

The Resulting Reactions to The Issuance of the Resolutions of Kentucky and Virginia 1798

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Abstract

The resolutions of "Kentucky and Virginia" of 1798 provoked the anger of the federal administration and many US states alike, as these resolutions were considered as a clear infringement by the two states on the federal administration, so the responses of most US states were characterized by the nature of explicit criticism of those resolutions, and accusing Kentucky and Virginia of seeking to dismantle the federal union, that union that all states have been perpetuating, especially after they fought a war with Britain - the war of independence - in order to form it.

Keywords: *Kentucky and Virginia's resolutions; federal party; military action.*

Introduction

With the escalation of partisan rivalry in the United States during the John Adams administration (1797-1801), the federal administration proceeded to issue four laws called Aliens and Sedition Act, the purpose of which was to counter any call or action believed to be anti-federal, prompting Kentucky and Virginia to oppose those laws by issuing resolutions in 1798, which affirmed the principles of state rights also that the Constitution did not grant authority of federal administration, To legislate such laws, Virginia & Kentucky's objection to the laws of federal administration issued in 1798 put the American states with a great challenge, as it was necessary to state its official position on the resolutions of those two states, which represented a disagreement within the federal union involving the federal authorities and the US states, Which did not take long time since its formation at that time, with regard to the interpretation of the Constitution's provisions and the rights of the states.

The paper was divided into five sections, the first of which included the position of the Federal Party of the resolutions of Kentucky and Virginia, the second section was entitled military actions of the federal administration, and the third section mentioned The states' position on Kentucky and Virginia's resolutions, and the fourth and fifth sections touched on the comment of both Kentucky and Virginia on the responses of other states and were entitled Kentucky resolutions in 1799 and Madison report 1799-1800 respectively.

First / The Position of the Federal Party on the Resolutions of Kentucky & Virginia 1798

The resolutions of Kentucky & Virginia represented a great challenge to the federal party, as this issue frightened their ranks, and Alexander Hamilton⁰ feared that

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the Republican Party would become a firm party with a body and solidity, and the resolutions united the Republicans by adopting one issue agreed upon by all Republicans⁰ Based on the procedures of the federal administration, and the federal party's quest to declare war on France, it became clear to the Republican Party that the Federalists had sided with European countries to confront France abroad. Internally, they took many drastic measures aimed at quelling domestic opposition to these policies⁰.

Alexander Hamilton believed that the resolutions of Kentucky and Virginia threatened to retreat from his lifelong goal of forming a union of states in one indivisible nation, after deducing the absolute evil that events can lead to, the end of separation will be if those resolutions are used to tear the union apart⁰.

The publication of the resolutions of Kentucky and Virginia created a deep impression and discomfort in George Washington⁰, considering them deliberate attempts to destroy the Union which he had worked so hard and tirelessly to form and preserve, he directed all his efforts to deal with the dangers to the country, urged men of character, experience, and influence to proceed with their dissolution immediately after their publication, and Washington stated on November 22, 1798, "The laws concerning individuals who are not loyal to this nation are among us with the explicit intent of corrupting our people's minds and fomenting dissension among them. ", and wrote on January 15, 1799: "The endeavor of a certain party among us, to arouse the concern of public opinion with unfounded warnings . . . To direct the people against their federal administration and embarrass it at all... Unfortunately, and I'm so sorry, Virginia has taken the lead in this opposition... That the main leaders of the opposition live in it, and that with the help of the leaders of other states, all plans are systematically arranged and pursued by their followers in other parts of the Union ..." Washington considered that the resolutions of Kentucky and Virginia were an attack on the federal administration⁰ Some federalists have interpreted that These decisions are not laws, and that the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions are just an opinion, and there is no text allowing for the expression of such beliefs by the legislature, and the next Legislative Council may dismiss other opposing viewpoints to those issued in the previous Legislative Council⁰ Some also went to link the illegality and constitutionality of those resolutions to the second section of Article 6 of the Constitution, which stipulates that the United States' Constitution and laws are the highest Therefore, there is nothing to give The states' authority to determine those laws by acceptance or non-acceptance⁰ .

