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ON SO-CALLED VAGRANCY

A MEDICO-SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

OLOF KINBERG¹

For some time back there has been going on in this country a persistent work for the reformation of the vagrancy law. No fewer than three schemes for such a law have been worked out by special experts in the years 1922, 1926 and 1929. Further the government bill has been submitted to the Riksdag in 1930 and 1931. The question of the treatment of vagrants is thus very prominent in this country. A public discussion on the question has already been started in different places in the daily papers, but this has to a great extent been politically coloured and principally concerned with reputed mistakes in the exercise of the present vagrancy law and the way to avoid such mistakes in the future. From certain extreme quarters the complete abolishment of the vagrancy law has been insisted upon. On the other hand, we have in this discussion noticed no attempt to enter into the question more thoroughly and thus gain more clearness as regards the social phenomenon called vagrancy and the desirable measures to be adopted by the community.

In order to obtain a concrete and empirical knowledge of so-called vagrancy there is clearly no other way than to study a large number of persons who according to the present legislation are regarded as vagrants. Only by examining as thoroughly as possible the habits of a large number of such persons, their psychological and social aspect, their possible criminality, their mental disposition and environment, the reasons for the development of their mode of life, etc., is it possible to reach a characterization of the social-biological race of vagrants with their different species and varieties. It is quite natural that the information about the vagrant obtained in this way is not complete, as it is quite possible that, owing to hitherto unknown causes, there are certain types who really belong to the vagrant in psychological and social respects, but who for some reason or other are not taken in hand by the authorities and thus evade notice. From a practical point of view this is, however, of no special importance. As the manifestations of life in society become more differentiated, its methods of discovering and neutralizing disturbing

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influences are likely to become more delicate and effective. The development of a subtler diagnostic of the socially noxious phenomenon of vagrancy can thus be consigned to the future.

Such an examination of a large number of vagrants has been made by the Swedish Social Board. The material has been treated partly statistically in order to find out the different characteristics of vagrants with regard to criminality, age, distribution in town and country, extraction, profession, etc., partly psychologically and socially with a description of different types and short biographies of characteristic cases. As regards the closer details we refer to the investigation made by the Swedish Social Board.²

As the material of the Social Board has, however, only been treated superficially from a psychiatric point of view, I have examined 35 cases of vagrancy which have been under treatment at Långbro mental hospital in order to illustrate the nature of the psychic derangements which are prevalent in vagrants.

From a social-psychological and criminological point of view the material of the Social Board has been divided into a number of groups. It is self-evident that between several of these groups there are imperceptible transitions and that the same person can belong to several groups. In such a case it is a matter of taste in which group one places the individual. I have followed the principle that the characteristics which have earliest manifested themselves and which appear to be the most important determine the group in which a border-line case is placed. If, for example, a person has by his past life plainly shown that he belongs to the large category of habitual thieves, then he is placed in that group, even if he has later specialized in the more remunerative and less risky work of bootlegging.

1. The grouping and criminal character of male vagrants.

With regard to their habits, vagrants can to begin with be divided into two main groups, those who lead a vagrant life, e. g., tramps and vagabonds, and who have given rise to the term vagrants for the whole category; and those who, whether they own or lack a fixed abode, yet as a rule reside in one place, usually one of the large towns where, without permanent occupation, they make their living by all kinds of activity which is disturbing or harmful to society (begging, bootlegging, confidence games, fraud, swindling and theft, etc.). As regards the last group, the term vagrants which is applied in our country to the whole category is inadequate and misleading. I shall in the following attempt to characterize the different groups.

²Sociala Meddelanden. 1924.

A. Persons who lead a vagrant life—tramps, hobos, vagabonds, vagrants.

1. *Genuine tramps.* This group is well-known and has been described long ago. Laurent³ terms these people "vagabonds nés" and emphasizes the fact that, besides an ineradicable disposition for vagrancy and idleness, they are also characterized by the absence of criminality in the usual sense. Thus he mentions cases which have been punished innumerable times for vagrancy but never for crime. Wuffen⁴ names this type "the vagrant proper" and holds forth that the individuals belonging to the same are mentally deficient and neuraesthetic, that is to say degenerate from birth.

Wilmanns⁵ has in his great monograph on vagabonds not more than six cases out of 52 where no punishment for crime has occurred and where the social decadence has thus manifested itself only in vagrancy. Furthermore one finds in his material seven cases where criminality is rather insignificant; occasionally very short terms of imprisonment for malicious damage, libel, violent resistance, threats, disorderly conduct—altogether 13 (25%) cases of slight criminality or none at all.

Of the 35 vagrants which have been treated at Långbro mental hospital I have found no fewer than 10 cases where the social maladjustment has manifested itself only in vagrancy, and never led to punishment for crime. There were besides two cases which had never been punished for crime in Sweden although one of them had committed a number of criminal actions and the other had at least once been guilty of theft. Among these there was at least one individual who could be characterized as a genuine tramp.

K. J. F. Male. Born 1859 in Stockholm. *Unmarried. Not Alcoholic. Never punished for crime. Several terms at labour colonies.* Previously he was a teacher of languages. His father was a groom at the Royal stables. He remained at home until the age of 21. He gave lessons until 1883—some years at a grammar school. He is said to have spent some time at a Technical College in Aachen and afterwards he had an appointment in U. S. A. for some years. After his return to Sweden he met, according to the statement in his autobiography written at Långbro, a certain person, Otto G., who "suggested to him the idea of wandering about the countryside," which he accordingly began to do. F. continues: "Finally I grew tired of this roving life, but I realized that I should never be able

³E. Laurent: *Les habitués des prisons de Paris.* 1890.

⁴E. Wuffen: *Psychologie des Verbrechers.* Vol. II, p. 382.

