Tivoli – Negotiating Directory Society in the Public Pleasure Garden 1797-1798

–– Ane Cornelia Pade ––

When the Terror ended in 1794, it left the Parisian population stripped of the social norms that had ordered society under the Ancien Régime. The subsequent Directory government (1795-1799) struggled to stabilise the new nation amidst political infighting and social unrest (Lyons 1-7). While tensions ran high in the capital, Parisians sought relief in the city's entertainments. Under the Directory, public balls, pleasure gardens, theatre, and fashion once again became the centre of social life in Paris. From its opening in 1795, the Tivoli garden encapsulated the spirit of Directory Paris' appetite for entertainment. At the peak of its popularity in 1797-1798, Tivoli was "the principal garden" of the capital and home to Paris' most fashionable crowds (Plumptre 80). With an entrance fee of only one *petit écu,* Tivoli welcomed Parisians ranging from clerks and grisettes to affluent ladies of fashion. In the garden Parisians laughed, flirted and observed one another; society itself was Tivoli's central spectacle.

The Tivoli garden has long since vanished from the map of Paris, and present-day scholars have largely forgotten the once celebrated pleasure garden.[1] In recent scholarship, the garden has principally appeared within studies on related subjects. Sun Young Park's *Ideals* *of the Body: Architecture, Urbanism, and Hygiene in Postrevolutionary Paris* (2018), Michael R. Lynn's *Sparks for Sale: The Culture and Commerce of Fireworks in Early Modern France* (2006), and Lake Douglas's *Certain pleasures, ambiguous grounds: the etymology and evolution of the pleasure garden* (2013), have all exemplified the indirect ways in which present-day scholars have addressed the history of the public pleasure garden. Such works have provided relevant insight into highly specific aspects of the Tivoli garden. Still, they have offered little understanding of the garden's greater significance for Parisian life in the wake of the Revolution.

This article seeks to remedy the lack of scholarship on the Tivoli garden, and explore the garden's societal function within the context of Directory society. The article relies on primary sources to supply descriptions of the Tivoli garden and visitors' experiences. In its examination of the garden, this article particularly focuses on the public debate that surrounded Tivoli in the Parisian press in 1797-1798. Through analysis of the Parisian press' characterisations of the Tivoli garden and visitor accounts, this article develops a new perspective on the public pleasure garden, as a space of theatrical play and societal negotiation.

From elite pleasure garden to the funfair of the people

Tivoli was situated on the outskirts of Paris on the corner of rue Saint-Lazare and rue de Clichy. Before the Revolution, the garden belonged to the royal treasurer of the navy Charles-Simon Boutin (Bruguière 36-43). In the mid-18th century, the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) inspired wealthy connoisseurs and aristocrats, including Boutin, to construct picturesque pleasure gardens. In these retreats, the elite playfully reversed the social order dressed as silk-clad peasants. The royal architect Jean-Baptiste Chaussard designed Boutin's Tivoli in the 1760s as a series of gardens furnished with picturesque temples, a dairy, a mill, Swiss chalets, and a grotto (Thiéry 36)[2]. In the final years of the Ancien Régime, Tivoli functioned as a rural retreat for Boutin's circle of artists and aristocrats, whose extravagant amusements earned it the nickname Folie-Boutin[3]. Baroness de Oberkirch drank milk from golden cups in Boutin's dairy in 1782 and noted that the Queen's Hamlet seemed an innocent expense compared to Tivoli (von Waldner 326-327). The Tivoli garden was from its outset a construction of luxury intended for social theatre.

Theatrical garden entertainment was not reserved for the elite in pre-revolutionary Paris. In the 1750s, Vauxhall gardens opened in Paris' suburbs which offered concerts, pantomime, vaudeville, public balls, and firework displays to the middling classes and the bourgeoisie. Jonathan Conlin has noted that architectural layout and theatrical décor of Parisian Vauxhalls encouraged visitors to imagine themselves transported to remote locations removed from Paris' hierarchical social conventions (Conlin 25, 31-33). Whereas the elite pleasure garden transformed aristocrats into pastoral peasants, and the Vauxhall made Parisians into citizens, both used the pleasure garden as a vehicle for transformation.

In 1794, the Directory government guillotined Boutin and seized control of his property.[4] The following year, the Directory rented the Tivoli garden to the entrepreneur and politician Jacob Gérard des Rivières. Together with the pyrotechnician Ruggieri, des Rivières transformed Tivoli into a public garden equipped with a dance pavilion, swings, and other funfair entertainments (Gérard des Rivières 1-8). In the Tivoli garden, des Rivières offered the citizens of the new republic both the popular amusements of the Vauxhall and the pastoral fantasy of the Ancien Régime and thereby pioneered a new form of popular entertainment emblematic of the cultural shift brought about by the Revolution. Despite des Rivières' success, the Directory legally returned the Tivoli garden to the heirs of Boutin in 1797, who continued to operate the garden commercially until 1810.[5]

Visitor accounts of the garden reveal that Tivoli's management maintained the pre-revolution layout consisting of an Italian terraced garden, a portage, an English garden, and a central promenade. Most of the garden's decorations stayed in place, even as new attractions such as an artificial volcano, a pyramid, and a dance rotunda, made the garden increasingly eclectic. In the Italian terrace garden, visitors admired orange trees and waterworks. In the French portage, flower beds and hothouses presented a vivid display of exotic flowers and artistically cultivated vegetables. In the English garden, a bending river cut through meadows, green enclosures, and rolling hills fashioned as mountains (Shepherd 96; Oberkirch 313). In the meadows and hills, visitors encountered Swiss hamlets and child actors dressed as shepherds tending sheep. On the garden's central promenade, Parisians flocked to observe the vista's long view and each other. Coloured lanterns illuminated the garden's groves and set its paths alive with light and shadow. Above, blossoms of fireworks illuminated the night sky (La Reynière 335-337). To walk in the Tivoli garden was to experience not one landscape, season, or geographical location, but several united into one. The dynamic interplay of open and closed spaces, light and shadow, vegetation, animals, actors, changing garden styles, and crowds made Tivoli an ever-changing and ambiguous space. Before the Revolution, the artist and dramatist Louis Carrogis Carmontelle, who designed the

