

NOTES

A general word about letters: with most of them, I've provided the relevant information about the letter within the body of the book, and therefore am not going to cite those letters again below. (Where I have withheld names in the book, I would also have to withhold names in the notes.) I am providing citations only for letters that appear without further descriptions, to anchor them in time and place. In some instances, where Ben wrote a particularly tough letter to somebody and that person's identity wasn't directly relevant to the content of the letter, I have withheld the name of the recipient.

OPENING

9: When I reached William Dodderidge's daughter, Debbie Heck, to ask for her permission to use this letter, she said that she had no problem with it. Wanting to be clear, I said, "The letter has some pretty tough language in it," and then read her the relevant portion. She laughed. "That's Dad," she said. A really nice letter to have first.

10. "I would major in something other than journalism": BCB to Jill Stehl, November 2, 1987

10. "It is almost impossible": BCB to Gordon W. Cottman, c/o Wenatchee High School, May 18, 1977.

10. "You are an idiot": BCB to Robert J. Demer, May 29, 1981

10. "You would regret it": BCB to Edward Kelly, April 19, 1993

11. "As your buddy": though I only used this one letter of Ben's to Jesse Jackson, Ben's files were full of correspondence with Jackson. My favorite of them was a handwritten note from Ben's secretary dated only "4/9," but likely from April of 1987. "Jesse Jackson called to say he told you Sugar Ray was going to win the fight," the secretary noted. Then: "He said he wanted to see you humbled." (Sugar Ray defeated Marvin Hagler in a split decision on April 6, 1987.) There was also a funny note, in Ben's handwriting, saying, "Lay in the cut, Jesse," clearly advice from Jackson to him, likely in the wake of Janet Cooke. "I'll ask him what it means," Ben wrote in a side note. (At the risk of making myself look like a fool, "lay in the cut" loosely means "keep your head down.")

12. "I think that our story about your house was bullshit": BCB to George McGovern, July 27, 1976. After *Yours in Truth* had been copyedited, eight more boxes of old internal *Post* memos surfaced. There was a ton of good stuff in them, including a memo that Ben wrote to Eugene Meyer (no relation to Kay Graham's father), the

reporter who had written the McGovern story and later defended himself in a memo. "The trouble with your story and the trouble with your memo is that you wanted McGovern's ass," Ben wrote to Meyer on September 22, 1976. "It shone through your story and it shines through the memo."

12. "You fucked up big time": BCB to Tom Zito, April 29, 1981.

13. "I find you lacking": BCB to X, June 1, 1989

13. "Choose something for you": BCB to Christian V. Patterson, October 6, 1993

13. "Dear Sandie": BCB to Sandie Siegel, June 6, 1977

14. "He is wrong": BCB to Susan Wood, March 5, 1982

14. "!SNOITALUTARGNOC": BCB to Charles F. Olsen, November 20, 1974

14. "answer that question in two days": BCB to former president Ronald Reagan, July 29, 1984

18: "up to my ass in midgets": BCB to Frank Waldrop, April 8, 1982

18. "more bullshit in it per square inch": transcript of a conference call between BCB and [Martin] London, November 17, 1987

19. "dickhead one word or two": transcript of Ben's retirement roast, July 31, 1991

20. "One night early on": Thursday, November 8, 2007

25. "Yours in truth": [NOTE]

25. "Something is dying at the *Post*": Bob Woodward to BCB, March 25, 1986

26. "They're both prisoners": Author interview with Pat Tyler, December 17, 2009

27. "In a funny way" through "All biographers are concealers": Author interview with BW and Elsa Walsh, September 6, 2007

29: "one winter day": Thursday, December 10, 2009

30: "I don't think you said that, Ben": BCB and Kay Graham, April 23, 1997

31: "One morning in the summer of 2010": This is a typo, should read "spring" instead of "summer." The date was April 17, 2010.

32: "It's interesting that you didn't send it": Author interview with BCB, July 14, 2010

32: "Don't kill me with this": Author interview with BCB, July 20, 2009

33: "I hope we're as good friends": Author dinner with BCB, Sally Quinn, Quinn Bradlee, and Pary Williamson at Bistrot Lepic, March 18, 2010.

IMPACT

37: "Has the student": Grant Study form, April 22, 1941

38: "He said that the three years": All quotations in this section are taken from George Vaillant's report of his interview with BCB, written up on April 15, 1969

NEWS

42: "So I call Ben": Author's Interview with Joe Califano, October 9, 2008

43: "Twenty years later": It was actually about twenty-two years later, from the BCB memoir interview with KG, September 20, 1990. All of the back-and-forth between Ben and Kay in this chapter comes from this interview.

46: "reporters working from an undisclosed hotel room": for a relative-consensus version of these events, see Sanford J. Ungar, *The Papers & The Papers*, E.P. Dutton & Company, 1975, p. 95 et al.

46: "get the world to refer": BCB with KG, September 20, 1990.

46: "You know how grand he is": Chalmers Roberts, undated interview for "Top Secret: The Battle for the Pentagon Papers" by Geoffrey Cowan, found in Ben's Pentagon Papers files.

48: "It was an almost personal thing": Larry Stern to David Halberstam, undated interview, sometime in the late '70s, from Halberstam's archives at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center at Boston University. All Halberstam interview quotations come in *Yours in Truth*, unless otherwise noted, come from these archives.

48: "Bradlee was go": Phil Geyelin, undated interview for "Top Secret".

48: "There was language in the statute": 18 U.S.C. 793

49: "That's the shittiest idea I've ever heard": Ungar, p. 144-145, but that dialogue has been repeated in *The Powers That Be*, Ben's memoir *A Good Life*, and who knows how many other books.

49: "hot shot": BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, June 27, 1990

49-50: "Edward Bennett Williams": From Halberstam archives.

50: "Fuck 'em": BCB to Halberstam, undated.

50: "This problem is going to come to *you*": Dialogue taken from author's interview with Eugene Patterson, November 26, 2011

51: "He crushed me": dialogue here, through "apeshit", BCB with KG, September 20, 1990

52: "Well, it could destroy the newspaper": dialogue here quoted from Phil Geyelin's private interview for "Top Secret," undated.

52: "In a real sense": BCB speech to the Dirks Newspaper Financial Forum, Atlanta, Georgia, April 16, 1974

52: "What'd you say?" BCB with KG, September 20, 1990

53: "When the word came in": confirmed in author interview with Eugene Patterson, November 26, 2011, but repeated in just about every account of this moment that you can find.

FATE

57: "If you wrote that in a novel": all dialogue in this introduction is from author's interview with BCB, June 22, 2010

58: "It is hard to recreate the fear": quoted from Ben Bradlee, *A Good Life*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1995 (paperback), p. 114

59: "In spite of being unable to move his legs": Grant Study report, October 2, 1940

59-60: "Actually, he always had two houses": Richard Cohen's prepared remarks for Ben and Sally's 20th wedding anniversary party, 1998

60: "She was smashing-looking": BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, April 11, 1990

60: "very obstinate child": Grant Study interview with Ben's mom, April 28, 1941

61: “Understanding that my old man drank too damn much”: Grant Study questionnaire, 1981 (mailed April 15th, 1981, and received back from BCB on June 12, 1981.)

62: “Ten years later”: BCB is speaking with David Halberstam for his book *The Powers That Be*, which was published in 1979. I don’t know the date of the interview—the transcript was undated—so I went with the publication date of the book for this one.

62: “He didn’t go disappear up his asshole”: BCB interviewed by Bob Woodward, July 15, 2009.

63: “The war was the first marking experience”: BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, January 11, 1990.

63: “Before you thought anything through”: BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, January 3, 1990

64: “The only other thing”: Author interview with BCB, June 22, 2010

65: “The great liberal *Washington Post*”: through “come on up with me,” quoted from *A Good Life*, p. 127

66: “As Dad explained to me”: Katharine Graham, *Personal History*, First Vantage Books Edition (paperback), March 1998, p. 181

66: “the incandescent man”: David Halberstam, *The Powers That Be*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1979, p. 158

66: “The most complex problem”: Author interview with Arnaud de Borchgrave, April 3, 2009

67: “or Bradlee’s story runs”: quoted from *A Good Life*, p. 128

67: “Probably pretty wise”: quoted from *The Imperial Post: The Meyers, The Grahams, And The Paper That Rules Washington*, Tom Kelly, William Morrow and Company, New York, 1983, p. 106

67: “some poor bastard”: BCB memoir interview with Katharine Graham, September 8, 1989

67: “Fuck you”: quoted from *A Good Life*, p. 225

68: “Re return to Washington”: This letter was undated, but from the context of it (and Phil Graham’s response) it must have arrived in Washington during July of 1952.

68: “At dinner one night”: this happened the same night that Ben told me he didn’t give a fuck what I wrote about him, during dinner at Bistrot Lepic, March 18, 2010.

70: “Today, nobody even knows”: all dialogue here quoted from author interview with de Borchgrave, April 3, 2009

71: “That summer”: BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, July 18, 1990

72: “chance like this”: BCB to Tony Lewis, May 30, 1973

73 and 73n: “In my circle” and “Well, now, Ben”: BCB memoir interview with Kay Graham, September 8, 1989

74: “Without putting too much arithmetic”: BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, slugged “Newsweek,” sometime in 1990. (The date is illegible at the top of the printout, but Barbara conducted all of these interviews with Ben over the course of 1990, moving in chronological order through his life.)

75: “It occurred to me”: BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, slugged “Newsweek.”

76: “His wit was a way”: Kay Graham with David Halberstam, undated.

76: “Don’t you know who you’re talking to”: Dialogue quoted from *The Powers That Be*, p. 377, and Chal Roberts, p. 363. There is a typo here that was corrected in proof but did not make it into the hardcover; the quote should read “Do you know who you’re talking to.”

PREZ

78-9: “Did he use me?”: BCB quoted in *Town & Country*, Fall 1975

79: “Put me on the map”: Broder, from a memoir interview with Kay Graham, October 9, 1989; Woodward and Bernstein, from about a hundred different interviews; and Nixon from a memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, May 16, 1990.

80: “‘Yes,’ he told her”: quoted from *Conversations with Kennedy*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1975 (Norton Paperback, 1984), p. 16. In *A Good Life*, p. 206, BCB would claim that he had asked the question of JFK and received the answer, but it’s clear from his and Tony’s interview with Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. in 1964 that it

was actually—beyond doubt—a conversation that had occurred between Tony and JFK.

