment. In the Senate, the trial began with an investigation by a special committee empaneled to review the evidence in the case. The Senate conducted the trial in October 1989, and convicted Hastings on nine of the seventeen articles.

1. H. Journal, 100th Cong., 2d Sess. 1247-51 (1988).
 - Proceedings concerning the consideration and approval of the articles of impeachment are published on pages 1247-51.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)
2. S. Journal, 101st Cong., 1st Sess. 885-973 (1989).
 - Proceedings for the trial appear on pages 885-973.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF45 .A22](#)
3. 134 Cong. Rec. 20,221-23 (1988), 135 Cong. Rec. 25,330-35 (1989).
 - The House vote on the articles of impeachment is published on pages 20,221-23 of volume 134. The votes in the Senate are published on pages 25,330-35 of volume 135.
 - [GovInfo](#) (vol. 134)
 - [GovInfo](#) (vol. 135)
 - [KF35](#)
4. U.S. Senate, Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Trial of Impeachment of Alcee L. Hastings, S. Doc. No. 101-18 (1989).
 - Contains text of the proceedings and the trial in the Senate. Also provides access to exhibits, briefs, and documents relating to the trial, and to a petition by Hastings and Judge Walter L. Nixon to have the Senate decision overturned through judicial review. Not indexed. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 13,916.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8782.H37 H374 1989](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
5. *Impeachment Inquiry: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 100th Cong.* (1988).
 - This collection includes six volumes in seven parts. Testimony of the witnesses appears in volume 1. Appendix 1 contains the text of the report on Hastings by the Judicial Council of the Eleventh Circuit. Evidence and testimony gathered by the Subcommittee are published in appendix 2. Appendix 3 contains Judge Hastings' response. Evidence and material concerning the alleged leaked wiretap are published in appendix 4. Appendix 5 includes the text of miscellaneous materials related to the investigation.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J859 1988](#)
6. U.S. House of Representatives, Impeachment of Judge Alcee L. Hastings, H.R. Rep. No. 100-810 (1988).
 - Committee on the Judiciary report recommending adoption of the resolution of impeachment, H.R. Res. 499. Includes analysis of each article and the issue of double jeopardy.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF32 .J8 1988](#)

7. *Report of the Senate Impeachment Trial Committee on the Articles against Judge Alcee L. Hastings*, 100th Cong. (1988).
 - This collection includes three volumes in six parts. Contains the proceedings of the Committee and the evidence submitted to, and gathered by, the House and Senate committees.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF26.5 .I364 1989](#)
8. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 100th Cong., Markup of H. Res. 499, Impeachment of Judge Alcee L. Hastings before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives (Comm. Print 1988) (Ser. No. 5).
 - Contains the Subcommittee proceedings concerning the resolution of impeachment.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8782.H37 M37 1988](#)
9. U.S. Senate, Impeachment of Judge Alcee L. Hastings: Constitutional and Statutory Provisions, S. Doc. Nos. 101-3, 101-4 (1989).
 - Compilation of materials related to the Hastings impeachment, including the text of the articles of impeachment, filings submitted by Hastings, and congressional documents.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8782.H37 H37 1989b](#) (S. Doc. No. 101-3)
 - [KF8782.H37 H37 1989](#) (S. Doc. No. 101-4)
10. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 101st Cong., Post Trial Memorandum of the House of Representatives (Memo 1989).
 - A review of the evidence, submitted by the House managers, in the case as it relates to the articles of impeachment. Includes a chronological list of events.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8782.H37 U54 1989](#)
11. U.S. Senate, Procedure for the Impeachment Trial of U.S. District Judge Alcee L. Hastings in the United States Senate, S. Rep. No. 101-1 (1989).
 - Report of the Committee on Rules and Administration on S. Res. 38 and S. Res. 39, setting forth the Committee's proposal to use Rule XI procedures in the trial and Hastings' objection to the proposal. The transcript of the hearing before the Committee was printed separately as S. Hrg. 101-3.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8782.H37 U55 1989](#)
12. *Impeachment Trial Procedures: Hearing Before the Committee on Rules and Administration on the Appropriate Use of Rule XI...*, 101st Cong. (1989).
 - Hearing before the Senate Rules Committee on whether the proposed use of Rule XI committee procedures in an impeachment trial would be fair.
 - [HathiTrust](#) (S. Hrg. 101-3)
 - [KF26 .R8 1989](#)

