Sigrid Wadauer

Without purpose and destination? Vagrancy and the itinerant unemployed. (Austria in the 1920s and 1930s. *)

Discussions on migration control focus on international migration. However, in the interwar period internal mobility was also restricted, particularly for the poor. The state welfare system and the newly established unemployment insurance did not include everybody equally. Within this context tramping remained a strategy to find a job or livelihood. Elder forms of supporting and controlling destitute wayfarers persisted or were re-established during the interwar period. The article starts with analysing condemnations for vagrancy which reached considerable amounts in the 1930s. Contextualizing vagrancy within other forms of mobility allows to show the disputed character of these practices and to discuss the efficacy of state policy. Vagrancy is – like any other form of mobility – not to be understood as a mere reflex to unemployment and poverty, nor is it to be reduced on the states perspective. Tramping might endanger social affiliation but did not necessarily manifest or lead to social disaffiliation.

Dr. Sigrid Wadauer
Department of Economic and Social History
University of Vienna
Dr. Karl Lueger-Ring 1
A-1010 Vienna
sigrid.wadauer@univie.ac.at

Introduction

Vagrancy does not fit well into traditional categories and concepts of migration research. "A vagrant", as Charles Tilly stated, "– a person without a domicile – gives trouble not only to the police but also to definitions of migration."[1] This kind of mobility has apparently neither a clear starting point nor destination. Vagrants might, but do not always, cross national borders. They might have all kinds of individual purposes and aims but they do not have any officially acknowledged, legitimate reason to be on the road. These features, however, can apply to other forms of mobility as well. More recent research has indicated that migration is very often not a straight one-way movement from one place to another but rather a series of movements, back and forth.[2] Moreover the actual purpose and meaning of mobility is not only at stake with respect to vagrancy, but is disputed in many cases such as the free or forced character of migration.[3] Starting from a clear distinction between migration and mobility or between clearly distinct types of migration might thus be often less useful and more of an obstacle for insight into social practices of migration. Considering these more recent conceptual debates, it seems less questionable to discuss vagrancy as one form of mobility within a range of possibilities.

Yet vagrancy has been rather neglected by research on the twentieth century. It appears to be an anachronism. Starting from the assumption that internal migration is less significant and more or less unrestricted, research debates on migration and migration control have been focused on border-crossing movements.[4] Still, the persistence and persecution of vagrancy indicate that internal mobility even in the twentieth century was not totally unregulated. Rather, it was restricted specifically for the poor.[5] The "floating population" of the wandering poor had been a concern of policy long before modern states started to establish migration control on a national level[6]. John Torpey and Gérard Noiriel

have pointed out that as modern states have expanded their administrative capacity to embrace the populations residing under their jurisdictions, controls on internal movements (and on residence) have at times been strengthened as well.[7] The emergence of modern labour market and state welfare policies created a new desire to control citizenship and entitlement. However, these policies had limited effectiveness until after World War II; they did not apply equally to all people. People kept on moving in more or less legitimate ways, but their mobility was also redefined in a new context. Debates on vagrancy since late nineteenth century commonly referred to the new status of labour within society and to the necessity of helping the unemployed and the unemployable while also disciplining the idle and the work-shy.[8] The obligation to work whenever possible is – at least in case of the Austrian system – a key moment for understanding unemployment benefits, indigent relief and vagrancy. Yet vagrancy was a disputed problem in countries which differed widely in social policy and socio-economic structure.[9]

Vagrancy, like any practice, is also a matter for interpretation. How does mobility become vagrancy? To what extent was the tramp – as Tim Cresswell argued (referring to North America) – constructed by new media like film, by new knowledge and social reform (rather than an anachronism)?[10] How important was the information on the anti-social produced by administration and new disciplines (such as criminology, medicine and psychiatry) in the practice of handling vagrants?[11] In order to understand vagrancy, it seems useful not to start from a given population of vagrants or a clearly defined way of being on the road. Rather, we have to discuss these practices in relation to other forms of spatial mobility and to different attempts to define, distinguish, support, organize and control mobility, attempts not only made by the state. Last but not least, we have to consider self-perceptions of those on the road, which could differ widely from those of authorities, police

and scholars. Unemployed tramping could manifest or lead to disaffiliation but, as my article will argue, it was not necessary a manifestation of social disaffiliation.[12]

My article will discuss these problems on the basis of an empirical study of Austria focussing on the period from the end of the Habsburg monarchy up to the *Anschluss* in 1938. Developments since the late nineteenth century will be considered so as to understand the impact of economic crisis. Up to now, there has been very little research to build upon, particularly for this period.[13] There is research on vagrancy in other European countries and a rich literature on tramps and hobos in the United States.[14] Yet the political, socio-economic and cultural context of vagrancy varies between these countries. Specific aspects of law, institutions and politics but also more general concepts of mobility and sedentariness have to be considered.[15] Institutions to help or punish vagrants – such as the English workhouses, correctional workhouses or casual wards[16] parallel to the Austrian *Asyl- und Werkhaus, Arbeitshaus* (literally, workhouse), or *Herbergen* (literally, "hostels") – also have specific features in various counties. The journeymen's tramping tradition is, as this article will argue, an important context for the legitimacy of unemployed tramping in the German-speaking areas.[17] A careful, systematic comparison of this tramping system and its social and cultural context in different countries is still to be done; it is not within the scope of this article.

Research up to now has been rather focussed on the perspective on the authorities' ways of handling vagrants,[18] and to a lesser extent interested in practices of tramping, in self-perceptions or contextualizing vagrancy within other forms of mobility. In the German cultural sphere, studies have been focussed on the (primarily) National-Socialist persecution of the antisocial, of *Zigeuner* (gypsies) and other travelling groups. Persons classified as gypsies or travellers *(Fahrende, Jenische)* were suspected of being work-shy or vagrants.[19] The term gypsy is not identical with Roma and Sinti. It was quite ambiguous, including sedentary

and itinerant gypsies and also people living like gypsies.[20] Its usage, however, differed over time, and not all people on the move accused of being vagrants were classified as gypsies. Although debates in the 1920s and 1930s on the vagrant unemployed had similarities with debates on gypsies, they somehow remained separate. Within the discussions about how to control the tramping unemployed which are in the centre of this paper, gypsies are seldom mentioned explicitly.

In order to approach the problems sketched out above, I will use source material from different contexts, material which is often very scattered and fragmentary. Although, as my paper argues, the state perspective on this form of mobility is not sufficient for understanding the problem, there is certainly no way around the official definitions of vagrancy made by the government, legislation and police. I will therefore start with a discussion of this context and the assessment of *wanderers*, based on legislation and persecution. Legal definitions can have great – but not automatically given – effectiveness.

The vagrancy law

The statutory basis for defining and handling vagrancy in court was a 1885 law. According to §1, a person who wandered without a business and without employment and who was unable to prove that he or she had a livelihood or tried to earn one in an honest way was to be punished for vagrancy. §2 concerned begging "at public places or from house to house or to claim public charity out of work-shyness". Furthermore, the law required proof of earning a livelihood in a permitted way from a person able to work but without legal income, or if the person appeared dangerous to the security of persons or estates. Communities were entitled to assign appropriate work to a person able to work but without means. Refusal to accept the occupation could be punished with arrest. Finally, the law addressed the issue of

women who were conducting "immoral business with their bodies". Altogether, the law defined a complex of activities regarded as contrary to honest work: non-work and what was called "negative work" by scholars of late nineteenth century.[21] The activities were defined as juridical and economic problems: begging was an illegitimate request for support without offering an adequate service in return; vagrancy was seen as a form of travel without a redeeming economic benefit. It was neither tourism nor business, and it revealed none of the indications of the only acknowledged activity for unemployed people without means: the search for legal employment.

Vagrancy in numbers

In the 1920s, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs had regarded the problem of vagrancy as solved.[22] Yet during the world economic crisis and especially in the period of the Austro-Fascist regime (1933-1938), a "plague of beggars and vagrants" again became an urgent problem of internal security and social policy. The Department of Internal Affairs of the federal chancellor's office estimated a number of 17,000 vagrants in the mid-1930s.[23] Detention camps were considered for 1000 beggars in Vienna and 500 in the other provinces. The crime statistics (available from 1924 to 1936) also show a drastic increase in sentences on the basis of laws against vagrancy (see figure 1). In 1935 there were 15,827 convictions and 21,752 in 1936.[24] This is probably still not a very high number in relation to a total of about 6.76 million inhabitants or in relation to the unemployment rates (see figure 3). But it is high in relation to the official number of about 80,164 trans-continental emigrants throughout the interwar period, a number that reached a height of 15,497 in the year of 1923.[25]

Figure 1: Convictions on the basis of the *Vagrancy Law* from May 24th, 1885, RGBl. No. 89 per 100,000 persons at the age of criminal responsibility (territory of Austria)[26]

Legal sanctions

The legal sanction for a violation of the Vagrancy Law was arrest, in most cases imposed for 24 to 48 hours. In case of repeated convictions, the period of arrest could be longer. After judgment by the court incarceration in an institution for forced labour (*Zwangsarbeitsanstalt*) could be imposed for up to three years.[27] These kinds of institutions were supposed to provide work training. Release depended on whether the convict made discernable improvements.[28] The *Schubgesetz* from 1871 allowed people without employment or livelihood to be sent back to their hometown.[29] People without resources or work could be repatriated. They could also be banished from a certain town and punished for returning, which happened in the interwar period both to Austrians and non-citizens in more than 3000 (4500 in 1936) cases per year.[30] In the 1930s, additional legal options were instituted in order to keep small-time criminals and people "with an engrained aversion to honest moral

conduct and labour" under arrest at an *Arbeitshaus* for up to five years.[31] These drastic measures, however, represented the most extreme ways of handling the (deviant) poor. According to complaints by criminologists at the time, they were not often enough realised in practice.[32]

