

**“Back to the Future/Forward to the Past:
The American Political Press in Historical Perspective”**

Unless otherwise noted, selections come from Leonard W. Levy, ed., *Freedom of the Press from Zenger to Jefferson: Early American Libertarian Theories*, American Heritage Series (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966)

1. Stephen K. Bannon, interview as reported in the *New York Times*, 27 Jan. 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/26/business/media/stephen-bannon-trump-news-media.html>
2. Virginia Declaration of Rights, sec. 12, *The Founders Constitution*, <http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/v1ch1s3.html>
3. Rights listed in first state constitutions, from Edward Dumbauld, “State Precedents for the Bill of Rights,” *Journal of Public Law* 7 (1958), 343-344.
4. Thomas Jefferson on the press, before joining the Washington administration, from Levy, pp. 332-333
5. James Madison, Essays for the National Gazette: "Public Opinion" (1791) and "Who are the Best Keepers of the People's Liberties?" (1792)
6. Jeffrey L. Pasley, “Thomas Greenleaf: Printers and the Struggle for Democratic Politics and Freedom of the Press,” in *Revolutionary Founders: Rebels, Radicals, and Reformers in the Making of the Nation*, ed. Alfred F. Young, Gary B Nash, and Ray Raphael (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), 357–75, 428–29.
7. Jeffrey L. Pasley, “Popular Constitutionalism in Philadelphia: How Freedom of Expression Was Secured by Two Fearless Newspaper Editors,” *Pennsylvania Legacies* 8, no. 1 (May 2008): 6–11.
8. The Philadelphia *Aurora* calls for George Washington's resignation, November 1795
James Madison, excerpts from “The Virginia Report,” 1800, from *The Founder's Constitution*, http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/amendI_speechs24.html
9. Broadside version of Jefferson's 1st Inaugural Address (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1801)
10. Jefferson on the press, during his presidency, from Levy, pp. 360-362, 364-365
11. Jefferson's exchange of letters with printer John Norvell, 1807, from *Founders Online*, <https://founders.archives.gov/?q=%20Author%3A%22Jefferson%2C%20Thomas%22%20Recipient%3A%22Norvell%2C%20John%22&s=1411311111&r=1&sr=norv>