13. U.S. Senate, Report of the Impeachment Trial Committee on the Articles against Judge Alcee L. Hastings, S. Rep. No. 101-156 (1989).
 - Reviews the evidence presented by the House Judiciary Committee along with interpretations of the evidence by the Committee and Hastings. Publishes a list of names of witnesses and other individuals mentioned in the case, and the roll call vote of the Committee on the articles of impeachment.
 - [Senate.gov](#)
 - [KF8782.H37 H375 1989](#)
14. U.S. Senate, Procedure for the Impeachment Trial of United States District Judge Alcee L. Hastings in the United States Senate, S. Rep. No. 100-542 (1988).
 - Reviews the authority of impeachment proceedings to be continued into a new Congress, the use of Rule XI procedures, and miscellaneous questions concerning procedures in impeachment investigations and trials.
 - [KF8782 .H37 U55 1988](#)

N. Walter L. Nixon, Jr.

Judge Nixon was the senior federal district court judge for the Southern District of Mississippi. In 1986, he was convicted of perjury and sentenced to five years in prison for lying in testimony before a federal grand jury about his attempt to influence the prosecution of a business associate's son. After the conviction, the U.S. Judicial Conference forwarded a recommendation of impeachment to the House of Representatives. The House impeached Nixon in 1989 on two articles related to the perjury charges and one general article concerning Nixon's alleged profiting from an oil and gas investment with a company while hearing two civil cases involving the company. In the Senate, the case was reviewed by a special trial committee empaneled under Rule XI. The full Senate took up consideration of the case in November 1989. Nixon was convicted of the two articles alleging perjury and acquitted on the third article.

1. H. Journal, 101st Cong., 1st Sess. 350-52 (1989).
 - Proceedings concerning the adoption of the articles of impeachment are published on pages 350-52.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)
2. S. Journal, 101st Cong., 1st Sess. 974-91 (1989).
 - Proceedings for the trial appear on pages 974-91. Note that there was a closed door session on November 2.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF45 .A22](#)

3. 135 Cong. Rec. 8814-24 (1988).
 - The House debate and vote on the articles of impeachment are published on pages 8814-24 of volume 135. Preliminary matters concerning the investigation in the House can be located in volume 134. The vote on the articles in the Senate is published in volume 135 on pages 27,101-05.
 - [GovInfo](#) (House debate)
 - [GovInfo](#) (Senate vote)
 - [KF35](#)
4. U.S. Senate, Proceedings of the United States Senate in the Impeachment Trial of Walter L. Nixon, Jr., a Judge of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi, S. Doc. No. 101-22 (1989).
 - Contains the text of the proceedings in the Senate, the preliminary proceedings including the articles of impeachment, post-trial submissions, and statements by senators for the record. The forward provides a useful description of the Senate prints and documents published as a result of Nixon's impeachment and trial. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 13,918.
 - [KF8782.N58 N583 1989](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
5. U.S. House of Representatives, Impeachment of Walter L. Nixon, Jr., H.R. Rep. No. 101-36 (1989).
 - Recommends the passage of H.R. Res. 87, the articles of impeachment against Judge Nixon. Summarizes the evidence examined by the Committee on the Judiciary in its review of the Nixon case. Includes information about prior impeachments of members of the federal judiciary. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 13,950.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
6. U.S. Senate, Impeachment of Walter L. Nixon, Jr., S. Doc. No. 101-17 (1989).
 - Contains the amended articles of impeachment, Nixon's answer, and the House's reply to Nixon's answer (referred to as a replication). Supersedes S. Doc. 101-8. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 13,915.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
7. *Report of the Senate Impeachment Trial Committee on the Articles against Judge Walter L. Nixon, Jr.: Hearings before the Senate Impeachment Trial Committee, 101st Cong. (1989).*
 - Contains the records of the proceedings of the Committee and filings made to it, testimony by witnesses, exhibits introduced into evidence, the hearings of the Subcommittee in the House of Representatives, and the criminal trial and post-conviction proceedings.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF26.5 .I367 1989](#)

