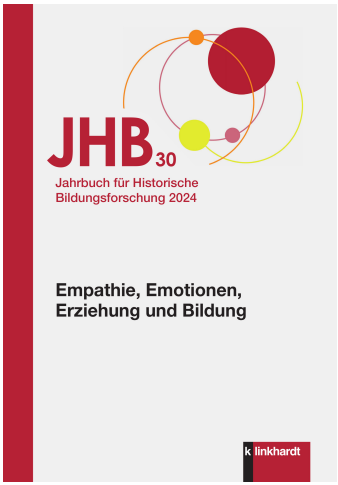
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Disciplining Love and Care in the Nineteenth-Century German Kindergarten

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Disciplining Love and Care in the Nineteenth-Century German Kindergarten

Zusammenfassung
Dieser Artikel untersucht die Art und Weise, wie die Ausübung von Liebe und Pflege durch Frauen im Kindergarten zwischen 1840 und den 1860er Jahren imaginiert, gefördert und reguliert wurde. Der von Friedrich Fröbel gegründete Kindergarten war ein Erziehungsraum, der von zwei pädagogischen Idealen geleitet wurde: dem freien Spiel und dem „mütterlichen Wesen" der Kindergärtnerin. Das freie Spiel der Kinder stand in Wechselwirkung mit den Fragen, Erzählungen und Liedern der Kindergärtnerin. Gemeinsam sollten die Kinder wichtige emotionale, moralische und körperliche Fähigkeiten für den Eintritt in die Elementarschule und später in die politische Gemeinschaft entwickeln. Die Fähigkeit der Frauen, diese neue emotionale Gemeinschaft zu kultivieren, war jedoch subversiv gegenüber den Machtstrukturen, die die Grundlage für den politischen Status Quo im deutschsprachigen Europa bildeten. Kindergärtnerinnen wurden von Revolutionären und Reformern während der Revolution von 1848 als Akteurinnen für die Kultivierung einer neuen Gesellschaft gefördert und mobilisiert. Für die staatlichen und kirchlichen Autoritäten war der Kindergarten ein potenziell gefährlicher Raum und die weibliche Pflege- und Liebesleistung musste durch Qualifikationsdokumente überwacht werden, die die Konformität mit emotionalen, geschlechtlichen und politischen Normen bekräftigten.

Emotional Community, Kindergarten, konservative Reaktion, geschlechtsspezifische Arbeit

Abstract
This article examines the ways women's performance of love and care in the kindergarten was imagined, promoted, and policed between 1840 through to the 1860s. The kindergarten, founded by Friedrich Fröbel, was an educational space that was led by two pedagogical ideals: free play and the female kindergartner's "maternal essence." Children's free play interacted with the kindergartner's questions, storytelling, and songs. Together, children were to develop key emotional, moral, and physical skills to enter the elementary school and later political community.

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Women's ability to cultivate this new emotional community however was subversive to the power structures that laid the basis for the political status quo in German-speaking Europe. Female kindergartners were promoted as agents to help cultivate a new society and mobilized as such by revolutionaries and reformers during the 1848 revolution. For state and religious authorities, the kindergarten was a potentially dangerous space and women's performance of care and love had to be supervised through qualification documents that reiterated conformity to emotional, gendered, and political norms.

Emotional Community, Kindergarten, Conservative Reaction, Gendered Labor

1 Introduction

In 1849, the Hamburg pedagogue and educator Doris Lütkens published reports compiled by the kindergartner Alwine Middendorff in her magazine dedicated to motherhood and early children's education, *Unsere Kinder oder Literarischer Sprech-Saal für Eltern, Lehrer, Lehrerinnen und Vorsteher von Kleinkinder- und Warteschulen jeder Art*.[1] Middendorff (the great-niece of the founder of the kindergarten, Friedrich Fröbel) provided a detailed account of the children under her supervision. She described their characteristics and development over individual months. Doris Lütkens hoped that readers of the "Kindergarten-Chronicle", and particularly mothers, would be able to see the benefits of the Fröbel system. Lütkens maintained throughout the magazine and her educational career that the kindergartner and mother were united in the same profession: the social, spiritual, and physical cultivation of young children through love and care.[2] For Lütkens, the two professions were based on maternal love that women supposedly had a natural inclination towards.[3] Her magazine was set up to be a space for women to share their experiences, learn from teachers, and perfect their craft. As she wrote, "Mothers, take heed!"[4]

This article focuses on women's work in the kindergarten from the 1840s through the 1860s to examine the ways emotional labor and educational communities were formed and disciplined. According to the pedagogues behind the kindergarten, the kindergartner helped shape and cultivate an emotional community dedicated to children's social, emotional, and physical development with wider implications that moved beyond the classroom and nursery. Friedrich Fröbel

1 See Middendorff in Lütkens 1849, pp. 163–179.
2 Lüktens 1849, p. 162.
3 Ibid., p. 2.
4 Ibid., p. 1.

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trained these female educators to challenge children's supposedly "egotistical" instincts with the use of specially designed toys, games, and songs that encouraged the development of emotional skills and knowledge. Fröbel's main activities for these young children included play with balls and blocks, songs, and storytelling that triggered reflective questions and understandings of the self.[5] Young children supposedly would be able to understand themselves as an individual and yet also part of a larger community that came with responsibility to support one another. With their interaction with the kindergartner, children were encouraged to think about how others felt and to recognize the emotions of happiness, sadness, and disappointment.

