

Endnotes for *Murdered Midas:
A Millionaire, His Gold Mine, and a Strange Death on an Island Paradise*

These notes provide source citations for quotations and facts contained in the text. They are a supplement to the more general section “Sources” on pp. 293–300 in the book.

Introduction: A Corpse Is Open to All Comers

- xxv *including Timothy Findley* Timothy Findley, *Famous Last Words* (Toronto: Irwin, 1981).
- xxv *and William Boyd* William Boyd, *Any Human Heart* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 2002).
- xxvi “*A corpse is open*” Jean-Paul Sartre, *The Family Idiot: Gustave Flaubert*, vol. I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), x.

Part I: Making It

Chapter 1: Roaming the Globe for Gold

- 3 “*He never stopped*” Geoffrey Bocca, *The Life and Death of Sir Harry Oakes*, (New York: Doubleday, 1959), 43.
- 5 *about 15 million people* “Rise of Industrial America, 1876–1900: City Life in the Late 19th Century,” Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/riseind/city/>.
- 6 *an exuberant account* James A. McRae, *Call Me Tomorrow* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1960), 88.
- 6 “*richness of our life*” Arnold Hoffman, *Free Gold: The Story of Canadian Mining* (New York: Associated Book Service, 1947), 33.
- 7 “*intense, humorless quality*” Hoffman, 205.
- 8 “*most of the prospectors*” Quoted in Brian Martin, *Ernie’s Gold: A Prospector’s Tale* (Renfrew, ON: General Store Publishing House, 2011), 29.
- 8 “*I plan my work*” Hoffman, 207.
- 12 “*a quiet unassuming boy*” Bob Cowan, *Sir Harry Oakes, 1874–1943: An Accumulation of Notes* (Cobalt, ON: Highway Book Shop, 2000), 5.

- 12 *Zeta Psi fraternity* Cowan, 7.
- 12 *give the oration* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 25.
- 12 “*This is absurd*” Bocca, *Life and Death*, 26.
- 13 *Maine business leaders* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 27.
- 15 “*I know gold mines*” Hoffman, 206.
- 16 “[*his Danish partner*]” Bocca, *Life and Death*, 41.
- 18 *postcards that occasionally* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 47.
- 18 “*He was a hard man*” Hoffman, 216.

Chapter 2: Anatomy of a Gold Rush

- 19 “*In the next century*” Quoted in Michael Barnes, *Gold in Kirkland Lake* (Renfrew, ON: General Store Publishing House, 2011), xii.
- 20 *A hundred years later* Philip Smith, *Harvest from the Rock: A History of Mining in Ontario* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1986), 123.
- 23 *made in Sheffield* Albert Tucker, *Steam into Wilderness: Ontario Northland Railway 1902–1962* (Don Mills, ON: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1978), 21.
- 24 *Chief Ignace Tonené* Undated document signed by Bruce W. Hodgins and James Morrison in the Museum of Northern History, Kirkland Lake, Ontario.
- 24 *LaRose promptly filed* Tucker, 13.
- 24 *metal was silver* Smith, 119.
- 25 *Chief Tonené acquired* Notes on 1907–08 Indian Affairs correspondence in the Museum of Northern History, Kirkland Lake.
- 25 “*slabs of native metal*” Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971), 184.
- 25 *Canvas sacks* Tucker, 16.
- 26 *squalid little town* Douglas O. Baldwin, *Cobalt: Canada’s Forgotten Silver Boom Town* (n.p.: Indigo Press, 2015).
- 26 *Then he would print* Smith, 141–42.
- 28 *31.5 million ounces* Stan Sudol, “Canadian T.V. Ignores Ontario’s Rich Mining Industry,” *Huffington Post*, March 7, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/stan-sudol/ontario-mining_b_4885841.html.

- 28 *laid the foundations* Douglas Baldwin, “Canada’s Forgotten Silver Boomtown,” *CIM Magazine*, July 4, 2016, <http://magazine.cim.org/en/mining-lore/canadas-forgotten-silver-boomtown/>.
- 30 *about 6 feet wide* Tucker, 50–51.
- 31 *“atmosphere thrilled me”* McRae, 100.

