### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td><em>Atlanta Constitution</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGC Papers</td>
<td>Asa G. Candler Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJ</td>
<td><em>Atlanta Journal</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJ/C</td>
<td><em>Atlanta Journal/Constitution</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bateman &amp; Schaeffer</td>
<td>William E. Bateman and Randy S. Schaeffer Private Collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td><em>Beverage Digest</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC Archives</td>
<td>The Coca-Cola Company Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC Bottler</td>
<td>Coca-Cola Bottler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC Legal Library</td>
<td>The Coca-Cola Company Legal Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC Overseas</td>
<td>Coca-Cola Overseas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHC, AGC</td>
<td>Charles Howard Candler, <em>Asa Griggs Candler</em> (Atlanta, 1950)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHC Papers</td>
<td>Charles Howard Candler Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of Justice</td>
<td>U.S. Department of Justice Files, Anti-Trust Division, Legal Procedures Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dun</td>
<td>R. G. Dun &amp; Company Collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDA Files</td>
<td>U.S. Food and Drug Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartsfield Papers</td>
<td>William B. Hartsfield Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunter Papers</td>
<td>Floyd Hunter Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA CC Army File</td>
<td>National Archives, Washington, D.C., AGO Document File #1239224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBG</td>
<td><em>National Bottlers Gazette</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYT</td>
<td><em>New York Times</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepsi Collection</td>
<td>Pepsi-Cola Advertising History Collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td><em>Red Barrel</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robinson II</td>
<td>Frank Robinson II Collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RWW Papers</td>
<td>Robert W. Woodruff Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sizer File</td>
<td>J. B. Sizer Correspondence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WC Papers</td>
<td>Warren Candler Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSJ</td>
<td><em>Wall Street Journal</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FRONTISPICE

v First two items from CC Archives; letter to Kahn courtesy of E. J. Kahn, Jr.; Beverage Digest, July 10, 1985, Special Issue.

NOTES ON THE TEXT


PROLOGUE: A PARABLE

2 “old man stopped eating”: The scenario depicted here is based on interviews with Roberto Goizueta, Edith Honeycutt, and Joe Jones. All three stated that while Woodruff was in terrible physical shape, his brain was as sound as ever. He could hear and understand, and, with effort, could express himself. Just after Goizueta’s visit, Woodruff simply stopped eating.
“grass purple”: Oliver, The Real Coke, pp. 155–156.

PART I: IN THE BEGINNING

5 “Whiskey Ring”: The items referred to all come from the Atlanta Constitution between Aug. 15 and 19, 1885.

CHAPTER I: TIME CAPSULE

7 “kind of decoction”: Mark Twain, The Gilded Age, pp. 97–100.
“He leaned over the pot”: Wilbur Kurtz, Jr., “Papers and Speeches,” pp. 172–173. (CC Archives)
“modern civilization”: George M. Beard, “Causes of American Nervousness” from American Nervousness, Its Causes and Consequences, as quoted in Popular Culture, p. 57. The following quotes come from the same article, pp. 57–70.
“sign of good breeding”: See Beard and Tom Lutz, American Nervousness, 1903.
9 “patent medicines”: The definitive work on patent medicines is The Toadstool Millionaires by James Harvey Young. Other background sources are Adelaide Hechtlinger’s The Great Patent Medicine Era and Gerald Carson’s One for a Man, Two for a Horse.
“stunning proportions”: “50 Years, 1888–1938,” special retrospective issue of Printer’s Ink, July 18, 1938, p. 11.
11 “flagrantly disreputable”: “50 Years,” PI, p. 18.


``Mark Twain noted’’: Mark Twain, quoted in *Steel and Steam*, p. 104, vol. 7 of *The Life History of the United States*.


``Religious zeal is perpetually warmed’’: Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. 1, p. 317.

``churning about the high seas’’: “50 Years,” *PI*, p. 23.


``the following 1886 Atlanta ad’’: “A Card from Beermann,” AC, June 8, 1886.

``Soda-water is an American drink’’: Humphreys, p. 924.

``ingredients usually cost less’’: Price of ingredients based on cost of producing Coca-Cola, 1895 CC annual report.


**CHAPTER 2: WHAT SIGMUND FREUD, POPE LEO AND JOHN PEMBERTON HAD IN COMMON**

``use of the coca plant’’: “Wonderful Coca,” AC, June 21, 1885.


``the wisdom of Samuel Thomson’’: For an excellent overview, see Young, “The Old Wizard,” in *Toadstool Millionaires*, pp. 44–57.


``their instruments of death’’: Samuel Thomson, as quoted in *The Reform Medical Practice*, p. 118. (Pemberton Archives, File 145)

“the eyes of the world”: Smith, The History of Education in Monroe County, p. 52.
“modified their reliance on lobelia”: John Uri Lloyd, p. 87.
“he went to Philadelphia”: An R. G. Dun credit man specified that Pemberton was “a graduate of School of Pharmacy, Philadelphia.” The Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, the only school he could have attended, has no records that Pemberton went there, however. (Georgia Vol. 13, p. 394, Dun; Michael Ermilio, Archivist, Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science, to Mark Pendergrast, Oct. 7, 1991)
“he was spoiled”: Mary Elberta Lewis Newman, Cliff Pemberton’s sister, was the grandmother of Mrs. Ernestine Sherman, a resident of Albany, Georgia. Most of the personal memories about Pemberton come from Mrs. Sherman’s collection.
“two slaves”: “Elbert Lewis to John S. Pemberton,” Office of the Clerk of the Superior Court, Muscogee County, Georgia, Deed Book G, Folio 327. (Sherman Collection)
“eye surgery”: Columbus Enquirer, Feb. 1856. (Pemberton Archives)
“Dr. Sanford’s Great Invigorator”: Columbus Enquirer ads, Feb. 16, March 25, May 6, July 13, 1856, Dec. 3, 1857; Albany Patriot, Dec. 1, 1857. (Sherman Collection and Pemberton Archives)
“Pemberton wrote Cliff’s mother”: Pemberton to Mrs. Lewis, handwritten letter, March 24, 1861. (Sherman Collection; copy also in CC Archives)

“Pemberton was shot and cut”: Pemberton Archives and Sherman Collection have extensive material on Pemberton’s war record. Widow’s Indigent Pension 1901, C. L. Pemberton, Approved April 22, 1901. (Pemberton Archives, File 131)

“buying spree in New York City”: Nov. 23, 1865, notice from Pemberton, quoted in “The Legend of John Pemberton” by E. D. Murphy, 1967. (Sherman Collection and CC Archives)

“forget all about the war”: Long letter from Clifford Lewis Newman to his mother, Mary Elberta Lewis Newman, dated 1929. (Sherman Collection)

“Globe Flower Cough Syrup”: CC Archives; Feb. 4, 1875, ad in Albany News. (Sherman Collection)

“recalled my olfactories”: Murphy, p. 5, from June 23, 1867, Columbus Enquirer, letter from “A Lady Traveler.”


“suffered through two major fires”: Georgia Vol. 13, p. 394, Dun, Jan. 29, 1874, report of first fire. Georgia Vol. 14, p. 194, Dun, March 20, 1878, report of second fire; also page 194, Nov. 18, 1878, “broken down merchant.”
“recalled his niece”: Mary Newman Walker, handwritten in the 1950s. (Sherman Collection)
“forget meal times”: Newman letter, 1929.
“more energy than anybody”: “Columbus Career,” Industrial Index, 1942, p. 22.

“an article by Sir Robert Christison”: We know that Pemberton read this 1876 article, or a later reprint, since he showed it to a reporter for the Atlanta Constitution in 1885. (“Wonderful Coca, A Plant That Ponce de Leon Should Have Found,” AC, June 21, 1885)
“the elderly doctor reported”: Robert Christison, “Observations on the effects of Cuca, Or Coca, the Leaves of Erythroxylon Coca,” The British Medical Journal, April 29, 1876, p. 530.
“Woe to you, my Princess”: Sigmund Freud to Martha Bernays, June 2, 1884, as quoted in Freud’s Cocaine Papers, p. 10.
“made Koller famous”: “Wonderful Coca,” AC. 1885.

“Coca-Bola”: Coca-Bola ad in American Druggist, Dec. 1885, p. 36. For other coca products, see David Musto, The American Disease, p. 7.

“Pemberton’s French Wine Coca”: In his application for a trademark patent, Pemberton claimed to have been making French Wine Coca since 1882. Trade-Mark No. 12,257, “J. S. Pemberton, A Nerve Tonic,” registered May 19, 1885. (Sherman Collection)
“Mariani specialized in testimonials”: Collective Testimony, p. 11.
“kings, princes, pontificates”: Collective Testimony, unpaged preface.
“two major production laboratories”: Collective Testimony, verso of title page.
“claret-glass full”: Helfand, p. 12.

23 “2.16 grains of cocaine per day”: Actually, Vin Mariani may have contained considerably more cocaine than the chemist found. Mariani claimed that he put two ounces of leaf into each bottle—the proper daily “dosage”—the same amount chewed by the average Peruvian, amounting to just over 7 grains per day, or 460 milligrams (1 gr = 65 mgs). (Taylor, Plant Drugs, p. 16)
“Mariani traveled to New York City”: American Druggist, July 1885, p. 39.
“advertised the general’s use of his product”: Journal of Cutaneous and Venereal Diseases, Oct. 1885.
“twenty ersatz wines”: ibid.
“discredit a really useful drug”: Mariani, p. 52.
“a March 1885 interview”: “A Wonderful Medicine,” AJf, March 10, 1885, p. 4.
“new disease, neurasthenia”: For a full treatment, see Tom Lutz, American Nervousness, 1903.

24 “Pemberton advertised . . . his wine”: undated French Wine Coca ad from CC Archives.
“taken as an aphrodisiac”: “West India Kola,” a folder from the Toner Collection.
“defined by a vintage Webster’s”: Webster’s New International Dictionary, p. 665.

25 “he was a drug fiend”: J. C. Mayfield, Sr., Koke Case Testimony, p. 776.
“addicted to the morphine habit”: “Mrs. Diva Brown’s Story of Coca-Cola,” The Southern Carbonator and Bottler, Sept. 1907, p. 49. Found in E. J. Kahn’s papers. Also quoted in pamphlet in CC Collection, Emory.
“distasteful”: A. O. Murphy, Koke Case, p. 392.

“injudicious use of cocaine”: AC, June 17, 1885.
“a rambling interview”: “Wonderful Coca,” AC, June 21, 1885.

27 “red-nosed whisky devils”: Quotes and information on Sam Jones from Kathleen Minnix, “The Atlanta Revivals of Sam Jones, Evangelist of the New South,” Atlanta History, Spring 1989, pp. 5–34.
“raked us fore and aft”: Tom Watson, quoted in The Life and Sayings of Sam P. Jones, p. 79.


28 “equal partners”: Most of this scenario is derived from Frank Robinson’s 1914 testimony. (Koke Case, pp. 347–366)
“wonder of the world”: April 7, 1887, document. (Frank Robinson II)
“last visit to Auntie’s”: Newman letter and scribbled Newman note. (Sherman Collection)
“sent down to the drug store”: Industrial Index, 1942, p. 26. (Sherman Collection)
“his uncle’s 1886 laboratory”: Newman letter.  
29 “a major speech”: Pemberton Speech from Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Meeting held in Savannah, GA, April 1886, pp. 17–21. (Sherman Collection)
30 “Swift’s Sure Specific”: S.S.S., formerly known as Swift’s Syphilitic Specific and still manufactured in Atlanta, is the world’s oldest surviving patent medicine—though nowadays it is a Geritol clone with a 12 percent alcohol content. (SSS label)
“because it was euphonious”: Frank Robinson, undated handwritten note. (Frank Robinson II)
“COCA-COLA SYRUP AND EXTRACT”: Coca-Cola label patented June 28, 1887. (CC Archives)
31 “total advertising expense”: When Pemberton sold his inventory in July of 1887, he listed advertising materials worth $69.25. Assuming that he and Robinson had already distributed many of these signs, and adding the cost of sporadic newspaper ads leads to a guestimate of $150. (“Chain of Title,” CC Archives. These documents are also reprinted in the back of Coca-Cola: Opinions, Orders, Injunctions.)
“thousand coupons”: These figures can be deduced from the inventory in Chain of Title documents.
“Within a year”: Pemberton’s 1887 sales inventory included fourteen oilcloth signs already at fountains, 1,600 posters, 500 streetcar signs, and 5,000 Coca-Cola cards. Collector Thom Thompson argued persuasively these cards, with a pretty girl on one side and a poem entitled “Parody” on the other, were printed in September 1886, making them the earliest known piece of Coca-Cola memorabilia. The poem tells the story of a lawyer, “overcome with heat,” whose lips “could only just repeat, Coco-Cola.” Once he had a drink, of course, he won his case. If Pemberton had that many posters, signs, and cards on hand, it is likely that many more had already been distributed. (Thompson, Thom, “Earliest Known Piece of Coca-Cola Memorabilia Identified,” Coca-Cola Collectors News, March 1998, p. 5–8, Chain of Title, CC Archives)
“an arch note to Jacobs’ Pharmacy”: Pemberton to Jacobs’ Pharmacy, May 10, 1887. (CC Archives)
32 “On May 1, 1887, an article”: “Pemberton Chemical Co.: An Increase of $10,000 in the Stock of the Company,” AC, May 1, 1887, p. 12.
“sold twenty-five or thirty gallons”: Frank Robinson, Koke Case, p. 353.
“M. P. Alexander”: AC, May 1, 1887.
“pronounced limp”: Sam Dobbs, Bottler Case, p. 2266; “Muster Roll of Captain J. S. Pemberton Cavalry, July 2nd, 1864.” (Sherman Collection)
“Charley Pemberton . . . payroll”: Frank Robinson, July 22, 1887, balance
CHAPTER 3: THE TANGLED CHAIN OF TITLE

34 “Pemberton sold two-thirds”: “Chain of Title” folder at Coca-Cola Archives. This contract was amended five days later, specifying that Pemberton would receive the first $1,200 from all Coca-Cola sales, not just his third of the profits.

35 “small item”: “The County Courts,” AC July 10, 1887, p. 11. Unfortunately, this is apparently the only record available on the case.

36 “Candler . . . paid a visit”: John S. Candler, Koke Case, p. 388.


39 “blind ad did not . . . address”: Mayfield, Koke Case, p. 1604.

“high road to fortune”: “An Incorruptible Man,” AC, April 18, 1886.

“failed romance”: Charley Pemberton’s first cousin, Lewis Newman, wrote a thinly veiled fictional account of his early years in which Charley Pemberton had such a romance. (Sherman Collection)

“local saloon”: June 14, 1951, letter from Wilson Newman to Ernestine Sherman. (Sherman Collection)

“Phospho Lemonade”: AC, May 1, 1887.


“Candler . . . paid a visit”: John S. Candler, Koke Case, p. 388.

“resolved to sell it”: Lowndes in Garrett manuscript, CC Archives.

“If I could get $25,000”: Newman notes. (Sherman Collection)

“Phospho Lemonade”: AC, May 1, 1887.


“resolved to sell it”: Lowndes in Garrett manuscript, CC Archives.

“ownership . . . yet more fractured”: The contract specified that Mrs. Dozier was to get a third and Walker the balance. Since they were buying 2/3 of the entire formula, that works out to the odd fractions in the text.


“druggist later recalled”: Jacobs placed this transaction in 1886, though it clearly must have been 1887. (Jacobs quote from undated article, AC, in Sherman Collection, and Joseph Jacobs, “How I Won and Lost an Interest in Coca Cola,” Drug Topics, July 1929, reprint in Jacobs Papers.)


“a royalty of 5 cents”: If the 5-cent royalty is correct, it means that we are missing yet another document in which Pemberton sold the rights to Coca-Cola.

“pressed for money”: Joseph Jacobs, “How I Won and Lost,” p. 1. The rest of the quotes in this section are from this document.

“blind ad did not . . . address”: Mayfield, Koke Case, p. 1604.

“After much correspondence”: Most of this information comes from A. O. Murphey, Koke Case, pp. 384–402.

“Robinson had found”: While working for Pemberton, Robinson had served as part-time bookkeeper for Asa Candler. (Cecil Stockard interview)

“a difficult time convincing”: Information from Frank Robinson’s only
daughter, Goldie Robinson Stockard, quoted in “Soft Drinks,” Saturday Evening Post, Sept. 28, 1957. Typed out and found in CC Archives.

“See that wagon”: Asa Candler as quoted in Watters, p. 22.

“I had the whole control”: Asa Candler, Koke Case, pp. 375–376. To make matters even more confusing, in 1921 testimony Candler identified Dr. Joe Dick—unknown except the mention here—as a previous owner of the formula. (Asa Candler, Bottler Case, p. 2139)

40 “Frank Robinson had given . . . formula”: Asa G. Candler deposition, Sept. 2, 1924, My-Coca Case.

“Joe Jacobs complained”: Jacobs, “How I Won and Lost,” p. 2. The dating is problematical, since Jacobs gives none. He says that “Dr. Pemberton died about this time,” which would place the event in 1888. Yet he also says this transaction occurred as Candler was selling his wholesale drug business (1890).

“Diva Mayfield often helped”: Mayfield denied that his wife ever worked with him in the laboratory, but Bloodworth later wrote that she “spent considerable time in our laboratory and took quite an interest in the business.” (Quoted in “The Original Coca-Cola Woman, Mrs. Diva Brown,” CC Collection, Box 11, Emory)

“bomb in our camps”: J. C. Mayfield, Koke Case, p. 777.

41 “incorporation of the Coca-Cola Company”: Aside from Asa Candler, Charley Pemberton, Woolfolk Walker, and Mrs. Dozier, two of the incorporators of the Coca-Cola Company were simply the lawyers handling the papers, while A. B. Bostwick, a sixth name, remains a mystery.

“The purposes of this Company”: Fulton County Superior Court Writ Book R, p. 267.

“mysterious endorsement letters”: Reprinted in “Asa G. Candler & Co.,” AJ, May 1, 1889, p. 22. One of the letters is actually dated Jan. 25, 1887, but that is probably a misprint. There are three other letters with 1888 dates.

“an 1898 pamphlet”: “Dedication of Home Office.” (AGC Papers, Box 7, Emory)

42 “Asa Candler wrote to . . . Warren”: Asa Candler to Warren Candler, April 10, 1888. (AGC Papers, Box 1)

“why . . . camouflage”: J. S. Pemberton vs. J. S. Iverson et al. No. 46, Atlanta Circuit Supreme Court of Georgia, September Term, 1883. Transcript of record: File No. 212, Pemberton Archives; AC, August 12, 1883.


“offering a very poor article”: Asa to Warren, June 2, 1888. (AGC Papers, Box 1.)

“He wanted something new”: J. C. Mayfield, Koke Case, p. 2775.

“newspaper notice . . . death”: “Dr. Pemberton’s Death,” AC, Aug. 18, 1888, p. 5.

44 “one of his best friends”: Asa Candler, Koke Case, p. 373.


“Behind these bare facts”: CHC, AGC, p. 101.

“I did not sign any paper”: Mrs. M. C. Dozier, Koke Case, pp. 1829–33.

“Woolfolk Walker . . . forged”: Frank Robinson, who witnessed the document, insisted in court testimony that Mrs. Dozier had indeed signed it in his presence. In her last testimony, Mrs. Dozier noted that “the formation of our letters were obliged to be somewhat alike,” since her brother taught her to write (Robinson, p. 351; Dozier, p. 1842, Koke Case)

“without even saying goodbye”: Dozier, p. 1833.

“Both forgeries . . . control of Coca-Cola”: Candler later filed a copy of the April 14 document (signed by the Pembertons) as part of his official chain of title with the U.S. Patent Office. In doing so, he submitted a completely new document, all written in a single anonymous hand. Whoever copied it over mistook Charley Pemberton’s middle initial, writing it as an “M” rather than an “N.” Candler may have deliberately had the document recopied to avoid submitting the forged signature. (Sherman Collection)

“My aunt . . . Methodist”: Mary Newman letter (Sherman Collection). Pemberton left a confused estate embroiled in litigation, possibly involving Asa Candler. The estate administrator wrote early in 1889 that Mrs. Pemberton needed “proper representation in pending suits”—though no record of them has been found. (“In Re estate of J. S. Pemberton, Application of C. L. Anderson for Temporary and Permanent Letters of Administration,” no. 36, Fulton Court of Ordinary, March 22, 1889, Pemberton Archives)

“Other versions of the family story”: All Sherman Collection.

“sensation-loving Atlanta newspapers”: “With Crude Opium,” AC, June 24, 1894.


“something mysterious”: Wilson Newman to Mrs. Sherman, April 18, 1951. (Sherman Collection)

“suicide was unlikely”: Monroe King interview.

“verified by Price Gilbert”: Gilbert’s conversation with Dean William Tate, quoted in John W. English and Rob Williams, When Men Were Boys, p. 263. There is no record, however, of Price Gilbert ever having served as a lawyer for The Coca-Cola Company or the Candlers.

“earliest records . . . burned”: According to “The Beginning of Bottled Coca-Cola as Told by S. C. Dobbs,” in the Coca-Cola Archives, “Mr. Candler ordered all the old books and official records burned over Mr. Dobbs’ protest.”

“Coca-Cola became a go”: Rob Stephens to Mrs. Sherman, undated. (Sherman Collection)

**CHAPTER 4: ASA CANDLER: HIS TRIUMPHS AND HEADACHES**


“I don’t know a single day”: Asa Candler, “Confidence in Your Product,” 1916 Bottlers Convention Booklet, p. 76. (CC Archives)


“people selling mink skins”: Asa Candler, quoted in CHC, AGC, p. 45. Unless otherwise noted, biographical material on Candler comes from this book.

“speculation in pins”: CHC, AGC, p. 46.

“She tried to boss everybody”: Pierce, Giant Against the Sky, p. 26.

“imaginary potions”: CHC, AGC, p. 47.


“more money . . . as a druggist”: Asa Candler to Asa Griggs, Sept. 11, 1872. (AGC Papers, Box 1)
“the clerk led him”: ibid.
“first pay check”: Asa Candler to C. H. & A. G. Candler, Jr., Oct. 16, 1897. (AGC Papers, Box 1)

“bury the hatchet”: George Howard to Asa Candler, Nov. 1878. (AGC Papers).
“my Mother’s patience”: Charles Howard Candler, “Thirty-Three Years with Coca-Cola 1890–1923,” p. 2. (CC Archives)
“well-nigh slave”: CHC, AGC, p. 78.
“her every need”: ibid., pp. 238–239.

50 “Atlanta exceeded all cities”: James Harvey Young, “Patent Medicines: An Element in Southern Distinctiveness?” in Disease and Distinctiveness in the American South, p. 181.
“thriving metropolis”: Clarke, Atlanta Illustrated, pp. 71, 134, 209.
“a Massachusetts visitor”: “Atlanta: A New Engineer’s Description of Our Famous Gate City,” AJ, July 7, 1886.

“he was miserable and exhausted”: CHC, AGC, p. 211.
“periodically morose”: Manic depression ran in the family. Candler’s grandfather had killed himself, while his father fought debilitating depression during the Civil War. Asa’s brother Charlie (Samuel Charles Candler) died in a mental institution in 1911 after several unsuccessful suicide attempts. (Graham, Real Ones, pp. 75–76, 115)

“Do not allow yourself to get bilious”: Asa Candler to Howard Candler, Sept. 9, 1899. (AGC Papers, Box 1)
“fraught with some danger”: CHC, AGC, p. 211.
“will whiten the teeth”: 1891 calendar in AGC Papers, Box 7.
“venerable Botanic Blood Balm”: The 1890 purchase date of BBB is an intelligent guess. Candler’s 1890 almanac featured Blood Balm, but he may not have owned it outright. He must have purchased it by Jan. 25, 1891, when an article in the Atlanta Constitution listed BBB as one of Candler’s proprietaryes, along with De–Lec–Ta–Lave and Coca-Cola.
“landmark . . . case” Blood Balm Case, p. 458.

“Dobbs got his position”: Letter from Thomas E. Basham to Martin Schmidt, Aug. 19, 1932. (CC Archives)
“drummers . . . swarm”: Clarke, Illustrated Atlanta, p. 211.
“only 40% of Coca-Cola sales”: Thom Thompson to Mark Pendergrast, Oct. 18, 1991.

53 “Foster Howell”: “Soda Water Drinkers,” AC, Aug. 18, 1889. Howell placed the drink’s introduction “four years ago” in 1885, but he must have meant the spring of 1886.

“Total sales for 1889”: Frank Robinson, Coca-Cola annual report, Dec. 4, 1895. (CC Archives)

“personal balance sheet”: AGC Papers; also cited in “Thirty-Three Years with Coca-Cola” by C. H. Candler, p. 3.

“he wrote a form letter”: Letter on letterhead, “Office of Asa G. Candler, sole proprietor of Coca-Cola.” The form letter date read “189–,” but the letter’s contents indicate it was written in Feb. 1890. (CC Archives)

“In almanacs distributed”: Grier’s Almanac, 1890. (CC Archives)


“ooze . . . floor-boards”: CHC, AGC, p. 111.

“One photograph of the period”: Photograph in CC Archives.


“Maine Volunteers”: After two rejections because of his size, Robinson enlisted by wearing shoe lifts. (Cecil Stockard interview)

“greatest sources of pride”: Frank Robinson II interview.

“I challenge the world”: Undated ad in Schmidt Coca-Cola Museum, Elizabethtown, Kentucky.

“the headline”: “What’s in Coca Cola?” AC, June 12, 1891, p. 10.

“If I thought . . . hurt anybody”: From Coca-Cola advertising scrapbook, 50ARS. (CC Archives)

“the Pemberton formula . . . ten times”: From Frank Robinson II’s copy of his great-grandfather’s formula, kept in a safe deposit box.

“legitimate distinction”: For a modern discussion of the difference between coca and cocaine, see Weil, The Marriage of the Sun and Moon, pp. 139–165.


“At least ten people”: Those with access to the formula were: Willis Venable, George Lowndes, Woolfolk Walker, Charley Pemberton, Cliff Pemberton, Joe Jacobs, J. C. Mayfield, Diva Mayfield, A. O. Murphey, E. H. Bloodworth.

“from $1,000 down”: Jacobs, “How I Won and Lost,” p. 2.

“proudest moments of my life”: CHC, AGC, pp. 122–123.

“Prescott, an entrepreneur”: Prescott article in advertising scrapbook. (CC Archives)


“as an added incentive”: ibid., p. 108.

“Fowle brothers urged”: Copies of Coca-Cola News in CC Archives.

“To my good friend, Coca Koller”: Freud, Coca Papers, p. 291.

“panacea for all those tired”: Kent’s Coca-Cola trademark, application registered Jan. 22, 1889, Trademark No. 16,209. (Sherman Collection)


“Atlanta’s version . . . given precedence”: John Candler testimony, Rucker Case, p. 78.


“$22,500 on ingredients”: All figures and quotes from annual reports are from CC Archives.
“early ads . . . medicinal”: All 1892 ads, from CC Ad Scrapbook, 14ARS. (CC Archives)
“ladies . . . right along”: 44ARS. (CC Archives)
“attract smokers”: 13ARS. (CC Archives)
“free tickets were mailed”: CHC, AGC, p. 161.

60 “Candler refused . . . open mail”: CHC, AGC, p. 223.

61 “should have that much money”: Asa Candler to Howard Candler, Nov. 5, 1894. (AGC Papers, Box 1)
“I expect you to be first”: Asa to Howard, Sept. 24, 1894. (AGC Papers)
“exhibit Christ”: CHC, AGC, p. 236.
“empty bottle troubles”: Asa to Howard, Feb. 28, 1895; Sept. 26, 1895. (AGC Papers)
“great American Eagle”: Coca-Cola News, June 15, 1897. (CC Archives)

“she threatened to kill him”: Mayfield, Koke Case, p. 2769.

63 “She sniffed righteously”: “The Original Coca-Cola Woman, Mrs. Diva Brown.” (CC Collection, Box 11, Emory)
“as long as sin abounds”: Asa Candler, Rucker Case, p. 52.
“I do not know the formula”: From The Spatula, quoted in Coca-Cola News, June 1899, p. 3. (CC Archives)
“feel guilty”: Asa Candler, Rucker Case, p. 125.
“advertise to the masses”: Frank Robinson, Rucker Case, p. 86.
“over a million items”: Robinson, Rucker Case, p. 84.
“Mr. Asa will like this one”: CHC, AGC, p. 162.

64 “About ten percent”: John Candler, Rucker Case, p. 72.
“as large as the Mississippi”: Coca-Cola News, Aug. 1899. (CC Archives)
“greatly enthuses a dealer”: Eighth annual report, Jan. 11, 1900. (CC Archives)

65 “His eyes would shine”: CHC, AGC, p. 353.
“this kind of fervor”: Not everyone was impressed with Candler’s religious devotion. Pemberton’s niece, Mary Newman Sherman, called Candler a “sanctimonious pipsqueak”; she and other members of his Sunday school class ridiculed him behind his back, imitating his high-pitched voice. Another Sunday school pupil made national headlines by sending Candler a series of fake blackmail threats promptly dubbed the Black Hand Letters. (Sherman Collection; CHC, AGC, p. 224)
“an almost mystical faith”: CHC, AGC, p. 170.
“sprees to the detriment”: July 11, 1902, quoted in CHC, AGC, p. 167.
“gentlemen in every respect”: Sixth Annual Report, Jan. 13, 1898. (CC Archives)
“greatest company on . . . earth”: CHC, AGC, p. 170.

66 “Asa wrote frequently to his son on the road”: All letters from Asa Candler to Howard Candler, AGC Papers, Box 1.

67 “Howard quit medical school”: Though Howard Candler joined the company full-time, he would never be a charismatic public figure. Shy and rather uncertain, he wrote to his father: “I really enjoy the office part of the
work, but I don’t like to distribute tickets and sell goods. More, I don’t like to have to be sociable with the trade.” (Allen, Secret Formula, p. 54)

“Dobbs . . . sales force”: Howard Candler wrote that Dobbs was assigned this position at the Dec. 28, 1899, meeting. (CHC, AGC, p. 139)

CHAPTER 5: BOTTLE IT: THE WORLD’S STUPIDEST, SMARTEST CONTRACT

69 “hardy . . . determined lot”: Lee Talley, CC Bottler, April 1959, p. 43.

“all the dumb sonsuvbitches”: Campbell, Big Beverage, p. 37. Campbell’s thinly disguised version of Ben Thomas was named Bert Simpson. For clarity, “Ben” is used in this quote rather than “Bert.”


“a new scheme to make a million dollars”: Fred Hixson, “Fear of Investing Years Ago Cost Him Millions, Sam Erwin Reveals,” Chattanooga Times, July 17, 1941, p. 2.

“Piña Fria”: Franklin Garrett, “Benjamin Franklin Thomas,” CC Bottler, April 1959, p. 86 (where the drink is spelled “Pina Frio”).


70 “Wouldn’t it be great”: The quote (as well as the general scenario) stems from J. J. Willard, who had it directly from Thomas. “Some Early History of Coca-Cola Bottling,” J. J. Willard, CC Bottler, Aug. 1944, p. 10.


“two men met with . . . Candler”: In Franklin Garrett’s version of the story, Thomas and Whitehead visited Candler together in 1899 and were quickly granted the contract. First, however, Thomas almost certainly made several trips alone to see Candler, as he told J. J. Willard. Candler testified that the first conversation took place almost a year before the contract was signed and couldn’t recall how many “conferences” they had. (Franklin Garrett, CC Bottler, April 1959; J. J. Willard, CC Bottler, Aug. 1944, p. 10; Asa Candler, Bottler Case, p. 2144)


“we can’t handle it ourselves”: Asa Candler, “Confidence in Your Product,” p. 74.


“specialized in tax law”: Irwin, p. 5.

“contract they had prepared”: Asa Candler, Bottler Case, p. 1696.


“dynamic franchising systems”: It was also among the first franchises in the world. (Vaughn, Franchising, pp. 19–21)
“laws of Georgia would not permit”: Asa Candler to Seth A. Fowle, March 6, 1899. (CC Archives)

72 “Bottle it”: Kahn, Big Drink, p. 69.

“same day . . . wrote a letter”: Asa Candler to Howard Candler, July 21, 1899. (AGC Papers, Box 1)

“special fountain glasses”: From the turn-of-the-century on, Coca-Cola salesmen sold logo-embossed fountain glasses at low cost, serving not only to advertise the beverage, but to encourage soda jerks to mix the drink properly, a horizontal line towards the bottom indicating a one-ounce syrup level. The delicately fluted “flare” glasses broke too easily and were replaced by the well-known “bell” glass in 1929. (Batemen & Schaeffer, “Classic Fountain Glasses for Coca-Cola,” CC Collectors News, Oct. 1987, pp. 3–13)

“one bottler was interviewed”: “Popular Mixed Drinks,” American Druggist, Dec. 1885, pp. 7, 9.


“Sam Dobbs remembered”: Sam Dobbs, Bottler Case, pp. 2266–68; Dobbs, “The Beginning of Bottled Coca-Cola.” (CC Archives)

“it was ‘fine’”: J. A. Biedenharn to Harrison Jones, Sept. 11, 1939, as quoted in CC Bottler, April 1959, p. 94.

“not-too-wholesome odor”: E. R. Barber to W. H. Warwick, Aug. 26, 1954. (C-C Collection, Box 8, Emory)

“change was well under way”: Riley, p. 102.

“hose often came loose”: Irwin, pp. 11–12.


“paying him $2,500”: J. T. Lupton, Bottler Case, p. 1052.

“incorporated The Coca-Cola Bottling Company”: Actually, Whitehead’s concern was first incorporated as Dixie Coca-Cola Bottling Company in Tennessee, then changed in 1901 to The Coca-Cola Bottling Company.

“cost a bit over $2,000”: Thomas to Myron J. Browning, June 27, 1903, Benwood.

75 “induce the ‘right man’”: J. T. Lupton, Bottler Case, pp. 1052–53.

“His entire business life”: Dobbs to W. C. D’Aracy, April 20, 1920. (CC Archives)

“Lupton installed . . . innumerable relations”: John T. Lupton’s half brother Cornelius had fourteen children, almost all of whom made fortunes from Coca-Cola. By the 1950s, there were dozens of scattered relatives sporting Lupton as a first, middle, or last name. A later executive of The Coca-Cola Company offered advice: “It doesn’t matter a damn what you do as long as you never say a word against a Lupton.” (Raymond Witt interview; Kahn, Big Drink, pp. 73–74)

“depopulated Chattanooga”: J. J. Willard, CC Bottler, Aug. 1944, p. 11.

76 “Describing Butts and his kind”: Campbell, Big Beverage, p. 218. The book’s “Solo Soda” has been replaced here with “Coca-Cola.”

“sober, honest, hard-working”: Thomas to CC Co., Sept. 17, 1900, Benwood.

“nothing but a cheap rubbish”: Thomas to Heck, Nov. 7, 1900, Benwood.

“absolutely certain”: Thomas to Heck, April 13, 1901, Benwood.

“want some profit”: Ewing to Heck, May 24, 1901, Benwood.

"Thomas wrote . . . Evansville": Thomas to John F. Carson, Aug. 26, 1904, Benwood.
"Pratt began . . . imitator": All of the direct quotes and information for this section come from Arthur Pratt, “My Life with Coca-Cola,” CC Botler, April 1959, pp. 168–180.
"Thomas wrote . . . congratulate": Thomas to Whitehead, April 1, 1901, Benwood.
"Pleading with Frank Robinson": Thomas to Robinson, April 13, 1901, Benwood.
“infiltrate elementary schools”: Thomas to J. J. Bornschein, Sept. 15, 1903, Benwood.
“local paper . . . highest circulation”: Thomas to bottler in Helenwood, TN, Sept. 11, 1900, Benwood.
“solicited testimonials”: Thomas to James A. Muncie, Sept. 3, 1900, Benwood.
“testy letter”: Ewing to CC Co., June 23, 1901, Benwood.
79 “special employee was a slob”: Ewing to Louis F. Smith, July 4, 1901, Benwood.
“an undated amendment”: Previous histories have assumed that this amendment was signed soon after the original contract in 1899, but a letter from Ben Thomas to W. D. Boyce of Nov. 15, 1901, clearly refers to this “new arrangement” with The Coca-Cola Company, specifying “$10 worth of advertising matter for each 100 gallons”—i.e., 10 cents per gallon. (Benwood)
“negro boy”: Thomas to W. D. Boyle, Jan. 29, 1902, Benwood.
“a coded recipe”: Thomas to W. D. Boyle, Jan. 16, 1902, Benwood.
“tastes vary”: Thomas to W. E. Birchmore, May 21, 1902, Benwood.
80 “essential job”: Sebert Brewer, Jr., interview.
“great surprise to every one”: Thomas to B. A. Stockard, May 22, 1902, Benwood.
81 “Company published a booklet”: quoted by C. V. Rainwater, Botler Case, p. 197.
“THERE IS MONEY IN IT”: Hoy, p. 43.
“into the Oconee River?”: as quoted by Charles Veazey Rainwater, CC Botler, April 1959, p. 123.
“an enormous field”: C. V. Rainwater, Botler Case, p. 198.

PART II: HERETICS AND TRUE BELIEVERS (1900–1922)

85 “little man walked away”: This scenario is based on fact. Candler wrote letters to his son Howard from Atlanta until March 30, 1911, when he stated, “I can’t avoid wanting to be with you all, but Uncle John advises staying away. I am ready to go on a moment’s notice.” (AGC Papers, Box 1) He then briefly attended the trial in Chattanooga sometime in April.
CHAPTER 6: SUCCESS UNDER SIEGE

87 “since the rising tide”: John Candler, “Every Knock Is a Boost,” CC Bottler, Aug. 1909, p. 5.
“vend a poison”: Asa Candler to Rev. Lindsay, Aug. 18, 1898; Asa Candler to Rev. J. W. Quillian, Aug. 20, 1898. (CC Archives)
“crazed Negroes”: Morgan, Drugs in America, pp. 92–93.