The Federalists were disappointed, the fame of Virginia, to which the country owes the biggest debt of appreciation and shouldn't be tarnished with the stain of declaring opposition to the United States' legal system, from Virginia came General Washington, the first president of the United States, and from it came the top executives of Union who wrote the Constitution⁰ After political unrest escalated in the year following Kentucky & Virginia's resolutions, earning Republicans sincere fear and genuine hatred of the Federalists on a more intense scale than ever before , General Davie⁰, expressed his regret that Virginia was the only state he despaired of and recalled that "... Some gentlemen who have recently traveled to that state ... They came back convinced that the leaders there had decided to overthrow the public administration... I understand that some of them spoke of 'secession from the Union' while others boldly emphasized the policy and possibility of tearing the Union apart".⁰

As for Kentucky, some Federalists tried to downplay its resolutions, because of the insignificance of pronouncements presented by a state's lawmakers that had just joined the Union⁰ and believed that No claim to original sovereignty existed in Kentucky. and that it owed its existence, the right to govern its territory, and to express its opinions, to the privilege granted to it by the General Administration to become Kentucky a state, so the Federalists disputed the possibility of a ruling by that state on the legitimacy of it, laws of the administration of the U.S that granted it its entity after it joined the Union⁰ After the issuance of the resolutions and In front of the few who

thought it was possible to hold together, secession was the most prominent talk in public opinion, as the laws of Aliens and Sedition were reckless to the extreme, and in the same context John Adams⁰ believed that Virginia & Kentucky were in concord with all the southern and western states and the threat of secession threatened the Union, The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions were actually a statement of nationalist sentiment, Protests and resolutions were sent to the headquarters of the legislature in both Kentucky and Virginia, and large numbers of petitions were conveyed, For the first time in American history, thousands of names-filled documents were also delivered to the Congress's chambers in Virginia & Kentucky, and people acted as two different states, in addition, petitions were filed in Pennsylvania against the laws of Alien, Sedition, and Sedition Acts, but the state paid no attention to those petitions⁰ These resolutions contributed to increasing the fear of the Federalists that they could be exploited by France, the Federalists had previously believed that parts of America were consisting of French sympathizers and operatives who may rebel in favor of any invasion, and some of them expected that 100,000 American citizens would join the French occupation army in the event of war, and Washington predicted that the southern states would be overrun by the French if they invaded America, because they expected to find more Friends there, and in the north there were warned of the danger of foreigners in Philadelphia, The largest city and capitol of America, which was bustling with French immigrants⁰.

It is worth mentioning that the Church's position was supportive of the actions of the federal administration, as the clergy strongly hated the liberal thought that was growing in the United States, putting the blame on French influence, and the clergy were almost in agreement, not only with the party that sided with the establishment, but as a consensus in hostility to those who gathered under the name of Republicans⁰.

Second. Military Actions of the Federal Administration

The military preparations of the Federal Administration were in well underway since the increasing risk of war with France and entering with it into an undeclared naval war, Alexander Hamilton urged to form an army of 20,000 troops, but Hamilton later increased the amount to 50,000 out of worry that he had misjudged the risk.⁰ However, the army was expanded from 3,500 to 12,000 men, with an extra 20,000 men in reserve, The president was authorized to call the army If an emergency occurs, The President Adams, despite being a federalist, opposed the increase in the number of the army, His concerns were particularly validated when resolutions were drafted at numerous municipal meetings against the creation of a regular army. He feared the regular army would make the federal government less popular than other legislation.⁰

General George Washington was called out of retirement by President Adams to take over as commander of the US Army.⁰ Although he was elderly man, Washington responded to that mandate, seeking to ward off the risks to the Union, and his military doctrine was based on military readiness, he stated in his first annual speech to Congress on January 8, 1790 that "preparing for war is one of the most effective means of maintaining peace"⁰ Washington insisted on choosing his own subordinates, Foremost among them was Alexander Hamilton, who also proposed depriving men with republican sentiments of their assignments in the army in cooperation with Hamilton and the rest of the federal army commanders⁰.

