

# Chapter CXCI<sup>1</sup>.

## NATURE OF IMPEACHMENT.

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1. As to what are impeachable offenses. Sections 454–465.
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### **454. Discussion by English and American authorities of the general nature of impeachment.**

On January 3, 1913<sup>2</sup> in the Senate sitting for the trial of the impeachment of Judge Robert W. Archbald, Mr. Manager Henry D. Clayton, of Alabama, submitted on behalf of the House of Representatives, a brief from which the following is an excerpt:

#### THE GENERAL NATURE OF IMPEACHMENTS.

The fundamental law of impeachment was stated by Richard Wooddeson, an eminent English authority, in his Law Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1777, as follows (pp. 499 and 501, 1842 ed.):

“It is certain that magistrates and officers intrusted with the administration of public affairs may abuse their delegated powers to the extensive detriment of the community and at the same time in a manner not properly cognizable before the ordinary tribunals. The influence of such delinquents and the nature of such offenses may not unsuitably engage the authority of the highest court and the wisdom of the sagest assembly. The Commons, therefore, as the grand inquest of the nation, became suitors for penal justice, and they can not consistently, either with their own dignity or with safety to the accused, sue elsewhere but to those who share with them in the legislature.

“On this policy is founded the origin of impeachments, which began soon after the constitution assumed its present form.

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“Such kind of misdeeds, however, as peculiarly injure the commonwealth by the abuse of high offices of trust, are most proper—and have been the most usual—grounds for this kind of prosecution.”

Referring to the function of impeachments, Rawle, in his work on the Constitution (p. 211), says:

“The delegation of important trusts affecting the higher interests of society is always from various causes liable to abuse. The fondness frequently felt for the inordinate extension of power, the influence of party and of prejudice, the seductions of foreign states, or the baser appetite for illegitimate emoluments are sometimes productions of what are not unaptly termed political offenses’ (Federalist, No. 65), which it would be difficult to take cognizance of in the ordinary course of judicial proceeding.

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<sup>1</sup>Supplementary to Chapter LXIII.

<sup>2</sup>Third session Sixty-second Congress, record of trial, p. 1051.

“The involutions and varieties of vice are too many and too artful to be anticipated by positive law.”

In Story on the Constitution (vol. 1, 5th ed., p. 584) the parliamentary history of impeachments is briefly stated as follows:

“800. In examining the parliamentary history of impeachments it will be found that many offenses not easily definable by law, and many of a purely political character, have been deemed high crimes and misdemeanors worthy of this extraordinary remedy. Thus, lord chancellors and judges and other magistrates have not only been impeached for bribery, and acting grossly contrary to the duties of their office, but for misleading their sovereign by unconstitutional opinions and for attempts to subvert the fundamental laws and introduce arbitrary power. So where a lord chancellor has been thought to have put the great seal to an ignominious treaty, a lord admiral to have neglected the safeguard of the sea, an ambassador to have betrayed his trust, a privy councilor to have propounded or supported pernicious and dishonorable measures, or a confidential adviser of his sovereign to have obtained exorbitant grants or incompatible employments—these have been all deemed impeachable offenses. Some of the offenses, indeed, for which persons were impeached in the early ages of British jurisprudence, would now seem harsh and severe; but perhaps they were rendered necessary by existing corruptions, and the importance of suppressing a spirit of favoritism and court intrigue. Thus persons have been impeached for giving bad counsel to the King, advising a prejudicial peace, enticing the King to act against the advice of Parliament, purchasing offices, giving medicine to the King without advice of physicians, preventing other persons from giving counsel to the King except in their presence, and procuring exorbitant personal grants from the King. But others, again, were founded in the most salutary public justice, such as impeachments for malversations and neglects in office, for encouraging pirates, for official oppression, extortions, and deceits, and especially for putting good magistrates out of office and advancing bad. One can not but be struck, in this slight enumeration, with the utter unfitness of the common tribunals of justice to take cognizance of such offenses, and with the entire propriety of confiding the jurisdiction over them to a tribunal capable of understanding and reforming and scrutinizing the polity of the State, and of sufficient dignity to maintain the independence and reputation of worthy public officers.”

#### **455. Discussion as to what are impeachable offenses.**

##### **Argument as to whether impeachment is restricted to offenses which are indictable, or at least of a criminal nature.**

On January 8, 1913,<sup>1</sup> in the Senate sitting for the impeachment trial of Judge Robert W. Archbald, Mr. Manager John A. Sterling, of Illinois, said in final argument:

Mr. President, the record which has been made proves the charges set forth in the articles of impeachment constitute impeachable offenses. It is plain from the statement made by counsel for respondent, and from the brief which was filed that they rely for acquittal on the single proposition that these offenses do not constitute impeachable offenses for the reason that, as they claim, they do not constitute indictable offenses.

In their brief, counsel for the respondent lay down, as the first proposition, that no offense is impeachable unless it is indictable; and, as a second proposition, and the only other proposition that they submit, is that, if the offense in order to be impeachable need not be indictable, it must at least be of a criminal nature.

As to the first proposition, the contention of counsel for the respondent is not sustained either by the language of the Constitution, by the decisions of the Senate in former impeachment cases, by the decisions of other tribunals in this country which have tried impeachment cases, or by the decisions of the English Parliament; nor is that contention sustained, so far as I have been able to read the authorities and the law writers on constitutional law, by a single American writer. The language of the Constitution so far as it relates to the trial of this case is this:

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<sup>1</sup>Third session Sixty-second Congress, Record, p. 1200.

“The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments.

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“Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States.

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All civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

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“The judges \* \* \* shall hold their offices during good behavior.”

I have stated all the language of the Constitution with which the Senate has to deal in determining the case now before it. I ask the Senate to consider that nowhere in that language is there any limitation as to the nature or extent of the crimes, misdemeanors, and misbehaviors in office. The Constitution does not undertake to define those terms with reference to the jurisdiction of the Senate in removing public officers for the violation of those provisions of that instrument, nor does it limit the time as to the commission of these offenses. It does not provide that the offenses shall be committed during the service from which it is sought to remove him, nor does it limit Congress as to when it may proceed to impeach and try an offending servant. Under the plain language of the Constitution the House of Representatives has the power to impeach, and the Senate has the power to try and convict for offenses of the character described in the Constitution, let them have been committed at any time during the term of office from which the respondent is sought to be removed, during his service in some other office, or during some other term, or for offenses committed before he became an officer of the United States and while he was a private citizen.

If the Constitution puts no limitation on the House of Representatives or the Senate as to what constitutes these crimes, misdemeanors, and misbehaviors, where shall we go to find the limitations? There is no law, statutory nor common law, which puts limitations on or makes definitions for the crimes, misdemeanors, and misbehaviors which subject to impeachment and conviction.

It will not be maintained either by the managers or by the counsel for the respondent that precedents bind, and yet we may well consider them, because they are so uniform on the question as to what constitutes impeachable offenses. The decisions of the Senate of the United States, of the various State tribunals which have jurisdiction over impeachment cases, and of the Parliament of England all agree that an offense, in order to be impeachable, need not be indictable either at common law or under any statute.

I desire to read briefly from some of the law writers of this country, giving their conclusions as to what constitute impeachable offenses, after they had reviewed and considered cases that have been tried in the Senate and in other forums where impeachment cases have been tried.

After reading from Tucker on the Constitution, page 416, Cooley’s Principles of Constitutional Law, page 178, and volume 15 of the American and English Encyclopedia of Law, paragraph 2, page 1066, Mr. Sterling concluded:

And so, Mr. President, I say, that outside of the language of the Constitution which I quoted there is no law which binds the Senate in this case today except that law which is prescribed by their own conscience, and on that, and on that alone, must depend the result of this trial. Each Senator must fix his own standard; and the result of this trial depends upon whether or not these offenses we have charged against Judge Archbald come within the law laid down by the conscience of each Senator for himself.

On January 9, 1913,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Alexander Simpson, of counsel for respondent, quoting the last statement in this address, said:

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<sup>1</sup> Record, p. 1269.

Sirs, if that be so, I want to know what has become of the Constitution in this case? Of what use was it to write into the Constitution that a man shall be impeached only for "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors" if there is no law to govern you, and if you may, out of your own consciences, evolve the thought that you will dismiss this respondent from the public service simply because you wish to get rid of him? You need no proof of "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors" to discharge him if that is the position you are to take in this case, for those words, under such circumstances, are unnecessary and meaningless.

I submit that that is not and can not be the true legal position. It must be precisely the reverse of that. You must find somewhere, whether it is under the "good behavior" clause of the Constitution, or whether it is under the article relating to impeachments themselves, that upon which you can lay your finger and say that this respondent has violated that thing, or you must under your oaths of office say that he shall go free.

And that is the position which Mr. Manager Sterling, speaking for the managers, asks you to take here. He asks you not to look to the law of the land for that which shall govern the rights of the parties here; but he asks you, out of your own conscience, whether your conscience agrees with mine or his or anybody's, to evolve a law which shall apply to this case and which when this case is over shall cease ever thereafter to be the law. In this, as in everything else, the Constitution is only a frame of government. It remains for the Congress to verify many of its provisions. It remains for Congress to write on the statute books what shall constitute "high crimes and misdemeanors," and there are already in the Revised Statutes many provisions upon that point.