“in a very nervous . . . condition”: Dr. M. A. Purse, Rucker Case, pp. 146–147.
“can’t find his way home”: Dr. W. P. Nicholson, Rucker Case, p. 218.
“according to one witness”: Dr. Charles A. Crampton, Rucker Case, p. 159.
“a hung jury”: 1901 annual report. (CC Archives)
“four-hundredths of a grain”: Dr. George F. Payne, Rucker Case, p. 59.
“severe headaches”: Rucker Case, pp. 49, 52.
“in August of 1903”: Sam Willard and Sam Dobbs, Affidavits, July 13, 1907. (NA CC Army file)
“removed by the following year”: In a later court brief, a Coca-Cola lawyer placed the date somewhat earlier, stating that “about 1899 or 1900 [The Coca-Cola Company] decocainized the coca leaves used and thus eliminated the cocaine entirely from the beverage.” (Harold Hirsch, “Reply Brief and Argument for Petitioner,” Koke Case, p. 6) John Candler and Sam Dobbs also admitted that the cocaine had been removed during the IRS trial. (1907 clipping scrapbook CC Archives; “The WCTU and Coca Cola,” The Druggists Circular, Dec. 1907, p. 784)

“anything they don’t”: John Candler, Rucker Case, p. 71.
“a million pieces”: Frank Robinson, Rucker Case, p. 122.
“During 1913, the company advertised”: Lawrence Dietz, Soda Pop, pp. 54–55
“every man, woman and child”: Louis & Yazijian, p. 94.
“we are working along lines”: S. L. Whitten to Asa Candler, Jan. 7, 1907, Bottler Case, p. 1518.
“Satisfied”: Schmidt Museum; Dietz, Soda Pop, p. 40.
90 “Coca-Cola chewing gum”: Thom Thompson, “Coca-Cola Chewing Gum,” in Petretti, p. 35; Martie Michael interview; Bill Schmidt interview.
“bewitching sirens”: Mrs. Bessie Linn Smith, “Save the Cyclorama,” Atlanta Civics, Oct. 1917, p. 2. (AGC Papers, Box 7)
“pictures of Betty”: Petretti, pp. 9–10, 43–45.
“Hounded almost to . . . imbecility”: The Coca-Cola Institute, 2d session, Oct. 1–5, 1906, pp. 22–23. (CC Archives)
“greatly enthused”: 1903 annual report. (CC Archives)
“Never be ashamed”: This and subsequent quotes are from Proceedings of The Coca-Cola Institute, 1st session, Dec. 15–18, 1903. (CC Archives)
92 “to avoid counterfeits”: In 1906, the free ticket budget was drastically cut, resulting in an equivalent loss in sales. The experience convinced Frank Robinson of sampling’s value, and the budget was increased. Nonetheless, when Robinson retired in 1913, the firm abandoned the program (Bateman & Schaeffer, “Complimentary Tickets for Glasses of Coca-Cola,” Coca-Cola Collectors News, March 1988, pp. 8–9)
“a rousing rendition”: Asa Candler routinely closed meetings by singing “Onward Christian Soldiers.” (Treseder, As I Remember, p. 13)
“bulldog”: Charles Candler, “Bishop’s Young Son,” AC, March 21, 1911, p. 5.
“war was scarcely over”: The Spanish–American War sparked military support of American businesses in Latin America—most affiliated with Coca-Cola. As Major General Smedley Butler of the U.S. Marine Corps reminisced: “I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenue in. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers from 1909 to 1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras ‘right’ for American fruit companies in 1903.” The Coca-Cola Company was to form lasting alliances with every business listed by Butler. (Louis & Yazijian, p. 168)
“ripest missionary field”: Pierce, Giant Against the Sky, p. 99.
“duty and . . . interest coincide”: Asa Candler Speech, “Southern Business Power,” ca. 1914. (AGC Papers, Box 2)
“John Ralphs”: CHC, AGC, p. 158.
94 “great conquests”: Asa to Howard, July 20, 1900. (AGC Papers, Box 1)
“distributed through New York”: CHC, AGC, pp. 159–160.
“crushing disappointment”: Asa to Howard, Sept. 12, 1901. (AGC Papers, Box 1)
“wait for the Reaper”: Asa to Howard, March 22, 1902. (AGC Papers, Box 1)
“in great torrents”: Asa to Howard, Jan. 12, 1901. (AGC Papers, Box 1)
“surplus of nearly $200,000”: CC 1900 annual report.
“cater to dives”: Asa to Howard, March 28, 1902. (AGC Papers, Box 1)
“a fad only”: Asa to Howard, May 29, 1902. (AGC Papers, Box 1)
“exemplification of . . . unrest”: “The Automobile as an Index,” part of “Sunny South” Supplement, AC, Nov. 16, 1901, p. 2.
“habituated to hurry”: Asa to Warren, Oct. 10, 1911. (AGC Papers, Box 1)

“hustle that will tell”: Burgess Smith, “Get Busy.” (AGC Papers, Box 21)
“The world owes”: Nathaniel Hawthorne quoted in AGC Papers, Box 21.
“building’s cornerstone”: CHC, AGC, p. 257.
“heavy wind storm”: Candler Building booklet. (AGC Papers, Box 7)
“my enemies”: Asa to Warren, June 16, 1908. (WC Papers, Box 1)
“I do not trust Him”: Asa to Howard, May 7, 1909. (AGC Papers, Box 1)
“Candler coat of arms”: CHC, AGC, pp. 262–263.
“wattage of light bulbs”: ibid., p. 281.
“literally be impossible”: ibid., p. 302.
“built a huge warehouse”: ibid., pp. 308–316.

“panic of 1907”: ibid., pp. 269–270.
“Nothin Doin”: 1908 cartoon in AGC Papers.
“not talking friendship”: William A. Landers, “My 38 Years with Coca-Cola.” p. 5. (CC Archives)
“Candler sent him $10”: Rev. Ellison Cook to Asa Candler, April 10, 1899; Candler to Cook, April 12, 1899. (AGC Papers, Box 4)
“women approached Candler”: Mrs. Bessie L. Smith, Atlanta Civics, Oct. and Nov. 1917. (AGC Papers, Box 7) Mrs. Smith’s attacks on Candler were clearly libelous, so these stories may be somewhat embroidered.
“present her case properly”: Mary Walker to Ernest Walker, July 29, 1909. (Sherman Collection)
“child labor legislation”: For a comprehensive history, see Davidson, Child Labor Legislation in the Southern Textile States.
“altogether optimistic”: June 15, 1913, Hearst’s Sunday American clipping. (AGC Papers, Box 21)

“recover my nerve steadiness”: Asa to Warren, June 29, 1913. (WC Papers)
“tough it through”: Asa to Mrs. F. C. Harris, June 22, 1913. (AGC Papers)
“embarrassed and angered”: Asa to Warren, May 1914. (WC Papers)
“a crumbling castle”: Asa to Warren, June 29, 1913. (WC Papers)
“I do not possess by a vast deal”: Asa to Warren, July 16, 1914. (WC Papers)
“see an Arrow”: 1910 Coca-Cola ad. (CC Archives)
“a powerful influence”: Frank Robinson in 1905 annual CC report.

“Cut to the quick”: Charles Howard Candler, Asa Griggs Candler: Coca-Cola & Emory College, p. 18.
“Uncle Sam himself”: July 1906, Everybody’s Magazine. (CC Archives)
“All Classes”: 140ARS, 1907. (CC Archives)
“businessman in the foreground”: May 20, 1905, Saturday Evening Post. (CC Archives)
“Mrs. Blue exclaims”: New Idea Woman’s Magazine, 1907.
“enjoyable as the play”: Sept. 1906, American Theater, 103ARS (CC Archives); Hoy, p. 31.
“Rattled Nerves”: Scientific American, Sept. 1, 1906, 104ARS. (CC Archives)
“Sun is Red Hot”: Hoy, p. 16.
“playing a double-header”: 1906, 124ARS. (CC Archives)
99 “metropolitan beverage”: July 1907, 139ARS. (CC Archives)
“drinks in their automobile”: McClure’s, 1905. (CC Archives)
“variety of outlets”: 1907 bottle sampling ticket, Bottler Case, p. 1343.
“automated bottling, soaking”: Although the first coin vending machine was marketed in 1909, the concept failed to catch on for three decades. (CC Bottler, May 1909, p. 6; CC Bottler, March 1910, p. 14; “An Automatic Vendor,” CC Bottler, June 1909, p. 6)
“like a big balloon”: Lettie P. Evans, Bottler Case, p. 1116.
100 “grocer named Hudgins”: Hudgins Case, p. 974.
“Mrs. Mattie Allen”: Dec. 10, 1916, “$1500 Suit Filed Against Coca-Cola Bottling Company.” (AGC Papers, Box 21)
101 “little mushroom beverages”: J. J. Willard, CC Bottler, June 1909.
“sued John B. Daniel”: Daniel Case.
“Grenelle and Schanck”: see “Complaint and Answer,” Queens Case, pp. 14–16.
“Afri-Kola, Cafe-Coca . . .” Names are taken from these sources: Coca-Cola: Opinions, Orders, Injunctions and Decrees, 1923--; J. C. Mayfield testimony in Koke Case, p. 1640; Nostrums and Quackery, pp. 416–418; CHC, AGC, p. 172; Reports of the President’s Homes Commission, 1909 (in Wiley Papers), pp. 372–373.
“within the last twelve months”: John Candler to J. T. Lupton, Jan. 8, 1913, Bottler Case, p. 1426.
“demand the genuine”: July 1914, 419ARS, 474ARS (CC Archives); 1915, Hoy, p. 33.
“It is not dope!”: “Is Coca-Cola a Menace,” Town Topics Nov. 20, 1913, Wiley Papers; Watters, p. 45; Kahn, p. 103.
“other four-letter . . . words”: Treseder, As I Remember, pp. 3–4.
“Pinkerton detectives”: See reference to Pinkerton bills by Coca-Cola cashier W. O. Mashburn, July 24, 1913, and Nov. 1, 1913, Bottler Case, pp. 950, 966.

“our own child”: Harold Hirsch, Bottler Case, p. 257.
“company auditor failed”: “Interview with Mr. T. Clyde Edwards,” Aug. 15, 1949. (CC Archives)


105 “hired his personal friend”: The shift to D’Arcy was gradual, but by 1910, D’Arcy placed $225,000 in annual ads, while Massengale was reduced to $50,000. (Charles Bottoms interview; Wilbur Kurtz, Jr., to Delony Sledge; J. J. Willard to Frank Rowsey, April 10, 1956, CC Archives; “A Radio Greeting,” CC Bottler, Jan. 1923, p. 20)
“calm, deliberate”: Frank Robinson undated memo. Robinson’s recommendations begin with Dec. 1906, placing the likely date of the memo in Nov. 1906. (Frank Robinson II)
“Truth in Advertising”: Fox, The Mirror Makers, p. 68.
“singularly limited vision”: Dobbs to W. C. Bucher, April 15, 1908, and May 4, 1911; Dobbs to The Chemist & Druggist, June 20, 1910; J. D. Hampton to Dobbs, Oct. 24, 1911; Dobbs to Hampton, Nov. 16, 1911; Dobbs to C. Mitchell & Co., June 10, 1915. (Duckworth Case Box, CC Archives)

106 “Dobbs reacted defensively”: Sam Dobbs to Ben Thomas, April 2, 1907, Exhibit 19–1, Bottler Case, pp. 1307–8.
CHAPTER 7: DR. WILEY WEIGHS IN

“Harvey Washington Wiley”: For information on Wiley and the Progressive Era, see the following publications: Crunden, Ministers of Reform; Wiley, Harvey W. Wiley: An Autobiography; Anderson, The Health of a Nation; Young, The Toadstool Millionaires; Young, Pure Food; Sullivan, Our Times.
“We’re on the hunt”: ibid., p. 217.

“refusing to bow”: Adams, The Great American Fraud, p. 5.
“conscience of America’s heartland”: While White refused what he considered bogus patent medicine ads, he actively solicited business from Coca-Cola in 1910, assuring the Company that “your display . . . would not have to compete with trash.” At least in Kansas, Coca-Cola had shed its patent medicine image. (William Allen White to CC Co., Sept. 27, 1910, Letterbook 17, White Papers)
“aimed at the public’s heart”: Crunden, Ministers of Reform, pp. 173–174.
“Wiley’s Law”: Young, Toadstool, pp. 226–244.
“adverse legislation”: George Hunter, Bottler Case, p. 1257.
“clear to Judge”: John Candler, Koke Case, p. 386; John Candler, Rucker Case, p. 80.
“resigned from the bench”: John Candler, Bottler Case, p. 1426.
“imitators with cocaine”: The new law did spell the end of cocaine-laced cola drinks. Celery-Cola, one of J. C. Mayfield’s drinks, was seized under the Pure Food and Drugs Act and given a “black eye,” as Mayfield put it. Others, such as French Wine Coca and Vin Mariani, survived by removing the cocaine, but their popularity and sales soon faded.
“traveled to Washington”: 1907 Scrapbook, newspaper article, “Coca-Cola Is Defended by Candler.” (CC Archives)
“salesmen used the new law”: The Coca-Cola Institute, 2d session, Oct. 1–5, 1906, p. 16. (CC Archives)
“special state taxes”: Kahn, Big Drink, p. 141.

110 “William Allen White reported”: Emporia Gazette, Jan. 14, 1908, p. 5.
“work vast detriment”: Candler to Wiley, Feb. 25, 1907, Bureau of Chemistry General Correspondence, Record Group 97, National Archives, file 2719 for 1907 (notes courtesy James Harvey Young).
“then go ahead”: ibid., p. 236.

“chemical fundamentalist”: Crunden, Ministers of Reform, p. 186.
“substances illegal”: Cocaine was not made illegal until the passage of the Harrison Narcotics Act of 1914. After intensive lobbying, Coca-Cola succeeded in having a loophole written into that law, allowing the importation of coca leaves if they were decocainized under government supervision.
“heard many complaints”: Wiley to Candler, Feb. 28, 1907, National Archives (notes courtesy James Harvey Young).

112 “who wrote in May”: Army Circular No. 14, from Wiley Papers.
“besieged the Army”: Coca-Cola Army file, National Archives.
“letters . . . from alarmed organizations”: Coca-Cola Army File, National Archives.
“competitors considered us dead”: H. F. Bray, “Cuba—Early History.” (CC Archives)

113 “gives largely to missions”: This quote and following (including the letter from Samuel Hopkins Adams) are from Martha M. Allen, “The WCTU and Coca-Cola,” *The Druggists Circular*, Dec. 1907, pp. 783–784.

“confirming Wiley’s worst fears”: When Asa Candler learned of the Kebler tour, he exploded: “The idea of his [Wiley] sending a man over the country picking up such rumors as he refers to . . . is enough to stagger the patriotism of a better man than myself.” Allen, *Secret Formula*, p. 51.)
“Poison Squad . . . for soft drinks”: 1907 scrapbook, Oct. 30, 1907, “Herald.” (CC Archives)

115 “combating prejudice”: 1907 annual report. (CC Archives)
“3 million gallons”: 1908 annual report. (CC Archives)
“George McCabe . . . repeatedly refused”: McCabe Memorandum, March 12, 1909. (Wiley Papers)
“stay by the ship”: Wiley to Adams, Feb. 8, 1909. (Wiley Papers)
“Dunlap pointed out”: F. L. Dunlap to Board of Food & Drug Inspection, March 27, 1909. (Wiley Papers)
“merit discussion”: Wiley memo, March 18, 1909. (Wiley Papers)
“If their parents knew”: Wiley memo, May 12, 1909. (Wiley Papers)
“nominated . . . Nobel Prize”: Box 71 note. (Wiley Papers)
“cook’s dirty undershirt”: J. L. Lynch, Barrels Case, p. 79. That same month, just after Kebler’s visit to the Coca-Cola factory, Martha Allen published “Coca-Cola, A Drug Drink” in Tom Watson’s *Weekly Jeffersonian* on August 12, 1909.
“defensive tract”: *The Truth About Coca-Cola*, 1910. (CC Archives)


“Seely had threatened”: Candler memo, May 19, 1990, (AGC Papers, Box 3); Allen, *Secret Formula*, p. 57.


“equivalent . . . Atlanta”: Wiley, *History of a Crime*, p. 378. Actually, Wiley may only have been searching for excuses, since another source indicates the Chattanooga seizure was plotted because Judge Sanford, a Wiley acquaintance, had ruled in favor of other pure food cases. (Atkinson, *Devil’s Candle*, p. 149)

“very low class men”: Daniel M. Walsh, Inspector, to Chief Inspector, April 13, 1911. (FDA files)

“almost useless now”: A. R. Sudler to Chief, March 24, 1911. AF. (FDA files)


“Coca-Cola was misbranded”: In the trial, Harold Hirsch made much of Coca-Cola’s *hyphen*, which, he argued, rendered the trademark a single word unrelated to the two substances, coca and cola. Unfortunately, the name frequently appeared on bottle caps and correspondence without a hyphen, which the government lawyers pointed out.


118 “other insect fragments”: H. C. Fuller, Barrels Case, p. 130.

“wild nocturnal freaks”: Inspector Lynch to W. G. Campbell, April 28, 1910, FDA files; George R. Stuart, “Is Coca-Cola a Menace to the Public Health?” *Town Topics*, Dec. 7, 1913. (Wiley Papers)

“three co-editors”: *The National Dispensatory*, ed. by Hare, Caspari, and Rusby.


“dyspeptic letters”: Asa to Howard, March 15, 1911; Asa to Howard, March 16, 1911. (AGC Papers, Box 1)

“EIGHT COCA-COLAS”: *Atlanta Georgian*, March 18, 1911.

“on various animals”: The Bureau’s scientist testified that rabbits on a Coca-Cola diet had died—little wonder, since he had run the feeding tube into the rabbits’ lungs instead of their stomachs and had drowned them all. (“The Bureau of Chemistry and Its Work,” *Scientific American*, Nov. 23, 1912, p. 439)


“rat rabbit & frog evidence”: Asa Candler to Sam and Joe Willard, March 21, 1911. (AGC Papers, Box 1)

“not qualify as an expert”: *Southern Carbonator and Bottler*, Oct. 1911.

“Wiley would have testified”: Harold Hirsch later made much of Wiley’s admission that he did not qualify as an expert. Even the impartial *Scientific
American complained of Wiley’s pseudo-science. (“Dr. Wiley’s Resignation,” Scientific American, March 30, 1912, p. 282)

“Father likes it”: (1907, 141ARS. (CC Archives)

“an unwritten law”: The trial also had another immediate effect. The decorative border of coca leaves and kola nuts gracing Coca-Cola trays and syrup barrels now disappeared. In general, advertising in the post-Barrels and Kegs era stressed the wholesome, refreshing qualities of the drink, while tonic claims were nearly abandoned. The Company simultaneously stepped up defensive efforts, offering a series of booklets praising caffeine and quoting scientists in its favor. (The Truth About Coca-Cola, 1910; Truth, Justice and Coca-Cola, 1914; The Truth, the Whole Truth and Nothing But the Truth About Coca-Cola, 1915; The Romance of Coca-Cola, 1916; Bateman & Schaeffer, “Trays: An Overview,” Cola Call, June 1985, pp. 7–8; “Truth, Justice, Romance,” Coca-Cola Collectors News, May 1988, pp. 10–14)

two bills were introduced”: Ludy Benjamin, “Coca-Cola, Caffeine, and Mental Deficiency,” Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences, Jan. 1991, p. 54, footnote 36.

“president of Dr Pepper”: R. S. Lazenby to Wiley, July 12, 1912. (Wiley Papers)


“Wiley joined Good Housekeeping”: From 1907 through 1911, Coca-Cola advertised steadily in Good Housekeeping. Not surprisingly, the ads ceased in 1912 after Wiley’s articles appeared there. (CC Archives)

“opinions . . . purchased”: Several of Coca-Cola’s expert witnesses had indeed written books or articles critical of caffeine before accepting money to testify that it was harmless.

crawling inside a giant glass”: Harold Hirsch contacted Wiley and the editor of Good Housekeeping seeking rebuttal space, but was refused. Instead, Hirsch published his lengthy answer to Wiley in serial form in The Coca-Cola Bottler, where he reached a limited but vastly sympathetic audience.


“anti-Coca-Cola epic”: D. W. Griffith, For His Son, Biograph, 1912, 12 minutes. Film at Emory University.


“double taxation”: Thanks to accountant Tom Scanlon for this interpretation.

“thinly defined”: CHC, AGC, p. 266.

“in Biblical times”: ibid., p. 146.

“whopping dividends”: 1914 and 1915 CC annual reports; CHC, AGC, p. 266.

“leaving the bench to run for president”: Hughes—vociferously supported by Harvey Wiley—lost by an extremely slim margin. (“One More Reason,” newspaper clip, AGC Papers, Box 21)


“Alsberg asked for more time”: Secretary of Agriculture to Attorney General, March 28, 1917. (FDA files)

“Company agreed to reduce”: Hirsch to Attorney General, Feb. 16, 1917. (FDA files)

“tacit agreement”: Harvey Wiley, disgusted by the settlement, continued to agitate for action against Coca-Cola right up until his death in 1930. (Wiley, History of a Crime; Ludy Benjamin, p. 55, footnote 41)

“accepted a bribe”: Brad Ansley interview.

“over $250,000”: Harold Hirsch, Bottler Case, p. 1553.

“entire destruction”: ibid.

CHAPTER 8: THE SINISTER SYNDICATE

123 “Complainant now shows”: Bottler Case, p. 22.


124 “A-Shot-in-the-Arm”: For many years, the sign used by the deaf for Coca-Cola was a mimicked hypodermic needle to the arm. (Betty Molnar interview)


“Koke Case was pending”: The Koke Case was decided in Coca-Cola’s favor on Sept. 16, 1916, on the Arizona District Court level. Mayfield immediately appealed to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

“illegitimate business practices”: Francis M. Phelps to Harold Hirsch, March 27, 1916, FTC correspondence. (CC Legal Library)

“special agent”: E. Y. Chapin to Harold Hirsch, Nov. 27, 1915, FTC booklet. (CC Legal Library)

“Asa Candler received . . . FTC”: Joseph E. Davies to Asa G. Candler, July 15, 1916, FTC booklet. (CC Legal Library)

125 “poor financial shape”: CHC, AGC, p. 321.

“amounting almost to anxiety”: ibid., p. 147.

“intending to remain”: ibid., p. 322.


“the people’s candidate”: “Asa G. Candler’s Race for Mayor,” Sept. 27, 1916, clipping. (AGC Papers, Box 21)

“some ordinary gink”: All quotes from newspaper clippings. (AGC Papers, Box 21)

“union was disbanded”: Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, vol. 2, pp. 688–689.

“demagogue whose radical measures”: Asa Candler speeches. (AGC Papers, Box 2)

126 “Asa boomers”: AGC Papers, Box 21.

“exclusively to Candler-bashing”: “Why does a ‘victim’ rush for a glass before he can eat breakfast?” Bessie Smith asked. “No man save Mr. Candler alone, really knows the actual amount of cocaine in Coca-Cola, and we do not expect him to give away the secret of his wealth.” (“Will Restitution Ever Be Made?” Atlanta Civics, Nov. 1917, p. 3, AGC Papers, Box 7)

“souls would be purged”: Mrs. Bessie L. Smith, Atlanta Civics, Oct. 1917, p. 2. (AGC Papers, Box 7)

“paper from a newsboy”: ibid., p. 1.

“Soft Drink Ordinance”: Feb. 18, 1918. (CC Archives)

“a more alarming peril”: Feb. 2, 1918, Asa Candler to WCTU woman. (AGC Papers, Box 4)
“what about the soda jerker”: Jan. 18, 1917, Dalton, GA, Citizen. (AGC Papers, Box 21)

“Two New York lawyers”: Colby, who was to serve as Woodrow Wilson’s Secretary of State in 1920, was a well-connected politician and lawyer. Ed Brown, a native of Albany, Georgia, was Harold Hirsch’s brother-in-law, father Samuel Brown, a wealthy cotton broker and banker from Albany, Georgia, was the real mover behind the deal. Brown had been negotiating with Asa Candler since 1908 to purchase the company, but something always went wrong. Candler said he wanted to sell, but in fact he was reluctant to follow through. (Allen, Secret Formula, p. 55–56, 64–65, 85–88; Harold Hirsch, Bottler Case, p. 2432).

“the deal fell through”: “Says Colby Firm Got $1,000,000 in Stock,” NYT, April 28, 1920, p. 7; Hirsch, Bottler Case, p. 2431.


“received a million dollars”: NYT, April 28, 1920, p. 7.

“Candler had turned over”: CHC, AGC, pp. 127, 267. According to family legend, Lucy Candler pressured her husband into giving the children the Coca-Cola stock. (Graham, Real Ones, pp. 87–88)

“Statue of Liberty”: June 1918, 568ARS. (CC Archives)


“abnormal conditions”: Bottler Case, p. 32.

“we can’t get the sugar”: “Coca-Cola Drink Supply Curtailed,” National Bottlers’ Gazette, Jan. 5, 1918, p. 121.

“serving AFRI-KOLA”: “Coca-Cola Substitution,” NBG, July 5, 1918, p. 85.

“business would be decimated”: John Candler, Revenue to Defray War Expenses, 1917, pp. 122–131.


“nothing changed, cheapened”: March 1919, 588ARS. (CC Archives)

“bent the truth”: One positive outcome of the war was Howard Candler’s discovery that Coca-Cola syrup did not need to be heated. Coal having been rationed as well as sugar, Candler tried dissolving sugar in cold syrup, just as he did with his iced tea. Using what amounted to a giant butter churn, he eliminated the expensive, time-consuming boiling process (CHC, AGC, pp. 124–126)


“huge new manufacturing plant”: CHC, “33 Years,” pp. 61–62; Feb. 12, 1919, minutes. (CC Archives)


“probably behind the original attempt”: W. C. Wardlaw, Bottler Case, p. 2349.

“powerful tax incentives”: Sam Dobbs, Bottler Case, p. 2246; Dobbs to Dennis A. Reeser, Oct. 27, 1919. (CC Archives)

“Dobbs agreed”: Sam Dobbs, Bottler Case, p. 2206.

“petty frugality”: Kahn, RWW, p. 43.


“Eugene Stetson”: Before moving to New York, Stetson was a Macon, Georgia, banker. (A. B. Simms III interview)

“Be it resolved”: Aug. 13, 1919, Trust Co. minutes, (CC Archives)

“only $1.8 million”: Atlanta Georgian, Aug. 24, 1919.

“$40 a share”: Underwriters across the country offered the stock for $40, but $5 of that was taken as profit; the “actual” sales price was $35.

“By 3:45 P.M.”: W. C. Wardlaw, Bottler Case, p. 2335.

“their mansions would spring up”: The Candler mansions survive. Howard built Callanwolde, now an arts center. Asa Jr. created Briarcliff, which became (ironically enough, since “Buddie” was a drinker) an alcohol rehabilitation center. Walter’s Lullwater House is now the home of Emory’s president. William owned Rest Haven, complete with lake and swans. Lucy built Rainbow Terrace, renovated as condominiums. Asa Sr.’s 1903 home, Callan Castle, was bought and refurbished in the 1980s by Charles LeChasney, a wealthy French aristocrat who turned out to be a Cuban con artist named Herriberto Figueroa, subsequently jailed for laundering drug money. Asa’s final Ponce de Leon monstrosity, built for $210,000 in 1916, has been converted into the St John Melkite Catholic Church. (Michael Booth, “The Classic Style of the Coca-Cola Homes,” Southern Homes, Spring 1986, pp. 86–99; Tracy Thompson, “Confessed Money–Launderer Chased Wealth and Friendships,” Atlanta Journal/Constitution, Oct. 24, 1988, p. 6)

“immediate profit”: Harold Martin gives a figure of $2,085,000 in Three Strong Pillars. The bottlers’ lawyers claimed the figure was $5 million; see also Allen, Secret Formula, p. 103.

“manipulations”: Bottler Case, p. 23.

“lingering IRS suit”: The matter was finally settled out of court in 1929 for $1 million, though the Trust Company then spent years trying to pry money out of the original sellers. (William A. Landers, “My 38 Years with the Coca-Cola Company 1910–1948,” CC Archives, pp. 12–13; New York Times, May 28, 1924, p. 36; Harold Hirsch to W. D. Thomson, Aug. 23, 1929, property of Frank Robinson II; John Sibley to RWW, Nov. 22, 1930, Sibley Papers, Box 1)

“beginning balance sheet”: Howard Candler, Bottler Case, pp. 2472–73.

“good will”: McCarthy, Trademarks and Unfair Competition, p. 60.


“worth nearly $7 million dollars”: Cynthia Mitchell, “Coke Stock: Formula for Fortunes,” AC, April 15, 1992; Kahn, Big Drink, p. 62; CC Co. Public Relations. In small-town Quincy, Florida, almost every citizen can still attest to the stock’s phenomenal growth, since a local banker cajoled townspeople into buying 1919 Coca-Cola shares. Today, despite the exodus of various kin over the years, Quincy residents still hold about $300 million worth of Coca-Cola stock.


“I can’t bring myself”: Asa to Howard, April 12, 1921. (AGC Papers, Box 2)

“ashes, just ashes” Graham, Real Ones, p. 115

“lost my way”: Asa Candler speech to Rural Sunday School Celebration. (AGC Papers, Box 2)
“Catholic divorcee”: Graham, Real Ones, pp. 117–22; AC, Oct. 13, 1922; Feb 5–6, 1924; Allen, Secret Formula, pp 151–152)
“mutual acquaintance”: James E. Dickey to Asa Candler, Sept. 2, 1922. (WC Papers)
“Jesuit plot”: J. E. Harrison to Bishop Warren Candler, Nov. 24, 1922. (WC Papers, Box 47)
“life companion”: Asa to Howard, June 19, 1923. (AGC Papers, Box 2)
“a little party”: Graham, Real Ones, p. 123.
“Candler filed for divorce”: Asa G. Candler vs. Mrs. Mae L. Candler, Fulton County Superior Court, filed on June 17, 1924.
“killed a five-year-old”: Elizabeth Lawrence Lunsford vs. Mrs. Mae Little Candler et al., Oct. 8, 1924, Fulton County Superior Court. Settled upon payment of costs, March 23, 1926. The Candler divorce was never finalized. Mae Little Candler continued to live in the mansion on Ponce de Leon until Candler’s death in 1929. Candler languished during his last years in a private suite at Emory Hospital. (Graham, Real Ones, pp. 123–24)
“Everybody is dead”: Asa G. Candler deposition, Sept. 2, 1924, My-Coca Case (courtesy Bob Hester).

“dislike to go out”: Asa to Howard and Asa Jr., Dec. 25, 1924. (AGC Papers, Box 2)
“his baboons climbed”: Kahn, Big Drink, p. 59; Graham, pp. 169–235.
“rape another man’s wife”: Candler vs. Byfield, Byfield vs. Candler, Nos. 4478, 4496, Supreme Court of Georgia, July 16, 1925; Graham, pp. 273–83.
“rumors persisted”: Nan Pendergrast to Mark Pendergrast, Oct. 1, 1991; Graham, pp. 262–73; 283–89. The third generation also suffered from the ravages of easy wealth. Of the twenty surviving grandchildren, half became hopeless alcoholics. (Graham, pp. 312–23).

“Howard who wrote the curious book”: Though Charles Howard Candler’s name is on the title page, the book was actually ghostwritten in 1950 by Brad Ansley, a young Emory public relations man. “I never made any attempt to exercise judgment. I just took what the old man [Howard] said and wrote it.” (Brad Ansley interview)
“story of Frank the pony”: CHC, AGC, p. 217.

“Powerful interests”: Bottler Case, pp. 1474–75. Hirsch wrote the letter from New York on Colby & Brown stationery, indicating that those two lawyers were actively involved in their second “syndicate.”

CHAPTER 9: COCA-COLA’S CIVIL WAR

“hate each other”: Sebert Brewer interview.
“Sam Dobbs wrote”: Sam Dobbs to C. V. Rainwater and George Hunter, Nov. 18, 1919, Bottler Case, pp. 929–931.
“truly grateful”: Howard Candler to George Hunter, Dec. 5, 1919, Bottler Case, p. 935.
“plan of readjustment”: Bottler Case, p. 2215.

“change our whole method”: Charles Veazey Rainwater, Bottler Case, p. 2556. His testimony covers the following section as well.

“Hirsch owned a bottling plant”: Harold Hirsch bought the troubled Nashville plant several owners after the notorious William Heck.
“unheard-of $37,500”: Hirsch, Bottler Case, p. 2376.
“little shops”: Sam Dobbs, Bottler Case, p. 2230.
“refused to attend”: Bottler Case, p. 2214.
137 “complicated sliding scale”: Bottler Case, p. 66.
“contracts would be terminated”: Howard Candler, March 2, 1920, Bottler Case, p. 74.
“losing $20,000 a day”: Howard Candler, Bottler Case, pp. 1608–9.
“stinging denial”: Jack J. Spalding to Coca-Cola Company, March 6, 1920, Bottler Case, p. 75.
“The fight is on”: Dobbs to D’Arcy, April 16, 1920. (CC Archives)
“your welfare . . . affected”: Sam Dobbs to Actual Bottlers, April 17, 1920. (Sizer File)
“The Chattanooga crowd”: Dobbs to D’Arcy, April 20, 1920. (CC Archives)
“spirit of cooperation”: Harold Hirsch to Arthur Montgomery, April 20, 1920. (Sizer File)
“If I go down”: Bottler Case, p. 2517; See also Allen, Secret Formula pp. 114–121, 127.
“serve no useful purpose”: Bottler Case, p. 100.
“Hunter and Rainwater chronicled”: Rainwater, Bottler Case, p. 2521.
“city of Atlanta . . . suing”: “City Asks Names of Stockholders in Big Companies,” AC, April 29, 1920.
“came as a thunderbolt”: Dobbs to D’Arcy, May 31, 1920. (CC Archives)
“contract is perpetual”: Hirsch to T. C. Parker, Oct. 28, 1916, Bottler Case, pp. 1570–72. Lawyer John Candler also clearly felt the contracts were perpetual, as he had informed a Senate committee in 1917. (John Candler, Revenue to Defray War Expenses, pp. 125, 128)
“re-examined”: Hirsch, Bottler Case, pp. 1552–53.
“greatest incentive”: Rainwater, Bottler Case, p. 195.
“we are NOT manufacturers”: Crawford Johnson to J. B. Sizer, Oct. 16, 1920. (Sizer File)
“outraged letter”: Rainwater to Howard Candler, Oct. 30, 1920. (Sizer File)
“Lupton and his bunch”: Dobbs to D’Arcy, May 18, 1920. (CC Archives)
“no more than $1.2 million”: Pre-war Coca-Cola advertising for 1916 was $1.7 million, while it had reached $1.9 million in 1919.
“I asked him pointedly”: Dobbs to D’Arcy, July 29, 1920. (CC Archives)
141 “confidential conversations”: Dobbs to D’Arcy, Oct. 5, 1920. (CC Archives)


“Oliver Wendell Holmes . . . opinion”: It was only by a quirk of fate that Holmes delivered this opinion rather than Charles Evans Hughes. If the puritanical Hughes had not run for president in 1916, the Koke Case might have had a different outcome. Holmes, however, was a pragmatist. “The life of the law has not been logic,” he once wrote, “it has been experience.” Consequently, his Coca-Cola ruling looked at the commonsense situation as it existed in 1920. (Oliver Wendell Holmes, The Justices of the United States Supreme Court, pp. 1755–59)

“a single thing”: Koke Case, Dec. 6, 1920, opinion by Holmes.


“Johnson moaned”: Crawford Johnson to J. B. Sizer, Dec. 15, 1920. (Sizer File)

“yet another suit”: “Fraud Charged in Coca-Cola Suit,” Atlanta Georgian, Feb. 16, 1921.


“Company threw a bash”: Friendly Hand, May 2, 1921, p. 1. (CC Archives)

“court-appointed official”: Sizer to Crawford Johnson, May 6, 1921. (Sizer File)

“war . . . resolved”: “Coca-Cola Fight Has Been Settled,” AC, June 27, 1921.

“A jobber explained”: Carl F. G. Meyer, Friendly Hand, June 6, 1921. (CC Archives)

“dominated its home territory”: Rainwater, Bottler Case, p. 2522.

“came down in favor”: Chero-Cola Case; Murphy, The Legend of John Pemberton, pp. 9–12.

“a very large gentleman”: “To Pause and Be Refreshed,” Fortune, July 1931, pp. 110–111.

“thirty brand-new cars”: Friendly Hand, Aug. 1, 1921, p. 3. (CC Archives)

“all steamed up”: Treseder, As I Remember, p. 29.

“Give ’em hell”: Rowland, p. 18.

“leaped up in church”: Treseder, pp. 31–34.


“This is a great day!”: Friendly Hand, April 2, 1923; Harrison Jones, “Blazing the Trail,” Report of Sales and Advertising Conference, March 7, 8, 1923. (CC Archives)

“best speaker”: Treseder, p. 36.

“talking nonstop”: Even in his final hospital stay, Jones regaled doctors with continuous anecdotes. (Dr. William R. Fisher to Mark Pendergrast, Sept. 25, 1991)


“bottled horse-piss”: Sebert Brewer, Jr., interview; J. B. Pendergrast, Jr., interview.

“franchise for the North Pole”: Friendly Hand, Nov. 7, 1921. (CC Archives)

“snowball in Alaska”: Tom Law interview.

“introspective, quiet sort”: Archie Lee began writing for Fred Seely’s Atlanta...
Georgian in 1908, perhaps covering the Barrels and Kegs trial. It is certainly ironic that Archie Lee, soon to be Coca-Cola’s most formidable advertising man, commenced his career with Asa Candler’s archenemy.

145 “something really worth while”: Archie Lee to Mama, April 5, 1917. (CC Archives)
“It is hard work”: Lee to Papa, March 13, 1920. (CC Archives)
“I feel confident”: Lee to Parents, March 8, 1921. (CC Archives)
“over fifty pieces”: Lee to Papa, Oct. 29, 1921. (CC Archives)
“featured two women”: 492ARS, 1916. (CC Archives)
“a favorite friend”: June 30, 1917, Collier’s Weekly, 541ARS. (CC Archives)
“A Life ad”: 1920, 608ARS. (CC Archives)
“clean-cut young soda jerk”: July 1921, Modern Priscilla, 646ARS. (CC Archives)

direct mail letters”: “Let’s go!” packet, April 27, 1923, D’Arcy Advertising Company. (CC Archives)
“Thirst Knows No Season”: 652ARS, 653ARS. (CC Archives)
“fountain salesmen . . . delighted”: Friendly Hand, Feb. 6, 1922, p. 3. (CC Archives)
“winter campaign”: Despite its claims as an all-weather drink, Coca-Cola has never quite escaped a seasonal winter dip in sales. (Rowland, pp. 33–34)
“A fellow about my age”: Lee to Mama, July 7, [1923]. (CC Archives)

PART III: THE GOLDEN AGE (1923–1949)

147 “Zhukov was exhausted”: Scenario based on Mladin Zarubica interview. Background material on Zhukov in Khrushchev, Khrushchev Remembers, pp. 218–219, 556–557; Donovan, Eisenhower: The Inside Story, pp. 347, 396.

CHAPTER 10: ROBERT W. WOODRUFF: THE BOSS TAKES THE HELM

“initial objections”: One historian calls it “an elaborate fable” that Ernest Woodruff initially objected to his son Robert’s appointment as president, though his evidence is circumstantial. At any rate, there is no doubt that the father eventually agreed, however reluctantly, to placing his son at the head of the Company. (Allen, Secret Formula, p. 130, 151–156.)
“a never-ending pattern”: Elliott, Mr. Anonymous, p. 21.
“much harder on me”: ibid., p. 22.
“rough-house”: Della Wager Wells, George Waldo Woodruff, p. 105.
“befriended the groom”: Elliott, p. 80.

152 “With her encouragement”: ibid., p. 81.
“Raising money”: ibid., p. 83.
“visited James S. Floyd”: ibid., p. 84–85.
“math homework”: Martha Ellis interview.
“widely quoted dictums”: E. J. Kahn, Jr., RWW, p. 93.

153 “Coca Cola School”: Kahn, Big Drink, p. 89.
“Buffalo Bill Cody . . . met”: Elliott, p. 86.
“general laborer”: ibid., pp. 89–90; “From Sand Shoveler to Coca Cola’s President,” The City Builder, May 1923, pp. 1–2.
“lesson in hard knocks”: Morton Hodgson interview.
“mighty important men”: Elliott, p. 91.
“advised his nephew”: Morton Hodgson interview.