For Fröbel and his kindergartners, empathy was a major learning goal. This emotion not only established belonging and responsibilities, but also supposedly encouraged ethical and moral reasoning. Empathy therefore was not simply a feeling that reflected on the individual, but also one that promoted an active response.[6] Through this, children would supposedly be able to not only develop an active play community in the kindergarten but also enter society with necessary emotional skills.

Empathy is a political, ethical, and social emotion. On one level the kindergarten cultivated children's empathetic skills to be part of a larger community. On the other, the kindergarten also participated in mobilizing both empathetic feelings for middle class women to follow their supposed biological maternal destinies and shame for those women who could not fulfil this role.

Middendorff's report displayed the kindergarten system at work with a particular emphasis on demonstrating the emotional skills and cues that children developed. Two children stand out to the reader in the first few pages: the siblings Joseph and Kätchen (aged 6 and 5).[7] Joseph was a curious and attentive child who enjoyed hearing stories. He responded to the performative storytelling and the bright display of excitement and curiosity that Middendorff utilized in her kindergarten. His sister Kätchen, by comparison, was very stubborn and required constant discipline. Middendorff wrote that "Kätchen has a weak, cautious, and receptive disposition," and that she did not want to join the group of children. Yet after some time, Kätchen became more involved. "Now every day brings more pleasure and love," Middendorf continued: "Even if a serious word must be spoken from time to time, a look, a hint, is often enough to bring her back to the point."[8] Middendorff highlighted the ways the emotions of care and love were utilized as a pedagogical and disciplinary tool.

In a moving episode, Kätchen responded to the tone and expression used by the kindergartner. As Middendorff reported,

5 Lange 1874, p. 583; Wasmuth 2020, p. 77.
6 See Eitler in Frevert 2014, pp. 94–114.
7 See Middendorff in Lütkens 1849, p. 163.
8 Ibid.

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> "One of Kätchen's moves was truly touching to me. All the children were catching the ball, and Kätchen's ball fell. Rosa wanted to pick it up for her, but Kätchen thought she wanted to take it away from her. She tore it violently from Rosa's hands and scratched her. She bled and showed me her hand with a piteous face. I called Kätchen to me and asked her whether this was right and proper. There must have been something sad in my tone and expression [because] Kätchen was quite shaken. She turned red all over and dared not open her eyes. Suddenly, she fell on my neck, crying and exclaiming: 'Please, Alwine, I won't do it again.'"[9]

Middendorff highlighted the vibrant emotions in this encounter between herself and Kätchen. The young girl did not reflect on her interaction with Rosa until faced by the vocal tone and facial expressions of the kindergartner. The encounter encourages the reader to think of the ways that shaming, even if unintentional, was required in learning empathy. As Middendorff stated, this brought Kätchen in line with the kindergarten play community.

Middendorff's report is a valuable case not only to examine how the performance of care and love could be used as vital pedagogical tools but also how kindergartners were supposed to relate to the children. As she stated, "If we wish to deal with children, we must be children ourselves and yet must stand far above children."[10] Her report demonstrated how exaggerating certain emotions – sadness, disappointment, and excitement – help children become emotionally aware. This emotional awareness, according to Middendorff and the early promoters of the kindergarten, was a key component of knowledge creation and belonging. At the same time, these were pedagogical techniques. The kindergartner, according to Middendorff, needed to guide and observe yet also identify with the child. All of this was an act of love, she concluded. She envisioned this love as social, attentive, and maternal.

By the late 1840s, the kindergarten and women's role in it were undoubtedly attached to the revolutionary hopes for a new future envisioned by political and religious dissenters who protested and built barricades across major cities of German-speaking Europe.[11] The kindergarten, by Fröbel's thinking, was a contagious space. It was explicitly designed to help with the organization and function of the family and, eventually, of civil society. During the 1848 Revolution, journalist Rudolf Benfey wrote to the Göttingen-based publisher Joseph Stargardt about the potential of the kindergarten in Bad Liebenstein, particularly emphasizing Alwine Middendorff's work in promoting a new democratic world.[12] For Gotha-based writer Ludwig Storch, the

9 Ibid., p. 164.

10 Ibid., p. 165.

11 Münchow 2006; Paletschek 1990; Kleinau 1997; Baader 1998 and 1999; Allen 2017.

12 GStA PK, I HA Rep 77 Ministerium des Innern Tit 421 Nr. 28, Die Anlegung eines „Kindergartens" nach Fröbelschen Gründsätzen seitens des Dr. Storch in Nordhausen. März 1851 bis 26 Mai 1899.