It is clear from reading the private correspondence of the Federalists during 1798 and 1799 that they not only thought of maintaining control over the national administration, but at least some of them wanted to strengthen that administration at the expense of the states, and it is also clear that they saw the political power of Virginia, the state with the most electoral votes, as an impediment to federal control, and some hoped to reduce the political power of this Republican stronghold, By using military force⁰ of all the Federalists, Hamilton responded to the threat of war with France with the greatest excitement, Hamilton interpreted Virginia's decision to upgrade its underdeveloped

defenses as a sign that the state was contesting the Union's authority and pursuing secession because he saw in the crisis a chance to put an end to resistance to national authority in the southern states. This was primarily because of the growing number of Indian attacks on Virginia's western frontier. ⁰To the federal threats, Republicans in Virginia reacted in two ways, the state made plans to recruit five thousand fighters, raised taxes by 25 percent, voted to create three arsenals, each with ten thousand wings, and set up a weapons manufacturing factory in Richmond. Fearing possible military action against the Republicans, Thomas Jefferson ⁰ sent letters to James Madison ⁰ and the rest of the Republican Party leaders, On January 30, 1799, stressed the urgent need to restrict the Republicans of Virginia from any action or proclamation that would provide the Federals with an excuse to move the army to Virginia ⁰.

The most troubling charge made by the Federalists was that the Republicans were contemplating the use of violence, and in the midst of the 1799 House of Delegates' elections, John Nicholas ⁰ published a speech disavowing his former Republican affiliations and believing that Virginia's resolutions were intended to undermine the basis of the administration, If the doctrines of those resolutions were implemented, the administration would be destroyed, as Nicholas claimed that the Legislative Council had assembled a weapons depot in Richmond ⁰ as a first step in their rebellious plan ⁰ In any case, there were strong indications in many newspapers of various orientations regarding the existence of efforts to dissolve the Federal union, perhaps by both parties, and not to be preoccupied with problems related to slaves and debts in the southern states ⁰.

In response to Virginia's resolutions and despite a Republican majority in the Virginia legislature, fifty-eight federal representatives from Virginia issued at the beginning of 1799 their own report defending the constitutionality of aliens laws and inciting sedition ⁰ which was attributed to John Marshall ⁰, and included three parts, the first was a political discussion to support the military preparations of the administration in the event of war with France, The second part was a constitutional support of the anti-sedition and anti-alien legislation, The third is a supplement to support federal taxes, but the report faced significant opposition from Virginia Republicans, which prevented it from achieving satisfactory results for its federalists ⁰ The federal administration has taken a series of measures to continue its state administration policy law prohibiting ordinary citizens from starting diplomacy with foreign governments without an official permit, Against the backdrop of a person going to France to work for peace in the midst of a semi-war and the Administration has not responded to petitions from all over the country calling for the repeal of laws, The House of Representatives voted as early as 1799, to extend the Aliens and Sedition Act by 52 to 48 votes; Abroad Adams sent a delegation to London to negotiate a trade treaty with Britain and Russia This brought to the attention of the French Government, which in turn was quick to express its desire to renew its negotiations with the United States ⁰.

France was in line with Adams' wishes, beginning in 1799, President Adams tried to reduce the fever of war and convince his citizens that national honor did not depend on war, He also tried to dispel the ideas of the internal revolution that had been ravaging the country since the evolution of the (XYZ) crisis ⁰ "I see no action, for the American people, in going to war with each other, and there are no foreign hostilities that can be stopped" ⁰, "I would like there to be no further inscription on a tombstone other than, here lies John Adams, who took responsibility for peace with France in 1800", he also made some changes in his ministerial composition, including the appointment of John Marshall as Foreign Secretary instead of Timothy Pickering ⁰ Which aroused the anger and protest of the Federalists ⁰ In the midst of those events, the United States experienced a new insurgency in Pennsylvania, discontent with the high taxes imposed by the defense preparations against France, especially because of the military increase, and as early as December 1798 protest meetings were held in Pennsylvania, Migrants there were suspicious of their English neighbours and counted the growing military

preparations as a pro-British move, And Republican propaganda was doing an effective job of raising people's suspicion and distrust of the administration, led by John Fries⁰ That rebellion, and the feds saw Fries as the beginning of a long-awaited attempt by Republicans to take control of the administration by force, they blamed Republicans loyal to France, so they sought to suppress the insurgency by force, Before May 1, 1799, twenty-nine people were arrested and charged with resisting taxes, They were taken to Philadelphia for trial and, on 15 May 1799, Fries' trial ended and he and two associates were sentenced to death⁰.

