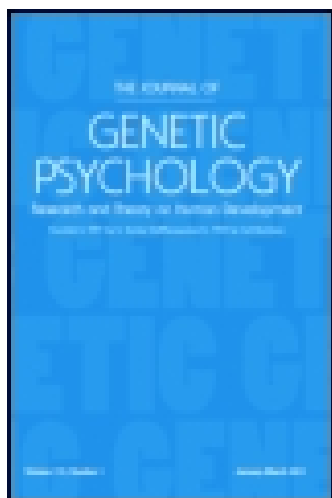


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BOYS' GANGS.¹

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Conditions of the Study. The boys who furnished the reports that form the basis of this study are pupils of the Lyman School for Boys, Westborough, Mass. When the boys enter the school they are examined in their studies and asked a number of questions concerning their social life before coming to this school: their homes, school, church, and associates. The answers to the last subject led to the study of the gang. It took a long time to learn how best to ask the questions, but after a while the boys answered naturally and freely. After they had been in the school for some time and we had become better acquainted, several were questioned the second time and told what was being done with their answers and asked to help in the work. This many of them freely did.

The names of boys are not given but each number given refers in every record to the same gang. The answers are often not in good English and sometimes seemingly contradictory, but they are written down as nearly as possible in the boys' own words.

The following list of questions was asked and the answers recorded at once.

Name? Age? Nationality? How many boys did you go with? What is the name of your crowd? How old is the oldest? Youngest? What are the nationalities of the boys? How many French, Irish, Germans, etc.? Do you have any nick-names? What are they? Why called this name? How often were you (boys) together? Where did you meet? Did you allow other fellows around there? Who was the leader? Why was he the leader? How chosen? How could a fellow get into your crowd? What did you do to a fellow when he came in? Did you ever put a fellow out? Why? How long have you fellows been going together? Who started the gang? What did you do for fun? Summer? Winter? What did you do nights? What did you do Sundays? Did you go off anywhere?

¹I am indebted in this study to many suggestions and helps by Pres. G. Stanley Hall and Mrs. E. Hope Puffer and to the boys of the Lyman School for their co-operation.

How? What did you do that was unlawful? Did you ever plague anybody? Did you ever have any fights? Did your crowd fight any other crowd? Did any of you work? How many loafed? How many went to school? Did you have any rules? What? How did you get your money? How did you spend it? Did any of the boys drink? Smoke? Did you play cards? Gamble? How? Did you run away from school? Why? How did you settle disputes? How did you treat girls?

Definition of Gang. (1) The boys' gang may be defined as a number of boys who go together, and because of their mutual sympathy and friendship will stand by each other.

The Gang a Social Institution. The boys' gang is not generally reckoned with as of any great importance among social institutions. It does not generally come to the notice of the casual observer unless it is in connection with some mischief or crime perpetrated, and then the boy is generally reckoned with individually without regard to the gang, but it is a common sight to see a half dozen boys on the corner snowballing a passer-by. No one of the boys is to blame for the snowballing for no one of them alone would have dared to trouble the person; the gang as an institution is to blame. This simple instance typical of a hundred, illustrates the relation of the individual to the gang group.

Of one hundred and forty-six boys studied in this school, one hundred and twenty-eight went in gangs (reckoning three a gang). In Sheldon's (12) study of the spontaneous activities of American children, out of 1,034 responses, 851 were members of gangs. It is safe to say that three out of four boys belong to a gang. The gang is therefore a common social institution and is responsible for many of the activities of a boy.

Size of Gang. In sixty-six gangs there were 651 boys. This makes an average of a little less than ten boys to each gang. No company of boys was studied less than three, although two boys may form a company which serves nearly all the purposes of a gang. Of one hundred and forty-six boys studied in this school, two claimed not to go with any one, sixteen went with one companion and the rest in a company of boys, varying from three to fifty. In the sixty-six gangs studied were five gangs of from twenty to fifty boys. These few brought up the average number so that a normal boy's gang numbers from five to eight or nine. The larger gangs often split up into smaller gangs. There are nine records which show this tendency. The larger gang hangs around the corner while the smaller gangs split off to steal, play tricks, skate and fish.

Names of Gangs. (2) (11). The following are some of the typical names.

4. The Island Gang. 5. Medford St. Gang.
6. Dowser Glums. 8. Hick St. Fellows.
12. Arlington Gang. 13. The Club.
22. Bleachery Gang.
23. Bones St. Club. 24. Dirty Sixteen.
26. Green's Corner Gang.
33. Wharf Rats. (Meeting place a wharf.)
34. Eggmen. (Because we used to rob farmers.)
36. Spencer Ave. Crowd. 37. B. Streeters.
40. Willows.
42. Jeffries Point Gang. 43. Methuen Gang.
56. Liners. 58. Morse Hollow Athletic Club.
59. Jenhine Boys. 60. Gold Streeters.
62. Crooks.

About two-thirds of the gangs had names. Twenty-three out of the thirty-nine names used are taken from the street on which the gang meets. Nine more are given the name arising from the place of meeting as The Island, Wharf, Point, etc. The names Dowser Glums, Dirty Sixteen, Eggmen and the Crooks arise from the character and deeds of the boys.

Nicknames. Nineteen boys were asked for the nicknames used in their gangs and the reasons. Only one said that they had no nicknames. The answers show that boys are very fond of using nicknames and they get them from abbreviations of names, from some physical feature or peculiarity, or from some prominent trait of character. The following are characteristic.

No. 43. Called "Gulliver because he travelled so much. Spud because he was an Irishman. Puggie because he had a flat nose. Bull Dog because he stuck to it when he started a thing."

No. 46. Called "Giezer because he was an Italian. Crosseye because he was crosseyed. Bannex, a fellow at stable gave me the name."

No. 47. Called "Bob White because he whistled like a Bob White."

No. 48. Called "Black boy because he was a negro. Yellow boy because he had yellow hair. Chicken because his name is Henson."

No. 50. Called "Ginger Head because he had red curly hair."

No. 52. Called "Post Office because he gets fresh. Base Ball because he is a pretty fair fellow in playing base ball. Happy Hooligan because he is a happy-go-lucky fellow."

No. 55. Called "Bum. All the time hanging around the corner, never worked."

No. 56. Called "Couch. Used to go in long pants. Took them off again and looked like a kid so we called him Couch. Fung Lung because he never washed his face."

No. 59. Called "Joe Six Toes because he had four toes cut off."

No. 65. Called "Fat because he was so fat. Nigger because he was dark tan color. Scarecrow because when he was playing football he did n't dare get near the ball. Sheeney gave him that nickname because he made lots of fun."

There are eight nicknames abbreviated from names, Mick from Mike; Bobby from Robert; Nick from Nicholas; Dick from Richmond; Billy from William; Raffies from Raphael; Bossy from Bossfield; Sully from Sullivan. There are nineteen names with no reason given. Joker, Butcher, Bunch, Dinny,

Donkey, Jack and Doodle, Bum, Foxy, Hoagy, Rubber, Wiggy, Smuck, Dinso, Duffy, Barb, Popey, Bannex, Dusty. Fourteen received their names from some physical feature. Lefty, Nigger (2), Puggie, Spud, One-armed-crook, Crosseye, Bob White, Black Boy, Yellow, Couch, Ginger Head, Joe Six Toe, Fat. Eleven boys were named from some trait of character, Gulliver, Bull Dog, One-armed-crook, Chicken, Post Office, Base Ball, Bum, Fung Lung, Scarecrow, Sheeney, Happy Hooligan. It would be safe to assume that many of the following names classified under the unknown reason are given because of some trait of character, Joker, Donkey, Jack and Doodle, Bum, Foxy, Smuck. Three received names from nationality, Dntchy, Giezer, Spud. One inherited name from father, Chicken. One boy was called Quaker because he lived with Quakers for a while.

Age of Boys. The average age of boys studied was thirteen years and eleven months. The youngest boy was eleven and the oldest sixteen. The boys of the gangs studied averaged from twelve years one month to sixteen years three months. The youngest boy in the gangs was seven and the oldest was nineteen.

From Sheldon's (12) study of gangs it is seen that the period of greatest activity of gang life is from ten to fifteen years of age. 87% of the boys' spontaneous societies are formed at this time; 7% before ten, and 5% after fifteen. The boys studied at this school were mostly at this age.

Nationalities of Boys. The majority of the boys who come to this school are Irish and therefore the greater percentage of the boys studied are of this nationality. Out of the sixty-six studied, Irish 35 or 53%; Americans 8 or 13%; Germans 7 or 12%; French 6 or 9%; Italians 3 or 4%; English 3 or 4%; Negroes 3 or 4%; Scotch 1 or 1%.

In the gangs there are 362 boys of whom the nationalities are recorded in 47 different gangs. Irish 186 or 51%; Americans 70 or 19%; French 40 or 11%; Italians 21 or 6%; Germans 15 or 4%; English 14 or 4%; Negroes 6 or 2%; Poles 5 or 1½%; Scotch, Portuguese, Jews and Swedes 5 or 1½%.

From the nationalities of the boys studied the expected number of boys of the different nationalities are found in the gangs.

Nationalities are recorded in 47 gangs. Irish are found in 41 gangs; Americans 20; French 18; Italians 7; English 6; Germans 5; Poles 3; Negroes 2; Scotch 2; Portuguese 1; Swede 1; Jew 1.

As the boys studied come mostly from the densely populated parts of cities, they come from a mixed population of Irish, French, Americans, Italians and Jews. The other nationalities mentioned are not large in the population. The Jews appear

to be the only class excluded and they exclude themselves. Eleven only of the forty-seven gangs were all of one nationality. In more than the expected percentages of the gangs the Irish, French, Americans, English, Germans and Italians are found. These records show that the boys of different nationalities associate freely together and are unprejudiced and democratic in their gang life.

Location of Gang. Boston 17, Waltham 4, Lawrence 3, Cambridge 3, Lynn 3, Everett 3, Worcester 2, Lowell 2, New Bedford 2, Haverhill 2, Peabody 2, Chelsea 2, Newburyport, Springfield, Brookline, Brockton, Chicopee, Marblehead, Leominster, Revere, Stoughton, South Braintree, South Royalston each one.

Out of the fifty-six gangs only three came from country towns and only four from places less than 10,000 in population. This does not show that there are no gangs in the country towns but it does show that boys from country towns, whether they belong to gangs or not, are not often sent to a Reform School.

It is not safe to draw the inference here that the city gang is worse than the country gang for country boys are not arrested and brought to trial for the same offenses as city boys.