Chapter 3: Harry’s Claim

- 35 *station was probably named* Information from local historian Carolyn O’Neil, January 2017.
- 36 *He also dropped into* Information from local historian Carolyn O’Neil, January 2017.
- 37 *McRae loved to boast* McRae, 112–13.
- 37 *“up every morning”* Michael Barnes, *Kirkland Lake* (Erin, ON: Boston Mills Press, 1994), 23.
- 37 *Amongst other prospectors* “Outstanding Canadian Mourned,” *Globe and Mail*, September 21, 1951, 1.
- 37 *After he had saved* B. F. Townsley, *Mine-Finders: The History and Romance of Canadian Mineral Discoveries* (Toronto: Saturday Night Press, 1935), 111.
- 38 *the story of the four dollars* McRae, 179.
- 39 *Swastika was doing well* *Tavistock (ON) Gazette*, October 19, 1911.
- 39 *One bitterly cold evening* Smith, 197.
- 40 *“Some said Harry Oakes”* Smith, 197–98.
- 40 *staked five claims* Information from local historian Carolyn O’Neil, January 2017.
- 40 *“You’d think we were”* Quoted in Martin, 31.
- 41 *Within three days* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 57.

Chapter 4: Flashy Fellows and Big Spenders

- 45 *“scores of . . . promotions”* Christopher Armstrong, *Blue Skies and Boiler Rooms* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 27.

- 47 *fewer than one in fifty* Peter C. Newman, *Flame of Power* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1959), 121.
- 48 *\$457 per ton* Smith, 198, and D. M. LeBourdais, *Metals and Men: The Story of Canadian Mining* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1957), 184.
- 49 *“Gold is a woman”* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 50.
- 49 *She hired a man* Michael Barnes, *Gold Camp Pioneer: Roza Brown of Kirkland Lake* (Cobalt, ON: Highway Book Shop, 1973), n.p.
- 50 *used stronger language* LeBourdais, 182–83.
- 50 *talk about the swindle* Barbara Moon, “The Murdered Midas of Lake Shore,” *Maclean’s*, September 1, 1950.
- 50 *“Harry had a genius”* Hoffman, 211, 215.
- 52 *“name of Swastika”* McRae, 178.
- 52 *only 300,000* Smith, 200.
- 53 *richest ore ever seen* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 66.
- 53 *“bear for getting”* Typescript of anonymous personal memoir, Archives, Museum of Northern History.
- 55 *Kirkland Lake was in limbo* S. A. Pain, *Three Miles of Gold: The Story of Kirkland Lake* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1960), 47.
- 56 *Oakes’s discomfort* Hoffman, 210. Hoffman dates this train ride from 1925, but it seems likely that, in his 1947 memoir, he merged two separate train rides: the 1917 trip with the Buffalo financiers, and a later trip with Chicago investors when Oakes was already a millionaire.
- 57 *half a million* Moon, “The Murdered Midas.”
- 57 *the next twenty* Martin, 39.

Chapter 5: Kirkland Lake Comes of Age

- 60 *mother could not believe* Barnes, *Kirkland Lake*, 43.
- 60 *shares spiralled* McRae, 225–26.
- 61 *“Quite a large interest”* Quoted in Martin, 39.