154 “hunting buddy, Ty Cobb”: When they weren’t feuding, Woodruff and the volatile Cobb remained lifelong friends, which does not speak particularly well for Woodruff’s taste. Ty Cobb sharpened the spikes on his shoes to intimidate other players when they slid into a base. Even his teammates despised him. At Cobb’s death, his Coca-Cola shares were worth $1.7 million. (Alexander, Ty Cobb, pp. 3–5, 38–40, 57, 77, 155, 173–174, 213; Leonard Ray Teel, “A Ballplayer and His Money,” Georgia Trend, Aug. 1987, pp. 95–98; “Ty Cobb, Baseball and Coca-Cola,” Cola Call, Sept. 1985, p. 3; Joe Jones interview)

“hunting buddy, Ty Cobb”: When they weren’t feuding, Woodruff and the volatile Cobb remained lifelong friends, which does not speak particularly well for Woodruff’s taste. Ty Cobb sharpened the spikes on his shoes to intimidate other players when they slid into a base. Even his teammates despised him. At Cobb’s death, his Coca-Cola shares were worth $1.7 million. (Alexander, Ty Cobb, pp. 3–5, 38–40, 57, 77, 155, 173–174, 213; Leonard Ray Teel, “A Ballplayer and His Money,” Georgia Trend, Aug. 1987, pp. 95–98; “Ty Cobb, Baseball and Coca-Cola,” Cola Call, Sept. 1985, p. 3; Joe Jones interview)


155 “Woodruff assumed the presidency”: Howard Candler was kicked upstairs as a board member. (Friendly Hand, May 7, 1923, p. 1)

“never finished a book”: It is possible that Woodruff was dyslexic, like many other notables such as George Patton, Nelson Rockefeller, Woodrow Wilson, and Thomas Edison. (Landmark College correspondence)

“stuck in traffic”: Joe Jones interview.

“simple pronouncements”: Kahn, Big Drink, p. 82.
“What’s so good”: Rowland, pp. 30, 212; Mary Thomas interview.

156 “moth near a flame”: Wilbur Kurtz, Jr., interview.
“Boss in definite command”: Woodruff proscribed a rigid Ichauway itinerary for each guest. “When you are with Bob Woodruff,” remarked Freeman Gosden, the white actor who played Amos in Amos & Andy, “you are going to have a good time all right, but you are going to have it his way.” One visitor wrote Woodruff a note after his Ichauway sojourn thanking the Boss for his “dogmatic hospitality,” from which he was just recovering. (Elliott, Mr. Anonymous, p. 55; Cliff Roberts file, RWW Papers)

“count . . . bottle caps”: Morton Hodgson, Sr., to Woodruff, Jan. 19, 1942. (RWW Papers, Box 41); Jack Tarver interview; Kahn, RWW, p. 72.

“fly in a holding pattern”: Martha Ellis interview.
“angry and not revealing”: Hughes Spalding to RWW, Aug. 18, 1961. (RWW Papers, Box 80)

157 “but he will”: Elliott, p. 30.

“assuring a nickel drink”: For decades, the same price structure prevailed. Coca-Cola sold syrup for $1.40 a gallon to bottlers, who then delivered a case of twenty-four bottles for 80 cents. At a nickel a drink, the retailer could sell the same case for $1.20. All along the line, there was a healthy profit margin.


“initially balked”: “Coca-Cola International,” National Bottlers’ Gazette, Feb. 15, 1923, p. 74; “Lists Securities of 14 Corporations: New York Stock Exchange Announcement Makes No Reference to Coca-Cola Shares,” NYT, Feb. 15, 1923, p. 31. The International stock was finally listed in 1926. Because the IRS ruled that exchanges of International stock for Coca-Cola common would trigger capital gains taxes, the stock was rarely traded through the years. Finally, as International shares dwindled, the Company was “merged” in 1980 with The
Coca-Cola Company with no tax consequences. (Joe Jones interview; Jimmy Sibley interview; “Coca-Cola in Open Market,” NYT, April 16, 1926, p. 36)

“his last hurrah”: Thomas E. Watson, Oct. 12, 1921, Congressional Record, quoted in National Bottlers' Gazette, Nov. 15, 1921, p. 170.

“White wrote sarcastically”: William Allen White, Emporia Gazette, quoted in Huntington, W. Va., Advertiser, March 27, 1929. This and associated quotes from clippings in Coca-Cola Collection, Box 12, Emory.


“take a man’s measure”: John Love biography of RWW, 1930, p. 6. (RWW Papers, Box 34)

“Pig Iron’ Brownlee”: Rowland, pp. 7, 46–49.


“In directing a sizable business”: John Sibley to RWW, Jan. 14, 1938. (Sibley Papers, Box 1, Emory)

“address Woodruff as Bob”: Delony Sledge to RWW, April 28, 1978. (RWW Papers, Sledge File)

“most period advertising”: Marchand, Advertising the American Dream, pp. 102, 151, 152, 216.

“always delightful”: 740ARS, 731ARS, 704ARS. (CC Archives)

“idea in an illustration”: “Barclay Talks in His Studio,” Red Barrel, Feb. 1924, pp. 12–13. This quote comes from The Red Barrel, a much more dignified publication than the gossipy Friendly Hand, which it replaced in 1924.

“at all soda fountains”: 781ARS, May 1924, Ladies’ Home Journal. (CC Archives)

“nothing like it”: 720ARS, Aug. 1923, LHF. (CC Archives)

“Atlanta Virgins”: Dick Halpern interview.

“Pause and Refresh Yourself”: 766ARS, 1923. (CC Archives)

“Talk about the tempo”: quoted in Marchand, Advertising the American Dream, pp. 3–4.

“Pause that Refreshes”: By 1942, the word “pause” had become so well associated with Coca-Cola that the U.S. Patent Office refused to register a new soft drink called “Pause,” calling it an infringement on Coca-Cola. (“The Coca-Cola Company Fights ‘Pause’ as Soft Drink Name; Wins,” Red Barrel, April 1942, p. 36)


“fresh-scrubbed rural beauty”: 710ARS, June 1923, Ladies’ Home Journal. (CC Archives)

“Norman Rockwell’s ads”: Hoy, pp. 68–71.

“6,000,000 a Day”: Hoy, pp. 44–49.


“Mabel Millsbaugh”: Jim Jordan, p. 42; Glen Watson, “The Advertising of Coca-Cola 1927–1933,” no date, p. 4. (CC Collection, Box 5)

“pioneering market research”: In 1922, young Arthur Nielsen invented the concept of share-of-market, and industries have been measuring themselves religiously ever since. (Jack J. Honomichl, “Since First Straw Vote in 1824, Research Grows,” in How It Was in Advertising, p. 62)


“alphabetical list”: *RB*, March 1924, p. 12.

“inexpensive, standard cooler”: “Merchandising Magic,” *RB*, pp. 133–136; Rowland, pp. 43–44.


“refused to attend”: Mae Beach interview.


“You wipe your ass”: Gordon Bynum interview.


“started all over Europe”: Hodgson interview.

“poisonous brew”: Morton Hodgson told the story of the nauseating European Coca-Cola, having heard it from several industry veterans when he arrived in France in 1935. In the properly acidic environment of standard Coca-Cola, bacteria could not thrive, but fermentation due to alkaline water was common in the early foreign markets. Nonetheless, Hodgson’s vomit story appears to contradict other evidence, since the soft drink had been bottled in France (presumably without incident) since 1919, though the café proprietors admired the Coca-Cola calendar girl more than the beverage. (Al Staton, “Miscellaneous Recommendations,” April 29, 1937, pp. 5, 31, 51–56, Case 5, RWW Papers; “Coca-Cola in France,” *CC Bottler*, Feb. 1920, pp. 15–18)


167 “whether only Americans”: Hodgson interview.


“three-month trip”: “Itinerary, Travel” file. (RWW Papers)

“roofs were designed”: Claus Halle interview.

“throughout the world”: Coca-Cola’s overseas thrust set the pace for the Roaring Twenties. Until then, U.S. foreign investment had been relatively limited, but the decade witnessed a sharp increase. During the following two decades, however, as other U.S. firms sold foreign subsidiaries because of the Depression and World War II, Coca-Cola’s expansion continued unabated. (Aliber, *The International Money Game*, pp. 250–251)
168 “In Amsterdam”: Roy Stubbs, Labeling (Foreign), no date, pp. 250–257. (CC Legal Library)


“Toni-Kola in Holland”: Roy Stubbs, Compilation on Peru, 1946, p. 32.

“complete disaster”: The real Coca-Cola had been turned down in Mexico in 1902 and legally registered in 1904, then allowed to lapse in 1924.

“without accomplishing anything”: Roy Stubbs, Compilation on Mexico, 1947, pp. 5–6.

“man in a tuxedo”: Coca-Cola as Sold Throughout the World,” RB, Feb. 1929, pp. 1–32. Much of the information in the following section is from this article.


“Teme Coca-Cola”: Treseder, As I Remember, p. 42.

“bullfight”: ibid.

“few Americans realize”: “Coca-Cola as Sold Throughout the World,” Red Barrel, Feb. 1929, pp. 1–32.

“ancestors back from the dead”: Eric Clark, The Want Makers, p. 43.

170 “lost nearly $400,000”: John E. McClure to Commissioner of Internal Revenue, May 10, 1937. (Sibley Papers, Box 1, Emory); Allen, Secret Formula, p. 179–188.

“dreaded the negative publicity”: ibid.


“a secret memo”: McClure to Commissioner of Internal Revenue, May 10, 1937, p. 7. (Sibley Papers, Box 1)

CHAPTER 11: A EUPHORIC DEPRESSION AND PEPSI’S PUSH


“fitting cap”: Goldman, The Empire State Building, p. 47.


“added to the Dow”: Phyllis S. Pierce, ed., The Dow Jones Averages 1885–1980, unpagd. Even as Coca-Cola prospered during the Depression, however, a nervous Harrison Jones suggested to Robert Woodruff that the Company produce Coca-Cola Beer when “near beer” became legal. The Boss nixed the idea. (Allen, Secret Formula, p. 204–205)

“highest-priced industrial”: “Coca-Cola, the Highest Priced Industrial,” Barron’s, June 17, 1935, p. 16.

“sack of Vigero”: J. C. Cooper to John Sibley, Oct. 29, 1935. (Sibley Papers, Box 1)
“family quarrel”: Charles Veazey Rainwater, “Yesterday,” copy from Bill Bateman and Randy Schaeffer. See also Bateman & Schaeffer, “The 50th Anniversary,” Cola Call, June 1986, pp. 4–7. Much of the information in this section is taken from their article.

“miniature Taj Mahal”: Tom Law interview; Bernice L. Thomas to Mark Pendergrast, Feb. 27, 1992. Six Coke bottling plants are listed on the National Register of Historic Places.


“not blood, but syrup”: The syrup-in-the-veins metaphor cropped up in almost every interview conducted with Coca-Cola men for this book.


“Sam Dobbs had remarked”: Sam Dobbs, quoted in “Asa Candler’s First Job Was Here in Cartersville,” 1947 newspaper clipping. (AGC Papers, Box 21)


“neighborhood women congregated”: Oldenburg, The Great Good Place, p. 113.

“Play up the soda fountain”: Turner Jones to Archie Lee, July 18, 1934. (CC Archives)

“her Pooh bear”: Archie Lee to RWW, Aug. 25, 1931. (RWW Papers, Box 57)

“Depression-era advertising”: When Coca-Cola sales dipped in 1931 and 1932, the Company reacted by substantially increasing the advertising budget, which climbed over $5 million in 1932.


“Movies have a wider appeal”: Archie Lee to Turner Jones, Jan. 19, 1935. (CC Archives)

“they subconsciously buy it”: Archie Lee to RWW, Aug. 25, 1931. (RWW Papers, Box 57) Though the Company didn’t pay for product placement in movies, there were rumors in 1934 that Coca-Cola had forged a million-dollar deal with Warner Brothers to plug the soft drink in films. The film company’s spokesman denied the allegations but admitted to an “arrangement” with Coca-Cola to allow its stars to appear in the soft drink’s ads. (“Coca-Cola Film Tie-Up,” Printer’s Ink, March 8, 1934, p. 52)

“Stanley and Al Barbee”: Randy Barbee interview.
“hired J. Parker Read”: Barbee interview.


“some good sexy poses”: Turner Jones to Archie Lee, April 7, 1934. (CC Archives)


“wonder of the refrigerator”: Tedlow, New and Improved, pp. 304–328.


“Grape Fruit Sections in Coca-Cola”: Ida Bailey Allen, When You Entertain (Atlanta: The Coca-Cola Company, 1932). (AGC Papers, Box 7) Long before Ida Bailey Allen’s efforts, of course, Southerners had been using Coca-Cola to baste ham, make date-nut bread, produce a distinctive barbecue sauce, or cook the family pot roast. Free recipes are still available from the Company.

“natural partner”: The Coca-Cola Company: An Illustrated Profile, p. 59.

“hard-drinking Swede”: Marshall Lane interview; Al Scully in Cola Conquest.


“I have a baby boy”: “Like Father, Like Son,” RB, Oct. 1930, p. 17.

“captured the imagination”: Marquis, Hopes and Ashes, pp. 21, 41, 48.


“committed itself to radio”: Five years after radio’s debut in 1920, Coca-Cola bought its first air time during a Chicago Cubs baseball game, but radio didn’t become a major component of Coca-Cola’s advertising strategy until the thirties. (Hoy, pp. 76–79; Jim Jordan, The Coca-Cola Company, p. 40; Treseder, As I Remember, p. 43)


“special Coca-Cola anthem”: Jordan, p. 45; “The Story Behind the Theme Song,” The Refresher, June 1954. In 1931, radio allowed the reclusive Woodruff to deliver his disembodied message—“Know your stuff, and work”—to servicemen at regional meetings. (“Mr. Woodruff’s Message to Regional Conventions,” RB, Jan. 1931, p. 5)

“sirens, gongs, and pistol shots”: Marquis, Hopes and Ashes, p. 25.

“no controversy”: Archie Lee to Turner Jones, Oct. 12, 1936. (CC Archives)

“homey hoosier”: Hoy, p. 78.

“Red Devils”: Frank Harrold, “Our Friend the Cooler,” 1936 Convention; Raymond Witt interview. At the same time the red Dole dispenser, introduced at the 1933 Chicago World’s Fair, guaranteed a uniform fountain drink by automatically mixing syrup and carbonated water in the correct ratio.


“I am the bottler’s friend”: Frank Harrold, “Our Friend the Cooler,” 1936 Convention, from Bateman & Schaeffer.


“hit Donnelly”: Turner Jones to Archie Lee, March 6, 1934. (CC Archives)

“organize crown cap counts”: Jack Drescher to Turner Jones, Jan. 21, 1937. (CC Archives)

“Even morons”: Treseder, p. 39.

“hopelessly confusing”: Turner Jones to Archie Lee, Aug. 27, 1934. (CC Archives)

“offend in any way”: “Glad to meet you anywhere at any time you wish,” Archie Lee assured Robert Woodruff in 1942. (RWW Paper, Archie Lee file)

“Jack Drescher, a fellow”: Jack Drescher to Archie Lee, Oct. 24, 1936. (CC Archives)

“nasty practical joke”: Charles Bottoms interview.

“freshen the viewpoint”: Robert Woodruff to William D’Arcy, Dec. 15, 1934. (CC Archives)

“thirty-five different commandments”: Jack Drescher, D’Arcy office memorandum, Jan. 19, 1938. (CC Archives)

“Never split”: This commandment is still very much in force at the Company, whose computers are universally programmed to disallow a line split at the hyphen.

“circular sign”: The red disc, or “bull’s-eye,” was introduced as a standard sign in 1934, quickly coming to symbolize the drink.


“Dope with cherry”: Jasper Yeomans interview.

“closest thing to the FBI”: Tom Law interview.

“derelict behavior cease”: Haden-Guest, pp. 75–76; Julius Lunsford interview; Ovid Davis interview; Jasper Yeomans interview.

“bought back the parent bottling”: No cash was exchanged in these buybacks. The parent bottlers traded their stock for an equivalent amount of Coca-Cola shares, which left Whitehead’s widow, Lettie Pate Evans, with so much
Coca-Cola stock that Woodruff named her to the board, making her one of the few women in the 1930s to have such a seat of power.


183 “holding company”: In a game of corporate smoke-and-mirrors, Woodruff created a subsidiary, named Coca-Cola Company (note the missing capitalized The), which was to be the operating concern. There was already a Coca-Cola Company (a sales organization), but its name was changed to Coca-Cola Corporation. (“Coca-Cola’s Set-Up to Change Jan. 1,” NYT, Dec. 28, 1933, p. 30)

“just before midnight”: Harold Martin Papers, quoted by Thomas P. Stamps, “A History of Coca-Cola,” unpublished thesis, ©1976, p. 79. Stamps gained access to the Harold Martin biography of Robert Woodruff before the Boss bought it and hid it from public view. The state of Georgia and The Coca-Cola Company had actually been playing cat-and-mouse since 1931, but this time the move would be of long duration. (“Coca-Cola to Return to Georgia,” NYT, Nov. 18, 1931, p. 38)


“lawyer Hughes Spalding”: Hughes Spalding, the founder’s son, was a partner at King & Spalding. From the time John Sibley and Spalding began working for the Company in the 1930s, a tight Atlanta business network evolved in which King & Spalding, the Trust Company of Georgia, Emory University, and The Coca-Cola Company were really part of one vast concern. Sibley, for instance, jumped from Coca-Cola back to the law firm, only to be drafted later as the president of the bank. (Wells, King & Spalding, p. 148)

“What’s good for Coke”: Ellis Arnall quote, as well as story of editorial persuasion, from Wells, King & Spalding, pp. 156–158.

“Acklin wasn’t eager”: Harrison Jones would have been the obvious choice for president, but he and Woodruff clashed behind the scenes repeatedly. Nonetheless, Woodruff recognized that Jones had “a certain evangelical quality” that was “a determining factor in making Coca-Cola a religion as well as a business.” (RWW quoted in CC Bottler, April 1959, p. 104)

184 “200,000 pounds of coca leaf”: Harrison Jones to Robert Woodruff, July 28, 1930. (RWW Papers, Box 17)

“Senator Walter George”: Stamps, p. 73. Like many subsequent Georgia politicians, Walter George considered Woodruff his “best friend” from his election in 1922 until his defeat in 1956. When the Treasury Department later proposed a war tax on soft drinks, Walter George, chair of the Senate Finance Committee, quietly killed it. (Hughes Spalding to John Sibley, Aug. 16, 1938, Box 80; also see Walter George file, RWW Papers; Kahn, p. 142; Louis & Yazijian, p. 61; Alex McLennan interview; Allen, Secret Formula, p. 229)

“secretly flew to Peru”: Stamps, p. 73; Ralph Hayes to Robert Woodruff, April 2, 1937, Box 17; Hayes to RWW, Jan. 21, 1958, Box 40, RWW Papers.

“overseas outposts . . . grew”: “Chronological Listing.” (CC Collection, Box 20, Emory)

“illegal to export No. 5”: Hayes to RWW, July 9, 1936; Hayes to RWW, March 16, 1937. (RWW Papers, Box 17)


“foreign woes”: Al Staton, “Miscellaneous Recommendations,” April 29, 1937. (RWW Papers, Case 5)
“taught himself Spanish”: ibid., p. 284.

186 “rears back on his hind legs”: Stubbs, *Letters,* Nov. 29, 1941.
“daily itinerary”: “Farley Quits Chile for Argentina,” *NYT,* Feb. 8, 1941, p. 9.
“Hypersensitive Nervous system”: Letters from consumers to FDA, July 24, 1944, 475.11-.32; July 15, 1939; Sept. 23, 1938, Administrative File, FDA.
“Word of Wisdom”: Letter to FDA, June 18, 1938. (AF Files)
“made with guano”: Letter to FDA, April 20, 1938, AF; Report of the President’s Homes Commission, 1909, p. 372. (Wiley Papers)
“Coca-Cola with aspirin”: Letter to FDA, June 1, 1938; Letter, Feb. 13, 1942, 475.11-.20. (FDA Files)

187 “Poison Stomach”: Letter to FDA, Jan. 13, 1938, 475.4-.22.
“I like it”: Letter to FDA, Jan. 13, 1941, AF, FDA.
“friendly visit”: P. B. Dunbar, “Memorandum of Interview,” Feb. 3, 1939, AF, FDA.
“met with FDA officials”: “Memorandum of conference on petition of American Bottlers of Carbonated Beverages for exemption from labeling,” Nov. 29, 1939, AF, FDA.

188 “failed . . . satisfactory response”: FDA to consumer, May 8, 1943.
“tried to sell Pepsi”: Jim Jordan, p. 37.
“two bottlers remained”: Michael Gershman, *Getting It Right the Second Time,* p. 150.
“rejected to buy”: Jordan, p. 46.
“it will stay out”: From Coca-Cola Co. vs. Loft, Inc., and CC Co. vs. Happiness Candy Stores, Inc., Appeal from Court of Chancery, Jan. Term, 1934, vol. 2. (CC Archives)

“barrage of seven countersuits”: Nothing ever came of any of the lawsuits. Though Coca-Cola did prove isolated instances of substitution, it was not enough for the judge to rule an intentional fraud. (The lawsuits are covered in Edwin Lewis, “Charles Guth Biography,” pp. 249–252, and in *NYT* articles: May 5, 1932, p. 30; May 6, 1932, p. 6; May 13, 1932, p. 28; May 19, 1932, p. 17; July 15, 1932, p. 28; Oct. 22, 1932, p. 6; June 7, 1933, p. 39; Sept. 22, 1933, p. 5.)
“refused for the third”: Jim Jordan, p. 48. Jordan’s amateur Coca-Cola chronology is the only printed source for the attempted Pepsi sales, though Company folklore confirms them.


“the men’s room”: Walter Mack, No Time Lost, p. 120.


“year-long study”: Sibley to RWW, Dec. 22, 1937. (Sibley Papers, Box 1)


“critical year to date”: Wilson Corder to John Sibley, Dec. 30, 1938. (Sibley Papers, Box 1)

“resemblance to a bloodhound”: E. J. Kahn, Jr., “More Bounce to the Ounce,” Pt II, New Yorker, July 8, 1950, p. 28; Stoddard, Pepsi, pp. 81–103.

“It seemed overwhelming”: Mack, No Time Lost, pp. 126–129, covers the rest of this case.

“from Mrs. Herman Smith”: Walter Mack incorrectly identified Mrs. Herman Smith as the Cleo-Cola owner—impossible, since that case was settled a year later. Ralph Kalish, not Herman Smith, was the actual owner, and Mack probably misremembered the name. (Roy Stubbs, Compilation on the Trademark “Coca-Cola,” 1949, pp. 253–256; Cleo-Cola Case, April 10, 1943)

“At the end of 1941”: By late 1941, the tide had already turned against Coca-Cola’s claim to ownership of “Cola,” when, in the Dixi-Cola case, the Court of Appeals struck down Coca-Cola’s right to monopolize the last half of its name. (Jerome H. Spingarn, “Of Coca, Cola, and the Courts,” The Nation, June 7, 1941, pp. 666–668)

“on a temporary basis”: Sibley to RWW, Dec. 15, 1941. (Sibley Papers, Box 1)

“Pope Brock”: Sibley bitterly disagreed with Brock’s pragmatic decision to abandon the defense of “Cola.” (Sibley to Brock, Nov. 16, Nov. 17, Nov. 18, 1943. Sibley Papers)

“settled all litigation”: “Suits Over Use of ‘Cola’ In Trade-Marks Are Ended,” NYT, May 26, 1942, p. 32; Robert Troutman to RWW, “Pending Litigation,” July 25, 1942. (RWW Papers, Box 78)

“right to ‘cola’”: As a result of the settlement, Coca-Cola cases around the world were reassessed, and only those with a definite “phonetic similarity” to Coca-Cola were continued. (Robert Troutman to RWW, “Pending Litigation,” July 25, 1942. RWW Papers, Box 78)

“nickname ‘Coke’”: The new trademark was registered in 1945. By recognizing “Coke” as an official nickname, the Company was finally able to leave calls for “dope” in the past as a piece of pre-war nostalgia. (“Coke Is Now a Trademark,” RB, Oct. 1945, p. 35)

“blue the distinctive color”: Mack, No Time Lost, pp. 132–133; Louis & Yazijian, p. 69.

“Pepsi logo over city skies”: Mack, p. 133; Turner, Shocking History, p. 272.

“jingle played”: Turner, p. 280.

“started a trend”: Mack, pp. 134–137.

“Every day’s delay”: Harrison Jones to RWW, Aug. 15, 1941. (Sibley Papers, Box 1)

“bribe Walter Mack”: Mack, p. 137.


“may prove . . . good thing”: “Coca-Cola Industry,” Fortune, p. 115.


“crypt of civilization”: “Bottle of Coca-Cola Placed in Crypt at Oglethorpe University,” RB, July 1940, p. 35.

“synonimous with a ‘Date’”: Letter to FDA, June 27, 1940, AF, FDA; Dietz, pp. 110–111.


“sublimated essence”: W. A. White to Ralph Hayes, March 9, 1938. (CC Archives)

“Whom the gods”: RWW, “Where Does Coca-Cola Go from Here?” 1941 Speech. (RWW Papers, Personal File 2)

CHAPTER 12: THE $4,000 BOTTLE: COCA-COLA GOES TO WAR

195 “Today was such a big day”: CC Bottler, May 1944, p. 31.

“ad for the U.S. Rubber Company”: “What Are We Fighting For?” U.S. Rubber Co. ad, Newsweek, Sept. 7, 1942.

“barely had a toehold”: At the time, Coca-Cola maintained a minor presence in England. Faced with their own sugar shortage, the British naively suggested that Coke and Pepsi consolidate for the war’s duration and sell “American Cola.” As a result, Coca-Cola withdrew from the English civilian market until 1948. (Robert Troutman to A. A. Acklin, July 15, 1942, CC Archives; Joe Jones interview; Al Staton, “Miscellaneous Recommendations,” April 29, 1937, p. 10, RWW Papers, Case 5)

“four Hawaiian Coke coolers”: “Importance of the Rest-Pause in Maximum War Effort,” 1942. (CC Archives)

“every man in uniform”: The Coca-Cola Co.: An Illustrated Profile, p. 77.

195–6 “One military unit”: George Downing interview.

196 “I cannot conceive”: Major to Aubrey C. Boyce, Sept. 29, 1941. (CC Archives)

“Very few people”: Capt. to Andrew K. Kingery, Jan. 17, 1942. (CC Archives)

“Ben Oehlert shifted”: Harrison Jones to Robert Woodruff, Dec. 30, 1942. (RWW Papers, Box 54)

“stock-piled sugar”: Oehlert to A. A. Acklin, Feb. 5, 1942. (CC Archives)

“aid the policy-making”: Oehlert to Sibley, Jan. 16, 1942. (CC Archives)

“thoughtless tendency”: Oehlert to A. E. Bowman Feb. 9, 1942. (RWW Papers, Oehlert File)

“masterpiece of pseudo-science”: “Importance of the Rest-Pause in Maximum War Effort,” 1942. (CC Archives)

197 “docile, receptive”: Ralph Hayes to O. Max Gardner, Nov. 12, 1940. (RWW Papers, Gardner File)

“exempted from sugar rationing”: Oehlert to P. B. Bacon, March 16, 1942. (CC Archives) Wrigley’s Chewing Gum and Hershey’s Chocolate for GIs were also exempted from sugar rationing. (Blum, V Was for Victory, p. 108; “A Glance at the Past—Hershey’s History of Military Ration Bars,” Avenues [Hershey internal publication], Dec. 1990, pp. 2, 12)

“Army’s quartermaster general”: Brehon Somervell to Mr. Nelson, June 14, 1942, National Archives. The fear of disclosing cozy deals with the government
may be why Coke’s official World War II historian suggested in a 1946 memo that it would be “undesirable” to discuss “the workings of company officials with the military heads in Washington.” (James Kahn, 1946 memo, CC Archives)

“creative obscenities”: Wilbur Kurtz, Jr., interview.

“At its worst”: Wartime did bring changes to the drink, however. The sugar content was reduced from 10 percent to 9.3 percent and caffeine from 0.61 to 0.25 grains. (“Cola Drinks,” Consumer Reports, Aug. 1944, p. 200; H. Wales to Pvt. Boris Breiger, July 21, 1945, AF, FDA Files; P. B. Dunbar, “Memorandum of Interview with B. H. Oehlert,” June 23, 1943, AF, FDA)

“Agronsky criticized”: James Kahn, Unpublished History of Coca-Cola in World War II, p. 7. (CC Archives)

“Using sign language”: Hunter Bell, Unpublished History of Coca-Cola,

“From Iceland . . . to Iran.” (CC Archives)


“Heilnaemt og Hressandi”: Red Davis notes. (CC Archives)

“Iceland’s annual per capita”: 1998 CC Co Annual Report, p.10. The 446 figure is for eight-ounce servings of all Company products.


“on every continent except”: During the war, bottling plants were established on Adak in the Aleutian Islands; in Cairo, Accra, Tripoli, Oman, Algiers, and Casablanca in Africa; in Australia; throughout France, Italy, Germany, and Austria; in Calcutta, Chabua, Delhi, and Ledo in India; on Okinawa, Kobe, and Yokahama in the Japanese Islands; throughout the South Pacific in the Admiralty Islands, the Marianas, New Guinea, and the Philippines; in the Persian Gulf; and in Natal and Recife in Brazil. (From Hunter Bell compilations and lists, CC Archives)


“nickname . . . ‘Coca-Cola Colonels’”: Kahn, Big Drink, p. 17. The term appears to have been uncommon, however, since few T.O.s interviewed ever heard it used.


“Hell, we ought”: Patton quote from Mladin Zarubica interview.

“MacArthur autographed”: Hunter Bell, “Coke Returns to the Philippines with MacArthur.” (CC Archives)


“Omar Bradley”: NYT Magazine, May 7, 1944. (CC Archives)

“men blown to shreds”: General Carlos Romulo, I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, quoted in Hunter Bell, “Affectionately Yours—to the Tune of $5,000.” (CC Archives)

“After feasting copiously”: “Millions Cheer Ike at Parade Here,” Times Herald, June 19, 1945. (CC Archives)

“an urgent cablegram”: Bell, “Send 10 Coca-Cola Bottling Plants.” (CC Archives)


“Marshall quickly validated”: July 5, 1943, George C. Marshall, War Department Circular 153, quoted by Oehlert to Marvin Jones, Aug. 9, 1943. (CC Archives)


“by Christmas”: Bell, “Send 10 Coca-Cola Bottling Plants.”
“red ball express”: Paul Bacon interview with Hunter Bell. (CC Archives)
“bottling . . . not nearly as feasible”: The island of Manus held the sole bottling plant in the Pacific.
“jungle fountain units”: Though billed as portable, the jungle unit—developed on special orders from General Douglas MacArthur—was in fact unwieldy, consisting of a dispenser, hand-operated pump, water tank, filter, carbonator, and ice-maker. (Bell, “The South Pacific Pauses Too,” “Jungle Fountains for Jungle Fighters,” “Island-Hopping Toward Tokyo”)
“Talley’s retrieval”: Talley bribed an Army underwater outfit with a case of Coke, convincing them to dive for the filler, buried in ten feet of mud when a crane cable snapped. A tank evacuator, tires deflated to pass under low bridges with the heavy bottling equipment, finally delivered it to Paris. (Paul Bacon interview with Hunter Bell, March 16, 1966, pp. 7–9, CC Archives)
“Coke didn’t actually hit”: Mike Barry, “First Things Should Come First,” RB, Sept. 1944, p. 36.
“over the Hump”: Cooke’s trip to China in an Army convoy was enlivened when two of the trucks carrying bottling equipment plunged 150 feet down a cliff and had to be winched up. “Death stares you in the face on every turn,” Cooke wrote. After all that, Cooke never got to make any Chinese Coke because of an unsympathetic commanding officer who refused to allow air-lifted supplies for adequate operation. (Bell, “India . . . And Over the Hump to China”)
“long be a mystery”: Gene Braendle, New Guinea, Aug. 1944, T.O. Digest, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 6. (CC Archives)
“one most important thing”: ibid., p. 7.
“forge a new piece”: Paul Madden interview with Hunter Bell, March 2, 1966, p. 12. (CC Archives)
“very cooperative”: Jim Parham, Marianas Islands, May 6, 1945, T.O. Digest, vol. 1, no. 5, p. 5. (CC Archives)
“never returned”: James Kahn, pp. 12–13. In Kahn’s account, two T.O.s were killed, but there were actually three, none combat-related.
“game hunting . . . Red Cross nurses”: Sydney W. McCabe, India, Oct. 30, 1944; Cy Phillips, Belgium, Dec. 12, 1944; R. J. Cook, Admiralty Islands, Jan. 29, 1945; Cy Phillips, Lille, April 21, 1945 (all from T.O. Digest); George Downing interview.
“ashamed to report”: Ed McGlade, Tripolitania, Jan. 1945, T.O. Digest, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 3. (CC Archives)
“sailors bellying up”: “Have a Coca-Cola=As You Were,” CC Bottler, April 1944, p. 19.

“Yes, around the globe”: “Have a Coca-Cola = Howdy, Neighbor,” RB, Sept. 1944, back cover.
“scenes from the home front”: “Have a Coke = You’re Home Again,” CC Bottler, June 1944.
“cribbage boards”: Jean Gibbs, “Collectibles Featuring the War,” Cola Call, July 1983. In rural Alabama, the Company constructed and ran the Brecon Loading Company at the request of the War Department, creating a self-sustaining community with some 300 buildings. (Cards & Cribbage Board, collection of Jeff Ehrlich, Palo Alto, CA; C. W. Nimitz memo, July 22, 1941, from Naval Historical Center; “Successful Wartime Job Completed by a Coca-Cola Subsidiary,” RB, Oct. 1945, p. 33)
“tenor Morton Downey”: “Extra Jingles on Downey Program,” RB, Sept. 1944, p. 41. “Morton Downey Show,” RB, April 1944, pp. 14–15. When Downey was considering the $3,500-a-week offer from Coca-Cola, his friend Joe Kennedy advised him to take $500 in cash and $3,000 in Coca-Cola stock options. As a result, when Downey stopped singing for Coke ten years later, he was a major shareholder and held bottling interests in Australia, Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, and Connecticut. (Morton Downey, Jr., interview; “Morton Downey, Popular Singer,” Atlanta Journal/Constitution, Oct. 25, 1985; Kahn, Big Drink, p. 163)
“can’t shut me off”: “Ration Items,” RB, Jan. 1943, p 44.
“he begged Woodruff”: RWW to Ralph Hayes, Nov. 12, 1934, Acklin file, RWW Papers; Ambrose Pendergrast interview.
“25,000 gallons of vanilla”: Hartung to Hayes, June 21, 1940, Acklin files; Administrative Files, General, RWW Papers
“working policy committee”: Acklin to RWW, July 23, 1943. (RWW Papers)
“rather heavy toll”: Acklin to RWW, Oct. 10, 1944; April 19, 1945; May 23, 1945. (RWW Papers)
“inordinate . . . political influence”: Mack, No Time Lost, pp. 149–150. Walter Mack tried to exert his own political influence by persuading the President’s son, Jimmy Roosevelt, to become a bottler. In the meantime, Joseph Kennedy negotiated with Woodruff to spend $5 million on Coke bottling plants. “He has a number of sons,” Archie Lee explained. The elder Kennedy wanted to lay the “foundation for jobs for them.” The deal fell through, however, and the boys had to go into politics instead. (“Col. Jimmy Hooks Drink Franchise at $100,000 Per,” Chicago Tribune, Nov. 29, 1942; Archie Lee to RWW, Nov. 30, 1942, RWW Papers, Box 57)
“Pepsi was in trouble”: The initial quotas were based on 80 percent of 1941 sales. While that might dent a huge company like Coca-Cola, it was disastrous for smaller enterprises. (Mack, p. 148)

“Cuban regulations”: Kahn, “More Bounce to the Ounce,” Pt. II, New Yorker, July 8, 1950, p. 44.


“ghostwritten messages”: Kahn, “More Bounce to the Ounce,” Pt. 1, New Yorker, July 1, 1950, pp. 43–44.


“If anyone were to ask”: James Kahn, Speech, p. 5.


207 “four high-ranking officers”: “Coca-Cola Has New Value to Men Overseas,” RB, July 1944, p. 38.


“famous (and expensive)”: The affair at which this bottle was raffled off—to start a fund for children of men killed in action—was reported by war correspondent Ernie Pyle. The actual amount this particular bottle brought is unclear, having been variously reported as $2,000, $3,000, $4,000, $5,007.73, and $6,000. (Hunter Bell, “Affectionately Yours—To the Tune of $5,000”)

“Winston’s daughter”: “Mary Churchill Christens Flying Fortress with Coca-Cola,” RB, July 1944, p. 33.


“supply a priest”: Maurice Duttera interview.


“battle password”: Hunter Bell, “Coke Returns to the Philippines”; George Downing interview.

“piss on the old home town”: Letter to E. J. Kahn, Jr., March 17, 1959 (courtesy E. J. Kahn).
“imported the germs”: Albert “Red” Davis, 1966 notes, “Before the Iron Curtain Clanged Down on Coca-Cola.” (Hunter Bell papers, CC Archives)
“Italian prisoners of war”: “They Knew What They Wanted,” RB, April 1944, p. 35.
“smaller children”: Paul Madden, New Guinea, April 4, 1945, T.O. Digest, vol. 1, no. 5, p. 4. (CC Archives)
“only increased”: T.O. Digest, vol. 1, no. 8, frontispiece. (CC Archives)
210 “soft pedal it”: Paul Bacon interview with Hunter Bell, March 16, 1966, p. 23. (CC Archives)
“competed fiercely”: On the Up and Up, April 2, 1946, p. 2; June 6, 1946, p. 3. (Courtesy George Downing)
“a war-time PT boat commander”: Mladin Zarubica interview. Material mentioning Zarubica is based on this interview.
“Eisenhower introduced . . . drink”: James Kahn, p. 34.
“his 1964 thriller”: Zarubica, The Year of the Rat.
211 “Coca-Cola for sex”: Maurice Duttera interview: Lew Gregg interview.
“Anything with sugar”: Don Sisler interview.
“horniest individual”: Gregg interview.
“added a little spice”: Sisler interview.
“hang up their military uniforms”: Many of the T.O.s went on to assume leadership positions in Coca-Cola, including Don Sisler, Burke Nicholson, Jr., John and Lee Talley, George Downing, Maurice Duttera, Pat O’Malley, and Paul Bacon. The wartime hustle and initiative they had learned proved to be a good foundation for their careers.
“almost universal acceptance”: Hunter Bell, “It Had to Be Good to Become the Global Hi-Sign.”
“poll of veterans”: “Veteran’s Preference,” potential copy for Red Barrel, memo, CC Archives. Soon after the war, when the Army quizzed 650 recruits, twenty-one had never drunk milk, but only one soldier had never sampled a Coke. (Kahn, Big Drink, p. 7)
“25 years and millions”: James Kahn, “Incidentally, It Paid,” outline of his unpublished manuscript in CC Archives.
CHAPTER 13: COCA-COLA ÜBER ALLES


“One man must”: Hitler, Mein Kampf, p. 577.

“We are surprised”: Kahn Notes, p. 2.

“Coca-Cola GmbH”: GmbH stands for “Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung,” the equivalent to “corporation.”

“Like many Germans”: Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, p. 231.

“I was full of activity”: Max Keith speech, Max Keith, 30 Jahre Mit Coca-Cola.

214 “colorful, if shady”: “I’ve done everything in the world except murder,” Powers boasted. (Walter Oppenhoff interview; Allen, Secret Formula, pp. 197–201; Schutts, Born Again)

“American buffoon”: Oppenhoff interview.