Laws and institutions concerning vagrancy were not at all a new invention of the interwar period or economic crisis. Although the basic laws concerning vagrancy remained unchanged throughout the period, the treatment and hence juridical production of vagrancy was also related to political changes such as the establishment of the authoritarian "*Ständestaat*" after the parliament was dissolved in 1933.[33] Within the Austro-Fascist regime not only political opponents such as the Social Democrats, the Communist Party and the NSDAP were banned and persecuted. But the policy towards beggars and vagrants also took up more extreme measures. The possibility of labour camps was discussed. Although such camps were regarded as an attractive solution, most of the provincial governments refused to set them up due to the expense necessary. Forcing vagrants to work in such a way at a time of mass unemployment was also rejected because, it was argued, the rare jobs that could be created should be reserved for unemployed Austrians actually willing to work and not to be wasted on vagrants and work-shy. Thus, the *"Bettlerbeschäftigungsanstalt"* established by the Viennese government in 1935 explicitly aimed to end the idleness of beggars. Yet it also avoided giving them work of any impact on the national economy and labour markets.[34] By contrast, the Upper Austrian government proudly introduced a labour camp in the same year, as the "first European concentration camp for beggars".[35] The inmates rounded up during countrywide raids on vagrant had to build streets or shovel earth at archaeological sites. The effectiveness of this institution was disputed. The raids did not reduce vagrancy but instead, as other provincial governments complained, drove the vagrants to other

provinces with less stringent policies. The labour camps also did not lead to a re-integration of the unemployed. After release from the labour camps, there were still no jobs for former inmates, and many of them were simply provided with an identification card for unemployed wayfarers and sent out on the road again. The plan to establish "free" workfare attached to a penal camp was never realized. Clearly, these forms of discrimination within the Austro-Fascist regime have parallels and similarities in the policy of the NSDAP towards the anti-social in Germany. Nonetheless, the NSDAP, which was illegal at that time in Austria, criticized this policy in its propaganda because the inmates of the labour camp were not Gypsies but "German" unemployed.[36]

The number of convictions for vagrancy does not reveal a specific number of itinerants. Rather, it represents one perspective among others, an aspect of interrelated practices of making, defining, and distinguishing forms of mobility. Punishment, especially by courts, was in all likelihood highly selective, even in this period. Not everyone who wandered or travelled without employment or money became subject to discrimination. Particularly at the beginning of the world economic crisis, the police complained they were powerless, and due to widespread poverty, the law could not be rigorously enforced.[37] Apparently the police sometimes merely warned or evicted wayfarers from the place or town. People unable to work because of age or disability could be sent to an asylum instead of being sentenced by a court. Which kind of cases are represented by the convictions? Finding an answer to this question is difficult since the relevant court records have to a large extent been destroyed. Despite their limitations, the preserved court records from several towns I have to this point been able to find do still allow some insight into the matter.[38]

The court cases

The vast majority of court cases concerned §2 and §1. In most of the cases, begging and not vagrancy was the main charge; this was even more the case in the larger cities.[39] At the same time, it seems impossible to clearly separate the phenomena. Homelessness or the description "*unstet*" (unsettled, vagrant) was apparently not sufficient to convict someone for vagrancy. According to its legal definition, vagrancy (*Landstreicherei)* was something which took place in the countryside and which persisted for a certain amount of time. "Suspicious looks", conspicuous behaviour or improper conduct towards the person asked for alms were common arguments for arresting someone for vagrancy or begging. In many cases, drunkenness was mentioned as a trigger for arrest. The reports also name provocation, threats, begging in public places (especially in inns), banned political statements, or faking invalidity in order to obtain alms. The police and the authorities commonly legitimated their fight against beggars and vagrants on the grounds of security and public order. Beggars usually had some coins in their pockets, which served as sufficient proof they had violated the law. We might also consider this proof of ongoing private charity, which was also the subject of criticism by the authorities. Although the records referred to witnesses, the arrests were primarily initiated by the police. The arrested sometimes claimed (though it seldom could be proven) that they were looking for honest employment or had had a job recently. Still, they could rarely produce job references. In a few rare cases, the police made closer investigations to check their statements. This could clear the record but extended the legal procedure and the arrest beyond a customarily short period of time.

To a very great extent, it was men who were convicted for an offence against the Vagrancy Act (see figure 2).[40] The statistical share of convicted women is only within a range of 9-14 %, a rate which even fell during the world economic crisis. This might have been an effect of gender-specific perceptions of poverty, having been out of work or selective

punishment. It might as well have been a manifestation of different strategies and possibilities for dealing with poverty. Despite a tendency to replace women in the labour market after World War I ended, it could be still easier for women to find some – however precarious – employment in a household or within a low-wage sector.[41] Their labour was less bound to a particular vocation.[42] Welfare institutions for unemployed wayfarers that were open only to men contributed to the fact that tramping seemed a less viable strategy for unemployed women than it was for men. The few cases of female vagrants I could find involved women who were tramping in the company of men or with their mates. Most of the court records concerned unmarried men under the age of 40. The greater share of them were unskilled labourers, but there were also some skilled workers without employment.

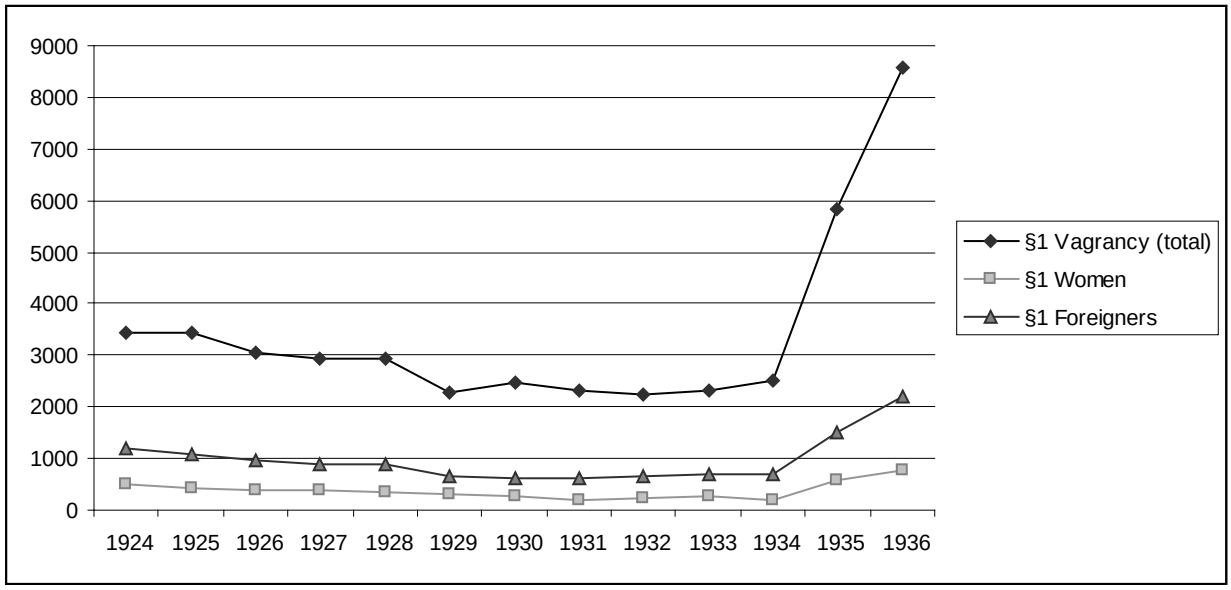

Figure 2: Convictions on the basis of §1 of the *Vagrancy Law* from May 24th, 1885, RGBl. No. 89 in absolute numbers (territory of Austria)[43]

According to the statistics, about one-third of convicted were of foreigners. (The proportion

of women was even lower among foreigners than among convicts with Austrian citizenship.) Some of the foreign national or stateless individuals within these records had already been tramping across large parts of Europe prior to their arrest. Many of them did not have any kind of passport or identification. Some of them only had a certificate of release from prison in their pockets. These foreign vagrants came mostly from neighbouring countries such as Germany or Czechoslovakia; a few individuals were from more distant countries like Russia, Belgium, France and even Algeria. A few cases concerned persons described as "gypsies" and several deserters. Some of these vagrants had already been arrested several times. Some had been deported or banned from Austria or other countries but had obviously continued tramping. In most cases, it was considered obvious that the foreign vagrants' stay in the province was without destination, purpose or sense. Even if their search for work was plausible, most of them would not have been permitted to take a job anyway according to the law to protect the national labour market (*Inlandsarbeitsschutzgesetz* 1926). Despite some common features, the court cases in fact reveal variety and heterogeneity, as commonly pointed out in contemporaneous debates.

Vagrancy and the welfare system

In order to understand vagrancy in this period, we have to take into account the development and the efficiency of the welfare system and labour market policies. Like Germany, Austria was one of the first countries to develop a more systematic state social welfare policy. Since the late nineteenth century, a number of laws had been established concerning labour relations, public employment exchange as well as insurance in case of disability, illness, or retirement (first for civil servants). After World War I there was a real boom in new social legislation; most important in this respect was the establishment of

unemployment benefits and insurance (1918 and 1920, respectively). In this context, the newly created *Industrielle Bezirkskommission*,[44] a commission consisting equally of employers' and employees' representatives, was assigned the following tasks: to register the unemployed, to find jobs for war returnees, to fight unemployment, and to arrange unemployment benefits.[45] Modern social policy, particularly unemployment benefits, the establishment of a public labour exchange and housing policy all contributed to greater sedentariness. Socio-economic but also demographic changes led to a decline in migration rates around World War I[46], which is not exclusively to be seen as an effect of political arbitrariness, restriction and control of migration, or new borders. One can argue that this also contributed to a redefinition of more traditional ways of finding employment or a livelihood through mobility.