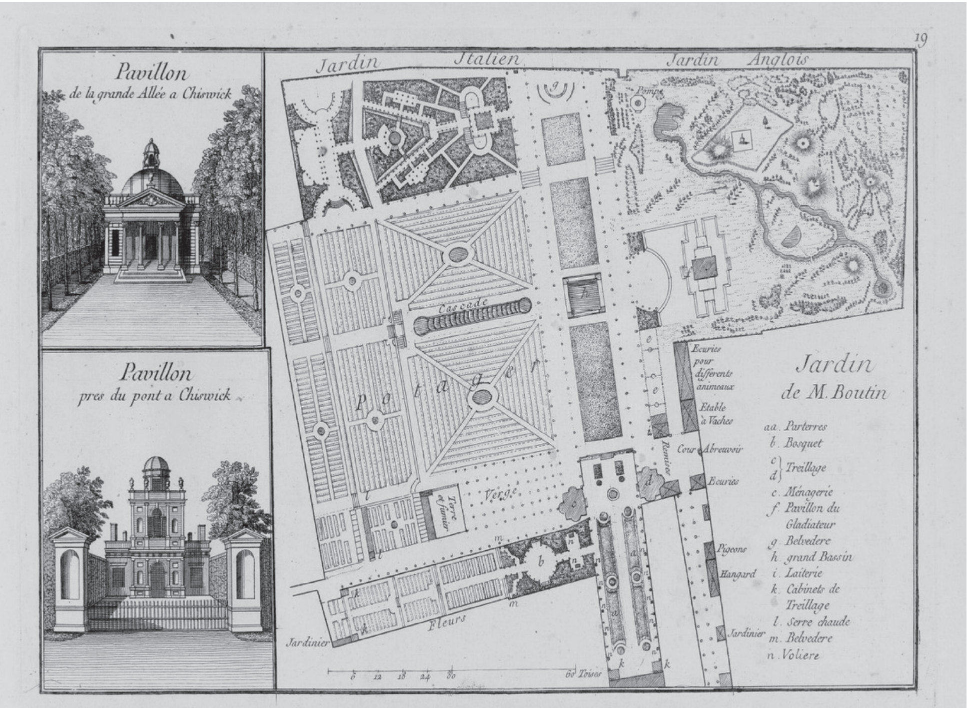
19
Pavillon
de la grande Allée a Chiswick
Pavillon
pres du pont a Chiswick
Jardin Italien
Jardin Anglois
Pompe
Cascade
Potager
Verger
Terre et fumier
Fleurs
Jardinier
Remises
Ecuries pour différents animeaux
Etable à Vaches
Cour
Abreuvoir
Ecuries
Pigeons
Hangard
Jardinier
Jardin
de M. Boutin
aa. Parterres
b. Bosquet
c
d } Treillage
e. Ménagerie
f. Pavillon du Gladiateur
g. Belvedere
h. grand Bassin
i. Laiterie
k. Cabinets de Treillage
l. Serre chaude
m. Belvedere
n. Voliere
6 12 18 24 30 60 Toises

Figure 1: Jardin de M. Boutin, Plate No. 19 from Georges-Louis le Rouge, Détails des nouveaux jardins à la mode, 1773. Paris: Chez le Rouge, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Parc de Monceau for the Duke of Orléans, noted that the pleasure garden should allow visitors to move across time and space, akin to the changing scenes of an opera (Oostveldt 367). In the Tivoli garden, visitors found "tableaus at every step", which allowed them to move as actors against the garden's backdrop of swiss hamlets and garden temples (Carmontelle 6).

In visitor descriptions an unruly funfair atmosphere characterised Tivoli's festivities:

> I could almost have imagined myself on a sudden transported to one of the lowest of our English fairs. A number of elderly and genteelly dressed people were riding on roundabouts; [...] and down comes the rider to the ground, to the infinite entertainment of the spectators, and of the performer himself, who, though baffled in his undertaking, seldom fails to join the general laugh. (Shepherd 96)

Laughter echoed through the Tivoli garden as visitors came together in a shared exercise of bodily comedy and social observation. Set apart from the etiquette of Parisian society, the Tivoli garden allowed gentile Parisians to adopt the behaviour of children at play and laugh despite the recent horrors. In the ambiguous period between the Terror and Napoleon's seize of power, society itself and spaces like the Tivoli garden transformed. As Paris grabbled with its newfound republican identity and the trauma of the Terror, the Tivoli garden provided an appropriate setting for Directory Parisians to enact new social identities and move beyond the past by immersing themselves in a theatrical world of play and social transgression.

In the summer of 1797 and 1798, Tivoli's transgressive crowds attracted the attention of the Parisian press. Proponents of the pleasure garden portrayed Tivoli as a playful refuge, while opponents presented the garden as proof of Parisians' dwindling revolutionary spirit. In the public debate that ensued writers and journalists used the Tivoli garden as a pretext to debate the very structure of Parisian society, particularly as it related to women. The following chapter explores how *Journal des dames et des modes,* a women's fashion journal, inspired by Rousseau, championed the garden as a space of female spectacle and revolutionary spirit.

Paris' enchanted garden - Rebranding aristocratic leisure

The Parisian journals dedicated to the capital's entertainments were by far the most vocal supporters of the Tivoli garden.[6] Amongst them, few proclaimed their enthusiasm as vocally as *Journal des dames et des modes* (1797-1839). The journal's editors, La Mésangère and Sellèque, devoted extensive column space and numerous fashion plates to Tivoli and its fashionable clientele (La Mésangère and Sellèque). Although fashionable clothing had become attainable for most Parisians by the late 18th century, *Journal des dames et des modes* primarily appealed to bourgeoise women who could afford to follow the latest fashions (Jones 115; Kleinert 14).

The editors drafted the journal's fashion plates *après nature*, based on stylish women encountered around Paris (Bissonnette 216). The plates depicted fashionably dressed women strolling and gesturing, seemingly unaware of the viewer, and thereby emulated the editors' experience of Parisian people-watching. The women in *Journal des dames et des modes* exemplified the Directory's neoclassical fashion for white cotton dresses, cashmere shawls, and short Titus hair as well as the fashion for muslin aprons and bonnets *a la paysan*. Whereas the women remained unnamed, each plate stated the location at which the editors had discovered their female inspiration. 15 of the 48 fashion plates from 1797 stated Tivoli as the portrayed location. While the journal noted the women's location, it left out any mention of their social standing. Instead, the journal described the women it depicted and its readers as mothers, daughters, and *citoyennes*. The commodities the journal promoted, however, revealed the portrayed women's affluent status. The journal's silence on matters of class obscured the experience of lower-class women, who also frequented the Tivoli garden, and instead privileged the perspective of its elite readers.

Not dissimilar to the Tivoli garden, which sold the aristocratic pleasure garden to the Parisian public, *Journal des dames et des modes* promoted commercial luxuries traditionally associated with the upper classes. In the 18th century, thinkers like Rousseau and later revolutionary politicians denounced luxury, especially fashion, as a dangerous aristocratic pastime that corrupted the moral fabric

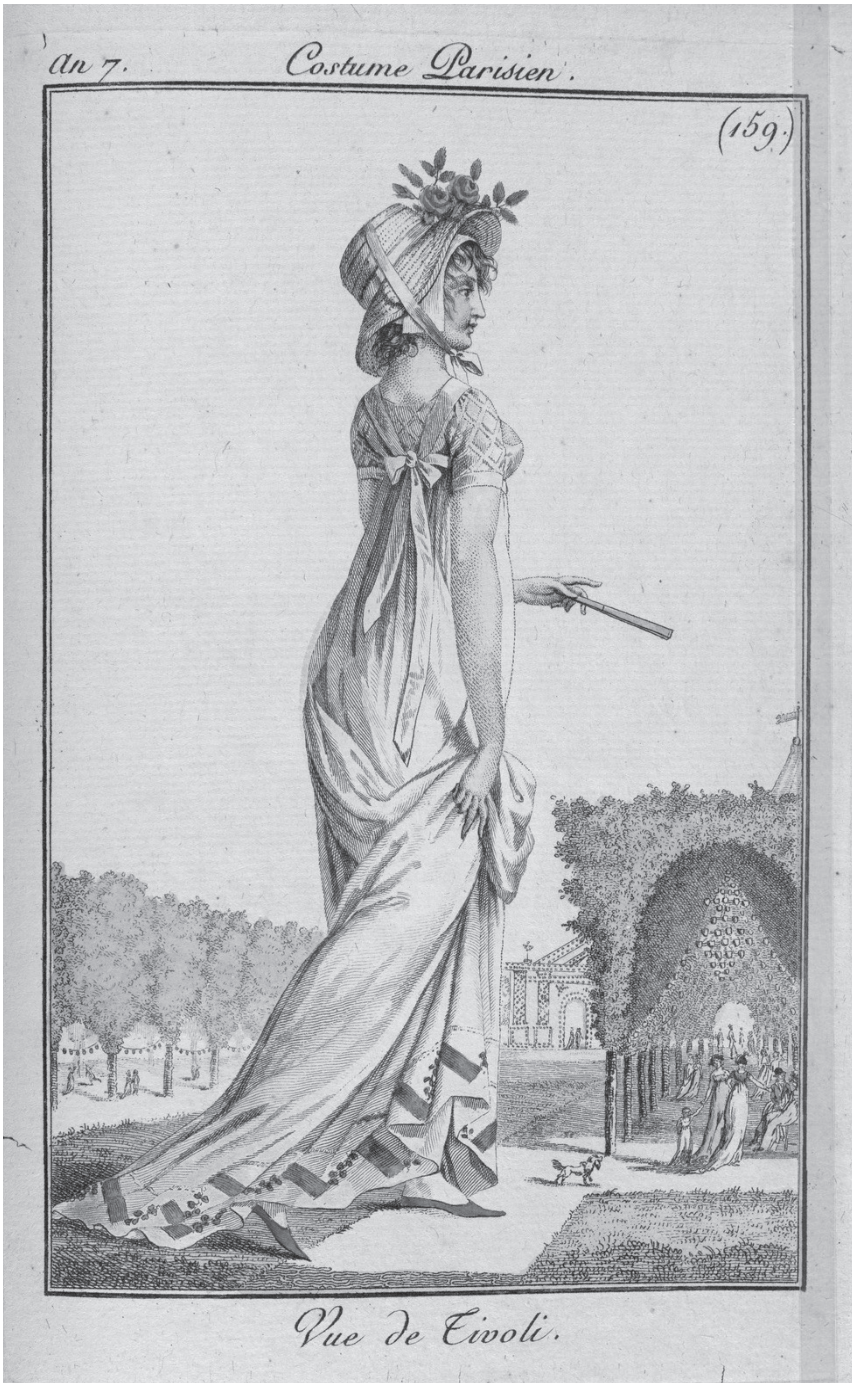
An 7.
Costume Parisien.
(159.)
Vue de Tivoli.