On January 9, 1913,<sup>1</sup> Mr. A. S. Worthington, of counsel on behalf of the respondent, also referred to the position taken by Mr. Sterling in this address and said:

It has been insisted here by the managers on the part of the House of Representatives that the question of Judge Archbald's guilt or innocence is to be determined by what you individually consider to be an offense which justifies his removal from office; not that he has been brought here charged with anything of that kind, but having brought him here charged with certain specific offenses for which he and his counsel have prepared themselves and have summoned their witnesses he is now to be disgraced and forever branded as a criminal because you may find that he is not fit to be a judge.

It might humbly suggest that if there is ever to be presented to this great body the question whether or not you have the right to impeach an officer of the United States and remove him from his office because you think that on general principles he is not fit to hold his office, there might be presented an article of impeachment which would charge that that was the case and that he and his counsel might be prepared to meet it. But instead of that we have him charged with a certain number of specific acts, and when he comes here to meet those and the evidence is closed and the verdict is about to be reached, then we are told for the first time that you individually—each for himself—are to decide whether upon what you have heard here in evidence you think that on general principles he ought to be ejected from his office.

The Constitution of the United States says that civil officers of the United States may be impeached for treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

If this were the first time that that sentence was heard by the Members of this body, I should like to know whether there is one of you to whose mind it would ever have occurred for a moment that it meant anything except an offense punishable in a court of justice. I do not like the word "indictability," because a great many crimes are punished by information and not upon indictment. When I use that term I mean it in the sense of punishment in any way in a criminal court.

Now, my friend Mr. Manager Sterling when he read certain provisions of the Constitution at the outset of his argument said those were all that were necessary to be considered in this matter.

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<sup>1</sup>Record, page 1282.

The sixth amendment says:

“In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.”

Where is the man in this United States of America who would suggest that Judge Archbald could be required to answer without being informed of what is the accusation against him? Where is the man who would suggest that it is not necessary to confront him with the witnesses against him? Where is the man who would say he is not entitled to have subpoenas issued to bring his witnesses here to testify for him? Where is the person who will say that you could turn his counsel out of this Chamber and say he has to defend himself? Why? Because it is a criminal prosecution, and if it be not a criminal prosecution, then it is nothing known to the laws of this land.

On this subject Mr. Manager Edwin Yates Webb, of North Carolina, said by way of rebuttal:<sup>1</sup>

Mr. President, the respondent's counsel in his brief devotes 26 pages to a discussion of this proposition:

“Impeachment lies only for offenses which are properly the subject of a prosecution by indictment or information in a criminal court.”

In those 26 pages of argument most of the quotations are from counsel who have appeared for respondents in various impeachment trials. I do not remember just at present a single noted constitutional authority that counsel quotes to maintain that proposition.

I wish to quote authority in opposition to this position.

Mr. Webb here quoted from Wooddeson (p. 355); Rawle, on the Constitution; Story, on the Constitution; Tucker, on the Constitution; Christian, Fourth Blackstone, footnote, p. 5, Lewis's ed.; Cooley's Principles of Constitutional Law, p. 178; Constitutional History of the United States, George Ticknor Curtis, vol. 1, pp. 481–482; Watson, on the Constitution, vol. 2, p. 1034; Wharton's State Trials, 263; Story, on the Constitution, page 583; and American and English Encyclopedia of Law, vol. 15, p. 1066.

One can not but be struck in this slight enumeration with the utter unfitness of the common tribunals of justice to take cognizance of such offenses and with the entire propriety of confiding jurisdiction over them to a tribunal capable of understanding and reforming and scrutinizing the policy of the State and of sufficient dignity to maintain the independence and reputation of worthy public officers.

The cases, then, seem to establish that impeachment is not a mere mode of procedure for the punishment of indictable crimes; that the phrase of “high crimes and misdemeanors” is to be taken not in its common-law but in its broader parliamentary sense, and is to be interpreted in the light of parliamentary usage; that in this sense it includes not only crimes for which an indictment may be brought, but grave political offenses, corruptions, maladministration, or neglect of duty involving moral turpitude, arbitrary and oppressive conduct, and even gross improprieties by judges and high officers of State, although such offenses be not of a character to render the offender liable to an indictment either at common law or under any statute.

**456. Argument that a civil officer of the United States may be impeached for an unindictable offense.**

**Discussion of the nature of impeachable offenses in minority views submitted in the Daugherty case.**

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<sup>1</sup> Record, p. 1215.

On January 25, 1923,<sup>1</sup> Mr. R. Y. Thomas, jr., of Kentucky, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the following minority views to accompany the report of that committee on the investigation into the conduct of Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty:

It was strongly intimated if not directly contended by several members of the committee that the Attorney General could not be impeached except for an indictable offense. I think this view is absolutely incorrect. Impeachment is an extraordinary remedy born in the parliamentary procedure of England, and the principles which govern it have long been enveloped in clouds of uncertainty. The practice of impeachment began in the reign of Edward the Third of England, and statutes for prosecutions for offenses of this character were first enacted in the reign of Henry the Fourth.

By usage of the English Parliament so far back that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, offenses were impeachable which were not indictable or punishable as crimes at common law. Therefore, the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" must be as broad and extended as the offense against which the process of impeachment affords protection. Every case of impeachment must stand alone, and while certain general principles control the judgment and conscience, the Senate alone must determine the issue.

In my opinion, the conclusion is irresistible that an impeachment proceeding by a committee of the House is only an inquiry into the charges like a grand jury investigation, and an official can be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors which are not indictable offenses. If there ever was any doubt of this, that question has been entirely set at rest in the impeachment proceedings in 1912 against Robert W. Archbald, United States circuit judge. None of the articles exhibited against Judge Archbald, on which he was impeached, charged an indictable offense, or even a violation of positive law.

#### **457. Summary of deductions drawn from judgments of the Senate in impeachment trials.**

##### **The Archbald case removed from the domain of controversy the proposition that judges are only impeachable for the commission of crimes or misdemeanors against the laws of general application.**

On January 13, 1914,<sup>2</sup> on motion of Mr. Elihu Root, of New York, a monograph by Wrisley Brown, of counsel on behalf of the managers in the impeachment trial of Judge Robert W. Archbald, was printed as a public document. The following is an excerpt:

The impeachments that have failed of conviction are of little value as precedents because of their close intermixture of fact and law, which makes it practically impossible to determine whether the evidence was considered insufficient to support the allegation of the articles, or whether the acts alleged were adjudged insufficient in law to constitute impeachable offenses. The action of the House of Representatives in adopting articles of impeachment in these cases has little legal significance, and the deductions which have been drawn from them are too conjectural to carry much persuasive force. Neither of the successful impeachments prior to the case of Judge Archbald was defended, and they are not entitled to great weight as authorities. In the case of Judge Pickering, the first three articles charged violations of statutory law, although such violations were not indictable. Article four charged open and notorious drunkenness and public blasphemy, which would probably have been punishable as misdemeanors at common law. In the case of Judge Humphreys, articles three and four charged treason against the United States. The offense charged in articles one and two probably amounted to treason, inasmuch as the ordinance of secession of South Carolina had been passed prior to the alleged recessionary speeches of the re-

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<sup>1</sup> Fourth session Sixty-seventh Congress, House Report No. 1372.

<sup>2</sup> Second session Sixty-third Congress, Senate Document No. 358, p. 16.

spondent, and the offenses charged in articles five to seven, inclusive, savored strongly of treason. But, it will be observed, none of the articles exhibited against Judge Archbald charged an indictable offense, or even a violation of positive law. Indeed, most of the specific acts proved in evidence were not intrinsically wrong, and would have been blameless if committed by a private citizen. The case rested on the alleged attempt of the respondent to commercialize his potentiality as a judge, but the facts would not have been sufficient to support a prosecution for bribery. Therefore, the judgment of the Senate in this case has forever removed from the domain of controversy the proposition that the judges are only impeachable for the commission of crimes or misdemeanors against the laws of general application. The case is constructive, and it will go down in the annals of the Congress as a great landmark of the law.

**458. Argument as to whether a judge may be impeached for offenses committed in prior judicial capacity.**

On January 8, 1913,<sup>1</sup> in the Senate sitting for the impeachment trial of Judge Robert W. Archbald, Mr. Manager Edwin Yates Webb, of North Carolina, said in final argument:

There is no merit in the argument that this respondent can not be impeached at present for acts committed by him while he was district judge. It is true that he is now a circuit judge, but it is also true that immediately before he became a circuit judge he was a district judge. He never ceased to be a judge or civil officer of the United States.

This question was raised in the impeachment trial of Judge D. M. Furches, in North Carolina, in 1901. There the respondent was impeached while he was chief justice of North Carolina for acts committed while he was an associate justice, two distinct and separate offices, but his defense did not avail. Both the authorities and reason compelled the repudiation of such a defense, and, to use the language of Judge William R. Allen, now of the supreme court of our State, then one of the managers in the Furches impeachment trial—

“The purpose of impeachment is to remove an officer whose conduct is a menace to the public interest, and it would be strange indeed if he could escape punishment by being elevated to a higher official position. If such a defense could be sustained one could by resignation avoid an investigation into his conduct by a court of impeachment, and if he was of the same political faith as the head of the executive department and in sympathy with it, he could be transferred from one office to another and thus avoid impeachment altogether. The effect of such defense would be to practically destroy the power of impeachment, and at any rate it would be greatly impaired. We believe that the authorities are practically unanimous in sustaining our contention that the change of office does not affect the power of impeachment. He is now exercising the same powers that he exercised when he was an associate justice. He is performing the same duties; he is practically filling the same office.”