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kindergarten was a space led by women for the work of democracy.[13] Kindergartner Amalie Krüger also reiterated the view that the institution was a space of utopian hope for the future in her letters to Friedrich Fröbel.[14]

State officials in Prussia and Saxony recognized the radical and destabilizing potential of the kindergarten and women's work. In his report, Berlin Police President Karl Ludwig Friedrich von Hinckeldey labeled the kindergarten a "nursery of destruction" that was set on converting children to atheism and socialism. It was subsequently banned in both states in August 1851.[15] By 1860, the Prussian Minister of Education and Culture Moritz August von Bethmann-Hollweg demanded that to lift the kindergarten ban, potential kindergartners would be required to prove their social, political, moral, and religious qualifications.[16] These requirements reiterated the need for women to conform to gender and emotional norms and to the political status quo.

Scholars of emotions have developed theoretical concepts such as "emotional regimes," "emotional practices," and "affective economies" to examine the fluidity of power and disciplinary mechanisms.[17] Historian William Reddy defined "emotional regimes" as the foundation for every political regime. These are the emotional norms and rules of politics, power, and social structure.[18] Historian Monique Scheer identifies "emotional practice" as performances and "acts of doing" that are situated within networks of cultural patterns and knowledge.[19] For Scheer, individuals are not simply "reacting" to emotions rather, emotions are tied to other practices that manipulate or activate the body. Sara Ahmed has elaborated on the ways emotions and feelings are situated, communicated, and shared to form "affective economies."[20] This article identifies the kindergarten as a learning community that redefined certain emotional practices in ways that subverted traditionally defined roles and hierarchal power. The nineteenth-century kindergarten emphasized the pedagogy of love and care and explicitly required the finetuning of emotional practice and performance. This educational model took women's emotional labor out of the traditional hierarchy of power seen in the family household. Additionally, this practice was a vital component in constructing a new "affective economy" where children and teachers created new learning scripts as well as a new community.

13 Ibid.

14 Krüger/König 1990, p. 57.

15 GStA PK, I HA Rep 77 Ministerium des Innern Tit 421 Nr. 28, Hinckeldey an den Königlichen gemeinen Staats- und Minister des Innern Ritter Herrn von Westphalen, p. 11; Ibid., an Seine Majestät den König, p. 4R.

16 GStA PK, I. HA Rep 77. Tit 421. Nr. 28, Bethmann Hollweg an den Königlichen Staats und Minister des Innern, Herrn Grafen von Schwerin, p. 62.

17 See Rosenwein 2002, 2006; Reddy 2001; Ahmed 2014; Scheer 2012.

18 Reddy 2001, p. 129.

19 Scheer 2012, p. 205.

20 Ahmed 2014, pp. 44–49.

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This article also builds on a larger historiographical trend on the kindergarten. Historians have elaborated on the different political goals of the kindergarten. Notably, studies have illuminated how the early children's educational institution was mobilized as a vital tool to engage in larger social protest that took place during the revolutionary 1840s.[21] Additionally, historians of education have also demonstrated how the kindergarten allowed women to carve out roles in a male-dominated field that required them to play with and subvert ideas of femininity and motherhood. Historian Ann Taylor Allen has led the field in exploring the important role of the kindergarten in the German women's movement.[22] Allen demonstrates how motherhood could be both constraining and subverted in ways that empowered women activists. The kindergarten, Allen has shown, was a key space for activists to demonstrate the importance of women's work outside of the family home. Additionally, Allen has demonstrated how these activists created new forms of knowledge that also challenged the constraints placed on women's economic, professional, and educational opportunities.

I argue that the kindergarten, as an educational space led by women's work, was a site that sought to cultivate children as emotional, political, and social agents in the hopes of either stabilizing or promoting a new future. First, I track the ways women were constructed as gendered-emotional agents tied to a larger system of power and order. Women were imagined as mothers, naturally equipped with love, who would help nurture an ideal community. Though some pedagogues envisioned the kindergarten solely as part of women's domestic work, others moved beyond the household and sought to mobilize female kindergartners as vital social and political agents. Second, I examine how women's performance of care and gendered labor was policed. Women had to submit materials to state authorities in which they testified that they were "child-like," subservient to masculine authority, and lacked a political identity. All together, these regulations sought to ensure emotional subservience that would not threaten the political status quo. To support this argument, I use a wide source base that includes Fröbel's early letters to promote the kindergarten and the writings of two prominent female educators, as well as newspaper articles and police reports.

