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LETTERS
OF
EULER.



1816

LETTERS
OF
EULER
ON DIFFERENT SUBJECTS
IN
PHYSICS AND PHILOSOPHY.

ADDRESSED TO
A GERMAN PRINCESS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY
HENRY HUNTER, D. D.

WITH
ORIGINAL NOTES,
And a Glossary of Foreign and Scientific Terms.

Second Edition.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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In consequence of the three Volumes of EULER in French being comprized in two, in the Translation, a few inaccuracies have occurred in the numbering of the Plates, which however will be remedied by the Plates being placed opposite the Pages, as above.

P R E F A C E.

IT was long a matter of surprize to me, that a Work so well known, and so justly esteemed, over the whole European Continent, as EULER's *Letters to a German Princess*, should never have made it's way into our Island, in the language of the Country. While Peterfburg, Berlin, Paris, nay the capital of every petty German principality, was profiting by the ingenious labours of this amiable man, and acute philosopher, the name of EULER was a sound unknown to the ear of youth in the British metropolis. I was mortified to reflect that the specious and seductive productions of a *Roussseau*, and the poisonous effusions of a *Voltaire*, should be in the hands of so many young men, not to



say young women, to the perversion of the understanding, and the corruption of the moral principle, while the simple and useful instructions of the virtuous EULER were hardly mentioned.

I frequently suggested the idea of a translation to more than one literary friend, in whose ability for the task I could place greater confidence than in my own: but not finding it undertaken, I determined, at length, to attempt it myself, with the ability which I had; and, in doing this, I considered myself as rendering a meritorious service to my country.

As soon as Providence had bestowed on me the blessing of children, I felt it to be my duty to charge myself with their instruction. How I have succeeded it becomes not me to say: but every day I live, the importance of early and proper

proper culture is more deeply impressed on my mind. There seems to be still a *desideratum* towards completing the plan of an useful education—something that shall suggest to the opening mind, suitable subjects of thought, and assist it in pursuing a simple train of reflection—something that shall convey knowledge in the guise of amusement; that shall not be imposed as a task, but conferred as a favour.

The subjects of these Letters, and the Author's method of treating them, seem to me much adapted to this purpose. With the assistance of a very moderate apparatus, they might conduct youth of both sexes, with equal delight and emolument, to a very competent knowledge of natural philosophy: very little previous elementary knowledge is necessary to a profitable perusal of them, and that little may be very easily acquired.

A con-



A considerable part of our common school education, it is well known, consists of the study of the elegant and amusing poetical fictions of Antiquity. Without meaning to decry this, may I not be permitted to hint, that it might be of importance frequently to recall young minds from an ideal world, and it's ideal inhabitants, to the real world, of which they are a part, and of which it is a shame to be ignorant. Let your pupil, by all means, read the poets; let him read Ovid, and, after he has amused himself with the golden age of old Saturn, lead him out into the open firmament of heaven, and shew him the venerable planet of that name, coeval with time, yet shining with unimpaired lustre, after so many revolutions of ages. Having administered the antidote that may repel the poison, which a display of the lewd intrigues of a fabulous Jupiter or Venus naturally instill; let him view, through the

the telescope, the two beautiful stars so called, emitting their chaste and modest light to the unpolluted eye of sober reason. When he has diverted himself with the transformation of a lady into a bear, and that bear into a constellation, point out to him the heavenly northern light, which never changes it's place, and, with undeviating fidelity, conducts the mariner through the seas of a hemisphere. Let him accompany Phaeton to the palace of the sun, and smile at beholding the adventurous boy mount the flaming chariot; and then check his mirth by pointing to the glorious orb of day, travelling in the greatness of his strength; not dragged round the earth by fiery-footed steeds, but wheeling worlds on worlds, each in his several orbit, around him, with irresistible force.

Why should not the boy be taught the principle on which his kite flies?

VOL. I.

b.

What



What more pleasant amusement can he have than to communicate to the needle the magnetic virtue, and to steer his course through the hazel grove, by a compass of his own constructing? Why not teach him to elicit the electric spark; and to astonish and delight his sisters with the wonders of the magic lantern?

EULER wrote these Letters for the instruction of a young and sensible female, and in the same view that they were written, they are translated, namely, the improvement of the female mind; an object of what importance to the world! I rejoice to think I have lived to see female education conducted on a more liberal and enlarged plan. I am old enough to remember the time when well-born young women, even of the north, could spell their own language but very indifferently, and some hardly

read it with common decency; when the young lady's hand-writing presented a medley of outlandish characters; and when a column of pounds, shillings and pence presented a labyrinth as inextricable as the extraction of the cube root. While the boys of the family were conversing with Virgil, perhaps with old Homer himself, the poor girls were condemned to cross-stitch, on a piece of gauze-canvas, and to record their own age at the bottom of a sampler.

They are now treated as rational beings, and society is already the better for it. And wherefore should the terms *female* and *philosophy* seem a ridiculous combination? Wherefore preclude to a woman any source of knowledge to which her capacity, and condition in life, entitle her to apply? It is cruel and ungenerous to expose the frivolity of the sex, after reducing it to the necessity of being silly and frivolous. Cultivate



tivate a young woman's understanding, and her person will become, even to herself, only a secondary concern; let her time be filled up in the acquisition of attainable and useful knowledge, and then she will cease to be a burden to herself and to every body about her; make her acquainted with the world of nature, and the world of art will delude her no longer.

The time, I trust, is at hand, when the Letters of EULER, or some such book, will be daily on the breakfasting table, in the parlour of every female academy in the kingdom; and when a young woman, while learning the useful arts of pastry and plain-work, may likewise be acquainting herself with the phases of the moon, and the flux and reflux of the tides. And I am persuaded she may thrum on the guitar, or touch the keys of the harpsichord, much more agreeably both to herself and others, by
studying

studying a little the theory of sound. I have put the means of this in her power; it will be at once her fault and her folly if she neglect it.

In translating the Work, I have followed the last Paris Edition, given by Messrs. *de Condorcet* & *de la Croix*, in 1787, for the purpose of introducing the useful notes of these gentlemen; but I have taken the liberty to restore, from the original edition, that of *Mietau* and *Leipfic*, in 1770, several passages which the French Editor had thought proper to suppress. To some notes of my own I have added several others, furnished by two ingenious friends, whose names I am not at liberty to publish. The course of thirty-four years of a scientific age, must have supplied abundance of new facts and experiments, by which the philosophy of even a *EULER* may be corrected and improved. The translated



notes of the Paris Edition, I have, for the sake of distinction, marked with the characters *F. E.* and the original notes of this Edition, with the initials *E. E.* And I think it my duty, in this place, to vindicate to our ingenious countryman, Mr. *Dollond*, the optician, the discovery of achromatic glasses for telescopes, mentioned in the letters on dioptrics; for that gentleman is, in truth, the Author of this valuable improvement.

I have had the illustrative plates engraved in a better style and manner than French artists generally employ on mathematical figures: and to do credit to myself, not to say *EULER*, he appears in his English dress with every advantage which the stationer and printer could bestow. At the same time, in order to keep down the price as much as possible, instead of dividing the Work into

Three

Three Volumes, as in all the foreign editions, I have reduced mine to *Two*; as the division is altogether indifferent to the subjects.

It being generally acceptable to the Reader to know something about the *man* with whom he is conversing as an *author*; to gratify this curiosity, I have likewise given a translation of the *Elogium* of *EULER*, read before the Academy of Sciences, and prefixed to M. de *Condorcet's* edition, because it contains some interesting traits of the character and events of the life of this distinguished personage. But what is the life of a literary or scientific man, and where are we to find the history of it? In his works. *NEWTON* and *EULER* are their own best biographers; and the library of every scholar in Europe exhibits a never-dying representation of what they were, and what they atchieved. We

b 4

have



have hardly a trace of *Wren's* personal and domestic habits; but every stone of St. Stephen's Walbrook, and of St. Paul's, is inscribed with his name, and transmits a memoir of the Architect.

The frequent, tiresome, courtly address of YOUR HIGHNESS, except at the first setting out, I have entirely omitted; out of no disrespect to Princes, but because it seemed to me a mere unnecessary waste of words, which only encumber and disfigure a work of science. The Princess and her instructor are both gone to that awful world, in which the distinctions of the present, those of virtue excepted, are for ever obliterated.

As every book should be as complete in itself as possible, and this being destined to the use of the unlearned, I have subjoined a glossary of the foreign and scientific words which occur in the course of

of these Letters. Some will, perhaps, think I may have swelled this beyond the necessary size, and given an explanation of many terms already sufficiently understood. If this be an error, it is on the safe side. I would rather insert twenty words of this description, than omit one with which an ordinary reader might be unacquainted, and his progress thereby retarded. And I well know, that there is often a vague and obscure idea of words floating in the brain, which a short description or an example would instantly render precise and distinct: and many young persons would, without hesitation, consult a glossary, who might be afraid, or ashamed, or, perhaps, too proud, to ask a question.

H. H.

Hoxton, 1802.



(xxvii)

ADVERTISEMENT.

BY THE FRENCH EDITOR.

THE Letters of EULER to a German Princefs have acquired, over all Europe, a celebrity, to which the reputation of the Author, the choice and importance of the feveral fubjects, and the clearnefs of elucidation, juftly entitle them. They have defervedly been confidered as a treafury of fcience, adapted to the purpofes of every common feminary of learning. They may be ftudied to advantage without much previous elementary knowledge; they convey accurate ideas refpecting a variety of objects, highly interefting in themfelves, or calculated to excite a laudable curiofity; they infpire a proper tafte for the fciences, and for that found philofophy which, fupported by fcience, and never lofing fight of her cautious, fteady, methodical advances, runs no rifk of perplexing, or mifleading the attentive ftudent.

The only cenfure that can be paffed on thefe Letters is, now and then, a digreffive detail,
fomewhat



somewhat too tedious, on questions rather foreign to the sciences, and considerable inaccuracy in point of style. Without failing in the respect due to EULER, I thought myself at liberty to omit some passages altogether, and to correct the style of others. Few Readers, surely, will be so fastidious as to refuse the admiration attached to the name of this illustrious man, for the sake of some slight blemishes, in a work of such considerable length. A genius, like his, which has signalized itself by so many important discoveries, can suffer no diminution of greatness, from his not having written a foreign language with classical purity. A man whose transcendent powers have astonished and confounded even those whom habits of profound reflection must have rendered hard to please, respecting prodigies of this sort, is not less worthy of veneration, that he did not apply the whole force of his mind to every object which presented itself. It is of the last indifference to his glory, whether these small specks are effaced, or suffered to remain.

But the case is widely different as to the persons for whose use the perusal of this work is particularly designed. It is of importance for young people, whether of France, or of any other country, to defer reading till they thoroughly understand the language of books, in which the
rules

rules of that language may be frequently violated. And the youth of the French nation must be cautioned against turning into ridicule a few uncouth expressions which, in the hurry of composition, may have dropped from the pen of a man of genius. Respect for every thing which merits this appellation is one of the sentiments which education ought most powerfully to inculcate, as it is one of the most infallible preservatives against prejudice of every kind, against the illusions of vanity and self-love, nay, against the passions which deprive us of the force necessary to our approximation toward these objects of universal admiration.

As to other retrenchments, they affect, almost all of them, reflections which relate less to the sciences and philosophy, than to theology, and frequently even to the peculiar doctrines of that ecclesiastical communion in which EULER lived. It is unnecessary to assign a reason for omissions of this description.

I have prefixed to this edition the Elogium of EULER, read before the Academy of Sciences, omitting only some scientific details, which might have appeared tedious to certain Readers.

As the Letters of EULER contain nothing, on several questions, capable of interesting the generality of mankind, I have made some additions,

but



but without throwing them into the form of letters. Those published at the same time with this edition, have for their only object the calculation of probabilities. I took for granted that persons disposed to give them a perusal, must have already made a considerable progress in mathematical knowledge. This branch of knowledge occupies at present, and ever must, a distinguished place in a course of liberal education. If it is not absolutely impossible to do without it, in order to the attainment of accurate ideas in physics, and respecting the laws of the universe, and the calculations of probability, we shall, at least, by the study of mathematics, save much time and trouble, and acquire a habit of thinking and reasoning on other subjects with greater exactness.

The idea which some have formed of the difficulty of this science, obstructs the progress of knowledge, and is not founded in truth. There are few minds, unless a previous education has already impressed false ideas, and a factitious delicacy, but what are capable of receiving the ideas necessary to mathematical combination, of acquiring the habit of pursuing them, and a relish for the simple truths which they present. As to the extraordinary powers which are deemed requisite, I venture to affirm, that there are few persons,

persons, even of moderate capacity, who may not, by employing a little more time, and pursuing a course somewhat more deliberate, by entering more attentively into detail, and from frequently repeated applications, attain a degree of mathematical knowledge, far beyond what is really useful, nay, I add, necessary, to all men of liberal education.



ELOGIUM OF EULER.

LEONARD EULER, President of the Mathematical School, in the Academy of Petersburg, and previously in that of Berlin; Fellow of the Royal Society in London; and of the Academies of Turin, Lisbon and Bâle; Foreign Associate of that of the Sciences, was born at Bâle, April the 15th, 1707, being the son of *Paul Euler* and *Margaret Brucker*.

His father who, in 1708, undertook the pastoral charge of the village of Riechen, in the vicinity of Bâle, was his first instructor; and he enjoyed sometimes the pleasure of contemplating the progress of his son's expanding faculties, and dawning glory, a cordial so reviving to the heart of a parent, advance under his own eye, and gather strength from his own assiduities.

He had studied mathematics under *James Bernouilli*. It is well known, that this celebrated scholar united to a great genius for the sciences, a profound philosophy, which is not always the companion of this genius, but which serves to give it a wider range, and to render it's exertions more useful. In teaching, he endeavoured to impress on his pupils, that geometry is not a detached science, but exhibited it to them as, at once, the basis and the key-stone of



all human knowledge; as the science in which the progress of the mind may be the most distinctly observed; the science, the cultivation of which exercises our faculties to the greatest advantage, as giving to the understanding, at one and the same time, strength and accuracy; finally, as a study equally valuable, from the number and the variety of its applications, and from its tendency to inure the student to a method of reasoning, which may, afterwards, be successfully employed, in the investigation of every species of truth, and as a guide in the conduct of life.

Paul Euler, who had fully imbibed the principles of his master, instructed his son in the elements of mathematics, though he had destined him, ultimately, to the study of theology; and such was young EULER's early proficiency, that on being sent to the university of Bâle, he was deemed not unworthy of the attention and particular instructions of *John Bernouilli*. Such was his application, and such his happy dispositions, as quickly to secure to him the friendship of *Daniel* and *Nicolas Bernouilli*, the pupils, and, by this time, the rivals of their father. Nay, he had the felicity of getting into the good graces of the severe *John Bernouilli* himself, who carried his condescension so far as to give him a private lesson, once a week, in the view of removing any difficulties which might occur in the course of reading and study. EULER employed the other days of the week in such a manner as would enable him to make the most of this distinguished mark of favour.

This

This excellent method of prosecuting his studies, preserved opening genius from exhausting its strength, in combating insuperable difficulties, and from wandering in unknown mazes, which it might attempt to unravel: it directed and seconded his own exertions; but, at the same time, laid him under the necessity of calling forth all his powers, which, accordingly, received constant increase from an exercise proportioned to his age, and to the progress in knowledge which he had already made.

But of this singular advantage he was soon deprived; for scarcely had he attained the degree of Master of Arts, when his father, who intended him for his own successor, enjoined him to exchange the study of mathematics for that of theology. Happily, the effect of this act of authority was of short duration. It proved no difficult matter to persuade the father, that his son was destined to supply, to the learned world, the place of *John Bernouilli*, and not to sink into the obscure parson of Riechen.

An essay, composed by EULER in his nineteenth year, on the masting of ships, a subject proposed by the Academy of Sciences, procured him, in 1727, an addition to his academical honours, so much the more respectable, that the youthful native of the Alps could have derived no assistance from practical knowledge, and that he yielded the palm to Mr. *Bouguer* alone, an able geometrician, then at the zenith of his reputation, and, for ten years before, professor of hydrography in a maritime city.

About the same period, EULER stood candidate

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for



for a vacant chair in the university of Bâle: but it is fate, or chance, that settles the dispute between competitors for offices of this sort, and, on this occasion, it was unfavourable, I do not say to EULER, but to his country, which, a few days afterward, lost him for ever.

Two years before this, *Daniel* and *Nicolas Bernouilli* had been invited to Russia. EULER felt the sincerest regret at parting with the friends of his youth, and engaged them to promise their utmost exertions to procure him a similar invitation, which he was eager to participate. This needs to excite no surprize. The splendor of the capital of a vast empire, the glare diffusing itself over the pursuits of which it is the theatre, and over the very persons of it's inhabitants, seems to confer a glory on them, capable of easily seducing a youthful imagination, and of dazzling the free, but poor and obscure, citizen of a petty republic.

The brothers, *Bernouilli*, were conscientiously faithful to their promise, and exerted themselves as strenuously, to bring forward a competitor so formidable, as ordinary men would have done to keep a rival out of sight.

EULER's journey to Russia commenced under auspices the most melancholy and discouraging. It was not long before he received intelligence, that *Nicolas Bernouilli* had fallen a victim to the severity of the climate; and the very day he set foot on Russian ground, Catharine I. paid the debt of nature. This event, at first, seemed to threaten the approaching

ing dissolution of the Academy, whose establishment that Princess had just completed, in compliance with the will of the deceased Czar, her husband.

EULER, at a prodigious distance from his native country, destitute of the advantage which *Daniel Bernouilli* possessed, that of an illustrious and respected name, to prepare his way, formed the resolution of entering into the Russian marine service. One of the admirals of Peter I. had already promised to procure him a situation; when, happily for geometry, the storm, which lowered over the sciences, spent itself. *Daniel Bernouilli* retired to his own country: EULER was declared Professor of Geometry, and successor to his illustrious friend, in 1733. The same year he married a young lady of the name of *Gsell*, a compatriot of his own, the daughter of a painter, whom Peter I. had brought with him to Russia, on returning from his first voyage.

From this time forward, to use *Bacon's* expression, EULER felt that he had given hostages to fortune: and that the country, in which he could hope to form an establishment for his family, was necessarily transformed into his native country. Born and educated in the bosom of a nation, all whose governments preserve, at least, the appearance and the language of a republican constitution; in which, notwithstanding distinctions more real, than those which separate between the highest slave of a despot and the lowest of his subjects, the forms of equality have always been scrupulously observed; in which the respect due to the laws extends to usages the most indifferent, provided



vided they have the sanction of antiquity, and of vulgar opinion: EULER found himself in a country, where the Prince exercises unlimited authority; where the most sacred law of absolute governments, that which regulates the succession to the throne, was at that time uncertain, or treated with contempt; where grandees, enslaved to the sovereign, rule with a despotic sway over an enslaved people; where, at the very moment, a vast empire, under the government of an ambitious, jealous and cruel foreign despot, was enduring all the tyranny of the unrelenting *Biren*, and presenting a spectacle as terrifying as instructive to men of letters, who had been enticed to seek in it's bosom, glory, fortune, and the power of enjoying, in perfect security, the calm delights of literary research.

It is easier to conceive, than to describe, what must have been the feelings of EULER, bound to remain in such a situation, by chains which it was impossible for him to burst asunder. To this circumstance, however, we are, perhaps, indebted for that unremitting application to literary pursuits, of which he then acquired the habit, and which became his only resource, in a capital, filled with the parasites, or the enemies, of a violent Minister; the former intent on feeding and flattering his suspicious temper; the latter employed in securing themselves from it's sanguinary effects. This had made so deep an impression on the mind of EULER, that we find the traces of it so late as 1741, the year after *Biren's* fall, when tyranny had given place to a government more mild
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and humane. At that period he went from Petersburg to Berlin, on the earnest solicitation of the King of Prussia. He was presented to the Queen-mother. This Princess took great pleasure in the conversation of enlightened men: she received them with that noble familiarity which announces, in Princes, the sentiment of a personal greatness, independent of rank and title, and which has become one of the characteristic marks of that august family. The Queen of Prussia, however, could extract from EULER monosyllables only: she taxed him with a timidity and reserve, which the cordiality of his reception could not possibly have inspired: *Why, then, will you not talk to me,* said the Queen? *Because Madam,* replied he, *I have just come from a country, where people are hanged, if they talk.*

Feeling myself now called upon to give some account of EULER's immense scientific labours, I shrink from the impossibility of following him in detail, of conveying any thing like an accurate idea of that multiplicity of discoveries, of new methods of investigation, of ingenious views, diffused over more than thirty separate publications, and over near seven hundred memoirs, of which about two hundred, deposited in the Academy of Petersburg previous to his death, are destined to enrich, in their order, the future collections published by that learned body.

But a particular character seems, to me, to distinguish EULER from the other illustrious men who, in pursuing the same career, have attained a glory which his has not eclipsed; that character is, his having



embraced the mathematical sciences in their universality; his having brought to perfection, one after another, the different parts; and, enriching the whole by important discoveries, his having produced a very beneficial revolution in the manner of treating them. I imagined, therefore, that in sketching a methodical representation of the different branches of these sciences, in pointing out the progress of each, and the happy improvements to be ascribed to the genius of EULER, I should give, at least as far as my ability permits, a juster idea of this wonderful man, who, by uniting so many extraordinary talents, has presented a phenomenon, if the expression may be allowed, of which the history of science has hitherto furnished no example.

Algebra had long been a science of very limited use and application. The mode of considering the idea of magnitude, only in the highest degree of abstraction of which the human mind is susceptible; it's rigorously separating from that idea every thing which, by employing imagination, might give support, or repose, to the understanding; finally, the extreme generality of the signs which this science makes use of, render it in some measure too foreign to our nature, too remote from ordinary conception, to admit of the mind's taking extraordinary pleasure in it, and of easily acquiring a habit of tracing it's operations. The algebraic method is apt to discourage even persons the most disposed to abstract speculation. If the object of pursuit be ever so little complicated, we are forced to lose sight of it entirely,
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and to confine our whole attention to dry algebraic characters; the road is safe and sure, but the point which is aimed at, and that from whence we took our departure, equally vanish from the eye of the geometrician; and it required no slight degree of courage, to venture out of sight of land, without any other pilot than a recently discovered science. Accordingly, on examining the works of the great geometricians of the last age, even of those to whom algebra is indebted for the most important discoveries, we shall see how little they were accustomed to handle this very weapon, which has been brought to such a state of perfection; and it is impossible to refuse to EULER the praise of having effected a revolution, which renders algebraic analysis a mode of calculation luminous, universal, of general application and of easy acquisition.

Thus, at certain epochs, when after strenuous exertions the mathematical sciences seemed to have exhausted all the resources of genius, and to have reached the *ne plus ultra* of their career; all at once a new method of calculation is introduced, and the face of the science is totally changed. We find it immediately, and with inconceivable rapidity, enriching the sphere of knowledge, by a solution of an incredible number of important problems, which geometricians had not dared to attempt, intimidated by the difficulty, not to say the physical impossibility, of pursuing calculation to a real issue. Justice would, perhaps, demand, in favour of the man who invented
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and introduced these methods, and who first taught their use and application, a share in the glory of all those who have practised them with success; he has, at least, claims upon their gratitude, which cannot be contested without a crime.