⁵Wilmanns: *Psychopatologie des Landstreichers.* 1906.

to break with it if I remained in Sweden and therefore I conceived the idea of leaving this country forever." This plan, however, fell through because, according to his own statement, he never succeeded in obtaining his birth certificate from his mother. Since the late nineties he had drifted about, making futile attempts to leave the country. He was admitted to Långbro Mental Hospital Jan. 19th, 1914.

During his sojourn at the hospital he gave the impression of being an utter wreck. He was filthy, could only with difficulty be prevailed upon to wash himself and would not perform any kind of work. At times he was ironical, haughty, but in possession of certain kind of shabby humor, sometimes excited and noisy, scolded and screamed, was dissatisfied and whining, cursed Sweden, the cause of all his misfortunes, picked quarrels with other patients but was at heart an inoffensive and harmless person. Wished to be discharged at all costs, even if it should involve hardships. Discharged Sept. 23rd, 1914.

March 1st, 1916, he made his appearance at the hospital and demanded to be taken in, which was granted. He was dirty, ragged, starved, swarming with vermin and had ulcerated chilblains on his feet which he did not want to be treated for but wanted to wind newspaper round his toes. He seemed fairly contented at first and talked about his wish to leave Sweden and proceed to Germany. "Would be able to put forth colossal strength" if only his surroundings were different. He wrote letters now and again to a lady in U. S. A. whom he had known thirty years ago. He had proposed marriage to her: "If you will assist me to come over I will give you the privilege of becoming my wife." He had no doubts about her not feeling inclined to accept his offer. He would not have to support her for she was well off. He was discharged June 19th, 1916.

August 24th he returned and demanded to be taken in, dirty, ragged and starved, just as before. He weighed 52 kg. (height 175 cm.). He had lately been tramping about Uppland and Sörmland, "had studied Spanish the whole time." Regarding the purpose of his tramping he said: "While one is alive one must be somewhere, and one can of course not stay in the same place and so one must tramp." He was again thinking of going to South America.

He had the same uncomprehending, irritable, haughty and touchy manner. Could become exasperated over wrongs which he had suffered 25 years ago. Quarrelled with certain of the other patients on the slightest provocation. Discharged Sept. 6th, 1916, as he pre-

ferred to tramp about and rough it rather than take part in any work at the hospital and could scarcely be said to be in need of treatment at a mental hospital any longer.

There is no doubt that F. during his stay at the hospital was insane and showed a schizophrenic dementia. The statements in the records do not make it possible to fix the starting point of the illness. F's own description of his life shows however that the illness must have developed very insidiously just as in a great many of Wilmanns' cases. Neither can there be any doubt but that the illness and his inability to support himself and lead an ordered life was the reason why F., without any change in the external circumstances of his life, who belonged to a family fairly well off and who had himself received a certain amount of education, sank to the state of wretchedness in which he had lived for more than fifteen years. His life history shows also the psychological causes of his perpetual tramping: his pretentiousness, his tendency to feel injured, his touchiness and discontent, by reason of which he easily picks quarrels with those around him, his absolute unwillingness to work, his insensibility to bodily and moral discomforts which causes him to disregard the hardships of a vagrant life and also his restlessness which does not allow him to stay in the same place. It is noteworthy that he is not an alcoholic, has not committed any crimes and that, so far as is known, no change in his social circumstances which could possibly explain his degeneracy had set in.

In the following case we find an intelligent, industrious and socially well-adjusted person who, through mental derangement, sinks to vagrancy.

H. K. Male. Born 1865. B. Sc. Single. An uncle of his somewhat odd. His father, a major on the Board of Roads and Waterways, was very hot-tempered. K. himself had a violent temper, was suspicious, lively, slightly hunchbacked, was satirical, shy and at the same time fond of society. K. passed his University entrance examination in 1885, became a public elementary school teacher in 1886, and received his B. Sc. in 1894. At times he had hypochondriacal ideas and a horror of spiders. Signs of self-allusional ideas. In May, 1899, he fancied he heard people speaking ill of him. May 16th he made an attempt at suicide with a razor in order to escape capital punishment. Admitted to Upsala Mental Hospital June 16th, 1899. Accused by voices of having murdered his parents and other persons. The voices declared that he was going to be broken on the wheel, which was later changed to "eaten alive by

boas." Just before the outbreak of his illness his appetite was irregular and he had probably consumed a fair amount of alcohol. Improvement in health during his stay at the hospital; discharged in an improved mental state Aug. 27th, 1899. Hallucinations had almost ceased at that time. After his discharge he was at the University of Lund from 1902-1904 in order to continue his mathematical studies for his licentiate. He made, however, no progress. His suspiciousness, self-allusional ideas, and persecutory delusions increased still more and he gradually became an utter wreck. He began tramping in order to escape from his invisible enemies. The years 1912-1915 he spent in Göteborg and from 1915-1919 he was in Stockholm. He had no fixed abode, and slept at night in refuge homes. Led an idle, loafing life of dirt and misery, went about armed with revolvers and sheath-knives in order to defend himself against his pursuers. He received a monthly allowance from wealthy relations. Died 1919 at St. Erik's hospital in Stockholm. No abatement of intelligence could be observed but on the other hand moral decadence he cheated a friend in a bill transaction but was never treated for vagrancy or punished for crime.⁶

This is a case of a paranoid constitution where, under the influence of an acute mental disorder which at Upsala Mental Hospital was regarded as an acute alcohol psychosis—hallucinosis—arising from the effects of insufficient nourishment for some time together with a certain abuse of alcohol, the constitutional paranoid characteristics are increased so that the power of leading an ordered social life is lost. The morbid phenomena are an obstacle to settled work and the self-allusional ideas and persecutory delusions render it difficult for the patient to remain in the same place for any length of time and thus he is driven to the practice of vagrancy, at times manifesting itself in tramping about from place to place and at other times loafing within a community without a fixed abode. By perpetually changing his place of residence the sufferer hopes to throw his pursuers off the scent.