2 The Construction of the Kindergartner

Women's labor was intrinsic to the functioning and success of the kindergarten. For Friedrich Fröbel, it was only by encouraging women to join his project, not only as educators but also as major financial contributors, that the institution was to succeed in June 1840. The construction and promotion of women's labor

21 Münchow 2006; Paletschek 1990; Kleinau 1997; Baader 1998 and 1999.
22 Allen 1991 and 2017.

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was a double-edged sword. Fröbel appealed to women's emotional-pedagogical attributes that they supposedly embodied and performed in the family. His understanding of women's nature is inseparable from early nineteenth century ideas of the family that defined mothers as key early educators that provided feminine love and encouragement. However, this view on women was proscriptive rather than descriptive. Fröbel pointed to supposed widespread flaws in women who neglected their duties and sought to discipline and "educate" mothers.[23]

Fröbel's approach to women and children was tied to his early educational experiences of his own childhood. He was born in the small Thuringian village of Oberweißbach on April 21, 1782. His father was a Lutheran pastor who was dedicated to the religious upkeep of his community. His work, the younger Fröbel wrote, was all-consuming. As a result, Fröbel never developed a close relationship with his father.[24] His mother died nine months after his birth. Fröbel's stepmother, soon after having her own children, banished him from the family community.[25] For Fröbel, this early childhood experience of loss, the lack of both parental – importantly, maternal – love and freedom shaped how he understood education. As he wrote in a letter addressed to women in 1831 (hoping to gain potential supporters for his educational projects):

> "with the death, with the loss of my mother, with the loss of reciprocal human love between mother and child, from this moment my entire future life took on its character and calling… Here I will say only that the soul strives to reconstruct that original unity of mind and soul that original experience of community."[26]

In this letter to women in 1831, he continued to describe how his experience at a girls' school, where he received his basic education, deeply impressed him.[27] Though he described that he felt foreign in the class, he wrote that he "encountered, as it were, the whole feminine, emotional, and religious side of humankind." He stated how he received and witnessed the supposed feminine love that he lacked, "I saw here, as it were, the mind and life of my mother, which I had sought silently but not consciously, but which was also distant and foreign to me, multiplied, as it were, sprouting anew before me."[28]

23 Entwurf eines Planes zur Begründung und Ausführung eines Kinder-Gartens, einer Allgemeinen Anstalt zur Verbreitung allseitiger Beachtung des Lebens der Kinder, besonders durch Pflege ihres Thätigkeitstriebes, in: DIPF/BBF/Archiv: Nachlass Fröbel 213, pp. 5–8; Verein zur Ausführung eines Erziehungswerkes durch deutsche Frauen und Jungfrauen, in: DIPF/BBF/Archiv: Nachlass Fröbel Fröbel 214, p. 32.

24 Fröbel 1889, p. 3.

25 Ibid., p. 4.; citation to Allen 2017, p. 24

26 Fröbel quoted in Allen 2017, p. 24.

27 Fröbel 1889, p. 17.

28 Fröbel an die Frauen in Keilhau 1831, in Heiland 2008; see also https://editionen.bbf.dipf.de/exist/apps/briefedition-friedrich-froebel/briefe/fb1831-08-18-03.xml#JB5.

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The letter illuminated the supposed different educational and emotional capabilities of men and women within the family that had evolved during the late eighteenth century from its conception as an economic unit to an idealized pedagogical and moral entity.[29] The ideal of the family was redefined during this era as one of love, relaxation, and refuge from the daily worries of work and politics. Within this conception of the family home, husbands and wives ensured that they passed on respectable moral sentiments to their children so that they could reproduce the middle-class social ideal.

The workload in the family, however, was not even. Women oversaw that the home functioned as a site of refuge and care through their ability to provide emotional support.[30] Many writers thought these sentiments were different from the forms of love and care men could provide.[31] This is not to say that men did not have an important role in the function and organization of emotional work in the family. Fathers were expected to play an important authority role and to provide masculine assurance to young men and boys.[32] They provided their children with an example of how men should be and act. The new role fashioned for women, however, unleashed the production of a new genre of educational material that emphasized women's maternal, loving, and subservient role in the family household.[33]

For Fröbel, the kindergarten was to be a special space to help assist with the functioning of the family. Though, in reworking and focusing on women's particular emotional labor, Fröbel did subvert the traditional hierarchy of authority. Fröbel empowered women to join his project and encouraged them to redeem their role as caregivers of humanity. He made this clear in his call for noble women to join his project in December 1839, where he stressed that he was more and more convinced of the importance of early children's education as a vital element in individual formation.[34] It was for this reason, he stated, that this work could not be done by men alone. He continued, "the feminine maternal sense of women, feminine maternal love, must be at his side. This love, however, should not be alone, but in common with the masculine striving to grasp the life in the child."[35] He claimed, however, that women needed some encouragement to join the cause and to reach this realization. It was for this reason, he stated, "that a majority of noble, maternally minded German women should unite to form a great whole.

29 Frevert 1997, p. 13.
30 Ibid., p. 17; Habermas 2000, pp. 62–73; Baader 1996, pp. 19–24.
31 Reill 2005, pp. 220–236.
32 Wall 2007; Rousseau 1762/1979.
33 Frevert 1997, p. 17.
34 Hanschmann 1874, p. 306.
35 Ibid., p. 307.