EULER had neglected no part of analysis: he has demonstrated some of the theorems of *Fermat*, on indeterminate analysis, and has discovered many others, no less curious, and of no less difficult investigation. The knight's movement, in the game of chess, and different other problems of situation, have likewise excited his curiosity, and exercised his genius. He blended with researches the most important, amusements of this sort, frequently more difficult, but of little use either to the progress of the science itself, or to the applications hitherto attempted. EULER was too discreet, not to be sensible of the impropriety of devoting much of his attention to researches of mere curiosity; but at the same time of a mind too enlarged not to discern, that their inutility could only be momentaneous, and that the only means of exposing their inutility, was to attempt to unfold and generalize them.

The particular questions which do not strictly belong to the regular body of mathematical science, which do not enter into the applications of which it is susceptible, ought not to be considered merely as the means of exercising the powers, and displaying the genius of the geometrician: in cultivating the sciences, we almost always set out with attaching

ourselves to some detached parts, in preference; in proportion as successive discoveries multiply, the relations which unite the parts gradually appear; and to the illumination resulting from this union, we are most frequently indebted for the great discoveries, which form an era in the history of the human mind.

I shall conclude this brief representation of EULER's labours, on pure analysis, with observing, that it would be unjust to limit it's influence on the progress of mathematics, to the innumerable discoveries with which his works abound. The communications which he has opened between all the parts of a science so extensive; those general views which sometimes he does not so much as indicate, but which cannot escape an attentive observer; the paths, whose entrance he has satisfied himself with clearing by removing the first obstacles which opposed; these are so many more benefits conferred on the sphere of science, and of which posterity will undoubtedly avail itself, while perhaps the hand which bestowed them may be forgotten.

The treatise on mechanics, which EULER gave to the world in 1736, is the first great work in which analysis has been applied to the science of motion. The number of things, entirely new, or exhibited in a new light, which this book contains, would have astonished geometricians, had not EULER already published, separately, the greatest part of it.

In his endless labours on the same science, he was ever faithful to analysis, and the happy use he made



of it, has at last procured for the analytical method a preference to every other.

The problem of vibrating chords, and all those which belong to the theory of sound, or the laws of the oscillation of the air, have been subjected to analysis, by the new methods with which he enriched the calculation of partial differences. A theory of the motions of fluids, founded on the same calculation, astonished every one by the clearness which he has diffused over questions so intricate, and the facility which he has communicated to modes of operation, founded on an analysis so profound.

All the problems of physical-astronomy, treated in the present age, have been resolved, by the analytical method peculiar to EULER. His calculation of the perturbations of the earth's orbit, and especially his theory of the moon, may be held up as models of the simplicity, of the precision, to which this method may be carried; and in reading this last work, we see, with no less astonishment, how far a man of great genius, animated with a desire of omitting nothing essential on an important question, has been able to carry the patience and perseverance of application.

Astronomy employed only the geometric method: EULER was sensible of every thing which that science had to expect from the aid of analysis, and he demonstrated it by examples which, imitated since by men of ability and reputation, may in time bestow a new form on astronomy.

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He treated, in all its extent, the naval science; in an elaborate work, to which an intelligent analysis serves as basis, and in which questions of the greatest difficulty are subjected to this general and fertile method, which he understood so well to create and to employ. He published, many years afterward, on the same subject, an elementary abridgment of this treatise, containing, under the simplest form, every thing useful in practice, and necessary to be known by persons who devote themselves to the marine service. This work, though designed by the Author merely for the schools of the Russian empire, procured for him a liberal gratification from the King of France, who judged, that labours beneficial to mankind demanded the grateful acknowledgments of all Sovereigns, and who wished to demonstrate to Europe, from one extremity to another, that talents so rare could neither be overlooked, nor remain unrewarded. EULER was abundantly sensible of the value of this mark of respect from a great Prince; and it derived an additional charm, in his eyes, from the hand through which it was transmitted, that of Mr. *Turgot*, a minister universally respected for his talents and for his virtues; a man formed for commanding opinion, rather than following it, and whose suffrage, ever dictated by truth, and never by the desire of attracting to himself the applause of the public, might be an acceptable piece of flattery, even to a wise man, too much accustomed to glory to be still awake to the voice of fame.

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In men of a superior genius, extreme simplicity of character may easily consist with those qualities of mind, which most forcibly announce ability and delicacy of feeling. EULER, accordingly, notwithstanding that simplicity which never forsook him, knew, however, to distinguish with a sagacity, always indulgent it is true, the homage of enlightened admiration from that which vanity lavishes on great men, to secure to itself at least the merit of enthusiasm.

His dioptrical researches are founded on an analysis less profound, and we are tempted to give him credit for it, as being a kind of sacrifice. The different rays of which a solar ray is formed, subsist in the same medium of different refractions; separated thus from adjacent rays, they appear single, or less blended, and give the sensation of the colour proper to them. This refrangibility varies in different mediums for every ray, and in conformity to a law which is not the same with that of the mean refraction in these mediums. This observation suggested a belief, that two unequal prisms, and of different substances, combined, might divert a ray from its direction, without decomposing it, or rather by replacing the elementary rays, by refraction, in a parallel direction. On the truth of this conjecture might depend, in telescopes, the destruction of the iris, which colours objects viewed through lenticular glasses. EULER was convinced of the possibility of success, conformably to this metaphysical idea, that, *if the eye is composed of different humours, it is only in*
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the view of destroying the effect of the aberration of refrangibility. The only thing requisite, therefore, was an attempt to imitate the operation of nature, and he proposed the means of execution according to a theory which he had formed. His first essays induced naturalists to attend to an object which they seemed to have neglected. Their experiments did not correspond to EULER's theory, but they confirmed the views he entertained respecting the perfection of telescopes. And, instructed by these, in the laws of dispersion, in different mediums, he abandoned his first ideas, subjected to calculation the result of their experiments, and enriched dioptrics with analytical formulæ, simple, commodious, general, and applicable to instruments of every possible construction.

We have, besides, some essays of EULER, on the general theory of light, the phenomena of which he endeavoured to reconcile with the laws of the oscillations of a fluid; because the hypothesis of the emission of rays in a straight line, appeared to him to present insurmountable difficulties. The theory of the loadstone, that of the propagation of fire, the laws of the cohesion of bodies, and those of friction, furnished him, likewise, with subjects of ingenious calculations, but, unfortunately, supported by hypothesis, rather than by experiment.

The calculation of probabilities and political arithmetic were farther objects of his indefatigable application. I shall here only mention his researches



on bills of mortality, and the means of deducing them from phenomena with greater exactness; his method of striking a medium from the observations made; his calculations respecting the establishment of a reverſionary fund, in the view of ſecuring to widows, or orphans, either a fixed ſum, or an annual revenue, payable after the death of a huſband or father; an ingenious and humane method, deviſed by philoſophic geometricians to counterbalance the moral evil reſulting from the ſettlement of life-annuities, and to convert, to the relief of families, the ſmalleſt ſavings from the principal's daily earnings, or from the revenue of a commiſſion, a place or a penſion.

We have ſeen in the elogium of *Daniel Bernouilli*, that he had divided with EULER alone the glory of having carried off thirteen prizes, propoſed by the Academy of Sciences: They often contended for the ſame object, and occupied the ſame ground: and the honour of triumph over a competitor was likewiſe divided between them; but this rivalſhip never encroached on the expreſſions of reciprocal eſteem, nor cooled the ardor of mutual friendſhip. On examining the ſubjects for which the one or the other obtained the victory, we find that ſucceſs depended principally on the character of talent peculiar to each. When the queſtion required addreſs in the manner of taking it up, a dexterous application of experiment, or new and ingenious physical views, *Daniel Bernouilli* had the advantage: but did it preſent

ſent difficulties, which profound and accurate calculation could reſolve; was it neceſſary to create a new method of analyſis, victory declared for EULER. Were any one ſo preſumptuous as pretend to judge between them, he would find that he had to pronounce, not between two men, but between minds of a different genius, between two methods of employing genius.

I ſhould have conveyed but a very imperfect idea of EULER's fertility of invention, unleſs I added to this faint ſketch of his labours, that there are very few ſubjects of importance, once treated by him, that he did not retrace; nay, ſo far as to recompoſe his firſt work ſeveral times over. Sometimes he ſubſtituted a direct and analytical method, in place of one more indirect: ſometimes he extended his firſt ſolution to caſes which had at firſt eſcaped him; adding almoſt always new examples, which he knew how to ſelect with ſingular ſkill among thoſe which preſented, or ſome uſeful obſervation, or curious remark.

The intention merely of giving to one of his productions a form more methodical, of rendering it ſomewhat more luminous, of beſtowing on it a higher degree of ſimplicity was to him motive ſufficient for engaging in labours incredible. Never did geometrician write ſo much, and no one ever carried his works to ſuch a height of perfection. When he publiſhed a memoir on a new ſubject, he ſimply explained the track which he purſued; he pointed out



to his pupils it's intricacies and aberrations, and having, with scrupulous exactness, made them accompany the progress of his own mind, in his first essays, he shewed them afterwards how he had been enabled to trace a simpler path. It is evident, that he preferred the instruction of his disciples to the silly satisfaction of dazzling them by his own superiority; and that he did not believe he had done enough for science, unless he added, to the new truths with which he was enriching it, a candid exposition of the ideas which led to discovery.

On reading the life of a great man, whether it be a conviction of the imperfection attached to frail humanity; whether it be, that the justice of which we are capable, does not rise so high as to induce us to acknowledge a superiority for which nothing can be an adequate compensation; or, finally, whether it be, that the idea of perfection in another mortifies or humbles us still more than that of his greatness, but some how or another it seems necessary for us to find out some weak part; we hunt after the discovery of a defect in him, which may reconcile us to ourselves; and we are involuntarily disposed to call in question the impartiality of the Biographer, unless he points out the weak part, unless he withdraws the impertinent veil which conceals the defect.

EULER sometimes appeared to be taken up with the mere pleasure of calculation, and to consider the point of mechanics, or physics, which he was examining, only as an occasion of exercising his genius, and
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of following the bent of his reigning passion. Some of the learned have accordingly accused him of lavishing his talent for calculation on physical hypotheses, or even on metaphysical principles, of which he had not sufficiently examined either the probability or the solidity. He has likewise been accused of depending too much on the resources of calculation, and of having neglected those with which he might have been supplied, by the examination of the very questions which he proposed to resolve.

We must admit, that the first of these charges is not altogether destitute of foundation. In EULER, undoubtedly, the metaphysician, or even the naturalist was not so great as the geometrician; and we are constrained to regret, that in many parts of his works, those, for instance, which he composed on the naval science, on artillery, have been of little use, except to the progress of the science of calculation.

But the second charge appears by no means so well founded. We observe uniformly, through all the works of EULER, an unremitting effort to add to the riches of analysis, to extend, and to multiply the applications of it: at the same time that it appears to be his only instrument, we see clearly that it is his wish to make it universally so. The natural progress of the mathematical sciences must have, in time, brought about this revolution; but he saw it, if I may say so, completed under his own eye: to his genius we are indebted for it; and it has been the
d 2 reward



reward of all his exertions and discoveries. Accordingly, even when he appears to be misapplying analysis, and exhausting all its secret stores in resolving a question, of which a few reflections, foreign to calculation, would have given him an easy and simple solution, he was frequently only aiming at a demonstration of the power and resources of his art; and he merits forgiveness at least, if sometimes, while he seemed taken up with another science, it was still to the progress and propagation of analysis that his attention was devoted; and the revolution which this has effected in the world of science, is one of his first claims on the gratitude of mankind, and the fairest title to glory.

I thought myself obliged not to interrupt the detail of *Euler's* scientific pursuits, by a recital of the few and simple events of his life.

He settled at Berlin in 1741, and remained there till 1766.

The Princess *d'Anhalt Dessau*, niece to Frederick II, King of Prussia, was desirous of receiving from him some lessons in natural philosophy. These lessons have been published, under the title of *LETTERS TO A GERMAN PRINCESS*, a work inestimable for the singularly clear light in which he has displayed the most important truths of mechanics, of physical-astronomy, of optics, and of the theory of sound; and for the ingenious views, less philosophical but more sage, than those which have made *Fontenelle's* *Plurality of Worlds* outlive the System of Vortices.

The

The name of *EULER*, so great in the sphere of science; the respectful idea attached to his works, employed in unfolding all that is intricate and abstract in analysis, diffuse a singular charm over these letters, so simple, and so easy. Those who have not studied mathematics, astonished, perhaps flattered, at being able to understand a work of *EULER*, will feel grateful to him for having descended to their level; and these elementary details of the sciences acquire a species of greatness, from their approximation to the glory, and the genius, of the illustrious man who traced them.

The King of Prussia employed *EULER* in calculations respecting the coinage; on constructing the aqueduct of Sans-Soucis; on the formation of several navigable canals. That great Prince had a mind too enlarged to believe that extraordinary talents, and profound knowledge, ever could be useless or dangerous qualities; and the felicity of being able to do good, an advantage reserved by nature for ignorance and mediocrity.

In 1750, *EULER* made a journey to Frankfort, to receive his mother, then a widow, and to conduct her to Berlin. He had the happiness to preserve her till 1761. For eleven years, then, she enjoyed the glory of her highly distinguished son, in the way that the maternal heart knows how to enjoy, and was still more happy, perhaps, in the tender and assiduous expressions of filial affection, the value of which that glory greatly enhanced.

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During



During his residence at Berlin, EULER, united to Mr. *de Maupertuis* by the ties of gratitude, thought himself obliged to defend the principle of *the least action*, on which the President of the academy of Prussia had founded the hope of a reputation so exalted. The means which EULER thought proper to use could hardly have been employed by any other person but himself; it was to resolve, on this principle, several of the principal and most difficult problems of mechanics. Thus, in the age of fable, the Gods vouchsafed to forge, for their favourite warriors, armour impenetrable by all the blows of their enemies. It were to have been wished, that Euler's gratitude had confined itself to a protection so noble, and so worthy of himself; but it cannot be denied, that there is an infusion of asperity, rather too strong, in his replies to *König*; and with sorrow we are constrained to recognize a great man, among the enemies of an unfortunate and persecuted scholar. Happily for EULER, the whole tenor of his life shelters him from a more serious suspicion. But for that simplicity, that indifference to the voice of fame, which he uniformly manifested, it might have been suspected, that the pleasantries of an illustrious partisan of *König* (pleasantries which *Voltaire* himself has justly consigned to oblivion) had somewhat soured the temper of the gentle and sage geometrician; but if on this occasion he is chargeable with a fault, it must be imputed solely to an excess of gratitude; and if once in his life he acted wrong, the motive at least is respectable.

The

The Russian forces having, in 1760, penetrated into the marches of Brandenburg, plundered a farm of EULER's, near Charlottenburg: but General *Tottleben* had not come to make war on the sciences. Being informed of the loss which EULER had sustained, he hastened to repair it, by ordering payment far beyond the real value of the property, and having communicated to the Empress *Elizabeth*, an account of this involuntary disrespect, she was pleased to add a gratuity of four thousand florins to an indemnification already more than sufficient. This anecdote is not so generally known as it deserves to be, while we quote, with enthusiastic admiration, similar actions transmitted to us from antiquity. Is not this difference in the judgments we form, a proof of the happy progress of the human species, which certain authors still obstinately persevere in denying, apparently to shun the imputation of having contributed to it?

The government of Russia had never treated EULER as a stranger. Notwithstanding his absence, part of his salary was always regularly paid; and in 1766, the Empress having given him an invitation to return to Peterburg, he complied.

In 1735, the exertion occasioned by an astronomical calculation, for which other academicians demanded several months, but completed by him in a few days, brought on an indisposition, which issued in the loss of one of his eyes. He had reason to apprehend a total loss of sight, if he continued to expose



pose himself in a climate, the influence of which was unfavourable to his constitution. The interest of his family got the better of this apprehension; and if we reflect that, to EULER, study was an exclusive passion, we shall readily conclude, that few examples of paternal tenderness have more completely demonstrated, that it is the most powerful, and the sweetest of all our affections.

A few years after, he was overtaken by the calamity which he foresaw and dreaded: but happily for himself, and for the sciences, he preserved still the faculty of distinguishing large characters traced on a slate with chalk. His sons, his pupils, copied his calculations; wrote, as he dictated, the rest of his memoirs; and if we may form a judgment of these from their number, and frequently from the genius transfused through them, it will appear abundantly credible, that from the absence still more absolute of all distraction, and from the new energy which this constrained recollection gave to all his faculties, he gained more, both as to facility and means of labour, than he lost by a diminution of sight.

Besides, EULER, by the nature of his genius and his habits of life, had even involuntarily laid up for himself extraordinary supplies. On examining those great analytical formulæ, so rare before his time, but so frequent in his works, the combination and display of which unite so much simplicity and elegance, whose very form pleases the eye as well as the mind, it will be evident, that they are not the result

of a calculation traced on paper, but that, produced entirely in the head, they are the creation of an imagination equally vigorous and active.

There exist in analysis, and EULER greatly multiplied their number, formulæ of a common and almost daily application; he had them always present to his mind, knew them by heart, repeated them in conversation; and Mr. *d' Alembert*, when he saw him at Berlin, was astonished at an effort of memory, which demonstrated, that EULER possessed at once a strength and a clearness of recollection almost incredible. At length his facility of calculation by the head was carried to such a degree as would exceed all belief, had not the history of his labours accustomed us to prodigies. He has been known, in the view of exercising his little grandson in the extraction of the square and cube roots, to have formed to himself the table of the six first powers of all numbers from 1 to 100, and to have preserved it exactly in his memory. Two of his pupils had calculated as far as to the seventeenth term of a convergent series, abundantly complicated; their results, though formed after a written calculation, differed one unit at the fiftieth figure: they communicated this difference to their master: EULER went over the whole calculation in his head, and his decision was found to be the true one.

From the time he lost his sight, his chief amusement was to make artificial magnets, and to give lessons in the mathematics to one of his grand-children,



dren, who seemed to have a promising disposition to that science.

He made a point of still going occasionally to the Academy, especially if delicate circumstances demanded his attendance, or when he deemed his presence necessary to the maintenance of liberty. It is easy to conceive how much it is in the power of a perpetual president, appointed by the court, to disturb the peace of an Academy, and how much such a seminary has to apprehend from one who, not being elected from their own number, does not feel himself restrained even by a sense of that support which his reputation needs from the suffrages of his colleagues. How is it possible for men, employed solely in calm literary pursuits, and understanding no language but that of the sciences, to defend themselves in such a case; especially if strangers, unconnected, far from their country, they derive their whole support from that government, to which they would appeal for justice against an imperious president, whom that very government had placed over them.

But there is a degree of glory, which places a man beyond the reach of fear: it is, when all Europe would rouse itself to resent a personal injury offered to a great man, that he can without risk oppose to injustice the authority of his reputation, and elevate, in support of the sciences, a voice which will make itself heard. EULER, gentle, modest as he was, was sensible of his power, and oftener than once made a very happy use of it.

In 1771, the city of Petersburg suffered severely from a terrible conflagration: the flames had caught the house of EULER. One *Peter Grimm*, a native of Bâle, whose name well deserves to be transmitted to posterity, apprized of the danger of his illustrious compatriot, now blind and enfeebled, burst through the midst of the fire, reaches his apartment, places him on his shoulders, and saves EULER's life, at the hazard of his own. His library, his furniture was destroyed, but the zeal and exertions of Count *Orloff* preserved his manuscripts. The attention paid to this, at the height of a calamity so dreadful, is the most honourable and flattering homage which public authority could have offered to science. The house of EULER was one of the Empress's gifts to him; a similar act of munificence speedily repaired the loss.

He had by his first wife thirteen children, eight of whom died young. His three sons survived him, but he had the misfortune to lose both his daughters, the last year of his own life. Of thirty-eight grandchildren, twenty-six were living at the time of his death. In 1776 he entered a second time into the married state, by espousing a Miss *Csell*, sister to his first wife's father. He had always retained all that simplicity of manners, of which his father's house had set the example. As long as his sight remained, he every evening collected, to domestic devotion, his grandchildren, his domestics, and such of his pupils as lodged in the house; he read to them a portion



of Scripture, and sometimes accompanied it with an exposition.

He was of a very religious turn of mind. He published a new demonstration of the existence of God, and of the spirituality of the soul: this last treatise has been admitted as a standard book into several colleges of divinity. With scrupulous exactness he adhered to the religion of his country, which is rigid Calvinism: and it does not appear that, after the example of most scholars of the protestant persuasion, he ever took the liberty of adopting peculiar ideas, or of forming a system of religion for himself.

His erudition was very extensive, especially in the history of mathematics. It is alleged that he had carried his curiosity so far as to acquire the knowledge of the processes and rules of astrology; and that he had even made some applications of them. However, when in 1740 he was commanded to calculate the nativity of Prince *Ivan*, he excused himself, by representing that this was the proper business of Mr. *Kraaff*, in quality of royal astronomer. Credulity of this sort, which we are astonished to find at so recent a period in the Court of Russia, prevailed, the age before, in all the Courts of Europe: those of Asia have not yet shaken off this absurd yoke, and it must be acknowledged, that if we except the common maxims of morality, there is no one truth which can boast of having been so generally adopted, and through such a
succession

succession of ages, as certain ridiculous or pernicious errors.

EULER had studied almost every branch of physics, anatomy, chemistry, botany; but his superiority in mathematics did not permit him to attach the slightest importance to his proficiency in any other branch of science, though it was such as might have induced a person more susceptible of the flattery of self-love to aspire to the title of an universal scholar.

The study of ancient literature, and of the learned languages, had formed part of his education: he retained a taste for these to the end of life, and never forgot any thing he had once acquired; but he had neither time nor inclination to prosecute farther his attainments in classic literature. He had not so much as read the modern poets, but knew the *Eneid* by heart. EULER, however, did not lose sight of the mathematics, even in reciting the verses of *Virgil*. Every thing concurred to present him with this darling object of his thoughts, and we find among his works, an ingenious memoir on a question in mechanics, the first idea of which, he tells us, was suggested by a line of *Virgil*.

It has been said that, to men of great talents, the pleasure of exertion is a reward still more gratifying than glory itself: were it necessary to prove this truth by examples, that of EULER would put it beyond a doubt.

In his most profound discussions with celebrated geometers, he never betrayed the slightest symp-
tom



tom which could excite a suspicion of his being actuated by motives of self-love. He discovered no eagerness to assert his title to the merit of his discoveries; and if any thing in his works was claimed as the discovery of another, he was at pains to repair the involuntary offence, even without enquiring too scrupulously, whether rigid justice demanded an absolute renunciation. Did any one pretend to have detected him in error, if the charge was unfounded, he forgot it; if just, he corrected it, without stopping to observe that, in many cases, the merit of those who boasted of having made the detection, consisted wholly in an easy application of the methods which he himself had taught them, to theories, the greatest difficulties of which he had before-hand removed.