It is well-known that persecutory delusions can lead to a genuine nomadic life. Several years ago there was at Upsala Mental Hospital a paranoid schizophrenia sea-captain who was taken ill in a port in Central Africa and, in order to escape from his pursuers, ran across half the continent until he came to Cape Town. At times he had the lead and got a day's rest but it always ended by his being overtaken.

⁶K. was never treated at Långbro Mental Hospital and is therefore not to be found among the cases in Table 1.

In my material there is a third case of the same character, a theological student L. who was engaged in both clerical and scholastic work, but under the influence of serious abuse of alcohol and mental disease—schizophrenia—sank to vagrancy, was repeatedly sent to labor colonies and once punished for assault and battery and finally ended at a mental hospital.

Among my cases there are yet eight more of this kind where a mental disease, a schizophrenia with an insidious development, was the cause of vagrancy. In none of these cases has there occurred any punishment for crime.

What these individuals have in common is that, solely on account of their morbid state of mind, and without any contributive social circumstances (affliction of an economical, family, or social nature, poverty of the like), they have become socially maladjusted and adopted the habits of a vagrant or, at least for periods, those of a stationary loafer. The individuals belonging to this category become vagrants just as surely as a stone which has fallen into the water sinks to the bottom. This type of vagrant can thus be characterized as the *purely endogenous*.

2. Persons who become vagabonds owing to a combination of individual and social causes; *the mixed type*.

This group too has previously been described by Laurent. It consists of persons who are in some way or other mentally frail, imbecile, debile or in other ways mentally abnormal. As long as they happen to be in favourable social circumstances, are engaged in regular work or live in comparatively good economical circumstances by the assistance of family members or others, they manage to keep their heads above water. But as soon as a misfortune happens which "unseats" them they sink to a life of idle vagrancy. The external causes can be of a varying character; e. g., the person in question may lose his post for some reason or other and thereby his livelihood; the family which has taken charge of him may be broken up by death or lose its means of existence, his wife may die and thereby his own family life become disorganized or he may be overtaken by illness or some other misfortune by which his capacity for work is diminished and so on. The defective psychic organization involves inability to adapt himself to the new circumstances and the consequence is that he begins to tramp about. He soon settles down to the new life, its harmful influences take effect and before long his mental decline, coarseness and maladjustment are as great as his bodily filth, shabbiness and general decay. At this stage he cannot be dis-

tinguished from the endogenous vagrant. It is only the development of this state which shows that we have to do with a different type of vagrant from the one first described.

In my material there are hardly any cases belonging to this type, which is easily accounted for, as my cases all consist of persons who have been admitted to mental hospitals and in whom the psychopathic symptoms have thus been very pronounced. On the other hand there are probably a great number belonging to this group in the material of the Social Board. The number of individuals belonging to this group cannot however be stated.

This type of vagrant might appropriately be termed *mixed* endogenous. While the purely endogenous, irrespective of environmental conditions, needs must sink to vagrancy, this type is characterized by the fact that a person, for some reason or other socially on the slide, is on account of his defective mental state unable to work himself up again to an ordered mode of life.

3. *The intermittent type.*

There is a group related to the preceding one which consists of individuals who work at times and then prove energetic and efficient workers. They are often to be found among lumbermen, navies and the like. Thus they are persons who are accustomed to a hard and primitive life and who have a rather low standard of culture. When they have worked hard for a certain period and collected a sum of money, they are seized by a desire to convert this into pleasures at the nearest "center of culture" and preferably the enjoyment produced by alcohol. They leave their work, proceed to a town, spend in revel and riot the money they have earned and meanwhile become degraded in mind and body and when their money is spent they have no choice but to take to the road. The harmful consequences of a vagrant life set in, they become still more degraded but, as they possess a certain reserve fund of energy and are not really afraid of work, they can, if opportunity arises, pick up once again and become relatively efficient workers till next time they have collected some money and the recollection of past enjoyment causes a repetition of the cycle above described. Nearly all of them are alcoholists, coarse, brutal fellows—hoodlums—and therefore will be likely to commit crimes of violence—assault and battery, etc.

This type can be termed the *intermittent* vagrant.

B. *Stationary vagrants.*

Among these one finds first of all the relatively large group consisting of:

4. *Beggars—cadgers.* The individuals belonging to this group can be said to most nearly correspond to the mixed type in group A, even if one finds among them individuals who have never had regular work but have been beggars the greater part of their lives. This is of course owing to their having grown up in very bad homes, belonging to the dregs of the proletariat of the metropolis and thus in their childhood having to become accustomed to living in the street as beggars or vendors of small wares—buttons, bootlaces, note paper, articles made of wire, etc. Destructive environmental factors have thus prevailed at such an early stage that these individuals have never had the chance of showing whether they are capable of leading an ordered and industrious life. As the effects of the destructive surroundings are greater the younger the individual is. It is in such cases almost impossible to decide how much of the intellectual and moral decay is due to evil predisposition and how much to evil surroundings. From a practical-social if not from a eugenic point of view this is unimportant, inasmuch as a very early depravity generally means an irreparable depravity.

Of course, however, there are in this group of beggars many in whom the mental defects are of such a character as cannot be acquired but must be constitutional.

The fact that beggary is often a protective disguise for other activity of a criminal nature is of great practical importance. From this point of view it is expedient to distinguish between *genuine* beggars and *pseudo-beggars*.

Beggary, possibly under the guise of pedlary, is to the genuine beggar the only source of income, which for that matter, as has been proved time and again, exceedingly well provides for the person who practices it.