81: “Really, if you could have”: quoted from BCB interview with Nick Davis for “JFK Project,” CBS Entertainment, December 1992.

81: “The war was such an unusual”: BCB interview, along with James Cannon, with Senator John F. Kennedy, January 5, 1960

81: “a lot of the friendship”: BCB to Halberstam

81: “The times I was alone with him”: BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, May 31, 1990

82: “If you and I could only run wild”: quoted from *Conversations with Kennedy*, p. 147

82: “That second call”: quoted from *A Good Life*, p. 248-9

82: “The Wisconsin weather”: *Newsweek*, November 23, 1959. There is a small mistake in this quotation; there should be an ellipsis after “ear-tingling cold.” There was a short anecdote about Kennedy having to help push his car back onto the road that I omitted.

83: “My own response to Johnson”: BCB, Memorandum for Sen. John F. Kennedy, May 9, 1959

84: “Will you pick LBJ”: Quoted from *Conversations with Kennedy*, p. 30-1, and *A Good Life*, p. 210. Ben wrote two slightly different versions of this dialogue, so I asked him what I should go with and what he said is what I put into the book (which varies slightly from both pre-existing quotations but is essentially the same.)

84: “Mr. President”: Kennedy quoted from *Conversations With Kennedy*, p. 33

85: “When he came down the stairs”: Ben and Antoinette Bradlee interview with Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., March 26, 1964

85: “He’s pretty ruthless”: Kay Graham to *W. Magazine*, **X**, 1995

85: “I learned that covering Kennedy”: BCB to *W. Magazine*, **X**, 1995

85: “I felt one shouldn’t have dinner”: Tony Bradlee to Peter Boyer, “The Bradlee Mystique,” *Vanity Fair*, September 1991.

86: “Who do you work for, anyway”: Dialogue quoted from *Conversations with Kennedy*, p. 55

86-7: "It's impossible to write": quoted from *Look* magazine, August 28, 1962, Volume 26, No. 18. There is a typo here too. The quote should read "It's almost impossible," not "impossible"; the "almost" got dropped in the editing process somewhere and will be corrected in future editions.

87: "This is a right all presidents covet": *Conversations With Kennedy*, p. 116

88: "The president and Tony": *Conversations with Kennedy*, p. 118

88: "More jilted lover": Taylor Branch, "The Ben Bradlee Tapes," *Harpers*, October 1975

88: "the access journalist": Michael Lewis, "He Lost It At The Movies," *The New Republic*, November 20, 1995

89: "Jackie's secretary called up": BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, May 31, 1990

89: "It's taking enormous pain": BCB interview with George Vaillant, November 16, 1990

90: "Jacqueline Kennedy added majesty": BCB memo "Re: Jacqueline Kennedy" to Nation, Bernstein, Elliott, Lansner, Manning, November 29, 1963

90: "Without the essential fourth": *A Good Life*, p. 262

91: "small mourning card": BCB actually reprinted the contents of this card in *A Good Life*, but in order to do so in my book I had to ask for the permission of the Kennedy estate, through Caroline. She denied me the permission. (I had hoped to reproduce it, handwriting and all, because it's powerful.) So if you want to read what it said, go to page 262 in Ben's memoir.

MUMS

92: "With an elusive smile": all quotations from "The Frenchman" derive from the forty-page draft that I encountered in Ben's files. It was titled, "Rough Draft: A case-study in prestige institution building: The best way to run The Washington Post newsroom is not to run it but to lead it." That's the cover page. The Frenchman himself is Jean Padioleau, who observed the *Post* for roughly a year while he was a fellow of the German Marshall Fund and at the Brookings Institution. He was also a professor of organization theory at ESSEC, a graduate school of business in Paris. "With an elusive smile" is from p. 28 of the draft, and "coup de genie" is from p. 5.

93: "In what respect": Padioleau, p. 8-9

- 94: "When I was at boarding school": BCB to Kay Graham, January 2, 1974
- 94: "That note was a Bradlee gem": Kay Graham back to BCB, January 3, 1974
- 94: "If you go over": dialogue to end of section is quoted from author interview with Don Graham, September 24, 2007
- 96: "He is a Jew": Phil Graham's letter quoted from *Personal History*, p. 119
- 96: "more than \$20 million": figure taken from Chal Roberts, *The Washington Post: The First Hundred Years*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1977, p. 196
- 97: "I can't say I think Mother genuinely loved us": Katharine Graham, *Personal History*, p. 51
- 97: "If you don't get down here soon": Katharine Graham, *Personal History*, p. 86
- 98: "I said something about Phil being sick": dialogue quoted from BCB memoir interview with Kay Graham, October 9, 1989
- 99: "Beebe said that you were furious": dialogue is quoted from BCB memoir interview with Kay Graham, October 9, 1989. In the boxes that came too late for inclusion in *Yours in Truth*, I found Beebe's handwritten letter to Ben, dated August 7, 1963, informing him of Kay's displeasure that he hadn't stopped by. Beebe related that Kay had been "bothered...a little" by Ben's failure to come by to see her, and that she thought perhaps Ben had been "unsure" of his relationship with her because of an "incident" that he and Beebe had discussed previously. (From the rest of the letter and a reference to the Bradlees (plural) being "fooled", it's likely that the incident she had in mind was Tony and Ben's decision to have dinner with Phil and Robin Webb.) Beebe appears to have told Ben to stay away from the funeral observance at Kay's house, though Ben didn't admit this to Kay in their interview years later. The main point of Beebe's letter was to try to smooth things over. "For her the whole thing is forgotten," he wrote. She didn't want Phil to come between them, and from then on he doesn't appear to have done so.
- 99: "Sometimes you don't really decide": *Personal History*, p. 338
- 99: "She spits out executives: Edward Bennett Williams to Halberstam, undated
- 100: "Don't you want to leave a better paper": Reston quoted from Katharine Graham, *Personal History*, p. 379
- 100: "It still rankled her": Eugene Patterson to Halberstam, undated
- 101: "Ben was pushing like hell": Kay Graham to Halberstam, undated

101: "In November of 2010": All dialogue to the end of the chapter quoted from author interview with BCB, November 17, 2010

103: "He came into the room": Steve Isaacs quoted by Peter Boyer, "The Bradlee Mystique," *Vanity Fair*, September 1991

103: "I'd like to use this opportunity": Kay Graham quoted from a transcript of an audio recording of Ben's seventieth birthday party, September 14, 1991

104: "Can you say to me truthfully": Mike Wallace, "That Expletive Deleted Paper," *60 Minutes*, August 4, 1974

IMPACT

107: "a metaphor for a kind of journalism": Moyers to Halberstam, undated.

107: "At the end of 1964": Ben Bradlee, "J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI," *Newsweek*, December 7, 1964

107: "You tell your friend Ben Bradlee": this story has been told many times, including in Ben's memoir and in the movie version of *All the President's Men*, but I checked it with Ben and he said this was the correct wording.

107: "There was really no holding": Russ Wiggins interviewed by Barbara Feinman, September 16, 1991

108: "What she talked about was his energy": Don Graham, as part of a videotaped tribute to Ben at the awards ceremony for the Illinois Prize for Lifetime Achievement in Journalism, October 24, 2008

108: "There were no Friendly-Bradlee run-ins": Chalmers Roberts, *The Washington Post: The First Hundred Years*, p. 377

108: "I think back on those months": BCB memoir interview with Kay Graham, September 20, 1990

108: "When Ben became": author interview with Don Graham, September 24, 2007

109: "I romanced him": quoted from *A Good Life*, p. 279

109: "You ought to go talk to this guy": Author interview with Jim Hoagland, November 16, 2009

110: "There wasn't any doubt": Author interview with Haynes Johnson, October 11, 2007

110: "Don't you and Ben feel": Tom Winship to "Mrs. Katherine Graham," August 11, 1966

110: "The other thing you have to remember": Author interview with Carl Bernstein, July 22, 2009

111: "We are not trying": BCB memo to unnamed foreign correspondent, quoted from Chal Roberts, *The Washington Post: The First Hundred Years*, p. 407.

111: "I think he saw my highest and best use": Author interview with Ward Just, November 16, 2009

112: "I didn't hear it from Just himself": This anecdote came from author interview with Jim Wooten, August 23, 2007

112; "We are here defending freedom": Ward Just, "Politics Eclipses a War," *The Washington Post*, May 15, 1966, E1

112: "Not a single person on the Post": quoted from Chalmers Roberts, *The Washington Post: The First Hundred Years*, p. 385

112: "Do you want to go to Vietnam": Author interview with Peter Osnos, October 9, 2008

113: "whatever the fucking editorial policy was": BCB quoted in Tom Kelly, *The Imperial Post: The Meyers, the Grahams and the Paper that Rules Washington*, William Morrow and Company, New York, 1983, p. 152

114: "I think that what I think": BCB interviewed by Jim Lehrer for "Free Speech", *PBS*, June 2006

114: "Ten Bradlees couldn't change": BCB interviewed about Woodward by Marianne Szegedy-Maszak, January 15, 1992, for her piece on Woodward, "Happygate," that ran in *Esquire* in July of 1992.

115: "People's touch of a Gorgon": BCB has said this all over the place, including in his interviews with Kay Graham for her memoir and about four different times with me, including the interview on November 17, 2010, during which he also said he had to "get on top of" Gilbert and that the *Post's* coverage of Walter Washington was "embarrassing."

116: "We just had to think about what our job was": Kay quoted in Chalmers Roberts, *The Washington Post: The First Hundred Years*, p. 388

117: "I can tell you authoritatively": Author interview with Len Downie, December 1, 2010

117: "The whole city room": author interview with BCB, November 17, 2010

117: "It was a very nice announcement": Kaiser quoted from the tribute video to Ben at the Illinois Prize for Lifetime Achievement in Journalism, October 24, 2008

SUBSTANCE

118: "I'll tell you what strikes me": all dialogue in this episode comes from an audiotape of BCB being interviewed by Tom Wilkinson and Barbara Feinman, undated but because of the tape's sequence---it was Tape 19, followed by several others that were dated---its most likely date is late September, 1991.