Adams' quest for renewed negotiations with France provoked outrage from the feds, prompting them to quell Fries' rebellion, Adams weakly supported the suppression of the insurgency, but he never again angered the feds when he pardoned Fries and his aides, and the feds denounced it claiming that "The unjustified mercy of the wicked is cruelty to all good and credit." , Believing that this weak administration would withhold any of its power at a time when all its energies should be redoubled, Hamilton and his cabinet sought to delay the departure of the Peace Mission Committee to France, but Adams called on Congress to give it a chance to succeed⁰.

Third / States' position on Kentucky and Virginia resolutions

The states' reactions to the Kentucky & Virginia resolutions disappointed the expectations of the latter two, as seven states issued an official response, siding with federal laws as follows:

The first of these responses came from State of Delaware on February 1, 1799, which stated that: " At the General Assembly meeting, the Delaware Senate and House of Representatives resolved to take the Virginia resolutions under consideration to be a highly unjustifiable interference in the public administration and the constituent powers of the United States, with a propensity for danger, and not one that this Assembly should continue to discuss. " ⁰.

It was followed by Rhode Island's reply the same month, in which it affirmed the authority of the Federal Court over the constitutionality of any United States congressional law and stated that: " The legislature does not believe it has the authority to take into account and decide on constitutional matters in its function as the public authority, (Sedition and Aliens Acts) However, on this occasion, they are called upon to declare, according to their own opinions, that these laws fall within the prerogatives of Congress and promote the well-being of the United States", The reply also ensured that the Governor of the State communicated these resolutions to the Supreme Executive Branch of 'Virginia', while at the same time expressing that this Legislature, with grave concern and regret, contemplates many deadly consequences that may flow from highly unjustified resolutions of the Legislature of Virginia⁰ To the resolutions from Virginia and Kentucky, the Massachusetts Senate responded in the most detail on Feb 9, 1799, and senators pointed out "They cannot recognize the right of the state legislatures to condemn the functioning of that administration enjoyed by the people themselves, under an exclusively formal agreement" The Massachusetts Senate disagreed with Madison and Jefferson's position that the states had the authority to declare legislation illegal and with their assertion that the people, not the governments, were the ones who finished the charter⁰ The state legislature affirmed that the Supreme Court had the final say about whether or not federal law was constitutional⁰.

The state of New York responded to the resolutions on 5 March and included the right of the administration to defend its constitutional powers and to preserve them from any violation or subversion, in addition to referring to the role of the judiciary and the need to exclude interference by state legislatures with that authority's work, the state also noted that The values upheld in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions were harmful to the Federal Government, and injustice to those elected by the people to administer them, and it is not the work of legislatures to oversee public administration laws at the end of the

reply, the Governor of the State was instructed to send a copy of the response to Virginia and Kentucky executives, and to report it to their legislative bodies⁰ Connecticut responded in May with the following text: "Decides that This Assembly will evaluate the ideas outlined in the aforementioned resolutions with great regret and open denial (Virginia resolutions), especially the opposition to " laws of alien and sedition " The laws passed by the Constitution and imposed by the country's imperatives, which is enacted by the constituent authorities and deserves the full approval of this Assembly, The members of this Assembly vehemently reject supporting any of the issues raised in the aforementioned resolutions along with the Virginia Legislature, and further to request His Excellency the Governor to send a copy of these resolutions to the Governor of Virginia to inform the legislature of that state "⁰.

On June 14, the State of New Hampshire reacted to the resolutions by Kentucky & Virginia. and response states as follows: "The Virginia General Assembly's resolutions were taken into consideration by the New Hampshire State Legislature. The New Hampshire Legislature unambiguously declares its determination on 21 December, as well as some of the Kentucky Legislature's resolutions from 10 November , 1798, to protect and defend the United States Constitution and the Constitution of this State against any aggression, whether external or internal, and to assist the United States administration in all actions justified by the latter. State legislatures are not the proper courts to decide the meaning of the Constitution, the duty of this decision is properly and exclusively vested in the Judicial Chamber... These laws (sedition and aliens) are constitutional and in the current critical situation of our country they are very appropriate, and that the constitutionality and utility of the aforementioned laws have been ably defended and clearly demonstrated by many United States citizens, especially by the minority in Virginia's General Assembly, so the New Hampshire legislature considers it unnecessary, through any series of arguments, try to provide further clarification... "

