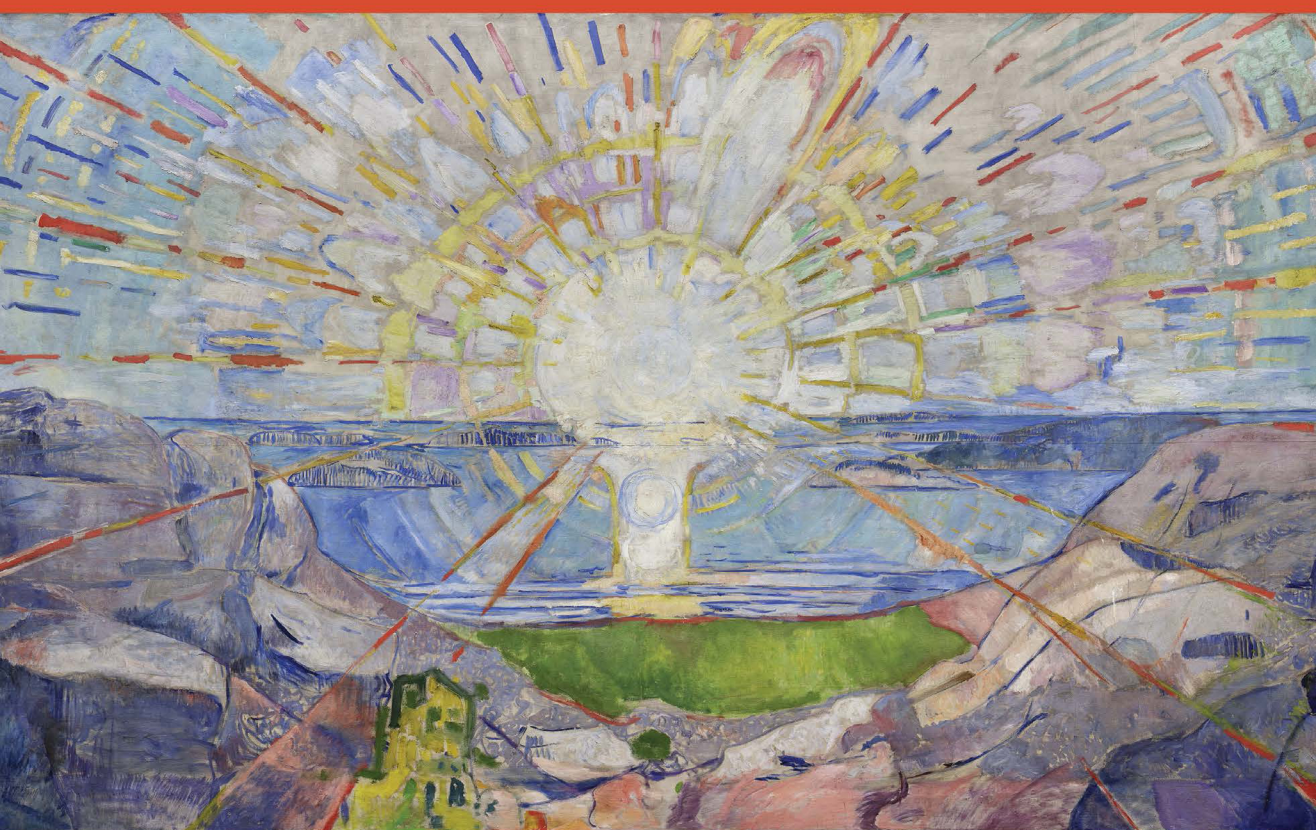
VITALIST MODERNISM

Art, Science, Energy and Creative Evolution



Edited by Fae Brauer

SCIENCE *and the Arts* since 1750

Vitalist Modernism

This book reveals how, when, where, and why Vitalism and its relationship to new scientific theories, philosophies and concepts of energy became seminal from the fin de siècle until the Second World War for such Modernists as Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Hugo Ball, Juliette Bisson, Eva Carrière, Salvador Dalì, Robert Delaunay, Marcel Duchamp, Edvard Munch, Picasso, Yves Tanguy, Gino Severini and John Cage. For them, Vitalism entailed the conception of life as a constant process of metamorphosis impelled by the free flow of energies, imaginings, intuition and memories, unconstrained by mechanistic materialism and chronometric imperatives, to generate what the philosopher Henri Bergson aptly called Creative Evolution.