120: "When my life is written": Author interview with BCB, September 29, 2011

121: "clearest personal monument": James Fallows, "Big Ben," *Esquire*, April, 1976

121: "The Style section was Ben's great invention": Author interview with Carl Bernstein, July 22, 2009

121: "Unless you really need this job": Kendrick's dialogue, and all quotation of von Hoffman in this section, comes from author's interview with von Hoffman, October 3, 2011.

122: "Emmett Till was lynched": Nicholas Von [sic] Hoffman, "Mississippi Town Racial 'Oasis'," *The Washington Post* via the *Chicago Daily News Service*, August 1, 1965, A4.

122: "All the town seemed to be waiting": Nicholas von Hoffman, "March Beginning to Meet Hopes of Its Originator," *The Washington Post*, June 12, 1966, A1

123: "And we *paid* it!": Author's interview with BCB, September 29, 2011

123: "The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King": Nicholas von Hoffman and Bernadette Carey, "Mule Wagon Leads March," April 10, 1968, A1

123: "This is not going to lead the newspaper": dialogue from author's interview with von Hoffman, October 3, 2011, but corroborated by Chalmers Roberts in *The Washington Post: The First Hundred Years* and by BCB himself.

124: "Nick expanded all the boundaries": Author interview with Jim Hoagland, November 16, 2009

124: "Women's section as it is now constituted": undated memo in Ben's files, on 6-ply paper

- 124: "We needed a feature section": author interview with BCB, September 29, 2011.
- 125: "You've got to have some sense that it's got a soul": Ben at an informal lunch with White House Fellows, June 5, 2007.
- 126: "We're starting a new section": Dialogue quoted from author's interview with Myra MacPherson, September 29, 2011
- 126: "never did much to earn the distinction": This is von Hoffman's judgment, not mine.
- 126: "A pretty 17-year-old": Myra MacPherson, "Abortion: A Whispered Word Takes on a New Voice" (first in a series of three), *The Washington Post*, December 8, 1968, H1
- 127: "a splendid reading adventure": Hugh Sidey to Jim Truitt, January 31, 1969
- 128: "If you all think women no longer want women's news": Kay Graham memo to BCB and Eugene Patterson, May 6, 1969
- 128: "Ben (Where are you hiding the Women's section) Bradlee": undated memo to "Mrs. Graham," comparing the nascent Style section to *The New York Times*.
- 128: "Get your fucking finger out of my eye": my source on this is EVERYBODY.
- 129 "You have always been patient": Kay Graham to BCB, April, 1977.
- 130: "sad and somewhat dumpy": Nicholas von Hoffman, "Psychological Slavery: A Commentary," *The Washington Post*, December 4, 1970.
- 130: "And they would all come crying back": author interview with BCB, September 29, 2011
- 130: "Almost alone among American journalists": Roberts, *The Washington Post: The First 100 Years*, p. 385
- 130: "If you hadn't been kind": Kay quoted by Nicholas von Hoffman in author's interview.
- 130: "People knew that Ben": Author's interview with Len Downie, December 1, 2010
- 131: "So one day when I'm hard at work writing": Len Downie, awards ceremony for the Illinois Prize for Lifetime Achievement in Journalism, October 24, 2008

WOODSTEIN

142: "I didn't realize": quoted from transcript of BCB interviewed by Woodward over lunch, September 23, 2008

143: "It was a moment of great emotional distress": quoted from J. Anthony Lukas, "Playboy Interview: Bob Woodward," *Playboy*, February 1, 1989

143: "Woodward was very naïve": Barry Sussman, interviewed by Alan Pakula for the film version of *All the President's Men*, Pakula Archives at the Margaret Herrick Library at the Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences, Beverly Hills, California.

143: "You could just see the disparity": Author interview with Bob Woodward, September 6, 2007. All quotes from Bob in this section come from this interview.

144: "I thought he was worth a tryout": Author interview with Harry Rosenfeld, September 26, 2011. All Rosenfeld quotes and dialogue in this section come from this interview.

144: "I want this job so bad": Woodward to Halberstam, undated.

144: "It began to be embarrassing": Harry Rosenfeld interviewed by Kay Graham, undated, found in the file that Kay kept on Woodward, which was alongside her Ben files and which Liz Hylton was kind enough to let me peer into in September of 2010.

145: "As if it were the brotherhood": Woodward letter to BCB on his 80th birthday, August 26, 2001

145: "Which one of you is Woodward": story recounted by Woodward in author interview, September 6, 2007

145: "People have to write stuff": transcript of BCB interviewed by Marianne Szegedy-Maszak, January 15, 1992

147: "But didn't he cause you problems": from BCB with Szegedy-Maszak, January 15, 1992.

148: "How much time did he give you?": from author's memo of the interview with Carl Bernstein, July 22, 2009. The tape recorder wasn't yet running, but I wrote this down in my notebook before we left for lunch.

149: "Italian place": Sette Mezzo, 969 Lexington Avenue. (Cash only: beware)

149: "the kind of guy who was looking at you": BCB quoted from Quinn's birthday dinner at Café Milano, Georgetown, April 29, 2009.

149: "I got thrown out, I quit:" All quotations from this section taken from author interview with Carl Bernstein, July 22, 2009

149: "The *Daily News* made him an offer": according to Carl.

150: "lazy, talented, streetwise": BCB to Halberstam, undated

151: "I'm not surprised that Carl's late": dialogue quoted from a background interview with somebody who was in the room for this moment, confirmed by BCB.

152: "He's my biographer": After my interview with Carl in July of 2009, I rode home to D.C. on the train and went straight to dinner at Ben and Sally's. They wanted to hear all about the interview, and what perhaps stunned me the most was how unsurprised they were by Carl's "my biographer" claim. I told it to them with relish, wondering how they would respond, but they both looked at me like they were waiting for the actual punchline. A simple white lie like that didn't surprise them at all. Later in that same evening, Sally talked about Carl fancying himself a ladies man, and Ben turned to me and said, "You've never seen anybody work harder for it."

152: "The thing that I look back on": KG with BCB, September 20, 1990

152: "the more swinging member of the Woodstein team": "Cinema: Watergate on Film," *Time*, cover story, March 29, 1976

BEGINNING

154: "One of the five men arrested early Saturday": Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, "GOP Security Aide Among 5 Arrested In Bugging Affair," *The Washington Post*, June 19, 1972, A1

155: "There is one other place"; "Good God": Bob Woodward and E.J. Bachinski, "White House Consultant Tied to Bugging Figure," *The Washington Post*, June 20, 1972, A1

155n: "I'm packing my bags quality": transcript of a Woodward interview from October 4, 1975, found in Pakula's archives.

155-6: "certain elements" and "third-rate burglary": "Mission Incredible," *The Washington Post*, June 21, 1972, A22

159n: "according to Acting Director L. Patrick Gray": L. Patrick Gray III, with Ed Gray, *In Nixon's Web: A Year in the Crosshairs of Watergate*, Times Books (Henry Holt), New York, 2008, p. 65

160: "Woodstein's story": Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, " 'Bug' Suspect Said to Seek Kennedy Data," *The Washington Post*, July 6, 1972. (Ben said "You bastards have got me now" to them in their interview with him a little more than a year later, for *All the President's Men*.)

160: "On July 25, he reported": Walter Rugaber, "Calls to G.O.P. Unit Linked to Raid on the Democrats," *The New York Times*, July 25, 1972, A1.

160: "Why didn't we have that?": Simons quoted from David Halberstam, *The Powers That Be*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1979, p. 618

161: "on July 31 *The New York Times* reported" Walter Rugaber, "Cash in Capital Raid Traced to Mexico," *The New York Times*, July 31, 1972, A1

162: "I turn all my money": All quotes in this graf come from Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "Bug Suspect Got Campaign Funds," *The Washington Post*, August 1, 1972, A1

162: "On the day the story ran": information on Hughes and the quotation in the next graf come from Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, "Audit Set On Nixon Fund," *The Washington Post*, August 2, 1972, A1

163: "standard process story": Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, "GOP Loses Bid to Delay Bugging Suit," *The Washington Post*, August 12, 1972, A1

163n: "I don't remember a conversation I had with Williams": BCB quoted from Woodstein interview, July 16, 1973

164: "On August 22": Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, "Violations By Nixon Fund Cited," *The Washington Post*, August 22, 1972

164: "I can say categorically": Nixon quoted from Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, "Nixon Rejects Special Watergate Quiz," *The Washington Post*, August 30, 1972, p. A1

GO

166: "They were the lords of the manor": Author interview with Harry Rosenfeld, September 26, 2011

167: "only two days before": Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, "Report Critical Of Stans; Secret Fund Shift Known; Probe Likely", *The Washington Post*, September 13, 1972, A1

168: "A story the next day": Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "2 Linked To Secret GOP Fund," *The Washington Post*, September 18, 1972, A1

168: "A big September 20 story": Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "Watergate Data Destruction Charged," *The Washington Post*, September 20, 1972, A1

169: "On the morning of September 28": the main account for this is in *All The President's Men*.

169-70: "An alluring combination": Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, *All The President's Men*, Touchstone (Simon & Schuster), New York, 1974, [1994], p. 101-102. Includes all dialogue and Woodstein's quotation, "A daily newspaper can't wait for the definitive account of events."

170: "He was right and we didn't even know it": Carl Bernstein to David Halberstam, undated.

172: "The story": Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "Mitchell Controlled Secret GOP Fund," *The Washington Post*, September 29, 1972, A1

172: "I did think it was funny": BCB in the Woodstein interview, July 16, 1973

172: "I would have liked to have had that one": *All The President's Men*, p. 110. A small typo; the quote should read "I would like to have had that one."

173: "ratfucking" and "basic strategy that goes all the way to the top": *All the President's Men*, pp. 126, 129.

174: "I don't know about Segretti": some of Bob's Deep Throat memos, including the memo written on October 9, 1972 of his meeting the night before with Deep Throat, are available online at <http://www.hrc.utexas.edu/exhibitions/web/woodstein/deepthroat/index2.html>

175: "As Bob put it to me later": Author interview with Bob Woodward, March 3, 2011

175: "White House operation": quoted from *All The President's Men*, p. 134. In his book *Leak*, Max Holland notes that the Canuck letter portion of the interview with Deep Throat did not make it into Bob's typewritten notes. "Regarding the book passages that do not appear in the typewritten notes at all, [Woodward] responded, 'It's just like when you testify under oath in a courtroom. You may have some notes, and you may say, 'the notes say this, but I recall *that* in addition.'" Max Holland, *Leak*, University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, KA, 2012, p. 233.