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A German women's association for the true and meaningful care of children and childhood."[36]

This does not mean there was not an element of shaming in this campaign. The article, "*The Cultivation of Nursemaids,*" published in the liberal newspaper *Allgemeiner Anzeiger und Nationalzeitung der Deutschen* encouraged women to join in a national cause to help uplift children's education in a model school and nursery. For the anonymous writer of the article, the current state of training available to nursemaids was not sufficient. In fact, the writer argued that they did more harm than good to the children under their charge. He criticized wealthy mothers for choosing non-German women to educate their young children. These young women from Switzerland and France supposedly "tormented" and "spoiled" young children with "French babbling" and "empty tinkering."[37] Instead, young German women should be encouraged to train with Fröbel to help prevent a larger stain on humanity and their national identity. Joining Fröbel, the author stated, would provide "the best opportunity to learn practically how to treat children and how to occupy themselves with them in the most appropriate way."[38]

Fröbel's method, it was hoped, would provide an example of how to lead children and practice maternal love and care that would be extended into family homes. This would first and foremost help establish the domestically oriented education women needed to successfully care for children.[39] Fröbel opened his first kindergartner training seminars in Keilhau and Bad Blankenburg in 1841 before they spread to Hamburg, Dresden, and Bad Liebenstein. The seminars were structured to educate women on pedagogy, Fröbel's games and toys for children, and parenting. These students also had opportunity to observe the kindergarten.[40]

The kindergarten attracted the support of educators like Doris Lütkens and Bertha von Marenholtz-Bülow who also emphasized the necessity of training and developing women's particular emotions to ensure the proper socialization of children. For these two educators, women were supposedly endowed with the ability to perform love and care that was necessary for the "sentimental" education of young children. In this regard, they identified women as key educators for children's emotional and mental well-being that was necessary before they entered elementary schools. Both women were far from political radicals but sought to promote an ideal of motherhood and women's education that moved beyond the traditional framework of the family household.

36 Ibid., p. 307.
37 K. H. G. 1839, p. 4684.
38 Ibid., p. 4682.
39 Ibid., p. 4683.
40 Die Kindergärten als um- und erfassende Pflege- und Erziehungsanstalten der Kindheit, der Kinder bis zum schulfähigen Alter und der Deutsche Kindergarten als eine Musteranstalt dafür insbesondere, in: DIPF/BBF/Archiv: Nachlass Fröbel 29, p. 15.

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Doris Lütkens joined Fröbel's training seminar in 1847. Lütkens had already established herself as an educator in Hamburg before she met Fröbel at a children's festival in Quetz near Magdeburg in 1847. In 1841, she had opened the Teaching and Pension Institute for Higher Daughters in the St. Georg North suburb of Hamburg. During her seventeen years as director, the school developed a reputation as a space for women's education for the middle classes that adhered to socially acceptable gender ideas. Lütkens remained tied to a class-based ideal of gendered education. Though Lütkens had conflicts with other female supporters of the kindergarten, notably her kindergartner Alwine Middendorff, who sought to move away from strict religious orthodoxy, she promoted the kindergarten and women's work in her magazine in a way that destabilized the traditional status quo. She presented a space for women's education and motherhood that moved away from the structures of masculine authority in the household. In her magazine *Unsere Kinder* she sought to bring women, pedagogues, and teachers together to promote educational material and approaches that ensured "free" and "natural" development of young children.[41]

One should not over-emphasize the ways Lütkens formulated the space of the family and women's work. She did remain tied to the position of the family as a central space of socialization and heavily identified women as supposedly endowed with loving and caring natures. She nonetheless put forth a form of women's work that was not bound to patriarchal discipline and therefore made alternative ideals of society and authority possible.

Bertha von Marenholtz-Bülow continued this discursive construction of the kindergarten, especially after the kindergarten was banned in 1851. Marenholtz-Bülow promoted the institution as an anti-revolutionary, anti-socialist approach to the "social question." For intellectuals of the nineteenth century, the "social question" centered on the crises that emerged with the industrial transformation of society. For Marenholtz-Bülow, women's work was a vital component to answer the question. She reformulated the kindergarten as an institution increasingly tied to a form of social pedagogy aimed at the children of the lower classes. Her work abroad launched a transnational and international discussion on women's supposedly natural role as mothers for the care of poor children. Her work was thereby entangled in a European and North American wide movement for social order, respectability, and bourgeois middle class reform.[42]

In 1854 Marenholtz-Bülow published an English pamphlet directed to supporters of the kindergarten in Britain, in which she highlighted her blend of women's education and social reform. She made it clear that women's mission as "social mothers" in the kindergarten was vital not just for the fundamental early years of

