CHUMS: A STUDY IN YOUTHFUL FRIENDSHIPS.

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This study was undertaken with a view to an analysis of the intimate friendships of childhood and youth with reference to their cause, their influence upon individual development and their place in the evolution of the social consciousness. To doubt that the constant companionship of two individuals exerts a profound influence upon the character of each, is to deny one of the most potent factors in the development of man as a member of society. The pertinent observation of Falstaff applies to childhood and youth even more forcibly than to adults. "It is certain that either wise bearing or ignorant courage is caught as men take diseases, one of another; therefore let men take heed of their company."¹

That the material serving as the basis for this study might be spontaneous and uncolored by critical reflections, I have collected expressions from pupils of the high school grades, pupils who are now full of the experiences in which we are most interested. Instead of the formal questionnaire given directly to the pupil, an outline for a theme was given to the teacher, the theme to be set as a regular lesson in composition. Last February this outline was sent to a number of teachers of English in Illinois high schools under whose instruction were nearly 4,000 pupils. Replies were received giving results from 2,035 pupils: 756 boys and 1,279 girls. From the fact that the pupil knew nothing of the purpose of the theme, the data received have a spontaneity and value which are seldom attained by the questionnaire method.

The outline for the theme covered the following points: the age at which the intimate friendship began; the relative ages of pupil and chum; what attracted the pupil to his chum; how often they were together and how the time together was spent; whether they ever quarrelled; whether likes and dispositions were the same or opposite; whether they ever planned to leave home together and start out for themselves; whether they ever kept secrets from their chums; whether parents ever objected to the friendship and if so, why; and any other points of interest regarding the relations with chums.

¹ Henry IV., Part II., Act V., Scene I.

At the time the theme was handed in the pupil was asked to include with it a statement of present age, number of children in the family, number of brothers, number of sisters, and if either parent is dead, age at the time of death.

I here take the opportunity to express my appreciation of the kindness of those instructors in the Illinois high schools who so generously complied with the request for the material by which this study was made possible; also to thank Dr. Edwin Grant Dexter, Professor of Education in the University of Illinois, and Dr. Stephen S. Colvin, Assistant Professor of Psychology in the University of Illinois, for many valuable suggestions in the development of the study.

THE AGE OF PUPILS REPORTING.

The ages of the pupils reporting, while varying from 12 to 22 years, were 14 in 14 per cent. of the returns, 15 in 25 per cent., 16 in 25 per cent. and 17 in 20 per cent. The percentages for boys are confined quite largely to the ages of 15, 16 and 17 years, being respectively 22.8 per cent., 22 per cent. and 21 per cent. for these ages. But the larger number of girls are 15 and 16 years, the percentage being respectively 26.9 per cent. and 27.5 per cent., while the percentage is but 19.5 for 17 years. These percentages for 16 and 17 years indicate that nearly one-half the pupils reporting are of the later years of the high school course.

WHEN CHUMMING BEGINS.

The ages at which the intimate friendships considered in this study begin, extend from infancy to 21 years. The percentages for these various ages are shown graphically in the accompanying figure. At the extremities of these curves the percentages are low and are almost parallel. But at five years the curve for girls begins to rise and reaches its maximum at 6 in 15 per cent. of the whole number. Then it falls rapidly to 9, when at 10 there is another rise, at 11 the curve falls, but rises again at 12 and remaining the same at 13, falls rapidly to less than 1 per cent. from 17 years to 21. For boys, the curve rises gradually until at 8 years it reaches 10.25 per cent., then falls at 9 to 7.5 per cent. and rises to its culmination point at 10 years in almost 13 per cent. For 11, 12 and 13 years, the percentages lie between 8 and 9, then the fall is approximately parallel with the curve for girls.

These percentages indicate that chumming begins rather earlier with girls than with boys. The age at which the formation of intimate friendships is most common is 6 years for girls and 10 years for boys. For both there is a diminution at 9 years and an increase at 10. An explanation for these facts will

be considered later when we come to discuss the activities and occupations of the pupils during these early years.

THE RELATIVE AGES OF CHUMS.

26.7 per cent. of the boys and 25.9 per cent. of the girls report the ages of their chums the same as their own. Where differences are reported they exceed 2 years in less than 2 per cent. for boys and 1 per cent. for girls. The extreme difference for boys was 7 years.