⁰Vermont was the last state to send its response to Virginia's resolutions, and on 30 October the state legislature decided: " The House of Representatives continued to discuss the General Assembly of Virginia's resolutions regarding specific public administration issues, sent to the state legislature for consideration and decides that The General Assembly of Vermont vehemently rejects the General Assembly of Virginia's resolutions as being unlawful and unsafe in their intent, the state legislatures may not determine the constitutionality of laws promulgated by the public administration, This authority shall be conferred exclusively on the courts of the Federation, and it shall be decided that His Excellency the Governor shall be requested to transmit a copy of this decision to the executive branch of the State of Virginia, for communication to the General Assembly of that State... "⁰.

The responses of these seven states were compiled by a majority of historians, and the position of the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland and New Jersey stated that they opposed the resolutions, but without providing formal responses. This is about the central and northern states, and for the southern states, historians have indicated that they have not issued any resolutions or position in favor of Kentucky and Virginia, But only two historians singled out in the Southern States' position statement as well as the three states - Pennsylvania, Maryland and New Jersey - each of which Frank Anderson and Wendell Bird, and their proposals were as follows:

Maryland issued a response to the Kentucky resolutions of 25 January 1799, which included: "The committee to which the Kentucky Legislature's resolutions were transmitted, and which they took into account, considers that these resolutions contain unjustified opinions in the United States Constitution... These resolutions were highly inappropriate and should not be approved by the legislature of this state "⁰.

On March 9, Pennsylvania responded with a set of resolutions that included the endorsement of the powers of Congress, the President and the Constitution, that the judiciary had the right to decisively and definitively decide the constitutionality of all

legislative acts, and that any state action on the constitutionality of congressional laws was a revolutionary measure, and destroys the purest principles of the State and national charters, and the resolutions include a reference to the importance and constitutionality of sedition and Aliens acts, The state expressed surprise at the existence of such laws. and noted that the interest of the State requires unanimity and harmony, which is in keeping with trust in the wise and honest resolutions of those in whose hands the responsibility of State administration is placed, the state called for saving the country from foreign wars and internal conflicts, At the end of the resolutions, the state expressed its disagreement with the Kentucky Legislature's resolutions ⁰.

New Jersey held a meeting of the Legislative Assembly in February 1799 to decide on Kentucky and Virginia's resolutions, but no final decision was reached, owing to a split vote between supporters and opponents of those resolutions ⁰.

Southern states took a stand on Kentucky and Virginia resolutions in Tennessee, and in response to Kentucky's resolutions, legislature issued on 4 January 1799, a series of resolutions showing that aliens' acts and sedition in several parts were against the Constitution and urged senators and state representatives in Congress to seek to repeal those laws on the grounds that the said laws were unwise, oppressive and unnecessary, And with the majority of the Republic, the state of Tennessee is adopting these resolutions, and so quickly it was no surprise, In April 1799, the Republican press published reports that the Tennessee Legislature had adopted the resolutions of the Kentucky General Assembly, Regarding some recent Federal Administration actions, these reports have thus raised doubts about the innocence of repeated federal statements that Virginia and Kentucky's resolutions were rejected by all states ⁰.

Georgia's response differed from that of all other states, The state legislature tried to debate Kentucky's resolutions in January 1799, and shortly after the Virginia and Tennessee resolutions arrived, but due to the postponement of the session on 16 February, the issuance of this state's opinion was delayed until November, Consequently, the state's resolutions were issued and were a joint response to all states whose resolutions and responses were received, and those resolutions were issued once and for all on December 5, The resolutions included astonishment of the state from the position of states supporting sedition and alien acts, and called for their repeal without interference by the state legislature ⁰.

The states of South and North Carolina were unable to issue resolutions endorsing Kentucky and Virginia but took action that stipulated that all foreigners who migrated to that state, after complying with some minor measures, were considered to be citizens of the state, some of which referred to that state's objection, - or to a lesser extent, nullification- of the Federal Administration's alien acts, and North Carolina's position was that its Republican members had attempted to issue a set of resolutions from its legislature, but the political divide in the House and Senate in that state prevented it ⁰.

