



The new social law – social legislation and its effects in the second half of the long 19th century – with a glance to workers' lifeconditions in Königsberg

Anne Mareike Schönle | University of Greifswald, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Germany
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5844-5294>

Summary

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When industrialization came to East Prussia, namely to the City of Königsberg, in the late 19th century, a huge number of people were attracted by new steady jobs and moved to the city. The city itself became more open to the surrounding periphery by grinding their fortifications. With the people a number of social problems arose: insufficient safety concerning hygiene, health and finances caused by overcrowded apartments and insecure jobs and work. These issues strengthened the social democrats, which caused a feeling of pressure within the German government. To react they invented several insurances to secure the workers' life conditions. The first steps to a modern welfare state only applied to workers and paid treatment was very restrictive. The process of developing and evaluating the social politics in the first phase of the German Reich, from the beginning to the First World War and the circumstances that made them necessary for Königsberg are explained as well as the special social structure of this city.

Nowa polityka społeczna – ustawodawstwo społeczne i jego efekty w drugiej połowie XIX wieku. Warunki życia robotników w Królewcu (Streszczenie)

Słowa kluczowe:
kryzys i restauracja, Królewiec, polityka społeczna, prawo socjalne, Prusy Wschodnie, ubezpieczenie zdrowotne, emerytura, ubezpieczenie od wypadków, ubezpieczenie na wypadek inwalidztwa, przemieszczanie się po Kaliningradzie, społeczeństwo, kodeks zawodowy

W końcu XIX wieku w związku z industrializacją w Prusach Wschodnich, a dokładniej w Królewcu, ogromne rzesze ludzi zachęcanych nowymi stanowiskami pracy przeniosły się do tego miasta. Sam Królewiec stał się bardziej otwarty na otoczenie po niwelacji wałów. Wraz ze wzrostem liczby ludności pojawiły się problemy natury socjalnej – niewystarczające bezpieczeństwo higieniczne, zdrowotne i finansowe spowodowane przepełnionymi mieszkaniami i niebezpieczną pracą. Te czynniki wpłynęły na wzmocnienie socjalistów, co przełożyło się na nacisk na niemiecki rząd. W efekcie tego zaproponowano szereg ubezpieczeń mających zabezpieczyć warunki życia robotników. Pierwsze kroki w kierunku nowoczesnego państwa opiekuńczego były skierowane tylko do robotników, a płatne leczenie było bardzo restrykcyjne. W artykule omówiono proces kształtowania się i rozwoju polityki społecznej w pierwszej fazie istnienia Rzeszy Niemieckiej od początku do I wojny światowej oraz okoliczności, które uczyniły tę politykę niezbędną dla Królewca, a także specyfikę struktury społecznej tego miasta.

Introduction

In 1871 most of the German population lived in the country. When industrialization came to the cities a rural exodus started and encountered the cities with their inadequate infrastructure.

Freedom of trade and the economic power of the key industries (railway construction, coal mining, and engineering) caused diversification of life conditions (Rohloff 2015c: 223). But they also were a valuable source of social problems. Hoping to find work easily, people moved to the cities. Thus workers were not dependent on their host anymore, who had been, their boss and their carer. Now workers were dependent on their wages now and often suffered from poverty (Rohloff 2015c: 227). This caused a debate on their social status – among them and in politics. The industrialisation labour movement became stronger, also in the peripheric city of Königsberg.

Politically, discourses on social policy emerged, also inspired by the discourses of other European countries, e.g. in Great Britain. In the following, the first German social laws will be presented and their effects explained against the background of the specific population composition of Königsberg in East Prussia, a city of 180,705 people around the year 1900. Along with the conservatives and the liberals the social democrats became a fixed size in society. Some of the leaders like the medical studies graduate and democrat Johann Jacoby were well known all over the country. But being social democrat did not mean to be disloyal to the monarchy. Another source of influence and organization were associations and clubs, that arose in a large number in the 19th century. Workers' associations were a "supra-familiar, non-governmental form of collectivization, organized in a liberal way" (Königsberger Statistik 1906: 8). Among the working class there were conservatives and liberals, too, not only social democratic voters (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 805). The emperor was still identification even for worker's families. Also the churches still had a strong impact on them. Königsberg therefore had alternating social democratic and liberal governments during the last 20 years of the 19th century. Before the German government invented the accident assurance, workers, who had had an accident at work, needed to proof that really their work or the place where they worked was responsible for the accident to get financial compensation. Workers seldom succeeded at court. People who had accidents because of bad conditions at work got nothing. Invalidity thus ruined whole families. Invalids and people with disabilities were not present in society.

So the accident assurance was supposed to improve the standing towards the employers as work was often very dangerous and inhumane. In general the working shifts were too long and the wage was low to afford times of sickness (Tennstedt 1981: 151).

Table 1. Social insurances Acts 1871–1911

| | |
|------------------|---|
| 1871 | Liability Act |
| 1883 | Health Insurance Act |
| 1884 | Disability Insurance |
| 1884 | Old Age Pension |
| 1891 | Accident Assurance |
| 1892 | Amendment of Health Insurance Act |
| 1882, 1903, 1911 | amendments concerning work on Sundays and bank-holidays, children's work and cottage industry |

Source: Own elaboration.

Historical Context

Social Policy means “political, especially legislative and administrative measures, [...] that cause social reforms to create better conditions for disadvantaged social classes. Besides it includes initiatives of bourgeois-philanthropic and other charitable initiative that aim at risks concerning socially marginalized groups of society, churched-organized care for poor and old people. Another part of non-governmental social policies is a company's internal social policy” (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 69).

This quote describes the situation in which social political changes took place in the second half of the 19th century, as the self-perception of polity after the foundation of the German Reich, which it had changed from direct governmental power executed by police violence to a system of “law and indirect interventions” (Ritter, Tenfelde, 1992: 104). Reichs-Chancellor Bismarck argued that, the most significant function of the State was conservation and regulation. His policy proves Bismarck's reactionary or at least anti-socialist attitude. Behind his social policy apart from ideological motivations, poverty should be fought supra-regionally by the new social policy and the structural changes caused by the industrialization should be taken account of. In 1871 4,8% of the population lived in eight big cities (cities with over 100.000 inhabitants) whereas in 1905 19% of it lived in 41 big cities (Tennstedt 1981: 197). The industrialization reached East Prussia later than other parts of the German Reich. But when it came to Königsberg it also brought poverty, uncertainty and disease for a sewage system was invented much later – in 1900 (Baumann 1911: 24). Another consequence of the industrialization-caused rural exodus was the overcrowding of the cities, that caused bad living conditions. There were homeless people and jobs depended on the market. Therefore migration was very high. The population of Königsberg grew faster and faster in the last 20 years of the 19th century. Between 1885 and 1895 by around 10,000 people, between 1895 and 1905 by over 50,000 people.

