

such names as the "Monk Eastmans," "Car Barners," "Yaakey Yakes," "Red Onions," "Five Points," "Dead Rabbits," "Roach Guards," "Shirt Tails," and "Bowery Boys."

The gang often takes the name of some patron such as a social center, or more often the proprietor of a pool-room or a saloon, some politician who has been liberal, or a business firm which has in some way contributed to the welfare of the group. In the past names of breweries or of alcoholic beverages were not uncommon; for example, the "Nestor A.C.," the "Schlitz High Balls," the "Anheuser-Busch Regulars," etc.¹

Gang names often provide a means of wish fulfillment. High-sounding names give the members of the gang a certain expansion of personality, that may help compensate for their actual lack of status.

¹60. The "Golden Palace Athletic Club" was found to have headquarters in the basement of a dirty, tumble-down tenement house. The clubroom was also used as a wood, coal and kindling office and looked very disreputable.²

Names suggesting murder, blood, banditry, and piracy, on the other hand, are also favorites. The "Vultures," the "Forty Thieves," the "Murderers," for example, get a great "kick" out of feeling how diabolical they are and, hence, how superior to the world at large.

¹ Karl N. Fasoldt, "The Gang as an Expression of the Play Group" (unpublished manuscript).

² Records of the Juvenile Protective Association.

CHAPTER XV

GROUP CONTROL IN THE GANG

Although gang activities and gang morality are, in part at least, a reflection of the gang's disorganized social world, they find a supplementary explanation in the conception of the gang as an elementary society, which, unhindered by conventional controls, tends to develop its own organization and codes in an independent or spontaneous fashion. The codes of the gang are enforced upon its members in a variety of ways—some definitely directed, others almost entirely unreflective. Thus, the gang defines the situation for its members (illustrated in the initiation of newcomers and "pledges" or probationers) and secures more or less harmonious group action.

THE UNITY OF THE GANG

The execution of collective enterprises and activities necessitates harmony and mutual aid within the gang. The following are types of corporate behavior which require unity and co-operation.

Gang fighting	Athletic contests	Maintaining club-rooms
Outwitting enemies	Dances	Planning
Raiding	Picnics	Discussing
Robbing	Camping	Junking
Defending hang-out	Hiking and ranging	Building something
Pursuing	Games	Vandalism
Getting shagged	Predatory activities	Criminal Projects
Attacking	Playing pranks	Charitable enterprises

Effective collective action and continued corporate existence require that the gang control its members. Hence, the group, both through planned and unreflective methods, attempts to incorporate them, to subordinate each to the demands of the whole, and to discipline the unruly. Although the gang is not always unified and harmonious within, discord is usually eliminated by the conditions which collective action imposes.

This unity of the gang rests upon a certain consensus or community of habits, sentiments, and attitudes, which enable the gang members to feel as one, to subordinate themselves and their personal wishes to the gang purposes, and to accept the common objectives, beliefs, and symbols of the gang as their own. The *esprit de corps* of the gang, which is characteristic even of the diffuse type, is evident in many of its collective enterprises—in the enthusiasm of talk-fests, in its play together, its dances, its drinking bouts.

MORALE AND SOLIDARITY

A stable unity does not develop in the diffuse type of gang, however, until it becomes solidified through conflict. It learns eventually to formulate a policy and pursue a more or less consistent course of action despite deterring circumstances. Then it may be said to have acquired morale, which reinforces fellowship and enthusiasm in time of crisis.

¹ Compare Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 24-25. Cooley presents in this statement an entirely too idealistic view with reference to the behavior of the average gang.

THE WILL TO WIN

161. One reason that such a group could stick together for years and win game after game, year after year, was the development of a "will to win" which could and did demand from each individual efforts for the group that nothing else could. Defeat, of course, was often a possibility, sometimes almost a certainty but a "quitter" was the last word. This intense desire to win, to put out all you had every minute regardless of how far you were ahead or behind was the only real religion most of the group had. This morale was as tangible an asset as can be imagined. Seldom mentioned, it was always present—a powerful factor not instilled by coach or the enthusiasm of an excited crowd, which had little effect on us. Cheering seemed (when heard) to come from a different world. The stimulus to win came from an intense inner desire which held up physical effort when every step was torture and every breath seemed the last possible effort. A particularly aggressive, daring, or skillful individual play would act as a spur to greater effort on the part of all.¹

THE FLANNIGAN GANG

162. The Flannigan gang, composed of boys between fourteen and sixteen, has as its natural leader, Edward Flannigan, the best athlete and fighter in the gang. When the neighborhood recreational center advertised for boys to play on its baseball team, the whole gang reported along with other boys. It was decided to elect a captain and let him choose his team. Flannigan was elected and proceeded to choose his players all from his own gang. When remonstrated with he said that these other boys were members of other gangs, and if the social center was not satisfied with his players, the whole gang would quit. . . .

During the winter the Railroad gang tried to use their rendezvous located in an old house near the tracks. This provoked a fight with brickbats, stones, etc., which resulted in a victory for the Flannigans. The boys were intensely loyal, standing by each other

¹ From a manuscript by a former member of the group. See document 107, p. 186.

in a fight or backing those of their fellows who got into trouble. At their meetings at the center, none of the gang would express an opinion until the leader had had an opportunity to speak; then the gang accepted his opinion and voted accordingly.¹

This superior solidarity creates a serious problem for the church, settlement, playground, or similar agency which attempts to use, to incorporate, or to supervise the gang. It is sometimes so well developed as to wreck a larger conventionalized organization in which it becomes a unit.

SUPERIOR SOLIDARITY

163. When our scout troop was organized we included in its membership the "Bureau Corner" gang of sixteen or eighteen boys, who used to hang in front of a grocery store in the winter but often built shacks down by the river in the summer time. Our first trouble with the gang was that they all wanted to be in the same patrol. (The scout troop, which is not allowed to exceed forty members, may have four patrols of not more than ten members each.) This difficulty was overcome by putting the cliques of boon companions in the gang, each in a separate patrol.

There was nothing but trouble during the two years the troop existed. The gang fairly ran things, in spite of all the scoutmaster could do. The other boys were afraid of them and were always trying to please the gang rather than the scout officials. The whole gang would absent themselves from scout meetings at once. If some enterprise was undertaken, the gang as a whole would enter enthusiastically upon it or withhold their entire support. Eventually when some of the members of the gang disobeyed orders at the summer camp, the whole gang bolted, and the rest of the troop seemed very half-hearted. Finally it became apparent that this group would have to be allowed complete control or banished entirely.²

¹ Manuscript prepared by a boys' worker.

² Manuscript by the scoutmaster of the troop.

The added danger of the development of a gang within a formal group creates another difficulty for the worker with boys.¹

A CHURCH ATHLETIC CLUB

164. An athletic club was formed by the workers in a certain church to provide wholesome activities for the boys. Out of this group developed a gang, which soon began to hang together outside the regular club hours. Eventually it became an auto stealing group.²

PLANNING AND CO-OPERATION

The unity of the group is further aided by the individual slogans, words, traditions, and so on, which are developed by the gang and which symbolize in common terms its objectives. The gang's planning must be carried on in terms of the common meanings which these symbols make possible. The name of the gang³ is of particular significance as a means of social control. It affords a common stimulus or value to which all members of the gang may respond with common sentiments. It is the rallying and unifying stimulus in a conflict situation. Since each member of the group is more or less identified with the group name, it becomes a matter of common pride to defend and exalt it.

The extent to which the gang may achieve unity of purpose and organization for carrying out a co-operative enterprise is indicated in the following document.

¹ See pp. 32-34. The boys' worker has sensed this problem; see George W. Fiske, *Boy Life and Self-Government*, p. 110.

² Interview.

³ See pp. 275-76 for a discussion of gang names.

CO-OPERATIVE PLANNING IN THE BOUNDARY GANG

165. The Boundary Gang operated along Twelfth Street in the vicinity of the railroad tracks in 1919. Composed of Polish, Bohemian, and Greek lads, sixty in all, fourteen to sixteen years of age, it was well organized and as tough as any in the city. Under the leadership of the notorious "Duffy," it had achieved a wide-spread reputation as a fighting organization, and won to any boy from some enemy region that crossed Twelfth Street and got into its territory.

The Boundary Gang had heard reports of the self-governing cities of the Boys' Brotherhood Republic and they determined to apply for a city of their own. The Republic rented a small cottage for them at \$15 a month. This was regarded as a temporary expedient to hold the gang. It was a clubhouse, but there was no furniture and the boys were keenly eager to have their home equipped.

It was proposed by the gang that they conduct a raffle to raise money for the needed equipment, but this method was forbidden by the constitution of the B.B.R. Whereupon, the boys took the matter in their own hands.

Five of the boys, selected by the gang, were chosen for special parts in a burglary enterprise. Money was raised in the group to outfit the quintet in new clothes; one boy would buy a necktie, another a pair of socks, and so on until five complete outfits of approved modes were collected. The boys washed, combed their hair and, arrayed in their new togs, essayed from the clubhouse as models of propriety. Two of them obtained work in a garage, two in a large department store at Twelfth and Halsted, and the fifth entered the employment of an athletic goods house, then located in the Loop.

The scheme was to loot the department store of such materials as were needed for house furnishings and the sporting goods house of the necessary athletic equipment. This was to be done with the aid of a truck and a Ford "borrowed" from the garage for the purpose. The plans for the undertaking were worked out on paper with great precision and skill, with every detail provided for almost

like a blueprint, and later they were adjudged by an expert as among the most perfect of the type he had ever seen in his years of experience among criminals.

The lad who was working at the sporting goods house had cleverly concealed, in a large packing case in the basement under a layer of rubbish, sporting goods of every description—boxing gloves, baseball equipment, and even a heavy iron platform to be set up for a punching bag. This material had been gradually withdrawn from the reserve stock and secreted in the box. The boys at the department store had been no less active. They had amassed curtains, rods, rugs, and all sorts of interior equipment for their clubhouse and this was ready to be loaded at a moment's notice.

On the evening which had been selected for executing the coup, the boys at each place of business were to secrete themselves so that they would be locked in by their respective employers. A key had been made surreptitiously for a Yale lock to open the rear door of the Twelfth Street store from the inside and enable them to raise a huge steel bar. At the appointed hour a fight was to be started between two boys about two blocks from the department store on Twelfth Street; shooting was to occur, and in this manner, a certain watchman was to be drawn away from his post. Very carefully worked-out signals were then to be given by boys stationed at every eighty yards on the street, and the boys who worked in the garage were to sally forth, one with a truck bound for the department store and the other with a Ford to pick up the sporting material down town. All was arranged to work like clockwork. Every precaution had been taken to expedite matters. There were two sets of boys for loading. On the truck were ropes, wires, and other accessories to enable the goods to be loaded in as short time as possible. A large window at the side of the clubhouse had been broken out and nailed up with boards, working on a hinge, so that the entrance of the goods could be effected without arousing the suspicions of the neighbors.

Fortunately, or unfortunately, depending upon one's point of view, the two representatives of the B.B.R. who had been helping supervise the gang in its new home, got wind of the matter and

reported it to the council of Main City. The elaborately worked out plan was seized, the goods were unpacked, and the scheme was declared off. Eventually, however, the funds were raised for furnishing their club; and the gang became Central City of the Boys' Brotherhood Republic.¹

This document indicates that the gang is capable of deliberation, planning, and co-operation in a highly complex undertaking. In this respect it differs markedly from the mob or the "psychological crowd" as described by Le Bon.² The gang often acts as a psychological crowd does, but it is capable of reflective behavior as well.

THE CODE OF THE GANG

Every gang tends to develop its own code of conduct, of which its members are more or less aware and which may be more or less rigidly enforced upon them. The code of the gang is in part reflected from the patterns of behavior in its own social world, in part the result of the development of primary group sentiments, and in part the product of the individual group in its own special environment. The following cases illustrate these three factors, as well as other points with reference to group control.

A GANG CODE

166. My gang, which had about ten members, had as its main object the stealing of ice-cream from the parties attended by the girls of our acquaintance. The leader was a hard rock.

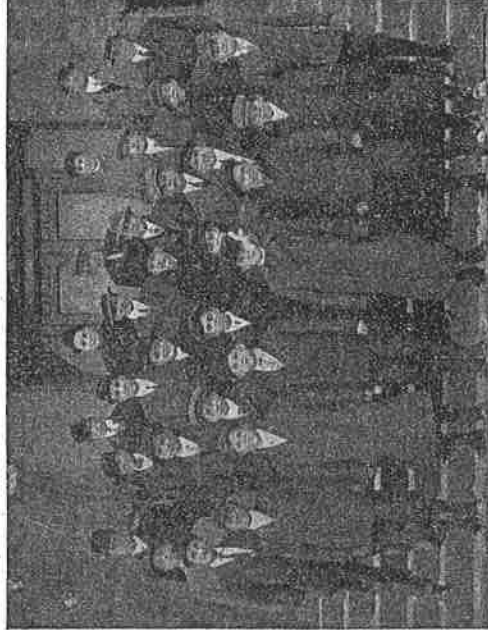
The first principle and most important rule of the group was not to squeal on another member.

The gang swiped ice-cream, not because its members could not interview with Jack Robbins, General Supervisor, Boys' Brotherhood Republic.

² Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd*, pp. 39-67.



B. B. R. Photo



B. B. R. Photo

THE BOUNDARY GANG

Above is the Boundary gang in its native habitat in the Ghetto. It received its name because of its valiant defense of its home territory against marauding gangs seeking to cross its boundary. (See document 165.)

Below is the same gang a few years later after it had been made into a "city" of the Boys' Brotherhood Republic. This organization has done constructive work in redirecting the interests of gangs into more wholesome channels. (See document 269, p. 517.)

afford to buy this luxury, but because we enjoyed the excitement. One evening we managed to get away with a gallon can. Not having anything to eat it with, we used silver dollars and the crystals of our watches. For this escapade a fine of \$25 was assessed against the member of our party who was caught and dragged into police court. He did not give our names, but we came to his rescue and paid the fine.

Another rule of the gang was that each member was to carry a package of Duke's Mixture tobacco in his shirt pocket with the tag always hanging out. That I did not smoke made no difference; I had to have the "makings" if some other member of the gang happened to want them.

We had a strict rule against any associations with girls.

Another rule was to protect the property of a widow and a blind couple on Hallowe'en. We not only observed this ourselves but we kept other gangs in line also.

The gang was completely broken up by being expelled bodily from school. One of the boys had put glue on the chair of the manual training teacher. He was punished. In retaliation the gang "stacked" the high school; that is, put all movable objects together into one huge pile.¹

The preceding document illustrates the typical informal code of the gang. The following case illustrates how a more formal set of rules may develop.

THE CODE OF THE KLUCK KLAN

167. In the Kluck Klan, a gang of about fifteen boys from twelve to seventeen years of age, no discrimination was made in taking in members except that negroes and Jews were barred. The gang met in a shack built of lumber stolen from railroad yards and cars. Our activities carried us all over the city.

When a new boy was taken in he was put on a two weeks' probation. He thought he was a full-fledged member, but we tested him secretly. If he squealed, we dropped him; but if he showed that he was true to the gang, he was fully accepted. Our dues were

¹ From a manuscript by a former member of the group.

twenty-five cents a week. When a new fellow came in, if he was a good fellow, we gave a stag party to start him off right. We had cigarettes and root-beer sodas. Some of the kids had mouth organs and banjos which they played on these occasions.

We had a special system of robbing. We all had nicknames by which we would call each other if we were being chased. Opposite names were used to deceive the police. For example, a Greek boy was nicknamed "Polish" and a Polish "Greek." Some fellows were good at bending bars on windows. One fellow would go ahead and rob silk shirts. The owner would give chase and he would drop them. In the meantime the other fellows had gone in and gotten cash.

We never took members from near our shack. We would pick them up on our roamings, first knocking them around and then making friends. The gang writes to me every week, "We all want you back."

The officers are a captain, a lieutenant, and a sergeant. The gang grants power to the captain and he can order fellows around.

There are no cliques within the gang. Outside we always go around together in different combinations; otherwise the cops get suspicious.

We have fifteen or twenty written rules. Some of them are:

- (1) We are not allowed to fight among ourselves or razz each other.
- (2) When you go out, do as you are told.
- (3) If you get caught, don't squeal on the other guys.
- (4) Be loyal to the officers.
- (5) Always defend ladies and girls in trouble.
- (6) If you get anything, always bring it in and see if it can be useful.
- (7) Do not lie to each other.

It takes eight of the fifteen votes to pass anything in the gang.

If the offense of a member was not sufficiently serious to require dismissal, we would put the gloves on with him or take away some of his privileges at the shack.

We played baseball and football a lot, and in the evenings we would play cards and checkers. We never played for money among ourselves, only with outside kids. We liked to go robbing, shoot craps, read good stories to each other, and box in the shack.

Our chief enemies on the outside were the Maryanna and Wrightwood gangs.

All the guys go out at seventeen years of age unless they are good guys, then we keep them in.

When a guy comes into the shack at night, he knocks five times, four quick raps and then a pause before the fifth.¹

PRIMARY GROUP VIRTUES

The gang is a primary group.

THE PRIMARY GROUP DEFINED

By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and co-operation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a "we"; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which "we" is the natural expression. One lives in the feeling of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that feeling.²

While the nature of the gang code varies in different groups, depending upon differences in social environment and previous experiences, it tends to include in every case some form of expression of the primary-group virtues,³ or moral attitudes which focus about the group rather than the welfare of its individual members.

Loyalty is a universal requirement in the gang, and squealing is probably the worst infraction of the code.

¹ Gang boy's own story.

² Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 23.

³ See Charles H. Cooley, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-39.

This conception of honor is combatted in the schools, but most boys prefer to take a beating rather than "stool" on their associates. Raising money to pay fines of its members is a common gang practice. One group had a rule that if one member was arrested, they should all get "pinched" and sent away to the same institution if possible. The sympathetic strike is often used by the gang when any one of its members is in trouble.

While fighting to settle differences within the gang is not uncommon, fighting between members must follow the rules set up by the group.

RULES GOVERNING FIGHTING

168. Another custom that grew up in the gang association was a kind of chivalry, a set of rules governing fighting. Disputes between the members were usually settled by a fist fight duly refereed according to established rules. Occasionally a boy would put a ring made of a bent horseshoe nail on one of his fingers, but this practice was considered unfair. The boys, moreover, would not permit anything to interfere with their institutions. If a man tried to separate two fighting boys, they would both unite against him, or, if he proved too formidable an enemy, they would retire to more secluded parts and decide their differences in their own way.¹

169. When G— P— and I got into a fight one Saturday morning the rest of the gang made us put on boxing gloves and fight it out. After five three-minute bouts we had both cooled down and were ready to resume friendly relations. "Fight it out" was a law of the gang, but the group determined the conditions and refereed the bouts.²

An infraction of this code, as applied within the gang, brings speedy and certain punishment. This may be

¹ Manuscript by a former member of the gang.

² Manuscript by a former member of the gang.

physical or it may take the form of an ostracism which has very tragic results for the culprit.¹

The gang occasionally evolves special mechanisms for meting out justice. The leader sometimes acts as arbiter and his word is usually accepted as final. In some groups a serious or fair-minded boy sometimes takes the rôle of judge. One South Side gang has been in the habit for years of bringing its disputes for settlement to a certain shoemaker.

Another primary-group virtue which develops within the gang is a sort of brotherhood or mutual kindliness. This manifests itself in many forms of self-sacrifice. If a member is in serious danger the rest will spare no pains to save his life. One boy will sometimes undergo severe hardships to aid another.²

BROTHERLY KINDNESS

170. The C—— gang won a prize of \$30, which was up on a ball game with the B——s. The C——s did not know what to do with the money. The director of the park suggested taking them down town to a real show, but they answered that they did not have the clothes. They finally decided to give the money to a newly married member for a honeymoon.³

171. The loyalty to each other of the members of the X—— gang has been most marked during the present period of unemployment. Each of the boys who has a job feels it his duty to get work for those who have none. In several instances the attempts have been successful; and a strong group spirit is evident.⁴

¹ See Corey Ford, "New York's Junior Gangland," *New York Times Book Review and Magazine*, January 1, 1922, p. 16.

² See document 13, p. 46.

³ Interview with a park director.

⁴ Manuscript by a social worker.

Special codes may be developed in a gang for the furtherance of special interests which are peculiar to that group. This is illustrated in the case of the fighting football gang (described in document 107), which adopted a specialized organization, with its own peculiar rules and taboos. Gangs which develop specialized structures and codes for the furtherance of some interest of their own may be regarded as functional types. Thus, groups are organized around such dominant interests as junking, sex, picking pockets, stealing, athletics, gambling, or some special type of crime. In each case they develop their own technique.

MECHANISMS OF CONTROL IN THE GANG

The individual member of a gang is almost wholly controlled by the force of group opinion. The way everybody in the gang does or thinks is usually sufficient justification or dissuasion for the gang boy. In such cases he is really feeling the pressure of public opinion in that part of his own social world which is most vital to him and in which he wishes to maintain status.¹ This sort of sanction will make almost any kind of conduct right or wrong within the group. It will also make a boy one person when under group influence and quite another when apart from it.

Opinion in the gang manifests its pressure in the variety of mechanisms through which group control is exerted such as applause, preferment, and hero-worshiping as well as ridicule, scorn, and ostracism. Physical punishment is

¹ See W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl*, p. 32. One reason the individual responds to social control is that he has a fundamental wish for status, which society alone is in a position to confer.

not uncommon. The leader has considerable power over his subordinates so long as he does not abuse it. Many of the influences that determine the behavior of the gang and its members, however, are unplanned and unreflective, and, as in the crowd, arise out of the very nature of collective action.

PUNISHMENT

One of the chief mechanisms of control in the gang is the fear of violence or physical punishment. In the fraternity this takes the form of "hazing," ducking in cold water, and paddling, especially for probationers. In the gang the member who has broken the code may be subjected to a beating or in extreme cases may be marked for death.

PHYSICAL PUNISHMENT

172. We had a rule in our gang forbidding swearing. Every one violating it received a kick from each member of the group. This rule was enforced so stringently that many were the sore seats the first four weeks after it went into effect.¹

173. No one should snitch on another guy [squeal on him]. Anybody that snitched got sixty punches from each member of the gang. We would beat him up hard. My brother got it once.²

174. One day G—— told his sister about our meetings in the tin garage. Next day Roger picked a fight with him and gave him a good beating because of his disloyalty.³

175. As soon as a member of the gang showed any desire to associate with the girls by walking home with one from school or by attending one of their parties, he was automatically dropped. If he fell from virtue but once, however, he could sometimes be reinstated by taking a billy wedging.⁴

¹ Manuscript by a former member of the group. See document 210, p. 359.

