

NUMBER GAMBLING  
A STUDY OF A CULTURE COMPLEX

PART I

INTRODUCTION

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1. Sumner and Keller, *The History of Social...*, vol. II, p. 770, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927.

2. *...*, p. 100, ...



## Chapter I

### Introduction

History and ethnography testify to the great age and wide distribution of gambling as a culture trait. Among early historic peoples gambling was a popular activity. In biblical times it was common and there are old Testament references to the drawing of lots for various purposes. There is considerable evidence also of the existence of gambling among the peoples of ancient Egypt, Babylonia and Mesopotamia. Tacitus describes vividly the passion for gambling among the early Germanic peoples, and Schuster, the historian, cites many cases of Germans staking freedom, wife and children, the clothes on their backs, life itself and sometimes even their souls salvation on a turn of chance.<sup>1</sup>

In primitive society, as well, gambling is widespread. The American Indian was an inveterate gambler. Lowie tells of instances where in games of pure chance an Indian would gamble away all his possessions, and sometimes even his wife and scalp. Eskimos are said to sometimes wager their very lives on the outcome of a contest or game. Malays and Polynesians wager their arm and leg bones after death, and sometimes their whole body in games of chance.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Sumner and Keller, The Science of Society, vol. II, pp. 737-770, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927.

2. Lowie, Cultural Anthropology, p. 169, Farrar and Rinehart, 1934.



Nor has this passion for gambling subsided in modern times. The statistics on race track betting stand as eloquent testimony of this. In 1932 on the four major race tracks of Maryland the total wagering for the 92 days of the racing season exceeded \$35,000,000. At Hialeah Park, Florida in the same year the betting averaged \$100,000 a day for the racing season. The United States Post Office Department estimated that between the years 1931-1934 foreign lotteries took over \$3,000,000,000 from the United States. The famous Irish sweepstakes have an annual income of \$15,000,000. In England the income from greyhound racing alone is sufficient to permit the operators to pay one and one-half million annually in prizes. Although gambling at the famous Casino of Monte Carlo has fallen off considerably in recent years, its income is still in the millions. In the years prior to the war, the average annual income was over \$10,000,000.<sup>1</sup>

Number gambling represents another version of this age old disposition of man. It is a form of gambling which in the decade since 1929 has developed into one of our major forms of organized vice. Its true extent can not be accurately determined for like all underworld activities it thrives on secrecy. There are, however, some figures

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1. Dayton Stoddart, "Millions and Murder", Today, Dec. 8, 1934, Dec. 22, 1934.

available which if used with caution may serve as a fair index of its extent. Let us examine some of these figures briefly. It is estimated that from 1932 until his violent end in 1935 "Dutch" Schultz, probably the country's largest operator, had an average gross income of \$25,000 a day, making a total of \$27,375,000 for the three year period in which he reigned.<sup>1</sup> An examination of the books of Benny Mason, the notorious Cleveland number baron, indicted for income tax evasion revealed a gross income of \$1,300,000 for the year 1933. For the country as a whole the annual income from the number games has been variously estimated from \$300,000,000<sup>2</sup> to \$1,000,000,000.<sup>3</sup> In Detroit, the city with which this essay is primarily concerned, the daily income from the number games is estimated to be from \$5000 to \$10,000.<sup>4</sup> I am inclined to believe that even the higher estimate is extremely conservative, since there are at least 35 separate number establishments in the city and an average daily income of \$300 for each is probably low.

Aside from its pecuniary magnitude, there are certain other features which characterize number gambling. First, there is its racial incidence. While it is true, that in recent years white people of the lower economic classes have

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1. Testimony of Richard "Dixie" Davis at the trial of James J. Hines. Thompson and Raymond, Gang Rule in New York, Dial Press, New York, 1940, p. 326.
  2. Asbury, Sucker's Progress, Dodd Mead, New York, 1938, p. 88.
  3. Stoddart, op. cit., Dec. 8, 1934-Jan 26, 1935.
  4. This estimate was made by several of Detroit's most prominent number bankers. It may be a deliberate understatement.

come to play the numbers extensively, number playing is today as it was in the past, predominantly an urban negro activity. This does not necessarily mean that there are more negroes than white people playing the numbers. It means simply that a greater proportion of the negro population plays than is the case with the whites. Nor does it mean that the control of the number gambling organizations is in the hands of negroes. There are areas where negroes are in control but for the country as a whole there is no doubt that white control is dominant. In the New York area, probably the most lucrative in the country, white control is predominant. It happens that in the Detroit area negro control is dominant. The racial incidence of number gambling is a fact of some significance, and later we shall attempt to account for it.

A second characteristic of number gambling is the suddenness with which it began. Number gambling as we shall see later is an old practice but its present development is unprecedented. Its present high development dates from 1929 and the beginning of the economic depression. The question for us here is "Why did an activity so long in a state of semi-dormancy suddenly spring to life and become so important?"

Another characteristic is the fact that number gambling does not exist as an isolated activity in the community. In the course of its development it has attracted to itself



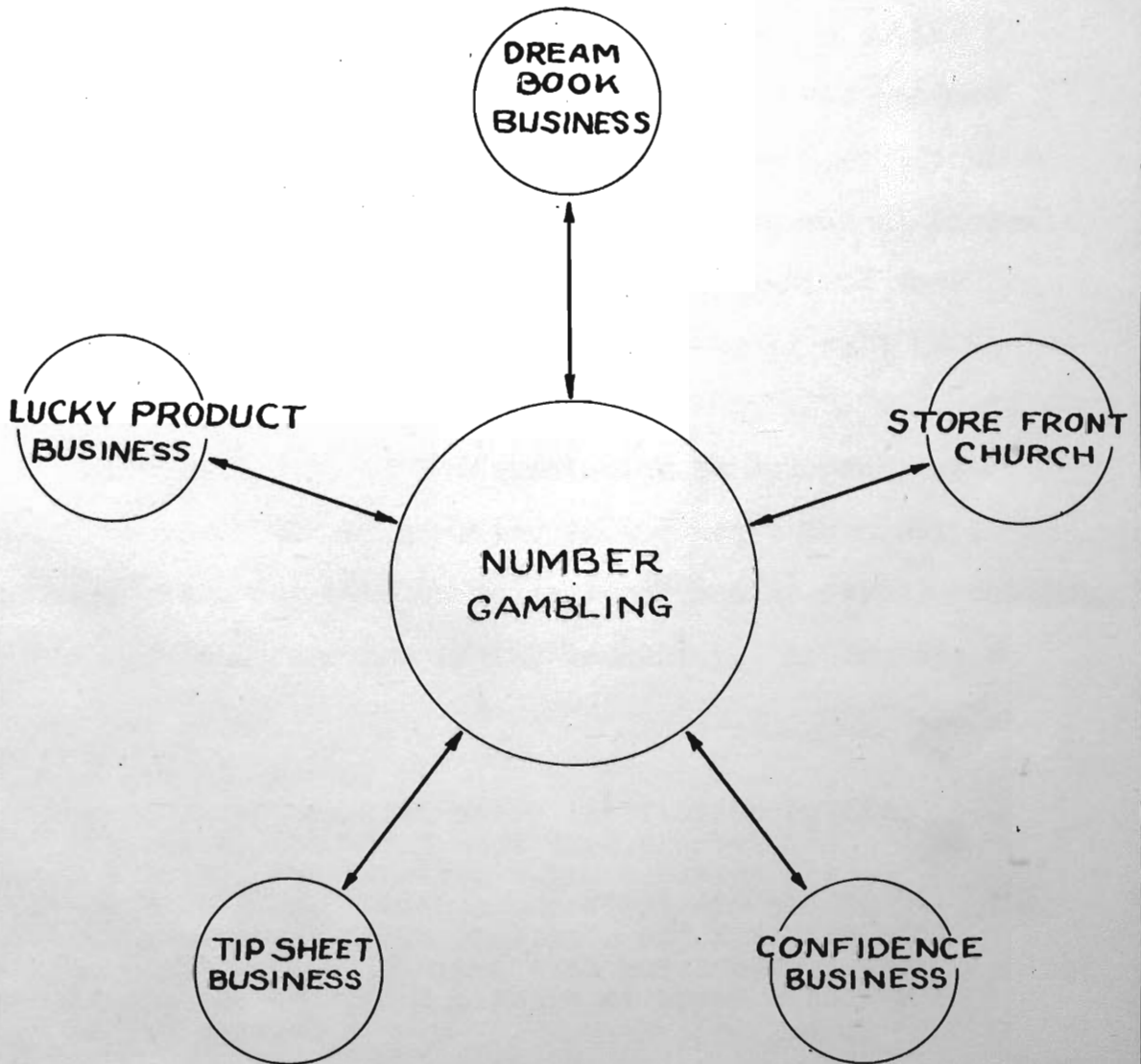
a number of other activities which have come to stand in a more or less parasitic relationship to it. Thus in speaking of number gambling we are actually referring to a complex of activities with the number games themselves, their organization, etc. constituting merely the core of this complex. One of our problems in this essay is to describe the various activities comprising the number gambling complex and to determine the nature of the relationship existing between them. (For a graphic representation of this complex see plate I.)

This brings us to the problems with which the present essay is concerned. There are two major problems. The first is to give a descriptive account of the whole number gambling complex. This involves an analysis of the mechanics of the games, their history, their organization, and a study of the various parasitic activities and their relation to number gambling. This discussion constitutes the bulk of the essay.

The second problem is one of interpretation and centers around three main points. The first point has to do with the way in which number gambling has developed in the Detroit negro community, and the way in which this high development is manifested. As a part of this discussion I shall offer an explanation as to why number gambling developed to such tremendous proportions after the year 1929, as well as to



# THE NUMBER GAMBLING COMPLEX



offer reasons for its racial incidence.

The second point of interpretation deals with the changed status of number gambling in the Detroit negro community. In the period between 1928 and 1930 number gambling underwent an interesting change in Detroit. At first it was regarded like all other forms of gambling as an outlaw activity. Then quite suddenly this attitude was changed to one of acceptance on the part of the community. Such a sudden and drastic change in the community mores is unusual and calls for an explanation. I shall attempt to show how this change is manifested in the community as well as to offer reasons for it.

The final point of interpretation is concerned with the function of number gambling in the negro community. An activity which has come to be as important as number gambling must serve some function in the community. As Professor Cooley has said:

I suppose that every institution holding its own in the world must have a special character, and function which explains its power to live. Perhaps our first aim should be to ascertain this character and function, to find out how it appeals to human nature and is enabled to enlist a share of human vitality in its service.<sup>1</sup>

I shall attempt to interpret the function of number gambling

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1. Charles H. Cooley, "Case Study of Small Institutions", Sociological Theory and Social Research, edited by R. C. Angell, Scribners, New York, 1930,

in the Detroit negro community.

The general outline of the essay is as follows. Part II entitled the "Core of the Complex", consists of four chapters, the first of which is a rather minute analysis of the most important number games. The second chapter traces the history of these games from their inception to the present day. The third chapter deals with the internal and external organization of the number racket. The final chapter describes various ways in which the public has tried to "beat the numbers." Part III is concerned with an analysis of the various parasitic activities and their relationship to number playing. There are three chapters in this section dealing respectively with the confidence racket, the store-front spiritualist church, and the dream book, tip sheet, lucky product business. The fourth section of the essay is interpretive in nature. It consists of three chapters. The first deals with the development of number gambling in the negro community, the second with the change in status of number gambling in the community, and the third with the function of number gambling and the general conclusions of the essay.

## Chapter II

### Number Games

Number games are (1) "numbers", (2) "lottery". The purpose of this chapter is to describe the mechanics of these games.

#### "Numbers"

These games are frequently referred to as "three digit games" since the number played usually contains no more than three digits and must be within the range of 000-999. The winning number in this PART II game may be derived from a variety of sources depending somewhat upon the facility in which the play is made.

#### CORE OF THE COMPLEX

On the basis of the source for the winning number, we may distinguish three main groups of numbers games. They are (1) Clearing House, (2) Bond Mutuals, and (3) Night Numbers.

In the Clearing House games the number is derived from one of a variety of sources, the most common being the total bank clearings, total bond sales, total stock sales, and United Treasury totals. The particular group of digits selected from these quotations as the winning number varies

1. Called "night pool" in certain sections of the country.
2. The term clearing house is here used to indicate all types of financial organizations whose figures are made known to the public.



## Chapter II

## The Number Games

The three most important number games are: (1) "numbers", (2) policy, and (3) Italian lottery. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the mechanics of these games.

"Numbers"<sup>1</sup>

These games are frequently referred to as "three digit games" since the number played usually contains no more than three digits and must be within the range of 000-999. The winning number in this type of game may be derived from a variety of sources depending somewhat upon the locality in which the play is made. On the basis of the source for the winning number, we may distinguish three main groups of numbers games. They are (1) Clearing House<sup>2</sup>, (2) Race Mutuels, and (3) Night Numbers.

In the Clearing House games the number is derived from one of a variety of sources, the most common being the total bank clearings, total bond sales, total stock sales, and United Treasury totals. The particular group of digits selected from those quotations as the winning number varies

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1. Called "nigger pool" in certain sections of the country.
  2. The term clearing house is here used to indicate all types of financial organizations whose figures are made known to the public.

with place and time. Frequently the numbers of the thousand column are used. Thus if the closing figure on a certain exchange should be \$7,313,358 the winning number for that day would be 313. Sometimes it is the last two numbers of the thousand column and the first one of the hundred column which are used (\$7,313,358) or perhaps the last number of the thousand column with the first two of the hundred column (\$7,313,358). There are places, too, where the digits of the hundred column are used. Since the exchange figures are printed in most of the metropolitan newspapers the player has only to consult the market close edition of these papers for the winning number.

The particular quotations used in any city vary; sometimes the figures are those of a local exchange as in Cincinnati or Indianapolis, but more often they are from one of the larger exchanges of New York, Philadelphia, or Chicago. In the early days of the numbers racket the New York Stock Exchange was a universal favorite, but in 1931 this exchange commenced to publish its figures in round numbers thereby making them useless for gambling purposes. Since that time the figures have been taken from other New York exchanges and various local financial organizations.

The Race Mutuel number is based upon the racing results of any well known race track, the winning number is obtained by totalling the figures in the "win", "place," and "show"

columns of certain of the races. The particular races used for this purpose vary. In some areas it is based upon the totals of the first, second, and third races, and in others upon the totals of the first three, first five, and first seven races.<sup>1</sup> When the so-called 1-2-3 totals are used the number is derived in the following manner:

|                                |       |      |       |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|
| (First Race)                   |       |      |       |
| Belle Grier                    | 6.70  | 3.28 | 2.44  |
| Le Miserable                   |       | 2.78 | 2.38  |
| Sage Girl                      |       |      | 4.04  |
| Corinto                        |       |      |       |
| Harold Wiley                   |       |      |       |
| The first race paid - - - - -  |       |      | 21.62 |
| (Second Race)                  |       |      |       |
| Belle Grier                    | 16.30 | 6.38 | 6.02  |
| Le Miserable                   |       | 3.36 | 3.00  |
| Polvos Pride                   |       |      | 5.36  |
| The second race paid - - - - - |       |      | 40.42 |
| (Third Race)                   |       |      |       |
| Bran Muffin                    | 13.74 | 4.92 | 3.50  |
| Fred Rick                      |       | 3.66 | 2.82  |
| Rizla                          |       |      | 5.28  |
| The third race paid - - - - -  |       |      | 33.92 |

The digits used as the winning number are always the figures immediately preceding the decimal point. In this case the number is 103. When the 3-5-7 totals are used the first digit of the winning number is derived from the sum of the totals of the first three races, the second digit from the

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1. Races used in Detroit.



sum of the totals of the first five races, and the third digit from the sum of the totals of all seven races. The following will make this clear.

|                  |           |        |         |
|------------------|-----------|--------|---------|
| (First Race)     |           |        |         |
| Sage Girl        | 6.70      | 3.28   | 2.44    |
| Corinto          | 2.78      |        | 2.38    |
| Harold Wiley     |           |        | 4.04    |
| (Second Race)    |           |        |         |
| Belle Grier      | 16.30     | 6.38   | 6.02    |
| Le Miserable     |           | 3.36   | 3.00    |
| Polvos Pride     |           |        | 5.36    |
| (Third Race)     |           |        |         |
| Bran Muffin      | 13.74     | 4.92   | 3.50    |
| Fred Rick        |           | 3.66   | 2.82    |
| Rizla            |           |        | 5.28    |
| Three Races Paid |           |        | 95.96   |
| (Fourth Race)    |           |        |         |
| Mr. James        | 7.12      | 3.50   | 2.30    |
| Franfern         |           | 6.22   | 3.28    |
| Cloud D'or       |           |        | 2.60    |
| (Fifth Race)     |           |        |         |
| Hope Eternal     | 9.34      | 3.92   | 2.78    |
| Dancing Doll     |           | 4.94   | 3.60    |
| Advantage        |           |        | 3.18    |
| Five Races Paid  |           |        | 148.74  |
| (Sixth Race)     |           |        |         |
| Temple Dancer    | 40.46     | 16.08  | 8.88    |
| Amcray           |           | 4.90   | 3.10    |
| Justa Shiek      |           |        | 3.52    |
| (Seventh Race)   |           |        |         |
| Wise Eddie       | 5.92      | 4.20   | 3.12    |
| Black Miss       |           | 6.88   | 4.66    |
| Renaissance      |           |        | 4.44    |
| Seven Races Paid |           |        | 254.90  |
| Three Races Paid | - - - - - | 95.96  | Winning |
| Five Races Paid  | - - - - - | 148.74 | Number  |
| Seven Races Paid | - - - - - | 254.90 | 584     |

The last, and in most cases the least important of the three digit games is known as the "Night Number." It differs



from the other three digit games in that the range of numbers is from 111-999 and the winning number is selected very arbitrarily. It is obtained either by throwing dice or drawing a number from a container. The term "night number" comes from the fact that the number is not chosen before 9:30 or 10:30 p.m. The public is naturally wary of a number so arbitrarily chosen and for this reason the game is not as popular as the others.

As we have said the financial exchanges and the race track are the most common sources for the three digit numbers; but there are other sources, less well known, though of considerable importance in some areas. In milling centers such as Minneapolis and St. Paul the number is obtained from the totals of the grain exchange; sometimes the figure indicating the amount of grain made into flour is used. On the Pacific Coast the total poundage of the daily salmon catch is used. The total number of tons of ore mined or shipped during the day is the source in some of the southern mining regions. The figures of the produce exchange such as those of the Chicago Butter and Egg Market are used in certain cities. At one time in Washington, D.C. the figures of the Weather Bureau Report were used.

There are two principal types of play in the numbers games - the "straight" or "on the nose" play and the "box" play. The straight play consists simply of placing a wager

of any amount from one cent to usually not more than five dollars on any three digit number. If the number selected were 376 and the wager five cents for example, it would be entered on the number salesman's ticket as 376-5. In the box play the bet is placed so as to win regardless of what combination of the three digits should appear. When all the digits of the number chosen are different there are six such possible combinations. Thus the number 643 may appear in any one of the following ways: 643, 436, 463, 364, 346, and 634. When two digits of the number selected are the same boxing will make only three variations; a number such as 242 could appear only as 242, 422, or 224. The box play is written thus 643 - 5.

Some less important types of play in these games are the "one number play," "boleita," and "four number play." In the one number play only one digit of the three digit row is selected. It may be either the first, middle, or last digit. If 8 were the number chosen for play it would be written as 8xx, x8x, or xx8, according to the type of play. In the boleita the wager is on the last two digits of the three digit row. The four number play is really a variation of the three digit box play. Instead of boxing three numbers, four numbers are boxed and any three digit combination that can be derived from these four numbers is a potential winner. There are 24 such three digit combinations

in the four number box. In the case of the numbers game. The odds paid to a winner in the numbers games vary with bank,<sup>1</sup> city, and type of play. The usual odds are 500 to 1. Thus for every penny wagered on a winning number the return is five dollars. In cities where keen competition prevails the odds paid are frequently as high as 680 to 1, and in some instances are known to have gone as high as 750 to 1. In Detroit there is a standard rate of 500 to 1 for all of the larger houses. Occasionally when some one organization obtains control of the racket in a given city the amount paid to the winner is substantially reduced. Under such conditions the odds may fall as low as 375 to 1; the writer knows of no case where they have ever fallen below that point. There are certain numbers which are believed to appear more frequently than others. There is naturally a tendency on the part of the player to play these more often than others and to put heavier wagers on them. To prevent this the bankers usually reduce the odds paid on such numbers. These special numbers are known as "barred numbers" and when the rate of pay on regular numbers is 500 to 1, the rate on them is usually about 375 to 1.

Another point must be made in connection with the numbers games and that is the manner in which the winning number

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1. A number gambling organization.



is made known to the public. In the case of the exchange figures it is a simple matter. As we have already said the player has only to consult the market close editions of those papers which carry the exchange figure, since he knows the particular quotations used by the house in which he has played. For the race mutuel number, however, the procedure is more complicated, since the numbers are not ordinarily totalled and the player cannot obtain the winning number until this is done. Of course, he can always total the numbers himself, but this is something of a task for many people, and too, his figures may not coincide with the bank totals. Aware of this, many newspapers total the figures of the race track currently followed by the major banks. These totals appear under the caption "Mutuels Paid" (Plate II, fig. 1). In Detroit these totalled figures appear in the evening editions of the three important papers - Detroit Times (red line edition), Detroit Free Press, and the Detroit News.<sup>1</sup> In the Times the figures are printed on the front page, in the Free Press and News they appear on the sport page directly beneath the race track figures from which they are derived. In some cities, such as Chicago, the newspapers

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1. For a long time the News refused to print these totals, but in the face of a sharp decline in circulation in certain sections of the city it was forced to change its policy and the "Mutuels Paid" column has appeared as a regular feature of the sport page since the fall of 1935.

| Fair Grounds  |       |       |       |
|---|-------|-------|-------|
| <b>FIRST RACE—Five and a half furlongs:</b>   |       |       |       |
| Golden Ariel (Napier)...  | 8.20  | 3.60  | 2.60  |
| Miss Pons (Rose).....   | 13.60 | 6.40  |       |
| Miss De Mle (Manifold).....   |       | 3.00  |       |
| Time—1:07 1-5. Myron, Crackman, Legion Girl, Overlap, Super John, Col. Pete, Troubadora, Miss Whiskaway and Lady Rosamond also ran.     |       |       |       |
| <b>SECOND RACE—Six furlongs:</b>  |       |       |       |
| Lampblack (Napier)....  | 57.60 | 20.20 | 8.80  |
| Morris Griner (Manifold) .....  | 6.20  | 4.40  |       |
| Sneeze (Molena) .....   |       | 3.20  |       |
| Time—1:13 3-5. Finmar, Pancoast, Home George, Commandman, Little Marcella, Dark Roamer, Cardamon, Harem Queen and Eager Belle also ran. |       |       |       |
| <b>THIRD RACE—Mile and an eighth:</b>   |       |       |       |
| Bogertin (Dubois).....  | 8.40  | 4.00  | 3.20  |
| Helen Bab (Simpson).....  |       | 10.00 | 6.40  |
| †Union (Napier) .....   |       |       | 5.80  |
| Time—1:34. Top Spin, †Masked Coella, Marcola, Vin Noir, All Hall, Justa Flight, Defier, Pot Au Mint and †Frumper also ran. †Field.      |       |       |       |
| <b>FOURTH RACE—Mile and 70 yards:</b>   |       |       |       |
| Yellow Metal (Molena).....  | 5.00  | 3.20  | 2.60  |
| Star Banner (Manifold).....   |       | 4.80  | 3.20  |
| Popo (Eccard) .....   |       | 3.20  |       |
| Time—1:45 1-5. Charming Sir, Dorothy W., Early Call, Ruff Day, Memphis Lass, St. Omer, Batman and Blue Spur also ran.                   |       |       |       |
| <b>FIFTH RACE—Mile and 70 yards:</b>  |       |       |       |
| Tut Tut (Duffy) .....   | 10.40 | 5.00  | 3.80  |
| Pennant Bearer (Dubois) .....   |       | 9.20  | 6.40  |
| Hay Firt (Miller).....  |       |       | 4.80  |
| Time—1:45. Eva R., Fair Boy, Captain Jeffers, Elihu, Claffag, Bahadur and Hour Lady also ran.   |       |       |       |
| <b>SIXTH RACE—Five and a half furlongs:</b>   |       |       |       |
| Good Omen (Duffy)....   | 18.60 | 8.20  | 5.20  |
| Col. Blxer (Dobson)....   |       | 18.80 | 10.40 |
| Dorothy B. (Dubois).....  |       |       | 3.80  |
| Time—1:06 2-5. Jokerster, Huen, Biff, Honored Sir, Sir Ten, Sir Michael and Ste. Louise also ran.                                       |       |       |       |
| <b>SEVENTH RACE—Mile and an eighth:</b>   |       |       |       |
| Longus (Napier) .....   | 23.00 | 11.40 | 7.40  |
| Idle Firt (West) .....  |       | 6.20  | 4.60  |
| Light Breeze (Corn) .....   |       |       | 8.40  |
| Time—1:55 3-5. Albas, Penmar, Blondsure, Golden Words, Son Richard, Showman, Gay Bird, Tiger Claw and Shimon also ran.                  |       |       |       |

**Mutuels Paid**

|                       |          |
|-----------------------|----------|
| One Race Paid.....    | \$ 37.60 |
| Two Races Paid.....   | 138.00   |
| Three Races Paid..... | 175.80   |
| Five Races Paid.....  | 237.40   |
| Seven Races Paid..... | 364.00   |

FIG.1-TOTALLED RACE MUTUEL FIGURES

Date **1-5-5** 193**5**

W

549-5

| BOOK NO. | SALES NO. | TOTAL SALES |
|----------|-----------|-------------|
| 41284-25 |           | 5           |

WRITING OVER FIGURES OR SHORT SLIPS VOID.

FIG-2 "NUMBERS" PLAYER'S RECEIPT

| NOTICE   |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| Mutuel Number Will Be Taken From The Following Race Tracks |                                     |
| Laurel Park, Laurel, Md.                                   | October 8th to October 30th         |
| Pimlico, Baltimore, Md.                                    | October 31st to November 14th       |
| Bowie, Bowie, Md.  | November 15th to November 29th      |
| Jefferson Park, New Orleans, La.                           | November 30th until further notice. |
| YELLOW DOG CO.   | MICHIGAN CO.                        |
|  | MANHATTAN CO.                       |
|  | BIG FOUR CO.                        |

FIG.3- RACE MUTUEL SCHEDULE CARD



refuse to total the figures and the gamblers must resort to other means of making them known to the public.<sup>1</sup> In such cases the winning number is printed on small slips of paper and distributed in the community much in the manner of policy slips (Plate III, fig. 3). The particular quotations (i.e., particular race track or exchange) currently being followed is made known to the public by means of small cards which are distributed in the community. These indicate not only the source of the number and the digits used but also the rules for playing in the particular house (Plate IV, fig. 2).


### Policy<sup>2</sup>

The winning numbers in policy, as in most other types of number lottery, are determined by a drawing. The range of numbers is from 1 to 78 with 12, 24, or 36 numbers being drawn. An organization drawing 12 numbers is known as a "single house" while those drawing 24 and 36 numbers are called respectively "double house" and "triple house." Ordinarily there are two drawings each day, one at 12 o'clock noon known as the "A.M." drawing, and one in the

- 
1. It is said that newspapers are offered generous bribes for their cooperation in this matter. In the Detroit negro community gossip has it that the papers are each paid \$100 a week for this service by the controlling syndicate in Detroit.
  2. Called Louisiana Lottery and Kentucky Lottery in some sections of the country in the early days.




**YELLOW DOG**  
**CLA247PM**



|      |                             |
|------|-----------------------------|
| 55   | DO YOU TRUST<br>YOUR WRITER |
| ★ 54 |                             |
| 8    | HITS PAID<br>ONLY & OH      |
| 35   |                             |
| ★ 44 |                             |
| 51   | ROUTE<br>SHOULD             |
| 60   |                             |
| ★ 4  |                             |
| ★ 50 | CH                          |
| ★ 16 | 641                         |
| ★ 9  | EMPIRE<br>NITE. NO          |
| 3    | 804                         |

FIG1- SINGLE HOUSE  
POLICY SLIP

**ROYAL BLUE**  
**283 CLAS 293**



|    |                             |    |
|----|-----------------------------|----|
| 69 | ★ PM                        | 30 |
| 3  | NO SHORT<br>BOOKS PAID      | 76 |
| 10 | ★                           | 24 |
| 8  | DO YOU TRUST<br>YOUR WRITER | 17 |
| 59 |                             | 47 |
| 55 |                             | 32 |
| 52 | CH                          | 43 |
| 14 | ★ 6                         | 54 |
| 63 | 4                           | 51 |
| 58 | 1                           | 28 |
| 29 | ★                           | 40 |
| 12 | ★                           | 46 |

FIG2- DOUBLE HOUSE  
POLICY SLIP

**CHICAGO**  
**OFFICAL MUTUELS**

NOV 30 1934  
 HOUSTON

|          |         |       |
|----------|---------|-------|
| 1st RACE |         | 26.00 |
| 2nd RACE | MUTUELS | 48.90 |
| 3rd RACE |         | 25.50 |

**Prize 635 Number**

FIG.3 "NUMBERS" SLIP



late afternoon, the "P.M." drawing.

The manner of making the drawing varies with different parts of the country. In general there are three different ways of selecting the numbers. The first, and perhaps most important way is the one followed in Detroit. It is as follows: seventy-eight pieces of rubberized cloth about two inches square are taken and on each of these squares there is printed one number, the numbers running from 1 to 78. Each piece of cloth is rolled tightly and placed in a small metal tube about two inches in length and about one half inch in diameter. These tubes are placed in a large container - usually a can of some sort. The drawing in this case consists of taking 12, 24, or 36 of these tubes from the can, depending upon the type of house.

Some cities prefer the so-called policy wheel to the tube method. The policy wheel resembles an ordinary roulette wheel except that it has only 78 numbers printed on its face. Sometimes the wheel is mounted on a stand but in most cases it is set against the wall. The winning numbers are obtained by spinning the wheel 12, 24, or 36 times as the case may be.

The third method, most popular in the South, is similar to that of the tube method except that small numbered balls are used instead of tubes.

The winning numbers in policy are made known to the public by means of small printed slips which are distributed

POLICY RATE CARD

# Old Ky.



**Mutual Rates \$200 for \$1.00**

| Rates         | .05        | 10   | 20           | 25    | 30   | 40      | 50    | 1.00   |
|---------------|------------|------|--------------|-------|------|---------|-------|--------|
| 1   Day No.   | 25         | 50   | 1.00         | 1.25  | 1.50 | 2.00    | 2.50  | 5.00   |
| 2   Flat Snd. | 1.50       | 3.00 | 6.00         | 7.50  | 9.00 | 12.00   | 15.00 | 30.00  |
| 2   Sides     | 10         | 20   | 40           | 50    | 60   | 80      | 100   | 200    |
| 3   1Gig      | \$10       | \$20 | \$40         | \$50  | \$60 | \$80    | \$100 | \$2.00 |
| 3   3Sad.     | .50        | 1.00 | 2.00         | 2.50  | 3.00 | 4.00    | 5.00  | 10.00  |
| 4   Gigs      | 2.50       | 5.00 | \$10         | 12.50 | \$15 | \$20    | \$25  | \$50   |
| 4   1Horse    | .05 on Gig | —    | .05 on Horse | 20.00 | —    | 3 out 4 | —     | 2.50   |

8 and 6 way spiders only. Make sure your ticket is correct. Not responsible for writer's mistakes or books that are shut out. We pay each hit once to writer you trust. Do not erase plays under any condition but scratch them out. Our commission is 25% on \$1.00.

<FRONT>

## OLD KY. RULES FOR PLAYERS

When you see your sub-man's route out on drawing, be sure you get your money back. (Be sure you have his route number)

All books must be in office at drawing time or they are shut out.

We are not responsible for writer's mistakes.

After 3 days this company will not accept overlooks.

All big hits we are glad to send by messenger to safeguard your money—our aim is to please.

This company is operated by a reliable backer and is under one of the oldest managers in the city.

When a writer by mistake omits putting down  $\frac{2}{3}$  and puts a line between his money (example  $\frac{5}{5}$  the play is accepted as saddled)

When writer by mistake puts  $\frac{3}{2}$  opposite two numbers the play is accepted as sides and flats.

Bumping numbers are always accepted as follows:

A number bumping in four number row is gig.

Two numbers bumping in flat money returned.

Flats are paid on all two number rows not specified with sides and flats.

Do not erase plays under any condition but scratch them out.

Our Commission is 25% on \$1.00

<BACK>

This Company will Operate on the  
**New York Bonds Quotations:**

TOTAL SALES TODAY

7, (807), 000

WINNING NUMBER **807**

RATES at 500 to 1

|        |       |      |       |         |
|--------|-------|------|-------|---------|
| \$ .01 | ----- | PAYS | ----- | \$ 5.00 |
| .05    | ----- | "    | ----- | 25.00   |
| .10    | ----- | "    | ----- | 50.00   |
| .15    | ----- | "    | ----- | 75.00   |

Any four figures may be put in a box and if the three winning figures appear among the four figures selected, **you win!**

Example - Four Nos. in box **4672**

If the winning number is 427 you win.

RATES

|        |       |      |       |         |
|--------|-------|------|-------|---------|
| \$ .28 | ----- | PAYS | ----- | \$ 5.00 |
| .14    | ----- | "    | ----- | 2.50    |
| .07    | ----- | "    | ----- | 1.25    |

<FRONT>

## YOU PLAY — WE PAY

The Dayton House

RULES:

Half pay on short slips.

Slips over half the amount short are void.

All Stock Play must be marked "S".

Slips bearing no mark, automatically go as Bond Play.

Not responsible for slips not turned in office on time.

Week-Day deadline 2:30 o'clock p. m., Saturday 11:00 o'clock a. m.

Do business with responsible writers and be safe.

Example:—

Numbers for Thursday, February 21st:

Stock Sales 700972.

Stock No. 009

Bond Play \$ 13446000

Bond No. 448

<BACK>





after each drawing by writers and others in the community (Plate III, figs. 1 and 2).

Policy admits of a rather wide range in the type of play. There are a group of rather simple types of play which are spoken of collectively as "straights" or "on the nose plays." The simplest and least remunerative of these straight plays is known as the "day number" in which only a single number is wagered upon.<sup>1</sup> The day number is not a popular play since the odds paid on it are not sufficiently large to tempt the player. More popular is a two number series played either as a "flat" or as a "side." In the flat play a wager is simply placed on two numbers to appear in the drawing. In the side play, however, they must appear consecutively in the drawing. Needless to say, the odds paid on a side are much greater than those paid on the flat and the reason is obvious. Assuming that 18 and 45 were the numbers chosen, and five cents the amount of the wager, the flat would be entered in the writer's book as 18-45 - F-5, and the side as 18-45 - S-5. The player may choose to play the same numbers as both sides and flats in which case the play is written 18-45 -  $\frac{S15}{F15}$  - 30.<sup>2</sup> Most popular of all plays

- 
1. In policy the minimum wager is 5¢ with a maximum of usually not more than \$1.00.
  2. Assuming that the wager is 30¢. The player is free to divide his wager on the sides and flats in any way he chooses.

is the "gig", or three number series. Such a play with a five cent wager would be written thus - 36-15-72 - 5. One may also "saddle" the gig, i.e., make a wager that any two numbers of the gig will appear. A gig played in this manner is written thus - 36-15-72 -  $\frac{2-5}{2-10}$  - 15. This means simply that the total wager is 15¢ with 5¢ on the saddle and 10¢ on the gig. As in the side-flat play, the individual is free to divide his wager in any way that he chooses. Since one's chances of getting a saddle in the gig play are three times as great as if two numbers were played alone, the odds paid on the saddle are correspondingly reduced. The last two types of this group of plays are the "horse" and the "jack". When a wager is placed upon four numbers it is called a horse and when five numbers are chosen it is known as a jack.

The more complex types of play are, for the most part, variations of these straight plays. The three most important plays of this group are the "three way side and flat," the "stovepipe," and the "spider," or "bug" as it is more commonly called. The three-way side and flat is rarely played and because of its complexity the writer was unable to find an informant who could satisfactorily explain it. The stovepipe is a more simple play and is as follows: the player selects certain numbers, let us say 15, 36, 72, 37, 27, 66, 49, 33, and 12. These numbers are then entered in

the writer's book in this manner:

15-36-72

19

37

27

66

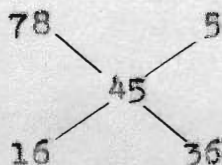
49

33

12

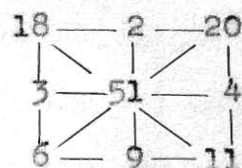
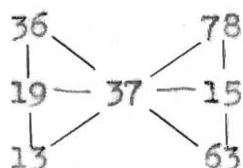
In order to win in this type of play, the two numbers in the horizontal column (15 and 36 - called the "elbow") must appear with any one of the numbers in the vertical column (the "pipe"). Actually what one has here is a series of eight gigs all of which must be covered by the wager, and the minimum amount of the wager in this particular case would be 40%.

In the spider or bug plays there are a number of variations, the most common being the 2-way bug, 5-way bug, and the 8-way bug. The 2-way bug consists of 2 gigs and is written thus:



The central number (in this case 45) is known as the "rider," the others (78, 5, 16, and 36) are the "carriers." In order to win in this case the rider must appear with either 78 and 36, or 16 and 5. The minimum wager in this play would be 10%, i.e., 5% on each gig. The 5-way bug and the 8-way bug contain five gigs and eight gigs respectively:





The gigs in the 5-way bug are: 37,78,13; 37,36,63; 37,19,15; 36,19,13; 78,15,63.<sup>1</sup> The gigs in the 8-way bug are 18,2,20; 3,51,4; 6,9,11; 18,3,6; 2,51,9; 20,4,11; 20,51,6; and 18,51,11. The minimum wager in the former is 25¢ and in the latter 40¢.

The odds paid to a winner in policy vary, as in numbers, with bank, city, and type of play. In Table I I have worked out what I consider to be average rates for the country as a whole. Information of this kind is usually given out by the individual organizations in the form of rate cards. Sometimes these rate cards are put out as little folders, in which other information is given such as rules of play, dream numbers, examples of the various types of play, etc. (Plate IV, fig. 1).

---

1. The numbers in each gig may appear in any order.

to show also the relationship be-  
 tween odds to win in the major types

III

Win and Odds Paid in Policy

Table I  
 Returns on Various Wagers and Types of Play in  
 Day Number Policy

| Type of Play             | Wager   |       |        |        |        |        |
|--------------------------|---------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
|                          | \$.05   | .10   | .25    | .30    | .50    | 1.00   |
| Day Number               | \$.25   | .50   | 1.25   | 1.50   | 2.50   | 5.00   |
| Flat                     | \$1.50  | 3.00  | 7.50   | 9.00   | 15.00  | 30.00  |
| Side                     | \$10.00 | 20.00 | 50.00  | 60.00  | 100.00 | 200.00 |
| Gig                      | \$10.00 | 20.00 | 50.00  | 60.00  | 100.00 | 200.00 |
| Saddle                   | \$.50   | 1.00  | 2.50   | 3.00   | 5.00   | 10.00  |
| Horse                    | \$20.00 | 40.00 | 100.00 | 120.00 | 200.00 | 400.00 |
| 3 of 4, or<br>Giga-Horse | \$2.50  | 5.00  | 12.50  | 15.00  | 25.00  | 50.00  |

1. This table was prepared with the assistance of Professors  
 H. S. Parvur, and E. D. Eaton of the Department of Statistics,  
 University of Michigan.