“villa in Florida”: ibid.

“100,000 in 1933”: “Coca-Cola in Germany,” CC Archives file.

“in a state of chaos”: Hamilton Horsey memo, 1935, quoted in Roy Stubbs, Compilation on Germany, pp. 252–257.


215 “quivered alarmingly”: Claus Halle interview.

“chew you out”: ibid.

“I was scared of him”: Klaus Pütter interview. As he aged, Keith grew increasingly paranoid, firing subordinates he imagined were threats to his power, accusing them of betrayal and embezzlement. “I never knew when I went to work in the morning whether I would still have a job in the evening,” Claus Halle remembers. (Halle interview)

“ruling thought . . . Ü ber Alles”: Pütter interview.

“They were mostly people”: Max Keith interview with Hunter Bell, June 29/30, 1966, in CC Archives. Unless otherwise noted, all direct quotes from Keith and information on his activities in this chapter are from this interview.

“caused stomachaches”: Oppenhoff interview.

216 “endless repetition”: Hitler himself learned valuable lessons from Western advertising techniques. “All effective propaganda has to limit itself only to a very few points and to use them like slogans,” Hitler wrote. “It has to confine itself to little and to repeat this eternally.” (Hitler, Mein Kampf, pp. 234, 238–240)

“over half the pubs”: Oppenhoff interview.

“ten minutes of Keith”: Pütter interview.

“lawyer usually procured”: Oppenhoff interview.

“Autobahn system”: Shirer, p. 118.

“one vast beehive”: ibid., p. 259.

“kind of mini-dictator”: ibid., p. 263.

216–7 “a new hope”: ibid., p. 231.

217 “forty-three German plants”: “Coca-Cola in Germany.” (CC Archives)

“slapped his thigh”: Mead, Champion: Joe Louis, p. 100; Hitler, p. 616.

“prestige for our race”: Das SchwarzenKorps, quoted in Hart-Davis, Hitler’s Games, p. 123. Two years later, however, the Brown Bomber was to knock the German out in the first round.


“in his private box”: Hart-Davis, p. 174.
“We have no strikes”: Mead, p. 144.
“more as an advertisement”: Claus Halle interview; Oppenhoff interview.

218 “feeding itself on prejudice”: John Sibley to RWW, Nov. 27, 1936. (Sibley Papers)
“I am not accustomed”: Oppenhoff interview. Oppenhoff places this conversation in London, but it probably took place in Berlin.
“he was overwhelmed”: Pütter interview.
“company lawyers agreed”: Stephen P. Ladas, “Memorandum . . . on Ray Powers,” undated, in Stubbs, Compilation on Germany, pp. 390–392. The actual agreement was finally signed in 1937.
“such as Walter Teagle”: Just after the war began, Teagle wrote to Woodruff: “I am anxious . . . to exchange views with you on certain phases of the existing situation [in Germany].” Walter Teagle and Standard Oil continued to supply the Axis powers with badly needed fuel throughout World War II. (Walter Teagle to Robert Woodruff, Sept. 6, 1939, Box 84, RWW Papers. Higham, Trading with the Enemy, pp. 32–62; Sutton, Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler, pp. 67–76; “Walter Clark Teagle,” Ingham, Biographical Dictionary of American Business Leaders, pp. 1438–41)
“Henry Mann, a German agent”: Henry Mann had already demonstrated his close ties to the Nazi regime in 1933, when he facilitated a meeting between Hitler and Sosthenes Behn, the head of ITT. Mann also helped set up the first German Coca-Cola bottling plant in 1929. (1966 Keith interview; “American Visits Hitler,” NYT, Aug. 4, 1933, p. 6; Number Eight, Dec. 1928, courtesy Citibank Archives; “Henry Mann, 78, World Financier,” NYT, Aug. 26, 1968, p. 39; Higham, Trading with the Enemy, pp. 94–99)
“He accepts gifts”: For Göring’s larcenous habits and luxurious life-style, see Heiden, 728; Trevor-Roper, pp. 15, 86n.

219 “Some consideration”: RWW to Sibley, Aug. 6, 12, 1936, (Sibley Papers, Box 1)
“pass fairly quickly”: RWW to Sibley, Aug. 12, 1936; Aug. 6 letter has comment on sleep. (Sibley Papers, Box 1)
“complete rest”: Sibley to RWW, Aug. 1, 1936. (Sibley Papers, Box 1)
“piece of veal”: Oppenhoff interview.
“held 0.192 liters”: Oppenhoff interview.
“Woodruff was traveling”: Sibley to RWW, Aug. 6, 1936 (Sibley Papers); Sibley to RWW, July 16, 1938, (RWW Papers, Sibley file); Anonymous source; Joe Jones interview; Mladin Zarubica interview.
“Flach distributed”: ibid.; Keith interview with Hunter Bell; Halle interview; Stubbs, Germany, pp. 43, 63–64, 164, 243.
“Nazi party headquarters”: Kahn, Notes, p. 25.
“preliminary injunction”: Oppenhoff interview; Stubbs, Germany, p. 243.
“Keith begged Woodruff”: Halle interview; Oppenhoff interview. Halle
asserts that Keith asked for Hirsch’s removal from the board. Oppenhoff doubts Keith would have dared to ask such a thing.

“next generation”: Keith interview with Hunter Bell.

“Hermann Göring paused”: Oppenhoff interview; Coca-Cola: A Quarter of a Century in Germany, 1954 pamphlet, p. 9, Schaffendes Volk leaflet, courtesy Alfons Hilgers.

“Hitler . . . enjoyed Coca-Cola”: Kahn Notes, p. 365; Kahn, Big Drink, p. 4; Kurtz interview.

221 “three-fold ‘Sieg-Heil’”: Coca-Cola, A Quarter Century, p. 9; Coca-Cola Nachrichten, March 15, 1938, pp. 9, 27 (courtesy Alfons Hilgers, translated by Raul Hilberg & Ostara Bedo; see also Allen, Secret Formula, p. 247.)

“Woodruff demurred”: Stubbs, Germany, pp. 392–393.

“Powers was killed”: ibid., p. 393. Powers died on Dec. 13, 1938.

“gratitude for our Führer”: Max Keith speech, 10 Jahre Aufbau, special issue of Coca-Cola Nachrichten, April 1939, pp. 17, 25 (courtesy Alfons Hilgers, translated by Raul Hilberg & Ostara Bedo). In the summer of 1939, when Hitler came to Munich to open the Day of German Art Exhibition, bottles of Coca-Cola were widely available. (Wistrich, Weekend in Munich, p. 70, 83)

“civil service men”: Shirer, p. 262.

222 “Supply . . . curtailed”: Even after the war’s 1939 commencement, Atlanta continued to ship Coca-Cola syrup to Keith. With the U.S. entry into the war, however, the syrup spigot was turned off. (H. B. Nicholson to RWW, Feb. 8, 1940, “Administration, Coca-Cola Export” file, RWW Papers; Charles Bottoms interview)

“left-overs”: Ward Wells interview with Hunter Bell, March 18, 1966. (CC Archives)

“exempted from sugar rationing”: For a good overview, see Mary Reagan, Aug. 22, 1949, report on Fanta in Stubbs, Compilation on Switzerland, pp. 381–385. See also Stubbs, Germany, pp. 241–242; Pütter interview; Halle interview; Keith interview; Oppenhoff interview.

“3 million cases”: “Coca-Cola in Germany.”

“soups and stews”: Oppenhoff interview; Halle interview.

“included the phrase”: Reagan report, Stubbs, Switzerland, p. 384; Stubbs, Germany, p. 242.

“wounded Nazi soldiers”: Oppenhoff interview.


“catastrophe water”: Halle interview; Oppenhoff interview.

223 “the war brought them”: Keith interview with Bell.


“One false step”: Pütter interview.

“killed in an air raid”: Oppenhoff interview.

“Hitler shot himself”: Trevor-Roper, pp. 201–205.

224 “Send auditors”: Pütter interview.

“Ladas returned”: Oppenhoff interview.

“plant at Niedermendig”: James Kahn speech, p. 12; Paul Bacon interview with Bell, p. 17; Paul Lesko interview.


“grea-a-at man”: Don Sisler interview.

“even worse breakdown”: Max Keith, Max Keith: 30 Jahre.


“quite some discussions”: Oppenhoff interview.
“a second Hitler”: George Downing interview.
“curtailed his Fanta”: Oppenhoff interview.
“Sales fell”: “Coca-Cola in Germany”; Mary Reagan report in Stubbs, Switzerland, p. 385.

“native Coca-Cola men”: Ansel Morrison, Aug. 21, 1945, T. O. Digest, vol. 1, no. 8, p. 6. (CC Archives)
“so industrious”: Sisler interview.
“It was amazing”: Henry J. Fleck, “Personal History,” undated. (CC Archives)
The Coca-Cola men weren’t terribly interested in moral issues. During the War Crimes trials in Nürnberg, the prosecution provided a special Coca-Cola cooler for the refreshment of Göring and his fellow prisoners. (On the Up and Up, Sept. 5, 1946, p. 2; Oct. 3, 1946, p. 4; Albert Davis, “Before the Iron Curtain,” CC Archives)
“this Kraut, Max Keith”: Sisler interview.
“Lesko nearly dyed”: Claus Halle relates this story, which he heard from Max Keith many times. Paul Lesko denies it, asserting that there was never any friction between Keith and him. (Halle interview; Paul Lesko interview)
“wieder da!”: Keith interview with Bell.
“Bremen bottling rights”: Halle interview; Lesko interview. Lesko used the profits from his Bremen plant to purchase the franchise in Costa Rica, where he moved in 1953 to make his real fortune from Coca-Cola.

“do what I tell you”: Puëtter interview; H. Burke Nicholson, Jr., interview.
“Super-Führer”: Kahn Notes, p. 65. After several heart attacks, Keith retired in 1968, only to make life hell for employees at the bottling plants he continued to run until his death in 1974. (Halle interview).
“German hero contacted”: Schmeling had played golf with Robert Woodruff and Bobby Jones in Atlanta in 1931, when, as heavyweight champion, he was on a U.S. tour. (Schmeling interview)
“boxer jumped at the chance”: Schmeling interview; Hoy, pp. 113, 115.
“signed autograph of Hitler”: Schmeling interview; Mead, p. 84; Louis, Joe Louis, p. 115; Refresher, July/Aug. 1967, p. 22.

PART IV: TROUBLE IN THE PROMISED LAND (1950–1979)

“he felt dizzy”: This late 1979 scenario is based on an incident related by Virginia Moulder and Ian Wilson.

CHAPTER 14: COCA-COLONIZATION AND THE COMMUNISTS

“Apparently some of our friends”: Quoted in Kahn, Big Drink, p. 5.
“relationships I established”: Farley, “United Nations.” (Farley Papers)

“prosecuted Alger Hiss”: J. Ronald Oakley, God’s Country, p. 6; Farley, “United Nations.” While Coke officials could rely on powerful politicians, Pepsi had to woo more unsavory types such as Senator Joe McCarthy, dubbed the “Pepsi-Cola Kid” for his blatant lobbying. (Louis & Yazijian, pp. 83–84)
“When we think of”: Kahn, Big Drink, p. 164.
“May Providence”: Louis & Yazijian, p. 78.

233 “I am Coca-Cola”: E. J. Kahn, Jr., Notes, p. 82.
“WORLD & FRIEND”: ibid., Time cover, pp. 28–29.

234 “in Germany, it is”: Nicholson, “Host,” p. 18.
“a man with a soul”: Frank Harrold, “Bronxville to Bombay and Back,” 1950–1953. (CC Archives)
“its vile effects”: Nikita Khrushchev’s son Sergei, a teenager in 1950, later recalled his eagerness to taste the imperialistic American soft drink, reputed to be poisonous and evil. (Sergei Khrushchev interview)
“When China disappeared”: Robert Broadwater interview.

“bitter Englishman”: Denis W. Brogan in As Others See Us, p. 15.
“Thrifty Germans”: Peter von Zahn in As Others See Us, p. 97.
“Frenchmen complained”: Kahn Notes, p. 20.
“the largest party”: For more extended coverage of the French Coca-Cola affair, see Kuisel, Seducing the French, pp. 52–69, and Allen, Secret Formula, pp. 1–16. See also Pells, Not Like Us, pp. 199–201.
“Skull and cross-bones”: Harrold, “Bronxville to Bombay.” (CC Archives)

236 “Prince Alexander Makinsky”: Makinsky was typical of cosmopolitan Export men, many of whom spoke six or seven languages. (Kahn Notes, pp. 63–64; H. Burke Nicholson, Sr., “Competitive Ideal,” 1952, p. 153; Allen, Secret Formula, pp. 1–2.)
“innocent error”: Stubbs, France, p. 310.
“sale of pharmaceuticals”: Kuisel, Seducing.
“prejudicial to legitimate”: Acheson to Bruce, Dec. 2, 1949. (FDA Files, 475.11)
“widespread and effective”: Bruce to Secretary of State, Dec. 18, 1949. (FDA Files, 475.11)
“snooting our beverages”: All newspaper quotes from March 1950, French Scrapbook, vol. I, CC Archives. Quotes in following paragraph also from this source.

237 “moral landscape of France”: French Scrapbook.
“seven-hour filibuster”: French Scrapbook.
“Mobs overturned”: Eugene Tillinger, “The Cold War Against Coca-Cola,” Top Secret, no date, p. 17. (Sibley Papers)
“French bicycle race”: Kahn, Big Drink, p. 28.
“McCarthyism in reverse”: Makinsky and wife quoted in Kahn Notes, pp. 64–65.
“Parian temperance leader”: French Notebook.

“emancipation”: Makinsky in Kahn Notes, p. 64.
“Tremble!”: “The Pause That Arouses,” Time, March 13, 1950, p. 30. The feelings in Vienna ran so high that the Coke manager there was pulled from his car and beaten. (Allen Secret Formula, p. 6.)
“Coke nix gut”: Tillinger, p. 18; Kahn Notes, p. 24.
“In Morocco”: Tillinger, p. 18.
“In Cyprus”: John Brinton interview.

239 “Snake! Snake!”: H. Burke Nicholson, Jr., interview; Dr. Blum to Dr. Ladas, May 12, 1949, in Stubbs, Compilation on Switzerland, p. 306; Makinsky to Ladas, May 12, 1949, in Stubbs, Switzerland, p. 307.
“loud propaganda”: Dr. F. Kutter to Ladas, Feb. 19, 1949. (RWW Papers, Box 82)
“The winner”: Kahn Notes, pp. 50, 77.
“campaign stopped”: ibid., p. 80.
“made with pig’s blood”: Brinton interview.
“counter-rumor”: ibid., p. 20.
“sterilized women”: ibid., p. 24.

240 “men impotent”: Harrold, “Bronxville”; Don Sisler interview.
“dog medicine”: Kahn Notes, p. 24.
“burnt comb”: Sisler interview.
“foot’s asleep”: Letter to E. J. Kahn, Jr., undated (circa 1959), property of E. J. Kahn, Jr.
“sweet-and-bitter taste”: Kahn Notes, pp. 10, 24, 224, 225.
“essence of capitalism”: ibid., p. 1.
“every shopkeeper”: J. Paul Austin, quoted in Kahn Notes, p. 52.
“workers’ drink”: Kahn Notes, p. 17.
“Italian Communists”: ibid., p. 51.
“Isn’t it a tragedy?”: ibid., p. 64.

241

“Hindu priests”: Kahn Notes, p. 22.
“integral part”: “A Unique Business,” CC Overseas, Dec. 1952, p. 1. By the mid-fifties, the word “export” in the corporate title had become a liability, a reminder of the drink’s American origin, and the Company seriously considered changing the name. (Lee Talley to H. B. Nicholson, Aug. 16, 1954, Sibley Papers, Box 1)

“Ah, but you must”: “Sun Never Sets,” p. 32.
“pisco, a native brandy”: Kahn Notes, p. 22.
“with schnaps”: ibid., p. 24.
“native corn liquor”: Harrold, “Bronxville.”

“Coexistence Cocktail”: Albert Parry, “Calling Off the Cold War Against Coca-Cola,” 1956, p. 1. (Sibley Papers)


“nearly identical”: The Company distributed stencils or grids of various sizes to ensure the proper Coca-Cola logo. (Coca-Cola Export Booklets, 1954, 1957, CC Archives)

“Soviet athletes”: Kahn Notes, p. 50.

242


“Don’t forget”: Zarubica interview.

“nephew Morton Hodgson”: Throughout his career with Coca-Cola, Morton Hodgson was plagued by his relationship with Woodruff. “Everyone always assumed that I got where I did because of my uncle,” he complained. Beginning in Canada in 1933, Hodgson worked in Europe, South America, the United States, and Japan in the course of his Coca-Cola career. (Hodgson interview)

“Joroberts Corporation”: “Joroberts” was an amalgam of Jones and Roberts. The Americans owned 40 percent of the business, while locals owned another 40 percent, with Hodgson retaining the remaining 20 percent.

“heads of U.S. Steel”: Hodgson interview.

“Bill Bekker, a Dutchman”: Bekker, who refused to return to Holland during the war, remained fearful of arrest, avoiding flights on Dutch airlines for the rest of his life. (Sisler interview)

“considered them nonsense”: Hodgson interview; William Solms interview; Sisler interview; Enrique Bledel interview.

243

“plowing the money back”: Bledel interview.

“complete overthrow”: Valdo Silveira, quoted in As Others See Us, CC Overseas, April 1954, p. 29.

“boy kings . . . sultan of Morocco”: Kahn Notes, pp. 52, 54, 82–83.

“The leading commercial”: Harrold, “Bronxville.”


“Salazar”: Farley Papers, untitled, Box 70.


“Maharajah of Patiala”: Frank Harrold to Woodruff, Dec. 13, 1956. (RWW Papers, Box 60)

244 “jewels have been estimated”: Harrold to his wife, Feb. 10, 1953, “Bronxville.”

“Harrold kept a diary”: From 1948 to 1958, Frank Harrold—a tap-dancing Rhodes scholar—flew almost 500,000 miles, visiting 142 cities in sixty-two countries, checking on over 13,000 outlets. (E. D. Sledge Memo, Jan. 2, 1959, Administrative Files, CC Archives; Tom Law interview)

“a seething, boiling mass”: Harrold, “Bronxville.” All subsequent quotes from Harrold are from this source.

“second billion”: CC Archives.

245 “more competitive”: “Foreign Fizz,” Newsweek, July 29, 1957, pp. 67–68. Imitation colas thrived in Coke’s wake around the world, just as they had in the United States. (Stephen Ladas to Walter Oppenhoff, March 30, 1953, with affidavit, courtesy of Walter Oppenhoff)

“never drunk milk”: Bill Robinson in Kahn Notes, p. 9.


“bunch of wild daisies”: J. Paul Austin, quoted in Kahn Notes, p. 54.


“billboard emerging”: Kahn Notes, p. 54. Robert Woodruff’s friend Bernard Gimbel taunted the Boss, asserting that his explorer son couldn’t buy a Coke in the remote Andes. Woodruff subsequently arranged an airdrop to the young Gimbel, startled to find cases of Coca-Cola parachuted to his campsite. (Sisler interview)

CHAPTER 15: BREAKING THE COMMANDMENTS


“as the Old Man”: Robert Woodruff Speech, Oct. 28, 1940. (RWW Papers, Personal File 2)

“former government functionary”: William J. Hobbs file, RWW Papers, Box 41; Allen, Secret Formula, pp. 268–272

“nomadic existence”: Though devoted to his wife, Woodruff often avoided traveling with her, finding some excuse to stay with male friends. “You don’t know how much I envy you,” Nell told Edith Honeycutt just after World War II, “with your little home, a husband who comes home every day, and your children.” (Joe Jones interview; Edith Honeycutt interview)

“amount of Scotch”: Ralph McGill interview, Kahn Notes, p. 187.

“Delaware native”: Joe Jones interview; Apparel file, Cigar file, in RWW Papers.

“without vacation . . . faithful retainer”: Joe Jones interview.

“power base”: Interview with Hughes Spalding, “Process Recording of Interview Atlanta Power Structure,” in Floyd Hunter Papers, Box 16, Emory. Unless noted, all quotes from Mr. Spalding are from this source.


“I never made”: Floyd Hunter Notes, Box 35, Hunter Papers; Kahn, RWW,
Except for a brief period in 1941–1942, Hartsfield served as Atlanta’s mayor from 1937 to 1962.

“$6,000 annual retainer”: Pope Brock to Hughes Spalding, May 13, 1946; Lee Talley to Hartsfield, Dec. 11, 1961, Hartsfield Papers, Emory.

“The actions of the top leaders”: Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, pp. 69, 195.

“lack of a quorum”: Elliott, Mr. Anonymous, p. 29.

“never attributed to him”: Woodruff’s interest in medical research kindled in the 1930s when he discovered the prevalence of malaria at Ichauway. Due to his concern and money, the disease was eradicated in southwest Georgia within a few years. When his mother later died of cancer, Woodruff turned his money to fighting that malady. Throughout his life, the Boss commandeered the head Emory research doctor as his personal physician, a job which entailed much travel and little sleep. (Elliott, pp. 39, 197–201)


“abused his extraordinary power”: Wilbur Kurtz, Jr, interview; Ian Wilson interview; anonymous source; Charles Bottoms interview.

“In the 1920s, many prominent Atlanta businessmen belonged to the Ku Klux Klan, and Coca-Cola ads appeared in The Searchlight, the local Klan publication. (Jackson, The Ku Klux Klan in the City: 1915–1930, pp. 29–33)

“what the Negroes want”: Spalding interview, Box 16; Mays interview, Box 35, Hunter Papers.

“wherever I am”: Woodruff quoted in Floyd Hunter interview.

“they’re the people”: Makinsky quoted in Kahn Notes, p. 66.

“We sent him overseas”: In 1948, Eisenhower became president of Columbia University. Three years later, he moved to Paris, as supreme commander of NATO troops. While there, he invited James Farley and Alexander Makinsky to lunch. (Eisenhower Diaries, p. 137; Brendon, Ike, pp. 199–207; Farley to Eisenhower, Aug. 28, 1951, Eisenhower Papers)

“Democrat or a Republican”: Floyd Hunter interview.

“gang”: Brendon, pp. 196, 209; Allen, Secret Formula, pp. 302–303

“business-bashing New Dealer”: For Woodruff’s anti–Roosevelt slant, see Woodruff speech, Oct. 28, 1940, Personal File 2, RWW Papers.

“wrote from Paris”: Eisenhower to Roberts, Oct. 18, 1951. (Eisenhower Papers)


“twit the Boss”: Joe Jones interview.


“complete spontaneity”: Eisenhower to Cliff Roberts, June 19, 1952. (Eisenhower Papers)


“when I tip”: Eisenhower to RWW, Dec. 26, 1959. (Eisenhower Papers)

“modify his popular jingle”: Milward Martin, Twelve Full Ounces, p. 126.


“a national expectation”: Ralph Hayes to Ella Bell Carlton, Jan. 14, 1948; Hayes to Hobbs, July 26, 1948. (CC Archives)


“some relief”: C. M. Brown to CC Co., Sept. 15, 1950. (CC Archives)


“Senate committee”: “Report of Senate Committee on Small Business, Crisis in the Soft Drink Bottling Industry, 1951. (CC Archives)

“medal instead of a lawsuit”: “Coke’s Valiant Fight,” Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Feb. 6, 1951. (CC Archives)

“he beseeched”: Delony Sledge to Walter Thomas, May 15, 1950. (CC Archives)

“abortive coup”: Ovid Davis interview; Nat Harrison interview; Veazey Rainwater file, RWW Papers, Box 72.

“Flattery is like”: RWW to Ralph Hayes, May 3, 1963. (RWW Papers, Box 40)

“yessir, yessir”: Ralph Hayes Speech, RWW Birthday Dinner, Dec. 6, 1959. (RWW Papers, Box 39)

“more depends”: Spalding to RWW, Aug. 12, 1951. (RWW Papers, Box 80)

“Woodruff’s hand-tooled . . . shoes”: Joe Jones interview.

“brown parcel”: Clifford “Randy” Barbee interview.


“talk the horns”: Toffler, p. 126.

“sound system failed”: ibid.

“publicly paged”: Zarubica interview.

“stupid enough to get caught”: Before Mladin Zarubica traveled overseas as a Technical Observer, for instance, Woodruff silently appraised him for a minute, then advised: “Young fella, you’re a pretty handsome guy. Whatever you do, you do it back in the sugar bags where nobody can see it. Understand?” (Zarubica interview)


“dramatic . . . board meeting”: Toffler, p. 127.

“nigger drink”: Walter Thomas interview. Similarly, in Canada, where low-wage-earning French-Canadians drank Pepsi, the Anglos contemptuously called them “Pepsis”. (Irene Angelico interview.)

“out of the kitchen”: Philip N. Schuyler, “Pepsi Reaches New Plateau,” Editor & Publisher, March 26, 1960, p. 86.

“Light Refreshment”: The Federal Trade Commission eventually halted the “reduced in calories” claim, since Pepsi still contained more sugar than Coca-Cola. Surprisingly, Coke and Pepsi were slow to create bona fide diet drinks, whose consumption increased 300 percent from 1952 to 1955. (Packard, p. 60)

“rushed to Tiffany’s”: Biow, Butting In, pp. 188–192.

“low-interest loans”: “Pepsi’s Double Trouble,” pp. 15–16.

“You can conserve”: M. Martin, p. 130.


“copy Coca-Cola tactics”: Toffler, p. 127.


“Fox theater”: Paul Snell to Steve Hannagan, June 23, 1950. (CC Archives)

“scalded cat”: Toffler, p. 127.


“It’s a tribute”: “Pepsi Calls Coffee.”

“slumbers peacefully”: H. George Allen to President, Pepsi-Cola, Aug. 21, 1958. (CC Archives)
“modest, sedate”: Steve Hannagan to Delony Sledge, Oct. 27, 1952. (RWW Papers, Box 38)
“prostate removed”: Spalding to RWW, May 27, 1948. (RWW Papers, Box 80)
“debuted on TV”: Bateman & Schaeffer, “Edgar Bergen & Charlie McCarthy for Coca-Cola,” Cola Call, April 1985, pp. 4–5, 11. By the mid-fifties, the average American viewer watched nearly five hours of television a day. (Oakley, God’s Country, pp. 10, 97–98)
“long, slow decline”: In the early fifties, soda fountains disappeared at the rate of twelve hundred per year. (Visser, Much Depends on Dinner, p. 309)


“1,535,406 people”: E. D. Sledge, “Advertising at the Point of Sale,” May 19, 1952, p. 4. (RWW Papers, Box 79); Coke’s advertising head Delony Sledge had a dry, self-deprecating wit, wore wrinkled old suits, hated New York, and displayed deep devotion to Coca-Cola, whose taste he would not attempt to define. “I don’t think the words exist. What suffices for me is . . . to understand that the taste of Coca-Cola is the greatest taste ever invented by man—or God, either, for that matter.” (Backer, Care and Feeding, pp. 235–237)

“Eddie Fisher”: Bateman & Schaeffer, “Coke Time with Eddie Fisher,” Cola Call, June 1984, pp. 4–7; Hoy, p. 127. There was also a radio version of “Coke Time.”


“In drugstores across America”: Fisher, Eddie, p. 85.


256 “they spent their honeymoon”: Fisher, Eddie, p. 108.

“reciprocal publicity”: “Tie-In Advertising,” Consumer Reports, Jan. 1951, p. 44.

“interim caretaker”: Hodgson interview.

“it is faltering”: “Coke: New Faces,” p. 44.

“the only thing wrong”: ibid., p. 46.

“ounce for ounce”: Coca-Cola’s manager in Mexico took the unprecedented step of writing directly to the Boss in 1952, begging for a bigger bottle—to no avail. (Bill Solms interview)

“One night at dinner”: Elliott, p. 29.

257 “freckle-faced Alabama boy”: Lee Talley and his brother John inherited their missionary zeal from their father, a Methodist minister. Such an upbringing also produced “Preacher” Robert L. Franklin—a bishop’s off-spring—who led Coca-Cola pep rallies known as “altar calls.” (Kahn, Big Drink, p. 73; Rowland, pp. 153–159)

“losing side”: Solms interview.


“long memo to the board”: Lee Talley, “Report to the Board of Directors
Covering Fourth Quarter, 1954, Operations, The Coca-Cola Export Corporation.” (Sibley Papers, Box 1)

“dark, scuffed little bottle”: The sturdy little recycled bottles even had nicknames to indicate their abused state. A “bum” could still be refilled, but looked disreputable. A “scuff” sported a whitened ring around its waist from banging against other bottles. A “crock” had a chipped bottom. *The Coca-Cola Bottler* periodically ran articles such as “How to Prevent the Creation of Bums.” (Kahn, *Big Drink*, p. 77)

“applied color label”: Coke bottles finally received their applied color labels (ACL) for the first time in 1957. (William V. Seifert, “ACL,” *Cola Call*, July 1983)

“prefer the standard”: CC News Release, Jan. 28, 1955, CC Archives; Bill Robinson address to NY Society of Security Analysts, Jan. 12, 1956. (RWW Papers, Box 74)


“shift to larger sizes”: In 1955, faced with new sizes, bottle manufacturers complained about the massive inventory needed to service different plants, their locations blown into the bottle base. When bottles were left anonymous, however, angry consumers complained that they were deprived of their favorite game, “Far Away,” in which the bottle from the most distant point won. After a few years, the Company relented, but manufacturers simply blew random locations into the bottle bottoms. (C. W. Hodgson to Wilbur Kurtz, May 29, 1956; Charles Adams to Wilbur Kurtz, Oct. 27, 1964, CC Archives)


“trend is increasing”: Joseph M. Collins to RWW, Jan. 29, 1957. (Sibley Papers Box 1)


“free to negotiate”: Talley, “A Statement Concerning the Differential in Price Between Bottler’s Syrup and B-X Syrup,” ca. 1955. (RWW Papers, Box 83)

“Tom Moore sued”: Coca-Cola Bottling Co. of Minnesota vs. The Coca-Cola Co., U.S. District Court, Fourth Division, April 29, 1957. (CC Legal Library)

“wasn’t an angel”: Tut Johnson interview.

“Harrison refused to sell”: Pope Brock to RWW, “Purchase of Coca-Cola Bottling Co. (Thomas), Inc.” Sept. 21, 1959. (RWW Papers, Box 16); Gordon Bynum interview; Raymond Witt interview. At one point, Woodruff offered the presidency of The Coca-Cola Company to Dee Harrison in return for selling the Thomas Company. Harrison refused. (Sebert Brewer, Jr., interview; Pearl Ledoux interview)

“officially retired”: Woodruff never really gave up ultimate authority at the Company. “Don’t take this retirement business too seriously,” he wrote to Max Keith thirteen years later. “However official it is, you’ll learn that it doesn’t mean much. I’ve been through it half a dozen times.” (Woodruff to Max Keith, Aug. 7, 1968, RWW Papers, Keith file)


“Marion Harper, Jr.”: Toffler, p. 128; Stephen Fox, *Mirror Makers*, p. 195;
“Interpublic Group Inc.,” *International Directory of Company Histories*, vol. 1, pp. 16–18. Harper ruled McCann—and Interpublic, the umbrella agency he later formed with Marshalk, McCann and other subsidiaries—until 1967, when he was deposed by his board for financial mismanagement. (Neal Gilliatt interview)


260 “shot it”: Brewer interview.


“Downey, the crooner”: Kahn Notes, p. 92. In many ways, Morton Downey, Sr., took John Sibley’s place as Woodruff’s closest male friend. “It’s too bad you are a man,” Downey once wrote to the Boss. “If you were a woman, I might be able to show you how much I appreciate and love you.” (Morton Downey to Woodruff, Nov. 16, 1970, RWW Papers, Box 24)

“Every week the Coke man”: Morton Downey, Jr., interview; “The Odd Couple of Sensationalism,” *Newsweek*, Nov. 14, 1988, p. 75. Morton Downey, Jr., had other reasons for his bitterness. His father sang “The Same Old Shillelagh,” and he applied that rod unsparring to his children, often drawing blood. None of the five offspring survived unscarred, but Lorelle, who had a nervous breakdown at fourteen, suffered the worst fate. Joe Kennedy, who had relegated his daughter Rosemary to an institution, advised Downey to do the same. Given a frontal lobotomy, Lorelle was ultimately smothered by a fellow patient. Morton Downey, Jr., tried to reverse his father’s example: “While I have the outward image of the bastard, I’m the best father in the world to my three daughters.” (Morton Downey, Jr., interview; “Morton Downey,” *AC/J*, Oct. 25, 1985)

“Don’t ever”: Dick Halpern interview.

“cut the King Size price”: Murray Hillman interview.

“Typically, Jewish consumers”: ibid.


“tender expert advice”: ibid., pp. 22, 47.

“Delony Sledge explained”: Delony Sledge, “Our 1955 Consumer Advertising,” *CC Bottler*, Feb. 1955, p. 20. (Background on Sledge in Bill Mackey interview; Claire Sims interview; Mary Gresham interview)


“red was ‘hypnotic’”: ibid., pp. 108–109.

“free samples in supermarkets”: ibid., p. 110.

261 “Poet James Dickey”: Dickey interview.


“turned out to be a hoax”: Eric Clark, *The Want Makers*, p. 119. The claims of the Subliminal Projection Company, even when debunked, sparked an ongoing controversy, though there has never been proof that “subliminal” messages work. (N. F. Dixon, *Subliminal Perception*)


“We must consume”: ibid., pp. 19–20.

“Everybody liked Eisenhower”: Mochtar Lubis in *As Others See Us*, p. 197.


“the new jungle”: Packard, Hidden Persuaders, p. 105.
“portable display racks”: The author’s father, J. B. Pendergrast, Jr., obtained a major portion of his living by designing display racks for Coca-Cola.
“The smart-ass said”: Charles Bottoms interview.
“Ozzie got hopelessly confused”: Hoy, p. 129; Ozzie and Harriet Coke commercial, McCann-Erickson files; Freeman, Real Thing, pp. 115–116.
“so catered to”: ibid., p. 123.
“Automobilus Americanus”: Hillman interview.
“spying on over 20,000”: Kahn Notes, p. 106.
“turned God into a friend”: Oakley, pp. 319–325.
“his allegations”: Time, Sept. 29, 1950; Fred Othmer, AC, Oct. 21, 1950. (RWW Papers, Dental Caries folder)
“molar teeth of rats”: Clive M. McCay “Prepared Statement,” Select Committee to Investigate the Use of Chemicals in Food Products. (RWW Papers, Box 21)
“distorted picture”: Orville E. May testimony, 1950. (RWW Papers, Box 21)
“The only way . . . harm children”: Kahn Notes, pp. 102–103. Coke went to great lengths—and expense—to secure scientific support. Dr. Frederick J. Stare, a Harvard nutritionist, responded to Coca-Cola funding with 1954 articles in McCall’s and Ladies’ Home Journal suggesting Coke as an appropriate part of a healthy teenager’s diet. Similarly, Dr. Glenville Giddings of Emory conducted research indicating Coke’s harmlessness to teeth and health until his retirement in 1957, when he was put on a $12,000 annual retainer. (Dr. Frederick Stare, “Teen Agers Do Not Eat Right,” McCall’s, May 1954, and correspondence in Stare File; Orville May to Bill Robinson, Oct. 11, 1957, Giddings File, RWW Papers)
“women constituted”: Oakley, pp. 298–299.
“consumers into hoodlums”: “Youth Programs, 1953–1957.” (RWW Papers, Box 95)
“Rock Around the Clock”: Oakley, pp. 272–279.
“economic pressure”: Kahn Notes, pp. 14, 17. As early as 1950, a Harlem group called the National Fair Play Committee called for a boycott of Coca-Cola. (Allen, Secret Formula, pp. 284–288)
“Kendrix attended”: Kahn Notes, p. 348; Rowland, pp. 181–182.
“hired . . . executives of color”: “Cultivate Negro Market.” Southern
bottlers only reluctantly changed, with white office managers like “Pop” Stewart routinely docking black employees’ pay if they didn’t like them. (Rowland, pp. 151, 178–180)

“Sure, we’ll stand up”: Delony Sledge interview with E. J. Kahn, Jr., Kahn Notes, pp. 348–349.

267 “mayor reduced their size”: Harold Martin, Hartsfield, p. 49.

“master–slave relationship”: Joe Jones interview.
“kindness, and condescension”: In 1946, Mattie Heard, a black cook and singer at Ichauway, wrote to Woodruff thanking him “for the many nice things you do for me and my people.” He endeared himself to the black community when he gave money—anonymously—for a new church to replace one which had burned at a crossroads near the plantation. (Mattie Heard to Woodruff, Jan. 31, 1946, RWW Papers, Box 40; Elliott, p. 38)

“right of a chimpanzee”: RWW to Hayes, Nov. 22, 1960. (Sibley Papers, Box 1)


“Union men slashed”: Roddy, 75 Years of Refreshment, pp. 155–172.

“shoot for the belly”: Carter, Paul B. Carter, pp. 115, 118.

“Black Friday”: Bottoms interview.

267–8 “Troy Neighbors”: Gresham interview.

268 “blood’s not dry”: Sims interview.

“drowned himself . . . shot herself”: Bottoms interview.

“could have run naked”: ibid.

“almost inconceivable”: Joe Jones asserts, however, that Woodruff was unaware of Black Friday. (Joe Jones interview)

“Bill Robinson . . . kicked upstairs”: Toffler, p. 200; Neal Gilliatt interview; Bottoms interview.


269 “d.j. would run out”: Gilliatt interview.


“she had bottles of Pepsi”: Christina Crawford, Mommie Dearest, p. 199.

“she did not come cheap”: ibid., pp. 205–211.

“Steele died suddenly”: Toffler, p. 207; “Joan Crawford Finds Husband.”

“highly valued assets”: M. Martin, p. 136.

“over three million miles”: Joan Crawford, My Way of Life, p. 124.


“he cajoled Khrushchev”: Wisely, Kendall provided two versions of
Pepsi—one from the U.S., the other made with Russian water and sugar. Khrushchev loudly proclaimed the superiority of the Soviet Pepsi. (Don Kendall interview; Brodie, Richard Nixon, p. 385n)

“KHRUSHCHEV LEARNS TO BE SOCIABLE”: Kendall interview.

CHAPTER 16: PAUL AUSTIN’S TURBULENT SIXTIES


“Woodruff associate”: Boisfeuillet Jones received the appointment through Vice-President Lyndon Johnson, who had served, like Jones, as a National Youth Administration executive. (Boisfeuillet Jones File, Box 53 & 54; Austin to Woodruff, Sept. 16, 1968. RWW Papers, Box 7)

“posing with him”: 1961 photo, Ben Oehlert folder. (RWW Papers)

“available at any time”: Farley to JFK, March 14, 1961, April 24, 1961. (Farley Papers)


“It was kind”: Farley to JFK, Sept. 26, 1963. (Farley Papers)

“ambassadorship to England”: Louis & Yazijian, p. 132.