"I was 14 years old, he 21. We were both pigeon fanciers. As soon as he moved to our town we became constant friends and have remained so for four years."

"He was four years older than I. He was kind to me and protected me from bullies. We spent much time in reading together. . . . At 18 he changed entirely. He began to pay more attention to his dress and began to go in company. He soon deserted me entirely for boys of his own age."

"I was 8 and he was five years older. He was a rough, worthless fellow. He loafed about town and often kept me out of school. We played many pranks and narrowly escaped the police. My parents objected to our friendship very much but did not succeed in breaking it up for a long time. He was sent to a reformatory soon after we quit chumming."

If statements from boys of middle adolescence not in high school could be secured on this question, I surmise they might show a greater tendency for small boys to take up with larger. "The incorrigible often seeks the companionship of smaller and younger children over whom he domineers."¹ This is often evident in truancy. Kline says that in five Massachusetts truant schools, 55 per cent. of the inmates were helped and influenced by other boys.²

The differences in the ages of girl chums exceed 3 years in but 3 cases. One of these is 4 years. The others may speak for themselves.

"I was 12 when we began chumming and she was 17. We each had a horse and spent much time together riding. A lasting friendship sprang up between us."

"I usually desire solitude. At 13 I was attracted by the jolly disposition of a teacher eight years older than I who took a great interest in me. She has been the only chum I have ever had."

The results obtained by E. G. Lancaster in his study, "The Psychology and Pedagogy of Adolescence"³ are quite different. Of 369 statements as to the relative ages of companions sought during adolescence, 227 chose friends older than themselves, 41 younger, and 91, associates of their own age. "Seventy-five per cent. of adolescents seek the companionship of those considerably younger or older than themselves." While this may be true of those in later adolescence in seeking new associates, it does not apply to the intimate friendships of early adolescence and childhood. Although approximately 75 per cent. of the 2,000 persons considered here were younger or older than their companions, the difference is not great enough to be of any significance. The fact that the persons studied by Lancaster were much older and under very different circumstances, may account for differences in results. His conclusions apply to the more advanced ages of adolescence and not to the period prior to 17 years. Or, if older associates are chosen, they are not made chums or cronies of the confidential sort.

REASONS FOR ATTACHMENT TO CHUM.

Many general replies were given showing the necessity for having a chum. A number of these are here reproduced.

Boys. "Every one needs a chum for sympathy." "How can one have a good time without a chum?" "A boy has to

¹"The Incorrigibles," Albert H. Yoder. *The Journal of Psychology and Adolescence*, I, 29.

²Truancy as Related to the Migrating Instinct. *Ped. Sem.*, V, 402.

³*Ped. Sem.*, V., 86, 87.

have a confidant." "My chum cheered me up when I was sad." "Every David has his Jonathan." "We were a team and would fight for each other." "We stood together like a wall built with bricks."

Girls. "One needs a chum for sympathy." "I never enjoy myself without my chum." "A true friend is better than a distant relative." "Without a true friend life is but a wilderness."—*Bacon.* "A chum is indispensable." "I pity a girl who is an only child." "We pretended we were sisters."

Six hundred eight pupils, 188 boys and 420 girls, give as the only reason for their intimate friendship the fact that they lived near each other. Children thrown naturally together are almost sure to be mutually attracted through play interests.

The public school is the occasion for many intimate friendships, 17 per cent. of the boys and 13 per cent. of the girls stating that they were drawn to their friends through school associations. Very frequently the chum is the first acquaintance made on entering school or on going to a new school. The reports also indicate that the Sunday School and church relationships often furnish the basis for intimate and lasting friendships. Other reasons given by both boys and girls were these:

"We were cousins." "Our parents were good friends." "Each had a horse." "Mutual interest in music." (Boys, 12; girls, 20.) "Amiable disposition." "Optimism." "Opposite qualities." "Wit and humor." "Intelligence and good sense."