41 Lükens 1849, p. 1.

42 See Allen 2017, p. 45; Morley 1855, p. 577–582; Osterhammel 2014, pp. 507–512.

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childhood. It was also central to her belief in a moral crusade to uplift the working classes. "The regeneration of education must begin with woman," she stated, "who has her mission to fulfil in this age, not only as mother in the domestic circle, but also as mother to the poor and helpless orphans of the lower classes, who experience no maternal care from those who gave them birth."[43] Women of the educated classes had a moral duty not only to educate themselves for the profession of motherhood, but also to care for the children of the poor. Poor mothers, according to Marenholtz-Bülow, were unable to provide for their children. As she stated, "until the mothers amongst the lower classes are a better educated race, the education of their children must be under the care of the educated classes."[44] Marenholtz-Bülow elaborated on a system of education and training that sought to mobilize women's particular emotional capabilities for the sake of social uplift. For her, middle-class women were needed to carry on the work of the kindergarten as a way to emphasis women's domestic and maternal identity. Marenholtz-Bülow proposed that women's education, in her words, "should unquestionably offer the means of cultivating the faculties of the female sex with a special view to their future vocation."[45]

Fröbel, Lütkens, and Marenholtz-Bülow, helped to define the kindergarten as a unique space to construct and promote women's labor that remained tied to their supposed emotional natures. They emphasized women's ability to perform an empathetic love and care that encouraged emotional reactions and introspection from both children and other mothers. Indeed, women were encouraged by these writers to feel that it was their mission to get involved in the kindergarten project. If women chose not to, these writers employed shaming techniques that also targeted their supposed gender roles. However, even within these formulations we see the potential for subversion. Women were encouraged to perform and practice an active motherhood that was not necessarily tied to the home.

3 Policing and Disciplining Women's Labor in the Kindergarten

Many women that joined the profession during the revolutionary 1840s and early 1850s largely saw the kindergarten as a space to use their supposed "natural essence" for social, cultural, and political change. The discursive construction of the kindergartner provided room for subversion and play. Without the presence of representatives of traditional masculine authority, maternal love and care was re-imagined by some kindergartners, political and religious dissenters, and pedagogues as a revolutionary force that could challenge the status quo.

43 Marenholtz-Bülow 1855, p. 78.
44 Ibid., p. 86; see also Jones 1971.
45 Marenholtz-Bülow 1855, p. 81.

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Prussian and Saxon state authorities recognized the revolutionary aspects of the kindergarten and banned the early children's institution in August 1851. The kindergarten ban was one example of the ways German states purged the educational environment of radical elements that authorities saw as threatening. The Prussian state, in particular, also introduced other methods to rid civil society of future potential revolutionary upheaval and to stabilize emotional norms that included new teaching regulations, a new emphasis on the relationship between the church and the state, and curricula for students that emphasized loyalty to country and monarchy.[46]

In response to petitions to lift the ban in 1859, the Prussian state turned to policing women's labor to ensure that the kindergarten was not used for revolutionary ends. Minister of Education and Culture Bethmann-Hollweg suggested that the method of granting state concessions be used to discipline and safeguard the kindergarten. Concessions were vital as a form of quality control. First introduced on December 31, 1834, concessions allowed the state to police independent private schools.[47] State officials would go through concession documents and inspect proposed institutions to ensure that they met state requirements.

Women who desired to become kindergartners, Moritz August von Bethmann-Hollweg wrote, had to submit "proof of the necessary religious, moral and political qualifications."[48] This material ensured, he continued, the "sufficient means to keep unqualified or morally and politically unsuitable persons away from employment in Fröbelian kindergartens."[49] The concessions themselves went beyond any form of pedagogical training documents. State officials specifically wanted to ensure women were religiously minded, maintained good community relations, and stayed out of trouble. In essence, concessions would prevent the kindergarten from becoming radicalized. In this way, Bethmann-Hollweg unleashed a new system for the professionalizing of kindergartners that firmly placed women teachers inside traditional gender norms and expectations.

In what follows we will see how institutions and the state facilitated these new expectations and qualifications particularly by focusing on the case of Ida Seele and Marie Zürn. These two women were put forth by Berlin Frauenverein für die Beförderung der Fröbel'schen Kindergärten (Berlin Women's Association to Promote the Fröbelian Kindergarten). The association sought to open kindergartens in the city on Fröbel's and Bertha von Marenholtz-Bülow's model. This was a type of kindergarten that was tied to the liberal middle-class and shunned any connection to revolutionaries. The association presented their documents to the state by emphasizing subservient ideals of femininity and mother love and care. However,

46 Stiehl 1858.
47 GStA PK, I. HA Rep77. Tit 421. Nr. 28, 61.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.

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this promotion of the kindergarten also required the kindergartners themselves to play and practice this role.

On May 12, 1860, the Berlin Women's Association sent a package to the Royal School Collegium containing their request for a concession to open a kindergarten and the qualification documents belonging to Ida Seele. Seele's documents showed state authorities the path she had taken to become a kindergartner. It was a career she had always had in mind. She emphasized how her early childhood experience with illness and loss, particularly the death of her mother, moved her to look seriously at the care and education of children. As a child, Seele spent most of her time under the care of nannies and suffered from poor vision as well as poor physical health. She attributed her poor vision and health to the supposedly inefficient training of her nannies.[50] During this time, Seele wrote, she developed a "boundless love and devotion for small children, which will guide me through my whole life."[51] "From that point on," she wrote in her *Lebenslauf*, "the purpose of my life was to keep the little ones cheerful and free of worries, as much as their weak strength could do, and the kindergarten also tries to fulfill this purpose."[52]