Men of middling ability almost always endeavour to make themselves of consequence, by an affected severity, proportional to the lofty idea which they wish to convey of their understanding, or of their genius. Inexorable to all that rises above them, they give no quarter even to inferiority; so that we are tempted to say, a secret consciousness shews them the necessity which they are under of lowering others. An instinctive emotion engaged EULER, on the contrary, to celebrate genius the moment that it's first exertions had challenged his attention, and without waiting till public opinion courted the sanction of his suffrage.

He has been known to employ his time in resolving
problems

problems already solved, which was to procure for him, at most, the inferior praise of greater elegance, or exactness of method; and this with the same ardor and perseverance that he could have exerted in the prosecution of a new truth, the discovery of which might have brought him an increase of reputation. Besides, had an ardent desire of glory actually existed in his breast, it would have been impossible for him, such was the frankness of his character, to conceal it's emotions. But the glory which he was so little solicitous to pursue, sought and found him out. The singular fertility of his genius was a striking phenomenon, even to persons who were not in a condition to understand his works.

Though wholly devoted to geometry, his reputation challenged the attention of men little versed in that science; and he appeared in the eyes of all Europe not only the first of geometers, but a great man. It is the custom of Russia to bestow military titles on men wholly unconnected with the service. This is paying homage to a prejudice which would represent the profession of a soldier as the only title to nobility, but the practice is at the same time a direct acknowledgment of it's complete falsity. Some of the *Literati* have even arrived at the rank of Major-General: EULER never had, and indeed never would have, any distinction of this sort; but what title in the power of Princes to bestow, could do honour to the name EULER? And then, regard for the preservation of the natural rights of
humanity,



humanity, imposes, in some measure, the duty of setting the example of a sage indifference to these baubles of human vanity, so childish and yet so dangerous.

Most of the Princes of the North, to whom he was personally known, gave him marks of their esteem, or rather of a veneration which they could not withhold from the union of a virtue so simple with a genius so vast and elevated. When the Prince Royal of Prussia travelled to Peterburg, he did not wait for a visit from EULER, but went first to his house, and passed some hours by the bed-side of the venerable old man, holding his hands in his own, with one of EULER's grand-children in his lap, whom early symptoms of a genius for geometry had rendered the particular object of paternal affection.

All the noted mathematicians of the present day are his pupils: there is no one of them who has not formed himself by the study of his works, who has not received from him the formulæ, the method which he employs; who is not directed and supported by the genius of EULER in his discoveries. This honour he owes to the revolution effected in the mathematical sciences, by subjecting all to analysis; to his indefatigable application, which has enabled him to embrace the whole extent of these sciences; to the order in which he has arranged his great works; to the simplicity, to the elegance, of his formulæ; to the clearness of his methods and demonstrations;

demonstrations; and all this greatly enhanced, by the multiplicity and the choice of his examples. Neither *Newton*, nor *Descartes*, whose influence was once so powerful, has arrived at this pitch of glory; and hitherto, EULER alone, of geometers, has possessed it entirely, and without a rival.

But, as Professor, he has formed pupils in a peculiar sense his own. Among these, we mention his eldest son, whom the Academy of Sciences elected to supply his place, without any apprehension that this honourable succession granted to the name of EULER, as to that of *Bernouilli*, could ever become a dangerous precedent: a second son, now engaged in the study of medicine, but who, in his youth, obtained from that Academy the prize proposed for determining the alterations of the mean motion of the planets; Mr. *Lexell*, whose premature death has just left a blank in the world of science; and, to mention no more, Mr. *Fuss*, the youngest of his scholars, and the companion of his last labours; who, sent from Bâle to EULER by *Daniel Bernouilli*, has, by his works, done credit to *Bernouilli's* recommendation, and EULER's instructions, and who, after having paid public homage in the Academy of Peterburg, to his illustrious master, married his granddaughter.

Of sixteen professors belonging to the Academy of Peterburg, eight had been formed by him; and all of them, well known from their productions, and decorated with academic honours, value themselves



on being able to add, to all the rest, that of disciple to EULER.

He had retained all his facility of thought, and, apparently, all his mental vigour: no decay seemed to threaten the sciences with the sudden loss of their great ornament. On the 7th of September, 1783, after amusing himself with calculating on a slate the laws of the ascending motion of air-balloons, the recent discovery of which was then making a noise all over Europe, he dined with Mr. *Lexell* and his family, talked of *Herschell's* planet, and of the calculations which determine it's orbit. A little after he called his grand-child, and fell a playing with him as he drank tea, when suddenly, the pipe, which he held in his hand, dropped from it, and he ceased to calculate and to breathe.

Such was the end of one of the greatest and most extraordinary men ever produced by the hand of nature: a man whose genius was equally capable of the greatest efforts, and of the most unwearied application; who multiplied his productions far beyond what could have been expected from powers merely human, and was, nevertheless, original in every one; whose head was incessantly employed, and his spirit always tranquil; who, finally, by a destiny unfortunately too rare, united, and that deservedly, a felicity hardly ever interrupted, to a glory which no one ever disputed with him.

His death was considered as a public loss, even in the country which he inhabited. The Academy of
2 Peterburg

Petersburg went into deep mourning for him, and voted a marble bust of him, at their own expence, to be placed in their Assembly-Hall. An honour still more distinguished had already been conferred on him, by that learned body, in his life-time. In an allegorical painting, a figure of Geometry is represented leaning on a tablet, exhibiting mathematical calculations, and the characters inscribed, by order of the Academy, are the formulæ of his new theory of the moon. Thus, a country which, at the beginning of the present century, we considered as scarcely emerged out of barbarism, is become the instructor of the most enlightened nations of Europe, in doing honour to the life of great men, and in embalming their memory: it is setting these nations an example, which some of them may blush to reflect, that they have had the virtue neither to propose, nor to imitate.



LETTERS

ON
DIFFERENT SUBJECTS

IN
PHYSICS AND PHILOSOPHY.

LETTER I.

Of Magnitude, or Extension.

MADAM,

THE hope of having the honour to communicate, in person, to your Highness, my lessons in Geometry, becoming more and more distant, which is a very sensible mortification to me, I feel myself impelled to supply personal instruction by writing, as far as the nature of the objects can permit.

I begin my attempt, by assisting you to form a just idea of *magnitude*; producing, as examples, the smallest as well as the greatest extensions of matter actually discoverable in the system of the Universe. And first, it is necessary to fix on some one determinate division of measure, obvious to the senses, and of which we have an exact idea, that of a foot, for instance. The quantity of this, once established, and rendered familiar to the eye, will enable us to form the idea of every other quantity, as to length, great

Vol. I.

B

or



or small; the former, by ascertaining how many feet it contains; and the latter, by ascertaining what part of a foot measures it. For, having the idea of a foot, we have that also of it's half, of it's quarter, of it's twelfth part, denominat'd an inch, of it's hundredth, and of it's thousandth part; which is so small as almost to escape the sight. But it is to be remarked, that there are animals, not of greater extension than this last subdivision of a foot, which, however, are compos'd of members through which the blood circulates, and which again contain other animals, as diminutive compar'd to them, as they are compar'd to us. Hence it may be concluded that animals exist, whose smallness eludes the imagination; and that these again are divisible into parts inconceivably smaller. Thus, for example, though the ten thousandth part of a foot be too small for sight, and, compar'd to us, ceases to be an object of sense, it nevertheless surpasses in magnitude certain complete animals; and must, to one of those animals, were it endowed with the power of perception, appear extremely great.

Let us now make the transition from these minute quantities, in pursuing which the mind is lost, to those of the greatest magnitude. You have the idea of a mile;* the distance from hence to Magdeburg is comput'd to be 18 miles;† a mile contains 24,000 feet, and we employ it in measuring the distance of the different regions of the globe, in order to avoid

* The German mile is equal to 4/3-5ths miles English, nearly.

† About 83 English miles.

numbers

numbers inconceivably great, in our calculations, which must be the case if we us'd foot instead of mile. A mile then, containg 24,000 feet, when it is said that Magdeburg is 18 miles from Berlin, the idea is much clearer, than if the distance of these two cities were said to be 432,000 feet: A number so great almost overwhelms the understanding. Again, we shall have a tolerably just idea of the magnitude of the earth, when we are told that it's circumference is about 5,400 miles. And the diameter being a straight line passing through the centre, and terminating, in opposite directions, in the surface of the sphere, which is the acknowledged figure of the earth, for which reason also we give it the name of *globe*, the diameter of this *globe* is calculated to be 1720 miles;* and this is the measurement which we employ for determining the greatest distances discoverable in the heavens. Of all the heavenly bodies the moon is nearest to us, being distant only about 30 diameters of the earth, which amount to 51,600 miles,† or 1,238,400,000 feet; but the first computation of 30 diameters of the earth, is the clearest idea. The sun is about 300 times farther from us than the moon; and when we say his distance is 9,000 diameters of the earth, we have a much clearer idea, than if it were express'd in miles, or in feet.

* About 7,920 English miles. The diameter of our earth is really 7,964 English miles, it's circumference 25,020. The mean distance of the moon is 240,000 miles, which scarcely exceeds the 400th part of the sun's mean distance, or 93,720,000 miles.

† About 237,360 miles English.

B 2

You



You know that the earth performs a revolution round the sun in the space of a year, but that the sun remains fixed. Beside the earth, there are five other similar bodies, named planets, which revolve round the sun; two of them at smaller distances, Mercury and Venus; and three at greater, namely Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. All the other stars which we see, comets excepted, are called fixed; and their distance from us is incomparably greater than that of the sun. The distances are undoubtedly very unequal, which is the reason that some of these bodies appear greater than others. But the nearest of them is, unquestionably, above 5,000 times more distant than the Sun: its distance from us, accordingly, exceeds 45,000,000 of times the earth's diameter, that is 77,400,000,000 of miles;* and this again multiplied by 24,000 will give that prodigious distance expressed in feet. And this, after all, is the distance only of those fixed stars which are the nearest to us; the most remote which we see, are perhaps a hundred times farther off. It is probable, at the same time, that all these stars taken together, constitute only a very small part of the whole universe, relatively to which these prodigious distances are not greater than a grain of sand compared to the earth. This immensity is the work of the Almighty, who governs the greatest bodies and the smallest.†

Berlin, 19th April, 1760.

* 356,050,000,000 miles English.

† This letter, in the original edition, that of Leipzig, 1770, is dated, *Berlin 19th April, 1760*, and concludes with these words, (which

L E T T E R II.

Of Velocity.

FLATTERING myself that your Highness may be pleased to accept the continuation of my instructions, a specimen of which I took the liberty of presenting to you in a former letter, I proceed to unfold the idea of velocity, which is a particular species of extension, and susceptible of increase and of diminution. When any substance is transported, that is, when it passes from one place to another, we ascribe to it a velocity. Let two persons, the one on horseback, the other on foot, proceed from Berlin to Magdeburg, we have, in both cases, the idea of a certain velocity; but it will be immediately affirmed, that the velocity of the former exceeds that of the latter. The question then is, Wherein consists the

(which are with great propriety omitted by the philosophic French editor of the work, twenty-seven years afterwards) and who is now crowning with success the arms in which we are so deeply interested. This is, no doubt, a dreadful "falling off" from the majesty of the subject. Who cares now about the success of the Prussian arms in 1760? But philosophers, as well as other men, are under the dominion of local and temporary circumstances. Frederick II. was then in the zenith of his glory; Euler was living at Berlin, and giving lessons in philosophy to the niece of that illustrious prince. Is it to be wondered, then, that he should sink for a moment into the courtier, and offer a drachm of incense to a great lady; or, that a soul so uniformly devout, should acknowledge the providence of the Almighty in a particular instance?



difference which we observe between these several degrees of velocity? The road is the same to him who rides and to him who walks: but the difference evidently lies in the time which each employs in performing the same course. The velocity of the horseman is the greater of the two, as he employs less time on the road from Berlin to Magdeburg; and the velocity of the other is less, because he employs more time in travelling the same distance. Hence it is clear, that in order to form an accurate idea of velocity, we must attend at once to two kinds of quantity, namely, to the length of the road, and to the time employed. A body, therefore, which in the same time passes through double the space which another body does, has double its velocity; if, in the same time, it passes through thrice the distance, it is said to have thrice the velocity, and so on. We shall comprehend, then, the velocity of a body, when we are informed of the space through which it passes in a certain quantity of time. In order to know the velocity of my pace, when I walk to Lytzow,* I have observed that I make 120 steps in a minute, and one of my steps is equal to two feet and a half. My velocity, then, is such, as to carry me 300 feet in a minute, and a space sixty times greater, or 18,000 feet in an hour, which however does not amount to a mile, for this, being 24,000 feet, would require an hour and 20 minutes. Were I, therefore, to walk from hence to Magdeburg, it would take exactly 24 hours. This conveys an accurate idea of the velo-

* A village about a league from Berlin.

city

city with which I am able to walk. Now it is easy to comprehend what is meant by a greater or less velocity. For if a courier were to go from hence to Magdeburg in 12 hours, his velocity would be the double of mine: if he went in eight hours, his velocity would be triple. We remark a very great difference in the degrees of velocity. The tortoise furnishes an example of a velocity extremely small. If she advances only one foot in a minute, her velocity is 300 times less than mine, for I advance 300 feet in the same time. We are likewise acquainted with velocities much greater. That of the wind admits of great variation. A moderate wind goes at the rate of 10 feet in a second, or 600 feet in a minute; its velocity therefore is the double of mine. A wind that runs 20 feet in a second, or 1200 in a minute, is rather strong; and a wind which flies at the rate of 50 feet in a second is extremely violent, though its velocity is only 10 times greater than mine, and would take two hours and twenty-four minutes to blow from hence to Magdeburg.

The velocity of sound comes next, which moves 1000 feet* in a second, and 60,000 in a minute. This velocity, therefore, is 200 times greater than that of my pace; and were a cannon to be fired at Magdeburg, if the report could be heard at Berlin, it

* The velocity of sound is generally computed at 1,142 feet each second, but varies with the elasticity and density of the air. The earth travels in her orbit 1,612,000 miles in the space of 24 hours, and therefore with a velocity more than 50 times greater than that of a cannon ball. Light moves about 13 millions of miles every minute.

B 4

would



would arrive there in seven minutes. A cannon ball moves with nearly the same velocity; but when the piece is loaded to the utmost, the ball is supposed capable of flying 2,000 feet in a second, or 120,000 in a minute. This velocity appears prodigious, though it is only 400 times greater than that of my pace in walking to Lytzw; it is at the same time the greatest velocity known upon earth. But there are in the heavens velocities far greater, though their motion appears to be extremely deliberate. You know that the earth turns round on it's axis in 24 hours: every point of it's surface, then, under the equator, moves 5,400 miles* in 24 hours, while I am able to get through only 18 miles.† It's velocity is accordingly 300 times greater than mine, and less notwithstanding than the greatest possible velocity of a cannon ball. The earth performs it's revolution round the sun in the space of a year, proceeding at the rate of 128,250 miles‡ in 24 hours. It's velocity, therefore, is 18 times more rapid than that of a cannon ball. The greatest velocity of which we have any knowledge is, undoubtedly, that of light, which moves 2,000,000 of miles § every minute, and exceeds the velocity of a cannon ball 400,000 times.

22d April, 1760.

* 24,840 English miles

‡ 589,950 English.

† About 83 English.

§ 9,200,000 miles English.

LETTER

LETTER III.

Of Sound, and it's Velocity.

THE elucidations of the different degrees of velocity, which I have had the honour to lay before your Highness, carry me forward to the examination of sound, or noise in general. It must be remarked, that a certain portion of time always intervenes before sound can reach our ears, and that this time is longer in proportion to our distance from the place where the sound is produced; a second of time being requisite to convey sound 1000 feet.

When a cannon is fired, those who are at a distance do not hear the report for some time after they have seen the flash. Those who are a mile, or 24,000 feet distant, hear not the report till 24 seconds after they saw the flame. You must no doubt have frequently remarked, that the noise of thunder reaches not the ear for some time after the lightning: and it is by this we are enabled to calculate our distance from the place where the thunder is generated. If, for example, we observe that 20 seconds intervene between the flash and the thunder-clap, we may conclude that the seat of the thunder is 20,000 feet distant, allowing 1000 feet of distance for every second of time. This primary property leads us to inquire, In what sound consists? Whether it's nature is similar to that of smell, that is, whether sound issues from the body which produces it, as smell is emitted



emitted from the flower, by filling the air with subtle exhalations, proper to affect our sense of smelling. This opinion was formerly entertained, but it is now demonstrated, that from a bell struck nothing proceeds that is conveyed to our ear, and that the body which produces sound loses no part of it's substance. When we look upon a bell that is struck, or the string of an instrument when touched, we perceive that these bodies are then in a state of trembling, or agitation, by which all their parts are affected; and that all bodies, susceptible of such an agitation of their parts, likewise produce sound. These shakings or vibrations are visible in the string of an instrument when it is not too small; the tense string A C B passes alternately into the situation A M B and A N B. (*See plate I. fig. 1. in which I have represented these vibrations much more obvious to sense than they are in fact.*) It must be further observed, that these vibrations put the adjacent air into a similar vibration, which is successively communicated to the more remote parts of the air, till it come at length to strike our organ of hearing. It is the air, then, which receives these vibrations, and which transmits the sound to our ear. Hence it is evident, that the perception of sound is nothing else but the impression made on our ear by the concussion of the air, communicated to us through the organ of hearing; and when we hear the sound of a string touched, our ear receives from the air as many strokes as the string performs vibrations in the same time. Thus, if the string performs 100 vibrations in a second,

second, the ear likewise receives 100 strokes in the same time; and the perception of these strokes is what we call sound. When these strokes succeed each other uniformly, or when their intervals are all equal, the sound is regular, and such as is requisite to music. But when the strokes succeed unequally, or when their intervals are unequal among themselves, an irregular noise, incompatible with music, is the result. On considering somewhat more attentively the musical sounds, whose vibrations take place equally, I remark first, that when the vibrations, as well as the strokes impressed on the ear, are more or less strong, no other difference of sound results from it, but that of stronger or weaker, which produces the distinction, termed by musicians, *forte & piano*. But there is a difference much more essential, when the vibrations are more or less rapid, that is, when more or fewer of them are performed in a second. When one string makes 100 vibrations in a second, and another string makes 200 vibrations in the same time, their sounds are essentially different; the former is lower or more flat, and the other higher or more sharp. Such is the real difference between the flat and sharp sounds, on which all music hinges, and which teaches how to combine sounds different in respect of flatness and sharpness, but in such a manner as to produce an agreeable harmony. In the flat sounds there are fewer vibrations in the same time than in the sharp sounds; and every key of the harpsichord contains a certain and determinate number of vibrations, which are completed in a second.

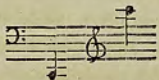
Thus



Thus the note marked by the letter C,* makes nearly 100 vibrations in a second; and the note marked $\overset{\equiv}{c}$ makes 1600 vibrations in the same space of time. A string which vibrates 100 times in a second, will give precisely the note C; and if it vibrated only 50 times, the note would be lower or more flat. But with regard to our ear, there are certain limits beyond which sound is no longer perceptible. It would appear that we are incapable of determining either the sound of a string which makes less than 30 vibrations in a second, because it is too low; or that of a string which would make more than 7552 in a second, because such a note would be too high.

26th April, 1760.

* The note C is that which is produced by touching the thickest string of a violoncello; the note $\overset{\equiv}{c}$ is the fourth octave of the first; accordingly, these two notes, represented by the usual method of pricking music, are



Mr. Euler marks the progression of octaves thus:

1st octave, 2d octave, 3d octave, 4th octave.

C, or ut. c. $\overset{\equiv}{c}$ $\overset{\equiv}{c}$

and in like manner for the other notes of the gamut; D. E. F. G. A. B. or re, mi, fa, sol, la, si.

In writing the chromatic scale, he employs the following signs:

C. Cs, D, Ds, E, F, Fs, G, Gs, A, B, H, c
 ut, ut \sharp , re, re \sharp , mi, fa, fa \sharp , sol, sol \sharp , la, si \flat , si \sharp , ut.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

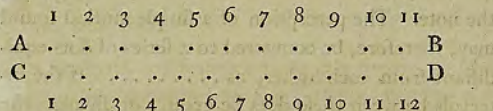
Of Consonance and Dissonance.

I RESUME my remark, that on hearing a simple musical sound, our ear is struck with a series of strokes equally distant from each other, the frequency and number of which, in a given space of time, constitute the difference which subsists between low notes and high: so that, the smaller the number of vibrations or strokes produced in a given time, say a second, the lower we estimate that note; and the greater the number of such vibrations, the higher is the note. The perception of a simple musical sound may, therefore, be compared to a series of dots equidistant from each other, as If the intervals between these dots be greater or smaller, the sound produced will be lower or higher. It cannot be doubted, that the perception of a simple sound is somewhat similar or analogous to the sight of such a series of dots equidistant from each other: we are enabled thus to represent to the eye what the ear perceives on hearing sound. If the distances between the dots were not equal, or were these dots scattered about confusedly, they would be a representation of a confused noise, inconsistent with harmony. This being laid down, let us consider what effect two sounds emitted at once must produce on the ear. First, it is evident, that if two sounds are equal, or if each performs the same number of vibrations in

the

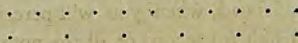


the same time, the ear will be affected in the very same manner as by a single note; and, in music, these two notes are said to be in unison, which is the simplest *accord*: we mean by the term *accord* the blending of two or more sounds heard at once. But if two sounds differ in respect of low and high, we shall perceive a mixture of two series of strokes, in each of which the intervals are equal among themselves, but greater in the one than in the other; the greater intervals corresponding to the lower note, and the smaller to the higher. This mixture, or this accord of two notes, may be represented to the eyes by two series of dots arranged on two lines A B and C D;



and in order to form a just idea of these two series, we must have a clear perception of the order which subsists among them, or, in other words, of the relation between the intervals of the one line and of the other. Having numbered and marked the dots of each line, and placed No. 1. under No. 1; those marked with the figure 2, will not exactly correspond, and still less those marked 3: but we find No. 11 exactly over No. 12: from which we discover that the higher note makes 12 vibrations, and the other only 11. If we had not affixed the figures, the eye would hardly have perceived this order; it is the same with the ear, which would with much difficulty

difficulty have traced it in the two notes which I have represented by two rows of dots. But in the following figure,



you discover at the first glance that the upper line contains twice as many dots as the under, or that the intervals in the under line are twice as great as those of the upper. This is undoubtedly, next to unison, the simplest of all cases, in which you can at once discover the order which subsists between these two series of dots; and the same thing holds with respect to the two notes represented by these two lines of dots: the number of vibrations contained in the one will be precisely the double of the vibrations contained in the other, and the ear will easily perceive the pleasing relation of these two sounds; whereas, in the preceding case, it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to discriminate. When the ear readily discovers the relation subsisting between two notes, their accord is denominated *consonance*: and if it be very difficult, or even impossible to catch this relation, the accord is termed *dissonance*. The simplest consonance, then, is that in which the high note produces precisely twice as many vibrations as the low note. This consonance, in the language of music, is called *octave*: every one knows what it means; and two notes which differ precisely an octave, harmonize so perfectly, and possess such a complete resemblance, that musicians mark them by the same letters. Hence it is that in church-music

the



the women sing an octave higher than the men, and yet imagine they are uttering the same sounds. You may easily ascertain the truth of this by touching the keys of a harpichord, when you will perceive with pleasure the delightful accord of all the notes which are just an octave distant, whereas any other two notes whatever will strike the ear less agreeably.