Mr. Foster, on this subject, says:

“The power of impeachment is granted for the public protection in order to not only remove but perpetually disqualify for office a person who has shown himself dangerous to the Commonwealth by his official acts. The object of this salutary constitutional provision would be defeated could a person by resignation from office obtain immunity from impeachment. State senates have sustained articles of impeachment for offenses committed at previous and immediately preceding terms of the same or a similar office.”

Is it not true that Judge Archbald now holds a similar office to that which he held in 1908? He is now a circuit judge, and the powers and duties of district and circuit judges are almost identical. *State v. Hill*, Thirty-seventh Nebraska Reports.

We have, then, five precedents—one by the Senate of the United States, one by the senate of New York, one by the senate of North Carolina, one by the State of Wisconsin, and another by the court of impeachment of Nebraska, indorsed by the Supreme Court of Nebraska, and by Foster in his work on the Constitution.

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<sup>1</sup>Third session Sixty-second Congress, Record, p. 1218.

We therefore confidently maintain that the respondent in this trial is now impeachable for acts which he committed while district judge of the middle district of Pennsylvania.

I shall not go into the discussion of the origin of impeachment trials, but will just quote this excerpt from one constitutional writer. Mr. Foster, in his splendid work on the Constitution, says:

“Impeachment trials are a survival of the earliest kinds of jurisprudence, when all cases were tried before an assembly of the citizens of the tribe or State. Later, ordinary cases, both civil and criminal, were assigned to courts created for that purpose, but matters of great public importance were still reserved for a decision of the whole body of citizens or subsequently of the council of elders, heads of families, or holders of fiefs.”

This arrangement could be preserved in earlier times when population was sparse and business intercourse small and human affairs were not intricate; but as civilization became more complex, and the division of labor in administering judicial affairs became more urgent, the right to decide and pass upon various questions was allotted to different officers, and so to-day we have a judicial system in which all judicial power is lodged, but distributed to different courts, but in all this evolution and distribution of judicial power there is one great right which the people have always reserved unto themselves, and that is the right to supervise the conduct of public officials and, through their representatives, to remove such officials from office for misconduct or misbehavior, and so, Senators, you sit today, theoretically at least, as the court of 90,000,000 people who have commanded us through the popular branch of Congress to bring this respondent before you to inquire into his conduct, and ascertain if the condition on which he was appointed to the high office which he now holds has not been broken by him.

Quoting Foster again:

“What, it may be asked, is the true spirit of the institution itself? Is it not designed as a method of national inquest into the conduct of public men?”

This right to inquire into the conduct of public officials has been reserved to the people themselves, and this great Senate is the tribunal in which such questions must be tried, and necessarily and properly the powers of this court are “broad, strong, and elastic, so that all misconduct may be investigated and the public service purified.” The fathers of the Constitution realized the importance of reserving unto the people the right to remove an unworthy or unsatisfactory official, and they were indeed wise in not attempting to define or limit the powers of the court of impeachment, but left that power so plenary that no misconduct on the part of a public official might escape its just punishment.

In reply, Mr. Alexander Simpson, jr., counsel for respondent, in his concluding argument on January 9<sup>1</sup> said:

The first question which arises is whether or not the Senate can now consider an article of impeachment which relates to acts done while Judge Archbald was a district judge before his appointment to and confirmation as a judge of the Commerce Court. The managers in their brief say this in referring to this question:

“In this respect the case here presented seems to be unique in the annals of impeachment proceedings under our Constitution.”

And they say further in that regard that they can justify the articles of impeachment, notwithstanding the change of office, because the two offices are substantially the same within the contemplation of the constitutional provisions relating to impeachments.

That argument necessarily concedes the points decided in the Blount case and considered and voted upon in the Belknap case, that he who is out of office can no longer be impeached. It necessarily also concedes that the constitutional provision has for its primary purpose the removal of the delinquent from the particular office in which he is said to have done a wrong. That is the necessary conclusion from the provision of Article I, section 3, of the Constitution, which provides what shall be the penalty in case of impeachment. It is considered also by Judge Story in his work on the Constitution, and if the argument which was presented by Judge Story is sound it must

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<sup>1</sup> Record, p. 1278.

necessarily follow that the similarity of the two offices is not and can not be of any moment whatsoever. Can it be said that if a civil officer, say in the Cabinet of the President, is transferred from one portfolio to the other and continues steadily in office, that he may be impeached while holding the second office for that which was done in the first, and yet if he passes from the Cabinet to the Senate or into private life he can not be impeached at all? There is no logic or sound reasoning in any such proposition as that, nor is it in accord with any well-settled principles. In the provision which the managers quote in their brief from Mr. Foster he says this in regard to that:

“It includes such action by an officer when acting as a member ex officio of a board of commissioners; and such action in the same or a similar office at an immediately preceding term.”

Now, I want to know why limit it to the immediately preceding term if the similarity of the office is the test in determining whether the impeachment will lie or not. Of course, that can not be sound; and the only reason why Foster wrote in his commentaries the “immediately preceding term” was because he felt that the line must be drawn somewhere. He knew that in certain of the State courts, under the language of their constitutions, it had been held that in a succeeding term of the same office there might be an impeachment for that which occurred in the immediately preceding term. But it remained for the managers to evolve the doctrine that it was to be a substantially similar office which was the test in determining the matter.

I submit that the proper test is the one to which I have already adverted. It is that the office, during the incumbency of which the acts were done of which complaint was made, shall be the determinative factor in deciding whether or not impeachment shall lie for the offense charged. If that is not so, there is no logical conclusion from the position which one of the managers assumed, that so long as the man is in public office whether the office is substantially similar or no, or whether there is a continuity of term or no—so long as he is in public office he may be impeached for anything which he has ever done in the past, because, as it was claimed, the purpose of the constitutional provision is to put out of office all those who by their past lives have shown that they are unfit to occupy it. That position would be a logical one; but there can not be a case found to sustain it; and all the authorities decide precisely the reverse.

On January 3, 1913,<sup>1</sup> Messrs. R. W. Archbald, jr., M. J. Martin, Alexander Simpson, jr., and A. S. Worthington, of counsel for the respondent, offered a brief covering various phases of the case, from which the following extract relates to this question:

### III.

*The last six articles of impeachment in this case must fail, if for no other reason, because they relate to a time when the respondent held the office of district judge of the United States. He may not be impeached for alleged offenses committed prior to January 31, 1911, when he ceased to be district judge by appointment to a different office.*

Articles VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, and XII, and Article XIII in part, charge offenses alleged to have been committed by the respondent before he was appointed to his present position as circuit judge and assigned to duty on the Commerce Court. He was a district judge of the United States from March, 1901, until the 31st day of January, 1911.

No useful information on this subject can be obtained from the English precedents, because in England a private citizen could be impeached as well as officers of the Government.

In this country there have been two attempts to impeach persons who had ceased to be officers for acts done by them while they were officers. One of these cases was that of William Blount in 1798; the other that of William W. Belknap in 1876.

In Blount's case when he was called upon to answer the articles he filed a plea which set up in substance these two defenses: (1) That a Senator is not impeachable, and (2) that he had ceased to be a Senator. (3 Hinds' Precedents, 663.)

This double plea was sustained by the Senate by a vote of 14 to 11. (3 Hinds' Precedents, 679.)

<sup>1</sup>Record of trial, p. 1007.

There is nothing in the record of the case to enable us to determine whether all the 14 Senators who voted to sustain the plea did so because they held that a Senator is not impeachable, or because Blount was out of office at the time. And, of course, it may be that some voted to sustain the plea on one of those grounds and some on the other.

It will be seen that the managers in that case actually contended that in the United States, as in England, private persons may be impeached as well as officers. It is not thought necessary to consider that question, because that contention has never been made since it was made by the managers in Blount's case. Mr. Ingersoll, of counsel for Blount, said in the course of the argument that he would not contend that an officer might escape an impending impeachment by resigning his office for that purpose.

This admission of Mr. Ingersoll's gave great comfort to the managers and some embarrassment to the counsel for the respondent in Belknap's case. In that case the respondent filed a plea in which he averred:

"That this honorable court ought not to have or take further cognizance of the said articles of impeachment \* \* \* because he says that before and at the time when the said House of Representatives ordered and directed that he, the said Belknap, should be impeached at the bar of the Senate, and at the time when the said articles of impeachment were exhibited and presented against him \* \* \* he, the said Belknap, was not, nor hath he since been, nor is he now, an officer of the United States; but at the said times was, ever since hath been, and now is, a private citizen of the United States and of the State of Iowa. (3 Hinds' Precedents, 919.)"

To this plea the managers for the House of Representatives filed a replication, in which they set up: (1) That at the time the acts charged in the articles of impeachment were committed, Belknap was Secretary of War; and (2) that Belknap had resigned to escape impeachment, after he had learned that the House of Representatives, by its proper committee, had completed its investigation into his official conduct, and was considering the report it should make to the House upon the same. There were further pleadings, but those above stated set forth sufficiently what the issues were. (3 Hinds' Precedents, 921.)

After much discussion the Senate determined to hear first the question of the sufficiency of the replication. After a long debate, it was decided, by a vote of 37 to 29, that Belknap was amenable to trial by impeachment for acts done as Secretary of War, notwithstanding his resignation before he was impeached. (3 Hinds' Precedents, 964.)