Figure 2: Anon., Vue de Tivoli, No. 159, Journal des dames et des modes, 1799. Paris: Chez Sellèque. Designmuseum Danmark.

of society. Like an actor's costume, fashion masked the wearer's inner self and obscured their moral and political standing. As a result, the Revolution sought to unify dress and identity through fixed symbols such as the cockade. The attempt at visual clarity made all disguises, real or imagined, a threat to the new social order (Wrigley 203-233).[7] As Jennifer M. Jones has noted, fashion journals like *Journal des dames et des modes* responded to this criticism by adopting the Rousseauian notion that dress, as an expression of taste, should reflect the wearer's inner self rather than their wealth and status. Although the discourse of taste helped the fashion industry mitigate fashion's political stigma, appearance remained a politically charged subject (Jones 199, 216). Under the Directory, as this article will show, anxiety surrounding the ambiguity of appearance, especially that of women, continued to manifest in public debate.

If women's appearance remained contested under the Directory, so did their access to public spaces and public influence. As scholars have shown, including Joan Landers, political disdain for powerful aristocratic women, exemplified by the hated Queen, significantly limited women's access to public life after the Revolution (Landers 159; Sewell 17; Melzer and Norberg 200-201). For enterprise directed at affluent women, such as *Journal des dames et des modes* and the Tivoli garden, women's limited access to public spaces was a shared financial issue as both profited from the public spectacle of female fashionability. To destigmatise women's presence in the Tivoli garden, the garden needed to become palatable to the Parisian public. The fashion industry's adoption of Rousseauian ideals provided a useful template for such reinvention.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) was amongst the greatest bestsellers of the 18th century (Rousseau xiii). Although both men and women of the educated upper classes professed their admiration for *la nouvelle Héloïse*, Rousseau especially intended the novel to appeal to women (Rousseau xvii). Set at the foot of the Swiss Alps by Lake Geneva, in the small towns of Vevey and Clarens, *la nouvelle Héloïse* tells the story of Julie d'Etanges and her tutor Saint-Preux, who fall in love, despite their difference in social rank. When their love is discovered, Julie is married off to Wolman, a friend of her father, and devotes herself to becoming a faithful wife and mother. In their tranquil home, Wolman creates a world of domestic productivity and simplicity. Here, Julie keeps a garden locked away, Elysium, where nature is gently cultivated to grow beautiful and fruitful. However, Julie is burdened by the memory of her former relationship and confesses her pre-marital liaison to her husband. Wolman unites the former lovers under his roof to test and prove Julie's faithfulness. The reunion stirs old feelings, and Saint-Preux must again leave. Soon after, Julie throws herself in the lake to save her child from drowning. As Julie lies dying, she welcomes her fate, as death allows her to love Saint-Preux and keep faithful to Wolman.

The novel's portrayal of deepfelt emotions *placed la nouvelle Héloïse within* the 18th century's literary cult of sensibility.[8] In novels of sensibility, including *la nouvelle Héloïse,* nature functioned as an aesthetic source of sensibility and a metaphor for heroes' and heroines' emotional inner lives. As an internal quality, sensibility was considered independent of social class and consequently resonated with the Revolution's *liberte, egalite, et fraternite.* Under the Directory, *la nouvelle Héloïse* experienced renewed popularity (McNeil 201–04, 211). For the Tivoli garden's proponents, Tivoli's Swiss hamlets and artificial mountains provided a tangible connection to the famous novel's portrayal of virtue, natural equality, and pastoral country life. The novel's popular language of the sensibility supplied a useful discourse for *Journal des dames et des modes* to present the garden as a virtuous retreat from urban society:

> Anyone who has not seen Tivoli cannot obtain an idea of the pleasures of Paris, and the luxury of its inhabitants. All the elements in this charming stay, dispute each other for the favor of bringing to the soul the most delicious sensations; no sooner has one entered, before one questions whether to proceed further, doubting that anything can add to the voluptuous emotions one experiences; and yet this is only the first degree of enjoyment. I will not undertake to paint the gradations of the rapture which seizes all the physical and moral faculties […] Nothing could be more ingenious than having given these festivals an air of country fair. […] But what do I see on this hill? Am I in Paris, or in a hamlet in Switzerland? Sitting in the shade of the elms, next to his sweet pastoral, a young shepherd grazes his tender lambs; how happy are the Tivoli lambs! But do I not hear the rustic sounds of the high-country woods? I'm not wrong; a troop of young peasants, each with his partner, jump and prance

> through the winding paths.
> (La Mésangère and Sellèque, No. XIII, 14-16) [9]

According to *Journal des dames et des modes'* description published on 18 June 1798, the Tivoli garden possessed an overwhelming beauty, capable of inducing a rapture of the senses and the moral faculties. Thus, nature, in the form of the pleasure garden, fundamentally altered the visitor's inner state. The garden transported visitors to the Swiss countryside and transformed them into joyful country dwellers akin to Julie and Saint Preux. The peaceful shepherd and the dancing peasants presented Tivoli as a natural paradise of tranquil country life removed from the capital's hustle and bustle. In the garden, nature took precedent over social rank and ennobled the peasants, whose lives were deeply connected with the landscape, allowing them to represent the idea of natural feeling rather than the actual strain of rural labour. The journal rendered it natural for peasants to wander the fashionable garden paths and, thereby, portrayed Tivoli as a space dominated by natural egalitarianism rather than the hierarchies and class separations of Parisian society. Similar to the novel of sensibility, the journal represented nature as a beautiful reflection of visitors' inner lives.