Not surprisingly, The majority of states supported the federal government; each state had an interest in seeing that laws were applied by the federal government in a way that served its interests. ⁰ The responses of other states at the national level have been a political catastrophe for Republicans and some states also claimed that Kentucky and Virginia were trying to destroy the union, the federal newspapers printed the states' responses with joy, as they did not need to create original content to attack Republicans, State legislatures have done so for them, even the Official Gazette of the United States claimed to have information from Virginia that "Kentucky resolutions are part of a modified plan to embarrass and dismantle the Union" ⁰.

But what most angered Kentucky and Virginia was the position of the southern states, perhaps because some southern lawmakers were unsure that the resolutions were appropriate, even though they sympathized with the opposition to sedition and alien laws expressed by the Kentucky and Virginia Houses ⁰.

Fourth /Kentucky Resolutions in 1799

Jefferson was frustrated after hostile responses from other states to the Kentucky & Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and believed that Republican states, often located south of the Potomac River, should distance themselves from the union rather than relinquish their freedom⁰ After those states' responses arrived in Kentucky and Virginia for Jefferson and Republicans, those responses were unfavorable, letting it fall silently seems to be an implicit confession of error, and abandoning a principle that Jefferson saw as an essential part of democracy and the Republican platform, For Virginia, the feds accused the legislature that the state's recent actions were aimed at secession⁰.

Jefferson took the first step in response to those responses He expressed his disappointment with some states' answers and the lack of action by others in a letter to James Madison dated August 23, 1799, when he reiterated concerns he and Madison expressed about the laws against aliens and sedition.⁰ In his letter, Jefferson noted that the Virginia and Kentucky Principles should not be waived, and seeking a resolution by each state legislature that includes answering the responses of those states and states that have never answered or answered without thinking as well as the prevention of violations that mean the exercise of powers not approved by the mandates, Emphasizing the Union's association with other states and the most prominent paragraph in the letter contained what read: "... If we're disappointed in this, let's separate ourselves from this union... Instead of renouncing the rights of autonomy that we have retained, in which we alone see freedom, security and happiness... "⁰.

Jefferson and through the most extreme phrase - let's separate ourselves from the Union - he made in relation to the meaning and purpose of Kentucky's resolutions showed that he does not place any absolute value on the Union compared to the extreme evil of cruel violation of freedom, for which the destruction of the Charter linking the states together was the lesser evil⁰ Jefferson responded to northern legislatures, writing draft resolutions for Kentucky's legislature in 1799, It was more powerful than its predecessor, and it was political propaganda to unite the Republican Party, But it has opened the door to questioning Kentucky lawmakers' claim that they have the power to repeal alien laws and unilateral sedition or whether lawmakers only presuppose that states collectively have that power⁰.

In his draft resolutions, Madison asserted that the states had the authority to void legislation passed by Congress. The Supreme Court distinguished between cases of abuse of delegated powers and cases in which powers that had not been delegated were exercised, whether or not it agreed that federal laws were unconstitutional, and asserted that change by the people was the constitutional solution for previous violations⁰.

John Breckinridge⁰ submitted new draft resolution sat the beginning of November 1799 to the Kentucky Legislature, which was transmitted through Wilson Carrie Nicholas⁰ who was going to Kentucky to help settle his brother's estate, and then Breckenridge adopted that draft⁰ But the state of Kentucky has worked to dilute the rhetoric in Jefferson's draft, And Breckenridge stated that the resolutions passed the House of Representatives without a dissenting vote, Although there is a significant split in the Senate in particular with regard to that sentence declaring that the repeal of such laws by the states was a legitimate remedy and was deleted by the state legislature in draft resolutions 1798⁰ ,Those resolutions were of utmost importance to Kentucky, if Kentucky had not responded to other states' negative responses, Kentucky might have been seen as abandoning its position forever⁰.