29th April, 1760.

LETTER V.

Of Unison and Octaves.

YOUR Highness has by this time remarked, that the accord which musicians call an octave, strikes the ear in a manner so decided, that the slightest deviation is easily perceptible. Thus, having touched the Key marked F, that marked f, which is an octave higher, is easily attuned to it, by the judgment of the ear only. If the string which is to produce this note be ever so little too high or too low, the ear is instantly offended, and nothing is easier than to put the two keys perfectly in tune. Thus we observe, that in singing the voice slides easily from one note to another, which is just an octave higher or lower. But were it required to pass immediately from the note F to the note d, for example, an ordinary finger might easily fall into a mistake, unless assisted by an instrument. Having fixed the note F, it is almost impossible all at once to make the transition to the note d. What then is the reason of this

this difference, that it is so easy to make note f harmonize with note F, and so difficult to make note d accord with it? The reason is evident from the remarks already made: it is this, that note F and note f make an octave, and that the number of vibrations of note f is precisely double that of note F. In order to have the perception of this accord, you have only to consider the proportion of one to two, which, as it instantly strikes the eye by the representation of the dots I formerly employed, affects the ear in a similar manner. You will easily comprehend, then, that the more simple any proportion is, or expressed by small numbers, the more distinctly it presents itself to the understanding, and conveys to it a sentiment of satisfaction.* Architects likewise carefully attend to this maxim, as they uniformly employ in their works proportions as simple as circumstances permit. They usually make the height of doors and windows double the breadth, and endeavour to employ throughout proportions capable of being expressed by small numbers, because this is obvious and grateful to the understanding. The same thing holds good in music: accords are pleasing only in so far as the mind perceives the relation subsisting between the sounds, and this relation is so much more

* In order to have a clear conception of what follows, it must be recollected, that the terms *relation* and *ratio* are synonymous, and that the author is here considering geometrical proportion, which consists in the number of times that the first term is contained in the second.—F. E.



easily perceptible, as it is expressed by small numbers. Now, next to the relation of equality, which denotes two sounds in unison, the ratio of two to one is undoubtedly the most simple, and it is this which furnishes the accord of an octave: hence it is evident, that this accord possesses many advantages above every other consonance. Having thus explained the accord, or interval of two notes denominated by musicians an octave, let us consider several notes, as F, f, \bar{f} , $\bar{\bar{f}}$, $\bar{\bar{\bar{f}}}$, each of which is an octave higher than the one immediately preceding: since then the interval of F from f, of f from \bar{f} , of \bar{f} from $\bar{\bar{f}}$, of $\bar{\bar{f}}$ from $\bar{\bar{\bar{f}}}$ is an octave, the interval of F to \bar{f} will be a double octave, that of F to $\bar{\bar{f}}$ a triple octave, and that of F to $\bar{\bar{\bar{f}}}$ a quadruple octave. Now, while note F makes one vibration, note f makes two, note \bar{f} makes four, note $\bar{\bar{f}}$ makes eight, and note $\bar{\bar{\bar{f}}}$ makes sixteen: hence we see, that as an octave corresponds in the relation of 1 to 2, a double octave must be in the ratio of 1 to 4, a triple in that of 1 to 8, and a quadruple in that of 1 to 16. And the ratio of 1 to 4, not being so simple as that of 1 to 2, for it does not so readily strike the eye, a double octave is not so easily perceptible to the ear as a single; a triple is still less perceptible, and a quadruple still much less so. When, therefore, in tuning a harpsichord, you have fixed the note F, it is not so easy to attune the double octave \bar{f} as the single f; it is still more difficult to attune the triple octave $\bar{\bar{f}}$ and the quadruple $\bar{\bar{\bar{f}}}$ without rising through the intermediate octaves.

These

These accords are likewise comprehended in the term consonance; and as that of unison is most simple, they may be arranged according to the following gradations:

- I. Degree, unison, indicated by the relation of 1 to 1.
- II. Degree, the immediate octave, in the ratio of 1 to 2.
- III. Degree, the double octave, in that of 1 to 4.
- IV. Degree, the triple octave, in that of 1 to 8.
- V. Degree, the quadruple octave, in that of 1 to 16.
- VI. Degree, the quintuple octave, in that of 1 to 32.

And so on, as long as sound is perceptible. Such are the accords denominated consonances, to the knowledge of which we have been thus far conducted; but hitherto we know nothing of the other species of consonance, and still less of the dissonances employed in music. Before I proceed to the explanation of these, I must add one remark respecting the name octave, given to the interval of two notes, the one of which contains twice the vibrations contained in the other. You see the reason of it in the principal stops of the harpsichord, which rise by seven degrees before you arrive at the octave C, D, E, F, G, A, B, c, so that stop c is the eighth, reckoning C the first. And this division depends on a certain series of musical intervals, the nature of which shall be unfolded in the following letters.

3d May, 1760.



LETTER VI.

Of other Consonances.

IT may be affirmed, that the relations of one to 2, of 1 to 4, of 1 to 8, of 1 to 16, which we have hitherto considered, and which contain the progression of octaves, are all formed by the number 2 only; since 4 is 2 times 2; 8, 2 times four; 16, two times 8. Were we to admit, therefore, the number 2 alone into music, we should arrive at the knowledge of only the accords or consonances which musicians call the single, double, or triple octave; and as the number 2, by its reduplication, furnishes only the numbers 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, the one being always double the preceding, all other numbers would remain unknown. Now, did an instrument contain octaves only, as the notes marked C, c, \bar{c} , \bar{c} , $\bar{\bar{c}}$, and were all others excluded, it could not produce an agreeable music, on account of its too great simplicity. Let us introduce, then, together with number 2, the number 3 likewise, and observe what accords or consonances would be the result. The ratio of 1 to 3 presents at once two sounds, the one of which makes 3 times more vibrations than the other in the same time. This ratio is undoubtedly the most easily to be comprehended, next to that of 1 to 2; it will, accordingly, furnish very pleasing consonances, but of a nature totally different from that of octaves. Let us suppose, then, that in the proportion of 1

to

to 3, number 1 corresponds to note C; since note c is expressed by number 2, number 3 gives a sound higher than c, but at the same time lower than note \bar{c} , which corresponds to number 4. Now, the note expressed by 3 is that to which musicians affix the letter g, and they denominate the interval from c to g, *a fifth*, because in the keys of a harpsichord that of g is the fifth from c, as c, d, e, f, g. If then number 1 produces the sound C, number 2 will give c; number 3 gives g, number 4 the note \bar{c} ; and note \bar{c} being the octave of g, the number corresponding to it will be 2 times 3, or 6. Rising still an octave, the sound $\bar{\bar{c}}$ will correspond to a number twice greater, that is 12. All the notes with which the two numbers 2 and 3 furnish us, indicating note C by 1, therefore are,

C, c, g, \bar{c} , \bar{g} , $\bar{\bar{c}}$, $\bar{\bar{g}}$, $\bar{\bar{\bar{c}}}$
1. 2. 3. 4. 6. 8. 12. 16.

Hence it is clear, that the ratio of 1 to 3 expresses an interval, compounded of an octave and a fifth, and that this interval, on account of the simplicity of the numbers which represent it, must be, next to the octave, the most grateful to the ear. Musicians accordingly assign the second rank among consonances to the fifth; and the ear catches it so easily, that there is no difficulty in tuning a fifth. For this reason, in violins, the four strings rise by fifths, the lowest being g, the second \bar{a} , the third \bar{c} , and the fourth $\bar{\bar{e}}$;^{*} and every musician puts them in tune

* That is, in the language of *sol-fa*ing, *sol*, *re*, *la*, *mi*.

C 3

by



by the ear only. A fifth, however, is not so easily tuned as an octave; but the fifth above the octave, as from C to g, being expressed by the proportion of 1 to 3, is more perceptible than a simple fifth, as from C to G, or from c to g, which is expressed by the proportion of 2 to 3: and it is likewise known by experience, that having fixed the note C, it is easier to attune to it the higher fifth g, than the simple G. If unity had marked the note F, number 3 would mark the note \bar{c} , so that,

F, f, \bar{c} , \bar{f} , \bar{c} , \bar{f} , \bar{c} would be marked by

1. 2. 3. 4. 6. 8. 12. where, from f to c the interval is a fifth in the relation of 2 to 3; from \bar{f} to \bar{c} , from \bar{f} to \bar{c} are also fifths, as the ratio of 4 to 6, and of 8 to 12, is the same as that of 2 to 3. For if two strings perform, in the same time, the one 4 vibrations, the other 6, the former string will make, in a time equal to half the first space of time, two vibrations, and the second, in the same time, will make three. Now the sounds emitted from these strings are the same in both cases; of consequence the relation of 4 to 6 expresses the same interval as that of 2 to 3, that is, a fifth. Hence we have arrived at the knowledge of another interval contained in the ratio of 3 to 4, which is that of \bar{c} to \bar{f} , and consequently also of c to f, or of C to F. Musicians call it a *fourth*; and being expressed by greater numbers, it is not so agreeable, by a great deal, as the fifth, and still less so than the octave. Number 3 having furnished us new accords or consonances, namely the fifth and the fourth,

fourth, before we call in any others, let us take it again three times, in order to have the number 9, which will give a higher note than note 3^* , or \bar{c} one octave and one fifth. Now, \bar{c} is the octave of \bar{c} , and \bar{g} the fifth of \bar{c} ; number 9 then gives the note \bar{g} , so that \bar{c} , \bar{f} , \bar{g} , \bar{c} will be marked by

6. 8. 9. 12; and if these notes be taken in the lower octaves, the relations remaining the same, we shall have:

C, F, G; c, f, g; \bar{c} , \bar{f} , g; \bar{c} , \bar{f} , \bar{g} ; \bar{c} .

6. 8. 9; 12. 16. 18; 24. 32. 36; 48. 64. 72. 96. which leads us to the knowledge of new intervals.

The first is that of F to G, contained in the ratio of 8 to 9, which musicians call a *second* or *tone*. The second is that of G to f, contained in the ratio of 9 to 16; called a *seventh*, and which is one second, or one tone less than an octave. These proportions, being already expressed by very great numbers, are not reckoned among the consonances, and musicians call them *dissonances* or *discords*.

Again, if we take three times the number 9, or 27, it will mark a tone higher than \bar{c} , and precisely a fifth higher than g; it will be accordingly the tone \bar{g} , and it's octave \bar{a} will correspond to twice the number 27, or 54, and it's double octave \bar{a} to twice the

* Great care must be taken to guard ourselves from affixing to numbers the idea of a perfect identity with the sounds which they represent. The first express only the relation of the number of vibrations performed in the same time, by the bodies which emit the sounds in question. There is no real analogy between number and sound.—F. E.



number, 54, or 108. Let us represent these tones some octaves lower, in the manner following:

C, D, F, G; c, d, f, g, \bar{c} , \bar{d} , \bar{f} ,
24, 27, 32, 36; 48, 54, 64, 72; 96, 108, 128,
 \bar{g} ; \bar{c} , \bar{d} , \bar{f} , \bar{g} ; \bar{c} .
144; 192, 216, 256, 288; 384.

Hence we see, that the interval from D to F is contained in the ratio of 27 to 32, and that of F to d in the ratio of 32 to 54, the two terms of which are divisible by 2; and then in place of this relation we have that of 16 to 27. The first interval is called a *terce minor*, or *lesser third*, and the other a *greater sixth*. The number 27 might be still farther multiplied by 3, but music extends not so far, and we limit ourselves to number 27, resulting from 3, multiplied three times by itself: other musical tones still wanting are introduced by means of number 5, and shall be unfolded in my next Letter.

3d May, 1760.

LETTER VII.

Of the twelve Tones of the Harpsichord.

THE present subject of my correspondence with your Highness is so dry, that I begin to apprehend it may be growing tiresome. That I may not waste too much time on it, and be relieved from the necessity of recurring frequently to a topic so disgusting,

gusting, I send you by this conveyance three letters at once. My intention, in undertaking it, was to render visible the real origin of musical notes, with which musicians themselves are almost totally unacquainted. It is not to theory they are indebted for the knowledge of all these sounds; but rather to the secret power of genuine harmony, operating so efficaciously on their ears, that they have been constrained, if I may be allowed to say it, to receive tones actually in use, though they are not hitherto perfectly agreed respecting their just determination. The principles of harmony are ultimately reducible to numbers,* as I have demonstrated; and it has been remarked, that the number 2 furnishes octaves only, so that having fixed, for example, the note F, we are conducted to the notes \bar{f} , \bar{f} , \bar{f} . The number 3 afterwards furnishes C, \bar{c} , \bar{c} , \bar{c} , which differ one fifth from the preceding series; and the repetition of this same number 3, furnishes again the fifths of the first, namely C, \bar{c} , \bar{c} , \bar{c} ; and finally, the third repetition of this number 3 adds farther the notes D, \bar{d} , \bar{d} , \bar{d} . The principles of harmony then being attached to simplicity, seem to forbid our pushing farther the

* This is true only to a certain degree; for, if we except the knowledge of the relation of notes, or the numerical expression of intervals, numbers cannot be introduced into music, as Mr. d'Alembert has justly remarked, but as a piece of useless parade; and the scanty knowledge they furnish is far short of the theory of composition, which is founded on the pleasure of the ear, and hitherto no one has attempted to make this a subject of calculation.
—F. E.

repetition



repetition of number 3; hitherto, accordingly, we have only the following notes for each octave:

F. G. c. d. f.

16. 18. 24. 27. 32. which certainly would not furnish a very copious music. But let us introduce, in addition to these, number 5, and observe the tone which shall emit five vibrations while F emits only one. Now, f makes two vibrations in the same time; f̄ makes four; and f̄̄ six. The note in question then, is between f̄ and f̄̄. It is that which musicians indicate by letter ā, the accord of which, with note f̄, is denominated a greater third, and is found to produce a very agreeable concord, being expressed by the very simple ratio of 4 to 5. Farther, note ā with note f̄̄ produces an accord contained in the ratio of 5 to 6, which is almost as agreeable as the former, and which is denominated a lesser third, represented by the ratio of 27 to 32, and it's difference from the first is almost imperceptible to the ear. This same number 5 being applied to the other notes G, c, d, will give us, in like manner, their greater thirds, taken in the second octave below, that is to say, the notes f̄, c̄, and d̄, which, being transposed, will give the following notes, with their corresponding numbers.

F. Fs. G. A. B. c. d. e. f.
128. 135. 144. 160. 180. 192. 216. 240. 256.

Take away the notes Fs, and you will have the principal touches of the harpsichord, which, according to the ancients, constitute the genus denominated diatonic, resulting from number 2, from number 3, thrice repeated, and from number 5. Admitting these

these founds only, we are in a condition to compose harmonies very agreeable and various, the beauty of which is founded on the simplicity alone of the numbers corresponding to the notes. Finally, upon applying, a second time, the number 5, we shall be furnished with the thirds of the four new tones, A, E, B, Fs, which we have just found, we shall have the notes Cs Gs Ds and Bs, so that now the octave is completed of the 12 tones received in music. All these tones derive their origin from the three numbers 2, 3, and 5, multiplying 2 by itself, as often as the octaves require; but we carry the multiplication of 3 only to the third stage, and of five to the second. All the tones of the first octave are contained in the following table, in which you will see how the fundamental numbers 2, 3, and 5, enter into the composition of those which express the relation of these notes.

ut or C	2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 3 . . .	384	Difference.
ut x Cs	2, 2, 2, 2, 5, 5	400	16
re D	2, 2, 2, 2, 3, 3, 3	432	32
re x Ds	2, 3, 3, 5, 5	450	18
mi E	2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 3, 5	480	30
fa F	2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2 . . .	512	32
fa x Fs	2, 2, 3, 3, 5	540	28
sol G	2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 3, 3	576	36
sol x Gs	2, 2, 2, 3, 5, 5	600	24
la A	2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 5	640	40
fi b. Bb	3, 3, 3, 5, 5	675	35
fi n B#	2, 2, 2, 2, 3, 3, 5	720	45
ut c	2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 3 . . .	768	48

While



While note C makes 384 vibrations, the tone Cs gives 400, and the others as many as are marked by their corresponding numbers: note c will give then, in the same time, double the number of vibrations marked by 384, that is 768. And for the following octaves, you have only to multiply these numbers by 2, by 4, or by 8. Accordingly note \bar{c} will give twice 768, or 1536 vibrations, note $\bar{\bar{c}}$ twice 1536, or 3072 vibrations, and note $\bar{\bar{\bar{c}}}$ twice 3072, or 6144 vibrations. In order to comprehend the formation of sounds, by means of these numbers 2, 3, and 5, it must be remarked, that the points placed between the numbers in the preceding table signify that they are multiplied into each other; thus, taking the tone Fs, for example, the expression 2, 2, 3, 3, 3, 5, signifies 2 multiplied by 2, that product by 3, that again by 3, that again by 3, and that by 5. Now 2 by 2 make 4, that by 3 make 12, that by 3 make 36, that by 3 make 108, and that by 5 make 540. Hence it is seen that the differences between these tones are not equal among themselves; but that some are greater, and others less. This is what real harmony requires. The inequality, however, not being considerable, we commonly look on all these differences as equal, denominating the interval from one note to another, *femitone*; and thus the octave is divided into 12 *femitones*. Many modern musicians make them equal, though this be contrary to the principles of harmony, because no one fifth or third is perfectly exact, and the effect is the same as if these tones were
not

not perfectly in tune.* They likewise admit, that we must give up exactness of accord in order to obtain the advantage of equality of femitones, so that the transposition from any one tone whatever to another may in no respect injure the melody. They acknowledge, however, that the same piece played in the tone C, or a half tone higher, that is Cs, must considerably affect it's nature. It is evident, therefore, that in fact all femitones are not equal, whatever efforts may be made by musicians to render them such; because true harmony resists the execution of a design contradictory to it's nature. Such, then, is the real origin of the musical notes already in use; they are derived from the numbers 2, 3, and 5. Were we farther to introduce number 7, that of the tones of an octave would be increased, and the art of music carried to a higher degree of perfection. But here the mathematician gives up the musician to the direction of his ear.

3^d May, 1760.

* The alteration thus forced upon the fifths, in order that every key of the harpsichord may serve equally for the higher note flattened, and for the lower sharpened, and that, at the end of the subdivision, the octaves may be exact, is called *temperament*. It has been remarked that fifths may be a little weakened without hurting the ear very much; whereas greater thirds become harsh and disagreeable when they are strengthened.—F. E.



LETTER VIII.

Of the Pleasure derived from fine Music.

IT is a question as important as curious, Whence is it that a fine piece of music excites a sentiment of pleasure? The learned differ on this subject. Some pretend that it is mere caprice, and that the pleasure produced by music is not founded on reason, because what is grateful to one is disgusting to another. This, far from deciding the question, renders it only more complicated. The very point to be determined is, How comes it, that the same piece of music produces effects so different, seeing all admit that nothing happens without reason? Others maintain that the pleasure derived from fine music consists in the perception of the order which pervades it. This opinion appears at first sight sufficiently well founded, and merits a more attentive examination. Music presents objects of two kinds, in which order is essential. The one relates to the difference of the sharp or flat tones; and you will recollect, that it consists in the number of vibrations performed by each note in the same time. This difference, which is perceptible between the quickness of the vibrations of all sounds, is what is properly called harmony. The effect of a piece of music, of which we feel the relations of the vibrations of all the notes that compose it, is the production of harmony. Thus two notes which differ an octave, excite a perception of the relation

lation of 1 to 2; a fifth, of that of 2 to 3; and a greater third, of that of 4 to 5. We comprehend then the order which is found in harmony, when we know all the relations which pervade the notes of which it is composed, and it is the perception of the ear which leads to this knowledge. This perception more or less delicate, determines why the same harmony is felt by one, and not at all by another, especially when the relations of the notes are expressed by somewhat greater numbers. Music contains, beside harmony, another object equally susceptible of order, namely the *measure*, by which we assign to every note a certain duration: and the perception of the measure consists in the knowledge of this duration, and of the relations which result from it. The drum and tymbal furnish the example of a music in which measure alone takes place, as all the notes are equal among themselves, and then there is no harmony. There is likewise a music consisting wholly in harmony, to the exclusion of measure. This music is the *choral*, in which all the notes are of the same duration; but perfect music unites harmony and measure. Thus the connoisseur who hears a piece of music, and who comprehends, by the acute perception of his ear, all the proportions on which both the harmony and the measure are founded, has certainly the most perfect knowledge possible of that music; while another, who perceives these proportions only in part, or not at all, understands nothing of the matter, or possesses at most a very slender knowledge of it. But the sentiment of pleasure excited



cited by fine music must not be confounded with the knowledge of which I have been speaking, though it may be confidently affirmed, that a piece of music cannot produce any, unless the relations of it are perceived. For this knowledge alone is not sufficient to excite the sentiment of pleasure; something more is wanting, which no one hitherto has unfolded. In order to be convinced that the perception alone of all the proportions of a piece of music is insufficient to produce pleasure, you have only to consider music of a very simple construction, such as goes in octaves alone, in which the perception of proportions is undoubtedly the easiest. Such music would be far from conveying pleasure, though you might have the most perfect knowledge of it. It will be said then that pleasure requires a knowledge not quite so easily attained, a knowledge that occasions some trouble; which must, if I may use the expression, cost us something. But, in my opinion, neither is this a satisfactory solution. A dissonance, the relations of which are expressed by the highest numbers, is caught with more difficulty; a series of dissonances, however, following without choice, and without design, cannot please. The composer must therefore have pursued in his work, a certain plan, executed in real and perceptible proportions. Then a connoisseur on hearing such a piece, and comprehending, beside the proportions, the very plan and design which the composer had in view, will feel that satisfaction which constitutes the pleasure procured by exquisite music to an ear accustomed to relish the beauties and delicacies

cacies of that enchanting art. It arises, then, from divining in some measure the views and feelings of the composer, whose execution, when fortunate, fills the soul with an agreeable sensation. It is a satisfaction somewhat similar to that which is derived from the sight of a well acted pantomime, in which you may conjecture, by the gesture and action, the sentiments and dialogue intended to be expressed, and which presents besides a well digested plan. The enigma of the chimney-sweeper,* which was so diverting to your Highness, furnishes me with another excellent comparison. When you can guess the sense, and discover that it is perfectly expressed in the proposition of the enigma, you feel a very sensible pleasure on making the discovery; but insipid and incongruous enigmas produce none. Such are, if I may be permitted to judge, the true principles on which decisions respecting the excellency of musical compositions are founded.

6th May, 1760.