Belknap was called upon to plead to the merits, but declined to do so on the ground, as set forth on the record by his counsel, that, as less than two-thirds of the Senate had sustained the jurisdiction, the respondent was entitled to be discharged, without further proceedings. (3 Hinds' Precedents, 936-937.)

The Senate, however, went on and took evidence in the case, with the result that Belknap was acquitted. The vote on the several articles ranged from 35 to 37 for conviction. On each article 25 voted not guilty. Most of those who voted not guilty stated that they did so because they believed the court was without jurisdiction, for the reason that the respondent had ceased to be a civil officer of the United States at the time he was impeached by the House of Representatives.

Hence, in Belknap's case, as in Blount's case, it will be seen that the final vote does not indicate that any of the Senators who voted "guilty" did so on the ground that one who has been a civil officer remains liable to impeachment as long as he lives, for acts done during the time he held the office. The evidence in the case showed that Belknap was advised at 10 o'clock of the morning of the day that he resigned, that the Judiciary Committee of the House was about to report a resolution recommending his impeachment. He hurried to the President, tendered his resignation, and had it accepted, a few hours only before the Judiciary Committee did present to the House the resolution recommending his impeachment. There was much controversy in the discussion of the case before the Senate by the managers and counsel, respectively, as to whether Belknap was an officer when the resolution of impeachment was presented to the House, on the theory that the law takes no notice of fractions of a day. But, aside from this, it was strenuously contended by the managers that even if the general rule be that an officer ceases to be subject to impeachment when he leaves the office, there should be an exception to that rule when the officer resigns for the very purpose of escaping impeachment.

It is impossible to determine what proportion of the Senators who voted against Belknap at the conclusion of the trial did so on the ground that he could not escape impeachment by resigning for that purpose, even if he would not be subject to impeachment had he not vacated the office in that way and for that purpose. In other words, the case is not a precedent for the proposition that one whose term of office has expired remains subject to impeachment during the whole of his life for acts done while he held the office.

When Manager Hoar was making his argument a Member of the Senate interrupted him and propounded the following question:

“There are no doubt several Members of the Senate who have been in past years civil officers of the United States. Are they liable to impeachment for an alleged act of guilt done in office?”

The manager did not flinch at this question, but said, as he was evidently required to say or abandon his contention: “The logic of my argument brings us to that result.”

It will be seen that the contention which was made on behalf of the House in Belknap’s case, and which we understand is maintained by the managers in the case at bar, is far-reaching. The present President of the United States at one time held the office of Solicitor General; at another time he was circuit judge of the United States; at another time he was governor of the Philippine Islands; at another time he was Secretary of War. Is it possible that he can now be the subject of impeachment for any act committed by him at the time he held either one of those offices? If so, he may be removed from his present office as President of the United States by a majority of the House and two-thirds of the Senate for alleged offenses charged to have been committed while he held any one of the other positions above mentioned.

And so of any other public man who has ever held office under the United States.

It would seem that a contention which leads to such absurd results can not be sustained.

**459.** On January 9, 1913,<sup>1</sup> in the Senate sitting for the Archbald impeachment trial, Mr. Manager George W. Norris, of Nebraska, said in concluding argument:

The authorities are practically unanimous that a public official can be impeached for official misconduct occurring while he held a prior office if the duties of that office and the one he holds at the time of the impeachment are practically the same, or are of the same nature. The Senate must bear in mind, as stated by all of the authorities, that the principal object of impeachment proceedings is to get rid of an unworthy public official. In the State of New York it was held in the Barnard case that the respondent could be impeached and removed from office during his second term for acts committed during his first term. And in the State of Wisconsin the court held the same way in the impeachment of Judge Hubbell. To the same effect was the decision in Nebraska upon the impeachment trial of Governor Butler. On this point the respondent relies upon the case of the State *v.* Hill (37 Nebr., p. 80).

In that case the State treasurer of Nebraska was impeached after he had completed his term and retired to private life. The articles of impeachment were not passed on by the legislature—in fact, were not even introduced in the legislature—until after the respondent had served his full term, and the court there held that impeachment did not lie, but it expressly approved the judgment of the New York court in the Judge Barnard case, the judgment of the Wisconsin court in the Judge Hubbell case, and the prior judgment of the Nebraska court in the Butler case.

**460. Argument that an impeachable offense is any misbehavior or maladministration which has demonstrated unfitness to continue in office.**

On January 9, 1913,<sup>2</sup> in the Senate, sitting for the impeachment trial of Judge Robert W. Archbald, Mr. Manager Paul Howland, of Ohio, in final argument said:

<sup>1</sup>Third session Sixty-second Congress, Record, p. 1265.

<sup>2</sup>Third session Sixty-second Congress, Record, p. 1259.

The managers contend that the power to impeach is properly invoked to remove a Federal judge whenever, by reason of misbehavior, misconduct, malconduct, or maladministration, the judge has demonstrated his unfitness to continue in office; that misbehavior on the part of a Federal judge is a violation of the Constitution, which is the supreme law of the land, and a violation also of his oath of office taken in compliance with the requirements of the statute law. If the Senate should adopt this view of the law, then the only question to be passed on by the Senate would be whether the acts alleged and proven constitute such misbehavior as to render the respondent unfit to continue in office.

The learned counsel for the respondent, by insisting that only indictable offenses are impeachable, would seem to be placing himself in the position of holding that the object of impeachment was punishment to the individual. This conception of the object of impeachment is entirely erroneous, and whatever injury may result to the individual is purely incidental and not one of the objects of impeachment in any sense. An impeachment proceeding is the exercise of a power which the people delegated to their representatives to protect them from injury at the hands of their own servants and to purify the public service. The sole object of impeachment is to relieve the people in the future, either from the improper discharge of official functions or from the discharge of official functions by an improper person. This view of impeachment is clearly demonstrated by the judgment which the Constitution authorizes in case of conviction and which shall extend no further than removal from office and disqualification to hold or enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the Government of the United States, leaving the punishment of the individual for any crime he may have committed to the criminal court. (See Art. I, sec. 3, par. 7, Constitution of the United States.)

As bearing upon the question of law raised by the demurrer of the respondent I wish to call attention to two provisions of the Federal Constitution. Section 4, Article II, provides:

“The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors”—

To which I shall hereafter refer as the removal section, and section 1, Article III, the second sentence thereof, which provides that—

“The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior”—

To which I shall hereafter refer as the judicial-tenure section.

It will be noted that the removal section immediately precedes the judicial-tenure section. The limitation of the judicial tenure to good behavior is the only limitation of that character to be found in the Federal Constitution upon the tenure of any of the civil officers of the Government. I therefore contend that it was the plain intention of the framers of the Constitution that, in so far as the Federal judges were concerned, the removal section was not intended to be antagonistic in its terms to the judicial-tenure section, immediately following it, and that the judicial-tenure section, which provides that the judicial term shall be during good behavior, was not intended to be antagonistic to the removal section, which immediately precedes it. These two sections must be construed together, and when so construed the judicial-tenure section is of necessity either an addition to the enumerated offenses in the removal section or a definition of the term “high crimes and misdemeanors,” when applied to the judiciary, as including misbehavior. To say that the judicial tenure shall be limited to good behavior in one section of the Federal Constitution and then contend that the section of the Constitution immediately preceding that has destroyed its force and effect and has left the Federal Government without any machinery to pass upon the question of the forfeiture of the judicial tenure, or to take jurisdiction of acts which constitute misbehavior but are not criminal, is to treat the words “during good behavior” as surplusage. Such an interpretation violates all rules of construction.

What is the legal status of the judicial tenure and what determines that status? There are some considerations on which to base the claim that the legal status of the judicial tenure should be determined by the same principles that are applicable to a contract of hiring. The parties to the contract are the people of the United States and the candidate for a Federal judgeship. When he has been nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate the commission

tendered or delivered to him is an offer on the part of the people of the United States to the candidate whereby they agree to enter into a contract on certain terms and conditions with the candidate and offer to pay him a fixed sum of money for the performance of certain services for them in accordance with the terms of the offer. No obligation on the part of the Government has yet attached; the candidate need not accept the offer; he is not compelled to qualify; that is a voluntary act on his part. (See *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cranch, 137.)

Section 257 of the judicial code provides that the Federal judges shall take a certain prescribed oath before they proceed to perform the duties of their respective offices.

The acceptance of the offer on the part of the candidate is evidenced by his oath, and when the oath is taken the contract of hiring becomes valid and binding on the parties to the same in accordance with the terms and conditions of the contract.

In this case the contracts between the United States and the respondent are evidenced by the various commissions and the various oaths accepting the same.

Under this state of facts, if we were not dealing with the Government as one of the parties to the contract, under constitutional limitations, the contract could be abrogated for breach of condition if necessary and the rights of the parties determined in the courts of law.

If it should be objected that the legal status of the judicial tenure must be placed on a higher ground than an ordinary contract right by reason of the solemnities necessary to create the status and by reason of the important and sacred functions of government with which the judge is charged, we perhaps would be justified in saying that a fiduciary relation of the highest and most sacred character known to the law is created by the commission of appointment and the oath of acceptance of a Federal judge. Under this conception of the status of the judicial tenure the judge is acting as a trustee. The subject matter of the trust is the judicial power of the United States, and the beneficiaries of the trust are the people thereof. Given this status in a court of equity, the trustee, under well-known and well-recognized principles of equitable jurisprudence, can always be removed on application of the beneficiary and a showing that the trustee is not performing his duties as such trustee in such a manner as to satisfy the conscience of the chancellor that he is acting for the best interest of the beneficiary. Realizing, however, the manifest impropriety of leaving the question of forfeiting the judicial tenure to the judges, the framers of the Constitution wisely provided a different forum, viz, the Congress, to raise and try the question of the forfeiture. We have now seen that whether we apply principles of law or equity to the status created by the appointment of the Federal judge there would be a forum to adjudicate the rights of the parties, and reasoning by analogy we are driven to the conclusion that the framers of the Constitution were not unmindful of the importance of the subject with which they were dealing, and intended to and did provide a forum before which the people of the United States could bring their judges and on proper showing of misbehavior, which demonstrates the unfitness of the judge to continue in office, work a forfeiture of the judicial tenure.