In East Prussia the population grew by 20% between 1871–1910 (in the Reich on average 58%). In the eastern parts of the German Reich the profession was the dispositive that structured society. Evidence for that is to be found in the Königsberg address book from 1899 that informs about name, address, telephone number (in the few cases, in which exists a phone) and profession or the husband's profession¹. I argue that the city around 1900 is like a sample of areas that the society is divided in. Compared to the working class, that established itself between the underclass and the bourgeoisie, traditional craft professions were destabilized by the industrialization. Craft lost its importance as production processes were de-individualized. While employment in the civil-service doubled between 1882 and 1907 (to 2.7 Mio. employees in this sector in the German Reich in 1907). As industry was interested in well-educated workers education became more and more important and more money was supplied to teach (Rohloff 2015d: 187). Compared to this action, military expenditure was negligible, although the arms race had already started (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 107).

In Königsberg, where until the First World war the professional code of conduct structures the society of the city. The average size of the different professional groups differed. Evaluating the directory of the year 1899, where the people of Königsberg were listed with their names, addresses and professions, shows that 1.4% of the population belonged to the first class (military and nobility). 7.8% to the second (7.8%) entrepreneurs, senior officials, manufacturers, owners, directors, higher academics, master craftsman. 6.1% were merchants, 8.2% in jobs regarded as upper middle class. The fifth class (26.3% of the listed people in the directory) was the lower middle class (craftsmen, assistants forwarding agents, aspirants, musicians, technicians, dealer, landlord, switchman, ferrymen, guards, conductors, waiters). Assistants, stokers, coachmen, servants, factors, invalids, sergeants, hackers, messengers, cleaners, servants, sailors, chauffeurs were regarded as under class (8.3%) as well as workers (13.9%).

Some of them indicated occupations that were related to industrialization and mechanization and were training occupations. In some cases, these were accompanied by permanent positions. These workers, labeled as "skilled workers" for the evaluation, had a more secure and in some cases higher income and thus somewhat more prosperity than the "workers" listed in the address book as the penultimate (before the women). For the evaluation, however, it must be assumed, due to the increasing self-esteem of the working class, that some skilled workers could be recorded as workers, not under their more specific job title. A tendency can nevertheless be determined. Workers, who made up 13.9% of the occupational classes recorded in the address book, lived primarily in the Nasser Garten (around 42% of the recorded district residents), Haberberger Grund (around 35%), in the area where the Hintere

¹ Cf. Königsberger Adressbuch; The Ranking of the names followed the social position of the professions. It starts with the nobility and Daher beginnt die Auflistung steht mit Adeligen und military staff, followed by civil servants, medicines, members of the educated middle class and other academics in senior service and academics in-training, then merchants, craftsmen, employees, workers and at last widows (ranked by their late husbands' jobs and not married women).

Vorstadt and Vordere Vorstadt meet (around 24%), in the area where the Vordere Vorstadt and Nasser Garten meet (around 22%) and on the Sackheim (20%). A particularly large number of skilled workers lived in relation to the workers. In the suburban village Ponarth there was one skilled worker for every two workers. There were fewer than 10 workers per skilled worker at the Kneiphof, Neurossgarten and in the Vordere Vorstadt (around 8 workers per skilled worker each), between 10 and 12: on Steindamm (12) in Oldtown and the Vordere Vorstadt / Hintere area Vorstadt (11), Hintere Vorstadt (10). On the Laak 13 workers per 1 skilled worker, next to Lomse 15, in Löbenicht 16. All other values were significantly higher. On the Anger and in the Roßgarten, the value was over 70. Not all areas where there were many skilled workers were workers' districts. On the Kneiphof, in the old town, the Hintere Vorstadt, the Löbenicht, Neurossgarten and Ponarth, Steindamm and Vordere Vorstadt / Nasser Garten there were no "workers' districts". The proportion of workers living in these districts was below the city average or just reached it (Vordere Vorstadt). Nevertheless, the skilled workers who were better off than the workers lived here.

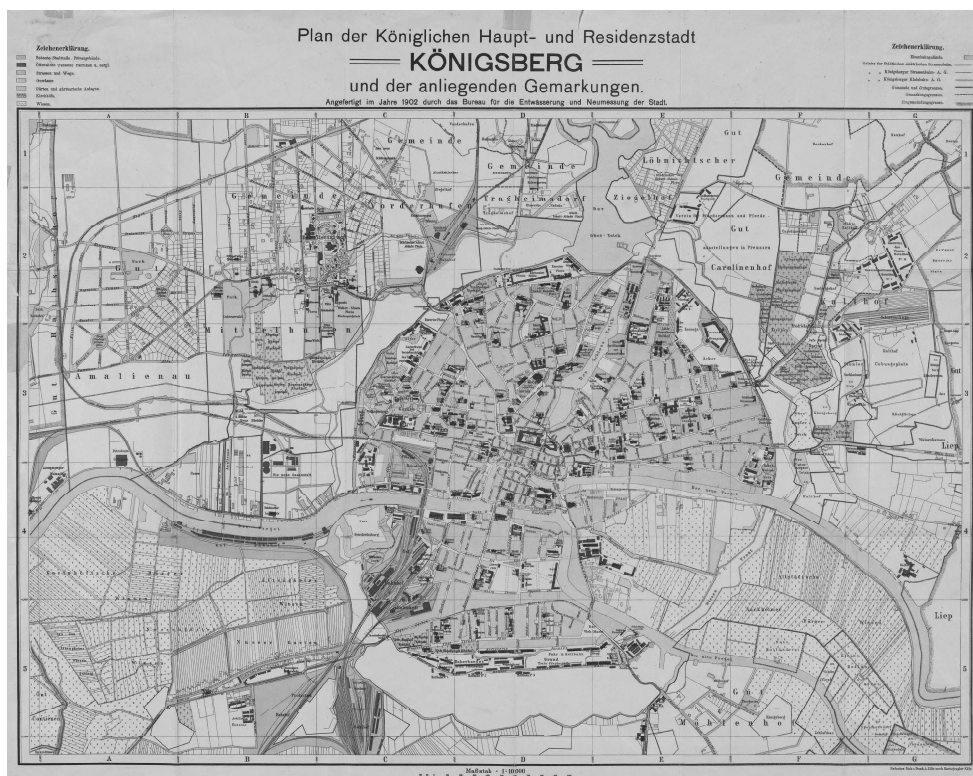


Fig. 1. Map of Königsberg 1905

Source: (Signature: GStA PK_XX_HA_AK_E 10321, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin).