175: "noted on the front page": David Broder, "Muskie Denounces Publisher," *The Washington Post*, February 27, 1972, A1. (There is a typo in the dateline of this story; it's datelined "MANCHESTER, N.H., Jan. 26")

176-7: "He really practically blurted [it] out": undated interview between Kay Graham and Marilyn Berger, found in Kay Graham's files. The dialogue with Kay and the interaction with Woodstein that follows all comes from this interview and Berger's recollection of their dialogue (which is not in the book version of *All The President's Men* but does appear, in slightly altered form, in the movie.)

177: "he said a year later": Woodstein interview, July 16, 1973.

177: "not being convinced that Clawson did it": according to Max Holland in *Leak*, neither the Senate Watergate Committee nor the Watergate Special Prosecution Force, "after extensive investigations," could determine who had sent the Canuck letter..."except that it was not Ken Clawson, and it was not provably a 'White House operation.' When the matter was discussed by President Nixon and his top aides on October 10 and 12, they evinced no familiarity with the letter---indeed, it had to be explained to them. Haldeman also noted in one conversation, without a hint of irony, that Clawson had convincingly refuted the allegation." So Ben's suspicion may have been right. Holland claims that this was "bad information" imparted on purpose by Felt to Woodward to give himself cover and to give the White House something they could deny about the story.

177: "she remembered asking Ben": this, and Ben's response, from undated interview between Kay Graham and Marilyn Berger.

178: "given a certain amount of booze": Woodstein interview, July 16, 1973

178: "so excited": Bernstein quoted from a Woodstein joint interview with Alan Pakula, February 14th, 1975

178: "one big ball-breaker": *A Good Life*, p. 336

178: "As Bob later remembered": Woodstein joint interview with Alan Pakula, February 14th, 1975

179: "FBI agents have established": Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "FBI Finds Nixon Aides Sabotaged Democrats," *The Washington Post*, October 10, 1972, A1

179: "This was a declaration of war on the White House": Author interview with Bob Woodward, March 3, 2011

179: "seminal work" and "the most important story": Woodstein interview, July 16, 1973

179: “represented the stated conclusions”: *All The President’s Men*, p. 144

179: “We were hanging by threads sometimes”: Author interview with Bob Woodward, March 3, 2011

180: “largely quoting the *Post*”: this whole quotation comes from *A Good Life*, p. 337

180: “He made two quick, great decisions”: Woodstein interviewed by Pakula, February 14, 1975

181: “he turned to the waiter”: Woodward interview from Pakula’s files, dated October 4, 1975.

181: “Now what have you guys got for tomorrow”: *All The President’s Men*, p. 146, but also confirmed in author interview with Bob Woodward, March 3, 2011. This is a good example of how and why I had to rely on the book. Bob and I had talked in a different interview, on August 28, 2010, about Ben taking him out to lunch in July of 1972, before the Watergate story had really blown up. Bob remembered every detail of this lunch, including the fact that it was at Chez Camille, a *Post* haunt. There was a rumor that the *Star* was going to buy the *Daily News*, and Ben wanted him to go get it. “I’m going to work until I can’t see, to get this story,” Bob had said, because it was what Ben wanted. (What was interesting to me was that they had lunch during the early phases of Watergate, and according to Bob they didn’t talk about Watergate once during this lunch; it shows you that they didn’t yet know what it was.) But when I asked him about the lunch with Ben on the the 10th of October, after the Segretti story, he said, “Did we go to lunch at the Madison? It was almost 40 years ago. What’s nice about *All The President’s Men* is that it was just kind of an [information] dump.” Memory really isn’t all that reliable sometimes.

FALL

182: “On the morning of October 10”: All Ziegler quotations and reporter interactions are quoted from “White House: No Comment,” *The Washington Post*, October 11, 1972, A13

183: “That same Sunday”: On Sunday, the *Post* got wind of what *Time* would be reporting in its issues released on Monday. “More Fumes from the Watergate Affair,” *Time*, October 23, 1972 (out October 16th).

184-5: Ziegler’s, Dole’s, MacGregor’s, and BCB’s statements are all quoted from Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, “GOP Hits Post for ‘Hearsay’”, *The Washington Post*, October 17, 1972, A1

185: “I understated it before”: *All The President’s Men*, p. 166

185-6: "The next morning": Ziegler and Osnos both quoted from Peter Osnos, "Ziegler Declines to Elaborate," *The Washington Post*, October 19, 1972, A1. This is a small error that I corrected in proof but somehow didn't make it into the finished manuscript. Ziegler's press conference occurred on the same morning that the *Times* story ran, not the next morning.

187: "Of all the quicksand I have been in": BCB to Bill Fitzgerald, November 15, 1979.

187: "We categorically deny": Sloan's lawyer, James Stoner, quoted from Peter Osnos, "White House Denies Story On Haldeman," *The Washington Post*, October 26, 1972

188: "I thought we were aiming higher and higher": Woodstein interview, July 16, 1973

188: "I won't be a source on a Haldeman story": Bob Woodward, *The Secret Man: The Story of Watergate's Deep Throat*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 2005, p. 88.

189: "no problems": Sloan quoted from *All The President's Men*, p. 175

189 "From there Bernstein called Angelo Lano": Carl and Bob do not name Lano in *All The President's Men*, but his identity has long been known publicly and was confirmed by Carl with me during our interview on July 22, 2009.

189: "as Bernstein interpreted it": Lano had a very different view of their conversation, as a later footnote on p. 194 of the book reveals.

189: "yes and no": *All the President's Men*, p. 174.

190: "Harry Rosenfeld remembers": He gave this account originally to David Halberstam; when I read it to him over the telephone during our interview on September 26, 2011, he said he remembered it in precisely the same way (and gave me the additional information that appears in the footnote at the bottom of the page).

190: "Bradlee began asking questions": Barry Sussman, *The Great Coverup: Nixon and the Scandal of Watergate*, Seven Locks Press, Arlington, VA, 1992, p. 115

190: "A gimmick that plowed new": *A Good Life*, p. 338

191-2n: "Carl got his signals screwed up": *The Great Coverup*, p. 116

192n: "It's amazing": Pakula to Woodstein during their interview, February 14th, 1975

192: "Kennedy coat-holder": Dole's remarks of October 24, 1972 quoted from *A Good Life*, p. 340.

192: "No one can imagine": This quote over two grafs comes from *A Good Life*, p. 339

192-3: "ROSENFELD/SIMONS": Barry Sussman, memo to Rosenfeld/Simons/Bradlee/Bernstein/Woodward/Downie, October 25, 1972

194: "We must keep her strong": Edward Bennett Williams to Halberstam, of his conversations with Ben during Watergate.

194: "Katharine's sphincter tightened": Woodstein interview, July 16, 1973

195: "FBI memos declassified": you can find these here, under the heading "Document 7": <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB156/1414.pdf>

195: "I remember that Bradlee was very calm": Woodstein interview with Pakula, February 14, 1975.

196: "Fuck it": this is another of those Bradlee quotes that have become myth and that he now says himself, whether he actually said it back then or not. But if you ask him how he felt about Carl and Bob after the Haldeman story, and what he decided to do, he will say this same thing every time.

Z

197: "We got crushed": Author interview with Bob Woodward, March 3, 2011

197: "grinding it in": *All the President's Men*, p. 194

198: "Well, Haldeman slipped away from you": dialogue quoted from *The Secret Man*, p. 90-91

198: "A *Time* story out the day of the 29th": Woodstein apparently saw a release of "How High," a story in the November 6, 1972 edition of *Time* that officially came out on October 30.

198: "Time's account also said": all quotes here from Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "Magazine Says Nixon Aide Admits Disruption Effort," *The Washington Post*, October 30, 1972, A1

199: "I had very bad feelings": *The Secret Man*, p. 92

200: "public still hadn't caught on to Watergate": The most insightful explanation of how and why the public didn't yet care about Watergate, and how Nixon could still trounce McGovern so overwhelmingly, ran in the *Post* on November 9, 1972, in an

editorial titled “On the Watergate and the Returns,” by a man named J.W. Anderson. Below is most of that editorial, for anybody who is interested; it certainly was pivotal to my understanding of that election:

The late 1960s were deeply frightening for a great many Americans. This fear specially touched middle-aged Americans in the intimate and infinitely sensitive relationship with their children. That threat now seems to have abated somewhat and, by contrast, corruption is a distant and impersonal danger....

Measured by the events that frighten people, and that particularly frighten parents, life in the United States has got significantly better in the past couple of years. It is better mainly for negative reasons; it is a matter of things that have not happened. A lot of boys have not been drafted...[t]here have been no ghetto riots for some time, and the tension in the universities has died down....

The threats and fears of the late 1960s were first-person issues: People talked about them with words like us, our safety, our children. The corruption charges of the 1972 campaign are third-person issues: him against them, and vice versa. It is a pretty solid rule of politics that first-person issues blot out third-person issues.

Throughout the 1960s the new demands and the new dangers were incessantly couched by the national leadership, in terms of large moral imperatives. The returns on Thursday clearly suggest that those years have left Americans deeply suspicious of moral exhortation.

Senator McGovern, conceding defeat on election night, declared his love for this country and promised that “we will continue to beck it to a higher standard.” That is precisely why he was beaten. Forty-six million Americans voted to love it and leave it alone....Mr. Nixon demonstrated on Tuesday that he understands this mood perfectly. That instinctive perception, by the way, is no small qualification for the job that he holds.

He has caught, with his customary acuity, this urgent concern for security, and this intense protective anxiety for families. He has usually dealt with it in a fashion that is negative and divisive. His handling of school busing is one example. But he genuinely responds to it. Senator McGovern never seemed to realize that there were a great many voters who detested the war and the peace movement equally, and wanted to repudiate both of them with the same ballot.

200: “self-appointed leader”: Colson quoted from Peter Osnos, “Colson Blasts Post Watergate Reports,” *The Washington Post*, November 12, 1972, A28, and *A Good Life*, p. 343

200: "That's some pretty personal shit": *All The President's Men*, p. 205

201: "hold our heads in a pail of water": Bob has said this a million times, but one specific example is "That Expletive Deleted Newspaper," *60 Minutes*, CBS, August 4, 1974.