Time and Place of Meeting. Out of the fifty-four records, there are only seven gangs which do not meet every day. If boys are free from work and school they intend to be together all the time. Forty-seven met every day (seventeen say "by day," twenty "by night," two "morning, noon and night," three "every day and night," two "all the time" and three "every day after school"). Three met three times a week, two twice a week, and one once a week.

In records of sixty-three gangs all but four have regular meeting places. The four met anywhere. Seven gangs met in two different places and three in three different places. This leaves forty-nine out of the sixty-three which had one definite meeting place.

Out of seventy-seven recorded meeting places there are eleven records of gangs meeting on a street and twenty-seven records of meeting on the corner of streets. This means that about half of the gangs had their meeting place on the street or corner. There are four records of boys meeting in club rooms, and three of meeting in a house, but in contrast to this may be mentioned one in a shanty, one behind a barn in the woods, one in a house made of old barrels on back street, two in a shed, one in a hencoop, one in a club house in the woods, one in a tent in the woods, one in a tent in yard, one in a dug-out, one in an empty attic, one in the cellar of shed. This makes twelve instances of boys selecting places of meeting which are crude.

Boys do not like parlors. They do not prefer a nicely furnished room for their meeting place. The records of these gangs show that they select a street or corner, or an old shed, or coop for their place of meeting. It may be said that the boys are forced to meet in such places, but I think they prefer a crude place which they can fix up to suit their own tastes. Boys like to have a tent in the woods. Boys in country villages nearly all build camps in the woods at the gang period.

Ownership of Meeting Place. The sentiment in regard to ownership is best expressed in the boy's own words.

4. "Would n't let any gang on that street. Gave a strange boy a licking."
5. "Thought that Medford St., belonged to us. If a strange boy came round try to pick a fight with him."
42. "Fought with Elm St., gang and Lawrence toughs. Fought over the possession of a certain street."
45. "If another crowd came on our street have a game with them."
47. "Nobody came around there. Afraid of us. We would n't allow any gang to come around there. Kick a strange fellow away."
50. "Big fellows meet on same corner. They don't do any harm. Strange boy come around they grab him and fish his pockets. Take anything he has got. Insult any other gang."
51. "If a strange fellow came around, if he kept quiet, did n't do anything."
55. "Made a fort. Sewall St. gang, tried to take it away from us. We pelted them with snowballs."
56. "Allow other fellows on street, we could n't stop them."
59. "Tell fellow who came around to get out."
60. "No other gang came around. Every corner has a gang. Corner belonged to us."
64. "Let other fellows come around."
65. "Had that corner all ourselves."
67. "Another big gang met there. If we were there when they came we had to get off."

Twenty boys were asked the question "What did you do if other fellows came around your place of meeting? From the answers given it is plain that most gangs thought that the street or corner where they met belonged to them. The strange fellow or another gang were given an unpleasant reception.

Territorial Limits. By these records, which are typical, it is shown that the gang is a local affair. It has one meeting place and the boys come from the same street or district. A boy who moves around in the gang territory is allowed to come in if he meets the approval of the crowd.

4. "We all live on Lamartine St."
5. "Anybody moved around there, we thought safe to come in we would let in."
22. "If they lived down there, and fellows knew him, he could get in with them."
26. "Fellows all come from two or three streets. If he moved round there and wanted to join he could."

31. "Fellows who lived up that way could be in crowd."
33. "Came from down around the wharves."
40. "All but one lived on Willow St."
42. "All from one street and a little street off from it."
43. "All live on same street."
49. "Anybody who moved in Willow Park could come in."

Leader. Typical records selected from sixty-six reports are as follows:

1. "A—was the oldest and largest. He collected us and got us into it."
2. "T—was leader. English, good natured, good player at anything."
4. "J—was the ring-leader, steals most, says come on."
5. Three different leaders. "I was leader in making tent (pleasant, small, long-headed). L—was leader in stealing doves."
6. "No leader. All planned together."
7. "Three officers. Captain of ball nine, captain of football, and treasurer. The treasurer collected things at M—'s house."
9. "P—was leader. He was the sharpest. He always wanted to go first."
10. "President. Voted with paper. Six votes to elect Pres., changed every two months. Manager of ball team. Captain of baseball. The nine elected baseball captain. President read rules if we disobeyed, and held money. Manager got ball games."
12. "G—was leader. He gave you anything if he had it. Worse one in gang."
13. "I used to be leader. I was the smartest." (Bright and proud.)
17. "D—was leader. He could fight the best and had most money."
20. "H—was leader. Wanted to be leader. T—was the smartest but he did n't want to be leader but was leader some of the time."
23. "President, Secretary, Treasurer and three Selectmen. President reports disorder. Selectmen vote on fellows coming in or going out at club."
24. "I was leader. Good-natured, athletic. Had stumps and the one who could do most stumps would be leader."
28. "T—was leader. Oldest and smartest. Had more money. Had all the money he earned."
30. "I was leader." (Smart and active. Took pride in being the best fellow. Won the position of being best fighter in house.)
31. "D—was leader sometimes. Dare us to jump off from high places in swimming."
32. "No regular leader. One fellow propose a thing he knew most about and take the lead."
33. "No regular leader. H—I guess was leader. Thought he could lick anybody in crowd."
49. "R—was leader. Smartest fellow there and best ball player. Best skater. Highest grade in grammar."
50. "G—was leader. Big stout fellow. He is always bringing a gang around him."
53. "O—was leader. He would chase everybody away. Lead in breaking and entering."
54. "B—was leader. Always lead and boss around. Kind of a head one over them."
55. "D—was leader. Pretty good fellow. Happened to choose him. Most daring fellow. Chose him by ballot. He got seven votes."
58. "A—was leader. One that could jump the farthest was made the leader. President jumped the farthest. V. Pres. jumped next the

farthest, Sec. jumped the next farthest. Treasurer jumped the next farthest. Club was for athletics so that was the way we wanted it."

59. "I was leader. I was n't afraid of anybody."

61. "Anybody that they wanted to be. I was once. Most all of them had a chance at it."

62. "S—was leader. He would run away from school and get us to go with him."

Number of Leaders. Of the 66 gangs 44 had one leader (66⅓%); no regular leader 8 (12%); two leaders 8 (12%); three leaders or officers 4 (6%); four leaders or officers 1 (1½%); six leaders or officers 1 (1½%).

Two-thirds of the gangs have one leader and one-third have more than one leader or officer. The gang often has different leaders for the different things to be done, and in a few instances there are two fellows competing for the same place as leader.

It is difficult to make a definite classification of leaders. Twenty boys evidently took the lead in everything and may be called all-round leaders. Twenty-four more are specified as leaders in playing, fighting, baseball and football and may be called athletic leaders. Twelve were officers, three presidents, one secretary, four treasurers, one a manager, and three selectmen, not all of whom are necessarily leaders.

It is interesting to notice the characteristics of their leaders as given in the boy's words. 14 said that the leader was the oldest; 13 that he was the largest; 13 best player; 10 best fighter; 6 wanted to lead; 6 was good-natured or generous; 5 smartest; 4 started games; 3 best stealer; 2 highest grade in school; 2 had most money.

Boys are hero worshippers and naturally follow the person who has the traits which they admire. The leader takes his place as naturally as the boys follow. Physical prowess wins him his position. The boys admire the fellow who is the largest, best player, best fighter, and has the courage and initiative to go ahead and do things. Good nature and generosity are admired by the boy and sought for in a leader. Ability as a student or social distinctions do not often count in the selection of a leader.

Election of Leader. In the records we often find such expressions as the following: "He collected us." "Got us into it." "Says come on." "Always wanted to go first." "He asked to do things." "Wanted to be leader." "Took the lead in stumping." "Made up the team." "Took the lead in the games." "He was kind of a head one around there." There are twenty-four such expressions which show that the boy took the lead. In four cases a boy was informally put in as leader and four more were elected by ballot. A formal method of election is therefore rare and in two-thirds of the

cases there is no election, but the boy takes his place because he wants it and the other fellows want him to lead.

At the McDonough School the same informality of leadership is recorded by Johnson (9). "At McDonough no president is known. Whoever is most influential takes the lead in dispatching the business of the moment."

Starting of Gang. The different ways in which gangs started are thus described by the boys.

1. "Leader collected us."
4. "All live on one street. M—started it. Asked us into the gang."
5. "When we first moved around there we gathered together and kept together all the time."
8. "I, leader, started it. It was cold standing on the corner."
23. "Boys started their own club. Stood out in cold. Talked it up, then chipped in and had a room."
34. "We used to hang around the corner and we made up that we would go together and nobody else should come with us."
50. "The leader started the crowd. Got a crowd around him."
54. "The leader in baseball started the crowd."
55. "Three fellows M—, D—, and I proposed having the club and we got the other fellows."
56. "The boys hung around the store and then they got into a gang."
59. "G—, the best wrestler started it. He wanted to make up a crowd to meet every night."
62. "Two of the boys started it."
63. "P—fellow, the leader, and I thought we would get a gang up."
64. "Used to go to school together, that's how we got acquainted."
66. "Another fellow, the leader, started the crowd. He moved away and then I got in leader."

As a rule the boys do not know how the gang started, for only seventeen could give any report. Of seventeen records of the starting of gangs, the leader started six, the leader and another boy started two more, a boy not the leader started one, two boys started one and three boys started another. The six remaining gangs came together by moving round there, meeting on corner, hanging round a store, and going to school together. It appears that more gangs are started by a leader than in any other one way.

Conditions of Membership. The entrance to a gang is usually informal.

4. "Did n't let anybody in after we started."
5. "Anybody moved round there we thought safe to come in let him in."
6. "Any fellow could bring in a fellow if others approved."
7. "If a fellow was a good ball player let him in, or an all round athlete."
9. "Tell them to come along with us. Have fun one night come right along."
10. "Put him on probation for a certain time. If he wanted to get in bad let him in. See if he plays ball good."
12. "If he was a good guy and round the corner every night, after a while let him in if he was not a squealer."