The zeitgeist influenced the budgetary policy. Between 1871 and 1914 expenses increased threefold to 18.6% (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 107). Under Bismarck the industrial and agrarian state coexisted. As a large part of society was organized in non-political associations, that exerted pressure on politics. Therefore the conservatives created a social policy that was supposed to keep the working class loyal to the state. Social relationships were increasingly heard from the respective or municipal budgets, for example for social security insurance or municipal housing. But until 1890 the balance of power shifted to the conservatives. Social policies that were not anymore influenced by Bismarck but by his successor Caprivi and by Wilhelm II. aimed at creating a social system that led to a kind of social state as it included larger parts of society.

In 1900 5337 died in Königsberg (8% of them were "foreigners in clinics" – significantly fewer people than were born). In 15% of the cases, the cause of death could not be determined according to the medical status of the time or they were not investigated accordingly. Especially many with an unknown cause of death had lived on the Sackheim (poorer district) or on the Königstrasse – here many lived with families and also older people under healthy conditions (warm, dry apartments, sufficient fresh air and high quality nutrition). A particularly large number of accidents occurred on the densely populated Haberberg and on the Sackheim. Especially few on the Tragheim, the Roßgarten and the Koenigstrasse, as well as the Weidendamm (the population of the first mentioned districts (Weidendamm, where younger families lived. Most of them had servants, so that they were hardly active in the household – the source of the proven most accidents). There were mostly suicides on the Steindamm (the economic center with a rather younger population and on the Tragheim, where many members of the military lived) and the Haberberg. The murder happened to a resident of the Roßgarten. Respiratory diseases were the leading cause of death (8%). Another 7% of the people died of lung contraction. With a total of 15% from diseases of the respiratory system, 3% from diseases of the digestive organs. Another 7% from heart disease and almost 3% from kidney diseases, almost 1% from liver diseases. 1% suffered an "accident" and one person was murdered. 1% of the people committed suicide. Due to the high population density, a particularly large number of people died on the Haberberg (16%). Practically the same number of men and women. The statistical office does not provide any information on the division of men and women in the district. Respiratory diseases are also particularly common within the garrison. They suggest poorly ventilated homes. A disease of poverty, as well as digestive tract diseases caused by malnutrition or increased alcohol consumption. Hygienic infrastructure and safety at work became a central focus, as the lack of hygienic infrastructure especially in working places but also in private living circumstances apartments caused diseases and workers had to face danger in their jobs. The connection between health and infrastructure was evident quite early in the military. In 1911 the contemporary reservist captain Friedrich Baumann recommended the health system in the military as an example for the whole society. In his opinion military health care defended society from epidemics (Baumann 1911: 25).

De facto health care in the military barracks (at least in Königsberg – but also in other garrisons) were not of good condition, as you can learn from medical reports of the military hospital, bronchial and lung diseases and also sufferings of the gastro-intestinal tract as well as several, in those days called, “nerve-sufferings” were widely spread. This can be traced back to a bad and humid climate in the barracks and unfavorable nutritional habits and a high consumption of alcohol. People of different profession and class, like medicines, charitable bourgeois women and scientists focussed on hygiene and health as the basis for labour and man power. They all recommended motion, even training for the whole body, a good distribution of work and rest, cleanliness of the body and the clothes and in the rooms (Baumann 1911: 24 f).

In 1895 the first Congress for hygiene and demography took place in Budapest, in which many Germans participated and where the Federation of Samaritan Workers was founded. Thus Emergency service was institutionalized supra-regionally. Medicines became advisors for policy, an “isolated” system of institutes widened. Diagnostics, surgery, hygiene and medical techniques improved. More people went to hospital to be healed (Tennstedt 1981: 210). Workers’ health was emphasized in the industrial sector. It was implemented top down. Workers were not anymore seen only as resource or at least this “resource” had to be cared of. At the same time an esprit de corps grew among the workers. Aware of the existential danger that could be caused by their working life, this new social group stood up for their rights and health care. This leads to a certain understanding of distribution power that contemporary Max Weber calls “a chance of different opportunities of behavior as result of a certain social constellation” and “an opportunity to enforce a mind of one’s own against opposition and entitlement of social appreciation” (Tennstedt 1981: 210).

Thus it has to be emphasized that by the industrialization and social laws balance of power changed in the German Reich as diversification of work and independence from employers became possible. Over the time a system of different insurances was established.

The first social laws under the Bismarck Administration – social policies with Prussian-conservative intentions in the 1880s

Before the social policy discourse started social demands and conservative conception of statehood collided. To demands for social laws the government reacted by enforced police control: Apart from the socialist law “homeless and unemployed people were punished by up to six weeks in prison or even up to two years, when the decision is to be made by the second instance” (Tennstedt 1981: 206). Therefore from 1878 to 1890 with the “socialist law”² labour activities and associations were limited or for-

² Socialist laws (in force from October 22, 1878 to September 30, 1890): Prohibition of socialist, social democratic and communist publications, assemblies and associations.

bidden (Tennstedt 1981: 194). At the same time the conservatives created their own social policies. That caused strike and rebellion among the working class.

To keep the labour movement calm from 1878 to 1890 the “socialist law” limited or forbid labor activities and associations were limited or forbidden (Tennstedt 1981: 194)

In 1889 a wave of strikes of the minors were the cause for new social policies. Another reason for Bismarck and his conservative followers was fear of the labor movement and social democrats. Therefore they tried to widen the safety at work. There were many walking beggars and unemployed, so the Government was forced to take measures, to include all the poor people in legal aid. Especially because it was common that poverty and crime were closely connected (Rohloff 2015d: 187).

Thus beside politically motivated reasons for social policies, that aim at power against social democrats, clear social motivated ones can be found, too, in the discussion (cf. Lehmann 1969: 424). “That is why [de facto] Bismarck preferred a state controlled comprehensive solution in social politics, with only a minimum of ideologic accessory” (Reidegeld 1999: 625). Nevertheless you can see Bismarck’s style of government characterized by a conservative upper class attitude when it heated the bourgeoisie’s fear by sayings like: “The classes without possession wanted to raise their standard at the expense of the property-owning class. The Government has to avoid this.” The social scientist Reidegeld argues that in Bismarck’s social policy you can find the Christian idea of the state” (Reidegeld 1999: 625) – which seems to be presumptuous and not possible to verify (Herz-Eichenrode 1996: 141).