**461. Summary of State trials of impeachments with reference to their holdings on the question of whether acts of a judge must be indictable to be impeachable.**

On January 9, 1913,<sup>1</sup> in the Senate, sitting for the Archbald impeachment trial, Mr. Manager Paul Howland, of Ohio, filed as part of his final argument a record of impeachment trials in various States, with particular reference to their holdings on the question as to whether an offense in order to be impeachable must be indictable. The summary appears in full in the Congressional Record of that date.

**462. Discussion of the meaning in English parliamentary law and in the constitution, of the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" as applied to judicial conduct.**

**Arguments as to whether acts of maladministration which are not indictable are subject to impeachment.**

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<sup>1</sup>Third session Sixty-second Congress, Record, p. 1261.

On January 9, 1913,<sup>1</sup> in the Senate, sitting for the trial of the impeachment of Judge Robert W. Archbald, Mr. Manager Paul Howland, of Ohio, in final argument said:

In the removal section of the Constitution we find the words "high crimes and misdemeanors." These words are used in the same sense that had attached to them for centuries in the impeachment trials of England. They were used as part of the well-recognized terminology of the law of Parliament as distinguished from the common law. We must bear in mind that these terms are used in a section of the Constitution which is plainly intended to protect the State against its own servants.

The two enumerated offenses of treason and bribery are offenses peculiarly against the state as distinguished from offenses against the individual. In construing a clause of this character in the Constitution, where the whole object is to protect and preserve the Government, such a construction should be placed upon the language used as will best accomplish the results desired. To insist that the technical definition of the criminal law should be applied in construing the meaning of the term "high crimes and misdemeanors" is to insist on the narrowest possible construction, and loses sight of the object and purpose of this clause in the Constitution. To insist that it is impossible to impeach a judge unless he has committed some indictable offense is to say that the people of this country are powerless to remove a Federal judge so long as he is able to keep out of jail. While no criminal is fit to exercise the judicial function, it does not follow that all other persons are fit to be judges. Such a construction is absolutely repulsive to reason and ought not to be and is not a correct interpretation of the term "high crimes and misdemeanors."

Attention is often called to the discussion that took place in the Constitutional Convention between Colonel Mason and Mr. Madison in which Mr. Madison suggested that the term "maladministration" was too vague and the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" was adopted. Attention was called to that by the distinguished counsel for the respondent in his opening statement.

On the strength of this passage in Madison's papers it is contended that Mr. Madison did not construe the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" as including maladministration. (3 Madison's Papers, 1528.)

We find, however, that Mr. Madison in a speech in Congress on the 16th day of June, 1789, on the bill to establish a department of foreign affairs, in discussing the possibility of abuse of power by the Executive, said:

"Perhaps the great danger of abuse in the Executive's power lies in the improper continuance of bad men in office. But the power we contend for will not enable him to do this, for if an unworthy man be continued in office by an unworthy President the House of Representatives can at any time impeach him and the Senate can remove him, whether the President chooses or not. (4 Elliot's Debates, 375.)

This language clearly demonstrates that Mr. Madison believed that acts of maladministration which were not indictable were impeachable.

Nowhere in the English law of impeachment or in the Constitution of the United States or any of the States do we find any definition of impeachable offenses. The language of the Federal Constitution attempts no definition of impeachable offenses, and the general term "high crimes and misdemeanors" is not and was not intended to be a definition.

Under the State constitutions we sometimes find the added terms "mal and corrupt conduct," "corruption in office," and "maladministration"—all general terms, without attempting any technical definition. The reason for this is perfectly obvious, and is that the subject matter is not capable of technical definition. Who is wise enough to anticipate every manifestation of fraud that would give a chancellor jurisdiction and write it into a statute? It is the effect of acts under the circumstances of each particular case that confers jurisdiction. So it is with impeachment. No one can tell in advance in what way or from what source the danger may arise which demands

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<sup>1</sup>Third session Sixty-second Congress, Record, p. 1260.

the exercise of this power. The power of impeachment is recognized and authorized in every one of our constitutions, Federal and State, but the circumstances which warrant the exercise of that power are not defined and the necessity for its exercise is in the first instance left to the discretion of the House of Representatives. It is an indefinite and broad power incident to sovereignty, and its exercise in this country is demanded whenever the agents of sovereignty have acted in such a manner as to destroy their efficiency in the discharge of their duties to the sovereign. The existence of this power is necessary to the permanence of the State, and the exercise of the power is necessary whenever and however the welfare of the State may be threatened by its civil officers.

Mr. Alexander Simpson, counsel for respondent, took issue with this argument, saying:<sup>1</sup>

It was claimed by Mr. Manager Howland to-day, that the words "high crimes and misdemeanors" as used in this provision of the Constitution were taken bodily out of the English practice, the English parliamentary law, as they said. That is unquestionably true. It is not true that in all the impeachments in England they used the words "high crimes and misdemeanors," but those words are used in a number of their impeachments. This being so, you must either accept the constructions placed upon those words in the *lex parliamentii*, or you must decline to accept that construction. If you decline to accept it, of course that branch of the argument falls by the wayside at once. But if you accept it, then the question arises which of the English precedents are you going to accept, in view of the fact that some hold that an impeachable offense need not be an indictable one, and others hold a precisely antagonistic view. Are you going back to the days when a man was impeached simply because he happened to have been put in office by those who have themselves just been turned out? If that is the view you are going to accept then perhaps every four years in this country there will be a wholesale slaughter. But if you are going to accept the best precedents which appear upon the English reports, and especially those down near to the time when the Constitution of the United States was adopted, then those best precedents show that, except for an indictable offense, no impeachment would lie under the laws of England.

But what are you going to do if the matter is to be considered solely under the language of the Constitution itself? The word "misdemeanors" in that clause must be taken either in the technical sense or in the proper sense. If that word is taken in the technical sense everybody knows that a misdemeanor taken technically is a crime pure and simple. If it is taken in the popular sense, then, notwithstanding what some text writers have said, I venture the assertion that if you go out into the cars or on the streets or in your homes and ask the people you meet what is meant by the words "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors," you will not find one in a thousand but will say that every one of those words imports a crime. If that is so, then necessarily, when you come to construe those words after this trial is over, you will necessarily have to reach the conclusion that these charges must be indictable or they can not be impeachable.

**463.** On January 9, 1914<sup>2</sup> in the Senate, sitting for the Archbald impeachment trial, Mr. Manager John W. Davis, of West Virginia, said in final argument:

The issue narrows itself down to the meaning of the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" occurring in Article II, section 4, of the Constitution; and the respondent now renews the oft-repeated contention that this language can be used only with reference to offenses which, either by common law or by some express statute, are indictable as crimes. Every canon of construction which can be applied to this clause of the Constitution negatives the position which counsel for the respondent assume. Test it by the context, by contemporary interpretation, by precedent, by the weight of authority, and by that reason which is the life of every law, and the answer is always the same.

In the first place, when we read this clause of the Constitution, as we are required to do in the light of the context of the instrument, we are confronted at once by the clause fixing the tenure

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<sup>1</sup>Record, p. 1270.

<sup>2</sup>Third session Sixty-second Congress, Record, p. 1266.

of judges of the Federal courts during good behavior; and if it be difficult, as counsel for respondent assert, to enlarge the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" so as to embrace acts not indictable as crimes, it is certainly far more difficult to restrict "good behavior" to the narrow limits fixed by the criminal law. To say that a judge need take as the guide of his conduct only the statutes and the common law with reference to crimes, and that so long as he remains within their narrow confines he is safe in his position, is to overlook the larger part of the duties of his office and of the restraints and obligations which it imposes upon him. We insist that the prohibitions contained in the criminal law by no means exhaust the judicial decalogue. Usurpation of power, the entering and enforcement of orders beyond his jurisdiction, disregard or disobedience of the rulings of superior tribunals, unblushing and notorious partiality and favoritism, indolence and neglect, all are violations of his official oath, yet none may be indictable. Personal vices, such as intemperance may incapacitate him without exposing him to criminal punishment. And it is easily possible to go further and imagine such indecencies in dress, in personal habits, in manner and bearing on the bench; such incivility, rudeness, and insolence toward counsel, litigants, or witnesses; such willingness to use his office to serve his personal ends as to be within reach of no branch of the criminal law, yet calculated with absolute certainty to bring the court into public obloquy and contempt and to seriously affect the administration of justice. Can it be possible that one who has so demonstrated his utter unfitness has not also furnished ample warrant for his impeachment and removal in the public interest?

Stated in its simplest terms, the proposition of counsel is to change the language of the Constitution so that instead of reading that—  
"the judges both of the Supreme and inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behavior"—  
it will read that—  
"the judges both of the Supreme and inferior courts shall hold their offices so long as they are guilty of no indictable crime."