L E T T E R IX.

Compression of the Air.

THE explanation of sound, which I have had the honour to present to your Highness, leads me forward to a more particular consideration of air, which, being susceptible of a movement of vibration,

* A celebrated enigma of La Mothe, published in his fugitive pieces.



such as that by which musical strings, bells, and other sonorous bodies are agitated, transmits the concussion to our ears. It will be immediately asked, What is air? For it does not appear, at first sight, to be a material substance. As we perceive no sensible body in it, surrounding space seems to contain no matter whatever. We feel nothing; we can walk, and move every limb in it, without meeting the slightest obstacle. But you have only to move your hand briskly, to be sensible of some resistance, and even to perceive a stream of wind excited by that rapid movement. Now the wind is nothing else but air put in motion; and seeing it is capable of producing effects so surprising, how is it possible to doubt that air is a material substance, and consequently a body?*

For the terms *body* and *matter* are synonymous.

Body is divided into two great classes, solid and fluid. The air, it is evident, must be referred to the class of fluids. It has several properties in common with water; but it is much more subtle and fine. Experiments have ascertained that air is about 800 times more subtle and more rarefied than water;

* It is an erroneous principle that the air is distinguished from other fluids by its susceptibility of compression. All fluids are perfectly elastic, only the force required to produce a certain degree of compression differs very widely in each. Thus the same force which causes water to suffer a contraction of only the thirty thousandth part of its bulk, condenses air into one half. The real distinction between the aeriform and liquid fluids seems to be, that the reaction of the former is proportional to their density, while that of the latter is proportional to the quantity of compression.—E. E.

and

and that if air were to be rendered 800 times denser than it is, it would have the same consistency as the other fluid. A principal property of air, by which it is distinguished from other fluids, is its quality of being compressed, or reduced into a smaller space. This is demonstrated by the following experiment. Take a tube of metal or glass A B C D (*plate I. fig. 2.*) close shut at the end A B, and open at the other, into which is introduced a piston, filling exactly the cavity of the tube. On pushing the piston inwards, when it has arrived at the middle E, the air which occupied at first the cavity A B C D will be reduced one half, and consequently will have become twice as dense. If the piston is pushed still farther in, as far as F, half way between B and E, the air will be reduced to a space four times smaller than at first; and if you continue to drive forward the piston to G, so that B G shall be the half of B F, or the eighth part of the whole length B D, the same air which in the beginning was expanded over the whole cavity of the tube, will be contracted to a space eight times smaller. Going on in the same manner to contract it into a space 800 times smaller, you will obtain an air 800 times denser than ordinary air. It would then be as dense as water, which it would be easy to prove by other experiments. Hence it appears, that air is a fluid substance, capable of compression, or, in other words, of being reduced to a smaller space, and in this respect it differs entirely from water. For, let the tube A B C D be filled with this last fluid, and attempt to introduce the piston, you will find it impossible

D 2





possible to drive it forward. Employ what force you may, you will gain nothing; the tube will burst sooner than you can reduce the water to a space sensibly smaller. This then is the essential difference between air and water: the latter is susceptible of no compression, but air may be compressed to any degree you please. The more the air is compressed, the denser it becomes; thus the air which occupied a certain space, when compressed or reduced to half that space, becomes twice as dense; if reduced to a space 10 times smaller, it is rendered 10 times more dense; and so on. I have already remarked, that could it be rendered 800 times more dense, it would then be as dense as water, and consequently as heavy, for weight increases in the same proportion as density. Gold, the heaviest substance with which we are acquainted, is likewise the most dense. It is found by experiment to be 19 times heavier than water; and that a mass of gold, in form of a cube of one foot, would weigh 19 times a mass of water of the same dimensions. Now such a mass of water weighs 70 pounds; the mass of gold therefore would weigh 19 times 70, that is 1330 pounds. It follows that were it possible to compress air till it were reduced to a space 19 times 800, that is, 15,200 times smaller, it would become as dense and as weighty as gold.

But it is very far from being possible to carry the compression of air to that degree. You may at first without difficulty drive forward the piston, but the farther you advance, the resistance becomes more
powerful;

powerful; and, before you are able to reduce the air to a space 10 times smaller, such a force must be employed as would burst the tube, unless it were of uncommon strength. And not only would such a force be necessary to drive the piston farther, but an equal force would be requisite to keep it in that state, for on the slightest relaxation of the power, the compressed air would drive it backward. The more compressed the air is, the more violent are its efforts to expand, and to recover its natural state. This is what we call the spring or elasticity of the air, of which I propose to treat in my next letter.

10th May, 1760.



LETTER X.

Rarefaction and Elasticity of the Air.

I HAVE remarked, that air is a fluid, about 800 times more subtile than water; so that could water, without being reduced to vapour, be expanded over a space so many times greater, and could become of consequence so many times more subtile, it would be of a similar consistence with the air which we breathe. But air has a property which water has not, that of suffering compression into a smaller space, and of being proportionably condensed, as I demonstrated in the preceding letter. And we discover in air another property no less remarkable: it is capable of being expanded over a greater space, and thus

D 3 rendered



rendered still more subtle. This operation is called the rarefaction of air.

You have only to take, as before, a tube A B C D, (*plate I. fig. 3.*) at the bottom of which A C, let there be a small aperture O, so that, on introducing the piston as far as to F, the air may escape by that aperture without being condensed. The air which now occupies the cavity A C E F, will then be in it's natural state; let the aperture O be closely stopped. On drawing back the piston, the air will gradually expand through the greater space, so that when the piston is brought back to the point G, the space C G being double the space C F, the same air which was contained in the space A C E F, will fill a space twice as great; it will be of course only half as dense, or, which is the same thing, twice as rare. If you draw back the piston to the point H, the space C H being four times as great as the space C F, the air will become four times as rare as it was at first, as it is then expanded over a space four times as great. And could the piston be drawn back till the space became 1000 times as great, the air would still equally expand through that space, and consequently become 1000 times as rare. Here then, likewise, air differs essentially from water: for if the cavity A C E F were filled with water, to no purpose would you draw back the piston; the water would continue to occupy the same space as at first, and the rest would remain empty. Hence we see that the air possesses an intrinsic power of expanding itself more and more, which it exerts not only when it is condensed,
but

but also when rarefied. In whatever state of condensation or rarefaction the air may be, it makes unremitting efforts to extend itself over a larger space, and is continually expanding so long as it meets no obstacle. This property is called the elasticity of air; and it has been demonstrated by experiments which I shall presently describe, that this elastic power is in proportion to the density; in other words, the more the air is condensed the greater are it's efforts to expand itself; and the more rarefied it is, the feebler are those efforts. It will be demanded, perhaps, why the air now in my chamber does not make it's escape by the door, being endowed with an expansibility continually impelling it to occupy a greater space? The answer is obvious. This would infallibly happen, did not the external air make equal efforts to extend itself; but the efforts of the air of the chamber to get out, and that of the external air to press in, being equal, they balance each other, and remain in a state of rest. Had the external air accidentally acquired a greater degree of density, that is, more elasticity, it would in part force it's way into the chamber, where the air being compressed, would likewise acquire a greater degree of elasticity; this current would accordingly last till the elasticity of the internal became equal to that of the external air. And should the air of the chamber suddenly become more dense, and it's elasticity greater than that of the external air, it would force it's way out, and it's density gradually diminishing, it's elasticity too would diminish, till it became equal to the external air;



the current would then cease, and the air in the chamber would be in equilibrium with the external. Free air, then, is in a state of rest only when it has the same degree of elasticity with that which surrounds it; and as soon as that of the one tract becomes more or less elastic than the adjoining, the equilibrium can no longer subsist; but if the elasticity is greater, the air will expand itself and slide into spaces where it is smaller: and from this motion of the air results the wind.* Hence it comes to pass that the elasticity of the air is sometimes greater, sometimes less in the same place; and this variation is indicated by the *barometer*, the description of which merits a particular consideration. I confine myself, at present, to these qualities of air, its condensation and rarefaction, intreating you to recollect, that the more condensed it is, the greater power of expansion or elasticity it acquires; and that on the contrary, the more it is rarefied, the more this quality is diminished. Experimental philosophers have invented one machine for rarefying of air, and another for condensing it: the former is called the air-pump, the latter the condenser. These machines serve to perform many curious experiments, with which you are already well acquainted. I reserve to myself, however, the liberty of recapitu-

* The action of the moon upon the atmosphere, and the motion of the earth's rotation likewise produce regular winds. Chains of mountains sometimes change the direction of winds. Hence we see that the known cause of currents of air are of three kinds, regular, accidental, and local.—*F. E.*

lating

lating some of them, because they are necessary to elucidate and explain the nature and properties of air, which, as they powerfully contribute to the preservation of animals, and the production of plants, pres upon us the importance of forming a just idea of them.

14th May, 1760.

L E T T E R XI.

Gravity of the Air.

I HAVE endeavoured to demonstrate, that the air is a fluid, endowed with the particular property of suffering compression into a smaller space, and of expanding into a greater, when no obstacle interposes. This property of air, known by the name of spring, or elasticity, from its resemblance to a spring, which it requires an effort to unbend, and which resumes its form as soon as the effort ceases, is accompanied by another, in common to it with all bodies in general, namely, gravity or weight, in virtue of which all bodies tend toward the centre of the earth, and by which they are under the necessity of falling down, unless supported. The learned are very much divided, and very uncertain, respecting the primary and mechanical cause of this power, but its existence is indubitable.* Daily experience evinces

* The properties of matter must ultimately be referred to the arbitrary appointment of the Author of Nature. There are certain



it. We know even the quantity of it, and can measure it exactly. For the weight of a body is nothing else but the power which constrains it to descend; and as the weight of every body may be exactly measured, we know perfectly well the effect of gravity, though the cause, or that invisible power which acts upon all bodies, forcing them to descend, may be absolutely unknown to us. It follows, that the more matter any body contains, the heavier it is. Gold and lead are heavier than wood or a feather, as they contain more matter in the same bulk, or in the same extent. But as air is a very subtle and thin substance, and its gravity of consequence very little, this property usually escapes our senses. Experiments, however, may be made, capable of producing full conviction that it possesses gravity. You have seen how the air may be rarefied in a vessel or a tube; and by means of the air-pump, this rarefaction may be carried so far, as almost entirely to exhaust the air, and to leave the receiver sensibly a vacuum. Or you may take a tube A B C D, (*plate 1. fig. 4.*) into which you introduce the piston, so as perfectly to touch the bottom, and to leave no air between the two surfaces. To perform the experiment with more advantage, let there be at the bottom of the

tain principles at which the prudent philosopher will choose to stop, lest, by pushing his researches too far, he involve himself in greater obscurity. Those who attempted to account for gravity by mechanical impulse, committed an egregious oversight; for the question still recurs, What produces this impulse? No metaphysical work has ever done so much service to philosophy as Mr. Hume's admirable essay on "Necessary Connexion."—*F. E.*

tube

tube a little aperture G, through which the air may escape, as the piston is pushed forward. Let the aperture then be closely stopped, that not a particle of air may be included between the piston and the bottom of the tube. Having made this arrangement, draw back the piston, and the external air not being able to force its way into the tube, there will remain between the bottom of the tube and the piston, a perfect vacuum, which may be increased at pleasure, by continuing to draw back the piston. You may thus exclude the air contained in a vessel; and such vessel, reduced to a vacuum, being tried in accurate scales, will be found to weigh less than when filled with air. Hence we deduce this very important conclusion, That the air contained in an empty vessel increases its weight, and that the air itself possesses gravity. Were the vessel large enough to contain 800 pounds weight of water, we might discover by this experiment, that the body of air which fills it would weigh nearly one pound. Hence we conclude, that air is 800 times lighter than water. I must be understood as speaking of the common air which surrounds us, and which we breathe; for you know that with the assistance of art, air may be compressed by forcing it into a smaller space, and its gravity thereby increased. Were the vessel which I have mentioned, to be filled with air compressed to twice the consistency of common air, it would weigh two pounds more than when empty. Were it filled with air 800 times more compressed than common air, it would weigh 800 pounds more than when empty, that



that is, as much as if it were filled with water. The air, then, possessing a certain degree of gravity, though in the natural state of this fluid it's gravity is extremely small, it must, however, as well as all other bodies, tend toward the centre of the earth, and consequently presses on every thing which opposes this tendency. For this reason the superior air presses downward on the inferior, and this last undergoes a compression from the weight of the whole mass of air which is above it. Hence it comes to pass, that in these regions, the air has a certain degree of compression or density, which is the effect of the gravity of the superior air; and that if the superior air had more or less gravity, the air which surrounds us would likewise become more or less dense. It is thus that the air below supports the weight of the superior air, and that the more we ascend, the more it loses it's density and rarefies; so that were it possible to continue to ascend, the air would at length be totally lost, or would become so subtle and so rarefied, as to be no longer perceptible. Were you to descend, on the contrary, into a very deep pit, you would find the density of the air continually increasing, from the increase of the mass of air pressing downward upon it.

17th May, 1760.

LETTER

LETTER XII.

Of the Atmosphere, and the Barometer.

HAVING demonstrated that air is a fluid, elastic, and possessed of gravity, I proceed to remark, that the earth is surrounded on all sides by this fluid, and that the space which it fills is called the atmosphere. It would be absolutely impossible for a perfect vacuum to exist on any part of the earth's surface; for the air of the adjoining regions, compressed by the weight of the superior air, and making incessant efforts to dilate, would force itself into the empty space and fill it. The atmosphere, therefore, occupies the whole region which surrounds the earth; the inferior air is continually compressed by the weight of the superior air, and that until the degree of elasticity which results from this compression, is able to form an equilibrium to the compressing power. Then, although this air is compressed only in a downward direction, it produces, in virtue of it's elasticity, efforts to expand itself not only downwards, but sideways also. For this reason, the air in a chamber is as much compressed as the external, which appeared a paradox to certain philosophers. For they reasoned thus: In a chamber, the inferior air is compressed only by the small quantity of superior air included in that chamber, whereas the external air is compressed by the weight of the whole atmosphere, the height of which is immense. But
the



the difficulty is at once removed, by the property which air possesses, of expanding itself when compressed in all directions. Now the air in the chamber is at first reduced, by the external air, to the same degree of compression and elasticity with itself; hence, whether I am in my chamber, or in the open air, I feel the same compression; being always understood, that I mean at the same height, or at the same distance from the centre of the earth. For I have already remarked, that on getting to the summit of a high tower, or of a lofty mountain, the compression of the air is less, because the weight of the superior air is then diminished. Various phenomena confirm this state of the compression of the air.

Take, for instance, (*plate I. fig. 5.*) a tube A B, close at the end A, and having filled it with water, or any other fluid, invert it, so that the open end B may be undermost, and you will find that the fluid does not run out. The elasticity of the air acting at B, in opposition to the fluid, supports it in the tube. But if you make an aperture into the tube at A, the fluid immediately descends: the air which is admitted by the aperture acts then from above, by its pressure upon the water, and forces it downward; which demonstrates, that while the tube was close at top, it was the external air which supported the water in it. And were such a tube to be placed in a receiver, from which the air was extracted by the air-pump, the fluid would instantly descend. The ancients, to whom this property of air was unknown, alleged, that nature supported the water in the tube, from
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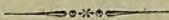
the horror which it has of a vacuum. For, said they, were the fluid to descend, there must be a vacuum at the upper end of the tube, as the air could find no admission into it. According to them, therefore, it was the horror of a vacuum which kept the fluid suspended in the tube. It is now demonstrated, that it is the force of the air which supports the weight of the fluid in the tube; and as this force has a determinate quantity, the effect cannot exceed a certain limit.

It is found by experiment, that if the tube A B is more than 33 feet in length, water will no longer remain suspended in it, but will run out till it comes to the height of 33 feet; the space left a-top will, of course, be a real vacuum. The force of the air then cannot support water in the tube at more than the height of 33 feet; and as the same force supports the whole atmosphere, it is concluded, that a column of the atmosphere is of equal weight, the basis being equal with a column of water 33 feet high. If, instead of water, you were to use mercury, which is 14 times heavier, the force of the air could support it in the tube at the height of only 28 inches; and if you go beyond that, the mercury descends, till its height corresponds to the pressure of the atmosphere, leaving the space a-top in the tube a vacuum. Such a tube close above, and open below, being filled with mercury, forms the instrument called the *Barometer*, by means of which it has been discovered, that the atmosphere is not always of equal gravity. For its real gravity is ascertained by the barometer, from the
height



height of the mercury, which, as it rises or falls, indicates that the density of the air, or the pressure of the atmosphere, is increasing or diminishing.

20th May, 1760.



LETTER XIII.

Of Wind-Guns, and the Compression of Air in Gun-Powder.

HAVING explained that remarkable property of air which is denominated compressibility, by means of which it is reducible into a smaller space, we are enabled to give an account of several productions of both nature and art. I shall begin with an explanation of the wind-gun, though I have no doubt but you are well acquainted with that instrument. It's construction is similar to that of the common fusil; but instead of powder, we employ condensed air to discharge the bullet.

In order to comprehend the process of this operation, it must be observed, that air can be compressed only by a force proportional to the degree of condensation which you wish to obtain; in this state, it strives to extend itself, and the efforts which it makes are precisely equal to the force necessary to reduce it to the size which it actually occupies. The more, then, that the air is condensed, the more violent are it's efforts to dilate; and if the air is raised to a density twice as great as when it is free, which is the case

case when we reduce it to half the space which it occupies in it's natural state, the force with which it endeavours to expand is equal to the pressure of a column of water 33 feet high. Figure to yourself a great cask of this height, filled with water; this fluid will, undoubtedly, make a strong pressure on the bottom of the vessel. If you make a hole in it near the bottom, the water will force itself out with considerable violence: and on stopping the aperture with your finger, you will be abundantly sensible of this pressure of the water. The bottom of the cask sustains throughout a similar pressure. Now a vessel containing air twice as dense as that of the atmosphere, must undergo precisely such a pressure, and if it were not sufficiently strong to sustain it, would burst. The sides, then, of this vessel must be as strong as the bottom of the cask I have mentioned. If in the same vessel the air were three times as dense as common air, the force with which it would act upon the sides must be increased in the proportion of one more, and would be the same which is sustained by the bottom of a cask full of water, of 66 feet in height. You will easily conceive that this force must be very great, and that it must go on increasing in the same ratio, according to the different degrees of condensation of the air. This being laid down, there is, at the bottom of the air-gun, a cavity strongly fortified on all sides, into which the air is more and more compressed, in order to reduce it to as high a degree of density as the force employed for



that purpose can admit. The air confined in this cavity will thereby acquire a prodigious power to force itself out: and if an aperture is made, it will fly off with a velocity proportional to that power. Now there is such an aperture which terminates in the cavity of the tube into which the ball is put. It is closely stopped; but when you wish to discharge the piece, you open, for an instant, the valve which shuts it; and the air rushing forth, forces out the ball with all the velocity which we remark in shooting. Every time you discharge, the valve is kept open only a single moment; a certain quantity of air, therefore, and no more, can escape, and enough still will remain for several shot. But on discharge, its density and corresponding elasticity diminish; and for this reason, the latter discharges are less forcible than the former, till the force is at length entirely exhausted. Were the valve to remain open any considerable time, more air would make its escape, which would all go to waste; for this force acts upon the ball only while it is in the barrel of the gun; as soon as it is shot off, it is useless to leave a passage for the air. Hence it appears, that were it possible to carry the condensation of this fluid a great deal farther, you will produce from the wind-gun the same effects as from the guns and cannons in common use.

The effect of artillery is accordingly founded on the same principle. Gunpowder is only a substance, which contains in its pores an air extremely condensed.

denf. * Nature produces here the same operations which we employ for compressing the air, but carries the condensation to a much higher degree. All that is necessary is to open the little cavities in which this dense air is confined, that it may have liberty to escape. This is performed by means of fire, which

* Recent experiments have somewhat corrected this explanation. Gunpowder, it is well known, is a composition of sulphur, nitre and charcoal. In the detonation of this substance, the heat puts the sulphur and charcoal in a condition to dissolve the acid of the nitre, and to take from it the dephlogistic air which enters into its composition. The atmospheric *mephitic*, which is another principle of this acid, finding itself thereby disengaged, begins to expand, and forms a first elastic permanent fluid. The firing of the charcoal produces fixed air, which is a second elastic permanent fluid. That of the sulphur produces the vitriolic acid, which is reduced to vapour by the heat of the inflammation (a). Finally, the water which enters into the composition of the powder, is likewise converted into vapour. Here, then, are four elastic fluids produced in the progress of this operation. To their expansion the phenomenon of the explosion is to be ascribed. The two last, brought back to a liquid state by being cooled, form the smoke we perceive after the discharge.—F. E.

(a) This account of the aeriform fluids, extricated by the inflammation of gun-powder, seems very embarrassed. Sulphur is not an essential ingredient in gun-powder; but as it burns at a low heat, it renders the mass more susceptible of catching fire. The inflammation of gunpowder is precisely the same phenomenon with the detonation of charcoal and nitre. That salt is composed of vegetable alkali and nitrous acid, which consists of pure and mephitic airs united in a certain proportion. By means of the heat at first applied, and then rapidly evolved during the process of inflammation, the nitrous acid is decomposed; its mephitic air is expelled, while its pure air, combining with the charcoal, forms fixed air, which is also discharged. It appears from experiment, that this aerial compound, at the instant of its extrication, has upwards of five hundred times the elasticity of common air.—E. E.



bursts open these little envelopes: the air then suddenly flies off, with incredible velocity, and forces before it bullets and balls in a manner entirely similar to that which we have remarked in the case of the wind-gun, but with much greater impetuosity. Here, then, are two very surprising effects produced from the condensation of air, with this single difference, that in the one, it is the work of art; and in the other, that of nature. We see therefore in this, as in every thing else, how infinitely the operations of human skill are surpassed by those of nature.

24th May, 1760.

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LETTER XIV.

*The Effect produced by the Heat and Cold on all Bodies,
and of the Pyrometer and Thermometer.*

BESIDE the properties already mentioned, air has another very remarkable quality, in common to it with all bodies, not excepting such as are solid; I mean the change produced on it by heat and cold. It is observable, in general, that all bodies, being heated, dilate or increase in size. A bar of iron made very hot, is somewhat longer and thicker than when it is cold. There is an instrument called the *Pyrometer*, which accurately indicates the slightest differences of length or shortness, that a bar of iron undergoes, to which it is applied. You know that
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in a watch, some of the wheels move very slowly, though they communicate motion to others which revolve with considerable rapidity. By a similar mechanism it is possible, from a change almost imperceptible, to produce one very considerable, as is the case of the pyrometer, which I have just mentioned. It has an index, which runs over a very considerable space, on the slightest change produced in the length of the body on which the experiment is made. On applying this instrument to a bar of iron, or any other metal, placed over a burning lamp, the index is immediately put in motion, and shews that the bar is becoming longer; and, as the heat increases, the bar likewise increases in length. But on extinguishing the lamp, and the bar growing cold again, the index moves in a contrary direction, and thereby shews that the bar is growing shorter. The difference, however, is so slight, that, without the help of this instrument, it would be difficult to perceive it. Yet this variation is abundantly perceptible in the motion of pendulum time-pieces. The use of the pendulum is to regulate the motion. If you lengthen it, the clock goes slower, and if you shorten it, the clock goes faster. Now it is remarked, that in very hot weather all clocks lose time, and proportionably gain it in very cold weather; which clearly demonstrates, that the pendulum is lengthened or shortened, according to the temperature of the air.