The Quote expresses the fear that was wide spread among the wealthy classes. The workers were at the mercy of their employees. Low wages and hard work forced many people to migrate (Herz-Eichenrode 1996: 140). The labour movement, in Königsberg the social democrat Johann Jacoby was very active, had many reasons to complain but people of the working class did practically not attend the Prussian parliament or the court of lay assessors, were no civil servants or members of the local self-government. Despite the Prussian three-class franchise only a few workers were allowed to vote. For in many communities the minimum salary for the allowance to vote was higher than theirs (Tennstedt 1981: 198). The workers’ wage situation was precarious, therefore child labour and low-paid women’s work was natural. Women were often driven into prostitution (Rohloff 2015d: 187). In 1907 still 300,000 children under 14 years were employed in the German Reich. In 1882: 18.5% of the women were employed, 1907: 26.4%. The lowest salaries were paid in the clothing industry. In 1896 a female cottage worker earned 6.83 marks a week, female garage workers: 9.60 marks for a daily working time of 10–16 hours. As the statistical office evaluated wages around 1900 in Königsberg, it is possible to show the earnings of different professional groups fairly precisely. The unmarried qualified male worker was in the best material situation when he was looked after as a sleeping lad or boarder for a fee in a foreign family; if it was his own family in which he continued to be accepted, he

probably contributed more to the family income. Such a worker could spend a relatively large amount of money over a relatively long period of time on clothing and pleasure, or save this money, because the high-performance and high-earnings phase was reached early, at 18–20 years of age, and a marriage did not become on average until 27–29 from men, from 25–27 years from women. In the – apart from military service – around seven to ten years of this phase there was a good livelihood for men, while for working women this phase was shorter, about 5–7 years, and, moreover, less room for manoeuvre due to much lower wages rendered. The savings bank, mostly with the aim of establishing a household rather than for long-term services of general interest, could be created in this phase (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 530 f.). In 1895 three quarters of the taxpayers were below an annual income of 900 marks. 1906 Wages and salaries: In 1906 the average annual earnings of a full-time worker in the German Reich was 1,028 (almost 86 marks per month). In 1913 an unskilled worker employed in a rich company received a weekly wage of 23.70 marks; In 1913, a skilled worker earned 34.56 marks for a week (including allowances for a wife and two children). For Königsberg, the family's expenses are determined on average for the time around the turn of the century. This is based on a certain financial security through insurance. With an income of less than 1200 marks a year, around 54% of that was spent on food and beverages in large cities in the north and east of Germany. 20% for home and household, around 6% for heating and lighting, 9% for clothing, laundry, cleaning and 10% for "miscellaneous", which probably also includes pleasure and other "luxury goods", but possibly also costs for doctors.

The shares that had to be spent on food, housing and heating tended to decrease with increasing income, while the items for clothing and other items rose. A working-class family, four people with an annual income of 1,600–2,000 marks, spent 124.50 for 124.50 marks (one can assume that it was meat of a different quality than the civil servant family of 3 people consumed), as the price per kilo varied they spent around 20 marks less on butter (55 marks around). Eggs were also used less (397 for a total of 24 marks), flour for around 52 kg for around 18 marks), sugar around 49 kg (29 marks), potatoes for 22 marks around (495 kg) in total 271.58 much more potatoes. Milk consumption and prices were not collected until 1902. A working-class family of 4 people with a salary of 900–1200 marks spent an average of 297.78 marks on basic food in 1900. That is – considering the much lower income, hardly less than a family of 3 officials. She spent as much on coffee as a family of civil servants – albeit with three people, on potatoes less (around 12 marks), and eggs she ate less than half as many (183 pieces in the Schmitt – for 10.50 marks. Instead, much more meat, 139, 2 kg for 180 marks (civil servant families 3 people: 84.5 jpg for 109 marks – kilo price more expensive) A working-class family was content with the inferior parts of the animals. They only used half of the butter (13.5 kg for 30 marks), In return, however, more than double the amount of cheaper lard (12.7 kg for 13.20). They afforded four kilos less sausage per year (8 kg for 10 marks, cheese only 1/5 of the consumption of a civil servant family (3.6 kg on average – at 5.70 marks. Slightly more than half as many potatoes

(266 kg at 11.70 marks). School fees in secondary schools cost locals around 30 marks per quarter, while non-residents paid more (Students and teachers of the Löbenichtschen Realgymnasium, 1992, 128. Newsletter). Women were paid less compared to men and did not get help from poor relief. Until 1910 there was no gestation safety. Women working in dangerous and hard circumstances seen as morally reprehensible. Before 1878 there were no maternity protection act (and it was not invented during the Bismarck era). Finally in 1891 women's work was limited to 11 hours per day, 1908 to ten hours (Rohloff 2015: 232). The Prussian servants' order from the year 1810, that was amended in 1878 (inter alia) gave mothers the right of maternity protection after birth for 3 weeks (after 1890: 4 weeks). Night work and work which might cause danger for health or might hurt decency was forbidden. Women in childbed were entitled to get childbed money (Neyer 1997: 744, 756). Work on Sundays and bank holiday was limited to up to eight hours (cf. Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 210). In 1837 the first debate about child protection came up in the Rhenish County Council. In this region girls were often employed in textile fabrics while boys worked in coal mines. 1839 a ban on employment for children under the age of nine years was invented. They had to attend school for at least three years for working children and were not allowed to work more than ten hours a day. Work at night, on Sundays and on public holiday. Children under 12 were not allowed to work in fabrics anymore (Saxony was the first county to implement this rule), but they could work in cottage industry and in farming. Children from 12 to 16 years were allowed to work for six hours, when they spent three hours at school (Rohloff 2015: 232). Thus in the years before the First World War many social and economic changes were needed. The social democrats and workers' movement became stronger. From 1891 wives were allowed to lengthen their lunch breaks to prepare meal for their families. Work on Sundays and bank holidays were prohibited and the working time for women and children was shortened.

To stem poverty and safe public health, private charity was needed for a long time. Diseases and epidemics like cholera often broke out in poorer living areas of the cities. Among the upper classes the knowledge about relation between hygiene and health spread more quickly than in the lower ones. Well-off bourgeoisie Bettina von Arnim spread her knowledge among the poor. In 1844 she argued: "The poor are supposed to participate in public affairs to let the legislator learn the right terms of public spirit and welfare". At least the outcome of initiatives like von Arnim's was governmentally influenced "employment service" for poor people (Tennstedt 1981: 207). Poor relief was most often organized privately. Society and state were closely connected in this field. As communities and clubs were legally organized mutual respect was needed (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 120). Also in other terms charity was not an end in itself. It could be religiously motivated, because "a good deed every day". But Königsberg was mainly protestant and the evangelical dogmatics rejected this belief of relief (Rohloff 2015a: 49). Some people used their benevolence as mean to teach the lower classes moral standards (Rohloff 2015a: 31). In Königsberg there were different kinds of safety net for poorer members of society, the population group which was not

integrated in the value-creating processes. Many entries in the address book of Königsberg in 1899 show that widows mostly lived in their children's homes. Others and single women lived in the "Löbenicht Hospital" Klosterstraße 1, which was meant as living house for "local persons of both sexes" and "especially" for "royal and municipal official's widows and orphans". There were "conditioned", "full-" and "optional" sections. "Conditioned" means a "free apartment, a pension of 180 marks plus wood compensation of 60.90 marks p.a, money for milk of 4.14 marks, money for clothes of 12 marks, for light, 2.05 marks". For a "full" section inhabitants got the apartment, nutrition, heating and light for free, 17.38 marks they got for clothes and a little money for beer. With the optional sections there was only free apartment, heating and light and people got money from the municipal relief fund if necessary (Königsberger Adressbuch 1899, Third part: 44).