Following the three main dimensions of Vitalist Modernism, the first part of this book reveals how biovitalism at the fin de siècle entailed the pursuit of corporeal regeneration through absorption in raw nature, wholesome environments, aquatic therapies, electromagnetism, heliotherapy, modern sports, particularly rugby, water sports, the Olympic Games and physical culture to energize the human body and vitalize its life force. This is illuminated by artists as geoculturally diverse as Gustave Caillebotte, Thomas Eakins, Munch and Albert Gleizes. The second part illuminates how simultaneously Vitalism became aligned with anthroposophy, esotericism, magnetism, occultism, parapsychology, spiritism, theosophy and what Bergson called "psychic states", alongside such new sciences as electromagnetism, radiology and the Fourth Dimension, as captured by such artists as Juliette Bisson, Giacomo Balla, Albert Besnard, Umberto Boccioni, Eva Carrière, John Gerrard Keulemans, László Moholy-Nagy, James Tissot, Albert von Schrenck Notzing and Picasso.

During and after the devastation of the First World War, the third part explores how Vitalism, particularly Bergson's theory of becoming, became associated with Dadaist, Neo-Dadaist and Surrealist notions of amorality, atemporality, dysfunctionality, entropy, irrationality, inversion, negation and the nonsensical captured by Hans Arp, Charlie Chaplin, Theo Van Doesburg, Kazimir Malevich, Kurt Schwitters and Vladimir Tatlin alongside Cage's concept of Nothing. After investigating the widespread engagement with Bergson's philosophies and Vitalism and art by Anarchists, Marxists and Communists during and after the First World War, it concludes with the official rejection of Bergson and any form of Vitalism in the Soviet Union under Stalin.

This book will be of vital interest to gallery, exhibition and museum curators and visitors, plus readers and scholars working in art history, art theory, cultural studies, modernist studies, occult studies, European art and literature, health, histories of science, philosophy, psychology, sociology, sport studies, heritage studies, museum studies and curatorship.

Fae Brauer is Professor Emeritus of Art and Visual Culture at the University of East London Centre for Cultural Studies Research; Honorary Professor of Art History and Art Theory at The University of New South Wales and a Commissioning Editor for the Rowman & Littlefield International Radical Cultural Studies Series. She is an elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts with an MA and PhD from The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London.

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Art, Science, Energy and Creative Evolution

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In memoriam Virginia Spate (1937–2022),
a pioneering scholar of Modernism.

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Contents

Figures

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Creating this book during the pandemic has proven not to be a simple task. Unfortunately, I was not alone in suffering severe Covid throughout most of 2020. Three other contributors suffered Covid while an earlier contributor needed to withdraw because of it. In 2021, our contributors then experienced the Delta and Omicron variants while one also suffered malignant cancer. For continuing to contribute to this book in these extraordinary circumstances and for never losing sight of what we hoped to achieve with it, I wish to acknowledge the strength, tenacity and ingenuity of the contributors and thank them profoundly for their invaluable and generous support.

Fae Brauer

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Donna Roberts received her PhD from the Department of Art History and Theory at the University of Essex on the *Grand Jeu* and the Czech painter Josef Šimá, after which she conducted researched as a post-doc at the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, UNAM, Mexico City on Surrealism, nature, and politics. She has published on the *Grand Jeu,* Czech Surrealism, the writings of Roger Caillois, and Surrealist engagements with evolutionary theories and the natural world. Currently a researcher at the University of Helsinki, she is working on the interdisciplinary group project entitled *Science, Literature, and Research: Avant-Garde Encounters with Biology and Ecology.* Her forthcoming publications include a co-edited anthology on Surrealism and ecology and a monograph on the relations between Surrealism, natural history, evolutionary theories, and ecological thought.