All bodies undergo this alteration, but the quantity differs greatly, according to the nature of the
substance



substance of which they are composed. In fluids, especially, this variability is very perceptible. To ascertain it, take a glass tube, B C, (*plate I. fig. 6*) joined at the end B to a hollow ball A, and let it be filled with any liquor you please up to M. On heating the ball A, the liquor will rise from M toward C: when it becomes cold again, the liquor will fall toward B. This clearly proves that the same liquid occupies a greater space when it is heated, and a smaller when cold. It is likewise clear, that this variation must be more perceptible, when the ball is large, and the tube narrow. For, if the whole mass of liquor increases or diminishes by a thousandth part, that thousandth part will occupy, in the tube, a space great in proportion to its narrowness. Such an instrument then is exceedingly proper to indicate to us the different degrees of heat and cold; for if the liquor rises or falls, it is a certain indication that the heat is increasing or diminishing. This instrument is called the *Thermometer*, which points out the changes that take place in the temperature of the air, and of the bodies which surround us. It must not be confounded with the barometer, whose use is to indicate the gravity of the air, or rather the force with which it is compressed. This caution is the more necessary, that the barometer and thermometer have a considerable resemblance: being both glass tubes filled with mercury; but their construction, and the principles on which they are founded are entirely different. This quality of body, extension by heat,

heat, and contraction by cold, belongs likewise, in a very superior degree, to air. I shall explain it at greater length in my next letter.*

27th May, 1760.

LETTER XV.

Changes produced in the Atmosphere by Heat and Cold.

HEAT and cold produce the same effect on air, as on every other body. Air is rarefied by heat, and condensed by cold. From what I have said of the elasticity of air, you easily perceive, that a certain quantity of this fluid is not determined to occupy only a certain space, as all other bodies are; but by

* There are three kinds of thermometers in use at present, that of Reaumur is adopted in France, Switzerland, and Italy; that of Celsius in Sweden and Denmark. In both of these, the scale commences at the freezing point; but the interval, between that and the boiling point, is divided, in the former, into 80 parts, and the latter, into 100. Fahrenheit's thermometer is used in Britain and Holland; the freezing point is marked on it 32, and the boiling 212, the interval containing 180 degrees. The freezing point is very nearly permanent, but the boiling point depends on the pressure of the atmosphere, and near the surface of the earth it varies one degree and six-tenths for every inch of variation in the height of the barometer. Water has been heated in a close vessel to such a degree, as to melt lead and tin; and in the receiver of an air-pump, it may be converted into vapour, at the ordinary temperature of the air. Hence the reason why water boils so quickly on the summit of lofty mountains. The boiling point would be at 172° on the heights of the Andes.—E. E.



it's nature, it has a perpetual tendency to dilate, and actually does expand itself, as long as it meets no obstacle.

This property of air is denominated elasticity. When this fluid is confined in a vessel, it makes efforts in every direction to burst it; and these efforts are greater or less in proportion to it's condensation. Hence we come to this conclusion, that the elasticity of air is in exact proportion to it's density; so that when it's density is doubled, it's elasticity is likewise doubled; and that, in general, a certain degree of elasticity corresponds to a proportional degree of density. It must be remarked, however, that this takes place no longer than while the air preserves the same degree of heat. Whenever it becomes hotter, it acquires greater power of expansion than what corresponded to it's density; and cold produces the opposite effect, by diminishing it's expansive power. In order then to determine the elasticity of a mass of air, it is not sufficient to know it's density; you must likewise know it's degree of heat. In order to set this in a clear light. Let us suppose two chambers closely shut on all sides, but united by a door of communication; and that the heat in both is equal. In order to this the air in both chambers must have the same degree of density. For were the air more dense, and consequently more elastic, in the one than in the other, part of it would escape from the one, and force it's way into the other, till the density in both were the same. But let us suppose that one of the chambers has become hotter than the other, the air thereby acquiring

acquiring a greater elasticity, would of course force itself into the other, and reduce that which it found there into a smaller space, till the elasticity in both chambers was brought to the same degree. During this change there will be a current of air, through the door, from the chamber which is more, into that which is less heated; and when the equilibrium is restored, the air will be more rarefied in the warm apartment, and more condensed in the cold; and yet the elasticity of both will be the same. From this it clearly follows, that two masses of air of different density, may have the same elasticity, when the one is hotter than the other; and this circumstance taken into consideration, it may happen, that with the same degree of density, they may be endowed with different degrees of elasticity.

What I have said of two chambers may be applied to two countries; and hence it may be concluded, that when one country becomes warmer than the other, there must of necessity be a current of air from the one to the other: and from this results the wind.

Here, then, is one fruitful source of winds, though there are perhaps others, which consist in the different degrees of heat, which prevail in different regions of the earth; and it is demonstrable, that the whole air which surrounds the earth could not be in a state of rest, unless that, universally, at equal heights, there were found the same degree, not only of density, but likewise of heat. And should it happen that there were no wind over the whole surface of the earth, it might with certainty be concluded, that the



the air would likewise be every where equally dense and warm at equal heights. Now as this never happens, there must of necessity always be winds, at least in some regions. But these winds are, for the most part, to be met with only on the surface of the earth; and the higher you rise, the less violent winds are. Winds are hardly perceptible at the summit of very high mountains; * there perpetual tranquillity reigns; from which it is impossible to doubt, that at considerable elevations, the air is always in a state of rest. Hence it follows, that in regions remarkably elevated, there universally prevails all over the earth, the same degree of density and heat; for were it hotter in one place than in another, the air could not be in a state of rest. And, as there is no wind in these elevated regions, it must necessarily follow, that the degree of heat there must be universally and always the same; which is a very surprizing paradox, considering the great variations of heat and cold which we feel on the surface of the earth, during the course of a year, and even of one day; without taking into the account the difference of climate, that is, the intolerable heats felt under the equator, and the

* This does not appear perfectly exact. A perpetual current of wind, from east to west, must be produced by the motion of the earth's rotation. It results, likewise, from M. d'Alembert's theory of winds. Besides, the attraction of the moon, which is capable of raising the waters of the globe, undoubtedly communicates some motion to the atmosphere. Here, then, we have superior currents.

When aërostatics is carried to perfection, it will, perhaps, procure us satisfying information respecting this article of meteorology.—*F. E.*

dreadful

dreadful cold which ever prevails toward the poles of the earth. Experience itself, however, confirms the truth of this astonishing fact. The snow and ice remain equally, summer and winter, on the mountains of Switzerland, and are equally unchangeable on the Cordeliers, lofty mountains of Peru, situated under the very equator, and where there perpetually reigns, nevertheless, a cold as excessive as that of the polar regions. The height of these mountains is not a German mile,* or 24,000 feet. From this it may be, with confidence, concluded, that were it possible for us to ascend to the height of 24,000 feet, above the earth, we should always and universally meet with the same degree of cold, and that cold excessively severe.† We should remark there no sensible difference during either summer or winter, under the equator, or near the poles. At this height, and still higher, the state of the atmosphere is universally, and at all seasons, the same; and the variations of heat and cold take place near the surface of the earth alone. It is only in these inferior regions, that the effect of the rays of the sun becomes perceptible. You have, undoubtedly, some curiosity to know the reason of this. It shall be the subject of the following letter.

31st May, 1760.

* About 4 3-5ths miles, English.

† M. Charles, in his aerial voyage of the 1st Dec. 1783, felt this change of temperature in a very sensible manner; for then, on the surface of the earth, the fluid in the thermometer stood at 7° above the freezing point, and after about 10 minutes of ascension, it had fallen to 5° below it.—*F. E.*

LETTER



LETTER XVI.

*The Cold, felt on high Mountains and at great Depths,
accounted for.*

IT appears very surprizing, that we should feel the same degree of cold in all regions, after we have risen to a certain height, say 24,000 feet; considering that the variations with respect to heat, on the earth, not only in different climates, but in the same country, at different seasons of the year, are so perceptible. This variety, which takes place at the surface of the globe, is undoubtedly occasioned by the sun. It appears, at first sight, that his influence must be the same above and below, especially when we reflect, that a height of 24,000 feet, or a mile, though very great with respect to us, and even far beyond the height of the loftiest mountains, is a mere nothing, compared to the distance of the sun, which is about thirty millions of miles.* This is, therefore, a very important difficulty, which we must endeavour to solve. For this purpose I begin with remarking, that the rays of the sun do not communicate heat to any bodies, but such as do not grant them a free passage. You know that bodies, through which we can discern objects, are denominated *transparent*, *pellucid*, and *diaphanous*. These bodies are glass, crystal,

* Mr. Euler always means German miles, of 4000 fathoms each, or somewhat under 4 3/5ths miles English.—E. E.

diamond,

diamond, water, and several other liquids, though some are more or less transparent than others. One of these transparent bodies being exposed to the sun, is not heated to such a degree as a body not transparent, as wood, iron, &c. Bodies not transparent are denominated *opaque*. A burning-glass, for example, by transmitting the rays of the sun, sets on fire opaque bodies, while the glass itself is not sensibly heated. Water exposed to the sun becomes somewhat warm, only because it is not perfectly transparent; when we see it considerably heated by the sun at the brink of rivers, it is because the bottom, being an opaque body, is heated by the rays which the water transmits. Now, every heated body communicates that heat to all adjoining bodies; the water accordingly derives heat from the bottom. If the water be very deep, so that the rays cannot penetrate to the bottom, it has no perceptible heat, though the sun bears upon it.

As air is a very transparent body to a much higher degree than glass or water, it follows that it cannot be heated by the sun, because the rays are freely transmitted through it. The heat which we frequently feel in the air is communicated to it by opaque bodies, which the rays of the sun have heated; and were it possible to annihilate all these bodies, the air would scarcely undergo any change in its temperature by the rays of the sun: exposed to it or not it would be equally cold. But the atmosphere is not perfectly transparent: it is even sometimes so loaded with vapours, that it loses almost entirely its transparency,



transparency, and presents only a thick fog. When the air is in this state, the rays of the sun have a more powerful influence upon it, and heat it immediately.

But these vapours rise to no great height; at the height of 24,000 feet, and beyond, the air is so subtle and so pure, that it is perfectly transparent; and for this reason the rays of the sun cannot immediately produce any effect upon it. This air is likewise too remote from terrestrial bodies to receive a communication of heat from them; they act only upon such as are adjacent. Hence you will easily perceive that the rays of the sun cannot produce any effect in regions of the air very much elevated above the surface of the earth; and that the same degree of cold must always and universally prevail in such regions, as the sun has no influence there, and as the heat of terrestrial bodies cannot be communicated so far. This is nearly the case on the summit of very high mountains, where it is always much colder than on plains and in vallies.*

* There are clouds, however, above these mountains, and in almost as great a quantity as above the plains, which is demonstrated by the snows which cover the highest summits. There are few naturalists who have not been surprised by clouds in their excursions upon the mountains. The heat that is felt when such clouds are formed must be attributed almost entirely to the transmission of the water which found itself dissolved in the air, under the form of elastic fluid, to a liquid state. The heat of the solar rays, intercepted by the cloud, can produce no change in the inferior temperature, as it would have been transmitted from the ground.—F. E.

The

The city of Quito, in Peru, is almost under the equator, and were we to form our judgment from it's situation on the globe, we would suppose it oppressed with intolerable heat; the air, however, is abundantly temperate, and differs very little from that of Paris. Quito is situated at a great height above the real surface of the earth. In going to it from the sea shore you have to ascend for several days; it is accordingly built in an elevation equal to that of our highest mountains, though surrounded by others still much higher, called the Cordeliers. This last circumstance would afford a reason for thinking that the air there must be as hot as at the surface of the earth, as it is contiguous on all sides to opaque bodies, on which the rays of the sun fall. The objection is solid; and no solution can be given but this. That the air at Quito, being very elevated, must be much more subtle, and of less gravity than with us; and the barometer, which always stands considerably lower, incontestably proves it.

Air of such a quality is not so susceptible of heat as common air, as it must contain less vapour and other particles which usually float in the atmosphere; and we know by experience that air very much loaded is proportionably susceptible of heat. I must here subjoin another phenomenon no less surprising: In very deep pits, and lower still, if it were still possible to descend, the same degree of heat always and universally prevails, and nearly for the same reason. As the rays of the sun exert their influence only on the surface of the earth, and as the heat which they

there



there excite communicates itself up and down, this effect at very great depths is almost imperceptible. The same thing holds respecting considerable heights. This elucidation will, I flatter myself, prove satisfactory.*

3d June, 1760.

LETTER

* The reason which Professor Euler assigns for the cold that prevails in the higher regions of the atmosphere seems plausible, but will not stand an accurate examination. Light is much impaired in its passage through the atmosphere, and the heat communicated is in every case proportional to the quantity of absorption. It appears, from some ingenious experiments of M. Bouguer, that we receive only four-fifths of the rays of a vertical sun; and when that luminary approaches the horizon, the portion of his light which reaches the surface of the earth, is much smaller. Thus at an elevation of 20 degrees it is one half; at that of 10 degrees one third; and at that of five degrees one-eighth. Hence the sun-beams are most powerful on the summits of lofty mountains, for they suffer the greatest diminution in passing through the dense air of the lower regions. If the air derived its heat from the surface of the earth, those countries would be warmest which enjoyed the greatest quantity of sun-shine. The British islands are shrouded in clouds nine months of the year; yet our climate is milder than that of the same parallel on the Continent, where the sky is generally serene. The elevated town of Quito, exposed to a brilliant sun, enjoys a temperate air; while the Peruvian plains, shaded with fleecy clouds, are parched with heat. Were the reasoning in the text to be admitted, we should conclude that the tops of mountains are warmer than their bases. To say that air, much rarefied, is not susceptible of heat, is a very extraordinary assertion, since we are acquainted with no substance whatever that may not be heated. Besides, a more intense cold may be artificially produced than what prevails in the lofty regions of the atmosphere. We must recur to other principles for the true solution

LETTER XVII.

Of Light, and the Systems of Descartes and Newton.

HAVING spoken of the rays of the sun, which are the focus of all the heat and light that we enjoy, you will undoubtedly ask, What are these rays? This is beyond question one of the most important inquiries in physics, as from it an infinite number

solution of the fact. It is indifferent what portion of the air first receives the heat; the effect depends entirely on the nature of its distribution. If the atmosphere were of an uniform density throughout, the heat would at all heights be likewise the same. But as the density varies according to the altitude, the distribution of heat is affected by that circumstance, and follows a certain corresponding law. I would gladly develop the principles from which this theory is deduced, but the popular nature of the present treatise forbids all abstract discussion. I shall therefore content myself with giving a table of the diminution of heat at different altitudes.

Altitude in feet.	Diminution of heat, in degrees, of Farenheit,
3,000 — — — —	12°
6,000 — — — —	24½
9,000 — — — —	38
12,000 — — — —	53
15,000 — — — —	68½
18,000 — — — —	86½
21,000 — — — —	94½

The diminution of heat, on the ascent, is not quite so great in extensive continents; for the intercourse between the rare and the dense portions of the atmosphere is, in this case, necessarily slow, and the heat, which is principally formed at the surface, will only be partially dispersed.



number of phenomena is derived. Every thing that respects light, and that renders objects visible, is closely connected with this inquiry. The ancient philosophers seem to have taken little interest in the solution of it. They contented themselves with saying that the sun is endowed with the quality of shining, of giving heat and light. But is it not worth while to inquire, Wherein does this quality consist? Do certain portions, inconceivably small, of the sun himself, or of his substance, come down to

It is a common mistake to suppose, that the same heat obtains, at a certain depth, in every part of the globe. The fact is, that heat, originally derived from the sun, is communicated very slowly to the matter below the surface, which, therefore, does not feel the vicissitude of seasons, but retains the average temperature of the climate for many ages. Hence the utility of examining the heat of springs, which is the same with that of the substances through which they flow. The following table exhibits the average heat of places on the level of the sea, computed by the celebrated astronomer, Professor Meyer, for every five degrees of latitude.

Latitude.	Average Temperature.	Latitude.	Average Temperature.
0	84°	50	53½°
5	82½	55	49
10	82½	60	45
15	80½	65	41½
20	78	70	38
25	74½	75	35½
30	71	80	33½
35	67	85	32½
40	62½	90	32
45	58		

By comparing this table with the preceding, it is easy to discover, for any latitude, the altitude of the curve of congelation, or where the average temperature is 32°.—E. E.

us?

us? Or is the transmission similar to the sound of a bell, which the ear receives? though no part of the substance of the bell be separated from it, as I observed in explaining the propagation and perception of sound.

Descartes, the first of modern philosophers, maintained this last opinion, and having filled the whole universe with a subtle matter composed of small globules, which he calls the second element, he supposes that the sun is in a state of continual agitation, which he transmits to these globules, and pretends that they again communicate their motion in an instant to every part of the universe. But since it has been discovered that the rays of the sun do not reach us instantaneously, and that they take eight minutes to fly through that immense distance,* the opinion of *Descartes*, which laboured beside under other difficulties, has been given up.

The great *Newton* afterwards embraced the former system, and maintained that the luminous rays are really separated from the body of the sun, and the particles of light thence emitted with that inconceivable velocity which brings them down to us in about eight minutes. This opinion, which is that of most modern philosophers, particularly the English, is

* This important fact was discovered toward the end of the last century by Roemer, a learned Dane, of the ancient Academy of Sciences. It was an inequality of the satellites of Jupiter which led him to it. The cause of this aberration, discovered by Bradley in 1728, incontestably demonstrates the same phenomenon.—F. E.

F 2

called



called *the system of emanation*; it being imagined that rays emanate from the sun and other luminous bodies, as water emanates or springs from a fountain.

This opinion appears at first sight very bold, and irreconcilable to reason. For were the sun emitting continually, and in all directions, such floods of luminous matter, with a velocity so prodigious, he must speedily be exhausted, or at least some alteration must, after the lapse of so many ages, be perceptible. This, however, is contradicted by observation. It cannot be a matter of doubt, that a fountain which should emit streams of water in all directions, would be exhausted in proportion to the velocity of the emission; much more the sun, whose rays are emitted with a velocity so inconceivable. Let the particles of which rays of light are formed be supposed as subtle as you please, nothing will be gained: the system will ever remain equally untenable. It cannot be affirmed that this emanation is not made in all directions: for, wherever you are placed, the whole sun is visible, which proves incontestably, that rays from every point of the sun are emitted toward the spot which you occupy. The case is very different from that of a fountain, which should emit streams of water in all directions. For one point in the fountain could furnish only one stream directed to a particular spot, but every point of the sun's surface must emit an infinite number, diffusing themselves in all directions. This circumstance alone infinitely increases the expenditure of luminous matter, which the sun would have to make.

Another

Another difficulty, and which appears equally insuperable, is, that the sun is not the only body which emits rays, but that all the stars have the same quality: and as every where the rays of the sun must be crossing the rays of the stars, their collision must be violent in the extreme. How must their direction be changed by such collision! This collision must take place with respect to all luminous bodies, visible at the same time. Each, however, appears distinctly, without suffering the slightest derangement from any other: a certain proof that many rays may pass through the same point, without disturbing each other, which seems irreconcilable to the system of emanation. Let two fountains be set a playing upon each other, and you will immediately perceive their different streams disturbed and confounded: it must of consequence be concluded, that the motion of the rays of light is very essentially different from that of a *jet d'eau*, and in general from all substances forcibly emitted.

Considering afterwards transparent bodies through which rays are freely transmitted in all directions, the supporters of this system are under the necessity of affirming that these bodies contain pores, disposed in straight lines, which issue from every point of the surface, and proceed in all directions; it being inconceivable how there could be any line through which a ray of the sun might be transmitted with such amazing velocity, and even without the slightest collision. Here then are bodies wonderfully porous,



rous, which have the appearance, nevertheless, of being extremely solid.

Finally, in order to enjoy vision, the rays must enter into the eye, and penetrate it's substance with the same velocity. All these difficulties, taken together, will, I doubt not, sufficiently convince you, that the system of emanation has in no respect a foundation in nature; and you will certainly be astonished that it could have been conceived by so great a man, and embraced by so many enlightened philosophers. But it is long since Cicero remarked, that nothing so absurd can be imagined as to find no supporter among philosophers. For my part, I am too little a philosopher to adopt the opinion in question.

7th June, 1760.

LETTER XVIII.

Difficulties attending the System of Emanation.

HOWEVER strange the doctrine of the celebrated *Newton* may appear, that rays proceed from the sun by a continual emanation, it has, however, been so generally received, that it requires an effort of courage to call it in question. What has chiefly contributed to this is, no doubt, the high reputation of the great English philosopher, who first discovered the true laws of the motions of the heavenly bodies: and

and it is this very discovery which led him to the system of emanation.

Descartes, in order to support his theory, was under the necessity of filling the whole space of the heavens with a subtile matter, through which all the celestial bodies move at perfect liberty. But it is well known that if a body moves in air, it must meet with a certain degree of resistance; from which *Newton* concluded, that however subtile the matter of the heavens may be supposed, the planets must encounter some resistance in their motions. But, said he, this motion is not subject to any resistance: the immense space of the heavens, therefore, contains no matter. A perfect vacuum, then, universally prevails. This is one of the leading doctrines of the Newtonian philosophy, that the immensity of the universe contains no matter in the spaces not occupied by the heavenly bodies. This being laid down, there is between the sun and us, or at least from the sun down to the atmosphere of the earth, an absolute vacuum. In truth, the farther we ascend, the more subtile we find the air to be; from whence it would apparently follow, that at length the air would be entirely lost. If the space between the sun and the earth be an absolute vacuum, it is impossible that the rays should reach us in the way of communication, as the sound of a bell is transmitted by means of the air. For if the air, intervening between the bell and our ear, were to be annihilated, we should absolutely hear nothing, let the bell be struck ever so violently.



Having established, then, a perfect vacuum between the heavenly bodies, there remains no other opinion to be adopted but that of emanation; which obliged *Newton* to maintain, that the sun and all other luminous bodies emit rays which are always particles, infinitely small, of their mass, darted from them with incredible force. It must be such to a very high degree, in order to impress on rays of light that inconceivable velocity with which they come from the sun to us in the space of eight minutes. But let us see whether this theory be consistent with *Newton's* leading doctrine, which requires an absolute vacuum in the heavens, that the planets may encounter no manner of resistance to their motions. You must conclude, on a moment's reflection, that the space in which the heavenly bodies revolve, instead of remaining a vacuum, must be filled with the rays, not only of the sun, but likewise of all the other stars which are continually passing through it from every quarter, and in all directions, with incredible rapidity. The heavenly bodies which traverse these spaces, instead of encountering a vacuum, will meet with the matter of luminous rays in a terrible agitation, which must disturb these bodies in their motions much more than if it were in a state of rest.