In Königsberg there were over 30 foundations and ten orphanages in the districts of Oldtown, Sackheim, Haberberg, Tragheim and Hintere Vorstadt (Adressbuch 1899, part 3: 39–49) Also patriotic societies offered poor relief and had cultural, educational and economic functions. They were societies of the upper classes, of medicines, merchants, lawyers, academics and civil servants (Becker, Hockerts, Tenfelde 2010: 17) Many of them were family endowments, some were organized by the City Council and by the royal institutions. The state/ city and the church shared the organization for poor relief with a fluent transition (Rohloff 2015a: 43). During institutionalizing beneficence private charity got less important (Rohloff 2015b: 108).

Also on Kneiphof one could find institutional poor relief: a widows' home and an orphanage (Brandenburgerthorstraße and Kronenstraße) for widows and orphans of the upper middle class which included widows of royal officials, professors and clergymen³. For girls female orphans of the upper class [...], royal officials and clergymen" from the age of 14 up⁴.

Besides them, there were charitable trusts for other professional groups (37 in general). Besides them in Königsberg there were more than 100 foundations with different sponsorships, royal ones, ecclesiastical ones, and private ones – more than 20 financed by the merchants. For merchants the St. George's Hospital in Turnerstraße, which offered "six places to impoverished Merchants and maltster from Oldtown", the municipal infirmary for "local persons only without differences concerning religion". The Fahr-enheit poor house (Sackheimer Hinterstraße), in the poorer part of the city took "old and fragile female persons", send by the "poor direction"

³ "Each inhabitant gets free living and 6 marks per month cash." 21 places were available there. "Everybody" could get a place in the residences of the Kneiphof – orphanage and widow's residence. The city council, local court and merchants shared procurement (12 – 4 – 5).

⁴ "Free living and 10 marks per month of pension."; plus interest rates of the residence's capital; 9 Places were assigned by the vergeben von municipal authorities (5), the local court (2) and the of the head of the merchants (2).

“The occupants got an apartment, heating and lightening for free, the endowed places included 56 pfennigs per week” (Königsberger Adressbuch 1899, Third part: 44).

Institutions tried hard to find employment for the inhabitants. They could keep their wages. For boys the city offered the municipal orphanage (Sackheimer Hinterstraße). 32 “Sons of local citizens of protestant religion aged over 8, as far as they are half or fully orphaned”. Before admission to the orphanage the boys had to pass an scholastical exam. The boys attended municipal schools. Girls whose parents were dead or were supposed to be “morally dead”, found refuge in the “Johannisstift” (Sackheimer Hintersraße), where they were educated to become maids. Children of the lower classes (boys and girls) could attend an educational institution on Königstraße no. 88.

Support for “annually six to seven craftsmen, that failed without own negligence got aid of 300 Marks to buy operating material. As far as the supported had a better financial situation he had to pay back half of the received benefit, the other half stays donated”. To people with physical disabilities the foundation delivered support to local needy people every year on Juni 17th. People with a bent backbone were preferred. They got between 20 and 100 Marks one-time payment (Königsberger Adressbuch 1899, Third part: 45 f). Injured persons who moved, lost their Insurance status. Unskilled workers, who lived in the German Reich in a large number did not have access to insurances. That slowly changed after 1883, when the health insurance act was implemented. (Ritter, Tenfelde, 1992: 699).

The source for the health insurance act is to be found in the Prussian industrial code from 1845. The government tried to react to the labour movements claims by widening the industrial code’s paragraphs concerning health insurance’s criteria in 1849, 1854 and 1869 (before 1883 when the health insurance law was passed). The Health Care Insurance Act intended primarily included “factory insurances, which were rejected by the social democrats” they preferred independent societies (Becker, Hockerts, Tenfelde 2010: 17, 22). These insurances were very popular with the workers – 832.098 of them were members of these in 1891. That is twice as much as there were members in the independent trade unions in the German Reich. The ideal member was a young, male skilled worker under 45. In 1892, when the Health Care Insurance Act was amended, independent insurances had to change their rules, as they had offer contribution in kind from now on and had to reduce sickness payments to be no rival product anymore for other health insurances (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 31 f.).

The social democrats suggested that only the employees should be responsible for health insurances and the employers for accident assurance. August Bebel formulated this issue in his brochure “How do workers behave toward the new Health Care Insurance Act?”.

By inventing the health insurance, into which every worker, that it included, was forced, society was “medicalized” as the social scientists Florian Tennstedt calls it. As a consequence people went to hospitals which they had avoided before (as it was

associated with death instead of recovery) and the medical system got a better reputation. In Königsberg there were 36 clinical institutions, out of which seven were hospitals, most of them were on Steindamm, on Roßgarten, Löbenicht and Tragheim. For the working class the insurances made life more predictable. To cover the employed worker's backs two laws were passed during the Bismarck era: the Health Care Insurance Act in 1883 and the disability insurance and old age pension in 1884⁵. Health Care Insurance, disability insurance and old age pensioned widow and orphanage insurance (and later accident assurance) built the workers' insurance (Baumann 1911: 10 f) Health insurance included free medical care, daily benefits were equivalent to 50% of the missing wage. The "height of the sickness benefit depended on the customary daily wage"⁶.

According to the law, 10% of the population became members of the insurances, 25% until 1914 – 15,6 Mio. people, that got wage substitute by daily wage and medical care for free. Another 10 Mio. benefitted from payment in kind, especially relatives of policyholders. Often it was based on personal initiative (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 699). The contribution rate was assessed according to the wages and not to the certain risks that people were exposed to at work or because of their physical conditions. No medical certificate was needed when workers acceded to the system. Thus the insurances contributed to a social balance.

Employees were allowed to found private business, factory or guild insurances, that workers would have to accept as a local obligation in the Health Care Insurance Act. Many employers founded Insurances but did not force their employees to join, as mobility in Prussia became more and more common, so that workers preferred insurances that were not regionally limited as poor relief was spore-regional either (Herz-Eichenrode 1996: 169).