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eds. William DeJong-Lambert and Nikolai Krementsov (Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature, 2017) and "A Cold War Curiosity? The Soviet Collection at the Darwin Memorial Museum, Down House, Kent", *The Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 30 (November 2018).

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Introduction

Vitalizing Energies, Science, Creativity and Evolution

Fae Brauer

Today energy is not just a keyword: It's a science and a culture. The enhancement of individual energy is conceived as integral to physical fitness, well-being, efficient performativity and mental health to be achieved by healthy lifestyles, nutritious diets, vigorous exercise and modern sporting cultures alongside such movement cultures as Aerobics, Yoga and Pilates. While energy cultures in residential and working environments have become significant in businesses, organizations, schools and universities, they have also become a top priority for many individuals and those concerned with sustainability transitions. Vital to sustaining this energy culture is its production, consumption and preservation, particularly in the face of Climate Change and ecological disasters. Yet this concern with energy is not new.

It can be traced to the discovery of increasing degeneration and depopulation in the mid-nineteenth century amidst the discourses of devolution and ecological catastrophism. It can be correlated to the efflorescence of evolution theories to regenerate populations through populationist organizations, including eugenics. It is highlighted by the efflorescence of modern sporting cultures including gymnastics, boxing, cycling, swimming, diving, rowing, dancing, eurythmics, weight-lifting and the popularization of rugby and soccer. It is encapsulated by revival of the Olympic Games in 1896, particularly by the Baron Pierre de Coubertin, and his popularization of French energies acknowledged by the book, *An Artisan of French Energy: Pierre de Coubertin*.[1] It is also encapsulated by the science of *energeticism* developed by German physicist, Georg Helm, with physical chemist, Wilhelm Ostwald. Rejecting scientific materialism, these scientists demonstrated that energy is the substrate of all phenomena with all observable changes arising as transformations of one kind of energy into another.[2]

By the fin de siècle, as Helge Krage points out, mechanistic materialism and positivist empiricism came increasingly under attack by the new investigators into energetics, radioactivity and electromagnetism, as well as by Modernist artists.[3] In 1895, Ostwald gave a programmatic address in which he argued that energetics would overcome the inherent limitations of scientific materialism to become the scientific world view of the future. "The most promising scientific gift that the closing century can offer the rising century", he declared, "is the replacement of the materialistic world view by the energeticist world view".[4] Dynamically, he concluded, "Do not squander energy. Utilize it!"[5] Energy was also conceived as integral to evolution, as illuminated by Charles Darwin and other evolutionary theorists.

Elaborating his theory of "natural selection", Darwin had linked evolution to competition between tribes and races, the fittest being the ones that generally survived.

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Their fitness did not just depend upon their fertility, numbers and what Darwin called "the grade of their civilization" but their good health, vigour and energy.[6] Following the legacies of Darwin and Georg Hegel after the humiliating defeat of France in the 1870 Franco-Prussian War, the French philosopher Hippolyte Taine had insisted that it was time for his generation to judge itself according to "race-milieu-moment": Its own time, its environment and most of all, its energy and fitness as a race.[7] Across America, Asia, Australia, Britain, Canada, Europe and Russia, there was an increasing concern with generating energies through fitness and healthy environments entailing hygiene and the embrace of natural elements, particularly exposure to unpolluted air, water and sunlight, as illuminated by Chapters 1 to 3 in this book. Regeneration of the body and its energies was also to be propelled through the practice of such "modern" sports as rowing, yachting, swimming, diving, body-building and weight-lifting, as revealed in Chapters 1 and 2, as well as by rugby and soccer, as illustrated by the Modernist artists examined in Chapters 3 and 6. For many artists, especially Modernists, these new energies did not just entail physiological invigoration.