Table II will serve to make clear the relationship between the odds paid and the odds to win in the major types of policy play.

In the official state lottery of Italy weekly drawings are held in each of eight important cities.<sup>1</sup> The results of these drawings are tabulated in Table II.

Comparison of Odds to Win and Odds Paid in Policy

| Type of Play | Odds to Win | Odds Paid |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|
| Day Number   | 6,666 - 1   | 5 - 1     |
| Flat         | 500 - 1     | 30 - 1    |
| Siders       | 200 - 1     | 200 - 1   |
| Gigs         | 345 - 1     | 200 - 1   |
| Saddle       | 17 - 1      | 10 - 1    |
| Horse        | 3333 - 1    | 400 - 1   |
| Gigs-Horse   | ?           | 50 - 1    |
| Jack         | 25000 - 1   | 200 - 1   |

The results of these drawings are tabulated in Table II.

|   |    |    |    |    |
|---|----|----|----|----|
| 8 | 42 | 88 | 45 | 52 |
| 8 | 38 | 70 | 44 | 48 |
| 7 | 37 | 6  | 1  | 32 |
| 8 | 37 | 74 | 30 | 1  |
| 7 | 24 | 32 | 45 | 20 |
| 8 | 4  | 35 | 12 | 35 |

1. This table was prepared with the assistance of Professors H. C. Carver, and W. D. Baten of the Department of Statistics, University of Michigan.

2. These cities are: Naples, Bari, Florence, Milan, Palermo, Rome, Turin, and Venice.



as far as the Italian Lottery concerned, the player has a rather wide range of choice in Italian lottery. The In the official state lottery of Italy weekly drawings are made in each of eight important cities.<sup>1</sup> The results of these drawings are cabled to the United States by certain interested individuals where they form the basis of the American game of Italian Lottery. Aside from using the same numbers, the Italian Lottery in the United States has no connection whatsoever with the official Italian Lottery.

The range of numbers in Italian Lottery is from 1 to 90 with five numbers being drawn. Since there are eight independent drawings there will be eight sets of five numbers each week. When the results of the drawing in Italy are received in cities in America they are printed on small cards for distribution in the community. In order to hide their real purpose these cards usually bear the title "Italy's Tax Disbursements," and when printed appear as follows:

N 49 88 65 45 62

B 59 70 46 11 48

F 87 6 1 32 76

M 87 74 80 1 33

P 24 99 65 20 89

R 4 78 15 34 55

T 73 78 72 60 83

V 87 16 39 57 47

1. These cities are: Naples, Bari, Florence, Milan, Palermo, Rome, Turin, and Venice.

As far as the type of play is concerned, the player has a rather wide range of choice in Italian lottery. The simplest and least remunerative play is the "estratto semplice" in which the player selects only one number to appear in the five drawn. Should this number appear the pay-off would be  $10\frac{1}{2}$  times the wager.<sup>1</sup> If a wager is placed upon such a number to occupy a definite position in the drawing, i.e., that the number will be the first, second, third, fourth, or fifth one drawn, it is known as the "estratto determinate," and a winner is paid  $52\frac{1}{2}$  times the wager. When two numbers are played it is known as the "ambo" and the return on a winning choice is 250 times the stake. One can also play a three or four number series called respectively "terno" and "quaterno."<sup>2</sup> The terno pays 4250 times the stake and the quaterno 60,000.

There are also a number of more complex forms of play, the most popular of which is the "ambo terno." In this play, a wager is placed on both the ambo and terno in the same series of numbers. Let us say that the player selects three numbers - 27, 47, and 69 - and places part of his wager on the ambo, or that any two out of the three numbers will be

- 
1. The minimum wager in Italian Lottery is 5¢ and as far as I know there is no upper limit.
  2. Sometimes all five numbers are wagered upon. This is known as the "cinquina." It is played so rarely that the writer was unable to obtain any further information on it.

among the five, and part on the terno, or that all three will turn up. Should he win an ambo he will no longer receive 250 times his stake, because he is using three numbers instead of two and his chances are three times as great for there are three two number combinations in three numbers. His return on a winning ambo played in this manner will net him only  $1/3$  as much as the straight ambo play or 83.33 to one. But if the terno should appear, i.e., all three numbers, he will not only receive 4250 times his stake on the terno but also three times the ambo wager for the three combinations of two numbers. Similar to the ambo terno but somewhat more complicated is a play, which for the want of a better term, we may call the "ambo terno quaterno." In this type of play five numbers are selected with wagers placed upon any two, any three, or any four numbers. If an ambo should appear the player receives only 25 times ( $1/10$  of 250) his stake for there are 10 combinations of two numbers in five. If a terno comes out the player receives only 425 times his stake ( $1/10$  of 4250) for there are also 10 combinations of three in five numbers. If a quaterno is drawn the return is 12000 times the wager ( $1/5$  of 60,000) since there are five combinations of four in five numbers. When the quaterno is drawn in this type of play the winnings are as follows:

1. Since there are six combinations of two numbers in four,



Quaterno -  $1/5$  of 60,000 = 12,000 x wager

Terno -  $(1/10$  of 4250) x 4<sup>1</sup> = 1700 x wager

Ambo -  $(1/10$  of 250) x 6<sup>2</sup> = 150 x wager

---

Total winning = 13,850 x wager

Finally, there is the type of play known as the "tutte le Ruote" (across the board). Instead of choosing numbers to appear only in one station (i.e., the drawings of one city) the player may play so that the numbers will win regardless of the station in which they appear. In a play of this kind the chances of winning are increased eight fold and the odds paid are reduced accordingly. A terno, for example, when played in a single station returns 4250 times the stake, but when played as a tutte le Ruote returns only 531.25 times the stake or  $1/8$  as much as the single station terno.

At first glance it might appear that the odds paid to a winner in Italian Lottery are unusually high. However, when one considers the odds against winning in the various types of play, the payments on a winning do not appear to be very large. Table III summarizes and shows the relationship between the odds paid to a winner, and the odds against

- 
1. Since there are four combinations of three numbers in four.
  2. Since there are six combinations of two numbers in four.

winning in the various types of play in Italian Lottery<sup>1</sup>.

Having explained the operation of the three most important number games let us turn now to a discussion of the historical development of these games.

|                          |                                    |  |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Stralotto<br>scoperto    |                                    | 10.8 - 1   |
| Stralotto<br>determinato | 100,000                            | 10.8 - 1   |
| Ambo                     | 1,000                              | 250.0 - 1  |
| Terno                    | 12,500                             | 4250.0 - 1   |
| Quaterno                 | 500,000                            | 50,000.0 - 1   |
| Cinquino                 | 50,000,000                         | 500,000.0 - 1  |
| Ambo terno               | Ambo: 143 - 1<br>Terno: 12,500 - 1 | Ambo: 25.35 - 1<br>Terno: 4250 - 1 plus<br>3 x ambo                                      |
| Ambo terno<br>quaterno   | Ambo:<br>Terno:<br>Quaterno:       | Ambo: 25 - 1<br>Terno: 425 - 1<br>Quaterno: 12,000 - 1<br>plus 4 x terno and<br>6 x ambo |
| Stralotto<br>scoperto    | 10.85 - 1                          | 10.85 - 1  |
| Stralotto<br>determinato | 11.05 - 1                          | 11.05 - 1  |
| Ambo                     | 25.30 - 1                          | 25.35 - 1  |

1. In the preparation of this table the writer has been assisted by Professors H. C. Carver and W. D. Baten of the Department of Statistics, University of Michigan

The cinquino is played so rarely that the writer was unable to find any source which gave the odds paid for this play.

Table III

## Comparison of Odds to Win and Odds Paid in Italian Lottery

| Type of Play           | Odds to Win                        | Odds Paid  |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Estratto semplice      | 18 - 1                             | 10.5 - 1   |
| Estratto determinate   | 90 - 1                             | 52.5 - 1   |
| Ambo                   | 500 - 1                            | 250.0 - 1  |
| Terno                  | 12,500 - 1                         | 4250.0 - 1   |
| Quaterno               | 500,000 - 1                        | 60,000.0 - 1   |
| Cinquina               | 50,000,000 - 1                     | ? <sup>1</sup>   |
| Ambo terno             | Ambo: 143 - 1<br>Terno: 12,500 - 1 | Ambo: 83.33 - 1<br>Terno: 4250 - 1 plus<br>3 x ambo                                      |
| Ambo terno<br>quaterno | Ambo:<br>Terno:<br>Quaterno:       | Ambo: 25 - 1<br>Terno: 425 - 1<br>Quaterno: 12,000 - 1<br>plus 4 x terno and<br>6 x ambo |
| Estratto semplice      | 2.25 - 1                           | 1.31 - 1   |
| Estratto determinate   | 11.25 - 1                          | 6.56 - 1   |
| Ambo                   | 62.50 - 1                          | 31.25 - 1  |
| Terno                  | 1560.00 - 1                        | 531.25 - 1   |
| Quaterno               | 62500.00 - 1                       | 7500.00 - 1  |

1. The cinquina is played so rarely that the writer was unable to find any source which gave the odds paid for this play.



Chapter III. In discussing the history of the number games it is best that we begin with Italian Lottery since it is the oldest of the games and also the generic form from which the other number lotteries have been derived.

In discussing the history of the number games it is best that we begin with Italian Lottery since it is the oldest of the games and also the generic form from which the other number lotteries have been derived.

Italian Lottery<sup>1</sup> by the state, and its

The origin of Italian Lottery dates back several centuries to the year 1550. In that year in the city of Genoa<sup>2</sup> a man by the name of Benedetto Gentile organized a lottery based upon the semi-annual election of governors and prefects for the Ligurian Republic. One hundred and thirty-four<sup>3</sup> governors and prefects were nominated out of which five were chosen. Gentile took bets on the results of this election. Near the beginning of the 17th century Gentile's system was changed; numbers were substituted for names and the range reduced from 134 to 90, and instead of

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1. A large part of the material on the history of the game is to be found in Italian and Spanish sources. For assistance in the translation of such materials the writer is indebted to the following: Prof. D. F. Ratcliff, Dep't of Romance Languages, University of Cincinnati, Professors Scanio and Merlino, Department of Romance Languages, University of Michigan.

2. The number lottery is sometimes spoken of as the Genoese lottery.

3. Some sources say 120.

basing the numbers on results of the election, they were based on five numbers arbitrarily drawn from an urn containing ninety numbers. Thus was born the Italian Lottery as we know it today. At first the Genoese Republic was hostile to this practice, but in 1634 decided to take advantage of it for state purposes and a lottery tax was instituted. In 1644 the lottery was completely taken over by the state, and its operation in various sections placed in the hands of authorized agents. In the 17th and 18th centuries the Genoese Lottery spread to other Italian cities. As early as 1660 it was tried out in Rome but almost immediately suppressed by Alexander VII. Clement XII had it reestablished in Rome in 1732 on the condition that each week it should pay into the state treasury a stipulated amount and that on every Saturday it should pay a bonus to fifty marriageable young girls. Under Pious VI the lottery was continued and the profits were used for draining the Pontine marshes. By 1860, the lottery was flourishing in all of the Italian States with the exception of Sardinia where for some reason it seems never to have taken hold. In each case it was under state control, the receipts being used for revenue purposes. With the unification of Italy the lottery was reorganized

and brought under the control of the national state as the "Regio Lotto", and has continued down to the present in essentially the same form as it was in 1860. The proceeds from the modern "Regio Lotto" have been used to electrify the railroads and to finance the Italian army. Italian Lottery

From Italy the idea of a number lottery diffused to other countries. It spread to Austria in 1752, to Belgium in 1760, and in the 70's to several of the Germanic states, and to Holland, Denmark, and Spain. England seems to have had a number lottery as early as the first decade of the 18th century. Whether the idea was borrowed from Italy or independently originated in England is a moot question.

The idea of number lotteries no doubt came to America indirectly, being independently introduced from Spain, France, and England. As early as 1720 lotteries were extensively used in the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. The famous Louisiana Lottery which began in 1868 was undoubtedly the outgrowth of similar lotteries existing in that area earlier, and originally introduced from either Spain or France.

When speaking of the history of Italian Lottery in America one must be careful to distinguish between the principle of the number lottery which, as we have seen, is Italian in origin, and the game of Italian Lottery as such. The idea of the number lottery was introduced, as we have



already said, at an early date and served as a basis for many of the lotteries in this country. The game itself as described in Chapter II was not introduced until considerably later.

The exact date of the introduction of the Italian Lottery to America is speculative since exact information on this point is lacking. Prior to 1928 there is no mention of the game in newspapers or court reports as far as I have been able to discover. However, several informants have said that the game is much older than that as they have known of it as far back as they can remember which in some cases would take it back 35 or 40 years.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that the Italian Lottery has been controlled by the Unione Siciliane<sup>2</sup> suggests also the possibility that the game may have been introduced at the time the Unione was organized in this country. The exact date of this is not certain, but the fact that the Unione was a strong organization as early as 1900 indicates that it probably was in existence for some years prior to this time.<sup>3</sup> It is

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1. Information obtained in 1935.
  2. A secret order. A sort of Italo-American version of the Mafia from which it probably had its origin. The Unione has been prominent in underworld activities in America, particularly in the large cities of the East.
  3. Gang Rule in New York, Thompson and Raymond, Dial Press, New York, 1940, p. 4.

possible too that even if the Unione did introduce the game it was not done until later. There is some reason to believe that the game at first was confined almost entirely to members of the Italian group. This being the case it is quite probable that the game was not introduced until the period 1901-1905 when the Italians were here in sufficient numbers to make the activity profitable.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the exact date, we shall probably not be far wrong if we set its date of introduction to America as somewhere between 1890 and 1905.

#### Policy

Information on the history of policy is both fragmentary and contradictory. The discussion which follows represents a piecing together of materials from widely scattered and obscure sources. I have attempted to be as conservative as possible in the reconstruction of those phases for which no reliable information exists.

Almost from the very start, lotteries of various kinds have played a rather conspicuous part in American history. As early as 1612 in the Third Charter of King James to the Virginia Company of London, full power and license was

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1. The greatest influx of Italians to this country took place between 1901 and 1905. Donald R. Taft, Human Migration, Ronald Press, New York, 1936, p. 77.

granted to conduct a lottery. There is no record, however, that the privilege was ever made use of, but doubtless the Company did resort to lotteries on a number of occasions to aid in financing their colonial projects. There is authentic record of a lottery in Philadelphia in 1720, where extensive use was made of it for the paving of streets, and the construction of public buildings and wharves.

After 1720 lotteries became an institution in American life. Many educational institutions such as Harvard, Dartmouth, William and Mary, and Michigan, in the early period of their development resorted to the lottery for various purposes. In 1776 the Continental Congress authorized a lottery to raise money for the army then in the field, and in 1793 a lottery was organized in the District of Columbia for the purpose of raising funds for the governmental buildings in Washington city. The most famous of these early lotteries was the Louisiana Lottery with headquarters in New Orleans. Chartered in 1868, it continued in full operation until 1890 when an Anti-Lottery Bill was passed by Congress, and complete abolition came three years later when the state of Louisiana refused to renew the charter of the Louisiana Lottery Company.

By the time of the abolition of the Louisiana Lottery, lotteries had been declared illegal in 33 states. Pennsylvania and Massachusetts paved the way by abolishing them in



1833, and New York followed in 1834. At the present time lotteries are illegal in every state of the union either constitutionally or by statutory provision.

For the most part these early lotteries were number lotteries<sup>1</sup>, i.e., similar in principle to the games we have described in Chapter II. The range of numbers in these games varied somewhat with the different localities. In the southern states the range was usually 1 to 90 with 13 numbers drawn, in the east it was 1 to 80 with ten numbers drawn, and in a few cases the range was 1 to 78 with 12 numbers drawn as in present day "policy." These lotteries were promoted by the sale of tickets of different denominations bearing various combinations of numbers within the prescribed range. Usually the tickets were printed in three denominations, wholes, halves, and quarters. A whole ticket entitled the holder to full compensation should he win, a half ticket to only one half the stated prize, and so on. In those lotteries where the range of numbers was from 1 to 78 with 12 numbers drawn, the capital prize went to the ticket bearing the first three numbers drawn from the wheel. The second, third, and fourth prizes went respectively to those tickets bearing the fourth, fifth, and sixth numbers, the seventh, eighth, and ninth numbers,

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1. As distinguished from class lotteries.

and the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth numbers. Prizes of a lesser sort were given to certain other tickets bearing various combinations of the numbers. Information as to which combinations of numbers would receive prizes was explicitly stated on handbills distributed by the proprietors of the lottery.<sup>1</sup>

It was out of these early number lotteries that the modern game of policy arose. There are two explanations as to how this came about. J. H. Green, a reformed gambler, writing in 1858 gives this explanation:

Another method of still further swindling the buyers of tickets, is much practised in some parts of the country. The agents who sell the tickets are authorized to insure them. When a man buys one, the price, perhaps, might be ten dollars. The seller, if he has been authorized, will say, "Now, sir, for ten dollars, I will insure your ticket to draw a prize." This is enough for the buyer to have his ticket insured to draw a prize, and possibly the capital prize: he pays an additional fee, and the agent forwards the numbers of all the tickets, so insured, to the office where the drawing is to be held; and there they manage to have these tickets contain one (seldom more) of the drawn numbers. This entitles the buyer to receive back the price of his ticket, after taking out 15 per cent.; and as it was not a total blank, the insurer is safe, and retains the sum paid for insurance. The buyer remains swindled out of the insurance, and 15 per cent. of the cost. These swindling shops are numerous, and are sometimes called policy offices.<sup>2</sup>

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1. An example of such a handbill will be found in Appendix A.
  2. J. H. Green, The Secret Band of Brothers, Philadelphia, T. B. Peterson and Brothers, 1858, pp. 274-275.

In a recent investigation of lotteries in American history, W. C. MacLeod gives, in the writer's opinion, a much more plausible explanation.

At the same time that the speculative fever was aroused in connection with the sale of lottery tickets, the lottery brokers, to push a business side-line, developed the system of betting on the outcome of the drawings. This was known as the "insurance" or "policy" business. The incongruity of the name arises from the fact that ultimately legitimate insurance reduces itself in form, but in form only, to a bet between the insurer and the policy holder or insured against some contingency. This betting as to what number might be drawn in a drawing appealed particularly to the poor who might not be able to afford the full price of a lottery ticket and for whom arrangements concerning shares in tickets might be difficult. It was easy to step into an office, or meet an "insurance salesman" and place a dime or so bet on the number. This same "policy game" or "insurance" developed about this time in England on a large scale too, and was one of the most disturbing things connected with the lotteries, leading in England to the suppression of public lotteries in 1826.<sup>1</sup>

Without accepting one opinion or the other, we can say generally that policy arose out of the practice of wagering on the outcome of the lottery drawing, and that the term "policy" was given to this practice because of its close resemblance to insurance procedure. With the passing

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1. W. C. MacLeod, "The Truth About Lotteries in American History," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, April, 1936. Recently H. J. Asbury (*Sucker's Progress*, Dodd Mead, New York, 1938, p. 89) has expressed the view that policy playing was a regular part of the lottery in England as early as the first half of the 18th century. He is of the opinion also that in America it was known as far back as pre-revolutionary times but that it did not become important until after 1800.



of the legalized lotteries, policy came into existence as an independent game. The old procedure was still adhered to, and many of the practices formerly associated with the lottery now came to be a part of the policy game. Because the nature of policy made it relatively easy to circumvent the anti-lottery legislation, it was able to continue in existence.

New York was one of the first places where policy came into independent existence. As we have said, legal lotteries were abolished there in 1834, and it is reasonable to assume that policy was continued there as an independent game after that date. The early development of the game in New York is attested by a number of other facts. It is the first state in which policy playing is mentioned in the court records. A case involving a violation of the anti-lottery law, recorded in the Court of General Sessions in New York City in 1858 mentions "lottery policies." The use of this term suggests that the game was still associated with lotteries, but there seems to be no doubt that the term was a carry-over from earlier times and here refers to the game that we know as policy. The first court case involving policy itself appeared in the New York courts also in the case of Wilkinson vs. Gill (1878). A detailed description of the game included in the report of this case fits perfectly the game as it exists at the present time.

By the turn of the century policy had become very popular in New York city, and something of a problem as well. In the muck-raking literature of the Steffens-Riis tradition there are frequent references to the game. In his classic study of New York's down-trodden "other half" Jacob Riis says:

Of all the temptations that beset him (the Negro), the one that troubles him and the police most is his passion for gambling. The game of policy is a kind of unlawful penny lottery specially adapted to his means, but patronized extensively by poor white players as well. It is the meanest of swindles, but reaps for its bankers rich fortunes wherever colored people congregate. Between the fortune and the policy shop, closely allied frauds always, the wages of many a hard day's work are wasted by the negro; but the loss causes him few regrets. Penniless, but with undaunted faith in his "ultimate" luck, he looks forward to the time when he shall once more be able to take a hand at "beating policy." When periodically the negro's lucky numbers, 4-11-44, come out on the slips of the alleged daily drawings, there are supposed to be held in some far-off Western town, intense excitement reigns in Thompson Street and along the Avenue, where someone is always the winner. An immense impetus is given then to the bogus business that has no existence outside the cigar stores and candy shops where it hides from the law, save in some cunning "broker's" back office, where the slips are printed and the "winnings" apportioned daily with due regard to the backer's interests.<sup>1</sup>

We find scattered references to the game in other sources also.

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1. Jacob Riis, How the Other Half Lives, New York, Chas. Scribners and Sons, 1890, p. 155. (1907 edition).

Boys match pennies, negroes indulge on the fly in policy, and the Chinese play fan tan.<sup>1</sup> A Captain was on trial for allowing the policy swindle to go unchecked in his precinct. Policy is a kind of penny lottery, with alleged daily drawings which never take place. The whole thing is a pestilent fraud, which is allowed to exist only because it pays heavy blackmail to the police and the politicians. Expert witnesses testified that eight policy shops in the Twenty-First Ward, which they had visited, did a business averaging about thirty-two dollars a day each. The Twenty-First is a poor Irish tenement ward. The policy sharks were getting two hundred and fifty dollars or more a day of the hard-earned wages of those poor people, in sums of from one and two cents to a quarter, without making any return for it. The thing would seem incredible were it not too sadly familiar.<sup>2</sup>

The stories of Harrigan and Hart dealing with New York life in the early 1900's refer to policy playing, dream books, seers, and confidence men. In 1901 there was written and produced on Broadway a play entitled "The Policy Players."

One of the earliest newspaper accounts of policy is to be found in the New York Herald of March 4, 1900. It concerns Albert J. Adams who controlled the policy business in the New York area from 1880 until 1903. The story has a familiar ring.

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1. R. A. Woods, City Wilderness, New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., p. 153.
  2. Jacob Riis, The Battle With the Slum, New York, Macmillan Co., 1902, p. 418.



At this office, in West Thirtieth Street, near Broadway, which he shares with a real estate firm, he is said to map out his plans for the carrying on of the games. There he also receives reports for his lieutenants, it is said, to whom, in turn, the 'backers' of the game in the thirty policy districts into which the city is divided make their reports. 'Protection' is arranged for, and if any employes of the policy shops get into trouble, lawyers, who are constantly retained by the policy chiefs, are ready to do whatever may be necessary to extricate them from the clutches of the law.

It is alleged by the policy men that the actual drawing of the winning numbers takes place twice each weekday in Frankfort and Louisville, Ky. This story, as well as the added statement that the winning numbers are taken from a wheel by a child who has previously been blindfolded, is circulated and implicitly believed by the policy dupes. As a matter of fact, the winning numbers are selected each day by the policy kings in New York city. The combinations played daily are recorded sufficiently in advance of the alleged drawings to enable those in charge of the swindle to select as winning numbers only those on which the least money has been placed, thus reducing the amount to be expended in the payment of winnings and increasing the amount of losses to be suffered by the players.

The policy managers having selected the combinations that are to win at each alleged drawing, these numbers are telegraphed in cipher to Frankfort and Louisville. From there they are sent to Cincinnati, Ohio, the Western headquarters of the policy king's combination. By use of a different cipher the same numbers are telegraphed without delay to Jersey City and from there again telegraphed to New York. Here they are sent to certain printing offices in the employ of the policy men, and the printed slips bearing the winning numbers are later distributed by rapid messengers to the hundreds of policy shops throughout the city. ....

There are two 'drawings,' as they are called, each day. One is known as the morning drawing, which

takes place ostensibly in Frankfort, Ky., and for which no money or selection of combinations of figures is accepted after twelve o'clock, noon. Then there is the afternoon drawing, which is said to be made in Louisville, where the entry of combinations closes at five o'clock. The winning combinations for the morning drawings are posted in the different policy shops shortly after two o'clock in the afternoon and the afternoon drawings at seven o'clock in the evening. ... The policy kings realize that money must be paid out to keep the public interested, but the winning numbers are purposely arranged so that the amount to be paid out shall be as small as possible. ...<sup>1</sup>

Adams started out as a railroad worker, but soon gave up this work to go into the policy business. By 1903 when he was convicted and sent to prison for violating the anti-lottery law, Adams was a multimillionaire. His arrest came as the result of investigations by the very active Anti-Policy Society of New York City.

Our information as regards the development of policy in other areas is very fragmentary. New Orleans, St. Louis, and Chicago seem to have been other important centers of policy playing in the early days. In New Orleans particularly the game was extremely popular in the 80's.

Policy was in its hey-day in New Orleans during the Eighties when the whole city went mad over the game.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted in H. J. Asbury, op. cit., pp. 101-103.

2. H. J. Asbury, "Gambling Hells of New Orleans," American Mercury, August, 1936, p. 413.

Before long the city was Policy mad. Visitors to New Orleans in the 80's, remember well the open policy booths in the main business streets of the city, and the lines and crowds of negroes and whites that thronged the 'book,' seeking to bet their nickels and dimes on the innumerable combinations of figures which superstition or fancy dictated. There were policy booths in front of laundries, bar-rooms, groceries and markets. There were instances where as much as \$5,000 was paid for a stand if the location were favorable enough, which might not be more than four feet square of space, with a small table and chair. More than a hundred policy shops existed in New Orleans. The profits from the policy game, in which there were two drawings daily, were large enough to pay all the expenses of the Lottery proper in which the drawing was monthly, leaving the profits from the national business, over the payment of prizes, clear gain.<sup>1</sup>

At this time, however, the game was still a part of the Louisiana Lottery, which, as we have seen, continued in existence until 1893. The fever for policy playing no doubt spread from New Orleans up the Mississippi to St. Louis for informants are agreed that St. Louis has always been one of the most important centers for this game. Court records seem to substantiate this view for in Missouri more than anywhere else, policy cases seem to have been most frequent. Between 1885 and 1902 there were ten cases involving policy in the courts of that state, four of which appeared in 1885.

By 1905 the game had achieved considerable importance in Chicago and in that year the state of Illinois passed an

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1. H. J. Asbury, Sucker's Progress, pp. 96-97.



anti-policy bill modelled after a similar one passed in New York four years earlier. By 1907, a man named "Mush-mouth" Johnson had accumulated a considerable fortune from the operation of the policy business in Chicago.<sup>1</sup> Johnson was the first of a long line of policy "kings" in that city. The first legal case involving policy there occurred in 1908. Surprisingly enough the development of policy or any of the number rackets in Chicago has not been as extensive as one would expect judging from the high development of the racketeering complex in that city.

Authentic information on the history of policy in Detroit goes back to 1884. In that year there was passed a city ordinance which among other things contained this provision:

No person shall keep, carry on, or maintain or aid in keeping, carrying on, or maintaining any lottery, policy pool, bucket-shop, board of trade, or any like scheme or place, for drawing or disposing of money, wheat, or other property, within the city.<sup>2</sup>

In the recorder's court of the city of Detroit there is record of two cases involving policy prior to 1900 - that of the People vs. Elliot in 1889, and the People vs. Hess in 1891.

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1. Johnson died in 1907. At the time of his death he had been in business in Chicago for 17 years.

2. Revised Ordinances of the City of Detroit, 1884, Chapter 64, section 3, p. 150.

In the report of the former case there is a description of the various plays and the manner of conducting the game. It is in no way different from the game as we know it today. Old residents say that prior to 1914 there were only two policy houses in Detroit - a single house known as the "Black Gold" and a double house called "The Gusher." The latter was owned by a picturesque gambler of the old school known as Clarence Henry who came to Detroit from New Orleans. In 1916 a club known as the "Waiters and Bellmans Club" was opened by two business men, John Roxborough and Everett Watson. This was a gambling organization specializing in dice and cards, the principal card games being stud poker and a game peculiar to negroes known as "Georgia Skin." A year later these same men organized the first major policy house in Detroit under the name "Big Four." This organization continued as a partnership until 1920 when Watson sold his interest to Roxborough. In addition to the "Big Four," Roxborough started three other policy houses, "The Last Train," "The Royal Blue," and the "North and West End." These houses are still in operation (1935). Watson, while retaining part interest in the "Waiters and Bellmans Club," opened up three policy houses of his own - "The Yellow Dog," "Daily News," and "The Rhode Island." These houses are still in operation but the "Daily News" is under different ownership. In 1921 a house known as the "Tiajuana and Interstate" was

opened by Tenny Blunt, a gambler from Birmingham, Alabama, and in 1925, Bill Mosley, a Ford employee, opened the "Michigan," one of the largest houses in Detroit. About this same time also a number of houses were started by an organization known as the "Rooster Syndicate." The present extensive development of policy in Detroit dates from 1929, the beginning of the economic depression. At present there are approximately 35 gambling establishments in Detroit dealing in policy and numbers.<sup>1</sup>

#### "Numbers"

Despite the fact that "numbers" is the most recently invented number game, we know relatively little about its origin and history. It is said by some people, well informed on such matters, that the game had its beginning in Harlem about 1925, and that an ingenious West Indian negro by the name of Caspar Holstein was its originator. In confirmation of this the writer can say that prior to 1925 there is no mention in any newspaper article of the "numbers" game, as distinct from policy. It is true too that Caspar Holstein became very wealthy from the numbers racket, and that his rise to affluence began about this time; he was among the first of a long line of "number barons" who reaped great wealth from the racket in New York and the surrounding region.

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1. For the most important of these see p. 53.



The game appears to have spread rapidly for within a very few years in newspapers all over the country one could read of a "new type of number lottery" that had its incidence among negroes.

To sum up: From the foregoing discussion it is clear that number gambling is an old practice reaching back in Europe to the middle of the sixteenth century. Policy is the oldest of the number games in America. There are indications that it was in existence as a side line to the regular lotteries as far back as pre-revolutionary times. As an independent game it dates from the first half of the nineteenth century. Italian Lottery, as nearly as we can determine was introduced into America between 1890 and 1905. Numbers, the game most popular at the present time, is of recent origin, having its beginning in the middle 1920's. With the facts of this and the preceding chapter in mind we are now prepared to examine the organization and operation of the number racket.

The writer's business is to collect the bets which he does by various ways. If his sole occupation is writing numbers he is assigned to a definite area which he canvasses daily going from house to house like any ordinary salesman. His activity is so similar to that of the collectors for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company that the insurance salesman are generally referred to in the community as "Metropolitan" men. When the economic depression was at its peak many college graduates

## Chapter IV

## Organization of the Number Racket

We will begin our discussion of the organization of the number racket by indicating the personnel of a typical bank and at the same time describing a complete transaction from the time the bet is placed until the payoff is made. After that we will point out some of the most important aspects of what may be called the external organization of the racket. The final section of the chapter will deal with the relationship between the number racketeer and the public official.

## Internal Organization

## Personnel and a Typical Transaction

The writer, or runner, occupies the lowest position in the organization. He is an ubiquitous element in the community and is encountered in practically every place where people congregate - in hotels, stores, barber-shops, pool rooms, and even in church parlors. The writer's business is to solicit the bets which he does in various ways. If his sole occupation is writing numbers he is assigned to a definite area which he canvasses daily going from house to house like any ordinary salesman. His activity is so similar to that of the collectors for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company that the insurance salesmen are commonly referred to in the community as "Metro-policy" men. When the economic depression was at its peak many college graduates

among the colored group found number writing the only source of employment. In some cases it proved so profitable that when legitimate employment did present itself they were unwilling to make the change. Many individuals write numbers as a side line to augment their earnings in some legitimate job. The milkman may pick up bets left by his customers with the empty bottles; the janitor in some large office building may make the duty of emptying waste-baskets the occasion for taking bets in the various offices. Boot-blacks, elevator boys, and "red-caps" also write numbers as a lucrative side-line. The number of writers employed by a single organization varies, of course, with the size of the organization - the average house employing from 300 to 500 writers. A large organization will employ thousands. When the time comes for the writer to turn in his bets he deducts his commission which is ordinarily 25% of his total take although it varies some with different houses. After doing this the writer's work is completed for the time being.

At a stipulated time the writer's "take" is collected by the "pick-up" man who occupies the next higher position in the organization. The function of the pick-up man is to collect the bets of all the writers within a given area and it is he who carries the bets to the house. In some organizations the pick-up man is the only contact which the writer has with the house for which he writes. In such cases, the



writer often does not even know where the house is located. In most instances, however, he knows the whereabouts of the house and will frequently carry his own take to the house. Sometimes a policy house is a regular "hangout" where the writers, pick-up men, and other individuals loaf and discourse upon the perennial topic of numbers. Before the pick-up man deposits his take he too deducts his commission which is usually 10% of the total amount of money which he collects in his territory. Thus by the time a one dollar take has reached the policy house it has been reduced to 67.5 cents.

The money and slips which are brought in by the pick-up men are deposited with the cashier(A)<sup>1</sup> whose duty it is to count the money and check it with the written bets. When this is done he turns it all over to the office clerks (B) who make the proper entries in the books of the house. The slips containing the bets are then brought to the checking room and divided among the various checkers (seated at C). The number of checkers varies with the volume of business, a good sized house having from 10 to 20. Their salary is usually not more than ten dollars a week. Sometimes pick-up men and writers are able to serve as checkers thereby augmenting their regular earnings. The function of the

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1. The letters A-E refer to the corresponding letters on Plate V.

checkers is to check the tickets for winners after the drawing has been completed.

The individual whose duty it is to draw the numbers is known as the operator (D). He stands on a small platform in full view of all present and as he draws a number he calls it out to the clerk (E) who places it on the blackboard. When the drawing is finished the checkers begin their work. In the meantime the writers and pick-up men check the numbers on their duplicate slips with those on the board.

During the time of the drawing the policy house resembles somewhat the stock exchange during the trading period with men rushing back and forth, numbers being called, and the general loud talking and excitement.

The winnings in the three-digit games are, of course, not determined in the house but are obtained by telephone from one of the newspaper offices, or from the paper itself when it appears on the newsstands. The slips for these games are checked along with the policy slips.

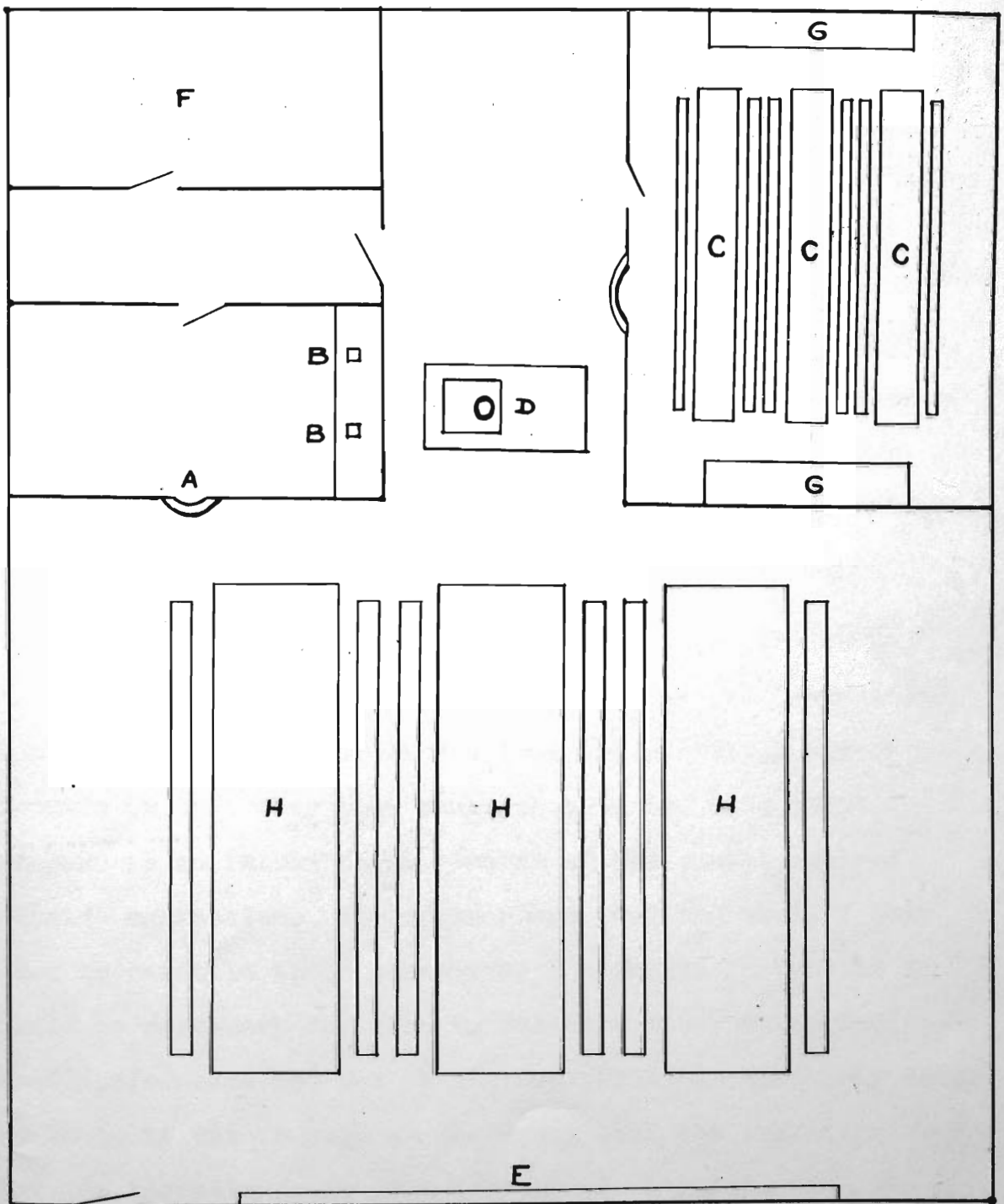
After the slips have been checked, the winning tickets are collected and returned to the cashier's office where the pay-off is made. The writers and pick-up men who hold winning tickets go to the cashier's window where they receive the pay-off for those of their clients who have hit. By the time the writer is ready to leave with the money for his customers,

slips bearing the winning numbers have been printed and he supplies himself with a quantity of these for distribution. The writer is responsible for delivering the money to his clients but only after he has deducted his share which is ordinarily 20%. In those cases where the writer is not permitted to come into the house the pay-off is made to the pick-up man who gives it to the writer who in turn gives it to his winning clients. The pick-up man, however, is allowed no share in the winnings.