Seele described her experiences at the *Bürgertöchterschule*, an educational institute for daughters of the middle and upper class. Here, she had found refuge from her brother's cruel teasing. The school, she wrote, "was soon my favorite place. There I found consolation in religion; there was no regard for the person's [outer appearance]; there I was taken care of for my spirit."[53] She reported that she had surpassed her classmates in her final year in religion, biblical history, reading, spelling, German grammar, natural history, and singing. After Seele completed school, her aunt, who had become a primary funder of her education, told her teacher, "Ida should not become a scholar, but an efficient housewife and for that she has learned enough."[54] From this moment, Seele stayed home, where she did the cooking, washing, and sewing. She did this work with joy and happiness, she wrote, while keeping in mind her dream of working with children.[55] By Seele's own telling, her origins were not those of a radical.

In 1843, the eighteen-year-old Seele had noticed an article calling for kindergartners written by Friedrich Fröbel. While her family did not fully support her, her brother funded her trip to Bad Blankenburg where she joined the larger community surrounding Friedrich Fröbel's kindergarten project.[56] She remained under Fröbel's supervision until August 1, 1844, spending the first half of the

50 Ibid., p. 6.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid.
54 Ibid., p. 8.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid., p. 10.

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year as his student and the rest of the time as the director of his kindergarten in Blankenburg.[57]

Rather than paint the kindergarten as a revolutionary institution, Seele described a loving and pious space for children to learn. For Seele, the Blankenburg kindergarten was a site of spiritual life. She wrote, "here I found people whom I looked up to as the highest ideals of human perfection."[58] The community, both young and old, gathered together during the morning and evening hours to pray for God's protection as they welcomed work with good cheer.[59] Fröbel and his collaborator Wilhelm Middendorff were respectable figures who were pious and loved children. Seele noted Fröbel's relationships with nobles as well as with teachers, children, farmers, men and women. Seele thereby defined the kindergarten as an idyllic space where all classes came together in harmony but not in revolutionary-like equality.

Seele ensured that she distanced herself from known radicals in her *Lebenslauf*. In fact, she wrote that she had split with Fröbel. She had heard about the religious and political issues circling the kindergartens particularly in Hamburg, seen by Prussian authorities as the prime location of revolutionary radicalism. That revolutionary activity, she stated, "went against my nature."[60] It is hard to know how sincere Seele was in her condemnation of the situation in Hamburg. It is clear that she understood her audience, since she played up her childlike innocence and religious qualities which were supposedly natural for women. She wrote, "I have a childlike spirit that cannot live without religion and I am always and forever a loyal supporter of the princely houses and a good patriot."[61]

Seele's references from former employers pointed to her pedagogical method, her moral and emotional capabilities, and her religious identity. They similarly positioned her as an ideal woman and teacher whose character undermined any charge of radicalism or dissent in the kindergarten. In a character review of her time as a kindergartner in Bad Blankenburg, the director of the Model School in Frankfurt wrote that Seele's work was said to epitomize the maternal love and care that was necessary in the school. She was credited with having converted the letter-writer to the cause of the kindergarten. As he wrote in her reference letter:

> "it was mainly Ida Seele who, through her practical successes, won me over to the subject of kindergartens and through her wonderful devotion to the children, as well as through the amiable naturalness and sensibility with which she grasped and carried out her task, touched me as much as it inspired me."[62]

57 Ibid.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid., 10RS.
60 Ibid., p. 14.
61 Ibid., 14–14RS.
62 Ibid., p. 19.

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Seele's supposedly religious nature was emphasized throughout her documents as a way to highlight her moral qualifications. In another reference letter, the director of the Keilhau Educational Institute praised her "childlike religious nature" as an essential aspect in her success as an educator. The director wrote "that Fröbel has always given his special satisfaction about her because of her childlike religious sense and her sensible and devoted manner in dealing with small children."[63] She was also defined as a "friend of the Church," and it was noted that she "regularly sought her edification in [religion]. In moral terms she is highly respectable."[64]

Her collection of nine references set out to promote an ideal image of the kindergartner. In them, Seele distanced herself from the revolutionary activism of the 1840s. She had a childlike religious nature that was important for educating children. In her documents, Seele presented an image of herself as one that was dedicated, womanly, natural, outside of politics, and Christian. Women like Ida Seele, who identified by Prussian authorities as politically subservient, were granted a concession by the state to work in the kindergarten.

Ida Seele's experiences with the inspectors of the Royal School Collegium differed from those of Marie Zürn. Like Seele, Zürn was a kindergartner trained and educated by Friedrich Fröbel. She was recommended to work as an assistant for Seele on April 30, 1860. However, by August 7, the Berlin Women's Association had terminated her employment. At this same time, Marie Zürn sent a formal request for permission to teach at a kindergarten in Potsdam to the School Deputation. The subsequent investigation into her request for a concession to work in the kindergarten demonstrated how the state's moral and class considerations shaped the kindergartner profession.