The pseudo-beggar on the other hand is very often a habitual criminal—thief or swindler, who begs, either to try and get an opportunity to commit an immediate theft or to scout for a future haul. Especially youths and young men are to be suspected in this respect, at any rate in Stockholm. It is a well-known fact that certain dangerous gangs of house-thieves carry on their work under the guise of beggary. Their way of procedure is as follows. They always carry on operations in the daytime, two together. They go to a flat, ring the bell—the usual old dodge—and if anyone answers the door they beg and often succeed very well, thanks to the credulity of people. If no one answers the door they presume that the flat is empty and proceed to the important part of their enterprise. While

one stands on guard the other one opens the door with his clasp knife (jemmies are avoided as dangerous indices if perchance they should be arrested, and they are besides unnecessary as most people do not drop the catch of the Yale lock, on going out). This is done in a trice. He enters the flat, takes what he fancies and goes away and the whole thing is over in a few minutes.

If anyone should come up the steps the one on guard rings the bell and both the thieves disappear. These thieves are so much the more dangerous as they are hardly ever caught. Not even if they should be taken by surprise is there any special risk if only they can manage to get out of the house and into the street, for they are all good athletes and run like hares—according to the policeman who supplied me with this information. These beggars have their hunting grounds in certain wealthy quarters of the town.

That these beggars are highly dangerous to society is shown by the fact that no less than 60% of the vagrants who are known as beggars have been punished for felony—theft, assault and battery, fraud, embezzlement, etc. It is thus clear that the term beggar is often a gross euphemism and that these individuals, who with an excellent economical result sponge on the credulity and kindness of their fellow-creatures, are as a matter of fact prepared, when opportunity arises, to inflict on them far greater damage than coaxing a few coppers out of them.

Regarding the psychopathological character of pseudo-beggars and the members of thieving gangs, which are closely related to them, see chapter III.

5. Closely allied to the above-mentioned group of young pseudo-beggars are the *member of thieving gangs*, vicious boys of no occupation who loaf about, always prepared when opportunity arises to do a dirty trick by which they can obtain money for their particular needs: cigarettes, alcohol, girls and cinemas. As they are still young, enterprising, and not yet dulled by alcohol and debauch, they show a considerable criminal activity and are therefore not a little dangerous.

On the whole they can be regarded as the recruits of habitual crime; they are as yet only at a preparatory stage and have not specialized in any direction. Inclination, propensity and accidental effects of environment will in due course determine whether they will end as alcoholists, hoodlums, pickpockets, burglars, con men, sou-teneurs, bootleggers or other habitual criminals.

6. *Male prostitutes, blackmailers, and other sex offenders.* In the material of the Social Board there are some few persons belong-

ing to this group among which is to be found the renowned "Greta," who was arrested, dressed in female clothing and provided with long hair and other female attributes. The group comprises only a very diminutive part of the 485 cases of the Social Board. It is of course impossible to obtain anything like a reliable report of the number of male prostitutes in Stockholm; however, it would seem as if the authorities who have to see that order and decency are observed are of the opinion that their number amounts to some hundreds.

There is an interesting paper on this group written by the well-known expert on sex abnormalities, Hirschfeld.⁷ According to his opinion, the homosexual prostitution of men is often a passing phase of their lives which is probably to a large extent due to the fact that only quite young individuals are able to procure a clientèle, the usual age being from 17-22. At times they enter upon their activity much earlier, in some cases as early as 14 years. Male prostitutes over 25 are rare, and only an occasional "virtuoso" in the art of appearing young can keep on till the age of 30. The homosexual clientèle is thus, according to Hirschfeld, far more fastidious than the heterosexual. Hirschfeld draws attention to the tendency of these individuals to appear in disguise with a special predilection for masculine professions—seamen, soldiers, chauffeurs, jockeys. He further points out that homosexual individuals are strongly attracted by soldiers and holds forth that relations between homosexual civilians and non-homosexual soldiers are very common. Strangely enough Hirschfeld does not consider the cooperation of soldiers in homosexual relations as prostitution, although he alleges covetousness to be the chief motive on the part of the soldiers.⁸ Hirschfeld also considers that blackmail on the part of the soldiers is unusual. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that blackmail in Germany is subject to severe penalties and also that at the time when his paper was written, that is before the war, the stern discipline and weak position of soldiers in the eyes of the law probably made them altogether less enterprising in this matter.

Hirschfeld's observations regarding the strong inclination of homosexuals towards soldiers and the tractability of the latter in this matter tally with experiences in other countries and also in Sweden. It is on the other hand doubtful whether this prostitution

⁷M. Hirschfeld: *Einiges über die Ursachen und Erscheinungsformen der männlichen (nicht erpresserischen) Prostitution.* (Archiv für Kriminologie Bd. 52, p. 337; 1923.)

⁸At times the most preposterous motives are given as in the case where a soldier declared that he had entered into relations with homosexuals "in order to remain faithful to his fiancée."

of soldiers is as harmless from a criminal point of view (apart from the fact that the sexual act is criminal) as Hirschfeld makes out. In any case, blackmail on the part of the soldiers is in no way uncommon in this country.

Hirschfeld also states that many if not the majority of male prostitutes are themselves not homosexual, a fact which clearly shows the character of their activity to be true prostitution. He also mentions that male prostitutes sometimes have *souteneurs* who at the same time serve as panders and he also points out that the "secretaries," "valets," and "travelling companions" of homosexuals are often enough in reality panders.

Just as female prostitution in different countries manifests itself in quite different ways owing to different conceptions of sexuality and different way of looking at prostitution (cf. Japan and U. S. A.) so in the same way male prostitution probably differs in different countries.