If the latter were the true meaning, is it conceivable that the careful and exact stylists by whom the Constitution was composed would have used an ambiguous term to express it?

But counsel ask: What shall be done with that clause which provides that in case of impeachment—the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

This, they insist, is a definition by implication, and signifies that the scope of impeachment and indictment is one and the same, although the mode of trial and the penalty to be inflicted may differ. We submit, on the contrary, that this clause, instead of being a declaration that impeachment and indictment occupy the same field, is a recognition of the fact that the field which they occupy may or may not be identical; and, recognizing this fact, it declares merely that when the field of impeachment and the field of indictment overlap there shall be no conflict between them, but that the same offense may be proceeded against in either forum or in both.

The light drawn from contemporary speeches and writings confirms the position for which we contend. It is true, as counsel will point out, that in the Constitution Convention when the word "maladministration" was proposed it was objected to by Mr. Madison as too vague, and the words "high crimes and misdemeanors" were inserted instead; but it is also true that on the 16th day of June, 1789, when debating in the House of Representatives the propriety of giving to the President the right to remove an officer, he said:

"The danger, then, consists merely in this: The President can displace from office a man whose merits require that he should be continued in it. What will be the motives which the President can feel for such abuse of his power and the restraints that operate to prevent it? In the first place he will be impeachable by this House before the Senate for such an act of maladministration; for I contend that the wanton removal of meritorious officers would subject him to impeachment and removal from his own high trust."

Mr. Davis then cited numerous authorities and said:

It can be safely said that nothing was further from the minds of the men who framed the Constitution than the construction here contended for by respondent's counsel.

Again we may look to the precedents only to find that the word "misdemeanor" has always been treated as having a meaning of its own in parliamentary law, and that one impeachment proceeding after another has been based upon offenses not within the law of crimes. I do not repeat the many authorities for this statement which my colleagues have cited. This body, of course, being a law unto itself, is bound by no precedents save those of its own making, and even as to them no doubt has the power which any other court enjoys to overrule a previous decision if convinced of its error.

After citing authorities, Mr. Davis continued:

But, without stopping to multiply precedents further, we next call attention to the long list of eminent authorities and commentators on the Constitution who uphold the construction for which we contend—Story, Curtis, Cooley, Tucker, Watson, Foster—all these and many more have been cited in the course of this discussion. Speaking as a lawyer, it must be said that the weight of authority in our favor is overwhelming.

Last of all we resort to the highest of all canons for the construction of constitutions and statutes alike, viz, "The reason of the thing." It is true that the framers of the Constitution intended to create an independent judiciary, but they never contemplated a judiciary which should be totally irresponsible. Regarding public office as a public trust, they found it necessary to lodge somewhere the power to determine whether that trust had or had not been abused. In the appointment of judges they required that the judgment of the President with reference to individual fitness should be concurred in by the Senate, and quite naturally they gave to the body which had approved the appointment the power to withdraw that approval and dismiss the officer when he had shown himself faithless to his trust. In requiring first of all a majority of the House of Representatives in order to prefer articles of impeachment and then two-thirds of the Members of the Senate present to convict they hedged the power about with all the safeguards necessary to protect the upright official and yet leave it sufficient play to preserve the public welfare. Experience has shown how more than adequate the machinery so provided has been to prevent hasty or intemperate action. Indeed, it would seem that if the fathers erred it was in making too slow and difficult the process of removing the unfaithful and unfit. I hope—indeed, I believe—that this high court will never sanction any construction of the Constitution which will render it practically impotent for the purposes of its creation.

But in the brief filed by counsel for the respondent it is suggested that if an impeachable offense need not be criminal in fact it must still be criminal in its nature. It will at once be clear that it is a definition which does not define, and that the phrase "criminal in its nature" has no more certainty to commend it than has "good behavior." Recognizing this to be true, counsel go on to say, in the attempt to define their own language, that—

"For the same reason, even if the misdemeanors for which impeachment will lie are not necessarily indictable offenses, yet they must be of such a character as might properly be made criminal."

We are not called on to agree with their position as so stated, but have no great cause to fear it.

We understand a crime or misdemeanor to be, in the language of Blackstone:

"An act committed or omitted in violation of a public law either forbidding or commanding it."

If the phrase "criminal in nature" means those things which might be made crimes by legislative prohibition, every act here charged against this respondent comes within the description. Certainly Congress could by express criminal statute forbid a Federal judge to accept gifts of money from members of his bar, to communicate in private either orally or by letter with counsel in reference to cases pending for decision, to request financial favors from parties litigant before him, and as to the Commerce Court might well forbid the members of that court to engage in the business of hunting bargains from railroad companies engaged in interstate commerce. And certainly if such things are not already misdemeanors or misconduct or misbehavior, a statute to forbid them can not come too soon.

**464. Discussion of the question of impeachability of a judge for offenses not subject to prosecution by indictment or information in a criminal court.**

**Argument that impeachment is not restricted to offenses indictable under Federal law, and that judges may be impeached for breaches of “good behavior.”**

On January 9, 1913,<sup>1</sup> in the Senate, sitting for the impeachment trial of Judge Robert W. Archbald, Mr. Manager George W. Norris, of Nebraska, in the final argument said:

It is strenuously argued by attorneys for respondent that an impeachment lies only for offenses which are criminal in their nature, and which could legally be the subject of prosecution by indictment.

The Constitution provides (Art. I, sec. 2) that the House of Representatives shall have the sole power of impeachment, and in section 3 of the same article it is provided that the Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. It is undisputed, and, indeed, has never been questioned, that to remove a United States judge from office two things are essential: First, he must be impeached by the House of Representatives, and, second, he must be tried and convicted by the Senate upon the articles of impeachment presented by the House. There is no other way provided by the Constitution of the United States for the removal from office of a judge. In the consideration of this subject, I shall draw a distinction between a judge of the United States court and all other civil officers of the United States. I shall demonstrate from the Constitution itself that a judge of the United States court can properly be impeached, convicted, and removed from office for any act from treason down to conduct that tends to bring the judiciary into disgrace, disrespect, or disrepute. Section 4 of Article II of the Constitution reads as follows:

“The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.”

It will be noted that this provision of the Constitution applies to all civil officers of the United States alike. It is undisputed that it includes judges, and were there no other provision of the Constitution applying particularly to the conduct or the tenure of office of judges, then there would be no distinction between the impeachment and trial of judges and any other civil officer, including the President and Vice President. But section 1, Article III, so far as the same is applicable to this case, provides: “The judges, both of the Supreme Court and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior.” This provision of the Constitution, it will be observed, applies only and exclusively to judges. It has no relation to any other civil officer of the Government, and if we are not to nullify it entirely, we will find that it bears a very important part in the consideration of the particular branch of the case under discussion. I desire the Senate to continually bear in mind and to faithfully observe at all times during the consideration of this subject that in the construction of any legal document or instrument the court will so construe it as to give life and vitality to every part of the instrument, if it can reasonably and logically do so. It is our duty to construe these two provisions of the Constitution together and, if possible, to give equal vitality and life to them both.

Most of the civil officers provided for by the Constitution have a definite fixed term, but the judges hold office during good behavior. Much of the contention arises over what is meant in section 4, Article II, by the word “misdemeanor.” It is contended by the respondent that this word is intended only to apply to such offenses as are indictable and punishable under the criminal law, and that a judge can not be impeached and removed from office unless his offense, whatever it may be called, is at least of so high a degree as to make it criminal and indictable. This construction, if adhered to, absolutely nullifies that provision of section 1, Article III, above quoted which provides that judges shall hold their offices during good behavior. If judges can hold their offices only during good behavior, then it necessarily and logically follows that they can not

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<sup>1</sup>Third session Sixty-second Congress, Record, p. 1264.

hold their offices when they have been convicted of any behavior that is not good. If good behavior is an essential to holding the office, then misbehavior is a sufficient reason for removal from office. And if, therefore, we give full life and vitality to both of these provisions of the Constitution, we must hold that the lack of good behavior, or misbehavior, mentioned in section 1, Article III, is synonymous with the word "misdemeanor" in section 4, Article II, in all cases where the offense is less in magnitude than in indictable one.

This view of these provisions of the Constitution has been sustained by practically all of the leading law writers upon the subject. It has also been sustained by the Senate in the trial of prior impeachment cases that have taken place. (John Randolph Tucker, *Commentaries on the Constitution*, vol. 1, sec. 200; George Ticknor Curtis, *Constitutional History of the United States*, p. 481; Watson, on the Constitution, vol. 2, p. 1034.) These citations showed that the Senate has in the past found officials guilty where the crime charged was not an indictable offense.

But suppose, for the sake of argument, it be admitted that "misdemeanors" as used in section 4, Article II, was intended by the framers of the Constitution to exclude all offenses that were not indictable under the law, it would still not necessarily follow that judges could not be impeached and removed from office for misdemeanors of so low a grade that they were not indictable. This section simply provides that all the civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, and other high crimes and misdemeanors. If in any other provision of the Constitution additional reasons for impeachment are given of some of these specified officers, or additional reasons are given why some of them should cease to hold office, then under such provision such specified officers could be tried, impeached, and removed, even though the offense of which they might be guilty was not included in any of those enumerated in section 4, Article II.