² Gang boy's own story.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Manuscript by a former member of the gang.

In the gang of the more vicious or criminal type, disloyalty is often punished by death. The notorious Rats gang of St. Louis is alleged to have murdered a number of its members who were suspected of treason or became otherwise troublesome.¹ In such cases when a man was marked for death, he was executed by the gang's "firing squad." Fear of violence to one's family also acts as a deterrent from being disloyal to the gang, particularly in groups of the criminal type.²

THREATS AGAINST FAMILY

176. Viana, the "songbird of the jail," a sixteen-year old member of the notorious Cardinelli gang, was a victim of the code of the gang. He might have saved his neck from the noose, had he been willing to divulge the secrets of the group to which he belonged. The remarkable hold of the gang was shown by his fear of threats against his family. The inflexible social organization of the gang required him to do as they did.³

RIDICULE AND APPLAUSE

Another important mechanism of social control within the gang is ridicule, commonly known to the boys as "razing." It includes "making fun" of the nonconformer, "riding" him, teasing him, mocking him, laughing at him, and calling him by opprobrious epithets. It varies all the way from the subtlest allusions in conversation, the sliest winks and titters, to the coarsest pantomime, the crudest horse laugh, and the most stinging sarcasm. Only one who has been made the target for it by some intimate group in which he has had to live can understand its con-

¹ See the confession of Ray Renard, a former member of the gang, published in the *St. Louis Star*, February 24 to March 31, 1925.

² See also document 20, p. 66. ³ See document 230, p. 431.

stant and merciless pressure in the direction of enforcing conformity. This is one of the chief weapons in the hands of the American fraternity, the German "corporation," and the gang of every nationality in assimilating new members.¹

The use of epithets of derision constitutes one compelling element in razzing. The sort that are most effective for control are the so-called "humilific."² The gang boy has his own epithets for those who fail to measure up to his standards. The coward receives the hated appellation of "yellow" or "yellow belly." The traitor is a "snitcher," or "stooler." The boy who hangs back or is not game is a "baby." The boy who plays with girls or assumes any niceties of dress or behavior is a "sissie." A real gang boy would prefer to take almost any punishment rather than to be called by one of these names; for to be so called is an indication that he has lost caste in the group which is most vital to his happiness. These collective representations of the gang get their meaning from actual life situations; like the social virtues in the gang, they are defined in interaction.

Ridicule defines what the boy must not do if he wishes to maintain his status. There is, however, a positive method of control which contributes to his desire for

¹ "The fear of ridicule is the most dominant of our feelings, that which controls us in most things and with the most strength. Because of this fear one does 'what one would not do for the sake of justice, scrupulousness, honor, or good will,' one submits to an infinite number of obligations which morality would not dare to prescribe and which are not included in the laws."—L. Dugas, *Psychologie du rire*, quoted in Robert E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 373-74.

² See F. E. Lumley, *Means of Social Control*, pp. 292-97.

recognition; this is applause and hero worshiping. To gain the praise and flattery of his pals and such rewards as prizes, preferment, honors, and leadership, the gang boy conforms to types of behavior which are consonant with the ideals and policies of the group.¹

GROUP APPRECIATION

177. We have one case of an Italian boy, R—, who in the gang can always be counted upon to respond to an appeal for the best for himself and the gang. Outside the gang his record has not been so satisfactory. In the gang he is stimulated by group appreciation; while without he is not.²

In maintaining the approval of the gang, the boy sees himself through the gang's eyes. He is much concerned with the interpretation the gang will put on his behavior, and by taking the rôle of the gang or some leader, he attempts to judge himself.³ This process may be definitely expressed in some such terms as these: "What'll Rocky (the leader) say?" "What'll de guys say?" "What'll de rest of de gang do?" "I don't want to wear that, or do this; I'll get razzed for a month." "If the gang goes to rob a store and I do not go, they'll get sore on me."

CROWD CONTROLS IN THE GANG

The gang has been defined as the "perpetuation and permanent form of 'the crowd that acts.'"⁴ One of its

¹ For an interesting discussion of rewards, praise, and flattery as means of social control, see Lumley, *op. cit.*, chaps. ii, iii, and iv.

² Social worker's observations of a gang boy.

³ Charles H. Cooley in *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pp. 152-53, describes this mechanism, which he calls "the looking-glass self."

⁴ Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 872. The gang displays practically every type of corporate behavior even to the coolest deliberation and

forms of behavior involves that peculiar "mental unity" described by Le Bon as characteristic of the "psychological crowd."¹ When the gang becomes excited, it does not deliberate rationally and it is likely to become completely responsive to the circumstance of the moment or act on almost any suggestion presented by its natural leaders.

The gang is particularly prone to the crowd type of impulsive behavior because it is a natural and spontaneous group. It usually lacks the protection of parliamentary procedure in keeping it orderly. Even the conventionalized gang often finds order difficult: its members deal in personalities; they do not address the chair; they do not, as a rule, arbitrate their disputes. The ease with which the gang enters into a mob has already been illustrated.

Another element in the gang's control of its members, as in the crowd's, is the security afforded the individual in the force of numbers,² which tends to remove the qualms that might well arise in an individual embarking upon some perilous undertaking on his own account. Thus, the feeling of power conferred by the mere force of numbers is often sufficient to quite distort the individual's moral perspective. This is what is usually meant by "gang spirit." Such an expression implies group-controlled action of an impulsive or irresponsible sort.

planning. Furthermore, it may develop an elaborate tradition, almost a culture of its own, and in this sense it is more like a society in miniature than a "psychological crowd."

¹ See Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd*, pp. 25-26.

² According to W. I. Thomas the wish for security is fundamental in human nature. See Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl*, pp. 12 ff.

THE SUBTLER FORMS OF CONTROL

Interpretations by members of a gang of the more delicate and subtle changes in the behavior of other members may be regarded as important for crowd control. It is by the reading of these less perceptible signs that one person is able to respond to the sentiment and attitude of another. In a face-to-face group changes in facial expression, slight gestures, and the like, although largely in the field of un verbalized reactions, enable an individual to sense a situation instantly. Thus, they define the situation and promote rapport.¹

The gang, as an intimate primary group, develops an excellent basis for control through rapport. Life together over a more or less extended period results in a common social heritage shared by every member of the group. Common experience of an intimate and often an intense nature prepares the way for close sympathy—for mutual interpretation of subtle signs indicating changes in sentiment or attitude. Collective representations embodied in signs, symbols (such as the badge in a fraternity), secret grips and words, and the argot of the group, all promote mutual responsiveness in the more subtle forms of communication. Peculiarities of dress or physique serve the same purpose; for example, a peculiar sort of hair cut as identifying members of a certain gang or the wearing of certain types of blouses or ties.

This rapport is sometimes so complete in a gang (and in a college fraternity also) that one receives the impression of interpenetration of personalities, if such a mystical

¹ See Park, *et al.*, *The City*, pp. 29-30, and Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 893.

conception is permissible. The consensus of habits, sentiments, and attitudes becomes so thoroughly unified in some of these cases that individual differences seem swallowed up.

INTERPENETRATION OF PERSONALITIES

178. In the close association of this group for years and years, we learned to know each other better than our parents did. Certain characteristics we made fun of habitually, yet no one else dared to do so without personal danger from the bunch. Cookie's passion for "ham and" was traditional. So much so that he claimed to eat ham and eggs in order to see what new jokes he would hear from it.¹

179. When we would see something while walking along the street, practically the same comment was always forthcoming from each of us, so close was our sympathy. These relations were close enough that the mother of one of us was regarded practically as the mother of each of the others.²

These areas of intimacy have the most profound influence upon the development of personality.

PERSONALITY AND AREAS OF INTIMACY

The area of individual orientation may be defined both geographically and emotionally. For the gang boy there is an area of geographical range including home and familiar territory, beyond which lies enemy territory and the external world.

In addition to this there is an area of intimacy in which he has relations of close emotional dependence. He depends on this area for what Thomas calls "response." The member of the gang or of the intimate fraternity becomes absorbed in these emotional contacts. Rapport based on sympathy is set up. There results close fellowship which often involves a feeling of infinite security and even tenderness (pathos). Physical touch plays a part. This is the area of greatest familiarity.

¹ Manuscript by a former member of the group.

² Gang boy's own story.

The member of the gang (or the fraternity) is often fascinated by this new intimacy, which becomes the most vital element in his world and often comes to supplant family and all other relationships, at least for the time being. Entrance into such a group is often like discovering a new world. Primary personality is developed in these contacts; and as this area widens, personality is correspondingly modified. A certain part of this submergence of individuality within the group may be due to the hero worship of some individual member. The extent of the assimilation of the person indicates the degree of group control over him.¹

Under such circumstances as these, formal distinctions and categorical classifications tend to lose their weight. Differences of race and religion are alike forgotten.

180. One of our gang was a Catholic, one was a Jew, and three were Protestants. Religion made no difference. The most ardent and fervid friendship existed between us.²

MUTUAL EXCITATION

Mutual excitation within the gang makes possible forms of behavior that would not be enacted by individuals or pairs. Perhaps the simplest form of interstimulation within the gang is *esprit de corps* or some type of fellowship activity. In general, this corresponds to "milling" processes in the animal group and is often a preparation for some more definite line of action.

Delinquency may arise and be further encouraged as the result of a "talkfest"—mere discussion and narrative rehearsal during which each boy vicariously goes through the experiences and gets the thrills described. Such was the case of Olaf's gang (described in document 17, p. 60).

¹ Unpublished manuscript by the author.

² Manuscript by a former member of the gang.

In some cases it seems possible that mutual excitement alone, without previous experiences, tastes, or wishes in that direction, develops an enthusiasm of the moment sufficient to set up a pattern of behavior which is followed by a group.

ROBBING THE POST-OFFICE

181. We three college students—Mac, Art, and Tom—were rooming together while attending V—University, one of the oldest colleges in the South. On the day of our crime all three of us spent over three hours in the library—really working. That was on Sunday and our crime was committed at 1:30 that night (or rather on Monday morning).

We had been scattered that Sunday night. Tom went to see his best beloved, Art attended a show alone, and I stepped out with a girl. At the sorority house I was unusually cheerful, and when I departed arranged for another date with the same girl. I left there about 10:45.

After Art had seen his movie, he went into a drug store and purchased a pack of cigarettes. He was given too much change and did not notice the fact until he was almost outside the store. He returned and gave the money back to the dealer, who had not noticed this mistake. This small incident assumed significance next day in the light of our later actions.

"No more dates for me until the first," was my unfortunate remark on entering the room. It was then January 27. My comment was made after tossing a dollar on the dresser. The discussion that followed was not the result of any previous talks. We never had discussed such things before that I can remember. Having lived together for several years we had engaged in numerous college stunts and adventures of a different nature, but with a similar spirit.

The conversation began with a remark about the numerous recent bank failures in the state, probably stimulated by one of us glancing at a map of the state. It then shifted to discussion of a local bank that had closed its doors the day before. Tom, who

worked at the post-office occasionally as special mail clerk, happened to mention that a sack containing a large amount of money had been received at the post-office that afternoon, consigned to a local bank that feared a run.

The conversation then turned to the careless way in which the money was handled at the office—a plain canvas sack thrown into an open safe. We discussed the ease with which a thief could get into the building and steal the money. Tom drew a plan showing the desk at which the only clerk worked and the location of the only gun in the office. At first the conversation was entirely confined to how easily criminals might manage to steal the money. Somehow it shifted to a personal basis: as to how easily we might get the money. This shift came so naturally that even the next morning we were unable to decide when and by whom the first vital remark had been made.

A possible plan was discussed as to how we might steal the package. Tom could go to the office and gain admittance on the pretense of looking for an important letter. Then Art and I, masked and armed, could rush in, tie Tom and the clerk, and make off with the package. We had lost sight of the fact that the package contained money. We were simply discussing the possibility of playing an exciting prank with no thought of actually committing it. We had played many harmless pranks and had discussed them in much the same way before; but the knowledge that there was danger in this prank made it a subject to linger over.

After about an hour and a half of talk, I started to take off my shoes. As I unlaced them, I thought of how it looked as if I were the one to kill our interesting project. I foolishly said something to the effect that if Tom was going down town, I thought I would write a letter that was already overdue. Tom was anxiously awaiting a letter that should be in that night. He suggested that I go down also as it was a very decent night. I consented and Art decided to join us. I sat down and wrote the letter—meanwhile we continued our talk about the money package.

My letter finished, something seemed to change. We found further inaction impossible: we either had to rob the post-office or

go to bed. Tom brought out his two guns; I hunted up a couple of regular plain handkerchiefs, and Art added some rope to the assortment. At the time we were still individually and collectively playing a game with ourselves. Each of us expected one of the other two to give the thing the horse laugh and suggest going to bed and letting the letters wait till morning. But it seemed that we forgot everything—our position in school, our families and friends, the danger to us and to our folks. Our only thought was to carry out that prank. We all made our preparations more or less mechanically. Our minds were in a daze.

Putting on our regular overcoats and caps, we left the rooms quietly. On the way down town we passed the night patrolman without any really serious qualms. Tom entered the post-office as was his usual custom, being a sub-clerk, and Art and I crept up to the rear door. Tom appeared at a window with his hat, a signal that there were no reasons why our plan would not be effective. At the door, in full illumination of a light, we arranged our handkerchiefs over our faces and took our guns out of our pockets. We were ready.

"Have you enough guts to go through with this thing?" I asked, turning to Art, who was behind me.

"If you have," he answered.

Frankly, I felt that I had gone far enough, but for some unknown reason I did not throw out a remark that would have ended it all then and there. And Art didn't. He later said that he was just too scared to suggest anything. We were both, it seems, in a sort of daze.

Tom opened the door and we followed our plan out to the end. There was no active resistance by the regular night man.

Even after we left the office with thousands of dollars in our hands we did not realize all that it meant. Our first words were not about getting the money. They were about the fact that our prank (and it was still that to us) had been successful. When we reached our rooms, having hidden the money in an abandoned dredger, the seriousness of the thing began to penetrate our minds. For an hour or so we lay quietly and finally settled on a plan that

seemed safe in returning the money without making our identity known. Then I went to sleep.¹

We have in this case a gradual working up of excitement and preparation for action through discussion. This continues until it becomes impossible to remain inactive longer, and as a group three boys execute a deed that no one of them would have been capable of as an individual.² The conventional definition of the situation is completely ignored in the excitement of the moment. What the boys at the time defined as an "exciting prank," society later called "robbery." If this mechanism works among college boys of good character and steady habits, it may be readily understood how much more effectively it may operate with groups of boys from the disorganized areas of the city.

Another form assumed by mutual excitation leading to action (summation) which is readily distinguishable in the behavior of the gang may be called the "daring mechanism." In this case we have a series of competitive acts, each requiring somewhat greater courage or bravado, one provoking another, until some climactic act of bravery or foolhardiness is performed.

STUMPING

182. On our hikes we always did something besides walk along the road. Usually each member would take along a pole, with which

¹ From statements to the author by two of the participants in the robbery. The good character of these boys had never been questioned in their home and college communities.

² This may be regarded as one form of summation, which is the process involving a series of responses each tending more markedly in a particular direction until the climactic act, which gives significance to the whole series, is reached.

we would vault the streams and fences. When the gang would get to a very high fence, its members had the option of crawling through or vaulting it. Someone usually wished to stump the rest, however, and if he made it, the rest of us invariably found it incumbent upon us at least to try, although it was not compulsory to do so.¹

COW-SHOOTING

183. A gang of about eight fellows with a cabin under a big rock in the Appalachian woods originated from the boys' driving the cattle back and forth every morning and evening. Each family had a big pasture about a mile from town.

This particular day we went frog-hunting with a gun. Later we arrived at the cattle pen and the boys got the cows about halfway up the hill, when they happened to start shooting with the gun.

"I dare you to shoot one of those cows off the hill," someone ventured.

The other took the dare and started shooting at the cattle. There was some hesitancy at first, but before long five of the eleven boys were participating. Each boy would shoot at the other fellow's cow if possible. One cow was shot in the neck. Another one was killed. The boy whose cow dropped told his folks that she was sick and they had better come up and see about her. Four of the gang had to pay for her; it cost them \$20 a piece.²

THE LIMITATIONS OF GANG MORALITY

Certain writers have been somewhat too idealistic with regard to the educational value of the gang for the boy.³ They have emphasized the fact that the gang teaches its members the great human virtues.⁴ Some have even suggested that the gang is a desirable institution for the boy apart from all supervision.

¹ Manuscript by a former member of the group.

² Interview with a former member of the gang. See document 148, p. 257.

³ See Jane Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, p. 177, and Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 24-25.

⁴ See Winifred Buck, *Boys' Self-Governing Clubs*.

VALUES IN LACK OF SUPERVISION

184. I have the theory that the gang develops the boy in many important ways. This sort of spontaneous growth is so valuable to his personality, that I am not sure that there should ever be any supervision. The boys learn to settle their differences in an equitable way. In this way the group develops the boy into a real person. I think every boy should have his gang.¹

Other workers with boys have concluded that these so-called "guerrilla virtues" are a great asset to any social agency that would turn the energies of the gang into wholesome channels.²

As preparation for life in a larger world, however, it is doubtful if the gang as such does enough. The gang virtues which have been so exalted as ideal patterns for humanity at large hold only for members of the in-group and the rest of the world may quite normally be looked upon as lawful prey. The sense of fair play which tends to govern relationships of the boys to each other does not extend to outsiders.³

The ethnocentrism which marked the small groups of primitive life and tribal society,⁴ is also characteristic of the gang. The Greek-letter fraternity, which is akin to the gang in many respects, presents a good example of the same thing. A current attitude among members of such societies is expressed in such words as "We belong; we are the Greeks; we are the cultured. You do not be-

¹ Interview with a leading Chicago boys' worker.

² Alpheus Geer, "Gangmen Tell of Plan that Saved Them," *New York Times*, March 30, 1924. Dr. Luther H. Gulick concurs in this position.

³ See pp. 181-82 and 287.

⁴ William G. Sumner, *Folkways*, pp. 12-13.

long; you are the barbarians; you are rude and untoured."

In another sense, moreover, the gang does too much; for along with the virtues, it inculcates in its members the primary-group vices. Revenge, which is characteristic of many detached primary groups,¹ is the law of the gang. The amity which prevails among members of the same group is often accompanied by this antithetical sentiment of hatred toward outsiders. In extreme cases this manifests itself in the most abandoned types of retaliation and often does not stop short of murder. In the more vicious gangs there develops a lust for blood revenge.

LUST FOR BLOOD REVENGE

185. The Tonies were a gang of Italian hoodlums numbering about thirty and aged from eighteen to twenty-five. They had developed a grudge against a certain colored man who had won some money from them while gambling in a saloon. Later on this colored man was engaged in a crap game with an Irish bunch at the edge of the park. When the Irish group spied the Italian gang coming down the street, each boy pocketed as much money as he could and left. The Italians then came up to the colored man, knocked him over and stamped on his head, crushing his skull. They were never even arrested for this murder.²

The blind fury of this passion, which is so difficult for the cultivated person to understand, explains many of the bloody wars and fatal feuds waged between rival gangs.³ A policeman who has incurred the enmity of a vicious

¹ See the account of a Syrian clan, Park and Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*, pp. 35-36.

² Interview with a park director.

³ See account of Rats-Jellyrolls war, pp. 176-78.

gang will undoubtedly become a repeated target for assassins' bullets.

Nor can the primary virtues which the gang is supposed to develop always be counted upon to hold for its own members. In many cases there is a betrayal of trust and in the criminal gang a man is never sure of his friends.¹

INVERTED ROUGH STUFF

186. Berney's gang which was organized about 1908 had as its hang-out the saloon of Joe Berney near Keeley and Lyman streets adjacent to where the Bosely playground now stands. The nucleus of the gang consisted of the Berney family and it included their cousins and neighbors. It had about twelve members, aged from twenty-five to thirty-five years.

Most of the members, who were gunmen, were usually occupied in quarreling among themselves. We have here a case of inverted rough stuff. They liked to use firearms, and, although they murdered two men who were not members of the gang, they usually turned their guns on each other in drunken brawls. The result was that by 1913-15, they had killed each other all off with the exception of one who died from a fall and another, the only remaining survivor, who is now a watchman.²

It is difficult to see how such training as the unsuvised gang can give, prepares a boy adequately for useful citizenship. The good citizen of today must possess something more than gang morality. He must live in a society where tolerance of other groups, responsibility toward them, and co-operation with them are essential to social order and general prosperity. To this end there is a need for intergroup morality. One of our great shortcomings

¹ See Ray Renard's story of the Rats, *St. Louis Star*, February 24 to March 31, 1925.

² Interview with Mr. X, a Chicago politician.

is undoubtedly just this failure to recognize obligations to other groups. One may be quite loyal to his own; yet he feels that he can injure and despoil out-groups with impunity. So it is that the politician, the grafter, the racialist, the religious fanatic, the Chauvinist, the imperialist, and so on, are the higher exponents of gang morality: they are all Greeks and the barbarians must suffer.

CHAPTER XVI

THE STRUCTURE OF THE GANG

When it was the fashion to make every persistent type of behavior a product of instinct, an "instinct of organization" was mustered out to explain the social order of the gang and the play group.

THE INSTINCT OF ORGANIZATION

187. When boys of approximately the same stage of development meet together frequently as a group, tendencies toward organization spring up apart from any outside influence. If eight or ten adolescent boys play and work together they do not remain a mere aggregation of unrelated units. Each individual becomes definitely related to all the others. He plays a part in a larger whole. Impulses in the direction of organization begin to appear in the conduct of the members of the group. . . .

The instinctive self-centeredness of childhood is reflected in the sensitiveness of adolescent boys with regard to the failures or humiliations of the group to which they belong. So the genius of the gang leads to reorganization as well as to self-organization. Thus capacities for leadership, without which co-operation is impossible, are developed. There is a practical demand that some one of the group discover and use the individual members for what they are worth. This whole vital process is natural—is instinctive. Boys of this age reveal instinctive capacities for self-organization.¹

This sort of explanation seems to be an oversimplification of the facts. It is one thing, moreover, to say that the organization of the gang is natural and quite another

¹ Richardson and Loomis, *The Boy Scout Movement Applied by the Church*, pp. 247-48.

to say that it is instinctive. Such organization as develops is that which is necessary for corporate behavior and co-operation; it will vary with pressures and patterns outside the group, as well as with the previous experience and previous relations of the members within. The ultimate relations which are formed among members and factions within the gang, rather than a consequence of instinct, seem to be due to the internal processes of conflict and competition incident to gang activities.¹

AN EXAMPLE OF GANG STRUCTURE

The spontaneous social order which characterizes the development of the gang may be shown best by an example—Itschkie's Black Hand Society. This document is presented *in toto* because it illustrates many of the principles and mechanisms of gang behavior described throughout the study and enables the reader to observe the functioning of an adolescent gang as a whole—in all its varied relationships.