At the head of a policy house is the manager or executive officer. He is seldom the owner of the business. Rarely, if ever, does an owner of any importance operate his own business. He remains in the background as much as possible and leaves the manager with a free hand. The position of manager is an important one and he is paid accordingly. The minimum salary in a small organization is seldom lower than fifty dollars a week and some large organizations pay as high as two hundred dollars a week.

At the present time in Detroit there are approximately 35 separate organizations such as we have described above. The most important of these are the Big Four, Big Train, Tiajuana and Interstate, Alabama-Georgia, Michigan, Yellow Dog, Royal Blue, Daily News, C & J Hollywood, Worth End-West End, Western Union, Reno-St. Louis, Greyhound, Whippet, Flying Cloud, Cadillac Special, Red Arrow, Nighthawk,





### INTERIOR OF A POLICY HOUSE

A - CASHIER

B - CLERKS

C - TABLES FOR CHECKERS

D - OPERATOR

E - CLERK

F - MANAGER'S OFFICE

G - LOOKOUT MEN

H - TABLES FOR WRITERS

Kentucky and Tennessee, Last Train, Polar Bear, Black Dog, and Rhode Island. A number bank is often referred to as a wheel or book. One speaks of the Michigan book or the Yellow Dog wheel. Frequently several houses are under the same ownership. The house itself is usually located on the second floor of some store building or closed bank building. Some small bankers have been known to have their business place in the back seat of a large automobile, thus being able to move about rapidly and avoid the danger of a raid.

"Cover Bank," of which there are only a very few in the country - the two largest being located in New York.

#### External Organization

The most important organization above the individual bank in Detroit is an organization known as the "Associated Number Bankers." At present all of the principal number bankers in that city hold membership in it. Its chief purpose is to insure negro control of the racket against outside aggression. The negro group realized that if they were to maintain their control of the racket in Detroit it would be necessary for them to dissolve their minor individual differences and act as a group should an emergency arise. In fact, it was in such an emergency that the organization had its inception. In 1928 a group of Cleveland Jews attempted to break down the negro monopoly in Detroit and had almost succeeded in doing so when the negroes united their forces and drove them out. Soon after this the Associated

Number Bankers has been played heavily.

Number Bankers was formed. In addition to its protective function the organization serves to regulate rates of pay on winnings in the various games and also to divide the city into areas in which different houses will have control. The associated bankers retain their own lawyer who is paid a fee of \$150 a month. His duty is to serve as bondsman and general consultant when the bankers or their employees become involved with the law.

Another organization of considerable importance is the "Cover Bank," of which there are only a very few in the country - the two largest being located in Pittsburgh and New York. The function of these banks is to underwrite the bets of the local banks, thereby protecting them against excessive losses on any particular number. Let us illustrate the operation of a Cover Bank by an example: say that in Detroit on a particular day 502 is a "hot number."<sup>1</sup> Now the local banker may not wish to run the risk of having that number appear for it may mean a loss of thousands of dollars. To insure himself against such an exigency he wires or telephones to a Cover Bank and places on the number 502 an amount of money equal to the amount bet in his local bank on the same number. If it should happen to appear he is then completely protected since he will collect from the Cover Bank and make the local pay-off with that money. The

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1. A number that has been played heavily.



local banker himself gains no pecuniary advantages from such a procedure. It merely serves to establish his reputation as one who "pays off" regardless of how heavy the hit, a reputation which pays well in the long run. This method of protecting himself through the Cover Bank is sometimes referred to as "sureing off." Of course, the Cover Bank cannot be used in policy since its numbers are local and besides there are ways of taking care of heavily played policy numbers in the local bank. Far away as Detroit.

#### Spatial Organization in Law

The headquarters of a number organization is practically always located in the chief city of a metropolitan area and the racket is controlled in the suburban areas from that point. Very often the range of control extends beyond the metropolitan area as in the case of Detroit where it includes cities as far away as Saginaw, Flint, Bay City, and Kalamazoo. The method of control varies with the proximity to the city. In the outlying cities control is maintained by Detroit bankers who furnish the backing for the local concerns. For this service they receive a certain percentage of the take in those cities. The management of such a house is usually in the hands of some local individual who exercises considerable freedom in the operation of the business. The cities within the metropolitan area are controlled directly from Detroit. That is, the bets are picked up by automobile and brought

into the city. Winnings in these cities are paid directly from the Detroit banks. Plate VI shows the spatial pattern of number gambling in the Detroit area.

In cases of very powerful organizations such as the "Dutch" Schultz syndicate in New York, control may extend over several states. The Schultz organization with headquarters in New York city is said to have controlled operations in cities as far away as Washington, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and some think even as far away as Detroit.

#### Number Gambling and the Law

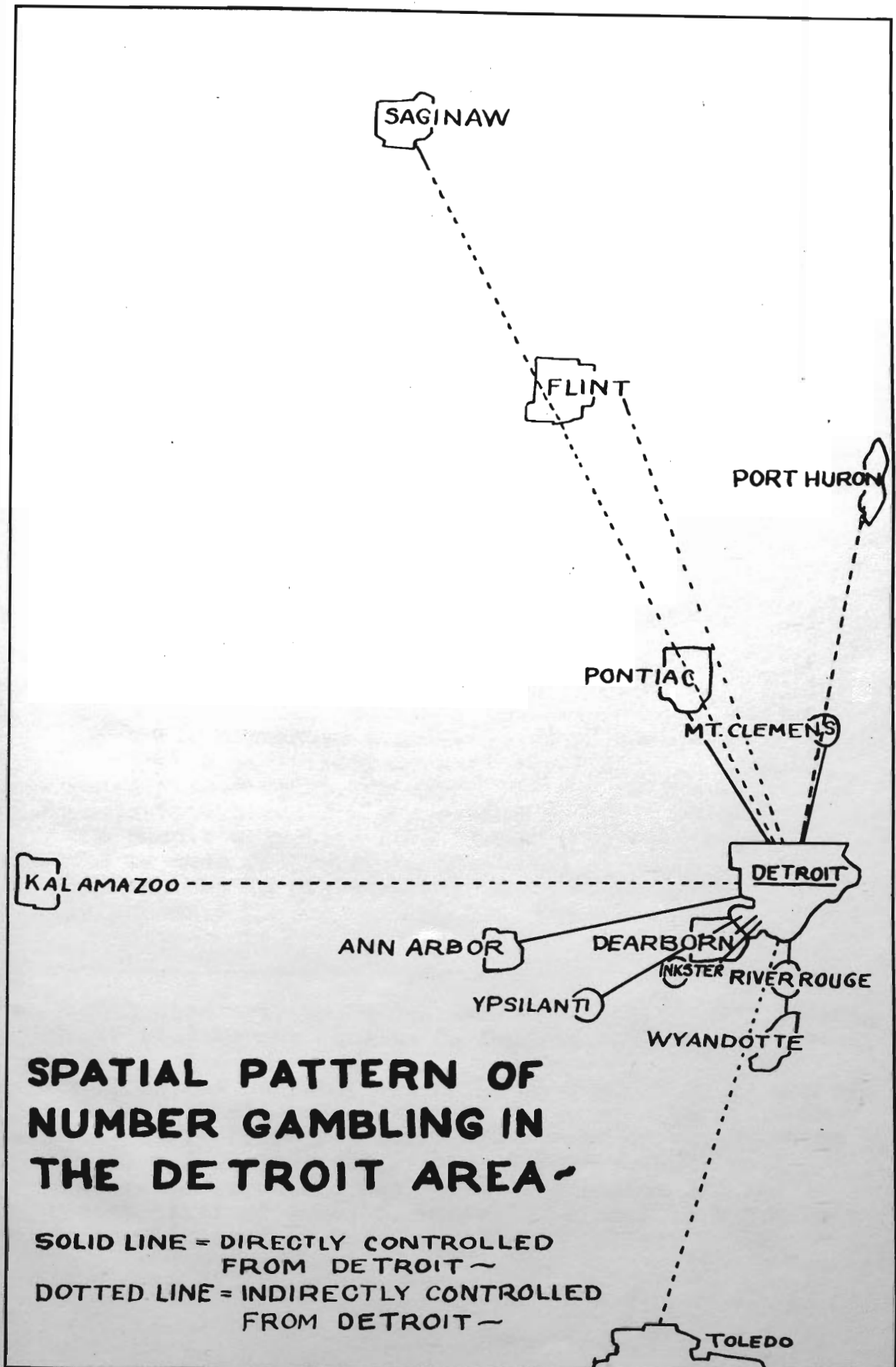
An important aspect of any racket organization is the method whereby it enlists the services of the law in its favor. Without the "fix", as it is called, between the racketeer and the public official - particularly the police - it is safe to say that rackets or any form of large scale organized crime could not continue to exist. All writers on the subject are agreed that such fixing is a common practice.

In cities where things are done that way, the racketeers must fix the police.<sup>1</sup>

Neither the numbers game nor any other racket can exist without at least partial consent from the police department. I am not blaming anybody in particular, but we do know that certain men are permitted to operate while

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1. Will Irwin, "Gambling Mad America," Liberty Magazine, July 11, 1936, p. 17.





some of the police wink at the workings of particular gangs.<sup>1</sup>

There is an old saying in New York gangdom, "You gotta be wired." The wire is an essential link in the complex mechanism of organized crime and politics. Without it no operation of large-scale rackets, running into millions of dollars, is possible. Without it, no gang of killers, immune from the law, can flourish. Yet the wire, as known in Manhattan, has seemed inherent in the very nature of the political system and the character of a self-governing people.

The wire is the link between crime and the courts; the device whereby the criminal with political influence can walk right through the barricade of police set up to protect the citizen. The wire is the connection between the criminal with political influence and the police court, or court of first instance, which in New York is known as the Magistrates' Court.

The wire may be a district leader. Frequently it is. It may be a shyster lawyer who has reached a cooperative understanding with a magistrate or a clerk of the Magistrates' Court, or both. It may be the magistrate himself - since that guardian of the people's justice is a creature of politics and is made or broken by the district politician, who in his turn may be made or broken by gunmen.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Dayton Stoddart, *op. cit.*, Dec. 29, 1934, p. 18; quoting District Attorney Charles F. Kelley, Philadelphia, Penn.
  2. Thompson and Raymond, *op. cit.*, p. 183. This is one of the best studies of racketeering yet to appear. Both authors are crime reporters, Thompson for the New York Times, and Raymond for the New York Herald Tribune. Thompson covered the Seabury investigation and the recent trial of James J. Hines. The book is based on facts disclosed in the Dewey investigation.

It is one thing to admit that collusion exists between the racketeer and the public official; it is quite another thing to find specific instances of such a relationship. In my own investigations I found that this was one topic the gambler refused to discuss. Hence for this part of the study, I have had to rely principally on secondary sources, although during the course of the investigation I have had certain personal experiences which while not definitive do throw some light on the subject.

Let us examine first some of the secondary sources. Perhaps the principal sources of this kind are the crime investigations which have taken place from time to time in different cities over the country. Such investigations almost never fail to make startling disclosures with regard to the cooperation of the police with the criminal element in the community. One of the most revealing investigations was that carried out in New York city by the Seabury Committee in 1931 and 1932. It was particularly revealing as regards the number racket since it took place at a time when this racket was at its peak. Certain number bankers subpoenaed for this investigation confessed that they were buying police protection. Their employees, they revealed, wore initialed buttons in their lapels to show that they were working for protected organizations. Writers, pick-up men, etc. not wearing such buttons were liable to arrest while

the protected individuals plied their trade unmolested by the police. Many other examples of a like nature have been brought to light by investigations in other cities but this one example will suffice to illustrate the point.

The income tax investigators in going over the accounts of the now defunct "Dutch" Schultz Gambling Syndicate found that some \$9000 a week went out for police protection. These payments appeared in the books as "ice," which is the underworld designation for police graft.<sup>1</sup>

The police, however, are not the only public officials involved in the number racket. Lawyers as well are an important asset to the business. Many of them are employed by the racketeers as consultants and bondsmen. Their importance to the number racket has been clearly stated by Judge Horace Stern of the Philadelphia Quarter Sessions Court.

Criminal lawyers are the real brains back of the mobs, are advising them what to do, and are really accessories before the fact. Without criminal lawyers, organized crime would collapse - not all crime, but crime organized on a nationwide basis. . . . Criminal gangs regularly employ members of the bar with whom they consult and from them obtain professional guidance in their systematic law breaking. It is the heads of these organizations who pay the lawyers their fees.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Howard McLellan, "Gambling, A Knife in the Back of Business," American Business, June, 1936, p. 51.
  2. Dayton Stoddart, op. cit., Dec. 29, 1934, p. 18.

1. Dayton Stoddart, *Ibid.*, p. 18.



Judge Stern speaks with authority for he was selected by the city of Philadelphia in its war on the number racket to preside over a special Numbers Court, a court which in the brief period of its existence, secured over 400 convictions of number racketeers.

A committee appointed by the American Bar Association, to investigate the part played by lawyers in the number racket made similar observations.

There is already strong evidence that a small group of lawyers at our bar have permitted themselves to become literally nothing more than the hired men of the higher-ups in the criminal activities referred to. . . . These lawyers have apparently been on a regular retainer from these higher-ups to go to the help, night or day, of the subordinates when arrested. It is certain that some of these lawyers do not know their clients until the name is called by the clerk of the court to appear.

It is certain that the lawyer in many cases knows nothing of the guilt or innocence of his client; he is in court because he has been directed to be there by the higher-ups or their agents, prepared to enter a plea of nolo contendere, or to listen to the testimony of police officers and take advantage of any opening for acquittal that might present itself at the moment.

In these circumstances, the lawyer is as much a part of the machinery of the racket as the man who went to bail for the defendant (without his knowledge.)<sup>1</sup>

Richard "Dixie" Davis, attorney for "Dutch" Schultz has told how at \$50 a case he and his staff of assistants

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1. Dayton Stoddart, *Ibid*, p. 18.

were kept busy obtaining acquittals, posting bond, or paying bail for the writers, pick-up men, and other underlings of the Schultz organization.<sup>1</sup>

In their recent study, Gang Rule in New York, Thompson and Raymond make the following observations:

The expansion of the hoodlum gangster caused him to become interested, as all big business men are, in cutting down the costs of operation. Where he had a lot of men committing a lot of crimes every day, it was expected that there would be a lot of arrests. The politician could fix the police, or could fix some courts, but the necessity of a court appearance, even when the fix was in, brought on the necessity of having a lawyer. Thereupon the contract lawyer for the crime machine emerged, looking after all the arrests of the gang, frequently at a flat and fixed fee of so much per case, sometimes on retainer.

When the boss gangster from the bootleg trade branched into industrial racketeering he had still more uses for his lawyer. He needed advice on how to organize his phony trade associations. He needed some one to tell him just how far his captive labor unions could go under the complex structure of laws forbidding one type of labor agitation and permitting others. He needed lawyers, too, to help him decide just how much of his loot should be shared with the Federal Government and the state government in the form of income tax payments, to keep him out of trouble, and how much might escape taxation by smart legal devices.<sup>2</sup>

Take a list of the members of any gang, the records of their arrests, and the notices of

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1. J. Richard "Dixie" Davis, "Things I Couldn't Tell Till Now", Collier's Weekly, August 5, 1939, p. 13.
  2. Thompson and Raymond, op. cit., pp. 159-160.

appearance filed with the courts by their lawyers, and it will be seen that throughout this gang's activity in crime, the same lawyers, or same group of lawyers, appear time after time, for the same criminals and members of their criminal gangs. These lawyers go into the courts, again and again, and solemnly urge the innocence of their clients upon judges and jurors, knowing perfectly well that the previous month or the previous year they were making the same argument in behalf of the same criminal charged with the same or a similar offense. In effect and in fact these lawyers have been just as much members of the gangs as the gangsters themselves, but they have been protected by the privileges which they regard as a lawyer's right. The rest of the bar has been very silent.<sup>1</sup>

If the specific practices of New York lawyers in continuous defense of gangs were detailed, item by item, through the years from 1919-1939, the material would fill a twenty-five-foot shelf. Every gang had its attorneys, and the attorneys their cases. Enough has been done here to show some patterns of lawyers' participation in gang rule. Other patterns exist. Take Arnold Rothstein's legal staff, for instance. He lent money to many criminals. He kept a stable of lawyers, just as he kept a stable of race horses - both for his profit.<sup>2</sup>

The recent Dewey investigation of racketeering in New York city has revealed more facts regarding the relationship between the number gambler and the public official.<sup>3</sup> In the

1. Ibid, p. 166.

2. Ibid, p. 181.

3. In the original draft of this paper written just as this investigation was getting under way I made the following statement: "The Dewey investigation now in progress in New York city, the results of which have not yet been made public, will no doubt serve to substantiate the findings of the Seabury committee and Judge Stern and perhaps uncover even more surprising conditions."



prosecution of James J. Hines, noted politician and district leader of Tammany Hall, some startling facts of this nature were disclosed. In the trial of Hines, "Dixie" Davis who had served as a go-between, for Dutch Schultz and Hines, turned state's evidence and told the whole story of the connection between these two men. Davis' testimony was in part as follows:

Then Schultz got Hines on his own pay roll to give political protection to the combination, and that was a master stroke, for we soon found that what Hines could do was plenty. He could, and did, have cops transferred when they bothered the numbers. He had magistrates throw out good cases that honest cops had made against George Weinberg and Lulu Rosenkrantz. He gave his support to a district attorney who didn't bother us much.

When it got around that Schultz and Hines were behind the numbers, the game boomed.<sup>1</sup>

Hines was worth knowing and I cultivated him. He also cultivated me, because he didn't like to be seen much with gangsters, and I, being a lawyer, made a convenient go-between. Hines at this time was on the Dutchman's policy-racket pay roll for \$1,000 a week, later cut to \$500 when times got hard.

I couldn't tell at the trial that I was giving Hines money too. Hines needed more but the Dutchman was a tightwad and wouldn't give a penny more than \$500 a week, so I put up an equal amount out of my pocket without even telling Schultz. I also paid the restaurant bills and bought the fight tickets on Friday nights, when Hines entertained parties of judges, politicians and big businessmen.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Davis, op. cit., July 29, 1939, p. 40.

2. Davis, op. cit., July 22, pp. 40-41.

This Hines was a district leader who controlled other district leaders, and was so powerful he could order judges and police officials around. More than once I sat late with Hines and Dutch Schultz in a mob night club as we plotted ways by which, with the Dutchman's mob and money, Hines might extend his power over still other districts and seize absolute control of Tammany and the whole city government.<sup>1</sup>

Detroit is no exception to the general rule that the success of rackets and underworld activities in general is dependent upon the cooperation which they receive from public officials and the law enforcing agencies. The grand jury investigation of Detroit's police department now underway has revealed that Inspector Arthur Brown, head of the Police Identification Bureau had made appointments of private policemen, giving them badges and permits to carry guns, and that these men were being employed by policy houses as guards;<sup>2</sup> that Thomas C. Wilcox, sheriff of Wayne County, and Duncan McGrea, prosecuting attorney, were on the payroll of the leading gambling establishments, and houses of prostitution in Detroit<sup>3</sup>; that a baseball pool was paying out 50 to 100

1. Ibid, July 29, p. 21. This is from a series of six articles appearing in Collier's between July 22 and Aug. 26, 1939. They constitute a complete statement of Davis' connection with the numbers racket. They re-iterate what was brought out in the Dewey investigation.

2. Detroit Free Press, Feb. 2, 1940.

3. Detroit Free Press, Feb. 24, 1940, p. 1.

thousand dollars annually in "protection" money, and that substantial portions of this amount were finding their way to the Prosecutor's office.<sup>1</sup> In the case of Sheriff Wilcox it was revealed that a regular schedule of protection prices had been established - houses of prostitution \$100 to \$300 per month, gambling establishments and handbooks \$50 to \$1000 per month, and operators of gambling machines \$10 per month per machine in operation.<sup>2</sup>

A number of personal experiences will further serve to show that Detroit is no exception to the general rule that public official and racketeer are often in close union. I was seated in the office of one of Detroit's prominent gamblers one day when an investigator from the prosecutor's office attempted to use the "shake-down" (extortion) on this individual. The investigator's words were these: "I understand that you are doing a good business here. I am going to close you up if you don't kick me in \$20 a month so I can pay for my new Studebaker." Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, the gambler, replied: "I have already paid the big shots for letting me alone. Now you get the hell out of here or I'll call the prosecutor's office."

On another occasion one of the gamblers with whom I

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1. Detroit Free Press, March 8, 1940, p. 4.

2. Detroit Free Press, March 10, 1940, p. 4.



was on rather intimate terms came to Ann Arbor with a view of getting number playing started on the University of Michigan campus. I arranged for Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ to meet with several students who had expressed their willingness to sell the numbers. Accompanying Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ was Mr. J. M., who at that time was running for the office of sheriff in Wayne County. He informed me that he was in no way interested in the racket but was backing Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ whom he said was a "good egg." J. M.'s motive was no doubt a dual one. First of all, Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ would be very helpful in securing the negro vote in the coming election. In the second place, Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ maintained an extensive business in Detroit and should J. M. be elected it would be a profitable contact for him.

On various occasions number writers have told me that policemen frequently purchased numbers from them. In many cases a patrolman would bet on a number and not pay for it. If the number should win the policeman was always sure to be on hand for the pay-off and nothing would be said.

Another personal experience is of interest here also. In a newspaper article it was reported that I had made an expose of the number racket in Detroit and that I had found glaring examples of police protection. This article naturally called forth the rebuke of the police department. In the newspaper controversy which followed my alleged statements were branded as "downright silly" by Police Commissioner

Pickert. After the appearance of this article I was flooded with letters from various individuals in Detroit attacking Commissioner Pickert and giving instances of collusion which they themselves knew of. Typical of these expressions is the following:

Silly, me eye! Ask Pickert how's about J. R.'s place at 222 Lafayette just across from the postoffice. You can place a bet there any time. This place has been there for years and will continue to be there because Pickert is a good friend of J. R.

To conclude: Number gambling follows the general pattern of organization of all large scale vice and crime. This pattern consists of four basic elements: (1) an elaborate hierarchical organization of personnel, (2) a spatial organization in which a wide territory is controlled from a central metropolitan area, (3) the "fix", in which public officials, principally police and politicians, are drawn into and made a part of the organization, (4) legal aid in which members of the legal profession become the advisors and consultants of the organization. In one sense this pattern of organization is neither new nor unique for it is essentially the one followed by legitimate business. It is new, however, in the sense that as a form of criminal organization it may be said to date from the prohibition era, although at least one element, that of "fixing", is probably an age old practice.

Let us turn now to a consideration of the ways in which the number gambling public attempts to control the outcome of the numbers.

In the first event, all sorts of "systems" have been devised to "be" the numbers. These "systems" or systems as they are called, range all the way from simple "keys" to very elaborate devices involving what might appear to be higher mathematics. One individual in England reportedly built a rather elaborate system on the theory that the "bridge numbers" and large winning numbers can be predicted by means of logarithmic tables. His system works as follows: if on a certain day the winning number (as shown by the Race Mutuals) should be 515, then the winning number for the next day could be derived from the logarithm of that number which is 2.31244. The winning number for the following day then would be either 232 or 244 or any combination of 232 or 244. By having both numbers one could be sure of winning provided the system was sound. This individual about the success of the system the characteristic reply was "Well, I haven't had much luck with it yet, but once I get it perfected I'm sure it will work and then what a roll it will be!" There are a great many such systems created by individuals for their own private use.

No less fantastic are the systems drawn up by certain individuals and sold at the moment for a small price. Senja's Relativity System, presented below, is one of the



## Chapter V

## "Beating The Numbers"

As one might expect, all sorts of fanciful schemes have been devised to "beat the numbers." These schemes or systems as they are called, range all the way from simple "keys" to very elaborate devices involving what might appear to be higher mathematics. One individual (a college graduate) built a rather elaborate system on the theory that God "trigonometrizes" and hence winning numbers can be predicted by means of logarithmic tables. His system works as follows: if on a certain day the winning number (on Clearing House or Race Mutuels) should be 215, then the winning number for the next day could be derived from the logarithm of that number which is 2.33244. The winning number for the following day then would be either 233 or 244 or any combination of 233 or 244. By boxing both numbers one could be sure of winning provided the system was sound. When questioned about the success of the system the characteristic reply was "Well, I haven't had much luck with it yet, but once I get it perfected I'm sure it will work and then watch me roll in the dough." There are a great many such systems created by individuals for their own private use.

No less fantastic are the systems drawn up by certain individuals and sold at the newsstands for a small price. Konje's Relativity System, presented below, is one of the

most famous of these systems. In family groups

After making certain mathematical deductions, I have reached this conclusion about approximating a group of figures that works out to perfection. I have found that in a series of numbers, if one operation can be performed in M ways, and another operation in N ways; then it follows logically, that the same operations can be performed in M times N ways.

The relative position of these figures can be arranged so as to form various groups of combinations, provided that the family or circle group of these figures are kept in contact.

Here is an example of this system:

|                         |         |         |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|
| 1931 Mutuels Total Paid |         |         |
| Then 6 is raised        | 5 races | 7 races |
| to Nov. 9               | 273.40  | 316.60  |
| Nov. 10                 | 191.80  | 250.20  |
| Nov. 11                 | 157.00  | 270.60  |

Observe that in these three days the figure 7 occurred 3 times, the 6 three times, and the 3 twice.

I then solved for the unknown: I let 7 times 6 equal M, and 6 times 3 equal N.

$$\begin{aligned} 6 \times 7 &= M \\ 6 \times 3 &= N \\ 6 \text{ times } 7 &\text{ equal } 42 \\ 6 \text{ times } 3 &\text{ equal } 18 \\ \text{Therefore } M &= 42 \\ N &= 18 \end{aligned}$$

I then multiplied M times N, which is the same as multiplying 42 times 18 which equal 756.

$$\begin{array}{r} 42 \times 18 \\ \underline{18} \\ 336 \\ \underline{42} \\ 756 \end{array}$$

I arranged these figures in family groups by getting their relative positions. First I dealt with 75 and then with 56.

The figure 7 which was the first figure, there is was left alone. According to the relative position of figures; 5 is relative to 3 and 3 is relative to 8. Things relative to the same things or relative things are relative each to each other, and are similarly placed.

I then was able to form the following combinations by attaching the 3 and the 8 to the 75, obtaining the combinations 735 and 785.

On the following day which was November 12th, the figures of importance were 735. I then proceeded with the 56. The figure 5 being the first figure was left alone. Then 6 is relative to 9 and 9 is relative to 0. Forming the combinations, I obtained 560 and 569. On the next day which was November 13th the figures of importance were 065.

Conclusion: This system is very good, and can be applied easily. If you follow the mathematical calculations, you will have no reason to complain.

Note: That Konje's Relativity works not only in the Mutuels Total, but in any given system.<sup>1</sup>

Another famous system and one which has made its creator fabulously wealthy is that of Policy Pete. His is as far-fetched and illogical as that of Prof. Konje. Both of these systems have a wide sale throughout the United States and

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1. Prof. Konje's, The Combination Dream Book, 1934 issue, pp. 78-79.



may be purchased at any large newsstand.

Not all number players are taken in by such schemes as those of Policy Pete and Konje. Many realize that there is only one possible way of beating the numbers and that is by finding some channel whereby they can get to the source of the number before it is made public. Their method is to get on the "inside" which they attempt to do in various ways.

There is a common notion that the various exchanges from which the winning numbers for certain games are obtained are part and parcel of the racket. Many believe that the quotations of the exchanges which appear in the newspapers are put there for the convenience of those who play the numbers. The idea has arisen also that the officials and employees of these exchanges can be bribed or cajoled into furnishing advance information on the winning numbers. Consequently numerous attempts to obtain such information are made by those who play. Such requests are usually made in the form of a letter addressed to some official of the exchange or to the exchange itself. The chief recipient of such letters is the New York Stock Exchange. At this exchange they have become so numerous that it has been found necessary to provide separate files for them, appropriately named "crank letter files." These letters are important not only in illustrating the point under discussion but also in throwing light on other phases of this study as well. Let us examine some of

them.<sup>1</sup> These letters may be roughly grouped into four general types: (1) plain requests, (2) pleas, (3) propositions, and (4) reprimands.

The first type, the request is fairly common. It is generally quite brief and proceeds on the assumption that the information sought is available and may be obtained by simply asking for it or upon payment of a small fee. The following are typical of this type of letter:<sup>2</sup>

Dear  
Sir:

150 Anderson Ave.  
Atlanta Ga.  
Battle Hill Sana.

To Whom It Concerns:

Dear Sir:

I want just a little information, how much Per Week Does yur firm charge for Private information such as Complete totals, of Both Stock and Bond exchanges.

I would want said information direct from your Offices as in my City it is not available. One Doesn't necessary have to have a Private Wire installed Does he? Send Prive if Available. Would want Info as son as market close,

Thanking you in Advance,

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1. The writer is indebted to Mr. Charles Klem and Mr. J. K. Westerfield of the staff of the New York Stock Exchange for the opportunity of obtaining copies of these letters.
  2. For other letters of this type see Appendix B.

Middletown  
Ohio  
4/3/35

Dear Sir Please Write me at Once I want to Buy  
the Stock no for Friday & Saturday 5 or 6  
how much will it Cost  
Write me and I will Wyre the money to you if  
you think thats Best or mail it. Please Do  
that at once

From a friend

8. 18 1934  
Atlanta Ga.

Dear  
Sirs

20 B. McNealls Alley

Mr. Dann Moring and Mr Mack Henderson we would  
like to try to know About the Bounds Markit Every  
day we iz desire to open a office if we can Git  
the Numbers one day for the next day or Git the  
first of Every Mo the numbers that iz goin to fall  
on Every date would yu send it to Us by Mail or  
telleGrams and we will Rang for it on this end so  
let us know right away so we can open ouer office  
this month send by By Maill or

By tellergram  
and we will Rang for it on  
this End send it to

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20 B. McNealls Alley  
Atlanta Ga.

we iz going to open ouer office at this place.

The most common of the letters received are of the  
second type, the pleas. Usually written by women these  
letters have as their central theme the extreme hardship



Jackson, (Rosia) Mrs.

6-21-34

Petersburg va

June 21, 1934

2.30 Jones St

Please send me a

first one last one \$100. number  
C.O.D. at once. Straight. at once

reary good one

Send it to

Mrs Rosia Jackson

2.30. Jones St

Petersburg va

Straight

(filed in envelope 1934)

SALES:-

Total



brought on by the depression and the necessity of obtaining immediate financial assistance. Doubtless some of them are fabrications, but on the whole they appear to be genuine and sincere. Illustrative of this group are the following.<sup>1</sup>

Martins Ferry, Ohio  
Nov. 28 - 32

Dear Sir. to the Editor of the Stok Market. I must drop you few lines hoping to hear from you soon as possible. Dear Sir I am making my last appeal to you you may be able to help me, I am just a poor Widow with five Children, and they are just ready to take my little home any time now. I know you will help me if it is possible. I hope you can grant me this favor. You will sure be rewarded for it. I wished you could send me one Stock Market number the Total Sales just for one day. I could play it here for 50 cts. I would be all right then. I have to have \$3.00 next week or I will be put out of my home, just think of it if you have a wife and Family of your own, these Gamblers are making all kinds of money, they won't miss it at all if I can make a hit.

Dear Sir and Editor please think this over and try and help me, no one will ever know a thing about it. I will promise you that.

Yours truly

Wansfield, Ohio  
Dec. 2, 1935

Dear Sir,

What I'm going to ask you you may think I'm crazy, but I assure you I'm not. You see I'm a girl of 18 and will soon be married. that is it all depends on you rather I do or not. You see

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1. For other letters of this type see Appendix B.

1. For other letters of this type see Appendix B.

I told the fellow I'm going to marrie I know the Boss of the stock and Bond exchange of New York and Told him I could get the No which would win on Stock for Wednesday. You see if he finds out I was only fooling every thing will be over. between us. I could not stand that. I'll assure you I won't mention This to noone, if you Will send this So I can get Wednesday morning mail.

Here's who to send it to.

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Columbus, Ohio

New York st Exch

As i an a lone wider woman and no job nar no body to Help me i am asking yu to send me sone good locky no the rent woman wont Her House i ant got no mony i an a long way fron Home tell whi to play the and what to play i will Haff the mony with yu

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she Just give me to 27 of last month a worried mother

Dear Sir:

Will yours Please halp me i am a poor wodow and have 3 little children ent got nothing to eat no close to ware and my poor children is crying every day and if your will help me out and send me a good number i think yours peopels know how it is to starve and have no clothes to ware Please do that for my children sake if you du i will Keep it to my Self.

My Name is

---

Please answer as soon as you get this litter.  
Please du.

The proposition type of letter is generally sent by men, and is usually longer than any of the others. To illustrate:<sup>1</sup>

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1. For other letters of this type see Appendix B.



Mancino, ( Louise ) Mrs.

2-20-34

Youngstown Ohio  
Feb. 20-34

Dear Manager of New York Stock  
 I have been playing the Stock No.  
 for quiet a while and have  
 not had any luck with it.  
 will you kindly help me with  
 Friday's number. I am sending  
 you a stamped envelope for  
 return. Please sent me a  
 straight number for Friday  
 23-1934 I thought this would  
 be the only way to get the  
 real number so will you please  
 help me on this occasion.

I remain  
 Mrs Louise Mancino  
 396 Stevens St.  
 Youngstown Ohio

*Chamber*

(filed in envelope 1934)

SALES:-  
Total

Walter P. Stepansky<sup>1</sup>  
 700 Crossland St.  
 Port Vue, Pa.  
 Sept. 12, 1934

New York Stock Exchange  
 11 Wall Street  
 New York

Mr. Ashbell Green  
 Dear Friend:

Although I am not well acquainted with you, I take great pleasure, in writing you this letter, and calling you dear friend, because after you get thru reading what I have to tell you, we will be friends for Ever. I have obtained your name, and the type of business that you are engaged in, from a friend of mine in New York City.

I will give you his name any time you request it, although he did not know what I wanted it for, I did not tell him and I wont tell him that I ever wrote to you, Because this must be strictly confidential, only you and I will know, what I wanted to know your name for, and in this letter I will tell you the only reason.

Because you are the Secretary of the New York Stock Organization, and you have the power, without a doubt, to control the stock transactions, if you will control them, it means thousands of extra dollars for you, Yes it can run into millions of Dollars, with Two good Friends, One on each end, and you are the one on the New York end, and I will do my part all thru Pennsylvania.

If for any reason you may think, that you can't control the stock transactions will you please let me advise you, how simple it can be done. I would say that first you try it once a week, for example, on Monday September the 10th the New York Stock Exchange sold 696,000 shares.

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1. This letter was typewritten.

Could it be possible for you to make up your mind, one day in advance, or even a week in advance, on how many shares you will sell on that certain day, if you can tell me that question? I can send you Thousands of Dollars, Daily or Weekly, for your skill.

Here is the story in a nut shell. All over the state of Pennsylvania, and perhaps all over the country, the number racket is a poor suckers game, and the Racketeers are cleaning up heavy dailey, and the suckers are still biting more each day, the odds on guessing the correct number should be a Thousand to One, Yet they pay only Four Hundred and Fifty for One. That means when you play a number for a Dollar, and happen to guess or Win, you will get Four Hundred and Fifty Dollars.

Then Nine Times out of Ten, if you don't know where to buy your numbers, you don't get paid if you do win. The book maker or store keeper, will give you the alibi that he lost your slip, or he for got to turn it in etc. I am enclosing you a copy of the daily paper, to make you more familiar with what I mean, You will notice just below the heading, NEW YORK STOCK TRANSACTIONS

Sales, Monday, September 10th - 696,000 shares.

Well, 960 was the winner Monday, 114 was the winner last Saturday, and 311 was the winner on Tuesday etc. Last two figures don't count, even if the sales run into the million mark, the last two figures don't count, but the other three are the winning number. Now I will say, that I can't send you a fortune, all at one time, because why kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. But I will promise to send you a Thousand Dollars, for every Tip that you send me, I don't expect to try and take it all in one day, I will teach you a secret code, that you can use either, on the phone, or wire it to me, if you think you can handle it. Give me one number for a start and I will be in New York to see you three days after, with the reward and the rest of the good information. Should you find it difficult to give me all three correct figures, you can give me one correct figure to lead with, for example



960 was the winner on Monday. You could tell me that 9 will be the lead number, or 6 in the center or 0 in the end, this I can play a hundred number run down, and still beat the devil but if you can give me two lead numbers, or two end number, I just need a ten number run down, how ever the run down system would soon put me under suspicion, of knowing something about it.

In most places they except run down numbers, for 15¢ each only, this is giving them too much the best of it, in a run down system. You think it over, don't destroy this letter right away, see if you can't dope out a correct number for Saturday September the 22nd, or any day sooner then that will do, if you wish to make it sooner, just write me or telegram me a day in advance, or can I call you on long distance the same day, about four hours before closing time.

I don't think you would want me to pile up over four or five dollars on one number, the first time it would do us more harm, then it would ever do you good, to hit them to hard in one day, means to ruin them, I don't want to brake them up, I think if we get a Thousand Dollars a piece, out of the first shot, we can then make better arrangement when we cantalk it over personal. I have so far giving you all the information, that I think would be necessary for you to get started, in the biggest and best paying position, that was ever held by any man. I am very anxious to get personally acquainted with you, So here is hopping we will soon meet together, and make life time friends now, thanking you for your kind attention, and the time you have given me in reading this letter.

I beg to Remain  
Yours Sincerely For Ever

Walter F. Stepansky.

The last type of letter, the reprimand, is rare. The following few examples practically exhaust their number.<sup>1</sup>

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1. For other letters of this type see Appendix B.

March 23, 1933

Sir:

Regarding the Stock number you publish daily in the Pittsburgh Post Gazette. Wednesday March 22nd was published as 999,310 - Tuesday was 1,208,930.

We would like to know if these numbers are correct or are being tampered with.

Now Wednesday number would be 093 and Tuesday was 089.

Since the Stock Exchange opened the "numbers" that have hit are funny numbers and the gamblers are making money here on them.

There's talk around here saying the numbers are crooked. Can it be possible a man employed in your firm be tampering with the Stock numbers.

Hoping you will answer this letter. Yours Truly

11-25-32

New Castle, Pa.

Dear Sir

On the 25, of Nov. 1932 We got a number from the Pittsburgh Press 058 and that is through the Youngstown Stock Exchange. That a fate number that is not from the New York's exchange co. These fate numbers are going through all these Branch stock Exchange I wish you would give us some protection behind our money as we give them to you. As long as we get numbers like that you will get a letter from me. We are tired of them fateing us out of our money. So I will close for a better result.

Yours truly

11-25-32

New Castle, Pa.

Dear Sir:

We have been playing the stock in New Castle, Pa. and not getting no hits here. The numbers come out in one house one thing and another place another thing. These branch houses are packing all the money. If it don't be a change you won't have no customers Wed. 23, 1932 the number was 321 in Philadelphia, and 015 in New Castle, Pa. Tight as times is now, a person playing their money and getting fake numbers. You ought to give us some protection behind our money. So I will close from your friends.

Yours truly

No, more to say only changes to be made. We are willing to play if we get justice.