Austria had an extraordinarily high rate of structural unemployment, with the exception of a few years immediately following the war. Unemployment benefits were predicated upon a willingness to work and the obligation to accept "appropriate" occupations.[47] It also required a "decent" occupation since state welfare policy did not include all labourers and all forms of work equally; many people did not gain access to these new forms of social security. Soon after the general establishment of unemployment assistance, a number of exceptions were made for people living in rural areas (motivated by a lack of agricultural labourers), employees within private households, the young, and self-employed persons.[48] Assistance was granted selectively and only for a restricted period. Particularly during the 1930s, many unemployed lost unemployment benefits, relying on *Notstandsunterstützung* (emergency aid), poor relief or other sources (see figure 3). During the world economic crisis, unemployment rates officially reached 25%, but there are estimates of up to 37 % (in 1934). The percentage of unemployed receiving benefits declined to 50% in

1937 (despite estimated unemployment rates between 21.7% and 31.8%).[49]

Poor relief systems and the related repressive means of dealing with poverty did not at all end with this new social policy.[50] People who lost or never had any assistance from social insurance depended on poor relief which was bound to principles of *Heimatrecht* (as of 1863) and subsidiarity.[51] Not the place of residence but the place where a person had *Heimatrecht* (right of residence) was relevant in cases of poverty. Unlike unemployment – which was the responsibility of the Federal Ministry of Social Affairs – poor relief remained the responsibility of the local communities and provincial governments. Although there were several reforms of this law after 1863, making it ultimately easier to acquire a *Heimatrecht*, it remained unchanged in these respects, something crucial for unemployed destitute wayfarers seeking assistance in other communities. Since the hometown could be charged for any assistance provided by other towns, the tramping unemployed became a source of conflict between the provincial governments. Some municipalities were accused of supporting such payments for the poor (in order to actually make money from them) against the will of their communities. Since compensation for the expenses did not work, some communities also relieved their costs by sending their unemployed back out on the road. This system apparently required an incredible bureaucratic effort; thus, the question of the tramping unemployed finally brought this system of responsibilities to its limits. A reform of the *Heimatrecht* from 1863 was discussed as a key issue in solving the problem of vagrancy in a series of four conferences held by provincial governments between 1935 and 1936. As a result, social support for the wanderers was partly disconnected from the right of residence in 1935. Support was to be as low as possible in order to discourage wandering. In addition, tighter controls were established. The aim was "to separate the wheat from the chaff", the work-shy from the unemployed searching for a job.[52] An official permit to wander and to

obtain assistance, such as a *"Wanderbuch"* or an *"Unterstützungsausweis,"* was now required. Asking for assistance outside your hometown without such a card was punishable by arrest.

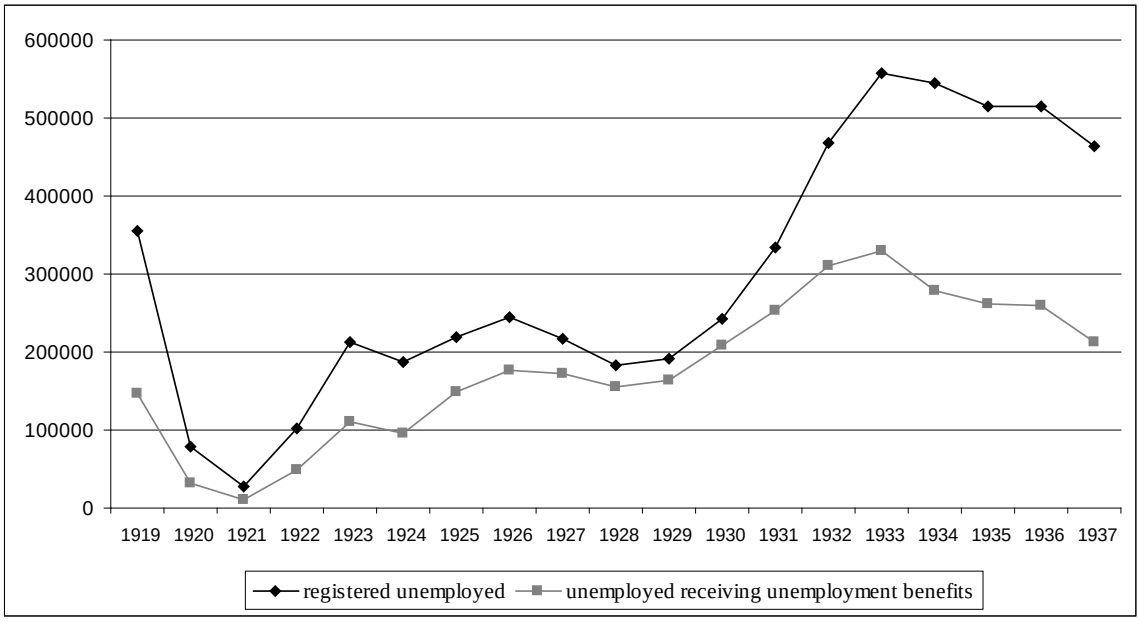

Figure 3: The relation between the unemployed who were officially registered and those receiving benefits.[53]

Support of the tramping unemployed

Nevertheless, it would be wrong exclusively to see repressive tendencies towards mobility. There was no clear or enduring consensus for completely stopping (unemployed) people's mobility. Rather, the authorities aimed at organizing and controlling this type of mobility. The most important public institution in this respect was a network of public relief stations (*Herbergen*). These institutions were designed to provide shelter and food as inexpensively as possible and to arrange employment for work-seeking wayfarers. They were run by the local communities, funded by districts and supervised by the provincial governments. The

distance between the *Herbergen* was not supposed to exceed eighteen kilometres so as to enable moving from one *Herberge* to another in the course of one day or even visit two *Herbergen* in order to get lunch at one and dinner and shelter at another place.[54] Since the duration of the stay was limited and since it was not allowed to return to the same place within a certain period, the wayfarers had to keep moving. Their routes of wandering and their job applications were also registered. These institutions mark another aspect of continuity with respect to the treatment of the tramping unemployed, since they build on a older system of *Naturalverpflegsstationen*[55] initiated by several provinces in the late nineteenth century Habsburg monarchy (from 1886 on). This followed – as it was pointed out by the government – the example of similar institutions in Switzerland, Holland and German countries (Württemberg).[56] When *Naturalverpflegsstationen* were first established, the Ministry of Trade described their intended functions: "Because only those travellers find support by the *Naturalverpflegsstationen* who are temporarily unable to find a livelihood because of lack of labour, and because every traveller who calls upon the *Naturalverpflegsstationen* must not only display identification but also labour in order to proof his willingness to work; and lastly, because the *Naturalverpflegsstationen* are supposed to serve as employment centres, it is provided that only the real poor and needy and not the vagrants will benefit from them and everyone who needs work can turn to the next *Naturalverpflegsstation* in hope and confidence."[57] These institutions were understood to be one of the socio-political efforts of organizing and centralizing job-placement[58] in the fight against unemployment. Granting assistance to those deprived unemployed tramping in search of employment was seen as a way to fight vagrancy. Contemporaries in the late nineteenth century had already pointed out the clear interrelation of assistance and repression within this system.[59] The actual success of these institutions – with respect to job placement and the fight against vagrancy – was highly

disputed. Figure 4 shows the number of institutions in the different provinces of the Habsburg monarchy and the number of visitors during the very first years. Apparently the statistics count cases of support and not the number of vagrants. There are estimates which indicate that a person on average used seven to eight of these stations in a year. As a report from the province of Vorarlberg indicates, just 1 out of 10 travellers was accepted at the relief station.[60] As indicated there, only very few individuals were placed in jobs.[61]

Year	**Province**	**Number of *Naturalverpflegsstationen***	**Arriving persons**	**Persons placed in a job**
1895	Lower Austria	136	326,493	7,586
1895	Styria	143	271,400[62]	5,239
1895	Moravia	118	148,522	1,047
1895	Vorarlberg	21	30,646	539
1895	Silesia	28	13,966	378
1895	Upper Austria	103	179,724	3,023
1.11.1896-31.10.1897	Bohemia	265	525,232	25,313

Figure 4: *Naturalverpflegsstationen*[63]

Naturalverpflegstationen were mostly out of commission or being used for other purposes during World War I. In the 1920s, several provincial governments re-established and re-defined this system as "*Herbergen*".[64] There was a strong continuity of locations, explicit intentions as well as statutes. However, *Herbergen* were now regarded as a secondary (not a primary) social network for the unemployed, directed at persons who had already lost or never received unemployment benefits. The use of this system was restricted to certain time period and to those who could prove that they had had employment earlier (and recently). In principle, the wayfarer also had to prove his willingness to work by actually working for his lodging, but it is not clear to what extent this was implemented. In the monarchy some provinces had excluded agricultural labourers, domestic servants, women and the physically

handicapped from this system. After World War I a number of provinces explicitly excluded women from using the *Herbergen.*[65] Despite the clearly repressive traditions in the system of *Herbergen,* the left-wing trade union and the Chamber of Labour welcomed their reestablishment in the 1920s, which – as already pointed out – was intended to prevent unemployed labourers from being treated as vagrants by the police.[66] The union even complained that their relationship to local employment offices was not firm enough.[67]

It is hard to say how many people used this system during this period, and the evidence is scattered. In Lower Austria, for example, 125 *Herbergen* existed.[68] Most of them provided about 12 to 15 beds, hosting up to 30 people a day and about 2000 visitors a year.[69] In the 1930s there were numerous complaints from *Herbergen* that the number of wayfarers was far exceeding their capacities.[70] In comparison to these reports, the statistics of a public *Herberge* in a small town in the province of Salzburg indicated quite a high frequency of visitors: there were up to 5,000 accommodations and 10,000 visitors in a year (see figure 5). While vagrancy rates were rising from 1934 on, the numbers of visitors in this *Herberge* decreased as the world economic crisis continued, until it was dissolved by the Nazi regime.