Following research into neurology, psychology, psychiatry and psychoanalysis linking unconscious emotions with free-energy, these new energies also entailed psychological liberation.[8] In separating the study of the brain from the body around 1650, Thomas Willis is invariably identified as the founder of neurology, alongside the Swedish inventor, scientist, theologian and visionary, Emanuel Swedenborg. Due to the investigations conducted from the late eighteenth century by the French comparative anatomists, François-Xavier Bichat and Félix Vicq d'Azyr, plus the Scottish anatomist and surgeon, Sir Charles Bell, the study of neurological anatomy and pathology began to converge. After further explorations of neurology and pathology, particularly by Pierre Briquet who in 1859 published his epidemiologic study of 430 cases of hysteria, the École et Clinique des maladies du système nerveux was founded in Paris at the hôpital de la Salpêtrière at the beginning of the French Third Republic under the professorship of Jean Martin Charcot. Joined by Charcot's former students, Pierre Janet, Gilles de la Tourette, Paul Richer and Joseph Babinski, for the next 20 years, hysteria, neurological and dissociative disorders were psychoanalysed and documented at Salpêtrière in drawings, paintings, photographs and in its anatomo-pathological museum.[9] Amidst the prevalence of hypnosis, especially its medical demonstrations in Charcot's "theatres" of hysterical patients, both Henri Bergson and his close friend, Pierre Janet (with whom he had planned to study medicine) experimented with it. Janet focused upon the notorious magnetist and clairvoyant somnambulant hysteric, *Léonie*.[10] While Bergson taught psychology and neurology from Janet's *Traité élémentaire de philosophie,* Janet drew upon Bergson's *Matter and Memory* to develop his thesis on "psychic automatism" as "the involuntary exercise of memory and intelligence", and to explore how the concept of dissociation from psychological trauma and "traumatic memory" entailed the progressive loss of psychological energy.[11]

After studying neurology with Charcot at Salpêtrière in 1885, one year later Sigmund Freud opened his private practice in Vienna, publishing with Dr Josef Breuer *Studies on Hysteria* in 1895. Connecting hysteria to traumatic repression and unconscious energies, another year later Freud defined his techniques to identify its sources as psychoanalysis. Four years later, he published *The Interpretation of Dreams,* referenced in Chapter 8, and in 1910 founded the International Psychoanalytical Association. In 1874, Wilhelm Wundt had published the first textbook on experimental psychology

and five years later, opened the first experimental psychology laboratory at the University of Leipzig to investigate unconscious energies.[12] In 1882, the Society for Psychical Research had been founded in London followed by the Neurological Society of London four years later. A spate of psychology publications followed including John Dewey's first American textbook on psychology, William James' *The Principles of Psychology* and Havelock Ellis' *Sexual Inversion,* to name but a few key texts. Hence the physiological regeneration of the body and its energies was conceived as inextricably intertwined with liberation of the unconscious through neurology, psychology and psychoanalysis. The psychological energies to be released by this process were conceived as entailing the emancipation of creative energies, particularly through the unleashing of raw emotions, feelings, instincts, intuition, memory, fertility and virility. This fusion became identified with the modern concepts of Vitalism that proved paramount to Vitalist Modernists ranging from Hugo Ball's Dadaist performances demonstrated in Zurich and Salvador Dalí's exploration of his paranoiac critical method to unleash his memories and unconscious in Paris, to Kazimir Malevich's Suprematism in Moscow, as is revealed by Chapters 7, 8 and 10 in this book.