While I believe the construction placed on "misdemeanors" by the respondent is wrong, yet they have not made a defense to the various charges of misbehavior in office, even if we accept their construction of the law that misdemeanors in this section means only indictable offenses. If, for instance, the President was expressly excluded, from the officers named in this section, then I concede there would be no way under the Constitution for him to be impeached, tried, and removed from office, because there is no other provision of the Constitution that provides for any offense on the part of the President or limits his tenure of office, excepting the expiration of his regular term. But if judges were expressly eliminated from this section, and it read, "all civil officers of the United States except judges, etc.," it would not follow that they could not be impeached, convicted of misbehavior, and removed from office, because section 1, Article III, expressly provides that they shall only hold their offices during good behavior. In other words, our forefathers in framing the Constitution have wisely seen fit to provide for a requisite of holding office on the part of a judge that does not apply to other civil officers. The reason for this is apparent. The President, Vice President, and other civil officers, except judges, hold their positions for a definite, fixed term, and any misbehavior in office on the part of any of them can be rectified by the people or the appointing power when the term of office expires. But the judge has no such tenure of office. He is placed beyond the power of the people or the appointing power and is, therefore, subject only to removal for misbehavior. Since he can not be removed unless he be impeached by the House of Representatives, tried and convicted by the Senate, it must necessarily follow that misbehavior in office is an impeachable offense.

Any authority that has been cited by the respondent which shows or tends to show that a President, Vice President, or other civil officer other than a judge can not be impeached except the offense is at least of the grade of a misdemeanor that is indictable, does not apply to the impeachment or trial of a United States judge. To hold that an officer whose tenure of office is definite and fixed and who will necessarily go out of office within the course of a year or two, should not be impeached and removed from office for a misbehavior that does not reach in magnitude an indictable offense, is entirely different from holding that an officer whose term of office ordinarily lasts for life should not be so impeached and removed. And our forefathers evidently had this distinction in mind when they applied exclusively to judges that provision of the Constitution which provides that judges shall hold their offices during good behavior.

If I am not right in my construction of the Constitution, then the Congress and the country are absolutely helpless in any attempt to get relief from a judge who drags the judicial ermine down into disgrace, but is careful in doing so not to commit any criminal offense. If I am not right in my construction, then that provision of the Constitution which says that judges shall hold office during good behavior is absolutely nullified, and as far as the good behavior part of it is concerned it has no vitality, no life, no effect. The judge who secretly arranges with attorneys on one side of a case to make a private argument—who not only makes such arrangement, but who initiates it—is guilty of a misbehavior. Every lawyer knows this; every Senator will admit it. Are we helpless in the premises simply because such an act is not indictable under the law? The judge who is continually asking favors of litigants in his court, if he is careful, can not be convicted of any crime, but he is guilty of a misbehavior. No one will dispute it. He is perverting the ends of justice. He is bringing the judiciary into disgrace and into disrepute. Carried to its logical conclusion, such conduct would soon mean that our judicial system would fall. It could not survive. Are we helpless? Must we say that, although the Constitution says the judge shall only hold his office during good behavior, the House of Representatives and the Senate are unable to apply those provisions of the Constitution which provide for impeachment, trial, and removal? If our forefathers meant anything when they provided in the Constitution that the judges should hold their offices during good behavior, they certainly intended that when the judge misbehaved he should be removed from office. Such a construction of the Constitution will not violate any principle of law, but, on the other hand, it will give full effect to a constitutional provision that would otherwise be meaningless and a dead letter. Our forefathers wisely, I think, refrained in the Constitution from giving any definition to “crimes and misdemeanors,” and likewise refrained from defining what would be an abuse or a violation of “good behavior.” Misbehavior, the opposite of good behavior, and I think the proper appellation of any conduct that is not good behavior, implies innumerable offenses of greater or less magnitude.

As to what is misbehavior in office must be determined in the first place by the House of Representatives when they adopt the articles of impeachment. It must be redetermined by the Senate when, after listening to the evidence, they pass judgment upon the case. I think all will agree that any conduct on the part of a judge which brings the office he holds into disgrace or disrepute, or which results or has a tendency to result in the denial of absolute justice to all persons engaged in litigation in his court, is a misbehavior. Certainly such conduct is not good behavior, and the Constitution provides that he shall only hold office during good behavior. Therefore it follows that in the absence of good behavior on the part of the judge he should be removed from office. It is undoubtedly true that the House of Representatives, in passing upon articles of impeachment, and the Senate upon the trial of the offense charged in such articles, where only misbehaving in office was shown, would take into consideration in reaching their conclusions not only the magnitude of such misbehaviors but the frequency of their occurrence. Where the evidence shows that a judge is continually misbehaving by engaging in conduct and practices that bring his office into disrespect and disrepute, the House and the Senate can not avoid their duty or their responsibility by saying that each distinct offense is in itself of small magnitude and not indictable.

**465. Discussion of the clause “during good behavior” in relation to tenure of judicial offices, and effect by implication of misbehavior upon such tenure.**

On January 8, 1913,<sup>1</sup> in the Senate, sitting for the impeachment trial of Judge Robert W. Archbald, Mr. Manager Edwin Yates Webb, of North Carolina, in final argument said:

If the Constitution, Article III, section 1, means anything, then we want to bring it before the Senate to-day and ask Senators to say what it does mean when it provides that judges of the Supreme Court and inferior courts shall hold their offices “during good behavior.”

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<sup>1</sup>Third session Sixty-second Congress, Record, p. 1217.

The provision in Article II of the Constitution, section 4, Mr. President, refers to impeachment of the President, Vice President, and other civil officers for treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors; but later on in that same great instrument, after Article II had been adopted, the constitutional fathers say the judges of the United States shall hold their offices “during good behavior.”

It has been pointed out by many constitutional writers, and you yourselves see, that the people have no way of getting rid of a judge who has violated this provision by misbehavior except it is done by this great body. What does “during good behavior” mean?

The Century Dictionary says:

“During good behavior: As long as one remains blameless in the discharge of one’s duties or the conduct of one’s life; as, an office held during good behavior.”

Mr. Foster in his work on the Constitution (p. 586) makes this statement:

“The Constitution provides that ‘the judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold offices during good behavior.’”

This necessarily implies that they can be removed in case of bad behavior; but no means except impeachment is provided for their removal, and judicial misconduct is not indictable by either a statute of the United States or the common law.

Says Elliott in his Debates on the Constitution:

“Mr. Dickinson moved as an amendment to Article XI, section 2, after the words ‘good behavior,’ the words: ‘*Provided*, That they may be removed by the Executive on the application of the Senate and the House of Representatives.’”

This was in respect of the judges. Mr. Gerry seconded the motion. Mr. Gouverneur Morris thought it a contradiction in terms to say that the judges should hold their offices during good behavior and yet be removable without a trial. Besides, it was fundamentally wrong to subject judges to so arbitrary an authority.

But, mark you, the object then was to remove for bad behavior, but to give them a trial, as the Senate is doing in this particular case.

Judge Lawrence, in the Johnson impeachment case (p. 643), says:

“Impeachment was deemed sufficiently comprehensive to cover every proper case for removal.”

In Watson on the Constitution the proposition is stated as follows (vol. 2, pp. 1036–1037):

“What will those who advocate the doctrine that impeachment will not lie except for an offense punishable by statute do with the constitutional provision relative to judges, which says: ‘Judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior’? This means that as long as they behave themselves their tenure of office is fixed and they can not be disturbed. But suppose they cease to behave themselves? When the Constitution says ‘a judge shall hold his office during good behavior’ it means that he shall not hold it when it ceases to be good.”

I suppose the argument in the Federalist, Mr. President, had as much to do with the adoption of the Constitution of the United States as any other authority. I quote:

“The principle of this objection would condemn a practice, which is to be seen in all the State governments—if not in all the governments with which we are acquainted—I mean that of rendering those who hold offices during pleasure dependent on the pleasure of those who appoint them.” (Federalist, p. 306.)

And that is yourselves, Senators, for the President nominates judges and you appoint them.

“According to the plan of the convention, all the judges who may be appointed by the United States are to hold their offices during good behavior; which is conformable to the most approved State constitutions.” (Federalist, p. 355.)

“Upon the whole, there can be no room to doubt that the convention acted wisely in copying from the models of those constitutions which have established good behavior as the tenure of judicial offices in point of duration, and that so far from being blamable on this account their plan would have been inexcusably defective if it had wanted this most important feature of good government,” (Federalist, p. 361; Publius.)

Mr. President, after counsel for the respondent has discussed in 26 pages of his brief the proposition that the respondent is not impeachable unless he is indictable, he then makes this concession: That if it is not necessary to prove indictable offenses against the judge it is necessary, at least, to prove some offense of a criminal nature.

Mr. President, after all crime is nothing but misconduct. The only thing that is made criminal in this country is some form of misconduct.

Before proceeding to argue the facts in the case, I maintain that any judge of a high court who will dicker and traffic with litigants in his court while their cases are pending ought to be indictable, because such conduct is criminal in its nature, and the reason it has not been made indictable long ago is because the people of the United States have never thought it necessary to surround the judiciary with such a statute.

In reply to this argument, Mr. Alexander Simpson, counsel for respondent, said:<sup>1</sup>

Now, I want to know what good behavior means. This is the provision:

"The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office."

If you take that whole clause and consider it, either historically or grammatically, you will find that the words "good behavior" relate to good behavior in office. The compensation which is to be paid is for service in the office. The good behavior which is the tenure is to be good behavior in the office. But, say the managers, it is not good behavior in office which is the test at all, and you may impeach and remove a man even though he has behaved perfectly well in his office. Personally I agree with that; I am not challenging that position, but it answers their proposition now being considered that good behavior in office is the tenure by which the respondent holds, and for a breach of that he may be removed from office without considering the impeachment clause of the Constitution.