In addition to the tranquil peasants, *Journal des dames et des modes* described the garden's visitors as nymphs, goddesses, and graces, as in the poem *Des Fêtes de Tivoli* printed on the 16 April 1798*:*

> / Soon Venus will transport her court/ And Tivoli, it is said, is the domain that she has hastened to elect/ To add to this garden, art still comes from nature/ Under arbors of flowers and greenery the Graces will find baths/ If love leads its frisky swarms, modesty must exclude them/ In these places embellished by a thousand different attractions/ Young beauties guided by pleasure, your presence enlivens the universe/ Without you the beautiful garden of Armida would only be a barren desert/ (La Mésangère and Sellèque, No. IV, 12-14)

In the poem, *Journal des dames et des modes* emphasised women as essential to Tivoli's appeal. Women were, as Venus' beautiful companions, Tivoli's greatest spectacle without whom the garden would have laid barren. The mythological description of the female visitors utilised the women's fashionable neoclassical attire to elevate them to a state of divine purity. In the guise of nymphs and graces associated with love and beauty, the Tivoli women emerged as the Olympic rulers of the enchanted garden, embodying the same qualities of beauty and purity as the landscape they inhabited. Despite the poem's suggestive references to love, the garden's spectacle did not tarnish the reputations of the women who frequented it.

Journal des dames et des modes assured its readers that the Tivoli women valued virtue, not carnal desire: 'The duties of a lover, friend, wife, mother, are as sacred to them as the need to please the society they embellish' (La Mésangère and Sellèque, No. XXV, 7).

For Rousseau, female embellishment was valid as long as it hailed from women's natural wish, and marital duty, to please their husbands (Jones 216). In *Journal des dames et des modes* a woman's obligation to embellish herself, or rather to dress fashionably, was amplified to equate it with the sacred duty of the wife and mother to the family and society. In the fashion journal, adornment became a moral, even patriotic, act. Similar to the claim that the garden's beauty inspired harmony and egalitarianism, the journal presented the Tivoli women's beauty as proof of their inner virtue. The women's fashionable attires were not coquettish or subversive, but rather a reflection of their purity, which they, like the garden, disseminated to their surroundings through their display. The journal thereby argued that a woman's duty was both to embellish and display herself. An argument that, although it appropriated a Rousseauian notion, paid greater homage to pre-revolutionary notions of elite femininity than Rousseau.

However, Tivoli provided Parisians more than mere spectacle. The Tivoli garden's central promenade functioned as a space for visitors of both sexes to observe one another. Louis-Sebastien Mercier portrayed the garden's social spectacle in *Le Nouveau Paris (1798)*:

> I have seen alleys garnished with two rows of chairs, lighted by yellow lamps, occupied by women in spencers, who were amusing themselves [...] a double row of pretty women, gazed at and gazing, decently veiled, without hiding anything from the look, censuring without mercy the dress of the modest citizens who passed before them. (Mercier 142)

Women performed the role of both spectator and spectacle, as they displayed themselves along the garden promenade and simultaneously observed visitors strolling past. In a social spectacle that broke down the separation between spectator and spectacle, elite women wielded superior agency as both the “gazed at and gazing”. The fashionable women scrutinised “the dress of the modest citizens” on foot indicating that people watching, and the ability to rent a chair, worked to stratify the garden’s crowd into a class hierarchy. As Mercier showed, Tivoli offered a space for visual negotiation of class identities.

Journal des dames et des modes used popular Rousseauian sentiments, most notably sensibility, as a discursive frame to present Tivoli

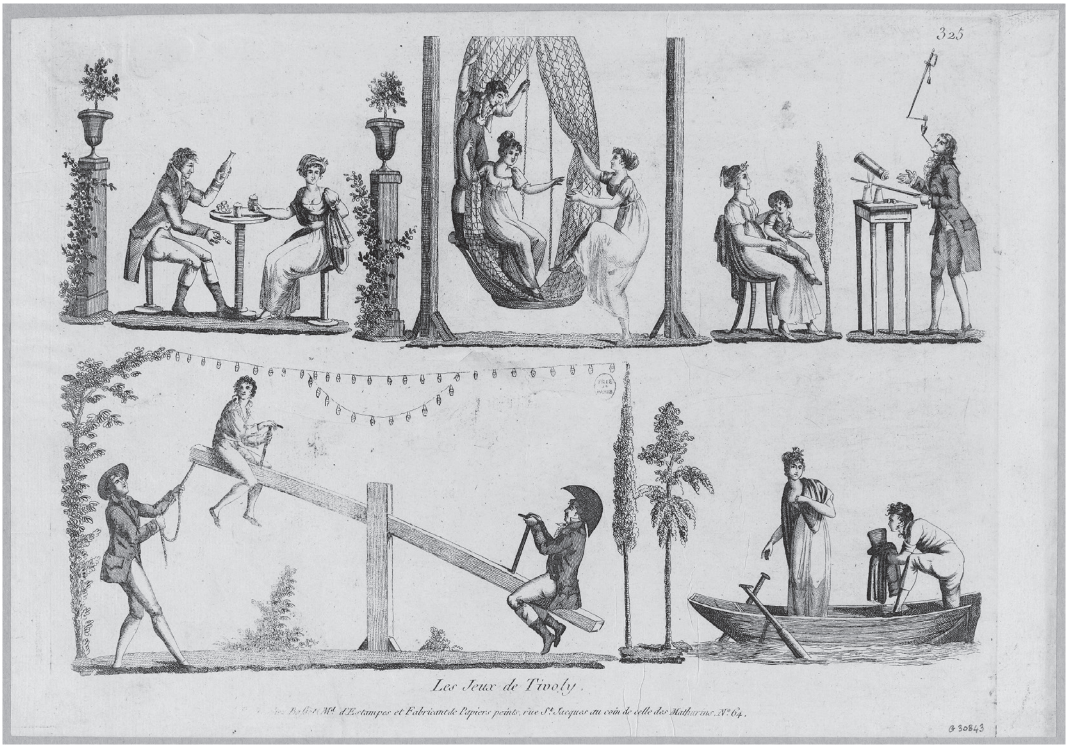
325
Les Jeux de Tivoly.
ez Basset Md d'Estampes et Fabricant de Papiers peints, rue St. Jacques au coin de celle des Mathurins No. 64.
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Figure 3: Anon., Les jeux de Tivoli, No. 325, rue st. Lazare (Ancienne rue des Porcherons) Passage du Have er Passage Tivoli, n.d.. CC0 Paris Musées / Musée Carnavalet.

as exempt from the capital's social etiquette. The journal evoked the language of sensibility to hail the Tivoli women as goddesses and graces, and, thereby, purified their appearance and actions. By extension, the journal justified the Tivoli women's reign over the garden's social spectacle as a duty specific to their class and gender. The abstract descriptions of the garden enabled the journal to present the return to nature, a visit to the pleasure garden, as a return to an *authentic* mode of existence. The journal framed Tivoli as egalitarian, and thereby patriotic, by superficially aligning it with popular Rosseauian ideals. *The* garden's mountains and Swiss chalets, *combined with the Tivoli women's* fashionable dress, allowed the journal to blur the lines of reality, through the language of fiction, and present readers with an idealised depiction of the garden and its visitors. This strategy allowed the journal to repackage the Ancien Regimé's pleasure garden in revolutionary language and sell it back to the Republic. However, as the following chapter will show, not everyone in the Parisian press agreed with the journal's idealisation of the Tivoli garden and its female clientele.

Artificial paradise – An attack on the Tivoli garden.