ITSCHKIE'S BLACK HAND SOCIETY

188. The Black Hand Society is a gang of about fifteen boys, twelve to fifteen years old, all of whom are Jewish with the exception of two Italians who are known as the "Greasers." Most of them live in the Maxwell Street community, the area of first settlement for the Russian-Jewish immigrant in Chicago. The Italian boys were admitted because of their compatibility and their residence in the neighborhood.

The real gang is a small, compact, select body around which there forms a wide fringe of more or less harmless, would-be gang boys who remain on "probation," so to speak, and serve as a protection for the central nucleus of the group. The real gang is a close, secret organization, operating on a business basis. Meetings

¹ See pp. 43-44.

are held in secret; plans and campaigns are formulated; tasks are assigned to members especially trained by their leaders for their particular jobs; signals are worked out; and finally—the deed accomplished—the proceeds are pooled and each member receives his due share either in cash, booze, show tickets, or personal effects and petty trinkets.

New members are chosen with great care and must often serve long periods of probation, during which the leader instructs them in the fundamentals of thievery and watches over them discerningly to see just how quickly and how well they are able to work out for themselves the fine points of the game. Thus, membership depends in large measure upon the boy's ability as a pickpocket, though this quality alone will not guarantee his acceptance.

The prospective Black Hander must also be compatible; he must go through a thorough grilling by every member of the group, in order to make sure that he is "game for anything," that he is sufficiently tough—for on these two points the members greatly pride themselves. Finally, once a gang boy, he remains, save in the most exceptional case, under the complete domination of the group, pledged to tell no secrets and to divulge no plans.

It is around the leader, often the chap of the readiest wit, that the gang crystallizes; and what he is, the gang is; what he becomes, the gang also becomes. "Clownie," the first leader of the Black Handers, was a half-wit, but he was an expert little thief, and it is he who introduced the "art" of stealing and organized the boys in this neighborhood into the Black Hand gang. Quicker than lightning, he had made his way in and out among the crowded groups of Maxwell Street market place, stealing first this, then that. He had money; indeed, everything he wanted. And there was excitement, too. Sometimes he would almost get caught; but always, just as the women in their stalls began to wrangle with him and to lose their heads in their anger, he would vanish. That was fun, devilish good sport.

Then the other boys began to envy him. First one boy was fascinated by Clownie and learned the tricks of the trade, then another, and another,—until there were six or seven confirmed little

crooks firmly banded together, idolizing their half-wit leader and enjoying their new activities. That was the beginning of the gang. Clownie has long since left the Ghetto, but the gang still persists. The old plan of organization, the methods of doling out the proceeds among the gang boys, the old system of probation, and the old methods of exploiting the younger boys, together with all the reckless amusements to which he introduced them remain in all their original force. They have been worked over, indeed, and made yet more sordid under the rule of "Ittschkie" and "Bennie the Jew."

Ittschkie (Yiddish for "Lizzie") is obviously the ring leader of the Black Hands at the present time. He comes from what is reckoned a fairly good family in the Ghetto. His parents are anxious to help him, to keep him off the street, yet no power on earth seems to be able to take Ittschkie away from his gang. Many times he himself has tried to reform and he has kept stolidly away from his pals for a time—but always, just when he least expects it himself, the old longing for excitement comes back to him and he is off again, back to the gang and the growing vices which it promotes.

Ittschkie is a born coward. Point your finger at him in an authoritative way, speak to him harshly, and he will turn and run. Yet, with his gang, he is a hero; among the boys of the street, he is to be admired; among the market folk, he is to be feared; among the police, he is one to be "handled with care." At "work," he is a tough looking customer, and once having put on the outer trappings of the "profession," he seems to himself to become equally tough.

His deep-set black eyes have a dangerous shiftiness and around them are big black circles—the outward signs of long nights of dissipation. His hair is matted and gummy, his face dirty and his hands black. His clothes fairly hang on him. Ittschkie likes grotesque effects, and he knows the value of looking the part. He prides himself that his is not only one of the worst gangs, but indeed one of the worst looking, for the other little Black Hands appear equally disreputable. Already, at 15, he has assumed toward stealing the attitude of a life profession.

"Ittschkie is a good little kid, but he has bad ways, that's all," declared Sammie, a member of another gang on good terms with the Black Hands.

"He is about fifteen," continued Sammie, "but he looks twelve. He never combs his hair. His skin is dark like an Italian's. He always has a smile on his face." Ittschkie never misses a chance to go swimming, even if his bathing suit is stolen. He goes camping and hiking to Fox Lake with other members of the gang. They stay out there over night, but if it rains they come back home. Ittschkie likes to be out-of-doors all the time; even in the winter he gathers his gang around a bonfire. He likes to be free and this is the main reason he will not work. He cannot hold a job. His mother says he has had every job in the Loop, and so he might as well give up trying for any more.

Bennie and "Greaser" are not unlike Ittschkie, save in the one respect that they do not yet have the faculty for leadership to quite so great an extent as their young idol.

On the fringe of the gang are many younger boys who would like to be gang boys but who are not yet quick enough at the trade to make their membership pay, or who are not yet old enough to appreciate the necessity of keeping still or to enjoy all of the particular amusements in which the inner group spends most of its recreational hours.

"Joey" is one of these. He, likewise, comes from a good sort of family, but in his home during his earlier years there was considerable friction. This seems to have made a profound impression upon the child, and rather than stay in the home with his family under such circumstances he took to the streets. He is, indeed, a bright, innocent little chap who makes a "regular hit" wherever he goes, as Ittschkie put it. Ittschkie, moreover, was quick to appreciate the value of such a youngster as Joey, and he has succeeded in keeping him under the domination of the group without ever making of him a full member. It is in his case that we see best the subtle influence of the gang.

Joey has against him one weakness which must forever keep him out of the inner group of the Black Hands. He is a kleptomaniac, his friends say. At any rate, he will steal whatever he wants, when he wants it, regardless of the consequences which are likely to follow. To the Black Hands, stealing is a matter of time and place. It is not a mere prank to be indulged in at any time; it

is an art to be used advisedly and skillfully. The gang boy who goes out on his own hook is disloyal; he must work in unison with the gang and pool his profits like a "man" and a "regular sport." Joey, then, willfully or not, is disloyal, and so he becomes the "just" victim of the exploitation of the older members of the group and has not infrequently been asked to hand over all of his "earnings" from a solitary expedition in order to make up for his unfaithfulness. This he has as often refused to do, and the result has been his dismissal from candidacy for the inner circle. On Joey's part this has meant the divulging of many a secret of the gang just at a time when that information should have been kept most quiet.

In the earlier history of the gang, the younger boys, especially those on probation, were not infrequently asked to steal things for the older boys, such as silk shirts, socks, and other personal effects. Sometimes, in return, they were paid a small sum; sometimes they were licked and sent about their own business. This is one of the things which has helped to make the Black Handers so strong, for they represented, in those days, the younger group of gangs who were forced in self-defense to become so expert in their little business that the older boys could not take advantage of them. This practice is fortunately dying out, for Itschkie does not think it is fair—he himself having suffered a good deal at the hands of these older fellows.

Stealing offers to the members of the gang about the easiest way of getting the means to satisfy their wishes. Itschkie was told that he and his gang ought to clean up a bit. He agreed. The next day or so saw more than one of his pals cleaned up, dressed in new clothes, and all the rest of it. Itschkie appeared himself in a complete new outfit. One can have little doubt as to where the money came from, for a similar thing happened only recently, shortly after the group was known to have made a raid upon one of the stores.

The stealing of candy, fruits, cameras, and similar luxuries is, of course, too commonplace to deserve special mention, for there is hardly a time when the group goes out on a spree that it does not indulge its desires in this manner.

The method of picking a pocket is unique. Itschkie has his

gang divided into groups of three or four. Within each of these little groups there is one boy trained to go ahead as a sort of advance guard and to engage the prospective victim in conversation or otherwise attract his attention. Then by a series of carefully planned signals, they call up the second boy who quickly does the actual work. Meanwhile, the third boy has slipped up, taken over the valuables from the second, and made a safe get-away while the crowd is still gathering. In case of apprehension by the police, this leaves the gang clear, for neither of the two boys standing by have the "goods" on them and nothing can be proved. The police give them a good scolding; the youngsters have their sport talking back to the officers. . . . And all is quiet again.

When the boys want money and sport, however, their most common resort is the drunken man or the blind beggar. These unfortunates offer both a source of amusement and the possibility of providing large sums of money which they often have in their possession. To knock off the man's hat and stoop to pick it up "like a regular guy," incidentally picking his pockets; or to borrow a knife and return it to his pocket rather than to the man—these are the most common methods of "getting" the blind man or the drunk.

That this is a paying profession may be seen from the fact that Itschkie on one Sunday secured \$80 and that many a Sunday he has made \$25 and \$30. Even Joey is able to procure large sums at a time in this way and thinks nothing of a \$15 or \$20 haul from a promenade around the market.

Silver declares that the older practice of picking pockets has fallen somewhat into disuse. The gang does not engage in shoplifting, nor do they go into the Loop as often as they used to. They prefer the less risky business of "making" (robbing) the drunks.

One of the interesting features of this practice of victimizing drunken men is the fact that race lines are always observed. Both Silver and Sammie maintained that the Black Handers never molested Jewish people.

"They hop the poor drunken Polish fellows," said Silver. "They respect the Jews more because they are most all Jews themselves."

The dominant motive behind it all seems to be excitement. The boys get tired of the life of the Ghetto, for at best it is a sordid existence in those ever dirty, crowded streets. To steal a Ford and leave it on the roadside after they have had a Sunday's jaunt out of it is one of their pleasures; to pick up a few games from the clubrooms of a nearby settlement and carry them out into the alley for their friends whom the police have forbidden to enter the building; to climb up on the upper beams of the old I. C. warehouse and see who can break the most street lamps; to beg money on the street for their pals in jail; or to hook fruit and other goodies to send to their friends in the Parental School or St. Charles—these are but a few of the means by which these youngsters seek to gratify their insane craving for a thrill or a new experience. Not all bad ideas, either!

"Gambling,"—and the Black Handers like to call it by that name—shooting craps, pool, dancing, movies, burlesque shows, and all the social vices are a part of their repertoire. Without them, they would be lost. There was a time when the gang sought the gratification of its wishes in simple sports and stole only for a pastime. Today, under the influence of the negro influx into the neighborhood and of the Greek settlement to the north, the boys are going to depths of which they had never before dreamed.

Joey, when not more than ten years old, gave a graphic account of the inside of a Ghetto den and spoke with mingled admiration and jocosity of the "vamps" that he had seen there. He described in minute detail just how one should act, just how one should treat "them there vamps," and of the time when he, too, could go there unquestioned. He told of gambling and was most proud to be able to feel that he was a really successful crap-shooter. He rehearsed the details of the costumes or lack of costume of the actors and actresses at the latest burlesque. . . . That seemed bad enough.

The negro influx has brought with it a horrible increase in prostitution, not on the white and white basis that has until this time been known in the Ghetto, but public houses in which it is a case of negro mixing with white. To the older boys of the community, this has undoubtedly meant a very serious lowering of their

moral standards and one is not surprised. Influences from the Greek community, furthermore, have led the boys toward perversion.

The gang has a hang-out in an old deserted house down by the tracks. This was called "Roamer's Inn," after a popular roadhouse of the same name. It is an old broken-down dwelling located near the Maxwell Street Police Station. The boys themselves have broken out the windows in their stone-throwing contests. It is a sort of asylum for hiding from the police, and a good place to shoot craps without danger of interference. It is also a common loafing-place and, as a member of the gang expressed it, a place to play around and kill time.

Although the area is actually overrun with small show houses, there is but one movie in the neighborhood that is really decent. When there is nothing else exciting to do, Itschkie takes his gang to the movies—and there they may learn many an unwholesome thing. Joey, for one, tells us that he used to spend hours at the movies in order to see how the holdups were "pulled off," and judging from the type of thriller and "sexy" romance which forms the bulk of the entertainment, there are other attractions, too.

In the homes, gambling is a commonplace. Many a family will sit up all Saturday night over a game of cards and play on until the whole week's income is all but exhausted. Small wonder that the Black Handers also take freely to the habit. The same has been true of drink, though prohibition has lessened this difficulty to some degree. Many of the boys used to feel that they were not even tough were they not able to get drunk once in a while.¹

THE SIZE OF THE GANG

The necessities of maintaining face-to-face relationships set definite limits to the magnitude to which the gang can grow. The size of Itschkie's group was determined by the number of boys readily able to meet together on

¹ Manuscript by an intimate observer of the gang, and from records, interviews, and observations.

the street or within the limited space of their hang-out. The gang does not usually grow to such proportions as to be unwieldy in collective enterprises or to make intimate contacts and controls difficult.¹ Ordinarily, if all members are present, what is said by one of the group can be heard by all. Otherwise, common experience becomes more difficult and the group tends to split and form more than one gang. The number of "fringers" and hangers-on upon whom the gang can count for backing, however, may be larger, especially if it has developed a good athletic team.

Greater growth can be accomplished only through modifications of structure, such as those resulting from conventionalization. When a gang becomes conventionalized, assuming, for example, the form of a club, it may possibly grow to large proportions. The original gang, however, probably now becomes an "inner circle," retaining the active nucleus in such cases. The additional members may develop their own cliques within the larger whole or maintain merely a more or less formal relationship to the organization. In many cases such a club is the result of the combination of two or more gangs.

Table VI does not include the major portion of the gang clubs; these vary in number of members ordinarily from 20 or 25 to 75 or 100; only a few of the more pros-

¹ College fraternity policy, based on long years of experience in attempting to maintain intimate relationships and unity of purpose among its members, illustrates the necessity of controlling numbers. Thirty-five to forty members seems to be the maximum size for such a group if these conditions are to be maintained and communal life is to be carried on in the fraternity homes. If, for financial or other reasons, a fraternity grows to larger proportions, it is the custom to refer to its house satirically as a "hotel."

perous clubs exceed 100 members. It will be seen that 806 of these gangs have memberships of 50 or under; these are largely of the non-conventionalized type. Most of the remaining 89 have memberships ranging from 51 to 2,000, though not all of them have been conventionalized.

TABLE VI
TABLE SHOWING APPROXIMATE NUMBERS OF
MEMBERS IN 895 GANGS

No. of Members	No. of Gangs	Percentage of Total
From 3 to 5 (inclusive).....	37	4.1
From 6 to 10.....	198	22.1
From 11 to 15.....	191	21.5
From 16 to 20.....	149	16.7
From 21 to 25.....	79	8.8
From 26 to 30.....	46	5.1
From 31 to 40.....	55	6.1
From 41 to 50.....	51	5.7
From 51 to 75.....	26	2.9
From 76 to 100.....	25	2.8
From 101 to 200.....	25	2.8
From 201 to 500.....	11	1.2
From 501 to 2,000.....	2	2
Total gangs.....	895	100.0

DIVISIONS WITHIN THE GANG

The mob—"the crowd that acts"—is never divided against itself; for if it became so, its characteristic unity would be destroyed. The gang, on the other hand, is often split into one or more cliques or parties and may assume the characteristics of what has sometimes been called a "public."

A PUBLIC

Le Bon did not attempt to distinguish between the crowd and the public. This distinction was first made by Tarde . . . in 1898.

... The public, according to Tarde, was a product of the printing press. The limits of the crowd are determined by the length to which a voice will carry or the distance that the eye can survey. But the public presupposes a higher stage of social development in which suggestions are transmitted in the form of ideas and there is "contagion without contact."

The fundamental distinction between the crowd and the public, however, is not to be measured by numbers nor by means of communication, but by the form and effects of the interactions. In the public, interaction takes the form of discussion. Individuals tend to act upon one another critically; issues are raised and parties form. Opinions clash and thus modify and moderate one another.¹

This kind of division sometimes takes place in a gang, especially when it has grown beyond the rudimentary group size or when it has become conventionalized. There are differences of opinion which lead to extended discussion; there is taking of sides; and there may be formed two or more cliques, more or less permanent.

A clique may be defined as a spontaneous interest group, usually of the conflict type,² which forms itself within some larger social structure such as a gang, a club, or a political party. In a certain sense a well-developed clique is an embryonic gang which does not get detached from its social moorings, but remains incorporated within the larger whole. A clique has permanence, a faction does not.

Fighting in which sides are taken, is not uncommon in the gang. A bad split often leads to the formation of

¹ Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 868-69.

² The clique does not necessarily resort to physical conflict, but is usually an opposition group. Another type of clique may be described as "orgiastic."

two new gangs, as when a Polish-Irish gang fell out over the disposal of stolen automobile tires, finally forming two new groups—one Polish, the other Irish.

SPLITTING INTO TWO GANGS

180. The Trembles, so called because they made others tremble, split up into two gangs. The gang had thirty-nine members and factions formed without great difficulty. Two factions arose as the result of the stealing of a bronze figure from a social center in which the group had club privileges. One faction remained loyal to the crooks, while the other split off from the old gang; but both of them remained away from the settlement for many weeks. Eventually the part that broke off came back and reorganized as the Blue Ribbon Athletic club, taking its name from a popular brand of beer. The other faction finally came back too, organizing as an athletic club with the name of a local machine politician.¹

With the appearance of a common enemy, however, cliques within the gang tend to disappear as if by magic.

THE TWO- AND THREE-BOY RELATIONSHIP

What has been defined as a "two-boy gang" or an "intimacy" must not be overlooked in discussing the inner organization of the gang. In this type of relationship there is generally a subordination of one boy to the other. In one instance other members of the group expressed it in this way, "Jerry is running Alfred now." Hero-worship, open or tacit, plays an important part in such cases. Sometimes the abilities of one boy supplement those of the other.

AN INTIMACY

190. George and I were close pals, and this was the only extensive intimacy in the gang. There was one year's difference in our ages and we were much alike except that I had no imagination

¹ Manuscript by an observer of the gang.

but was more of a plugger and got things done. I naturally idealized George on account of his fine personality and other high qualities.

We were inseparable companions through high school. We always went out together, alternating as to who should furnish the car. We took trips together two different summer vacations.¹

In many of these cases one boy tends to become utterly enthralled by the other; and there grows up a devotion hardly to be excelled even in the cases of the most ardent lovers of opposite sexes.² While these intimacies usually develop in pairs (the introduction of a third person many times making for complications and friction), yet it sometimes happens that the relationship may include three boys who co-operate in perfect congeniality.

It is relations of this sort, existing before the gang develops, that serve as primary structures when the group is first formed and that shape the growth of its future organization. The intimacy partly explains why many of the exploits of gang boys are carried out in pairs and trios. The boys often prefer to have a favored pal or two associated in an enterprise rather than bring in the whole gang.

The two- and three-boy relationship is often much more important to the individual boy than his relationship to the gang. In such cases a boy would doubtless forego the gang before he would give up his special pal or pair of pals. A series of such palships, one or two of

¹ Interview with a former member.

² The intimacy in the gang provides a satisfaction for the boy's wish for response. One boy may fascinate another and the two be completely wrapped up in one another. While attachments such as these would probably be regarded as homosexual by the Freudians, they exist in most cases without definite sex impulses and are to be regarded as entirely normal and practically universal among boys.

which may be more highly prized than others, are characteristic of boys of the non-gang areas of the city and also of gangland boys who are not in gangs. In other words, under different conditions, the two- and three-boy relationship becomes a completely satisfactory substitute for the gang³ and the wish for recognition from a larger circle, if imperative, is gratified through membership in the family, the school, the club, and other groups and institutions to which the boy has access.

THE GANG IN LARGER STRUCTURES

Even though the gang remains a primary group it may acquire external relationships. A gang is often on friendly terms with one or more similar groups in its neighborhood; it may co-operate with these in athletic contests or even to the extent of financial assistance. In some cases federations of friendly gangs are formed for the prosecution of common interests or protection against common enemies. These may be nothing more than loose alliances, but on the other hand, the relationships developed may acquire a genuine emotional intensity.

A gang may get incorporated into a larger structure such as a syndicate,² a ring,³ or a "republic."⁴

SPECIALIZED STRUCTURES

When the opposition to a gang becomes sufficiently powerful or well organized, the gang is likely either to

¹ It becomes readily apparent at this point that the so-called "gang instinct" ceases to function usefully—in fact, becomes superfluous.

² See pp. 439-41.

³ See pp. 437-38.

⁴ The formation of the Hyde Park City of the Boys' Brotherhood Republic illustrates the incorporation of rival gangs into a civic structure, their transformation into rival political parties, and the consequent development of a public.

disintegrate or to become a genuine secret society.¹ Itschkie's gang, carrying out a series of delinquent enterprises in the face of police and neighborhood opposition, evolved secret signs and other devices for the purpose of mutual protection. In such cases, too, strong opposition necessitates centralized control and severe discipline. Thus, in Itschkie's group there developed a compact body in the gang, differentiated from mere fringers and hangers-on, who could not be trusted or initiated into the gang's secrets. Furthermore, within this body was the so-called "inner circle,"² formed on account of the exigencies of group control and then developing the scheme of self-aggrandizement and exploitation of the other boys in the interests of the few leaders.

Special activities in the gang also require special types of organization. The members of Itschkie's gang were organized into teams, each member with a special function to perform in the pickpocketing activities of the group. Thus, when gangs acquire special functions, they develop special relations and structures to correspond. This is illustrated in the case of the criminal gang.³

THE FAMILY AS A GANG NUCLEUS

A family may become a conflict group and behave in many respects like a gang. This is the case with the family groups carrying on blood-feuds in the southern mountains

¹ See p. 71.

² The membership in the "inner circle" was probably determined by previous relationships of intimacy, palship, or partiality, which existed in a smaller constellation of boys.

³ See chap. xx.

of the United States and in other countries. One of the striking facts brought out in the present study is that a family of brothers very frequently serves as a nucleus for an adult gang; sometimes other male relatives function in such a group. The notorious UUU gang, which controlled a string of stills in the West Side wilderness, was built around a family of brothers, each performing some supplementary function in the group.