8. *Judge Walter L. Nixon, Jr., Impeachment Inquiry: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary*, 101st Cong. (1988).
 - Contains the text of the testimony of witnesses before the Committee. The appendix contains the text of exhibits submitted at the hearing and materials from the criminal trial.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J847 1988b](#)
9. *Judge Walter L. Nixon, Jr., Impeachment Inquiry: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives*, 101st Cong. (1989).
 - Reviews Nixon's involvement in an oil and gas lease, which did not result in a charge of impeachment. Includes testimony and exhibits.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF27 .J847 1989a](#)
10. U.S. Senate, Report of the Impeachment Trial Committee on the Articles against Judge Walter L. Nixon, Jr., S. Rep. No. 101-164 (1989).
 - Reviews the articles of impeachment against Nixon and the supporting evidence. Prints the votes of the trial committee on the articles. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 13,927.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8782.N58 N584 1989](#)
11. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 101st Cong., Judge Walter L. Nixon, Jr., Impeachment Inquiry Transcript of Proceedings *U.S.A. v. Walter L. Nixon, Jr.*, Crim. Action No. H85-00012(L) (Comm. Print 1989) (Ser. No. 8).
 - Contains the transcript and exhibits from the Nixon criminal trial.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF8782.N58 N58 1989](#)
12. Staff of H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary, 101st Cong., Subcommittee Markup of House Resolution 87, Impeachment of Judge Walter L. Nixon, Jr. (Comm. Print 1989) (Ser. No. 3).
 - Contains the transcript of the markup session of the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights concerning H.R. Res. 87.
 - [HathiTrust](#)

O. Samuel B. Kent

Judge Kent was appointed to the federal bench in 1990, presiding in a one-judge court for the Southern District of Texas. On May 11, 2009, Kent was sentenced to thirty-three months in prison for lying to investigators about sexually abusing two female employees. Impeachment proceedings began shortly thereafter, following a statement from Kent's counsel that the judge would take a disability retirement rather than resign. This would have allowed Kent to collect his annual judicial salary for the remainder of his life. To prevent Kent from receiving a lifetime salary, the House moved quickly to impeach him under four articles related to high crimes and misdemeanors: two articles based on Kent's sexual assault of two court employees, one based on

his false statements in connection with the investigation stemming from the sexual assault allegations, and one based on his felony obstruction of justice related to the foregoing investigation. The House impeached Kent on June 19, 2009. Kent avoided a Senate impeachment trial by submitting a letter of resignation, effective June 30, 2009. The articles of impeachment were dismissed on July 22, 2009.

1. H. Journal, 111th Cong., 1st Sess. 1015 (2009).
 - The entire impeachment process occurred in 2009, during the first session of the 111th Congress. The process started with the passage of H.R. Res. 424, which authorized and directed the Committee on the Judiciary to initiate an impeachment inquiry.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)
2. S. Journal, 111th Cong., 1st Sess. 545 (2009).
 - Kent did not face a trial in the Senate, although the matter was forwarded to the Senate after he was impeached. For information about the dismissal of the articles of impeachment, see entries in the *House Journal* for H.R. Res. 520.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF45 .A22](#)
3. 155 Cong. Rec. 15747-62 (2009).
 - This covers the debate and votes on articles of impeachment taking place on June 19, 2009; all four articles were approved unanimously.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF35](#)
4. *To Consider Possible Impeachment of United States District Judge Samuel B. Kent of the Southern District of Texas, Hearing before the Task Force on Judicial Impeachment of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 111th Cong.* (2009).
 - Includes witness statements, court transcripts from the underlying criminal case, and testimony before the Judiciary Committee. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 15,268.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
5. U.S. House of Representatives, Comm. on the Judiciary, Impeachment of Samuel B. Kent, Judge of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, H.R. Rep. No. 111-159 (2009).
 - The House Judiciary Committee's recommendation for the impeachment of Kent, including a factual background, excerpts of witness testimony, and legal analysis. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 15,274.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)

6. U.S. House of Representatives, Message from the Senate Relating to the Impeachment Proceedings of Samuel B. Kent, H.R. Doc. No. 111-53 (2009).
 - A communication from the Senate, including Kent's letter of resignation, dated June 24, 2009. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 15,254.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)