Whereas *Journal des dames et des modes* shared the Tivoli garden's financial interest in women's access to the capital's commercial entertainments, the garden's critics shared a very different motivation. In the Directory's first election of April 1797, the monarchists won a landslide victory. Frightened by its dwindling support, the Directory government suppressed the election in the military Coup of 18 Fructidor (Lyons 50-51, 215). From 1796 until 18 Fructidor, the royalist Clichy club used the Tivoli garden to conduct secret meetings (Capon 8-9). In the election of April 1798, the political pendulum swung to the left, providing electoral victory to the radical Jacobins. Once again, the Directory overturned the results (Lyons 223). The coups of 1797 and 1798 made it clear that the government had abandoned the Revolution's democratic ideals and was instead reverting into despotism. The Tivoli garden's affiliation with the Boutin family and the Clichy club made it an easy target for critics looking for counter-revolutionary tendencies. As a result, any publication that wanted to promote itself as a serious defender

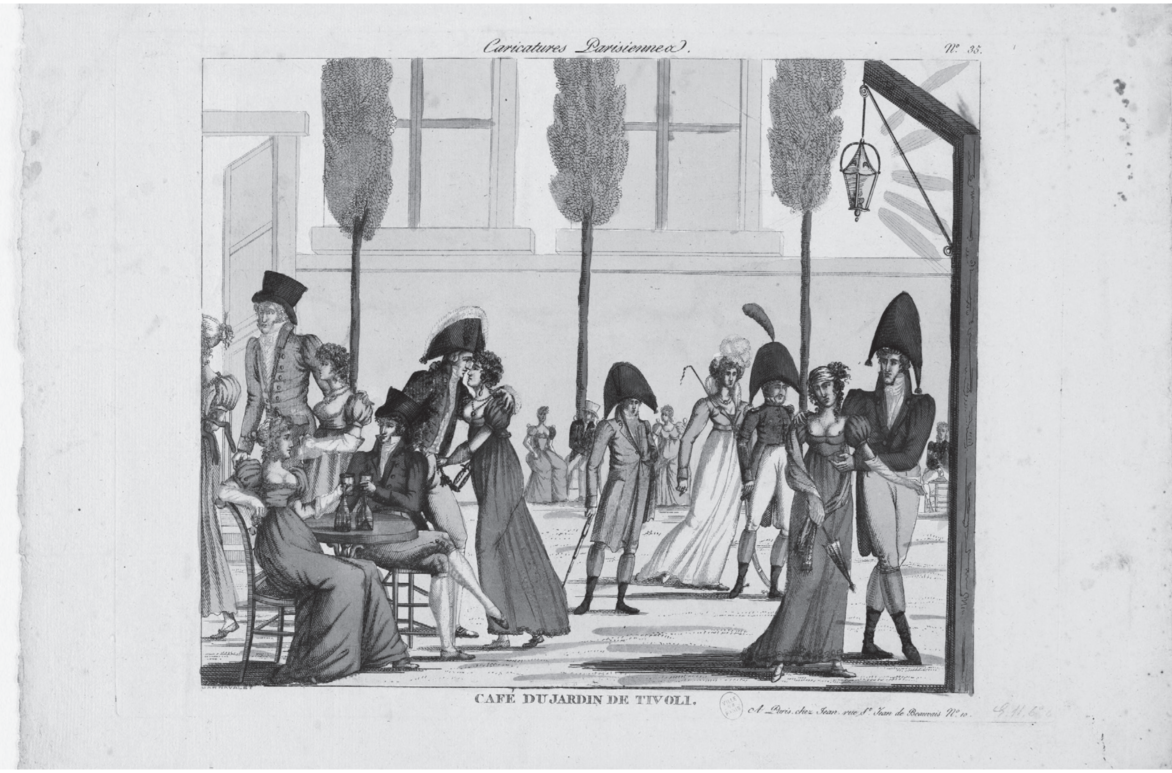
Caricatures Parisiennes.
Nº. 35.
CAFÉ DU JARDIN DE TIVOLI.
A Paris, chez Jean, rue St Jean de Beauvais Nº 10.

Figure 4: Anon., *Café du jardin de Tivoli*, No. 35, Le Goût de Jour, n.d. CC0 Paris Musées / Musée Carnavalet.

of the Republic could consolidate its reputation by condemning the pleasure garden.[10] Consequently, critics of the Tivoli garden existed across the Parisian press.[11]

Hugues-Bernard Maret's collection of poems *Les modes* (1797) and Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Chaussard's novel *Le nouveau diable boiteux* (1798), both sought to convince Parisians of the Tivoli garden's perils (Chaussard; Maret). *Les modes* depicted the dishonest social life of the capital, from the perspective of a young writer. In the collection, a lengthy poem, presented in the style of epic poetry, was dedicated to the moral ruin of the Tivoli garden. In *Le nouveau diable boiteux* a young man is transported around Paris by the lustful devil *Asmodeus*. On the devilish trip around the city, a full chapter is devoted to the Tivoli garden, portraying the garden as evidence of Parisian society's moral downfall. Chaussard, whose father designed the Tivoli garden for Boutin, identified as a neo-jacobine journalist and thinker (Woloch 158-159). Maret, who later became a key supporter of Napoleon, belonged to the moderate Feuillants club (Lister 159). Despite the authors' political differences, both feared that revolutionary ideals were giving way to aristocratic decadence amongst Parisians. In their cautionary portrayals, Maret and Chaussard gave voice to the general criticism of the Tivoli garden in the Parisian press of 1797-1798 and, more significantly, voiced the complaints of the Republic's despairing citizens:

> Voluptuousness seems to be the genius of the place. It touches everything with its wand. It breathes languor and desires. All the passions meet under these arbors. [...] Read the descriptions from antiquity of Adonis' voluptuous gardens, the feasts of Babylon, the mysterious groves which at Cnidus surrounded the temple of the goddess, and you will have an idea of these festivals. [...] Nature in its least games, in its most ordinary accidents, develops a thousand times more wealth and variety; but it takes eyes to see its beauty, and a heart to feel it. You admire an illumination of coloured glass, but have you ever contemplated the brilliant sunrise? (Chaussard 22-23)

To Chaussard, the garden was not the work of nature but the artificial product of artistic design, which rendered it incapable of evoking natural passions in its visitors. By identifying art rather than nature as the source of Tivoli's allure, *Le nouveau diable boiteux* invalidated the arguments presented by *Journal des dames et des modes*. Tivoli, the novel argued, was a temple of wickedness and sexual lust, comparable to the groves of Venus and the gardens of wicked Babylon. The garden visitors who "admire an illumination of colored glass", rather than the beauty of nature, were consequently portrayed as worshippers of artifice and desire. *Les modes* described the garden as overflowing with questionable characters from all levels of society:

> everyone runs there; a worker, more miserable than a schoolboy, will borrow even from his porter, a girl will use, to buy the madness, her jewelry or her honour as a pledge.

> […] It brings together all the various attires. There the elegant and rich provincial woman; Here, the frock, the dress, and the sword. It is a spectacle, a magic mirror, where you can hear and see everything. (Maret 32)

A favoured destination of the spendthrift worker, the promiscuous grisette, and the wealthy bourgeoisie, the Tivoli garden attracted all social classes. However, for Maret, the garden did not serve as an equalising space but instead drove the lower classes to financial ruin. *Les modes* and *Le nouveau diable boiteux* claimed that in the Tivoli garden bourgeoise wives attracted the eyes of workmen, girls lost their honour, and frivolous wives wasted away their husbands' wages (Maret 36). In Tivoli's 'magic mirror' of society, female virtue was the price of the entertainment:

> She abandons the care of her family to fly to the ball; and there, every seductive trap surrounds the imprudent. By that principle, a delicate woman ends up being a criminal wife. And how could not all these feelings of pleasure deposit seductive images deep in their minds and hearts, when in society, education, habits, prejudices, customs, shows, novels, fashions, everything conspire to seduce, to debase this enchanting sex, of which we are both the corrupters and the tyrants. (Chaussard 30)

As women's education consisted of little but novels and fashion, Chaussard claimed, they were highly susceptible to temptation and lacked the control to resist their inclination for pleasure. Hence, women need the guidance of men to keep them on the path of the virtuous wife. If left unchecked, immoral entertainment would corrupt women, and lead them to become artificial. The Tivoli women exemplified such a fate: "When she extends her neck, you discover the threads of her wig. Her arms which are bruised by former labor, are badly adorned by her new jewelry" (Maret 32).