THE M'SMACK FAMILY GANG

191. The McSmack family and their neighbors constituted one of the worst gangs I have ever known. The family has a police record as far back as 1898. The father was a thief; so it is not surprising that the six boys were trained similarly. They lived next to the Belt railroad and most of their depredations were committed with reference to railroad property. There was considerable contrast between the wealth of the railroad and the poverty of the McSmacks; so they had little compunction about stealing from the corporation. The father used the kids to steal and even came out with a gun to defend them.

The gang numbered from eight to twelve members, including some of the neighbors who joined them on their expeditions. From time to time they succeeded in stealing from \$3,000 to \$10,000 worth of railroad property. They killed another thief with whom they had an altercation. Women probation officers were afraid to go in there. Most of the McSmacks died violent deaths.¹

THE INFLUENCE OF IMPERSONAL FACTORS

The size, the character of membership, and even the degree of solidarity are sometimes determined for a group by the nature of its physical surroundings.

¹ Interview with a juvenile police officer.

AN INDIAN VILLAGE

192. An Indian village in New Mexico was built after the manner of a pueblo with one large house. Each family lived in a separate compartment facing the common meeting place where certain business and religious functions were performed. This form of living was enough to insure solidarity and loyalty to traditional ways of doing. When the young men got their separate shacks on the prairie, the old communal unity was broken up.¹

Similar factors operate to influence the organization of the gang. The boys living in a restricted or cut-off area tend to form a play-group or a gang set off from their neighbors. The following is a marginal case between a play-group and a gang.

THE S.S.P. GROUP

193. Our play-group, which we called the "S.S.P. Gang," was composed of ten boys varying in age from twelve to seventeen years. All of us but two lived in South Shore Park, and the fact that it was fenced in and had a name, was the greatest means of our unification.

South Shore Park was on the lake front and the row of apartment buildings that faced it commanded a full view of the lake. In front of the buildings and extending up to the beach was a park through which a cement driveway ran, forming a circle. One end of the park was shut off by an iron fence making it necessary for the driveway to form a loop and return the same way it came in. In front of the apartments we had a large stretch of lawn about one hundred yards wide, with a wonderful beach about a block long.

All the boys in the park congenial to the gang were eligible for membership with the exception of negroes; here we drew the line. There was one negro lad, the son of a servant, who used to watch our play; he was a completely isolated individual. Other distinc-

¹ Observation by Robert E. Park.

tions, however, were not made; for the gang included Jews, Irish Catholics, Protestants, Christian Scientists, Swedes, Germans, a janitor's son, and little boys as well as big.¹

In heterogeneous neighborhoods, locality seems to be a more important factor in determining conflict groups than does race, nationality, or religion.² Rivers, canals, elevated railroad tracks, and industrial properties afford the best gangland boundaries and determine in a general way lines of gang alliance and direction of gang conflict.

¹ Manuscript by a former member.

² See chap. xii.

1. *The popular.*—This is the notion that personality consists of those traits of the individual, more or less vaguely sensed, which enable him to attract attention, hold interest, and get action from others. These are the characteristics—a mixture of what is pleasing and forceful—which win popular favor.

2. *The behavioristic (objective).*—This is the conception that personality is the sum and organization of the reaction patterns, both inherited and acquired, belonging to an individual person. These systems of response are revealed in behavior but conserved in some way in the organism. This is essentially a psychological idea of personality.

3. *The sociological.*—This is the definition of personality as the rôle which the individual plays in his group. His personality, in this sense, is a function of the activities of the group into which he fits, and is a product of his struggle for a place and a part in its life. The *person*, therefore, is the individual placed with reference to all the other individuals in the group, that is, the individual in his social matrix.¹

Every boy in the gang acquires a personality (in the sociological sense) and a name—is a person; that is, he plays a part and gets a place with reference to the other members of the group. In the developed gang he fits into his niche like a block in a puzzle box; he is formed by the discipline the gang imposes upon him. He cannot be studied intelligently or understood apart from this social rôle.²

¹ Unpublished manuscript by the author. See also Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 55, where the person is defined as "an individual who has status."

² See E. W. Burgess, "The Study of the Delinquent as a Person," *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1923, pp. 657-80. The importance of this sort of approach to the study of the person in a group is indicated by the work of the *Gestalt* psychologists, who have emphasized the significance of the larger pattern as giving meanings to the individual element.

CHAPTER XVII

PERSONALITY AND THE ACTION PATTERN OF THE GANG

Every member of a gang tends to have a definite status within the group. Common enterprises require a division of labor. Successful conflict necessitates a certain amount of leadership, unreflective though it may be, and a consequent subordination and discipline of members. As the gang develops complex activities, the positions of individuals within the group are defined and social rôles become more sharply differentiated. As a result of this process there arises a more or less efficient and harmonious organization of persons¹ to make possible a satisfactory execution of collective enterprises and to further the interests of the group as a whole. This is the action pattern of the gang.

PERSONALITY AND STATUS WITHIN THE GANG

The significance of the sociological conception of personality—namely, as the rôle of the individual in the group—comes out clearly in the study of the gang.

THREE CONCEPTIONS OF "PERSONALITY"

Among others, there are three common uses of the term personality that need to be distinguished.

¹ Like the family, the gang may be conceived of as a "unity of interacting personalities." See Ernest W. Burgess, "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities," *The Family*, March, 1926, pp. 3-9.

THE "ORGANISM" AS A WHOLE

Each gang as a whole, and other types of social groups as well, may be conceived of as possessing an action pattern. Every person in the group performs his characteristic function with reference to others, or to put it another way, fills the individual niche that previous experience in the gang has determined for him. Lacking the group, personality in the sense here used would not exist. The action pattern of a group tends to become fixed and automatic in the habits of its members; it may persist long after the formal organization of the group has changed.

THE ACTION PATTERN OF A GROUP

194. The "at home" comfortable feeling of persons doing a thing in the usual way was illustrated in one game. In kid games four men, Steve, Cookie, Rocky, and Mac, were backfield men. Rocky was quarterback. In college Cookie played end. During an important game the left-half regular was injured and Cookie was put in at the place giving us the old combination. As kids we had one play an off-tackle smash that was a pet with us—a play simple it seemed but demanding perfect timing. Rocky called that single play six times in rapid succession. The feeling of satisfaction of all of us was immense. That play seemed to us to be unable to fail and we won the game. Rocky said that under the circumstances no other play would have done.¹

Yet the action pattern which characterizes each group can hardly be thought of as rigid and static; for it must be constantly changing to accommodate losses and additions of personnel, changes in its members due to growth and increasing experience, and other changes within and without the gang.

¹ Manuscript prepared by a former member. See document 107.

The conflicts of the gang with outsiders and the execution of its other enterprises and activities result in a sort of social stratification in its membership. There are usually three, more or less well-defined, classes of members: the "inner circle," which includes the leader and his lieutenants; the rank and file, who constitute members of the gang in good standing; and the "fringers," who are more or less hangers-on and are not considered regular members. These three groups are well illustrated in the case of Itschkie's Black Hand Society.

The inner circle is usually composed of a constellation of especially intimate pals formed about the leader. The rank and file—the less enterprising and less capable—are subordinated to the inner circle, just as it, in turn, tends to be subordinated to the leader. Most gangs are not closed corporations, however, but have a certain group of hangers-on or associates—the fringers, who may be "kid followers" or admirers. They constitute a sort of nebulous ring, not to be counted on to go the full length in any exploit and likely to disappear entirely in case of trouble. Yet the gang usually tolerates them for their applause and their occasional usefulness. A gang in embryo sometimes forms in this fringe.

THE STRUGGLE FOR STATUS

Internally the gang may be viewed as a struggle for recognition.¹ It offers the underprivileged boy probably his best opportunity to acquire status and hence it plays an essential part in the development of his personality. This struggle in the gang takes the form of both con-

¹ See Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl*, pp. 31-32.

conflict and competition, which operate to locate each individual with reference to the others. As a result the gang becomes a constellation of personal interrelationships with the leader playing the central and guiding rôle. It may be considered as a "unity of interacting personalities"; but it may also be regarded as an accommodation of conflicting individualities more or less definitely subordinated and superordinated with reference to each other and the leader.

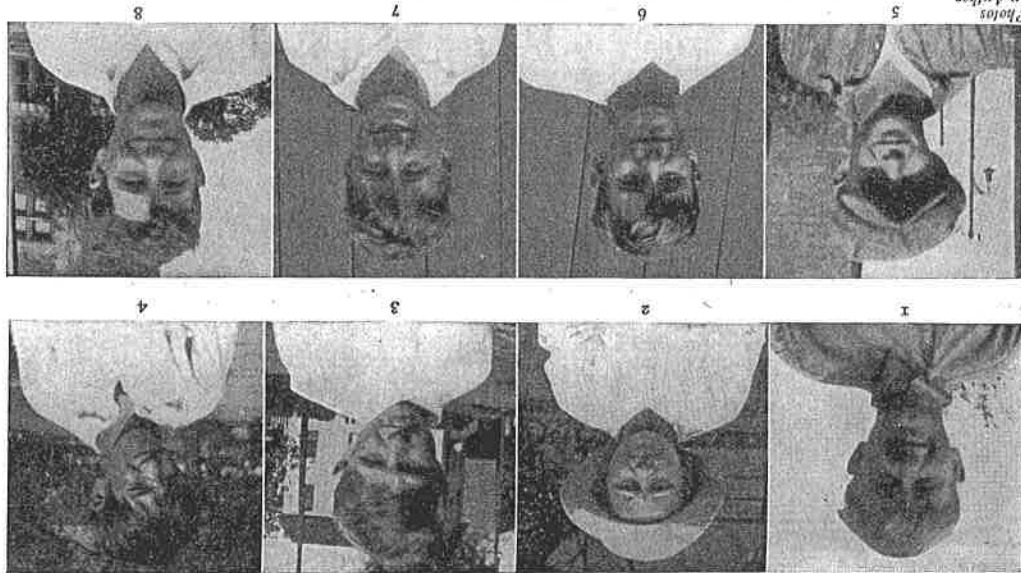
It is in these very rôles, subordinate though they may be, that personality is developed. Any standing in the group is better than none, and there is always the possibility of improving one's status. Participation in gang activities means everything to the boy. It not only defines for him his position in the only society he is greatly concerned with, but it becomes the basis for his conception of himself. The gang boy might well say "I would rather be a fringer in the hang-out of the gang than to dwell in the swell joints of the dukes forever."

For this reason the gang boy's conception of his rôle is more vivid with reference to his gang than to other social groups. Since he lives largely in the present, he conceives of the part he is playing in life as being in the gang; his status in other groups is unimportant to him, for the gang is his social world. In striving to realize the rôle he hopes to take he may assume a tough pose, commit feats of daring or of vandalism, or become a criminal. Thus, his conception of his essential rôle as being in the gang helps to explain why the larger community finds difficulty in controlling him. If acquiring a court record, or being "put away" in an institution, gives him prestige

(1) A jovial adolescent whose greatest thrill is adventure. He relates the exciting exploits of his gang with great gusto. He epitomizes the whole problem of the gang; the wholesome direction of youthful energies. (2) This bright, clean-cut little fellow is a leader. He has brains and runs his own "club" at fourteen. (3) The leader of the Blue Valleys, a West Side group. (4) First lieutenant of the Blue Valleys. (5) A member of the Auburn Arrows. (6) Leader of a play-group in a residential area. (7) Assistant "gang" leader of the same play-group. (8) A so-called "solitary type." The energies and interests of this boy, who is an extremely active type, have been occupied largely with friendships with individual boys and older persons; he has tended to flee from the group. He has built more than fifty radio sets, has written a thesis on amateur radio as a high-school project, and has secured an amateur transmitter's license.

FULL OF FUN AND READY FOR ADVENTURE

Photos
by Author



in the gang, society is simply promoting his rise to power, rather than punishing or "reforming" him. Agencies which would attempt to redirect the boy delinquent must reach him through his vital social groups where an appeal can be made to his essential conception of himself.

THE PROCESS OF SELECTION

There is a process of selection in the gang, as a result of the struggle for status, whereby the ultimate position of each individual is determined. The result of this process depends largely upon the individual differences—both native and acquired—which characterize the members of the group. Other things being equal, a big strong boy has a better chance than a "shrimp." Natural differences in physique are important and physical defects play a part. Natural and acquired aptitudes give certain individuals advantages. Traits of character, as well as physical differences, are significant; these include beliefs, sentiments, habits, special skills, and so on. If all members of the gang were exactly alike, status and personality could only be determined by chance differences in opportunity arising in the process of gang activity. In reality, both factors play a part.

That physical differences are important in determining status is indicated by the fact that the biggest boy or the strongest is often leader by virtue of that fact alone, for bulk usually means an advantage in fighting. Mere size, too, may enable a bully to gain control of the gang; his tenure as leader, however, is always uncertain.

¹ Sex, race, nationality, and age differences have been discussed in previous chapters.

PHYSICAL DIFFERENCES AND PERSONALITY

195. The physical differences of our group happened to be such that we could adapt almost any member to some place for which he was suited on the football team. The backfield men were physically adapted to the positions.

Rocky: quarterback; light, brainy, fast, and nervy.

Cookie: left half and end, short, fast, built low, and a good receiver of passes.

Steve: right half; the fastest man on the team, and rangy enough to break up passing or to receive.

Other men were physically adapted to the positions played. The linemen were heavy, or lighter and very fast; the ends, hard tacklers. In no organization is there required such a variety of physical types of men as in a football team.¹

Physical disabilities often help to determine status in the gang, as elsewhere, through the mechanism of compensation. The defect in such cases serves as a drive to some type of behavior whose excellence will make up for the lowered status which the boy feels himself likely to possess on account of his disability. Compensation arises, therefore, because of the discrepancy between his possible rôle and his conception of the rôle he feels he ought to play.

COMPENSATION

196. "Al" is an interesting example of how status in the gang is determined by a physical defect. He was naturally looked upon as an inferior by most of the fellows because he was afflicted with an impediment of speech. In almost every instance where anything required nerve, however, or where he had an opportunity to show that he was all right, Al was there and fighting for a chance to prove his worth. When two or three fellows were robbing a golf shop, none was willing to break the window and crawl in. Al voluntarily took off his straw hat, placed it against the pane of glass,

¹ Manuscript prepared by a former member. See document 107, p. 186.

and smashed his fist through the window. Because Al was looked down upon, he took up pool very seriously. He got so that he was an exceptionally good straight pool player and for a long time he made his money for eats in this way.¹

If a boy can compensate in some effective manner for a disability, it may not serve as an insurmountable barrier to leadership.

Fighting is one of the chief means of determining status in the gang; each member is usually rated on the basis of his fistc. ability. In a fight to determine which of two contenders is the better, the gang usually guarantees fair play, equalizing the conditions as nearly as possible. In some gangs the best fighter is considered the leader; he can defend his title against all comers.

In addition to fighting, excelling in any other activity in which the gang engages is a method of gaining recognition. For most gangs this applies particularly in the field of athletic prowess, but it may apply equally to some form of daring or predatory activity. "Hardness" is frequently a means of getting prestige; usually the boy who has been arrested, has a court record, or has been put away to serve a sentence is looked upon with admiration.

SPECIAL RÔLES IN THE GANG

Besides leadership (discussed more fully in the following chapter) there are other social functions in the gang. Like leadership, these are also determined by individual qualities in the process of struggle and activity. They evolve as a result of group experience; they are determined by interaction in all of its complexities. The

¹ Manuscript prepared by a former member. See document 13, p. 46.

principal rôles in the gang are sometimes distinguished from each other as being different types of leadership.¹ If the imaginative boy does not have the qualities of geniality and physical force to give him pre-eminence, he may become the brains of the gang.

BILLY, THE BRAINS

197. Billy was the brains of the gang. He was "educated," a high-school boy too. He would work sometimes, but not often. The kids would bring their "stuff" to him. One day we had a big fight over it when we were robbing a merchandise car; we had cigarettes, pop, and a lot of other stuff. Billy had his stuff put away in a box with straw on top of it. The watchman looked at the straw, but Billy told him it was for a rabbit. Billy would sell "cartoons" (of cigarettes) for a half a dollar apiece.

Billy would plan things for our gang. He would get us a place to sleep, when we were bumming away from home. He would get us keys to the bread boxes, so that we could get food when we were hungry. We would get the bread after the bakers left it early in the morning before the stores opened. I still have my duplicate key to a Livingston bread box. If we'd get caught robbing bread, they'd let us off if we were hungry. Sometimes the kids would not "give me to eat," and when I had money, I'd tell them to get away. Billy would find us a place to sleep in some house or basement. He would go around everywhere to see if there was a place to sleep or rob; he was a regular investigator.²

Like the jester of old, the "funny boy"³ is tolerated in spite of behavior that might otherwise be insulting. His irresponsibility is generally excused because of its humorous possibilities. This type of behavior is some-

¹ See Woods, *The City Wilderness*, pp. 115-16.

² Gang boy's own story.

³ The limitations of space prevent the inclusion of cases to illustrate these various types.

times the result of an attempt to compensate for some trait—such as a high-pitched voice—which gives undesirable status in the gang.

A very undesirable status in the gang is that of a "sissy," a rating which may arise through effeminate traits, unwillingness to fight, or too much interest in books or other cultivated pursuits. It usually carries with it a girl's nickname. Ordinarily boys will go to any length to avoid such a rôle.

Another personality type which often emerges in the gang is the "show-off." He is the egotist, the braggart, the boaster, the bluffer, the "loud-mouth" of the group; and the other members usually discount him accordingly. He may resort to "loudness" to gain attention not otherwise forthcoming, or, in his naïve conception of his rôle in the gang, he may simply be overestimating himself. His resulting status is certainly unforeseen by him and even unsuspected in certain cases.

Every gang usually has its "goat." He is a boy who is considered uncommonly "dumb"; he may be subnormal, as measured by psychological tests; and he can usually be depended upon to get caught if anybody does. Boys of this type are sometimes known as "goofy guys," if they combine some special peculiarity with their dumbness. Inexperienced boys are often used as "cats-paws" in the exploits of the gang.

The nature, number, and variety of specialized rôles, which in their interrelationships constitute the action pattern of the gang, must depend to a large extent upon the nature and complexity of the activities and enterprises undertaken. If the gang maintains a team, individ-

ual aptitudes play an important part in assigning places. Special abilities are useful in carrying out certain types of activities. The gang itself may become highly specialized (a functional type), as in the case of the development of some particular line of athletic sport or criminal pursuit. The more specialized the gang, the more highly differentiated is usually the division of labor among its members.

Social rôles and status are similarly determined in the so-called orgiastic group, except that individual traits which count in the organization of such personalities with reference to each other are different from those in the gang, or at least are held in different esteem.

The diversity of talent—singing, dancing, joking, and so on—expressing itself in Boston gangs,¹ is also characteristic of such groups in Chicago. These diversions often develop abilities which later find a place on the vaudeville stage. This is illustrated in a young New York gang recruited in and about Hell's Kitchen—the "Ten Tumbling Tonies"—who amuse theater crowds on the sidewalks near Forty-fourth street and Broadway.²

PERSONALITY AND NICKNAMES

Personalities are recognized by the names applied to the members of the gang. Individual peculiarities, which have an important effect in determining status, are likely to give color to the boy's whole personality. He is named

¹ See Woods, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17.

² Lee Raleigh, "New York's Ten Tumbling Tonies," *New York Times*, November 2, 1924.

For obvious reasons, a big, strong boy does not ordinarily receive a "humilific" name. In one case the real, though not the nominal, leader of the gang would not permit himself to be nicknamed.

EFFECTS OF FORMAL RECOGNITION AND CONTROL

The natural struggle for recognition in the gang is largely a spontaneous process leading to social selection. The general pattern of the gang (its organization) arises for the most part out of the necessities imposed by concerted action in attack, defense, raiding, and other collective enterprises; but members qualify for the various personality rôles thus created, through the internal process of struggle and selection. In this way, the status acquired by boys in a gang determines its natural organization.

When the gang gets a more formal organization it usually gives fresh recognition to distinctions and status which have already been acquired spontaneously; but it cannot *confer* these distinctions, for they are the result of collective experience. When the more important formal offices do not happen to go to the natural leaders, they still retain their power as dictators in the group, while the officers are more or less convenient figureheads. Sometimes the imposition of a formal organization on the natural structure of the gang results in dissensions and is the first step toward disintegration.

A certain amount of outside control of the gang may be achieved through the conferring of distinctions upon members and upon the group as a whole. Decorations and awards conferred by the dignitaries of a different

accordingly, and his name often indicates the esteem in which he is held by the group.

NICKNAMES

<i>A fat boy</i>	<i>A slender boy</i>	<i>A small boy</i>	<i>A handsome boy</i>
Tubby	Slim	Shrimp	Sheik
Beef	Slats	Runt	Good lookin'
Fat	Slivers	Shorty	Handsome
Little Eva	Skinny	Babe	Pretty
Porky		Midget	Cakie
<i>A peculiar boy</i>	<i>An unmarky boy</i>	<i>A hard boy</i>	<i>A homely boy</i>
Goofy	Siss	Dirty	Ugly
Sap	Babe	Nails	Physic face
Dizzy	Nellie	Death	
Nuts	Sissie	Rocky	
Greenie	Blubber	Bull	
		Gyp the Blood	

Racial or nationality trait
Special trait of feature, complexion, or physique

Dago	Nigger	Kinks
Wop	Greaser	Curley
Irish	Red	Leftie
Shamrock	Whitey	Southpaw
Banana (Italian)	Blackie	Rusty
Pollack	Coon	Indian
Sheenie		Sunny

Some special habit or aptitude

Eagle	Lord (lords it over others)
Slicker (thinks he can slick the dice)	Bear
Dopey (drug addict)	Fish
Miser (tight-wad)	Machine-gun
Jazz Baby (dancing)	Funny
Knock-out-drops	

or more inclusive group have a human-nature appeal. Prestige is conferred on American admirals (and upon the American navy), for example, by their investiture by King George with the Order of the Bath and the Order of St. Michael and St. George.¹ American colleges confer "varsity" letters upon athletes for their service on college teams; and these honors are often valued more highly than diplomas. In a like manner settlements, playgrounds, business organizations, politicians, and other agencies dealing with gangs may confer distinctions in the form of ribbons, medals, and cups.

The limitations of this type of control, however, are apparent. The decoration tends to be regarded, in many cases, as of more consequence than the service performed. The American Red Cross, for this reason, tends to discountenance the acceptance of medals. Properly safeguarded, however, decoration capitalizes a basic human wish and may be used with success as a means of control. This is illustrated in the Boy Scouts of America, who besides the emblems allowed scouts in the first three degrees of the order, granted between 1911 and 1926, 1,452,068 merit and other badges for special achievement and 1,152 certificates and medals for heroism and life-saving.