14. "When he moved on our street fellows bring him round. If he wanted to belong he could."
23. "Any fellow could recommend a fellow to Selectmen. They vote on him."
26. "Did n't care whether person belonged to crowd or not."
31. "Anybody who lived up that way could come into the crowd if whole gang knew him."
32. "New fellow. We would not have anything to do with him for a while. If he knew enough to keep still let him in."
35. "Anybody was welcome to join the crowd."
38. "Go down and hang around there, you could get in."
41. "Ask a fellow to go with them."
42. "If he came around to live there and if we thought he had courage to do things let him in."
43. "When one fellow went out let another fellow in. Get a fellow who would keep things to himself."
45. "Let him in on condition that he would not tell anybody. Keep his mouth shut."
47. "Would n't let any one in. We did n't want any one. We wanted to stay ourselves."
53. "Leader decided who could come in."
54. "Go around and ask fellows if certain fellow could come in. If most said 'yes' he could come in."
55. "Let in fellows the leader said would be alright to come in."
57. "Let anybody play with us. Would n't let him in to any other secret. Did n't let any one go with us on trips."
58. "Would n't let a fellow in unless he could play baseball or football."
59. "If any one voted against a fellow to come in he could n't come in."
60. "Let anybody in unless he was a squealer."
61. "If you knew he was n't a blower let him in."
62. "Would n't let a fellow in if he would tell on us."
63. "A fellow who was n't scared to do things let him come in."
64. "Leader decided who should come in."
65. "Would n't let anybody in crowd but us four."
66. "If he could keep secrets let him in."

Of these gangs 8 were exclusive; the others admitted on following conditions: if the new member was not a squealer, 9; moved into neighborhood and approved, 7; approved by fellows, 6; approval of leader, 3; because athletic, 3; because courageous, 2; formal vote, 2; because they wanted to come, 2; invited, 2; let any one in, 4.

These statistics show that forty out of the forty-eight gangs did not have to look for members. They allowed fellows to come in but did not go after them. The entrance to a gang is informal. In only two cases is a formal vote taken. In three cases it is seen that the leader had everything in his own hands, but generally the power of approval lay with the fellows in the gang. Forty of the forty-eight gangs are exclusive in the sense that they would not allow anybody to come in who so pleased, and eight are exclusive in the sense that they would not allow any one to come in on any condition.

Loyalty is the virtue which wins approval in eight instances, physical prowess in two, and courage in two.

Initiation. Out of forty-eight gangs only eleven report any form of an initiation. Five out of the eleven suggest that the boy had to pass through a probation period. The boys take the putting off attitude until they have tested their fellow to be sure that he is not a squealer and then have him give a pledge to keep secrets. There are but five instances where the boy receives a physical initiation. The following cases illustrate the usual methods of initiation.

7. "Sometimes pounce on a fellow and give it to him for two or three minutes."

10. "Put him on probation for a certain time if he wanted to get in bad let him in. A new boy had to pay ten cents a month for four months."

12. "If he was a good guy and round the corner every night. After a while let him in if he was not a squealer."

24. "Had to bring something (cigarettes) to make sure he would stay in the club. Had a dark hole, had a barrel half full of water if he would not go in, chuck him in."

32. "New fellow. Would n't have anything to do with him for a while. If he knew enough to keep still let him in."

42. "Punch and rapped him all over. Put him up in the air and throw him down for five or ten minutes. If he did n't cry let him in."

43. "Make him take an oath to keep secrets. Put him on a freight train and send him off alone to see if he could get back alone. One fellow sent to watch him."

55. "Make him sign his name and pay the dues, ten cents a week."

59. "Have him wrestle with Gibson to see if he was strong."

67. "See if he was trustworthy. If he could keep secrets. Try him first. Show him something that we stole. If he did n't tell let him in."

At the Springfield Training School this question was asked fifteen boys, age thirteen to fifteen, by T. J. Browne (1). "When a new boy comes into your set how do you treat him?" The answers were as follows:

(1) We initiate him. (2) Kindly. (3) Rough at first, see if he'll stand fooling. (4) Roughly. (5) Make him run the gauntlet. (6) Treat him well if he is the kind we like. (7) We generally make him run the gauntlet or take a good hammering from us. (8) Don't allow new boys in. (9) Dose him under the faucet and take his shoes and stockings off."

Five out of the fifteen answers suggest some form of a physical initiation. One gives a definite programme.

Expulsion. Out of thirty-eight reports of gangs none were put out in 17; but boys were expelled for squealing or spying in 10; for fighting when it was not right 3; in for bossing, failing to pay dues, getting fresh, making trouble, disobedience, would n't play ball or pay dues, running off when needed to fight, leader put him out, in one for each. It is noteworthy that ten were put out for squealing and one for running away. This makes eleven cases of disloyalty. The rest are not im-

portant. In only one case was there a formal method of expulsion. The following illustrate the reports in regard to expulsion.

4. "Never put any one out."
5. "If a fellow said he was going to leave give him a licking."
6. "Put a fellow out for spying or for telling anything about the club. Tell him we did n't want him and then if he did n't take the hint force him out."
7. "Tell a fellow he did n't belong there and he would leave."
8. "Put three out for bossing and running the place. Wanted us to buy a bed for them. Told them to get out."
9. "If he does anything and tries to get us into it we tell him not to come round with us."
11. "Put a boy out of gang for fighting when he did n't need to."
22. "Can stay in as long as he wants if he once gets in."
23. "Failed to pay dues for three weeks, put out. President reports a fellow for disorder, two votes puts him out. Once out could not come back."
26. "Put a fellow out once for fighting with another boy. The other fellow was in the right."
34. "Put one fellow out for getting fresh but he was back the next night."
41. "Put me out because I said one fellow did n't have spunk to play spunk the leader."
42. "Kicked one fellow out for telling on the others."
50. "Put a fellow out because he would always squeal on them."
51. "If he went against us call him a back biter. Chuck him out."
56. "Put a fellow out for squealing on them. Tell him to get out of the gang. Leader put him out."
58. "Put a fellow out because he would n't play baseball or take his share of expense."
60. "If a fellow told the cop what we were doing put him out. Tell him to get away, make him get away."
61. "Put two or three fellows out for squealing."
62. "Put a fellow out for spying. Told him not to come with us."
63. "Put him out because he would run off when needed to fight."

Rules of Gangs. The following rules or customs were given by the boys in answer to the questions: Did you have any rules, and why did you put a fellow out of the gang?

4. "If he lied to any of us fellows, called him a squealer. Call him a spy if he told on us."
5. "If a fellow lied to one of us fellows put him out of the crowd for a week."
6. "Put a fellow out for spying or telling anything about the club."
7. "Never allow a big fellow to pick on a little boy. We were against smoking."
9. "Stick up for one another. If one fellow does anything and tries to get us into it, tell him not to come around."
10. "Fined a fellow ten cents if he swore; five cents for chewing; five cents for smoking, and five cents for not trying to live up to the rules."
11. "Put a fellow out of gang for fighting when he did n't need to."
12. "If a fellow lied to a fellow of our gang we would snowball him. If he lied to a fellow out of the gang it was nothing to do with us."
16. "Helped each other out if we got into trouble."

23. "Had to be at work when he comes into gang, must pay his dues."
26. "Put a fellow out once for fighting with another boy. The other fellow was in the right."
31. "Kick a fellow out if he lied to us kick him out if he lied about us to fellows outside. Do nothing to him if he lied to defend us."
32. "If any two stole anything have to share it with the rest."
42. "If one fellow got into trouble all stand up for him. If a fellow told on us make trouble for him till he gets sick of it. Put a fellow out for telling a lie."
43. "If one of the fellows gets hit stand up for one another."
44. "Fight if boys did not divy up."
45. "Put a fellow out for telling what we did."
46. "Throw a fellow out for telling. We get mad if a fellow would n't divy up."
47. "Any one in danger we would all turn to and help him out. We never told anything on each other."
49. "Call a fellow a squealer if he told on the rest."
50. "All stand up for a fellow in trouble. Put a fellow out who told on the crowd."
51. "Kick a fellow out if he told on the rest. If they would n't do what the other fellows told them to do put them out."
53. "If they did n't share up a fight would begin."
54. "If anybody picked on one of our fellows, we would fight them."
55. "Stood by each other."
56. "Put a fellow out for squealing."
57. "We punched the life out one fellow, nearly, for telling on us."
58. "Members had to be there Wednesday and Saturday. Each boy paid equal parts for ball."
59. "We were all supposed to meet every night. If any other gang made trouble we were all to go."
60. "Make a fellow get out for telling the cop on us."
61. "Put two or three fellows out for squealing."
61. "If a fellow did n't divy up we start fighting with him."
63. "If a fellow squealed on us give what he wants (needs). Make it hot for him if he lied to us."
64. "Called me squealer for telling on the gang but I got back pleased with them again."
65. "Would n't let a boy in crowd if he stole. If a boy told on another fellow made him pay dues every week."
66. "No fellow ever told on us. One fellow was caught. He stayed in Charles Street jail three months before rest of us were caught."

Of the fifty-one rules reported by various gangs eighteen were against squealing, eight against lying to one of the gang, and eight required standing by each other in trouble. This makes thirty-four rules which stand for loyalty. A rudimentary justice is found in these rules. The principle is: "I stand by you, you stand by me."

Three rules were for "divying up" things obtained by any member of the gang, two for paying equal parts, and three were against fighting when unjust. Under all these rules is the idea of justice, and under the last a very high kind of justice.

Two rules required attendance, and one obedience to the

majority. Six might be classified as moral,—two of these against smoking, one against swearing, one against chewing, and one against stealing. Three of these were found in one gang.

These rules express the public opinion of the gang. In only one case could they be called a code of laws (No. 10). Although the rules are not written down they are strictly enforced. Expulsion is the common penalty.

The Gang a Permanent Institution. As only seventeen out of forty-six boys questioned could tell how the gang started, it is plain that a gang is not a short lived institution. Eleven of the number state that they had been in a gang five years or more, four for over three years, and two for two years, ten for one year or more, and nine for less than one year. Six said that they had been going together for a long time.

Settling Disputes. In answer to the questions: Did you have any disputes? How did you settle them? Responses like the following were received:

5. "If there was a dispute leader settled it. If two fellows were fighting for a thing we took it away from them and gave it to another fellow. In playing dice chuck the fellow out who made the dispute. Break up the game. Take the boys and go off and leave him."

12. "If there was any dispute have a scrap over it. One that got the worst of it give up."

13. "If we got mad we would n't go with each other for quite a while."

20. "Have a dispute as to who was the best fellow. Fight it out."

36. "I, leader, would settle disputes. I would say whether it was right or not."

46. "A fellow would n't share up so fought him."

53. "If he did n't share up a fight would begin."

56. "Fellow did n't want to play captain put him out and put another fellow in his place."

57. "Quarrel for five or ten minutes and then ask N—to settle it. We would be satisfied with what he would say."