Akin to the garden landscape, which merely replicated nature, it was only upon close inspection that the Tivoli women were revealed in their deception. Comparable to the Rousseauian notion that dress should reflect the wearers inner self, the Tivoli critics represented both virtue and moral corruption as qualities that were visible on the physiognomy of the individual and the landscape. The dangers of corrupted morals multiplied when covered by a varnish of artificial beauty. Such a disguise hindered easy distinction between the virtuous and the corrupt. Hidden behind a shroud of fashion, the courtesan or the grisette might pass for a bourgeoise. As the garden's visual manipulation spelt danger for the visitor, so did the guise of fashion bestowed dangerous power to the Tivoli women who formed part of the garden's alluring spectacle.

Le nouveau diable boiteux described Tivoli's tempting spectacle as a flirtatious pursuit: "charming strollers and elegant spectators, who circulate, meet, hurry, look at each other, recognise each other, resemble spirits, the happy shadows of Elysium" (Chaussard 25).

Charming strollers gazed at one another, yet compared to the 'shadows of Elysium', they took the form of deceased souls, giving their game of observation a sinister undertone of death. The intimacy the garden enables between men and women is no innocent game of observation. *Les modes* claimed that the garden provided opportunities for prostitution: "honest bourgeois often frequent the shades of your woods: it may be; everyone has their own craze. Anyone who wants to, finds their seamstress" (Maret 31). Implying that the female visitors were grisettes looking for the patronage of bourgeois men, *Les modes* linked the Tivoli garden to the societal fear of the grisette who, in both appearance and sexual relations, was able to move across social classes (Jones 159).

The dangerous temptations the garden inspired and facilitated reached beyond the individual citizen to threaten the nation at large:

> We are accountable to others and society, for the use we make of our strengths, our talents, of our intelligence, of our industry and of our time. It is a debt that we contract by entering the civil body that protects us. This social debt therefore does not allow anyone to consume their time and its capacity in amusements and the continual enjoyment of sensual pleasures. It would be unfaithful to his homeland. […] The habit once taken, becomes second nature, leaving no force for understanding or reason to govern the will. Thus, from repeated pleasure arises the need for pleasure which controls the enslaved soul. (Chaussard 27-28)

In this passage, *Le nouveau diable boiteux* articulated the threat of the Tivoli garden for the newly liberated French nation and summarised the core of the critique directed at the public pleasure garden. The garden's excessive entertainments threatened to take hold of the body and mind, overpowering the will and reason, and consequently enslave the indulgent garden dweller in a manner similar to absolute monarchy.

Duty, virtue and the future of the nation

Three key arguments underscored Maret's and Chaussard's critique of the Tivoli garden: excess overpowered reason and enslaved the individual and the nation. An artificial environment led to artifice in the individual, and lastly, women were susceptible to corruption, and men should therefore shield them. All three arguments traced back to the writings of Rousseau. Chaussard's references to the duties of the citizen as part of the '*civil body'* evoked Rousseau's *Du contrat social* (1762). Maret's and Chaussard's shared criticism of the garden's theatricality and the artifice it imbedded in visitors mimicked Rousseau's *Lettre sur les spectacles* (1758). The belief that citizens should stave off excess to retain their ability to reason was a notion found across Rousseau's oeuvre.[12] Whereas multiple works by Rousseau supported Maret's and Chaussard's critique of the Tivoli garden, one book in particular framed their attack. In *la nouvelle Héloïse,* the rural garden functioned as a metaphorical model of the moral state that secured financial security and virtuous tranquillity. In the Elysium garden, nature grew fruitful and harmonious under Julie's virtuous care. *Le nouveau diable boîteux* mocked the Tivoli garden as a false Elysium of vice rather than virtue. In *Les modes,* the lustful Tivoli women were named Juliette, after Marquis de Sade's 1797 inversion of Rousseau's Julie (Sade; Maret 39–41; Chaussard 24). Hence, Maret and Chaussard appropriated Rousseau's model but inverted it to let Tivoli and its female clientele function as antonyms to the ideals portrayed in *la nouvelle Héloïse.* In doing so, Maret and Chaussard mobilised Rousseau's critique of the Ancien Régime to criticise Parisian society under the Directory.

When Maret and Chaussard argued that Tivoli's spectacle left "no force for understanding or reason to govern the will", they echoed Saint-Preux's statement that: "the spectacle demands a continuity of attention that interrupts reflection" (Rousseau 202). Rousseau, Maret, and Chaussard all held that the spectacle's danger affected all social classes and consequently undermined the moral life of the nation: "The populace, forever ape and imitator of the rich, goes to the theatre less to laugh at their follies than to study them, and becomes even more crazy than they by imitating them" (Rousseau 207). Devoid of reason, citizens could not guard themselves against the vices of Parisian society.

In *la nouvelle Héloïse*, Rousseau declared theatricality the cardinal sin of Parisian society: "the main objection to large cities is that men become other than what they are. [...] This is true especially in Paris, and especially with respect to women" (Rousseau 223). To Maret and Chaussard, Tivoli was an 'artificial paradise' synonymous with the theatricality of Parisian society. Maret and Chaussard followed Rousseau's claim that the environment shapes the character of the individual and that a theatrical environment, therefore, leads to an estrangement from the self, when they argued that the theatrical Tivoli garden cultivated artifice and excess in Parisians. As a result, Maret's and Chaussard's critique reiterated Rousseau's laments over the widespread societal consequences of theatricality.

Maret and Chaussard claimed that women were particularly at risk in the Tivoli garden where "every seductive trap surrounds the imprudent". In *la nouvelle Héloïse*, such danger stemmed from the notion that "reason is generally weaker and sooner to wane in women" (Rousseau 45). In response to women's inborn frailty, male citizens had to safeguard them from immorality. To the Tivoli critics, the need to shield women stemmed from the greater need to protect the nation. As Julie stated in *la nouvelle Héloïse*: "I will be faithful, because that is the first duty which binds the family and society" (Rousseau 294). Mothers nurtured the next generation of citizens, and their duties were, therefore, both to the family and to society. Maret's and Chaussard's attack on the Tivoli women revealed the societal fear of the negligent mother who: "abandons the care of her family to fly to the ball". In Maret's and Chaussard's portrayal of the dangers women encounter in the Tivoli garden, they venture near the notion that bourgeoise women should remain sheltered in the privacy of the home. The critics' accused grisettes of using the Tivoli garden to exert sexual power over bourgeois men. In *la nouvelle Héloïse,* Saint-Preux's passion for Julie which drove him to near suicide expressed fear of women's sexual allure (Rousseau 310–17). In Maret's and Chaussard's condemnation of the Tivoli garden, fear of women's sexual appeal was combined with class discrimination. The critics argued that bourgeoise women needed protection but cast the grisette as a threat. The lowly grisette was unlikely to mother an active citizen, and her virtue was therefore of less importance to society.

