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SPREAD OF INFORMATION ABOUT URBAN ELBERFELD SOCIAL CARE SYSTEM IN RIGA (LATE 19TH - EARLY 20TH CENTURY)

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ABSTRACT -

Paper analyses the principles of poor relief of Elberfeld social care system that spread outside the Prussian Empire and Baltic provinces were among of the first territories of Russian Empire, where those ideas emerged. Urbanised and industrialised Riga was one of the empire's cities where the system was incorporated. It was the first level of developing a future national social care policy in Latvia after 1918. The paper aims to restore the term and achievements of the Elberfeld system known to the social elite before the Soviet occupation when this term disappeared from academic research.

Keywords: History of ideas, Elberfeld system, history of social care, social policy, concept of social responsibility, urban industrial area, municipality of Riga.

INTRODUCTION

Development of social policy in each country was affected by various factors: historical background, political regime, economics, demographical up growth, social relationships between different groups. The so-called social elite, which in this paper is understood as those with exact education, solid financial situation and place in society, spread their ideas on different levels. Therefore, the paper considers one particular system of ideas. The problem explored in the current paper is linked with the History of Ideas or Intellectual History, academic school pioneering by American philosopher Arthur Oncken Lovejoy. A. Lovejoy defined the History of Ideas as a discipline, whose research objects are grand, influential, global ideas. He saw human history as a sum of all the knowledge existing in the substantial period, where thinking developed knowledge through emotions, experiences, myths and social behaviour (Plakans 2016, 43; Lovejoy 1940, 11).

This paper aims to provide an analysis of how and which ideas of poor relief from the urban highly-industrialised city Elberfeld of Prussian Empire were incorporated in Baltics through the case of other highly urbanised and industrialised city – Riga, by researching secondary sources, the theory of the system. Therefore, in this paper, expectations about the new social care system will be analysed, as well as its theoretical approach. The research of archive sources will continue after the restrictions due to COVID-19 pandemic are lifted. Minutes of the meetings, decisions of the municipality on the topic discussed here, not used in this paper, will show the actual situation of incorporating and developing the ideas of the Elberfeld system (ES) in Riga. The research will continue by comparing theory – information spread about the ES and the reality, which will allow to find substantiation as to when and how this system was present in Riga. It might seem that implementing a new social care system was a practical activity. However, it is arguable, since the social policy itself developed from ideas and discussions, and it took a long way to bring those ideas into practice and concrete actions to implement the whole system.

Sources. The paper explores the representation of this system in the social thought through the secondary sources – press materials, didactical and scholarly literature written mainly for the educators or those in high administrative positions. The main advantage of those sources against the primary sources is their availability. Those could be re-read in the future so that those sources could have a greater influence on the broader population. On the contrary, the primary archived documents could mostly be used only once and by those involved in the particular discussion. 28 secondary sources are used – 15 of them were issued in the territory of present-day Latvia and 13 – in other places of the Russian Empire – Saint Petersburg, Moscow and Kyiv. The sources issued in Latvia are press materials, while the sources issued outside the territory of Latvia are theoretical materials. By the identified authors of those sources, it was possible to establish the information channels through which spread the ideas of ES.

Historiographical insight. The paper will demonstrate the importance of the discussions about the ES in the written materials in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries. It is essential to mention that the theory about the considerable impact of the ES on the development of the future national social policy was well known to the social elite in interwar Latvia. A significant example was Latvian lawyer and docent of the social and municipal laws - Pēteris Mucinieks (1899-1980; 1931, 1934, 1935). A crucial argument about the importance of the ES in the development of the national social care policy is that the most comprehensive informative material in the interwar time – Latvian Conversation Encyclopaedia (LKV 1929, 7138–7139) has an entry dedicated to ES. The discussions on the history of the implementation of ES did not take place in the Soviet historiography, possibly made suspect as one of the surpluses of the capitalist policy. The main tendencies in the social history of the Soviet historiography were to analyse it from the worker's perspective. However, "workers" and "the poor" were not the categories that always matched. The task of this paper is also to reintroduce the term of ES in Latvian historiography. In the Baltic states, Lithuania was the first to cooperate in a Western research project about the topic, and, consequently, in the book issued after, ES was mentioned (Hering; Waaldijk 2003). This paper is the first source after the Soviet occupation analysing the Estonian and Latvian cases.

Paper's **chronological limits** are marked by the beginning of ES in 1870s and the occupation of Latvia in 1940. The method of content analysis of the secondary sources mentioning ES was carried out, thereby examining its possible influence. The original principles of ES in Prussia with its variations incorporated in Riga were compared by using the comparative method.