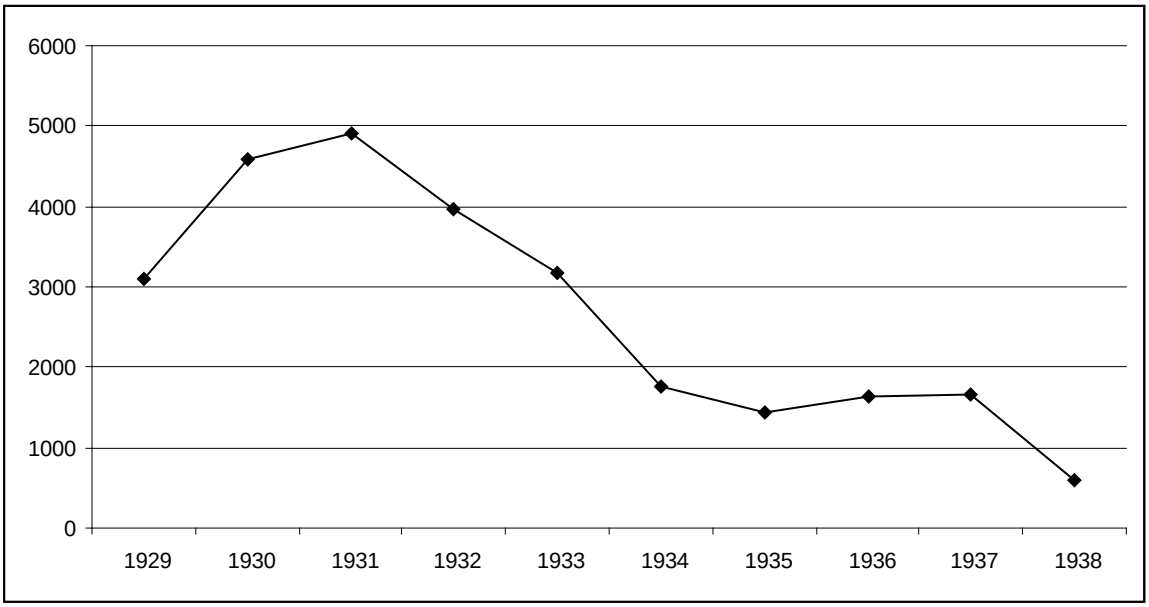

Figure 5: Accommodations per year at the *Herberge* Werfen (Province of Salzburg)[71]

Reports indicate that this decline in visitors was related to the rising number of long-term unemployed who did not meet the requirement for using the *Herbergen*: proof of recent employment. Finding food and shelter in a *Herberge* thus depended on the willingness and the financial ability of the local community to support wanderers. Several communities provided makeshift shelters for those who were not allowed to use the *Herbergen*. Both the increasing number of wanderers without recent employment and the restricted resources of the communities led to conflicts in the 1930s. Numerous files report aggressive and renitent behaviour of wayfarers demanding support, which might also lead to their exclusion from entitlement. Yet letters from wayfarers also complain about bad food or of humiliating treatment by the head of the local *Herberge*. One of these letters states: "Should one starve on the road and freeze to death? For days, because I am not entitled to use the *Herberge*, I have had to sleep in the stable or in the *Schubarrest* [confinement for expellees] which is inhuman and unsanitary. Then I come to the head of the *Herberge*, who is at the same time a

policeman, and he snaps at me for asking for a bed because I only arrived at a quarter to six. What should I do? Either starving or begging, I'll be jailed like a common criminal."[72]

Other resources for wayfarers

Wayfarers who had lost their right to use the public *Herbergen* and could no longer rely on other resources were obviously at serious risk of exclusion. Desperation, however, was not the only cause of tramping. One can find quite ambivalent attitudes towards being on the road: "That's how I went around in Carinthia and Styria. I was wandering for fifteen months. There I had to endure a lot! Sometime you are too early, sometimes too late to stay overnight. Then the police ask for papers and say, 'go back home.' Should you go back to where you had been made poor? If I could only stay in another community later. A lot of people get work for longer periods, unemployment benefits – or they wander. After a short-term job, a wanderer will hit the road again. Yes, if one is not married. I got along the whole time during the war. If you are older, wandering is not so easy. [...] Clothes full of lice, and you don't have enough clothes or enough to eat. It takes very little to send you to hospital. If I could stay at the poorhouse [...] it would be cheaper. I want some mercy. Prefer the unemployment benefit. I was interested in exploring the region."[73]

The letter describes a hierarchy of options in which tramping was the worst case scenario but nonetheless still interesting. Yet for others, tramping might appear still better than simply sitting around unemployed.[74] Tramping did not in every case appear to be merely a matter of necessity. In numerous autobiographical writings of *skilled* labourers, one can find quite different comments on the author's tramping during unemployment such as: "I always had the intention to see the world; this has always been my wish."[75] Or: "Wandering is a pleasure, if you have eaten and the weather is fine."[76] It was frequently

discussed – and doubted – whether this still had anything to do with journeymen's traditions of tramping. "The former journeymen's tramping" – as an article claimed – "has fully died". "It does not make sense to knock at a door, searching work at a master craftsman's when this master craftsman has no work and in many cases is unemployed himself."[77] One could easily suspect that such autobiographical statements were strategies of mitigation or justification after the fact.

Yet wayfarers could refer not only to ideas of wandering and to traditions of representation.[78] The phenomenon had a material and social basis as well. Besides the public *Herbergen* there were other sources of help and support which practically encouraged, permitted and defined their wandering as something (still) reasonable and as a rite of passage for men, especially for young craftsmen and skilled labourers. In the interwar period, trade unions and journeymen associations still supported their unemployed members with funds for travel.[79] Furthermore, travelling craftsmen could – in accordance with an old tradition of the crafts – call on their profession's shop owners for work and travel allowance (*Geschenk*). Although the police often questioned the distinction between this practice and begging, it was somehow still acceptable. Some professional associations also ran their own *Herbergen*, such as those of book-printers and newspaper-labourers in Vienna. In a publication on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of their *Herberge*, they praised the tradition of travelling as journeymen, its importance for professional training, and the value of this personal experience. Wandering was regarded as a great chance for the young printer to see the world; it "sweetens the days of youth, free from the monotony and the bonds of everyday life."[80] The printers' union regretted the obstacles for wandering created through World War I and its aftermath: "Wandering was also impossible after the end of the war. The problems of sustenance, the difficulties of crossing national borders, the organisations' powerlessness to

provide regular travel support – all that led only the most daring colleagues to set off to travel. Most starved at home. Our activities in those days consisted mostly of giving shelter to homeless and unemployed colleagues."[81] Re-establishing regular travel support in 1926 finally revived to the book-printer *Herberge*. Actual accommodations, however, reached only about one-third to one-quarter of pre-war levels (see figure 6). The union regretted this unfortunate but understandable decrease. Wandering, as they pointed out, was still up to date. It was mentioned rather in passing that the wandering of young printers made jobs available for older and married printers. Since the younger ones travelled, this allowed them to stay and support their families. Last but not least, some mobility in the labour market improved the employees' position vis-à-vis the employer.[82]

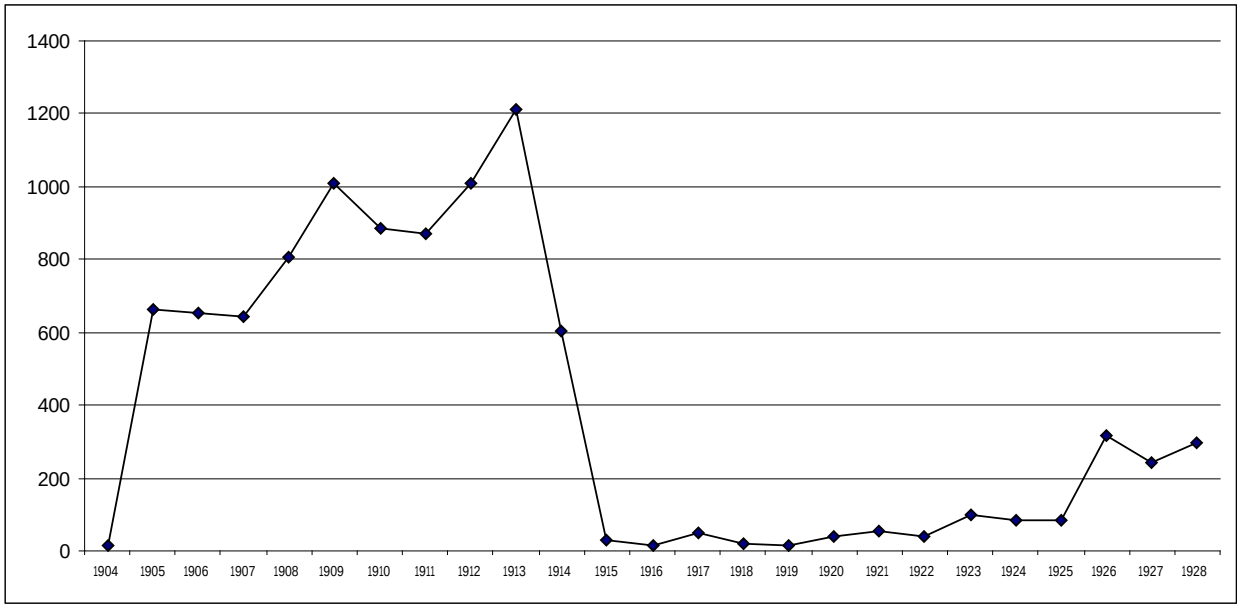

Figure 6: Arrivals at the bookprinters' *Herberge* in Vienna[83]

The left-wing trade unions, however, knew and regretted that welfare for the wanderers was not at all their strong point but more a domain of the Catholic journeymen-associations[84]

such as the *Kolpingwerk*, founded in the mid-nineteenth century to help travelling journeymen. During the interwar period this organisation was still running its own *Herbergen* in many towns. It gave shelter and meals to members and helped wayfarers from Austria, Germany and other countries. Their data on support for wanderers shows a significant increase during the 1930s (see figure 7).