P. G. Thomas Porteous, Jr.

Judge Porteous became a federal district court judge for the Eastern District of Louisiana in 1994. In 2008, the U.S. Judicial Conference determined that Porteous had committed judicial misconduct and that impeachment might be warranted; the matter was then forwarded to the House of Representatives for review. He was accused of having a corrupt financial relationship with a law firm involved in a case on his docket and improperly denying a motion to recuse himself from that matter, of being involved in corrupt conduct with bail bondsmen, and of making material false statements and representations under penalty of perjury related to his personal bankruptcy filing. The House impeached Porteous by a unanimous vote in 2010 on four articles: engaging in a pattern of conduct incompatible with serving as a federal judge, engaging in a longstanding pattern of corrupt conduct, knowingly and intentionally making false statements under penalty of perjury, and knowingly making material false statements about his past to both the Senate and the FBI to obtain a federal judgeship. The full Senate heard the impeachment trial, eventually convicting him under all four articles and forever disqualifying him from holding any future federal office.

1. H. Journal, 110th Cong., 2d Sess. 2271 (2008).
 - Proceedings to establish an impeachment inquiry began at the end of the 110th Congress. The inquiry and impeachment took place during the 111th Congress.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF46 .A22](#)
2. S. Journal, 111th Cong., 2d Sess. 843-52 (2010).
 - Includes proceedings of Porteous' impeachment trial, which occurred on December 7 and 8, 2010.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF45 .A22](#)
3. 156 Cong. Rec. 3147-57 (2010).
 - Covers the debate and votes on articles of impeachment on March 11, 2010. The Senate trial occurred on December 7 and 8, 2010. The votes related to the trial can be found in volume 156, pages 19,133-37. For preliminary matters involving the House investigation, see volumes 154 and 155.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF35](#)

4. *To Consider Possible Impeachment of United States District Judge G. Thomas Porteous, Jr. (Part I): Hearing before the Task Force on Judicial Impeachment of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 111th Cong. (2009).*
 - The first of four parts of the impeachment inquiry against Porteous, with full-text coverage of proceedings in the House, along with related exhibits that were entered into the record. The testimony in this part comes from fact witnesses. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 15,270.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF27 .J865 2009a](#)
5. *To Consider Possible Impeachment of United States District Judge G. Thomas Porteous, Jr. (Part II): Hearing before the Task Force on Judicial Impeachment of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 111th Cong. (2009).*
 - The second of four parts of the impeachment inquiry against Porteous, with full-text coverage of proceedings in the House, along with related exhibits that were entered into the record. The testimony in this part comes from fact witnesses. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 15,270.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF27 .J865 2009b](#)
6. *To Consider Possible Impeachment of United States District Judge G. Thomas Porteous, Jr. (Part III): Hearing before the Task Force on Judicial Impeachment of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 111th Cong. (2009).*
 - The third of four parts of the impeachment inquiry against Porteous, with full-text coverage of proceedings in the House, along with related exhibits that were entered into the record. The testimony in this part comes from fact witnesses. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 15,270.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF27 .J865 2009](#)
7. *To Consider Possible Impeachment of United States District Judge G. Thomas Porteous, Jr. (Part IV): Hearing before the Task Force on Judicial Impeachment of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 111th Cong. (2009).*
 - The fourth of four parts of the impeachment inquiry against Porteous, with full-text coverage of proceedings in the House, along with related exhibits that were entered into the record. The testimony in this part comes from expert witnesses, including constitutional and judicial ethics scholars. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 15,270.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF27 .J865 2009c](#)