272 “franchise on the Moon”: May 25, 1961, letter to CC Co. (CC Archives)


“offering Sprite”: The name for the new lemon/lime drink derived from Haddon Sundblom’s war-era elf known as the Coca-Cola sprite—a silver-haired, ever-smiling boyish creature who wore a bottle cap for a hat. (Hoy, pp. 82, 100; Dec. 22, 1960, CC Co. memo, CC Archives)

“first non-returnable”: “History of Non-Returnable Bottles.” (CC Archives)

“buying Minute Maid”: Minute Maid, established in 1946, dominated the market, owning 20,000 acres of Florida citrus groves, making Coca-Cola one of the world’s largest orange growers. (The Coca-Cola Company, “Notice of Special Meeting of Stockholders,” Nov. 21, 1960, Sibley Papers)


“he noted sternly”: Lee Talley memo, “Policy of The Coca-Cola Company in Regard to the Sales of Bottle, Pre-Mix and Post-Mix Coca-Cola,” Oct. 16, 1961. (RWW Papers, Box 83)


273 “ON A PEDESTAL”: Lee Talley to J. Paul Austin, E. D. Sledge, Oct. 6, 1962. (RWW Papers, Box 83)


commercial’s first screening, a Southern drawl welled from the rear: “There’s a
girl in there that doesn’t have Coca-Cola length hair.” Such hair should just
brush the shoulder, and the pert blonde in question had a shorter bob. Such
strictures soon drove Vorkapich to desert Coke for Pepsi, where he had a freer
hand. (Ed Vorkapich interview)

“Things . . . was killing us”: John Bergin interview.

274 “Pepsi Generation”: An elderly journalist in a retirement community
complained of the “squeaky voiced female” who sang the Pepsi generation
commercial. Further, he resented the implication that “if one doesn’t drink her
drink one is an old has-been, a fuddy-duddy.” On the contrary, he insisted that
“we’re still full of beans, vinegar, and sometimes Coke.” (“It’s Not Our

“seventy-five million”: This “baby boom” figure includes Americans born
from 1946 to 1964. (Johnson, Sleepwalking, p. 124)

“at the heart . . . Coca-Cola”: It was around this time that Coke’s ad men
began searching for a fine balance between emphasis on *intrinsics*—product
attributes such as taste, carbonation, and lift—and *extrinsics* such as popularity,
sex, youth, and community. (Bergin interview)

“know the score”: Hughes Spalding to RWW, Nov. 30, 1962. (RWW Papers,
Box 80)

“J. Paul Austin”: “Georgian Elected Coca-Cola Chief,” AC, May 9, 1962;
“Coca-Cola Elects New President,” NYT, May 9, 1962; “J. Paul Austin, former

“If you wanted to beat”: Bill Mackey interview.


“A certain degree”: Anita Lands, “Profile . . . J. Paul Austin,” *Hermes
Exchange*, Oct. 1968, p. 21. (CC Archives)

“legs off the centipede”: “Austin of Coca-Cola: The Uses of Adrenaline,”


“Fidel Castro . . . nationalizing”: Cuba file, Coca-Cola Archives; Louis &
Yazijian, p. 169.

“former vice-president globe-hopping”: Before going to work as Pepsi’s
lawyer, Richard Nixon approached Coca-Cola for a job. Recalling his role in
getting Khrushchev to drink Pepsi during the Kitchen Debate of 1959, Coke
executives objected, “We don’t want that son-of-a-bitch on the payroll.” Nixon
circled the globe six times for Pepsi between 1962 and 1968, plus numerous
2, The Triumph of a Politician, 1962–1972*, pp. 17–18, 43, 68; Murray Kempton,
Oct. 18, 1968, “How Nixon Endured,” Austin folder, RWW Papers, Box 4;

“Kendall, a savvy executive”: Don Kendall, an aggressive, streetwise former
Navy pilot and boxer, came to power in 1963.

optimistic 1959 survey”: *Coca-Cola (Japan): The First Thirty Years*, pp. 20–
24.

“almost fanatical desire”: Murray Hillman to J. Paul Austin, July 18, 1961
(courtesy Murray Hillman).

“bottler Nisaburo Takanashi”: *CC (Japan)*, pp. 16, 21.

“immediate sensation”: ibid., p. 34; Bill Van Loan interview; Ron Sugarman
interview.

“the Emperor”: Roberts, like Al Killeen in Africa, Bill Bekker in Argentina, or
Max Keith in Germany, maintained complete control in his region. “They ruled
like absolute monarchs,” a Company man recalls, “as long as they delivered the
money." In the mid-fifties, James Curtis, the alcoholic president of the Export corporation, carried things too far, hosting a three-day debauch in Germany, replete with women and liquor. Max Keith blew the whistle, and Woodruff fired Curtis. (Bob Broadwater interview; Michael McMullen interview; Ian Wilson interview)

“direct distribution system”: CC (Japan), pp. 26, 34.

“Much has been written”: Aguayo, Dr. Deming.


“nearly doubling”: ibid., pp. 32, 36, 39.


“We used to be”: Jack B. Weiner, “Why Things Go Better,” Dun’s, 1966, p. 76.

“management techniques”: ibid., p. 73.


278 “Tom Law . . . argued”: Tom Law interview.

“If God had wanted”: Neal Gilliatt interview.

“elephantine labor”: Diehl, pp. 36–40.


“Almost apologetically”: “A Statement by the Coca-Cola Company Regarding . . . TAB,” March 27, 1963. (Sibley Papers, Box 3)

“TaB was not Coca-Cola”: The introduction of TaB caused a considerable uproar, particularly at the Thomas Company, which insisted that since the new drink was a dietetic form of Coca-Cola, the old contract applied. Without granting the validity of the claim, Paul Austin agreed to pay a “tribute” to the Thomas Company to assure its advertising cooperation. (RWW Papers, J. Paul Austin File, Box 5)


279 “Guy Touchtone”: Joe Jones interview; Charles Elliott interview.

“This nigger’s coming”: Branch, Parting the Waters, p. 528.

“languished in jail”: Branch, p. 529. Ware was apparently never a field hand at Ichauway and was simply visiting on that fateful July Fourth. Nonetheless, it is surprising that Woodruff didn’t intervene to help the wounded black man, since the incident began on his plantation. A case actually was brought against Gator Johnson for having beaten and shot Charlie Ware. In April of 1963, an all-white Columbus, Georgia, jury took less than ninety minutes to clear the sheriff. (Branch, p. 731; Joe Jones interview; Cal Bailey interview)

“three hundred acre farm”: Joe Jones interview.

“We are appealing”: Clarence Funnye, CORE program director to J. P. Austin, Sept. 5, 1963. (Sibley Papers, Box 3)

“first racial incident”: “No. 6 Reports.” (RWW Papers, Box 67)

280 “blamed Harvey Russell”: Six months after Harvey Russell became a Pepsi vice-president, the Ku Klux Klan circulated a picture of him and his wife, a light-skinned black, urging a white boycott of Pepsi because its “nigger vice-
"president" was married to a white woman. Local Coca-Cola bottlers were rumored to have funded the brochures, but there was never any proof. (Harvey Russell reprints, Pepsi Collection)

"being a Southern institution": J. Paul Austin, “Memorandum to File,” Sept. 10, 1963. (Sibley Papers, Box 3)

"syphilis was transmitted": Ambrose Pendergrast to Mark Pendergrast, Oct. 20, 1991.

"promised to hire blacks": “Ministers Declare War on Coca-Cola,” Atlanta Inquirer, Aug. 10, 1963. (RWW Papers, Box 83)

"boycott loomed": In an audio clip from the early 1960s, Martin Luther King urged followers: “We’re asking you tonight, to go out and tell your neighbors not to buy Coca-Cola.” But as Coretta Scott King recalled, “We didn’t have to go very far before the bottling companies . . . complied in upgrading black people and hiring new people . . . to our satisfaction.” (Cola Conquest, Part 2.)


"You are probably right": Ivan Allen interview.

"blacks comprised 11 percent": “Why Things Go Better at Coke,” p. 76.

"full of blood": Charles Bottoms interview.

"resemblance to Martin Luther King": Bottoms interview.

"heart attack": Bottoms interview; Bob Oliver interview.

"desire for beauty": Chafe, p. 233.

"stable father figure": Ibid., p. 223.

"I'm sorry the vote": RWW to LBJ, Nov. 4, 1964. (RWW Papers, Box 52)

"Tell Bob to come see me": LBJ to RWW, undated. (RWW Papers, Box 52)

"there's Bob's boy!": Ovid Davis interview; for correspondence between Johnson and Woodruff, see RWW Papers, Boxes 52 and 53.

282 “he favored the dinner”: Allen, pp. 95–99; Pomerantz, Where Peachtree Meets, pp. 336–339


“white pop stars”: “Historical List of Pop Performers, Coca-Cola USA,” 9/19/91, CC Archives; Hoy, p. 130.

“negotiated with the Beatles”: Murray Hillman interview. Coke adman Bill Backer encouraged the Beatles to buy their own Coca-Cola bottling franchise while they sang for Coke. (Backer, Care and Feeding, pp. 242–243)

“flower arranging”: Pause for Living, Summer 1965. (CC Collection, Emory, Box 4)

“‘typical’ housewife”: Freeman, pp. 117–118.

“Woodruff’s real feelings about civil rights”: Chafe, pp. 361–364; J. Edgar Hoover to RWW, Aug. 2, 1963. (RWW Papers, Box 40)


“bottler convention skits”: March 1964 Refresher.

“fussed and fretted”: “Conversational Guidelines About Coca-Cola & Coke,” 1965. (CC Archives) The vigilant trademark men were aghast when John Steinbeck published The Wayward Bus, which referred to “coke” and “Pepsi-Cola,” asserting that “you can’t tell them apart.” When confronted with his error, Steinbeck sniffed: “Only the small need to capitalize.” (Steinbeck, Wayward Bus, p. 182; Kahn, Big Drink, p. 122)


“dynamic young Charles Duncan”: Wilson interview.
“see to it the kiddies”: “Can Orange Juice Fill Pause That Refreshes?”
“It’s a blizzard!”: Sugarman interview; Law interview; “Natural and Man-
“joined Frito-Lay”: In fact, Paul Austin had wanted to purchase Atlanta-
based Frito-Lay for Coca-Cola, but Robert Woodruff rejected the idea. (“Gulp,
Munch and Merge,” Forbes, July 15, 1968, p. 21; Louis & Yazijian, p. 118; Allen,
Secret Formula p. 344).
284 “Growth is essential”: March 1964 Refresher.
“joy in the fray”: March 1964 Refresher.
“We’ll fight ‘em”: March 1965 Refresher.
“followed suit”: “Coke’s Formula: Keep the Image Fresh,” Business Week,
April 25, 1970.
“dispatched Boisfeuillet Jones”: Because of his Washington connections,
Jones repeatedly served as a special Coke emissary. In the late seventies he flew
to Hawaii to facilitate a top-secret project intended to produce a non-cocaine-
bearing coca leaf. When word leaked to the Hawaiian press, however, the
Company was forced to abandon the research. (Boisfeuillet Jones interview)
“in the national interest”: W. Averell Harriman, “Memorandum for the
Secretary,” Jan. 3, 1967. (Harriman Papers, Box 499)
“Farley approved”: Farley to Austin, Dec. 21, 1966. (RWW Papers, Russia
File)
“bottled in Moscow”: Austin to RWW, Jan. 5, 1967. (RWW Papers, Box 75)
Papers Russia File)
“postponed the project”: Boisfeuillet Jones interview; Austin to Hughes
Spalding, Dec. 29, 1966. (RWW Papers, Box 75)
For an overview of the crisis, see Feder, U.S. Companies and the Arab Boycott of
Israel, pp. 38–44.
“threw Coke coolers”: Dick Halpern interview.
“Farley defended”: “Coca-Cola Moves to Franchise Israeli Bottler After
Dispute,” Advertising Age, April 25, 1966, p. 177.
“No one bought”: “Restaurateur Bans Coca-Cola Products,” Advertising Age,
April 18, 1966, p. 54.
“in the Arab countries”: “Two U.S. Firms Face Boycott by Arabs,”
Washington Post, July 19, 1966; “Arabs Vote to Bar Ford, Coca-Cola,” NYT,
Nov. 21, 1966.
“the modern oasis”: Anthony Carthew, “Cold-Drink War: Kvass vs. Coke,”
“Pepsi . . . avoiding Israel”: “Two U.S. Firms Face Boycott.” Although
never opening an Israeli franchise, Pepsi avoided a Zionist boycott. Inside
sources suggest Pepsi’s massive donations to Jewish organizations explain the
mystery.
“nothing is closer”: Mostafa Kamel to Ben Oehlert, Aug. 25, 1966; Oehlert to
Austin, Aug. 22, 1966. (RWW Papers, Box 11)
“Makinsky rushed around”: Makinsky material all from Makinsky to John
Talley, July 9 and 11, 1966. (RWW Papers, Box 11)
“not investing one cent”: Lee Talley Rewrite, “Presentation—Egypt.” (RWW Papers, Box 11)
“They would have lost”: John Brinton interview. The Jewish market was so important to Coca-Cola that it was willing to reveal the secret formula to Atlanta Rabbi Tobias Geffen in 1935. If we are to believe Geffen’s account, the Company made a slight modification to the formula to secure the kosher label. Later, the Company also unveiled its best-kept secret to Israeli Rabbi Moshe Landau, in charge of worldwide kosher certification. Company spokesmen deny revealing the precise formula while admitting that they have given rabbis detailed ingredient lists. (Tobias Geffen, “A Teshuvah Concerning Coca-Cola,” in Lev Tuviah, pp. 117–121; Ralph Cipriano, “Passover, with Touch of Americana,” Philadelphia Inquirer, April 17, 1992; “In the Know: Rabbi’s Got a Secret,” JUF News, Jan./Feb. 1992; “The Big Problem Is: If They Tell, That Wouldn’t Be Kosher, Either,” WSJ, April 29, 1992.)

“unhesitating support”: LBJ to Farley, Aug. 23, 1965. (Farley Papers)
“I am with you”: RWW to LBJ, June 1, 1965. (RWW Papers, Box 52)
“turned to alcohol”: Elliott, Mr. Anonymous, p. 246; Martha Ellis interview; Charles Elliott interview; Joe Jones interview. Within a year, Woodruff found a surrogate wife in his niece, Martha Hodgson Ellis, whose husband died in the spring of 1969. Until the end of his life, Martha Ellis served as Woodruff’s devoted companion. (Martha Ellis interview; RWW Papers, Ellis File, Box 26 Allen, Secret Formula, pp 352–354; Pomerantz, Where Peachtree Meets, pp. 379–380)
“there together”: Davis interview; Califano, The Triumph and Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson, p. 273.
“center of the universe”: Allen, Mayor p. 205; Ivan Allen interview.
“dispatched the Windship”: Eugene Patterson interview.
“in over a hundred . . . cities”: Chafe, p. 367. The same year, Coca-Cola began sponsoring the Golden Legacy series of comic books about famous blacks such as Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass. (Bateman & Schaeffer, “Black History and The Coca-Cola Company,” CC Collectors News, Feb. 1987, pp. 4–8)
“Someone’s always makin’”: Freeman, p. 118.

“elaborate take-off”: ibid., p. 153.
“do your own thing”: ibid., p. 182–198. The subsequent discussion of “the real thing” lyric and ads owes much to John Paul Freeman’s Ph.D thesis. See also Bill Backer, The Care and Feeding of Ideas. The “real thing” translated well in most places around the world, but not in Mexico, where it was initially translated as “Esta es la verdad,” or “This is the truth.” Mexicans didn’t believe authorities when they talked about “truth,” so Coke changed the slogan to “La chispa de la vida,” or “The spark of life”. (Oppenheimer, Bordering on Chaos, p. 269–270)
“reflect Coke’s awareness”: “Coke’s Formula: Keep the Image Fresh.”

“eleven signs down there”: ibid., pp. 66–67.
“shorten her skirt”: “Project Arden Gives Coke a New Look.”
“mushroomed to 1,500”: Bottoms interview; Refresher, Nov./Dec. 1966, p. 16.
“drab and depressing”: Mary Gresham interview.
“remarkably good shape”: “Coke’s Formula: Keep the Image Fresh.”

Coca-Cola’s lack of vitamins: In 1966, when the FDA established standards of identity for cola drinks, the bureaucrats had actually made it illegal for Coca-Cola to contain vitamins or other nutrients, providing a convenient excuse for the Company.

didn’t like the taste”: “The Pause That Nourishes,” Newsweek, Feb. 19, 1968, pp. 73–74. Advertising for Saci emphasized that it made consumers “powerful” and healthy; macho Brazilian men interpreted this to mean that the drink would make them more virile. Consequently, Saci never reached many undernourished children. (Gilliatt interview; “Saci . . . A New Drink to Supplement Diets,” Refresher, 1968; Michael McMullen interview)


obtained FDA approval”: Richard F. Atwood, CC Attorney, to FDA, Nov. 21, 1969. (AF FDA Files)

didn’t hurt”: Dec. 18, 1969, report, Dominick & Dominick. (RWW Papers, Box 20)

Japanese consumers”: Coca-Cola (Japan), p. 56. Coca-Cola sales had doubled every year throughout the “Izanagi Boom” of unprecedented growth between 1966 and 1970. (Coca-Cola [Japan], pp. 33, 42–43)

force us to milk”: Austin to RWW, June 16, 1968. (RWW Papers, Box 40)

detailed memo . . . Woodruff”: J. Paul Austin to RWW, Nov. 28, 1969. (RWW Papers, Box 8)

CHAPTER 17: BIG RED’S UNEASY SLUMBER

Be careful”: Cartha (Deke) DeLoach interview.

Had we stood”: Brian Dyson, “The Great Get-Together,” June 12, 1979. (CC Archival Video)

His next target”: Austin to RWW, Sept. 19, 1969. (RWW Papers, Box 7)


$2 million worth”: “Coke’s NBC Buys,” Variety, July 22, 1970, quoted in Migrant and Seasonal, p. 5870. Several months later, Coke transferred all of its ad dollars to CBS and ABC. (Louis & Yazijian, p. 144)

major plan”: “Coca-Cola Denies Link to Farm Ills,” NYT, July 16, 1970, quoted in Migrant and Seasonal, pp. 5856–57.

Nothing will change”: Migrant and Seasonal, p. 5871.

I would like to ask”: Philip Moore, Migrant and Seasonal, Part 8-B, pp. 5502–7.

National Alliance”: The proposed Alliance for Agri-Business never materialized.


“most hostile hearing”: Joseph Califano interview.


“What’s a sensitive man”: Ralph Nader interview; Califano interview.

40 percent of all”: Louis & Yazijian, p. 143.

“protestors dumped mounds”: “The Candor That Refreshes.”

“bottle deposit bills”: Coke and Pepsi banded together to fight the bottle deposit laws, but a few have been passed in states such as Michigan, Maine, Vermont, Iowa, Oregon, New York, California, and Connecticut, where each bottle carries a hefty nickel deposit. As a result, those states have succeeded in substantially reducing litter from cans and bottles, as well as providing a livelihood for scavengers. Coca-Cola officials argue that such laws turn them into garbage collectors; it would be more appropriate to recycle the cans and bottles along with other nondeposit products. Pat Franklin, head of the National Container Recycling Institute, called for real recycling—simply wash the bottle out and refill it, as in the old days. “It’s as if we were a nation of dukes and earls,” Franklin said, “pitching our brandy snifters at the hearth.” (Louis & Yazijian, pp. 325–326; Franklin quote in Masks of Deception, p. 118)


“Harvard-run seminars”: Bob Broadwater interview.


“misleading Hi-C advertisements”: FTC Complaint and Proposed Order, April 14, 1971. (CC Legal Library)

“Company defended itself”: “Answer of the Coca-Cola Company [to FTC Complaint about Hi-C commercials],” May 24, 1971. (CC Legal Library)


“wired to . . . Nixon”: Ovid Davis to RWW, Sept. 20, 1972. (RWW Papers, Case 65)

“it would seem”: John Talley to RWW, Sept. 20, 1972. (RWW Papers, Box 83)


“will be available”: Aris, “How Pepsi.”

“over twenty trips”: Broadwater interview. In 1974, Coca-Cola and the Soviets signed a “long-range scientific and technical cooperative agreement” which, although it made splashy headlines, did not actually amount to more than a foot in the door. (Sam Hopkins, “Soviets, Coke Agree,” AC, June 27, 1974; Paul Troop, “No Profit in Coke's Red Pact,” AC, June 30, 1974)


“clustered at love-ins”: ibid., pp. 408–412.


“quirky collection”: Freeman, Real Thing, pp. 205–218.


“You've Got a Friend”: Nite, p. 244.

“composing the music”: Roger Greenaway and Roger Cook also contributed to the song “I’d Like to Buy the World a Coke.”

“hilltop in Italy”: The famed Hilltop commercial was very nearly a complete disaster. During the first take, 1,200 Italian orphans waited in steaming buses in the rain for their appearance. Eventually, they rioted, threw Coke bottles at the director, and began to rock a Coke truck, trying to turn it over. As Bill Backer recalled, it demonstrated the exact opposite of what was intended—“lack of harmony and understanding between diverse peoples.” (Freeman, pp. 245–256, 495–496; Backer, Care and Feeding, p. 200–204.)

“over 100,000 letters”: Hoy, pp. 134–137.


“advent of Grease”: Nite, p. 252.

“Munsey wrote”: Munsey, Illustrated Guide.

“center of attention”: Wilbur Kurtz, Jr., interview.

“Dottie West wrote”: Billy Davis co-wrote Country Sunshine.

“raised on country sunshine”: Freeman, pp. 513–514.

“handsome hometown boy”: The boyfriend was a serendipitous last-minute addition to the “Country Sunshine” commercial. While shooting on location, the boy from the farm next door came over in an old truck just to watch the commercial. The director had a brainstorm and told the non-actor: “Look this is a beautiful girl, you’ve loved her all your life. Now we’ve got about two more takes before sundown . . . Jump out of that truck like you’ve been waiting for her all your life.” It worked. (Cola Conquest, Part 1.)


“liberation movement”: Bill Solms to RWW, Aug. 18, 1972. (RWW Papers, Box 79)

“Chilean Coca-Cola”: John Talley to RWW, July 14, 1972, (RWW Papers, Box 83); W. O. Solms to RWW, Aug. 18, 1972. (RWW Papers, Box 79)

“Argentinean Coke officials”: Coke paid a million dollars to free the first Argentinean manager, but when others were taken, they dispatched Mitch Werbell, the self-styled “Wizard of Whispering Death,” to Argentina, where the Georgia anti-Communist publicly informed the kidnappers, “We will kill you. We'll go after your wife. We'll kill her.” His threats having no noticeable effect, he departed. The affair ended with a dramatic shoot-out, as local police rescued
the final Coke man from a dugout cell under the kidnappers’ home. ("How Coke Runs a Foreign Empire," *Business Week*, Aug. 25, 1973, p. 41; Louis & Yazijian, p. 175; Bill Solms interview; Leo Conroy interview)

"It may be serious": "Italy: Let Them Drink Pepsi," *Newsweek*, Oct. 18, 1971, p. 98.

"wagging the dog": Ian Wilson interview.

"commerciogenic malnutrition": Barnet & Müller, *Global Reach*, p. 184; Louis & Yazijian, p. 182. In 1976, the Company responded to criticism by hiring an outside investigator, whose research revealed $600,000 in "questionable foreign payments." (Wilson interview; Frederick Allen & Sallye Salter, "Coca-Cola Probing Foreign Payments," *AC*, Oct. 9, 1976; Sam Hopkins, "Coke Admits to $600,000 in Payments," *AC*, Dec. 7, 1976)


"all-women's seminar": Mary Gresham interview.


"Duncan's resignation": Wilson interview; Virginia Moulder interview; Broadwater interview; Charles Duncan interview. Duncan denies that his resignation was forced.

"like two cats": Wilson interview.

304 "50,000 or fewer": Crawford Johnson testimony, *Exclusive Territorial Allocation Legislation*, pp. 16, 29.

"Thomas bargaining position": Walter "Bud" Randolph interview for this entire section.


"Through the grapevine": J. Guy Beatty, Jr., to Trustees of the Benwood Foundation, Sept. 12, 1974, Memorandum, property of Bondurant, Mixson & Elmore, Atlanta.

"I'll have your balls": Clisby Clark interview.

"Vietnam War": Chafe, p. 430.

"portrayed the Liberty Bell": Freeman, pp. 525–529.

306 "It's up to . . . us": Don Keough, quoted in Freeman, p. 372.

"Nixon . . . resignation": Freeman, p. 375.

"Broadway show": "Why Would Coke 'Put on a Show'?" *AC*, Sept. 25, 1975, p. 7-A.

"felt chest pains": Broadwater interview; Wilson interview.

"fled his native land": In the 1940s, when Roberto Goizueta was an upper-class Cuban teenager attending the prestigious Colegio de Belen, he probably looked up to Fidel Castro, four years ahead of him at the same school. Castro was an exceptional athlete and brilliant, if erratic, scholar, in contrast to Goizueta, who was always a serious, studious, quiet boy. The two Cubans were both
destined to find their place in history as virtual monarchs of their respective realms. Goizueta’s kingdom—the worldwide Coca-Cola empire—was certainly the more impressive. Yet in a way, he owed it all to Castro for nationalizing American companies. (Greising, I’d Like the World to Buy a Coke, pp. 8–22.)

“Roberto is now”: Joe Jones to RWW, Feb. 7, 1974. (RWW Papers, Box 78)
“I was afraid”: Broadwater interview. The normal cassia importation process is, of course, legal, but Broadwater knew that individuals were forbidden to bring any plant material into the United States. He could picture the scene: “Oh, so you’re a Coca-Cola official, and this is part of the secret formula?”
“Shillinglaw recovered”: Broadwater interview.
“administrative mishandling”: “Japan: An Old Coke Hand Tries to Rev Up Profits,” Business Week, March 1, 1976, p. 32. When Coca-Cola was accused of “donating” more than $300,000 to Japanese retail outlets in return for exclusive contracts, forcing competing firms into bankruptcy, Hal Roberts refused to apologize or acknowledge a problem. (“Japan: Things Go Bitter,” Newsweek, Oct. 13, 1969, p. 86)
“complex mind”: Wilson interview.
“a few of them exploded”: In Japan, housewives shopped late each afternoon for the evening meal, bringing home a sun-warmed family-sized Coke bottle—typically stacked outside shops on the street to conserve space—and putting it into the freezer for a quick chill. Not surprisingly, some of the bottles exploded at eye level. (Michael McMullen interview)
“wasn’t about to say”: Broadwater interview.
“protective plastic”: Coca-Cola (Japan), p. 57.
“snowstorm in the bottle”: Bill Van Loan interview.
“Tokyo Bay purple”: Wilson interview; Broadwater interview; Morton Hodgson interview; Claus Halle interview.

“I’m in big trouble”: Hodgson interview. The rest of the Japanese story comes from this interview.
“American . . . youth joyously imbibing”: Coca-Cola (Japan), pp. 62–67. The Japanese ads were influential in ways that astonished Coke men. “Coca-Cola became a kind of standard for how Japanese youth should act,” one veteran recalls. “If we put commercials on the air showing kids wearing Madras shirts, the next day the stores swarmed with teens looking for Madras shirts.” (McMullen interview)
“commercial spoof”: Ron Sugarman interview.
“late in 1975”: Broadwater interview.

“ailing Canadian business”: Woodruff crony Eugene Kelly refused to delegate authority or to loosen the purse strings in his later years. In failing health, Kelly shot himself, and the following manager failed to turn the business around, so Wilson, brought from Africa in 1973, consolidated plants and bottlers, modernizing the facilities. (Wilson interview)
“Austin laughed”: Wilson interview.
“prestigious Trilateral”: The Trilateral Commission, a think tank of Americans, Western Europeans, and Japanese initiated at the behest of David
Rockefeller in 1972, was planned as “a marriage of the intellectual and the influential,” as one journalist put it. (Meyer, James Earl Carter, pp. 192–193; Mazlish & Diamond, Jimmy Carter, pp. 238–239)


310 “I will be a friend”: Lasky, Jimmy Carter: The Man and the Myth, p. 265.
“behaved as an outsider”: Chafe, p. 452–453.
“You know, ma’am”: “Carter’s Chum from Coke,” p. 58.

“Havana cigars”: Woodruff to Castro, June 1977. (RWW Papers, Castro File)
“reason for our conversation”: “Carter’s Chum,” p. 57. To secure permission to bottle Egyptian Coke again, the Company promised to convert 15,000 acres of desert into orange groves. The project foundered, however, when the Egyptian Air Force, resentful of the Agriculture Department’s intrusion, commenced bombing practice on adjacent property, and terrified laborers fled. Sadat’s intervention failed—an early warning signal of the military discontent that resulted in his assassination in 1981. Coca-Cola lost $10 million on the project, but the back of the Arab Boycott had been broken. (Sam Ayoub interview)


“Eastern Bloc sports festival”: “Coca-Cola and Fanta Orange Go on Sale in the Soviet Union,” July 25, 1979, Coca-Cola Press Release. (CC Archives)


“drastic measures”: Scully, Odyssey, pp. 42–44.
“did prefer Pepsi”: Dick Alven interview, Pepsi Collection.
“Challenge commercials were airing”: “Pepsi Pushes Coke in Soft-Drink Fray,” AC, July 29, 1980, p. 3-C.

“Nielsen market figures”: While Nielsen tracks soft drink sales in supermarkets, it does not research fountain or vending machine usage.
“saccharin ban”: The Calorie Control Council, a pro-saccharin lobbying organization, maintained an Atlanta address near Coke, its largest single contributor. The Company need not have worried; the moratorium on a saccharin ban has been routinely extended ever since, in large part because of prudent nurturance of politicians. Coke also supports two other corporate lobbying fronts: the American Council on Health and Science and Keep America Beautiful, Inc. (Louis & Yazijian, pp. 141, 217; Megalli & Friedman, Masks of Deception, pp. 23–28, 45–49, 116–123; Earl T. Leonard, Jr., to Roberto Goizueta, March 9, 1981, RWW Papers, Case 246)
“Coke quickly responded”: In his landmark study, New and Improved: The Story of Mass Marketing in America, Richard S. Tedlow discusses the rise of Coke and Pepsi in addition to three other case studies. He identifies three “phases” of marketing, culminating in market segmentation targeting specific demographic groups. To a large extent, however, brand Coca-Cola itself has resisted segmentation, since it still appeals to a broad range of consumers. (Tedlow, pp. 4–9, 22–111)

Baptist stockholders”: Charles Bottoms interview.
“Khomeini handed over”: Claus Halle interview.
“brief, untroubled”: Kahn, Big Drink, p. 144.

“killings . . . proliferated”: One of Trotter’s managers was wounded and his
bodyguard killed in apparent reprisal. Subsequently, the police arrested a union member's sixteen-year-old daughter, taking her to the adult prison, where she was beaten, repeatedly raped, and permanently blinded when a plastic bag full of pesticide was placed over her head. (Frundt, p. 97)

316 **“never even entered”**: Leo Conroy interview.

**“I value my life!”**: Conroy quoted in Frundt, p. 88.

**“We have revulsion”**: Keough quoted in Frundt, p. 88.

**“allegations . . . import taxes”**: Jeff Nesmith, “Coke Caught in the Middle of a Bloody Fight in Guatemala,” AC, June 3, 1979, p. 6-C; Frundt, p. 50.

**“Company yeared”**: Anonymous Company source.

**“Congressman Donald Pease”**: Frundt, p. 98.


**“it just boiled up”**: Bill Schmidt interview.

**“split men whose forebears”**: ibid.

**“Why don’t you get”**: Brian Dyson interview.

**“Pepsi utterly dominated”**: In Venezuela, the powerful Cisneros family bottled Pepsi.

**“two huge outfits”**: Bill Schmidt interview; Dyson interview; Bottoms interview; Bud Randolph interview; Oliver, p. 30; Louis & Yazijian, p. 345.


**“Coke causes the smile”**: Bill Van Loan Speech, “Great Get-Together.”

319 **“demanding . . . release”**: Van Loan interview. When Roger Mosconi, the ad's creative co-director (with Penny Hawkey) first presented the storyboard, the Company wanted to use white quarterback Terry Bradshaw. Mosconi insisted on Joe Greene, who had earned his “mean” nickname not only for ferocious on-field action, but for assaulting officials and hecklers. The shooting required 128 retakes due to lighting problems and the boy’s muffed lines. One executive complained, “Where do you get off having a white boy kowtow to a nigger?” Before the Great Get-Together, rumors flew through the ad industry that McCann was about to lose the Coke account to Kenyon & Eckhart. The bottlers’ enthusiastic reaction to the Mean Joe Greene ad saved the account and Mosconi’s career. (Roger Mosconi interview; Blount, *About Three Bricks*, pp. 41, 91, 180, 299, 322–325)

**“made-for-TV movie”**: Hoy, p. 138.

**“playing Othello”**: Tom Mattingly, “Mean Joe Greene and Coke!” *Refresher* No. 1, 1980, pp. 2–4; Richard Trubo, “Pepsi-Cola, Coca-Cola: The Cola Rivalry,” *Buffalo News Magazine*, Feb. 8, 1981; John Bergin interview. The McCann men quickly replicated the Mean Joe commercial around the world, using a soccer player for Spanish, Brazilian, Argentine, and Thai ads. In Thailand, for instance, it was Mean Joe Niwat who threw the kid his sweaty jersey. (Sugarman interview)

**“retiring for personal reasons”**: “J. Lucian Smith Retires as President,” *Refresher* No. 3, 1979, p. 27.


320 **“Paul wants you out”**: Virginia Moulder interview.

**“refusing to allow the video”**: Dick Halpern interview; Roy Stout interview.

**“forgot why he was there”**: Moulder interview; Wilson interview.

**“named six men”**: The six men were Roberto Goizueta, Claus Halle, Ike Herbert, Don Keough, Al Killeen, and Ian Wilson. Killeen, who had followed Wilson up the chain through South Africa, ran the Wine Spectrum. Ike Herbert, a soft-spoken advertising man, had switched to Coca-Cola from the McCann
agency. Don Keough had come to the Company along with Duncan Foods. Later, financial man John Collings was added to the list, resulting in references to the “Seven Dwarves.”

“privately told him”: Wilson interview.


“raised the hackles”: Bottoms interview.


321 “was worth less”: “KO Stock,” CC Co.

“unimpressive 5.4%”: Rob Chambers, “After the Austin Era, Coke’s Coming Home,” *AC*, 1981, in Box 5, CC Collection, Emory.

“hostage crisis”: Salinger, *America Held Hostage*.

“Get out of my office!”: Sam Ayoub interview.

“near death from pneumonia”: Edith Honeycutt interview.


CHAPTER 18: ROBERTO GOIZUETA’S BOTTOM LINE


“I am speaking for”: C. Dianne Smith to J. Paul Austin, May 6, 1980, courtesy Dianne Smith Nau; Nau interview.

“Grumman Aircraft”: Charles Bottoms interview.


328 “now summoned”: The exact timing of events during the spring of 1980 is difficult to pin down, since there is no documentation other than memory. In interviews, some Coca-Cola men placed Woodruff’s ultimatum to Austin in April rather than May. The scenario in the text follows the logic of events more closely, however.

“concerned executives . . . role”: Exactly who got to Woodruff may never be known. Around this time, Bob Broadwater recalls running into Roberto Goizueta, who told him, “We almost had a real disaster. We almost had Ian Wilson as the next CEO.” Goizueta denies speaking directly to Woodruff about Wilson. Luke Smith secretly met with Woodruff in the afternoons and may have poisoned him against Wilson. Whatever the truth, there is no doubt that Goizueta played a “grand game of corporate chess,” as one anonymous source commented. (Bob Broadwater interview; Ian Wilson interview; Sam Ayoub interview; Morton Hodgson interview; Claus Halle interview)

“read from the phone book”: Wilson interview.

“It seemed strange”: “Vying Among the Vice Squad,” p. 34.
“Insiders”: Many commentators later asserted that Goizueta’s 1979 earnings of $488,000 compared to Keough’s $361,000 clearly indicated their relative standing. (CC 1979 annual report)


“pigeons in the park”: “Vying Among the Vice Squad,” Fortune, June 1, 1981, p. 34.

“knew little English”: Greising, I’d Like the World to Buy a Coke, p. 5, 11.


“every grain of sand”: “Coke’s Man on the Spot,” p. 58.


“pretty good bet”: Goizueta, “Commencement Address,” p. 5.

“emotions under . . . control”: One hint of how Goizueta dealt with issues beyond his control was his response to a question about whether he missed Cuba. “I have drawn kind of a curtain in that regard.” Unlike Austin, Goizueta made no overtures to Castro, whom he regarded as a usurper and thief, since Goizueta’s grandfather’s house now served as headquarters for the Cuban National Academy of Science. For one thing, however, Goizueta was grateful to Castro. If it had not been for the revolutionary leader, Goizueta would probably have risen to direct Cuban Coke affairs, but he would never have become the company’s CEO. (“Roberto’s World,” Southpoint Magazine, Oct. 1989, p. 96; Goizueta interview)


“country music”: Goizueta to Pendergrast, June 24, 1991.


“I’m very persistent”: ibid., p. 86.

“uneasy year”: There was, in fact, one final drama in the struggle for power. In early July 1980, Robert Woodruff asked Joe Jones to contact the ousted Luke Smith in London to offer him the board chairmanship without being the CEO. At the same time, rumors flew that Charles Duncan, Jr., was being brought back as both chair and CEO. Goizueta supposedly confronted Woodruff, threatening to resign unless he were made both chairman and CEO, with Keough as his president. Woodruff relented, and Joe Jones called Smith to withdraw the offer. A broken man, Luke Smith died of a heart attack a few weeks later. Charles Duncan was summoned, but only as a board member. (Anonymous sources; Virginia Moulder interview; July 20, 1980, CC memo on Luke Smith’s death, RWW Papers, Box 79)

“Chief Operating Officer”: In February of 1980, before Goizueta had been named as president, he and Keough made a pact that if either were chosen as head man, the other would assume a key secondary position. By that time, Keough must have realized that Goizueta had a far better chance than anyone had recognized. Only months earlier, Keough had privately told Ian Wilson, “I’ll never work for the Cuban. What about you?” (Note: Keough denies the quote, attributed to him by Wilson.) Once Keough took the supporting position, however, his public stance was impeccable. “I have learned,” he once said, “that when the boss speaks, the arguing time is over. And I have survived almost forty years.” An anonymous insider, however, said that Keough maintained a “simmering rage” under his well-mannered exterior. (Jesse Meyers, “A Talk with Roberto Goizueta,” BD, Sept. 30, 1988, p. 3;
Wilson interview; Don Keough deposition, July 30, 1987, Diet Coke Case, pp. 358, 365.


“There was never any doubt”: “Vying Among the Vice Squad,” p. 34.


“he was framed”: Wilson interview.

“appropriated his locker”: ibid.

“questions and questions”: Sam Ayoub interview.


“high-fructose corn syrup”: Initially, Coca-Cola was sweetened with 50 percent HFCS, 50 percent cane sugar. Beginning in November of 1984, 100 percent HFCS sweetened U.S. Coke, although cane and beet sugar remained in the formula outside of America.

“20 percent savings”: “Coke Strikes Back,” Fortune, June 1, 1981, p. 34.

“Remember when we”: Goizueta interview. The colas’ sweetener switch caused huge economic ripples. Between 1980 and 1988, the United States cut its cane sugar imports from 3.8 million to about 1 million tons. (Katherine Isaac, “Tate & Lyle: The Grandaddy of Sugar,” Multinational Monitor, April 1989, p. 22)


“lost your damn mind!”: ibid., p. 86.


“clattered to a halt”: Soft Drink, Hard Labour, p. 18.

“Ted Circuit assured”: For a detailed account of this period in Guatemala, see Frundt, pp. 107–172.