58. "The officers would most always settle the disputes. Talk it over, get circumstances, then settle it."

60. "One of the bigger boys would settle it. They would stop the fighting."

61. "Give one of them a kick that would settle it."

64. "Settled disputes by fighting. I had a fight with M—. Neither of us licked."

65. "If we had disputes we would vote on it. One who would get majority to him we would leave it go."

Disputes were settled by fighting in 10 instances; by the leader in 3; by putting fellow out in 2; by a bigger boy in 2; by voting in 1; by officer in 1; by staying away from each other in 1; by an outside person in 1; and by kicking the fellow in 1. The most common way of settling disputes is by fighting, but the seven instances where the trouble was settled by the leader, by officers, a bigger boy, an outside person, and

by voting, show that a method of procedure aiming at justice is often adopted.

Treatment of Strangers. About twenty boys were asked how they treated strange fellows. There were the following responses.

4. "Give a strange fellow a licking."
5. "If a strange fellow came around try to pick up a fight with him."
47. "Nobody came around there. Afraid of us. Kick a strange fellow away."
48. "Anybody could go by there."
50. "Strange fellow came around they would grab him, fish his pockets. Take everything he has."
51. "If a strange fellow came around, if he kept quiet, did n't do anything. If he was silly throw bricks at him."
54. "Did n't trouble a strange fellow."
59. "Tell fellows who came around to get out."

Boys of gangs have little sympathy or regard for strangers and treat them as enemies. There are only a few records, but in five of these a strange boy was maltreated, and thirty-five of the records given later under the topic of Plaguing People can be reckoned as maltreatment of strangers.

Treatment of Girls. Out of the eleven records concerning treatment of girls five had nothing to do with them, and five more did things to plague them, by calling names and doing mean things to them. One said that he treated them all right. Here are not enough instances for any conclusion but the few records are in line with the conclusion of Sheldon (12) that boys and girls do not associate or organize together. They have no interests in common.

4. "Plague girls. Ask them for a kiss and things like that."
5. "We never used to think of girls. I don't know how to treat them. I never tried it."
12. "Treated them all right."
13. "We never used to go with any girls."
31. "They never go around with any girls. They never say nothing to them. Sis at them."
36. "Some of the gang threw kisses at them. None of my gang ever struck them."
62. "Sometimes do mean things to them. Swear at them. Fight them. Steal things of them. Call them names. Silks, Pigs."
63. "Treated girls rough. Did dirty things to them."
64. "Used to hit the girls. Pick on them. Get in fights with them. Plague them. Call them names."
65. "Never had anything to do with them."
66. "Never had any girls round where we were. Never had anything to do with them."

Activities of the Gang. The activities of boys in gangs are many and varied, and are hard to classify. They include the play, predatory (stealing), fighting, migratory, social and work activities. The play activities of games are classified as games which demand much co-operation and games which demand

little or no co-operation. Baseball, football and hockey belong to the first class, while the running games, swimming and skating demanding little co-operation are placed in the second class.

Games Demanding Co-operation. Out of the sixty-six gangs, fifty-three have records of games demanding much co-operation. Baseball is the most popular game. Fifty-one out of the fifty-three mentioning baseball; football stands second, thirty-six mention football, nine hockey, nine basket ball and six cricket. Baseball and football are without question the two most prominent games of the gang. Not only are they mentioned by the great majority of the boys but they are given the first place in their long list of games. Baseball was mentioned first by twenty-seven and second by fifteen; football, first by four, second by eleven and third by nine.

Many other activities in the gang life demand co-operation. The stealing activities are often definitely planned and one boy watches while the others steal, one boy engages the attention of the storekeeper while the other fellow takes things, or one boy plagues a man to get chased and another boy takes the man's goods while he is pursuing the boy. Fighting between gangs demands very active and courageous co-operation.

Games Without much Co-operation. 102 running games are recorded in the sixty-six gangs. Tag was played by 21; Hide and Seek by 14; Relievo by 12; Hoist the Sail by 8; Chase by 8; Run Sheep Run by 5; Leap-frog by 5; Kick the Can (bar) (wicket) by 4; Bull (deer) in the Ring by 4; Puss in the Corner by 2; Detective by 2. Hare and Hounds 2; Fox and Geese; Wolf; Lion's Den; Hit the Bear. How many Miles to Bareberry? Cops, Blind Man's Bluff, Throw the Stick, Fire, Stump the Leader, Hill-dill, Snap the Whip, and Duck on the Rock. Policemen were each mentioned once.

By these records it is plain that the running games form a very prominent part of the gang life. In games such as Relievo, Prisoner's Bar, Run Sheep Run, where sides are chosen, there is some co-operation; but these games are mainly individualistic rather than co-operative. The individual is not compelled to sacrifice himself for the sake of the group.

Other Activities Without much Co-operation. Of the sixty-six gangs swimming was mentioned by 45; Skating by 20; Coasting by 12; Snowballing by 7; Jumping, jump rope, by 5; Boxing by 3; Gymnasium by 3; Jumping cars and pungs by 3; Punching bag by 2; Bicycle riding by 2; Quoits by 2; Throwing rocks by 1; Driving horse by 1; Climbing by 1.

Swimming is almost as natural for a boy as for a fish. During the summer months a boy wants to be in the water every day and sometimes three or four times a day. Forty-five out of

sixty-six boys mention swimming as one of their sports. Twenty mention skating, twelve coasting, and seven snow-balling. These are forms of activities which are social but demand no co-operation.

Predatory Activities. Under this head are placed the answers to the questions: "Did you steal? What? Where?" The following illustrate their character:

4. "Go to Worcester market. Steal apples, candy, grapes and peanuts. Went in a crowd."
5. "Stole pigeons. Broke into slot machines. Get lager beer Saturday nights off beer teams."
6. "Stole most anything they could get their hands on. Fruit from fruit stands, ice cream at picnics. Robbed a store and put it in an old barn, revolvers, knives, cartridges."
8. "At night wait and rob beer teams. Stole wine, beer, and a jug of gin."
9. "Steal cherries and any kind of fruit. Go into orchards and take them. Stole most anything we wanted."
10. "Broke into a freight train. Got tobacco, sold it to teamsters. Take waste out of hot boxes and have it for a torch."
12. "Went to Cottage Farms on freight after apples and pears. Got chased by mounted police."
19. "Stole money to go to shows."
20. "Hit a Sheeney. He drop his bag, another fellow take it. Get money in meat stores. Rob milk teams. Steal ice and sell it."
24. "Steal anything we could get hold of that is good. Steal it and keep it at club rooms."
27. "Steal coal to sell it to get money to go to theatre."
31. "Broke into store and then run away from home."
32. "Steal money out of tills of stores. Stole money. Would break in at places."
33. "Steal bananas off banana teams, apples, pears, and grapes from H—'s field."
34. "Steal off farmers' teams. Steal fruit off fruit stands. Steal coal and wood. Break and enter a bakery."
42. "Go after peaches, get the chase. Steal baskets and hide them. Steal iron and sell it."
44. "Broke and entered a bakery, fruit stands, and grocery stores."
46. "Steal ragman's bottles and sell them over again. Go into store and ask a cross-eyed man for something. He would go after it, then steal his stuff. Steal bicycles."
50. "Sundays we used to go stealing apples and pears."
51. "Steal coal and wood and bring them down and build fires. Steal anything we could get hold of off fruit stands. Steal stuff off of farmers coming into city."
56. "Break into school building. Steal off from Baker wagon."
57. "Stole brass pipe and copper. Break and enter store. Stole candy. Went in after money. Stole fruit out of orchards. Got some off of fruit stands."
58. "Go into department store, steal air gun, base ball, foot ball. Steal apples."
60. "Go round stealing for fun. Go out to Arlington Heights for apples, pears and things. Take bananas off of Italians. Steal off bakers' teams. Take basket of doughnuts and pies. Take milk out of doorways. Steal clothes off of clothes line sell to ragman. Stole junk, sold it to another ragman."

64. "One fellow would steal while the other was buying things."
65. "Stole a watch."
66. "Get ice, steal it and sell it. Steal bottles and barrels and sell them."

There are forty-nine records of stealing in the sixty-six gangs. This rough classification is made. *First*, things stolen to eat and drink, including fruit, cakes, candy, beer, and milk. In this class are thirty records. *Second*, things stolen to play with and use, including air gun, balls, watches, knives, revolver, and hammer. There are seven records. *Third*, things stolen to sell, including tobacco, rags, ice, coal, wood, gloves, candy, fruit, iron, lead, brass, copper, bottles, and clothes. Fourteen records.

Over half of the records of stealing are for something to eat; fruit is found in twenty-five of the thirty records. These thefts may properly be called petty larceny. The records of stealing iron, lead, coal, wood, etc., to sell, are more serious, and the stealing of watches, revolvers, and knives to keep and use, seems still more serious. There are nine records of breaking and entering houses, cars, and stores.

The entire records show that the predatory habit is very strong in the boys in the gang, and in its mildest form is seen in the stealing of fruit, and in more serious forms in highway robbery and breaking and entering.

Fighting Activities. The boys were very free in answers to the questions, 'Did you have any fights? What for?'

1. "Make forts. Fight with snowballs. Go down to East End. Fight with a crowd there. Fight with fists."
2. "Fight with a crowd of French boys. Throw stones. Fight with air rifles."
3. "Used to make forts in field and have fights between ourselves. Put up fights with boys outside the crowd. If a fellow said he was going to leave give him a licking."
4. "Fought with another gang to see which was strongest. Fought with clubs."
8. "Used to go out fighting Saturday afternoons with mill companies."
12. "Have battle with snowballs. Had fights among ourselves over *out* and *not out*."
14. "Fight if any one swore about mother. Fight among ourselves over ball games."
16. "Used to fight Bleachery gang with fists."
20. "Some of them fight. One fellow think he can lick the other fellows, he think he can't so they start a scrap."
28. "Fight at any one who would swear at me. Had a shanty in the woods, other boys would come and tear it down, had a fight over it."
31. "Fight with Allen St. gang when they would squeal on us."
32. "Sometimes a fight among ourselves. On June 17 have fight with another crowd."
36. Chelsea gangs fought East Boston gang. Everybody thought that East Boston fellows were picking on little fellows in Chelsea too much. We had it all arranged but there was a traitor in our camp, he

told East Bostons. We met in middle of ice in Mystic River, fought with clubs, sticks and stones, about four hundred of us boys, same number on other side. We licked. One of our fellows got knocked out. Half of us got hit on the arms. The ice broke in on the river. A lot of our fellows pulled the others out. We did n't like to see them drown. One fellow on the other side got drown, a little fellow. In close quarters where we could n't use clubs used our fists.