From the experiences in our country regarding the conduct of these individuals in institutions where they have been detained, it is evident that at least in some cases they are themselves homosexual and they have known how to combine *utile dulci* by making use of their abnormality in a financial way. In other cases (the majority) the activity is carried on solely from covetousness and extremely criminal manipulations are often resorted to—theft, robbery, blackmail.⁹

Even if such crimes are very seldom brought before a court of justice it is well-known that they are often committed. For reasons which are easily perceived the victim seldom dares to report and it is self-evident that the almost certain impunity increases the daring and audacity of these criminals. I have lately had occasion to deal with an illiterate imbecile sentenced without previous examination of his mental state who, when he was accosted one evening by a homosexual person, enticed the latter into a cemetery in the center of Stockholm where he knocked him down and deprived him of his pocketbook.

7. Another group which is closely allied to the preceding one consists of *souteneurs*, which in the material of the Social Board constitutes 5.2%. This type of parasite, perhaps the most repulsive of

⁹Blackmail is to be sure not punishable according to Swedish law, but it is none the less to be regarded as a serious criminal act which in other countries is subject to severe penalties—in Germany terms of imprisonment from 1 month to 5 years; in France fines or any term of imprisonment not exceeding 2 years; in Italy hard labor for any term not exceeding 6 months.

all those that go to make up the large group of vagrants, has of old the worst possible reputation. Parent Duchatelet,¹⁰ who is not without reason considered the chief expert on prostitution, has already about a century ago characterized them as the most dangerous and repulsive type of the metropolitan rable. Apart from the cruel and merciless tyranny which they practice on the women they sponge on and for whom they act as panders and protectors from the police, their danger to the general public lies above all in the part they take in the criminality of the prostitutes—theft, robbery, blackmail. Together with the gangs of thieving boys and some of the male prostitutes they constitute the group of public parasites which in Paris go by the dreaded and despised name of “apaches.”

8. *Con men, card-sharpers.* To this group belong those individuals who play on the ignorance, want of experience and defenselessness of their fellow-men. Their ways of robbing their victims vary according to the cleverness of the criminal and the character of the situation. Thus it may be effected by card-sharping, by fraud, or by intoxicating the victim and then robbing him. The members of this group belong, by reason of their intelligence, cunning, energy, and also by their higher standard of life from a hygienic and social point of view, to the “aristocrats” among vagrants. Their victims are not always inexperienced country lads or simple workmen. It has even happened that a member of the Under House has been at the mercy of con men who, without much difficulty, managed to rob him of several 100-crown notes. In the material of the Social Board this group constitutes 9.7%.

9. *Hoodlums and criminal drunkards.* As, according to the statistics of the Social Board, more than half of all vagrants are alcoholists it is natural that those crimes which are characteristic of such persons, viz., assault, housebreaking, violent resistance and the like are exceedingly common. Hoodlums constitute 9.9% of the whole.

10. *Bootleggers.* This group, which is of fairly recent date and which owes its origin to certain financial and legislative circumstances regarding the sale of alcohol, is represented by two essentially different types. One type consists of persons who have not previously been punished or treated for vagrancy, possessing a permanent residence, often married and leading a settled life, but who have not been able to resist the temptation of making use of the existing al-

¹⁰Parent Duchatelet: *De la prostitution de la ville de Paris.* Bruxelles 1836, p. 95 ff.

cohol restrictions to improve their financial position in such a way as was not possible in their previous profession.

The other type comprises individuals who have previously been convicted and sentenced to labour colonies and who, as regards their mental and social habits, belong to another category of vagrants but for economical reasons have changed their activity. The majority of these are thus of a lower class and act as the assistants and tools of the more active and not socially decayed bootleggers.

In the statistics of the Social Board these two types constitute together 18.8%.

11. *Habitual thieves.* Their number amounts to no less than 34.4%. As regards their criminal type they belong as a rule to the passive habitual criminals, that is to say, the dull and apathetic, often besotted individuals who are psychologically and socially decayed and who have previously been convicted a number of times and who, owing to their mental deficiency, are as a rule incorrigible. A minority of them consists of more energetic and therefore more dangerous so-called active habitual criminals, burglar recidivists, pick-pockets, purse snatchers and the like.

The members of this group do not in any way differ psychologically from habitual criminals in general and are to be met with in workhouses, labour colonies, prisons, inebriate reformatories and mental hospitals.

When taking a general view of these different groups of vagrants with regard to the presence of criminality, one finds that it is in reality only the first group, consisting of true endogenous tramps, which is not criminal, if one disregards occasional crimes of little importance.

The second group, the mixed, is in this respect more open to doubt. The individuals belonging to this group are recruited from another milieu which more nearly resembles that from which the more pronounced criminal groups derive their origin. In one of my cases (G) there is no evidence as to punishment for crime but the patient has himself stated that he has been punished in Norway and that he has committed a number of different crimes in Sweden without being caught.

The same holds true with regard to the third group, the intermittent vagrants, who owing to their tendency for abuse of alcohol are more allied to the hoodlum and criminal alcoholic type and who are thus apt to commit the same sort of crimes as these: assault, housebreaking, violent resistance, etc.

The fourth group, beggars and pedlars, are from a criminal point of view greatly to be suspected and one is certainly not mistaken in supposing that a very large percentage of those vagrants who pose as beggars are criminal individuals, whether they have been punished or not. The truth is that there occur masses of minor thefts in flats, attics, cellars, etc., which are never reported, as the persons robbed shun the trouble of so doing, being convinced that the thief will not in any case be caught. One is hardly mistaken if one presumes that many of these thefts are committed by pseudo-beggars who make use of their begging expeditions chiefly to scout for a better haul than can be obtained by begging.

It is also evident that, as masses of thefts do not even lead to report, many pseudo-beggars may be inveterate habitual thieves though never punished. That the members of thieving gangs regarded as habitual criminals in nuce constitute a criminal element is self-evident. The same holds good of the male prostitutes, as homosexual practices are subject to punishment. The criminality of con men, criminal alcoholists, bootleggers and habitual thieves is likewise self-evident.