Boys. "Athletic superiority." "He won a fight with a larger boy." "He lost his mother and needed a friend." "Our mutual interest in electricity." "He was a born leader." "He taught me to swim." "He was good natured and generous." "He was a jolly good fellow." "He was a successful hunter." "His courage and bravery." "His high moral character." "He took an interest in me." "We sold papers together." "He was square and unselfish." "We had the same birthday." "His father was a confectioner" (3). "We were brothers in persecution at school." "He had a rifle." "I was caught in a railroad switch and he saved my life." "His argumentative ability." "We were both pigeon fanciers." "He protected me from bullies." "We were rivals; had a fight; were punished together, and then became chums." "His odd ways."

Girls. "Her sweet temper." "Her lovable character." "We were the only girls of an age in the neighborhood" (6). "We each had bicycles." "Our gentlemen friends were chums." "Our study together." "We were both strangers in a new neighborhood." "Her fidelity." "Her red apron

and white hat." "Her little red bonnet." "Her light hair." "Her sincerity and unselfishness." "We were both lonely." "Her shyness." "Neither of us had a sister." "We both loved Dickens." "She was quiet, I wild." "Her love of mystery and fairy tales." "Her brown eyes and hair." "We were punished together at school." "We both study art." "Neither of us liked dolls." "She has yellow hair, mine is brown." "Her pretty dress." "She is a brunette, I am a blonde." "She taught me to skate." "Our mutual love of reading." "She was a good conversationalist."

A number of these will be noted to be the occasion of the friendship rather than any source of attractiveness in the chum. Neither features of personal appearance nor articles of clothing appear as sources of attraction in any of the replies from boys, but these do occasionally from girls. Perhaps we may make one exception. A girl 16 years of age, who has had a boy chum from infancy, says: "As a child he always liked me best when I was in blue."

From these summaries it would seem that chance association and momentary caprice very largely determine the selection of the chum in these early years. The elements drawing children and adolescents together into intimate friendship are a desire for sympathy, for closer companionship and for mutual confidence. In speaking of early adolescence, Dr. Hall says:¹ "Confidences are shared with those of equal age and withheld from parents, especially by boys, to an extent probably little suspected by most parents. . . . There is now a longing for that kind of close sympathy and friendship which makes cronies and intimates." "There is a yearning to be with and for ones kind."² The time is ripe for the cultivation of consistent altruism and the sensibility to moral courage and heroism is at its height. It is the opportunity for building character, for the adaptation of the pupil to his place in the social group, and is one of the most critical periods in the evolution of his moral attitude.

FREQUENCY OF ASSOCIATION AND OCCUPATIONS OF CHUMS.

Sixty per cent. of the boys and 66 per cent. of the girls state that they were together every day, or "always," or "constantly." Reports from others are scattering and often indefinite. Among the replies are these: "On Saturdays;" "at school;" "at entertainments;" "on Sundays;" "through va-

¹ "The Moral and Religious Training of Children and Adolescents," *Ped. Sem.*, V, 206.

² "The Social Pedagogy of Boyhood," William Byron Forbush, *Ped. Sem.*, VII, 310.

cation;" "two or three times a week;" "rarely;" "as constantly as Mary and her lamb."

The occupations of chums while together are various, but the common games and sports of childhood and early youth greatly predominate. The most numerous replies from boys are: Athletics; hunting; fishing; boating; swimming; bicycling; riding horseback; coasting and skating. In addition these replies occur: Study; playing musical instruments; conversation; working; arguing; walks to the woods; camping out; telling stories; collecting eggs; making experiments in chemistry; experimenting with electricity; studying telegraphy; playing circus; mischief; playing "hookey;" raiding orchards and melon patches. Reading is given as the chief occupation by a number, and one boy says: "We sometimes read one book a day from the library." Replies from girls are also appropriate in this connection:

"We read many books together." "We read the Elsie books, Lord Fauntleroy and many other books aloud to each other." "We read all of the fairy stories in our library to each other."

This intense desire to read has been noted by Lancaster.¹ Of 523 mature individuals, "453 (223 M., 230 F.), have had what might be called a craze for reading at some time in the adolescent period. . . . It is the golden opportunity to cultivate the taste and inoculate against the worst forms of the reading habit. The curve of this intense desire to read begins at 8, rises to 10, and then rapidly from 11 to 14, culminates at 15, then falls rapidly, nearly reaching the base line at 18."

In the occupations of boys the constructive and commercial activities are seen in two cases:

"We made little wagons and sold them to other boys at 20 cents a piece." "We made sleds and kites to sell."