“Chispa de la Muerte”: Information from here to footnote about four years later from Soft Drink, Hard Labour, pp. 19–35. For more information on the 1984 plant occupation, see also: Jonathan Fried, “In Guatemala, Things Go Worse With Coke,” Multinational Monitor, April 1984, pp. 8–10; “We Will Neither Go Nor Be Driven Out,” 1984 booklet, IUF, Geneva.


“repeatedly vowed”: “Coke Strikes Back,” p. 35.

“stop this madness”: Sculley, Odyssey, p. 48. John Sculley fulfilled the worst Pepsi nightmare when he took the taste test himself, choosing Coke as the better-tasting drink. Fortunately, the media never got wind of it, and he avoided any such future gaffs. (Sculley, p. 49)

“go out and kill you”: ibid., pp. 49–51.

“Project David”: Oliver, Real Coke, pp. 51–52; Roy Stout interview.

334 “young Mexican”: “Corporate Culture,” p. 8; Don Kendall interview; Business Week, Oct. 27, 1980, p. 154; Enrico, The Other Guy Blinded.
“Bottler Productivity Study”: Ramsey, Corporate Warriors, p. 73.

“Over the last few years”: Sergio Zyman to Brian Dyson, Feb. 14, 1980, Plaintiff’s Exhibit 16; Diet Coke Case.

“cryptic April telegram”: Ramsey, p. 66; Oliver, Real Coke, p. 89.

“The TaB Company”: Goizueta interview.


“looked like a movie star”: ibid.

“the go-ahead”: Zyman to Dyson, Aug. 16, 1980, Plaintiff’s Exhibit 25, Diet Coke Case.

“Austin . . . finally diagnosed”: Joseph Califano interview; Neal Gilliatt interview.


“Paul was too big”: Ian Wilson interview. After leaving Coke, Wilson moved to California to start another business venture, but Pepsi hired him in 1994 to go back to South Africa, where he failed to boost Pepsi’s lagging market share. (“Pepsi Fights Back with Ex-Coke Exec,” AJC, Oct. 2, 1994, p. P1.)

“vision was too broad”: Consequently, Austin found an outlet as chairman of the board of the Rand Corporation, the California think tank, from 1972 to 1981 (Tom Bennett, “J. Paul Austin, former head of Coca-Cola, dies at age 70,” AC, Dec. 17, 1985)

“something had to be done”: Ayoub interview; Oliver, Real Coke, pp. 58–59.

“no sacred cows”: Oliver, Real Coke, pp. 60–62.


“ruthlessly weeded”: Ayoub interview.

“blew . . . to bits”: Richard Trubo, “Pepsi-Cola, Coca-Cola: The Cola Rivalry,” The Buffalo News Magazine, Feb. 8, 1981, p. 5; “We Can’t Let Pepsi Outflesh Us!” Forbes, Nov. 27, 1989, p. 272. In 1981, a Coca-Cola man in Thailand took his aggressive training too literally. Enraged when he found a Pepsi man tacking up posters in his territory, he pulled his truck alongside his rival and killed him with a shotgun blast. Back at Atlanta headquarters, the macho attitude sometimes translated into illicit office sex, according to several anonymous sources. When a Coke veteran discovered that a conference table had been the site of one such passionate session, he wisecracked, “Well, that’s probably the best use that table has ever served.” (“Bloody Bottlers,” Time, Aug. 3, 1981, p. 53)


“pipsqueaks”: Ayoub interview.


“Wearing Army fatigues”: Neville Isdell interview.


“withdrawal of enthusiasm”: Oliver, “Black Ministers.”

“Fooling no one”: Oliver, “Coke and PUSH Make Covenant for $34 Million,” AC, Aug. 11, 1981.
“show of spinelessness”: Lewis Grizzard, “‘Push’ Against Coke Too Far,” *AC*, Aug. 1981. (CC Collection, Box 12, Emory)


“blackmail pressures”: Tennessee businessman to RWW, Aug 19, 1981; Keough reply, Aug. 25, 1981. (RWW Papers, Box 67)

“he had made a mistake”: “Coke Chief Admits Error on Black Covenant,” *Florida Times-Union*, 1981. (CC Collecton, Box 12, Emory)

339 “limp-wristed”: John Bergin interview. In 1974, when Bergin was unaccountably passed over as creative director at BBDO, he quit, moving to SSC&B, another New York agency. In September of 1979, Interpublic bought SSC&B/Lintas, ostensibly because it had key accounts such as Johnson & Johnson and Lipton Tea. When Coca-Cola promptly stole Bergin to head McCann’s team, one insider joked: “That’s a hell of a price to pay for Bergin.”

“Coke is it!”: Working with Tony DeGregorio, Ken Schulman wrote the original lyrics, including the main slogan, “Coke Is It.” Ginny Redington rewrote most of the lyrics to fit her tune, and John Bergin finally fiddled with them as well, replacing “the biggest taste in Canada” with “the biggest taste you’ve ever found” and other modifications. (Ginny Redington interview; Ken Schulman interview; John Bergin interview)

“egg all over us”: Bergin interview.


“sighing with relief”: Video of “Coke Is It” commercials, courtesy McCann-Erickson.

“strong, assertive message”: “‘Coke is it!’ Says It all!” *Refresher*, March 1982, pp. 8–9.


“This is real refreshment”: Cosby commercials courtesy of John Bergin.

“Cosby with killing”: It is likely that the Challenge was halted because of a combination of factors. Aggressive Pepsi USA president John Sculley left to head Apple early in 1983, and Don Kendall, never comfortable with the Challenge, killed it.

“I don’t think”: Cosby quote from “Great Get-Together” 1979 video.

“inconceivably arrogant”: Bergin interview.


341 “$750 million”: Oliver, *Real Coke*, p. 77.

“We’re doing absolutely”: Walker, “Battle Cry for “80s.”

“unbelievably sweet deal”: Oliver, *Real Coke*, pp. 78–83.

“studio’s new researcher”: “Coke Tries Selling Movies Like Soda Pop,” *Fortune*, Dec. 26, 1983. The idea that movies could sell soft drinks wasn’t new. During the filming of *Lawrence of Arabia* in 1961, Peter O’Toole asked a colleague why they were making the film. The story of a man’s spiritual quest? The story of the decline of the British Empire? No, O’Toole said. “It’s soft drinks. Most people don’t know it, but the profit center in movie theaters is the concession stand. It’s impossible to spend three hours watching a film that takes place in the desert without getting incredibly thirsty.” (Wapshott, *Peter O’Toole*)


“$2.5 million”: Ramsey, Corporate Warriors, p. 78.


“when Stout dispensed”: Oliver, Real Coke, p. 88.

“twenty-eight overseas markets”: 1983 CC Annual Report. In foreign markets, diet Coke was often renamed Coca-Cola Light, since many European countries taxed any item with the word “diet” as if it were a medicine.

“temporary contract”: Coca-Cola Bottlers’ Association to All Coca-Cola Bottlers, Aug. 1982, Plaintiff’s Exhibit 297, Diet Coke Case. Company officials point out that no bottler received diet Coke without signing a temporary contract and that transhipment of product into their territory was forbidden by their exclusive contract. Nonetheless, TV ads recognized no territory, and consumers expected to find diet Coke in their local stores. Consequently, local bottlers had little choice but to sign up.

“file suit over diet Coke”: Schmidt’s group decided to sue after an ad hoc committee of the Bottlers’ Association proposed a January 1983 version of the diet Coke contract which they considered unsatisfactory. Schmidt accused the committee members of working in secret sessions against most bottlers’ best interests; in return, the ad hoc members complained that the renegades pursued a “sue first, talk later” course of action. (Schmidt interview; CC Bottlers’ Association, “Highlights of the 1983 Amendment,” April 28, 1983)

“E-Town, the nickname”: The original case was called E-Town because Bill Schmidt’s bottling plant is located in Elizabethtown, Kentucky.


“unveiled Pepsi Free”: Ramsey, p. 79.


“once the giant finally stirred”: By the eighties, the market leaders such as Coke and Pepsi didn’t crawl out on any unnecessary limbs. If a trend manifested itself, they could use their enormous advertised budgets and efficient distribution systems to dominate with their own brand. “Show me a company that’s a product innovator,” said one industry analyst, “and I’ll show you a company that’s going downhill.” (George Thompson in “Hold the Gloom,” Beverage World, Jan. 1991)


“Reagan . . . Pepsi man”: Reagan cabinet member Casper Weinberger was on the Pepsi board of directors. Actually, Reagan had Coca-Cola ties as well. From 1954 to 1962, he had served as the host of TV’s General Electric Theater and toured GE plants. Almost certainly, Reagan would have befriended Robert Woodruff, a longtime GE board member. In addition, Reagan’s older brother,

344±5 “cola wars”: Enrico, p. 12; Don Kendall interview.
345 “image manipulators”: Johnson, Sleepwalking, p. 139.
“fast-food commercial”: Chafe, Unfinished Journey, p. 476.

CHAPTER 19: THE MARKETING BLUNDER OF THE CENTURY

347 “To the Master Dodo”: Letter to CC Co., May 12, 1985. (CC Archives)
“11 percent”: Oliver, Real Coke, p. 103; Roy Stout interview.
348 “Goddam it”: John Bergin interview.
“they wavered”: Oliver, p. 104.
“six-point margin”: ibid., p. 105.
“it’s a nice thing”: Scott Ellsworth interview with Dick Alven, Nov. 16, 1984. (Pepsi Collection)
“take the heat off”: Weil interview. Roberto Goizueta once told John Bergin

349 “On New Year’s Day”: The date of Goizueta’s fateful visit to Ichauway is actually uncertain. In an interview with the author, Goizueta placed it in November of 1984, but in subsequent correspondence amended his memory to the beginning of January. During the press conference announcing New Coke in April of 1985, however, he said that the date was late in February. The January 1 date seems reasonable, since it came shortly after the corporate decision to go ahead, and just before the advertising men were informed.

stopped eating”: According to Edith Honeycutt, Martha Ellis, Joe Jones, and Cal Bailey, Woodruff stopped eating around the beginning of the year.

Honey, where am I?: Edith Honeycutt interview.

Predicted . . . bankruptcy”: Kahn, RWW, p. 44.

neighboring parent”: Robert Woodruff’s mentor was Harrison Jones’ father, who, Woodruff asserted, “liked me better than he did his son Harrison.”

wealth, power”: Robert Woodruff Speech, April 7, 1953. (RWW Papers, Box 54)

Goizueta and Woodruff were alone”: Anonymous sources; Wilbur Kurtz interview; Jack Tarver interview; Bob Broadwater interview.

350 really knew him”: Joe Jones interview.

every penny of it”: Wilbur Kurtz interview.

style rose”: Kahn, RWW. p. 11.


when he couldn’t sleep”: Examining the lives of Woodruff’s two younger brothers only adds to the mystery of a strange family heritage. George Woodruff committed his second daughter, Frances “Tut” Woodruff, to a Florida mental institution, and she won her freedom in a bitter lawsuit only after years of detention. The youngest Woodruff brother, Henry, was “never quite right.” In a burlesque of his father’s obsession with wasted time and money, Henry wore four watches and left dollar tips for $40 meals. He committed suicide. (Frances “Tut” Woodruff interview; Emma Edmunds, “The Trials of Tut Woodruff,” Atlanta Magazine, Jan. 1989, p. 52–54; Lois Troutman interview)

administering Ichauway”: Joe Jones interview.

351 the Bunker”: Oliver, pp. 107–108.

no one could brainstorm”: Bergin interview; Marcio Moreira interview.

recently modified”: Bergin interview.

It’s a new tin”: Moreira interview.

impatient Sergio Zyman”: Bergin and Zyman, formerly good friends, now barely spoke to one another. (Bergin interview)


Enrico’s open letter”: Oliver, p. 128.

Lincoln Center”: ibid., p. 131.

352 the best soft drink”: “Coca-Cola USA Press Conference Satellite Downlink,” April 23, 1985, transcript, Plaintiff’s Exhibit 78, Diet Coke Case. All ensuing quotes from this press conference are from this source.


No one would have listened”: Oliver, p. 123.
bought 110 cases”: Dan Lauck interview; Oliver, pp. 7–9.
“world is immutable”: Zyman to Beindorff, “The Coca-Cola User,” Oct. 15, 1984, Plaintiff’s Exhibit 234, Diet Coke Case. In September 1979, Coke marketer Peter Sealey wrote a memo about then-tentative plans for New Coke. He observed that there were two distinct types of consumer product—utilitarian items such as soaps and detergents, for which “new and improved” made sense, and complex, emotionally laden items such as beer, cigarettes, perfume, and soft drinks. As for Coke, he wrote: “The brand cannot be made new or improved, for to do so would destroy the mystique, mystery, and lore that surround the brand and constitute its heritage. In the minds of our consumers, be brand cannot be improved.” Obviously, no one paid much attention to his memo. (Peter Sealey interview.)

“Coke Was It”: Oliver, pp. 11–12.
“96 percent of all Americans”: Hoy, p. 150.
“inexplicably clumsy”: New Coke commercial video, from McCann-Erickson. Quotes and examples are from this video.
“stressed the tart taste”: Oliver, p. 114.
“words I’m about to say”: Cosby New Coke Commercials, McCann-Erickson video.

355 “Goizueta was shaken”: Oliver, pp. 153–155.
“Fidel Castro”: AC, July 12, 1985, untitled clipping, (CC Collection, Box 9, Emory)
“beginning of June”: For these loyal Coca-Cola drinkers, all other news from late April until mid-July of 1985 was immaterial. Ronald Reagan visited a Nazi cemetery and endured a cancer operation. Death squads terrorized Guatemala, 10,000 died in a Bangladesh cyclone, and Lebanese Shiites hijacked a TWA airliner. None of these events compared to the tragedy of the altered Coca-Cola formula. (Facts on File, 1985, pp. 299–521)
“failed to identify”: Oliver, pp. 159–162.
“limited supply”: “Saying ‘No’ to New Coke,” Newsweek, June 24, 1985, p. 32.
“elixir of the gods”: Oliver, p. 163.
“40,000 letters”: ibid., p. 157.
“our latest research”: CC Consumer Affairs Dept. files.
“consulting psychologist”: Oliver, p. 163.
“Most letters”: All letters from CC Consumer Affairs Dept. files unless otherwise noted.

356 “There are only two things”: Quoted from “Coca-Cola’s Big Fizzle,” Time, July 22, 1985, p. 49.
“social pariahs”: Oliver, pp. 166–167; Charles Schifilliti interview.
“You bastard”: Jesse Meyers interview.
“sleeping like a baby”: Jimmy Williams interview.
“June’s sales plummeted”: Oliver, pp. 169–172.
“only real argument”: Oliver, p. 175–76. Company officials deny that the
name “classic” had anything to do with the lawsuits. Chicago journalist Bob Greene claims credit for the Coke Strategy. In his June 9, 1985 column, he suggested a “face-saving gesture”: the Company should distribute cans of the old Coke, marked with the words “Original Formula,” to be sold alongside New Coke. Gradually, he predicted, the original would predominate, and the Company could “quietly let the old Coke resume its place as the only Coke.” (Bob Greene interview; “The New Coca-Cola Should Be Canned,” Chicago Tribune, June 9, 1985)


“Si mi abuela”: Jesse Meyers, BD, July 19, 1985, p. 3.


“Eighteen thousand calls”: Oliver, Real Coke, p. 181.

“better is sex!”: Ramsey, Corporate Warriors, p. 91.

“cure for cancer”: Oliver, Real Coke, p. 181.

“We love you for caring!”: All letters from CC Consumer Affairs Dept. files.


“pride still blinded”: One Coca-Cola man saw the situation quite clearly, as excerpts from his July 1985 diary indicate: “We were sucked into believing that taste was the only dimension . . . consumers will ask for old Coke just as a way of expressing their . . . anger at Company.” Later, in August, he wrote: “Atmosphere is becoming Orwellian. Management insists that there can be only one Coke, when in fact there are two.” (Anonymous 1985 diary)


“formidable megabrand”: Goizueta to Shareholders, July 11, 1985. (CC Collection, Box 9, Emory)

“whatever he . . . said”: Roberto Goizueta deposition, July 5, 1985, Diet Coke Case.

“flexible pricing . . . future”: Charles L. Wallace to Bottlers of Coca-Cola, July 24, 1985, Plaintiff’s Exhibit 1664, Diet Coke Case.

“Wonderland thinking”: Emmet Bondurant interview.

360 “When I use a word”: Carroll, Through the Looking-Glass, in The Annotated Alice, p. 269.


“Company has never disclosed”: William O. LaMotte III to Judge Murray M. Schwartz, Sept. 9, 1985, Plaintiff’s Exhibit 1899, Diet Coke Case.


As it struggled with all of its problems, the Company finally allowed the Cola Clan to use the Coke name, since the shaken soft drink giant now needed all the goodwill it could muster. In the fall of 1985, the organization was renamed the Coca-Cola Collectors Club International and proudly began using the telltale script in its logo. (Randy Schaeffer, Bill Bateman interview; Thom Thompson to Mark Pendergrast, Oct. 16, 1991)

In the fall of 1985, the organization was renamed the Coca-Cola Collectors Club International and proudly began using the telltale script in its logo. (Randy Schaeffer, Bill Bateman interview; Thom Thompson to Mark Pendergrast, Oct. 16, 1991)

One of these commercials officially broke the long-standing taboo against children under twelve drinking Coke.

In a blind taste-test, the author of this book sipped Coca-Cola Classic, New Coke, Pepsi, and A&P Cola. He chose Classic as his favorite taste, followed by New Coke, correctly identifying both. His third choice was A&P Cola, which he thought was Pepsi.

“exchanged marriage vows”: Chris Elliot interview.

“annual return of 24%”: 1985 CC Annual Report, p. 3. In June of 1986 the stock split 3-for-1.

“70 percent of its top value”: Pendergrast, Practical Ways, p. 1.
“ordinary tap water”: Roberto Goizueta address, May 7, 1986, videotape, CC Co.

368 “This is the world”: Donald R. Keough, “The New Century Begins,” May 9, 1986, CC Co.

“supervise Germany”: Neville Isdell interview.
“Beatrice Foods”: Kohlberg Kravis Roberts and Company took over Beatrice Foods in a record-breaking $6.2 billion leveraged buy-out in 1986, then sold off chunks such as the Coca-Cola bottler. (Johnson, Sleepwalking, p. 433)
“Coca-Cola Enterprises”: The Company also created a new Master Contract for CCE, providing unlimited flexibility in pricing syrup. Whenever Big Coke took an equity position in larger bottlers, it insisted on their signing what Bill Schmidt derisively called the “Master-Slave Contract.” By the end of the decade, bottlers covering 70 percent of U.S. volume had signed up. (Bill Schmidt interview; “The New Coca-Cola,” Financial World, p. 34)
“fine guerrilla fighter”: Roy Stout lost his position as head of U.S. research in 1988, though Don Keough rehired him on the corporate level. (Keith Herndon, “Coca-Cola Co. to Create New Bottling Firm,” AC, July 15, 1986; Charles Bottoms interview; Roy Stout interview)

370 “syrup pump”: Emmet Bondurant interview.


371 “leader Albert Luthuli”: Chief Luthuli won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961 and was assassinated in 1967.

“They are so visible”: Tandi Gcabashe interview.


“this case was a pleasure”: Murray Schwartz decision, E-Town Case, Aug. 8, 1986.

“projected $7 million”: Because the number of unamended bottlers dropped soon afterward, the actual annual cost to the company was $4 million rather than $7 million.

“We underestimated”: Bondurant interview.


“window of opportunity”: E-Town Case, Consolidated Pre-Trial Order, p. 147. On Jan. 6, 1987, the Company informed non-amended bottlers that they had until May 1, 1987, to sign the amendment.

“fell from sixty-four to twenty-nine”: Bill and Jan Schmidt interview.

“gorgeous plant . . . ‘double-bottoming’”: Robert Lindsey interview; Skey Johnston interview.

“Schi®lliti serviced Vermont”: Charles Schifilliti interview.


“twenty-nine separate legal actions”: Department of Justice files.

“we were street-fighters”: Jim Harford, Future Smarts/Legal Smarts, May 20, 1991, pp. 101–117. Harford, a staunch conservative, was transformed by his jail experience. He also learned that there was life outside the cola wars. “Even if I may not sell flavored, colored, sugar-charged water again,” he told a group
of bottlers, "life thereafter looks good to me. I've had more time with my family."


375 "kiss my ass": Allen Peacock interview. A Coca-Cola Consolidated spokesman denied some of Peacock's allegations, including extraordinary work hours and the 260 percent turnover ratio. The bottler refused to permit an interview with a current route salesman, however, and did not disclose the actual turnover ratio. (Bob Pettus interview)

"That's a sin": Bottoms interview.


"Perhaps coming years": Goizueta quoted in *Beverage Digest*, 15, 1992, p. 5.


“Ishtar’s dismal performance”: Ishtar lost $25 million. (“He Put the Kick,” Fortune, p. 50)

“synergies between”: “Selling Soft Drinks & Celluloid,” Journey, Nov. 1987, pp. 4–8. The information and quote in the next paragraph are from this article.

“audience hated it”: Andrew Yule, Fast Fade, p. 332.

“film failed utterly”: Kipps, Out of Focus, p. 324.

“MAC and Me”: MAC supposedly stood for “Mysterious Alien Creature,” but it was more obviously a McDonald’s plug. Much of the movie’s action took place under the Golden Arches where, of course, everyone drank more Coke. (Mark Crispin Miller, Seeing Through Movies, pp. 194–195)

“I am the future”: McCann–Erickson videotape.

“nineteen different languages”: Marcio Moreira interview. The final “General Assembly” cuts appeared to have been filmed and sung entirely in the appropriate language by all thousand youths. In fact, only the soloists and small groups singing “tomorrow,” “mañana,” or “demain” were depicted in close-ups. With clever editing, no one could tell that the hordes had originally sung in English only.

“Machu Picchu”: Moreira interview.


“policing women’s nipples”: Moreira interview.


“contravening any major”: Moreira interview.


“bribed . . . into the USSR”: Melissa Turner articles in AC, June 11, June 30, July 2, Aug. 6, Aug. 14, 1988. The Coca-Cola venture in Russia commenced with a 1985 agreement between Don Keough and Mikhail Gorbachev, pleased to make one more nonalcoholic beverage available to his vodka-swilling countrymen. The complex agreement essentially allowed the Russians to pay for their Coke with Lada automobiles exported to England.
“Neither . . . disturbed”: The extensive coverage given to the grand jury investigation by the *Atlanta Constitution* did irk Roberto Goizueta, however. When Pulitzer Prize-winning Bill Kovach became editor of the *Constitution* in 1986, he vowed to convert it into a hard-hitting investigative paper. When Goizueta invited Kovach twice to his home for dinner, the editor was impolitic enough to decline. Thus, when Kovach was fired late in 1988, many critics pointed the finger at Coca-Cola. After all, paper owner Anne Cox Chambers sat on the Coca-Cola board. According to inside sources at the paper, however, Kovach’s departure had little to do with pressure from the soft drink company. (Wendell Rawls interview; Melissa Turner interview)


“I was the bad cop”: Roberto Goizueta interview.


“heaven . . . for a soft drink”: Don Keough interview.


“He’s so American!”: “Coke Gets Off Its Can,” p. 69.


“reaped more profits”: 1987 CC Annual Report, p. 7; “Heritage,” *Journey*, Aug. 1987, p. 26. Japan was Coke’s number-one profit center, even though only the fourth-largest market by volume. In the United States, the Company earned 11 cents on the concentrate used to fill a case of Coke. In Japan, it made four times as much for the same concentrate. (Maria Saporta, “To Coke, Worldwide Growth Is the Real Thing,” *AC*, July 29, 1990)

“per capita stalled”: Bergin interview; Dick Halpern interview.

“Japanese health drinks”: In Japan, patent medicines found a ready market—not too dissimilar from the American boom of 1885 that spawned Coca-Cola. Japanese consumers spend 40 percent more than Americans on cancer drugs and anti senility pills—largely placebos which would never gain FDA approval in the U.S. (“The Strange Ways of Japanese Medicine Makers,” *Fortune*, June 29, 1991, p. 63)

“Pocari Sweat”: Thurber, “Japan Soft Drink Wars.”


“for indolent youth”: Bergin interview.


“sociological study”: Bergin interview; Stout interview.


“David Puttnam affair”: Puttnam’s dubious achievements included commissioning a movie about a talking penis, which was never released. (Yule, *Fast Fade*; Sealey interview.)

“cash from the sale”: The Company also used the money to repurchase more stock.


“rumors circulated”: Jan and Bill Schmidt interviews. Schwartz may also have left the bench because of a heart condition.

“complete disdain”: Emmet Bondurant interview.


“confusing star wars”: The two colas also went to war late in 1989 on another front, when Pepsi college recruiters defamed Coke’s Atlanta home, where cow-tipping—sneaking up on a sleeping bovine and pushing it over—was purportedly the favorite sport. The nasty dig exploded in Pepsi’s face when outraged Atlanta editorials, political cartoons, and letters to the editor forced a public apology. (Philip Stelly, Jr., “Grits Hit the Fan After Pepsi Quiz,” *Adweek*, Nov. 11, 1989; Ron Tidmore, “Open Letter to Atlanta-Area Residents,” *AC*, Nov. 23, 1989)


“Ray Charles”: Like Michael Jackson, Ray Charles didn’t even drink the product he promoted, rejecting a young woman’s offer of a diet Pepsi: “Honey, I don’t drink that diet stuff. I just drink sweet, whole milk.” (“Unless It’s Milk, Hit the Road, Jack,” *AC*, Sept. 17, 1990)

“it was nothing”: Hilltop Reunion Videotape, World of Coca-Cola Museum, Atlanta.

“reading lesson”: ibid.

“burst into tears”: Seltzer interview.


CHAPTER 21: GLOBAL FIZZ


“spigot that has a C”: Joan Holleran, “The King of Coca-Cola,” Beverage Industry, Nov. 1996, p. 34.


“Just ship the product”: Greising, I’d Like the World, p. 185–186.


“Company upped the ante”: Protzman, “Coke’s Splash.”


“embraced Western culture”: Cola Conquest, Part 3.


“barely two percent”: 1991 and 1992 CC Annual Reports.

“Coke II”: Eventually, Coke II’s market dwindled until by the year 2000 it was available only in the Chicago area. (CC Co. Answer Line)


“mere commodities”: Greising, I’d Like the World, p. 225.

“Coke and Pepsi are passé”: Cola Conquest, Part 3; Greising, I’d Like the World. p. 225.


“baiting fish-hooks”: Cola Conquest, Part 3.


“Ike Herbert . . .called”: Ike Herbert retired at the end of 1991 at the age of 63.

“I was blissing out”: Laura Zinn, “For Coke’s Peter Sealey, Hollywood Is It,” Business Week, March 15, 1993, p. 84.


“Get Used to Sergio.”: Greising, I’d Like the World, p. 230; Anonymous source.


“creation of Tab Clear”: Peter Sealey interview; Zyman, End of Marketing, p. xv, 35, 48.


“advanced only $4.50 per share”: 1993 CC Annual Report, p. 52–53.


“Experiential event marketing”: Mark Driscoll interview.


“a harder edge”: Donna Glenn and Mike Lafferty, “Cola War Flares Up During Torch Run,” *Columbus Dispatch*, June 8, 1996, p. 2A.

“draping the Pepsi”: Anne Hart, “Have a Coke and a . . . Pepsi?” *AJC*, June 27, 1996, p. 3M.


“genuine emotion”: Susan McWhorter interview; Bruce Venner interview; Jon Gailmor interview.


“Coke’s Olympic efforts”: Greising, *I’d Like the World*, p. 264; Patricia


“Pepsi two black eyes”: Roberto Goizueta interview.


thinking about his legacy”: Maria Saporta, “Coca-Cola’s Jaunt to Delaware,” AJC, April 18, 1996, p. 1B.


strategic philanthropy”: Maria Saporta, “Coca-Cola, Other Companies Offer ‘Strategic Philanthropy,’” AJC, April 26, 1997, p. 3E.


asked about his successor”: J. P. Donlon, “The Eight-Nine Billion Dollar

“the soul of their companies”: Maria Saporta, “Goizueta Takes Cue From Marcus,” AJC, May 31, 1997, p. 1E.


remained an enigma”: Greising, I’d Like the World, p. xvi.


CHAPTER 22: IVESTER INHERITS A WORLD OF TROUBLE


an odd couple”: Peter Sealey interview; Chris Roush interview.


“a recharged Pepsi”: Chris Roush, “Pepsi, Coke At It Again,” AJC, June 12, 1997, p. 3G.

“spun off Pepsi’s restaurants”: “A Pepsi History,” 9/2/98, from PepsiCo, Purchase, NY;


“what better victim”: In the wake of the Belgian health disaster, much of the old French animosity towards Coke surfaced again. Because the Europeans refused to buy U.S. hormone-fed beef, the United States imposed 100 percent tariffs on a variety of European food and luxury products, including Roquefort cheese. In retaliation, a French village imposed a 100 percent “tax” on Coca-Cola. Why Coke? “It is a symbol of the American multinational that wants to uniformize taste all over the planet,” explained the mayor. (Anne Swardson, “When Cheese and Coke Go to War,” Washington Post National Weekly Edition, Aug. 30, 1999)


CHAPTER 23: WORLD WITHOUT END?


“a million people”: Don Keough interview; 1991 CC Annual Report.

“shift on its axis”: Dick Halpern interview.

441 “missionaries”: Some Coke men have been married in their uniforms, while others have chosen to be buried in them. (Kahn, *Big Drink*, p. 49)


“reverence towards the product”: Dick Halpern interview. My first cousin worked briefly for Coca-Cola in 1967, when he wrote: “These people are fanatics! I mean, I drink the stuff but, my God, I never knew it would be like this. If you took a poll, I bet 9 out of 10 Coke executives would maintain that it could supplant altar wine, undergoing with ease the profundities of transubstantiation.” (Robbert Schwab III to Nan Pendergrast, Oct. 1967)


“universal brotherhood”: Coca-Cola also shares less glorious traits with organized religions—tedious hair-splitting rules and rituals, rigid militaristic hierarchy, and holier-than-thou condemnation of the Enemy.

“worshipful moods”: Geertz, pp. 11.


“almost irresistible”: Ann Nietzke, “The American Obsession With Fun,” *Saturday Review* Aug. 26, 1972, p. 35. The best Coca-Cola commercials can touch the most obdurate heart. Even a hardened ad man like John Bergin told me he still sometimes weeps at his own commercials. (John Bergin interview)


“7X of the soul”: The Reverend Howard Finster, a folk artist whose Paradise Garden attracts tourists to rural Pennville, Georgia, paints Coke bottles replete with Biblical sayings and fantastic creatures. “Religious people drinks Coca-Cola,” he explained. Finster’s first Coke made as strong an impression as his first vision. “I was just a little fellow,” he recalled. “They bought me a nickel drink that was pretty good size and I drank all of that. I thought that was the best thing I ever drank, you know, and directly I belched and it come through my nose and it like to knocked the top of my head off.” (Howard Finster interview; Eileen M. Drennen, “The Reverend’s Real Thing,” *AC* Dec. 7, 1989, *Cola Conquest*, Part 1.)


“great love affairs”: Ike Herbert at 1990 Fountain Meeting in San Francisco, CC Co. videotape.

“We’re selling smoke”: Dick Halpern interview.


“sooth upset stomachs”: Plain Coca-Cola syrup used to be sold as medicine at drug stores throughout America and can still be purchased (for $1 an ounce) at a few Atlanta pharmacies.

“Some studies . . . kidney stones”: Jacobson, Liquid Candy.

“drinking through a straw”: William Bowen interview. Dental researcher Dr. B. G. Bibby concluded that Coke’s sugar content actually offers protection from the acidic effect on teeth. He also discovered that scrupulous tooth-brushing can cause more demineralization, since the acid then works immediately on the clean tooth surface, while plaque acts as a buffer. (Bibby, Food and the Teeth, p. 108–111.)


“nice white sugar”: Mintz, Sweetness and Power, p. 103.

“a defect”: ibid, p. 134.

“Drink of Health”: ibid, p. 251.

“I sometimes shudder”: Kahn, Big Drink, p. 35.

“British social ritual”: Mintz, Sweetness and Power, p. 120, 181.

“tiny amount of cocaine”: Cocaine, too, was used as a cheap, short-term method of getting more work out of Southern black laborers.


“We are what we eat”: ibid, p. 211.


“With the supermarket”: Adlai Stevenson quoted in Corwin, Trivializing America, p. 65.


“You have entered”: Klaus Liedtke, p. 37.


“People around the world”: Goizueta, “Globalization,” p. 361. Unquestionably, Coca-Cola’s marketing blitz has directly affected local drinking habits. In the Philippines, indigenous beverages such as kalamansi (lime juice) and buko (coconut water) have virtually disappeared except for ceremonial use. An interesting thing happened in Indonesia, however, indicating how adaptable cultures can be. When Coca-Cola made inroads on the traditional tea market, a local business put sweetened jasmine tea in red-and-white labeled bottles, calling it Tehbotol (tea bottle) and underpricing Coke. Tehbotol proved so popular that Coke had to introduce its own Hi-C tea product as a competitor. (Clairmonte & Cavanagh, Merchants of Drink, p. 13, 171–172; John Hunter interview.)

449 “From infancy to adulthood”: Barbara Tuchman, quoted in Corwin, Trivializing America, p. 176–177.


“Benjamin Barber argues”: Barber, Jihad vs. McWorld, pp. 67, 71.

“hearts and souls”: Barber in Cola Conquest, Part 2.

“world that is coming”: Barber, Jihad vs. McWorld, pp. 11, 14.


“terrifying giant step”: Kuisel, Seducing the French, p. 228–229, 233. “To a considerable extent, Europeans resisted the standardization and homogeneity allegedly inflicted on them by their American masters,” observed Richard Pells in Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved Hated, and Transformed American Culture Since World War II. “Instead they adapted America’s products and culture to their own needs, ‘Europeanizing’ and domesticating most of the items and images they received from the United States.” (Pells, Not Like Us, p. 279)


“You’ll find plenty”: Don Keough interview.


“very, very comforting”: “Many Memories Reflected in Familiar Green Bottle,” AC Aug. 16, 1990. The warm, nostalgic place that Coca-Cola has secured in the American heart may diminish in time, as memories of the cute little green bottle, old-fashioned ice chests, and small-town soda fountains give way to childhood experiences with computerized vending machines shooting out cans. In his book The Great Good Place, sociologist Ray Oldenburg lamented the passing of the American soda fountain, one of the few peaceful public gathering places for all ages. So, he argued, we feel increasingly isolated, fractured, lost. (Oldenburg, The Great Good Place, p. 3–11; 111–115)


“We do have”: Weldon Johnson interview.

“Fulbright . . . devoted to Coca-Cola”: J. W. Fulbright interview.

452 “they bring something new”: Cola Conquest, Part 3.
Notes

“corporate shuttle diplomacy”: Carl Ware, Coke’s brilliant black executive, spearheaded the South African diplomatic effort. Ware rose to head the company’s entire African Division.
“an elephant’s ass”: Harrison Jones quote from Jimmy Sibley interview.
“Coca-Cola is more durable”: James G. Peck to Mark Pendergrast, April 2, 1992.

APPENDIX 1: THE SACRED FORMULA

“kola nuts are not mentioned”: The “Turner formula” corresponds closely to an unpublished version written by Frank Robinson, the man who named Coca-Cola, wrote out its tell-tale script, and manufactured and marketed the drink, according to his great-grandson Frank Robinson II, who owns it. Neither formula mentions kola nuts. The Turner formula does not appear to be written in the inventor’s handwriting, it may have been copied over by his apprentice.
“Merck in Darmstadt”: Pemberton Speech from Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Meeting held in Savannah, GA, April 1886. (Sherman Collection)
“That wasn’t the only formula change”: According to another Coke history, there have been over a dozen alterations to the Coke formula over the years. (Allen, Secret Formula, p. 17)
“fiddled around”: CHC, “True History of Coca-Cola,” p. 10. CC Collection. Asa Candler abandoned the expensive caffeine extracted from kola nuts, relying instead on stems and droppings from tea manufacturers. He added only enough kola nut to avoid accusations of misbranding.
“accurate guestimate”: Poundstone, Big Secrets, p. 42–43.

467 “sworn testimony”: Third Affidavit of Dr. Anton Amon, Plaintiff’s Exhibit 195, Diet Coke Case.

“fell by the wayside”: Bob Broadwater interview.


“senior psychometrician”: Harry Waldrop interview.

APPENDIX 2: COCA-COLA MAGIC

Bibliography

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

Bateman, William E., and Randy S. Schaeffer Private Collection. Reading, PA.
Candler, Asa G. Papers. Special Collections, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta.
Candler, Charles Howard Papers. Special Collections, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta.
Candler, Warren, Papers. Special Collections, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta.
Center of Military History. U.S. Department of the Army, Washington, D.C.
Coca-Cola Collection. Special Collections, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta.
Department of Justice Files. Anti-Trust Division, Legal Procedures Unit, Washington, D.C.
Dun, R. G. & Company, Collection. Baker Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, Cambridge, MA.
Eisenhower Papers. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, KS.
Hartsfield, William B. Papers. Special Collections, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta.
Hollingworth Papers. Harry Hollingworth Collections, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, NE.
Hunter, Floyd Papers. Special Collections, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta.
National Archives, Washington, D.C. AGO Document File #1239224.
Pemberton Archives. Monroe King Private Collection, Douglasville, GA.
Pendergrast, Mark, Collection. Special Collections, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta. (Mark Pendergrast has donated his taped interviews, transcripts, notes, court cases, and other research material used to write this book).
Robinson, Frank II, Private Collection, Atlanta. (Collection of materials relating to Frank Robinson.)
Sherman, Ernestine, Private Collection. Albany, GA. (John Pemberton material.)
Sibley, John Papers. Special Collections, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta.
Sizer, J. B., Correspondence. Schmidt Museum, Elizabethtown, NJ.
Thomas, Benjamin, Correspondence. Benwood Foundation, Chattanooga.
Thompson, Thom, Collection. Versailles, KY.
U.S. Food and Drug Administration Files. Rockville, MD.
Woodruff, Robert W., Papers. Special Collections, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta.

SELECTED COURT CASES
(Most are in the CC Legal Library)


Bottler Case: The Coca-Cola Bottling Co. vs. The Coca-Cola Co., District Court, Delaware, Nov. 8, 1920. No. 389.


Cleo-Cola Case: Cleo Syrup Corp. vs. The Coca-Cola Company, U.S. Circuit Court of Appeal, Eighth Circuit, No. 12,592 Civil. 1943.


Diet Coke Case: Shreveport Coca-Cola Bottling Co., Inc. et. al. vs. The Coca-Cola Co., U.S. District Court, Delaware. Civil Actions No. 83-95 MMS, 83-120 MMS. 1991 (one opinion—it would be unwieldy to list all opinions, depositions, and other court records).


Fulton County Superior Court Records, Atlanta.


Koke Case: The Coca-Cola Company vs. The Koke Company of America, Supreme Court of the United States, Oct. Term, 1920, part of the Briebs and Records of the United States Supreme Court.

My-Coca Case: My-Coca Co. vs. Baltimore Process Co., In the Circuit Court of Baltimore, Sept. 2, 1924.


Pre-Mix Case: Coca-Cola Bottling Co. of Minnesota, Inc., vs. The Coca-Cola Company, Civil No. 5269, U.S. District Court, District of Minnesota, Fourth Division, April 29, 1957.