The social agency which would incorporate or use the gang must exercise great care in imposing a formal organization upon the natural action pattern of the group; otherwise, much effort will be misdirected and energy wasted, dissension and strife will arise, and disintegration will probably follow.² The boys' worker must work *with*

¹ Rear Admirals Rodman and Strauss were so invested on July 23, 1918, in recognition of the American navy's part in the Great War.

² See document 163.

the natural forces and mechanisms in the gang rather than against them; his function is to lead and direct, rather than to impose something foreign from without. Any formal scheme of organization and award of honors or decorations must take full account of the boys' own conceptions of their rôles, which are essentially of themselves as loyal gang members and prospective gang leaders rather than as participants in more formal groups or as citizens of the larger community.³

³ The sort of recognition, for example, which would confer great prestige upon an assimilated Boy Scout, might be of indifferent account or quite repugnant to an untamed gang boy because outside of his social world. The recognition which appeals to him must be of a sort to advance his status in his own social group.

The natural leader of the gang is a very different person ordinarily from the leader of a conventional group chosen in some formal way, and in gangs which elect officers, the natural leader may not be selected for an office. His dominance of the group, however, is none the less real.

A NATURAL LEADER

199. When a certain gang became a club, under the supervision of a social center, it was suggested that an election be held to determine the officers. Before this, however, a card game had been played downstairs and "Irish" won the game. In the subsequent election held up in the clubroom Irish was elected president by secret ballot—a procedure which merely confirmed the more primitive method employed downstairs. Once elected, he ruled with an iron hand.

The interesting fact about the whole business, however, was that Jack, the boy who had been elected treasurer by formal ballot, was the real leader of the gang. He was clean-cut and had a high grade of intelligence. His high status is shown by the fact that he would not permit a nickname. He controlled the nominal leader absolutely, and in the club activities a simple word from him was enough to determine the course of group action. While he, like all the other boys, had a court record, he was by far the most decent member of the gang and helped to elevate its standards more than any other member.¹

TRAITS OF THE NATURAL LEADER

The chief trait of the natural leader as revealed by the majority of the cases studied is "gameness." He leads. He goes where others fear to go. He is brave in the face of danger. He goes first—ahead of the gang—and the rest feel secure in his presence. Along with this

¹ Unpublished study by a boys' worker.

CHAPTER XVIII

LEADERSHIP IN THE GANG

The marks of leadership vary from gang to gang. The type of boy who can lead one gang may be a failure or have a distinctly subordinate rôle in another. The personality of the leader is to a large extent a response to the personnel of his group, which may vary from other gangs with regard to age, interests, race, nationality, cultural background, and so on. Physical and athletic prowess, which stand the leader in such good stead in most gangs, for example, would not be valued in the following type of group.

THE BANDITS

198. The boys in this gang, with a few exceptions, seem to be mentally deficient. They are all Italian, fifteen to eighteen years old, and are rather a shiftless bunch, hence the above name, which is not of their own choosing. None of these boys is at all athletic and we have been unable to get any of them interested in the gym. They hang around street corners and talk and get into all sorts of mix-ups; driving off automobiles, stealing, etc. Some of them work; two go to high school; two or three of them do nothing. Two of them have shown talent for drawing and other art work, and the whole group has been recently interested in a Saturday afternoon dancing class where they do social and folk dancing with girls.¹

These variations in personnel produce sharp contrasts in types of leaders; the "hard rock," the "dare-devil," the "politician," the desperado, the "wise guy," and the "Puritan" are some of them.

¹ Unpublished study by boys' worker.

quality usually goes the ability to think clearly in the excitement of a crisis.

Sometimes the highly esteemed quality of gameness becomes developed to the point of pathological exaggeration, and the dare-devil type of personality results.

BOBBIE, A DARE-DEVIL

200. The daring and bravado of a tiny lad with a doll's face enabled him to qualify for the leadership of the "Clutchy-Clutch" gang at the age of nine, although the other members were all older, some of them thirteen. "Bobbie," as the diminutive leader was called, was chiefly interested in adventure; indeed, his desire for prestige and excitement had almost become a mania. He would take any dare—"would not stop at anything." He was the leader of two gangs at one time and also a member of a third. He had been in court more than any other boy in Chicago for his age.

The record of the Clutchy-Clutch, which began as the "Sunday Afternoon Boy Burglars," goes back to 1915. Its members, ten in all and mostly Italian, were drawn from that unstable complex of life in the South State Street area, where most of the families live above the stores and there is no place for the children to play except the streets. The life of this region is so exciting—things are happening there twenty-four hours a day—that it is very difficult for the boys to get the proper amount of sleep.¹

Bobbie's unlimited nerve is shown by many incidents in the history of the gang. On one occasion at a nearby school he tripped and threw down one of the women examiners. He entered a social center in a drunken condition. Backed by his gang he turned in a 4-11 fire alarm and had most of the Chicago Fire Department headed in his direction. He stole a spirited horse with a buggy and drove down State Street. The chief target of the depredations of the gang was the Polk Street railroad station, from which the boys stole frequently. Their main interest in this activity was not the property they acquired, but the thrill experienced in performing

¹ See document 60, p. 139.

the feat. After stealing money, the whole gang would attend a show and Bobbie would steal candy and peanuts for the bunch.

Under Bobbie's leadership in the early days of the gang, the boys would rush into a saloon, snatch the beer from under a customer's nose, and drink it before anyone could interfere. They burglarized stations, restaurants, and saloons simply to show their nerve; incidentally, they drank so much that some of them had to be taken to the county hospital where stomach pumps were used.

It was not uncommon for Bobbie at the age of ten to shoot craps all day. Many of the boys of his own age were afraid to play with him because he was so venturesome. When examined by the state psychologist, it was found that he was not sufficiently retarded to be classed as feeble-minded. The disorganization of family and neighborhood life in this district—the situation complex—goes far toward explaining the freedom and amusements he enjoyed. The gang did the rest.¹

The natural leader is usually, though not always, able to back up his daring with physical prowess. He is very often the best fighter, and many times he champions the gang in the face of opposition. As in the days of chivalry, we find two gangs agreeing to let supremacy depend upon the fighting ability of their individual champions. This may be a primary combat or a more orderly fistic encounter with the gloves. Sometimes if the leader is licked, the whole gang turns in and there is a free-for-all fight pending the defeat of one side or the other or the arrival of the flivver squad from police headquarters.

EDDIE, A SCRAPPER

201. Eddie was the leader of our gang and the best leader any gang ever had. He wasn't always the leader, because before he came Danny was leader for seven or eight months. When Eddie first moved around there, Danny offered him a fight. Then Eddie

¹ Interviews and court records.

beat him up badder than hell. Eddie became our leader and Danny did not want to hang with us guys no more because he was afraid of Eddie.

Eddie was a better leader than Danny, although Danny was supposed to be better. Danny took lessons in a gym down town, but Eddie was a better fighter 'n everything. Danny was smaller than Eddie, but never went out looking for so much fights.

Eddie was the bad guy in the family. His mother did not know what was the matter with him. His father was dead and his mother had to work every day and that is how he got to roaming around. He had two older brothers and they were good kids; one of them makes \$35 a week. But Eddie never had nobody to take care of him and he never went to school hardly. When he quit school his mother got him a job where she worked, but he quit because he did not like the work.

Eddie was our captain and I was Eddie's best pal [proudly]. The gang had two lieutenants, Red and Bud, but Eddie was the leader. They used to do all the planning with Eddie. They had the most brains except Eddie. If they would ever say they had more brains than him, there would be an argument.

We would get the whole gang together to wreck a place; and when we wrecked a place in our neighborhood, we *wrecked* it. We busted a lot of windows in a big hardware store and then we went in and stole a lot of baseball things. We were going to leave the blame on them other guys by writing a note with their names on it. We'd wreck other places, too, by breaking windows. We would bust the windows of the kid supposed to be the leader of another gang. Nobody never knew where Eddie lived, so they could not sneak around and break his windows. If they had, Eddie would have come out with a gun and a club. We broke into a grocery and Eddie nearly pried the big doors out trying to get in. We only got about two dollars, but Eddie made himself at home; he "ett" all he could.

Eddie was such a great fighter that he'd always go round looking for fights and picking fights. Lots of times he'd come out on the bottom, but that never made no difference to him. We had so many fights, I forget half of them. We fought some Jewish guys

and licked them. Then we came back after a while and fought over again, but we lost because somebody had told them and they were ready for us. They had got half of another gang of bigger boys. They took half of one of our guys' eyes.¹

The gang boy has great admiration for the professional pugilist. The developed gang usually has two or three boys with definite aspirations to get into the prize ring. One of the city's hardened criminal groups, the WWW's, has as one of its leaders a professional fight referee; about one-fourth of its membership are trained pugilists; and two or three of them, well-known prizefighters. The successful boxer is many times the product of gang training. As a result of this tradition many gang boys take boxing lessons from professionals.

Another quality that seems requisite to the natural leader is quickness and firmness of decision. He is a man of action. He brings things to pass. He makes a rapid judgment and is resolute in backing it up. If later developments prove him mistaken, he uses skill as best he can to explain why the error was made. He is convincing. He "sells himself to the gang." These are the characteristics which enable him to rule; for they give him the confidence of the group.

Other things being equal, the imaginative boy has an excellent chance to become the leader of the gang. He has the power to make things interesting for them. He "thinks up things for us to do."

GEORGE, THE CLEVER

202. George was usually the leader of the group, although five of us together constituted the dominant element in the gang.

¹ Gang boy's own story.

George, however, was an outstanding personality; even his enemies liked him. He was naturally an "A-number-1" man. He was ingenious, full of ideas, and possessed of much imagination. He was thoroughly responsible and very ambitious. Although he was not an athlete, he was very clever, and that counted more than athletic prowess in our gang. We had a pretty well-rounded group after it had developed. We aimed at general abilities and the best in several different lines.¹

The possession of "brains" or imagination is sometimes sufficient to confer the leadership of a gang upon a boy who is entirely unfitted for it from a physical standpoint. A hunchback was a very successful leader of a gang of healthy boys. An undersized boy may retain his power in the same way.

Occasionally a boy possesses the qualities of natural leadership to such an extent that he becomes a leader of several gangs.

DANNY, A SUPERLEADER

²⁰³ Danny was seventeen or eighteen years old, but he wasn't a big kid. He was short and dark and looked more like French than Irish.

Danny's father and mother, who are dead, had been rich. Danny did not like his brother. His brother lives in a hotel and is a boxer; but Danny, he robs stores every night and the cops are always firing and saying, that if we see Danny they will give a reward for him.

Danny used to have a lot of gangs. He knows a lot more too. One gang he had was a hard one and became so tough that all the other gangs were a-scared of him. He wasn't a-scared of nuttin. He handled a gun well. He pated anybody in the teeth. He would jump on a copper too. He is dying now from being shot by a copper. He got in with the big guys and would go robbing with the big gangs, holding people up. He'd rob guns and everything. He would

¹ Interview with a former member.

take Fords. The flying squad got him and took him to St. Charles, but he ran away from there. He also ran away from Pontiac, and they are looking for him now.

He would make the little kids steal for him. When he wanted things, he would send the little kids, and if they don't go, he would hit them. If a bigger kid would not do his bidding, then he'd tell the whole gang, and they'd jump on him.²

Lacking the traits of a natural leader, a boy often manages to exert control in the gang through the possession of some special qualification. He may be the oldest resident and "know the ropes"; he may possess a knowledge of some special technique useful to the gang; he may control some material advantage such as an automobile or athletic equipment; or the mere show of superiority through "sportiness" may be sufficient to assure leadership, at least for a time.

THE LEADER GROWS OUT OF THE GANG

While it may sometimes be true that a gang forms about a leader, the reverse is generally true: the gang forms and the leader emerges as the result of interaction. It is true also, however, that the way for his emergence may have been prepared by the existence of previous relations of palship or intimacy.

The process whereby the leader attains his superior position in the gang is unreflective so far as the members are concerned. They are quite naïve about the whole matter; they do not stop to puzzle out why they follow one certain boy rather than another. Many times they are quite unaware of the natural leader's pre-eminence among them. When asked why a certain boy holds his

² Gang boy's own story.

place of leadership, they are often hard put to it to find a reason. They show their admiration for him and they know they want to follow him, but the reasons have never been verbalized.

In certain cases this ignorance as to who is the leader is only pretended. The boys say there is no leader or that they are all leaders for fear that an acknowledged leader ("ring-leader") may have to bear the brunt of the punishment in case they are caught in some delinquency promoted by the gang.

In some cases leadership is actually diffused among a number of strong "personalities," who share the honors and responsibilities. Leadership once concentrated may become diffused owing to the gradual development of abilities among the rank and file. A group of outstanding boys, whose individual abilities are supplementary, may combine to form a dominating inner circle. Or there may be a sort of rotation of leadership as activities requiring different abilities are undertaken. As the gang develops, however, and acquires tradition, one boy with more influence than the rest is likely to emerge as a natural leader.¹

HOW THE LEADER CONTROLS

The natural leader in a gang exercises what appears to be almost absolute sway. He can direct the members of his group in almost any way he sees fit.

THE CONTROL OF THE NATURAL LEADER

204. The leader of this gang of Italian boys is older than the others, perhaps seventeen or eighteen. He can do almost any-

¹ Many cases illustrative of these points have been collected, but limitation of space prevents their inclusion.

thing with the group, for they will take correction and treatment from him that they would not take from anyone else. This is particularly noticeable in school where he can always line up his gang and get good response from them, when they might otherwise fail. The leader is a good-looking chap, with a very pleasing personality and a brilliant mind.¹

Ordinarily the members of a gang will not attempt any new enterprise without the leader's approval.

It has been suggested that the leader sometimes controls the gang by means of summation, i.e., by progressively urging its members from one deed to another, until finally an extreme of some sort is reached. This process is closely related to the daring mechanism.² Those who hang back are confronted with the argument that they have already done worse things. In this way the gang gradually commits more and more serious offenses. This is illustrated by a number of cases which come up for trial in the Boys' Court.³

Bulldozing is a method of control employed by a certain type of leader—the bully, who holds his sway chiefly through the fear which he instils. The boy who can retain his position for any length of time, however, must be something more than a mere bully. With all his show of power, the leader must in a very real sense accommodate himself to the wishes of the rest of the gang.⁴

¹ Manuscript prepared by an observer. See document 162, p. 279.

² See document 183, p. 304.

³ Unpublished study by Dorothy Lowenhaupt, "The Influence of the Gang on Juvenile Delinquency." A Study of Four Cases in the Boys' Court.

⁴ The reciprocal dependence of leader and subjects is well recognized. It has been stated by Georg Simmel, a German sociologist; see Nicholas J. Spytkman, *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel*, Book II, chap. i, "Sub-
mission," pp. 95-111.

The gang leader holds his prestige in the group because he presents the boys with patterns of behavior which are agreeable to them. They would like to imitate him, but often, through shortcomings of their own, they are unable to do so; they must be content with admiring him and following as best they can. The leader in many cases assumes the rôle of a hero and the boys recount with enthusiasm tales of his wonderful exploits.¹

JOE, A HERO

205. Joe would always stick with a guy. Two or three guys were always with him and I'd go too. He'd always protect me; I wasn't a-scared. One time the fivver squad was coming and we sat on the curb. The cops told us to get up. Joe stood up and a jimmy slipped out. He had a revolver and told the cops to go. They went down the street and turned the corner. Then the fivver came after us. Joe shot at the fivver and punctured the tires. Then a cop slipped around behind us, but Joe was too wise for him. He shot the cop and put him in the hospital. Finally a cop jumped off a roof and caught Joe.²

A natural leader is more than a hero in the eyes of his followers; he captures their affections as well. In him we often find those "human" qualities which will later fit him to become a ward politician.

CHARLEY, A HERO-POLITICIAN

206. Charley was the leader of our gang. He was the best guy there. He would treat the kids right. They liked him. When he would get a dollar or so, he would not be tight with it. He saved at least fifty kids from drowning in the river. Once when I was swimming there, I got into a pile of mush. Charley jumped in and grabbed me by the tights, but he spoiled his suit. My mother paid him enough money for a new suit for saving my life.³

¹ Gang boy's own story. This boy is a twelve-year-old, but looks ten.

² Gang boy's own story.

No matter how great the leader, however, his tenure of power is never certain. Some change in the personnel of his gang or in the situation complex may bring his rule to a speedy end. He makes mistakes; the gang loses confidence in him, and he is "down and out." If he becomes conceited and bossy, he is sure to find himself summarily deposed, although he may for a time retain his power through sheer physical force. A new boy may appear, moreover, to contest the old leader's power through fighting him or in some other test of skill. The democracy of the gang, primitive though it may be, is a very sensitive mechanism, and, as a result, changes in leadership are frequent and "lost leaders," many.

DEMOCRACY IN THE GANG

The fact that the leader of the gang, even at the height of his power, is not an absolute monarch, but plays his part through his response to the wishes of his followers, is illustrated in the crude sort of democracy which is almost universal in such groups.

PRIMITIVE DEMOCRACY

207. The Seventeenth Streeters had from eighteen to twenty-two members between twelve and fifteen years old. They were mostly Lithuanian, although there were three or four Polish boys in the gang. There weren't any Jewish, because they do not come around our street; they stay on their own streets.

The way I got started with the gang was one warm day when they were going swimming down to the lake; I went with them. I was supposed to clean the house that day and so I was a-scared to go home when evening came; I was afraid I'd get hit. I was up all that night walking around trying to find a place to sleep.

After that I hung away from home for a long, long time, playing with the gang and picking up a living anyway I could. One day some of the boys came up to me and said they seen that empty house and it would be a good place to have a club. So we went up and fixed it up. Nobody knew it. We got tables and chairs out of some yards and put them in the best room in the old house to make a clubroom. One boy had a talking-machine which he brought there. We also had checkers and a lotto box. We used to go up there to play cards, but we'd shoot craps in the street or alley.

We had dues of 15 cents a week and that way we raised money to buy baseball stuff for our ball team. We'd put up \$2 or \$3 against some other team. We'd get an umpire first from one street then from another; they'd try to play fair.

We only had two officers in our club, a cashier, who looked after the money, and a president. The officers were the ones we thought were the best. We choosed them by having those who wanted to be, stand up, and then the boys would stand up behind them and the one that had the longest row would be the president. There were ten or eleven members at first. Some were brothers and there were three boys from Halsted Street. If we wanted a new member, we would ask the president if he wanted him and if he did, he'd take him. We'd ask the new member if he'd pay and if he said yes, we'd let him in.

We had rules for our clubroom too. To get in, you had to knock three times. We also had a rule that every time you swore, you'd have to pay 2 cents. We collected a lot that way to buy baseball stuff. We didn't allow smoking because we was afraid of setting the place on fire. If they smoked we'd charge them a nickel or throw them out. If they spit on the floor, we'd make them clean the place out.

We won three games of baseball and at the end of the month we had a party in our club. The president, he made it up. We just had the members and had ice-cream, cakes, and soda, and we ate and ate and played cards. Then we played a lot on the roof. We used to have lots of gang wars. The one that went first, we'd follow;

there weren't any captains or generals like that. We'd follow the one we thought was wisest. We'd do as he'd say. We'd choose the wisest guy for the leader of the war, and he was pretty nearly always the strongest.¹

The leader of the gang is what he is because in one way or another he is what the boys want. The function of leadership is an inevitable growth out of the conflicts and other activities of the gang. The natural leader is the boy who comes nearest fitting the requirements of this function: he "fills the bill."

THE INFLUENCE OF LEADERS

A real leader manages his gang with ease. So great is his influence over his fellows that, if he is "bad," he may lead them to prison.

THE INFLUENCE OF A "BAD" LEADER

208. A group of seven or eight boys who lived in the neighborhood of a small park, used to congregate every afternoon after school in the playground and interfere with the games and activities of the younger children. The policeman on the beat, being an indulgent, fatherly sort of person, always shooed them away with a good-natured warning. One afternoon they noticed a new policeman at the playground. Immediately the leader of the gang suggested that they "kid the cop," and he threw a snowball at the minion of the law. When the policeman, red and angry, reached the gate, there was no sign of the boys to be seen, but they had discovered a new pastime and were not slow to renew their sport.

For several successive afternoons they hung around the children's playground, and then, when nothing happened the leader of the gang suggested that they slide down the shoots and swing in the swings. The policeman asked them to get out, and they laughed. He pulled his club out of its holder and menaced them.

¹ Gang boy's own story.

"Let's get the cop," shouted the leader, and before the policeman knew what was happening to him, six of the seven members were beating him up.

When the officer brought the case into the Boys' Court, the boys were all paroled together and sent to St. Charles, where, it appeared later, they grew more intimate than they had been before, with each other, and with the sort of crimes that are committed by boys sent to such a place. When they came out, they seemed to have agreed among themselves that the first thing they would do would be to punish the policeman who had taken away their liberty. There were various suggestions, but the leader finally said that the only way they could be sure to put him out of the way was to kill him. Most of the boys, so they told the court afterward, shrank from that, but the leader finally prevailed with them, saying that he would head the attack and that the others should follow him. . . . The policeman was found dead with his head crushed by a heavy club that lay near him, and there were bruises over his face and body from other weapons. The boys confessed that they had all had a hand in the affair, though they admitted that none of them wanted to do it. When asked why they did, then, the reply was practically the same in all cases, "T. told us to, and we've got to do what he tells us." "Did he ever threaten you?" the court asked each boy separately. "No, he never had to. We always did what he said." . . . This boy was truly a born leader, though he led his followers to prison.¹

The boy who in one way or another has already acquired vicious habits makes the gang a source of moral contagion, just as the old John Worthy School in Chicago was a breeding-place for crime because the worst characters contaminated all the others. The principal of the school had charge of the boys only during school hours, after which they would congregate and the virus would be transmitted.

¹ Unpublished manuscript by D. L.—

CLOWNEY, A POPULAR IDOL

209. Boys in the Ghetto say that Clowney came in and taught them how to steal. He was a popular idol and is said to be responsible for Ghetto gangs, the worst of which range in age from ten to fourteen years.

Now these gangs get together under a leader and plan campaigns of stealing. Groups of two or three go out, gathering the loot, and then pool the proceeds. The leader of the gang must be strong and quick-witted, although he may be mentally unbalanced.¹

In sharp contrast with these cases is one of a gang become "righteous" through the influence of a strong leader with a rather puritanical tradition behind him.