I do not think that the good-behavior clause has anything whatever to do with the impeachment. Everybody knows how the good-behavior clause came into being. In the ancient days the judges, like all other civil officers, held their positions at the pleasure of the King. Then the barons wrested from the King his power of dismissal and required that there should be a good-behavior tenure rather than a tenure at the pleasure of the King, subject at that time only to the power of impeachment. And then, a little later—I think it was in 1701, after the Revolution—there was added the removal power; so that, upon address, judges might be removed the same as upon impeachment, without a trial. Those are the circumstances under which the good-behavior tenure came into existence.

But what does "good behavior" mean if you are going to take that alone into consideration? A man ill behaves if he speaks unduly cross to his wife and children. May he be removed from office because of that? If he is the happy owner of an automobile he may violate the speed laws and be hailed before some magistrate and fined. Is he to be removed from office because of that? No one would answer "yes" to either of those questions, and hence you must get down to something definite, something upon which you can lay your finger and say, "There is the definite thing which this man should have known, and as he should have known it and has chosen to violate it he must pay the penalty of his violation." That definite thing can be ascertained only by reference to the clause which says that he may be impeached for "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." In the ordinary sense of the term one can understand how a man can be of perfectly good behavior in everything else and still be guilty of treason, but does anybody doubt but that he could be removed from office if he was guilty of treason? In truth, you have to go back from the good-behavior clause to the impeachment clause to find out what are the causes for an impeachment. It is the impeachment clause which is the controlling clause and not the good behavior clause at all.

The argument that grows out of the claim that a violation of the good-behavior clause is sufficient justification for an impeachment is as clearly reasoning in a circle as anybody can well imagine. Concede that good behavior is the tenure, still you can not remove a man from office,

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<sup>1</sup> Record, p. 1270.

under the Constitution, unless he is guilty of “treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors,” and hence the determinative factor as to whether or not a judge was of good behavior is whether or not he was guilty of “treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.”

On January 3, 1913,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Manager Henry D. Clayton, of Alabama, presented a brief on behalf of the House of Representatives, covering this question, among others, as follows:

THE TENURE OF FEDERAL JUDGES LIMITED TO “DURING GOOD BEHAVIOR.”

The provision in Article III, section 1, of our Constitution that “the judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior,” which was also borrowed from the English laws, must be considered in *pari materia* with Article IV, section 2, providing that all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office upon “impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.”

Good behavior is thus made the essential condition on which the tenure to the judicial office rests, and any act committed or omitted by the incumbent in violation of this condition necessarily works a forfeiture of the office. The Constitution provides no method whereby a civil officer of the United States can be removed from office save by impeachment. It follows, therefore, that the framers of our Constitution must have intended that Federal judges, who are civil officers, should be removable from office by impeachment for misbehavior, which is the antithesis of good behavior. Otherwise the constitutional provision limiting the tenure of the judicial office to “during good behavior” would be entirely without force and effect.

**466. Review of impeachments in Congress showing the nature of charges upon which impeachments have been brought and judgments of the Senate thereon.**

On January 3, 1913,<sup>2</sup> in the Senate, sitting for the impeachment trial of Judge Robert W. Archbald, Mr. Manager Henry D. Clayton, of Alabama, filed, on behalf of the House of Representatives, a brief, in which the following appears:

IMPEACHMENT TRIALS IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

A concise statement of the general character of the several impeachment trials which have been heretofore conducted by the Senate of the United States:

IMPEACHMENT OF WILLIAM BLOUNT.

William Blount, a Senator from Tennessee, was impeached in 1797, on a charge of conspiracy to create, promote, and set on foot within the jurisdiction of the United States, and to conduct and carry on from thence, a hostile military expedition against the territories and dominions of Spain in Florida and Louisiana for the purpose of wresting such territories from Spain and conquering the same for Great Britain, with which Spain was at war; conspiring to incite the Creek and Cherokee Nations of Indians to commence hostilities against the subjects of Spain in violation of the then existing treaty between the United States and Spain, and conspiring to alienate the confidence of these Indian tribes from the principal agent of the United States appointed by the President, in accordance with law, to reside among the tribes; conspiring to seduce the official interpreter appointed by the United States to reside among the said Indian tribes from the duty and trust of his appointment, and conspiring to impair the confidence of the Cherokee Nation in the United States and create discontent among the Indians relative to the ascertainment of the boundary line of the United States and the Cherokee Nation under treaty provisions.

<sup>1</sup> Record, of trial, p. 1051.

<sup>2</sup> Third session Sixty-second Congress, Record of trial, p. 1051.

Shortly after Blount had been impeached by the House he was expelled by the Senate, and he was thereafter acquitted of the impeachment on the ground that he was not a civil officer of the United States.

IMPEACHMENT OF JOHN PICKERING.

John Pickering, judge of the United States District Court for the District of New Hampshire, was impeached in 1803, on the ground that he had disobeyed the law in the course of proceedings brought by the United States to condemn a ship with its cargo for a violation of the customs laws, in that the judge delivered the ship to the claimant after its attachment by the marshal without requiring a bond, in accordance with the requirements of law; that in such proceedings he had refused to hear the testimony offered in behalf of the United States; that he had refused to grant an appeal by the Government from his arbitrary decree to the circuit court; and that he had attempted to perform his official functions while in a state of intoxication. The respondent did not appear to answer the articles exhibited against him, but his son presented a petition, alleging the insanity of his father and praying an opportunity to adduce evidence in that behalf. Evidence was admitted and considered by the Senate in support of this petition. The facts alleged in the articles of impeachment were proved to the satisfaction of the Senate, and the respondent was convicted on each of the articles against him and removed from office.

IMPEACHMENT OF SAMUEL CHASE.

In 1804 the House impeached Samuel Chase, a justice of the United States Supreme Court, on the ground that he had been guilty of certain misconduct to the prejudice of the defendants in the trials of John Fries for treason and James Thompson Callender for breach of the sedition laws; that he had improperly attempted to induce a grand jury in Delaware to find an indictment against the editor of a newspaper for breach of the sedition laws; and for addressing an intemperate and inflammatory harangue to a jury in the State of Maryland.

On a party vote, the respondent was acquitted as to all of the articles exhibited against him.

IMPEACHMENT OF JAMES H. PECK.

In 1830 James H. Peck, judge of the United States District Court for the District of Missouri, was impeached on the ground that he had grossly abused his power as a judge in sentencing an attorney to 24 hours imprisonment and suspension from the bar of his court for 18 calendar months for writing and publishing a moderate criticism of one of Judge Peck's decisions in a case in which this attorney had appeared in behalf of the plaintiff, with the result that the attorney was practically prevented from further participation in the case. The respondent was acquitted by the Senate on all of the articles presented against him on the ground that he was justified in assuming that he was legally clothed with the power that he had exercised, and that the element of malice had not been established.

IMPEACHMENT OF WEST H. HUMPHREYS.

In 1862 West H. Humphreys, judge of the United States District Court for the District of Tennessee, was impeached for making a public speech declaring the right of secession and inciting revolt and rebellion against the Government of the United States; with the support and advocacy of the ordinance of secession; with aiding in the organization of an armed rebellion against the United States; with conspiring to oppose the authority of the Government of the United States by force; with refusing to hold his court or perform its functions; and with unlawfully acting as judge of the Confederate district court in causing arrests, imprisonments, and confiscations. The respondent made no appearance, and the trial proceeded in his absence. The respondent was convicted on all the charges, with the exception of the unlawful arrests and confiscations, and was removed and disqualified from holding office.

IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, was impeached in 1868 on 11 articles charging the attempted removal of E. M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, in violation of the so-called

tenure-of-office act; in attempting to induce a general of the Army to violate the provisions of an act of Congress; and of attempting to bring into contempt and reproach the Congress of the United States by intemperate and inflammatory speeches. The respondent was acquitted on each of the charges by a margin of one vote.

IMPEACHMENT OF WILLIAM W. BELKNAP.

In 1876 William W. Belknap, Secretary of War, was impeached on five articles, charging that he had accepted a portion of the profits of an Army post tradership from a post trader whom he had appointed while he held the War portfolio. A few hours before the House formally adopted the articles of impeachment against him, Belknap resigned as Secretary of War and the President accepted his resignation. His counsel interposed a plea to the jurisdiction in the Senate on the ground that the respondent was not a civil officer of the United States at the time of his impeachment. This plea was overruled by a majority of less than two-thirds and the trial proceeded. The respondent was ultimately acquitted by the votes of the Senators who had originally voted in favor of the plea to the jurisdiction.

IMPEACHMENT OF CHARLES SWAYNE.

In 1904 Charles Swayne, judge of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Florida, was impeached on 12 articles, charging that he had rendered false claims against the Government in his expense accounts; that he had appropriated to his own use, without making compensation to the owner, a certain railroad car belonging to a railroad company then in the possession of a receiver appointed by the respondent, and that he had allowed the credit claimed by the receiver for and on account of the expenditure incident to the improper use of this car as a part of the necessary expenses of operating the road; that he had resided outside of his district in violation of a statute of the United States; and that he had maliciously adjudged certain parties to be in contempt of court and imposed excessive fines and prison sentences therefor without just cause or warrant of law.

A trial was had and the respondent was ultimately acquitted.