Queens Case: Pepsi-Cola Company vs. Coca-Cola Company, Supreme Court of the State of New York, County of Queens, 1938.

Rucker Case: Henry A. Rucker vs. Coca-Cola Company, U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit, No. 1161, Original Record filed May 12, 1902.

BOOKS AND VIDEOS


——. Asa Griggs Candler; Coca-Cola & Emory College. Atlanta: Emory, 1953.


Jones, Sam. The Life and Sayings of Sam P. Jones, by His Wife. Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907.

Mariani, Angelo. Coca and Its Therapeutic Applications. NY: J. N. Jaros, 1886.


*Nostrums and Quackery*. Chicago: American Medical Association, 1911.


*Reform Medical Practice: With a History of Medicine*, by the Faculty of the Reform Medical College of Georgia. Macon: Georgia Telegraph Steam Power Press, 1857.


*Revenue to Defray War Expenses*, *Hearings and Briefs Before the Committee on Finance, United States Senate . . . on HR 4280*. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1917.


Stubbs, Roy. *Compilations* on various countries. Atlanta: Coca-Cola Company Legal Library, various dates.


**PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS**

See Endnotes. Within each chapter, the full information is given only for the first citation of a particular article.
INTERVIEWS

Michael Aldrich, September 17, 1991
Miles Alexander, September 30, 1991
Ivan Allen, Jr., May 20, 1991
Irene Angelico, December 1998
Brad Ansley, April 16, 1991
J. Arch Avary, Jr., July 29, 1989
Sam Ayoub, April 1, 1991; February 7, 1992
Cal Bailey, February 13, 1992
Christel Balzer, November 10, 1988
Clifford Randolph “Randy” Barbee, May 7, 1991
Bill Bateman, April 6, 1991
John Beach, July 11, 1989
Mae Beach, July 12, 1989
Dorothy Benjamin, April 1999
Enrique E. Bledel, April 18, May 21, 1991
Charles Bottoms, April 2, November 15, 1991; February 7, 1992, April 23, 1992, April 1999
James K. Boudreau, May 6, 1991
William Bowen, April 16, 1992; Sept 1999
Sebert Brewer, Jr., April 8, October 2, 1991
John Brinton, August 12, 1991
Robert Broadwater, May 17, June 4, 1991; May 1, 1992
Tim Brown, September 1, 1991
Gordon Bynum, March 21, 1991
Dorothy Caldwell, June 1999
Joseph Califano, February 20, 1992
Asa G. Candler V, February 18, 1991
Jac Chamblis, April 8, 1991
G. Clisby Clarke, May 14, 1991
Dudley Clendenin, March 2, 1991
Leo Conroy, January 12, 1992
Ralph Cooper, May 28, 1991
Emilio Cordova, February 11, 1992
Carlton Curtis, March 25, May 21, November 15, 1991
Ovid Davis, March 21, May 29, December 20, 1991
Tony DeGregorio, February 20, 1992
Cartha D. “Deke” DeLoach, July 16, 1989
Nikhil Deogun, May 1999
James Dickey, October 19, 1992
Sean Morton Downey, Jr., March 30, 1991
George Downing, July 27, 1989
Mark “Dill” Driscoll, April 1999
Charles Duncan, Jr., June 17, 1991
Maurice Duttera, July 28, 1989
Brian G. Dyson, June 4, 1991
Emma Edmunds, April 9, 1991
William Effinger III, October 7, 1991
Chris Eliot, April 10, 1992
Charles Elliott, April 6, 1991
Martha Ellis, March 16, 1991
Arthur Ferguson, Jr., April 1, 1992
Pierre Ferrari, March 1999
Gary Fine, June 22, 1992
Howard Finster, July 30, 1989
Alice Fisher, April 15, 1991
Charlotte Fortune, April 18, 1991
Jonathan Fried, December 16, 1991
Henry J. Frundt, October 30, 1991
J. W. Fulbright, Nov. 18, 1992
Jon Gailmor, February 1999
Franklin Garrett, July 13, 1989
Tandi Gcabshe, March 8, 1991
Phil Geier, January 7, 1992
Neal Gilliatt, June 27, 1991; January 16, 1992
John Gillin, April 30, 1991
Marion Glover, May 1999
Roberto Goizueta, June 4, 1991
Susan Gordon, January 15, 1992
Vera Shea Gordon, March 15, 1991
Marc Grauer, May 16, 1991
Bob Greene, Nov. 4, 1992
Tom Greenwood, March 15, 1990
Lewis Gregg, December 9, 1989
Arthur Gregory, May 28, 1991
Mary Gresham, May 29, 1991
Joy Anne Grune, September 13, 1991
Claus Halle, March 13, 19, December 15, 1991
Dick Halpern, March 3, 4, 6, 1992
Garth Hamby, May 20, 1991
Nat Harrison, April 16, 1991
Carlton Henderson, May 11, 1991
Ira Herbert, April 29, 1991; March 12, 1992
Neil Herring, March 9, 1991
Robert Hester, April 29, 1991
Raul Hilberg, December 5, 1991  
Alfons Hilgers, April 28, 1991  
Murray Hillman, August 6, 1991  
Morton Hodgson, March 15, September 30, October 9, 1991; February 12, 1992  
Stephen Holtzman, March 7, 1991  
Edith Honeycutt, May 19, 1991  
Floyd Hunter, July 3, 1991  
John Hunter, May 29, 1991  
Gerald Imlay, June 7, 1991  
E. Neville Isdell, May 1, 1991  
M. Douglas Ivester, May 21, 1991  
Michael Jacobson, March 3, 1992  
Richard Johnson, March 20, 1992  
Weldon Johnson, March 3, 1991  
William T. “Tut” Johnson, July 12, 1989  
Summerfield “Skey” Johnston, Jr., May 1, 1991  
Boisfeuillet Jones, May 2, 6, 1991  
Joseph W. Jones, August 1, 1989; May 2, 1991; January 7, 27, 1992  
Donald Kendall, March 20, 1992  
Donald R. Keough, May 16, 1991  
Bill Key, July 12, 1989  
Sergei N. Khrushchev, February 18, 1992  
Dudley King, Jr., July 14, 1988  
Monroe King, March 9, April 21, July 25, 1991  
John Knox, July 16, 1989  
Cliff Kuhn, March 20, 1991  
Wilbur Kurtz, Jr., July 29, 1989  
Marshall Lane, March 12, 1991  
James Langford, February 1999  
Dan Lauck, February 2, 1992  
Tom Law, June 2, 1991  
Pearl Ledoux, April 11, 1991  
Paul Lesko, November 6, 1991  
Robert Lindsey, February 10, 1992  
Hamilton Lokey, May 20, 1991  
Julius Lunsford, March 21, 1991  
Bill Mackey, February 10, 1992  
James Manley, June 4, 1991  
Randy Mayo, March 18, 1991  
Frank McGuire, April 20, 1991  
Alex McLennan, May 1, 1992  
Michael McMullen, April 8, 9, 10, 1992  
Charles H. “Pete” McTier, May 4, 1991  
Susan McWhorter, April 1999  
Jesse Meyers, November 22, 1991  
Mark Crispin Miller, February 21, 1992  
George Mitchell, April 14, 1991  
Russell Mokiber, January 23, 1992  
Betty Molnar, Summer 1991  
Philip F. Mooney, Spring 1991  
Marcio Moreira, June 14, 1991  
Ray Morgan, April 1999  
Al Morrison, April 27, 1992  
Jack Morrison, January 24, 1992  
Roger Mosconi, January 30, 1992  
Clinton Moses, April 14, 1991  
Virginia Moulder, October 9, 1991  
E. D. Murphy, November 3, 1992  
Vince Murphy, December 18, 1991  
Ralph Nader, January 18, 1992  
Dianne Smith Nau, April 9, 1991; February 5, 1992  
Terry Neill, May 1999  
H. Burke Nicholson, July 6, 1989; March 27, 1991  
Steve Norcia, March 1999  
Robert L. Oliver, March 13, 1991  
Thomas Oliver, March 11, 1991; February 12, 1992  
Charles O’Neal, June 3, 1991  
Steve Oney, April 9, 1991  
Walter Oppenhoff, April 20, 1991  
Eugene Patterson, April 14, 1991  
Allen Peacock, April 10, 1991; February 15, 1992  
Bill Pecoriello, June 1999  
Bert Pelletier, August 20, 1989  
Ambrose Pendergrast, Spring 1991  
J. B. Pendergrast, Jr., Spring 1991  
Nan Schwab Pendergrast, Spring 1991  
Bob Pettus, June 29, 1992  
Faith Popcorn, February 26, 1992  
Klaus Pütter, September 12, 1989  
Walter R. “Bud” Randolph, April 18, 1991  
Wendell “Sonny” Rawls, March 10, 1991  
J. Neil Reagan, March 9, 1992  
Ginny Redington, February 14, 1992  
Frank Robinson II, March 15, 1991  
William Ross, May 8, 1991  
Chris Roush, April 1999  
Bruce Ruff, April 19, 1991  
James Michael Russell, April 9, 1991  
Jim Ruwoldt, June 4, 1991  
Maria Saporta, March 18, 1991  
Randy Schaeffer, April 6, 1991  
Charles & Lillian Schilliti, July 1, 1989  
Max Schmeling, May 2, 1991  
Bill & Jan Schmidt, April 10, 1991; March 5, 1992; April 1999.
Ken Schulman, March 11, 1992
Robert W. Schwab III, Spring 1991
Tony Schwartz, January 29, 1992
Peter Sealy, February 1999
Scott Seltzer, January 30, 1992
Bill Sharp, March 28, 1991
Ernestine Sherman, May 26, 1991
Gus Shubert, January 9, 1992
James Sibley, May 22, 1991
John Sicher, May 1999
A. B. Simms III, April 23, 1991
Bob Simonton, April 6, 1991
Claire Sims, May 23, 1991
George W. Singleton II, May 2, 1991
Donald Sisler, August 2, 1989; February 11, 1991
Jacobus “Smitty” Smit, April 16, 1991
William O. Solms, April 5, 1991
Jack Spalding, March 16, 1991
Thomas Paty Stamps, May 22, 1991
C. Preston Stephens, June 2, 1991
James Stephens, February 1999
Cecil R. Stockard, October 5, 1991
Roy Stout, March 10, 1992
Ron Sugarman, February 4, 1992
Jack Tarver, November 7, 1991
Bernice L. Thomas, February 16, 1992
Ken Thomas, March 9, 1991
Walter & Mary Thomas, March 10, 1991
Thom Thompson, August 21, 1991
Lois Troutman, January 24, 1992
Melissa Turner, March 18, 1991
William Turner, May 16, 1991
Bill Van Loan, February 6, 1992
Bruce Venner, February 1999
Ed Vorkapich, March 13, 1992
Harry Waldrop, May 31, 1991
Carl Ware, May 7, 1991
Teena Watson, March 2, 1991
Andrew Weil, September 28, 1991
Billy Wilder, January 28, 1992
James F. Williams, May 14, 1991
Jimmy Williams, May 29, 1991
Ian Wilson, January 18, 23, 1992
James W. Wimberly, July 18, 1989
Raymond Witt, April 12, May 15, 1991
Frances “Tut” Woodruff, May 10, 1991
Jasper Yeomans, March 24, 1991
James Harvey Young, March 2, 14, 1991
Mladin Zarubica, January 7, 1990; April 27, 1992
Acknowledgments to First Edition

It’s hard to know where to begin to express my gratitude to all the people who made this book possible. First, I must thank Phil Mooney, Joanne Newman, and Laura Jester at the Coca-Cola Archives for allowing me access to the private collection, not normally open to the public. Their assistance and insights truly made this book possible. I had been told that officials at The Coca-Cola Company were impossible to deal with—“suspicious” and “paranoid” were the words I heard most often. On the contrary, I found them to be gracious and open, once they were convinced I would write a well-researched, objective book.

Similarly, I cannot adequately thank all of the current and retired Coca-Cola men and women who spoke with me so willingly and at such length. They are listed at the end of the book in the interviews section of the bibliography. I would particularly like to thank Joe Jones for his insights into Robert Woodruff, and Charlie Bottoms for his rapid-fire repartee. I am also deeply indebted to Claus Halle, who not only spent a great deal of time talking with me, but helped with other contacts. At McCann-Erickson, the primary Coke ad agency, John Bergin performed a similar service. Kentucky bottler Bill Schmidt and his wife, Jan, allowed me the run of their excellent Coca-Cola museum and provided insights and anecdotes into their protracted lawsuits with the company. Their lawyer, Emmet Bondurant, gave me office space and copying privileges for boxes of nonrestricted court records. King & Spalding, the main law firm for The Coca-Cola Company, was also helpful.

I found Linda Matthews and her reference staff (Ellen Nemhauser, Beverly Bishop, Kathy Knox) at Special Collections in the Robert W. Woodruff Library at Emory University eager to help with my project, as they patiently brought box after box to my table. Other libraries and librarians went beyond the call of duty, including Julie Pickett at the Stowe Public Library in Stowe, Vermont, Sue Miller at the Brownell Public Library in Essex Junction, Vermont, Joyce Miller and Mara Siegel at the Trinity College Library in Burlington, Vermont, and Mark McAteer and Diane Boisnier at St. Michael’s College Library in Cochester, Vermont. I also conducted research at the Atlanta Historical Society, Fulton County Superior Court, the Benwood Foundation in Chattanooga, the Bailey Howe Library at the University of Vermont, the University of North Carolina Library, the Center for Advertis-
ing History at the Smithsonian, the Library of Congress, and the Baker Library at Harvard Business School—at every facility, I received professional, able assistance. Jesse Meyers, publisher of *Beverage Digest*, not only provided an industry insider’s perspective but a complete run of his magazine and seminar booklets.

I was extremely lucky to find Mrs. Emestine Sherman, John Pemberton’s grandniece. Despite her frail health and misgivings, she opened a treasure trove of family letters and documents which proved invaluable for a reassessment of Pemberton’s legacy. The same goes for Monroe King and his self-styled “Pemberton Archives.” For years, King has systematically collected esoteric documents on Pemberton, and his insights were vital to my understanding of the inventor. Frank Robinson II, the great-grandson of the man who named Coca-Cola, was generous with his time and knowledge, providing me with a vital clue to the amount of cocaine in original Coca-Cola.

My contacts through the Coca-Cola Collectors Club International proved extremely helpful. Bill Bateman and Randy Schaeffer, two Pennsylvania computer professors, have painstakingly researched not only memorabilia, but the history behind it, in a series of articles printed in the club newsletter. They were kind enough to help me on my way whenever I requested specific information. Thom Thompson, a Kentucky architect, spent untold amounts of time at the photocopy machine, sending me reams of interesting material and giving me insight into the history of Coca-Cola memorabilia hounds.

My work builds on previous books on Coca-Cola by E. J. Kahn, Jr., Brad Ansley, Hunter Bell, Franklin Garrett, Lawrence Dietz, Sanders Rowland, Pat Roddy, Jr., Pat Watters, J. C. Louis, Harvey Yazijian, Henry Frundt, Richard S. Tedlow, Anne Hoy, and Thomas Oliver. I am personally indebted to E. J. Kahn, Jr., for his humanity and encouragement. At the outset, he allowed me to forage through his files at *The New Yorker* and copy over four hundred pages of meticulously indexed notes, which not only gave me concrete information, but served as an exemplary role model. Brad Ansley, who ghost-wrote the biography of Asa Chandler, provided frank background information on the Candlers. I never met Hunter Bell, but his unpublished history of Coca-Cola in the company archives deserves much credit. Franklin Garrett, who anonymously penned the only “official” company history and is a legendary walking encyclopedia of Atlanta and Coke lore, was kind enough to answer my detailed queries. Pat Watters cheerfully shared his knowledge and library, while Henry Frundt added details to his book on Coke in Guatemala. Thomas Oliver willingly talked about his more recent experience in researching the New Coke story. Thomas P. Stamps was kind enough to share his unpublished master’s thesis on Coca-Cola, which was especially valuable because Stamps had access to Harold Martin’s biography of Robert Woodruff before it was sealed from public view.

Scholars from various fields gave of their expertise and insights. I am particularly indebted to James Harvey Young, the world’s leading authority on patent medicines, for sharing his time and knowledge. Sidney Mintz, an anthropologist who specializes in the effects of sugar on history and culture,
gladly discussed his writings and ideas through our correspondence. John Flynn, a psychologist, and Andrew Weil, a physician, helped considerably with their experience with coca and cocaine, while biochemists Stephen Holtzman and Roland Griffiths were invaluable resources on caffeine issues, with Susan Schenk combining a knowledge of cocaine and caffeine. Michael Jacobson offered a broad overview of nutrition and health issues. Floyd Hunter, a sociologist who wrote about the Atlanta power structure during the Woodruff era, reminisced about his interviews, while historian James Michael Russell provided most of my background on Atlanta. Without the aid of Suzanne White, the historian at the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, I would never have gained access to the FDA files on Coca-Cola and Harvey Wiley. Her enthusiasm and comments were an unexpected bonus.

I recruited anyone who was stupid enough to express any interest in this project. The most outstanding example is my long-suffering uncle, Ambrose Pendergrast, who patiently waded through the extensive Robert Woodruff papers at Emory University and wrote highly entertaining notes—many of which called on his own life experience. He recalls, for instance, that Bishop Warren Candler declined a Coca-Cola once while visiting his parents, preferring buttermilk. My parents, Britt and Nan Pendergrast, were also hauled in to help with the Woodruff papers. In addition, my father became intimately familiar with microfilm machines and various Atlanta archives, while my mother used her social network to ferret out information unavailable in printed form. My lawyer brother Craig helped out with an esoteric legal case, while another brother, Scott, made several trips to the World of Coca-Cola Museum.

My thanks to Jennifer Harrington and the other work-study students who found and photocopied articles, to my former colleague Mark Yerburgh for spotting the Howard Fast World War II story, to Fritz Moore for his computerized flow charting, to Henry Lilienheim for his one-man clipping service, and to my underpaid transcribers: Gail Reid, Jan Clark, Andrea Hall, Cindi Iacono, Marian Saunders, and William Folmar. Jim Peck, playwright/actor extraordinaire and my former teacher, read the manuscript in progress, making unsparing and incisive comments, as well as serving as my grammatical mentor. Irene Angelico brought her filmmaker’s perspective to my work, as well as sensitive literary antennae. In addition, Abbey Neidik, Suzanne White, Jeff Potash, Gill Deford, John Pendergrast, and David Galland also read portions of the book and made useful suggestions.

Thanks to Helen Pfeffer for spotting the book proposal and to Peter Miller for representing it.

Without Charles Scribner III and his overwhelming interest in this project, this book would never have been written. Without Hamilton Cain, my primary editor, it wouldn’t read so smoothly. For their patience, advice, and encouragement, I am eternally grateful.

Finally, to Betty Molnar, my apologies for this obsessive venture and my thanks for her vital assistance and input.
Acknowledgments to Revised Edition

I am much obliged to journalists Chris Roush and Nikhil Deogun for sharing their background knowledge with me, and particularly to Nik for reading over the new material. It was a pleasure to renew acquaintance with John Bergin, father of both the Pepsi Generation and Coke Is It. Shelly Hochron was kind enough to send a retrospective video of Edge Creative Coke Classic ads, suggesting I watch it while sipping a fine port. Peter Sealey, former head of Coca-Cola marketing, offered many interesting insights. Others who shared their views and memories in interviews are in the list of interviewees, unless they wished to be completely off the record. For her invaluable help with interlibrary loan, I thank Ginny Powers of the Brownell Library in Essex Junction, Vermont. And to Martin Liu of Orion Publishing in the United Kingdom, and Tim Bartlett of Basic Books in the United States, I am grateful for support of this effort.
Index

Abbreviations: CC, Coca-Cola; RWW, Robert W. Woodruff.

Abelson, Alan 419
A. B. Freeman 99
Acheson, Dean 236
Acklin, Arthur 158–9, 183, 246
  becomes president of CC Co. 204
“Acres of Diamonds” 12
Adams, Noah 403
Adams, Quint 198
Adams, Samuel Hopkins 107–8, 113
Addis Ababa 392
advertising (general):
  criticism of 10–11
  for French Wine Coca 24–5, 26
  newspaper 12
  on other products 11
  outdoor 11
  patent medicine 10–11
  see also under Coca-Cola; French
  Wine Coca; patent medicines
Afghanistan 392
Africa 200, 367
African National Congress 371, 393
Afri-Kola 101, 219
Agriculture Labor Project (ALP) 294
Agronsky, Martin 197
Albania 391
Albany Movement 279
Alderton, Charles 14
Alexander, M. P. 32, 35
Algeria 232, 435
Ali, Muhammad 414
Allen, Frederick 238n
Allen, Herb 341
Allen, Ida Bailey 176–7
Allen, Ivan, Jr. 280, 287
Allen, Martha M. 111–12
  Dobbs, debate with 113
  pamphlet against CC 113
Allen, Mattie 100
Alsberg, Dr. 121
Alven, Dick 312, 348
American Bottlers of Carbonated
  Beverages (ABCB) 187
American Civil War 18–19
American Food Journal 107
Amnesty International 332
Angola 383
animals’ love of CC 89n
Anslinger, Harry J. 184
apartheid 291, 365, 370–1
aphrodisiac:
  coca leaf as 21
  damiana as 24
  kola nuts as 24
Aqua–Chem 346
Aquarius (Japanese CC drink) 384
Arab countries 285, 388, 393
  boycott against CC 286
  see also individual countries
Arbuckle, Fatty 90
Argentina 242–3, 302, 416
Armstrong, Louis 397
Arnall, Ellis 183
Asa G. Candler & Company 50
  see also Candler, Asa
“Asian Miracle”, collapse and
  repercussions of 425–6
Atchley, Dana 418
Athens, Georgia 81
Atlanta Constitution 26, 94
  on CC Co. sale 130
  on drug addiction 88
Atlanta Crackers 204
Atlanta, Georgia 19–20
  becomes state capital 50
  booming city 50
Candler Building 95
CC Co.’s new rotunda 344
CC museum 394
as center of distribution
and cocaine 88
labor unrest 125
newspapers of 50
Olympic City, poor people displaced
by 414n
Olympics 1996 410–15, 411n
poor financial shape 125
Prohibition arrives in 31
race riot in 87
salesmen 52
temperance movement 5, 32, 26–7
Atlanta Georgian 116
Atlantic Ice and Coal Company 129
Atlantic Steel 129
Austin, J. Paul 274–5, 276–80 passim,
284, 301–2, 307–11 passim
Alzheimer’s 308, 319–20, 335, 423
“antiestablishmentarianism” 291
and Jimmy Carter 309–10
Castro, meetings with 311
death of 335
environmental concerns 291, 295–7
fires Luke Smith 320
and Guatemala episode 315
and Japan problems 308
legacy of 335
management style 275
and migrant workers 293–5
stands up to RWW – and survives 303
Austin, Jane Weed 320, 327–8
“Austin’s Orphans” 296
Australia 184, 409, 434
Austria 184, 210, 221, 238, 241, 391
automobile 94
Ayoub, Sam 330, 336
Bachrach, Ira 439
Baker, Bill 299–300, 436
“I’d Like To Teach the World to
Sing” 299–300
“Look Up, America” 305–6
“Things Go Better With Coke”
slogan 273
Baesa, Argentina 416–7
Baker, Newton 184
Balam, Manuel Lopez 315
Barbados 232, 240
Barbee, Cecil 251–2
Barber, Benjamin: *jihad vs. McWorld*
449
Barclay, McClelland 160
Barnet, Herb 253
Barq’s Root Beer 395n, 409
Barron, Willie 281
Barry, Mike 200n
Bartle Bogle Hegarty 404
Batistá y Zaldivar, Fulgencio 243
Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn
(BBDO ) 272, 312
Beach, Charles 417, 417n
Beach, Ralph 164
Beard, George 8–9
Beatles, the 282
Beery, Wallace 175
Bekker, Bill 242–3
Belgium 222, 238, 381, 434, 434n, 436n
public-health scare 433
Belize 371–2
Bell, Griffin 310
Bellingrath, Walter 143
Bergen, Edgar 254
Bergen, Polly 253
Bergin, John 273, 319, 339, 340, 347, 385,
397–8, 436
Berlin Wall, fall of 388
Bermuda 168
Bernstein, Leonard 306
Berry, Chuck 364
Berry, J. M. 58
Biedenharn brothers 73
Biedenharn, Joe 73, 173
*Big Beverage* (Campbell) 75–6
Biow Company 253
Birmingham Coca-Cola Bottling
Company 180
B. K. Miller Company 431
Black Draught 74
black market 207, 211
black people 266–7, 278–82
CC boycotts 266
CC power structure, absent from
247
in CC advertising 280, 282
child labor 79
given cocaine 87
growing consumption of CC 81
and obesity 444
riots 87
Uncle Remus ads 178, 178n
White Citizens Councils 266
Woolworth’s protest, North Carolina
278
see also racism
Black, Eugene 242
Blondell, Joan 175
Bloodworth, E. H. 39, 40
Boesak, Rev. Allan 370
Bogart, Humphrey 397
Boyle, John 419
Bolivia 184, 241
Bondurant, Emmet 331–2, 343, 359, 370, 372–3, 385
Boone, Charles 280–1
Boos, Dr. William 119
Bormann, Martin 210n
Botanic Blood Balm (B.B.B) 30, 51–2, 53, 56
bottle design 103–4, 187
hobbleskirt/Mae West 103
bottlers and bottling:
anchor bottlers 409, 434–5
Biedenharn brothers 73
bug infestation 100
CC Bottler Consolidation
Department 304
CC contracts 71–2, 135–9, 141, 142, 304, 316–7
CC Co. sued over “fraudulent prices” 142
CC sold on trains 78
child labor 79
and Coca-Cola Enterprises 369
convention 143–4
Crown Cork and Seal Company 73
Cuban plant 112
defeated employees 79
disputes over bottle size 74, 76, 193
eyear activity in 72–3
exclusive territorial rights, assurance of 333
exploding bottles 100
growth of manufacturing facilities for CC 81
Hutchinson stopper 72–3
industry comes of age 99
Kebler’s findings in plants 114
monopoly action by FTC 298
nonreturnables 272, 295
not a new idea 72
parent bottlers 75, 75n, 77–80, 134, 135–42 passim
price-fixing 374
RWW’s support for the bottle 163
Standardization Committee 165
stopper designs 72
take-up grows 81
Thomas and Whitehead’s plans for CC 69–70
Valdosta Bottling Works 73
see also Coca-Cola Bottling Company;
parent bottlers; Southeastern Parent Bottler; Thomas Company
Bottoms, Charlie 263, 267, 268, 281, 375
Boulet, Paul 236
Bowen, Dr. William H. 445
Bowen, Gordon 397
Bradham, Caleb 188
Bradley, W. C. 135, 141
Braendle, Gene 201
branches offices:
call for more responsibility 67
opened 64
Branson, Richard 395
Brazil 239–40, 380, 381, 426, 428
BreakMate dispenser 376, 376n
Brennan, George 206–7
Brinton, John 286
Britain 168, 241, 368, 383, 395
dietary habits 446–7
see also England, Scotland
Broadwater, Bob 295–6, 298, 307
Brock, Pope 239
Bronx counterfeiting operation 173
Brosnan, Pierce 377
Brown, Bruce 287
Brown, Diva See Mayfield, Diva
Brown, Ed 126, 127
Brownlee, William “Pig Iron” 158
Bryant, Anita 272, 286
gays, crusade against 321
Brynner, Yul 255n
Buffett, Warren 385–6, 422, 430
Bulgaria 284
Bureau of Chemistry, U.S. 107
Burger King 346
Business Week 295, 344
Cadbury Schweppes 368, 383, 427
children, effects on 119
Hollingworths’ double-blind experiments 118
Cagney, James 275, 397
“calendar marketing agreements” (CMAs) 374
Calero, Adolfo 371
Califano, Joseph 294, 294n, 310
Calloway, D. Wayne 393n, 416
Campbell, William T. 75–6
Canada 64, 93, 190
Canada Dry 427
Candler (formerly Little), Mae (Asa’s second wife) 132
Candler, Asa 8, 16, 39–72 passim, 78, 81, 85, 90–8 passim, 115–17 passim
“Barrels and Kegs” trial 118–19
CC Co. board unhappy with 154
child labor, supporter of 96
children’s spending 60–1
and cocaine content of CC 87–9
consolidates interest in CC 44
cotton profits 95–6
death of 133
de Bouchel, intention to marry 132
dispute over bottle size 76
dividends declared 121
drug business, abandonment of in favor of CC 54
ever life of 47–8
Emory College, gift to 97
entrepreneurial spirit of 47
Europe tour 96–7
and faked signatures 45
and family’s plans to sell CC Co. 126–7
files for divorce from Mae 132
and first incorporation of CC 41
government persecution, feelings of 123, 124
health concerns of 51
hypochondria 51
job with druggist 48–9
lawsuits against imitators 101, 102
legal control of CC 41
legal control of CC handed to children 127
letters to Howard 66
marriage to Lucy 49
marriage to Mae 132
Mayor of Atlanta 125–6
mortality, thoughts on 94
“mystical faith” in CC 65
near collapse of 62
parsimony 96, 126
real estate 96
religion equated with capitalism and patriotism 13
revival meetings 65
shock at CC Co. sale 132
sued by Pemberton 42n
sues government 64
tax burden 121
and Wiley 115, 110–11
Candler Buildings 95
Candler, (Charles) Howard (Asa’s son) 49, 57, 62, 85, 133–4, 166
abandons rebate scheme 127
chairman of board of new company 131
“fraudulent prices” claim by bottlers 142
Java sugar blunder 139
letters from Asa 66
in London 93–4
New York, move to 64
plots against bottlers 135
presidency of company, first 126
presidency of company, second 141
as salesman 65–7
spending, father’s checks on 60–1
terminates bottlers’ contracts 137
Candler College 93
Candler, Dan 64
Candler family, wealth of 131
Candler Investment Company 95
Candler, John (Asa’s brother) 36–7, 49, 87, 100, 111
resigns from bench 109
taxes, testimony to Senate Committee on Finance 128
Candler, Lucy (Asa’s first wife) 49
death of 132
Candler, Martha Beall (Asa’s mother) 48, 49
Candler, Noble (Asa’s brother) 49
Candler, Sam (Asa’s father) 47
Candler, Thomas & Hirsch 142–3
Candler, Walter (Asa’s son) 133
Candler, Warren (Asa’s brother) 13, 42, 49, 92–3
capitalism and religion, twin attributes of 92
to Cuba 93
Great Revivals and the Great Republic 93
sells CC stock 98
Candler, William (Asa’s son) 133
Carkner, James W. 189
Carnegie, Andrew 12, 97
Carr, Martin 293–4
Carson, Bill 373
Carson, Luther 143
Carter, Jimmy 309–10, 321, 422
Caspari, Charles 118
Castro, Fidel 275, 311, 355
American companies, nationalization of 275
Missile Crisis 275
bottle size increased 257
cocaine content of 7, 30, 53, 56–7, 
56n, 67–8, 87–9, 112, 186–7
cocaine removed from 88–9
central America 167
central bank and trust corporation 95
chan, steve 435
chandler, asa, jr. 64, 94
alcoholic 133
Charles, ray 387, 396
 chase national bank 130
Chattanooga Medicine Company 74
Chattanooga, Tennessee: 
early bottling in 73–5
 trial held in 117
Chavez, cesar 293
Chero-Cola 142
Chestnut, James 425
Chiang Kai-Shek 234, 243
child labor 79
 in brazil 431–2
Candler’s support for 96
children and school students as cc
 consumers 60–1, 78, 106, 114, 
177–8, 263–4, 408–9, 437–9, 445
advertising aimed at 119
dental problems of 265, 445
 Chile 184, 242, 302, 380, 393, 451
Chime 283
China 167, 201, 234, 234n, 311, 369, 381, 
417, 428, 430, 435, 451–2
 expansion of CC 392
 Tiananmen Square massacre 392, 451
Tibet, rape of 451
Christison, Sir Robert 21
Circuit, Ted 332
Cisneros, Gustavo 415–6
Cisneros, Oswaldo 415–6
Citrus 293
civil rights movement 267
Clark, Hilda 63
Classic, Coca-Cola See Coca-Cola
 Classic
Clearly Canadian 395
Clinton, Bill 451, 451n
Clinton, Hillary 294n, 419n
Cobb, Ty 98, 154, 179
Coca-Bola 22
Coca-Cola:
 alcohol content of 112
 animals’ love of 89n
 Army ban on 112
sales decline 434
sales, growth of 53, 59, 306, 407, 
409–10, 417
in service stations 163
six-pack, first 163–4
and song lyrics 90 (see also Coca-Cola
 advertising: “I’d Like To Teach the 
World to Sing”
standardization of 164–5
syrup, adulterated 79
syrup, demand for 32
syrup as patent medicine 54
taxes, attempts to levy 109, 109n
television, effects of 254–5
three varieties competing 43
trade-mark patent granted 33
trains, sold on 78
white version 211
in World War I 127
in World War II 195–212
see also specific Cola-Cola entries; New Coke
Coca-Cola advertising and marketing
30–1, 55–6, 59–60, 89, 97–8, 395–400
Big Name Bingo 297
black artists used in 282
black people, aimed at 266
black people, inclusive of 280
bland 262–3
calendar 63
children, aimed at 60 (see also children and school students as CC consumers)
“Coke Is It” campaign 339–40
Bill Cosby in 340, 354
cost of 31, 61, 67, 97, 290
for diet Coke 342, 343
Dobbs–Woodruff row 140
ey early 1900s 89–91, 97–9
and the environment 295
and food 177
“Friendly Feelings” 299
“General Assembly” 379
hand-painted signs 91
Max Headroom in 362, 376
“I’d Like To Teach the World to Sing”, 299–300, 387
“Importance of the Rest Pause . . .” leaflet 196
international 202–3
jingles 62, 261, 277
as key to sales 59
“Know Your War Planes” booklet 203
language and idiom problems 168–9, 169n, 235
lithographs 92
logo script 30, 35
market segmentation, first attempts at 98
Massengale Advertising Agency 97, 98
media, variety of 63, 89; see also Coca-Cola collectibles
movies 162, 175–6
neon signs 161, 394
New Age 400
for New Coke 350–1, 354
in 1920s 159–61
in 1930s 175–80
in 1940s 202–3
in 1950s 259–61, 268–9
in 1970s 297, 299–300–1, 305, 312, 318–9
in 1990s 394, 296–400, 403–5, 415, 418, 436–7
Olympic torch relay, 1996 412
“Our America” pamphlet 203
patriotism 202, 203, 305–6
point-of-purchase 60
presence, power of 377–8
purity emphasized in 109
radio 179, 203
“The Real Thing” campaign 288–9, 299, 305, 305
on rental videos 378
Robinson’s tactical change 63
RWW’s letter to D’Arcy 181
Santa Claus 177–8
in schools 178
Scientific American 98
sexism in 283, 405
sexual content of 90–1, 160, 295, 380
sports and music, links to 381, 418 (see also Olympics: 1996, Atlanta)
subliminal 262
television 254–5, 263
theater magazines 98
Uncle Sam, use of 98
Lucky Vanous hunk ads 405
and women 60
see also Backer, Bill; other Coca-Cola categories; Dobbs, Sam; Robinson, Frank
Coca-Cola Amatil 409, 424, 434
marketing–abuse investigation 433n
Coca-Cola Beverages 424
Coca–Cola Bottler 108, 135
Coca-Cola Bottlers’ Association 99
Coca-Cola Bottling Company (Thomas and Whitehead):
contract 71–2
first ad 73–4
first plant 73
incorporation as 74
partnership dispute 74
see also other Coca-Cola categories; Southeastern Parent Bottler; Thomas Company; Thomas, Benjamin Franklin; Whitehead, Joseph Brown
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>607</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coca-Cola Classic 357–60, 361–2, 376, 404, 419</td>
<td>report, 1995 410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coca-Cola collectibles 300–1</td>
<td>report, 1996 417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also Coca-Cola advertising: media, variety of</td>
<td>report, 1997 425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coca-Cola Collectors Club 365, 441</td>
<td>sale of (1919) 130–1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coca-Cola Company, The: accumulated-earnings tax 121–2, 129</td>
<td>sales territories, split into 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and ad valorem tax 182–3</td>
<td>solid chain of title created by Candler 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anti-unionism at 93</td>
<td>South Africa, disinvestment in 370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and apartheid 291, 365, 370–1</td>
<td>sugar rationing, effect of 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian collapse, repercussions of 425–6</td>
<td>Thomas and Whitehead, new arrangement with 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baseball team (Atlanta Crackers) 204</td>
<td>trademark protection 181–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Friday 267–8</td>
<td>trademark, registration denied 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Brandweek</em> “Marketer of the Year” 407</td>
<td>trademark, registration won 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Business Week</em> Award for Business Citizenship 295</td>
<td>unhappy with Asa Candler 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buys out bottlers 165–6, 182</td>
<td>wine business, diversification into 314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buys Thomas Co. 305</td>
<td>see also other Coca-Cola categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candlers’ plans to sell 126–7</td>
<td>Coca-Cola Enterprises (CCE) 369–70, 407, 409, 417n, 428, 431, 433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coke nickname encouraged by 192</td>
<td>Coca-Cola Export Corporation 184, 186, 301–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia Pictures, acquisition of 340–1</td>
<td>Coca-Cola Foods 293, 371–2, 416n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contract wrangle with bottlers 135–9, 141</td>
<td>Coca-Cola Foodservice Research Forum 407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court of Appeals favors Mayfield 128–9</td>
<td>Coca-Cola Foundation 346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression’s effect on 170</td>
<td>Coca-Cola girls 63, 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal Opportunity Fund (EOF) 370</td>
<td>Coca-Cola GmbH (Germany) 213–4, 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fortune Magazine</em>’s “New Champ of Wealth Creation” 409</td>
<td>Coca-Cola Institute 91–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fragmented 313</td>
<td>Coca-Cola International 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incorporation of, first 41</td>
<td><em>The Coca-Cola Kid</em> 448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incorporation of, second 57–8</td>
<td>Coca-Cola museums:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investigation Department of 102</td>
<td>Atlanta 394, 443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labor troubles 267–8</td>
<td>Las Vegas 418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land purchase 128</td>
<td>Coca-Cola News 58, 61, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawyers, need for 62</td>
<td>Coca-Cola Olympics See Olympics: 1996, Atlanta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nationwide distribution achieved 61</td>
<td>Coca-Cola Overseas 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overseas markets, opening of 166</td>
<td>downgraded following Asian collapse 426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postwar inflation, effects of 249</td>
<td>under Goizueta’s presidency 346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>profits after sale, estimates of 131</td>
<td>“hyperinflated” accusation 419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>promotions 297</td>
<td>oversubscribed 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reincorporation 183</td>
<td>splits 289–90, 394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>report, 1897 64</td>
<td>see also other Coca-Cola categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>report, 1899 64, 67</td>
<td>Coca-Cola syrup:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>report, 1920 142</td>
<td>adulterated 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>report, 1922 157, 166</td>
<td>B-X 258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>report, 1994 407</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
demand for 32
patent medicine 54

*see also other Coca-Cola categories*

Coca-Cola West Japan Company 435

Coca-Cola formula:
bottlers sue for 139
changed by Candler 57
claims to and ownership of 39
high-fructose corn syrup (HFCS) 331, 343, 372