While Vitalism has a long history, modern Vitalism became extensively theorized in America, Britain and Europe, particularly France and Germany during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Despite Bergson becoming one of the most popular philosophers of Vitalism, by no means was he alone in his theorization. This is demonstrated by the Vitalisms researched by Hans Driesch – the zoologist who had studied with Ernst Haeckel – alongside Friedrich Nietzsche and George Bernard Shaw, who used the same title of *Creative Evolution* as Bergson although with very different meanings. To elucidate their modern vitalist theories, particularly their similarities and divergences, the different conception of modern Vitalism by these theorists is charted in the next section of this *Introduction,* before the relationship of their Vitalisms to Modernism is explored in my survey of the chapters in this book.

Philosophizing Modern Vitalism: Bergson, Driesch, Nietzsche and Shaw

Bolstered by the philosophies of Vitalism by Bergson, Driesch, Nietzsche and Shaw, such concepts as life-force and the vital force, *l'élan vital* and *creative evolution* became widely and diversely engaged by Modernist artists and writers. This entailed the conception of life as a constant process of metamorphosis impelled by the free flow of energies, undisrupted by mechanistic materialism, to generate what Bergson aptly called *L'évolution créatrice,* the title of his fourth book published in 1907.[13] Some fourteen years later Shaw appropriated the term in English, *creative evolution,* although with distinctly different meanings. Imbricated within Transformist ecological evolutionary theories, Vitalism was embraced for being anti-mechanistic and materialistic, anti-positivist and anti-rationalist, particularly in its opposition to Thomas Huxley's conception of plants and animals as machines. Vitalism entailed a reconception of organic life as inspiring organisms within unspoiled nature, perpetually mutating into increasingly complex species and solidarist colonies following the Transformist concept of "life-force". While these philosophies of Vitalism were relatively new, they had long roots as revealed by Nietzsche's treatises, Driesch's lectures and his book, *The History and Theory of Vitalism*,[14] as well as the lectures and philosophies published by Bergson.

In *The Twilight of the Idols,* Nietzsche had argued passionately for the need to re-evaluate the idols of theology, spurn positivism, reject technologized modernity and ascend "high, free even terrible nature".[15] "Our whole modern world is caught in the net of Alexandrian culture and recognizes as its ideal the man of theory", lamented Nietzsche, "equipped with the highest cognitive powers, working in the service of science and whose archetype and progenitor is Socrates".[16] Nietzsche's reconception of the artist as Apollonian and Dionysian, a vessel of energy rather than neurasthenic, in contact with raw nature and their primal instincts and vitalized by the life-force, was welcomed by many Modernists. This is illuminated in Chapter 2 by Edvard Munch's murals for the newly built Aula, Festival Hall illustrated by Figures 2.1, 2.2a to 2.2e, and 2.7 to 2.9. Following Nietzsche's conception of the *Übermensch* in *Thus spake Zarathustra*, it is the energized "overman" able to create new values that emerges in these Vitalist Modernist murals. Reconceived as *Superman* in Shaw's 1903 play, *Man and Superman,* the *Übermensch* is referenced in Chapter 6 on Vitalist Futurism and features in Robert Delaunay's 1913 painting, *L'Équipe de Cardiff,* in Chapter 3, as the heroic French overman able to soar above all other players in the rugby lineout in order to catch the ball (Figure 3.1).

For the German biologist, Driesch, who had studied with Haeckel, Vitalism was conceived in relation to Entelechy as a vital force guiding the evolution of organisms. In his Gifford Lectures delivered in Aberdeen in 1907-8 and his London Lectures on Vitalism in 1913, Driesch traced what he called "the old Vitalism" to Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and *De Anima,* particularly his bio-philosophy of *entelecheia* entailing different stages of the soul.[17] "Aristotle's theory of life is pure vitalism", Driesch maintained, "and I may call it primitive or naïve vitalism for it arose from an entirely impartial contemplation of life's phenomena".[18] While Driesch highlighted the relationship of Vitalism to evolution and epigenesis through the theories of William Harvey and Georges-Louis Leclerc (Comte de Buffon), he did not explore its development in the eighteenth century at the Montpellier School of Medicine by François Sauvages de Lacroix, Théophile de Bordeu and Paul-Joseph Barthez into a *principium vitale*.[19]