37. "One fight with another crowd at a rally between two schools."
39. "Start a fight with a big fellow then all pitch in and fight him."
41. "Had a fight with Lawrence St. gang. Have fights among ourselves, general occasion. Put two fellows together."
42. "Had a fight with Elm St. gang, and Lawrence toughs. Fought over possession of a certain street."
46. "A fellow would n't share up so fought him."
47. "Build forts, fight with other gangs with snowballs. Fight with French boys who plagued my brother."
54. "Fight with High and Water St. gangs if they touched one of our gang. Fight with fists."
55. "Had a regular battle with Sewall St. gang. Make a fort on a hill. Sewall St. tried to take the fort on us. We pelted them with snowballs. They took it once at seven o'clock while we were eating breakfast. We drove them out over a fence."
56. "Fellows hit me with a brick. He knocked me down and I did the same."
57. "Fight about calling names."
58. "Met E—. We were coming home from football game. Guyed them for beating. Fired sticks on us. We made swords of wood, got an air rifle, made an attack on them and drove them up on a haymow in a barn."
59. "Polanders used to throw bricks at us. Had stone fights. One of our fellows got a finger cut off. One of their fellows nearly got killed."
60. "Our gang from our school fought a gang from another school. Fought with sticks and stones. Chased fellows on streets. Split a few boys' heads open."

There are records of fighting in forty-six of the sixty-six gangs. Twenty-two gang fights, six fights on sides in the gang, eighteen individual fights inside the gang, three fights picked up with a boy outside the gang, and one record where a group of gangs fought another group.

The gang fights were for the following reasons: for the fun of it, to see which was strongest, pick up a fight by guying other crowd, pick up a fight by throwing stones, for the possession of a street, for the possession of a fort, over tearing down a shanty, the other gang squealed on them, plagued my brother, touched one of our fellows, jealousy between gang of different schools, arranged for a fight the 17th of June. The group of gangs fought the other group because the small boys were imposed on. When the boys fought among themselves they chose sides and had battles with forts and snowballs. It is a common custom in the winter for boys of one crowd to divide for battles with snowballs.

The gang fights were fought with fists in three cases, snow-

balls in three more, stones in one, bricks and stones in one, air rifles and stones, and air rifles and wooden swords.

The individual fights arose over disputes in baseball in four cases, because boys did not divy up in three more; swearing about mother, swearing at me, calling names, money not paid back, put fellows together to fight and to see which was best fellow.

Fighting is a very prominent and important part of the gang life. The reasons given are sufficient, for boys at least, for a fight, and when the boys cannot find a good reason they guy or throw stones at the other crowd and thus give them a good reason.

It is thought by many trainers of boys that fighting is bad and should be universally condemned. But the boy who is taught not to fight when he is being imposed upon is trained to be a coward; and it is a safe inference that fighting develops physical courage, from which the highest kind of courage, moral courage is later developed. The gang fight is based on loyalty and demands the highest kind of co-operation.

Migratory Activities. These reports are in answer to the question: 'Did you go off anywhere?'

4. "From Worcester go to Tatnuck Sunday afternoons. Jump freights, other days, and go to Springfield and Pittsfield. Stayed out one or two nights. Ran away from home to Burlington, Vt. Stayed there two weeks."

5. "Go around in city of Boston. Wander around streets. Go to Revere Beach. Jump freights. Go down to freight yards. Go to Medford Hillside. Stay out nights."

6. "Sometimes went on a trip in the country on Sundays from Waltham. Catch a freight go to Wayland and Littleton. Went to Boston to shows and circuses."

12. "Take a car, go to City Point just for a little ride. Nice and breezy in cars. Go to Cottage Farms on freight from Somerville. Got back same night about one o'clock."

16. "Go off for a trip on Sunday (from Boston). Go out to Arlington, Waverly Oaks and Wayside Inn. Went to Portland, Me. Had a tent in woods for one month."

20. "Go out to Fair Beach from Boston. Jump freights. Was going to New York. Stopped at Worcester. Went back, was arrested at South Framingham."

26. "Sundays took walks to Lynn Woods and Breeds Pond. Some saved up money and went to Lewiston Fair in Maine. Some went to Boston to ball games."

28. "Go to Pittsfield to shows (from North Adams). Go on trolleys. Jump freights to Springfield, Worcester."

31. "Broke into a store and then ran away from home, so we would n't get caught. Went to Boston (from Newburyport) on freight. Stayed at Hawkins Street Home one night. Went to Worcester on freight. Stopped in a Park and Salvation Army in Worcester. Walked to Northboro to sisters. Stayed a couple of days. Went to Walpole and then back to Mariboro and was caught. We planned to go to Bangor, Me."

32. "Walked around streets. Stay out nights on the streets. Sleep

in barns. Go Sundays off to Charlestown and to fields out in Newton toward Norumbega Park. Go off to Boston for a day or two. Go round "North End gang."

33. "Sundays go down to the fort, go over to the Neck (Marblehead), go over to Lawrence woods on picnics, four or five miles."

43. "Stay out all night. Go off to different cities on freights. Went to Portland, Me., five or six times (from Boston). Stayed a week once. Went to Newburyport twice. Stopped one day each time. Went to Andover six times, stayed two weeks. Went to Exeter five or six times, stopped three or four days. Went to St. John, N. B. Got a job in steam laundry. Save up money and then go off for a good time. Go to Boston Saturday afternoons (from Lawrence)."

55. "Sundays went off bicycle riding out to Forest Hills. Stop at Jamaica Pond. Ran away to Worcester, stayed two weeks. Stayed out half a month nights."

57. "Take a ride out to Waverly or some other place Sundays. Went to Nashua, N. H., to get a job and came back again. Ran away from home to N. Y. with another boy. He paid the bills. Stayed there three months."

60. "Stay out nights three months to a time. Stay in cellars, freight cars and entries. Sundays go out to Dorchester and Arlington Heights to get apples and pears. Reason for staying out was the cops were after me. Jump freights to Readville and Providence. Get off, come right back."

62. "Stay out nights. Go in back yards and sleep. Ran away to Boston. Walked. Took four days. Got arrested there."

66. "Go to Newton and Arlington on bicycles. Go down to Apple Island in a boat. Stay out nights, stayed in paper office on Washington St. Lots of boys get there at one and two o'clock for their papers. When woke up say 'I am waiting for the papers.' Ran away from home several times. Get as far as Wellesley turn round and come back at night, say we would try it some other time."

There are forty-four records of the travel of boys. Some went only a little and others went much. Twenty-three records are of different boys jumping freights to go to other towns and cities. Some boys went but once or twice while others went twenty times in this way. Some went only to the next city while others went to Burlington, Vt., Portland, Me., New York and St. John, N. B.

There are three records of boys walking off to other places and four who paid their way on the cars. This makes thirty records of boys going to distant places. Fourteen records are of boys deliberately running and staying away from home, sixteen reports of boys staying out nights.

These accounts show that the travelling or migratory instinct is very strong in boys. As a rule they do not go away in large companies but by twos or threes. The custom of going off Sundays out into the country to some pond or woods is very prominent.

Savage Games and Occupations. These reports come in answer to the questions:—"What do you do for fun? Did you go off anywhere? What did you do Sundays?"

1. "Played Indians in the woods. Go fishing after perch and pickerel. Go berrying. Get a pail full, then eat them."
6. "Go fishing and shooting. Each of us had a gun. Played cards in the woods. Met out in the woods back of an old barn. Sunday went on a trip in the country."
7. "Went camping out. Stay for a day or two. Made a boat. Went boating, fishing for perch and pickerel."
15. "Go fishing. Had a tent in woods, for one month. Went boating."
26. "Go fishing. Go to woods on Sundays, to Breed's Pond. Build bonfires. Went hunting."
28. "Went fishing for pickerel and perch. Went hunting for gray squirrels, pheasants, quails, rabbits, foxes. Shot three foxes, one silver fox. Had a shanty in woods."
31. "Make boats and rafts to hold ten or twelve fellows. Twenty-three of us hired a tent for five days in woods in Salisbury."
46. "Went up to Cannibal Lake. Went boating. Go into woods on Sundays. Go fishing and hunting. Two boys had guns. Go shooting birds and bull's eye."
51. "Had rifles. Go hunting after birds in the woods. Had sling shots to kill sparrows."
52. "Play Harry Tracy. Two or three of us run, two or three detectives try to catch us. Use sticks for pistols."
58. "Play Indians. Make up two parties. One party captures others and put them in a hole. Met in a shanty or club house in the woods."
59. "Had a tent, a dug-out, a quarter of a mile out in the woods. Stayed out five nights. Slept in a barn. Two other fellows stayed away from home with me."
65. "Hire a boat Sundays and go down to Apple Island. Go fishing."

Under this head I have placed hunting, fishing, boating, building tents, camping out, going into woods, playing Indians, etc. Under this topic might well be placed the fighting, migratory, and predatory activities, for they are the occupations of savages.

There are thirty records of boys going into country to pond or woods, to hunt, fish, camp out, get nuts, fruit, etc. Sixteen went fishing, eight camping out, seven hunting, and eleven boating. There are seven records of boys meeting in a shed, dug-out or tent in the woods. For city boys these records show a strong tendency to get to ponds and into the woods and engage in the occupations of savage life.

Plaguing People. These responses came partly in answer to the question, 'What did you do for fun?' and partly in answer to the direct questions: 'Did you ever plague anybody? How?'

2. "Rap on doors. Push and pull people. Play tick tack on windows."
4. "Put wires across sidewalks to trip people."
8. "Throw eggs at people. Open doors of Chinamen and throw stones at them. Tie dead rats on coats of people."
20. "Have a dead rat. Throw it at a Chinaman. Fire things at men

to get the chase. Hit men out of doorways to get the chase. Put a rock in paper bag for men to kick. Hit a Sheeney. He drop his bag another fellow take it."

24 "Cabbage stump night. Take cabbage stump. Bang doors at night. Gate-night. Pull of the gates. Door-bell night. Tie long strings on door bell, ring it. Press buttons. Put pins in them."

25. "Pile things up at doors. Trip up drunks."

29. "Bang rocks at Chinamen. Go into stores and throw things around."

31. "Ten or twelve went breaking windows."

36. "Mock a policeman on duty. When he would turn his back hoot at him."