Various other methods are resorted to in order to get advance information on the exchange figures or to alter them in some way. Attempts are frequently made to bribe the employees of newspapers into giving advance information on the quotations which they total. The following news item is illustrative:

#### CROOKED GAMBLERS SEEK TIMES FIGURES<sup>1</sup>

Police Now Protecting Employes Importuned With Bribes for Advance Information

Gamblers interested in certain of the so-called "numbers games" operated in Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington, and Harlem section of New York and in other cities have been making desperate

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1. The New York Times, May 20, 1931, p. 27.



efforts in the last few days to obtain advance information on the figures setting forth the total of Stock Exchange transactions published in The New York Times.

Employees of this paper have been repeatedly approached with offers of bribes to furnish the figures prior to publication and, in some instances, to alter the figures. These efforts to corrupt employes have duly been reported to the police and precautions have been taken to prevent the theft of the figures. ...

That such attempts are sometimes successful is attested by the following:

#### \$50,000 RUN CLOSES THREE POLICY "BANKS"

Hundreds Clamor in Vain for Big Winnings, Laid to "Leak" of Treasury Figures.

Three Harlem "banks" were closed yesterday after hundreds of clamoring exultant "depositors" had swooped upon them and withdrew their principal, plus suddenly earned interest, which amounted in the aggregate to \$50,000.

The banks were those operated by three leaders in Harlem policy slip gambling and the depositors were individuals whose tickets, purchased at a cost seldom in excess of five cents, rose several hundred per cent in value because they bore the three numbers which occurred in the balance figures given out by the Treasury Department in Washington.

When myriads of Harlem's sporting gentry appeared yesterday to exchange their winning tickets for "shekels of silver and gold" the bankers did their best, but their cash reserves were far from adequate to meet the sudden emergency. When the \$50,000 balance had changed hands, the financiers shook their heads and decided it was time to call a little retrenchment.

While hundreds of winners filled the air with cries of chagrin the bankers sent out their scouts to investigate the unparalleled run. The scouts returned eventually with the surprising news that the run had been caused by a "leak" in Washington.

It seemed, they reported, that several canny gamblers had discovered the balance figures on the Treasury Department report twelve hours before it became common knowledge through the medium of the press. Armed with this information, they selected their own numbers - the destined winners - and plunged heavily. There was nothing the bankers could do about it. The backers of the policy slip games had no redress in the eyes of the law.

Just how the advance information was secured in this case is difficult to say. In all likelihood, it came through some newspaper employee, after the figures had been received from the Treasury.

Occasionally some very daring attempts are made to alter the exchange figures.

**GAMBLERS POST FAKE CLEARING HOUSE FIGURES:  
ATTEMPTED LOTTERY COUP FAILS BY A MINUTE<sup>1</sup>**

An unsuccessful attempt was made yesterday morning to substitute fake figures for the regular clearing house figures posted each morning on the bulletin board of the Clearing House in Cedar St., but a difference of one minute in the time of posting was responsible for the substitution being discovered.

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1. The New York Times, December 6, 1928, p. 1.

It is known that the Clearing House figures are used by gamblers to decide the winning number of policy games that are conducted all over the country. Millions of dollars, it is said, are wagered on the numbers and had the substitution not been discovered so promptly it is possible that those involved would have cleaned up large sums, as the bookmakers who clandestinely sell the policy pay 600 to 1 on the winning number.

The figures are posted promptly each morning at 11:30 by Arthur Harman of the Clearing House staff. Yesterday at 11:28 a well dressed young man walked quietly up to the board and posted a set of figures purporting to represent the previous day's exchanges, balances, and Federal Reserve credit balance.

A minute later he stepped down and walked out the door. Newspaper men and press associations were about to send out the figures when Mr. Harman came in with the correct figures.

The fake figures posted were: Exchanges, \$1,909,000,000; balances, \$163,000,000; Federal Reserve credit balance, \$156,000,000.

The Clearing House officials noted the similarity of these figures.

The combination of the fake figures would have resulted in the winning number of the policy being 093, whereas the real winning number was 061.

It is believed that those responsible for the attempt wagered heavily on 093 in the hope that they could collect their money before the substitute was discovered.

The use of the figures from the various stock exchanges, curb exchanges, and similar organizations for gambling purposes has been the source of considerable annoyance to the officials of these organizations. Consequently many of them have either ceased publication of the figures entirely or



altered them in such a way as to make them useless for such purposes. The first to make a move in this direction was The New York Clearing House Association which ceased publication of its figures in January of 1931.<sup>1</sup> A few weeks later it was followed by the New York Stock Exchange which since then has given out only the approximate volume of daily trading.<sup>2</sup> In May of the same year the New York Curb Exchange adopted a similar practice.<sup>3</sup> Many of the smaller exchanges in other cities were quick to follow suit. The Chicago Stock Exchange began the publication of approximate totals in February, 1931<sup>4</sup>, and the Toronto Exchange a year later.<sup>5</sup>

All this was to little avail, however, for the gamblers were quick to find other sources from which the number could be obtained. The United States Treasury totals, the figures of the Federal Reserve Banks, the cotton market, the weather bureau - all proved to be satisfactory substitutes for the exchange figures. For a period a figure published in the Wall Street Journal was used by the Harlem bankers. When the Journal learned of this it discontinued publication of

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1. New York Times, Jan. 1931.
  2. This information secured from Mr. Charles Klem, director of publicity for the exchange, in a conversation with me on Dec. 28, 1935.
  3. New York Times, May 1, 1931, p. 44.
  4. New York Times, Feb. 6, 1931, p. 1.
  5. New York Times, Jan. 22, 1932, p. 34.

the number but for a long time the circulation manager was unable to account for the sudden circulation increase of approximately 8000 copies daily.<sup>1</sup> It was after the elimination of the exchange figures that the race track figures became popular. The race track totals are the most widely used at the present time (1935).

The officials of the New York Stock Exchange have gone even farther in their attempt to thwart the gamblers. All requests for numbers are promptly answered, and the exchange has been careful to point out that it is not a part of the number racket, that it is impossible for anyone connected with the exchange to furnish numbers in advance, and that those who play the numbers are the victims of a gigantic fraud. At one time the requests for numbers became so numerous that it would have been impossible to deal with them without additional secretarial assistance, so the exchange adopted a new practice. A reporter from the New York Herald Tribune was called in and given the information on the attitude of the exchange toward the number racket. This material formed the basis for a feature story which appeared in the Herald Tribune. The exchange later had a large number of copies of this story reprinted, so now when a request for a number is received, a reprint is simply enclosed in an

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1. This information secured from Mr. Charles Klem in a conversation with me on December 28, 1935.

envelope and mailed to the individual.

This chapter concludes our discussion of the core of the gambling complex. In the section which follows we shall consider the various parasitic activities which have grown up around number gambling.

### Part III

#### The Parasitic Activities



... of our great nation... did not exist... as a part of a larger... of the... which follows... will be given to those activities which have grown up around...

Part III

The Parasitic Activities

... of the... in an... of... we discussed the various... public to beat the numbers. The activities which we are about to deal with are also... However, there is one important... The discussion in Chapter... be called the... numbers, while the present... the... of... activities.

It is no accident that... have become a part of the... magic, occultism, superstition, and in... activities in which the elements of...

1. It must not be... are necessarily... since the... have the...

## Chapter VI

## The Confidence Business

Earlier it was pointed out that number gambling did not exist in isolation but rather as a part of a larger complex of activities. Part II was devoted to an analysis of this complex. In the part which follows attention will be given to those activities which have grown up around number gambling and which stand in a more or less parasitic relationship to it. In one sense the material of this portion of the essay is an extension of Chapter V where we discussed the various attempts made by the number playing public to beat the numbers. The activities which we are about to deal with are also attempts to beat the numbers. However, there is one important difference between them. The discussion in Chapter V was concerned with what might be called the matter-of-fact devices used to control the numbers, while the present discussion deals primarily with the magical or supernatural devices.<sup>1</sup>

It is no accident that these magical and occult practices have become a part of the number gambling complex. Magic, occultism, supernaturalism, go hand in hand with activities in which the elements of chance, luck and un-

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1. It must not be assumed that the matter-of-fact devices are necessarily any more effective than the magical ones since the matter-of-fact devices may be based on erroneous and even fantastic premises.

certainty are present. As Park has said,

We are all disposed to think in magical terms in those regions of our experience that have not been fully rationalized and where our control is uncertain or incomplete.<sup>1</sup>

Malinowski has given us an interesting empirical demonstration of this fact in his discussion of fishing activities among the primitive Trobriand Islanders.

While in the villages on the inner Lagoon fishing is done in an easy and absolutely reliable manner by the method of poisoning, yielding abundant results without danger and uncertainty, there are on the shores of the open sea dangerous modes of fishing and also certain types in which the yield greatly varies according to whether shoals of fish appear beforehand or not. It is most significant that in the Lagoon fishing, where man can rely completely upon his knowledge and skill, magic does not exist, while in the open-sea fishing, full of danger and uncertainty, there is extensive magical ritual to secure safety and good results.<sup>2</sup>

In view of these facts it is not surprising that we should find magic and occultism playing an important part in number gambling, since there is probably no activity in which the elements of chance and luck are so prominent.

This section of the essay consists of three chapters. The first deals with the confidence business and its various

1. Park and Burgess, The City, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925, p. 126.
2. Joseph Needham (ed.), Science, Religion and Reality, Macmillan, New York, 1925, p. 32.



ramifications. The second chapter is concerned with the store-front church and its role in the number-gambling complex. The final chapter discusses the tip sheet, lucky product, and dream book business.

Just how the confidence game came to be associated with number gambling is a moot question. Dopesters, prophets, confidence men, and people of this general ilk are part and parcel of many different activities and it may be that the idea was simply taken over by the number racket from these others. It is possible too that the practice may have grown out of the custom of having lottery tickets blessed by a priest. In the early days of the lottery in Italy and during the time of the Louisiana Lottery in this country this was a widespread practice, the belief being that such a blessing would make the numbers lucky. Since this priestly service called for a consideration the whole activity might be regarded as a rough prototype of the modern confidence game.

The role of the modern confidence man in the number racket is that of dealer in numbers. By various means the individuals engaged in such a business impress upon the public that they have unusual powers, have discovered a "system", or have established certain connections by which they are able to get the winning numbers. These numbers are offered for sale to the public, and the fabulous prices which they command makes the confidence business the most lucrative

of the parasitic activities associated with number gambling. There is some variation in the manner in which the confidence game is conducted and it is well that we take note of these differences at this point. The sole basis of distinction is the amount of ritual and ceremony or, as one informant put it, the amount of "hocus pocus" with which the various individuals surround their dealings. On this basis we may distinguish three types of confidence men: (1) spiritualist,<sup>1</sup> (2) numerologist, and (3) confidence man proper.

The spiritualist conducts his business with the greatest of ceremony and mysticism. Located usually in an extravagantly furnished apartment, the spiritualist makes every effort to impress upon his clientele that his is no ordinary business place, but a temple where communion with other world spirits takes place. One spiritualist advertised his place as "The Mausoleum" - I am not sure that this expressed what he had in mind, however. In all such places there is an obvious attempt to affect an Oriental atmosphere - soft, thick rugs, semi-darkness, burning candles, and incense all contribute to this end. The spiritualist himself wears a turban and a long flowing robe of some vivid color. The meeting with a spiritualist is simple and of short duration - rarely lasting more than ten minutes. The meeting consists

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1. To be differentiated from the spiritualist connected with the spiritualist church.

of a reading of scripture followed by a period of silence while the spiritualist consults the crystal. The numbers revealed by the crystal are then written in red ink upon a piece of parchment and given to the client. This done the client pays his fee and departs. The names under which the spiritualists conduct their business have an oriental flavor and are intriguing to say the least. Such names as these are to be found in Detroit: Ishmael the Mighty, Rajah Abdullah, Prince Yogi, Kandou, Sargon, and The Seventh Key Man. The numerologist calls himself a scientist and hence has no place for the ritual and ceremony which characterize the activities of the spiritualist. He takes care to point out that his numbers are not the result of guesswork but of long and painstaking investigations in the science of numerology. The numerologist usually meets his client in the library of his home where the many volumes on astrology, numerology, and dreams stand out in impressive array. The interview itself is simple, the numerologist goes through a few mental gymnastics, consults a few ponderous looking volumes and produces the number. Apparently the numerologists believe that there is some advantage in being called doctor or professor for invariably they operate under one or the other of these titles. Such names as Prof. J. Herbert Psychotie, Prof. Konje, Dr. Whitney, Dr. Wizard, Prof. Ceazer, Prof. Digit, and Prof. Igotit are familiar to number patrons in Detroit.



Finally, there is the confidence man proper who conducts his business on a very matter of fact basis. He professes no communion with other world spirits, no great erudition; his numbers are good because he is on the "inside" and has "connections." These are his chief selling points. In one way or another he establishes the belief in the community that he has an agent at the stock market, or at the race tracks and over a privately leased wire they are giving him the numbers in advance. And the people are led to believe that they are being granted a special favor by being able to deal with one who has such good connections. The confidence man usually conducts his business from a regular office to which his clients go at certain hours or by special appointment much as they would go to a physician's office. To avoid being too conspicuous such places masquerade as broker's offices, insurance offices, or as finance companies.

These differences that we have noted are, however, only superficial. Basically the confidence racket is the same whether operated by spiritualist, numerologist, or confidence man proper. For this reason we may disregard the distinctions made above and refer to such individuals collectively as confidence men.

The principle underlying the confidence racket is very simple. Since success in this business depends primarily

upon the quantity of different numbers that are given out, the efforts of the confidence man are directed chiefly toward building up a large clientele and getting as many numbers as possible into circulation each day. For purposes of illustration let us say that a certain individual is able to build up a clientele of 100 persons, which is about the average. To each of these customers there is given a different number to be played in the numbers games. This means that for any particular day he has 100 numbers in play. By telling each of his clients to box their play this number is increased to 600.<sup>1</sup> Thus the confidence man has a better than 50-50 chance that one of his numbers will appear. If he should have more than 100 clients he may use all over that number as "repeaters," i.e., will duplicate numbers already given out to the first 100. With each number given out he usually gives also a policy gig. So a confidence man with a clientele of 100 or more persons has in circulation on any one day approximately 600 three-digit numbers and 100 policy gigs.

Now it must not be supposed that the transaction between client and confidence man ends with the giving of a number and the payment of the fee. If the client should hit the confidence man must have a portion of the winnings and when he sells the number he lets this be known in no uncertain terms.

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1. Provided each number given out has three different digits.

His remark to the client on this matter is usually: "Now Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, you're a good friend of mine. I'm giving you this number as a personal favor, and I expect you to do the right thing with me if it comes out. Remember, Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, it's 'hot' so put some 'dough' on it." Should the number win the "right thing" consists of giving the confidence man anywhere from one-fourth to one-half of the winnings.<sup>1</sup> The client gladly acquiesces in this for he does not wish to offend his benefactor. Moreover, he has his eye on more good numbers ("hot shots") in the future.<sup>2</sup>

An important characteristic of the confidence racket is the practice of selling the numbers with a money back guarantee. This means simply that the confidence man agrees to refund the fee should the number fail to appear within a stipulated time, usually a week or ten days. At the end of that time the client theoretically is free to return and demand his money. Actually, however, he is seldom able to collect this money for the confidence man has devised numerous and sundry ways of avoiding a second meeting with these "squawks," as they are called. An essential part of every confidence man's organization is the "squawk man" whose duty

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1. I know of some cases where the confidence man demanded as much as three-fourths of the winning and seemed to have no trouble in collecting.
  2. Out of approximately 50 such winners which I was able to observe, only two failed to share their winnings.



is nothing more than to save his employer the embarrassment of meeting with such people. This he may do by force, persuasion, or deceit. It is interesting to note, however, that only a small percentage of an individual's clientele become squawks - 20% would perhaps be a liberal estimate. This practice of giving numbers with a money back guarantee has an important result in that it makes the confidence racket an extremely dangerous one. Dissatisfied squawks are not above violence and as a result the confidence men move about with great frequency - six months being the average period of residence in any one city or part of a city.

Up to this point we have dealt with the confidence racket as if it were a strictly local thing, and as if confidence man and client were always in direct contact with each other. This is not the case, however, for at least 50% of the business of any good confidence man is extra-local. For example, men operating in Detroit will have customers in cities as far removed as Atlanta, Ga., Dallas, Tex., San Francisco, Cal., and Portland, Ore. Business conducted on such a scale naturally calls for an advertising program of some sort. Usually two methods are used. The first, known as the "lay-down," consists of the distribution of small cards, hand bills, and things of that nature which are sent out through the mails to various parts of the country (Plates IX, X, and XI). The names and addresses of the recipients

**Confidential Number Information  
FROM  
THE STOCK EXCHANGE BUREAU  
AND  
THE UNITED RACING EXCHANGE**

We have opened a Service Company for the distribution of Guaranteed Winning Information on Numbers.

|                       |             |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| Total Stock           | 1-2-3 Races |
| N. Y. Bond Sales      | 3-5-7 Races |
| Stock Average         | 3-5 Races   |
| N. Y. Bond Quotations | 5-7 Races   |
| Early Stock           | Third Race  |
| Late Stock            |             |

We send you one number (the winner for the day we send it) and it is guaranteed to win.

You wire us \$3.50 (Three dollars and fifty cents) and state your name, address and what you play. You will receive your winner at once. Play a dollar on it. As soon as your banker pays you wire us one-third of your winnings and we will send you another winner and so on.

This information is sent on strictly a money-back Guarantee, backed up by both our companies. Capital Stock, \$250,000 each.

Wire all Money to either of our companies by Western Union or Postal Telegraph. Our address is, Detroit, Michigan.

If you want  
Race Numbers  
Wire the  
**UNITED RACING  
EXCHANGE**  
Detroit, Michigan

If you want  
Stock or Bond Numbers  
Wire the  
**STOCK EXCHANGE  
BUREAU**  
Detroit, Michigan

**WE DO BUSINESS DIRECT—GUARANTEED!**

ANNOUNCING THE OPENING OF  
**The Institute of Practical Psychology**  
AT  
606 VERNOR HIGHWAY  
Suite 5—Upstairs

**Do you play Numbers?**

Have you failed to win? If you want to win and win at once, come and see me today and I will give you a guaranteed gig or a number that will fall on a certain designated day. In addition, I will give you Free Psychological Advice that is good for body and soul and will assist you in continuing success.

**NOTICE**

When I say I guarantee to give you a winner, I mean just what I say. If I fail to give you a winner I will refund your money that you have deposited with me. I know this is fair and honest, and with my Guaranteed Method you are protected against loss of any kind.

If you play any of the following, come and see me now!

- |              |                        |
|--------------|------------------------|
| 3-5-7 RACES  | INDIANAPOLIS NUMBER    |
| 1-2-3 RACES  | ALL CLEARINGS          |
| NIGHT NUMBER | ALL POLICY HOUSES      |
|              | WEEKLY ITALIAN LOTTERY |

**REMEMBER THIS**—I charge for my advice, and if my advice fails I will give back to you what you have paid me!

**INSTITUTE OF PRACTICAL PSYCHOLOGY  
OFFICES AT**

Room 5—Upstairs  
OFFICE HOURS—10 A. M. to 9 P. M. Sundays 1 to 4.

**ATTENTION, PLEASE!**  
All matters of a personal nature given special care and the best advice possible to obtain.  
All business strictly private. No waiting.

**Number Players**

**You Have Missed Many Straight Days Winning --  
You Should Have Had My 404 793 642**

**And You should have been one of the 400 people who hit my  
Policy Gigs. My System Is Guaranteed!**

**If you do not win I will Refund to You What You have Paid Me.**

**VICTOR**

**606 Vernor Highway East**

**Room 5. Upstairs**

**At St. Antoine Street**

**Hours: 10 a. m. to 8 p. m. - Sundays 1 to 3 p. m.**



are obtained from "sucker lists" purchased from various sources. The second method is that of newspaper advertising. It is interesting to note here that negro newspapers not carrying such advertising are the exception rather than the rule,<sup>1</sup> and that approximately 20% of the income from advertising is contributed by confidence men and dispensers of lucky products.<sup>2</sup> The claims made in some of these newspaper advertisements are interesting and anything but modest.

SENSATIONAL, ASTOUNDING, UNCANNY. All these words fail to describe Dr. K's straight, accurate, daily "INFO." It's positively the best money making plan of all times. It's the real thing. - DON'T HESITATE, DON'T WAIT, SUBSCRIBE TODAY. Wire only \$3.50 for one straight, daily guide, or \$5.00 for 3-days accurate "INFO." Remember that I shall cut loose with something special for this week. You better get in on it, because it is sure. Wire all money direct to Dr. K. Lamoyne, CHICAGO, ILL. Positively no mail received or answered.<sup>3</sup>

BE A WINNER!  
The Country's Best Now Available.

You've heard of "Pete" and his conquests. He's been talked about in sport circles from coast to coast. His accomplishments have astounded millions! Dreams have been his fortune; and although hundreds have bid fabulous sums for his secret method of interpretation, it has

- 
1. There are no white newspapers as far as I know which carry such advertising.
  2. To arrive at this figure I made a careful analysis of five of the largest negro newspapers over a period of six months. These papers were The Chicago Defender, Afro-American, Pittsburgh Courier, The Call, and The Norfolk Journal and Guide.
  3. Afro-American, March, 1935.





**IT'S MY BUSINESS  
TO KNOW**

My business is number speculation on a large scale. I operate at tremendous expense in order to safeguard my own number investment. I maintain a thoroughly equipped organization, including men who do nothing else but make and maintain connections for me at all race tracks, all stock and bond headquarters, all mercantile exchanges at all times. Naturally this information obtained costs me big money, but by distributing this information it increases my income, that's why I do it. I will accept only reliable people who are only too glad to pay for bonafide winning numbers.

## "Settle With Me Every Week" WIN \$1500 FIRST - THEN PAY ME!!

### THIS IS STRICKLY BUSINESS WITH ME!

There are no strings attached to this offer—Every morning for 3 days I will wire my **Strictly Straight Number — For one Play -- to -- Win only**  
You are to play \$1 straight, and at the end of 3 days' play you should be ahead \$1500 or you owe me nothing.

### I WANT \$100 OUT OF EVERY \$500 THAT YOU WIN.

You must wire by telegraph \$3.50 for 1 day or \$5.00 for 3 days service as your share of the expense, and you are to deduct the \$3.50 or \$5.00 from my share of the winnings.

**Come - on You skeptics: Let me convince you that "beating" this game is possible. I've done it for others, WHY NOT YOU?**

How Can You Go Wrong With This Caliber of "Info"?

Remember you must live up to your agreement, as I don't want any welching. I have had experience before. If you play fair with me and send me my share of each winning, I can always assure you of a profitable season.

**DON'T SEND MAIL—USE TELEGRAPH ONLY**

(Address Not Necessary)

**Wire Direct to DR. K. LAMOYNE, - Chicago, Ill.**

<FRONT>

**\$1500.00**

**WORTH OF "EXACT - INFO" FOR ONLY**

**\$5.00**

Whatever you do—don't miss this OPPORTUNITY to get yourself a real BANK ROLL I shall prove to you conclusively the wisdom of investing DOLLARS to make HUNDREDS of DOLLARS. SOUNDS LIKE THE BUNK DOESN'T IT? Well force my hand and make me prove it to you. I insist that a straight \$1.00 play each day on my "EXACT NUMBER INFO" must get the money. Don't let anyone tell you this number game cannot be beaten. "Follow one who knows" and make a "SUCKER out of your BANKER.

**DON'T HESITATE — SUBSCRIBE NOW**

**I GAVE 3 PIPING HOT NUMBERS, LAST WEEK, ALL STRAIGHT HITS—**

Monday, Feb. 25th. I hustled the following figures out to all clients fully 24 hours in advance, NY. ST. 442, NY. BONDS 239, B. & E. 237, Hialeah Park. 1-2-3-races I wire 179 to all clients. I sent out 827 for the 3-5-7-races. For Fairground 3-5-7 district I rushed this one out to all clients 985. Tuesday, Feb. 26th, I wired all customers to go heavy on the following special digits. NY. ST. 465, NY. BONDS 592, Hialeah Park 1-2 3-races I advised all clients to lay their last dollar on this one 435 and I also gave 339 for the 3-5-7 races. For Fairground 3-5-7 district 143. Wednesday, Feb. 27th, I gave the local bankers the works with the following figures NY. ST. 335 NY. Bonds 911, Hialeah Park 1-2 3-races I gave 393, for the 3-5-7 races 528. Remember that you can't judge sound dops by one trial, give DR. K. a fair trial and he will convince you that "beating" this game is possible if you follow one who knows.

**CODE**

1-Is Amos or Carrie. 2-Is Allen or Emma. 3-Is Arthur or Katie. 4-Is Clayton or Catherine. 5-Is Charles or Mamie. 6-Is William or Pearl. 7-Is Oscar or Dorothy. 8-Is Robert or Edna. 9-Is Richard or Anna. 10-Is John or Ruth.

**Wire all Money to MYSTERIOUS DR. K. LAMOYNE  
W - N CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

Don't write—Letters positively will not be received or answered.  
**DO NOT PUT THIS CARD IN THE MAIL BOX.**

<BACK>

**LAY DOWN CARD SHOWING CODE**



never before been revealed. PETE HIMSELF NOW OFFERS FOR THE FIRST TIME HIS MIRACULOUS NUMBER INTERPRETATIONS for the unbelievably small sum of \$1. Act Quick! MASTER PETE, 1229 Park Row Bldg., New York City.<sup>1</sup>

Although a great deal of advertising is carried on by these individuals through the mails the actual purchase of the number is usually made by telegram - a practice made necessary by the vigilance of the postal inspectors.<sup>2</sup> An individual desiring a number tip wires his fee to the address given on the lay-down card and carefully states the type of game in which he wishes to play and any other necessary information (Plate XII). He receives the number by return wire. Rarely is the actual number stated in the telegram. Usually it is sent in code which the player knows from reading the advertisement. Numbers sent by wire generally command much higher prices than those sold locally. It is not unusual for \$25 to be paid for such service. Certain well-to-do confidence men dispense with the lay-down system and advertise directly by means of telegrams. From sucker lists they choose what they believe to be likely names and send such messages as those quoted below.<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. Pittsburgh Courier, March, 1935.
  2. Several prominent confidence men have been sent to the penitentiary for using the mails to defraud.
  3. These are copies of telegrams sent by Mr. V. H., one of Detroit's most prominent confidence men.

Can furnish winners on Mondays, Wednesdays of each week. This is a private connection. Price is Fifty Dollars. Answer at once before we close list.

United Racing Exchange

Collect.

We have established a private connection. Guaranteed winners on Mondays and Wednesdays. Price is \$15. Wire at once before we close list.

United Racing Exchange

Collect.

Private info. to win with Bonds on each Monday and Wed. Price \$15. to install. Wire now before we close. Big change to clean up.

Stock Exchange Bureau

Collect.

The response to such a procedure is amazing. I have in my possession a large number of money-order messages replying to these telegrams.

Another variant of the confidence business is the storefront church which I will deal with in the next chapter.



**HITS! HITS! HITS!**  
*Charles Gordon* **WINNING SPOT PLAYS**  
 4 9 3 8 2 5 7 4 6 8 5 4 3 2 4 6 7 5 2 4 3 2 9 8 3 5 6 8 7 5 9

Dear Player:

If you have been a steady loser this message should be of the utmost importance to you. Here is an opportunity that comes once in a lifetime.

**WINNERS WINNERS**  
*Straight Hits On All Systems*

We have received word from a certain clique that operate at all Race Tracks and Commission CLEARING Centers that a big CLEANUP is to take place on Friday May 8th, the result will probably send many a banker to the cleaners.

If you have been depending on luck charms or dream books to get a straight hit you now have the chance to get REAL INFORMATION. An event such as this does not occur every day. It takes Time, Money and the Right Connections. We sell this INFORMATION only when we think we have everything in your favor.

*A Gala Day — For You*

FRIDAY MAY 8

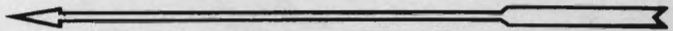
Has been designated as the day to bomb the bankers.  
 Here's your lucky day. NOW go to it.

**\$ 3 Pays for this Spot Play \$ 3**

It will more than pay you to get the right information at so small a cost. The information will come to you by wire so you can understand it. No Codes.

Mail your three dollars for A special which will probably put you on the right track. You will receive the spot play by wire no later than eight o'clock in the morning.

**GUARANTEE:**



The spot play for Friday May 8th, --- must hit --- otherwise you will get our \$50. Private Special Schedule to take place Tues. May 12th Absolutely Free.

CHAS. A. GORDON

149 W. 42nd St., New York



WE WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1201-S

# WESTERN UNION

(28)

| SIGNS          |                      |
|----------------|----------------------|
| DL             | = Day Letter         |
| NM             | = Night Message      |
| NL             | = Night Letter       |
| LC             | = Deferred Cable     |
| NLT            | = Cable Night Letter |
| Ship Radiogram |                      |

The filing time as shown in the date line on full-rate telegrams and day letters, and the time of receipt at destination as shown on all messages, is STANDARD TIME. Received at Corner Congress and Shelby Sts., Detroit, Mich. Always Open

PA340 39/41 NL=PHILADELPHIA PENN 16

1934 APR 16 PM 10 35

| MINUTES IN TRANSIT |            |
|--------------------|------------|
| FULL-RATE          | DAY LETTER |

A WEINBERG=  
18000 BINDER ST DET=

I HAD HEARD OF YOU AND HAD SENT YOU A SUBSCRIPTION ABOUT TEN DAYS AGO I DONT KNOW WHAT WAS WRONG BUT IT SEEMS AS IF I DID NOT RECEIVE THE EXPECTED REPLY ANSWER WESTERNUNION

1401 RACE ST=  
STANLEY WESTLAKE.

|             |      |
|-------------|------|
| No. 7661706 | Wife |
| SSK 9402    | W.C. |

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

Form 3300C

**QUICK SERVICE** **WESTERN UNION** **LOW RATES**  
**MONEY ORDER MESSAGE**

Money Sent by Telegraph and Cable to all the World

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

No. B144 OFFICE DATE JUNE 26 1934

To M VICTOR  
MR., MRS. OR MISS

|                                  |
|----------------------------------|
| TRANSIT TIME OF THIS MONEY ORDER |
| MINUTES                          |

The Money Order paid you herewith is from BEATRICE WATKINS  
NAME  
at ROANOKE VIR and included the following message:  
PLACE

WIRE WEDNESDAY FIGURE FOR 3 5 7 R  
  
508



Chapter VII

The Store-Front Spiritualist Church

The store-front spiritualist church is one of the most important of the parasitic activities associated with number gambling. Its role in the gambling complex is similar to that of the confidence games discussed in the preceding chapter, namely, to furnish its patrons with numbers for the various games. These churches are almost always found in the negro sections of our cities, although occasionally they are found in the poorer white neighborhoods as well. In Detroit their heaviest concentration is found in the West Side negro settlement in the area bounded by Forest Avenue and Vernor Highway on the north and south and Brush and St. Antoine Streets on the east and west. These churches are usually housed in a vacated store building, hence the name, store-front.

The growth of these churches in Detroit parallels that of number playing. As far as I can determine they did not exist in the city prior to 1921. In that year one Father Hurley came to Detroit from New York and established the first church of this kind. His church was located then as now on the corner of Hastings and Napoleon Streets and was named the "Spiritual Church of Christ in Man." This church prospered and before long had built up a large following. At first, numbers were not given out by Father Hurley but



later for some reason or other he came to condone number playing, declaring it to be no more sinful than playing the stock market. In his sermons he often referred to the policy game as a "God-sent blessing to the poor man." Father Hurley was best known for his two sermons "The Purity of Blessed Water," and "Domestic Peace." The latter was particularly popular since in addition to the sermon there was the added attraction of a free reading to every woman who wished to know where her husband spent his spare time. Father Hurley delivered the sermon on "Blessed Water" while standing up to his neck in a tank of water.

For a number of years Father Hurley's church was dominant in Detroit but beginning about 1929 there was a mushroom like growth of these churches throughout the negro sections. Their growth has been so rapid that at present a conservative estimate would place their number at from 200 to 300 in the entire city. The best known of these churches are "Spiritual Church of Christ in Man," "The Alpha and Omega Spiritual Church," "St. Ruth's Spiritualist Church," "First True Vine Spiritualist Church," "Universal Spiritualist Church of Christ, Incorporated," and "St. Isaac's Sunlight Spiritualist Church."

The personnel of these churches ordinarily consists of a pastor who owns the church, and a medium, usually a woman, who conducts the numbers end of the business. In churches

of considerable size there are in addition several lay assistants who serve as ushers, distribute literature and test messages, and assist in the sale of lucky products. Many of the pastors and mediums are ignorant and illiterate individuals who have migrated from the south in recent years. Originally some were root and herb doctors, some dispensers of magic, some voodoo doctors, and some even ordained ministers who have lost their charge. There are a large group, too, who have learned the spiritualist trade since coming to Detroit. One may become a spiritualist by serving as an apprentice in the church of some established pastor, or by attending regular schools conducted for this purpose by some of the larger spiritualist organizations. One of the most important of these schools is that conducted by Father Hurley. Upon completing such a course the individual is given a certificate and is then free to establish his own church. Frequently, however, these graduates do not go into business for themselves at the start but serve as pastors in churches owned by some other individual, since it is not uncommon for one preacher to own as many as eight or ten store-front churches. While thus employed the neophyte is paid a salary and aside from that has no share in the earnings of his church. In order to throw further light on the character of these individuals and the store-front business in general, let us quote a few excerpts from the biographies of some of

the spiritualist leaders in Detroit.

When I first came to Detroit from Red Bank, Georgia, I never dreamed that I would be doing this kind of work. You see my husband was a Baptist preacher in Red Bank and after his death, I sold out and came to Detroit. That was in 1919, just after the war. I met a lady at Providence Baptist Church and she asked me to go into this type of work. While I was in Georgia people were always coming to me for advice. I was a midwife and travelled in all parts late at night. Many a child has been named after me. Well, before I opened this church I studied Spiritualism under Rev. Hurley. He tried to keep me with him by telling me I wasn't ready to hit out for myself, but I tried it. Many people from his church came over here with me. That was in 1931. I have been here ever since.<sup>1</sup>

I've been living in Detroit since 1926. I came here from Indianapolis, Indiana, but my home is in Frankfort, Kentucky. When I first got here I got tied up in the gambling racket. But I thought I was "tricked" by a woman, so I went to a Spiritualist man around there on Beaubien street. And you know in less time than three weeks I was well. I paid that man \$27 and I believe my powers are just as great as his so I decided I would start in the work myself. Just like you, I wanted to learn how the thing was done so I could make some money. So I went back to this man who cured me and studied under him for two years (1927-1929). The man refused to give me papers so I wrote up to Lansing and got my own papers. I went in business in this building with a woman. I did all of the reading and she did all of the preaching. They couldn't do a thing without me. I gave out a few numbers and a few came out, so people came here in flocks looking for me. I make most of my money selling things like this (shows fetish). Well, the woman wanted ten per cent of my business just because she rented the building in her name. She

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1. Henry A. Bullock, The Urbanization of the Negro Church in Detroit (manuscript), May 30, 1935, p. 46.



was married to a man who had political pull in this district so this man had the "law" brought in. They looked around in the place and did not find anything wrong. After that I changed the name on the window and have been here ever since and am making good too. You see that new Packard, well that's mine. When I say mine, I mean mine. The most of my cases are healing and domestic work. I don't handle numbers very much because the law is watching me. When I first opened up I went to Pontiac and gave out several numbers. It happened that one came out and the lady hit for 50%. Since then people have been coming here from Pontiac to see me. There was a lady here today who agreed to pay me \$25 to bring her and her husband together. If I wanted to take the chance I could get rich in Pontiac off of numbers. One thing about me I am an ordained minister. I can go into anybody's pulpit and preach. No, I never was ordained by any organization, but I'll take chance all right (big laugh). Man, I had to do something to make good. When I first came in this work, all my friends turned against me and knocked by business. But now they come here for advice and to borrow money.<sup>1</sup>

My home is in New Orleans. I started this work when I was a boy 16 years old. That was 37 years ago and I've been doing it ever since. I remember just as plain as day when the old folks were testifying in church, you know how they do on every first Sunday. Well, when I came to myself I was standing up and talking and I don't know what I was saying, but everybody said I was called to preach. Gourse, people said that when I was young too. When I first joined church I wanted to heal people. We used to play at the home of an old Creole woman who had a son who was just covered with sores. We could see her strip him and just dance around him trying to cure him. Sure enough, the boy did get well. That caused me to want to get into this work more than anything else. After people heard me talk, they commenced to come to me for ailments. I went to

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1. Ibid, pp. 46-47.

Little Rock, Arkansas, and opened up a church and made over \$1,000. When business got dull, I came to Detroit. I did deal in numbers in my church. If somebody would come up stairs and ask me for one I would give him one, but not in church. Because there are so many snitchers around they may bring the law in on me. When I heals I don't give no medicine because that is against the law. My charter reads: "Teaching against the Common law." That means I teach against stealing, getting drunk, and things like that. If I give medicine and something happens to the person they'd say it was poison. When a person comes to me for treatment, I give him pure water but you see that water is blessed and I can do anything I want to with him.<sup>1</sup>

The various store-front churches differ in the importance which they attach to the dispensation of numbers. Some of them have made a conscientious effort to confine their activities to the practice of spiritualism alone, although in most cases the need for funds has forced them to include the giving of numbers at least as a minor part of the service. In the majority of cases, however, it is no exaggeration to say that the store-front church exists primarily for the purpose of selling numbers. In such churches the order of service is usually as follows:

1. Congregational singing
2. Repetition of the Lord's Prayer
3. Hymn (by choir)
4. Reading

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1. Ibid, p. 48.

5. Congregational singing
6. Sermon
7. Congregational singing
8. Offering
9. Sale of lucky products
10. Test Messages
11. Benediction

Since items 9 and 10 are the most important more time is naturally allotted to them in the service. In a three-hour service perhaps as much as two and one-half hours would be devoted to these activities.

The method of giving out numbers varies with the different churches, depending somewhat on the importance which the church attaches to that activity. In those churches where it constitutes only a minor part of the service the "hymn method" is used, i. e., the hymn numbers are the numbers that the individual is to play. As the minister calls out the number of the hymn many members of the congregation may be seen busily copying it down. Interestingly enough, this activity is not confined to the store-front churches alone but has crept into the services of the legitimate churches as well. Thus, unwittingly, the ministers of these churches have become a part of the number racket. For numbers given out in this manner in the store-front churches there is, of course, no fee but the congregation is expected to contribute



generously to the collection plate. A second method makes the procedure a regular part of the service. At a certain point in the services those members of the congregation desiring lucky numbers are asked to stand and march in a single file past the medium who stands near the altar. As each one passes the medium dips her hands in holy water, sprinkles the individual with it, and whispers a number into his ear. The price of such a number is usually a quarter which is placed in a container held by one of the assistants. There is great variation of this method of giving numbers, each church having its own particular system. One ingenious minister of the writer's acquaintance conceived of the idea of putting his medium in a coffin. People desiring numbers would file past the coffin and receive their numbers from the dead. The client, leaning over the corpse, would get such a message as this: "345 is hot. Play it heavy."