The paper deals with Riga as an example of poor relief in industrialised urban areas. An article of 1885 analysing poor relief in Riga and comparing it with ES concluded that there were profound poor relief and charity traditions in Riga. Riga realised the most considerable amount of volunteer social work in Russian Empire. Riga statistically was the first among five (Saint-Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa and Warsaw) biggest cities in the empire for the poor relief aid (Düna Zeitung, 241, 1). Riga was the third biggest city in Russian Empire after Saint-Peterburg and Moscow according to its number of industrial workers (Mežgailis 1998), and one of the most important industrial and economic centres, therefore, one of the wealthiest cities in the Russian Empire. The paper will consider the unresearched part of the municipal policy – social care policy. Law of Local Community in 1866, Law of the City in 1877 and Public Welfare Law in 1892 (Leppik 1995, 24-25) composed the legislative core that shaped and developed the administration of Riga city municipality. Those laws stipulated that social care was one of the issues that the municipality of Riga should solve. After complete implementation of the Law of the City in Riga, supervision of the poor was one of the seven commissions of the Board of Riga (Ozolina 1976, 30, 38-39, 42, 57, 106, 114). Riga is an essential case for analysing the development of the ideas of ES, the concept of social responsibility in the municipality and industrial area.

THE MAIN IDEAS OF ELBERFELD SOCIAL SYSTEM¹

The 19th century marked political changes that caused social updates, made this period a synonym of modernity. Serfdom had been gradually abolished, capitalism, nationalism and awakening of ethnic minorities, Marxism emerged. Political competition of empires caused modernisation processes, not only in terms of technological development but also new ideas (Stearns 2012).

Attitude toward the poor changed, and it was essential to improve their life in municipalities. ES was named after a former city of the Prussian Empire – Elberfeld, at present – a city district of Wuppertal in Western Germany. It is one of the pioneering German industrial towns. Its success could be linked with natural benefits - the river and previously also vast fields (Figure 1), and old medieval traditions of corporative society – responsibility for the welfare of its members. Territory of Elberfeld had developed as a textile town since the Middle Ages, and at the end of the 18t^h century, the social question became topical. The first attempt of a particular poor relief policy pre-dated ES by 100 years with emergence of one of its main principles $-a)^2$ decentralisation of poor relief by dividing the city into districts. The first impetus for creating municipal social care was given by the King of Prussia in 1843, when he declared that cities were responsible for the poor. In 1850, even with decentralised social care, the city could not cope with the rising number of the poor. In 1852, banker and Lutheran Daniel von Heydt (1802-1874) created social aid policy known as ES (Gagen 1898, 29-47). A special Poor Relief Committee was established in 1852. The innovation of the ES was the principle that the different districts stratified poor relief with district offices. Poor officers were elected middle- or upper-class citizens who did not receive any salary and could not refuse this position for 3 years; it was considered respectful. Historically, ES belongs to open care, simplifying the funds. That means a necessity for unlimited financial resources. After 1852, social care funds were reduced by 35 % (Fenkel 1899, 29-47.) In the following years, the numbers of poor increased, expenses decreased and the amounts of benefits for those, who really needed them, were raised.

 ¹ If not mentioned otherwise, all the information in this chapter is acquired from: Derjuzinskij 1908, 454–459, 469, 514; Gogel 1908, 12, 17, 20, 25, 29, 31, 38, 72– 75, 90–92; Monsteberg 1900, 74–86; Georgievskij 1894, 38, 43–56, 99; LKV 1929, 7138–7139; Warner 1938, 174; Repetitorium (...) 1912, 128–130; Willis 2016.

² Letters from "a" to" e" will highlight the main ideas of ES, and the same division will follow in chapter II to analyse the main differences between the original principles of ES with the principles of the same system incorporated by the municipality of Riga.





Figure 3. MHRN VRVM 56082 Beer bowl from Berlin, late 19th century, picturing two card-players, observed by wife and children, and the text reads: "With cards and a cup, some man becomes poor"

Figure 1. Collection of MHRN, VRVM 64690. Badge of the cereal's union of Elberfeld, 1817

The main aim of the ES was to find reasons behind poverty; b) individualisation was one of the main principles of ES. Each industrialised city tried to fight with "the army of poor", the attitude for the beggars (it was prohibited), who acquired a name of "professional poor", changed – they could present danger to the wealthiest inhabitants. Therefore, abolishment ideas become popular, and the social elite saw alcohol as a reason some people were poor, and alcoholism itself – as an illness (Figure 3). After the visiting officer had given support to a needy family for 14 days, an officer had to find the solution (find a job, send to the hospital, to educate), aimed at teaching the poor to earn their sustenance. Public works were a temporary solution for reducing unemployment (Gagen 1906, 59, 67, 75). ES was the first approach, where the poor were classified.