The connection between vagrancy and criminality is quite naturally an ancient phenomenon which fact has been emphasized whenever the question of vagrancy has been treated in literature appertaining to this. For want of space I must abstain from treating the literature on this subject at any length and will content myself with quoting some data from one of the latest monographs on vagrancy by Pagnier.¹¹ Speaking of the development of vagrancy in France Pagnier holds forth (p. 37) that the true, non-complicated vagrancy has become rarer and he also points out that criminality increases parallel with vagrancy. After having quoted a number of statistics according to different scientists (Hubert du Puy, judge at the Seine tribunal: *Vagabondage et mendicité*; Héllitas: *Thèse Paris 1899*; Gabriel Tarde: An article in *Revue pénitentiaire*, etc.). Pagnier emphasizes the fact that every day new books and new articles are published in which a new legislation for vagrants is demanded, at the same time laying stress on the criminality of these individuals. Levasseur¹² is of the same opinion. He says: "Criminals are enlisted from among vagrants, men who have not settled as founders of families and who live far away from their birthplace." He holds forth the conspicuous number of vagrants in certain departments—Seine,

¹¹A. Pagnier: *Le vagabond*. Paris 1910.

¹²Levasseur: *Population française*. Quoted from Pagnier.

Bouches-du-Rhône, Rhône, Seine-Inférieure, Herault, Seine-et-Oise—and states that it is in these very districts that thefts and other crimes are most common.

In his work Pagnier¹³ further draws attention to the fact that the number of sentences for vagrancy are evidently fewer than before—which is fully in accordance with what will be shown further on to be the case in Sweden—and that the number of criminals who escape justice is greater than formerly. While the population of France increased by 25% from 1835 to 1904 the number of grave and petty offenses—which has been accounted for in statistics has increased by 140%. Compared with the above statements by Pagnier regarding the greater chances of criminals to escape punishment, these figures give an idea of the enormous increase of true criminality. After having mentioned more than 10 murder cases in Paris during the first quarter of 1908, all committed by vagrants, he proves the juvenile share in criminality by quoting figures in official statistics relating to the age distribution in the central prisons, which show that 60% of all prisoners are under 29 years of age. In spite of reforms as regards criminal policy—provisional sentence and probation—there were 70% of recidivists among those sentenced in 1904.

Although my own material is too small to be statistically treated and also on account of its characteristic quality—mental derangement of such a kind that medical attendance must be resorted to—is not representative for the whole group of vagrants, I have made a combination in the table *overleaf* which can help to throw light on the heredity of vagrants, the nature of their mental derangement, etc.

What is most conspicuous is perhaps the dominating presence of alcoholic abuse in both the insane vagrants themselves and their parents. In 12 cases (34.3%) the father was an alcoholic and in 1 case the mother. Hereditary taint with nervous derangement, mental disease, peculiarities of temperament and suicide were found in 7 cases (20%). In one case criminality in a brother. In 26 (74.3%) of the vagrants themselves is to be found abuse of alcohol, often extremely excessive—1-2 liters of gin per day and quantities of beer. It is noteworthy that some of the worst abusers of alcohol come from drunkards' homes, where the father taught them to drink in their childhood at the age of 6-12. In one case there had occurred 15 attacks of delirium tremens, in another 8-10. In some of the cases (4, 6, 12, 18, 21, 30) it seems as if an unrestrained abuse

¹³Pagnier. Loc. cit. p. 53.

of alcohol has been the most prominent direct cause of the social maladjustment. It is evident that serious abuse of alcohol is in its turn as a rule closely allied to an abnormal constitution or acquired mental disease in an individual. It is however possible that abuse of alcohol which is begun in childhood and increases more and more in youth can work permanent mental changes which make it impossible to return to a sober and ordered mode of life, even if grave constitutional psychopathic traits are not found. To distinguish between "nature and nurture" in such cases can of course be impossible.

Regarding criminality it appears that only 10 cases are unpunished, that is to say, no less than 71.4% are criminal. The quality of this criminality is shown by the fact that in these 35 cases there occurred one attempt at manslaughter and one at murder. It is true that the latter took place during the patient's stay at a mental hospital, but it is none the less illustrative of the danger of this clientèle.

We draw attention to the large proportion of members of the standing army (6=17%), as compared with the above quoted by Hirschfeld that male prostitution is not an uncommon occurrence among soldiers; (in the material of the Social Board 19.2%). In other respects the distribution as regards profession is not noteworthy.

With regard to the distribution according to clinic forms it appears, as was to be expected, that schizophrenia is the most common psychosis (22 cases though 2 are, however, doubtful). In the next place come the alcohol psychoses (6), which very well tallies with the frequent occurrence of alcoholic abuse.

The number of cases with certified mental abnormality is relatively small (10) which can however depend on the fact that while a psychosis lasts it may be difficult or impossible to decide whether abnormal psychic traits have existed before the rise of the mental disease, owing to the scantiness of the anamnesis which is to be noticed here too, especially as regards the older cases. The information regarding the nature of the environment is very incomplete—the home conditions are, however, in no less than 7 cases such as must be characterized as bad. If one presumes the same verdict to be passed on homes where one of the parents is a drunkard, the number will be increased by yet eight cases, which together makes fifteen (42.9%). This is naturally a minimum figure. "Favorable" home conditions were reported in four cases only. Regarding the other sixteen cases information is lacking.

It has been well-known for some time that criminality among vagrants is considerable. Wilmanns¹⁴ found long ago no less than 70% of punished vagrants among those detained at labor colonies. Marthen¹⁵ found that among 650 convicts 36% had received severe sentences; i. e., penitentiaries and long terms of imprisonment which he considers tells against vagrants and grave criminals being different types.