Finally, there is the "test message" method, perhaps most important of all. A test message is one which the medium purports to get from God and which she relays to her client. Before the service begins the church assistants move among the congregation selling little numbered cards for a quarter. When the time comes for the messages to be given the medium calls out a number and the individual possessing that number either raises his hand or stands. When this is done the medium raises her eyes heavenward and gets a message from God for

this individual. The client listens attentively to all that the medium says for it is important that he catch every word.

The type of message given by the medium varies. Sometimes the actual numbers will be stated in the message.

I hear the name of "John" so forcibly when I come in contact with you. John brings a little worry. All right? I want to say to you, bless your heart, the spirit brings me in contact with incense, burn some and you will get your desire. You are trying so hard to figure this out. As the spirit brings out so beautifully by so doing - brings me in touch with you with the number 141. You understand? Use it, says the spirit and you will come out all right.<sup>1</sup>

This type of message is rare, however. The most common type is a "key word" message. Key words are simply words given out by the medium and later looked up by the client in a standard dream book.<sup>2</sup> The numbers corresponding to these words are the ones to be played. In the example below the underscored words are the key words. The client is able to detect these words by noting the inflection in the medium's voice, and her gestures.

I want to come in to you, dear, and when I come in touch with you, all right, a beautiful cloud is over you. The spirit brings cotton to you. Watch yourself very carefully and you will succeed, said the spirit. A bridge is standing

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1. Taken from a verbatim report of a spiritualist meeting at St. Ruth's Spiritualist Church, Orleans and Monroe Avenues, Detroit, Michigan, Friday, Jan. 18, 1935, 8 p.m.
  2. The churches in Detroit with which I am acquainted use Professor Zonite's Dream Book for this purpose.

before you and you will be successful in crossing this condition. You recognize the condition? I am a travelling spirit. I want to say to you - all right? I want to say to you, the year brings a bright message here to you also. Also, I want to say, there is a big crossing; watch yourself. All right? You will be successful in receiving your heart's desire.<sup>1</sup>

A shrewd medium sometimes has the more prosperous of her clients come to her for a private conference. She leads them to think that their's is a case needing special attention, for which there are always special fees.

The spirit tells me at this time you are not feeling so well. You have a cold? I feel a hoarseness in my chest. The spirit brings a clearing-house number to you also. Come to me after this service and I will give it to you. All right?<sup>2</sup>

Occasionally there appear in the congregation individuals who are impatient with the ceremony and ritual of the test message procedure; they desire quick results.

I come to you with a very disgusted condition. You work with coal, dear heart? (answer: No, Ma'am). For some reason the spirit brings this manifestation. (answer: I hauls coal all right. I don't take it home. I mean ....). All right, the spirit tells me - I get a red wagon, truck, or something, and two horses. The spirit brings me in contact with the business of the wagon a long, long time ago. I want to say,

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1. Verbatim report, op. cit.

2. Ibid.



the spirit is bringing to you prosperity and success, shows me that you will be able to get what you want. It comes yellow. Do you understand the message? (answer: What I am looking for is dough - I mean money.)<sup>1</sup>

In addition to her work in the church the medium holds private daily consultations where she sells advice on all the problems of life and particularly those having to do with numbers. This aspect of the business is no different from that of the numerologist and confidence man. As a matter of fact, the principle upon which she conducts her business whether in the church or in private consultation is the same as that of the other confidence rackets. In order to be successful she must have a large congregation to which she can sell numbers, and in order to keep her followers she must have sufficient success to lead her clients to believe that she is "genuine." This is one important factor in the great mobility of these churches, for as soon as the congregation loses confidence in the medium she must move to a new location.

There are many people who have great faith in the power of the church medium and spiritualist. This is particularly true if these individuals have had some measure of success with numbers received from this source.

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1. Ibid.

These mediums has a natuorl Gife from God. They are given power to see the futcur and Past and present. When the spirit gives a medum a number for you it is the right number for it is from the spirit that watches over yu night and day. The spirit that guides yu though life knowes what yu want and what yu need. God give them the gife to help man and guid man though life to make sure that he would be led straight and not wrong. If a man is at lost how to life right he goes to a medum and gets one the wright road to live in peace and make money by the advice of the spirit medum for they are true things. They speaks unto yu. I mean true spirit medums and not fake, understand. To know a true medum you have got to try them. First find out for your self then yu are right so the number given yu by the spirit are the best number to play. You will have more success with those numbers than any other numbers. The spirit will give you numbers direct whiles yu are in a mood of worriy and wishing for a good one. The spirit will give yu the numbers to play.<sup>1</sup>

I joined this church because it is the only church I have attended in Detroit that had anything to offer me. Most of them want you to give them something but don't want to give you anything. Before I joined this church I used to play as big as fifty cents almost every day in policy and never hit. I went to visit the church, got a private reading. She told me to fast. I did three days and one day I played fifty cents and won. I then thought I ought to've played more so I put fifty cents in the next day and won. Nobody can tell me she's a fake. That woman knows what she's talking about.<sup>2</sup>

The store-front church indulges also in the sale of lucky products. Such things as lucky incense, holy oil, holy

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1. This statement is taken from an essay on numbers written for me by Mr. "Dad" Brooks, veteran number writer and player living at 606 E. Vernor Highway, Detroit, Michigan.
  2. Henry Bullock, op. cit., p. 50.

candles, amulets, charms, etc. are dispensed by the pastors and mediums privately and as a regular part of the church service. Fabulous prices are charged for such items.

For the most part the store-front church is independent of the number banker. But there are many instances of collusion too. Sometimes a pastor or medium will enter into an agreement to have all their numbers go to a single bank, for which service they receive a regular fee from the banker. I have been told of cases where the banker owned the churches outright and simply hired the medium and pastor to conduct the business.

Because the store-front spiritualist church has become so much a part of the number racket, the police have come to regard it as legitimate prey along with the actual gambling organizations and other forms of vice. It is not uncommon for a congregation to be interrupted in the midst of "Onward Christian Soldiers" or "Nearer My God to Thee" by some burly police sergeant. The modern world has witnessed few things more paradoxical than a pastor and his congregation being loaded into a patrol wagon and whisked away to the police station.

Some of the dreams with their associated numbers as they are found in a modern dream book.

Twins - for a woman to dream of having twins means the advent of good news - 56, 75, 77.



## Chapter VIII

### Dream Books, Tip Sheets, Lucky Products

In this chapter we shall consider three of the less important of the parasitic activities, namely, dream books, tip sheets, and lucky products.

#### Dream Books

Most folk peoples attach great significance to dreams, with the result that much time and effort is expended by such groups in their interpretation. A natural outgrowth of this is the dream book wherein are indicated various dreams and their meanings. The dream book is a very old item of culture since there is evidence of its existence as far back as the time of the ancient Egyptians.

Dream books came very early to be associated with number playing. We read of the dream book being used as long ago as the 16th century in connection with the Italian Lottery. These number dream books contained a description of various dreams and the particular numbers associated with those dreams. This practice has continued down to the present day.

To make clear the nature of the dream book let us note some of the dreams with their associated numbers as they are found in a modern dream book.

Twins - for a woman to dream of having twins means the advent of good news - 66, 56, 37.

Beer House - to meet your friends there signifies joy and pleasure - 42, 47, 49.

Bed Bugs - forewarn you against secret enemies who will endeavor to harm you - 1, 2, 3, 20.

Belly ache - domestic trouble - 2, 10, 11, 22.

Policy - to dream you play policy is a good omen and signifies great riches and happiness - 4, 11, 16, 44.

Virgin - denotes grief - 17, 22, 39, 59.

Blood - 315 (for numbers games), 11, 19, 40  
(for policy).

Mother-in-law - 288 (numbers games), 8, 24,  
up in 32 (policy).

In addition to the dreams, these books usually contain other materials of interest such as lists of names with their corresponding lucky numbers, lucky days, national and religious holidays with lucky numbers, etc. One well known dream book contains also a section on recipes, including recipes for making axle grease, sealing wax, furniture polish, and cures for diarrhoea, dyspepsia, corns, piles, and rheumatism.

In recent years the publication of dream books has grown to be a prosperous business as a result, largely, of the number playing craze. There are on the market at the present time no less than 200 different dream books. In large cities they may be purchased at practically any newsstand and in the negro section are obtainable in drug stores, barber shops, smoke shops, and shoe shine parlors as well. The

dream books most popular in Detroit are the following: the Three Witches Dream Book, Professor Zonite's Dream Book, Three Wise Men Dream Book, Black Herman's Dream Book, King Solomon's Dream Book, Napoleon's Dream Book, Aunt Sally's Policy Players Dream Book, and Madame Juno's Dream Book.

Many number players have great faith in dream numbers. This confidence is well expressed by the following statement:

I plays pretty heavy when I does get a good dream. Most of the numbers I gets from my dreams. I dream something and then look it up in my dream book. I used to go to mediums, but my dreams are just as good as anything they ever gave me. Some peoples have to burn incense to get numbers. But I figures that if I has a dream the numbers is sure to come out within three days. I had a dream last night and I'll play<sup>1</sup> if for three days and it's bound to come out.

On various occasions I have asked certain individuals why they place so much faith in dream numbers. The answer, almost invariably the same, is interesting. "These numbers is good cause they come out so often and cause they comes from the spirit world which speaks to you in your dreams."

In the negro community there are abroad many interesting anecdotes of dream numbers which have come out bringing wealth to the players and consternation to the bankers. One such story tells of a pullman porter who had a dream having to do

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1. Statement of a number player, Field Notes.



with love. He consulted his dream book and found that the number for love was 805. He told his friends of the number and they all wagered heavily on it. The number appeared and the Detroit bankers were forced to pay out some \$20,000. And there is the story of a man on relief who dreamed of murder. Since blood is a conspicuous element in such a dream, the word blood was looked up and its number found to be 315. Again the number was broadcast in the community and again it came out - this time costing the bankers some \$50,000. Our entire staff of analysts are experienced. Their close analytical observations are based on the irrefutable law of averages. It is their contention that the law of averages, properly applied, Tip Sheets

As the name suggests, the tip sheet is a means of giving out information on numbers. These sheets are printed in the form of small booklets or circulars which appear once a week and are sold for 10¢ a copy at most newsstands and drug-stores in the negro sections. The tip sheet business is mostly in the hands of confidence men who use it as a lucrative side line to their regular business. There are, of course, many such sheets on the market. The following are available in Detroit: Black-Shadow Tip Sheet, Prof. Konje's Number Review, Policy Pete's Weekly Number Review, Psychotie's Number Sheet, National Number News, Numbers, Numb's Weekly Mutuel, and Doc Wizard's Lucky Systems.

In addition to the information on numbers there are other features of the tip sheet worth noting. As in the case of the confidence racket it is essential that the tip sheet

establish a reputation for authoritativeness, and a great deal of ballyhoo is directed toward that end. An editorial in Numb's Weekly Mutuel, clearly illustrates this point:

#### TO OUR READERS

The forecasts, selections, and reviews contained in this issue are not merely a pattern of jumbled guess-work.

Our entire staff of selectors are sincerely intent upon giving you the best of their experience. Their close analytical observations on past performances and future possibilities are based on the irrefutable law of average. It is their contention that the law of averages, properly applied, must meet with success.

Their scientific and painstaking methods are at your disposal. Pick one or two Numb's selectors and stick with him. Eventually you will hit!<sup>1</sup>

Above all - make sure you get your copy each week - at newsdealers and stationery stores.

NUMB'S<sup>2</sup>

Professor Konje gives an air of finality to his predictions when he closes his sheet with these words, "Prof. Konje has Spoken." The especially choice numbers in Konje's Number Review are indicated thus:

Prof. Konje Has A Rendezvous With:

327

429

623

- 
1. Underlining is the writer's.
  2. NUMB'S Weekly Mutuel, April 13, 1935, p. 2. New York, The Elliott Publishing Company.

These are darlings. Play them heavy.

Some of the rich, the aristocrats of today  
 eagerly wait for the look and best numbers.

273

423

105

If you have the rich to play  
 numbers, get some of your rich friends. They'll  
 tell you they do. Numbers has taken the place  
 of cards in Konje's Sure Shots

It is one game that can't be cheated or made  
 crooked by any device. It is a universal game  
 played equally as successfully in the mountains

227

436

Aside from the number information the tip sheet usually con-  
 tains a few short essays dealing with some phase of the num-  
 ber business. Most of these essays are of the "come on"  
 type, i.e., designed to stimulate number playing. For  
 example:

EVERYTHING IS NUMBERED

### Numbers

Numbers is as old as the world itself.

The most uncivilized peoples of the earth  
 now play numbers; some do it only with their  
 fingers, or objects.

It provides you with an intriguing and,  
 amusing, as well as profitable game to play.

### Everyone Playing

I've just returned to my desk after travel-  
 ing thousands of miles throughout the east and  
 middle west. It seems that everyone is playing  
 Numbers these days. In the old days - 30, 20, even  
 10 years ago, people used to say that only fools  
 played Numbers - which was known then as Policy.  
 But what is going on today? Just this - everyone  
 is playing Numbers - from the high to the low,

- 
1. NUMBERS LUCKY-NEWS, Jan. 19, 1935, p. 2, New York, The Nulo Publishing Company.



from Park Avenue to the alleys back of the homes of the rich. The aristocrats of today eagerly wait for the "stock and bond numbers."

If you don't believe the rich do play Numbers, ask some of your rich friends. They'll tell you they do. Numbers has taken the place of Cross Word puzzles, Jigsaw puzzles, keno, bingo, and scores of other games, because of its swift and sure action; and the fact that it is one game that can't be "spiked" or made crooked by any device. It is a universal game; played equally as furiously in San Francisco as in New York, or Chicago, or Cleveland, Detroit, or Pittsburgh.<sup>1</sup>

An essay not of the "come on" variety is worth quoting here too.

#### EVERYTHING IS NUMBERED

by Professor Digit

You don't have to be a convict to have a number. You were numbered the day you were born. Somebody wrote a song called "HORSES, HORSES, HORSES" - but if I were a composer, I'd write one called "NUMBERS, NUMBERS, NUMBERS" - for numbers move faster than horses. Horses may come and horses may go - but numbers go on forever.

If we didn't have numbers and the system of using them - the world would stop. Civilization couldn't go on. Do you think they could build the Empire State Building without numbers? Do you think doctors could figure diseases and child-births without numbers? What would the jails do? Take the calendar away and the world wouldn't know whether it was coming or going. Everything would be topsy-turvy. Take the numbers off the clock, and you wouldn't know when to do anything. Even your stomach would be fooled. You'd swear the moon was coming up instead of the sun.

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1. Ibid, p. 8.

The Whippet & Grayhound Co's. are going over in a big way with their NIGHT FINAL!

Did you get my 704 they pulled?

THE news received of our deceased brethren, Mr. Tenny Blount created a new thought in the minds of the Public and Policy Players.

I WISH to inform you that the TIA - JUANA, and INTERSTATE CO. STANDS AS BEFORE WELL FORTIFIED WITH CAPITAL, and still operated by men of intelligence and integrity.

TAKE A NOTE TO DEPRESSION!

Tell it to Go Away!

The Ala. Ga., Reno - St. Louis Cos. assistance in this crisis has brought much joy and happiness to those who were drowning in the sea of poverty.

But in hand I am offering my assistance to you. Start the year out right by playing only in houses that are listed.

Professor J. Herbert Physcotie

601 E. Hancock Hours 10 A. M. - 1 - 2 E. M. - 8

ATTENTION!

The Eastern and Western, Union, Big Track and Big Train Co. started the year out right by making Johnnie Cummings, manager of the entire Co. Johnnie is widely known in the policy world and anticipates a big business—good luck to you Johnnie.

PHYSOTIE.

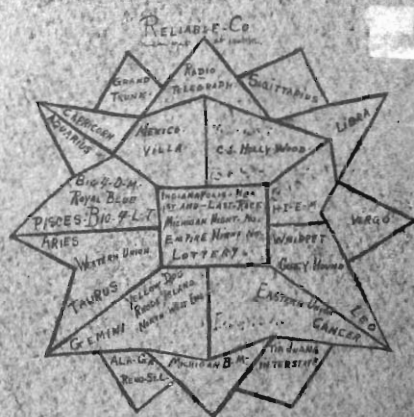
The Science of Numerology Under CAPRICORNUS

Prof. J. HERBERT

PHYSOTIE

NUMBER SHEET

At all Leading Drug Stores & Sub For Week Ending Jan. 12th.



<FRONT>

THIS WEEK'S NUMBERS For These Houses

|                   |                     |         |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------|
| Whippet           | SPECIAL GIGS        |         |
| Big Train         | 17 - 19 - 21        |         |
| Big Track         | 16 - 32 - 64        |         |
| Eastern Union     | 9 - 16 - 71         |         |
| Western Union     | Watch These Spiders |         |
| Grayhound         | 2 - 4 - 8           |         |
| Mexico - Villa    | 10 - 55 - 2         |         |
| Harem Moon        | 4 - 8 - 10          |         |
| Ala. - Ga         | 24 - 32 - 46        |         |
| Reno - St. Louis  | 54 - 73 - 24        |         |
| Royal Blue        | 32 - 46 - 54        |         |
| Yellow Dog        | SPECIAL HORSE       |         |
| Big 4 - D. M.     | 2 - 4 - 8 - 10      |         |
| North-West End    | SIDE                |         |
| Tia Juana Inter   | 29 - 1              | 24 - 29 |
| C. & J. Hollywood | 17 - 27             | 77 - 17 |
| H. & L. E. M.     | 18 - 73             | 19 - 23 |
| Miel. B. M.       | FLATS               |         |
| Rhode Island      |                     |         |
| Big 4 Double      |                     |         |
| Blaci - Cat       |                     |         |
| Rex               |                     |         |

Mexico and Villa lost a considerable amount of money on Professor Physcotie's hot tip last week.

4 - 11 - 44

Why not see PHYSOTIE if you need money?

The Whippet and Greyhound is backing clearing, something new to Detroit players. An honest deal, you can watch your numbers come as they are being drawn. Example:

The first 3 numbers pulled e. 25  
quits your clearing No. Your 50  
number would be 505, Boletto 05 75

A Real Square Game

RELIABLE CO.  
Indianapolis Bank Clearings  
800 121

WESTERN UNION 3, 5, 7 th.  
454 - 180 - 279

Get Your XMAS Money Here!  
Sure Winners—1 1 7

095 Whippet - Grayhound 434

561 027 525 005

Big Train - 1st, 2nd, 3rd Races  
718 465 132 210

Mexico Spur Villa  
28 66 83 49 79 91

Big Track Lottery  
56 - 73 - 82 19 - 57 - 81

Big Four Double  
44 62 71 9 - 12 - 84

Lottery 19 - 45 - 67 12 - 23 - 47

<BACK>

Every day, millions of people speak numbers, for instance: "Meet me at Forty-Second Street and Third Avenue" - "See you at two forty-five on the fifth" - "Mrs. Jones has eighteen children" - "Farmer Smith had a calf with two heads and six legs" - etc.

So don't you see - with people speaking numbers, numbers, numbers - there are lots of vibrations generated in the air - just like the air is full of radio vibrations? Where do these vibrations go? For instance, on the 15th of September, millions of people not only write 15, but speak it and think it. And believe me, the combined force of number fifteen has some power. And with our eyes - and the highest vibrations we get by our hunches.

What about this question of number vibrations anyway? Some people laugh when you say vibrations are stronger than germs - for just like germs, you can't see vibrations either - but you can feel them.

Did you ever see a fellow with the "shakes"? Well, just try to tell him that those shakes or vibrations are only his imagination - and if he can catch you, he'll give you a wallop that will shake you up plenty.

Yes sir - there are all kinds of vibrations. Those that you can see, those you can hear, and those you can feel - and those you get through hunches or lucky breaks. All these vibrations have different wave lengths just like radio stations. Vibrations of sound have different numbers from vibrations of electricity or the X-ray or voodoo curses. Yes, you can put out a candle with a vibration. Certain notes of music can make a lamp shake - and certain kinds of black magic vibrations can bring you good luck or bad luck.

So you've got to be careful how you handle vibrations. For the vibrations will get you if you don't watch out.

That's why numerology says that each number has certain vibrations. And the letterologists tell you that every letter or word has a certain vibration which brings good or bad luck. And the colorologists tell you that every color has a



If vibration - red having the lowest number of vibrations per second - and blue the highest. That's why the Devil chose red and Heaven blue.

Of course, when vibrations get too high - you can't hear them. Your ear can hear only vibrations from 10 beats per second up to 40,000. And that's going some.

But do you know how fast the light of the sun vibrates? Well, to be exact, just 450 billion per second.

So that's the way it works. The low vibrations we hear with the ear - the higher ones we see with our eyes - and the highest vibrations we get by our hunches.

That's why hunches can bring luck. If you do know how to solve your hunches and your dreams, you can always do the right thing at the right time.

Next month I'll tell you more about hunches - and about things that cast their shadows before them - and how to figure them out by the number vibrations.<sup>1</sup>

The idea of the number tip sheet was undoubtedly borrowed from horse racing where a similar practice is followed with regard to various horses.

#### Lucky Products

The term "lucky products" refers to any item, the use of which, is believed to bring good luck to the number player.

The most important of these products is lucky incense which may be used to bring good luck in a number of ways.

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1. "Doc" Wizard's Lucky Systems, Fall Number, 1934, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 18, Chicago, Ill., Feature Magazine Corporation.

If burned in the ordinary manner, it is believed that the fumes given off will charge the surrounding atmosphere with good luck and that anyone exposed to such an atmosphere will absorb the good luck given off. Frequently the incense is so prepared that when burned, numbers will appear in the ashes. Such numbers are highly respected for their good luck value, and I have many times seen a group of negroes waiting wide-eyed for a piece of incense to burn down to a point where the number could be seen. Sometimes the incense itself is only incidental, the important thing being the slip of paper containing numbers which is placed in the package with the incense. Some of the more common types of incense are: Jacob's Ladder Incense, Wise Owl Incense, Mother Sylvia's Bag O' Luck, Black Cat Incense, John the Conqueror Incense, Lucks Me Incense, Lucky Mo-Jo Incense, and Success Incense.

Lucky herbs, roots, and powders are also important. The herbs and roots are carried about either as good luck charms, or brewed into various concoctions to be taken as good luck medicine. The powders are usually sprinkled over things with which the individual has contact - clothing, bed clothes, curtains, rugs, etc. The names under which these products are sold are interesting - Adam and Eve Root, King Solomon Root, Wahoo Bark, Dragon's Blood Root, Devil's Shoestring, Sand of the Dead Sea, Graveyard Dust, and Five Finger Grass.

Then there is holy oil of which there are likewise many varieties: Success Oil, Lucky Dream Oil, Number Oil, Gambling Oil, Compelling Oil, Bat's Blood Oil, Black Art Oil, and Cleopatra Oil to mention only a few. Holy oil is particularly popular with housewives who before playing the numbers, place a few drops of it in their scrub-water or dish water, or on wash day they may place a little of it in the washing machine. Some people use it as a perfume, lotion, or dressing for the hair. Although not as commonly used as either lucky incense or lucky roots, holy oil is nevertheless a very important item in the gambling complex.

Finally there are the good luck charms. The parchment talisman containing a biblical verse written in red ink is widely used. It is usually carried about in one's pocket, but there are special talismans which must be placed in one's shoe, or under one's pillow or mattress for the best results. Lucky beans are also very popular as charms, as are good luck rings, pins, keys, etc.

Lucky products command fabulous prices. For example, an inch-long piece of Adam and Eve Root is sold for \$3.00, the cost of an ounce bottle of holy oil ranges in price from \$2 to \$20, a snuff of graveyard dust is worth 50¢, while a good luck ring will bring anywhere from \$20 to \$100. It is interesting to note that the cost of the ingredients for an ounce of holy oil selling for \$20 is a fraction of a cent.



Lucky products constitute an important place in the stock of every negro drug-store. They are sold also by salesmen who go from house to house as representatives of such organizations as Oracle Product's Co., Sovereign Products Co., Valmor Products Co., and Alexander's Psychic Aid, Inc.

Lucky products are widely advertised in the negro press. Such ads are an important source of income for these papers since the rates for this type of advertising are extremely high. The nature of such advertising is indicated by the following:

ANYONE CAN WIN!!!!

MONEY . LOVE . LUCK . JOBS . GAMES

with LUCK. The person who is RICH, SUCCESSFUL and HAPPY is LUCKY. The person who can't win, needs money, or is worried is UNLUCKY. All you need is LUCK and everything will come to you.

You may have nerve and energy. You may work harder, think quicker and clearer, than the other fellow. But if he has luck and you don't -- what happens? You are left behind in the race. You lose out where you could have won. Nothing can overcome luck. To be successful, to be happy, to be powerful -- you must be lucky.

LUCKY HOLY OIL  
containing

HIGH JOHN THE CONQUEROR ROOT

said to keep away all evil such as enemies, worry, fear, sickness and BAD LUCK.

and

LIVE MAGNETIC LODESTONE

used for thousands of years to attract and draw to you MONEY, LOVE, FRIENDS, LUCKY NUMBERS, and GOOD LUCK.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Afro-American, March, 1935.

With this chapter our discussion of the number gambling complex as such is concluded. In the pages which follow our attention will be focused on certain problems of interpretation.

#### PART IV

### Characteristics Peculiar to Number Gambling

#### In the Detroit Negro Community





of particular points Chapter IX to differences in the

The Perseveration of Number Gambling in the  
Detroit Negro Community

Up to now our discussion has been in the nature of a monographic report. Our purpose has been to describe as accurately as possible the structure of the number gambling complex. From this point on we shall consider some more general problems and relate our discussion more specifically to the Detroit negro community. The historical development of In a recent volume<sup>1</sup> W. I. Thomas has dealt at some length with what he calls the "perseverative" tendency in culture. This, he defines, as the tendency of a people to step up an initial behavior pattern to a position of emotional and social significance in the group. Perseveration of an extreme sort is exemplified by the institution of the "potlatch", as found among some of the Northwest coast Indians of North America where an initial rivalry pattern has been stepped up to a position of pre-eminence in the culture.<sup>2</sup> What distinguishes the Northwest coast Indians from others is not the presence of a rivalry pattern, for this is probably universal, but its unique perseveration. Culture differences are due not so much to the presence or absence

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1. W. I. Thomas, Primitive Behavior, McGraw Hill, New York, 1937.

2. The custom of giving away or destroying large amounts of property to gain or maintain status.

of particular traits as they are to differences in the perseverance of common traits.

This idea of perseverance may serve as a starting point for a further analysis of number gambling. We may regard the present mania for playing the numbers as the stepping up of an initial gambling pattern. As we have already pointed out, number gambling has been in existence for a long time, dating back at least to the sixteenth century. In our discussion of the historical development of the games we observed that while at times they did achieve considerable importance among certain groups at no time did they reach the degree of development that they did in the United States subsequent to the year 1929. Thus while the number gambling pattern itself is rather old its present perseverance is unique. We must answer this fundamental question: Why was it that beginning in 1929 number gambling became such an important activity?

However, the perseverance of number gambling as such is not all that concerns us here. As we pointed out earlier number gambling is typically a negro activity. This fact also merits our consideration. A discussion of these problems presupposes some information as to the way in which this perseverance is manifested in the negro community. For this reason it is necessary first to devote some attention to this topic.

The problem of this chapter may be briefly stated in the form of three questions: (1) What factors are indicative of the present perseveration of number gambling? (2) What factors are responsible for this perseveration? (3) What factors are responsible for the racial incidence of number gambling? Let us consider each of these statements in the order stated.

One of the clearest indications of the perseveration of any underworld activity is the amount of money which it involves. The figures cited in Chapter I show how important number gambling is in this respect. And these figures take on an added significance when we consider the size of the average wager in the number games. As we have already pointed out one may wager anywhere from one cent to one dollar on a single number.<sup>1</sup> A one dollar bet is rare. In fact, any wager of more than fifty cents on a number is uncommon. A careful examination of a considerable number of writer's receipt books shows the average wager to be about ten cents. It is clear from this that number playing is indulged in by a great many people since incomes of such huge proportions would require a vast number of such small wagers.

This general pervasiveness of number gambling is also indicated by the extent to which number gambling enters into

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1. In some cities the top wager is \$5.00.



the conversations and discussions in the community. In the Detroit negro community numbers are a perennial topic of conversation. Wherever people congregate - in the pool room, drug stores, and even in church parlors - one hears "number talk." And comments on the numbers have become the accepted form of greeting in the negro community. Instead of the customary "Good morning" or "How do you do" and the usual trite remarks about the weather, we now have, "What was it?" and the answer - 327, 413, 875, or whatever the number happened to be on that particular day.

The general perseveration of number gambling since 1929 is further indicated by the printed references to it. If it is true that the newspapers reflect public interest in various activities, then we may assume that the amount of space devoted to any activity is a rough index of its importance. This is shown in the case of number playing. Taking the New York Times as a representative newspaper, we find that between the years 1900 and 1929 only 15 news articles were devoted to this subject while from 1929 to 1935 there were 300 articles devoted to it. In the Detroit papers, while the total number of articles is less, the relative proportion for the two periods is the same - four articles appearing prior to 1929 and 60 between 1929 and 1935. During this same period in Detroit and elsewhere there was scarcely an issue of any negro paper which did not contain

some reference to number gambling. Articles on this subject have recently appeared in some of our leading magazines including the Literary Digest, Time, Reader's Digest, Liberty, Saturday Evening Post, and Today. The magazine Today, for example, ran a series of articles from Dec. 8, 1934 to Jan. 26, 1935. Careful perusal of these same periodicals reveals not a single reference to the subject prior to 1929.

Perhaps even more important in indicating the manner in which number gambling has developed in recent years, particularly in the Detroit negro community, is the way in which it has permeated the culture of the group. This is brought out especially in the influence which number gambling has had on the language and folklore of the community. Number gambling, like most specialized activities, has developed its own argot.<sup>1</sup> This was brought home to me when I first began this study. At first I was at a loss as to what my informants were talking about since many of the words used were totally foreign to me. One of the initial tasks, therefore, was to prepare a glossary of terms and learn their meanings. The reader has already become acquainted with some of the more common of these terms such as gig, spider, bug, ice, saddle, and so on. A considerable number of these

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1. For a complete glossary of terms used in number gambling see Appendix D.

terms have been taken over from the argot of the race track. Important, also, is the fact that many of the words of the gambler's vocabulary are being assimilated into the regular vocabulary and are acquiring connotations other than those having to do with gambling. For example, the word "squawk" which in the vocabulary of the gambler refers to any individual who failing to hit returns to the confidence man for his money, has come in everyday speech to refer to one who is in the habit of making a commotion over small matters. Similarly, the word "gig", which to the gambler is a type of play in policy involving three numbers has in the vernacular of the street become a synonym for the number three. One frequently hears such remarks:

"How many muffins, sir?"

"A gig will be plenty."<sup>1</sup>

"Two strikes, one ball, two down and a gig on base."<sup>2</sup>

It is interesting to observe too the manner in which numbers are sometimes substituted for words. A personal experience will illustrate this. At the colored Y.M.C.A. one day I was watching a basketball game between two colored teams. The game had been in progress for only a short time when in a

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1. Heard in the colored Y.W.C.A. cafeteria.

2. Heard at the Detroit ball park.



scuffle for the ball one of the boys deliberately tripped his opponent. The victim fell hard. Fortunately he was not hurt, but was very angry. Upon regaining his feet he turned to the culprit with these words, "You 727, try that again and I'll give you a kick in that big 250 of yours."<sup>1</sup>

To the student of primitive life it is a commonplace that the dominant interests of a group are usually reflected in their folklore. Among the Plains Indians, for example, where hunting, warfare, and visionary experiences are important elements of culture we find that they also have an important place in the mythology. Similarly, number gambling which has become a dominant interest in the Negro community is reflected in their folklore. In recent years there has come into existence a substantial fund of stories with numbers and number playing as their subject. In examining this body of folklore three rather distinct themes are recognizable. First, there are the stories in which the traditional enemies of number playing, usually symbolized by policemen and ministers are unwittingly made the agents for its promotion. For example, there is the story of the individual who when arrested memorized the number on the patrolman's badge. When released he played the number and won a large amount of money.

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1. From my field notes. The reader is free to give his own interpretation to the numbers. The use of numbers was doubtless due to the fact that the Y.M.C.A. director was sitting nearby.

Later he wrote a letter to the patrolman thanking him for the number and enclosing \$1.00 as a token of appreciation. A somewhat similar story is told of a minister. In passing the parsonage one day a number enthusiast noticed the number 825 on the doorway. He played the number and won a large sum of money. In the collection plate on the following Sunday he dropped a five dollar bill with this note - "Thanks, parson, for giving me such a lucky number."

Then there is the dream number theme. An individual has a dream which he interprets by consulting a dream book. After locating the proper number he conveys his information to all of his friends who play the number heavily. The number hits bringing great wealth to those who played it and ruin to the bankers. Stories having this theme are common in the negro community. Sometimes such stories find their way into the newspapers.

#### This "Porter's Love Song" Ruined Numbers Barons

Danville Bankers Hit for Between \$15,000  
and \$20,000 as '805', Dream Number,  
Pops Out - Big Shots Give Town  
The Air.

Danville, Va., Dec. 6 - A pullman porter dreamed of the "Porter's Love Song," or something similar, here last week and gave the police department a big hand in ridding the town of at least a couple of the big shots in the numbers game. His dream took between \$15,000 and \$20,000 out of the pockets of the operators and a pair of them skipped town rather than pay off the "hits," the biggest recorded in this section in many years.

The lucky man dreamed that 805 would be the winning number and to pour salt on an already open wound, told every friend he met to 'get on it' which they very evidently did.

The number 'popped' out and not only butter and eggs market figures which the number operators use, but the U. S. Treasury receipts equaled 805.

Numbers barons, seeing their castles crash around them as the folk with winning tickets jammed the stations, looked about for an avenue of escape, and several of them were seen hitting the road out of town. This helped police a lot as there has been an effort to rid the city of the vice.<sup>1</sup>

In some cases such stories have a basis in fact, more often however, they are pure fabrications.

The third theme has the individual obtaining a number from some unusual event. It may be an automobile accident, a murder, or something of a similar nature. A passerby may notice the license number of the cars involved in a wreck. These he memorizes or writes down and when the occasion presents itself he plays them, and of course, hits and makes himself very rich. The following story told of "Dutch" Schultz' death is with certain variations a very common one in the negro community.

In Harlem at twilight, poor Negroes with policy tickets grabbed at evening papers to see what lucky number had won Flegenheimer's lottery

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1. Pittsburgh Courier, Dec. 8, 1934.



that day. They turned to the sport pages, found the figures for the three-race, five-race, and seven-race pari-mutuel totals at Narragansett Park, R. I. They ran black fingers down the third digit column and blinked with surprise. The winning number was 000. It had not turned up in four years.

"Triple-zero!" they cried. "'At's Dutch's number. 'At's good-bye Dutch. It's all over with 'at boy."

Arthur Flegenheimer drew life's blank at 8:35 o'clock that same evening. Next morning, Harlem's blackmen scrambled by the hundreds to get their money down on the number they were sure would win that day: 835.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to these anecdotes there are many verses and songs which have the numbers as their theme. The following are typical:

Extra - Fo' 'leben fo'ty fo'  
 Lordy, Fo' 'leben fo'ty fo'  
 Will I Play close down, he's come to town  
 Dat old-time gig comes knockin' at de do'.<sup>2</sup>

### I Got Horses and Got Numbers on My Mind<sup>3</sup>

1. I got horses, I got numbers on my mind  
 I got horses, I got numbers on my mind  
 Oh! that third, fifth, and seventh race,  
 See these wrinkles on my face?  
 They come from them horses and them numbers on my mind.
2. Once I placed a lucky bet on Man O'War,  
 Turned around and bet again on Cavalcade  
 But, when I bet on Nellie Flag,  
 She was just another nag, Oh! them  
 Horses and them numbers on my mind.

- 
1. Time Magazine, November 4, 1935, p. 17.
  2. Field notes. 4-11-44 is a favorite number among negroes.
  3. This song is popular among negroes and is used as a theme song by a group of colored singers known as the Virginians who are heard over radio station WLW, Cincinnati, Ohio, (1936).

3. I was sitting in the church on Sunday morn  
 And the preacher asked me  
 "What day was you born?"  
 How that Reverend glared at me  
 When I shouted 5-0-3  
 Oh! I cannot get those numbers off my mind.
4. I got horses, I got numbers on my mind  
 And my wife is getting mad at me I find  
 Oh, she told me just today  
 Baby, if you want your sweet mama to stay  
 You had better get them horses and them numbers off  
 your mind.
5. Once I took a train to go to Montreal,  
 But I didn't get to Montreal a'tall  
 By mistake I took a train  
 That went to Portland, Maine  
 Boy, I cannot get those numbers off my mind.
6. I got horses, I got numbers on my mind,  
 But surely fate to me is most unkind  
 'Cause, if it's two cents that I wins  
 The next day my wife has two twins  
 Now they got horses and got numbers on their minds.
- Extra -  
 Lordy, Lordy, Lordy, Lordy  
 Will I ever get those numbers off my mind.
7. Horses. I got numbers on my mind  
 Ow Wow, Got numbers on my mind.  
 Gee. Got numbers on my mind  
 Five-fifty-five, six-sixty-six, seven-seventy-seven,  
 nine-ninety-nine  
 Gee, got numbers on my mind.

These then are the indices of the present perseveration of number gambling in the Detroit negro community: (1) its pecuniary magnitude, (2) its pervasiveness, (3) the press references to it, (4) the development of an argot, and (5) the development of a folklore.

Having examined the way in which number gambling has

been perseverated in the community we are now prepared to inquire as to the reasons for this situation. What are the factors responsible for the present high development of number gambling? A partial answer to this question is suggested by the fact that the rise and decline of number gambling on a large scale parallels very closely the period of economic depression. Taking the years 1929-1935<sup>1</sup> as the period of the depression we find that this is also the period during which number gambling reached its greatest development. This fact suggests that number gambling in its present state has its roots in the economic and social chaos of this period. It is the concensus of opinion among other observers that the economic depression was the primary factor in the present development of number gambling. This viewpoint is clearly expressed in such statements as the following:

It is one money-getting enterprise which thrives on a depression. .... It is not stretching the point to say that it is the prodigy of the depression.<sup>2</sup>

For many years, the policy and numbers racket lay quite dormant, and then as if awaiting the unhappy event, they sprang to life with the coming of the depression.<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. There might be some question about 1935 as the end of the economic depression. We can say, however, that at least in its most acute form the depression had ended by this time.
  2. McLellan, op. cit.
  3. Ibid.



The depression has done much to increase the practice of gambling among us.<sup>1</sup>

The worst thing about the "numbers" game is that it prospers on hard times and feeds its insatiable appetite with the small change it lures from people who are driven by their very circumstances of disemployment and poverty to "take a chance" and "get a winning."<sup>2</sup>

The importance of the economic crisis as a causative factor is further demonstrated when we examine the motives for playing. Invariably we find that the primary motive in playing is an economic one. People rarely play the numbers for the thrill or sport which it affords. With most people number gambling is a serious business which is indulged in because the usual sources of income have been destroyed and the belief is that this is one way in which that income can be restored. The query, "Why do you play the numbers?" invariably brings forth answers such as the following:

I plays numbers because it is a speculation and an investment of money just as the stock market is played it is to gain big money off of small amount of money to get \$10.00 for 5 cent and get \$5.00 for 1 cent and get \$42.00 for 5 cent is good investment. to get \$17.50 for 5 cent is good so by playing numbers shows you how to invest your little money to help carie the heavy burden. I know that by playing numbers and guess the right ones success is yours and it comes in need and saves life.<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. Rev. Peck, a Detroit negro minister, in a statement to me.
  2. Evelyn Schuler, "Numbers - A Vicious Racket," Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, Sept. 2, 1932, p. 8.
  3. "Dad" Brooks, op. cit.