- 62 *annual value of gold* H. V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines and Hydro-electric Power in Ontario, 1849–1941* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), 429.
- 62 *Wright had hung on* Smith, 201–3.
- 63 *also rock dumps* Barnes, *Kirkland Lake*, 37.
- 63 “*When the drills*” Magne E. Stortroen, *An Immigrant’s Journal* (Cobalt, ON: Highway Book Shop, 1982) 7, 14.
- 64 “*too darn dangerous*” Alan Collier papers, Queen’s University Archives, box 1, file 14, Arch 5008.1. Thanks to Sandy Campbell.
- 64 *one man happily* Tom O. Wright, interview with the author.
- 65 *provincial forestry men* Moon, “The Murdered Midas.”
- 66 “*next spring I hope*” Harry Oakes to C. E. Wettlaufer Esq., August 2, 1921, uncatalogued file at Northern Mining Museum.
- 66 “*Slowest camp*” Barnes, *Kirkland Lake*, 57.
- 67 *Roza Brown camped* Barnes, *Kirkland Lake*, 67.
- 66 *Oakes was generous* Ralph Deline, “The Growth and Social Development of the Township of Teck (Kirkland Lake), 1906–1951” (unpublished thesis, 1997), 136.
- 67 *built a greenhouse* Newman, 123.
- 67 *Farther north, Noah Timmins* Torlone, Joe G., “The Evolution of the City of Timmins: A Single-Industry Community” (unpublished thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1979), <https://scholars.wlu.ca/etd/1565/>.
- 68 “*On your way*” Barnes, *Kirkland Lake*, 62.
- 69 “*This stay of mine*” Heather Robertson, *Measuring Mother Earth: How Joe the Kid Became Tyrrell of the North* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2007), 284.
- 70 *one in ten residents* Barnes, *Gold in Kirkland Lake*, 42–47.
- 70 *One district was known* Deline, 63.
- 70 *most popular leisure pursuits* Deline, 107.
- 72 *his prospector’s outfit* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 72.
- 72 *a glimmer of compassion* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 71.
- 73 “*You called me*” Bocca, *Life and Death*, 72.

- 75 *George Cooper* Uncatalogued typescript for Oakes obituary from Northern Mining Museum.
- 76 *Walter Little's son Art* Uncatalogued typescript, "Info on Harry Oakes," dated 1974, from Northern Mining Museum.
- 76 *Walter Lingenfelter* Uncatalogued typescript, "Info on Harry Oakes," dated 1978, from Northern Mining Museum.
- 76 *engineer called Barney Hoffman*, 215.

Part II: Spending It

Chapter 6: Taxed into Exile

- 79 *"Like most communities"* City of Niagara Falls Centennial Book Committee, *Images of a Century; The City of Niagara Falls, Canada, 1904–2004* (Niagara Falls, ON, 2004), 93.
- 79 *decided to visit South Africa* Typescript of anonymous comments on the Bocca biography, Archives, Museum of Northern Ontario, Kirkland Lake.
- 80 *"had an innocence and decency"* Martin, 42.
- 81 *"by throwing snowballs"* Typescript of anonymous memoir, Archives, Museum of Northern Ontario, Kirkland Lake.
- 81 *plasterwork of Nancy's room* The room is in the Museum of Northern Ontario (formerly the Oakes Chateau) and is open to the public.
- 81 *"too brusque and demanding"* Handwritten memoir, Archives, Museum of Northern Ontario, Kirkland Lake.
- 81 *poster showing Neuschwanstein* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 79.
- 81 *Local historian Sherman Zavitz* Sherman Zavitz, interview with the author, December 6, 2017.
- 82 *baronial edifice* Hoffman, 215.
- 82 *including Hyman Kaplan* Hoffman, 219.
- 84 *palatial dining table* *Toronto Star*, April 29, 1983: A7.
- 84 *a rudimentary polo ground* Sam DiMartino, "A Report on the Past and Present Land Uses of Properties Acquired by Sir Harry Oakes and Welland