201: "The toughest questions we had with Ben": Author interview with Joe Califano, October 9, 2008

201: "I remember asking them": BCB quoted by Evan Williams in *The Man To See*, Touchstone (Simon and Schuster), New York, 1991, p. 277

202-3: "I was ready to take them to task": the quotation that begins here and spills over onto the next page is from John J. Sirica, *To Set The Record Straight*, Signet (W.W. Norton), New York, 1979, p. 35

203: "chosen expediency over principle": *All the President's Men*, p. 224

203: "I agree": John J. Sirica, *To Set The Record Straight*, p. 36

203: "I remember figuring": *A Good Life*, p. 346

203-4: "Twelve days later": see post by Mallery Jean Tenore, from Poynter.org, for a full selection of what Bob said over the course of his visit to the Poynter Institute, here: <http://www.poynter.org/latest-news/top-stories/123587/bob-woodward-you-get-the-truth-at-night-the-lies-during-the-day/>

205: "returned to more conventional sources": all the quotes on this page, through "some kind of mystic," are from *All the President's Men*, p. 211-212

208: "information from Deep Throat and Z": *All the President's Men*, p. 248

209: "This was no Batman and Robin trip": Bernstein interviewed on October 4, 1975, from Pakula's archives.

209: "It doesn't ring a huge bell": All dialogue to the end of chapter quoted from author interview with BCB, March 23, 2011

DOUBT (PART ONE)

213: "At a recent panel discussion": In a conversation with Douglass Cater, a former journalist and aide to Lyndon Johnson, on March 5, 1990, the following exchange took place:

Cater: ...we have this amorphous playing out of a Greek drama in which the tragic hero, Richard Nixon, leaves office and not only can we not have him to kick around again, we think for a time we're not going to have him on the mortal earth...but here this many years later somebody in a private gathering even hints to Ben Bradlee, "When are we going to learn who is Deep Throat?" he plays as if he were a virgin and you'd certainly made an unfair attack on him. Now that is what I call a double standard. Why is it that the American people can never learn who Deep Throat was and why he played the game the way he did.

BCB: I have so many answers to that. In the first place, [Nixon] was not tried, as I remember it, in the newspapers. He was tried in the Senate, the committees of the Congress and finally the whole impeachment committee hearing evidence to vote or not vote an impeachment. The fact of the matter is there was no original reporting from The Washington Post after those things started. Now, don't hold me to a movie standard of some guy going through some dumb parking lot. I don't know where they (inaudible). I know who it is, you will know when this person dies...Whether that seems to me slightly dramatic, whether the movie gussied it up a little, I don't know. I thought I always had a little trouble with the flowers in the window. I thought there are other ways of signaling attention. But you do have to remember the climate of the times....we were quite paranoid. If the protection was terribly important then, and it's terribly important now. Word was given and world will be kept.

215-16: "One day in early October": all dialogue here from author's interview with BCB, October 7, 2010

217: "Where he's saying": all quotations through the end of this chapter come from author's interview with Bob Woodward, March 3, 2011

DOUBT (PART TWO)

223: "Stay out of it": all quotes and most details in this chapter come from the detailed memo I created on Monday, March 7, 2011.

228: "Two days after the meeting": all quotations taken from author's interview with BCB, March 9, 2011

MOUNTAIN TOP

233: "Also in the FBI summary": quotations taken from Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "FBI Says GOP Unit Hurt Case; Nixon Officials Slowed Probe Of Watergate," *The Washington Post*, March 6, 1973, A1

234: "That morning at the White House": quotations taken from Carroll Kilpatrick, "Watergate Quiz Fails to Shake Ziegler's Cool," *The Washington Post*, March 9, 1973, A10

235-6: "He wrote that he couldn't feel confident": McCord's letter quoted from a transcript titled "Members of My Family...Fear for My Life," *The Washington Post*, March 24, 1973, A10

236: "For the first time": *A Good Life*, p. 350

237-9: "the great sort of newspaper establishment ASNE hack": through "pumping gas," memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, June 13, 1990.

240: "Fuck you, Jim": Author's interview with Bob Woodward, March 3, 2011

240: "If any person": from Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "President Finds 'Major Developments' In Watergate, Says Aides Will Testify," *The Washington Post*, April 18, 1973, A1

246: "We would all have to say": Ziegler and Clymer quoted from Carroll Kilpatrick, "FBI Guards Files of Resigned Aides," *The Washington Post*, May 2, 1973, A1

246: "Now, don't take it back, Ron": credit to United Press International, quoted from *A Good Life*, p. 357

246: "My feeling generally": Woodstein interview, July 16, 1973

247: "I put the dime in the coffee machine": Author interview with Carl Bernstein, July 22, 2009.

CODA

249: "I have found": BCB to Russ Wiggins, October 7, 1996

251: "As George Solomon": Author interview with George Solomon, October 18, 2007

255: "My favorite of all the pieces": Sally Quinn, "Tension, Cliches in Pressroom," *The Washington Post*, August 9, 1974, A13

255n: "Bob Dole was living there too": Sally Quinn to author, April 7, 2011

QUEENS

263: "Remnick felt compelled": David Remnick to BCB, September 13, 1995

264: "Hell hath no fury": *Esquire*, December 1995

264: "I felt bad about it": Author interview with David Remnick, October 26, 2009

264-5: "The problem with her": dialogue quoted from author's contemporaneous memo, June 13, 2009

265: "Did we fuck": Story told by Bob Woodward at dinner at Ben and Sally's house, October 21, 2009, quoted from author's contemporaneous memo. After *Yours in Truth* was printed, Quinn (Sally and Ben's son) wrote to tell me that I had omitted a key portion of context for this story: that Sally's mom had suffered strokes, and that they had affected her memory. I will add that context in future editions of the book.

266: "I just remember looking at Ben": quotations throughout this chapter, unless otherwise noted, from author's interview with Sally Quinn, September 12, 2010

266: "Sally, you don't know me": Ben quoted from Sally Quinn, *We're Going to Make You a Star*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1975 (Ballantine Books paperback, 1988), p. 46

267: "What's the matter": dialogue through "around the world" quoted from Sally Quinn, *We're Going to Make You a Star*, p. 51, and Sally Quinn, "Gloria Steinem—'American Folk Hero'," *The Washington Post*, October 10, 1969, B1

267: "he ain't even titty high": Sally Quinn, "And Mama Makes Three," *The Washington Post*, May 7, 1972, G1

268: "I sure do": Author interview with BCB, September 23, 2010

269: "Any great regret": quoted from "An Interview with Ben Bradlee," *Charlie Rose*, September 25, 1995, from 53:33-54:15. (You can watch the whole interview, which is great, here: <http://www.charlierose.com/view/interview/6633>)

270: "If I had been willing or able": *A Good Life*, p. 84

270n: "it was watered out": BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, January 3, 1990

270: "I don't know why I did it": dialogue in this graf quoted from author interview with BCB, May 20, 2010

272: "There was no risk-taking in Jean": BCB interview with George Vaillant, November 16, 1990

273: "This was a courtship": BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, July 18, 1990

274: "I don't know. You see": BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, July 18, 1990

274-5: "My second wife and I": BCB Grant Study questionnaire, filled out December 14, 1979

275: "Bradlee's totality of investment": Art Buchwald to David Halberstam, undated.

276: "This will alert you": BCB typewritten memo to John Prescott, undated

276n: "Fuck you": scene related from *We're Going to Make You a Star*, p. 13

277: "It was like Jimmy Olsen": Author interview with Richard Cohen, October 9, 2007

277-8: "I have it on very reliable sources": dialogue quoted from author's interview with Harry Rosenfeld, September 26, 2011

278: "There came a time": Author interview with BCB, April 14, 2011

279: "No one deserves an anonymous [sic] letter:" undated anonymous letter to BCB, on *Post* letterhead.

280: "As Grant needed his liquor": Ben Bagdikian to David Halberstam, undated.

281: "certified bitch goddesses": Fallows, "Big Ben," *Esquire*, April 1976

281: "The Ear reported': "The Ear," *The Washington Star*, September 9, 1977

281: "Printing shit about my garbage": BCB undated response to "The Ear," *The Washington Star*, September 9, 1977

281n: "When they walked arm in arm": Author interview with Tony Kornheiser, June 22, 2011

282: "Jerry Rafshoon...told me a story": Entire anecdote, including quotation, comes from author interview with Jerry Rafshoon, August 30, 2007

282: "the most important guy in town": author interview with Carl Bernstein, July 22, 2009

FAME

- 283: "It was like a fairy tale": Author interview with BCB, June 17, 2010
- 284: "It is people putting a spotlight on you": BCB interviewed by Ken Adelman for a piece in *Washingtonian* magazine, July 10, 1991
- 285: "Think of it, for a minute": BCB prepared speech text for the American Paper Institute, Ponte Vedra Beach, Florida, October 11, 1991
- 285: "Just don't make me look like an asshole": I confirmed this quote with BCB, but I originally discovered it in "Who's The Biggest Star in Washington," *Washingtonian*, March 1978.
- 286: "In May of 1976": Robards and Dinah Shore quoted from "Dinah Shore," May 27, 1976
- 287: "We wanted to illustrate": Redford quoted from his commentary track on the DVD "Two-Disc Special Edition" version of *All the President's Men*, Warner Brothers, 2006
- 287: "When Jason Robards arrived to play him": Larry Stern to Halberstam, undated.
- 287: "Jason Robards walk": Author interview with Scott Armstrong, October 17, 2007
- 287: "It was in their minds": Author interview with BCB, June 17, 2010
- 288: "The movie gave everything to Ben": *Personal History*, p. 503
- 288: "The Hollywood version": Stanford Sesser, "Covering the Capital: It Irks Administration, But Washington Post Becomes A Top Paper," *The Wall Street Journal*, Tuesday, August 18, 1970
- 289: "never gained traction": Author interview with Eugene Patterson, November 26, 2011
- 289: "like a boar needs tits": widely reported at the time, confirmed in author interview with Patterson and in author interview with BCB, July 27, 2010. (Me: "When Eugene Patterson left, there's this famous quote, 'Bradlee needs a managing editor like a boar needs tits.'" Low grumbling laugh from Ben. "Do you remember that?" "I do," he said.)
- 290: "Ben was a competitive shark": Author interview with Pat Tyler, December 17, 2009
- 290: "Patterson was very deceptive": all quotes in this graf from author interview with BCB, July 27, 2010

291: "He ran the paper": all quotes taken from "Gene Patterson's Introduction of Ben Bradlee," at the "Festival of Reading," Eckerd College, St. Petersburg, Florida, November 5, 1995

291: "We didn't have to finish": BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, May 16, 1990

291: "Ben sucks the flowers dry": Kay Graham quoted by Barry Sussman, undated interview with Alan Pakula for the film version of *All the President's Men*.