THE RIGHTEOUS GANG

210. Our gang stuck together for several years. It was composed of five boys—Arthur M., the two C. brothers, Warren and Hugh, J. C. M., and myself, Phil R.—all living within four blocks of each other on the extreme outskirts of the city of X—, Illinois. There were three Protestants, one Catholic, and one Jew in the group; but that made no difference in our ardent devotion to each other.

One characteristic which set this gang off from others in the community was its insistence on certain ideals of conduct from its members. Very early we were enthusiastic about the idea of doing what was right. It was an established rule that anyone caught using profanity should receive a kick from every other fellow in the gang. One of the fellows said he had read in a eugenics book that every boy should build up his body while young; for it would have to last him a lifetime. Accordingly we went in for everything that would improve our health. We went camping often; we did not smoke. The gang went out for all the high-school sports and different members made the tumbling, the basket-ball and the football teams. Later, Art was chosen as All Northern Illinois halfback.

¹ Interview with a resident of the district.

The other fellows in our neighborhood laughed at us for not smoking and doing other things which they did. We became known as the "righteous" gang but later when our group achieved athletic fame in high school, and also beat up a few of them, they had more respect for us. We also formed a wrestling team so that we could challenge another gang who thought they were invincible. Finally the other fellows in the neighborhood decided to quit kidding us on our stand on the smoking question and to fall into line by quitting smoking themselves.

The largest fellow in the gang was Art, who was six feet tall and weighed 185 pounds. He possessed a wonderful personality and also the qualities of leadership which enabled him to assume control of the gang. He was outspoken, courageous, and frank. On one of our hiking trips in the country a huge dog made for us with ominous intentions and we all scurried for the trees. When we looked down we saw the dog sullenly walking away and Art standing a few feet away with a club held over his head in a menacing position. It was such demonstrations of fearlessness that made us respect him. He was the one who organized us into an independent Boy Scout troop, brought about the prohibition of swearing and smoking, and also inspired us to go in for athletics. In high school Art used to chide the other fellows for drinking and smoking. He once remonstrated with a certain fellow on the football team for breaking training, but did not report it to the coach. He went out for all forms of athletics in high school, making the basket-ball, football, and track teams. In the latter two he starred. Last year he played on the college team.

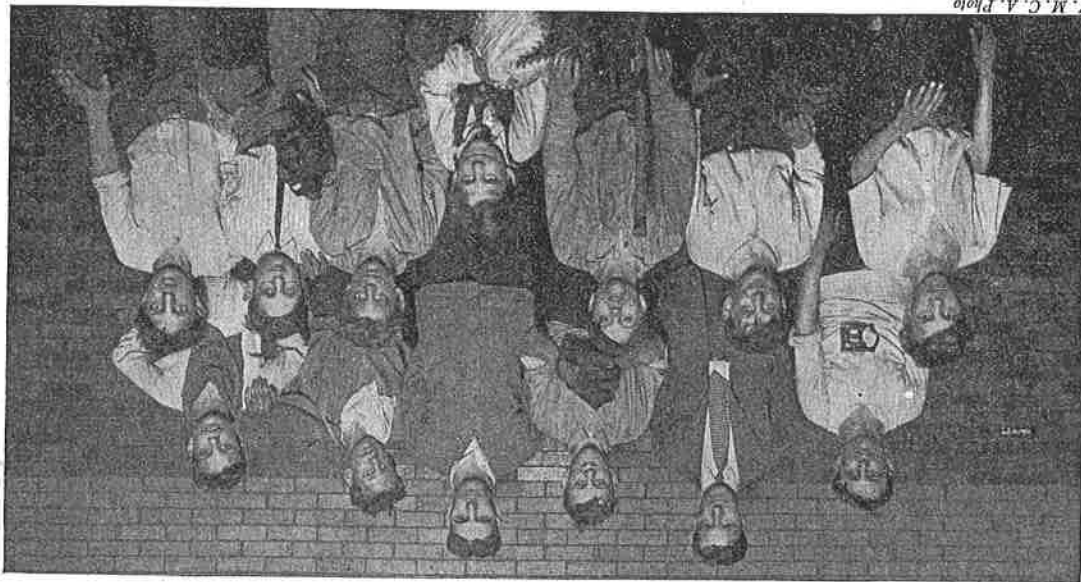
Art's father was a man of enlightenment, having had a somewhat liberal education in Germany and wishing to see his own children with all the educational advantages possible. The children were brought up in the Puritan style—going to the Catholic church every Sunday and working while attending school so as to learn the value of money.

Warren C—— was good in athletics, but he was very impatient and did not like to study. Not having the patience to stick to it, he left high school and joined the air service. His brother, Hugh,

This gang, composed mostly of Italian boys from twelve to sixteen years of age, was alleged to have engaged in questionable practices and predatory activities. It was taken into the Boys' Department of the Young Men's Christian Association as a baseball club. "The Chicago Junior Cubs." In the beginning it was a nuisance in the "Y," breaking up games and shooting craps. Its members were also inefficient in group games and showed poor sportsmanship. The group has shown great improvement, however, under the direction of capable and sympathetic leaders. (See pp. 514-17.)

THE REESE STREET GANG

Y. M. C. A. Photo



D. J. ...

was radically different from Warren. He applied himself constantly to his studies and stuck to things. In high school Hugh went out for all sports, making the football and basket-ball teams. He was active in our neighborhood athletic activities such as boxing, tumbling, etc. He got on the honor roll in the matter of grades for the second consecutive year. Having finished high school, he is now attending college.

J. C. was the only member of the gang not interested in athletics. He was very handy on hikes and hunting trips, however, for he loved the out-of-doors.

The influence of the Boy Scout type of organization upon the gang was considerable, although the group was never organized as a formal Scout troop. Art was elected captain of our independent troop composed only of the five of our group. This was merely a change from our previously tacit to an external recognition of him as our leader.

Majority rule controlled our gang in important decisions, but aside from these the leadership of Art determined and directed the activities of the group. On our hiking, camping, or any other kind of activity Art led the rest in stumping and assumed the chief responsibilities. He knew where and how to put up a tent, how to make a fire, cook, and what food to take along. On hunting trips in the winter he could differentiate between the tracks of different animals.*

The nature of the influence which the leader may exert is indicated in the case of this "righteous gang." The character of the gang is to some extent determined by the habits, attitudes, and interests which its members have previously acquired—the nature of the tradition which they bring with them when they enter the group. This is particularly true with reference to the leader. A gang will often become whatever the leader makes it and that will

* Manuscript by a former member.

be determined by the forces which have already played upon him and molded his character.

This document shows, among other things, that the energies, which under certain conditions lead to mischief, can be directed into other channels. It illustrates the principle of the Boy Scouts and similar boys' work agencies, but it also indicates that it is group action—directed toward ends that are intelligible to the boy members themselves—through which order is established and habits are formed that are wholesome, or at least, harmless.

INTRODUCTION

The problems arising in connection with the presence of gangs in a community are many. The undirected gang or gang club demoralizes its members. It aids in making chronic truants and juvenile delinquents and in developing them into finished criminals. It augments racial friction in some areas. It complicates the problems of capital and labor in certain fields. It organizes bootlegging and rum-running into profitable business. It contributes to perverted politics and governmental corruption. It promotes the corrupt alliance between crime and politics. In making more acute these various types of social maladjustment it lays a heavy burden upon the community.

The gang problem with all its various phases is not peculiar to Chicago. It is present in every American city where the disordered conditions of the intramural frontier have developed. Studies made in New York City, Boston, Cleveland, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Minneapolis, El Paso, Hammond, Denver, and other cities have revealed the same phenomena on a larger or smaller scale. The problem is better in hand in some of these communities than in others, but the findings of the Chicago investigation indicate a type situation. Even in rural areas the gang tends to appear when community life breaks down and opportunities are present for boys to congregate.

The more serious aspects of the gang problem are created by the older groups. Yet the continuity of life

from the younger gangs to the older is so unbroken, the passage from one stage to the next is so gradual, that the serious crimes of young adult gangs can hardly be understood apart from their origins in adolescent groups. Most of the practices of the criminal gang are begun in fact or in principle among the boys. There is no break to mark the place where the adolescent gang leaves off and the adult gang begins. This is an important fact in explaining the criminal community and the development of the other phases of the gang problem, most of which have their genesis in younger gangs.

CHAPTER XIX

DEMORALIZATION IN THE GANG

There are many demoralizing influences in the undirected gang. The period of adolescence, which is particularly given to ganging, is one of plasticity and habit forming. For this reason the nature of the conditioning to which the gang boy is subjected is exceedingly important from the standpoint of his later adjustments. It is these early acquisitions which often make him a difficult problem for the community in later years.

Demoralization begins with the boy's entrance into the gang or earlier. The extent of the worldly knowledge displayed by little "punks" of seven or eight amazes the investigator. The process continues progressively as the gang boy grows older. He often undergoes a rather dramatic evolution, passing through a series of stages, each growing out of the preceding. Beginning as a truant, he becomes in turn a minor delinquent, a hoodlum, a reckless young sport or a daredevil, an occasional criminal, and finally, if nothing intervenes, he develops into a seasoned gangster or a professional criminal. Training in the gang is periodically interrupted by visits to various correctional institutions. He comes to regard these as little more than side excursions; and he may even point to them with some degree of pride. Although they are designed to "reform" him, in most cases they simply speed up the process of demoralization.¹

¹ Compare H. E. Barnes, *The Repression of Crime*, p. 375. The term "demoralization" may be used to denote a falling away from

THE GANG INVITES TRUANCY

The process of demoralization often begins in "playing hookey," which in itself seems innocent enough. A lot of the fun in sneaking away from school is in going "wid de gang"; boys seldom "bum" from school alone. The gang invites truancy and truancy encourages the gang.

"Truancy is one of the first steps in the formation of the gang," asserts an experienced officer of the Chicago Department of Compulsory Education. "Nearly every habitual truant over twelve becomes the nucleus for a gang and delinquency follows. The gang, on the other hand, is the basis for truancy. The demoralizing influence of truant gangs in school districts is rapid. . . . Gang boys are truants and lead others to become so."¹

The consensus of opinion among the sixty-three Chicago truant officers who prepared special reports on the gang problem in their districts was that the gang augments truancy.² They had under observation at the time

the customs (mores) or a disintegration of morale. Here it is used, however, to include the development of attitudes and habits which are out of adjustment with the dominant social codes. Truancy, incorrigibility, hoodlumism, delinquency, criminality may be considered as successive stages in this process of demoralization. A criminal gang may have its own mores, which govern the relations of its members to each other, and it may have a high degree of morale, developed in fighting other gangs or defying the law. Yet, in either case, its members may be considered as demoralized from the point of view of the larger community.

¹ From reports of officers in the Department of Compulsory Education.

² A complete report on the gang situation, as observed by the truant officers of Chicago was made possible through the co-operation of Superintendent William L. Bodine, of the Department of Compulsory Education, and his corps of officers.

the study was made a total of 238 boys' gangs and 94 unattached and unsupervised clubs of the gang type.

"Playing hookey," which is quite natural to any boy, is defined by society as truancy. When it recurs frequently the gang boy receives special treatment at the hands of officials who seek to enforce their definition of the situation. If a truant, placed in an incorrigible room at school, does not standardize his conduct, he enjoys the first side trip of his career in being "put away" in the Chicago Parental School, maintained for the institutional care of chronic truants. He may be held first for a few days in the Juvenile Detention Home, which the gang boys call the "Juvenile County Jail." This experience gives him great prestige with the other boys when he gets back into the gang and tells his story. Too often it is the first milestone in a course of personal disorganization, which often leads either to successful criminality or to prison.

An intensive study of twenty-eight confirmed truants disclosed the fact that twenty-two of them were members of delinquent gangs' and five, of mischievous or crapping groups, while only one was free from gang influences.¹

One of these cases, showing the influence of the gang in making a chronic truant, has an added interest because of the tragic end which came to the boy during the investigation.

¹ The interviews with boys at the Parental School were conducted by I. D. Stehr. While twenty-eight cases may not be regarded as a sufficient number to warrant conclusions as to the effect of the gang on truancy, evidence from other sources confirms the opinion that the gang plays a large part in creating the problem in its more serious aspects.

THE CASE OF JIMMY WRIGHT

211. James Wright first became a truant at the age of eleven. School did not appeal to him and he much preferred to be out with his gang.

"Jimmie was going wild," his mother is alleged to have told a newspaper reporter. "I could not keep him in school and his gang was leading him into petty thieveries. He was arrested. I couldn't do anything with him."

The lad had developed typically boyish interests at this time. He enjoyed all sorts of athletics, particularly boxing. . . . Like the other boys of his gang, he yearned for adventure. He read those books which contained the most exciting experiences. His favorite author was Zane Grey and the one book he liked best was Grey's *The Man of the Forest*. He went to the movies once every week. He liked mystery plays, but preferred western pictures featuring Tom Mix. His fondest wish was for an aeroplane in which he could repeat some of the thrilling feats which he had witnessed on the screen.

School was unattractive; he did not like to go to church. He belonged to no boys' club or scout troop. His club was his gang and that absorbed most of his attention. The Twenty-ninth Street gang, which seems to have been largely responsible for his delinquencies, was composed of from twenty-five to thirty Irish and American boys ranging in age from thirteen to sixteen years. James himself was the leader of the group because he was a good athlete, a good fighter and the bravest in time of danger. Next in bravery was his first lieutenant, whom he could lick, to be sure, but to whom he trusted the command of the gang during those periods when he was confined in the Parental School.

The Twenty-ninth Streeters played baseball and football and promoted other athletic contests. A good deal of time was spent in loafing, smoking, going to shows, and gambling. Poker, Rummie and "Slapjack," pool, and crap shooting were the favorite games of chance.

Other exploits included roaming over the city and junking for copper, brass, and silver which could be profitably disposed of to the junkman. Stealing expeditions were not uncommon; on one

occasion, they robbed a restaurant. Sometimes they took automobiles for joy-riding.

They were fighters too. "If anybody hits you, go and get him," was Jimmie's motto for the gang. Their particular enemies were the Twenty-second Streeters. The gang was active during the Chicago race riots.

With this sort of influence about him it is not difficult to understand why the boy did not attend school. During the four and one-half years of his association with the gang, he was committed five different times to the Parental School. He was well liked at the institution where he was given positions of trust. His good record there would win him a parole, but no sooner had he returned home than he would go back to the old gang. He himself recognized the bad influence of the gang, but was unable to resist its attractions.

During the period of James' fifth commitment to the Parental School, charges were made accusing some of the officers of the school of cruelty to the boys. Because of his qualities of leadership and his general popularity, Jimmie had been made captain of his cottage, a position which entailed the maintaining of discipline among the other boys. The problem of dealing with his fellows became so difficult at this time, however, that he asked to be relieved of his position.

It was alleged that the family instructor in charge of his cottage failed to accede to this request. Dissension followed. Jimmie became ill with boils and was finally demoted. Later it was alleged by the family instructor that a plot had been uncovered whereby Jimmie had planned to poison him and his wife by putting hydrochloric acid in the drinking water. As a punishment, the boy was locked up in a cage of wire netting which was used for the solitary confinement of the unruly.

The following morning the guards discovered that the boy had hanged himself by means of a sheet knotted to the top of the cage. This tragic incident resulted in a thorough investigation of the institution, but it was too late to do anything for Jimmie. His story was ended.¹

¹ The story of James Wright has been prepared from the account of a personal interview conducted by I. D. Stehr with the boy before his

Although playing hookey seems innocuous to the casual observer, under city conditions of the gangland type it contains the germs of later delinquencies. Boys in truant gangs soon learn to sleep away from home and eventually they may absent themselves for weeks or months at a time. They pick up rags, bottles, and barrels to sell and it is but a short step to stealing milk and groceries from back porches and then bicycles for hikes.¹ Most of the boys in the truant rooms and Parental School are restless little urchins who have been initiated into this life and find it difficult to stick to anything of a more settled nature.²

Not all gang boys have been truants, however, and many boys attending school regularly are drawn into gang associations.

THE GANG FACILITATES DELINQUENCY

Whether the schoolboy is a truant or not, the unpurvised gang is pretty likely to lead him in the direction of delinquency. If the gang boy attends school regularly he encounters the demoralizing influence of the gang in his periods of leisure. Most boys in gangland, however, quit school³ as soon as the law allows them, either to loaf death, and from published accounts after the tragedy. Disguises of the material are not employed because of the publicity which the case has already received.

¹ See chap. ix. See also Healy and Bronner, *Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies*, Series I, Case 11, p. 7a.

² Document 20 shows the ten-year development of a hardened criminal gang from a group of truants. See p. 66.

³ Boys are required by law to attend school until they are fourteen years of age when they may apply for a working certificate, carrying on their studies, however, for two years longer in a continuation school which is maintained in connection with their work.

or find a job. The working boy's spare time is quite likely to be filled with the same sort of activities as the schoolboy's. Frequent periods of loafing and unemployment among boys in gangland are particularly favorable to the formation of gangs and the development of the sort of delinquencies which they promote.

SPARE-TIME ACTIVITIES OF A STREET CLUB

212. The X—Y—Street Club is reputed to be one of the most destructive and demoralizing gangs in the neighborhood. It has no regular clubroom but meets out of doors in the fall, mainly in the rear of the — School and in nearby alleys and streets. Crap shooting, gambling, smutty story-telling, and planning robberies were said to be its chief activities. There are some twenty boys from twelve years up in the group. According to a probation officer of the Juvenile Court, the leader is an escaped inmate of St. Charles. The principal of the school nearby told me that the leader fell in love with one of the teachers and induced her to elope with him. The two went to Michigan and later the boy was tried there and for a time was imprisoned in the state penitentiary. He is now back in Chicago.

At the time of the study a member of this gang, only twelve years old, was in the Juvenile Detention Home on charge of participating in a thousand-dollar robbery. He said that the other members were trying to put the responsibility on him. It is said that the leader's custom is to commit crimes and then make the smaller boys bear the brunt of the punishment.¹

Neighborhood gangs may exercise a demoralizing effect upon a whole school.

GANG INFLUENCES AROUND A SCHOOL IN GANGLAND

213. Twenty-four eighth-grade boys from twelve to sixteen years old were interviewed at this school. Sixteen of them had no wholesome recreation. Five boys went to a social center and three

¹ Report of a private investigation made by a social agency.

to a settlement. The boys patronized the movies on an average of nearly twice each week.

Twelve boys belonged to gangs. According to the principal, there is extreme need of constructive action in this section: the streets and even school yard are infested with gangs, the activities of which are destructive of property and character. The influence of these gangs over younger boys is most demoralizing. One tough gang operates near the school and is a menace to discipline and normal life even within the school. A public-school center conducted five nights a week would prove of incalculable value to the neighborhood.¹

The unwholesome influence upon schoolboys of groups of boys who are not working has often been remarked by school officials.

Many gang boys who have not had dealings with social authority as truants, have their first adventure with the law in the Cook County Juvenile Court, which determines whether they shall be paroled to their parents, put on probation under the direction of the court, or put away in some institution for minor offenders. A visit to the court constitutes the beginning of a "record" and as in the case of an experience in the Juvenile Detention Home or the Parental School, it is viewed in retrospect with great pride by the boy, for it gets him status in the gang.² This general principle of prestige in the gang through experience with the law has been observed in a large number of cases.³

¹ Report of a private investigation made by a social agency.

² A court record may also operate to keep a boy in the gang by creating a peculiar common experience. In one case it was observed also that a boy's police record prevented his getting a job, thus forcing him back into the gang for friends who would stake him.

³ See the case of "The Sons of Arrest," in W. R. George and L. B. Stowe, *Citizens Made and Re-Made*, pp. 6-7.

The importance of the group factor in juvenile delinquency in Chicago is suggested by a study of 177 boys brought into the Chicago Juvenile Court in one month (August, 1920). In 57 per cent of these cases, the boys were arraigned in groups, while the records indicate that groups were active in many of the other cases, in which only one boy was caught. A similar study of 169 boys for a winter month (January, 1921) suggests the presence of the group factor in 54 per cent of the cases.¹ While these facts are hardly conclusive in themselves, they become significant in the light of statements made by those in close touch with the work of the court.

In the majority of cases of delinquent boys, the defendants are either leaders or members of bad gangs.²

In more than one-half the cases that have come under my observation, the gang spirit has been in evidence.³

Our observation leads us to believe that the gang is one of the largest factors in delinquency and juvenile crime in Chicago.⁴

My attention has been called to a quotation from your recent address stating that the "gang spirit" contributes largely to crime. I wish to commend your statement in this connection as my experience of twenty-two years in dealing with offenders leads me to agree with you.⁵

¹ *Preliminary Inquiry into Boy's Work in Chicago*, Middle West Division, Boys' Club Federation, February, 1921, p. 11.

² Statement by Judge Victor P. Arnold, Juvenile Court of Cook County, Chicago, Illinois.

³ Statement by Joseph L. Moss, Chief Probation Officer, Cook County Juvenile Court, Chicago, Illinois.

⁴ Statement by Miss Jessie Binford and Mrs. L. W. McMaster, Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago, Illinois.

⁵ From a letter to the writer from F. Emory Lyon, Superintendent of the Central Howard Association, maintained for men and boys from correctional institutions.

Unsupervised boys' clubs in this gang area are an actual or potential source of disorder and delinquency. This is particularly true of the groups of smaller boys, the members of some of which already possess criminal records.¹

If not paroled to their parents or kept on probation, gang boys in the first stages of delinquency may be sent for a term to the Chicago Cook County School for Boys, an educational institution for lesser offenders. That the majority of boys received here have been subjected to the disorganizing influences of the unsupervised gang or gang club is indicated by an intensive study of 100 of them (made in connection with this investigation)² taken at random. Of these, 95 per cent were members of delinquent gangs, and more than 80 per cent freely admitted the influence of the gang in getting them into trouble. A similar study in 1918 of 100 boys committed by the Juvenile Court to a correctional institution showed 75 per cent to have been members of gangs.³ A re-examination of these schedules revealed that in practically every case the delinquency of the boy was linked with gang activities.

Although the group factor in delinquency has been generally ignored by criminologists, some recent students of the subject have emphasized its importance. E. H. Sutherland points out that delinquencies are committed in the majority of cases by groups of offenders rather than

¹ From the report of a private investigation made by a social agency.

² Through the courtesy of O. J. Milliken, then principal of the Chicago Cook County School for Boys, the author was permitted to become acquainted with the boys and to record their own stories of their experiences in gangs.