Marie Zürn had completed six months of training as a kindergartner under Friedrich Fröbel in 1850 in Bad Liebenstein. She later traveled to Göttingen and worked in a kindergarten there for ten months. Although individuals such as Ida Seele had the benefit of a good relationship with their employers, Zürn had had many issues with male pedagogues and "cold and stern" women patrons.[65] She wrote to Fröbel on March 31, 1851, asking for advice on her current work environment in Göttingen. She reported that because of one of the directors of the institute, a man only known as Cantor Dietrich, she had to shorten her stay in the kindergarten. As she wrote, "among six of my colleagues, five would not have endured so long after such humiliating treatment. I did so out of love for the children and because I believed that things would turn out differently."[66] Even her former allies, Zürn found, would rather support the male pedagogue who had connections in the city than heed her complaints of meanness and cruelty: "even

63 Ibid., p. 20.
64 Ibid., p. 21.
65 Zürn/König 1990, p. 215.
66 Ibid. p. 244.

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Ms. Levin, who had acted maternally toward me from the beginning, said that if I admitted this [her conflict with Dietrich], she would be completely disappointed in me. C. is much too well known."[67]

Zürn was afraid, after calling out Dietrich's abuse of power over these women. She wrote to Fröbel that, "he threatened me at that time, that if I did not remain goodwilled, he would know how to implicate me with you [Fröbel] in such a way that I would never get another job."[68] Dietrich also continued to threaten her and Fröbel because of their allegiance to the dissenting congregation.[69] This confrontation illuminates an under-researched reality in these educational institutions: women were under the sway and mercy of the male directors and pedagogues. Zürn relocated to another position in Breslau where she worked as a French teacher in a private educational institute with connections to the dissenting German-Catholic Congregation. She then traveled back to her hometown of Rudolstadt and established a kindergarten there in 1858. She later traveled to Arnstadt in 1859 as a private school teacher.[70]

Despite the impressions created by the problems in Göttingen, Zürn was an experienced kindergartner with Fröbelian credentials. At first glance, it seemed that Zürn, like Seele, should easily have met the Prussian state's criteria. But the state had concerns. An official at the School Collegium reported in August 1861, that while "teaching gave her life value," there was something that was morally questionable in her lifestyle.[71] The official wrote that the issue was poverty: such "completely penniless girls" did not have financial stability through teaching.[72] On September 30, 1861, another report compiled by officials working at the Interior Ministry was sent to Interior Minister Maximillian von Schwerin-Putzar stating that the "unmarried Marie Zürn" was not only rejected but also expelled from the city due to "certain information" collected by the Prussian police officers that defined her as a "highly immoral person."[73] It was not just Zürn's poverty that concerned the Prussian state; it was also allegations of sexual impropriety.

The Zürn and Seele documents illuminate the form of policing, disciplining, and performance that went into defining the kindergartner profession. The documents provided an outlet for women to define and stake out their positions, however they had to remain aligned to the qualification terms presented by the Prussian state that sought conformity to a form of femininity and emotional labor that would not threaten the state. In these two cases, women's labor was also firmly established within a hierarchy of power and authority.

67 Ibid.
68 Ibid., p. 245.
69 Ibid.
70 GStA PK, I. HA Rep 77. Tit 421. Nr. 28, p. 79.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid., p. 80.
73 GStA PK, I. HA Rep 77. Tit 421. Nr. 28, p. 83RS.

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4 Conclusion

Though not all kindergartens were utilized for political ends, they were constructed as an alternative emotional-pedagogical space that sought to support both the family and classroom in ways that side-stepped the traditional patriarchal authority that shaped both these sites. It was exactly this idea of love and care, unchecked by traditional forces of authority, that could threaten the political and social status quo. It was not only state and religious authorities who were anxious about a space that empowered women. It was also other male and female pedagogues who saw that if women's education and professional training was unchecked, it could lead to social and cultural collapse. Some pedagogues, notably the famed liberal reformer Adolph Diesterweg, claimed that too much education can make women ugly.[74] Fröbel himself also saw this profession as "temporary". The state then sought to check and discipline women's positions in the kindergarten, fearing that their performance and practice of care could unleash a dangerous future. Women had to perform proper femininity through new qualification materials that ensured the kindergarten would not spread chaos beyond the nursery.

This examination allows us to see a different window into the history of the politics of the classroom and particularly focus on the question of who and how emotions were used in pedagogy and how these terms were deployed. The performance of emotions, such as love, can inoculate patriotism, loyalty, and subservience. But it can also promote new ideas of freedom, political protest, and radical possibilities for a new democratic future.

Learning and experiencing empathy was part of this educational project. Pedagogues, educators, and social reformers sought to encourage empathetic feelings within children to develop a form of belonging as well as a sense of responsibility to their communities. Empathy however also had with it an important aspect of shaming. Children were shamed as a pedagogical tool to realize that they had done something socially unacceptable. Women were also shamed if they could not perform proper maternal love and care.

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74 Diesterweg, 1851, p. 151.

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