8. U.S. House of Representatives, Comm. on the Judiciary, *Impeachment of G. Thomas Porteous, Jr., Judge of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana*, H.R. Rep. No. 111-427 (2010).
 - The House Judiciary Committee’s recommendation for the impeachment of Porteous, including a factual background, excerpts of witness testimony, and legal analysis. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 15,351.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF26 .I42 2010](#)
9. U.S. Senate, Comm. on the Judiciary, *Impeachment of G. Thomas Porteous, Jr.*, S. Doc. No. 111-13 (2010).
 - A reiteration and compilation of documents created in the House impeachment proceedings. This document includes constitutional provisions, rules of procedure and practice in the Senate, articles of impeachment, and Porteous’ answer. If using the *Serial Set*, the associated volume is 15,291.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF12 .U5](#)
10. *Impeachment Trial Committee on the Articles against Judge G. Thomas Porteous, Jr.: Hearings before the Senate Impeachment Trial Committee, United States Senate, 111th Cong.* (2010).
 - A compendium of filings submitted to the Senate prior to Porteous’ impeachment trial. Includes findings of fact, correspondence, exhibits, and transcripts.
 - [GovInfo](#) (vol. 1)
 - [GovInfo](#) (vol. 2)
 - [GovInfo](#) (vol. 3)
 - [KF26 .I42 2010](#)

X. Case Law

No challenge to impeachment proceedings was filed in federal court prior to the impeachment and conviction of Halsted L. Ritter in 1936. After his conviction by the Senate, Ritter filed suit in the U.S. Court of Claims for his salary on the grounds that he had not been convicted under the constitutional standards for impeachment. The Court of Claims rejected Ritter’s claims, and the U.S. Supreme Court rejected his request to review the decision. Since Ritter, Judges Claiborne, Hastings, and Nixon have tried to have their convictions overturned in federal court. The defining decision – which established that most challenges to impeachment are nonjusticiable – is *Nixon v. United States*, 506 U.S. 224 (1993).

1. Halsted L. Ritter (removed 1936). *Ritter v. United States*, 84 Ct. Cl. 293, *cert. denied*, 300 U.S. 668 (1936).
 - *U.S. Court of Claims*. Judge Green, writing for the court, reviewed the issues in dispute and ruled that impeachments are not subject to judicial review. The opinion of the court also reviews the existing state law on this question.

- [Caselaw Access Project](#) (U.S. Court of Claims decision)
- Petition and briefs for *Ritter v. United States*, 300 U.S. 668 (1936). Includes Petition for Writ of Certiorari and Brief in Opposition. Petitioner's points three and four, pages 26-33, present the arguments that the Senate erred in Ritter's trial. The United States' Brief in Opposition reviews the argument that the Senate's decision is final. Provides citations to supporting state authority.
[KF101.9 .U58](#)
2. Alcee L. Hastings (removed October 1989).
- *Hastings v. U.S. Senate Impeachment Trial Comm.*, 716 F. Supp. 38 (D.D.C. 1989) *aff'd*, 281 U.S. App. D.C. 104, 887 F.2d 332 (D.C. Cir. 1989). Attempt by Judges Hastings and Nixon to stop their scheduled impeachment trials. The federal district court refused to intervene on the grounds that the issue presented a political question under the doctrine of *Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962). Includes discussion of the origin of Impeachment Rule XI.
[Google Scholar](#) (District Court decision)
3. Walter Nixon (removed November 1989).
- *Nixon v. U.S.*, 744 F. Supp. 9 (D.D.C. 1990). Challenge by Walter Nixon of his conviction by the Senate on the grounds that the use of a Rule XI trial committee violated the impeachment trial provision of Article I, Section 2, Clause 5 of the Constitution. The court rejected Nixon's claim on the grounds that it was nonjusticiable under the doctrine of *Powell v. McCormack*, 395 U.S. 486 (1969), and dismissed the case.
[Google Scholar](#)
 - *Nixon v. U.S.*, 290 U.S. App. D.C. 420, 938 F.2d 239 (D.C. Cir. 1991), *reh'g denied*, 1991 U.S. App. LEXIS 25391 (D.C. Cir. 1991), *cert. granted*, 502 U.S. 1090 (1992). Affirms the district court's decision that impeachments are nonjusticiable, with a good discussion of this theory. The dissent beginning at page 248 challenges this approach and provides a review of the origin of Rule XI procedures and criticism of the rule.
[Google Scholar](#) (Court of Appeals decision)
 - *Nixon v. U.S.*, 506 U.S. 224 (1993). Decision holding that, on most grounds, impeachment trials are nonjusticiable.
[Law Library of Congress U.S. Reports Collection](#) (Supreme Court decision)
 - Petition and briefs for *Nixon v. U.S.*, 506 U.S. 224 (1993). Includes Petition for Writ of Certiorari, Brief in Opposition, Petitioner's Brief, Respondent's Brief, Petitioner's Reply, and Amicus Curiae Briefs.
[KF101.9 .U58](#)

XI. British Practice

Impeachment—as a remedy for removing civil officers—was developed in England during the Middle Ages. American practices derive in part from the English procedures as they developed through the late 18th century. The British abandoned the use of impeachment proceedings shortly after the adoption of the U.S. Constitution, but Parliament has retained the power to impeach.