Society gradually became secularised, and thereby the role of the churches decreased. ES was based on c) Christian values, it was an indicator of shared social responsibility; the wealthiest citizens were the most responsible for the common welfare of the city. German social politician and layer Emil Münsterberg (1855–1911) wrote that ES was not an entirely new approach; it was rethinking old Christian morality (Münsterberg 1900, 74). Therefore, ES was like a mixture of the first municipality social care system with the principles of volunteering, and the role d) of private organisations increased. The very first social care institutions in Europe used to be churches and church hospitals. The institutionalisation of social care and development of municipal social care system was a way to reform welfare.

An important role in ES was also taken by e) organisations of women (*Frauenverein*) (Gogel 1908 12, 17, 20, 25, 29, 31, 38, 72–75, 90–92). Elberfeld municipality subsidised private female societies (K. G. 1900, 85– 95). ES postulated that women should preferably work from home, assisted by "machines" in producing goods they could sell. Women's society should provide day care for children if it was not possible to work from home or women wanted to work outside the home (Gagen, 41). Elberfeld had high numbers of female workers; men looked after with children. One of the reasons for strikes instigated by Marxism supporters was this role change because of the economic situation (Bazarov, Stepanov 1906, 19, 70, 264, 475).

The ES was widespread even in Portugal (Martins 2003, 177). In the United Kingdom, ES competed with the Poor Law, a social system, which existed for almost four centuries (Warner 1938, 174; Chance 1897, 332–345). In the 1940s, social aid was centralised and professionalised again, but these processes had no chance to influence the Baltic states after the Soviet occupation.

INCORPORATION OF ELBERFELD SYSTEM IN RIGA

Development of social care in Riga

The central aspect of possibility to discuss the spreading of ES ideas in Riga are the similar historical backgrounds of Elberfeld and Riga. After 1201, Riga, became a typical European city and its social policy developed from medieval monasteries and hospitals responsible for those in need, into a corporative structure responsible only for its members. The 16th-18th century shaped the belief that the city was responsible for not only for its members but also for "others" by spreading the Enlightenment ideas. In the 18th–19th centuries, the belief arose that "those in need" could be dangerous to the social elite, and was shaped in the urbanised and highly industrialised, therefore, wealthiest areas – the cities. Ideas and information of ES spread in Riga successfully also because its popularity reached the zenith precisely when the Russian Empire's City Law of 1870 was attributable to Riga city municipality (1877). Implementation of the City Law in Riga city was slow, which also meant sluggish development of the municipal social policy. Before 1892, the Riga City Council was refused the responsibility of several municipal issues, including social care (Ozolina, 37, 38).

Historian Jānis Bērziņš mentions the term *die Armenphledge* and correctly connects it with the traditional German poor relief policy and, in his opinion, the same processes, but much slower, took place in Latvia before WWI, however, he does not mention ES (Bērziņš 2009, 172). ES in the territory of contemporary Latvia was introduced mainly in two cities – Riga and Liepāja, both (Düna Zeitung, 303, 2) were industrialised, those were also the harbours with the beneficial geographical location. Notably, both cities showed the connection between urbanisation, industrialisation, municipalisation, and the number of those in need, dealt with many poor and beggars (Bērziņš, 162-163). Urban territories in the 19th century were seen as a place of bigger opportunities. They attracted migration – greater salaries, better work conditions, more extensive amounts of social aid, opportunities to study, better medical care. However, at the same time, the workplace was not guaranteed. The city was a place of bigger temptations. Interwar researchers wrote that introduction of the ES in Riga took place in 1886 (LKV 1929, 7138-7139), ten years earlier than in Moscow. The poorest of the city were cared for by the Poor Board (Nabago valde) that replaced its predecessor in poor aid - Poor Curatorial / Directorate (Nabago direkcija / kuratorija) 1802-1886 (Smirnova 2018, 46). However, press analyses of the end of the 19th century do not suggest that the entire educated society of Riga recognised the city as the continuation of the ES, hence, the exact year of introducing ES in Riga is still questionable.