- Securities Ltd. in the City of Niagara Falls, Canada” (unpublished thesis, McMaster University, March 1980).
- 84 *five-hole golf course* Interview with Isobel MacIntyre, daughter of former Oakes nanny, December 6, 2017.
- 84 *elegant black Hispano-Suiza* “Lot 118: The Ex-Sir Harry Oakes, 1928 Hispano-Suiza H6B 37.2 hp Sedanca de Ville,” Bonhams, <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/16337/lot/118/>.
- 85 *gave to the Boy Scouts* “Sir Harry Oakes,” Niagara Falls Museums, <https://niagarafallsmuseums.ca/discover-our-history/history-notes/harryoakes.aspx>.
- 85 *was paid two dollars* “Sir Harry Oakes,” Niagara Falls Museums.
- 86 *“cottage” called The Willows* “When Bad Things Happen to Nice Houses; ‘The Willows’ Becomes ‘Atlantic Oakes,’” *Down East Dilettante*, March 10, 2010, <https://downeastdilettante.wordpress.com/2010/03/10/when-bad-things-happen-to-nice-houses-the-willows-becomes-atlantic-oakes/>.
- 86 *two newly built properties* Ruth Reynolds, “Sir Harry Oakes, the Incorporated Baron” in *Sunday News* (New York), January 23, 1944, 6.
- 87 *“did not seem to know”* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 80–82.
- 88 *Oakes’s mining stock* Reynolds, “Sir Harry Oakes.”
- 89 *1934 Canadian federal budget* Robert A. Wardhaugh, *Behind the Scenes: The Life and Work of William Clifford Clark* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 89. See also Robert Bryce, *Maturing in Hard Times* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1986), 111, and J. Harvey Perry, *Taxes, Tariffs and Subsidies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), 266, 277.
- 90 *In Clark’s account* Gregory Clark, “Ontario Millionaire Finds Haven in Tax-less Bahamas,” *Toronto Star*, February 11, 1938, 3.
- 91 *“Oakes’s asphyxiation”* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 82.
- 91 *“For all his toughness”* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 96.
- 91 *Conservative newspapers* “Millionaires Leaving,” *The Banner* (Russell, MB), August 1, 1935, 3.

91 *McCullagh had sorted out* Maggie Siggins, *Bassett* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1979), 18–20, 35–36.

Chapter 7: Bahamas' Bay Street Bandits

93 “*reason for the sparseness*” Michael Craton, *A History of the Bahamas*, 3rd ed. (Waterloo, ON: San Salvador Press, 1986), 11–12.

95 “*full-blooded member*” Gail Saunders, *Race and Class in the Colonial Bahamas, 1880–1960* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016), 131.

96 *colony's annual revenue* Saunders, 122.

96 *From the warehouses* Saunders, 122.

96 *Prohibition profits* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 86.

96 “*would have been shortsighted*” Craton, 253.

97 “*poor, near-white outsider*” Saunders, 130.

97 *close links with Canada* Craton, 66.

98 “*Money 'whitened'*” Saunders, 140.

98 “*at least one man*” Craton, 255.

98 “*would go miles*” John Marquis, *Blood and Fire: The Duke of Windsor and the Strange Murder of Sir Harry Oakes* (Kingston, Jamaica: LMH Publishing, 2006), 159.

99 *middle of town* Alfred de Marigny with Mickey Herskowitz, *A Conspiracy of Crowns: The True Story of the Duke of Windsor and the Murder of Sir Harry Oakes* (London: Bantam Press, 1990), 148.

101 *less attractive sides* Ellery Queen, “Will the Oakes Murder Ever Be Solved?” *Family Weekly*, November 1, 1959, 9.

101 *strategic land purchases* Saunders, 130.

101 *Foskett owed his practice* Reynolds, “Sir Harry Oakes,” 43.

103 *Such a sum would* I have used the helpful and reliable website MeasuringWorth.com for this calculation, taking the year 1934 and relying on its Consumer Bundle comparator.

103 *would purchase thousands* Saunders, 148.

104 “*With the enthusiasm*” Craton, 256.

- 104 *a familiar sight* “Sir Harry Oakes: The Man behind the Myth,” *Bahamas Handbook and Businessman’s Guide, 1976–77* (Nassau: Étienne Dupuch Jr. Publications, 1977), 27.
- 104 *In the mid-1930s* Cedric Chalmers, “Another Yankee in the ex-King’s Court!” *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 6, 1940, 4.
- 105 *the New Colonial Hotel* Reynolds, “Sir Harry Oakes,” 45.
- 105 *was never established* Reynolds, “Sir Harry Oakes,” 45, and Saunders, 148.
- 105 *visiting American reporter* *Lowell Sun*, August 12, 1940.
- 106 *paid his labourers* Saunders, 149.
- 106 *When Oakes discovered* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 100.
- 106 “*arguably did more*” Sir Orville Turnquest, *What Manner of Man Is This?: The Duke of Windsor’s Years in the Bahamas* (Nassau: Grant’s Town Press, 2016), 121.
- 106 *Still sporting prospectors’* “Sir Harry Oakes: The Man behind the Myth,” 23.
- 107 *According to local gossip* Craton, 257.
- 107 *first was his wife* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 99.
- 107 *Madeline Gale Kelly* “Sir Harry Oakes: The Man behind the Myth,” 23.
- 108 *When Nancy was nine* Cowan, 86.
- 108 “*Harry’s all right*” Bocca, *Life and Death*, 99.
- 110 “*At the moment*” Rosita Forbes, *A Unicorn in the Bahamas* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1939), 117.
- 110 *While Christie overwhelmed* Forbes, 120–23.
- 111 *Rosita Forbes developed* Forbes, 203–4.