The tendency that older employees were not attractive for industry increased old age poverty. Apart from this, old people were dependent on their family's money and care. Invalids had the same problems. To stop this invalidity insurance and old-age pension were discussed after Bismarck had (been) "dropped". After five years of contribution payment the members got benefits. Invalids only got payments, when they were not able to generate one third of "what a physically and psychologically healthy person of the same education in the same region could earn through work" (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 700). In the whole of East Prussia, 400 invalidity and 986 old-age pensions or 3,593 marks were paid to married co-insured wives and 805 to surviving dependents in 1895. Also groups of workers with "bad risk" were insured (Hausen 1983: 696).

Critique after the invention of the polity concerned the low benefits and the restrictive way of conceding.

⁵ The legislation did not include the self-employed and the craftsmen (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 409).

⁶ 1907: Berlin weekly wages: masons: 40, 50 M., unskilled construction worker: 27,00 M., printers: 31,25 M., machine builders: 32,16 M. (Rohloff 2015c: 152).

Nevertheless it improved the workers' situation economically and legally. The civil control by bourgeois poor relief poor decreased and made the lower classes more independent. Mobility was made easier. The law, which only affected a small group of the population, and the parallel pioneering spirit of the workers encouraged the esprit de corps and this strengthened the workers' rights. Women's suffrage encouraged the emancipation of the female workers (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 712).

The social democracy criticized the insurance system as not extensive enough. They pointed out that the heaviest risks for workers (especially in industry) were the bad conditions and the danger of accidents at their workplaces. In the "Erfurt Programme" the social democrats formulated a new focus for their policies: occupational safety and a fully state financed workers' insurance. Thus the Reich has to create: health insurance, accident assurance, invalidity insurance and old-age pension, social policy, occupational safety (care of efficiency by limiting the working hours, industrial safety and hazard protection), wage conservation and regulatory for minors in factories. The social democrats focussed on health protection in working life. The Bismarck government had bypassed it.

The construction business was dangerous and uncertain, because people lost their jobs in winter and the firms were often dependent on the constructors. Many firms were insolvent – 5700 firms in Berlin in 1894.

Social legislation and its perception between the 1890 and 1914 – legislation as alternative concept to the labor movement

After Bismarck's dismissal the conservatives understood that they could no longer ignore the social democrats' demands. Considering a loss of power the government again worked on amendments for the Health Care Insurance Act and the discussion about an accident assurance came up again. Most of the accidents happened in the construction industry. Many were not reported to the insurances. If people had to work with machines, they suffered from nervous tension.

Occupational safety was the reason for new social laws and was "the beginning of the modern development of labour law in Germany" (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 392 f) Before the accident assurance there was a Liability Act that passed the government in 1871.

The Liability Act was substituted by an obligatory insurance. That preserved workers from indebtedness after an accident at work (Becker, Hockerts, Tenfelde 2010: 19). The insurance was for ordinary day laborers and the rate differed between women and men. Before the Accident Assurance Act passed the Reichstag the professional associations tracked the payments "to the state insurance office and the number of insurance members and their income" for the already existing liability insurance (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 473).

But this was also a temporal solution one “resolution step” in a long process on the steps to the social state. Thus as reaction to Accident Assurance Act followed critique: As not more than 2/3 of the former wage were paid after the worker could invoke his right before the court against his firm. In a court proceeding about liability workers could get full wage, but they had only a very small chance to win against the employers, as there was no workers’ representation. After an accident the health care insurance financed the costs of living for 13 weeks. Most of the accidents healed within this time. The community of workers financed 2/3 of the health care insurance (Becker, Hockerts, Tenfelde 2010: 19). In 1890 149.188 accidents were reported, only were compensated.

Slowly the social acceptance of the insurances grew, but the local organizations, especially the uncertainty about the benefits that could be shortened subsequently was still criticised (Königsberger Statistik 1906: 54). The accident assurance passed the Reichstag in the third attempting in 1891. The state insurance office was supposed to be “worker-friendly”. It was financed by the professional associations and substituted the liability of the entrepreneurs (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 697).

The social policy proceeded as crises-restoration-cycle. Policy reacted to social or the worker’s problems as the social democracy made their issues. After inventing a new law critique and more precise demands concerning health care and workers’ needs and working conditions arose. The social security system was revised over and over again.

Workers had to work 10–11 hours at least six days a week, holiday only rarely existed. Safety at work increased with the bottom up and depending to the season. In construction industry people could only stay over the winter if they were employed for “preparation of construction material” (Rohloff 2015c: 152). Only in quicksilver and smelting works people had to work less than 10 hours. 10 hours in metal industry, machine factories, iron foundry, ink factories, timber industry, 1 hours in textile industry, some firms expected 12 hours or more. Workers in brickworks, breweries, malting plants, mills, steam-powered sawing, hammer mills, laundry fabrication, sugar industry people had to work more than 10 hours” (Rohloff 2015c: 156).

After the Bismarck area not only the national but also the municipal social policy developed. Even in the last years of the 19th century three important issues of social policy have been worked out: social laws and legislation concerning working conditions such as working hours, work on Sundays and safety at work. Measures to help unemployed that often forced people to move into smaller apartments that were not in proportion to size of the family. Often they moved to other family members and the secondary employment of the women and children became the primary one (Hausen 1983: 693). After the implementation of the social laws the social and economic situation of the workers and their families improved crucially over the medium term. In 1914 almost 1 billion marks of benefits were paid in the German Reich, which was around 40% of the whole national budget – to 15.6 million members of the health

insurances, to 28 million members of the accident assurance and the 16.6 million members of the old age pension. In Prussia there were 20 beds for 10,000 inhabitants in 1885 and 120.7 people who got medical care in kind or were victualled. In 1913 the number increased to 41.06 beds and 349.67 victualled; in Berlin: 60.12 beds and 603.12 victualled. In Berlin 56.1% of the people victualled by hospitals were charity-paid, 34.5% insured 8.3 paid for themselves (1.2 others) (Tennstedt 1981: 211).

Another important fact is the increase of the density of doctors between 1885 and 1913 from 35 to 51 medicines per 100,000 inhabitants, as more and more people could afford medical care (Tennstedt 1981: 703). For comparison, in East Prussia there was one doctor for every 60 people, the Prussian average for just under 23 people. The social needs of the working class were raised by the law. Wage replacement benefits were promised for retirement and for lost time in old age, illness, accidents at work and unemployment (Brock 2011: 332).