In order to obtain an idea of the criminality in my material I have made the following comparison.

TABLE 11
SUMMARY OF THE CRIMINALITY OF VAGRANTS ADMITTED TO LÅNGBRO
MENTAL HOSPITAL

Crime	Number of Punished		General Remarks, Punishment Totals, Etc.
	Crimes	Persons	
Offenses against the person (alcohol crimes; crimes of passion)	16	7	8 yrs., 1 mo., 15 days
Offense against right of property (theft, fraud, robbery, etc.)	70	22	36 yrs., 3 mos.
Forgery of documents, etc.	2	2	12 mos.
Sex offenses	5	2	1 yr., 5 mos., 21 days

(Only 1 indictment; the others not indicted on account of prosecution regulations.)

As 10 persons out of the 35 in my material have not been punished for crime in this country and as according to the above table 33 persons have committed crimes, a great number must have committed crimes belonging to more than one of the categories stated in the table. Altogether 93 crimes distributed among 25 persons.

The investigation made by the Social Board shows that the number punished for felony constitutes 70.7%. In my material the corresponding figure is 71.4%. These figures alone show the suspicious individuals that conceal themselves under the guise of vagrants, which term sounds so harmless to many people. I have before, as regards another group, the beggars, emphasized that one must allow for a considerably greater actual criminality than that which can be statistically proved. This holds good in just as great a degree with regard to the tramps. The roving mode of life of

¹⁴K. Wilmanns: Das Landstreichertum, seine Abhilfe und Bekämpfung (Monatsschrift. Krim. psychol. Bd. 1, p. 605, 1905).

¹⁵Marthen: Psychiatrische Korrigendenuntersuchungen (Zeitschrift f. d. Ges. Neurol. p. Psych. 1914. Bd. 22, H. 3).

Name	Year of Birth	Heredity	Vagrants which have been treated at Långbro Mental Hospital						Abuse of Alcohol	Tramp, Beggar	Criminality			Psychopathology	
			Profession of Father	Home Circumstances	Education	Profession	Crime	Term of Imprisonment			Alcoholic Criminal	Habitual Thieving, Fraud	Souteneur	Psychic Abnormality	Insanity
1. G. A. E.	'86	unknown	blacksmith	unknown	public elementary school	iron worker	theft	4 (7/12) ¹	+	+		+			schizophrenia
2. H. G. E. S.	'91	father alcoholic	quarryman	unknown	publ. elem. sch.; good reports	builder	0	0	+	+					schiz.
3. K. A. A. A.	'69	unknown	unknown	unknown	university entrance exam.	agent	forgery	1 (6/12)							schiz. (?)
4. I. T. F.	'67	father alcoholic	iron plate worker	bad?	poor	iron plate worker	assault & battery (attempt at murder); thefts	1 (4 yrs.) 2 (8/12)	+++	2 terms at labour colonies	+	+	+	mentally deficient	schiz.
5. J. A. S.	'76	unknown	tailor	unknown	publ. elem. sch.	tailoring worker	assault; theft	2 (3/12) 3 (2 yrs.)	+		+	+	+		schiz.
6. K. E. A.	'81	unknown	groom	unknown	unknown	casual worker	theft	unknown	+++						alcohol psychosis; 5-10 times D. T.
7. M. L. G.	'66	unknown	farmer	unknown	6 classes at grammar school; technical college	casual worker	0	0	++	6 warnings; 3 t. at lab. colon.					alcohol psychosis
8. K. L. L.	'60	unknown	estate owner	favourable	good; B. D.	clergyman; master at grammar school	violence	1 (2/12)	+++	2 warn.	+				schiz.
9. A. H. D.	'85	mother alcoholic	mother scullery-maid at hotel	born out of wedlock—bad	publ. elem. sch.	casual worker	forgery, etc.; theft; fraud	1 (6/12) 1 (5/12) 1 (1/12)	+	3 warn.		+		debile; hysterical	
10. J. F. L.	'62	father periodical drunkard	unknown	unknown	publ. elem. sch.	jobbing gardener	violence against police; petty larceny, etc.	2 (5/12) 1 (3/12)	++	7 warn.; 5 t. at lab. colon.	+				paranoia
11. G. F. B.	'83	unknown	foundry worker	unknown	pub. elem. sch.; Hall reformatory	iron plate worker	assault; resistance; robbery; theft	8 (3 1/2) 3 (3 2/12)	+	4 warn.; 1 t. at lab. colon.	+	+		imbecile	schiz.
12. H. T. S.	'82	paternal grandmother & aunts insane; father & uncles "queer"; alcoholists	unknown	unknown	publ. elem. sch.	soldier; casual worker	breach of faith; theft	1 (2/12) 4 (3 10/12)	+++	2 warn.		+		hypochondriacal enuresis	alcohol psychosis
13. E. O. V. V.	'73	unknown	captain of steamship	unknown	unknown	casual worker	theft	2 (7/12)		2 warn.		+			schiz.
14. K. J. F.	'59	unknown	groom at the Royal Stables	favourable	grammar school; technical college	teacher of languages	0	0	0	+					schiz.
15. E. F. G.	'91	father alcoholic	farm labourer	unknown	publ. elem. sch.	soldier; sailor	0	0	+	4 t. at lab. colon.					schiz.
16. B. A. A. F.	'90	unknown	shop keeper	favourable	private schools; grammar school, 4 classes	shop assistant	embezzlement; theft	1 (3/12)	+		+	+		debile (imbecile)? hysteria	
17. J. H. S.	'88	father alcoholic	iron worker	father deserted family	the Lindgren Sch.	worker at brush factory	violence; theft; burglary	1 (4/12) 1 (3/12) 3 (1 9/12)	+	2 warn.; 1 t. at lab. colon.		+			schiz.
18. A. V. B.	'59	father & 2 brothers alcoholists	carpenter	bad; step-mother from his 8th year	publ. elem. sch.	casual worker	theft; burglary	9 (9 11/12)	+++	7 t. at lab. colon.		+			schiz. Oct. 22nd suicide
19. K. E. R. J.	'96	unknown	unknown	illegitimate, born in workhouse	unknown	casual worker	0	0		1 t. at lab. colon.					schiz.
20. A. E. T.	'76	unknown	coachman	unknown	publ. elem. sch.	farm labourer	theft	1 (6/12)		3 warn.		+			taboparalysis; blind
21. A. V. A.	'62	3 brothers suicide	foreman at gas works	unknown	publ. elem. sch.	plumber; dock-worker	0	0	+++	9 warn.; 6 t. at lab. colon.					alcohol psychoses; D. T. 15 times
22. V. G. G.	'87	father periodical drunkard; mother, maternal aunt & uncle nervous; uncle suicide	casual worker	unknown	publ. elem. sch.; gave satisfaction	tin plate worker	numerous thefts	0	0	3 warn.; 1 t. at lab. colon.		attempt at murder in mental hospital			schiz.
23. K. A. A. H.	'78	criminal brother	shoemaker	favourable	publ. elem. sch.	tradesman	theft; fraud	5 (2 11/12)	+	5 warn.; 3 t. at lab. colon.		+		?	alcohol psychosis & other lesionary psychosis
24. G. A. O.	'97	aunt insane	unknown	illegitimate; brought up at public orphanage	publ. elem. sch.	mechanic	theft	0	0	1 t. at lab. colon.				debile; torpid	manic-depressive psychoses?
25. J. I. S.	'92	unknown	baker	unknown	publ. elem. sch.	baker	0	0	+	1 warn.				debile; imbecile?	schiz.
26. K. B. N.	'77	unknown	hotel-keeper	unknown	unknown	dyer	0	0		9 t. at lab. colon.					schiz.
27. A. F. J.	'69	father, mother, brother & sister alcoholists	unknown	bad	unknown	Soldier; painter	theft	1 (5/12)	++	7 t. at lab. colon.		+	+		repeated alcohol psychoses
28. A. F. J.	'87	mother & sister nervous	workman	unknown	publ. elem. sch.	soldier; casual worker	theft	2 (9/12)				+			schiz.
29. K. E. J.	'85	unknown	shoemaker	unknown	publ. elem. sch. fairly intelligent	worker at livery-stable	theft	1 ³	+++						schiz.; acquitted
30. H. P. B.	'84	unknown	cement worker	unknown	pub. elem. sch.	soldier; painter	theft; attempt at rape; sex offense against minor	4 (2 10/12) 1 (5 8/12) 1 (not dicated)	+++			+		hysteria	
31. O. M. D.	'91	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	sailor	theft; attempt at rape on sisters and others	2 (8/12) (not indicated)	++			+			schiz.
32. A. S. S.	'76	father alcoholic	unknown	home dissolved; bad	publ. elem. sch.; simple	casual worker	0	0	+	+				imbecile	schiz.
33. K. V. J.	'74	father insane	iron worker	unknown	publ. elem. sch.	baker	theft	6 (4 4/12)	++			+			schiz.
34. G. A. J.	'83	father alcoholic	engineer	unknown	publ. elem. sch.	casual worker	0	0	++						schiz.
35. A. E. S. J.	'75	father alcoholic	game keeper	unknown	school for N.C.O.'s; school of forestry	soldier; forester	resistance; disorderly conduct	finer	+++		+				schiz.