The constructive instinct is strong in almost every boy. He makes wagons, fire engines, machinery of all sorts, builds houses, railroads, traps and whatever attracts his temporary interest. In the appropriate utilization of this instinct lie the essential elements of will training. Trained muscles beget strong wills.

The frequency of such activities as "mischief," "playing hookey," and "raiding orchards and melon patches," indicates the survival of race instincts which so often make their transient appearance in the individual's rapid recapitulation of his ancestral history. This age of savagery appears in the early youth of many who become men of moral worth and integrity. A study based upon data collected from 43 men of this type²

¹*Ibid.*, pp. 102, 103.

²"Some Criminal Tendencies of Boyhood," Edgar James Swift, *Ped. Sem.*, VIII, 65-91.

reveals the fact that larks and adventures, truancy, petty thievery, lying to escape punishment, and other criminal tendencies of various kinds are very common among boys of the best training and environment. Robbing orchards and stealing melons are "almost universal with those having opportunity." "Race instincts are amenable to primitive custom, and not to the laws of civilization."

The activities of girls are markedly different from those of boys, 26 per cent. of those whose chumming began before they were 10 years old give playing with dolls as their chief occupation in their earlier years. "Playing house" also occupies a large portion of the time of girl chums until ten or twelve years of age. Other interests and occupations given are as follows: Playing games; riding bicycles; riding ponies; studying; conversation; going to matinees; singing; playing upon the piano; out of door sports, as skating, coasting, boating, croquet, golf; fancy work; sewing; making candy; sketching; gossiping; dressing up like grown folks. Activities showing the wealth of childish imagination and the hold of the "land of make believe" are shown in the following replies:

"We played theater in our play house." "We played theater and used our garret for an opera house." "We told stories of ghosts, burglars and gypsies." "We imagined ourselves princesses and queens." "We planned to be old maids and always live together." "We planned how we would live in a bower of roses in a secret place." "We spoke of secrets by mysterious names." "We had several pet chickens which we dressed up like dolls." "We held a doll's funeral in our attic." "Our cat died; we had a funeral, and no one was allowed to attend who would not cry." "We had a big funeral when my cat died." "We made plans to capture Santa Claus, but went to sleep before he came." "We spent much time building air castles."

The interest of girls in fairy lore is indicated by these statements:

"We read all the fairy stories in our library." "We spent many hours in telling fairy stories." "We often compared our joys and sorrows with those of children in fairy tales." "We often wrote fairy stories." "My chum wrote fairy tales and I tried to write poetry."

Fairy stories play a much larger part in peopling the imaginary world of girls than of boys. Not content with the stories as they are read and told, the child rearranges the old stories, creates new characters and situations and builds up a subjective world peopled with the children that most please her fancy, and lives with them until new interests and activities absorb her time and attention.

The importance of the imagination in the early life of the child entitles it to more attention than it often receives. A rich creative imagination is an essential element of genius. In robbing a child of fancy, of imagination, "You rob him of his spiritual life," says Francis W. Parker.¹ "Give to the child the full measure of pure, sweet fancy, and then in after life he will see heaven and God and the angels."

Keeping house and playing with dolls, being "grown up folks," is the occupation which claims a large part of the attention of younger girls. The tendency to imitation is strong in both sexes, but it takes more persistent form in girls in their living in miniature the lives of their mothers and grown up sisters. As soon as the boy attains the freedom of forest, field and stream he ceases to live in the occupation of his father and becomes a roaming savage, hunting, fishing and wandering about in quest of adventure. I believe that in this difference lies the explanation for the formation of intimate friendships earlier among girls than among boys. The activities of the boy do not require the intimate relationship necessary for "keeping house" or taking care of the doll family. The boy hunts or fishes or chases cats with any other boy who may be convenient. If he plays games they are usually collective games—two boys are seldom seen alone playing marbles or ball. But the girl becomes the head of her little family of dolls, visits her neighbor who has a like family, and a mutual companionship is formed in the occupation of housekeeping which often develops into a life-long friendship.