Chapter 8: “Pick, Shovel Man Is ‘Sir’”

- 113 *a rather different picture* *Toronto Daily Star*, February 11, 1938, 3.
- 116 “*We’ll drink his rum*” Turnquest, 113–14.
- 116 *seat that Oakes had won* Saunders, 170.
- 116 *Milo B. Butler* Milo Butler would eventually be knighted, and after the colony became an independent country in 1973, he served as the first Bahamian governor-general until his death in 1979.

- 117 “reads like a cross section” *Toronto Daily Star*, February 16, 1938, 1.
- 117 “Sir Herbert Holt” “Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King,” Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/politics-government/prime-ministers/william-lyon-mackenzie-king/pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=19504>.
- 118 *One sad event* Uncatalogued clipping, Museum of Northern Mining.
- 118 *This was the boat* *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 25, 1935, 1.
- 118 *Her death was* Uncatalogued clipping, Museum of Northern Mining.
- 119 *In time, he would lend* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 130.
- 120 *His townhouse, 15a* Barbara Denny and Carolyn Starren, *Kensington Past* (London: Historical Publications, 1998), 101.
- 120 *There were at least* “A Woman in London,” *Shepton Mallet Journal*, April 8, 1938.
- 121 *Kipling, now a revered* Andrew Lycett, *Rudyard Kipling* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 347.
- 121 *800 acres* Ross Clark, “Join the Treasure Hunt,” *The Telegraph* (London), June 4, 2003, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/property/advice/propertymarket/3313807/Join-the-treasure-hunt.html>.
- 122 *Eunice enjoyed being* *The Times* (London), June 14, 1934.
- 122 *They were frequently mentioned* *The Times* (London), June 16, 1934; May 25, 1935; May 26, 1935; and April 23, 1937.
- 122 “Golden Ball” *Toronto Star*, June 22, 1937, 22.
- 122 “brilliant assemblage” *The Scotsman*, September 16, 1937.
- 122 “friends to the Legion” *Sussex Agricultural Express*, June 24, 1938.
- 122 *continued to startle* *Liverpool Daily Post*, June 8, 1939, 8.
- 123 *down-market motor coach* “London Letter,” *Belfast News*, August 4, 1938.
- 123 *The Woodcutter’s Return* Duveen Brothers, “Client Summary Book, O–R,” Getty Research Institute Digital Collections, http://rosettaapp.getty.edu:1801/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE1304618.

- 124 “riding in Rotten Row” *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), July 9, 1943, 1.
- 124 “must be the shyest” *Birmingham (UK) Gazette*, June 8, 1939, 1.
- 124 “one of the world’s” *Western Daily Press and Bristol Mirror*, September 24, 1937, 7.
- 127 *Christie threw a party* de Marigny, *Crowns*, 158.

Chapter 9: “A Pathetic Little Job in a Ghastly Backwater”