Kentucky's House of Representatives passed resolutions in 1799 on 14 November and the Senate ratified them on 22 November, including:

In order to review numerous resolutions adopted by various state legislatures about aliens' laws and sedition, the House of Representatives organized a committee, and they have

come to a resolution on this issue. The following was presented to the House of Representatives for unanimous approval ⁰:

" Representatives of this Commonwealth's good citizens... They would be disloyal, in fact, to themselves and their representatives, if they were to silently acquiesce to the principles and doctrines, they tried to preserve in all these replies, this is except for Virginia, and once again in the field of argument, and to try completely and forcibly to expose the unconstitutionality of these abhorrent laws, would be as though unimportant or possibly considered a path of nonsense ".⁰

The Legislature regretted the replacement of unfounded proposals rather than just reasoning, during the discussion by the Legislatures of previous resolutions and their responses thereto ⁰ The Legislature explained why these resolutions were issued as follows: " However, lest this explains Commonwealth's silence be interpreted as acceptance of the doctrines and principles presented by the replies mentioned... They should not be fooled by the expectation that we will step back from the way we perceive our duties, or evade the principles enshrined in those resolutions so... This commonwealth was to be regarded as the federal union... If he unequivocally declares his commitment to the Union... it's clear and genuine intention, and it will be among the last to seek to resolve it, and that if those who run public administration are allowed to exceed the limits set by this Agreement by completely disregarding the delegations of special authority contained therein, the annihilation of state governments, and the establishment of a unified public administration, at its expiry, will inevitably be the inevitable result "⁰ The resolutions cautioned against the danger of confining the authorities to the central administration because they would not be limited to authoritarianism only, and pointed out that such laws should be invalidated by the states ⁰.

Finally, it reads: "This Commonwealth declares, under the most deliberate review, that the aforementioned laws on Aliens and Sedition constitute, in their view, clear violations of the Constitution... And she considers silent acquiescence very criminal, as a party to the federal agreement, this commonwealth acknowledges that it will be governed by Union laws, but also vows that it will continue to oppose any attempts to break the agreement in a manner consistent with the Constitution, and finally in order not to draw any pretext or arguments from the presumed of deference or acquiescence of this Commonwealth now officially protests against these laws, which it believes are unconstitutional and could be used as models for future violations of the Federal Charter " ⁰.

The presentation of these annulment resolutions shows that it was in no way desirable to undermine the Federal Union, but to proclaim a fundamental state right to guard against unjust and unlawful Congressional presumptions, Where would the Federal Party end up if it started with sedition and foreign laws, Jefferson suggested that if two or three states split out and adopted separate charters, the smaller Union may face the same issues., and each state eventually reverts to its old colonial status, And maybe go further, because each state will be prone to turmoil because of the possibility of its own provinces breaking up, As Jefferson stated in a letter concerning Kentucky's resolutions, he would like to leave it to the states and state: "... They - state legislatures - should not absolutely commit themselves to pushing the order to the extreme, yet they are as free to pay as they make the events wise, "Jefferson was certainly completely disturbed by the encroachments on power, deciding that freedom must continue at all costs" ⁰.

Fifth/ Madison Report 1799-1800

Similar to Kentucky, Virginia issued a lengthy report, and after his election to Congress from Virginia, Madison prepared it in 1799, followed by approval by the state legislature in 1800, and was a reverse response to northern states ⁰.

The report was issued under the heading "Report of the commission to which various state correspondence was transmitted, with regard to the recent General Assembly resolutions of the state (Virginia), on laws of alien and sedition", and was voted by the State House of Representatives on 7 January 1800 and the Senate on 18 January⁰.

The report referred to the federal administration's powers as deriving from the Constitution, which is formed by a charter concluded jointly by the states. The report discussed the limits of the federal administration's powers under the Constitution, and affirmed that under the eleventh amendment to the Constitution, which became part of the Constitution, On the basis of the said amendment, the States may revoke any powers of the Federal Administration contrary to those conferred by the Constitution, in all its meaning, and in the event that the Federal Administration exercises powers other than those provided for in the Constitution, the States shall intervene to suspend them⁰.