Comprehension of the ideas of ES in Riga

The first article in the territory of Latvia mentioning ES, was released in 1879, in the German-language newspaper issued in Riga, predating other parts of the empire. Those were two theoretical articles on how to organise poor relief, considering the example of Germany. Riga was not mentioned there (Rigasche Zeitung, 153, 1; 154, 1). The article of 1884 noted that it would be much more complicated to manage incorporation of ES in Riga, and small cities would be preferable because of the smaller amount of the poor. In addition, it was underlined that Riga in 1884 was not as industrialised as the cities of Germany (Rigasche Zeitung, 250, 1). The article of 1885 analysed the elements of ES existing in Riga, concluding that the finances for poor relief in Riga could be decreased if ES would be fully introduced by monitoring principle of the families of poor and increasing the responsibility of relatives. That could reduce the finances spent on the poor relief in Riga (Düna Zeitung, 241, 1).

The first article where the introduction of ES in Riga was not doubted by the substantial mentioning of the fact that ES principles were established here was released in 1891, containing the analysis of Poor Relief in Saint- Petersburg (Düna Zeitung, 248, 1; Rigasches Kirschenblatt, 6, 46– 51). The first note of ES in the Latvian language appeared in 1894 when referencing charity organisations in Moscow. In 1895, there was a series of 3 articles in a Latvian magazine, but the introduction of ES in Riga was not mentioned (Dienas Lapa, 95, 1; 96, 1; 97, 1–2, Figure 4). No mentioning

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Figure 4. Eekschzemes ziņas. Elberfeldas Nabagu apgadaschanas sistema. Dienas Lapa, 1895, 94, 1–2

ES publications were found amongst the Russian-language articles issued in Latvia. The aim of those articles which mentioned ES was to inform about the problems in the municipality of Riga and analyse them. Therefore, unsuccessful elements of ES were not mentioned.

In 1909, it was concluded that social care in Russian Empire was outdated and the church as the only entity responsible for poor relief, while the municipalities only cared for the seriously ill (Rigaesche Kirschenblatt, 45, 536). Only in 1917 the Latvian press announced that the Welfare office (*Wohlfahrtsamt*) was planning to organise its work on the basis of ES example. It continued the topical idea of 1895 – there were not enough charity workers (Rigasche Zeitung, 3, 2).

The identified authors of the press materials, issued in the territory of Latvia, mainly were German-speaking, foreign social elite. Among them was August Lammers (1831-1892) - a German politician of National-Liberal political party of Prussian Landtag, a journalist and a researcher, whose article was republished from Preußische Jahrbücher. Speaking about the local elite in the context of ES, the priest of the German Lutheran parish of St. Gertrūde Church Oskar Schabert (1866-1936) must also be mentioned. O. Schabert was influenced by an internship in Germany, after which he implemented social care in his parish in Riga. Analysing theoretical materials issued in other parts of the Russian Empire, it can be concluded that the authors were lawyers and lecturers: Vlodymir Gagen (1874-1930), whose main theoretical topics of interest included poor relief, Vladimir Derjuzhinslij (1861-1920), Sergey Gogel' (1860-1933), lecturer, statistician and economist Pavel Georgievskij (1857-1938). In the period of 1897–1902, there used to be even a unique Charity Journal issued in St. Petersburg by the Central Directorate of Orphanages, Department of Institutions of Empress Mary. In this paper, four articles of this journal were used. On the contrary, 5 articles in Latvian mentioning the ES were mainly from the left-wing *Dienas Lapa*. Other periodicals represented German press: 4 articles from Düna-Zeitung, knowing its support for

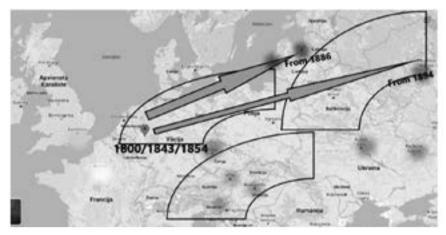


Figure 2. Map. Location of Elberfeld in contemporary Europe and its incorporation in Russian Empire and Riga

Russification, it was not surprising that Riga was not mentioned. 3 were from the opposition – the liberal newspaper *Rigasche Zeitung* and 2 articles were either from the pastor, or from the religiously oriented newspaper *Rigasche Kirschenblatt*.