At about 10 years of age the boy's interests broaden; he begins to carry his excursions farther; the crowd cannot go on these longer tours, so he needs a chum. Duties, both of home and of school begin to weigh more heavily upon him, and he wants some one with whom to sympathize. Circumstances of environment throw him into the companionship of some one of his own age, and they become inseparable chums, sharing each other's trials and triumphs in play, school and home.

Reference to the figure will show that the curve for the age of formation of chumships falls for both boys and girls at 9 years. The anatomical and physiological changes at this period may account for the mental attitude which causes this drop in the curve. The heart increases rapidly in size at this period and the blood pressure rises very markedly. "The change of blood pressure is therefore one of the first signs of approaching puberty."² Accompanying these physical changes is a

¹ "The Child," Report of National Educational Association, 1889, 480.

² Lancaster: *ibid.*, 68.

mental instability, a fickleness and restlessness which influence his whole attitude and it is not surprising that friendships of this period are unstable and transitory.

The drop in the curve for girls at 11 years is very marked also, here reaching the lowest point between 5 and 14 years. Mental fickleness and instability are greater in girls than in boys no less than are the physical changes of early adolescence. The curve indicates clearly this want of constancy and stability at eleven years of age, the age when the turbulence of puberty begins its regeneration of the whole life, physical and mental.

THE QUARRELS OF CHUMS.

Fifty-one and five-tenths per cent. of the boys and 53.5 per cent. of the girls reporting state that they have quarrelled with their chums. Among these replies "rarely," "seldom," and "once" occur frequently. Replies from girls include a number giving "spats" but not real quarrels. Several state that they quarrelled when younger, but have not done so for several years. A girl of 17 writes: "We never really quarrelled, but we sometimes played quarrel just to see how it would seem." "We had a bitter quarrel because she received the blue ribbon first in a class at school," comes from a girl of 15, illustrating one phase of the perniciousness of the prize system in the school.

A boy of 17 reports a method of settling disputes which is certainly conclusive, if not wholly satisfactory. "We spun a top having red and black stripes; if it stopped on a red line I had my way, if on a black line he had his." Fights are reported by a number of boys, but they seldom sever the friendship. There is one report in this connection worth quoting: "We had a fight in his yard; his mother came out and said, 'Stop when you get done and not until then.'" The mother who has wisdom and self-control enough to see her boy fight a worthy antagonist until they are "done" is doing him a service in the development of manly courage and self-reliance, which are the inalienable right of every individual. While he should be shown that it is contemptible to fight one of inferior powers, he should feel that it is no less cowardly not to resist a boy who bullies him or who imposes upon another younger than himself. "Rather than have your boy a coward, dear mother, the next time he is involved in a righteous quarrel, stand over him and make him fight it out. . . ."¹

Quarrels between chums were seldom very serious, for in but 12 cases for boys and 14 for girls did the quarrels end the friendship.

¹ W. O. Krohn: *Child Study Monthly*, IV, 195, 196.

LIKES AND DISPOSITIONS.

Those reporting dispositions as opposite to or different from their chum's are 22.2 per cent. of the girls, and 24.4 per cent. of the boys. The remaining number reply that they were the "same" or "similar." In an attempt by J. R. Street¹ to discover the part played by temperament in determining friendships, his results were as follows: Of 189 persons, 46 were attracted by opposite temperaments; 43 by similar; 50 gave no clue; and 50 confused the matter. While no satisfactory interpretation of these data is possible, the evidence from my own study seems to indicate that temperament has little place in the formation of early friendships, environing conditions being more often responsible than temperamental affinity.

ATTEMPTS TO LEAVE HOME.

Eighty-two boys and 40 girls state that either attempts or plans to leave home were made. While this is a small proportion for girls, it is not inconsiderable for boys, being 10.5 per cent. Lancaster² found that of 403 adolescents, "253 (153 M., 100 F.) had a desire to leave home and strike out for themselves, or found home less attractive" at this period. Reasons given by boys for planning to leave home are in nearly all cases questions of discipline or a desire to see the world.

"We could n't do what we wanted to at home." "We were both reprimanded and decided to start out for ourselves." "We wanted to go out West and grow up with the country." "We wanted to work on the railroad and earn money for ourselves." "We packed our trunks and got ready to join an opera company."

The reasons given by girls are very much the same, although a desire to see the world is more frequent than parental discipline.