The constitutionally constituted parties are the legal judges, and the federal judiciary cannot be the final interpreter of the Constitution, except in respect of other federal departments, and it is the states that decide whether the Constitution previously passed has been violated. The title of the report was a follow-up to responses of other states' to Virginia resolutions of (1798). He cautioned against misunderstanding or counting those resolutions as light and fleeting. At the same time, the report counted that the powers granted to the federal administration under recent federal laws are serious and must be limited, and that state resolutions Virginia is not a partial, private decision or hasty decision, and it's not a reason to discuss and ask questions as a result of asking them⁰. The report included adherence to the jurisdiction of the judiciary and the judiciary's relationship with the legislature, the executive and the states, but raised the idea that the judiciary should not be placed above the jurisdiction, as it was sovereign⁰.

Finally, the report stated that the state had respectfully reviewed and revisited the responses of other states to the state's most recent resolutions of 1798, and finally decides that it is necessary and appropriate for the state to uphold and renew those resolutions, as well as renewed protest against aliens' laws and sedition because they are of concern and manifest breaches of the Constitution⁰.

Unlike the 1798 resolutions, the 1800 report benefited from the sponsorship of its author in the legislature, Madison was chairman of that committee appointed by the Virginia legislature to prepare a report in response to different states' answers. The report met with strong opposition from the feds, and focused on the alleged contradiction between the report and last year's resolutions, as well as the right of the Legislative Council to intervene in any way in denouncing the actions taken by the public administration. However, Madison denied any inconsistency between the documents⁰. Virginia and Kentucky refused to embrace Jefferson's threat to separate the two states from the Union, and Jefferson himself was embarrassed by that rhetoric, even resolutions, since he had not acknowledged its authorship for more than 20 years⁰. In the same vein for Madison, when asked several years later to interpret Virginia's resolutions regarding the annulment controversy, he was embarrassed to insert the word "Invalid" in the draft resolutions, but noted that the Virginia Legislature was merely expressing its opinion and was not attempting to invalidate a federal law, yet those resolutions rooted the idea that states might oppose federal legislation either separately or all at once⁰.

Kentucky received no responses to the 1799 resolutions, the same about Virginia's 1800 report, due to several reasons, including division within the federal party, starting with Adams sending a peace mission to France in February 1799. As mentioned above, this has caused the final separation between the moderate feds and Hamilton and his followers⁰. On the other hand, Adams sought to minimize the severity and impact of certain laws. Adams suspended parts of the regulations that restricted some trade between the United States and France in May 1800, and by the second half of that year, the Federal Party had divided into two factions: those who supported Hamilton and those who remained faithful

to Adams⁰ The 1799 Kentucky resolutions and the 1800 Virginia Report were a follow-up to other states' responses and a renewal and confirmation of the 1798 resolutions put forward, as well as the preoccupation of everyone, including the states, with the 1800 election, which was the most important matter for everyone at the time.

Adams' recent actions resulted in a peaceful settlement between France and the United States on 30 September 1800, but came late for the feds, Republicans took control of the congressional elections shortly before⁰ It was followed by Jefferson's assumption of the presidency of the United States in 1801, which marked a necessary end to the laws of aliens, sedition and resolutions of Kentucky and Virginia, and Jefferson counted this election as a genuine transformation of the governing principles as in the case of the 1776 revolution⁰ The new Congress, which was controlled by the Republicans, began its functions by repealing the Aliens and Sedition Acts⁰ and Jefferson began its presidency in 1801 by pardoning 10 men⁰ convicted under the Sedition Act⁰.

Conflicts during the late the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were often conflicts between political groups with different ideologies, including the Federalists' struggle against The non-federalist, nationalists against state rights holders, the resolutions of Kentucky & Virginia (1798), the Kentucky resolutions 1799 and the Virginia Report of 1800, collectively called "The Principles of 1798", without conceptualizing the most important alternative to the national vision, which was sponsored by state rights holders⁰.

Conclusion

It can be said that the resolutions of Kentucky & Virginia were limited to the legislative aspect only, The two States merely issued resolutions without seeking to take further steps towards secession, the states were not fully aware of the Constitution and its rights and to what extent the federal administration could be compatible or opposed, The reason for the federal administration's failure to react formally to Kentucky and Virginia resolutions is likely due to the fact that the resolutions were primarily directed at other states, The federal administration's reliance on state responses to resolutions that in turn conveyed the conflict over the constitutionality of both congressional laws of June and July 1798, as well as the 1798 Kentucky and Virginia resolutions themselves. to the Court to rule on the constitutionality of such laws and resolutions.

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