Thus *Newton*, apprehensive lest a subtle matter, such as *Descartes* imagined, should disturb the motions of the planets, had recourse to a very strange expedient, and quite contradictory to his own intention, as, on his hypothesis, the planets must be exposed to a derangement infinitely more considerable.

I have

I have already submitted to you several other insuperable objections to the system of emanation; and we have now seen that the principal and indeed the only reason which could induce *Newton* to adopt it, is so self-contradictory as wholly to overturn it. All these considerations united, leave us no room to hesitate about the rejection of this strange system of the emanation of light, however respectable the authority of the philosopher who invented it.

Newton was, without doubt, one of the greatest geniuses that ever existed. His profound knowledge, and his acute penetration into the most hidden mysteries of nature, will be a just object of admiration to the present, and to every future age. But the errors of this great man should serve to admonish us of the weakness of the human understanding, which, after having soared to the greatest possible heights, is in danger of plunging into manifest contradiction.*

10th June, 1760.

LETTER

* The pious as well as learned and ingenious Author, in the first edition of these Letters, subjoined to this reflection on *Newton's* doctrine of emanation a series of reflections which do equal honour to his understanding and his heart. The French Editor, for what reason it does not appear, has thought proper to suppress them. Could he imagine a philosophical work disgraced by a modest and not unseasonable infusion of religious sentiment? Be how it will, the English Editor felt himself obliged to restore the passage, in presenting the too long neglected Euler to the British nation.— It follows:

“ If we are liable to weaknesses and inconsistencies so humiliat-
“ ing,



LETTER XIX.

A different System respecting the Nature of Rays and of Light, proposed.

YOU have seen that the system of the emanation of the rays of light labours under insuperable difficulties, and that the doctrine of a vacuum for the heavenly bodies to range in, is equally untenable; as the rays of light would completely fill it. Two things, then, must be admitted: first, the space through which the heavenly bodies move is filled with a subtile matter; secondly, rays are not an actual emanation from the sun and other luminous bodies, in virtue of which part of their substance is

“ing, in our researches into the phenomena of this visible world,
 “which lies open to the examination of our senses, how wretched
 “must we have been had God left us to ourselves with respect to
 “things invisible, and which concern our eternal salvation? On
 “this important article a Revelation was absolutely necessary to
 “us; and we ought to avail ourselves of it with the most pro-
 “found veneration. When it presents to us things which may
 “appear inconceivable, we have but to reflect on the imperfection
 “of human understanding, which is so apt to be misled, even as
 “to sensible objects. Whenever I hear a pretended Freethinker
 “invecting against the truths of religion, and even sneering at
 “it with the most arrogant self-sufficiency, I say to myself: poor
 “weak mortal, how inexpressibly more noble and sublime are the
 “subjects which you treat so lightly, than those respecting which
 “the great *Newton* was so grossly mistaken! I could wish your
 “Highness to keep this reflection ever in remembrance: occasions
 “for making it occur but too frequently.”—*E. E.*

violently

violently emitted from them, according to the doctrine of *Newton*.*

That subtile matter which fills the whole space in which the heavenly bodies revolve, is called *Ether*. Of its extreme subtilty no doubt can be entertained. In order to form an idea of it, we have only to attend to the nature of air, which, though extremely subtile, even on the surface of the earth, becomes more and more so as we ascend; and entirely ceases, if I may use the expression, when it comes to be lost in the ether. The ether, then, is likewise a fluid as the air is, but incomparably finer and more subtile, as we are assured that the heavenly bodies revolve

* The materiality of light is supported by the most convincing proofs that physics can afford. The inflection, refraction, and reflection of its rays, shew manifestly that, like other bodies, it is subject to attraction and repulsion; and the simple application of the doctrine of forces not only explains satisfactorily the phenomena, but assigns the precise effects with the most perfect accuracy. The difficulties which seem to attend the theory of emanation vanish on a close investigation. So vast is the tenuity of light, that it utterly exceeds the powers of conception. The most delicate instrument has never been certainly put in motion by the impulse of the accumulated sun-beams. Even on the most unfavourable supposition it appears from calculation that, in the space of 385,130,000 Egyptian years (of 360 days) the sun would lose only the $\frac{1}{1,217,420}$ th of his bulk, from the continual efflux of light. On the same hypothesis the force impressed upon the earth by each emission is such as would make it recede only the two billionth part of an inch in an hundred seconds, and its effect, during a series of ages, would therefore be altogether insensible. After stating numbers of a magnitude so enormous, it would be superfluous to consider the quantity of stroke which the eye receives.

freely



freely through it, without meeting any perceptible resistance. It is also without doubt possessed of elasticity, by means of which it has a tendency to expand itself in all directions, and to penetrate into spaces where there would otherwise be a vacuum; so that if by some accident the ether were forced out of any space, the surrounding fluid would instantly rush in and fill it again.

In virtue of this elasticity, the ether is to be found not only in the regions which are above our atmosphere, but it penetrates the atmosphere universally, insinuates itself by the pores of all bodies, and passes irresistibly through them. Were you, by the help of the air-pump, to exhaust the air from a receiver, you must not imagine that you have produced an absolute vacuum; for the ether, forcing itself through the pores of the receiver, completely fills it in an instant. Having filled a glass tube of the proper length with mercury, and immersed it, when inverted, in the cistern, in order to make a barometer, it might be supposed that the part of the tube which is higher than the mercury is a vacuum, because the air is completely excluded, as it cannot penetrate the pores of glass: but this vacuum which is apparent only, is undoubtedly supplied by the ether, insinuating itself without the smallest difficulty.

It is by this subtilty and elasticity of ether that I shall by and by explain to you the remarkable phenomena of electricity. It is even highly probable that ether has an elasticity much superior to that of air, and that many of the phenomena of nature are produced

produced by means of it. For my own part I have no doubt that the compression of the air in gunpowder is the effect of the elastic power of ether. And as we know by experiment that the air in it is condensed almost 1000 times more than common air, and that in this state it's elasticity is likewise 1000 times greater, the elasticity of the ether must in this case be so too, and consequently 1000 times greater than that of common air. We shall then have a just idea of ether, in considering it as a fluid in many respects similar to air, with this difference, that ether is incomparably more subtile and more elastic.*

Having seen then that the air, by these very qualities, is in a proper state for receiving the agitations or shakings of sonorous bodies, and to diffuse them in all directions, as we find in the propagation of sound, it is very natural to suppose that ether may in the same circumstances likewise receive agitations in the same manner, and transmit them to the greatest distances.† As the vibrations of the air produce
sound,

* This, perhaps, is what in modern times they denominate the matter of heat.—P. E.

† The hypothesis of an ether is a clumsy attempt to preclude the necessity of admitting *action at a distance*. It has been a received maxim, that cause and effect must exist in the same place; but the least reflection will convince us that, were this principle true, there could never be any communication of motion. The difficulty is really the same, to conceive action exerted at the distance of the thousandth part of an inch, as at that of a thousand miles. The particles of matter are far from being in mutual contact, otherwise



found, What will be the effect of those of ether? You will undoubtedly guess at once *light*. It appears in truth abundantly certain, that light is with respect to ether, what sound is with respect to air; and that the rays of light are nothing else but the shakings or vibrations transmitted by the ether, as sound consists in the shakings or vibrations transmitted by the air.

The sun, then, loses nothing of his substance in this case, any more than a bell in vibrating; and, in adopting this system, there is no reason to apprehend that the mass of this orb should ever suffer any diminution. What I have said of the sun must also be extended to all luminous bodies, such as fire, a wax taper, a candle, &c.

It will, undoubtedly, be objected, that these terrestrial luminaries evidently waste, and that unless they are continually fed and kept up, they will be speedily extinguished; that consequently the sun must in time be wasted away, and that the parallel of a bell is not accurate. But it is to be considered, that these fires, besides their light, throw out smoke, and a great deal of exhalation, which must be carefully distinguished from the rays of light. Now the smoke and exhalation evidently occasion a considerable diminution, which must not be imputed

to all bodies would have the same density, and be totally incapable of compression. Were the universe an absolute *plenum*, motion and animation would for ever cease. To ascribe to ether an extreme rarity, and at the same time to assert that it fills all space, and pervades all bodies, is a contradiction in terms. But the hypothesis is so big with absurdity, that it deserves not a particular examination. See note, p. 41.—E. E.

to the rays of light; for were it possible to separate them from the smoke and other exhalations, the luminous quality alone would occasion no expenditure. Mercury may, by means of art, be rendered luminous, as you have probably seen, and that without any diminution of its substance, which proves that light alone produces no waste of luminous bodies. Thus though the sun illuminates the whole world by his rays, he loses nothing of his own substance, his light being only the effect of a certain agitation, or violent concussion of his minute particles, communicated to the adjoining ether, and thence transmitted in all directions by means of this fluid to the remotest distances, as a bell when struck communicates its own agitation to the circumambient air. The more we consider this parallel between sonorous and luminous bodies, the more we shall find it conformable to nature, and justifiable by experience; whereas the more we attempt to reconcile the phenomena of nature to the system of emanation, the more difficulties we encounter.

14th June, 1760.

LETTER XX.

Of the Propagation of Light.

THE propagation of light in the ether is produced in a manner similar to that of sound in the air; and just as the vibrations occasioned in the particles of air constitutes sound, in like manner the vibration of



of the particles of ether constitutes light or luminous rays; so that *light is nothing else but an agitation or concussion of the particles of ether*, which is every where to be found on account of its extreme subtilty, in virtue of which it penetrates all bodies.

These bodies, however, modify the rays of light in many different ways, by transmitting or stopping the propagation of the concussions. Of this I shall treat at large in the sequel. I confine myself at present to the propagation of rays in the ether itself, which fills the immense space in which the heavenly bodies revolve. There the propagation takes place in perfect liberty. The first thing which here presents itself to the mind is the prodigious velocity of the rays of light, which is about 900,000 times more rapid than that of sound, though this last travels no less than 1000 feet in a second.

This amazing velocity would be sufficient of itself to overturn the system of emanation; but in that which I am attempting to establish, it is a natural consequence, from the principles laid down, as I hope to demonstrate. They are the same with those on which is founded the propagation of sound in the air, and this depends at once on its density and elasticity. It is evident that if the density of air were diminished, sound would be accelerated, and if the elasticity of the air were increased, the same thing would happen. If the density of the air diminished, and its elasticity increased at once, we should have a two-fold reason for the increase of the velocity of sound. Let us conceive, then, the density of the air
diminished,

diminished, and its elasticity increased, till its density and elasticity became equal to those of ether, and we should then no longer be surpris'd that the velocity of sound had become many thousands of times greater than it actually is. For you will be pleas'd to remember, that, according to the first ideas we form'd of ether, this fluid must be inconceivably rarer, and more elastic than air. Now both of these qualities equally contribute to accelerate the velocity of vibrations. From this explanation, the prodigious velocity of light is so far from presenting any thing irreconcilable to reason, that it rather perfectly harmonizes with the principles laid down; and the parallel between light and sound is in this respect so firmly established, that we may confidently maintain, That if air should become as subtile and as elastic as ether, the velocity of sound would become as rapid as that of light.

The subtilty of ether, then, and its great elasticity, are the reason which we assign for the prodigious velocity of the motion of light; and so long as the ether preserves this same degree of subtilty and elasticity, this velocity must continue the same. Now it cannot be doubted that the ether has, through the whole universe, the same subtilty and the same elasticity. For were the ether less elastic in one place than in another, it would force itself into it till the equilibrium was perfectly restored. The light of the stars, therefore, moves with as great velocity as that of the sun; and as the stars are at a much greater distance from us than the sun, a much greater quantity

Vol. I. G tity



tity of time is requisite to transmit their rays to us. However great the distance of the sun may appear, whose rays, nevertheless, reach the surface of our globe in eight minutes, the fixed star nearest to us is at least 400,000 times more distant than the sun: a ray of light issuing from that star will employ then 400,000 times eight minutes in travelling to us, that is 53,333 hours, or 2,222 days, or six years nearly.

It is then upwards of six years since the rays of light issued from that fixed star, the least remote and probably the most brilliant, in order to render it visible to us, and these rays have employed a period so considerable to fly through the space which separates us from that star. Were God just now to create a new fixed star, at the same distance, it could not become visible to us till more than six years had elapsed, as it's rays require that length of time to travel this distance. Had one been created at the beginning of the world a thousand times more distant than that which I have mentioned, it could not yet be visible to us, however brilliant, as 6000 years are not yet elapsed since the Creation. The first preacher of the court of Brunswick, Mr. Jerusalein, has happily introduced this thought in one of his sermons; the passage runs thus:

“ Raise your thoughts from the earth which you inhabit to all the bodies of the vast universe, which are so far above you: launch into the immensity of space which intervenes between the most remote which your eyes are able to discover, and those whose light, from the moment of creation
“ till

“ till now, has not as yet, perhaps, come down to us. “ The immensity of the kingdom of God justifies “ this representation.” (*Sermons on the Heavens, and Eternal Beatitude.*)

I flatter myself that these reflections will excite a desire of further instruction respecting the system of light, from which is derived the theory of colours, and of vision.

17th June, 1760.

LETTER XXI.

Digression, on the Distances of the Heavenly Bodies, and on the Nature of the Sun, and his Rays.

THE observations which I have been making respecting the time which the light of the stars employs in making it's progress down to us, convey a striking idea of the extent and greatness of the universe. The velocity of sound, which flies through the space of 1000 feet in a second, furnishes us with nearly the first standard of measurement. It is about 200 times more rapid than the pace of a man who is a good walker. Now the velocity of the rays of light is 900,000 times still more rapid than that of sound: these rays accordingly perform, every second, a course of 900 millions of feet, or 37,500 German miles.*

What astonishing velocity! Yet the nearest fixed

* More than 170,000 miles English.—E. E.



star is so remote, that its rays, notwithstanding this prodigious velocity, would take more than six years in descending to us. And were it possible for a great noise, such as that of the firing of a cannon, issuing from that star, to be conveyed to our ears, it would require a period of 5,400,000 years to reach us. And this is applicable only to those stars which are the most brilliant, and are probably nearest to us. Those which appear the smallest are, very probably, ten times still farther remote, and more. A whole century then, at least, must elapse, before the rays of these stars could possibly reach us. How prodigious must that distance be, which cannot be passed through in less than 100 years, by a velocity which flies at the rate of 37,500 German miles every second!

Were, then, one of these stars to be just now annihilated, or eclipsed only, we should still continue to see it for 100 years to come, as the last rays which it emitted could not reach us in less time.

The generality of mankind is very far from having any thing like just ideas respecting the vast extent of the universe. Many consider it as a work of little importance, which chance alone might have produced. But what must be the astonishment of one who reflects, on observing, that all these immense bodies are arranged with the most consummate wisdom, and that the more knowledge we acquire on the subject, though it must ever be very imperfect, the more we must be disposed to admire their order and magnificence?

I return to the great luminous bodies, and particularly

cularly the sun, which is the principal source of the light and heat which we enjoy on the earth. It will be asked, in the first place, Wherein consists the light which the sun is incessantly diffusing through the whole universe, without ever suffering the smallest diminution? The answer is obvious, according to the system which I have been endeavouring to establish. But that of emanation furnishes no satisfactory solution. The whole universe being filled with that extremely subtle and elastic fluid, which is called ether, we must suppose, in all the parts of the sun, an incessant agitation, by which every particle is in a constant motion of vibration, and this, by communicating itself to the circumambient ether, excites in that fluid a similar agitation, and is thence transmitted to regions the most remote, with the rapidity which I have been describing.

And, to keep up the parallel between sound and light, the sun would be in a state similar to that of a bell which should be ringing continually. The particles of the sun must, consequently, be kept in this incessant agitation, to produce in the ether the undulations which we call rays of light. But it is still no easy matter to explain, by what power this agitation in the particles of the sun is constantly kept up, as we observe, that a match does not long continue burning, but presently goes out, unless it be supplied with combustible matter. But it must be remarked, that as the sun is a mass many thousand times greater than our whole globe, if it is once thoroughly inflamed, it may continue in that state



for several ages, without suffering any sensible diminution. Besides, the case is not the same with the sun and our fires and candles, a considerable part of whose substance is dissipated in smoke and exhalations, from which a real waste results. Whereas, though perhaps some particles may be forced from the sun in form of smoke, they cannot remove to a great distance, but speedily fall back into it's mass, so that there cannot be any real expenditure, to occasion a diminution of his substance.*

*The only thing of which we are still ignorant respecting this subject, is, the power which incessantly maintains all the particles of the sun in this agitation. But as it contains nothing inconsistent with good sense, and as we are under the necessity of acknowledging our ignorance of many other things much less remote than the sun, we ought to be satisfied, if our ideas are not involved in contradiction.

21st June, 1760.

* The Author is evidently embarrassed in his explanation of the continual inflammation of the sun. And though he has said above, that the system of emanation was untenable, on account of the frequent and unavoidable collision of rays proceeding from different luminous bodies, which must disturb, and even obstruct the vision of several of these bodies at once, as he has not explained how two sounds may be heard at the same time, a similar objection might be made to his system, which is analogous to the phenomena of sound.—F. E.

LETTER

LETTER XXII.

Elucidations on the Nature of luminous Bodies, and their Difference from opaque Bodies illumined.

THE sun being a luminous body, whose rays are universally diffused in all directions, you can no longer be at a loss to account for this wonderful phenomenon, which consists in the shaking, or vibration, with which all the particles of the sun are agitated. The parallel of a bell lends considerable assistance toward the explanation of this fact. But it is obvious, that the vibrations produced by light, must be much more vehement and rapid than those produced by sound, ether being incomparably more subtle than air. A feeble agitation not being capable of shaking the air so as to produce sound in it, that of a bell, and of all other sonorous bodies, are too feeble relatively to ether, to produce in it the vibration which constitutes light.

You will recollect, that in order to excite a perceptible sound, more than 30, and less than 7552 vibrations must be produced in a second; the air being too subtle to admit of a sensible effect from a sound consisting of less than 30 vibrations in a second, but not sufficiently so to receive one of more than 7552 vibrations in the second. A note higher than this could not be at all heard. It is the same with respect to ether; 7552 vibrations, produced in a second, could not possibly act upon it, because of it's greater subtilty,

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subtily. It requires vibrations much more frequent. An agitation so rapid could not take place but in the minutest particles of bodies which elude our senses. The light of the sun, then, is produced by a very violent agitation, which affects all his infinitely minute particles, each of which must shake many thousands of times every second.

It is a similar agitation which likewise produces the light of the fixed stars, and of all fires, such as candles, tapers, torches, &c. which give us light, and supply the place of the sun during the night. On attentively observing the flame of a wax-light, you will easily perceive that, in the minutest particles, there is a constant and surprizing agitation; and I do not apprehend that my system is liable on this side to any contradiction, while that of Newton requires a most enormous agitation, capable of launching the minutest particles with the velocity of 37,500* German miles in a second.

This, then, is the explanation of the nature of bodies luminous of themselves: for there are luminous bodies which are not so immediately, such as the moon and the planets, which are similar to our globe. We see the moon only when, and in as far as, she is illuminated by the sun; and this is the case of all terrestrial bodies, fires excepted, which have a light of their own. But other bodies, which are denominated opaque, become visible to us only when they are illuminated by some luminous body.

In a very dark night, or in an apartment, so closely

* Upwards of 170,000 English miles.

shut

shut on every side, that no light can find admission, to no purpose will you turn your eyes toward the objects which surround you in the dark: you perceive nothing. But the moment a taper is introduced, you immediately see, not the taper only, but the other bodies which were before invisible. We have here, then, a very essential difference between luminous and opaque bodies. I have already employed the term *opaque* to denote bodies which are not transparent; but it comes to almost the same thing, and we must accommodate ourselves to the common modes of expression, though they are not perfectly accurate. Luminous bodies are visible by their own light, and never affect our organs of sight more than when the darkness is otherwise most profound. Those which I here denominate opaque, are rendered visible to us only by means of a light that is foreign to them. We perceive them not while they remain in darkness; but as soon as they are exposed to a luminous body, whose rays strike upon them, they become visible; and they disappear the moment that foreign light is withdrawn. It is not even necessary, that the rays of a luminous body should fall upon them immediately; another opaque body, when well illuminated, produces nearly the same effect, but in a feebler manner.

The moon is an excellent instance. We know that the moon is an opaque body; but when she is illuminated by the sun, and we see her during the night, she diffuses a feeble light over all opaque bodies, and renders visible to us those which we could not have perceived



perceived without her assistance. Placed in the day time in an apartment, whose aspect is toward the north, and into which, of course, the rays of the sun cannot enter, it is, however, perfectly clear, and I am able to distinguish every object. What can be the cause of this clearness, but that the whole heaven is illuminated by the sun? What we call the azure sky, and besides, the walls opposite to my apartment, and the other surrounding objects, are likewise illuminated, either immediately by the sun, or mediately by other opaque bodies, exposed to the action of that focus of light; and the light of all these opaque, but illuminated, bodies, as far as it has admission into my apartment, renders it luminous, and that in proportion as the windows are high, wide, and well placed. The glass is little or no interruption, being, as I have already remarked, a transparent body, which freely transmits the rays of light.

When I completely exclude the light from the apartment, by closing the window-shutters, I am reduced to a state of darkness, and discern no object, unless I call for a candle. Here, then, is an essential difference between luminous and opaque bodies; and likewise a very striking resemblance, namely, that opaque bodies, when illuminated, illuminate other opaque bodies, and produce, in this respect, nearly the same effect as bodies luminous of themselves. The explanation of this phenomenon has, hitherto, greatly perplexed philosophers, but, I flatter myself, that my solution of it has been clear and satisfactory.

24th June, 1760.

LETTER

LETTER XXIII.

How Opaque Bodies become visible. Newton's System, of the Reflection of Rays, proposed.

BEFORE I attempt an explanation of the phenomenon of opaque bodies becoming visible when they are illuminated, it must be remarked, in general, that we see nothing but by means of the rays which enter into our eyes. When we look at any object whatever, rays issuing from every point of that object, and entering into the eye, paint upon it, if I may use the expression, the image of the object. This is not mere conjecture, but may be demonstrated by experiment. Take, for example, the eye of an ox, or of any animal recently killed, and, after having uncovered the bottom, you find all the objects which were before it painted there. As often then as we see an object, the image of it is painted on the bottom of our eyes; and this is produced by the rays which proceed from the object to us. I shall afterwards take occasion to go into a more minute detail on the subject of vision, and explain in what manner the images of objects are formed on the bottom of the eye: let this general remark suffice for the present.

As we see opaque bodies only when they are illuminated, this is a proof, that there must proceed from every point of these bodies rays of light which subsist only during the illumination. The moment they are placed in the dark these rays disappear. They are not proper then to opaque bodies; their
origin



origin must be sought in the manner in which other bodies illuminate them. And this is the great question, How illumination alone is capable of producing rays on opaque bodies, or of putting them in nearly the same state as luminous bodies are, which, by an agitation in their minutest particles, produce rays of light?