"We made all our plans to join a band of gypsies, but our parents discovered them before we got started." "We planned to go to Chicago together and work in a department store." "We wanted to join an opera company." "We had a chance to go on the stage; our parents objected and we planned to run away." "We were good singers and wanted to go with a theater troupe that was willing to take us."

The stage seems to be especially attractive to girls. A dissatisfaction with the narrow limitations which surround the child often fills him with a longing to broaden his sphere of vision. Both home life and school are in some measure responsible for this. The emotional enthusiasm, the surplus energy

¹"A Study in Moral Education," *Ped. Sem.*, V, 15.

²*Ibid.*, p. 84.

and the surviving instincts from a remote ancestry all impel the vigor of early adolescence to richer and broader life experiences. Imagination is strong and active. "The desire to leave school, together with a desire to leave home, is a true and natural impulse to adjust himself to the life which he is already living in his imagination in company with his ideals. Sympathy, not punishment, is the proper corrective."¹

DURATION OF FRIENDSHIP.

That the friendship between chums is real and lasting is shown by the fact that of the 756 boys and 1,179 girls reporting, but 12.4 per cent. of the former and 16.6 per cent. of the latter state that the friendship with their chums was broken. Of these 34 boys and 62 girls give as the reason the fact that they moved away from the neighborhood in which the chum lived. 12 boys and 14 girls give quarrels as the cause. Parental objection is occasionally given, more frequently by girls than boys. For the remaining number the usual statement is that "we simply drifted apart after a few years." Of 100 reporting as to whether friendships grew deeper or not at adolescence, in Lancaster's study,² 96 say yes and 4 no.

PARENTAL OBJECTIONS.

Replies as to reasons for parents' objection to chums are as follows:

Boys. "My chum was rough." "I neglected my work." "He got me into trouble." "My parents said we were selfish and exclusive." "He had bad morals." "His influence was bad." "He read bad books, Jesse James, Nick Carter, etc." "We ran away from home."

Girls. "We were together too much." "My chum stutted." "She had a bad disposition." "She was coarse and vulgar." "My chum was very jealous." "She was boastful and deceitful." "My chum was a boy, and my parents put a stop to it." "We planned to run away." "She was an 'I don't care' girl." "Because her father went into the saloon business." "She was a willful, spoiled child."

The recognition by some parents of the influence of the chum upon the character of the child is well emphasized in these replies. If one may be judged by the company in which he is found, much more may his worth be estimated by the character of his chum.

¹Lancaster: *Ped. Sem.*, Vol. V, p. 85.

²*Ibid.*, 87.

PUPILS HAVING NO CHUMS.

18 boys and 26 girls state that they never had chums. Their reasons are various.

Boys. "There is a club of 6 of us; I have no favorite." "I do not like the idea of being too intimate with any one." "I have always had a brother for a companion." "My father has been my chum." "Chums are for *only* children." "I prefer reading to close companionship; I treat all boys alike." "My dog has been my only constant companion." "I have too erratic a disposition to make close friends."

Girls. "I am reserved, distant and easily prejudiced; I desire older company." "I believe chums are selfish, I have no desire to be so intimate with any one." "There are no other girls of my age who live near." "I am too moody and sarcastic to be very agreeable." "I prefer reading, and like no one well enough to become so intimate." "I am a minister's daughter, and my parents object to my showing favoritism." "My sister and I are twins, and we need no one else." "I think I am too egotistical." "No one but a teacher of mine fits my ideal of a chum." "I am a recluse by nature, and do not seek companionship." "My two aunts have always been my chums." "My mother and my books are my only chums." "My disposition is not amiable, and I desire no chum." "I study very much and do not care for companions." "My disposition is too changeable to form an enduring intimacy."

In these replies are exhibited some of the conditions which mark the dangers of adolescence. Self-consciousness and self-analysis are the predominating features. In this group are the recluses, the despondents and those who find no companionship with those of their own age. "I am moody and sarcastic;" "I am an egotist;" "I am a recluse;" "I am changeable;" "I desire older company;" "I have an erratic disposition." All of these replies indicate excessive introspection and a failure to have assimilated the training in social adaptation afforded most children by their life in the public school. Careful and sympathetic guidance is necessary to such persons, for without it maturity will find some of them social misfits, of little worth to the world and of small satisfaction to themselves.