- 129 “When the radio waves” Sir Randol F. Fawkes, *The Faith That Moved the Mountain: A Memoir of a Life and the Times*, memorial ed. (Nassau: Fawkes Family, 2003), http://sirrandolfawkes.com/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/The_Faith_That_Move_d_the_Mountain.252193642.pdf, 35.
- 129 “one of the oldest” Turnquest, 47.
- 130 “couple were viewed” Quoted in Marquis, 15.
- 130 “this wretched appointment” Michael Bloch, *The Duchess of Windsor* (London: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 101.
- 130 “pathetic little job” Andrew Motion, *17 Carnations: The Royals, The Nazis and the Biggest Cover-up in History* (New York: Grand Central, 2015), 176.
- 132 “such a filthy state” Motion, 197.
- 132 *riddled with termites* Frederick van Zeylen, “My Boss the Duke of Windsor,” *Bahamas Handbook 1966–67* (Nassau: Étienne Dupuch Jr. Publications, 1967), 54.
- 132 “a shack by the sea” Bloch, 144.
- 133 “small but impressive man” Duchess of Windsor, *The Heart Has Its Reasons* (New York: David McKay, 1956), 346.
- 133 “even the Oakes purse” Quoted in “The Great Oakes,” *Time*, July 19, 1943, 33.
- 133 “our Charlie Chaplin” Duchess of Windsor, 346.
- 135 “It was love” Quoted in Saunders, 180.
- 136 “the logical director” Quoted in Morton, 163.

- 137 “*If I had been King*” Charles Higham, *Mrs Simpson: Secret Lives of the Duchess of Windsor* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 2004), 343.
- 137 *Had he remained* Higham, 137.
- 138 *pittance by royal standards* Higham, 207.
- 139 “*Although Mr. Christie*” Quoted in Turnquest, 68.
- 139 “*White Bahamians will not*” Quoted in Turnquest, 144.
- 140 *Various celebrities arrived* Saunders, 176.
- 140 *Colonial Office in Westminster* Saunders, 178.
- 141 *Pleasantville Construction Company* Fawkes, 25.
- 142 “*Conchy-Joe*” was slang Turnquest, 76.
- 142 “*I willing to fight*” Quoted in Saunders, 189.
- 143 *Walker was “Doc”* Fawkes, 29.
- 143 “*England and American missionaries*” Fawkes, 30.
- 144 *In private, he paraded* Philip Ziegler, *King Edward VIII: The Official Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 471–72.
- 144 “*busy complaining now*” Bloch, 281.

Chapter 10: Don Juan from Mauritius

- 145 “*Sir Harry was alone*” de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 164.
- 145 *At its peak* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 131.
- 147 *profits were nosediving* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 127.
- 148 “*violently pro-Nazi*” Quoted in Ziegler, 456.
- 148 *His “friend” Field Marshal* “The Lord of Paradise—His Rise and Fall—The Axel Wenner-Gren Paradox” in *Bahamas Handbook 2002* (Nassau: Etienne Dupuch Jr. Publications, 2002).
- 148 “*generally disliked*” Quoted in Ziegler, 458.
- 149 *A whisper campaign suggested* Saunders, 176.
- 149 *The duke demanded evidence* Ziegler, 458.
- 151 *One of Camacho’s colleagues* Cowan, 96–97.
- 151 *no reliable evidence* Ziegler, 470.

- 152 *man whose social manners* de Marigny, *More Devil Than Saint* (New York: Beechhurst Press, 1946), 177.
- 153 *“London was a paradise”* de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 109.
- 153 *Ruth had divorced* de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 139.
- 153 *In the Bahamian capital* de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 13.
- 153 *a Star-class yacht* de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 156.
- 154 *“not my favourite”* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 119.
- 154 *various run-ins* de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 37.
- 156 *“We were frightfully upset”* Nassau Daily Tribune, *The Murder of Sir Harry Oakes, Bt.* (Nassau: Daily Tribune, 1959), 125.
- 156 *“Frenchie, you and I”* de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 176.
- 156 *finally recovered sufficiently* de Marigny, *Devil*, p. 181.
- 157 *Foskett refused to show* de Marigny, *Devil*, 179.
- 157 *De Marigny could see* Tribune, 123–28.
- 157 *“That’s the whole trouble”* de Marigny, *Devil*, 184.
- 158 *Sydney Oakes told* de Marigny, *Devil*, 185.
- 158 *turned down offers* de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 181.
- 159 *“an international playground”* Tribune, 5.
- 160 *“a lot of grumbling”* *Daily Tribune* (Nassau), July 7, 1943.
- 161 *“nicknamed ‘Effie’”* Cowan, *Sir Harry Oakes*, 121.
- 162 *There was laughter* de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 23.
- 163 *a wakeful night* Tribune, 85.