The capital of the insurances was provided means for better equipment in hospitals. Therefore medical care improved. The money was also used for people's education and to build apartments for workers (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 707). Insured persons and direct payer paid a nursing charge, which covered 75% of the expenses for public health. Compared to insured people, the number of ill people financed by organized charity decreased (Tennstedt 1981: 211). In 1905 there were 23,127 health insurances, which were divided in "local sickness insurance funds, municipal sickness insurance funds, company or factory sickness insurance funds, construction or guild sickness insurance funds as well as registered national disability funds" (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 699). Regarding the national health care system and the upcoming knowledge about personal health care, workers paid more attention to caring about their health and defending against premature disability. They paid tribute to the system of industrial society and learned about a healthy moral and sensible way of life (Hausen 1983: 705) That (plus the fact of economic growth) led into a decreasing rate of emigration from Germany (Hausen 1983: 708). That was partial victory. As again critique rose. The old-age pension was criticized by the social democrats because after its implementation people in need of it had to prove their entitlement by showing receipt of their payment of contribution. Thus receipt cards were invented (Hausen 1983: 709).

Low benefits, restrictive conditions of approval, complicated and incomplete organization of the social laws and tendencies of interpretation of the laws against the insured interests were justified. Nevertheless the social laws in Germany were progressive and improved the workers' status significantly. It decreased the worker's dependence on their employers, as well as the importance of poor relief and thus the social control over the lower classes, it strengthened the workers' rights and improved their mobility. The social laws and the beginning discussion about the universal suffrage strengthened the esprit de corps of the workers and their social standard. Workers therefore became an integrated part of society (Hausen 1983: 709). Regarding the trading

regulations until 1908 there were only a few amendments concerning work on Sundays and bank-holidays (1882) and children's work (1903) and cottage industry (1911) (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 260).

Concerning the implementation of safety at work the Reichstag discussed the British etiquette about safety at work (1876) and the "Redgrave-Report" (1853) and read reports about the experiences of Austrian and Swiss company inspectors. A law was formulated after that in 1908. It included a ten hours day for women and maternity leave of 6 weeks (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 210). In May 1908 the Law in Associations passed the Reichstag. With this not only workers but also women were equated before the law (Kurzer 2019). From 1890 to 1914 the legal system was worked over several times. In 1911 a retirement and survivor's pension for employees was invented (Tennstedt 1981: 701).

In 1913 one's health insurance included 2–3 family members. The health insurance was not only financial help (as it included sickness and death benefit) but also payment in kind like free doctoral treatment, medicine, glasses, dressing materials etc. (Tennstedt 1981: 170).

Policy invented public and free health insurances. For the free ones people needed health certificates. Employers liked their staff to participate in free insurances because (they were sector bound and the employers did not have to pay for them (Tennstedt 1981: 171). With the social insurances the social and economic conditions of the workers and their families had improved in the medium term. But police was subjected to conservative restriction.

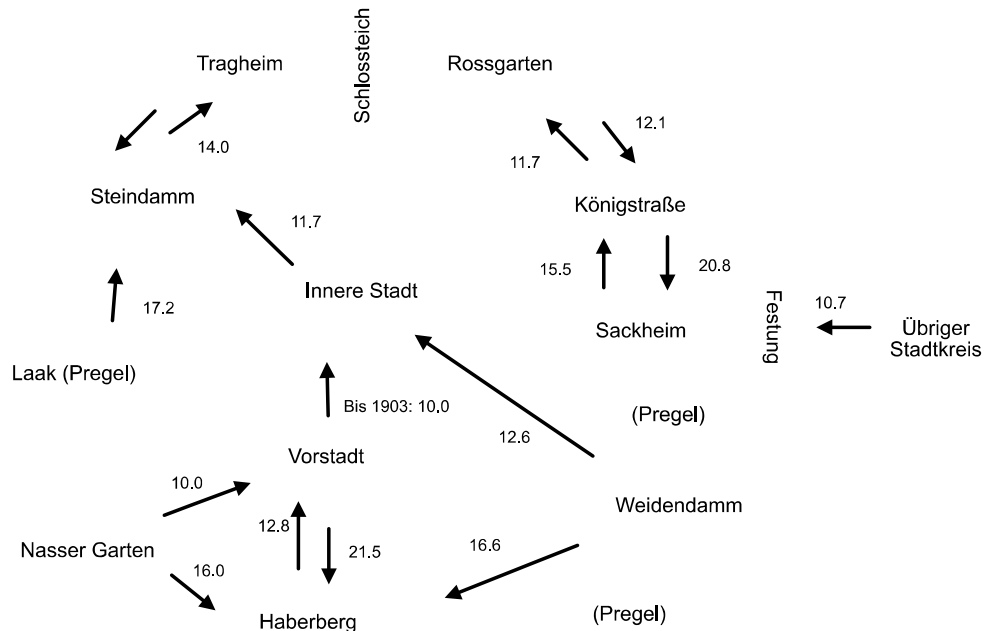
The Prussian Minister of trade and commerce Freiherr von Berlepsch (1890–1896) promoted the independence of the working class although he was minister in a conservative government. Therefore he had to step down in 1896. Nevertheless he kept supporting the workers' rights and was one of the founders of the International Association of statutory worker protection in July 1900 (Rohloff 2015c: 73).

Work routine in practice

In Königsberg apartments were built by the railway for their workers. The employees cared for their workers and expected loyalty from their employees. "Work rules" structured the work routine. The other side of the coin that every day work was not always practiced stringently as one might think regarding the strict hierarchical structures in the labour market. Willingness to move was very widespread around 1900. Many people had already moved to the cities from the country others came from other cities and even inside the city people moved between different districts. It could happen that workers did not go to work without "warning", making blue for a few days or never returned to work, because they had found another job (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 408).

In Königsberg the largest group of migrants among women in 1900 were maids (6467) and among men business assistants (9600). Day laborers (3097 immigration, 3575 immigration) and male servants followed, of whom more departed than immigrated (1742 immigration, 1259 immigration). Around 70% of the newcomers came from the countryside, around 30% from a city. This is logical against the background of industrialization. What is more surprising is that an equally high percentage moved to the countryside. Traditionally, a particularly large number of craftsmen from the construction industry moved to the city from April. However, more went away than came (in January, for example, 16 bricklayers were added, while 83 went, in April 142 bricklayers came, 58 went in the same month. In July 100 went, while only 56 new ones were added. The market in Königsberg appears to have been made. Among the migrants were many skilled workers (18–25% of them were builders and just as many waiters and waitresses) mostly from the countryside and the surrounding provincial towns who had justified hope of working in other towns as well, but above all in the only large town in Königsberg to find. Mostly servants, day laborers and workers came from the country. By 1900 many came from the surrounding province. Particularly often in April and October (not “with the self-employed and in some years with the renters etc.” More with civil servant students, especially in the vacation months of April and August In the spring the walls come and in the autumn the builders move from the city to the province at the same time, as in August 1897, July 1900, August 1902 and 1904 each. Over 100 masons and then gradually goes back. Since 1893 the number of removals “increased little”, despite the population growth in the city. This means that the number of people moving has decreased. According to the statistical office, the number of moves decreased slightly between 1893 and 1905. One concludes that the desire to settle down had increased. But still there was movement: Whoever got married moved. Fewer relocators had to leave their homes because of demolition.