To Maret and Chaussard Tivoli was a 'magic mirror' of Directory society. At the centre of the artificial paradise stood the Tivoli woman. Engaged in entertainment, flirtation, and with the ability to direct the attention of the crowds, she was a figure frightfully reminiscent of Ancien Régime aristocratic *femme sauvage*. In the eyes of the Tivoli critics, the theatrical playfulness that permitted a bourgeoise lady to become a Swiss peasant was both a reminder of the masked culture of the Ancien Régime and an insult to the liberation dearly won by the Revolution. In the political context of 1797-1798, Tivoli provided an outlet for criticism, not easily directed at power. As Royalists swept away votes and the Directory government repeatedly undermined elections, the promises of the Revolution looked defeated. (Lyons 236). In this context, Maret's and Chaussard's critique of the Tivoli garden addressed not merely the theatricality of the Tivoli garden or Parisian society, but the theatricality of the Directory government that practised despotism behind that mask of democracy.

Escape to the pleasure garden – Healing the trauma of the Terror

Conflicting discourses informed the Parisian press' descriptions of the Tivoli garden in 1797-1798 and, consequently, the press portrayed the garden as an impossible collection of contradictions. Despite their differences, all sides of the debate turned to Rousseau for substantiation.

As Rousseau's oeuvre contains contradictions and allows for multiple interpretations, his work was cited by all fractions of the political landscape during the Revolution. To gesture towards Rousseau was a universal strategy in an otherwise fragmented social and political landscape. By the end of the revolutionary era, the persistent social and political influence of Rousseau's writings had disseminated into the popular mindset to such an extent that they transcended political affiliation (McNeil 202–11). The arguments developed in the Tivoli debate attest to that dissemination. Nevertheless, nei-

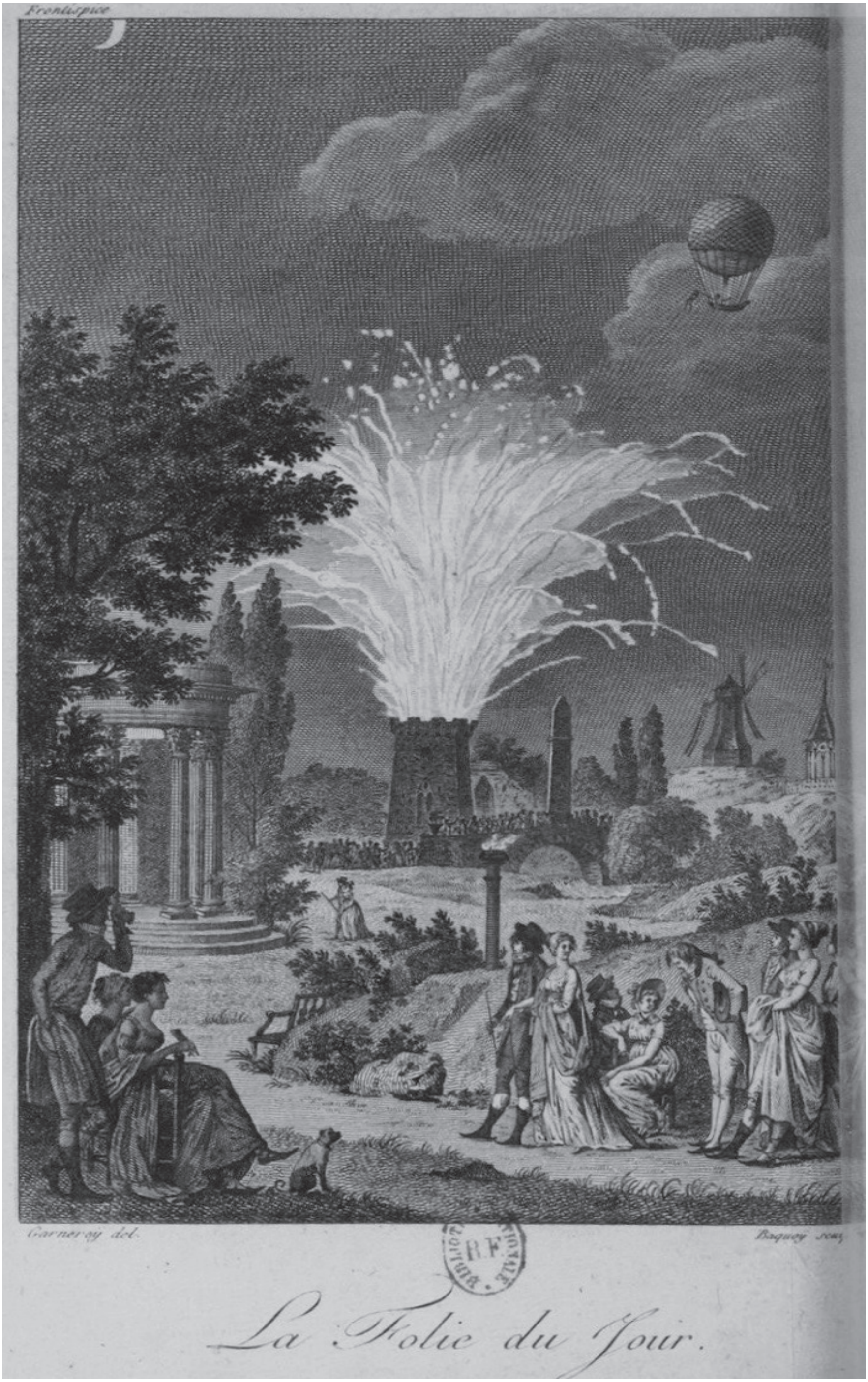
Frontispice
Garneray del.
Baquoy sculp
La Folie du Jour.

Figure 5: Folie du jour, Frontispieces from Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Chaussard, Le nouveau diable boiteux. Tableau philosophique et moral, 1798. Paris: Buisson. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

ther *Journal des dames et des modes, Les Modes,* nor *Le nouveau diable boiteux* fully embraced the complexity of Rousseau's argument. Instead, each evoked the philosopher only as a means to an end. However, in Parisian press' debate over the Tivoli garden, all sides addressed a longing, reminiscent of Rousseau, for life outside the present moment. *Journal des dames et des modes* offered escape in the form of a commercial fantasy. *Le nouveau diable boiteux* and *Les Modes* ridiculed commercial escapism to instead promote the family and republican self-sacrifice as the antidote to the chaos of the times. If Rousseau's description of nature in *la nouvelle Héloïse* did not cause the need for such escape in 1797-1798, it did provide a language in which to imagine it.

Mikhail Bakhtin famously argued in *Rabelais and his World* (1965) that throughout history, *"Moments of death and revival, of change and renewal always led to a festive perception of the world"* (Bakhtin 9).[13] The Tivoli garden's popularity under the Directory made clear the Parisian population's need for relief following the Terror. In the Tivoli garden, Parisians found temporary liberation from the official way of life in the capital and could for a time imagine themselves transported to a distant world. Contemporary Parisians understood the Tivoli garden's potential as a place of escape and renewal. *Journal des dames et des modes* exemplified the Tivoli garden's transformative potential in a humorous anecdote describing a woman's fright at the sound of cannon shots, which she takes for the enemy storming the city. Once she learns that it is only a military drill, she exclaims:

> "Ah! I breathe! So, let›s see if there›s a party tonight at Tivoli" (La Mésangère and Sellèque, No. XL, 2).

Moving swiftly from worry to pleasure, Tivoli allowed Paris to heal and forget.

Laughing in the face of horror provided a taste of unity, healing, and peace in a time of social and political fragmentation, as *Journal des dames et des modes* noted on 16 July 1797:

> It rains, we shut ourselves up: brothers and friends come by; we talk about politics, and here is the nucleus of a club, which soon grows, gets organised, and ends up alarming public safety. The weather is nice, we are trying to breathe

> clean air. One goes to the countryside, the other to the promenade; one to Bagatelle, one to Tivoli. We divide, and calm is reborn.