¹⁴ times, together 7 months.

²¹ to 3 + according to the degree of alcoholic abuse.

³ Acquitted on account of insanity.

these persons, the small density of population in our country which makes it easy for them to evade the police and especially the country police, which latter are few in number and inferior as regards training and organization, the widespread conviction with most people of the uselessness of reporting offenses unless they are of a grave character and possibly also other circumstances point in the direction that the criminality of tramps given in the criminal statistics is far less than in reality is the case. Through conversations with persons belonging to this category, under such circumstances that frankness will not involve risk of punishment, it is easy to ascertain that they have often committed offenses which have not been indicted. Among my clientèle there is such a case which is especially noteworthy.

No. 22. Born 1887. Began pilfering at his first situation. In 1904 he committed more thefts at the workshop where he was employed. The following years till 1908 he was employed at different workshops in Eskilstuna, Köping and Stockholm; everywhere he robbed his employers without being detected. After doing his military training he tramped from Stockholm to Malmö in the autumn of 1909. In a shop somewhere in Småland he stole a pair of galoshes. He went over to Copenhagen several times but was ordered out of the country each time. In 1910 he worked in Dalsland and then tramped over to Norway. Stole a Gladstone bag on a ship in Tönsberg, was caught, served a term of imprisonment and was ordered to leave the country. Tramped in Värmland and Norway 1911 and 1912. Stole some pewter things at a farm in Trankil in 1912. In 1914 he stole a pair of galoshes at a farm in Jämshög. Tramped in Medelpad 1917-1918. He stole a pair of shoes and 600-700 kronor in a shop in Gudbrandsdalen. He was in Stockholm 1920 or 1921. Stole empty bottles at a café in Haga Park and also at an eating-house in the neighborhood of Östermalm athletic ground. In the autumn of 1922 he stole a chair-toboggan near the station at Gällö in Jämtland and in the neighborhood of Vindelns station in Västerbotten he stole in several places underclothes which were hung out to dry. Attempt at murder during his stay at the mental hospital.

This tramp has never been convicted for crime in Sweden. His statements appear reliable. He is only, quite naturally, somewhat vague when among all the numerous thefts he has committed he is required to state the time and place for those which he recollects.