I'se jus gotta hit than numbah cause  
I'se plum outta coal.<sup>1</sup>

Don't play if you don't have to. It's  
an outlaw game and the odds are strong against  
you, all the way from eighteen hundred to two  
thousand. I needs the money and I plays. But  
if you don't have to don't play.<sup>2</sup>

If it wasn't for policy I don't know what  
I'd do. I ain't working and that is the only  
way I can make some money. Last week I catches  
four times. ... Altogether it made \$14.50. ...  
An old lady I knows caught fifty dollars last  
week off policy. She really needs the money  
because she hasn't any.<sup>3</sup>

If it wasn't for policy and moonshine in  
the Black Belt today, lots of people would go  
hungry.<sup>4</sup>

I ain't workin' and that is the only way  
I can make some money. Some days I plays fifty  
or seventy five cents a day. Sometimes even as  
much as three dollars.<sup>5</sup>

I play numbers because it helps the poor  
fellow. Gambling is a God-sent blessing to the  
poor.<sup>6</sup>

These factors point rather clearly to the fact that  
number gambling is essentially a depression phenomenon.

The importance of the economic depression as a causative  
factor in the perseveration of number gambling should not

- 
1. Mrs. Warren, policy player, living on St. Antoine St.,  
Detroit, Michigan.
  2. Statement of a number player.
  3. Statement of a number player.
  4. Statement of a number player.
  5. Statement of a number player.
  6. Father Hurley, a spiritualist minister, in a conversation  
with me.

blind us to the importance of one other factor - namely, the repeal of prohibition. This did much to promote number gambling. In fact, it is entirely possible that had the 18th Amendment remained on the statute books, number gambling would never have reached its present status. The reason is quite obvious. With prohibition gone the whole underworld organization which had been built up for the illicit liquor traffic suddenly found itself with nothing to do. Consequently, the individuals engaged in this business began to look about for a worthy substitute which they found in the number racket. The elaborate and efficient organization for liquor running was transferred with certain slight modifications to the number racket. Before long the new business was operating at top efficiency and the beer barons had become the number barons. As proof of this we might cite some concrete cases. Prior to 1929 "Dutch" Schultz, the famous New York underworld figure, was known principally for his activity in the liquor traffic. Later, however, when prohibition was repealed Schultz turned to number gambling and made it his chief interest. A similar change was made in Chicago where Ralph Capone, brother of the famous "Al" and heir to the latter's vast underworld empire, took up the number racket as a substitute for the failing liquor business. Thus the famous Capone organization with its "territories," "trigger men," and "fixes", was preserved intact but with a new base.



In Detroit many of the present number barons are underworld figures of an earlier day.

These two factors then, the economic depression and the repeal of prohibition appear to be primarily responsible for the present development of number gambling.

Before concluding this chapter let us consider briefly the problem of the racial incidence of number gambling. Why is it that number gambling is so predominantly a negro activity? To answer this question there is no need to appeal to such stereotypes as racial temperament, innate disposition, love of adventure, and so on. There is no scientific proof for the notion that the negro is temperamentally or instinctively more inclined to this kind of behavior than is any other racial group. The true answer, it seems to me, must be in terms of the social and economic conditions under which the negro lives. If our earlier conclusion is correct, that the present development of number gambling is largely a result of the economic depression, then it follows logically that it should have its chief incidence among negroes. It is common knowledge that no group felt the depression more acutely than did the negro. Being a marginal employee and working as he does at the foot of the occupational ladder it is inevitable that this should be the case. In brief, the negro is addicted to number gambling not because of some hypothetical racial quality but because of his difficult economic position

and because he regards this activity as a possible way of improving his condition. In this connection too it is important to point out that when white people take up number gambling it is principally those whites who most nearly approximate the negro in social and economic status. as of number gambling in the negro community. The materials of the present chapter, dealing with the changed status of number gambling in the Detroit negro community, could have been legitimately treated as a phase of that discussion but inasmuch as the topic is one of considerable intrinsic importance it is best that we consider it separately.

Gambling is quite generally regarded as an outlaw activity in the United States since practically every state in the union has anti-gambling and anti-lottery laws of one sort or another. Number gambling has been no exception to this general rule. Wherever it has become of any importance laws of various kinds have been passed to prevent its growth, and it has been the object of attack by ministers, social reformers, and others interested in the moral behavior of the community.

The history of number gambling in the Detroit negro community up until 1929 followed this general pattern. The moral guardians of the community spared no efforts in attempting to do away with it. As late as 1928 the Detroit Ministers' Association led a militant crusade against it.

By means of which Chapter X did all in their power to  
 fit The Change in Status of Number Gambling in the  
 Detroit Negro Community  
 they speak of it in such terms as the following:

In Chapter IX we dealt at some length with those fac-  
 tors which are indicative of the present perseveration of  
 number gambling in the negro community. The materials of  
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 number gambling in the Detroit negro community, could have  
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 moral guardians of the community spared no efforts in at-  
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 Ministers' Association led a militant crusade against it.



By means of pulpit and press they did all in their power to rid the community of this activity. During this period they spoke of it in such terms as the following:

Number gambling is a vice and we should act to do away with it.<sup>1</sup>

It is an insidious practice which feeds upon the poverty and ignorance of the masses.<sup>2</sup>

We must unite to do away with this cancer that pauperizes our people.<sup>3</sup>

But during the period of 1930-1932 the whole attitude of this group underwent a drastic change. No longer did they condemn it and look upon it as something which should be abolished. Their changed attitude was reflected in such statements as these:

You white folks have your stock market. Colored folks got to have our fun too.<sup>4</sup>

Number gambling is no worse than going out to "Lefty" Ryan's and losing \$3 at a shot.<sup>5</sup>

Number gambling is really not gambling 'cause you've got a good chance of winning and if you do win you're sure to get your money. That's more than you white folks can say about your gambling.<sup>6</sup>

- 
1. Rev. Peck, a prominent colored minister in Detroit.
  2. Rev. Ross, a Detroit colored minister.
  3. Rev. Digby, a colored minister in Detroit.
  4. Quoted by Jerome Davis, Christian Century, Nov., 1936.
  5. Father Daniel in a conversation with me.
  6. Statement of a number player to me.

"The numbers" is not an evil because the money is spent right in our own community and the bankers are our best charity givers.<sup>1</sup>

This change of attitude on the part of the ministers is indicative of a more widespread change of attitude among all those groups who had previously condemned the practice, or at least had remained aloof from it. Thus number gambling which started out as an illegitimate activity along with other forms of gambling quite suddenly was made a legitimate one in the Detroit negro community by winning to its side the interpreters and guardians of the community's morals, i.e., the ministers, Y.M.C.A. groups, etc. This occurrence as far as I can determine appears to be unique to Detroit for in all other areas where number gambling has achieved considerable importance its status seems always to have been that of an outlaw practice.

The sudden acceptance of a previously condemned activity is an unusual occurrence and calls for some explanation. What was responsible for this sudden change of attitude? Two factors in particular are important. First there is an economic factor which grew out of the recent depression; and second, a prestige factor which is associated with the character of the gamblers themselves. Let us examine these in more detail.

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1. Statement of Rev. \_\_\_\_\_ in a conversation with me.

We have already examined the role of the economic depression in the recent perseveration of number gambling. It seems to have played an equally important role in changing the status of number gambling from that of an illegitimate activity to that of a legitimate one. Of all the organizations and institutions affected by the collapse of our economic structure none seem to have been more deeply affected financially than those directly dependent upon public support. Such institutions as the church, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., welfare agencies, and other community enterprises were faced with the unprecedented situation of having their support greatly reduced and at the same time finding an increased demand for their services. For some organizations this situation was too much and they were forced out of existence. Others kept going only by reducing their activity to a minimum. Still others, after a temporary setback, regained most, if not all, of their earlier power. Such organizations as were able to continue did so by virtue of the financial assistance which they obtained from the number gamblers. Here was an opportunity for this group to establish themselves in the good graces of those who hitherto had been their most bitter opponents and they were quick to realize their opportunity. While the motives of the gamblers in this respect were largely mercenary and of a selfish nature it would be incorrect to regard them as entirely so. This is proven by



the fact that in many cases their donations were made anonymously. The motive in such cases was one of altruism and a genuine interest in human welfare rather than in any personal aggrandisement. Some specific cases will serve to illustrate the gambler's activity in this respect.

With the coming of the depression a number of ministers found themselves with heavily mortgaged new buildings in addition to the ordinary expenses of operating a church organization. The remarks of one Detroit minister are to the point:

The church which I was pastoring needed money to complete a construction contract that had been begun on the church building. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ did not wait for me to ask help of him but came to me and offered the full amount needed to complete the job.<sup>1</sup>

So, as might be expected, we find that the church, in particular, has come in for a large share of the gamblers' benefactions.

Charity organizations also have received large donations from this source although some of the gamblers prefer to carry on their own charity work rather than trust the funds to some agency.

Hundreds of Thanksgiving and Christmas baskets are distributed by these men. One in particular confines all of his charitable work

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1. Statement of Rev. Peck in a letter to me, 1935.

as to the distribution of over a thousand baskets at Christmas. These men have a deep sense of appreciation of the need among their group and it is rare that they refuse requests for help. The system of giving is not sound social work procedure, but they sustain the reputation of helping their supporters and friends who are in need.<sup>1</sup>

Both the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. receive large annual donations from the gamblers. Usually it is specified that the donations should be used to pay membership dues of individuals who otherwise might be deprived of using the facilities of these organizations.

Not all of the philanthropy of the gamblers, however, is of this institutional type. A good deal of it goes to the support of individuals who are deserving of such aid. For example, there are two young colored men attending the University of Michigan at the present time (1935) whose entire expenses are being paid by the pennies and nickels from St. Antoine Street. These men know their benefactors only as interested friends.

The gamblers have also contributed generously to the support of athletic organizations and of individuals who give promise of becoming outstanding athletes. In 1934, for example, a group of these men sponsored eight fully equipped baseball and basketball teams. Such famous negro athletes

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1. Statement of W. C. Woodson, Executive Secretary of the colored Y.M.C.A. in Detroit, in a letter to me, Oct., 1934.

as Eddie Tolan and Willis Ward owe much of their success to the early encouragement, financial, and otherwise, which they received from such individuals. Joe Louis, the sensational negro boxer, owes most of his success to the help of his present co-manager, John Roxborough, one of Detroit's most prominent gamblers. Roxborough has helped many other people in the negro community as well, and justly deserves to be called "The Colored man's Santa Claus" - a title which the community has bestowed upon him.

Thus the economic depression by depriving certain institutions of their regular means of support made it possible for number gambling to become established as a legitimate business in the community. By accepting the financial aid of the gambler these institutions and the individuals interested in them were forced to accept the business which made this aid possible. Thus number gambling has come to have a legitimate place in the Detroit negro community because certain elements in the community such as the ministers, Y.M.C.A. people, and others who are more or less the "moral definers" have found it economically advantageous to give it such status. Here is a clear case of how economic considerations often influence the moral and ethical patterns of a community.

Let us turn now to a consideration of the role of the prestige factor in giving number gambling status in the com-



munity. It is a commonplace that the status of an activity or movement is greatly influenced by the character of its following. History is replete with examples of social movements which were without status and able to make little progress toward their goal until they had secured the participation or at least the endorsement of people of prestige. As Znaniecki has observed, when an activity becomes identified in the mind of the public with the names of certain prestige elements it is well on the way to social acceptance.

remarks as the following:

In the history of every victorious movement we find that the decisive moment was winning an openly positive, even if only private appreciation from some members of the community or the group who were generally considered respectable. Such was the role of clergymen in the spread of Protestantism, of members of the French aristocracy who voluntarily resigned their privileges in the triumph of democratic ideals, of the few wealthy and refined women who in every country by their endorsement of feminism contributed largely to the gradual victory of that movement.<sup>1</sup>

The factor of prestige forms the basis of much of our modern advertising also. Testimonial advertising is nothing more than a device for identifying a certain product with an individual of prestige. This is clearly shown in the endorsement of cigarettes, motor cars, cosmetics, and food products by such prestige elements as movie stars, athletes, and other celebrities.

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1. Florian Znaniecki, Social Action, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1936, p. 449.

Number gambling has achieved status in the Detroit negro community by this same process, i.e., by becoming identified with certain prestige groups of the community. In this case the prestige group consisted of a number of colored men who were already established in legitimate business. These men, like others, had felt the pinch of the depression, and rather than sacrifice their standard of living turned to number gambling. The prestige and reputation which they enjoy in the community is indicated by such remarks as the following:

These fellows are not crooks - most of them are men of very high caliber.<sup>1</sup>

Whenever I need financial help for any of my work I can always count on these men.<sup>2</sup>

You can't find a better group of men.<sup>3</sup>

They are men of unquestioned integrity, fairness, and honesty.<sup>4</sup>

Gambling may be a vice, but it has not succeeded in destroying some of the finest traits possible in human character upon the part of those who are engaged largely in it.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Statement of policy player to me.
  2. Statement of Mr. John Dancy, Director of the Detroit Urban League in a conversation with me, fall of 1935.
  3. Statement of Father Daniel in a conversation, spring of 1935.
  4. Statement of W. C. Woodson in a letter to me, Oct., 1934.
  5. Statement of Rev. Peck in a letter to me, 1935.

Remarks quoted are taken from my own notes on the occasion.

Typical of this group was the late Bill Mosley who in addition to being one of the most prominent colored business men in the whole city was also one of the biggest number bankers. Before entering the number racket Mosley had been well established in legitimate business, having acquired complete ownership of the Detroit Tribune Independent, the city's largest colored newspaper, controlling interest in the McFall Brothers Undertaking business, the largest colored establishment of its kind in Detroit, and a half interest in the City Cab Company, also the largest in the negro community. In addition he owned considerable real estate including three store buildings, two pool rooms, and seven houses. It is well known, too, that Mosley and John Roxborough owned the controlling shares in the Great Lakes Life Insurance Company. The high regard which the community had for Mosley was clearly revealed at the time of his death. Seven of Detroit's most prominent colored ministers participated in the funeral service. In charge was Rev. S. D. Ross of the Greater Shiloh Baptist Church who spoke in glowing terms of Mosley's fine character, his Christian idealism, and his love for mankind. The sermon was marked by such phrases as the following:<sup>1</sup>

- 
1. I was unable to enlist the services of a stenographer to obtain a complete report of this service. The statements quoted are taken from my own notes on the meeting.



... A great benefactor ..... A Christian folk  
 if ever there was one ..... We colored folks  
 have lost a dear friend ..... We shall miss him .  
 ... We need more like him.

The Detroit News estimated that some 10,000 people crowded  
 the church and surrounding streets to witness the funeral.

The identification of such men with number gambling has  
 greatly facilitated its achievement of status. This fact is  
 borne out by the answers which many people gave when ques-  
 tioned about the morality of number gambling. A typical  
 answer was this: "It's gambling all right, but there's  
 nothing wrong with it because if there was, men like Mosley,  
 Roxborough, and Watson wouldn't have anything to do with it."

There is a certain class of players also who have done  
 much to give number gambling status. Such people as law-  
 yers, physicians, and dentists who ordinarily would remain  
 aloof from such an activity have by the very nature of their  
 business been forced to take part in it. When number gambling  
 became general in the community these groups found it neces-  
 sary to play the numbers as a matter of good business and at  
 least outwardly to endorse it. As one prominent dentist says:

This number playing is a terrible business,  
 and to think that I have to help it along. But  
 what can I do when one of my patients asks me to  
 buy a number? If I don't play with him he'll go  
 somewhere else for his dental work. I can't af-  
 ford to lose any business in these times.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Statement of Dr. \_\_\_\_\_, 606 E. Vernor Highway, Detroit.

Since professional people are carriers of prestige it follows, generally, that activities with which they become identified gain status. This seems to have been the case as regards number gambling.

To sum up. Number gambling is an accepted practice in the Detroit negro community today. This situation represents a drastic change from an earlier period when the activity was generally condemned by those responsible for defining the group's morals. Two factors are responsible for this change. First, and perhaps most important, was the economic depression which by depriving certain institutions of their ordinary means of support made it possible for the gamblers to come to their aid and thereby win the acceptance of those people who had previously condemned their activity. Second is a prestige factor which has its basis in the economic depression also. Many individuals who had established themselves in legitimate business now turned to number gambling as a means of maintaining their income thus establishing an identity between gambling and the legitimate businesses in the community.

## Chapter XI

## Summary and Conclusions

Number gambling may be viewed as a reaction of the negro community to the economic depression. It represents an attempt, however, futile, on the part of the community, to regain whatever income and security had existed during normal times. For many people the hope of a winning number served to alleviate somewhat the despair and hopelessness of their condition. This has been neatly stated by one for whom it served this purpose.

When I goes home and finds no coal and nothing to eat, and the kids bawling it's pretty hard times believe me. But you know if I got as much as a penny or nickel on that old number it gives me a good feeling, cause it might be my lucky day.

While the depression provided the original impetus for the present development of number gambling, further stimulus came as a result of the repeal of prohibition. With the passing of the illicit liquor traffic as a profitable business, the promoters of this business turned their attention to number gambling as a worthy successor. Thus the elaborate organization of the liquor business was transferred to number gambling, and the latter underwent a marked development as a result. The pattern of organization borrowed from the liquor business and adapted to number gambling consists of



four basic elements: (1) an elaborate hierarchical organization of personnel, (2) a spatial organization in which a wide territory is controlled from a central metropolitan area, (3) the "fix", in which public officials, principally police and politicians, are drawn into and made a part of the organization, and (4) legal aid in which members of the legal profession become the advisors and consultants of the organization.

Number gambling does not exist as an isolated activity but rather as a number of closely integrated activities, i.e., as a culture complex. As such, we may regard it as a cultural expression of a psychological condition inherent in any activity involving chance. Any situation in which the luck or chance element is prominent naturally causes the individual faced with that situation to seek some means of control. To effect such control the individual may appeal to matter-of-fact aids or/and magical and supernatural ones. Since in number gambling, as in all forms of gambling, the element of chance is great it is inevitable that there should grow up around it many practices designed to control the outcome of the numbers. The practices discussed in Chapter V (Beating the Numbers) and those dealt with under the heading of "Parasitic Activities" represent attempts on the part of the individual to reduce the element of chance in number gambling.

1. By gamblers I mean here not those who play the numbers but the owners of the gambling business.

The importance of number gambling at the present time is shown by the way in which it has influenced the culture and behavior of the community. The following are indices of this development. First is its pecuniary magnitude. Second, is its pervasiveness in the community, i.e., the extent to which the people of the community participate in it, and think and talk about it. Third is its prominence in the press. Fourth, is the fact that number gambling has developed an argot. Fifth, is the development of a large number of stories, anecdotes, and verses which have numbers and number gambling as their central theme.

Between the years 1928 and 1932 number gambling underwent a significant change in the Detroit negro community. Prior to this period, in common with all forms of gambling, it had been outlawed by the moral guardians of the community. With the coming of the economic depression this attitude was changed to one of acceptance by these same individuals, and in some instances they went so far as to defend it. This change is attributable to two factors. First, is the economic depression which destroyed the regular sources of income of such institutions as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and the church. In order to survive or at least continue with any degree of efficiency they were forced to accept support from the only available source - the gamblers.<sup>1</sup> In accepting the gambler's

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1. By gamblers I mean here not those who play the numbers but the owners of the gambling business.

support they were compelled naturally to accept the practice which made this support possible. The second factor is the association of number gambling with certain prestige elements in the community. An activity like an individual is known by the company it keeps, and number gambling has kept good company. Many of Detroit's most prominent gamblers are men of high prestige who before going into the number business had had a prominent place in legitimate business. Other people of prestige such as doctors, lawyers, and dentists have also done much to legitimize number gambling. With the whole community playing the numbers it was a matter of good business for these individuals to align themselves with it, or at least not to condemn it.

Taken from:

Jonathan B. Green, Secret Band of Brothers, Philadelphia,  
T. H. Peterson and Brothers, 1933, pp. 270-271.



APPENDIX A

A Copy of a Handbill Issued by the Proprietors  
of the Lottery for the Information of Ticket-holders  
and All Others Interested

taken from:

Jonathon W. Green, Secret Band of Brothers, Philadelphia,  
T. B. Peterson and Brothers, 1858, pp. 270-271.

Drawing of the Lottery

The following are the numbers which were this day drawn from the seventy-eight placed in the wheel, viz.:-

|    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  | 8  | 9  | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 20 | 51 | 61 | 24 | 74 | 77 | 46 | 36 | 69 | 29 | 26 | 3  |

and that the said tickets were drawn in the order in which they stand: that is to say, No. 20 was the first that was drawn; No. 51 was the 2d; No. 61 was the 3d; No. 24 was the 4th; No. 74 was the 5th; No. 77 was the 6th; No. 46 was the 7th; No. 36 was the 8th; No. 69 was the 9th; No. 29 was the 10th; No. 26 was the 11th; No. 3 was the 12th, and last.

Those tickets entitled to the 110 highest prizes were drawn in the following order:-

|       |      |          |          |    |          |
|-------|------|----------|----------|----|----------|
| 1 2 3 | .... | \$30,000 | 7 8 9    | .. | \$5,000  |
| 4 5 6 | .... | 10,000   | 10 11 12 | .. | 2,367 20 |

Those 6 tickets having on them the

|       |       |       |       |        |         |              |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|---------|--------------|
| 2 3 4 | 3 4 5 | 5 6 7 | 6 7 8 | 8 9 10 | 9 10 11 | each . 1,500 |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|---------|--------------|

Those 100 tickets having on them the

|        |        |         |        |         |                 |
|--------|--------|---------|--------|---------|-----------------|
| 1 2 4  | 1 4 7  | 1 7 9   | 2 3 11 | 2 6 10  | } each .. 1,000 |
| 1 2 5  | 1 4 8  | 1 7 10  | 2 3 12 | 2 6 11  |                 |
| 1 2 6  | 1 4 9  | 1 7 11  | 2 4 5  | 2 6 12  |                 |
| 1 2 7  | 1 4 10 | 1 7 12  | 2 4 6  | 2 7 8   |                 |
| 1 2 8  | 1 4 11 | 1 8 9   | 2 4 7  | 2 7 9   |                 |
| 1 2 9  | 1 4 12 | 1 8 10  | 2 4 8  | 2 7 10  |                 |
| 1 2 10 | 1 5 6  | 1 8 11  | 2 4 9  | 2 7 11  |                 |
| 1 2 11 | 1 5 7  | 1 8 12  | 2 4 10 | 2 7 12  |                 |
| 1 2 12 | 1 5 8  | 1 9 10  | 2 4 11 | 2 8 9   |                 |
| 1 3 4  | 1 5 9  | 1 9 11  | 2 4 12 | 2 8 10  |                 |
| 1 3 5  | 1 5 10 | 1 9 12  | 2 5 6  | 2 8 11  |                 |
| 1 3 6  | 1 5 11 | 1 10 11 | 2 5 7  | 2 8 12  |                 |
| 1 3 7  | 1 5 12 | 1 10 12 | 2 5 8  | 2 9 10  |                 |
| 1 3 8  | 1 6 7  | 1 11 12 | 2 5 9  | 2 9 11  |                 |
| 1 3 9  | 1 6 8  | 2 3 5   | 2 5 10 | 2 9 12  |                 |
| 1 3 10 | 1 6 9  | 2 3 6   | 2 5 11 | 2 10 11 |                 |
| 1 3 11 | 1 6 10 | 2 3 7   | 2 5 12 | 2 10 12 |                 |
| 1 3 12 | 1 6 11 | 2 3 8   | 2 6 7  | 2 11 12 |                 |
| 1 4 5  | 1 6 12 | 2 3 9   | 2 6 8  | 3 4 6   |                 |
| 1 4 6  | 1 7 8  | 2 3 10  | 2 6 9  | 3 4 7   |                 |

All others with three of the drawn numbers on, (being 110)

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| each   | 300 |
| Those 66 tickets having on them the 1st and 2d drawn numbers, each | 100 |
| Those 66 tickets having on them the 2d and 3d, each                | 80  |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Those 66 tickets having on them the 3d and 4th, each ..                                       | 50 |
| Those 66 tickets having on them the 4th and 5th, each .                                       | 40 |
| Those 132 tickets having on them the 5th and 6th, or<br>6th and 7th, each . . . . .           | 30 |
| All others with two of the drawn numbers on, (being<br>3960), each . . . . .                  | 20 |
| And all tickets having one, only, of the drawn numbers<br>on, each, (being 25,740,) . . . . . | 10 |

APPENDIX B

Letters Received by the New York Stock Exchange  
from the Number Playing Public

taken from:

Files of the New York Stock Exchange  
by permission of  
Mr. Charles Egan, Director of Publicity for the Exchange



Louisville 4

January 26, 1931

OUR #100

Dear Sirs: I am writing you in behalf of myself. I play the numbers from the Number Playing Public in Chattanooga and the third fourth and 5th number are the winner now this way the winner for Wednesday Jan. 21 total sales 737,000 796 is the winner for Wednesday the number are from the total sales of you stock company starting at 11 o'clock. I am asking you could you get the total sales for any day here in Chattanooga by 9 o'clock and a clock are how soon could you get the number here as soon as the market close just the 1,45 number will be enough for you to send of the total sales and you said 737,000 - 796 was that 4-3 number of total sales for today. I work in New York today which is Saturday I suppose could you get that number here by 9 o'clock I will pay telegram fee. Thanking you in advance for letting me here from you I remain

Sincerely

Your Sincerely

APPENDIX B

Chattanooga Tenn  
517 1/2 Palmetto S  
Te. 7-2200 12-22-31

Letters Received by the New York Stock Exchange

Dear Sirs: I am writing you in behalf of myself. I play the numbers from the Number Playing Public in Chattanooga and the third fourth and 5th number are the winner now this way the winner for Wednesday Jan. 21 total sales 737,000 796 is the winner for Wednesday the number are from the total sales of you stock company starting at 11 o'clock. I am asking you could you get the total sales for any day here in Chattanooga by 9 o'clock and a clock are how soon could you get the number here as soon as the market close just the 1,45 number will be enough for you to send of the total sales and you said 737,000 - 796 was that 4-3 number of total sales for today. I work in New York today which is Saturday I suppose could you get that number here by 9 o'clock I will pay telegram fee. Thanking you in advance for letting me here from you I remain

taken from:

Files of the New York Stock Exchange  
by permission of

Mr. Charles Klem, Director of Publicity for the Exchange

Dear Sirs:

I am very much interested in buying your stock or bonds. Will you kindly inform me how I may obtain the total stock and bond quotations each day around 11 (a.m.) to 12:00 P.M. Could you inform me by wire no later than 11:30 (a.m.)

Yours truly

P.S. Please send it to me Thursday and Friday at 11:30 (a.m.) and Saturday at 10:00 (a.m.)

New York  
Stock Exchange  
New-York City

Louisville &  
January 26, 1931

Kindly please:

Write us as soon as possibly you cant. What number come out since last Saturday. Because we been playing Very often as your patronage on your clearing House. As I said before we would like to know the write numbers from your office I remain yours and waiting patantly for your answer. number comes up at 9 o'clock and if  
Your patronage I would like to see.

But you would have to tell what number would have to tell me by 9 o'clock for the Closing I wish to have from you

Chattanooga Tenn  
517 1/2 Palmetto S  
Te. 7-2500 12-22-32

Dear Sirs I am writting you in behalf of myself. I plays the numbers in the Clearing House here in Chattanooga and the third fourth and 5th number are the winner now this way the winner for Wenesday Dec. 21 total sales 737,980 798 is the winner for Wenesday the number are from the total sales of you Stock company everyday it close. I am asking you could you get the Total sales for any day here in Chattanooga by 9 ore ten o clock are how soon could you get me the number here as soon as the market close just the 3,45 number will be enough for you to send of the Total Sales and you said 737980 798 won that 345 number of Total Sales for today. I seen in New York today which is Saturday I suppose could you get that number here by 9 o clock I will pay telegram fee. Thanking you in advance for letting me here from you I remain

Sentlemen;

please send me information concerning the possibility of securing or buying numbers from your office. Inclosed you will find a check for \$10.00 to pay

Xenia, Ohio  
Dec. 9, 1934

Dear Sir:

I am very much interested in buying some stock or bonds. Will you kindly inform me how I may obtain the total stock and bond quotations each day around 11 (a.m.) to 12:00 P.M. Could you inform me by wire no later than 11:30 (a.m.)

Yours truly

P.S. Please send it to me Thursday and Friday at 11:30 (a.m.) and Saturday at 10:45 (a.m.)

Cheswick, Pa. St.  
March 6, 1934

New York Stock Exchange,  
New York N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Writing a few lines to get acquainted with you.  
The reason I am writing to find out if you could tell me how to win a few odd dollars by playing the clearing house. The reason, I am asking you is because you can tell me how to play the Clearing house

And here we are allowed to play the Clearing house up until two (2:30) o'clock in the afternoon. You know what number comes up at four oclock and if you do know what number comes up I would like to play.

But you would have to tell what number comes up. You would have to tell me by two oclock in the afternoon.

Closing I wish to hear from you in a few days.

Thanking you in advance, and hoping you will give me the same prompt attention  
Sincerely yours

R. D. #1  
Cheswick, Pa.

P.S. If I can play the clearing house then I will give you a phone number to where to call and I will pay the expenses.

2225 Madison St.  
Gary, Ind.  
Sept. 12, 1935

New York Stock Exchange  
Detroit, Mich.  
Gentlemen;

please send me information concerning the possibility of securing or buying numbers from your Company.  
Inclosed you will find a sample of what I intend to play.  
Yours truly

CHICAGO  
OFFICIAL MUTUELS  
AUG 22 1935

|          |                |       |
|----------|----------------|-------|
| 1st Race | LINCOLN FIELDS | 42.20 |
| 2nd Race | Mutuels        | 28.20 |
| 3rd Race |                | 42.80 |

PRIZE 282 NUMBER



1401 Jefferson St.,  
Baltimore, Md.  
May 31, 1935

New York Stock Exchange,  
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I am in receipt of your letter of May 10th and wish to thank you for your prompt reply.

However, I wish to ask you a favor: this time I wish to know if you can send me by wire, collect, daily or C & D Western Union monthly, paid in advance the Stock Exchange number at 3:00 daylight saving time. Also please specify the amount of money it would cost C & D Western Union.

Thanking you in advance, and hoping you will give this letter the same prompt attention that you gave my last one, I am

Sincerely

---

try and Bring 789,000 out this week. I think I will sell some stock when it come out.

328 Mettler St.  
Toledo, Ohio  
Dec. 2nd 1935

Dear Sir:

Could you please let me know if you have a report or a schedule for the first two weeks of December or the whole month on Stocks or both Stocks and Bonds to be sold dailey.

If you have is there by any chance of you sending it to me. If not could you please just send me the last six figures on Stocks or both Stocks and Bonds.

Which I will appreciate very much. As I promise to keep it under cover.

Please answer as I would like to write you again. Enclosed you will find addressed envelope. I thank you.

Yours Truly

---

P. S. To show my appreciation would you please send me your address for your private insured and registered mail.



Sep. 5 - 33  
802 17 ave  
Belmar, NJ

Morris Exchange please send me atonce all information. have  
change Races if so what Race. I Play 3,5,7 also send me  
the prices on your Number hope too to here from you by  
Return Mail

8 pmg ave.  
new york N.Y.

---

802 = ave Belmar NJ

Columbus Ohio  
Oct. 31, 1931

The N. Y. Stock Exchange.

Please send me by Telegram C.O.D. the Shares Sold on Stock  
Wed. Morning No Later than 12 P.M. if possible. I am  
interested in Same - I am Inclosing the Paper So you will  
Know Just what I speak of. I must have the amt by 12 P.M.  
Columbus time.

599 1/2 Mt. Vernon Ave.  
Apt. 1

I shall pay for Telegram.

Zanesville, Ohio  
January 1 1934  
The Monterey  
North Asbury Park,  
N. J.

New York Stock Exchange  
New York  
To the manager  
Stock Exchange

Dear Sir

Kindly do me a favor by telling me how the  
do? Is it the highest number that counts you take 3 numbers  
for 5 cents and I see tonight Tues the closing number is 130.  
Is that the way, they do it & how do the winner wins I know  
it is gambling but can't see how you make and how much on  
the number.

Kindly explain  
And oblige

New York  
Stock Exchange  
Dear Sir I am writing you to ask  
my numbers from every day as I am not  
like to Play the Numbers every day  
Jan. 13th, 1931

---

P. O. Box 734  
Newport  
R. I.



October 23  
18 - 1932

Dear sir: I saw in the new york herald tribune market terme  
and I am ask for book O6 and will you send me one and a good  
number in the fall river racies first and second racies.  
can. For the falling day I would like to no if the day  
is gone so I would have it in another. I am send you a  
8 pone ave.,  
new port R.I.

Ernest Pa.

November 11-4-18-32  
R #3, Skernersville,  
N.C.

Dear Sir:

I am write to you to ask you to send me the number for  
one week of Chicago Butter and Eggs please and let me here  
from you all son. Please send me them at once.

from  
of Skernersville, N.C.  
R. F. D. 3, Box 87

Zanesville, Ohio  
January 16th/34

New York Stock Market  
New York

To the manager Dear Sir I would like a book of your clearing  
house number I would like to play some of your numbers please  
send me a book and instruction how to do as I never play  
befor. please answer at once and send me a book as I am very  
anxious to play.

Very truly Yours \_\_\_\_\_  
120 Harrison St.  
Zanesville, Ohio

Mar. 8, 1935

New York  
Stock Exchange

Dear Sir I am writeng you to ask where I can write and get  
my numbers from every day as I am not in Any Place the same  
day. I would Like to Play the NumBers every day

O Blidge

Ernest - Pa  
9-16-1934

New York Stock Exchanges

I would like to get the inside dope on this Number that you All publish Every days write and let me no if I can. For the folling day I would like to no It the day Be Fore so I would have it in advance. I am send you a coppey of how It come to this is how I want it. Every day Reddy Add 839-085 shares sold 9-25-day-1934.

Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Ernest Pa.

The New York Stock Exchange  
New York N Y.

Dear Sir I am wrighting you for some Information on what we call The chicago Butter and Eggs and I play numbers and I wont to know what kind of a Book have you. Best on it. Some Say That The Number Came out of the Total Sales; and I have played all of Them and haven made the right one yet and I Will Inclose Both the Total and The Chicago Butter and Egg. The Number was Saturday 803 and here are The Receipt of the Butter 4 8 0 9  
The - - - - - egg 5 0 3 8  
So I will remain

1456 freemont pls  
Knoxville, Tenn.

Elkridge;  
Fayette County  
West. Va.

To whom it may concern: Sir:

Will you please let me in on the Stock exchange and the sweepstake's I am very anxious to know how to buy the tickets Let me know at once all about it please.

Yours Res'p.

Box 27  
Elkridge,  
Fayette. Co.  
West. Va.

1. This letter and the two following were typewritten; the first two were typewritten; the poor handwriting.

Beaver Falls, Pa. Aug 25 - 1934

Will you kindly if Possible Send me the total of Shares Sold Friday Aug. 24, 1934. And Sat Aug. 25th, I am interested in these as i am doing buisness with Brokers in Penna. You will find inclosed a Self Addressed and Stamped for Reply, I will will be Very Thankfull for this information if Possible.

Thanking you Very much Repet:

420 - 8th Ave  
Beaver Falls,  
Pa.

125 First Ave.,  
Marion, Ohio.

Columbus, Ohio  
January 26, 34

N. Y. Stock Exchange,  
New York City, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Would it be possible for you to Wire me, at My Expense, the amount of Sales of N. Y. Stock Exchange, for January 30th, 1934, by at least 2:15 P.M.

Thanking you for your kind attention, I remain  
Very truly yours

783 Kerr Street

Marion, Ohio,  
August 20, 1934

New York Stock Exchange,<sup>1</sup>  
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly advise me by wire collect, the total number of bond sales on next Friday, August 24th, at the earliest possible time on that date?

Thanking you for this favor, I am  
Sincerely yours,

- 
1. This letter and the two following are from the same man. The first two were typewritten; the last one was in very poor handwriting.



125 Fies Ave., 1935  
Marion, Ohio,  
September 1, 1934

Mr. Charles Klem,  
New York Stock Exchange,  
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sir:--

Will you kindly wire me each day "collect" the daily bond sales figures, that is, the figures that are published each day.

I would also appreciate your sending me Friday's figures September 7th at 11:30 that date.

Yours very truly,

125 Fies Ave.,  
Marion, Ohio.  
(In handwriting): P.S. A Nice Present For this Favor if you do it.

P. O. Box 1334,  
Tampa, Fla.  
September 8th, 1934

Mr. Charles Klem  
New York Stock  
Exchange N. Y.  
Dear Sir

I am sending this clippen to Explain or show you Just What I want this Favor would Mean a great deal to me Just a Poor Man No work trying to Save My home to be honest about it the Bond Sales Figures are Playd here an if I culd Get out them about 11:30 an the Same day the gets them would mean a lot to me. I would also pay for this Favor an an Say Nothing About it I am also an .X. Service Man Will you kindly do this Favor for me. Notice the X under the figures that is what I want Just those thats all you Need to Send dont Even sign your Name Just send it wire Collect an if Im wrong by asking this favor, Mr. Klem Just Forget it. but if you will send these figures would appreciate your sending the figures that will be in the Papers on friday Sept. 14th an send them on that date at 11 or 11:30 on friday truly hope you will and I will Make it right with Mr. Klem

Please do this favor  
Yours very truly

125 Fies ave.  
Marion, Ohio

The following these letters are all from the same man. They were typewritten and on letterheads of the Board of Elections, City of Tampa, Florida.

November 15th, 1935

New York Stock Exchange,<sup>1</sup>  
New York City.

Gentlemen,-

For many, many weeks I have been trying to "catch" the New York bond on No. 375 - and in looking back upon my records for over a year I note this number has never come out on the Bond - the final three figures of the dollars on the daily transactions of the Exchange as published in the daily papers.

Is there a reason why 375 has never come out or has it just happened so? Also I note "000" has never dropped - there must be a stock exchange superstition against throwing this particular number.

If by any chance 375 could come out once it would save my home and something else besides. Please let me know if I should continue playing 375 or had I better change. And thanking you kindly for your consideration in reading this, my letter, I am,

Very truly yours,

P. O. Box 1334,  
Tampa, Fla.

Postal Telegraph  
Rockymount BCar 8 800A, Sept. 6, 1933  
New York Stock Exchange

November 18th, 1935

Secretary  
New York Stock Exchange,  
New York City.

Dear Sir,-

I wrote you last week regarding "375" as having come out so seldom on the daily transactions of the New York Stock Exchange - on the last three figures of the "dollars" (not including cents); and in connection with my letter I am wondering if it is possible this combination will come out soon.