Between 1899 and 1900 75% of the immigrants came to Königsberg from East Prussia, around 6% from West Prussia, almost 4% came from Berlin but 6% moved to the capital in those days. Around 3% came from the rest of Germany and just as much left the city thither. Another worth mentioning migration came from and went to Russia (3% immigration and emigration) Only less the 1% of the population came from or moved to other countries. In 1900 37,136 moved to Königsberg and 44,115 left the city in 1900. In the years around 1900 the numbers differed only marginally. In any case more people moved to the city than away from it (Königsberger Statistik 1906: 49). Even inside the city people there were migration flows.



Source: Own elaboration.

As shown in the previous graphic there was movement especially from Königstraße to Sackheim (former maids or other service personnel who worked in the palaces on Königstraße moved to Sackheim were many people of the underclass (lived, after they had married. People from Nasser Garten and Weidendamm, moved to Haberberg to live there with their families especially people of the fifth occupational standard). Members of the higher classes moved between the "better" districts Steindamm, Tragheim and Rossgarten each in both directions.

De facto the "German Workers' Insurance from 1885 to 1910 had resources of about 117,000 million marks and expenses of 9,400 million marks (Baumann 2011: 10 f).

Calculation examples of disability and invalidity pension: For occupational invalid insured persons have been made: 40 payments of the first pay category, 50 of the second one, 70 of the third, 90 of the fourth and 100 of the fifth, plus 20 attested weeks period of sickness and ten weeks of military service, so that he proved 380 weeks of payment in total, which is 120 less than 500. Old-age pension got people who had made payments for at least 30 years at an age of 70 or more. Shortly after the law had passed younger retired were included. From 1871 to 1888 only 18% of the male population reached the age of 70; between 1901 and 1910 27%. Only a minority of them were employed in "working professions". Responding to this at last the legislator changed

the law so that in 1913 around 2 Mio. disability and around 200,000 old-age pensions were paid. Most of the recipients of the disability pension were between 55 and 69 years old (cf. Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 700)⁷.

Conclusions

Legislation as alternative concept to the labour movement.

An increasing awareness for the workers' rights, hygiene and self-responsibility for their health caused sensitization for occupational safety and better conditions at work. The idea of "free-time" as opportunity to spend time apart from work promoted room for "new activities, group building and orientations" (cf. Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 798). For political influencers "from Wilhelm II to the social democrats widen[ed] the safety at work and strengthen[ed] the workers' rights was priority task in policies (cf. Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 71).

To understand employees as own social or even political power was a learning process which started in the middle to the end of the long 19th century in the Eastern part of the German Reich. Within 30 years health, old-age, accident and disability insurances were invented and passed through the policy cycle of decision making, invention, evaluation and correction.

In general the insurances helped the workers in being less dependent on their employers and less dependent of the control of poor relief. Another outcome of the social policy was its impact on the spirit of the working class. Their common issue, their esprit de corps was strengthened.

Compared to other European countries Germany invented the health care insurance system relatively late (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 392 f). The new legislation did not transform Prussia into a welfare state. Not even into social state. "For that the extent of redistribution through direct taxes and measures was too low." (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 107) Compared to other countries like Denmark and Great Britain where social insurances were financed by the tax system, in Germany they depended on paid in contributions. State financed models safeguarded the livelihood, the German mode, was supposed to safeguard the standard of living (cf. Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 702). Although after the discussed period there were still social conflicts in society the conditions for chances and changes concerning career were made possible for a larger group in society. That as one of different facts helped creating mass society that included

⁷ Exact figures: 1,099,783 disability insured, 101,977 old-age pensions. "Of 1000 invalidity pensions that were granted in 191 30–39 Jahren 149 were paid to insured at the age of 30–39 years, 202 at the age von 40–54 years, von 514 at the age 55–69, 70 and more at the age of 40–54 years and 135 from the age of 70 up.

The average age, when people got old age pension for the first time was 56,8 in 1913. The payment for old age pensioners was 165.27 Marks per year and 183.49 Marks for disabled pensioners in the year 1911 still quite low".

more and more social groups. Social policy helped creating a middle class that could afford a certain standard of living with certain cultural standards. But at the beginning of the 20th century society was still divided into classes. At last social policy changed the social value of free time and family and of the individuals and thus of work itself. At the same time medical norms and values about hygiene, health and the attitude toward the own body. As the insurance system burdened the citizens themselves they learned to care about a healthy way of life. The road from corporate to the bourgeois society was a process of structural and awareness process that mutually depended each other. "The 18th century is the last mainly corporative society in the " German" territory with an often class originated economic system and a bound and personally dependent population" (cf. Reidegeld 1999: 207). "Dependent", because people of the lower classes were dependent on their families, or on their place of residence, where his employer cared for him and where he was cared for at old age. Because of the social laws the different areas of society grew closer together. Life conditions became more homogeneous. Emigration was curbed because of the new social conditions and supra regional laws but also because of the economic power after the industrialization (Ritter, Tenfelde 1992: 707).

Generally spoken, apart from his political motivation the social laws of the 19th century were a first step to the social welfare state, but were not sufficiently developed at all, e.g. retired had pension entitlement only from their 71st year of age, which was only up to 40% of the last wage. The social gap grew notwithstanding the social laws. Instead it caused anger and sometimes radicalism. Thus this issue is a characteristic example, for the crises-progress-restoration-crises-cycle.

For Königsberg and other German cities of a similar size and social structure the question now is: Did the system of social laws bring together the different areas of Königsbergs society? Like in all over the German Reich, Bismarck's social law was a first step towards what the Danish political scientist Esping-Anderson calls the "conservative welfare-state" even if welfare of the working class was not really if his concern. In the eastern parts of Germany differences between the social classes and boundaries between areas of social societies were of high importance and held up longer than in the western parts of the country, therefore no one ever imagined (in those days) a system of redistribution like we have today.

But in general the crisis-restoration-cycle concerning social policy in Germany brought society closer together.

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Biogram

Anna Mareike Schönle – historyczka i politolożka, jest kuratorem wystaw w muzeach historycznych, zajmuje się historią Prus Wschodnich. Niedawno obroniła pracę doktorską w katedrze Historii Europy Wschodniej na Uniwersytecie w Greifswaldzie.