³ Albert E. Webster, *Junk Dealing and Juvenile Delinquency*, pp. 17, 18.

by individuals. While only 38 per cent of the children brought into the Children's Court of New York City were arraigned singly, "the actual association is much greater than these figures indicate for the reason that many members of the group committing an offense do not get caught or get caught later and are arraigned separately." Furthermore, the gang encourages delinquency outside its own ranks by setting a standard of conduct for a whole neighborhood.¹ Franklin Chase Hoyt also corroborates these conclusions. Generalizing from his experience with boys' gangs in New York City, he points out that the adventures and street fights of the younger gangs begin innocently enough, but later tend to develop into predatory activities, ultimately developing "typical gangsters, the gunmen, and the criminals of whom we hear so much, and who hesitate at nothing, not even at murder itself, in the carrying out of their objects."²

The relation between gangs and juvenile delinquency in London appears to be less marked than in American cities.

GANG BOY DELINQUENCY IN LONDON

In the group of 123 boy delinquents analyzed for statistical comparison, as many as 14, that is 11.4 per cent, belonged to a juvenile gang of three or more members. In the parallel group of 74 girls, not one.³

London statistics from other sources, however, indicate a larger number of juvenile delinquents in gangs.

¹ *Criminology*, p. 154.

² That a gang may set a good standard as well as a bad, is indicated by the story of the "Righteous" gang, document 210.

³ *Quicksands of Youth*, p. 113.

⁴ Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent* (1925), p. 447.

In the inquiry by the Juvenile Organizations Committee as many as 63 per cent of the boys are said to have been "working in gangs." But it is clear, from the published table, that over one-third of these—23 per cent of the total—were working in couples only, and were, therefore, mere comrades and not members of a gang in the accepted sense. A few of the bands encountered, however, comprised a membership of from ten to sixteen (*Board of Education Report on Juvenile Delinquency*, p. 18).¹

A Scottish report shows an equally large number "working together in batches."

IN SCOTLAND

In the Scottish inquiry, out of 89 boys, 12 were working alone, and 56, that is, 63 per cent, were working together in batches. It should be added that the offenses were in every case serious: boys breaking by-laws by playing street football were not included (*Report of Scottish National Council of Juvenile Organizations*, p. 16).²

It is not safe to conclude that boys working in pairs are mere pals, because the favorite method of gang boys is to work in twos and threes in order to avoid suspicion.

An interesting case of the way in which the gang may become a source of moral contagion on the cultural frontier of a smaller city has been indicated by a study of El Paso, Texas, which has a population of about 77,000.

MEXICAN BOY GANG LIFE

²¹⁴. In the Mexican section of El Paso is a group of three or four hundred Mexican boys composed of from twenty to twenty-five gangs, each with its separate leader. These gangs have been growing steadily for eight or nine years and now embrace a rather seasoned and experienced leadership in all sorts of crime. Eighty per cent of their members are probably under fifteen years of age; most of the older boys are under eighteen. Stealing, destroying

¹ Burt, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

² *Ibid.*

property, and all kinds of malicious mischief are their chief activities. In fact, these groups are almost literally training schools of crime and they seem to be related to each other in a sort of loose federation. For the most part, the boys do not go to school or do not work unless it be for an occasional day. Fifty of them have been sent to the State Industrial school, eight are in jail, twenty-five or thirty are being specially investigated, and about two hundred are under surveillance. These boys may be observed in their characteristic groupings every evening on street corners and in vacant lots and alleys. The park, which is their favorite meeting place, with its double rows of tall hedges, its trees and shrubbery, affords them a good place to hide and to conceal their delinquencies.³

It is apparent that the gangs in this case have grown up in a culturally interstitial area within which the usual institutions which control the boy have broken down.

DOES THE GANG CAUSE CRIME?

The present study does not advance the thesis that the gang is a "cause" of crime.⁴ It would be more accurate to say that the gang is an important contributing factor, facilitating the commission of crime and greatly extending its spread and range. The organization of the gang and the protection which it affords, especially in combination with a ring or a syndicate, make it a superior instrument for the execution of criminal enterprises. Its demoralizing influence on its members arises through the dissemination of criminal technique, and the propagation, through mutual excitation, of interests and attitudes which make crime easier (less-inhibited) and more attrac-

³ From Roy E. Dickerson, "Report of a Survey of Mexican Boy Life," a statement to the author, September 26, 1924.

⁴ For an excellent discussion of causation in relation to crime see Sutherland, *Criminology*, chaps. iv to viii, inclusive.

ive.¹ The case of "Olaf's crowd" represents a diffuse or rudimentary gang. Although Healy calls this type of group a "crowd," he recognizes its far-reaching importance in inciting boys to delinquency.

The abolition of the gang, even if it could be accomplished, would not remove the unwholesome influences with which the boy in gangland is surrounded. Many boys there would become demoralized even without the gang. But the gang greatly facilitates demoralization by giving added prestige to already existing patterns of unwholesome conduct and by assimilating its members to modes of thinking, feeling, and acting which would not be so emphasized without group influence. One bad gang in a neighborhood, furthermore, "starts all the others going in the same direction," and the younger gangs follow the older. Clifford R. Shaw has traced delinquencies directly from one group to another, by means of a sort of interlocking membership, back for a period of fifteen years. In this way the tradition of gang delinquencies comes to be passed along as kind of social heritage in a neighborhood. E. H. Sutherland has pointed out that the Valley gang in Chicago "has had an active life of over thirty years. In the earlier period the district was controlled politically and socially by this gang. . . ."²

The extent to which juvenile delinquency becomes habitual with boys in Chicago (and most of the repeaters

¹ See the case of "Olaf's Crowd," document 17. Sutherland in *op. cit.*, pp. 156-57 points out how the desire for recognition in the gang impels the boy toward delinquency.

² *Criminology*, p. 154. "Paddy the Bear," leader of the Valley gang in its early period, has been succeeded by men who have continued its activities and have made large fortunes in beer-running.

are boys of the gang type), is indicated by the following figures on recidivism in the Cook County Juvenile Court.

The most important educative influences in shaping the tastes, character, and personality of the boy are like-

TABLE VII
DELINQUENT BOYS—TIMES IN COURT, 1916 TO 1924*

Times in Court	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
First time.	1,172	1,204	1,246	1,445	1,062	930	759	673	988
Second time.	453	495	471	539	401	357	290	280	519
Third time.	249	304	283	301	216	215	128	173	276
Fourth time.	154	158	167	169	128	123	65	74	170
Fifth time.	99	94	65	100	53	78	39	41	64
Sixth time.	46	39	41	55	22	29	34	13	28
Seventh time.	14	20	16	19	20	14	9	7	15
Eighth time.	7	7	8	9	8	2	2	8	7
Ninth time.	6	7	9	10	2	6	3	10	12
Tenth time.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
Total.	2,192	2,328	2,306	2,647	1,912	1,754	1,330	1,283	2,079

* Annual Reports of the Juvenile Court and the Juvenile Detention Home of Cook County, 1924 (fiscal year), p. 36.

ly to be those he encounters informally,¹ because leisure-time behavior comes nearest being voluntary and repre-

¹ This point of view is fully corroborated by the findings of the Cleveland Recreation Survey. The volume on *Delinquency and Spare Time* shows that in three out of four cases of juvenile delinquency the use of spare time has a direct relationship to the delinquency (pp. 120 and 180). The volume on *School Work and Spare Time*, which includes a comparison of normal boys in school with boys so far gone in delinquency as to be confined to an institution, indicates even more strikingly the influence of the use of spare time in the genesis of misconduct. The volume on *Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time* shows, on the other hand, the influence of wholesome spare-time activities directed by parents, teachers, and friends upon the development of wholesome character and the capacity for consequent social adjustment and success. See the seven volumes published by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation.

sents more really the boy's own selection of activities. Even if opportunities for wholesome recreation were present in abundance, it would be difficult for it to compete with the vigorous freedom of exciting gang life. It may hardly be doubted that intimate association in gang activities is far more vital in molding the boy than any sort of conventional schooling.

Curiously enough, a boy sometimes becomes aware that the gang is providing him with an education. In one case it was maintained that gang schooling in automotive mechanics was better than technical high-school training.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN THE GANG

215. G.— is a seventeen-year-old, a handsome, bright-eyed member of the Giorianna gang. A casual conversation is sufficient to indicate that he is full of energy and ideas of his own. In a two-hour discussion with the investigator he maintained that he could get a better training in automotive mechanics in his gang than in any high school in Chicago. Several of the members are expert mechanics and they have a "great big book" which they consult in cases of doubt. This gang is alleged to have from twelve to fourteen stolen cars on hand all the time. Some of these are torn down and the parts sold, others are dismantled, and still others are rebuilt; the gang maintains an outlet store for the disposal of such material; hence, this type of knowledge is directly related to their activities and stands them in good stead in a practical way.¹

In spite of all of the forces in the unsupervised gang which influence the boy in the direction of delinquency, some writers believe that the gang has been overemphasized as a factor in producing crime.

It is quite clear that not all gangs are criminal gangs. The gang has probably been overemphasized as a factor in crime, in

¹ Gang boy's own story.

view of the large number of gangs that exist without criminal records. . . .

Our impression is that the gang—defined to include the rudimentary type which Healy calls the "delinquent crowd," and to exclude the more formal group regularly constituted and supervised by some social agency—is a very important factor in Chicago crime. An assumption that any large number of gangs exist without delinquent activities is hardly justified in the light of available findings on this point.

The great majority of the gangs studied in the present investigation had engaged in delinquent or demoralizing activities.² (Figures are given on the following page.)

Knowledge of the type of group included under II indicates that the majority of these gang clubs are demoralizing in their influence, while many groups not definitely reported as delinquent are subject to suspicion in spite of the desire of some informants to shield them.

¹ Sutherland, *Criminology* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.), p. 157. In this conclusion Sutherland is probably following William Healy, who says,

"A considerable literature on gang life has been developed, but according to our studies of delinquents, the rôle of the gang has been overdone. Of course there are plentiful examples of harmful influences, but there are many others, as in this case, where gang life has had very little bearing on delinquency. There are gangs that are 'predatory,' and there are many gangs that are quite innocuous, and there are gangs that by no means draw into them all the boys in the vicinity."—William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies*, Series I, Case I, p. 96.

² Compare Emory S. Bogardus, *The City Boy and His Problems: A Survey of Boy Life in Los Angeles*, chap. vi, "The Boy and the Gang," pp. 93-100. "Stealing is perhaps the gang's most common major activity" (p. 98).

TABLE VIII

DELINQUENT ACTIVITIES IN CHICAGO GANGS

I. Gangs whose influence is probably not demoralizing	
Definitely reported as wholesome.....	40
Reported as not tough.....	12
Total.....	52
II. Gangs whose influence may be demoralizing	
Purporting to have club activities.....	15
Purporting to have dancing activities.....	13
Chief interest in billiards.....	1
Purporting to be social clubs.....	30
Purporting to be athletic clubs.....	326
Purporting to be athletic and social clubs	21
Purporting to be political clubs.....	7
No statement made as to delinquencies..	196
Total.....	609

609

III. Gangs whose influence is probably demoralizing

Not to be highly recommended.....	1
Suspicious groups.....	9
Mixed good and bad groups.....	9
Some members delinquent.....	11
Chief activity burglary.....	1
Very destructive.....	2
Disorderly.....	48
Loafing.....	7
Mischievous or annoying.....	30
Chief activity gambling.....	4
Definitely reported as delinquent or criminal.....	530
Total.....	652
Total gangs.....	1,313

652

1,313

J. Adams Puffer, from a detailed study of 66 gangs of younger adolescents, found that 49 of them, or 74 per cent, engaged in predatory activities, such as stealing, injuring property, etc.¹ His comment on the general influence of the gang is also significant. He found that boys from the better class of homes usually formed brief-lived groups of their own, while boys whose home training was deficient tended to join gangs already formed, which were apt to be tough with fixed and dangerous traditions. Thus . . . among delinquents of my acquaintance hardly more than a quarter were original members of their gangs, or could tell how their gangs started. The bad gang, therefore, tends to be a persistent and dangerous institution, taking in new members as the older ones graduate.²

WHAT THE BOY LEARNS IN THE GANG

What the boy learns in the unsupervised gang or gang club usually takes three general trends: personal habits, which in boyhood are conventionally regarded as demoralizing; familiarity with the technique of crime; and a philosophy of life or an organization of attitudes which facilitate further delinquency of a more serious type. This is the gang boy's threefold social heritage.³

¹ J. Adams Puffer, *The Boy and His Gang*, p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29. The traditional definition of a gang found in the dictionary indicates the disparaging sense in which the term is usually used: "A gang is a number going or acting in company; a number of persons associated for a particular purpose or on a particular occasion; used especially in a depreciatory or contemptuous sense or of disreputable persons." From the *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*. Also compare Thomas Travis (*The Young Malefactor*), who says, "It is the adventurous, lawless, idle, and truant who naturally form gangs" (p. 142).

³ The subjective aspect of the demoralization of the boy delinquent is beautifully delineated in Clifford R. Shaw's presentation of the autobiog-

Vulgarity, obscenity, and profanity of all kinds, usually acquired very early from the general milieu of gangland, are fostered and elaborated in the gang. This is equally true of crap shooting and gambling in most of its forms. The use of tobacco and snuff is a group habit, even when the group is made up of little boys. The use of intoxicants is a pretty general practice in gangs of older adolescents. Even though association with girls is tabooed by younger gangs, premature acquaintance with sex is almost universal in such groups and like other gang interests is greatly stimulated in interaction. Toughness, first developed as a pose, soon becomes a reality. Vices practiced by individual members usually spread to the whole group and the boy who can hold out against such powerful social pressure is indeed a rare exception.¹

216. The mothers of two of the members of the Let George Do It Club, which rents a clubroom on Marshfield Avenue, complain that the purpose of this group is drinking and gambling and that it has a bad influence on the younger boys.²

raphy of a young offender published under the title of *A Problem Boy*. This interesting human document should be read in connection with Part IV of this book as the best way of obtaining an insight into the genesis and development of the inner reactions and attitudes of the boy in the type of situations which confront most gang boys in their attempts to adjust themselves in society.

In reading the present chapter, it should be borne in mind that the gang is only one of the factors in the complex matrix from which demoralization arises. This will be indicated by a reading of Shaw's monograph and will also be pointed out in chap. xxii.

¹ This process of demoralization under social pressure often takes place in high school and college fraternities.

² Records of the Juvenile Protective Association.

It is not meant to imply that the gang is in any sense inherently bad. It simply lacks wholesome direction. It is a spontaneous attempt on the part of boys to create a society of their own where none adequate to their needs exists. Naturally they absorb what is vicious in their environment to the extent that such patterns appeal to them, for there are no very potent forces in their social world to define these acts as undesirable.

LEARNING TECHNIQUE OF CRIME

The boy in the gang learns the technique of crime by observing it in older groups. The doings of the older gang are discussed with greatest interest by the younger groups. Not infrequently the older gang uses younger boys. Chicago beer-running gangs employ boys to drive their trucks; the youngsters look innocent and "get by."

The gang boy acquires a more effective knowledge of the technique of crime, however, by participating in and observing the exploits of his own group. The gang's predatory activities include vandalism and all sorts of thievery. Junking leads to petty stealing. "Going robbing" is a common diversion in the gang and this often develops into the more serious types of burglary and robbery with a gun. A gang often specializes in one particular type of delinquency, but the activities of most groups run the whole gamut of offenses, including practically every crime in the catalogue.¹

Exact information as to the technique of crime is imparted in the gang.

¹ See Tables IX and X.

TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT CRIME

217. Some of the questionable activities learned in the gang were the different methods of unlocking doors without the use of a key. One method requires only a piece of string and the portion of an umbrella rib. Other methods are more complicated. If I desired to get into my room or cupboard in the settlement and did not have my key, any member of the gang would gladly open it for me within a few minutes. It was much safer not to lock a door if you did not want it opened. If it were locked, their curiosity would prompt them to open it and then there would come the temptation to "loot" because the "law" had locked it up.¹

How to procure junk, open merchandise cars, rob bread boxes, snatch purses, fleece a storekeeper, empty slot machines, pick a pocket, go shoplifting, "roll" a drunken man, get skeleton keys, steal an automobile, sell stolen goods to "fences," purchase guns, engineer a holdup, operate stills, burglarize a store, trick the police, and so on—this is the type of technical knowledge for which the gang acts as a clearing-house.

Most of the younger gangs do not give their whole time to crime, as some groups do; they may be described as semi-delinquent or delinquent on occasion. The educative effect in the long run, however, is the same.

ATTITUDES DEVELOPED IN THE GANG

It is abundantly evident that there is no lack of patterns in the gang boy's social world for the whole gamut of predatory activities² which are possible in a city environment. Nor is there any apparent opprobrium attached to those approved by the gang, which has its own

¹ Unpublished manuscript by boys' worker in gangland.

² See chap. xiv.

code for its own members. One is reminded of the so-called "criminal tribes" of India, whose customs include a great variety of activities which are regarded as predatory by the larger social organization with which they come into contact, but which they themselves regard as sanctioned by their gods. The gang, however, not having their cultural detachment, usually accepts the code of society but is in rebellion against it. In fact, the diabolical character of *disobeying* the social codes appeals to gang boys. While they accept the moral authority of the community, still it is external to them and they get a "kick" out of their attitude of disrespect for established rules.

Experience in a gang of the predatory type usually develops in the boy an attitude of indifference to law and order—one of the basic traits of the finished gangster. The personal and property rights of outsiders, who are regarded as proper prey, are constantly disregarded. A growing attitude of superiority to the rest of the world is greatly augmented by the feeling of group power and security. Recklessness is generated and in some cases unbelievable daring and impertinence. Too often this attitude is so well taken—through police connivance and political protection—that a terrorized community raises no voice to challenge it. Nor is official collusion always necessary to its maintenance; for the members of a gang, having some reason for enmity, may "mob," beat, or take "pot" shots at officers of the law.

The gang boy very early acquires the independence which is characteristic of the finished gangster—learns to sleep away from home and live on his own resources

The boys soon become used to the idea of being sent away; and they foresee the next step. One boy looked forward eagerly to the later stages of the journey: "I want to see de inside of Pontiac and Joliet too before I'm t'ru'." This sentiment, developed to the logical extreme, may manifest itself in the "desperado attitude." A boy of sixteen, whose brother was hanged, and who himself was the leader of a particularly vicious gang, made the remark with all show of sincerity, 'I want to kill a cop before I have to swing.'

FATALISM

219. "I'd just as soon swing as go back to the stir," said one gangster who had participated in a murder during a holdup. "I'm tired of prisons. Maybe they'll give me the rope for this and get it all over with. Harry swung for his job. He told me in the county jail that he didn't care. He said the odds were three to one anyway, and he was willing to pay. He meant that he had taken three lives and the state was only getting one in return. I'm ready to swing too."

What better education for a disorderly life can be found than that which the gang provides: inculcation of demoralizing personal habits, schooling in the technique of crime, the imparting of attitudes of irresponsibility,

¹ That this boy is making progress toward his goal, despite frequent attempts of society to "reform" him, is indicated by the following news item of gang activities in which he participated three or four years after he was heard to make the above remark:

"Five youths, charged with fifty-four robberies with guns, were held to the grand jury yesterday. . . . Their bonds were fixed at \$50,000 each."

² From newspaper accounts. This fatalism frequently expresses itself among boys in the statement: "I've gone too far with this sort of thing to turn back now!"

THE GANG

for weeks at a time. He frequents the parks, the canals and river fronts, the forest preserves; he helps the farmers of adjacent lands in their busy seasons; he "hangs out" in the newspaper alleys. He soon learns to feel dependence on nobody and even if he loses his original gang, it is easy enough to fall in with another. He is ready to cut his moorings when occasion demands.

INDEPENDENCE

218. A boy of fifteen ran away from home with a gang of three other boys. He had been a member of a boys' club and his father's employer had paid for a camp membership for him. The gang, however, had greater attractions. He was not heard of until three months later when his gang was arrested in a room in a cheap hotel on Harrison street. Here the police found \$10,000 worth of goods, the proceeds of from forty to fifty burglaries. The "racket" was to call up a house and make sure no one was at home and then put a little boy through a window to open the door.¹

Finally, the boy usually acquires in the gang an attitude of fatalism, a willingness to take a chance—a philosophy of life which fits him well for a career of crime. "What's de odds? Take a chance!" He learns to take getting caught stoically. "You get caught sooner or later anyway; so why not take a chance?" Most gang boys are quite familiar with the punitive machinery of society. Boys standing at the window of the Chicago Cook County School, watching the westbound suburban trains of the Illinois Central, are heard to remark, "Dere go de St. Charles coffee-grinders" and "Dat's where we go next."

¹ Interview with a social worker.

Charles Dickens, who tells a similar tale of Oliver Twist, must have known gang life in East London.

independence, and indifference to law, and the setting up of the philosophy of taking a chance and of fatalism?

THE "HOODLUM" AS A SOCIAL PATTERN

If the younger undirected gangs and clubs of the gang type, which serve as training schools for delinquency, do not succeed in turning out the finished criminal, they often develop a type of personality which may well overshadow the gangster and the gunman. A boy of this type may best be described as a hoodlum, the sort of "hero" who is extolled in most unsupervised gangs of younger adolescents.

The hoodlum is a definite social type. He takes particular delight in interfering with the orderly pursuits of business and pleasure which he sees about him and indeed, often enough, which may have been planned for his own benefit. He breaks up a party, eggs a speaker, molests school children, taunts women and girls on the streets, or engages in petty thievery of personal belongings. He is a vandal: it seems to give him pleasure to despoil and destroy property wherever opportunity arises. He does not hold a job. He is often on the streets or in the poolrooms. He is a loafer and idles away countless hours in smoking, gambling, and rough horseplay. His bravado is always ready to foment a brawl, but he is seldom willing to engage in a fair fight unless backed by his pals. He is coarse and vulgar in his talk. He has no appreciation of history, no dignified tradition in his past, no cultural background. He is, in brief, a thoroughly disorganized (or, if you like, unorganized) person, and if the

trend of his present evolution is carried far enough, he is pretty likely to develop into a criminal.