291: "Howard flushes out the rat": Pakula's notes to himself from an interview with Woodward, January 8, 1975

293: "[Howard] is a victim": Richard Cohen to Halberstam, undated.

293: "When the time came it was Simons": *The Great Coverup*, p. 66. Typo: Ben's first name should not appear in this quotation; it should just read "not Bradlee or the others." Will be corrected in future editions.

293: "He never forgave me for it": BCB with Kay Graham, September 20, 1990

293: "Well, it's too long ago for me to be sure": Author interview with BCB, September 29, 2011

294: "These thoughts are prompted": BCB confidential memo to Don and Katharine Graham, NEVER SENT written at the top in BCB's hand, June 3, 1977

294-5: "I knew nothing about the history": all quotes through "felt himself as an outsider" from author interview with David Maraniss, July 19, 2010

295: "old man was a schlep insurance agent": BCB with Barbara Feinman, May 16, 1990

295: "She shouldn't be here": Simons quoted from author interview with Tom Wilkinson, September 27, 2011

295: "As Bernstein put it": Bernstein to Halberstam, undated.

296: "I would like to have a serious conversation": BCB to Howard Simons, "NOT sent" written by hand at the bottom, February 6, 1980

296n: "That's about Sally": Author interview with Tom Wilkinson, September 27, 2011

296n: "Gene Patterson told me": entire note sourced from author interview with Eugene Patterson, November 26, 2011

297: "For a while they didn't talk": Author interview with Tom Wilkinson, September 27, 2011

297: "My mother for whatever reasons": Author interview with Don Graham, June 27, 2011

297: "He left because he didn't succeed me": Author interview with BCB, September 29, 2011

297: "We visited for about five minutes": Tyler quoted, through "drove him into eternity," from author interview, December 17, 2009

297-8: "He got short-changed": BCB quoted from Alex Jones, "Howard Simons, Dies at Age 60, An Ex-Editor at Washington Post," *The New York Times*, June 14, 1989

298: "Simons told an interviewer": anecdote quoted from Simons' interview with David Halberstam, undated.

HIS NIBS

299: "You're really very relaxed today": Simons to Halberstam, undated

300: "Ben confessed": quoted from George Vaillant's summary of his interview with Ben for the Grant Study, April 15, 1969

300: "another extended interview with Vaillant": Vaillant and Ben quoted from BCB interview with George Vaillant, November 16, 1990

301: "Ben Bradlee, executive editor": Taylor Branch, "The Ben Bradlee Tapes: The Journalist as Flatterer," *Harpers*, October, 1975

301: "It was not the coziness": James Fallows, "Big Ben," *Esquire*, April, 1976

301: "I read it": all dialogue through the end of this section quoted from author interview with Bob Woodward, August 28, 2010

302: "Bradlee seems resolutely oblivious": Taylor Branch, "The Ben Bradlee Tapes: The Journalist as Flatterer," *Harpers*, October, 1975

303: "The critics would find the book": *A Good Life*, p. 400

303: "Apparently the cook": *Conversations with Kennedy*, p. 29

- 303: “Jack used to really”: Ben and Antoinette Bradlee interview with Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., March 26, 1964
- 304: “That wasn’t one of your better efforts”: *Conversations with Kennedy*, p. 64
- 304: “I remarked that he had put on a little weight”: *Conversations with Kennedy*, p. 151
- 304: “It shows the Fitzgerald breasts”: *Conversations with Kennedy*, p. 29
- 304: “A little simplistic”: *Conversations with Kennedy*, p. 154
- 304: “This seemed a little petty”: *Conversations with Kennedy*, p. 194
- 305: “If there was a philosophical point to it”: *The Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1975
- 305: “the essential Kennedy”: Paul Theroux, “Uncovered Kennedys,” *The Guardian*, 1975
- 305: “It tells more about you”: Ben has repeated this quote of Jackie’s any number of times—in private interviews with Barbara, with me, in his memoir.
- 306: “I never wrote less than I knew”: *Conversations with Kennedy*, p. 22
- 306: “I didn’t have a conversation” and “my rule used to be”: BCB quoted from an interview with Alicia Shepherd for *American Journalism Review*, March 1995
- 307: “I collared him”: Ben in an (at the time) off-the-record portion of his interview with Woodstein, July 16, 1973
- 308: “thrusting and heaving”: BCB with Barbara Feinman, May 31, 1990
- 308: “some ‘JFK’s’ in it”: Tony Bradlee to Peter Boyer, “The Bradlee Mystique,” *Vanity Fair*, September, 1991
- 308: “I remember only one phrase”: Ben’s handwritten notes discovered in one of four boxes at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, during my visit there on November 19, 2009.
- 309: “Were [Tony and Mary] real close?”: BCB with Barbara Feinman, May 31, 1990
- 310-11: “audiotape of an extraordinary conversation”: dialogue quoted from *NBC Nightly News with Brian Williams*, October 13, 2008

311: "A couple of months later": dialogue quoted from author's notes of a welcome party for Marcus Brauchli, the new executive editor of the *Post*, at Ben and Sally's house on N Street, December 18, 2008

311-314: all dialogue comes from the audio recording of Ben and Jim Cannon's interview with JFK, January 5, 1960.

312: "I thought I detected something": Authors' notes from August 9, 2009 on Kennedy interview with BCB and Jim Cannon, January 5, 1960

313n: "For some reason it bugs": *Conversations with Kennedy*, p. 95. Fallows quoted from "Big Ben," *Esquire*, April 1976

314-5: "Ben was a great stepdad": quotations from author's notes of interview with Rosamond Casey, John Casey, and Clare Casey, November 2, 2009

315: "I think Tony had a crush": transcript from author's interview with BCB, July 27, 2010

317: "He chased me all around the boat": Tony Bradlee quoted, through "appalled too", from Sally Bedell Smith, *Grace and Power*, Random House, New York, 2004 (Random House Trade Paperback Edition, 2005), p. 365

317: "Jack was always so complimentary": *Grace and Power*, p. 145

317: "I always felt he liked me as much as Mary": *Grace and Power*, p. 411

318: "because I am sure it displays": Schlesinger quoted from Arthur Schlesinger, *Journals*, Penguin, New York, 2007 (paperback c. 2008) p. 387

319n: "Bradlee, who lived on the same block": Robert Lenzner, "The Times, The Post, and Watergate," *The Boston Globe*, August 25, 1974

320: "I would just like to say hello": BCB to Caroline Kennedy, December 1, 1992

320: "I know how that must have hurt": Eppie Lederer (Ann Landers) to BCB, November 20, 1995

CHRISTMAS AFTERNOON

323: "When this wild, self-congratulatory ski-jump": BCB to Malcolm Johnson (father of the reporter Haynes Johnson), May 14, 1973

324: "a man by nature geared for big events": *The Powers That Be*, p. 710

- 324: "Ben's job, it seems to me": Bernstein quoted, through "local model," from author interview with Carl Bernstein, July 22, 2009
- 324-5: "Tom was one of these people": Woodward quoted, through "that's not Ben," from author interview with Bob Woodward, August 28, 2010
- 325: "One of the reasons I left": Author interview with Carl Bernstein, July 22, 2009
- 325-6: "I was sick of *The Washington Post*": Author interview with Richard Cohen, October 9, 2007
- 326: "I had some grave concerns": Kay Graham, *Personal History*, p. 578.
- 327: "I know I've told you this before": Sally Quinn handwritten to Katharine Graham, December 7, 1978
- 328: "Kay and Ben had worked so closely together": Sally Quinn, "Reveling in a Life Lived on Top of the News," *The Washington Post*, July 18, 2001, C1
- 328: "When I put you there and you related to me": dialogue quoted from BCB interview with Kay Graham, September 20, 1990.
- 328: "One of the lessons I learned in journalism": BCB prepared speech text for a speech at the New York Public Library, October 10, 1996
- 329: "No reasonable quantity": BCB to Kay Graham, December 23, 1968
- 329: "Dear Ben": Kay Graham back to BCB, December 24, 1968. (This letter is undated, but the context (and the "Tuesday" written in at its top) indicate that Kay's response was composed that day.
- 330: "Thank you for your letter": again, this letter of Kay's is undated, but because of the context (and the host of references to the strike) this clearly came either at the end of 1975 or the beginning of 1976.
- 331: "I was sympathetic to the pressmen": Author interview with John Hanrahan, November 17, 2009
- 332: "One day everybody": BCB interview with Katharine Graham, September 20, 1990
- 332: "crushed with methods": Henry Fairlie, quoted from John Hanrahan, "The Union-Bustin' Post," *The Progressive*, February 1989, p. 24
- 334: "Ben, we all make mistakes": Katharine Graham, confidential draft memorandum, June 13, 1977

334-5: "At times--& recently": Katharine Graham to BCB, undated.

337: "I don't know exactly when": quotes in this section from author's interview with Jim Hoagland, November 16, 2009

337: "always seemed to be depicted in exaggerated ways": *Personal History*, p. 498

337: "Of course she was in love with him": Sally Quinn quoted from author's memo of visits to Grey Gardens, August 2008

337: "Do you find Kay Graham attractive?": quoted from Sally Quinn to Halberstam, undated

338: "Everybody does think she loved you": through "defend myself in that," quoted from author interview with BCB, June 9, 2011.

339: "Katharine, you have been the most important force": BCB to Kay Graham, November 13, 1995

SUPERNIGGER

344: "I know you mostly want to talk about Janet Cooke": all quotations from Maraniss to author in the Janet Cooke section are taken from author's interview with David Maraniss, July 19, 2010

345: "particularly rich mirror": Author interview with Jim Wooten, August 23, 2007

346: "doesn't think in the voice of God": Author interview with Jim Lehrer, August 29, 2007

346: "Political correctness was already setting in": Author interview with Harry Rosenfeld, September 26, 2011

347: "But the point is that": quoted from BCB to Kay Graham, December 18, 1998

348: "I hate very much to have to add up our black employees": Steve Isaacs to Gene Patterson, June 6, 1969

348-9: "I've come up with two broad observations": Unsigned memo to BCB, November 27, 1970

350: "I had so many obstacles": BCB's response to Hardy's letter of November 3, 1971, undated but clearly written at some point during the following week.