	Arriving members at *Herbergen* of the Kolping-Verein	**Percentage of Austrians**	**Percentage of Germans**
1929	9438	23.3%	70.7%
1930	12196	20.5%	74.3%
1931	15411	20.8%	74.6%
1932	20164	22.3%	74.0%

Figure 7[85]

The *Kolpingverein* was mostly directed at young craftsmen and skilled workers. The journal of the association encouraged them to wander, and it praised wandering for the sake of wandering: "There are many opportunities to wander through one's native country inexpensively, especially for unemployed youth from the big cities."[86] Wandering ought to permit an aesthetic experiencing of nature as well as physical strengthening. And wandering appeared as a natural impulse, because – according to conventional ideas – a drive to wander was rooted within the German people. The *Kolpingwerk* stressed the relationship of wandering to religion, camaraderie, community, German nationhood and the state. *Beruf* (or vocation) was key to the legitimacy of wandering: "You will get to know many people, both good and heartless, but they are all countrymen. We have to love and stand by them all. If we don't find jobs, we want to get to know the different tribes and dialects, the many groupings and parties, the estates and occupations, the national community (*Volksgemeinschaft*). Within the family of *Kolping*, wandering has always had a particular

seriousness and served a vocational purpose. Wandering is a school for career and life; it means proving, consolidating and broadening oneself. It requires of us greater self-discipline, endurance, cleverness, thrift and most of all camaraderie. Nowadays the wearisome economic difficulties wish to discourage us. We come up against closed borders. In our country, there is political unrest and mistrust. Should we therefore give up the happiness we find in wandering? […] Within wandering itself lies joy and fulfilment."[87] Wandering, from this standpoint, did not mean life without any boundaries but rather integration, the finding and accepting of one's place within the social order. This order was fundamentally defined by vocation even when there was no employment to be found.

In several respects, a vocation could prevent one from becoming a vagrant. Referring to (or evoking) a tradition of wandering made tramping somehow more legitimate – despite the fact that the chances of actually finding employment and gaining job experience were marginal. Besides the context I have sketched out there was also a separate network for youth wandering.[88] Travelling and tramping were trendy. There was no clear and lasting distinction between wandering caused by unemployment or necessity and wandering for leisure or to see the world. Because of the institutions which hosted wanderers varied, it is not possible to estimate the total number of people on the road in the 1920s and 1930s. The scattered (and sometimes contradictory) evidence, however, indicates an astonishing degree of mobility.

A question of typology?

These appraisals of being on the road reveal a perspective quite different to that of crime records and public debates on vagrancy. Do we have to assume that these contradictory

perceptions refer only to separate populations, that there were just different "types" of wayfarers on the road? Distinguishing and identifying types of wayfarers was a major concern of police, judges and welfare institutions, and debates commonly described the necessity and the difficulties involved. Contemporary descriptions of vagrancy commonly pointed out the wayfarers' extraordinary heterogeneity. "Who doesn't know the people of the roads? A phenomenon of social necessity, coupled with the wandering impulse and thirst for adventure. The reasons, which cause hundreds and thousands to wander unpredictably through the countries, are diverse. To us gendarmes they are a pain in the neck. Because as different as the reasons are the purposes and the aims of the travelling people (*fahrendes Volk*)."[89] Vagrancy appears at one and the same time as the most voluntary and forced kind of wandering. Even in criminological essays stressing the vagrant's criminal and even pathological dispositions, there are hints of the contexts which rendered wandering somehow comprehensible and legitimate: job search, the craft's traditions of wandering, or a juvenile's search for adventure and romantic ideas. This was not just a theoretical question but a question of practical impact, since it could make a person subject either to financial support, disciplinary measures or legal punishment. The problems of distinction got even more difficult during the world economic crisis, when so many were apparently forced out on the road and differences between those willing to work and those unwilling became fluid and often impossible to distinguish.

As historians, we do not necessarily share this urge to distinguish with policemen and judges. Moreover, it seems doubtful whether classifying cases according to typologies would be useful in understanding these practices. And which perspective should be the basis for such a typology? The law, the self-perception of the wayfarer or perhaps the perspective of those from whom he asks pittance? Moreover, as autobiographical writings indicate, these

ways of being on the road were not totally unconnected. There were ups and downs along the journey. Wayfarers could sometimes find occasional or informal employment within or outside their chosen profession. Sometimes they helped farmers out for a meal and a bed. Although there was awareness of the difficulties in obtaining employment, the labourers sometimes preferred to hit the road rather than to work under certain conditions.[90] Does this then make them work-shy? From the autobiographical accounts, we can also conclude that unemployed on the road did not rely on any single source of support. There was not a journeymen association or *Kolpingverein* in every town. Even when someone was a member of one of these associations, they still often had to seek shelter and food by alternative methods. Despite wayfarers being commonly criticised as a nuisance to the population, they encountered a remarkable amount of private charity. Wayfarers received support not only from their family and friends, but also from monasteries, churches, unions, shopkeepers, political parties, farmers and other residents. They might work for a pittance, sometimes they committed petty theft, or they collected or stole fruits or vegetables from the fields. Begging was very often described as an indignity in these accounts, but some were able to get used to it quite quickly. Does that make them habitual beggars? Josef Winkler, for example, a tailor journeyman, wrote in his memories that he went on the tramp in 1929 out of *Wanderlust*. Along his journey he used the *Herbergen* of the *Kolping-Verein,* occasionally paid for lodging in a cheap inn, and avoided the public *Herbergen*. Instead, he begged out of fear that his hometown be notified that he was relying on public relief.[91] He also asked for pittance when he still had money in his pockets, in order to save the money for worse times to come.[92] Most of the accounts describe experiences on the road as varying between the euphoria of being on the move, totally free, and the desperation when later on there was still no work to be found. There was solidarity between people on the road,[93] yet there was also a need to

distinguish oneself from the others: the long-term vagrants and the work-shy. Hans Wielander, a journeymen carpenter, describes himself in contrast to "professional beggars": "[...] they had been on the road for decades – they didn't want work. They knew every farmer [...], they knew where one got a hard piece of bread, and they knew every gentle soul [*milde Hand*]. They invited me for a beer and a snack. I didn't belong to this group of beggars; I was a journeymen. I knocked on the farmers' doors only when I was hungry or in the evenings, when I was looking for lodging. [...] One should not forget that there were so many *Fechtbrüder* [colloquial for begging journeymen] and all were hungry."[94]

This source material clearly indicates that the experience of unemployment was not uniform. We do not exclusively find various degrees of frustration and depression as showed in a contemporary study (from the 1930s) on the unemployed in Marienthal.[95] Unemployment could be also a time free from work, a more or less illegitimate form of leisure.[96] Tramping, begging or a single conviction for vagrancy did not necessarily lead directly to exclusion or to a lasting verdict of being a vagrant, work-shy or anti-social. Most of these authors, however, could avoid problems with the police or at least they do not mention them, and they escaped lasting exclusion.[97] Nonetheless, this ambiguity between necessity and (more or less legitimate) wanderlust is also to be found in the statements of those arrested for begging and vagrancy who were themselves not so lucky. For example: Mathias M. was arrested in the Upper-Austrian town of Mondsee in 1934.[98] He was born in 1887 and was a citizen of Tyrol. He was Catholic, unmarried, and an unskilled labourer with some previous convictions. The police report avows that he was stopped by the police and told to leave town. Since he continued begging, he was eventually arrested. "There was no special necessity of begging for M. because he owns a *Wanderbuch* [an identification card for unemployed wanderers,

S.W.], according to which he is entitled to free boarding and shelter at the *Herbergsstationen* within the province of Salzburg until 15 May 1934." The accused M. states: "It's true, I am allowed to use the *Herbergen*, but I wanted to see the *Salzkammergut* because I have never been there and thus went to Upper Austria. Because I am not entitled to use the Upper Austrian *Herbergen*, I have been begging at several houses in *Mondsee*. I wanted to wander back to *Salzburg* in a few days." He got forty-eight hours of arrest for this short trip beyond the permitted scope of wandering.

Conclusion

When Robert Castel describes vagrancy as a particularly clear manifestation of social disaffiliation[99], he indicates that mobility itself is a form or effect of disintegration. The tramping system described, however, shows that wandering might endanger social affiliation but did not necessarily manifest or lead to social disaffiliation. Mobility is not at all a simple response to unemployment or poverty. As sketched out above, wandering in search of a job could still serve several individual and collective purposes. It represents both moments of tradition and modernization, cultures of travelling and economic crisis. We find both reasons involved in wandering and enforcement of the grounds for being/becoming/remaining sedentary. Tramping also demonstrates the persistence (and/or reinvention) of collective, non-governmental assistance in periods of unemployment and related concepts and perceptions. This non-governmental context also indicates that we do not have to reduce questions of control to the state.

James C. Scott has suggested that we might consider the modern state as the enemy of "people who move around".[100] Yet this does not mean that authorities succeeded in

controlling mobility or in many cases welcomed, tolerated and supported it. Involved were the differing interests of the central state and local authorities as well as differing governmental jurisdictions. Vagrancy and unemployed tramping fell between the spheres of labour market policy, criminal justice, and welfare policy. Neither vagrancy nor the vagrants themselves are once and for all subject to one of these particular official domains. They are rather subject to repeated examination, definition, and reallocation. They receive support, punishment, and education. Each of these fields has its own logic, and together they produce contradictions and paradoxes.