A YOUNG HOODLUM

220. Fatty is about nine years old. He stole 25 cents from a policeman who was waiting to buy lunch. He holds up the little boys when they go with money to buy ice. He took six pool balls from the playroom of the settlement. His brothers "went over the water" (to the bad boys' school). He stole \$6 worth of tickets through a hole in the picture show window. He smoked so much that he fainted in line at school. He found a gun which a robber threw away in his alley and used it on the little boys. He took the scissors from his teacher at school. He broke a \$200 window in a drug store. He took \$2 from a man with a push cart. He plays hooky from school. He stones the girls. Early he had come under the influence of a gang, whose members later acquired court records.¹

A red-sashed, golden-curled little Lord Fauntleroy is too idyllic to be set up as a pattern for the boyhood of today; he never was a real boy. It is quite another thing, however, to seek to direct the activities of the boy into channels which will enable him ultimately to organize his own life for wholesome personal development and some measure of adjustment to the complex conditions of modern society.

LATER TRAINING FOR CRIME

Unsupervised gangs of older boys and young men continue this process of demoralization in the direction of more serious criminality. Their end product is the slugger, the gunman, and the all-round gangster.

As gangs get older they may attempt to accommodate themselves to society and so become conventionalized as

¹ Interview with a settlement worker

athletic clubs. External earmarks of respectability, however, do not guarantee its reality. Demoralizing habits, disorganizing attitudes, and questionable activities are often carried over into the club organization to be continued and augmented there under the guise of legitimate functions.

A SCHOOL FOR GAMBLERS

221. The Goldenrod Athletic Club, whose career lasted from 1905 to 1920, numbered with its hangers-on about 100 Irish-Americans from twenty to thirty years of age. A clubroom was maintained near Archer and Western avenues. Besides football and baseball, the chief activities were dances and gambling. The club was affiliated with the local Democratic political machine.

Eventually gambling became the leading interest of the group, which developed into what later proved to be a training school for professional gamblers. The members would make it a habit to get on incoming trains near their hang-out and to ride them both ways in order to get next to "suckers," whom they enticed into card or dice games. They would let the greenhorns win for a time and then fleece them. A dozen of the group were engaged in this sort of activity.

Four members, tiring of the neighborhood, began looking for something more lively and finally became leading professional gamblers at the Kewance race track in the South. One of the leading crapshooters of California, now aged thirty-eight, was also a graduate of this gang. Another member entered the legal profession and can be depended upon to defend any of them when they get into trouble; he was the "brains" of the group from its beginning.

In this way the influence of the group was multiplied. After they were old enough to get set in their habits and get away, they were hopeless from the standpoint of reform, but always agile enough to keep out of trouble. It was in the gang that they were initiated into a life of crime, and it is probable that they started new centers of demoralization elsewhere when the group broke up.

¹ Interview with a politician in the district.

"Scratch a club man and you will find a gangster" is an adage which applies in many of these cases. The club frequently gives the hoodlum an unwonted standing and influence in the community. In the club too are often found the young sport of the reckless type, the dare-devil, and the occasional criminal and gangster in the making.

While conventionalization into a club may be a step in the direction of the gang's disintegration, it may on the other hand serve to contaminate a wider group. The gang club tends to draw in additional members in great numbers; its social functions may be patronized by hundreds and even thousands of young people who might not otherwise normally be subject to such influences. Thus in the form of an organized club the vicious gang often extends its noxious influences to wider and wider circles of boys and young men.

The case of Walter Krauser, twice a murderer, sentenced to hang, and then adjudged insane, may be cited as one illustration of the demoralizing influence of the gang club.

THE CASE OF WALTER KRAUSER

222. His work-worn mother laid a tearful curse on "that cruel, hounding gang" today for bringing Walter Krauser to the shadow of the gallows.

"He was a good boy!" she cried. "He tried so hard! But they wouldn't let him alone. He is only nineteen. He couldn't hold out against them. They kept coming for him—morning, noon, and night. They called him 'yellow' when he wouldn't go out with them. They haunted my good boy!"

The boy's eighth-grade teacher and even the vengeful police of the Stock Yards station verified the heartbroken mother's picture of her son as the victim of a cruel system—a system which

fosters the gang spirit, protects the gangster in petty crimes, ties the hands of the police until finally something happens which is too much for the political "fixers."

"Walter Krauser was a bright, well-behaved lad in 1918, when he was graduated from the eighth grade of the Fallon school.

"I remember him as an unusually nice boy, . . ." his eighth-grade teacher said today. "He had a good mind and good habits. I never thought he'd come to this."

But when his school life was over Walter found himself facing a hard rough life. All the "real guys" were gangsters. Gang membership was the sign of caste. When Walter got his chance to join the most powerful, most desirable of all the gangs, he joined.

Presently the police began to hear of him. He was picked up for fighting on the streets, for starting a rough-house in a saloon—for functioning as a gangster should. These arrests meant nothing. One of the advantages of gang membership is immunity from petty police interference. Walter would be turned loose when taken to court. If the judge had not been given that "office," why, some one had let the complaining witness know it wouldn't be wise to talk in court.

Krauser was arrested a dozen times this year, according to the Stock Yards police. Not once was he sent to jail. Toward fall the charges against him became more serious. On September 3, he was arrested for robbing a saloon. . . . The woman bartender positively identified him. The case seemed cinched. But when Krauser came up for trial, something happened to the state's case. The bartender no longer wanted to identify Krauser. She was not sure. The case was dropped.

On November 27, Krauser was arrested for stealing an automobile. It was another air-tight case, but when the gangster was taken into the Boys' Court for trial, the complaining witness refused to go on the stand and again Krauser went free.

For this protection the Stock Yards police blame an influential politician of the district. Krauser had a protégé's privileges, they say. Those privileges led him to go too far. This time—held on a charge of murder—he is to have no backing, it appears. The "gang" organization has disowned him, though a membership card,

showing dues paid in full to date, was found in his coat. Krauser must face the law alone. And the law has his confession.¹

A CONTRARY VIEW

Another interpretation of the Krauser case in terms of hereditary defect is presented by Judge Harry Olson of the Chicago Municipal Court.

KRAUSER'S HEREDITY

223. We have erected machinery for their detection (cases of hereditary defect) in our Municipal Court. Once in a while inexperienced judges let them slip through their hands to the great hurt of society. As for example, a youth, Walter Krauser, was brought into our Boys' Court seven times on trivial, though significant, charges. Four different judges who had recently been elected came in contact with him and each time he was released.

The young woman who keeps the card index in the Boys' Court and whose duty it was on his second appearance in court to write upon the card, "Send to the laboratory," failed in that duty and the youth was not examined. With another youth, Bernard Grant, he engaged in the robbery of an Atlantic & Pacific grocery store, and is charged with killing a brave police officer. Upon reading of the murder I sent for the cards in the Boys' Court. He had been there seven times, and the officials failed to send him to the laboratory. Seven chances society had to isolate him. Seven times officials failed in their duty with the result to society of a dead officer, a widow, and several children left fatherless. . . .

This youth is feeble-minded plus dementia praecox katononia. The family of this youth, his father, mother and four sisters are similar defectives. He is under sentence of death. Crime can be anticipated in such cases and would have been in the ordinary operations of the Municipal Court. (Since this address was made Krauser, who under sentence of death had received a new trial,

¹ *Chicago Daily News*. Krauser's sentence to hang was later commuted to life-imprisonment on the ground of insanity, after he had killed an accomplice in the county jail.

and while in jail awaiting trial, killed Bernard Grant, who was under sentence of death for the same offense as Krauser.)¹

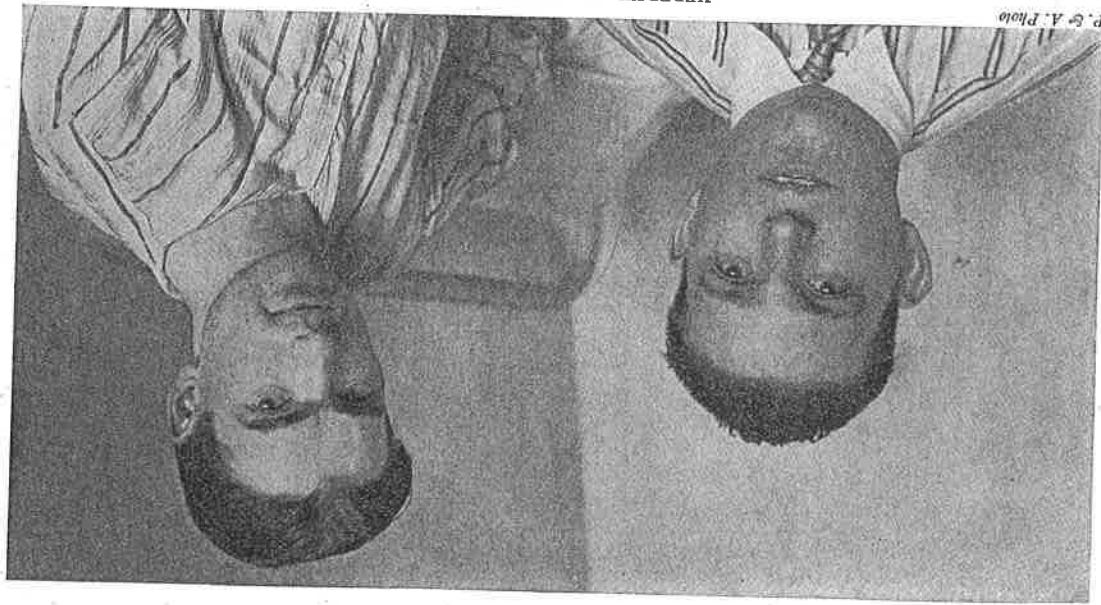
This interpretation brings up one of the controverted questions of science, viz., that of the relative importance of heredity and environment in determining human behavior. In its ultimate analysis such a debate is futile because it sets up a false antithesis between explanations that are supplementary. Heredity and environment are equally important in every case of human behavior: there is no behavior without a stimulus situation (environment); there is, on the other hand, no behavior without the employment of a hereditary (although modified) mechanism. Character and personality are the products in every case of the interaction of this double series.²

For the practical purposes of controlling behavior, however, either of these factors may be emphasized in a given situation. In dealing with the hereditary factor as such, the only practical control is a eugenic one; that is, the birth of the child may be prevented if his defectiveness can be foretold. After birth, however, there is no way of adding to or subtracting from the heredity of any individual. The practical problem then becomes entirely one of environment: given a certain hereditary equipment, what sort of environmental influences will serve to develop it according to the patterns which society has set up as desirable?

¹ *Research Studies of Crime as Related to Heredity*, published by the Municipal Court of Chicago, 1925, p. 24.

² Compare Leonard Carmichael, "Heredity and Environment: Are They Antithetical?" *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, October 1925, pp. 245-61: ". . . in all maturation there is learning: in all learning there is hereditary maturation" (p. 260).

Walter Krauser, at the left of the picture, together with Bernard Grant, his accomplice (at the right), killed a policeman in robbing a grocery store. Both were sentenced to be hanged. Later Krauser killed Grant when they were permitted to talk together in a cell at the Cook County Jail. Krauser was ultimately declared insane and committed to an institution for life. This case raises the fallacious question as to the relative importance of heredity and environment. On the one hand, Krauser had been declared both feeble-minded and insane while, on the other, he had been subject to the demoralizing influence of a gang which protected him in petty crimes. (See Documents 222-23, pp. 397-400.)



HEREDITY OR ENVIRONMENT?

These principles may be illustrated by reference to the Krauser case, assuming that both the accounts given are substantially factual. A feeble-minded and psychopathic youth falls in with an unsupervised and semi-delinquent club with political pull; the final result is two murders. Which factor is responsible, the hereditary or the environmental? Manifestly, if the boy had been given the protection of proper institutional care from childhood, the murders might not have occurred; it is possible to say, therefore, that his crimes were due to a faulty environment. If, on the other hand, he had been normal, the influence of vicious associations might not have been sufficient to have caused him to commit murder; there were other fellows in his delinquent group who did not go to that extreme, even though all of them may have had court records. The patent conclusion with reference to the influence of the gang is that while the usual unsupervised gang has a decidedly demoralizing effect even on the normal boy, it is likely to afford a doubly unfortunate environment for the feeble-minded or psychopathic type.

The eugenicists and some of the psychiatrists tend to emphasize the hereditary explanation to the exclusion of other factors.

ENVIRONMENTALISTS EVALUATED

224. The socio-economics of crime and criminals, while one of the most important branches of political science, has not as yet been submitted to any scientific investigation at all commensurate with its importance. It holds vast stores of important sociological, economic, psychological, psychiatric, anthropometrical, and hereditary data of invaluable import to civics and society. To do such scientific investigation, properly trained workers are required and

those interested in seeing such investigations carried on should beware not to confute such scientific research with much of the current puerile efforts and effusions of certain types of lay writers and unqualified so-called criminologists. The environmentalists have also been responsible for much confusion, misunderstanding and retardation in this field. They are to criminology what the anti-evolutionists are to science in general. They are pseudo-scientific meddlers whose thinking is dominated by their feelings, wishes, and prejudices and who close their minds against established scientific fact.¹

The hereditary approach to the problem, while it is valuable when used advisedly, may just as easily become a vice as that of the so-called environmentalists. It is interesting to note in the Krauser case, for example, the effect of certain environmental factors mentioned in the psychiatric report, even aside from the earlier gang influences and alleged political protection: four inexperienced judges and a negligent card-index clerk were apparently held equally responsible with the hereditary factor for Krauser's crimes. They certainly constituted an element in Krauser's faulty social environment that could hardly be overlooked in a complete diagnosis of the case.

A report from the Institute for Juvenile Research on a case submitted for examination indicates the recognition by that agency of the gang as an important environmental factor, even in the case of a dull, backward boy.

A RETARDED BOY IN A GANG

225. The problem here is that of a dull, backward boy who is in a gang. He probably gets his incentive to steal from the other
 * William J. Hickson, "Socio-Economics of Crime and Criminals," *Studies of Crime as Related to Heredity Research*, p. 84.

boys in the gang. The problem is further aggravated by the home situation. The boy reacts antagonistically to the father's abuse. This is probably a factor in the boy's behavior. The very first thing to be done is the education of the stepfather. He should be told to reason with the boy and not to abuse him indiscriminately. The boy should, of course, be taken out of the gang and other recreational activities substituted. We would recommend that he be re-examined in three months.¹

The suggestion has come from the field secretary of the Eugenics Committee of the United States² that the slum, in which the gang seems best to thrive, may be explained as a result of the segregation of the innately defective elements in the city's population³ and that the membership of the gangs themselves may be selected so as to include chiefly boys of defective heredity. This would be an interesting subject for investigation, but at the present time there are no positive data bearing upon it. There has been no way of testing a sufficient number of gang boys to determine the presence of defective heredity in gangs in proportion to that existent in the general population.⁴

The general impression from the present investigation, however, is that the majority of boys in the ordinary gang or gang club are of normal mentality both as to

¹ From a report submitted to the Juvenile Court by the Institute for Juvenile Research. Compare Herman A. Adler, "Prevention of Delinquency and Criminality by Psychiatry," *Welfare Magazine*, January, 1926, pp. 195-208.

² Letters from Leon F. Whitney.

³ E. B. Reuter takes a contrary view in *Population Problems*, pp. 229 ff.

⁴ Compare M. L. Warner, "Influence of Mental Level in the Formation of Boys' Gangs," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, VII, 224-36.

intelligence and emotions.¹ The gang boys interviewed in the great majority of cases gave the impression of normal, and often superior, intelligence and a normal development of emotional responses and sentiments. There are undoubtedly many retarded and defective boys in the 1,313 gangs observed in the present study; although the exact percentage is unknown, it is probably no higher than the percentage of the same type in the general population. That the gang provides a doubly bad environment for this kind of boy is obvious.

TRAINING IN THE CRIMINAL GANG

The older gang may definitely drift into serious crime without assuming any semblance of more formal organization.² A side trip to the Pontiac reformatory or a term in the county jail or Bridewell often vary the monotony of gang activities at this stage. Then, if offenses are repeated or more desperate, there come the last stages in the gang boy's journey: the Joliet state penitentiary, a federal prison, or the gallows.³

A remark made by Nicholas Viana, a nineteen-year-old member of the Sam Cardinelli gang,⁴ shortly before his execution affords a significant commentary on the in-

¹ "The average criminal does not get into court because of an intelligence, but because of an affective defect." William J. Hickson, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

² See document 20, p. 66.

³ It is undoubtedly true that many of the demoralizing influences which play upon the gang boy emanate from his associations in penal institutions. These influences are carried back into the gang.

⁴ See document 230, p. 431.

fluence of the criminal gang and its poolroom hang-out on young boys.

"I entered Cardinelli's poolroom in short trousers," he said. "In a week I was a criminal."

Viana and three other members of the gang were hanged for the murder of a saloonkeeper during a holdup. Cardinelli, the leader, was not present when the crime was committed, but he had furnished the four boys with revolvers and had sent them to rob the saloon.

Canaryville, a district near the Chicago stock yards, was at one time notorious as a breeding-place of vicious gangs,—a moral lesion in the life of the city. Some of Chicago's most desperate criminals are said to have been produced by the "Canaryville school of gunmen."

THE "CANARYVILLE SCHOOL OF GUNMEN"

226. The white hoodlum element of this district was characterized by the state's attorney of Cook County when he remarked that more bank robbers, pay-roll bandits, automobile bandits, highwaymen, and strong-arm crooks come from this particular district than from any other that has come to his notice during his seven years as chief prosecuting official.¹

For years Eugene Geary, protégé of the late "Moss" Enright, and a leader of the gunman school, developed in "Canaryville," the toughest section of the stockyards district, has been known to the police as one of the most dangerous men in Chicago—a man killer, quick on the trigger of the pistol he always carried, and who gloried in the unsavory reputation he had earned through his exploits as a labor slinger, gangster, and all-around "bad man."²

It was this section which produced "Moss" Enright, "Sonny" Dunn, Eugene Geary, the Gentleman brothers and many others of Chicago's worst type of criminals. It is in this district that "ath-

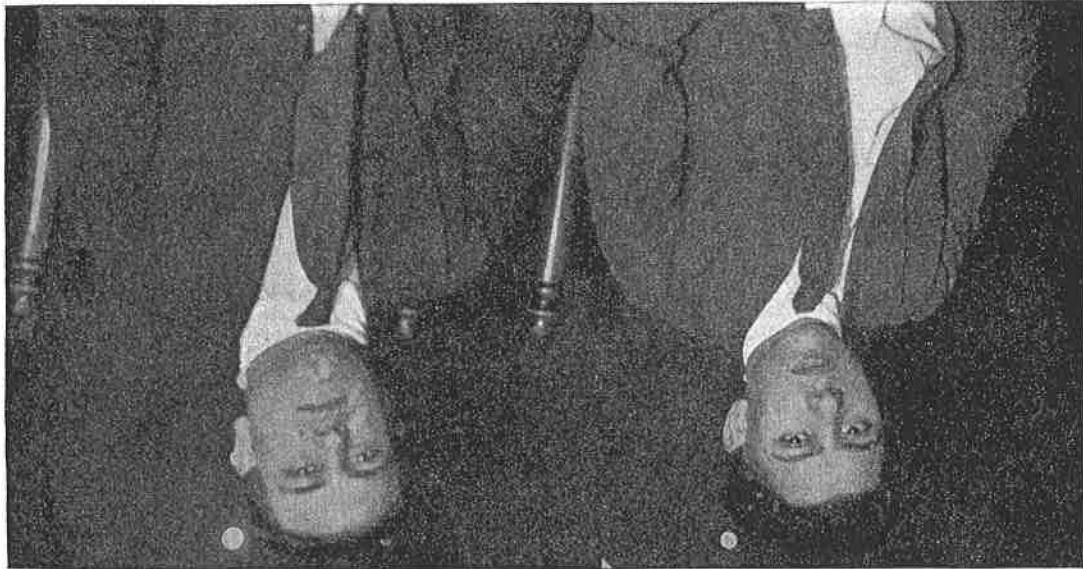
¹ Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 8.

² Chicago Crime Commission, *Bulletin*, No. 14, Oct. 6, 1920, p. 3.

Here are two members of the Sam Cardinelli gang, a group of young fellows led by a man of thirty-nine. (See document 230.) The boy at the right, an Italian choir-singer, was hanged for the murder of a policeman. He was inducted into the poolroom of Cardinelli and into the gang in knee pants at the age of fourteen. This process of early demoralization of boys in gangland areas is to a large extent responsible for Chicago's present crime problem. (See chap. xx.)

DEMORALIZATION

P. G. A. Photo



letic clubs" and other organizations of young toughs and gangsters flourish, and where disreputable poolrooms, hoodlum-infested saloons and other criminal hang-outs are plentiful.¹

Gerald Chapman, a nationally known criminal who was hanged April 6, 1926, was an end-product of the type of demoralization which the gang initiates. At the age of about fifteen or sixteen he was "graduated from the corner-loafing stage and became a member of a band of roughs known as the 'Park Avenue Gang'"—"a group ranking for the desperate quality of its membership with the Gopher and the ancient car barn gangs."

If the gang may be regarded as one of the products of the economic, cultural, and moral frontier in a great city, the gang boy, too, may be so regarded. He is often a delinquent, but this delinquency cannot be considered in most cases other than a result of the situation complex in which he finds himself and from which he cannot escape. "There are no bad boys" is a slogan that has been adopted by the Boys' Brotherhood Republic; the idea behind it is undoubtedly sound—that "bad" boys as defined by society, are largely created by the disorganizing forces consequent upon the confused conditions where American life is in process of ferment and readjustment.

¹ Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *op. cit.*, p. 342. Quoted from the *Annual Report of the Crime Commission*, 1920.

CHAPTER XX

THE GANG AND ORGANIZED CRIME

To think of the bulk of Chicago's crime as the result of the activities of hardened criminals or adult gangs would be erroneous. There is no hard and fast dividing line between predatory gangs of boys and criminal groups of younger and older adults. They merge into each other by imperceptible gradations, and the latter have their real explanation, for the most part, in the former. Many delinquent gangs contain both adolescents and adults. The adult criminal gang, which is, as a rule, largely composed of men in their early twenties, carries on traditions thoroughly established in the adolescent group. It represents a development and perpetuation of the younger gang or at least of the habits and attitudes of individuals trained in younger groups. It is clear, therefore, that crime, in so far as it is facilitated by the gang, can only be understood by following it to its roots and beginnings in the boys' gang.

While there has been no great increase in delinquency among children under sixteen years of age and while the number of delinquents under this age is very small in comparison with the total number of children,¹ yet there

¹ See Neva R. Deardorff, "Some Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency," *Modern Crime*, pp. 68-78. See also report of the Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, on the *Trend of Juvenile Delinquency Statistics*, March 20, 1926, which indicates a general trend toward a decrease in juvenile delinquency in this country.