Part III: Losing It

Chapter 11: Suspect Number One

- 167 *“Today’s sitting”* Tribune, 101, 103.
- 167 *“I went into the room”* Tribune, 80.
- 170 *Thousands of kilometres* “Sir Harry Oakes Was Man of Great Determination,” *Northern News*, July 8, 1943.
- 171 *Far easier to follow* Tribune, 113–16.
- 172 *took the receiver* de Marigny, *Devil*, 195.

- 172 “a complete scientific” *Miami Herald* article quoted in Tribune, 30.
- 174 *De Marigny later denied* Eugene Dupuch, introduction, Tribune, *The Murder of Sir Harry Oakes, Bt.*
- 174 “still felt no alarm” de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 40.
- 175 “a strange interlude” de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 40.
- 176 “most valuable service” Quoted in James Owen, *A Serpent in Eden* (London: Little, Brown, 2005), 72.
- 176 *Fifty years later* de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 62.
- 177 *The deck was stacked* de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 67.
- 177 *New Providence was convulsed* de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 73.
- 177 “written, printed and broadcast” de Marigny, *Devil*, 217.
- 179 *he died in terrible* This is the evidence that Detective Melchen gave to the preliminary hearing on August 3, 1943, according to Tribune, 66.
- 180 *In desperation, Higgs* Godfrey Higgs to Dr. W. St. Charles, July 23, 1943, uncatalogued correspondence, Northern Mining Museum.
- 181 *The Tribune reporter* Tribune, 55–56.
- 181 *Oakes was recalled* Tribune, 20.
- 181 “very simple service” Quoted in Cowan, 216.
- 181 *A fund was opened* Tribune, 65, 79.
- 182 “a ridiculous charge” Tribune, 90.
- 182 *During the preliminary* de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 74.
- 183 *most affecting witness* Tribune, 123–24.
- 185 *De Marigny strolled* *Time*, September 6, 1943, 30.
- 185 *reported breathlessly* Tribune, 157.
- 186 “I had finally begun” de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 85–86.
- 186 “In a visible way” de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 87–88.
- 187 “Would do anything” W. P. St. Charles to Mrs. Nancy Oakes de Marigny, CNR cable, July 26, 1943, uncatalogued correspondence, Northern Mining Museum.
- 187 *One night, the stout* Bocca, *Life and Death*, 170–71.

Chapter 12: The Trial Opens

- 189 “*Visualize a play*” de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 83.
- 191 “*Don’t let it worry*” Owen, 117.
- 191 *The will apportioned* Eric Nye, “Pounds Sterling to Dollars: Historical Conversion of Currency,” University of Wyoming, <https://www.uwyo.edu/numimage/currency.htm>.
- 196 *His address to the jury* Tribune, 168–69.
- 196 “*How can any innocent*” Tribune, 183.
- 198 “*de Marigny’s defense*” “The Ruffled Sheet,” *Time*, November 1, 1943, 33.
- 201 *Mrs. Kelly had flown* Owen, 247.
- 201 *He was afraid* Tribune, 242.
- 202 *In the free-and-easy* Owen, 125–26.
- 204 *Melchen offered* Tribune, 268.

Chapter 13: The Chinese Screen

- 205 “*I purposely absented*” Colonial Office Papers CO23/967/126, quoted in Turnquest, 127.
- 205 *The evidence presented* Tribune, 264–312.
- 206 *Captain Barker strode* Tribune, 283.
- 208 “*assailant had entered*” Tribune, 308.
- 209 *Barker sagged as Higgs* Tribune, 311.
- 211 “*It was like spectators*” de Marigny, *Conspiracy*, 209.
- 212 *White pith helmets* Tribune, 359.
- 212 “*debonair and reckless*” *Newsweek*, November 15, 1943, 28.
- 212 *relations had deteriorated* Tribune, 363.
- 214 *Godfrey Higgs concluded* Tribune, 371–74.
- 214 *Nassau’s telegraph office* Tribune, 374, 401.
- 216–17 “*Mrs. De Marigny hesitated*” Tribune, 416.
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