“Merchandise No. 5” 88, 116, 184, 187, 204, 219
protection of 57
revelation of ordered by Judge Schwartz 360
saccharine removed 109
7X 57, 184, 219, 234n, 306–7

*see also Appendix 1 and other Coca-Cola categories*

Coca-Colonization 235, 449
cocaine 29, 87
first isolated 21
ingredient in CC 7, 30, 53n, 56–7, 56n, 67–8, 87–9, 112, 186–7
made illegal in Georgia 89
as morphine substitute 26
Pemberton’s defense of 26
psychological addiction to 25n
removed from CC 88–9
snorted by users of diet Coke 345

*see also coca leaf*
coca leaf 20–2, 30, 56n, 59, 88, 183–5, 304
longevity aided by 17, 21
as opium substitute 25
Pemberton’s paper to Georgia Pharmaceutical Society 29
products from 22
use by Andeans 64

*see also cocaine*

Coco-Cola 101
Coke II 395
Cola Club 441
cola nuts *See* kola nuts
cola wars (Coke versus Pepsi) 257–8, 284, 344–5, 375, 416, 417

*Colbert, Claudette* 175
Colby, Bainbridge 126, 127
Cole, Norbert 434

*Collier’s* 107–8
Columbia Pictures 340–2, 343, 346, 365–6, 423
sold to Sony 385
Tri-Star merger 370
Columbus, Georgia 18

*communists* 234–45, 275, 284–5
Congo 232
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) 279–80
Conroy, Leo 316
consumerism 262
Continental Gin Company 129
conventions and gatherings:

1922 146
1923 143
1948 232, 253
1979 318
1984 346
1986 365–6
Conway, Andrew 421
Conwell, Russell 12
coolers, CC 179–80
Cooper, Jackie 175
Coppola, Francis Ford 398
Cosby, Bill 340, 354, 361, 378, 396
Cott 395
Crawford, Joan 175, 269
Creative Artists Agency (CAA) 396–9
Crooke, Fred 201
Croom, Austen Herbert 192
Cropland’s Cholera Cure 30
Crown Cork and Seal Company 73
Crush 427
Crystal Pepsi 401
Crystal, Billy, 386
Cuba 67, 93, 167, 168, 185, 204, 243, 368

*see also Castro, Fidel*
Curaçao 184
Curtis, Carlton 352, 408
Curtis, James 242
cyclamates (sweeteners) 290–1
Cyprus 232, 238
Czechoslovakia 284, 391
damiana 24
Daniel, John B. 101
Darby Manufacturing Company 58
D’Arcy agency 105, 144, 160, 180–1
dropped by CC Co. 259
minimalism in ad design 145
D’Arcy, William 105, 157, 181, 186

*The Truth About Coca-Cola* 115–16
Dasani 439
Davidson, Irving 330
Davies, Marion 90
Davis, Albert “Red” 197–8
Davis, Billy 299
Davis, Ovid 281, 298
Dean, Dizzy 175
Dean, Earl 103
de Bouchel, Onezima 132
Decatur Orphans’ Home 116
Defense Center Against Coca-Cola 239
Deichert, James 431
Delaware, lenient tax laws of 130
Delcroix, Georges 166
De–Lec-Ta–Lave 51, 53–4, 56
Delta Airlines 180
Deming, W. Edwards 276n
Denmark 184
de Oliveira Salazar, Antonio 243
Deverna (Deutsch Vertriebs GmbH für Naturgetränke) 214, 218
Dickey, James (poet) 261n
Dickey, James (Emory president) 152–3
Dickson, Fred 278, 284, 290–1
diet Coke 334–5, 342–5, 346, 377, 403, 405, 419
depth surveys by Lintas 345, 395
Diet Pepsi 419
Dietrich, Marlene 255n
Discovery space shuttle 409
Disney characters 254, 378
Dobbs, Sam 52, 91–2, 104–6, 115, 127, 166
advertising, assumes responsibility for 105
advertising overspend, blamed for 140
Martha Allen, debate with 113
Associated Advertising Clubs of America, president of 105
bottlers, contract wrangle with 135–7, 139
forbidden to sell CC in bottles 70
on Lupton 75
presidency of new company 131
resigns 140
Robinson, power struggle with 104–5
sale of CC Co., meeting with
Woodruff 129–30
sales force, responsibility for 67, 91
and sugar problems 135
The Truth About Coca-Cola 115–16
Ernest Woodruff, dislike of 140
Doe, David 27–8, 32
Dominican Republic 168
“don’t care” (drink) 15
Dope (drink) 123–4
Dorsey, Tommy 179
Downey, Morton 203, 256, 271
Downey, Morton 246, 260
Downey, Morton, Jr. 260
Downing, George 195, 209–10, 224
Dozier, M. C. (Margaret) 38, 39
forgery allegations 44, 123
Drescher, Jack 180, 181
Driscoll, Mark “Dill” 411–12, 414
Dromgoole, Dr. J. P. 51
Dr Pepper 14, 120, 250, 395n, 419, 427
CC Co.’s attempt to purchase 365
Dr Pierce’s Pleasant Purgative Pellets 30
Dr. Rush 419n
“drummers” See salesmen
Duckworth & Company 168
Dufty, William 302–3
Dunbar, Dr. (of FDA) 187
Duncan, Charles, Jr. 283, 301–2, 303, 310
Duncan Foods 283
Dunlap, Dr. 115
Dusenberry, Phil 345, 376
Duttera, Maurice 207
Dyson, Brian 317, 318, 331, 333–4, 336, 340, 342, 361, 363
heads Coca-Cola Enterprises 369
East Germany See Germany: former
East Germany
Eastern Airlines 180
Egypt 232, 233, 239, 244, 257, 285–6, 311
Eisenhower, Dwight 149, 199, 248–9, 248n, 271
Electric Bitters 50
Ellsworth, Scott 348
Emerson, Faye 253
Emory College 97, 247, 350
Empire Cotton Oil Company 129
England 93, 94, 105, 167
see also Britain; Scotland
Enrico, Roger 351, 416, 427
The Other Guy Blinked: How Pepsi Won the Cola Wars 416
environmental concerns 291, 295–7, 372
Eritrea 392, 435
Erwin, Sam 69
Esquivel, Manuel 371
E.T.—The Extra-Terrestrial 341
Ethiopia 392
Europe 166–7, 210, 232, 257, 367, 382–3, 417
Marshall Plan 235
public-health scare 433
Evans, Lettie Pate Whitehead 99
Ewing, Henry 76, 78
Extract of Stilllingia (Pemberton) 19
Fallon McElligot, Weiden & Kennedy 404
Fanta 222, 223, 272, 276
Grape 307
Orange 311
orange drink introduced in Italy 258
production curtailed 224
Farley, James Aloysius 186, 197, 226,
231–2, 233–4, 271, 284, 285
in Ireland 240
Farnan, Judge Joseph J., Jr. 386
Farouk, King 243, 244
fast food 284, 375
Fast, Howard 201
Fattig, Perry Wilbur 164
Federal Trade Commission (FTC) 124, 127n, 297–8, 304–5
Feinberg, Abraham 285–6
Feisal, King 243
FEMSA, Mexico 409
FiBi (Japanese CC drink) 384
fifties nostalgia 300
Fisher, Eddie 255–6
Flach, Herr 219–10
Fleming, Mary 314–5
Florida orange groves 293, 431–2
Floyd, James S. 152
Foley, Paul 443
Food and Drug Administration (FDA) 184, 186–7, 290, 313
Ford Motor Company 222
Ford, Gerald 306
For His Son (Griffith, dir.) 120
Forio, Ed 196–7, 204, 257
Fowle, Seth 71n
see also Seth Fowle & Sons
Fox, Michael J. 376
Foy, Eddie 98
France 235–8, 380, 382–3, 435
rat-poison allegations 433n
troubles in 237
Fraser & Neave, Malaysia 409
free samples 31, 42, 60
French Wine Coca 22, 23–5, 32, 62
advertising of 24–5, 26, 31–2
longevity claim 31
temperance, effect of 27
Frenette, Charles 436–7
Fresca 283, 291, 400
Freud, Sigmund 21, 58n
The Friendly Hand 143
Friends of the Earth 372
Frito–Lay 283, 314n, 429
Fruitopia 401–2, 403
Fulbright, Senator J. W. 451n
Funnyc, Clarence 279–80
Gable, Clark 175
Gager, Curt 259, 267, 268
Galbraith, John Kenneth 262
Gallin, Dan 332
Garbo, Greta 175
Gardner, Max 197
Garfield, Bob 397, 398, 404
Gartland, Sister Dorothy 314
Gatorade 401, 429
Gcubase, Tandi 371, 393
Geertz, Clifford 442
George, Walter 184, 267
Georgia Airways 180
Georgia Coffee 384
Germany 94, 185, 200, 369, 417, 426, 435
Coordination Office for German
Beverages 239
former East Germany 390–1
see also Coca-Cola: in Nazi Germany
Ghandi, Rajiv 440
Ghostbusters 346
Gianturco, Mauricio 333, 347, 348
Gibraltar 232
Gilbert, Price 46
Gilliatt, Neal 269
Gingerine (Pemberton) 20
Glenn, Tom 152
Global Reach 302
Globe Flower Cough Syrup
(Pemberton) 19
Goizueta Foundation 420
Goizueta, Javier (Roberto’s son) 422
Goizueta, Olga (Roberto’s daughter) 422
Goizueta, Robby (Roberto’s son) 422
Goizueta, Roberto 306–7, 328–71 passim, 385, 389–90, 400–1, 407–8, 415–23 passim
Adweek “marketer of the year” 344
appointed president of CC Co. 328
and Atlanta Olympics scandal 410
background, 328–9
biography of 420, 423
CC stock appreciation under
presidency of 246
and “Coke’s Big Market Blitz” 344
Columbia Pictures, acquisition of
340–1, 343
death of 422
editors, address to 360–1
elected Chairman of Board and CEO
335
final illness of 421–2
New Coke, refuses to abandon 376
New Coke, seeks RWW’s blessing for
1–2, 349, 349n
Palm Springs conference 336
philanthropy 420–1
reorganizes CC Co. management
structure 410
and RWW 328
and Samaranch 411
and Venezuela deal 415–6
Zyman, defense of 400
Goldman, Emanuel 344
Gonzalez, Carlos Porras 332n
Goodman, Julian 293
Göring, Hermann 218, 220
Graham, Billy 264
Graham, Eve 387
Grant, Cary 175
Grant, Ulysses 23
Green Party 372
Greene, Bob 354
Greene, “Mean” Joe 318–9, 333
Greece 410, 428, 435
Greising, David 397
Goizueta biography 420, 423
Grenelle, Oscar 101
Gresham, Mary 303
Griffin, Merv 364
Griffith, D. W. 120
Grissom, Gus 272
Grizzard, Lewis 338
Gromyko, Andrei 338
Guadeloupe 232
Guaranty Trust Company of New York
130
Guatemala 168, 314–6, 332, 393
Gulf War 396
Operation Desert Storm 393
Guth, Charles 188–90
Gwatkin, F. A. S. 220

Harper, Marion, Jr. 259
Harriman, Averell 284
Harrison, DeSales 259, 304
Harrold, Frank 243–4
Harry’s Bar 166
Hartsfield, William B. 236, 247, 267, 280
Hawaii 64, 93
Hayden, Hayden 160
Hayes, Ralph 184–5, 250
headache, CC as cure for 64
Headroom, Max 362, 376
Heath, W. P. 168
Heck’s Cola 77
Heck, William 76–7
Hellenic Bottling 435
Helms, Jesse 345
Henkel, Lynn 355
Herbert, Ike 289, 305, 364–5, 377, 443
Hi-C 283, 297–8
Hi-Fi Club 269
Hill & Knowlton 269
Hillman, Murray 259, 260, 264, 276
Hinkey, Carol 303
Hires, Charles 14
Hires Root Beer 14
Hirsch, Harold 102–3, 121, 122, 127, 134,
190
bottlers, contract wrangle with 135–9,
141
deat of 183
and Jews controversy 220
Hiss, Alger 232
Hitler, Adolf 213, 217, 220
Hobbs, Bill 246, 247n
fired 256
Hockron, Shelly 297, 415n
Hodgson, Morton 242, 248, 308
Hoffman, William 383, 383n
Hogan, Ken 207
Holland See Netherlands
Holland, Ed 28, 36, 37
Hollingworth, Harry 118
Hollingworth, Leta 118
Home Box Office (HBO) 341
Honduras 168
Hong Kong 184, 234, 244, 392
Hoover, J. Edgar 282n
Horsey, Colonel Hamilton 167, 214
Houston, Whitney 377
Howard, George J. 48
Howard, Lucy See Candler, Lucy
Howell, Foster 53
Hudson, Dawn 429

Index
Hughes, Charles Evans 121
Hughes, Robert 450
Humphreys, Mary Gay 14, 15–16
Hungary 391
Hunter, Floyd 247, 248
Hunter, George 127, 134, 135–8 passim, 182, 259
Hunter, John 399
Huntley, Chet 293
Hurricane Georges 454
Hussein, King, 243
Hutchinson stopper 72–3

Iceland 198
“If . . . ” (Kipling) 156, 349
Iglesias, Julio 346
Illustrated Guide to the Collectibles of Coca-Cola (Munsey) 300
image, selling of 11
Inca Kola 435
India 232, 243–4, 311, 392, 417, 428–9, 436
Rajiv Ghandi assassination 440
Indiana 77
Indian Queen Hair Dye (Pemberton) 20
Indonesia 369, 381, 382, 391, 425, 426, 436, 451
Internal Revenue (IRS), U.S. 64, 88
International Audubon Society 372
international penetration 64, 167–9, 290
Austen’s legacy 335
in 1930s 184
during WWII 197–212
in 1950s 233–45
in 1960s 276–7, 284–6
in 1970s 302, 311
in 1980s 367, 381–2
in 1990s 382, 392–4, 419, 435–6
see also individual country entries
International Union of Food and Allied Workers (IUF) 332–3
Interpublic Group 395
Iran 314
Iraq 232
Ireland 184, 240
Isdell, Neville 337, 369, 424
Israel 285
Italy 168, 200, 238, 249, 258
Ivester, Doug 366, 369–70, 399–400, 404, 408, 409, 411, 424–7, 430–1, 439
Asian economic crisis, response to 426
background 406
“corporate citizenship” award 419
InterBev94 speech 406–7
management style of 424
new CC president 405
new chairman and CEO 424
and Orangina purchase 425
Ukraine visit 436
and Venezuela deal 415–6
Iwamura, Masaomi 307

Jackson, Jesse 337–8
Jackson, Maynard 338
Jackson, Michael 376
Jacobs, Joseph 38, 40
signs over company’s rights to CC 54
Jacobson Dr. Max (“Dr. Feelgood”) 255, 255n
Jacobson, Michael 412, 444, 445
Jacobson, Scott 438
Jacobs’ Pharmacy 31, 38
Japan 211n, 239, 240, 307–8, 380–1, 384–5, 408, 426
Coca-Cola West Japan Company, formation of 435
cyclamates scare 291
growing market 307, 308
“Moment That Refreshes” campaign 385n
in 1960s 276–7
in 1970s 307
Jaros, Julius 22
Java 184
Jazz Age 158
Jennings, Andrew 411n
Jews and CC 219–20, 285–6
Jiffy’s 284
jingles 62, 172, 192–3, 250, 261
John, Elton 397
Johnson, Cliff 225
Johnson, Crawford 140, 141
Johnson, Don 377, 387
Johnson, Lyndon B. 271, 281, 287
Johnson, Magic 386
Johnson, W. F. (RWW’s teacher) 152
Jones, Bobby, Jr. 156, 179, 242
Jones, Boisfeuillet 271, 284
Jones, Harrison 142–4, 157, 168, 174, 187, 189, 193, 224, 454
CC Co. sales force, reorganization of 143
The Friendly Hand 143
Jones, Joseph, W. 246, 251, 350
Index

Jones, Rev. Sam 26–7
Jones, Samuel 349
Jones, Turner 162, 174, 176, 180
Jones, Reverend Sam 26–7
Joroberts Corporation 242, 248
Joy, Leonard 179
_The Jungle_ (Sinclair) 108

Kahn, E. J., Jr. 446n
Kahn, James 202
Kamel, Mostafa 285
Keaton, Buster 90
Kebler, Lyman F. 114, 116
Keith, Max 213–26
meets RWW 218
Kelly, Eugene 158, 167, 215
Kelton, Anna 117
Kendall, Don 269, 275, 283, 298
Kennedy, John F. 255n, 271, 275, 278, 281
Kent, Alan Bradley 192
Kent, Benjamin 58–9
Kenya 232
and Columbia Pictures deal 341
McCann–Erickson, warning to 396
and New Coke launch 351–3
retirement of 399
Kerr, John 59
Kerry Group 382
Killy, Jean-Claude 411
Kimball House, Atlanta 20, 31
King and Spalding, attorneys 137, 331–2
King Size Coke 257, 260–1
King, Coretta Scott 338, 393
King, Martin Luther, Jr. 279, 282, 287, 345
Kingsley, Luke 446
Kipling, Rudyard: “If . . . ” 156, 349
Kirbo, Charles 310
Knipp, Joe 216, 222
Koke 43, 62
resurrected by Mayfield 123–4
Koke Case 123–4, 128–9
CC Co. sale dependent upon 130 settled 141
kola nuts 24, 30, 59, 204
use by Africans 64
Kola-Ade 101
Kola-Coca 101
Koller, Carl 21, 58n
Kool and the Gang 364
Koonin, Steve 418
Kostelanetz, André 179
Kosygin, Alexei 298
Kroc, Ray 264
Krushchev, Nikita 269
Kuisel, Richard 450
Ku Klux Klan 87, 432
Kuok, Robert 392
Kurtz, Wilbur, Jr. 300–1
Kuwait 388, 393

Labor Front (German) 219
Ladas, Stephen P. 185, 224, 237
Lance, Bert 310
Landor & Associates 388
Lanning, Chris 418
Lapsley, N. A. 178
Latin America 367, 369, 388, 393, 416, 419

see also South America; specific countries

Lauck, Dan 353, 358
Law, Tom 278
Lawson, Frank 183
Leahy, Senator Patrick 408–9, 438
Lebanon 232
Lee, Archie 144–6, 157, 159–61, 174–5, 179, 259
and image, importance of 261
“The Pause that Refreshes” slogan 160
“Thirst Knows No Season” slogan 146

legal actions 80
African-Americans’ discrimination case 432
Amatil case 434
Bingo case 297
bottlers’ case 137–9, 141
CC variations, bottlers’ concerns over 343, 359–60, 372–3, 386, 386n
Duckworth syrup 168
E-Town case 343, 372, 386, 386n
exploding bottles 100
“Feed the Rush” case 419n
foreign ingredients 100, 164
fraudulent sugar prices, claim by bottlers 142
Hi-C case 297–8
imitators 101, 102–3
Koke Case 123–4, 128–9, 130, 141, 192
Minute Maid apple-juice case 431
New Coke actions 355
Pepsi cases 190–2, 427–8, 428n
pre-mix case 258
price-fixing 374
stockholders' names, CC Co. made to
reveal 141
substitution cases 189
United States vs. Forty Barrels . . .
116–22
Lemon & Orange Elixir (Pemberton) 20, 33
Leonard Part 6 378
Lerner, Alan Jay 255n, 306
Lesko, Paul 225
Levitt, Ted 448, 451
Lewis, Anna Eliza Clifford See
Pemberton, Anna Eliza Clifford
Liberia 232
licensing program 360
Lindsay, Rev. 87
Lintas 342, 345, 397, 405
Lipton 419
Little Mae See Candler, Mae
Livingston, Sterling 296
Llewellyn, James Bruce 340
Loewy, Raymond 104
Lof t candy stores 188–90, 192
Lombard, Carole 175
longevity:
and coca leaf 17, 21
Louis, Joe 217, 227n
Louisville, Kentucky 78
Loundes, George 34, 37–8
sells out 38
Lowe & Partners 405
Lowery, Rev. Joseph 370
Lubis 262
Luce, Henry 233
Lunceford, Jimmy 179
Lupton, J. T. 74–5, 90
see also Southeastern Parent Bottler
Lupton, Jack 369
Luthuli, Albert 371
Lynch, J. L. 115, 116

MAC and Me 379
McCabe, George 115
McCann-Erickson 259, 262, 395–9
and New Coke ads 350–1
McCay, Clive M. 265
McCoo, Marilyn 364
McDonald's 264, 284, 362, 452
McGill, Ralph 156, 231, 247, 271
McGuire Sisters 268
Mack, Walter 190, 191–3, 204–5, 252
McKinley, William 108
McWhorter, Susan 413
Madonna's video shock 377
Makinsky, Prince Alexander 236, 248, 284
Malaysia 409
Mallard, Charles 342
Mandela, Nelson, 393–4, 393n, 452
Manila 241
Mann, Henry 218
Manson, Ken 342
Mao Tse-tung 234
Makonya, Richard 393n
March, Fredric 175
Marcus, Bernard 421
Mariani, Angelo 22, 23
Marineau, Phil 429
Marquez, Israel 314–5
Marshall Plan 235
Marshall, George C. 199–200, 235
Massengale Advertising Agency 97, 98
Massengale, St Elmo 105
May, Orville 265, 306–7
Mayfield, Diva 40, 62–3
Mayfield, J. C. 25, 39, 40, 43, 62
CC's harassment of imitators,
complains of 124
Court of Appeals favors 128–9
Dope 123–4, 141
resurrects Koke 128
thorn in side of CC 62
Mays, Benjamin 247–8
Maywood Chemical Company (Schaefer
Alkaloid Works) 187
McKaig, Diane 303
Megargel, Roy 188
Mehri, Cyrus 432
Mellett, Ed 361, 375, 376–7
Mello Yello 313, 337, 395
Mendez, Roberto 332, 332n
Mendizabal, Marion 332
Menem, Carlos 417
"Merchandise No. 5" 88, 116, 184, 187,
204, 219
Merck & Company 79
Merman, Ethel 205
Metaxa, Spyros 410
Mexican-American Flavors Company
205
Mexico 64, 93, 168, 185, 204–5, 393, 409,
416, 425, 449–50, 450n
Meyers, Jesse 374, 376
Mickey Mouse Club 254, 378
millionaire as hero 12
Index

Mintz, Sidney 446, 447
Minute Maid 272, 283, 293–4, 371, 416n, 428
Mitford, Nancy 238n
Mizen, Fred 160
Mondale, Walter 294, 345
Mone (Japanese CC drink) 384
Monsanto Chemical Company 204
Montgomery, Arthur 78
Montgomery, Charlotte 263
Moore, Demi 377
Moore, Philip 294
Moore, Tom 258
Moreira, Marcio 351, 379, 380
Morgan, Ray 404, 430
Morocco 232, 238, 244
morphine addiction 25
see also under Pemberton, John
Morris, Betsy 430
Morris, Judge Hugh 139, 191
Mosconi, Roger 376
Mostel, Zero 255n
motivational research (MR) 261, 273
Mountain Dew 283, 313, 419, 428
Moxie 14, 38
Mr. Pibb 304
Mukora, Charles 411
Mullins, Gay 355, 358
Munsey, Cecil: Illustrated Guide to the Collectibles of Coca-Cola 300–1
Murjani International 360
Murphy, A. O. 25, 39, 40
withdraws from partnership 43
Murrow, Edward R. 293
My–Coca 62
myths and folklore concerning CC 8, 72

Nader, Ralph 119, 290, 295
Nanni, Tony 374
Nashville 76
Nashville, Tennessee 92
National Bottlers’ Gazette 72, 129
National Soft Drink Association 408
NBC 197
NBC Migrant program 293–4
Neary, Linda 387
Neff, John 401, 419
Neighbors, Troy 268
Nelson, Ozzie and Harriet 263
nerve tonic, CC as 9, 41, 53, 60
nervousness 9, 26
see also neurasthenia
Nestlé 402, 403
Netherlands 168, 169, 381, 408
neurasthenia 8, 23
see also nervousness
New Age 400–1, 407
New Coke 2, 324, 347–55, 360–2, 365, 376
becomes Coke II 395
development costs of 362
new flavor, search for 347–8
press-conference launch of 351–3
public and media response to 353–7
New Seekers 300, 387
New Spencer Medicine Company 71
New York 77
New York Community Trust 184
New Zealand 184, 391
Newark 77
Newman, Elberta 45
Newman, Lewis 20, 28–9
Nicaragua 243, 314, 393
Contras 371
Nichol, Dave 395
Nicholson, Burke 256
Nims, Harry D. 191
1903 Company 75n
Nixon, Richard 269–70
“dirty tricks” suspicions over FTC actions 298
joins Pepsi 275
Kent State University killings 299
resignation 306
Watergate scandal 305
wins presidency 287
Nordic Mist 400
Norias Shooting Club 153–4
Norway 184, 381, 428
NutraSweet (aspartame) 344

Oehlert, Ben 185, 196–7, 271, 283
OK Soda 401, 402–3
Oliver, Thomas 359
Olympics:
Atlanta poor, displacement of by CC 414n
1936, Berlin 218, 412
1942, Helsinki 241
1964, Tokyo 277
1980, Moscow 311, 321
1984, Los Angeles 344, 412
1988, Calgary 381
1988, Seoul 381
1992, Albertville 383, 397
1996, Atlanta 410–15, 411n
One, Two, Three (Wilder, dir.) 275
Operation Breadbasket 280
opium See morphine
Oppenhoff, Walter 216, 220, 221–2, 223, 224, 239
Orangina 425, 435
O’Sullivan, Maureen 175
Ovitz, Mike 396–7, 398, 404, 415n
Owens, Jesse 217, 266

PAC money 345
Pacific Rim 367, 382
see also specific countries
Packard, Vance 262
The Hidden Persuaders 261
Palmer, Robert 386
PANAMCO, Mexico 409
Papua New Guinea 391, 454
Parejo, José 93
parent bottlers 75, 75n, 77–80, 134
bought back by CC Co. 80
company-controlled portion abolished 258
contract terminated 137
contract wrangle with CC Co. 135–9, 141
see also bottlers and bottling
Parle Exports 392
Partners in Plunder 186
Passiflora Koko-Kolo 101
patent medicines 10–14 passim, 28, 51
advertising of 10–11
alliterative names for 30
CC as 9
coca leaf in 22
deﬁned 9n
Pemberton’s 19, 20
saturated market for 13
Patiala, Maharajah of 243–4
Patterson, Floyd 266
Pause for Living 282
Payne, Billy 410, 411, 411n
Peacock, Allen 374
Peale, Norman Vincent 264
Pearl Harbor, bombing of 195
Pearl, George 44n, 45
Pease, Donald 316
Pemberton, Anna Eliza Clifford
(“Cliff”) 18, 45
death of 96
Pemberton, Charles Ney (“Charley”) 18, 32–3
claims birthright 40–1
competing drink 43
death of 46
father’s faked signature 45
found unconscious 45–6
joins CC payroll 32
new company with Asa Candler 41
sells share of CC 42
Pemberton Chemical Company 28, 32, 35, 40
Pemberton, John 7–8, 16, 17–21 passim, 40–4 passim, 52n
Atlanta, move to 19–20
bankruptcy 20
CC rights, sale of 34
and CC’s claimed medical properties 54
Civil War, service in 18
“Cliff”, marriage to 18
death of 43
eyear life of 17–18
faked signature of 45
funeral of 43–4
master reference work on drugs 21
misleading advertisement for entrepreneurs 39
morphine addiction 5, 25, 34
proprietary items 19, 20
Pemberton Medicine Company 40, 62
Pendergrast, J. B. 124
People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) 338
Pepsi Bottling Group 429
Pepsi Challenge 312, 333, 340, 348
see also Pepsi Cola
Pepsi Free 343
Pepsi One 428
Pepsi-Cola and PepsiCola 101, 188–93, 252–4, 283
advertising and marketing 192–4, 253, 272–4, 288, 312–3, 376, 396–7, 428–9
avoided by CC men 260
buys out bottlers 253–4
buys Pizza Hut and Taco Bell 314n
CC Co. sues 190
CC’s new bottle size, response to 257
Coke ads, effect of 273
diet drink 278
“El Masquo” 205
Enrico becomes CEO 416
expanding markets in wake of CC 245
international trade 245, 254, 428
jingle 172, 192–3, 250
Madonna video shocker 377
New Coke, response to 351
new company formed 188
and Richard Nixon 275
Root Glass Company 103
Rosalta 224
Rose, Billy 236
Roussel, Eugene 14
Rowden, Ian 437
Roxa-Cola 190
Royal Crown Cola 190, 291, 243, 374
Diet-Rite 277
Rusby, Henry H. 118
Russell, Harvey 280
Russia 391–2, 408, 416, 419, 426, 428, 436
see also USSR
SABCO, South Africa 409
Saccharin 79, 313
removed from CC 109–10
Saci 290
Sadat, Anwar 311
Saddam Hussein 311
Sagaz, Angel 285–6
salesmen 65
“drummers” 52
“gentlemen” 65
Samaranch, Juan Antonio 410, 411
Sam’s American Choice 395
Sanford, Judge Edward Terry 117, 119
Santos, Lulu 308
Saudi Arabia 232, 388, 393, 435
Schaefer Alkaloid Works 88, 187
Schanck, Charles 101
Schmeling, Max 217, 226, 226n
Schmidt, Bill 317, 331–2, 343, 359, 372–3, 386
Schmiedeberg, Oswald 118
Schulman, Ken 339
Schwartz, Judge Murray 343, 359–60, 372, 386
Schwartz, Tony 310
Schwarzkopf, Norman 393, 393n
Schweppes 427
Scotland 184
Scott, Jeffrey 364
Scott, Randolph 175
Scott, Colonel Robert L.: God Is My Co–Pilot 206
Sculley, John 313, 333
Sealey, Peter 341, 396–8, 399–400, 401
Seely, Fred L. 116
Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs 290
Seltzer, Scott 387
Seth Fowle & Sons 58, 71
see also Fowle, Seth
7-Up 272, 341, 343, 346
Pepsi’s attempted purchase of 365
7X (formula) 57, 184, 219, 234n, 306–7
sex in CC advertising 90–1, 160, 295, 380
see also Coca-Cola advertising and marketing
Shillinglaw Dr. Cliff 278, 306–7
Shirer, William L.: The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich 216–7
Sibley, John 139, 159, 183, 190, 191–2, 218–9, 331
Sinclair, Chris 416
Sinclair, Upton 108
“Singin’ Sam” (Harry Frankel) 179
Sisler, Don 211, 226
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue 306, 312
Sizer, J. B. 118–9, 139
Sledge, Delon 252–4 passim, 259, 279
Smith, Bessie Linn 126
Smith, Dianne 327, 328n
Smith, Herman (Mrs.) 191
Snapple 395, 402, 407, 419
soda fountains 13–16
American phenomenon 15
and bottled product 80–1
CC training school 164–5
cost and capacity of 14
point-of-purchase advertising 60
Sofas (patent medicine) 68
Sommers, Joanie 272, 274
Somoza, Anastasio 243
Sony Corporation 385
Soriano, Andres, Jr. 336–7
Soros, George 426
South Africa 184, 388, 408, 409, 417, 419, 435, 452
anti-apartheid movement 365, 370–1, 393n
CC Co.’s disinvestment in 370
sanctions against 291
South America 167, 262, 242–3
see also individual South American countries; Latin America
Southeast Asia 286
Southeastern Parent Bottler 74–5, 90
contracts to bottlers 74–5
see also Coca-Cola Bottling Company
Southern Christian Leadership Conference 370
Spalding, Hughes 183, 246–7, 248, 251, 254
Spanish–American War 63, 93
Sprite 272, 365, 403, 404–5, 419, 428, 436
Index

Stahl, Jack 409, 424
Standford advertising agency 312
Stanford, Bob 312
Staton, Al 158
Staton, John 158, 163
Statue of Liberty 11, 127, 235, 288
Steele, Alfred N. 252–4
death of 269
Stephens, Rob 46
Stetson, Eugene 130, 131
Stevenson, Adlai 448
Story, Judge Richard 432
Stout, Roy 342, 347–8
Stuart, George 118
Stubbs, Roy 185–6
Sudan 311
Sudan 393
Sugar Blues (Dufty) 302
sugar:
duty after price drop 310
Equalization Board 135
exemptions from rationing for CC 197
Java purchasing blunder by Howard Chandler 139–40
price fluctuations 137, 140, 167
rationing 127–8, 196
Sugar Blues 302–3
Sullivan, Mark 107
Sundblom, Haddon 160, 177, 259
Sunett (acesulfame potassium) 428
supermarkets 258, 263, 304, 373, 395
Surge 418–9, 428, 428n
Sweet Southern Bouquet (Pemberton) 19
Swette, Brian 429
Swift’s Sure Specific 30
Switzerland 184, 239
TaB 278, 291, 313, 334, 342
Tab Clear 401, 401n
Taiwan 243, 368, 381
Talbott, Michael 365
Talley, John 158, 201, 298
Talley, Lee 158, 257, 258, 272, 284
named president 268
reappraisal, call for 273
Talmadge, Eugene 182–3
Talmadge, Herman 267
Tanzania 419
Taylor, Elizabeth 256
TCC Beverages Ltd 370
Teagle, Walter 154, 218
Teem 283

teenagers as CC consumers 269, 362
temperance movement 26–7, 109
Tenco 272
Thailand 232, 241, 257, 380, 425, 435
Thomas and Whitehead bottling business See Coca-Cola Bottling Company
Thomas Company 74–5, 127, 182, 258, 304
bought by CC 305
contracts to bottlers 74–5
see also Coca-Cola Bottling Company
Thomas, Benjamin Franklin 69, 75–80 passim, 105–6, 110
adulterated syrup 79
and child labor 79
death of 80
sells plants 78
sharing strategies with Whitehead 78
see also Coca-Cola Bottling Company; parent bottlers; Thomas Company
Thomforde, Albert 200
Thompson, Dr. Augustin 14
Thompson, Thom 300–1
Thompson, Tommy 413
Thomson, Samuel 16–17
New Guide to Health 17
Thumbs Up 429
Tibet 451
Toigo, John 253
Toni-Kola 168
Touchtone, Guy 279
Tracy, Spencer 176
Trademark Law, 1905, 102
Treseder, Ross 143, 144
Trinidad 184, 240
Triplex Liver Pills (Pemberton) 20
Tri-Star 341, 370
Tropicana 428, 429
Trotter, John Clayton, Sr. 314–5, 316, 332
The Truth About Coca-Cola (Dobbs, D’Arcy) 115–16
“Truth in Advertising” campaign 105
Tuchman, Barbara 449
Tunisia 232
Turner, John 28
Tutu, Desmond 370, 371, 393
Twain, Mark 12–13
Ueberroth, Peter 410–11
Ukraine 391, 415, 436
United Fruit Company, Guatemala and Honduras 168
United Nations 231
Uruguay 242, 302, 408
USSR 284±5, 298, 311, 351, 382, 388
see also Russia

Valdosta Bottling Works 73
Van Loan, Bill 318, 319
Vanderbilt University 97
Vanous, Lucky 405
Vargas, Getulio 243
business nearly ruined 112
Venable, Willis 34, 37–8
sells out 38
Venezuela 416, 428, 429, 435–6
Vietnam 393, 409
War 286–7, 449
Vin Mariani 22–3, 62
Vincent, Fay 341
Virgin Cola 395
Volcker, Paul 426

Walker, Candler & Company 42, 44, 54
Walker, Woolfolk, 32, 38
bottler of CC 70
disappearance of 44, 54
new company with Asa Candler 41
sister’s signature, forgery of 44
Walker, Dr. Austin 19
Ware, Carl 338, 371, 393–4
Ware, Charlie 279, 350
war tax on medicines 63
Watson, Jack 310
Watson, James 452
Watson, Tom 92, 158
wealth:
American attitudes toward 12–13
Social Darwinism 12
Weatherup, Craig 417
Weil, Dr. Andrew 348
Wesleyan Christian Advocate 98
West, Carl 222
West, Dottie 301
Western Coca-Cola Bottling Company 90
White Motor Company 146, 154, 170
White, Walter 154, 170
White, William Allen 108, 158, 194, 347
Whitehead, Joseph Brown 69, 75
death of 80
“phenomenal” (sic) sales 77–8
sells plants 78
sharing strategies with Thomas 78
see also Coca-Cola Bottling Company;
parent bottlers; Southeastern Parent Bottler
Whitten, S. T. 90
Wieden & Kennedy 415n
Wiessmuller, Johnny 175
Wiezorek, Heinz 390
Wilder, Billy 275
Wiley, Dr. Harvey 85, 107, 110–20
passim
behind-the-scenes plotting against CC 111–12
“dope” crusade 110
frustrated offensive against CC 115
Good Housekeeping column 120
marriage of 117
Poison Squad announced 114
resigns 119
Willard, J. J. 108
Willard, Sam 64
Williams, Bill 255
Williams, Tennessee 255n
Wilson, Ian 309, 311, 320, 328, 330
Wilson, James 115
Wine Coca Company 62
wine coca See French Wine Coca
Wine of Cardui 74
Wine Spectrum 314, 346
Wire Group 392
Wolfe, Thomas 113, 144, 286
women in CC Co. 265, 303
women as CC consumers 60, 91–2, 98, 145, 176, 265
Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) 27, 111, 158
Woodruff, Emily Winship (RWW’s mother) 152
Woodruff, Ernest 129–30, 131, 151, 349
Dobbs’s dispute with 140–1
parsimony of 129
partnership with bottlers 135
Woodruff, Nell Hodgson 153, 219n, 287
Woodruff, Robert W. 151–84 passim,
191–4, 217–21 passim, 233, 246–52, 256–8, 265, 280–1, 327–8
and ad valorum tax 182–3
and alcohol 287
ambassordship offer by Kennedy 271
Atlantic Ice and Coal Company 153
Austin’s stand against 303
becomes president of CC Co. 151, 154–5
and black people 266–7
blessing for New Coke 349
bottlers, relationships with 165–6
Index

CC advertising, letter to D’Arcy 181
and communist resentment of CC 240
death of 2, 350
diet Coke, agrees to 335
early career 153
early life 151–2
and Eisenhower 199, 248–9
Emory College, gifts to 247, 350
and Emory College, Georgia 152–3, 247
Georgia Military Academy 152
and J. Edgar Hoover 282n
Ichauway plantation 156, 170, 267, 279
and Lyndon Johnson 281, 287
last days of 349–50
lavish life-style 246
management style of 156–8 passim
meets Keith 218
Nazis, guest of 217
and New Coke 1–2
and nickel price tag for CC 250–1
Norias Shooting Club 153–4
overseas markets, opening of 166
and Peale’s message 264
pneumonia 321
poor scholarship 152
and CC’s communist phobia 275–6
strokes 303
White Motor Company 146, 154
will of 350
Woolman, C. E. 180
World War I 127–8
World War II 195–212
declared 221
POWs in CC plants 201
testimonials to CC 205–6
see also Coca-Cola: in Nazi Germany
Wyeth, N. C. 160
Yemen 311
Yeomans, Jasper 181–2
Young, Andrew 338, 370–1, 422
Young, Loretta 175
Yugoslavia 284
Yum Yum 43, 62
Zarubica, Mladin 210–11, 242
Zash, Antonio 332, 332n
Zhukov, General Georgi 149–50, 210
Zyman, Sergio 334, 347, 350–1, 357, 361, 363, 369, 399–405 passim, 411, 424, 424n
becomes global marketing director 401
“presearch” technique 402