It would mean nothing to the Exchange but so much to the writer, as I have some obligations which I could pay off if this number came out soon. It seems as if there must be some hoodoo against 375 as it has not come out in over a year - and a combination like that looks like it would come in that length of time.

Yours very truly,

P. O. Box 1334,  
Tampa, Fla.

1. The following three letters are all from the same man. They were typewritten and on letterheads of the Board of Elections, City of Tampa, Florida.

November 29th, 1935

Mr. Jason Westerfield, Asst. Secty.  
New York Stock Exchange,  
New York City.

Dear Sir, -

Thank you kindly for your letter of the 18th in reply to mine of the 15th inst- I regret very much the fact that my two letters, because I wrote another, follow so closely the outline of the many you receive, according to the reprint you so kindly sent me. I shall never again be guilty of writing such letters as it classes me among those who apparently try to influence the Stock Exchange in "placing" certain numbers.

Again thanking you for your letter, I am,  
Very truly yours,

New York Stock Exchange Transactions  
11 Wall Street New York N.Y.

P. O. Box 1334,  
Tampa, Florida

Our Telegram Data Free Georgetown WVly Signed.  
(no. 35) Senders of Telegram Request Reply in Thirty Minutes

Postal Telegraph<sup>1</sup>

Rockymount NCar 8 800A, Sept. 8, 1933  
New York Stock Exchange  
NYC

Western Union Tel. Co.

Wire me the total number of stock by nine oclock.

Dear Sir

July 20, 1932

QU93 10 XU = Savannah Ga 20 1112A

New York Stock Exchange

NYC

Yesterdays Number 649 What is Todays Number Answer

Minneapolis, Minn.

Oct., 1934.

New York Stocks

N. Y. C.

Please wire Collect Active and Inactive Sales for Wednesday  
give it to the right party.

Lincoln Smoke Shop  
721 Henn Ave.

1. The six following messages were sent by telegram.



Dayton, Ohio  
Wall Street Stock Exchange  
Wire Total Stock and Bond Exchange Today

Morgantown, West Virginia

Oct. 18, 1934

P. M. 1:41

New York Stock Exchange

N. Y. C.

Number For Today Wire Answer By Western Union

New York Stock Exchange Transactions

11 Wall Street New York N. Y.

Our Telegram Date From Morgantown WV Ir Signed

(no. 35) Senders of Telegram Request Reply in Thirty Minutes

Or Reason for None

Western Union Tel. Co.

Pittsburg Pa.

Jan. 26th, 1935

Dear Sir

I am writing you this letter for I am a widow with a family of six. I have a ticket on the report of the stock sales. And if your number comes up two days in a row you win \$500.00 The days are Thurs and Fri. I have numbers 459 (Thurs) and 348 (Fri) If your sales would be 8 (45.9) 06 Fri 8 (348) 29 I would receive the prize. I know you may think me insame for writing you this letter. But I have a little home on which I owe \$750.00 on and I am being pressed for it by the man who lent it to me. I am not trying to get rich quick all I want is this money to save years of hard work which we have spent to get as far as we have. This will carry us over untell my boy can go to work and pay the rest of the money. So please try and help me by putting out my numbers on Thurs. 459 and Friday 348 of this week.

If this is not the right Place for this please try and give it to the right party. Hoping you can help us.

Yours

A Worried Mother

I am a little girl 11 years old and please let the main man read my letter.

Dear Mr.

I am writing to you to tell you about a number and wonderin if you can fix it so it will come out on the time I can get my 10 ct I will have my 10 ct on the 30 of Oct I am a little girl my dady out of work and mothr is Sick and we dont have verry mutch to live on and god Just told me to write to you Mother has played a pennie on the stock and Bon but if you can put this number 225 out on the 30 I will have 10 ct and I will give it to Mother and tell her to play it on this number 225 please put this number out on this day I wont tell know one I wrote this My Mothr and dady dont know I an writing this please put this number out on the 30 of Oct. and I Know god will Bless you. fore I will pray for him to Bless you I am 11 years Old. put this no in stocks I will tell you what number 225 in Stocks I will look fore this number to come out in Stocks on the 30 of Oct. god will Bless you I know I woude love to print my name but I am afraid mothr and dady mite see it in the papers I will pray that god will bless you and help you and will let you put this number out on the 30 of Oct. the number 225 I can (renbent?) that number. God bless you is my prays.

(Postmarked Columbus, Ohio, Oct. 22, 1935).

April 19, 1933

Dear Sir,

As I am a poor fellow no work for 19 months we have men here that books number of your stock exchange today 508 was to be in the gazette paper and instead was 976 he has us people all to play very heavy on it then when it dosent come up he says it must have been a misprint or it must not sent rite from your place now he says to play heavy it must come up try Sat. I have a small truck which I do what I can with it but I have 4 small children I haul ashes rubbish or any thing at all for a few cents I will be very truthful with you Sir I play 10 ct. on 508 and if it comes in our paper here then I will 32.50 and it pay my rent is 12/00 for 2 months and and some insurance up and buy a little extra to eat we het help but not much when you have 4 kiddies to feed. Well Mr. President I will thank you a thousand times for the nuber and will pray for you.

I remain  
Yours

Thank you.

701 1/2 E. Chestnut St.  
Mt. Vernon, Ohio  
March 26, 1932

Dear Sir:

Mr. President I'm a poor fellow trying to work my way through life and educate my self. My father is dead and My Mother is old. And leaves it a hard road for me to travel. While thinging what I could do to help my self. I thought of this plan. Mr. President will you kindly put me next to how to get these numbers of stocks that they sell each week. What place I get them. If you will do this I will thank you and what ever the charge may be I will try and pay it on return mail.

410 - 2nd Street.  
Ellwood City, Pa.  
May 21, 1934

Mr. Richard Whitney.

Dear Sir

Being mindful of your re election as President of the N. Y. Stock Exchange might mean much to me proving I am on the square. After sincere consecration Mr. Whitney forced me to believe that the information you could give me would mean much to me.

Mr. Whitney I am asking of you a personal favor which you should dread any betrayal, I take an oath to God to keep all information regardless and not mention your name Mr. Whitney the question is, The N. Y. Stock transactions total is published in the Pgh Post Gazette every day. When and by who is this publicity done and why instead of the exchange as in the past.

Mr. Whitney another question Is there any way possible for an individual receiving this total before it reaches the paper, for instance in the morning. If so would be courties enough to favor me with a total for three morning by telegram paid on this end. For instance Tues. Wed. Thurs.

Now Mr. Whitney if this important to me it should be also to you. Now if this is not in your power, let me be known to the one who is in power. I am a friend in need and you a friend indeed. Building on your information.

Respectfully yours,



Stock Exchange  
New York City  
New York

dear

Dear sir Please send me a number that will hit I have a large family and nothing to go on I play and play I cant never hit

---

Clarksville, Pa.

Dear Mr. Whitney  
Mr. President  
Would you please get the stock report to give us the right number it comes in our Post Gazette here and I play 5 ct. a day on 745 and it was to be up on 11 of Dec. the man says it is a misprint from your exchange there I work for a living cleaning of any kind and support 4 small children my husband is a habitual drunkard and cannot live with him to raise my children with him. I would like to give my little ones a nice Christmas the bookie man says 222 three two and 745 is to be up by the 21 of Dec. so I am trying so hard to win on 745 Mr. President you will see how are the numbers the man says you go by on Wednesday it was 322 the nuber then he ways it was to be 222. I will thank you a thousand times and praye for you and your family wishing you a Merry Christmas and a very happy New Year and lots of luck and good health.

---

Sir

Try and sell enough Shares so The Buy Could be something like this 5291000 or something just so 529 is first lots of people is Playing 529 and if it would come out - Would make lots of people happy for thanksgiving.

A friend

Postmarked Sharon, Pa., Nov. 15, 1934.

Envelope addressed as follows:

New York Stock Market  
No. 6 Wal street  
New York  
R. 6 New York city

10/16/33

New York Stock Market  
N. Y.

Dear Sir to whom it may concern  
Would you please Grant me this Favor. Would you please Wire me N. Y. stock transactions Figured up just as it is on clipping of associated press if a you would Grant me this great favor I will go Half on all wininings with you. if I should play a dime on Number the amt I would would be Forty Five Dollars that would mean \$22.50 for your trouble of sending me the transactions a person can play the amt of 25¢ on the Stock Dailey. if you will do this for me I will Send your part in an Slip I played to show I am Honest an mean what I say. the total amt would have to reach me by 1 15 p.m. as after that time they refuse to except numbers- the numbers comes out Daily, you may understand better by the clipping I am sending you. I do wish you would be interested in this Deal, as I am only a poor working Girl an trying to keep my Home together for my Grey Haird Daddy, an I need money so this is why I am writing you to send me transactions figured just as it is on clipping of Oct. 16 an I will be Honest with you so Please give me a chance to prove myself.

I thank you an wish to hear from you real soon

Dear Sir

I am a man in desperate need of money  
and we have five children. We are about  
P.S. Don't think I am a colored person because I play the  
Stocks. O yes, I will pay for wire at this end.

524 5 ave

McKeesport, Pa.

Mr. Robert Whitney

Dear Sir.

Would you please give us the 222 they call it 3-tvos or three 777 on the stock all the men tell you to play them that they are to hit by Saturday and we have been playing them for four weeks now and they tell you play it heavy so we are playing 5 ct. on them and the booksie said we will get \$25.00 for it. Mr. Whitney we saw your picture in our paper and so we thought we would ask you for it as it would be a great help to us all we play is 5 ct to try to get something for it but we do with out something else. We thank you lots and wish you lots of luck and happiness with success

I thanks you

A Mother

(Postmarked Pittsburg, Pa.)

Scottdale, Pa  
March 21, 1934

To whom it may concern:-  
Would it be possible for the sake of a woman who needs some money desperately to make the numbers in the total shares of stock sold on Saturday March 24, 1934 read 768. That is the last two numbers in the thousands and the first number in the hundreds. For example 3,4(768)32

3,476832 - If the number publishes would only contain those 3 numbers in that position it would mean \$540.00 for me which amount will enable me to receive hospitalization that I need to regain health. The other numbers (but those 3 can be anything.)

Thanking anyone whose power it might be to do this. I am praying that my hope could only be realized.

Sincerely

304 Loucks Ave.  
Scottdale, Pa.

Pittsburg Pa  
Nov. 24th 1933

Dear Sir

I am a man in desperate need of money. I am married and we have five children. We are about to lose our home which I have been working for the last 12 years to raise my family.

There is here a number racket which pays 4 to one. For about a \$1.50 I could save my place. The number is picked from the shares sold as on Wed. Nov. 22 the shares sold was 1,574,035 Shares. The number was then 740.

Now if on next Tues. the number would read 1,526,346 (263). Then on Wed. it would read 1,673,496 (734). then I could play my \$1.50 by knowing 734 would follow 263 otherwise I will not play as I need every cent I can get to keep things going. Hoping I may have some luck and if I do I will be the happiest man on earth. Yours Truly

Worried

Dear Sir

we have paid for a number to come from you people to put in our Gazette paper so you never gave it to us it was 536 they sent it telegram said it should come up in two weeks so please have them here to publish it as we try so hard to win a few cents. Thanking you and am unemployed. please sent it 536



Dear Sir

Now that Pitts is playing your stock No. why not give us a break here we people have tried so hard to win when they played the other No. the head man would see a No. and if it played extra on it he wouldn't pay all. My husband and Son both are out of work and sells apples on corners here in the city I have 3 small children and hard for me to get work. My husband and Son both keep 5 ct a day for to play 745 and 432 they said the other no. they wouldnt pay but now they say they dont want no one to put much on it and then they will pay I dont think you people would do such a thing as not to put it in the papers the men here are all for them selves to please try and give a family that is trying to win to help along Sir I am asking this favor for a few others around me that try to win for 2 ct. I thank you & will surely pray for a little surprise and allso pray for your success in life. I thank you again.

Dear Mr. President

Please give us the number the bookie men tell every one this & the ward district to play it very soon as it is a winning nuber for today or wednesday Monessen Pa. playing \$1.00 on it but we cant play it so Jan. 4, 1933

To Whom It May Concern.

Dear Sir:

I am Writing to ask a great favor of You.  
I Just lost My Job a few days Ago. And Am out of work and have a little money left.

Play the Clearing House now and then and I can never hit!

Now here's the favor I am Asking you; Could you Please send Me a good number that you think will be out in a little while.

If you give me a good number I am willing to Pay you, what you want for it.

Please send me this number soon as Possoble.

Or else tell me the Price you want for a number.

Write to Address

You will find a 3 cent stamp to send a answering letter back.

The stamp will be in the Envelope.

Yours truly.

Send to Address.

House No. 2 - 12th St.  
Monessen, Pa.

Thank you again.

(Postmarked Pittsburgh, Pa., July 17, 1932)

Dear Mr. President

Please give us the number 642 as they tell us to play heavy as it should of been in our paper here on Wed. and should be this Wed. or Thursday unless the morning paper on Sun telegraph prints it different which they had for too weeks because they had to much to pay out the number men here give them 50 R (?) 30 and we play heavy as they tell us in a nuber.

thanking you a hundred times

am unemployed 19 months 4 children and wife to support but try and play 10 ct on it.

(Postmarked Pittsburgh, Pa., June 23, 1933)

Pittsburgh  
Sept the 2

Dear Mr. President

Please give us the number the bookie men tell every one this 6 the ward district to play it very smart as it is a winning nuber for tuesday or wednesday some people are playing \$1.00 on it but we cant play it so big my husband has 10 ct on it 549 he had told the men it will be put in the stock market number 549 straight as that is the way it is to be dear Sir he has a big amount on it I will thank you a thousand times for it as it will be a big help for the 10 ct my husband will get 25.00 and as our family is 7 would sure help.

I thank you a thousand times and will offer you a prayer at church for your favor and your health and good luck.

A Mother

Dear Sir

Please put number 225 is paper to help a very poor family here we are getting help here and my man was told to play 225 and 230 by a very wealthy man he books your no. you put in the gazette paper here the stock and he plays for my man and said if it came up he would get 25 and he takes out what he owes for playing so please help us out he has played for 3 weeks now so please help us out by printing the no. 225 and 230.

I thank you from my heart and wish you lots of luck and work as we have not had any thing fit to live on for 8 months it will help us eat and pay some rent.

and  
family

thank you again.

(Postmarked Pittsburgh, Pa., July 17, 1932)

Dear Mr. President

Before leaving please have Gazette paper publish 459 - 642 - 393 the men tell us to play them if we want a little extra. well you no it is very unhappy to be poor but I play 2 ct on each I will be truthful I will get 8.00 if you give it to us I will thank you from the bottom of my heart for it  
I remain

230 Kincaid Str.  
City

Mr. President they told us to keep till 30th day Sept. it must appear in the stock we have had it for 4 weeks now.

I thank you again.

and hoping you are successful in your new place of business.  
Thank you.

7/20/1933

996 E. Spring St.  
Columbus, Ohio

To The New York Stock Exchange Bank

I am asking a favor of you gentlemen as I am old and cant get enuf work and I havenit no way to make a living I want you all to send me the stock number and the Revise Bond Number We play the thousand in the Revise Bond and we take the first three figures after the first in the stock so please send it to me and Just as soon as the number comes out I will send whatever you charge Because I haven't enuf money know Send it for Saturday or Monday.

Please Help Me By doing this and the lord will Bless you.  
996 E. Spring St.

Columbus, Ohio

New York Stock Exchange

Is it possible for me to get a tip on the number of shares to be sold each day or at least once a week on the New York Stock Market. I am a mother of a large family. My husband works one day a week so I've been trying to play numbers but I can not win. I would be willing to pay for a good number.

Please answer to this address  
Duquense Pa.

P.S. I would have to have the tip before 1 o'clock week days, 10 o'clock Saturdays.



Dear Sir and Mr. President. Here in our city they rite No. and hit on the Stocks no. you people put out each day through our papers here. I do hope and pray if you please publish a No. 475 the men here are taking the money to play on it from their hungry children and families the bookies tell them it is a hot tip and my husband took my insurance and table money to play on it as as they tell him it is a hot tip from N. Y. If it was gotten out in our papers here I am sure it would bust it up as they are got everyone in our neighborhood playing it for 2 weeks now my husband has \$1 on it. The bookie man said if it hits by Saturday it will bust it up I am praying to God each nite it does bust up I will be a happy mother I have to lend money to feed 4 babies, 2 the baby, 7 the oldest, while he plays Numbers. I thank you a thousand times for it to bust it up. 475. Oblige a Mother.

As an illustration of the workings of the stock market total sales for the day closed on and circled part of the number pay on. The odds to win are a thousand paid are five hundred to one. I want to win normally as there is a

Youngstown Ohio -  
August 10-8-33  
Mr. Richard Whitney

Dear Sir & Bro-  
Which I hope you are. I have been out of work for two yrs & I dont like to beg but will you send a bro Hirm (?) the No. they playing on the Stock Exchange for I am in dire need of something to live on Mr. Whitney I would not ask this of you but my wife is in Ill health and there are no work here now only in the Mills and I cant stand examination on account of my eyes so please help me on that way If you can -  
Fraternal yours,

32  
359 E. Rayen Ave.

July 6 - 1935

The person who gives out the daily Stock Market Report.  
New York Stock Market  
Wall St. N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I am a stranger to you, about to ask a rather odd favor. I will explain why I am asking it and also what I want.

I am much in need of money. The depression has not exactly been kind to me. A number of years ago I started to study medicine and through lack of funds have been unable to finish. Married and one child. In plain words I need about

ten thousand dollars. I could with your help I think get this amount together without it costing you anything in cash. I doubt if you would help however. But I am desperate enough to ask you.

The plan is the number racket. You no doubt have heard of it and know all about it. In case however that you have not I will explain it later. If I could hit three times and be reasonably sure what the number was going to be, by pooling or pyramiding my winnings I would have enough. If I had a larger stake to start with I could play more the first time but my finances are very low. I will give you three numbers to come out on certain days. If you care to have them come out all well and good. If not I thank you all the same. I will play them on the supposition that they will. The first day I will play 50¢ the following times I will play ten dollars. If the first day wins, I doubt if I could play more each time and be paid.

As an illustration of the working of the number betting the stock market total sales for the day on June 29 - 1935 was 2 (529) 80 as you can see from your records. The enclosed or encircled part of the number is the figure they pay on. The odds to win are a thousand to one. The odds paid are five hundred to one. A person would be foolish to try to win normally as there is 2 to 1 that you lose. The bookies have made out very well on their racket and could very well afford a loss that would help me so much.

The numbers and dates they are to come out on are as follows:

| Number   | Date              |
|----------|-------------------|
| x 642 xx | Friday July 12    |
| x 973 xx | Tuesday July 16   |
| x 458 xx | Wednesday July 24 |

I will play other numbers after the first hit on the days not listed and lose to throw people off my trail lest they think I am lucky and start playing my numbers.

I suppose you think I am just another darn fool but I had to take a chance. I have tried to be frank about it and am signing my name. Please don't send this to a newspaper as it would embarrass me quite a little.

Very respectful

---

89 Summit St.  
Sharon Penna.

The reason I am giving you the numbers is so that you will not have to send them to me. If I should win I will come to see you personally to thank you.

September 9/8/33  
Pittsburgh - Pa.

Dear Sir:-

New York Stock Market Clearing House.

You will find enclosed \$1.00 in cash please send me just one Goog Number. I prefer a race No. a flat No. Please tell me how long I must play it. If it works in my favor, Will remember you also will be your steady customer - I find a little note book stating your address in I couldn't get the right no as it was wet. My husband is out of work 3 yrs. I have 4 children trying get work - cant succeed no more. So will try to take chance on No. Never played before -  
Yours Truly -

144 South 23rd St.  
S. S. Pittsburgh Pa.

New York Stock Exchange  
New York City

East Liberty Pa.

Mr. Whitney

Dear Sir

You are just the man that could help to restore prosperity.

You can place daily in the hands of the masses between 3 and 5 hundred thousand dollars. And \$4.40 out of every \$4.50 they win daily will be spend buying necessities. They play the digist all over the country and use this system. I am enclosing illustration and the big raccateers pay off on the figures you give the Associated Press.

Shares Wednesday May 3rd

4,637,560

Illustrations of the system the players add three two and three ones and play these figures following day.

4,637,560

4,637,560

22 2

11 1

597

486

Meaning the players would play 597 and 486 the following day. Mr. Whitney if you see the associated press gets this figures for one month you would do wonderful thing to help prosperity and will swear to keep your prosperity act a secret for life.

Yours to help prosperity and the masses.

May 3-33



303 Grant St. S.C.  
Atlanta Ga.  
April 3, 1934

Dear Sir:

I am writing you a few lines to let you know that I want to make a deal with you.

I want to talk to you over the phone and since I want to have this talk, will you please write me and give me your address and the phone number.

When you give me this information mentioned above, I will be able to call you any day except Saturdays and Mondays. Please tell me the date, hour and any other information that will make it necessary for me to talk to you.

Your Mondays total was \$197,000 for that I want in the last three numbers as 997. You can call me over phone 724007 my private phone, or wire me.

Columbus Ohio  
Dec. 12, 1934

New York Stock Exchange  
New York City  
N. Y.

Dear Sir:-

Thru information from Mr. Martin Egan of J. P. Morgan I wish you would send me the prepared and Published lists of the revised sales of the daily sales of the Stocks and Bonds. I would like to be able to understand how the revised list is figured. Out West, here every body seems to be gaining on the revised sales of the Stock and Bond Market.

Would there be any way I can secure these figures on the daily revised sales in stock and bond mart before o'clock our time here in Columbus, Ohio.

I would be willing to pay a return on these Winning Numbers.

I am taking this method to pull myself out of debts.

Please give these computed lists of the revised list of sales On Stock & Bonds daily.

It is said that these figures are given out or made up a head of time each week.

I will appreciate what information you can give me a long these lines and maybe later on I will be able to buy from the Stock Exchange some interesting investments.

I remain  
Respectfully

Yours truly

House No. 1 - 1745 St.  
Konsanen, Pa.

Sarasota, Florida  
P.O.Box 1471  
Jan. 3, 1935

Chief Clerk  
New York Bond Exchange

Dear Sir:-

Do you need some money? Let me make one thousand per. week for you.

If you can give me the total business receipts for one day, now I would have to get this information (8 hours) eight hours before you turn this report over to the news. In other words I want this number here by noon. If you can do this. It will help us both. And you will soon have all the money you want.

Your Mondays total was 8997.000 Now what I want is the last three numbers as 997. You can call me over Phone #24667 my private phone, or wire me.

Now I am no crook you can depend on me. I will mail you one Thousand each week, and I know how to keep my mouth shut I know how to keep my business to myself.

I am not trying to set no trap I am up against it and I know I can get out of the strain I am in in this way.

You just try me once and your money will be sent you on the next day.

If you have your doubts about me you can write to Mayer E. A. Smith of Sarasota and Mr. Pearson High Sheriff of Sarasota Co.

I am a Negro I have a small grocery store here and cant pay my just debts. I have always tried to live a clean honest life I am not afraid for you to get my record.

Please let me hear from you

Yours respect.

Monessen Pa  
Feb. 14, 1933

Dear Sir:

I am writing you a letter asking you to help me out. I am out of work and have a little money left and I play the clearing house. Wish the number come out from the New York Stock Exchange.

And I would like for you to secretly give me a number that yu think will be out and on what day it will come out on.

And you can send me the amt or price that yu want for the number and I will gladly give you the price. Please send me as soon as you can

Yours truly

House No. 2 - 12th St.,  
Monessen, Pa.

Nov. 3, 1933

New York Stock Exchange  
Office Manager.

Dear Sir:

I have a money making proposition for the first man that will read this letter. And it will stay a secret between the two of us. I do not know you Sir, and you dont know me, and I am game enough to ask you to join me with my idea to beat the number racket. "They got my money!" I am just hoping that you'll not fear from me and you'll trust me. I am honest and will not cause you any trouble. All I want from you is the N. Y. Stock Exchange numbers head of time - day before, or same day on mornings so I can place the numbers on the Solicitors book on time to cash in on it. The numbers on the N. Y. Stock Exchange cut off last two figures and send next three "like this 285953" those three numbers in that place are the daily winners. Please let me know if you could do this? Then send me numbers twice, or three times weekly or as you can. I will compensate with you and I will assure you of a nice income. We can use the alphabet for numbers ABC so on up to ten, send it in Telegram or the best way you think it will reach me on time later on we can change the alphabet to the name of the stocks. I am asking you to trust me if you could send me these numbers. I am not a federal or secret service men or a racketeer cheat or a double-crosser. I am honest and you do not fear I wish I could shake your hands and be a close friend with you. I am young yet 26 years old. If we cooperate in this you don't have to mansion your name even when you right to me just direct me where to send money for your work. This is the best way I can explain myself. "I have been paying for hot tips but I never won anything. If I wrote for anything out of the way please correct it. I am waiting for answers "I hope it is yes"

Yours Very truly,

38 Orchard St.  
Sharon, Pa.

Owens, W. Va.  
Feb. 25, 1935

Dear Sir

I am writing you in care of the Wall Street Stock Market. Will you please Give me a few tips on the market for the month of March then I Will play the number and send you half the money I win keep this a Secret.



Jan. 11, 1934  
Sharon, Pa. Penna.

Richard Whitney  
President of,  
N. Y. Stock Exchange

Dear Mr. Whitney;

Will you excuse me for forcing my way with a Proposition like this. But I hope, if you're in the position and possible for you to do it that you'll trust me. I am not a racketeer, or a spie. The proposition is: If you could furnish me with sure tips, numbers off the New York Stock Exchange about twice a week, I'll make you fifty thousand dollars or much more between now and September. We will go fifty-fifty, we can use some kind of a code for the numbers. But if you're not interested in this will you send me than only one or two sure tips just a brake.

I am 27 years old and never got the brakes yet, but I am honest and my word is good. If we'll cooperate together I'll take all risponsibility your name will not be mentioned. If you could control the numbers like this have so many marked for to-day tip day 197389122 These three are the winning numbers leave last two off. And than make the difference up the next day when not playing.

I'll be much obliged to hear from you soon,  
Very truly Yours,

Send me the Middle Number like this  
21,639,000 I want the Thousand Number

if you send me that Number before  
10 AM. I will pay for telgraph on this  
you 250 dollars Every time you send

Baltimore 12 - 4 day  
1932

1365 Stricker, Stock Exchange of New York.

Please sen me a number please sir and if I beat this number you will be to the god if you give me the number, will hit 2 days streath i will go fifty fifty with you. i am in hard luck and ask you to commerdate that much if you will do so i will serve you rite.

1365 Stricker.

Please send it at once yours truly. Please let me no how mannie day to play these number before there come out. i will no when you will get you money

1365 Stricker St.

Dear sir

I am drop fax line to ask your about N. Y. stock sales. Could you give Me the total sales the day before if you can I can take good Profit drop Me fax line P.S. Just between Me and your

Yours truly

762 Union  
Pontiac, Michigan

4732 Juniper st.  
Pittsburgh, Penna.

Date 10/23/31

Dear Sir-

I am interested in the New York Stock Market figures, which are published in the Paper. They are published every evening 7.30 P.M. If theres a possible chance of getting these figures each day anytime before 1.30 P.M. there would be a fortune waiting for us. I am a married man with 2 children and I been out of work fore 2 years.

If you will kindly help me out with this, I will give you 65 percent and I 35 percent. that would put me on my way to happiness. We could make abut 3 or 4,000.00 dollars a day, if interested please reply and I would call in person to do business.

I remain yours Truly.

P.S. I am sending you a copy from fridays figures, Oct. 16th. Sales 1421773.

Cleveland Ohio

New Yore, Bon. Co. 12/11/34

to Who Read This Letter. i Wood Like to have The Number of The New York Bonds Volume.

Send me the Middle Number like this With the x under it  
11,639,000 I Want the Thousand Number

x if you Send me that Number by Telgram Before 10 A.M. i will Pay for telgrams on this End. and Will send you \$50 dollars Every time you send me that NUMBER We Both can make money That Way You Send the NumBer and I send You \$50 dollars Every time You send it Try Me out once Enny Way and See for Your self.

To get the Number Right Send it just like it Will go in the paper the day You send it

Yours truty

---

2157 E 87 St.  
Sweet 3

Sned your Name and Adress please.

Pontiac 9, 1932

Bear sir

say I am drop few line to ask your about N. Y. stock sales. Could you give Me the total sales the day befor if you can I can Make good Profit drop Me few line

P.S. Just between Me and your

Yours truly

---

76 $\frac{1}{2}$  Edison  
Pontiac, Michigan

2507 Salem St.  
Balto., M.D.

Jan. 1, 1933

Dear Sir,

I am Writing to you to fine out How Much does your  
Schedule F cost for this years cope (?) the New York Stock  
exchange I would like for you to Send me one of those Books  
if you will. the Number Part of the book for 1933. If you  
can Please Write and tell me the Price By Friday or Saturday  
morning I Will Send you the money for it. I would like to  
have one in the House for My own Self so I Will look to here  
from you as Soon you can So I will close now. from

2507 Salem St.

(A reply from the exchange asking what book she meant brought  
the following letter):

Dear Sir,

2507 Salem St.  
Baltimore, M.D.

Dear Sir:

I Just Recieved your letter Saiding you dont understand  
what I mean about the book I Mean the Book that you hits Num-  
ber By So you Send Me a Nice Book and if I hit I will give  
you a nice tip of it let me know How Much does it cost for  
one So I know What to do a bout it. I hope you Will under  
Stand it now So I Will Close Now. From

2507 Salem St.  
Balto., M.D.

Mr. A. Green  
New York City

Dear Sir,

Atlanta, Ga.  
Nov. 13-34

N. Y. Stock and Bond Market,  
To whom may be interested;

If you can give me total bond sales before 1 P.M. your  
time or 2 P.M. our time daily, we can make some easily money.  
The only numbers I am interested in is the three middle numbers.  
Please communicate with me at the following address--

30 Marietta St.  
Atlanta, Ga.

P.S. Please do not pass this by --

1. This letter and the one following were written by the same individual.



Mr. F. F. Boyd  
Dear Sir:

I received your letter That was Wrote on the 20 of Nov.  
I wonder if you could give me the number for 2 times  
give me 634 for Dec. 12: 1934 and 742 for Dec. 19:1934. If  
you would I could make you \$50,000 and myself \$50,000 if you  
will do that write and let me know by the 8 of December 1934.  
I will send you your money on the 14 and 21 of December 1934  
if you can do this at all, wire and give me these 2 numbers  
and I will sent you yours money,

Hoping to hear from you soon.  
P.S. If you do this I will not tell anyone. I just keep it  
to myself for example I will show you what number I need  
those three that I have mark.  
863410 total sales stock

Council Bluffs Iowa  
10-19-32

Dear Sir<sup>1</sup>

Would you please tell me the name and address of the  
party who totals the sales for each day of the stocks sold  
on the exchange. Thanking you I am.

Yours truly

c/o Chicago and North-  
western Ry.

Council Bluffs, Ia.  
10-27-32

Mr. A. Green  
New York City  
Dear Sir -

For the next six months a party at Omaha Nebraska is  
giving valuable prizes for the ones holding the most numbers  
in his stock market "contest" each number contains four  
figures. And they use the second, third, fourth, and fifth  
numbers of total sales of New York Stock Market as published  
in morning newspapers. See slipping attached - winning num-  
ber for Oct. 25th would be 1486.

If the total as published is correct I would not be  
interested in knowing who compiles same but if it is esti-  
mated or approximated would like to get in touch with the  
person who furnishes the total.

Yours truly

---

1. This letter and the one following were written by the same  
individual.

Garrison West Virginia  
Sept 25, 1934

Dear Freind:

I asking you to give me a little help that will help me and to you if you will do as I am asking you.

Can you or will you give me the Total Sales of The Stock Average at any day you desire or give me a number to play and I will Guaranteed you at least Two Hundred Dollars or more.

Please answer and let me know by return mail.

But if you can give it to me on the same day you desire after answering my letter. Send a Telegraph to Charleston W.Va. 10:30 o'clock if so. Please let me know what day you can do this and I shall wire you the amount you desire if my offer is not accepted. In lest time than 2 hours after 5:30 or before.

Oblidge

P.S. I am inclosing a stamp for a answer.

I am going to play 500 on Jan 28-30 for a sufficient amount so I can send you \$1000.00 which will represent approximately half of the earnings. The other half I will use to relieve some of the hardships due here, and you may wish to do the same.

Columbus, Ohio  
Monday 21, 1933

Dear Ones,

Would you Kindly get me the Stock prices a little earlier?

Your money is still good and if you send it in time I shall send you more than \$20.00

Yours truly,

P.S. I only play once a week for fear some one gets wise. I shall look for the no. of price before or at week end

Yours truly

450 Edward St.  
Columbus, Ohio

1422 Madison ave.  
Balto. Md

Dear Sir

Inclose you will find a slip of total sales if it is possible would you be kind enough to send me any day between this and Sat. Morn be fore one oclock the total sale by fore one oclock the total sale by telegram and I will pay the cost on this end and send me your name and I will share what ever I make out of it with you I must have it by one oclock. I hope that you will send at once thanks in advance.

1422 Madison ave.  
Baltimore Md.

this is what I mean

Pittsburg, Pa.  
Jan 22 '31

Dear Sir:

I am an official of a Life Insurance Co. here and this is my reason for not giving my name in connection with communication. I made a special trip to N. Y. in order to get your address because I will take no one in my confidence in this matter, and that is also the reason I did not give this letter to my stenographers.

In an article in the Pittsburgh Sun Telegram on Jan 2nd you were reported to have said in connection with the publication of Stock Sales daily totals that only the Million and Hundred thousand figures of the total shares reported sold for the day, were of any importance to brokers, and that ciphers could be used for the balance of the figures, and since there has been no change in the figures being published I am going to play 648 on Jan 28-30 for a sufficient amount so I can send you \$1000.00 which will represent approximately half of the winnings. The other half I will use to relieve some of the hardships due to the depression here, and you may wish to do the same in N. Y.

The amount to be played is limited in order to not be noticed by the "number bankers" who handle about \$50,000 in bets here each day. Each of us could contribute \$1000.00 each week to the needy without hardship even to the number bankers.

648 has not appeared in 5 years, and should it come up before Jan 29 I will play 661 the three days mentioned which has also not come up for five years.

To avoid taking anyone into confidence I will remitt by sending 20 letters each containing \$50.00 currency by regular mail without return address, exactly as this is sent, except will send 5 different envelopes four times at intervals of six hours.

648 will have to appear as follows: 64 the last two figures in the thousands and 8 the first in the hundreds, example xx648xx if 648 or 661 is in number Jan 29-30 or 31. Otherwise will assume you will not cooperate.

Respectfully and Sincerely  
submitted.





for me to play it. Couldn't you? I have two girls talented in music we have a piano and I could Give them a start. If you will do this use the code I am sending so the Western Union wouldn't get wise and be sure and send it as early as possible so if they are 15 min. or  $\frac{1}{2}$  hr. late getting the telegram to me it wont be too late for me to play it. I will be the happiest woman in the in the world and I will think of you as my savior and friend and remember you the rest of my life. I am 38 years old Born in Beliforte France, Mar. 19, 1896.

In the telegram you could say. Will be at your home Wednesday and use the code letters of the number as initials at the bottom of the telegram. Hope I get a telegram real soon and you will get your \$450.00 the next day and each time you send the number you will receive \$450.00 as your share. And I will be so very very happy and I can life a load of worry from my mind with just a little effort from you. Please let me hear from you and try to arrange to send me the number real soon. You have nothing to lose and I have everything to gain, and I swear to god I will never tell any one else the no. or where I get it. Trust me at once and you will find I am honest. Here's hoping I hear from you. Please don't make this letter public destroy it but keep the code I am sending you and may God bless you and I wish you every happiness and the best of luck.

From a young Mother The Depression has hurt so badly.

Drop me a line and I will get it personally for I will watch for it every day.

- |       |       |
|-------|-------|
| 1 - P | 6 - S |
| 2 - E | 7 - C |
| 3 - A | 8 - H |
| 4 - R | 9 - U |
| 5 - L | 0 - M |

The code is part of my name if the number is 480 sign the initials to the telegram as R.H.M. and the number has to be read 5 numbers from the right to left and 3 back to right. Thus 6,840,560 shares it would be 405.

Week days number can be played here till 12:45 East. Standard time on Saturdays till 11 o'clock E.S.T.

And Many Many Many Thanks in Advance and the best of Luck

Dear Sir

Please make these two numbers come out on the N. Y. stock in Pittsburgh for Fri. and Sat. If this comes out I will send you half of what I get. And will send it to the same address.

Friday  
0,024,400

Saturday  
0,056,500

P.S. If this number comes out be sure and watch for a letter next week. I want to have some money for Xmas.

Monroe, Mich.  
Oct. 23, 1934.

New York Stock Exchange

Dear Sir

I wonder if you could give me the total Stock Sales.

Before 10:00 A.M. in the same day which they are put in the paper. Take the total sales for Oct. 22, 1934 total sales was 574,080 those three that I have mark is the only one that I want to know.

If you can give me those three numbers in the Stock Sales, in day which they come out in. If you can write and let me know and I will make you and I some money. Hoping to hear from you real soon.

Jan. 18th - 31

To Whom it may concern -

If you can in any way communicate the N. Y. Stock Sales report to me in advance of publication - It will be your "fifty" in a betting proposition - which is paying 6 for 1. If you will favor me with your cooperation in this effort - I shall very deeply appreciate the same. And assure all will be strictly confidential.

For instance, I should receive Wednesday's report on Tuesday Night or early Wednesday A.M. In order to have our bet placed, before publication.

After your favorable reply to this note - I shall further explain.

Trusting you for a Confidential reply.

I am very truly yours,

2429 W. Oxford St. Phila. Pa.

Yours Very Truly

1001 W. Venah St.  
Salisbury N.C.



May 9 - 35

New York Stock Exchange dear sir. Just a line to ask you how much would Cd service Be for the total sales shares. Every day Just as soon as it out in new York we will Pay for it and we want it. By Cd an will let you let me na how much it will Be I will Pay you 30 days at the time for the number and would love to Heere from you at once I will pay you for the service and Please let me Here from you at once.

From 1401 Jeffesan st  
Baltimore md

Youngstown Ohio  
June 3, 1935

President N. Y. Stock Exchange:

Dear Sir:

Can the N Y Stock reports be fixed. If so Please give me the last two figures in thousands and first figure in hundreds for Saturday June 8, 1935.

I will keep this a Secret and split what ever way you want. Pays 500 to 1 on all numbers except 000, 100, 101, 125, 313, and 725 they Pay 300 to 1. I need 1,500 to Pay a mortgage off. Yours. 599 Mahoning ave. Youngstown Ohio. If interested wire me the number. A1 B2 C3 D4 and so on. Will Play \$6 dollars on number. I am Just a young Maired man.

1021 W. Honah St.  
Salisbury N.S.  
October 8 - 35

New York Stock Exchange  
General Office  
New York City

Dear Sir:-

I am sending this letter trying to get some information concerning Butter and Eggs. I am in a small racket here, "- and the only chance I have to get the best of this racket - I must know (a day before) the final average on the total of butter and the same with Eggs. I will send you \$1.00 per day without fail - if you try and send me these reports. By your close checking you may be able to send me (the about report) of the next day.