A. Sources of Procedure

1. John Hatsell, *Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons: With Observations* (4th ed. 1818).
 - Three chapters on impeachment appear in volume IV. Each chapter covers a specific period of time, and within that time period examines the mechanics of bringing and prosecuting charges and related issues such as bills of attainder and bills of pains and penalties. Provides many references through notes to specific cases. A table of cases appears at the beginning of chapters 2 and 3. Indexed.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [JN555 .H38](#)
2. House Parliamentarian's Office, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives*, H.R. Doc. No. 115-177 (2019) (prepared by Thomas J. Wickham).
 - In *Jefferson's Manual*, discussion on impeachment is found at section 53. The main text is to English precedents and provides superscript notes to practices in the House of Representatives. References are provided to English sources and to the precedents and proceedings of the House of Representatives. Earlier editions are available.
 - [GovInfo](#)
 - [KF4992 .U54](#)

B. History

1. Raoul Berger, *Impeachment: The Constitutional Problems* (1973).
 - The first two chapters review the development of impeachment in England.
 - [KF4958 .B46](#)
2. M.V. Clarke, *The Origin of Impeachment*, in *Oxford Essays in Medieval History Presented to Herbert Edward Salter* (F.M. Powicke ed., 1934).
 - Discusses the origin of impeachment and its use in Parliament through the end of the 14th century.
 - [DA175 .O85](#)
3. Audrey F.L. Glover, *British Precedents on Power to Try Impeachment* (1974).
 - A succinct report by a British legal specialist about the history of impeachment proceedings in the Houses of Commons and Lords, with a brief bibliography.
 - [KD4373 .G56](#)
4. Alexander Simpson, Jr., *A Treatise on Federal Impeachments* (1916).
 - The appendix contains accounts of all the English impeachment trials that the author could locate.
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF4958 .S5](#)

5. Colin G.C. Tite, *Impeachment and Parliamentary Judicature in Early Stuart England* (1974).
 - Covers parliamentary impeachments during the later years of James I and the early years of Charles I. Also provides a review of the development of impeachments.
 - [KD4373 .T58](#)

XII. Bibliographies

In addition to the above sources, the following may be useful:

1. Shelley L. Dowling, *The Jurisprudence of United States Constitutional Interpretation: An Annotated Bibliography* (2d ed. 2010).
 - Consult the subject index for entries related to impeachment. This source is also available through [HeinOnline](#) (subscription database).
 - [KF4546.A1 D69 2010](#)
2. 1 Kermit L. Hall, *A Comprehensive Bibliography of American Constitutional and Legal History, 1896-1979* 445 (1984).
 - References to impeachment are located in volume I, beginning on page 445. Consult the table of contents for other useful topics. Covers books, journal articles, and doctoral dissertations. Hardbound supplement (1980-1987) issued in 1991.
 - [KF4541 .H34 1984](#)
3. Thomas C. Kingsley, *The Federal Impeachment Process: A Bibliographic Guide to English and American Precedence, Historical and Procedural Development, and Scholarly Commentary* (1974).
 - Provides references to passages in *Hinds'* and the published proceedings of Congress. Organized by defendant.
 - [KF4958 .A1 K56](#)
4. Library of Congress, *Select List of References on Impeachment* (1st ed. 1905, prepared by Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin) (2d ed. 1912, prepared by Hermann H.B. Meyer).
 - Useful for locating references by early commentators on the Constitution. The second edition retains the organization of the first edition but provides expanded listings for trials, with references to congressional reports, published proceedings, and more sources of British materials.
 - First Edition (1905)
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF4958 .A1 G74 1905](#)
 - Second Edition (1912)
 - [HathiTrust](#)
 - [KF4958.A1 G74 1912](#)