There was a great deal of arbitrariness in the treatment of people on the tramp, particularly during the world economic crisis and in the Austro-Fascist system. Nonetheless, there were also attempts to consider individual cases and an increasing amount of information available.[101] Techniques to register, identify, and gather information about individuals emerged, particularly in the framework of new governmental social policies. A new type of bureaucratic tool permitted the monitoring of populations and spatial movements. There was the *Melderegister* for registering aliens, residents, and their movements. Through the governmental labour exchange and unemployment benefits the unemployed were registered as well. The Center Welfare Registry (*Zentraler Wohlfahrtskataster*) aimed at registering all those receiving private or public welfare in Vienna as a means of prohibiting misuse.[102] Persons wanted for crimes or for abuse of the welfare system (*Unterstützungsschwindler*) were identified in lists distributed nationwide. The Central Penal Registry (*Zentrales Strafregister*) was designed to centralize criminal records at a national level from 1920 on.[103] In addition, there were card files on gypsies and travellers.[104] During the interwar period, photos became required to obtain licences in trades which were bound to travelling (salesmen, marketers, peddlers).

Photos and fingerprints came into use for the identification of criminal suspects.

In principle, there could be much information available on a person. And there were many options for controlling persons' movements. Nevertheless, autobiographical writings indicate that one could be on the road for months without having problems with the police. Records on vagrants reveal remarkable cases of people on the road for many years without a passport or other identification. These records also indicate that it was often hard to prove one's identity and that in actuality this effort was seldom made. Laws were not always enforced in practice. However pessimistically we judge the effectiveness of migration control, as Noiriel points out, the creation of legality also necessarily creates illegality.[105] Yet, as my paper has shown, it would be far too limiting to consider just the relation between the state and those on the move in order to understand the possibilities and limitations of mobility.

* The article presents some aspects and intermediate results of the project "The production of work. Welfare, labour-market and the disputed boundaries of labour (1880-1938)", FWF-Projekt Y367-G14. I would like to thank Alexander Mejstrik and Marlou Schrover for their critical comments and David Brenner for carefully editing the text.

[1] Charles Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History", in William H. Mc Neill and Ruth Adams (eds), *Human Migration. Patterns and Policies.* (Bloomington etc., 1978), pp. 48-73, p. 49.
[2] See, for example Annemarie Steidl, "'Ein ewiges Hin und Her.' Kontinentale, transatlantische und lokale Migrationsrouten in der Spätphase der Habsburgermonarchie", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 1 (2008) (forthcoming).
[3] Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Migration, Migration History, History. Old Paradigms and New Perspectives", in idem (eds), *ibid* (Bern etc., 1997), pp. 9-38.
[4] Adam McKeown, 'Regionalizing World Migration', *IRSH* 53 (2007), pp. 134-142.

[5] Ilse Reiter, *Ausgewiesen, abgeschoben. Eine Geschichte des Ausweisungsrechts in Österreich vom ausgehenden 18. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main etc., 2000), p. 319ff; Waltraud Heindl and Edith Saurer (eds), *Grenze und Staat. Paßwesen, Staatsbürgerschaft, Heimatrecht und Fremdengesetzgebung in der österreichischen Monarchie 1750-1867* (Wien etc., 2000).
[6] Clifford Rosenberg, *Policing Paris. The origins of modern immigration control between the wars* (Cornell, 2006), p.2f.
[7] Gérard Noiriel, Die *Tyrannei des Nationalen. Sozialgeschichte des Asylrechts in Europa* (Lüneburg, 1994); idem, *The French Melting Pot. Immigration, Citizenship, and National Identity* (Minneapolis etc. 1996), p. 61f; John Torpey, "Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate 'Means of Movement'", *Sociological Theory*, 16/3 (1998), pp. 239-259, p. 239f, p. 254; see also Leo Lucassen, "Eternal Vagrants? State Formation, Migration, and Travelling Groups in Western-Europe, 1350-1914", in: idem/Jan Lucassen, *Migration,* pp. 225-251.
[8] See, for example Karl Wilmanns, "Das Landstreichertum, seine Abhilfe und Bekämpfung", *Monatsschrift für Kriminalpsychologie und Strafrechtsreform* 1 (1904-05), pp. 605-620; Hugo Hoegel, *Die Straffälligkeit wegen Arbeitsscheu in Österreich* (Wien, 1899), p. 3; Hugo Herz, *Arbeitsscheu und Recht auf Arbeit. Kritische Beiträge zur Österreichischen Straf- und Sozialgesetzgebung* (Leipzig, etc., 1902), p. 4; R. Krejči, "Naturalverpfelgsstationen", in: *Österreichisches Staatswörterbuch. Handbuch des gesamten österreichischen öffentlichen Rechtes* (Wien, 1907), pp. 702-707, here p. 702.
[9] See, for example Paul T. Ringenbach, *Tramps and Reformers 1873-1916. The Discovery of Unemployment in New York* (Westport etc., 1973).
[10] Tim Cresswell, *The Tramp in America* (London, 2001) p. 12f; see also: Jügen Scheffler, "Die Vagabundenfrage", in Künstlerhaus Bethanien (ed.), *Wohnsitz: Nirgendwo* (Berlin, 1982), pp. 59-79; Ian Hacking, *Mad Travelers. Reflections on the Reality of Transient Mental Illnesses* (Charlottesville etc., 1998).
[11] See, for example Ute Gerhard, *Nomadische Bewegungen und die Symbolik der Krise. Flucht und Wanderung in der Weimarer Republik* (Wiesbaden, 1998); idem, "Identität und Identifizierung – zum Anteil literarischer Verfahren an den Wanderungspolitiken des 20. Jahrhunderts", in Hannelore Bublitz et al. (eds), *Das Wuchern der Diskurse. Perspektiven der Diskursanalyse Foucaults* (Frankfurt/Main etc., 1999), pp. 97-108.
[12] Robert Castel, *Die Metamorphosen der sozialen Frage. Eine Chronik der Lohnarbeit.* (Constance, 2000), p. 28.
[13] More recent historical studies deal with the history of the workhouses, the anti-social, begging and vagrant groups on Germany and Switzerland. See, for example Andreas Gestrich et al. (eds), *Being poor in modern Europe. Historical perspectives 1800-1940* (Oxford etc., 2006); Andreas Gestrich and Lutz Raphael (eds), *Inklusion/Exklusion. Studien zur Fremdheit und Armut von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt/Main etc., 2004); Dietmar Sedlaczek et al. (eds): *'Minderwertig' und 'asozial'. Stationen der Verfolgung gesellschaftlicher Außenseiter* (Zürich, 2005); Wolfgang Ayaß, *Das Arbeitshaus Breitenau. Bettler, Landstreicher, Prostituierte, Zuhälter und Fürsorgeempfänger in der Korrektions- und Landarmenanstalt Breitenau (1874-1949)* (Kassel, 1992); Beate Althammer, "Functions and Developments of the *Arbeitshaus* in Germany: Brauweiler Workhouse in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries", in Andreas Gestrich et al., *Being Poor*, pp. 273-297; Thomas Huonker and Regular Ludi, *Roma, Sinti und Jenische. Schweizerische Zigeunerpolitik zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus. Beitrag zur Forschung* (Zürich, 2001).
[14] As some examples of studies in the Anglo-American context see: Nels Anderson, *Men on the Move* (Chicago, 1940); idem, *On Hobos and Homelessness.* Edited and with an introduction by Raffaele Rauty (Chicago etc., 1998); Robert E. Park, "The Mind of the Hobo: Reflections

upon the Relation Between Mentality and Locomotion", in idem and Ernest W. Burgess, *The City. Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment* (Reprint Chicago etc., 1984), pp. 156-160. Frank Tobias Higbie, *Indispensable Outcasts. Hobo Workers and Community in the American Midwest, 1880-1930* (Urbana etc., 2003); Eric H. Monkkonen (ed), *Walking to Work. Tramps in America, 1790-1935 (*Lincoln etc., 1984); Cresswell, *Tramp;* Kenneth L. Kusmer, *Down and out, on the Road. The Homeless in American History* (Oxford, 2002); Aoife Bhreatnach*, Becoming conspicuous. Irish Travellers, Society and the State, 1922-70* (Dublin, 2006). Howard M. Bahr, *Skid row. An introduction to disaffiliation* (London etc., 1973); John Stewart, *Of no fixed abode. Vagrancy and the Welfare State* (Manchester, 1975); Lionel Rose, *Rogues and Vagabonds. Vagrant Underworld in Britain 1815-1985* (London, etc. 1988); Robert Humphreys, *No Fixed Abode. A history of Responses to the Roofless and the Rootless in Britain* (Houndmills etc., 1999).

[15] Tim Cresswell, *On the Move. Mobility in the Modern Western World* (New York etc., 2006).

[16] Rose, *Rogues*, pp. 77ff.

[17] There are similarities to tramping systems in other countries, but they also differ, for instance, with respect to the integration of the journeymen into the master guilds, the relation of journeymen to their employers and the prospects of becoming an independent master craftsman. Last but not least, there is a difference in perception as journeymen or labourers. See for example: Michael Sonenscher, "Journeymen's Migration and Workshop Organization in Eighteenth-Century France", in Steven Laurence Kaplan and Canthia J. Koepp (eds), *Work in France. Representations, Meaning, Organization, and Practice* (Ithaca etc., 1986), pp. 74- 96; Josef Ehmer, "Artisans and Guilds, History of", in: Neil J. Smelser/Paul B. Baltes (eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (Oxford, 2001) vol. 2, pp. 816-821; Eric Hobsbawm, "The Tramping Artisan", in idem, *Labouring Men. Studies in the History of Labour* (London, 1964), pp. 5-22; Lars Olsson, "'We Stand Here as Sellers and Buyers in Relation to Each Other'. On work, Culture, and Consciousness Among Swedish Typographers in the Late nineteenth and Early 20th Centuries", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 19 (1994), pp. 201-221; Lars Edgren, "Abenteuerlust, berufliche Fortbildung, Faulenzertum oder Arbeitslosigkeit?", *Migration. A European Journal of International Migration and Ethic Relations*, 4 (1993), pp. 17-37.