39. "Tie a rope across the street and trip people up. Throw eggs at people. Throw cabbages at people. Ring door bells. Break windows, electric lights. Plague Chinamen. Bring them in a bundle of paper. Throw potatoes at Chinamen."

40. "Plague people. Throw things at Jews. Throw snowballs at Jews. Ring door bells. Call Chinamen names, as rats, rub your teeth at them."

42. "Call person names to get the chase. Throw eggs in at Chinamen's doors. Plague policemen."

43. "Plagued the ragman. Upset his cart and run away with the rags. Ran away with the banana team."

46. "Dump ragman's cart over bank. Shoot at them with air rifles. Go into store, ask a cross-eyed man something. He would go after it, steal his stuff."

50. "Call women names. Tie strings to two posts when man would walk by knock off his hat. Plug potatoes at anybody. Hold up a ragman, take his money. Did n't fight but always insult another crowd when it came by."

51. "Go down near an iceman just to plague him. Tipped over a ragman's cart almost killed him. Burn the door on the Chinamen. Go out and plague farmers. Throw bricks at a man's horse."

52. "Plug snowballs at Jews because they are so funny. Tie strings to corners. Throw stones thro' window. Plug bricks at people."

53. Rap on Mr. G—'s door. Get something to hit every ragman you see. Run down into C—'s cellar."

54. "Plague policemen. Shoot beans and pebbles down on him if he touched one of our fellows."

56. "Throw bricks at Sheeney for fun."

57. "Plagued Chinamen. Called them names. Plagued Jews. Holloed what he would hollo."

59. "Go around banging doors and breaking windows. Went into the brickyard to get chased by the man there."

60. "Plague Jews and Italians. Tip the rag teams of Jews over, take the rags and sell to some other Jew."

63. "Play tick tack, pull blinds off of windows, smash doors of Jews."

64. "Go round in woodyard, throw wood in street to get the chase from an old man, Mr. B."

65. "Pull rag bag off of ragman and then run."

66. "Make a fire, get bricks hot, then throw them at Chinamen's door. Put pins in door bells. Throw corn cobs and potatoes at people."

There are forty-four records of this kind of activity with fifty-nine different instances classified as follows:

Tick tack, rap on doors, ring bells, take off gates 17; Call

people names, saucy, 7; Destruction of property, break windows, doors, etc., 7; Push, pull and trip people 6; Throw things at people, snowballs, potatoes, eggs, rats, stones, etc., 18; Robbing, tip over cart and steal 4.

The ringing of door bells and playing tick tack is not necessarily very serious; for it may be done as much for fun as for doing something for bothering other persons. The calling of names is more serious and the destruction of property in breaking windows and doors is still more so. There are twenty-eight records left which are personal, and are very serious forms of plaguing people.

This form of activity arises for many purposes. The boy often wants to have some fun and he takes this way of getting it. A boy likes to smash and break up things. He likes to tease and bother people. It shows a lack of sympathy for the other fellow, but this is one of the prominent traits of the growing boy.

Work. By the boys' own reports we find that there were frequently loafers in the gang, and quite a few boys who ran on errands, did odd jobs, and picked over the dump. The majority were at regular work or at school. The boys seem to think that going to school means that a boy is not expected to work. I would ask if any of the boys worked and the reply would be, "They go to school." There are a few very interesting answers where the boys report that they worked for a while, then stopped and spent the money earned. In another case the boy who worked went home at night and did not go stealing while the others did. Concrete reports follow.

"Nearly all worked. Three of us didn't work. Get money from junk."

6. "Some worked in mill, some on farms, some at odd jobs. Work for two or three days and then lay off and spend money."

8. "Four out of the seven worked. I worked once in a while."

13. "Get money from picking rags and bottles."

14. "Four went to school, four at work in shoe shop, three loafing."

20. "Four worked, one loafed. Three worked in barrel factory, one fellow ran on errands."

24. "Peddle bills for shows. Help men unload things at Express Office."

26. "Most at work in shoe factory and electric lights. One or two loafers. Five went to school."

29. "Clean horse for a man and got twenty-five cents."

32. "Three worked. They would go in at night and not steal. Four loafers. Three or four would go stealing."

38. "Five or six worked over to News Bureau. Stay till they got fired. Five loafers now."

39. "None at work. Go to school. Stay away from school."

42. "Three of us worked, three went around getting junk to sell."

46. "I only worked. Rest went to school. Get junk out of dump. Sell it."

47. "One worked rest go to school. Get money selling papers, running errands, picking over dump."

52. "I worked blacked shoes. All rest went to school."

Theatre, Cards, Smoking, Drinking. There are records of going to theatre in 38 gangs; of playing cards in 25 (Forty-five 10, Whist 7, Pitch 7, High Low Jack 6, Casino 4, Polka 3, Old Maid 1, Everlasting 1, Barn-yard 1); of gambling in 12; of smoking in 30; of drinking in 9.

Boys are very fond of going to shows. It is one of their strongest passions. They will do anything to go: pick over dump, peddle bills, steal money or steal their way in. They are bound to get there somehow. Thirty-eight out of sixty-six boys went to shows. They do not as a rule go in gangs but in companies of twos and threes.

Twenty-five out of sixty-six gangs report card playing; twelve, gambling.

There are records of smoking in thirty gangs and of drinking in nine. The records do not claim to be complete; if they were smoking would probably be found in nearly all and drinking in a few more. Drinking is not, I think, common in boys' gangs.

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES.

Athletics.	{ Games of co-operation	in 45	gangs.
	" " running	" 31	"
	{ Swimming	" 42	"
	Skating	" 22	"
Fighting		" 45	"
Predatory Activities		" 43	"
Plaguering People		" 45	"
Migratory Activities		" 41	"
Savage games and occupations		" 49	"
Going to theatre or shows		" 36	"
Playing cards		" 26	"
Smoking		" 23	"

The records show that the activities of a gang are varied and significant. The gang has its existence for the purpose of doing something. Athletics including baseball, football, the running games, swimming and skating forms by far the larger part of the activities. Play and fun is therefore the main purpose of the gang. Fighting, stealing, travelling, plaguering people and going to shows, fills out a very attractive and interesting programme for the gang's day or week.

Genesis of the Gang. If the gang is and will continue to be one of the important institutions of American boy life it is interesting to note how far the records give us any light concerning its genesis.

We have observed from Sheldon's study that the prominent period of the gang in a boy's life is from ten to fifteen, the

time of change from childhood to adolescence. Man is a social animal; and at this period the social instinct is beginning to assert itself and control the boy's life. The fact that at the dawning of adolescence boys are eager to associate in gangs shows that there is a growing desire for the satisfaction of this instinct, that the boy's nature demands companionship.

The growth of the social instinct is also seen in the games played. In infancy the plays are individualistic, in childhood the plays begin to be social, but "the centre of interest is one's self in relation to others;" in adolescence the play reaches a higher social level, and the games "involve not merely the sub-ordination of self and the elevation of the group; but the pursuit of a distant end by means of definite steps." (7).

Most persons like to associate with other persons who are passing through experiences similar to their own. We associate with persons who are like ourselves. For the same reason, the boy desires to associate with beings like himself. He therefore likes to be with boys of about his own age and after a short acquaintance they begin to have a feeling of sympathy for each other, and unite informally into a gang.

The gang period is the time when a boy is learning himself.

"But as he grows he gathers much,
And learns the use of 'I' and 'me,'
And finds I am not what I see,
And other than the things I touch."

When the boy is coming to the realization of himself he has not much independence, nor confidence in himself. He needs some one to lean on. His boy companions afford the sufficient prop for his lack. Jacob A. Riis likens the boy of this period to a wolf. "His instincts of ferocity are those of the wolf rather than the tiger. It is only when he hunts with the pack that he is dangerous." (11)

These records and our daily observations show that the activity of boys at this period is prodigious. The normal boy is full of energy and there must be opportunity for its expenditure. Enforced inactivity is simply punishment. At home and at school the boy is required to keep quiet. The street and the gang afford about the only opportunity for free activity to the city boy. The gang therefore naturally arises from the instinct of activity which is so prominent in the boy's life.

Many of the activities of boys to which we are inclined to ascribe an evil motive arise solely from the desire to be doing something. When boys throw things at people and pull their coats, they do it not alone for the sake of bothering people, but for the purpose of getting the chase. Judge Lindsey (10) says, "In my experience nine-tenths of such offenses (against civil authority) are rather the result of misdirected energy,

thoughtlessness, and a certain uncurbed exuberance which is the part of the life of every boy."

The records show that the boy of this period has a strong instinct to fight. The struggle for existence has tended to select the men who are the best fighters. This passion seems to be stronger in youth than in later life and apparently is normal. The very slightest offense will arouse this combative instinct. If offenses do not arise there are times when the boy will do his part to cause them. The gang affords opportunities for personal fights and also for gang fights.

The boys show a strong instinct to roam. "The emotional restless disposition which is so closely associated with rapid and uneven growth, the new sense of power, and of self-life, and dreams of adventure, is often manifested in a craving to roam, to run away from home, to go to sea," (8) The parents of the boys have reached the stage where the home instinct is stronger than the roaming instinct. Moreover most parents are so confined by their work that they have no opportunity to go with their boys to satisfy this craving. The only avenue left open to the boy is the street and companions who have like inclinations. Thus the gang satisfies another strong instinct of the boy's life.

Again the instinct of curiosity is very strong in youth and is never fully outgrown. The boy is just learning about himself and the world. He desires to know the reasons for everything. He is fond of new experiences. "Youth loves intense states of mind and is passionately fond of excitement." (8) The experiences of the home become old and monotonous. The school work also has too much sameness and the daily routine becomes wearisome. The street and a crowd of enthusiastic companions affords the best opportunity for the satisfaction of his life.

It looks very much as though the boy had an instinct to steal. The records of these boys surely indicate this. It is easy to say that they are abnormal in this respect, but does not this instinct exist to a greater or less extent in the life of every normal boy. The careful training of wise parents may check it in very early years, but the boy without restraint is not thus saved. Who that is honest and not so pious that he has erased the past can fail to remember that the passion to steal was once a part of his own life. It is true that many boys enjoy a thing more if they can steal it, than they do to receive it in a formal lawful way. The association in a crowd affords the best kind of an opportunity for the development and satisfaction of the predatory instinct.

The gang therefore arises from the following instinctive tendencies of a boy's life,—the social instinct, feelings of depend-

ence, the instinct of activity or workmanship, the combative instinct, the instinct to roam, the instinct to learn, the love of excitement, and the predatory instinct.