Russian social elite of the 19th century thought that the first introduction of the ES in the empire was not a capital, but the big industrial Moscow (Derjuzinskij, 454–459, 469, 514). In 1894, Guardianship of Moscow City Poor (*Gorodskoie popechitesl'stvo bednih*) was established and implemented a limited decentralisation of the city, but all the data about the poor was stored in Registration Breau of the Poor. After ES had been implemented in Moscow, some of its principles were introduced in other big cities of the empire – Kharkiv, Kyiv, Vjatka, Stavropol (Gogel 12, 17, 20, 25, 29, 31 38, 72–75, 90–92; Verner, 212–216). However, Moscow and other aforementioned cities were not the first in the Russian Empire, where ideas of ES could be observed (Figure 2).

Elements of ES introduced in Riga³

Further proof that the ES was introduced in Riga much earlier than in other parts of the Russian Empire is found in the history of social care in the city, if it is analysed retrospectively. In interwar times, almost all the elements of ES were maintained in the municipal social work of Riga. Municipal citizens, who were part of the city, dealt with the social issues, while the empire's priorities were administration, police and army (Ulianova

³ Cf. footnote 2.

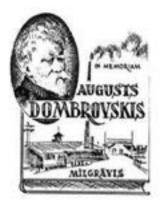


Figure 5. MHRN VRVM 183304, ex libris, 1995–2000. Augusts Dombrovskis with sawmill buildings in Vecmīlgrāvis district of Riga. Author: A. Karlsone

2000, 187–188,197; Katcina 2015, 92–94; Pavlova 2016, 363–376). Social care, medicine, and education expenses were reduced at the beginning of the 20th century (Ozoliņa, 188), potentially related to ES. In addition, it is essential to mention that the municipality of Riga implemented the oversight of the state-level issue of social care with only the municipality's budget (Ibid). From the 19th century onward, social care was managed by the board of Riga with the financial support of private organisations.

From 1896 to 1940, Riga was divided into the three Poor Board curatoriums a) The division of curatoriums pertained to the River Daugava (Düna Zeitung, 21, 3). Pastor O. Schabert wrote that b) Riga Association Against Begging (*Verein Gegen dem Bettel*) was a municipal institution and an essential part of poor management, which was more or less linked with ES: "this association is an intellectual child of the civic association". c) He concluded with a reference about outdated legal system regulating the poor aid in the empire, criticised the high level of bureaucracy (Baltische Monatsshift, 1-12, 13–38). In the interwar time, curators examined the actual situation of the poor.

Almost all the big factories of Riga introduced the ideas of ES, and d) Augusts Dombrovskis (1845–1927) was the brightest example of national Latvian awakening and comprehension of community responsibility. A. Dombrovskis was an entrepreneur and an activist of the abolishment community; his "Green School" was free of charge for the poor children of workers (Smirnova 2018, 74, Figure 5). The development of the national humanitarian institutions in independent Latvia was dedicated to voluntary organisations both on state and municipal level (Kattcina, 92–94). Hebrew social care mainly was realised by organisations, because municipalities provided aid only to registered citizens of the city. Confessional and ethnic aspects were the main stratification factors of social care institutions, and such division remained operational also in the interwar period (Smirnova, 67).

The importance of female e) activities in social care in Riga would be an exemplary subject of a separate paper, but it is essential to say that this was one of the first elements introduced from ES (Ibid, 30–33). In the 19th century, the bishop of Lithuania recognised ES as the best approach and remarked that women were especially suitable for the role of welfare workers (Praspaliauskiene 2003, 171–172; Marcinkieviciene 2003, 65– 69). Even in the interwar time, 90% of Lithuanian volunteer organisations were either of the church, or consisted of female organisations. In case of Latvia, female civic organisations were the most active. One of the earliest examples in Riga was Ladies' Group of 30 persons (*Dāmu pulciņš*), which since 1879 practised placement of orphans and foundlings in trustworthy families for some monetary remuneration. In addition, many charity organisations in Riga had female groups. For example, Katrīna Menģele established an orphanage of a Latvian charity organisation in 1897 (Smirnova, 30, 74).

CONCLUSIONS

In the 19th century, the entire Europe was trying to develop the most modern system of poverty relief, understanding the social responsibility and establishing the administration of municipalities. The discussions about the poor relief were a part of the History of Ideas, and ES was a part of the welfare state's history. ES appeared in Baltic states sooner than in other territories of the empire, similarly to the other modernisation elements - abolishment of serfdom, a higher level of literacy. Baltic provinces were multi-ethnic; new ideas were incorporated from both the West and East much faster. Introduction of the ES was linked with Baltic Germans, who formed the local social elite - primary the officers of administrative law or educators. Latvians had just started to create charity organisations. Therefore, they do not realise the incorporation of ES in Riga. Successful implementation of the ES was connected with the development of the city law, the municipal responsibility toward those in need. Moscow and other aforementioned cities realised ES principles more completely, practically. Introduction of ES meant incorporating and accepting the European model of poor relief. The analysis showed that the main theoretical channel for ES ideas was the liberal wing, mostly connected with the German-speaking world. The more expansive Russian Empire, with the growth of concrete academic centres, universities, served as a better soil for local theoreticians of social care policy and provided an opportunity to release the theoretical academic literature.