[18] See, for example Leo Lucassen et al., *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups. A Socio-Historical Approach* (Houndmills, 2001); idem, *Zigeuner. Die Geschichte eines polizeilichen Ordnungsbegriffes in Deutschland. 1700-1945* (Köln etc., 1996); Florian Freund, *Zigeunerpolitik im 20. Jahrhundert,* 2 vols (Habilitation, Wien, 2003); Dietmar Sedlaczek et. al. *'Minderwertig'*; Toni Pescosta, *Die Tiroler Karrner. Vom Verschwinden des fahrenden Volkes der Jenischen* (Innsbruck, 2003); Wolfgang Ayaß, „Wanderer und Nichtseßhafte – 'Gemeinschaftsfremde' im Dritten Reich", in Hans-Uwe Otto and Heinz Sünker (eds), *Soziale Arbeit und Faschismus. Volkspflege und Pädagogik im Nationalsozialismus* (Bielefeld 1986), pp. 361-387.

[19] Florian Freund et al., *Vermögensentzug, Restitution und Entschädigung der Roma und Sinti* (München, 2004).

[20] Freund, *Zigeunerpolitik,* p. 44.

[21] Rotering, "Die negative Arbeit", *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Strafrechtswissenschaft,* 16 (1896), pp. 198-223.

[22] Austrian State Archives (ÖStA), Archive of the Republic (AdR), BKA, Inneres, Allgemein 20/4, 1918-1928, Zl. 119.644/1928, Zwangsarbeits- und Besserungsanstalten,

Grundsatzgesetz des Bundes; and Zl. 152.141-8/1930, Gesetz über die Unterbringung von Rechtsbrechern in Arbeitshäusern, Entwurf des BM für Justiz.

[23] MRP 984/8 vom 20. Februar 1935, in *Protokolle des Ministerrats der Ersten Republik, Abt. IX, Band 2, Kabinett Dr. Kurt Schuschnigg*, bearbeitet von Gertrude Enderle-Burcel (Wien, 1993), pp. 296-298; MRP 1015/16 vom 30. November 1935, Entwurf zu einer Heimatgesetznovelle, in *Protokolle des Ministerrates der Ersten Republik, Abt. IX, Band 3, Kabinett Dr. Kurt Schuschnigg*, bearbeitet von Gertrude Enderle-Burcel (Wien, 1995), pp. 443-444.

[24] *Zahlenmäßige Darstellung der Rechtspflege*, 28 (1936), p. 6. These numbers do not include prostitution (§5).

[25] See, for example Michael John, "Arbeitslosigkeit und Auswanderung in Österreich 1919-1937", in Traude Horvath and Gerda Neyer (eds), *Auswanderung aus Österreich. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* (Wien etc.,1996), pp. 83-110.

[26] Source: *Zahlenmäßige Darstellung der Rechtspflege*, 5 (1926), p. 7; 7 (1927), p. 5; 10 (1929), p. 5; 12 (1929), p. 7; 14 (1930), p. 8; 16 (1932), p. 7; 18 (1932), p. 6; 20 (1933), p. 6; 24 (1935), p. 9; 28 (1936), p. 8.

[27] „89. Gesetz vom 24. Mai 1885, womit strafrechtliche Bestimmungen in Betreff der Zulässigkeit der Anhaltung in Zwangsarbeits- oder Besserungsanstalten getroffen werden", *Reichsgesetzblatt für die im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder* XXVIII (1885), §7.

[28] Hannes Stekl, *Österreichs Zucht- und Arbeitshäuser 1671-1920* (Wien, 1978).

[29] „88. Gesetz vom 27. Juli 1871, in Betreff der Regelung der polizeilichen Abschaffung und des Schubwesens", *Reichsgesetzblatt für die im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder* XXV (1871).

[30] According to the *Zahlenmäßige Darstellung der Rechtspflege* (1924-1938).

[31] „67. Bundesgesetz vom 10. Juni 1932 über die Unterbringung von Rechtsbrechern in Arbeitshäusern", *Bundesgesetzblatt* für die Republik Österreich 46 (1932); Ernst Seelig, *Das Arbeitshaus im Land Österreich. Zugleich ein Beitrag des Strafrechts im Großdeutschen Reich* (Graz, 1938).

[32] See, for example Seelig, *Arbeitshaus*, pp. 90f.

[33] Emmerich Tálos and Walter Manoschek, "Zum Konstituierungsprozess des Austrofaschismus", in Emmerich Tálos and Wolfgang Neugebauer (eds), *Austrofaschismus. Politik – Ökonomie – Kultur 1933-1938* (Wien, 2005), pp.6-25.

[34] *Das Wohlfahrtswesen der Stadt Wien. Geschichte, Entwicklung, Aufbau und Einrichtungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Neuschöpfungen unter Bürgermeister Richard Schmitz in den Jahren 1934-1936* (Wien, 1937).

[35] Siegwald Ganglmair, " 'Die hohe Schule von Schlögen"', *Medien & Zeit*, 2 (1990), pp. 20-29, p.25; ÖStA, AdR, BKA, Inneres, Allgemein 20/2 Grundzahl 126.964/1936, Geschäftszahl 160.442-6/1936 Heimatgesetznovelle 1936; Ergebnis der Länderkonferenz vom 22. und 23. Mai 1936.

[36] Ganglmeier, *Die hohe Schule*, p. 28f.

[37] Josef Gutmann, "Der Handwerksbursche von einst und jetzt", *Öffentliche Sicherheit*, 5 (1934), p.28.

[38] Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Jugendgerichtshof and Magistratsabteilung 255, A1; Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv, Bezirksgericht Mondsee und Bezirksgericht Ried, Strafakten. A comparison of these records makes it quite apparent how much the local police station contributes to what we can reconstruct as a vagrant and his/her motives.

[39] Sigrid Wadauer, "Betteln – Arbeit – Arbeitsscheu (Wien 1918-1938)", in Beate Althammer (ed), *Bettler in der europäischen Stadt der Moderne. Zwischen Barmherzigkeit, Repression und Sozialreform* (Frankfurt/Main etc., 2007), pp. 257-299.
[40] According to the *Zahlenmäßige Darstellung der Rechtspflege* (1924-1938).
[41] See, for example Richard J. Evans, "Introduction: The Experience of Unemployment in the Weimar Republic", in idem and Dick Geary (eds), *The German Unemployed* (London etc., 1987), pp. 1-22, pp. 11ff; Hans Safrian, "Wir ham die Zeit der Orbeitslosigkeit schon richtig genossen auch.", in Gerhard Botz and Josef Weidenholzer (eds), *Mündliche Geschichte und Arbeiterbewegung. Eine Einführung in Arbeitsweisen und Themenbereiche der Geschichte "geschichtsloser" Sozialgruppen* (Wien etc., 1984), pp. 293-331, p. 310.
[42] Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte in Wien (ed), *Handbuch der Frauenarbeit in Österreich* (Wien, 1930), p. 39.
[43] Source: *Zahlenmäßige Darstellung der Rechtspflege*, 5 (1926), p. 7; 7 (1927), p. 5; 10 (1929), p. 5; 12 (1929), p. 7; 14 (1930), p. 8; 16 (1932), p. 7; 18 (1932), p. 6; 20 (1933), p. 6; 24 (1935), p. 9; 28 (1936), p. 8.
[44] Karl Forchheimer, "Die Organisation der Arbeitslosenfürsorge in Oesterreich", *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 48 (1920/1921), pp. 707-730.
[45] Karl Pribram, "Die Sozialpolitik im neuen Oesterreich", *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik,* 48 (1920/1921), pp. 615-680, p. 632.
[46] Steve Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity. Migration in Germany, 1820-1989* (Michigan, 1999), pp. 217- 254.
[47] Dieter Stiefel, *Arbeitslosigkeit. Soziale, politische und wirtschaftliche Auswirkungen – am Beispiel Österreichs 1918-1938* (Berlin, 1979), p. 55.
[48] Ernst Bruckmüller et al., *Soziale Sicherheit im Nachziehverfahren, die Einbeziehung der Bauern, Landarbeiter, Gewerbetreibenden und Hausgehilfen in das System der österreichischen Sozialversicherung* (Salzburg, 1978).
[49] Heinz Faßmann, "Der Wandel der Bevölkerungs- und Sozialstruktur in der Ersten Republik," in Emmerich Tálos et al. (eds), *Handbuch des Politischen Systems Österreich. Erste Republik 1918-1933* (Wien, 1995), pp. 11-22, esp. 20ff; Fritz Weber, "Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung", in *ibid*, pp. 23-39, here p. 25; Stiefel, *Arbeitslosigkeit*, p. 29.
[50] Gerhard Melinz, *Von der Armenfürsorge zur Sozialhilfe: Zur Interaktionsgeschichte von 'erstem' und 'zweitem' sozialen Netz in Österreich am Beispiel der Erwachsenenfürsorge im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Habilitation, Wien, 2003), pp. 142ff.
[51] See, for example Sylvia Hahn, "Fremd im eigenen Land. Zuwanderung und Heimatrecht im 19. Jahrhundert", *Pro Civitate Austriae,* NF 10 (2005), pp. 23-44.
[52] ÖStA, AdR, BKA Inneres, Allgemein 20/2, Geschäftszahl 137 123-6/1935; Grundzahl 113.786/1935, Heimatgesetznovelle 1935. Einbringung als Regierungsvorlage. Niederschrift über die Länderkonferenz in Salzburg (Landeshauptmannschaft) am 29. und 30. April.
[53] Source: Stiefel, *Arbeitslosigkeit*, p. 29.
[54] Julius Axmann and Eduard Chaloupka, *Die Vorschriften über Armenfürsorge nach dem derzeitigen Stande der österreichischen Gesetzgebung des Bundes und der Länder* (Wien, 1934), p. 542.
[55] Josef Schöffel, *Die Institution der Natural-Verpflegs-Stationen, der Zwangsarbeits- und Besserungsanstalten und ihre Einwirkung auf die Eindämmung des Landstreicher- und Bettelunwesens in Niederösterreich* (Wien, 1900); Patricia Bersin, *Die Naturalverpflegsstationen in Vorarlberg 1891-1914* (Ph.D., Innsbruck, 1987).