351: "Certainly on the question of blacks": All quotations from this section taken from a typewritten transcript of the Pugwash proceedings that I found in Ben's files; undated, but from the context clearly early 1971.

352: "We were all trying very hard": Author interview with Eugene Patterson, November 26, 2011

352: "He is in the wrong business": Confidential memo from Barry Sussman to BCB, February 11, 1972

352: "The fact that some members": BCB to Kay Graham, December 18, 1998

353-4: "You ask why there are no blacks": All quotations from this section, through "don't be too suspicious of us," taken from a transcript of BCB's meeting with the Metro 9, February 14, 1972

354: "By one year from enactment of this plan": Memo re: "Affirmative Action Program," signed by LaBarbara Bowman, Ivan Brandon, Leon Dash, Herbert Denton, Michael B. Hodge, Penny Mickelbury, Richard Prince, and Ronald A. Taylor, February 28, 1972

354-6: "That was our bargaining position": all exchanges between Ben and Leon Dash in this section are quoted from BCB interview with Leon Dash, May 28, 1993 (including and through "Don't let this go too far")

357: "The Post, it must be said": William Raspberry, "Ultimate Compliment," *The Washington Post*, March 27, 1972, A23

358: "I understand that you recently said": Roger Wilkins to BCB, March 11, 1974

358: "I am now recovered": BCB to Roger Wilkins, September 21, 1990

359: "Dear Mr. Bradlee": Janet Cooke to BCB, July 12, 1979

359: "The answer to a modern editor's prayers": *A Good Life*, p. 439

361: "My goal": Cooke quoted from Mike Sager, "Janet's World," *GQ*, June 1996

JUNKIES

364: "I can't type": Marion Clark and Rudy Maxa, "Closed-Session Romance on the Hill," May 23, 1976, A1

364: "After two days of denials": Richard L. Lyons, "Hays Reverses Himself, Admits 'Relationship'," *The Washington Post*, May 26, 1976, A1

- 365: "The story ran": Patrick Tyler, "Mobil Chief Sets Up Son In Venture," *The Washington Post*, November 30, 1979, A1
- 365: "If I had known": *A Good Life*, p. 461
- 365-6: "We got sued": Tyler quoted, through "Janet Cooke", from author interview with Pat Tyler, December 17, 2009
- 366: "4:05. Police are called to 14th and Q streets": Janet Cooke, "Heroin and the War on 14th Street Northwest," *The Washington Post*, February 21, 1980, DC1
- 366: "It was a fine piece of journalism": Bill Green, "Janet's World: The Story of a Child Who Never Existed—How and Why It Came to Be Published," *The Washington Post*, April 19, 1981, A1. Many of the quotes that appear in the Janet Cooke chapters, as I explain in the book proper, come from Bill Green's seminal, long, and incredibly thorough dissection of what had occurred.
- 367: "A whole lot of glamour and flash:" Aplin-Brownless quoted from Mike Sager, "Janet's World," *GQ*, June 1996
- 368: "The allegation is that you 'play favorites'": George E. Reedy, confidential report (date page not present but from 1974, according to Chal Roberts).
- 369: "Creative tension is real": Author interview with Len Downie, December 1, 2010
- 369: "Larry Stern once hired a Gypsy violinist": when I checked this anecdote with Harry Rosenfeld, to my great delight he confirmed it. "I would say, 'You're going to go down in the history books as being a really big screwup for not putting this on page one,' he told me. "Larry Stern, and I think Ben Bagdikian, hired this fiddler to come, only that day I chose not to go to the conference. I said, 'Downie, you go in and present the budgets.' I was doing whatever I was doing at my desk, and then in a few minutes Downie comes back and he says, 'Harry, I really think you should read today's budget.' I knew something was up, so I went in there and then very shortly into my spiel comes this Hungarian fiddler, and I thought it was very funny."
- 370: "It may have been unconscious": quotations in this graf from author interview with BCB, July 27, 2010
- 370: "Ben hired a lot of people": Author interview with Jim Hoagland, November 16, 2009
- 370: "Everyone has to become an entrepreneur": Padioleau, p. 13.
- 370: "free-jazz orchestra": Padioleau, p. 23

371 : "I kept hearing Milton telling me to offer": Mike Sager, *Janet's World*, GQ, June 1996

371: "we all saw": *A Good Life*, p. 441

371-2: "It was a great story": all Coleman quotes through the end of this chapter come from Bill Green, "Janet's World" *The Washington Post*, April 19, 1981

372: "Ben was there": Author interview with Bob Woodward, August 28, 2010

DEFENSE

The complete citations, except for the Bickel quote, are in the body of the book itself. The dates next to the names of interview subjects are the dates on which I interviewed them; unless otherwise noted, the quotations that follow individual names and dates were said into my tape recorder.

374: "Obviously the occasions": Alexander M. Bickel, *The Morality of Consent*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1975, p. 85

PRIZE

384: "You've assembled the greatest bank": Henry Allen to BCB, undated, on 6-ply paper, but clearly from sometime in 1976

384: "every year my peers": BCB memo back to Henry Allen, October 8, 1976

384: "Not to submit it": BCB quoted by David E. Rosenbaum, "Post Editors Tell of Efforts to Verify Fictitious Article," *The New York Times*, April 18, 1981, A7

384-5: "I have used the phrases": Woodward quoted in Bill Green, "Janet's World," *The Washington Post*, April 19, 1981

385: "According to Roger Wilkins": Wilkins's account of events was reported in "Star Editor Says Fabricated Pulitzer Story Hurts All Black Journalists," *Associated Press*, April 21, 1981

385-6: "I expressed my opinion": Patterson quoted in Patrick E. Tyler and Lewis M. Simons, "'Jimmy' Episode Evokes Outrage, Sadness; Media Wondering How Reporter's Fabrication Could Get Past Editors," *The Washington Post*, April 17, 1981, A3. It's worth noting that Tyler had worked for Patterson in St. Pete before coming over to the *Post*, and was quite fond of him; so the call for comment was an even more fraught reporting task than it might have been for a different reporter.

386: "As he later told me": All quotes here from author interview with Eugene Patterson, November 26, 2011

386: “Both were calling with questions about Cooke’s credentials”: The fact that the *Post* never checked Cooke’s credentials is astonishing, and in the wake of the Cooke incident a thorough check of any applicant’s credentials became mandatory. That one detail tells you more about how she got away with her fabrication than just about any other: They wanted to believe her, at the *Post*, even before she arrived.

387: “My heart sank”: BCB quoted, through “make the whole fucking thing up,” from author interview with BCB, June 9, 2011

387: “We knew immediately what that meant”: Author interview with Don Graham, June 27, 2011

389: “Once she was laid that vulnerable”: through “get her to resign,” Maraniss quoted from author interview with David Maraniss, July 19, 2010

389-90: “I can’t explain now”: *A Good Life*, p. 445

390: “If I was really honest with myself”: BCB memoir interview with Barbara Feinman, May 24, 1990

390: “In that job”: BCB prepared speech text for an address at the East-West Journalists Conference, Prague, July 2, 1990.

391: “Go tell people in the room”: BCB quoted in these few grafs by Tom Wilkinson in author interview, September 27, 2011. Ben didn’t remember what he said to the entire newsroom, but he thought Wilkinson’s memory was close. So did Shelby Coffey, when I presented this account of events to him in our interview on October 13, 2011, though he didn’t remember Ben’s voice breaking. Wilkinson insisted to me that it did.

391: “I remember thinking to myself”: Author interview with BCB, September 29, 2011

391-2: “It was the first time I ever saw sadness in Ben”: Amsterdam quotes in this section from author interview with Jane Amsterdam, September 21, 2011

393: “Nobody knows what to say”: Author interview with Tony Kornheiser, June 22, 2011

394: “bold self-destruct step”: BCB quoted from transcript of Pugwash, 1971.

395: “This was no time for the inmates”: *A Good Life*, p. 438

396: “It is *the* classic work of ombudsmanship”: Author interview with Mike Getler, October 16, 2007

396n: "Here then, after zillions": Kinsely quoted from "The Best of Posts, The Worst of Posts," *The New Republic*, May 2, 1981

397: "There is only one damage control": BCB to Charlie Rose, September 25, 1995

397: "I could have talked myself blue": dialogue to end of chapter quoted from a transcript of the Philip M. Foisie Memorial Lecture at the annual conference of the Organization of News Ombudsmen, Philadelphia, May 7, 1996

FALLOUT

399: "There's an awful lot of interest": *A Good Life*, p. 446

399: "one of those early bird meetings": BCB to Robert E. Rhodes, June 19, 1982

399: "Everybody here today came looking": JaCoby quoted in Harry F. Rosenthal, "Post Editor Says No Newspaper Safe from Liar on Staff," *Associated Press*, April 22, 1981

399-400: "If it's the right solution for you": this dialogue comes from author interview with BCB, June 9, 2011, and was confirmed word for word in author's interview with Don Graham, June 27, 2011.

400: "Never said a word": BCB interviewed by Marilyn Berger, April 29, 1991

400-401: "I haven't had time to collect my thoughts": There was no transcript of this discussion. The day after the panel, a number of news stories ran, describing what had happened. After comparing all of Ben's quotes from these stories to each other, putting them in chronological order (given contextual cues), and then weighing which versions of some quotes sounded most like Ben's way of speaking, I assembled the account that appears in the book. (When I ran it by Ben, (naturally) he just said, "Sure.") The quotations in the book come, in order, from: Jonathan Friendly, "Paper's False Article is a Major Topic at a Convention On Newspaper Editors," *The New York Times*, April 23, 1981, A16; Edward Walsh, "'Jimmy's World' Is a Dominant Topic As Nation's Newspaper Editors Meet," *The Washington Post*, April 23, 1981, A3; Harry F. Rosenthal, "Post Editor Says No Newspaper Safe from Liar on Staff," *Associated Press*, April 22, 1981; Jonathan Friendly, "Paper's False Article..."; Harry F. Rosenthal, "Post Editor Says..."; Edward Walsh, "'Jimmy's World' Is a Dominant Topic..."; Jonathan Friendly, "Paper's False Article..."; Edward Walsh, "'Jimmy's World Is a Dominant Topic..." (ends with "You've got your point.")