Rejecting the body-machine concept, the Montpellier Animists postulated a distinction between living and other matter. It was, in fact, at Montpellier that the physiologist and vitalist, Marie-Jean-Pierre Flourens, had trained, as Barbara Larson points out, and whose theory of the "nœud vital" became Paul Gauguin's model for the soul.[20] By 1780, Montpellier vitalist therapies and those of physiologist, Marie François Xavier Bichat, regarding vital animal properties and the "milieu interieur", extended to Franz-Antoine Mesmer's theories and practices of animal magnetism.[21] The linkage that was forged between mesmerism and Vitalism then provided, according to Elizabeth A. Williams, a viable alternative to the Paris Clinical School,[22] as illuminated in Chapters 4 and 5. With the development of the microscope and observations of living tissue, medical vitalists and mesmerists considered that they were then able to furnish empirical evidence that the phenomena of life could no longer be explained by the laws of mechanics.

Despite these vitalist-mechanist debates prominent in medicine, Driesch confined his exploration to Immanuel Kant and what he called "the vitalism of the Nature-philosophers", including Arthur Schopenhauer whom he posited as bringing an end to "the old Vitalism".[23] "Modern Vitalism", as he called it, was then identified by Driesch as an Anti-Darwinian theory of descent, his scientificized theory of autonomy

being correlated with biology and "universal teleology".[24] Extending this theory to the concept of *becoming,* which became so significant for Bergson, Driesch related it to "the so-called stream of consciousness", the term introduced by William James in his *Principles of Psychology.*[25] "What if *becoming* could be formulated as if an earlier phase of it were always the reason of a later phase", Driesch speculated, "and a later phase the consequence of an earlier one? If this were possible, then we might claim to understand *becoming,* to have rationalised it".[26] "Nature", he then concluded is "the proper field of a theory of *becoming*".[27]

To avoid falling into mechanistic traps that he detected in Darwinian and Lamarckian theories, Driesch posited Entelechy as the vital force within a non-material and non-spatial process of *becoming.*[28] From 1905, Driesch's theorisation of Entelechy extended to occult Vitalism, particularly psychic phenomena and parapsychology, which included hypnotism, levitations, phantoms and telekinesis – the movement of objects without human contact. As Serena Keshavjee reveals in Chapter 4, while Driesch was writing *The History and Theory of Vitalism,* he attended séances with the German physician, psychiatrist and psychical researcher, Albert von Schrenck-Notzing and considered that protoplasm could be expelled out of the body into an endless production of creative forms. When asked to lecture at Cambridge University, Driesch met Henry Sidgwick who intensified his interest in psychic phenomena and motivated him to become a member of the Society for Psychical Research of London in 1913 – the very year that Bergson was elected its President. So extensive and intensive did Driesch's psychical research become after the First World War that in 1926, Driesch was elected President of this Society. That year, he published *Psychical Research and Established Science*, as part of his Presidential address, followed by *Psychical Research and Philosophy.*[29] In 1931, he published a methodology of parapsychological research and two years later, *Psychical Research: The Science of the Super-normal.*[30] Closely associated with British physicist, Oliver Lodge, and Schrenck-Notzing, also examined in Chapter 4, as well as such renowned mediums as Rudi Schneider and "Margery" – Mrs. Osborne Leonard – Driesch concluded that paraphysical phenomena represented an "enlarged" Vitalism, which he called "superVitalism".[31]