[56] See, for example Eva Strauß, *Wanderfürsorge in Bayern 1918-1945 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Nürnbergs* (Nürnberg, 1995); Ewald Frie, „Fürsorgepolitik zwischen Kirche und Staat. Wanderarmenhilfe in Preußen", in Jochen-Christoph Kaiser and Wilfried Loth (eds), *Soziale Reform im Kaiserreich. Protestantismus, Katholizismus und Sozialpolitik* (Stuttgart etc., 1997), pp. 114-127.
[57] *Arbeitsvermittlung in Österreich,* p. 255.
[58] See, for example *Die Arbeitsvermittlung in Österreich.* Verfasst und herausgegeben vom statistischen Departement im k.k. Handelsministerium (Wien, 1898); Hans Hülber, *Weg und Ziel der Arbeitsvermittlung. Studie über das Arbeitsmarktgeschehen in Österreich von 1848 bis 1934* (Wien, 1965); *Die Industrielle Bezirkskommission Wien. Landesbehörde für Arbeitsvermittlung und ihre Arbeitsämter 1918-1928* (Wien n.d.); Hans-Walter Schmuhl, *Arbeitsmarktpolitik und Arbeitsverwaltung in Deutschland 1871-2002. Zwischen Fürsorge, Hoheit und Markt* (Nürnberg, 2003); Anselm Faust, "Arbeitsmarktpolitik in Deutschland: Die Entstehung der öffentlichen Arbeitsvermittlung 1890-1927", in Toni Pierenkemper and Richard Tilly (eds), *Historische Arbeitsmarktforschung. Entstehung, Entwicklung und Probleme der Vermarktung von Arbeitskraft* (Göttingen, 1982), pp. 253-276.
[59] R. Krejči, "Naturalverpfelgsstationen", pp. 702-707.
[60] *Arbeitsvermittlung in Österreich*, p. 257.
[61] See, for example Hoegel, *Straffälligkeit.*
[62] Only 93 of this total number were women.
[63] *Arbeitsvermittlung in Österreich*, pp.*112-*117.
[64] Axmann, Chaloupka, *Vorschriften,* pp. 534-596; Karl Forchheimer, *Die Vorschriften über Arbeitslosenversicherung. Altersfürsorge für Arbeitslose, Arbeitsvermittlung, Arbeitsbeschaffung, Ein- und Auswanderung* (Wien, 1932), p. 640f.
[65] Axmann, Chaloupka, *Vorschriften*, pp. 534-596.
[66] See, for example : "Errichtung einer Unterkunftsstelle für Arbeitslose in Salzburg", *Arbeit und Wirtschaft, 9* (1923), p. 291.
[67] See, for example : "Errichtung von Herbergen für Arbeitssuchende", *Arbeit und Wirtschaft*, 23 (1924), pp.1007f.
[68] Josef Schlüsselberger, "Die Niederösterreichischen Herbergen", in Niederösterreichische Landesregierung (ed), *Das Bundesland Niederösterreich. Seine verfassungsrechtliche, wirtschaftliche und soziale Entwicklung im ersten Jahrzehnt des Bestandes 1920-1930* (Wien, 1930), p. 530f.
[69] Eduard Pichler, "Die Obdachlosenfürsorge auf dem Flachland", *Tullner Bezirks-Nachrichten*, Nr. 4 (23.1.1937), p. 6; idem, "Landstreicher als Landplage, in: *Tullner Bezirks-Nachrichten*, Nr. 15 (10.4.1937), p.5f, here p. 5.
[70] For example Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv (NÖLA), Landesregistratur, XIa, 1933, Stammzahl 135: Stadtgemeindevorstehung Stockerau an das Amt der n.ö Landesregierung, 22.2.1933 and Stammzahl 393: Marktgemeinde-Vorstehung Spitz a.d. Donau an das Amt der n.ö. Landesregierung, 9.10.1933.
[71] Salzburger Landesarchiv, Marktarchiv Werfen, Karton 31, Faszikel Herberge, Kassabelege erledigt.
[72] NÖLA, Landesregistratur XIa, 1933, Stammzahl 22.
[73] NÖLA, Landesregistratur XI, 1932, Stammzahl 957.
[74] "Die Landstraße erwacht. Der Aufbruch der ‚Walzbrüder' beginnt – Arbeitslose haben die reisenden Handwerksburschen verdrängt", in: *Melker Zeitung*, Nr. 60 (16.4.1933), p. 3.

[75] Franz Kals, "Mein Lebenslauf", unpublished manuscript (1982), Dokumentation lebensgeschichtlicher Aufzeichnungen, University of Vienna (Doku).
[76] *Gestohlene Jugend. Die Tagebücher und Aufzeichnungen des Franz Schick. 1930 bis 1933*. Bearbeitet und mit einem Nachwort versehen von Karl Stocker (Graz, 1991), p.81.
[77] "Die Landstraße erwacht", p. 3.
[78] See Sigrid Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen. Mobilität und Biographie im Handwerk vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert (*Frankfurt/Main etc., 2005).
[79] Safrian, *Orbeitslosigkeit*, p. 308.
[80] *1904-1929. 25 Jahre Wiener Buchdruckerherberge.* Zusammengestellt und herausgegeben von der Herbergsgruppe des Reichsvereines der österreichischen Buchdruckerei- und Zeitungsarbeiter. Verantwortlich Josef Matik (Wien, 1929), p.2.
[81] *25 Jahre Wiener Buchdruckerherberge, p. 28*.
[82] J.M. Wanderlust, in *25 Jahre Wiener Buchdruckerherberge*, pp. 69f
[83] *25 Jahre Wiener Buchdruckerherberge*, p. 31. (There were about 3500 printers in Vienna when the *Herberge* was founded.)
[84] Rudolf Holowatyi, "Schaffet Herbergen für durchwandernde Arbeiter!", *Arbeit und Wirtschaft,* 13 (1927), pp. 586ff.
[85] Source: "Aus den Vereinen", *Nachrichten des Zentralsekretariates der katholischen Gesellenvereine Österreichs*, ½ (1933), p. 22.
[86] Rudolf Gangsterer, "Soziales Wandern", *Österreichisches Kolpingblatt. Zeitschrift für junge Werkleute,* 7/8 (1935), p. 78.
[87] Hans Schwarzenbrunner, "Auf, auf, ihr Wandersleut", *Österreichisches Kolpingblatt. Zeitschrift für junge Werkleute*, 4 (1935), p. 41.
[88] Österreichischer Jugendherbergsverband (ed), *Österreichisches Herbergsverzeichnis. Wegweiser für Jugendwanderer 1937* (Wien, 1937).
[89] Erwin Sorger, "Landstreicher", *Öffentliche Sicherheit,* 10 (1936), p. 19.
[90] See, for example the unpublished autobiographical account by Hans Wielander (born 1908), *Aus meinem „Lebenslauf"*, typescript, 1991, Doku, p.24.
[91] Josef Winkler, „*Ohne Titel*", manuscript, 1996, Doku, p. 21.
[92] Ibid p.19f.
[93] Leopold Sekora, "Daheimbleiben konnte ich nicht", in Norbert Ortmayr (ed), *Knechte. Autobiographische Dokumente und sozialhistorische Skizzen (*Wien etc., 1995), pp. 235-296, here p.239.
[94] Wielander, *Lebenslauf*, p. 30f.
[95] Maria Jahoda et al., *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal. Ein soziographischer Versuch* (Frankfurt/Main, 1975).
[96] Wolfgang Russ, "Zwischen Protest und Resignation. Arbeitslose und Arbeitslosenbewegung in der Zeit der Weltwirtschaftskrise", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 3 (1990), pp. 23-52; Safrian, *Orbeitslosigkeit*;
[97] The account of the agricultural labourer Leopold Sekora would be an exception here. He describes his arrest and trial for begging. He received three days of detention and additionally was banned from the province of Tyrol and sent back to his hometown. Sekora, *Daheimbleiben,* p.277ff.
[98] Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv, BG Mondsee, U 68/34 Matthias M., Bettel von Haus zu Haus
[99] Castel, *Metamorphosen*, p. 28.

[100] James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State* (New Haven etc., 1998), p.1.
[101] Noiriel, *Tyrannei*, pp. 140ff.
[102] Arthur Glaser, "Der Vereinigte Fürsorgenachweis", *Blätter für das Wohlfahrtswesen der Stadt Wien*, 264 (1927), pp. 161f.
[103] Hugo Suchomel, "Die österreichische Kriminalstatistik in der Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit", *Zahlenmäßige Darstellung der Rechtspflege,* 5 (1926), pp. 3f.
[104] Freund, *Zigeunerpolitik*, vol.1, p. 46.
[105] Noiriel, *Melting pot*, p. 59.