Yours Very Truly

1021 W. Honah St.  
Salisbury N.S.

Dear President:-

Beauty shops.

I hear much talking about Bond and Stock sale. And also there I know that People get nummers from Detroit to play. They have to pay \$5.00 for a nummer that comes out in 3 days. He is really good in giving numbers out. I ask his name but they keep it secret.

I just thinking over that and I wonder if there would be one send me twice or once a week a stright stock nummer by giving the nummer in Alphabet D.G.H. 478 or it was 487 D.H.G. by Telegram. If I get the Telegram by 12 1/2 o'clock noon I can get it in my 1 o'clock. I never would play more as a Dollar or \$1.50 but would pay the one that give me the Nummer \$250.00 for each nummer. Indeed I keep secret too. I could only play a dollar as they not allow more too. I just thought it would be a good idea too.

that made the stock number 223 of 200.

Columbus, Ohio.

Please write me and let me know, and if you can let me know it slow and for a long time I hundred dollars a week. I granted you all they have this number racket here and the Banker have got Billions of dollar they a little now. see I have to get it before the day. this paper is out about 2 o'clock or 3 o'clock and may we play our last no. ticket at 2 o'clock

Maple Grove St.

Hubbard Ohio

June 1933

New York Stock Market  
New York

Dear Sirs;

I heard from different people that they have a hot tip from New York. Hot numbers. How much is a hot number? I would like to have one just to get a little money and climb out of a hole (pay debts). When you give numbers "if you give any" do they always come out as you send them (straight or Box) "Was 223 a tip from New York?" It came out 232. I'll do my best to make it right with you.

Kindly answer this letter as it means a lot to me.

"Thank you."

Yours truly

Dear Secretary-

Your letter received. Very sorry about  
Maple Grove St.  
Hubbard Ohio.

Answer tell me how much a number cost. One that will come out soon. Please.

lost all paper had a break. this is a copy of last to day - cant cash a bet, and the stock today - Old. Price - 224. I get alert but cant hit please send me in this envelope and article. I read my own mail no one will no. please send me

Beauty shope. and  
1436 orlean st. there  
Balto M.d.

Dear Sir:

Just a few lines to ask you about your stock sales to ask you that each day when you close out you total would it be possible that you could call in to me by phone no. Wafe (?) 2368, ask to speak to \_\_\_\_\_ 1436 orlean st. see it is a number Racket here, and only way you can win is to get a tip now if you would call the total in for that day before 12 o'clock I be sure of winning and will grantee you one hundred to 3 hundred dollas a day but twice a week or 3 times a week because you have a day chance to receied your. I been the New York Stock No for 2 year haven hit yet. and would split with you twice a week now to date is the 10. and your total in the Balto paper is 990,000 shares - that made the stock number today 900.

Please write me and let me no. and if we can we take it slow and for a long time 3 hundred dollars a week. I grantee you all they have this number racket here and the Banker have mad Billions of dollar they can stand to loose a little now. see I have to get it before 12 o'clock in the day. this paber is out about 2 o'clock I think that is or 4 o'clock and may we play our last no. ticket at 2 o'clock and I have to no the total that will be public in the Evening News.

Yours truly \_\_\_\_\_, 1436 orlean st. Bato. Md.

(After a reply from the Stock Exchange stating that it was impossible for anyone to know the number before the trading closed in the afternoon the following letter was received from the same person that sent the letter above.)

Beauty shoppe  
1436 Orlean st.  
Balto Md.  
4/13/35

Dear Secretey-

You letter recieved. Very sorry it seems as if I am dreaming I am in such hard Business. now I made arrgement that at 2-15 the article can be Place. and I am willing to split fifty-fifty. With each day I have it. Using a code send me a copy of code bean use. I am only a player have lost all never had a break. this is a copy of lost to day - cant cash a bet. and the stock today - 018. Race - 954. I get clost but cant hit please send me in this Envelope and article. I read my own mail no one will no. please send me

Stock Exchange officials sent to the writer of the above letter he replied as follows:



a copy of 1 234 56 that how it is readin parts. Write and tell me how old is the New York Herald. I hered it was there hundred-and fifty of age code. When do the New York saving time bengin see here is no saving time you closed early and are still on the same time write me at once. I could not find answer to question I had in mind. Please make me understand by writing or calling.

Yours Res -

S.p. Write and tell me when the daylight saving time began. that make you close early and I guess by that time you bets will be Place at 1(o'clock on Saturday stock bets goes in 10 A.m. - if you will call me over tel-phone at 2 o'clock I can place my bets at 2.15. then with your home address you can receive a tel-Gam containing 4 hundred and fifty split. Write me and let me no by rtrn mail. I will be at the tel-phone on the date waiting you let me no in this lettr.

1290 Mt. Vernon Ave.  
Columbus, Ohio.  
Sept. 17, 1932

Mr. Richard Whitney-  
Dear Sir

I am a young man, and want to enter college this fall. But my finance will not permit me to do so. And my reason for writing you I wonder if you would help me. Not by giving Cash, but if you could send me the Big board bond sale or Revised Bond sale figures once or twice a week. So I might make enough money to pay my tuitions. If I could get it once a week. I could make my self twenty or twenty five dollars and I could play it for you also. To pay for your kindness. The figures in both are played from the Thousand figures or the three middle numbers. There is no work and I want to enter college ever so bad. You can wire me or call me long distance. If you call, call Fairfax 0193. and ask for H. Smith or wire to the above address.

I will certainly appreciate you sending me the number. As you know If you can send it so I might get it by twelve thirty though the week or by Ten Thirty on Saturday. If you will be kind enough to favor a poor boy in that way I will assure you no one will ever know anything about it. I will send yours by telegraph just as soon as I get paid. Please write and let me know whether you can do it or not. Thanking you in advance.

Sincerely yours,

After receiving a letter asking about the number racket which Stock Exchange officials sent to the writer of the above letter he replied as follows:

1290 Mt. Vernon Ave.  
Columbus, Ohio.  
Sept. 25, 1932

Mr. Green:  
Dear Sir:

I rec'd your reply to my recent letter and I am very sorry to know that you cannot help me. There is a couple of clearing houses in Columbus and they are backing the Revised bond sales numbers. And I thought if you could or would be kind enough to wire it to me once or twice. The number tickets must be in about Twelve Thirty A.M. oclock on the weekdays and at Ten-Thirty A.M. on Saturdays and then they pay off around Four thirty in the afternoon. The number which I wish you could send is the thousand figures as these numbers read. If the total revised bond sales reach \$10 (789)300. The number encircled are the numbers which they read and pay on every day. That there is bussiness on the Stock Market. If couple of times I could make enought to pay my expenses in school and I could also send you as much as a Hundred Dollars each time you send it. I could play thirty cents and get "180 one Hundred and eighty dollars. that would be \$90 ninety Dollars each. Twice a week would make us both some money. If you will please send it. No one will ever know anything about it. That is the reason I am writing you because I know your're the one that can give me the total revised Bond Sale figures early enough to get our play in. I suppose the market closes business about twelve o'clock each day. If you could possibly wire me that number any day before 12:30 o'clock. You kno't know what a burden you would be taking off of me, and a big help toward my schooling. I know you could send it and no one would know anything about it. Please write me and let me know what day you can or will send it. As I might have a new address and I can. If you can send it I think my new address will be 689 E. Capital St. and I repay you each time you send it. As you know there is no work and I am to honest I don't or would not steal a penny and this way of securing money is honest and as long as no one knows where the right numbers comes from. They will pay off as you might not know they pay 6.00 for 1 cent, on guessing the right number. for each and every day, as yesterday the number they paid off on was 789. You know what position that number was in. Please think this over and try and help a poor boy out, as this does not cost you any thing and I will pay the wire on it, and pay you \$90.00 dollars every time you send it. Hoping that I will hear from you any day this week with the number. Address it to 689 E. Capital St. Wire me just put the desired number in the telegram and I will know what it is or you can write the whole Revised Bond sale figures and I know which one to play from. Hoping to hear from you real soon.

Very truly yours

---

Pittsburgh, Pa.  
January 3, 1931

Personal

To the Manager

Of the New York Stock Exchange.

Dear Sir:

After reading in the paper that you were going to with hold the daily figures in the exchange to discourage "Numbers" gambling, the thought came to me that if you would compare the stock gambling with the other you would find that considering it from every angle you would be better off not to make a statement of that kind.

My savings of a life time of hard work are all tied up in the stock market at an appalling loss, as you could easily check on the books of my Broker Post and Flagg. yet I am not a hard loser, but have resorted to the "Number" game to try and retrieve at least a part of my losses. the only unfair part of the latter game is that of changing the figures to suit the "Racketeer" that is where I call the game crooked and that would be up to your own people.

If you still continue to publish the figures help it to be strictly on the square.

Very truly

---

728 Litchfield St.  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

1/13/31

Dear Sir,

In regards to numbers I fell some of them have been tampered with as looking over my cards I have found they do not correspond and I think that the bankers are looking after themselves as they have a man to switch number so the poorer people cant hit any number - as I know this to be a fact as we have proof on tip cards.

On Jan 2nd 739-277 neither being right - would like to know if you call this fair play, as a lot of poor people are playing and want honest dealings - Would like to hear from you so please take notice and attend to this.

Sincerely

---

c/o Gen. Delivery  
Buffalo, N. Y.



Dec. 18 -- 1932  
254 Parson st.

Dear sir

I am write you for someking right in these Bond. I was in new york thoday and the no was 374 and it was here 898 - that on the 15 and that not right. I like to play the no I knot that and it been going on they turn the no rong and would like to chch the no it some time been playing for 13 month.

this \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX C

Services of St. Ruth's Spiritualist Church  
Orleans and Monroe Avenues, Detroit, Michigan

Friday, Jan. 18, 1933 --  
8:00 o'clock P.M.

... you have seen the way I have been  
... you have seen the way I have been  
... you have seen the way I have been

... of every nation...

... of God's love, infinite love,  
... in all, be it so.

...

...

APPENDIX C

We are indeed glad to be out here together; indeed glad  
Services of St. Ruth's Spiritualist Church  
to Orleans and Monroe Avenues, Detroit, Michigan

bring Dr. Palmer Friday, Jan. 18, 1935  
8:00 o'clock P.M.

heart of hearts,

Dr. Palmer:

Dr. Johnson, associated members and friends, please be  
unto you as I come before you tonight to teach you God's word  
and to endeavor to tell you the truth about how we should  
live in this world and what is the right and the wrong  
live before our fellowmen. I am going to read you some  
portion of the fifth chapter of the book of Isaiah, about the twenty-  
eighth verse. I am going to read you the subject of this  
twenty-eighth verse, and I am not going to be before you  
only a few minutes, so I want to turn your mind to the  
and we go to heaven at once. I think that's the way to  
word of God is the only way to know the truth.





But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart, and if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell. And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee, for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell. It hath been said, whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement. But I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery. Again ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths.

I'm taking my subject from the twenty-eighth verse - about this woman. After I go into this, I want you to send me the best you have got that you may be able to see who this woman is. We understand we have been looking at this picture of woman as a beautiful thing, as representing the luxuries of life; picturing this woman as on the carnal side of life, but not the way she has been preached to us from time to time, but in the light of things that the carnal mind desire. When you look at this woman, we don't want you to take a picture of this woman sitting here, but as the things you cannot give up life; things that the heart crave for - automobiles, clothes, luxuries; some of the carnal side of life; that what we lust after, what we find ourselves are in the lower seat of our consciousness when we become grafting and

lusting; and pulling after that woman - money, good clothes, everything pertaining to the lustiness of this life. But we find that God is unfolding His word that men and women may see and understand themselves, that they can meditate on the divine power to unfold that knowledge that He has given. There are two sides to this subject - the carnal side and the spiritual side. God help me this night. I want you to know what it means by putting this woman and how you should put her away. When we become so ignorant to the fact that we doesn't understand ourselves, then we don't know how to put that woman away, but we can get this picture that this woman represents, the weakness of the masculine part which is man, to lust after the feminine which is woman. Not only the feminine, but what we want to say is, that we lust after isn't only the feminine part, but after the luxuries of this world that will cause us to sin and go in darkness after the evil things of this world. God has laid a plan for us to go by - a plan of coming in touch with that divine power. He showed us when He went up on Mt. Olive in the high state of mind, where we can live above the carnal things of life. We want to show you how to cut off your understanding from these things. If they offend you, it doesn't mean to cutt off your material hand, but that you should cut off the things that is causing your mind to go into that state and lay the sublime aside. of God, and I want to say too, ask you for your best

That woman is the task of this world, but the things that we love in life. When we lay Him aside, we are divorcing that woman. If your eye offend you, pluck it out and let's become single. When our right hand offend, let's cut it off. That spiritual high within can fit right on your understanding of the spiritual side of life and keep you marching up this changed highway and dismiss the evil things of this life and live pure, holy and sanctified in life. God help me to speak the truth. It is good. We have been blindfolded so long and the teachers who have been teaching us have not been telling us the truth.

Congregational singing - "When the Saints Go Marching In."

Madam Williams:

I know we enjoyed that lesson tonight because Jesus was teaching it to us. You know, the word of God is right any way it comes. You know, it makes us feel good anyway. Dr. Palmer, he did not have long enough to get said what he wanted to get said. We will have Madam Holmes to come forward now.

Congregational Singing - "Lord I Want to be a Christian in My Heart."

Madam Holmes:

Dr. Johnson, officers, members, also associated ministers of the gospel, we want to thank the Lord for keeping us well this day, for sparing us to be able to come out again to the Temple of God, and I want to say too, ask you for your best



thoughts while we try to give you a word of the Lord. Whatever the spirits permit us to say we will say in the name of the Lord and we ask you to pray for us to deliver to you what the Lord permits for through the spirit all things are well. We want to again study in the same chapter just read, but we will begin at the forty-third verse -

Ye have heard that it hath been said, thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, love thine enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you. That you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven, for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good and sendeth rain on the just and unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye even the publicans so? Be ye therefore perfect as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

First, we want to say that we enjoyed the wonderful message coming from brother Palmer. Rev. Palmer stated to us about love. We see these two characters that were mentioned in these two lessons - the woman and divorcement. We would see this woman as Jesus was demonstrating to us, as love, showing us how to love one another, doing unto others as we would have them do unto us. This lesson - looking on the carnal side of life, showing divorcement in a spiritual way, as turning aside from that which is wrong, taking hold of what is before us, turning away from an evil mind. When we get tired of a thing, we are ready to let it go. We see this woman as a beautiful character, one that knows what it means

to strive after a thing and seek after God in spirit and truth. If we want to get in touch with the Father, we want to see her in this lesson as love, and Christ shows us how beautiful it is for us to also love our enemies. We cannot do it of ourselves, but in the spirit, Jesus shows us how in the teaching of disciples on the mountain. He was showing us that we must love our enemies, do good to them that persecute us, even love those who hate us. We cannot do it of ourselves, but Jesus is showing us in this beautiful lesson that love takes the place of hate - doing good to them. We see in this beautiful lesson how He tells us to love as little children, lay aside the things that so easily beset us which is ourselves. So long as we are wrapped up in self, we look at our brother and we hate because we do not look as Jesus has taught us. We know that God loves us because we are all children of God. How necessary it is for us to love one another. For if we love them, those which only love us, what reward have we? The sinner has great respect for them he knows love him. But He is showing us how beautiful it is to love everyone. Every man and woman is a manifestation of God and he is showing us that we must be perfect even as He was as His Father, and He was showing us a lesson through the Father and it is through Him that we get to the Father; and showing us that the sun rises on the evil as well as the good. We must follow after Christ in spirit and in truth

and life ourselves up above this life and let our light  
shine through out souls. We are striving every day of our  
life to be as God has taught His disciples. We are striving  
if we can't do anything but say 'praise be to God' to those  
who are good to us, or even to hand a glass of water to the  
thirsty, but do it with all of our heart, not with an out-  
ward show to the world, and holding within our mind continual-  
ly the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Let us love one another  
even those that hate us despitefully, use us selfishly. The  
greatest persecution that a man has is in his own mind. You  
know if we could get up our mind above adversity - but it is  
hard to see the truth while we are overcome by the evil. If  
we lift up our mind, there is nothing that would hinder us.  
We thank you for these remarks.

Congregational Singing - "Stand By Me."

Madam Williams:

You know, I could just sit and listen because my soul  
is just filled. You know, just so many wonderful thoughts  
and beautiful things have been said. You know, we all know  
that woman was made for a man, so was the luxuries of life,  
but we let that lust cut us off from serving God. God in-  
tended that we should have automobiles, good clothes, and  
luxuries, but we must first look upon them as the blessings  
of God. You know, everybody wants to live good; everybody  
wants luxuries. You can have an evil mind and you have got



what you want. We have a blessing of God in the greatness that we have achieved. That is what those things are for, what you have accomplished, but you know we forget. We forget to do our duty, forget the church; we commit adultery on God. Brother Parker brought it home to me tonight. You know, we pin so much on a person. Because I don't run around, that doesn't mean that I don't commit adultery. You are committing adultery every day of your life. Let your right eye offend you, pluck it. It don't mean reach up and pull it out, but whatever you are doing that disturbs God, cut it out. You know, just self, self, desire. Cut it out and live in the spirit. You know, once you have been woke up, your mind is awake. You are getting something inward. Your whole body is trying to heal one little evil doing that you have done that has cut you off from God. You know, if you have just one thing that offends, all our members must be subject to the Will of God. I could just talk on and on forever, but I must cut off. I want to leave this with you. Don't you see how wonderful it is to have a teacher to come to you and unfold the spirit. We all looked at it just one way and the entire town was committing adultery and doing everything wrong, and thought we were doing right - just like the foolish virgin. If I obeys the will of God, he will give me everything I want. Don't be lifted up in self. You know, having this wonderful teacher here tonight, it is

a blessing of God. This way, we can have everything we  
Congregational Singing - "I'm A-Gonna Give All I Can For My  
Lord."

Madam Johnson:

These three sermons tonight - my little daughter, Mrs.  
Holmes and Dr. Palmer - it made it so plain to us. I wouldn't  
say it at all, but I bear witness to the truth. It made my  
soul feel good. I feel happy all over. The word of God is  
truth. Brother Palmer backed up the teachings of Christ.  
When lust is sin and you have the spirit of God ringing in  
your heart, then we won't have no desire to lust. We want  
to get the power of the Holy Ghost within. Lust is a sin to  
God, an enemy to God. So we should keep our minds and bodies  
free from lust. We can lust in the mind, and when we do,  
we are sinning. Let us be perfect, even as the Father is  
perfect. Jesus said there is none but the Father, but if we  
have the Father within us, then we can live up to the stan-  
dard, because we was made a holy people, so let us stand in  
that order of God. But we fell from man, so let us rise and  
shine and wake up our body and not let sin lust in our body.  
God wants us to search after righteousness. I thank God for  
the word of God because every word is true. If anyone wants  
to live in Christ and don't want to let sin lust in their  
mortal bodies; I want to see if there is one; I want you to  
come. Just strive for righteousness and truth. It is

beautiful to live this way. He will give us everything we want, everything we need. Sometimes we want too much, but He gives us our needs. He knows what every man needs. If anyone wants to come, come while the choir is giving its selection.

Madam Williams:

We have done as the Lord commands and yet there is room. Pray that we may teach the word of the truth. The officers will come before you.

Mr. Williams:

I think we had a wonderful sermon tonight; three of them - your eye, pluck it out. The greatest of those commandments is character, you know, so I want to ask you for some money.

Collection.

Officer, lady:

My good friends, I am going to ask you for \$1.47. Friends, we have got only about a dollar. It's a little chilly out, but let's stretch out our fingers and get busy and give some money. Money is the fruit of all evils, but it has its own purposes. I mean everybody, so let's get down in our pockets, now give me some money.

Madam Johnson:

Those of you who want a test message, those of you who have the little card, my pupils will speak to you. I think



they are wonderful, don't you? You know how when you are so hungry and just a bite of bread gets down in you, don't it feel good? Just like they preach, they can reap, so everybody buy a ticket tonight. (At this time a penny-collection was taken. Later, a silver offering was given, everyone contributing received a bottle of holy ointment.)  
Song by Choir.

Rev. Johnson (while collection is being taken)

Holy ointment will not do you any good if your thoughts are not right. You have got to have the right minds to get anything good. You are getting fifty cents worth of oil for a dime tonight. You can count it as a blessing. If you stand in need of it and it is right, He will give it to us. If our thoughts are not right, you will know it right quick. Let us lift our minds tonight.

Prayer by Rev. Johnson -

Madam Johnson:

I know our hearts are filled. The mediums will please come forward. We are going to ask Rev. Williams and Rev. Holmes, two of the mediums here, to give you messages. Just first raise up your hands; they will give them to you. (Rev. Palmer also acted as a medium.)

Message 1.

A very bright condition stands around you at this time. You are holding something in your hand. Alright? You under-

stand? Hold fast to this as the spirit tells me you will be successful. You will be successful.

Message 2.

The spirit tells me at this time you are not feeling so well. You have a cold? I feel a hoarseness in my chest. The spirit brings a clearing-house number to you also. Come to me after this service and I will give it to you. Alright?

Message 3.

Alright, honey, I want to come to you tonight, and watch yourself very carefully and it's alright. Watch yourself very carefully. There is a green vibration around you, my friend, and through the beautiful spirit, I see you will be very successful in receiving your desire. A kiss will come to you in receiving this desire. Watch yourself very carefully.

Alright?

Message 4.

I want to come in touch with a spirit - alright. Something means much to you. Have you had a vision lately? Watch yourself carefully. There is a wonderful power around you. I want to get a nervous condition from around you. You are striving forcibly. Alright? I want to say to you, look forward and you will be successful. Alright? Watch this vision. Urge hard. You will have much power coming over you and you will be very successful, dear. Alright?

Message 5.

There is a vision of something. Watch yourself carefully and something tells me this condition will be successful. I see you striving, dear heart. Watch yourself very carefully, dear heart. Alright. Alright? It comes so close to you. Watch yourself and you will be successful, said the spirit. Alright?

Message 6. I want to come in to you, dear, and when I come in touch with, alright, a beautiful cloud is over you. The spirit brings cotton to you. Watch yourself very carefully and you will succeed, said the spirit. A bridge is standing before you and you will be successful in crossing this condition. You recognize this condition? I am a travelling spirit. I want to say to you, alright, I want to say to you, the year brings a bright message here to you also. Also, I want to say, there is a big crossing; watch yourself. Alright. You will be successful in receiving your heart's desire.

Message 7 (to Rev. Johnson). You are striving in the spirit for work and the spirit tells me that you will be successful. I see you striving for a higher position and I want to say that you are striving very forcibly with a carnal mind, striving so hard to overcome. Alright, alright. I must say to you, dear heart, you are pulling very forcibly. The spirit claims you are overcoming



this condition, alright, darling, when I come in touch with you, the spirit tells me you have saw this little vision. A very strong force fighting against me. I see bright lights when I come in touch with this condition. Now I feel better. Alright?

Rev. Johnson:

You know, there is more to these meetings than giving numbers. I mean, this is a thing that has kind of blinded the eyes of people. They only want test messages. Everybody is looking for a number. If left with me, I would have them all fixed and out in my hand to give them to you. If you don't give the readings to the people, they think you don't want them around. I don't want to be a preacher. I want to be just what God wants me to be. You all want me to read - to tell you whether you are going to hit that man's policy house or not. I can't blame you for that. Everybody wants something. It seems, though, that people who don't need gets something and people who needs can't get it.

I see something I don't like. Somebody getting out a pencil, getting ready to write. I don't like that.

Congregational singing -

Message 1.

I come to you with a very disgusted condition. You work with coal, dear heart? (answer: no, ma'am). For some reason the spirit brings this manifestation. (answer: I hauls coal

alright. I don't take it home. I mean ....) Alright, the spirit tells me - I get a red wagon, truck or something, and two horses. The spirit brings me in contact with the business of the wagon a long, long time ago. I want to say, the spirit is bringing to you prosperity and success, shows me that you will be able to get what you want. It comes yellow. Do you understand the message? (answer: what I am looking for is dough. I mean money.)

Message 2. you understand so, bless your heart. The spirit says, Son, I want to come in contact with you. For some reason I am getting a beautiful baby. So beautiful. The little spirit is there with you. You are wanting to know when you will be able to overcome a striving condition which has been with you for sometime. Some things you are doing are not right, but you are trying to overcome. Be careful in this, for somebody else has got pants on too besides you. You will come out alright. And the spirit shows me a white woman in your life. I get an old face for some reason. You have something like a responsibility within yourself. Alright? And the spirit shows you are a good man, but you sometimes go to the contrary, but watch and be careful and you will come out successful in your undertaking. Watch this message.

Message 3. is too much for your mind. Always take care

I hear the name of 'John' so forcibly when I come in contact with you. John brings a little worry. Alright? I

want to say to you, bless your heart, the spirit brings me in contact with incense. Burn some and you will get your desire. You are trying so hard to figure this out. As the spirit brings out so beautifully by so doing, - brings me in touch with you with the number 141. You understand? Use it, says the spirit and you will come out alright.

Message 4. When I contact your spirit, I am contacting a personal condition, you understand me, bless your heart. The spirit says, pray and pray much and you will be able to bring yourself out alright. There is a vibration of a sister which comes so beautifully comes to you and leads you. She is walking with you and will carry you to prosperity and success. She can bring you out alright. You will come out alright. Before this time tomorrow night, you will be blessed. Watch yourself.

Message 5. When I come to you I am despondent a little. They are putting a bouquet on you. Understand? You are kind of tired and worried a little, and have not been feeling so well. You are going to receive a letter, says the spirit. The spirit is crying for you. Quit working so hard, for you are not so strong. It is too much for your size. Always take a lazy person's portion. Don't walk so fast and go so many places. Anxiety is overshadowing you because there is something you



ought to look into that means a lot to you. Keep away from it because it is useless. You need some rest.

Message 6.

As I come to you, I get a man very prominent in church work. You come to me like an officer in church. You want something to get yourself some money. I contact with a wanting condition. You want to be successful. In three days the spirit is going to bless you with your desire. There is something you are looking into tomorrow, like something hitched to a block of wood. Watch yourself very closely here. The spirit brings this church for some reason and so many colored people in this church. Alright? Do you understand me there? Alright. Watch yourself.

Message 7.

Alright. Your thoughts are so very strong and powerful that you have made the letters around you there. Yes, I see a matter of a financial condition. I would like to say a pretty girl is coming to you bringing you blessings. You are so over-anxious about this condition, striving for some little time and it has not worked out to your satisfaction yet. The spirit brings me in contact with a busy spirit, trying to bring something right away so you can be blessed. There is a change in your mind that you are going to make. There is a beautiful spirit singing and a beautiful girl bringing this condition. The spirit shows me three large

white potatoes. I don't see your condition changing right away or materializing very soon. Watch yourself along said lines and you will be helped by the spirit. I see good

Message 8.

I want to come to you here suffering with a cold. When I get in touch with your beautiful forces, you can hear bells ringing in your ear; like a bell far off. You suffer with your eyes jumping? You are looking to be successful also too, and as the spirit brings me this message for you you have been dreaming of black man so very forcibly. Kind of rough. He means you good. Alright?

Message 9.

As I come to you, you are hard of understanding. Not hard of hearing. You understand what I mean? I see you going up a stairway, kind of dark. Be careful of going up this stairway in too big a hurry. You also want to be financially blessed. I am undecided about the personal matter. You have gas in your system and it works around your heart. You are too young to suffer this. Throw that condition off. The spirit holds up a beautiful apron. White, with a belt and with red in it. You will be successful.

Message 10.

There is a shadow that passes over you and there is also a man standing there in front of you and he holds your hand like he would be handing you something. You work with

policy? (answer: I do) As I get in touch with you again, the spirit shows me you have a personal affair that makes you a little nervous at times. Watch and pray. I see good things here in the future for you. You are going to be very successful in the things you have been looking to for the last two years, but watch yourself very closely. I see leaves turning, kind of fast. You understand? Alright. There is a big, stout, brown skin man, with his hair close to his head. A business type of man. Watch this man. I see money coming to you soon. It's not finance you need, but you want. Alright?

APPENDIX B

Glossary of Terms Used in Rubber Gambling



one  
two  
one

5. **WHEELER** - a person who  
number gambling

to and take wagers for a  
billiard.

**WHEELER** - see writer

6. **POLICY** - a number game in which the winners are deter-  
mined by an arbitrary drawing of numbered slips

**APPENDIX D**

**Glossary of Terms Used in Number Gambling**

There are seventy-eight of these slips numbered from one to seventy-eight. In some houses, one number is drawn depending on the type of house. In order to win, the numbers selected by the player must be among those drawn.

9. **DRAWING** - the selection of the winning numbers in policy.

10. **OPERATOR** - an employee of a number gambling establish-  
ment whose duty is to draw the numbers in policy. The term is also used for an individual who owns a number gambling establishment.

11. **SINGLE HOUSE** - a policy house in which 18 numbers are drawn at each drawing.

12. **DOUBLE HOUSE** - a policy house in which 24 numbers are drawn at each drawing.

13. **TRIPLE HOUSE** - a policy house in which 30 numbers are drawn at each drawing.

14. **LOUISIANA LOTTERY** - a term for policy in some sections of the country. The term was widely used at an earlier time.

15. **KENTUCKY LOTTERY** - term for policy in some sections of the country. The term was widely used at an earlier time.

1. HIT - to win.
2. HOUSE - a number gambling organization.
3. BANK - see house.
4. WHEEL - see house.
5. BOOK - see house.
6. WRITER - a person who solicits and takes wagers for a number gambling establishment.
7. RUNNER - see writer.
8. POLICY - a number game in which the winners are determined by an arbitrary drawing of numbered slips from a container. There are seventy-eight of these slips numbered from one to seventy-eight. At each drawing 12, 24, or 36 of these numbers are drawn depending on the type of house. In order to win, the numbers selected by the player must be among those drawn.
9. DRAWING - the selection of the winning numbers in policy.
10. OPERATOR - an employee of a number gambling establishment whose duty is to draw the numbers in policy. The term is frequently used also for an individual who owns a number gambling establishment.
11. SINGLE HOUSE - a policy house in which 12 numbers are drawn at each drawing.
12. DOUBLE HOUSE - a policy house in which 24 numbers are drawn at each drawing.
13. TRIPLE HOUSE - a policy house in which 36 numbers are drawn at each drawing.
14. LOUISIANA LOTTERY - a term for policy in some sections of the country. The term was more widely used at an earlier time.
15. KENTUCKY LOTTERY - term for policy in some sections of the country. The term was more widely used at an earlier time.

16. A.M. DRAWING - the morning drawing in policy. Usually takes place at 12 o'clock noon.
17. P.M. DRAWING - the afternoon drawing in policy. Usually takes place at 4 p.m.
18. NUMBERS - a number game in which the player selects for wager some three digit number within the range of 000 to 999. The winning number is derived from various published figures such as those of stock exchanges, bond markets, clearing houses, and race tracks. The particular digits selected as the winning number vary from place to place.
19. NIGGER POOL - a term used in some sections to designate all types of number games. In some sections it refers specifically to the "numbers" game.
20. RACE MUTUELS - a "numbers" game in which the winning number is based upon the racing results of any well known race track. The number is obtained by totalling the figures in the "win", "place", and "show" columns of certain of the races.
21. 1, 2, 3 MUTUELS - a "numbers" game in which the winning number is obtained by totalling the win, place, and show columns of the first, second and third races.
22. 3, 5, 7 MUTUELS - a "numbers" game where the winning number is obtained from the sum of the first three, first five, and first seven races.
23. CLEARING HOUSE - a "numbers" game in which the winning number is derived from the daily quotation of money cleared at some local or regional clearing house. The term is commonly used to designate all "numbers" games whose figures are based on the published quotations of financial organizations.
24. POLICY SLIP - a slip of paper on which are printed the results of the drawing in policy.
25. HOT NUMBER - a number that is being heavily played by the public.

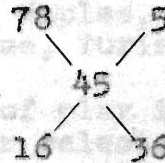


26. PICK-UP MAN - a person who collects the money taken in by the writers and delivers it to the headquarters.
27. RATE CARD - cards distributed by the gambling establishment on which are printed the odds paid on the various games and on the various types of play.
28. BOX - a type of play in "numbers" where an individual wagers on every possible combination of the three digit number which he selects.
29. ONE NUMBER PLAY - a type of play in "numbers" where an individual places a wager on the first, middle or last digit of the three digit row.
30. BOLEITA - a type of play in "numbers" where an individual places a wager on the last two digits of the three digit row.
31. FOUR NUMBER PLAY - a variation of the three digit "box" play in which a four digit number is used instead of a three digit one. The wager is upon any three digit combination that can be derived from the four numbers.
32. NIGHT NUMBER - a number game in which the range of numbers is from 111-999. The winning number is determined by throwing dice, or by drawing a number from a container. The number is not made public before 10:30 p.m.
33. DAY NUMBER - a type of play in policy in which the individual wagers on a single number to appear in the drawing.
34. FLAT - a type of play in policy in which the individual wagers on two numbers to appear in the drawing.
35. SIDE - a type of play in policy in which the individual wagers on two numbers to appear consecutively in the drawing.
36. HORSE - a type of play in policy in which the individual wagers on four numbers to appear in the drawing.

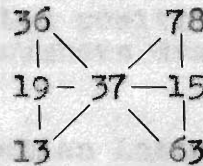
37. JACK - a type of play in policy in which the individual wagers on four numbers to appear in the drawing.
38. GIG - a type of play in policy in which the individual wagers on three numbers to appear in the drawing.
39. MAGIC GIG - the gig 4-11-44.
40. WASHWOMAN'S GIG - see magic gig.
41. FLAT GIG - where the individual numbers of a gig are wagered upon to appear in specific positions in the drawing.
42. ON THE NOSE - playing a number without variations. Wagering on a gig, for example, without wagering on sides, flats, saddles, etc.
43. TAKE - the total amount of money collected by an establishment for each drawing in policy or for each day in "numbers."
44. PAY-OFF - the payment of winning wagers by the number bank.
45. GOOD LUCK OIL - an oil believed to bring good luck in number gambling if applied to hands, face, or clothing.
46. INFO - information.
47. HOLY OIL - see good luck oil.
48. SUREING OFF - a method of underwriting numbers which are heavily played.
49. COVER BANK - a gambling establishment which specializes in underwriting the wagers against other houses (see sureing off).
50. SADDLE - a type of play in policy in which the last two numbers of a gig are wagered upon as well as the gig itself.
51. STOVEPIPE - a type of play in policy in which two numbers are chosen to represent a horizontal column and a series of numbers (usually eight) to represent a vertical column. To win in this type of play the two numbers of the horizontal column must appear in the drawing with one of the numbers in the vertical column.

52. ELBOW - the horizontal column of a stovepipe.
53. PIPE - the vertical column of a stovepipe.
54. GIGS-HORSE - a type of play in policy in which the player selects four numbers and wagers on any three of them to appear in the drawing.

55. BUG - a type of play in policy in which the player selects a series of numbers any two of which must appear in a specific combination with a specified third number to win. A bug is written thus:

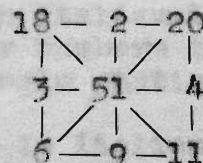


56. TWO-WAY BUG - a bug consisting of two gigs. The example given above (355) is a two-way bug consisting of the two gigs - 78-45-36, 16-45-5.
57. FIVE-WAY BUG - a bug consisting of five gigs. The five way bug is written thus:



The five gigs are 36-19-13, 78-15-63, 13-37-78, 36-37-63, and 19-37-15.

58. EIGHT-WAY BUG - a bug consisting of eight gigs. The eight-way bug is written thus:



The eight gigs are 18-2-20, 3-51-4, 6-9-11; 18-3-6, 2-51-9, 20-4-11, 18-51-11, 20-51-6.

59. SPIDER - see bug.



60. CARRIER - term applied to the central number in a bug. In the above examples (55, 57, 58) 45, 37, and 51 are the carriers.
61. RIDERS - term applied to all numbers in a bug other than the carrier.
62. ITALIAN LOTTERY - a number game in which the range of numbers is from 1 to 90 with five numbers being drawn. The game as played in America is based on the drawings of the official lottery in Italy, but is in no way connected with it. In Italy separate drawings are made in eight of the principal cities - Naples, Bari, Florence, Milan, Palermo, Rome, Turin, and Venice.
63. ESTRATTO SEMPLICE - a type of play in Italian lottery in which the player selects one number to appear in the five drawn at a single station.
64. STATION - a term applied to any of the cities in Italy in which drawings are made for the Italian Lottery.
65. ESTRATTO DETERMINATE - a type of play in Italian Lottery in which the player selects one number to appear in a specified position (e.g., 1st, 2nd, etc.) in the five numbers drawn at a single station.
66. AMBO - a type of play in Italian Lottery where the player chooses two numbers to appear in the five drawn at a single station.
67. TERNO - a type of play in Italian Lottery where the player chooses three numbers to appear in the five drawn at a single station.
68. QUATERNO - a type of play in Italian Lottery where the player chooses four numbers to appear in the five drawn at a single station.
69. AMBO-TERNO - a type of play in Italian Lottery where the player selects three numbers and wagers on any two of them to appear or for all three to appear in a single station.
70. CINQUINA - a type of play in Italian Lottery where the player wagers on all five numbers drawn at a single station.

71. AMBO-TERNO-QUATERNO - a type of play in Italian Lottery in which the player wagers on any two, any
72. TUTTE LE RUOTE - a play in Italian Lottery in which the player wagers on the estratto semplice, estratto determinate, ambo, terno, quaterno, cinquina, ambo-terno, or ambo-terno-quaterno to appear in any of the eight stations.
73. CHECKERS - individuals employed by a number gambling establishment to check the wager slips for winners.
74. TIP SHEET - a circular giving tips on numbers for the player. In most cases they are weekly publications and are sold at newsstands, drug stores and smoke shops.
75. LUCKY INCENSE - an incense which when burned is believed to bring good luck to the number player. In some kinds of good luck incense the number appears in the ashes of the burned incense.
76. CONFIDENCE MAN - an individual who specializes in selling numbers to the number playing public. Such individuals have no connection with the number bank but give the impression that they have inside information on what numbers are to appear at a given time.
77. NUMEROLOGIST - an individual who specializes in selling numbers to the number playing public. Differs from a confidence man in that he does not profess to be on the inside but that he has solved the mystery of numbers and has devised a "system."
78. SQUAWK - a person who returns to a confidence man for his money after he has failed to win on a number sold to him by the confidence man.
79. SQUAWK-MAN - a person employed by a confidence man to get rid of squawks without returning their money.
80. COME ON CARDS - see lay-down cards.

81. ICE - the money paid for police protection.
82. FIXING - establishing police protection, usually referred to as "the fix."
83. DREAM NUMBER - a number taken from a dream book or one which has come directly to an individual in a dream.
84. DREAM BOOK - a book containing a large number of possible dreams. Each has a corresponding number for policy or any one of the other number games.
85. WELCHING - failure on the part of a bank to pay-off.
86. SHAKE DOWN - extortion.
87. STORE-FRONT CHURCH - a pseudo-religious organization housed in a vacated store building. Among other things, it gives out numbers to be played in the various number games.
88. TEST MESSAGE - a reading containing numbers given by a medium or spiritualist in a store-front church.
89. STRAIGHT PLAY - see "on the nose".