The new sciences, including psychic phenomena and "psychic states", proved integral to the Vitalism explored by Driesch's French colleague, Bergson, as illuminated in Chapter 5 and its focus upon Pablo Picasso's creation of durational portraits. "Before Bergson forged his ideas", surmises Robert C. Grogin, "intellectuals were presented with an almost standard construction of their world, a materially enclosed world which was moved by purely mechanical and mathematical laws".[32] Reconceiving time from the perspective of memory, intuition and "psychic states", in Bergson's first book published in 1889, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience* (*Time and Free Will),* time was explored as durational, like an unfolding melody – not discrete instants of chronometric measurement within mechanistic materialism. In his next book, *Matière et mémoire,* published in 1896, Bergson closely engaged in the new sciences. Drawing upon the work of Faraday, Maxwell and Lord Kelvin, Bergson deduced: "Matter thus resolves itself into numberless vibrations, all linked together in uninterrupted continuity, all bound up with each other, and travelling in every direction like shivers through an immense body".[33] Given Bergson's own grounding in ether physics, as Linda Dalrymple Henderson has revealed, and his friendship with Gustave Le Bon, not surprisingly Bergson's theory dovetailed with the reconception

of matter as penetrable, interacting with space and in turn conceived as a tangible vibrating atmosphere.[34]

Drawing upon the life of insects, as indicated in Chapter 8, and the evolution of intelligence from simians to homo-sapiens, in his fourth book, *L'Évolution créatrice,* Bergson theorized evolution as *l'élan vital*. A vital impulse and creative force, synonymous with new inventions, Bergson likened *l'élan vital* to the momentum of a continually surging wave. Energized and propelled by this vital impulse and creative energy, the human subject was then posited by Bergson to be in a constant state of *becoming,* as illuminated by Patricia Berman in Chapter 2 and illustrated by Figures 2.2a, b, d and e. Pitted against mechanist models of being that included those of Darwin and Lamarck, as well as Monism and Weismann's theory of germ plasm, in *Creative Evolution* Bergson stipulated that "life does not evolve mechanically and rationally". As he explained succinctly in French: "Elle ne procède pas par association et addition d'éléments", he maintained, "mais par dissociation et dédoublement".[35]

The Anarchist and Socialist implications of this potent statement are unravelled by Mark Antliff in Chapter 9. Some ten years after Bergson had published *Creative Evolution,* Shaw developed his own theory of this concept inspired more by Nietzsche's concept of the *übermensch,* which Shaw identified as *Superman*.[36] In his 1921 play, *Back to Methuselah,* which he called his "Bible of Creative Evolution", Shaw endeavoured to define this concept through his seven-hundred-year-old bisexual superhuman characters who needed no sleep and who were able to accelerate the evolutionary process by centuries. Hence *creative evolution* for Shaw entailed a life-force able to accelerate the process of evolution from which a race of omniscient and omnipotent supermen could evolve. This is illuminated by his final play in 1950, *Farfetched Fables* in which indestructible humans were able to achieve incorporeality subsisting on nothing but air. Despite using a title identical to that of Bergson, Shaw's concept was then distinctly different from Bergson's *Creative Evolution*. Rather than deterministic methodologies, mechanistic control systems and finalistic models of evolution from which Shaw's super race would supposedly evolve, Bergson's *Creative Evolution* draws upon co-evolutionary interrelationships entailing the symbiosis of humans, plants and animals, as well as reciprocal interpenetration to unleash *l'élan vital*.

Seizing this vital impulse of life, endemic in nature and redolent in intuition would, Bergson suggests, enable human subjects to become self-creative and invent the new. This would entail immediate, instinctive and intuitive responses able to reach the heart of another, especially through empathy and what Bergson called "psychic states" examined in Chapter 5. It would also entail unfurling memory, intuition and "psychic states" in realising the duration of being and the perpetual flux within it as a creative process of *becoming,* as is illuminated by the artworks in Chapters 2, 4, 5, 7 and 8. Hence Bergson, concludes Stephen Lehan, "gave weight to the modernist belief that art is the highest function of our activity, and helped establish the modernist belief that the universe is inseparable from mind and that the self is created out of memory".[37] In his final chapter of *Creative Evolution* entitled "The Cinematographical Mechanism of Thought and the Mechanistic Illusion", Bergson reviewed the history of philosophical thought to detect how it had failed to acknowledge the importance of *becoming,* thereby falsifying the nature of reality by imposing static concepts and what he calls "theoretical absurdities".[38] This is explored in Chapter 6, particularly Bergson's conclusion: "The mechanism of our ordinary knowledge is of a cinematographical kind".[39]