CHUMS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX.

Six boys and 13 girls report chums of the opposite sex. Girls were chosen by boys in 5 of these cases because the girls lived near them and there were no boys in their immediate neighborhood. The other boy, at ten years old, took up with a girl-chum because her father was a confectioner. Nine of the 13 girls had boy chums because they lived near them and there

were no girls of their own age with whom to associate. Other reasons given are these:

"I was a 'tom boy' and preferred to play with boys." "I liked out of door sports; my girl friends did not." "He liked to play with dolls; I admired his long yellow curls. He used to call me his wife, and I did not object if no one heard." "All my chums were boys for I could not get along with girls at all."

Circumstances of environment account for most cases of intimate friendships between boy and girl, but a small number lie in differences in disposition. A few girls enjoy more fully the usual activities of boys, and occasionally boys are found who are more feminine than masculine in their early years. In none of the cases here considered were the ages of the children above 10 years when the companionship was formed, most of them growing up at 5 or 6 years, and two stating that they began in infancy.

CHILDREN'S CLUBS.

Nine boys' clubs and 8 girls' are reported. Two of the boys' associations are athletic clubs. In three cases reports describe a "shack" or "shanty" where the boys meet for reading, story telling, or warming in the winter after skating or coasting. The purposes of the other boys' clubs are not given. "Big Four" and the "Inseparables" indicate the love for striking appellations.

The purposes of the girls' clubs are given in but one instance. Eight girls formed a club in memory of a favorite companion who died at 14, and the writer says, "the club is well known for its many acts of charity." As has been shown by H. D. Sheldon,¹ philanthropic activities form a prominent feature in the organization of girls' clubs generally. The same study as fully develops the fact that boys' clubs are organized very largely for purposes of muscular activity,—athletics and out of door sports.

RUDIMENTARY INSTINCTS AND PERVERSIONS.

A number of reports indicate the appearance of the instinct for primitive forms of life.

"We camped out for two months and lived as much like Indians as we could." "We built a hut near an old foundry and spent many evenings there." "We built a shanty out of drift wood and often went there to spend our evenings."

Criminal tendencies also appear in several cases.

¹ "Institutional Activities of American Children," *Amer. Jour. of Psychol.*, IX, 428.

"At 15 my chum got already to hang himself, but I got to him in time to save him." "We tried Jesse James tricks, and my chum tried to rob a man; he got a box on the ear and he never tried it again." "We planned to fight a gang of hoboes, but got scared and ran." "Once we tried to whip our teacher, but we got the worst of it."

In girls the desire to annoy others shows itself.

"We used to frighten people as they passed along after dark." "We teased other girls with our secrets."

The feeling of caste, discussed by Sheldon,¹ finds its expression in a number of replies.

"We were very exclusive at school, and paid no attention to other girls." "We invented a secret code for writing notes so that no one else could understand them." "She was low bred, and I soon left her for girls of my own rank."

That our customs, our morality, have been a development, and recapitulation of race history is no less evident in the individual's early social life than it is in his physical growth. From the child's birth to the close of adolescence, its life is a struggle between race instincts and primitive customs on the one hand and the laws and precepts of contemporary civilization on the other.

CONCLUSIONS.

From the above material we may draw the following general conclusions:

At one time in its early years the child forms an intimate friendship with another which is permanent in a very large percentage of cases.

The age at which youthful friendships are formed reaches its maximum at 6 years for girls and 10 years for boys.

Conditions of environment have a larger place in determining such friendships than temperamental affinity or conscious selection.

The constant associations of chums develop the social qualities, provide for the satisfaction of transient race instincts and materially aid in the cultivation of self reliance, individuality and altruism.

Sympathizing with each other, confiding in each other, coming into the closest touch with each other's inmost nature, chums exert a profound influence upon the whole life and character of each other.

The incomprehensible longings and emotions of early adolescence intensified by the mutual confidence of chums, often seek their outlet through avenues of perverse and criminal ten-

¹*Ibid.*, p. 435.

dencies. It is the time when the tenderest care from the home, the deepest interest from the church and the most considerate attention from the school must be thrown about the rapidly unfolding life until the stress and storm of new-born feelings give place to the calm, deliberate stability of an undwarfed maturity.