Calm was reborn from the chaos of laughter, which permitted Parisians to move on from the past. Mercier, who as few others captured the spirit of the times, summarised the necessity of the escape Tivoli offered the traumatised Parisian population when he wrote:

> The present moment forms already an astonishing contrast with that of servitude, of Terror, of the cruel dismemberment of families, of blood, and of tears! If all the disastrous events are not forgotten amidst our fetes and our amusements, they are covered with a curtain which we are either afraid to undraw, or which we are rarely solicitous to lift up. (Mercier, Le Nouveau Paris xxvi)

Conclusion

The Revolution won the public access to pleasures and spaces previously reserved for the elite.

Consequently, both the physically and the social layout of the city morphed, making it bewildering and difficult to comprehend. Chaussard, Maret and the *Journal des dames et des modes* all chose the urban wanderer to narrate their descriptions of Paris. All of them presented the capital in short disconnected chapters, poems, or articles. In doing so, they used the fragments of the city as microcosms to study and critique in place of Paris' macrocosm. The Parisian press' interest in the Tivoli garden in the summer of 1797 and 1798 coincided with extensive social and political unrest and fragmentation. By November of 1799, the Directory came to an end, and the Tivoli debate died down. As Rousseau had done in *la nouvelle Héloïse*, the Tivoli debate made the garden a symbol of the nation. In 1797-1798, this allowed what was not easily comprehended or openly discussed to be translated into the debate over the public pleasure garden. The controversy surrounding the Tivoli garden was substantially more than a matter of entertainment. The microcosm of the garden facilitated public debate over women's access to public spaces, consumer culture, class conduct, the failed promises of the

Revolution, the duties of the citizen, the values of good government, and the merger of aristocratic and popular culture. In doing so, the Tivoli garden enabled the Parisian press to debate the very structure of the new nation.

On Tivoli's paths, the visitors participated in societal negotiation. A funfair playground of transgressions, Tivoli allowed its visitors to experiment with the norms of society. The garden functioned as a designated space for Parisians to test, develop and learn the boundaries and norms of society. As with the theatre, which provides a setting for society to test and perform different identities, the public pleasure garden's theatrical backdrop allowed visitors to playfully try on different roles and costumes (Oostveldt, Spectatorship in French Theatre Architecture 1). By observing one another, the Tivoli crowds studied society up-close and in doing so, fashioned new understandings of class, gender, and commerce in the capital. Consequently, the theatricality, which critics attacked for its association with the Ancien Régime's culture of appearance, was the enabling factor that allowed Parisians to experiment with the boundaries of post-revolutionary social life. Hence, theatricality served a critical dual purpose in the Parisian's use of the Tivoli garden. Through laughter and theatrical play, Parisians discovered an antidote to the Revolution's horrors that enabled them to move on from the past, or at least, have it '*covered with a curtain*'.

Tivoli occupies a gap rarely studied in the history of the revolutionary era and the 19th century. Whereas many scholars have examined women's lives in the 19th century, largely maintaining Habermas's gendered separation of the private and public sphere, few have focused their attention on the 1790s. This paper has illustrated that the public pleasure garden gave women access to public spaces of leisure and commerce, as well as an active, albeit limited, role in the negotiation of public life. In Baudelaire's pivotal essay *The Painter of Modern Life* (1863), it is a collection of '*fashion plates dating from the Revolution and finishing more or less with the Consulate*', which inspired his opening remarks on modernity (Charles Baudelaire 1–2). Whether or not these women were the Tivoli women from *Journal des dames* et des modes is uncertain. What is clear, however, is that the modernity Baudelaire described as a transient and fleeting experience expressed in fashion, people watching, and the crowds of Paris is one very familiar to the Tivoli garden. What is seen in the Tivoli debate is the formulation, inspired by Rousseau, and subsequent implementation of the norms that would eventually come to restrict women's access to public spaces in the 19th century. The Tivoli garden can, therefore, be considered a forerunner for the modernity authors like Baudelaire would later describe in the 19th century. As a result, the history of the Tivoli garden foreshadows numerous issues that would characterise subsequent social developments of the 19th century.

From the outbreak of the Revolution to the Tivoli garden's closure in 1810, the garden went from being a privately-owned retreat to a public garden, and finally, under the ownership of Boutin's heirs, became an amalgamation of the two. The garden's transition showed the merger of aristocratic and popular culture that forged the development of bourgeoisie Parisian society. As the returned émigrée Aimée de Coigny noted in her memoir:

> Equal was their haste to forget, some their crimes, others their misfortunes, in pleasure, and thus they became necessary to each other. […] these upstarts needed the poor parents to learn from them taste, grace, elegant simplicity, the transmutation of wealth into luxury. A new society was formed by the mixture of the two classes.'
> (de Coigny, Mémoires de Aimée de Coigny 69-70).

The Tivoli garden offers profound insight into the early development of that union and the commercial culture that helped facilitate it. Tivoli, therefore, traces the 19th century's class and gender identities back to their social landscape of origin. The Tivoli garden was as ambiguous and transitional as its time, and in its ambiguity, lay the potential for change.

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Notes

1 Late 19th century historians Edmond and Jules de Goncourt included a chapter on the Tivoli garden in their *Histoire de la société française pendant le Directoire* (1855). However, their negative portrayal contradicts first-hand accounts of the garden.

2 For accounts of the pre-revolutionary Tivoli garden see: Luc-Vincent Thiéry, *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers voyageurs a Paris, ou Description raisonnée de cette ville, de sa banlieue, & de tout ce qu'elles contiennent de remarquable.*, 1st edn (Paris: Hardouin & Gattey, 1787); Gaston Capon, *Les petites maisons galantes de Paris au XVIIIe siècle : folies, maisons de plaisance et vide-bouteilles, d'après des documents inédits et des rapports de police* (Paris: H. Daragon, 1902); Joseph Jérôme Le Français de Lalande *Voyage en Italie* (Paris: F.B. de Félice, 1787)

3 Tivoli was named after the famed Villa D'este garden, whose beauty Boutin's Tivoli was thought to rival.

4 All dates are converted from the revolutionary to the Georgian calendar.

5 Tivoli inspired multiple later pleasure gardens to open under the same name on nearby locations in the following decades. See Pessard, Gustave, *Nouveau dictionnaire historique de Paris* (Paris: La Societé des Amis des Monuments Parisiens, 1904).

6 For further examples of the entertainment press' praise of the Tivoli garden in 1797-1798, see: *Le Courrier des spectacles and Le Censeur dramatique.*

7 James H. Johnson has shown in his analysis of the Revolution's rejection of carnival culture, that the fear of masks, which prevailed throughout the revolutionary period, stemmed from the belief that the Revolution had removed the mask from society to let it become authentic and transparent.

8 For the philosophy of moral sentiment see David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*; Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*.

9 All translations are my own if not otherwise indicated.

10 For further examples see: Auguste-Louis Bertin d'Antilly, *Déclaration du danger de la patrie par les anarchistes*; Richer-Serisy, "L'Accusateur public", No. XXXIII, 7 Août 1797; Alexandre Balthazar Laurent Grimod La Reynière, "L'Épicurien français, ou les Dîners du Caveau modern", No. 42, Juin 1809; Jean-Pierre Gallais, "Le Censeur des journaux", No. 298, 16 juillet 1797.

11 The critique of sensory excess can also be seen to reference the empiricist philosophy of Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1714-1780).

12 Bakhtin's theory of the carnivalesque is greatly relevant to the study of the Tivoli garden. However, that is beyond the scope of the present article.