To pursue *becoming,* Bergson insisted upon the need to "escape from the cinematographical mechanism of thought" and to acknowledge the constant interpenetration of life.[40] "In reality", Bergson maintained, "life is of the psychological order, and it is of the essence of the psychical to enfold a confused plurality of interpenetrating terms. In space, and in space only, is distinct multiplicity possible. … I am a unity that is multiple and a multiplicity that is one".[41] Given the idiosyncratic fusion of the new sciences, particularly neurology and psychology with occultist sciences in France at this time, as well as in England and Germany, as explored in Chapters 4 and 5, these multiplicities entailed energies which, for Bergson, could be spiritual and phantasmatic, as demonstrated in Chapter 5 and by his publications anthologized in Bergson's 1919 book, *L'Énergie spirituelle*.[42] This idiosyncratic interrelationship was explored simultaneously by such scientists as Charles Richet, Camille Flammarion, Gustave Geley and Karl van Reichenbach, examined in Chapter 4, and by such magnetist scientists as Hector Durville investigated in Chapter 5. Bergson's concept of spiritual energies in relation to his concept of *durée* as the continuous flow of interpenetrating moments forging the vital impetus then seem to lend themselves to the notion of souls, spirits, phantoms and auras, as well as etheric and astral bodies taking the form of phantoms, as illuminated in both Chapters 4 and 5.

From 1900, Bergson lectured twice a week on all of these concepts, invariably without notes, at the Collège de France on Fridays at 5 pm and on Saturdays at 4 pm.[43] Simultaneously his friend Pierre Janet lectured in Psychology at the Sorbonne. Two years after Janet became Chair of Experimental Psychology at the Collège de France in 1902, Bergson was appointed its Chair of Modern Philosophy. So popular did Bergson's lectures become that students queued for hours in the surrounding streets just to hear them.[44] With publication in 1907 of *L'Évolution créatrice,* Bergson's fame skyrocketed. So popular did it become that its French publisher, Félix Alcan, issued twenty-one editions by 1918. Mythologized as a great artist, Bergson was called "the Corot or the Vermeer of the interior universe".[45] Whenever Bergson lectured at the Collège de France thereafter, the press was quick to report attendance by the prestigious "Five o'clock Bergsonians" alongside women who flocked to its doors and the weekly riots that erupted.[46] Cartoons showed members of the public precariously perched on ladders atop windows of the main auditorium at the Sorbonne just to spy him. So fashionable did Bergson become that the celebrity portraitist, Jacques-Émile Blanche, eagerly painted his portrait in 1911 (Figure 5.3). So *à la mode* did it become to attend Bergson's lectures that by 1910, Bergson's Room VIII at the Collège de France Amphitheatre achieved notoriety as one of the most "elegant places" in Paris with the Collège de France becoming known as "the house of Bergson".[47] Even in New York in 1913, his lectures caused a traffic jam on Broadway. In anticipation of his lectures, Columbia University compiled *Contribution to a Bibliography of Henri Bergson,* with an introduction by their philosophy professor, John Dewey, which was presented to Bergson on his arrival in New York City on 2 February 1913.

Attracting major international awards, in 1911 Bergson was invited to give the Huxley Memorial Lecture, which he entitled in English, *Life and Consciousness,* two years later being also invited to give the Gifford Lectures at the Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Following the metaphysical dimensions of his philosophy, Bergson was also appointed President of the British Society for Psychical Research. In his presidential speech, "Phantasms of the Living" and "Psychical Research", Bergson surmized: "There is, present and invisible a certain metaphysic unconscious