Gang like a Savage Tribe. The boy is very commonly called a young savage. Warner (14) says "Any boy who is good for anything is a natural savage." "The child," says Ellis, (4) "is naturally by his organization, nearer to the animal, to the savage, to the criminal than the adult." If this view of the boy is truth rather than fiction it may be helpful in the understanding and education of the boy. "Without knowing them (savages) and their ways," says Pres. Hall, "we cannot understand children, religion or education, our own earlier history or that of our institutions." (8)

The boy's gang seems to have many points in common with a savage tribe. As Gulick says: "Savages who have reached the stage of co-operation under a chief, of fighting in organized groups, are doing that which the Anglo-Saxon boy commences to do soon after he is twelve."

Most savage tribes migrate. They wander from place to place. They are ever in search of better lands. There are records in thirty of our sixty-six gangs where the boys jumped freights, walked or paid their way to distant places. In fourteen cases the boys deliberately ran away from home. "At the dawn of adolescence the impulse to migrate or wander shows a sudden increase." (8)

Savages live in dug-outs, tents and rude houses. The boys show a great love for out-door life and wild rude life. The meeting place of a boy's gang is generally on the street. Very few show any inclination to go into well furnished rooms even in winter. There are but seven records of gangs meeting in a house or club room; but there are twelve records of the meeting place in tents, sheds, attic, and dug-out. At the Springfield Training School twenty-two students relate that they built shanties in the woods, or had their meeting place in a barn or hen coop. (1) Country boys have a better opportunity to show the tent building instinct, and at the gang period nearly all have a tent secreted in the woods. Savages obtain their living by hunting, fishing, grazing, and simple agriculture. The records indicate that boys have a strong passion at the gang age to enter into these first hand relations with nature. We have seen that thieving, plundering, pillaging, fighting, and the like, are common in the boy's gang as well as in the savage tribe.

Savages are cruel, and maltreatment of persons outside of their own tribe is admired. "Most savages are utterly indifferent to the sufferings of strangers or even delight in witnessing them." (3) The boy does not fall behind the savage

in the unkind treatment of strangers. The numerous records of the maltreatment of Jews and Chinese by the gangs shows the display of this tendency. To attack and misuse a strange boy who appears in the gang's precincts is also considered the proper thing. The boys get their pleasure by giving displeasure to others. This shows a great lack of sympathy and cruelty arises from this.

The savage tribe has the sense of possession of the territory which they occupy and will fight to hold it. The boy's gang likewise has a feeling of ownership of their meeting place and the district from which the boys come. The same spirit is reported at the McDonough School. "Among the McDonough boys, as among many savage societies, the beginnings of property in land is seen as the collective ownership of the soil by groups of persons." (9)

The leader of a savage tribe gains his position by physical prowess and a record for courage and ability in fighting. The leader of a boy's gang gets his position in the same way. The boys like as their leader the oldest, largest, smartest, good-natured fellow, who is the best player and best fighter. The boy with these traits of character naturally takes his place as leader.

The less civilized a people the more informal are their methods of procedure in selecting officers, or making laws and customs. The gang is thoroughly informal. The boys meet because they chance to be in the same neighborhood. A boy comes into the gang by common consent and goes out because public opinion is against him. The leader takes his place because he wants to lead and the boys want him to lead. There are no written rules and rarely is anything done in any formal way.

The virtues most admired in the savage tribe and the gang are the same. Courage is placed by both in the highest rank because the man or boy with it is of the greatest service and is most faithful to his tribe or gang. Truthfulness, fidelity, and loyalty to the tribe were necessary for the tribe's existence and therefore were greatly admired.

We find that the possession of these virtues are the conditions upon which a boy is admitted or expelled from the gang. Loyalty is the leading unwritten rule in the gang's code of laws. No other institution insists so strongly upon this virtue.

The self regarding virtues of chastity and temperance have never been esteemed by savages. In the gang records we find no reference to them. But six of the fifty-one rules have any reference to the morality of the individual. On the other hand treachery and cowardice are intensely hated by both tribe and gang.

The similarity of the gang to the savage tribe is so evident that no comment is necessary. One does not have to select or exclude any part of the records to find the parallelism.

Virtues and Vices Cultivated by the Gang. The gang is a democratic institution and therefore cultivates a free social life. No nationality is excluded. Jews are not found, but the Jews are the persons who keep themselves aloof and do not mix freely with boys of other races. Later in life man becomes undemocratic. He chooses a clique of about his own wealth or culture; but the boys make no such distinction. I asked several questions along this line and found only one or two who stated any dislikes; but most said "anybody could come in."

The gang life tends to develop a strong physique. The very purpose of the gang is to do something. The games and plays represent a great amount of activity and develop physical power and endurance. The migratory activities, hunting, fishing, skating, swimming, running games and the co-operative games of football and baseball develop the large muscles which control the fundamental movements of the body.

The gang life also develops courage. The games of football and baseball demand courage. The boy without courage dare not stand up to the bat against the boys who throw swift balls, and the fellow who is afraid to get his shins kicked or a bloody nose has no place in football or in the gang. The boy who is afraid to fight is a social outcast. In twenty-three instances there were regular gang fights. These fights call forth a very high degree of courage. The little fellow must stand his ground against the big fellow and fight.

The gang teaches the rudimentary elements of justice. Thirty-four of the unwritten rules stand for loyalty. The virtue of loyalty is based upon justice. "I stand by you, you should stand by me." Eight rules are directly concerned with justice, and three of these stand for a very high kind of justice.

It teaches also the subordination of oneself to the crowd. The fellow who thinks he is going to have his own way in the gang will be disappointed. The leader himself rules more by suggestion than by bossing and he finds that he cannot always have his own way. Here then begins the social virtue of regard for others.

The gang puts foremost the virtue of fidelity and loyalty. The boys find out whether they can trust a fellow before they let him in. They pledge themselves never to tell on the other fellow. One who does tell is immediately expelled from the gang. There is no institution on earth which can take its place beside the gang for the cultivation of this virtue of loyalty to the group. The church is often noted for its opposite tendency. In secret societies there are members who will betray their fel-

lows, but it is rare that a member of any length of standing in the gang will go back on his companions.

The gang life cultivates the virtue of obedience to a leader. The boy who will not obey the captain cannot play the group games. It develops also another of the highest virtues, self-sacrifice. No boy can enter into the co-operative games without the spirit of self-sacrifice. Baseball and football are impossible without this spirit. When it comes to a gang fight, then is the call for a heroic self-sacrifice. The fight is not for personal ends but for the honor of the gang. There is one record where the gangs of one section of the city united in a general fight against the gangs of another section, for the general good of the community, namely, the protection of the smaller boys. On the other hand the gang cultivates lawlessness. The boy has not reached the stage when he can be left free to his own impulses. As we have seen the lawless impulses are prominent. When a number of boys with the same impulses get together, away from the restraint of any older person, there are sure to develop bad tendencies. The policemen, Chinamen and Jews can bear good testimony to this statement. The records show this beyond dispute. The two directions in which lawlessness develops are stealing and plaguing people.

The gang does not develop chastity but rather its opposite. The boy of the gang is not noted for cleanliness of talk. Most boys, and the majority of men for that matter, are not very chaste in their conversation. The first suggestions of impurity are often received from the men who gather in stores and saloons and as they meet in their daily occupations. No boy has to search for impure thoughts, they are forced upon him. He does not acquire in his home or at school a wholesome attitude toward his own life and the life of others. And the gang receives the bad and lends a hand in continuing it.

The gang breaks to some extent the ties of home, school and church. It develops and encourages the spirit of staying out nights and running away from home. There were thirty cases of boys who went off to neighboring or distant towns. Thirteen of these state that they ran away from home. There were sixteen who stayed out nights. No doubt the association and talk of boys in gangs is responsible for a large part of these migrations from home. The list of virtues, however, far outnumbers and outweighs the vices which can be charged to the gang.

Gang and the Home. Of sixty boys studied in relation to the home, thirty-two had father and mother living (in two cases they were divorced), three had both father and mother dead, twelve had the father dead, and thirteen the mother dead. Boys without a home are in the gang most of

the time; and boys without any of the restraints of a good home, when they come together form a very lawless and tough gang. This is the reason why several boys from the same gang are often found in this school.

From the study of the boy's life in relation to the genesis of the gang it is evident that the home does not satisfy and perhaps cannot satisfy the normal demands of a boy's life. How can the majority of homes ever satisfy the demands of a boy's life? The father of the vast majority of the boys of our country belongs to the laboring class. He is away from home, allowing time for travel, some twelve hours of the day. When he returns he is tired and wishes to sit down and read, or go out into the companionship of men. He has no time or inclination to give any attention to his boy's life. The mother is busy caring for the smaller children; and the boy of the gang age is often more trouble than help and she is glad to be free of him. What other road is left open to the boy than to find life and excitement among his companions. It is true, of course, that the best place for a boy at night is in the home. The best place for the boys' gang to meet is in the kitchen or an attic of a shed. "A home without a good evening is a home without hope, and the way a boy's day ends at home is a prophecy of the way his life will end." There comes a time when the boy must enter into a world outside the home. It is an open question whether or not this acquaintance with life should begin in the gang.

Sunday is a great day either for or against the home. The boys show a disposition on this day to go off for a walk into the country; they like to go into the woods and be by the water. The boy had rather go with his parents and brothers and sisters to be alive with nature than to go with the gang. To spend a part of the Sabbath day out of doors, in God's ideal temple, seems to me as important as going to church and Sunday School, and I do not mean to underestimate the latter. Family walks and picnics on Sunday would do much to keep the boy within the influence of the home circle.

Gang and Boy's Club. The boys were asked: "What do you do nights?" In their answers nine say that they went to boy's clubs. This means a club organized and directed by adults. Two more went to Y. M. C. A. This means eleven out of sixty-six, or one out of every six, went to organizations formed by adults. Sheldon found that one out of four boys were in societies formed by adults.

It is difficult to get the boys from the tough gangs into the clubs; and if there they are not very satisfactory members. The boy's club is preferable to the gang, and at night the home is preferable to either. The ideal kind of a boy's club is a gang

guided by a sympathetic and wise man. In only one case did I find such a man leader of the gang; and in this case the boy reporting was frank enough to say that "if he had remained in that gang he would not have come to this school." It takes a very shrewd man to reach a gang. In the first place the man leader must have the characteristics admired in the boy leader. It is of no use for a man without courage and good nature and generosity to try to have anything to do with a gang. The leader must learn, like Wm. R. George, to be a member of the gang and to a certain extent to subordinate himself to the group. He can rule more by suggestion and by example than he can by domineering.