402: "It was a moral failure on my part": Author interview with Bob Woodward, August 28, 2010

402-3: "I don't want to absolve myself in any sense": along with "You know me well enough", quoted from author interview with BCB, June 9, 2011

403: "He said that he thought that his career was over": Author interview with Pat Tyler, December 17, 2009

FULL CIRCLE

408: "This was perhaps as irresponsible an example of journalism": Nixon quoted by United Press International, 5:10 p.m., April 22, 1981

408-9: "Gray doesn't know who it is": White House recordings quoted from L Patrick Grey, *In Nixons Web*,

410n: "a miserable, carping": BCB to Reed Irvine, June 9, 1978

411: "the buck stopped at his desk": Janet Cooke interviewed by Phil Donahue on January 26, 1982 (parts of the interview aired first on NBC's *Today* show and then later on *The Phil Donahue Show*.)

412-13: "The Council staff canvassed": *Howard University Journalism Faculty vs. Washington Post*, June 12, 1981

413: "Who is Ben Bradlee?" Author interview with Bob Woodward, August 28, 2010

BEN

The selection of raw documents that starts this section was intended both to tell the story of Ben and to give the reader some indication of what it was like actually to do the research on this project---the kinds of documents I encountered, the way the interviews went, et cetera. I still don't know the context (or, as in the case of the draft story on page 421, even the author) of some of these documents, but I decided that the reader doesn't need to have the context in order to understand what these things are. I have always wondered how biographers can feel certain that they are representing who somebody is. After living in Ben's archives for a long time, I came to understand that I had no need to "decipher" Ben; he showed himself clearly. This section is meant to be a kind of shorthand version of what putting the entire book together was like, the disorientation of seeing things out of context (which happened to me every day), and the clear dynamic range of Ben's personality. It's by far my favorite part of the book.

(And, by design, no notes.)

434: "Historically, the eighties": Author interview with Robert Kaiser, July 21, 2009

434: "particular day in June of 1985": The day was June 14, 1985, and the stories ran the next day under the banner headline, "Hijackers Hold Americans on TWA Jet," *The Washington Post*, Saturday, June 15, 1985

435: "You guys have got this under control": dialogue quoted from author interview with Robert Kaiser, July 21, 2009. In fairness, when I asked Len Downie about Kaiser's characterization of it as a "big symbolic moment," Downie said "I do remember that happening, but I didn't place [as] much" on it as Kaiser did. But both confirmed that they remembered it.

437: "Turnbull & Asser": Author interview with Eleanor Randolph, April 1, 2009

437: "A few individuals": Padioleau, p. 28

438: "Ben was much better with the big stuff": Author interview with Don Graham, September 24, 2007

438: "Dear Dean Burdetsky": BCB to Ben Burdetsky, July 8, 1991

438: "People ask me, 'What was your goal...'" : transcript of BCB interview with Jim McDonald, June 21, 1978

439: "That afternoon": Woodward made the comments to Diane Sawyer on the "CBS Morning News" on Thursday, June 7, 1984. Ben's statement was released at 1 p.m. that same day, on *Post* letterhead, though Ben erroneously dated it July 7 instead of June 7.

439: "You have a tendency to overuse": Tom Wilkinson memo to BCB, August 26, 1994

439: "Delight": BCB quoted from Joe Frolik, "Bradlee Revels in Scooping Times," *Austin-American Statesman*, Friday, March 17, 1978

440: "That was one of the happiest places I can imagine": transcript of BCB interviewed by Shelby Coffey at the Newseum, 2001

440: "One of the joys of journalism": Transcript of interview with Jim McDonald, June 21, 1978. As you can see from the dates, this comment wasn't actually right before Ben's retirement. Ben sat for a long interview with Howard Kurtz of the *Post* right before he retired in 1991, and in my notes I had attributed this statement to that interview. When I went back to the original documents to compile these notes for the book, I discovered that Ben had said something nearly identical to Kurtz but that the actual quotation I had used was from the interview with McDonald. Will be fixed in the next edition of the book.

442: "Following his legendary nose": BCB to Sidney Gruson, February 27, 1987

442: "I'm back in New York": Rosenthal to BCB, May 17, 1977

442: "Krusty Kay": *Time*, February 7, 1977

443: "What hasn't changed": Hedrick Smith and BCB quoted in *Washington Journalism Review*, September/October 1979

443: "I hope you keep trying to accept the *Post*": BCB to Richard Busch, February 9, 1990. The date here was a typo I corrected in proof but did not get fixed for the hardcover; it was actually slightly more than ten years later, not more than fifteen.

444: "the hell with all this arch stuff": Rosenthal to BCB, November 5, 1986

444: "I don't always read the *Post*": Rosenthal quotes in this section from author interview with Eleanor Randolph, April 1, 2009

444: "Dear Abe": I could find no copy of this letter, and I don't know if it was ever actually sent, but enough people quoted it directly to me---Eleanor Randolph, Pat Tyler, and Ben himself, among others---that I felt comfortable including it with that caveat.

445: "the *Times* ran more than a paragraph": David E. Rosenbaum, "An Editor Is Retiring, Leaving His Mark," *The New York Times*, June 22, 1991, A6

446: "Currently there's a sort of mythology:" BCB to George Vaillant, November 16, 1990

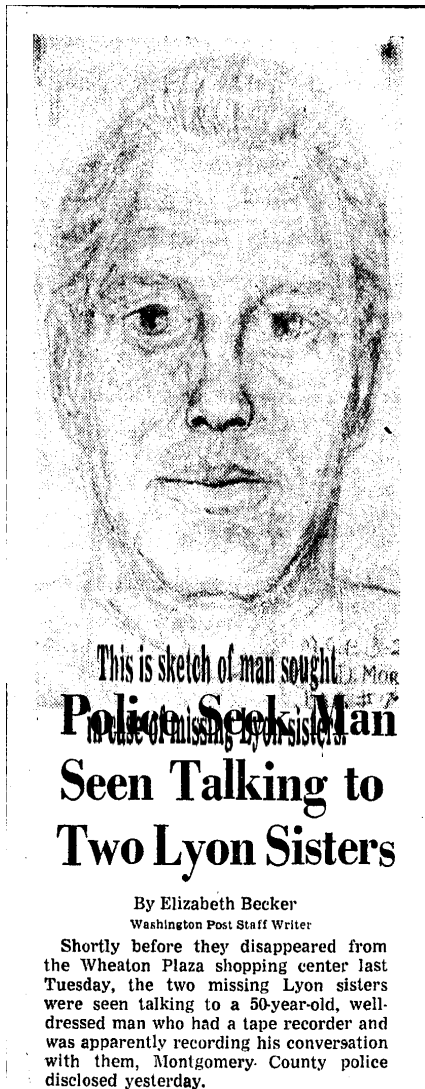
446: "Ben's next door neighbor": Charles J. Kelly, Jr to BCB, June 21, 1991

446: "Even with the long buildup": Handwritten letter from Mary McGrory to BCB, June 24, 1991

447: "At almost \$100 a shirt": *A Good Life*, p. 489

447: "None of us have really known": all quotations from this section come from a transcript of the newsroom roast of Ben, July 31, 1991.

449: "a composite sketch of a man": this piece really did run on April Fool's, and here is the sketch that sat atop it:



450: "The last time I saw him": Broder told me this same story in the cafeteria at the *Post* on September 7, 2010, but I've used the version from the newsroom roast.

451: "Ben put it in the paper": Walter Pincus and Mary Thornton, "U.S. to Orbit 'Sigint' Craft From Shuttle," *The Washington Post*, December 19, 1984, A1

451: "the height of journalistic irresponsibility": Weinberger quoted from Fred Hiatt, "Secretary Says Shuttle Report Is Irresponsible," *The Washington Post*, December 20, 1984

451: "A series of uniquely vitriolic letters": in order to print named letters in my book, I had to try to track people down to gain their permission. With this particular batch, I was happy to keep them anonymous.

452: "Mon Cher Con": Jackson C. Turnacliff to BCB, January 13, 1985

453: "Dear Pal": BCB to Jackson C. Turnacliﬀ, January 21, 1985

453: "Turnacliﬀ wrote back one last time": This one is handwritten and undated, but clearly the last in the series.

453: "One of those nice accidents": Don Graham quoted from the appreciation video at the Illinois Prize for Lifetime Achievement in Journalism, October 24, 2008

454: "As Martha Sherrill": BCB quoted from Martha Sherrill, "Newspaper Puts Editor to Bed," *The Washington Post*, August 1, 1991, D1 (the cover of the Style section).

458n: "In August of 2011": Baldwin appeared on *The Late Show with David Letterman* on August 30, 2011.

461: "Ben Junior came down from Boston": author interview with David Ignatius, September 27, 2007

463: "Hasn't it all become very unclassy?": Harold Evans, two-page handwritten note to BCB, December 10, 1986

463-4: "spirit of détente": BCB back to Evans, December 31, 1986

464: "I would like you all to know": BCB to Len Downie, Steve Coll, Eugene Robinson, Lloyd Grove, handwritten, October 5, 2011

465: "*Regrets Only*": Sally Quinn, *Regrets Only*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1986 (Ballantine Books Edition September 1987), p. 188

467: "unfortunate column in the *Post*": Sally Quinn, "The kids are all right. It's mom who's to blame." *The Washington Post*, February 19, 2010, C3

467: "Ben Jr. was outraged": To be very clear, Ben Jr. did not tell me that he was outraged, nor did he show me the letter that he wrote to the editor. I received a copy of the letter via other means.

467-8: "*Vanity Fair* piece": Evgenia Peretz, "Something about Sally," *Vanity Fair*, July 2010. (BCB's quote on 468 comes from this piece as well.)

468: "One night at Grey Gardens": as with the party scene that begins this section of the book, the dialogue from these two moments is taken from my contemporaneous notes (often written the morning after).

470: "I've only scanned": Eugene Patterson to BCB, April 16, 1979

472: "I have long admired": Shanon Fagan to BCB, August 4, 1991

474: "It's a brave journalist": BCB prepared speech text, Hyatt Regency Hotel, Oakland, California, October 29, 1984