ABBREVIATIONS

ES - Elberfeld System

MRHN - Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation

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SOURCES

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INFORMĀCIJAS IZPLATĪŠANĀS PAR ELBERFELDES URBĀNO SOCIĀLĀS APRŪPES SISTĒMU RĪGĀ (19. GADSIMTA BEIGAS — 20. GADSIMTA SĀKUMS)

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ANOTĀCIJA -

Rakstā tiek analizēti vācu Elberfeldes sociālās sistēmas (ESS) nabadzīgo aprūpes principi, kuri izplatījās ārpus Prūsijas impērijas robežām, — Baltijas provinces bija Krievijas impērijas teritorijas, kur šīs idejas parādījās visātrāk. Urbānā un industrializētā Rīga bija viena no impērijas pilsētām, kurā tika ieviesta šī sistēma un kas bija viens no soļiem turpmākās nacionālās sociālās aprūpes sistēmas izveidošanā Latvijā pēc 1918. gada. Raksta uzdevums ir atjaunot un aktualizēt Elberfeldes sistēmas jēdzienu un tās sasniegumus, kas bija aizmirsti un netika pētīti pēc padomju okupācijas, kaut gan bija labi pazīstami 19. gadsimta un starpkaru posma izglītotajai sabiedrībai.

Atslēgas vārdi: ideju vēsture, Elberfeldes sistēma, sociālās aprūpes vēsture, sociālā politika, sociālās atbildības izpratne, industriāli urbānā vide, Rīgas pašvaldība.

KOPSAVILKUMS

Elberfeldes pilsēta ir slavena ne tikai ar to, ka tā bija viena no pirmajām Prūsijas impērijas industrializētajām pilsētām, bet arī ar to, ka tajā tika izstrādāta sociālās aprūpes reforma, kas pazīstama kā ESS. Baņķieris Daniels fon Heits attīstīja šo ideju pēc tam, kad Prūsijas karalis 1843. gadā pasludināja, ka pilsētas ir atbildīgas par to trūcīgajiem iedzīvotājiem. Galvenie ESS principi bija: 1) decentralizācija, veidojot speciālus birojus; 2) individualizācija, kur trūcīgo kontrolierim bija jānoskaidro trūkuma iemesli un bija jāizdomā veids, kā palīdzēt ģimenei pārvarēt trūkumu; 3) ESS realizētāji bija vidējās un augstākās klases turīgie pārstāvji, kas nozīmēja arī sabiedrības iesaisti, sociālās atbildības apziņu; 4) ES balstījās uz kristīgajām vērtībām sekularizētājā pasaulē, bet mainījās attieksme pret ubagotājiem kā pret "profesionālajiem trūcīgajiem"; 5) īpaša loma ES – sievietes iesaiste brīvprātīgajā darbā.

ESS Latvijas teritorijā jāsaista ar ostas pilsētām Rīgu un Liepāju. Tiek uzskatīts, ka ESS Rīgā ienāca daudz ātrāk nekā pārējā Krievijas impērijas teritorijā. Tomēr joprojām nav zināms konkrēts gads, kuru var uzskatīt par ESS ieviešanu Rīgā. ESS ideju ienākšana jāsaista ar administrācijas amatos nodarbinātajiem vācbaltiešiem, kuri arī apzinājās, ka ESS ir inkorporēta Rīgā. Latvieši, kuriem tikai sāka veidoties labdarības organizācijas, neapzinājās par ESS idejām Rīgā. Tomēr praktisko ESS ieviešanu traucēja Krievijas impērijas birokrātija, tādēļ Rīgā ienāca pirmie ESS iedīgļi, bet praktiskāka ES realizācija notika vēlāk. Galvenais ES ideju kanāls bija cieši saistīts ar vāciski runājošām zemēm, tāpēc Baltijā šīs idejas parādījās agrāk, bet noteikta akadēmiskā vide un universitātes citās Krievijas impērijas pilsētās ļāva šīs idejas ātrāk tur izpildīt.