The ideal boy's club or at least the sub-division of it, for work and play should have boys of about the same age and from one locality, and be not more than ten in number. (For a thorough study of Boy's Clubs see the *Boy Problem* by W. B. Forbush.) (5).

Gang and the Boy's Education. A boy can be carried through this age of unrest without becoming a member of a gang or a club. It is possible to cultivate a tell-tale spirit in the boy so that he will not be acceptable as a candidate; but has not this boy missed a large part of his education?

The most valuable part of a boy's education is not what he learns from books but the elements of character learned in the home, in the school, and from his associates. The boy who gives most promise of a strong manhood, is a boy of robust activity, rough and ready, a boy who can stand a few bumps and not cry, a boy of courage, a boy with a sense of nascent justice so that he will not pick a quarrel with a smaller boy, a boy who is not afraid to fight, who is not a tell-tale, running to his mother or teacher with every little thing that happens, who has the spirit of loyalty to his fellow mates, who will tell the truth most of the time at least about his own deeds, a boy with pure thoughts and actions; a boy who has respect for his elders, especially the aged and unfortunate; a boy who is unselfish and will give the larger half of his apple to the other fellow. The education which develops these traits of character is worthy of the name. The training of the mind is valuable and necessary but it is nothing in comparison with an all round education in these genuine traits of character.

There is a very common tendency in educational work to set the boy at tasks no matter how dry and hard and uninteresting to fit him for the future; but the boy should enjoy his everyday life, and the more fully he lives out the present, the better he is fitted for the future. "Vigorous and complete development of each successive stage, depends upon the vigorous, complete and characteristic development of all preceding stages of life." (6)

If we accept the biological theory of life and are warranted in the conclusion that the boy of the gang period is passing through a stage in some respects comparable to that of tribal life in man's progress, then the education of a boy should have regard to the leading characteristics of this stage. "The education of the child must accord both in mode and arrangement with the education of man as historically considered." (13)

"The deep and strong cravings in the individual to revive the ancestral experiences and occupations of the race must be met in a secondary and vicarious way." (8)

Perhaps the reason why the country boy, although he has not the advantages of the best systems of book education, is proverbial for outstripping the city boy as he enters into the keen competition of the city life, is that at this gang stage he was led by his very surroundings to pass through more of the ancestral experiences. He is brought necessarily into a closer contact with nature. He is thrown more upon his own resources. He enters daily into some of the activities of primitive life.

If we were to be guided in the education of the boy by his interests we should seek first of all for much more activity in the schoolroom. Physical activity is the key note of boys' gangs and must be made the basis of the educational training; gymnastics, and out-door games, may be made instruments in reaching and holding the boy's interests, and under proper direction give the boy a valuable training. The boy who learns to be good natured in rough play, to obey accurately and promptly, to play fairly in an exciting game is on a promising road to manhood.

The gymnasium work and the out-door games can be made to appeal to the hunting instinct in games of chase, to the fighting instinct in games of contest, boxing and wrestling and to the co-operative instinct in baseball, football and basket ball.

Twenty-four boys were questioned about running away from school. They had all run away more or less. In only one case did the whole gang go. In one case the boys stated that they went in twos so that suspicion would not fall on the gang. It is plain that the boys run away from school in small companies and not in gangs.

The records show that boys run away from school to go to shows, play baseball, to go swimming or stealing, to go after nuts, and to watch men work. Eight boys say that they did not like school because they "had to learn the same things every day." "Did n't like to be in there sitting down." "Have to sit quiet as can be all day." "Have to sit in there all day." These answers suggest that the school work was monotonous. Two said that they liked school and five gave evidence that they were in trouble.

The boys love a free life. They want to have fun, to be doing something, and to be where men are doing something. They hate the monotony and inactivity of school. We cannot lay the blame for these feelings entirely on the gang. All boys with good blood feel this way. While there are only two cases of direct evidence, it is safe to infer that the gang fosters truancy.

The records of truancy given can be interpreted only as rebellion against the limitations of freedom, and unnatural methods of education. The majority of those who do not run away have the same impulses but the combined restraint of parents and school officers force them to subjection. In the spring every one who is healthy has a strong impulse to be out of doors, in the fields and woods. We "longed intensely for the utter abandon of a wilder life." These tendencies in a boy's life may be appealed to in picnics and excursions to historic places, in nature study walks, and in the camping-out school.

The boy has a raging passion for the theatre. Thirty-six boys out of the sixty-six mention going to shows. If the boy has an opportunity and a way of getting in he will go as often as opportunity presents itself. Five out of the twenty-four who were questioned about running away from school did so to go to shows. The boys often steal money and pick things out of the dump to sell in order to go to shows. Often the boys go out and try to reproduce the play. It seems from this that well selected plays might be used as a great power in the education of the boy. If simple plays could be acted out by the boys themselves, there could be no better incentive to memory work and good reading and speaking.

The boy should be led from loyalty to the gang to loyalty to a larger group. The loyalty to the gang should not be destroyed but broadened. He who has not taken the first step is not liable to take the second. A boy who is not loyal to his fellows seems to lack the fundamental virtue upon which righteousness is built. If loyalty is important and should be developed rather than destroyed, the present methods of dealing with boys are as a rule wrong. Parents and teachers often influence boys to tell on other boys. This spirit of the tale bearer is very injurious and should not be encouraged. Such a one is disloyal and lacks the very element in character which a boy most needs. Instead of fostering tale-bearing if the person who is trying to help the boys can get inside of the gang and has the confidence of the boys so that they will all come and tell their faults in one another's presence, ideal results may be obtained.

It was noted at the outset of this study that a boy will do things in the gang that he would not think of doing alone.

He should not therefore be corrected as an individual, but the whole gang should be dealt with if possible. The boy alone would not have been a thief or a burglar. The catching and punishing of one boy may sometimes effect reform, but more often it makes a hero of him and does the boy and his chums more harm than good. To deal with the gang for their good the laws of the gangs must be known and respected, and the man who begins in this way becomes a member of the gang, gains their confidence and enlists their help in stopping unlawful practices and thus the boys are led from their devotion to the gang to loyalty to a larger group and are started on the road to good citizenship. The work of Judge Lindsey, (10) of Denver, Col., and Wm. R. George, of the George Junior Republic, are good illustrations of this kind of work.

The Gang and Social Life. Is the gang an important aid in developing the social life of a boy or is he better off without it? The boy who does not learn to some extent the subordination of himself to others is always a social outcast. The member of the gang learns this lesson at the time when it is most easily acquired.

Again, courage is a social virtue, the most popular virtue which man possesses; and the man without it is despised. The activities of a gang develop this virtue in its members. The gang takes the awkwardness out of a fellow, teaches him how to give and take a joke, and gets him perhaps, too well acquainted with all sides of human nature.

It is doubtful if the boy who is brought up in the home and at school without the companionship of fellows of his own age can ever develop a normal social life. The gang or club or some kind of society where there is a liberal amount of freedom is necessary.

Mr. T. J. Browne (1) says in his study of gangs, "The boy who has gone through this stage of his existence without the discipline of the gang, without absorbing and experiencing those primitive virtues, without learning the lesson of self-subordination to the group, goes into manhood handicapped by an incomplete moral development and by a difficulty in correctly adjusting the balance between the interests of the individual and those of the group. And Pres. Hall believes that "every adolescent boy ought to belong to some club or society marked by as much secrecy as is compatible with safety. Something esoteric, mysterious, a symbolic badge, countersign, a lodge and its equipment, and perhaps other things owned in common, give a real basis for comradeship. This permits, too, the abandonment of freedom in its yeasty stage, which is another deep phyletic factor of the social instinct." (8)

If a fellow enters college and has never been broken into some

gang or society, this is the time when the work of the gang may be done for him. If he becomes a member of a secret society the initiation is the time when he must subordinate himself to the group. If he has grown so old and stubborn that he will not submit to others, he fails to become a member of the group.

In the gang there is cultivated a spirit of co-operation. This is seen in the games. Fifty-five out of the sixty-six gangs were engaged in the kind of athletics which demand co-operation. Baseball and football are the two most popular games. When boys were asked what they did for fun or sport, the answers signify that these two games were the most prominent. Not only are they mentioned by this large number, but they are mentioned among the first things in the long list generally given. Ball was mentioned first by twenty-seven, second by fifteen; football was mentioned first by four, second by eleven and third by nine.

Baseball and football demand the subordination of self, obedience to a leader, and self-sacrifice. The games cannot be played on the selfish basis. Even the fights call forth courage, co-operation and great self-sacrifice as every person who has been in one can testify.

Gang and the Religious Education. The religious life is a growth and there are essential elements which should be developed before the time of the gang. Habits of obedience, honesty, courtesy and reverence are basal qualities which can be taught early in life. But the special period for religious education is adolescence.

The games and activities which call for co-operation and self-sacrifice "form the natural basis upon which a life of service to others is built." "And further it is believed that this life for others is far more probable, natural and tangible when it comes as the gradual unfolding or development of that instinct that has its first great impulse of growth in the games of adolescence." (7)

Again, loyalty is essential to a healthy religion. The man without it is a hypocrite. "The boy who is not loyal to his group seems to lack the fundamental virtue upon which righteousness is built."

Gang or no Gang. The gang arises, as has been noted, from the natural instincts of a boy's life. The main purpose of the gang is activity. These activities develop a strong physical life. The gang teaches justice, self-subordination, obedience, courage, loyalty and self-sacrifice. It develops a freedom in social life and in some ways contributes to a genuine religious life. On the other hand it develops lawlessness, unchastity, and disrespect for others. It breaks to some extent the home spirit. It is often an enemy of the school and the church.

In the light of these facts should every effort be made to keep the boy out of the gang, and suppress and exterminate the gangs as far as possible, or is the wiser course to try to direct and control them, to eliminate their defects and make use of their good points? The latter course seems to me to be the better. Judge Lindsey, who was in very close and helpful relations to the boys' gangs of Denver, Col., says: "The gang has many good qualities. Its laws and rules are founded generally on really ennobling instincts. The gang should be wisely controlled and directed rather than suppressed." (10)

The limitations of the study are apparent. The boys studied come from a certain class of society, but surely the material is very suggestive and may provoke similar studies. I do not think that the gangs of boys studied differ in their general characteristics from any other gangs of country or city. For a parallel study of boys from another class the study made by T. J. Browne (1), in the Springfield Training School, should be consulted.

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