The great *Newton*, and other philosophers, who have examined the subject, assign *reflection* as the cause of this phenomenon: it is, therefore, of the highest importance, that you should form a just idea of what is called reflection.

This name is given to the repulsion of one body struck against another, as may be seen in the game of billiards. When the ball is struck against the cushion or ledge of the billiard table, it recoils again; and this retrograde motion is termed reflection. It is necessary, here, to attend to a distinction between two cases. Let us suppose *AB* (*plate I. fig. 7.*) to be the ledge of a billiard table. The first case is this: When you play the ball *D* perpendicularly against the ledge, in the direction of *DC*, perpendicular to *AB*, and, consequently, the adjacent angles *ACD*, and *BCD*, are right angles: in this case, the ball will be driven back, or reflected, in the same line *DC*. The other case is, when the ball is played obliquely against the ledge, suppose in the line *EC*, forming, with *AB*, an acute angle *ACE*, this is called the angle of incidence. The ball will, in this case, be repelled from the ledge, in the direction of the line *CF*, so that this line shall make, on the other side,

side, with the ledge *BC*, an angle *BCF*, exactly equal to the angle of incidence *ACE*. This angle, *BCF*, formed by the line in which the ball recoils, is called the angle of reflection. And this law always takes place when a body in motion meets with an obstacle.

A cannon ball, shot against a wall sufficiently strong to resist it, is reflected conformably to this law. It extends, in like manner, to sounds, which are frequently reflected from certain bodies; and you know that this reflection of sound is called echo. It cannot be doubted, that the same thing frequently takes place with respect to the rays of light. The objects which we see in mirrors, are represented to us by the reflection of rays, and every well polished surface reflects the rays of light which fall upon it. It is undoubtedly certain, therefore, that there are cases without number in which the rays that fall on certain bodies are reflected; and philosophers have thence taken occasion to maintain, that opaque bodies are rendered visible by means of reflected rays.

I see just now houses, opposite to my windows, which are illuminated by the sun. According, then, to the opinion of those philosophers, the rays of the sun falling on the surface of these houses, are reflected from them; they enter into my apartment, and render these houses visible to me. In the same manner, if we believe those philosophers, the moon and the planets become visible, and these are, unquestionably, opaque bodies. The rays of the sun which fall



fall on these bodies, and illuminate the parts which are exposed to them, are reflected, and are thence transmitted to us, just as if the bodies were luminous of themselves. According to this opinion, we see the moon and the planets only by the rays of the sun which they reflect; and you must frequently have heard it affirmed, that the light of the moon is a reflection of the light of the sun. In the same manner, say they, the rays of the sun are reflected by the first opaque bodies which are exposed to them, on other bodies of the same nature, and undergo a series of similar reflections, till they are entirely weakened.

But, however plausible this opinion may at first sight appear, it involves so many absurdities, when closely examined, that it is absolutely untenable, which I hope to demonstrate, as a preparation for the true solution of this phenomenon.

28th June, 1760.

LETTER XXIV.

Examination and Refutation of Newton's System.

I AFFIRM, then, that when we see an opaque body illuminated by the sun, it is impossible to maintain that it reflects luminous rays, and that, by means of such rays, it is rendered visible to us. The example of a mirror, which, undoubtedly, reflects the rays, and is employed to support this opinion,
rather

rather confutes it. The mirror, beyond contradiction, sends back the rays which fall upon it; but when these reflected rays enter into our eyes, What do they represent? You will readily answer, that it is not the mirror, but the objects from which they originally proceeded; and the reflection does nothing else, but enable us to see these objects in another place. Besides, we see those objects, not on the surface of the mirror, but rather within it, and it may be said with truth, that the mirror itself remains invisible to us.

But, on looking at an opaque body illuminated by the sun, we do not see in it the image of that glorious orb; we see only the surface of the bodies, with all the variations to be found on them. We perceive, then, a very essential difference between the rays which are reflected from a mirror, and those by means of which opaque bodies are rendered visible. But there is, besides, another difference equally palpable in the mirror; for on changing the place of the objects, or our own situation, the appearance will always change, and the rays, reflected from the mirror, will continually represent to our eyes other images, corresponding to the nature and position of the objects, and to the place where we are stationed: but, as I have already said, these reflected rays never represent to us the mirror itself.

Now, let a body be illuminated by the sun, or other bodies, whether luminous or opaque, already illuminated; in whatever manner this body may change its place, or we change our's relatively to it,
it's



it's appearance is always the same; we see always the same object, and remark in it no change relative to the different circumstances above mentioned. This furnishes a new proof, that we do not see opaque bodies by means of the rays reflected from their surface.*

* This can hardly be deemed a fair statement. It is true, that opaque bodies are seen only by reflected light, but it by no means follows, that all the incident light is again reflected. Some bodies are, by their constitution, disposed to reflect certain kinds of rays the most freely, and as the rest are absorbed, the peculiar colour predominates. This colour will, therefore, not be the same, whatever be the quality of the incident light, but will receive an analogous shade. For the same reason, no substance reflects only one species of rays. The elective attractions and repulsions, between the particles of light and a body, are most remarkable at very minute distances; and hence the colour is prominent when the surface is rough, for the light, suffering then a partial repulsion only, gains a nearer approach. I cannot imagine how Mr. Euler would explain these facts on his own principles.

It is in a polished surface only, that the surrounding bodies can be seen by reflection, for distinct vision requires the rays, proceeding from different points, to be transmitted with regularity. No substance is, indeed, perfectly smooth, but the different repulsions, exerted by the superficial particles, may balance each other, and produce an uniform effect, at the distance where the reflection takes place. Mr. Euler's principles would lead to the conclusion, that polish is not at all necessary to a mirror. Echo is formed from surfaces which are very uneven, since the air is heaped on the obstacle, and the principal reflux of the undulation commences at a sensible distance from it. The same obtains in water, though in a less degree; and is, in general, more remarkable, in proportion to the rarefaction of the fluid. How wonderful, then, in that respect, must ether be, which is supposed to be the most subtle of all fluids? We might expect the walls of a house to reflect the most enchanting picture of the landscape in front.—E. E.

An objection will, perhaps, be started, drawn from the dove's neck, and certain kinds of stuff, which present different objects, according as our point of view changes. But this in no respect weakens my conclusion with regard to ordinary opaque bodies, which are not subject to this change. The objection only proves, that these singular objects are endowed with certain qualities: as, for example, that their minuter particles are finely polished, and that a real reflection takes place, beside the usual and ordinary manner in which bodies are rendered visible to us.

Now, it is easy to comprehend, that this reflection must be clearly distinguished from the manner in which ordinary opaque bodies are illuminated.

Finally, the rays reflected from a mirror always represent to us, likewise, the colours of the bodies from which they originally proceed, and the mirror, which reflects, makes no change in this respect. One opaque body illuminated by any other body, in whatever manner, always presents the same colours; and every body may be said to have its proper colour. This circumstance absolutely overturns the opinion of all those who maintain, that we see opaque bodies by means of the rays which their surface reflects.

Putting together all the reasons which I have now submitted to your consideration, there can be no hesitation in pronouncing, that this opinion is totally untenable in philosophy, or rather, in physics. I cannot, however, flatter myself with the hope, that philosophers, wedded to opinions once adopted,



should yield to these reasons. But the naturalist, who is more nearly related to the mathematician, will have less difficulty in resigning an opinion, overthrown by reasons so convincing. You will again recollect what Cicero has said on this subject: That nothing so absurd can be conceived, as not to be supported by some philosopher. In fact, however strange the system which I have been refuting may appear to you, it has, hitherto, been propagated and defended with much warmth.

It is impossible to say, to what a degree the difficulties and contradictions which I have been endeavouring to expose, were unknown to, or overlooked by, the partisans of this system. The great *Newton* himself strongly felt their force: but as he rested in a very untenable idea respecting the propagation of light, it is not to be wondered at, that he should overlook these great difficulties; and, in general, depth of understanding does not always prevent a man from falling into absurdity, in supporting an opinion once embraced.

But if this system, that opaque bodies are rendered visible by reflected rays, be false, say it's partisans, What then is the true one? They even think it impossible to imagine another explanation of this phenomenon. It is, besides, rather hard and humiliating for a philosopher to acknowledge ignorance of any subject whatever. He would rather maintain the grossest absurdities; especially if he possesses the secret of involving them in mysterious terms, which no one is capable of comprehending. For in this
case,

case, the vulgar are the more disposed to admire the learned; taking it for granted, that what is obscurity to others, is perfectly clear to them. We ought always to exercise a little mistrust, when very sublime knowledge is pretended to, knowledge too sublime to be rendered intelligible. I hope I shall be able to explain the phenomenon in question, in such a way as to remove every difficulty.

1st July, 1760.

LETTER XXV.

A different Explanation of the Manner in which opaque Bodies illuminated become visible.

ALL the phenomena of opaque bodies, which I have unfolded in the preceding letter, incontrovertibly demonstrate, that, when we see an opaque body illuminated, it is not by rays reflected from it's surface, that it becomes visible, but because it's minuter particles are in an agitation similar to that of the minuter particles of luminous bodies; with this difference, however, that the agitation in opaque bodies is far from being so strong as in bodies luminous of themselves; for an opaque body, however much illuminated, never makes on the eye an impression so lively as luminous bodies do.

As we see the opaque bodies themselves, but by no means the images of the luminous bodies which
H 2 enlighten



enlighten them, as must be the case, if we saw them by the reflection of their surface; it must follow, that the rays emitted by opaque bodies are proper to them, just as the rays of a luminous body are peculiar to itself. As long as an opaque body is illuminated, the minuter particles of it's surface are in a state of agitation proper to produce, in the ether, a motion of vibration, such as is necessary for forming rays, and for painting in our eyes the image of the body from which they proceed. For this effect, rays must be diffused, from every point of the surface, in all directions; as experience evidently confirms. For, from whatever side we look at an opaque body, we see it equally in all it's points; from which it follows, that every point emits rays in all directions. This circumstance essentially distinguishes these rays from such as are reflected, whose direction is always determined by that of the rays of incidence; so that if the incident rays proceed from one single quarter, say the sun, the reflected rays can follow only one single direction.

It must be admitted, then, that when an opaque body is illuminated, all the particles on it's surface are put in a certain agitation, which produces rays, as is the case with bodies luminous of themselves. This agitation, likewise, is stronger, in proportion as the light of the illuminating body is more intense. Thus the same body, exposed to the sun, is agitated much more violently, than if, in a room, it were illuminated only by day-light, or in the night-time, by a taper, or by the moon. In the first case, it's
image

image is painted with much greater vivacity on the bottom of the eye, than in the others, especially the last; the light of the moon being scarcely sufficient to enable us to distinguish, or to read, writing of a large size. And when the opaque body is conveyed into a close room, or into the dark, nothing is then to be seen; a certain proof, that the agitation in it's parts has entirely ceased, and that they are now in a state of rest.

In this, therefore, consists the nature of opaque bodies; their particles are, of themselves, at rest, or, at least, destitute of the agitation necessary to produce light. But these same particles are so disposed, that when illuminated, or struck with rays of light, they are immediately put into a certain agitation, or motion of vibration, proper to produce rays; and the more intense the light is, which illuminates these bodies, the more violent also is this agitation. As long as an opaque body is illuminated, it is in the same state as luminous bodies; it's particles are agitated in the same manner, and are capable of exciting, of themselves, rays in the ether; with this difference, that the agitation kept up in luminous bodies by an intrinsic force, subsists always of itself; whereas, in opaque bodies, this agitation is only momentaneous, and produced by the motion of the light which illuminates them.

This explanation is consistent with every phenomenon, and labours under none of the difficulties which determined us to abandon the other, namely, that founded on reflection. Whoever will take the



ensibly to tremble, and even to emit sound, without having been touched; some other chords will likewise be agitated, particularly those which are distant an octave, a fifth, and even a third, provided the instrument be perfectly in tune.

This phenomenon is well known to musicians, and Mr. Rameau, one of the most celebrated French composers, established his principles of harmony upon it. He maintains, That octaves, fifths, and thirds, must be considered as consonances, because one chord is agitated by the sound only of another chord, which is in unison, or an octave, a fifth, or a third, from the first. But it must be admitted that the principles of harmony are so well established by the simplicity of the relations which sounds have to each other, that they have no need of a new confirmation. In truth the phenomenon observed by Mr. Rameau is a very natural consequence from the principles of harmony.

To render this more sensible, let us attend to two chords wound up to unison; on striking the one, the other will begin of itself to tremble, and will emit its sound. The reason is abundantly clear; for as a chord communicates to the air by its trembling a motion of vibration similar to its own, the air, agitated by this motion of vibration, must reciprocally make the chord tremble, provided that by its degree of tension, it be susceptible of this motion. The air being put into vibration, strikes the chord ever so little at every reverberation, and the repetition of strokes soon impresses on the chord a sensible motion;

tion; because the vibrations to which it is disposed by its tension accord with those of the air. If the number of vibrations in the air is the half, or the third, or any other whose relation is sufficiently simple, the chord does not receive a new impulse at every vibration, as in the preceding case, but only at the second, or the third, or the fourth, which will continue to increase its tremulous motion, but less than in the first case.

But if the vibrations of the air have not any simple relation with that which corresponds to the chord, the agitation of that fluid will produce no effect whatever upon it; the vibrations of the chord, if there be any, not corresponding to those of the fluid, the following impulsions of the air destroy for the most part the effect which the first might have produced; and this is completely confirmed by experience. Thus when a chord is shaken by a sound, that sound must, in order to its being perceptible, be precisely the same with that of the chord. Other sounds which have a consonance with that of the chord, will produce, it is true, a similar but less sensible effect, and dissonances will produce none at all. This phenomenon takes place not only in musical strings, but in all sonorous bodies whatever. One bell will resound by the noise only of another bell which is in unison with it, or at the distance of an octave, a fifth, or a third.

The instance of a person who could break glasses by his voice farther confirms what I have advanced. When a glass was presented to him, by striking it he
found



found out the note; he then began to squall in unison, and the glass immediately caught the vibration; proceeding to give to his voice all the force he was able, always preserving the unison, the vibration of the glass became at length so violent, that it broke. It is confirmed, then, by experience that a chord and every other sonorous body is put into vibration by its kindred sound. The same phenomenon must take place with regard to opaque bodies, of which the minuter particles may be put into a state of agitation by illumination only: which is the question I proposed to solve. The following letter will contain a more ample discussion of it.

8th July, 1760.

LETTER XXVII.

Conclusion: Clearness and Colour of opaque Bodies illuminated.

AFTER what has just been submitted to your consideration, you will no longer be surpris'd that an opaque body is capable of receiving, from illumination alone, an agitation in its particles similar to that of the particles of luminous bodies, and which gives them the property of producing rays that render them visible. Thus the great objection to my explanation of the visibility of opaque bodies is happily removed; while the other theory, founded on the reflection of rays, has to encounter difficulties

culties which grow in proportion as you attempt to make a more direct application of them to known phenomena.

It is then an established truth, that the particles of the surfaces of all bodies which we see, undergo an agitation similar to that of a chord in vibration, but their vibrations are much more rapid; whether it be that this agitation is the effect of an intrinsic force, as in bodies luminous of themselves, or whether it be produced by the rays of light which fall upon the bodies, that is to say by illumination, as is the case in opaque bodies. It is false, then, that the moon being an opaque body, reflects the rays of the sun, and that, by means of this reflected light, she is rendered visible to us, as is commonly understood. But the rays of the sun, falling on the surface of the moon, excite in its particles a concussion, from which result the rays of the moon; and these, entering into our eyes, paint its image there; it is the same with the other planets, and with all opaque bodies. This agitation of opaque bodies, when illuminated, lasts only during the illumination which is the cause of it: and as soon as an opaque body ceases to be illuminated, it ceases to be visible.

But is it not possible that this agitation, once impressed on the particles of an opaque body, may be for some time kept up, as we see that a string once struck, frequently continues to vibrate, though no new impression be made upon it? I do not pretend to deny the fact: I even believe that we have examples of it in those substances which Mr. Margraff presented



presented to you, and which, once illumined, preserve their light for some time, though conveyed into a dark room. This, however, is an extraordinary case; the vibration of the minuter particles disappearing in all other bodies, with the illumination which occasioned it. But this explanation, which thus far is perfectly self-consistent, leads me forward to researches of still greater importance.

It is undoubtedly certain, that we find an infinite difference between the particles of opaque bodies, according to the variety of the bodies themselves. Some will be more susceptible of vibrations, and others less, and others finally not at all so. This difference in bodies occurs but too evidently. One, whose particles easily receive the impression of the rays which strike it, appears to us brilliant; another, on the contrary, in which the rays scarcely produce any agitation, cannot appear luminous. Among several bodies, equally illumined, you will always remark a great difference, some being more brilliant than others. But there is besides another and a very remarkable difference between the particles of opaque bodies, respecting the number of vibrations which each of them, being agitated, will make in a certain time.

I have already observed, that this number must always be very great, and that the subtilty of ether is such as to require many thousands in a second. But the difference here may be endless; if some particles, for example, should make 10,000 vibrations in a second, and others 11,000, 12,000, 13,000, according

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to the smallness, the tension, and the elasticity of each, as in the case of musical chords, in which the number of vibrations given in a second may be varied without end; and thence it is I have deduced the difference of high and low notes. As this difference is essential in sounds, and as the ear is affected by it in a manner so particular as to render it the foundation of the whole theory of music, it cannot be called in question that a similar difference in the frequency of the vibrations of rays of light must produce a variation as particular in vision. If, for example, a particle makes 10,000 vibrations in a second, and produces rays of the same species, the rays which enter into the eye will strike the nerves of that organ 10,000 times in a second; and this effect, as well as the sensation, must be totally different from those produced by a different particle which should make more or less vibrations in a second. There will be in vision a difference similar to that which the ear perceives on hearing sharp or flat notes.

You will no doubt be desirous to know into what this difference in vision is to be resolved; and what different sensations correspond to the number, greater or less, of the vibrations produced in every body during a second? I have the honour of informing you, That diversity of colours is occasioned by this difference; and that difference of colour is to the organ of vision what sharp or flat sounds are to the ear. We have resolved, therefore, without going after it, the important enquiry respecting the nature of colours, which has long employed the attention of the
greatest



greatest philosophers. Some of them have called it a modification of light absolutely unknown to us. *Descartes* maintains, that colours are only a certain mixture of light and shade. *Newton* accounts for difference of colour by tracing it up to the rays of the sun; which, according to him, are a real emanation, whose matter may be more or less subtle; and thence settles the rays of all the colours, as red, yellow, green, blue, violet, &c.

But as this system falls to pieces of itself, all that has been said respecting colours conveys no information; and you are now clearly sensible, that the nature of each colour consists in the number of vibrations produced in a certain time by the particles which present them to the eye.

12th July, 1760.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Nature of Colours in particular.

THE ignorance which prevailed respecting the true nature of colours, has occasioned frequent and violent disputes among philosophers; each of whom made an attempt to shine, by maintaining a peculiar opinion on the subject. The system which made colours to reside in the bodies themselves, appeared to them too vulgar and too little worthy of a philosopher, who ought always to soar above the multitude. Because the clown imagines that one
body

body is red, another blue, and another green, the philosopher could not distinguish himself better than by maintaining the contrary; and he accordingly affirms that there is nothing real in colours, and that there is nothing in bodies relative to them.

The Newtonians make colours to consist in rays only; which they distinguish into red, yellow, green, blue, and violet; and they tell us that a body appears of such and such a colour when it reflects rays of that species. Others, to whom this opinion seemed absurd, pretend that colours exist only in ourselves. This is an admirable way to conceal ignorance; the vulgar might otherwise believe that the scholar was not better acquainted with the nature of colours than themselves. But you will readily perceive that these affected refinements are mere cavil. Every simple colour (in order to distinguish from compound colours) depends on a certain number of vibrations, which are performed in a certain time; so that this number of vibrations, made in a second, determines the red colour, another the yellow, another the green, another the blue, and another the violet, which are the simple colours represented to us in the rainbow.

If, then, the particles of the surface of certain bodies are disposed in such a manner, that being agitated, they make in a second as many vibrations as are necessary to produce, for example, the red colour, I call such a body red, just as the clown does; and I see nothing like a reason for deviating from the common mode of expression. And rays which
make



make such a number of vibrations in a second, may, with equal propriety be denominated red rays; and finally, when the optic nerve is affected by these same rays, and receives from them a number of impulses, sensibly equal, in a second, we receive the sensation of the red colour. Here every thing is clear; and I see no necessity for introducing dark and mysterious phrases, which really mean nothing.

The parallel between sound and light is so perfect, that it hits even in the minutest circumstances. When I produced the phenomenon of a musical chord, which may be excited into vibration by the resonance only of certain sounds, you will please to recollect, that the one which gives the unison of the chord in question is the most proper to shake it, and that other sounds affect it only in proportion as they are in consonance with it. It is exactly the same as to light and colours; for the different colours correspond to the different musical sounds.

In order to display this phenomenon, which completely confirms my assertion, let a dark room be provided; make a small aperture in one of the shutters; before which, at some distance, place a body of a certain colour, say a piece of red cloth, so that, when it is illumined, its rays may enter by the aperture into the darkened room. The rays thus transmitted into the room will be red, all other light being excluded: and if you hold on the inside of the room, opposite to the aperture, a piece of cloth of the same colour, it will be perfectly illumined, and its red colour appear very brilliant; but if you substitute

stitute in its place a piece of green cloth, it will remain obscure, and you will hardly see any thing of its colour. If you place on the outside, before the aperture, a piece of green cloth, that within the chamber will be perfectly illumined by the rays of the first, and its green colour appear very lively. The same holds good as to all other colours; and I do not imagine that a more convincing demonstration of the truth of my system can be demanded.

We learn from it, that, in order to illuminate a body of a certain colour, it is necessary that the rays which fall upon it should have the same colour; those of a different colour not being capable of agitating the particles of that body. This is farther confirmed by a well known experiment. When the spirit of wine is set on fire in a room, you know that the flame of spirit of wine is blue, that it produces only blue rays, and that every person in the room appears very pale, their faces, though painted ever so deep, have the aspect of death. The reason is evident; the blue rays, not being capable of exciting, or putting in motion the red colour of the face, you see on it only a feeble and bluish colour: but if one of the company is dressed in blue, such dress will appear uncommonly brilliant. Now the rays of the sun, those of a wax taper, or of a common candle, illuminate all bodies almost equally; from whence it is concluded, that the rays of the sun contain all colours at once, though he himself appears yellowish.

In truth, when you admit into a dark room the rays of all the simple colours, red, yellow, green, blue,



blue, and violet, in nearly equal quantities, and blend them, they represent a whitish colour. The same experiment is made with various powders, coloured in like manner; on being mixed together, a whitish colour is the result. Hence it is concluded that white is nothing less than a simple colour; but that it is rather a compound of all the simple colours; accordingly we see that white is adapted to the reception of all colours. As to black, it is not properly a colour. Every body is black when it's particles are such that they can receive no motion of vibration, or when it cannot produce rays. The want of rays, therefore, produces the sensation of that colour; and the more particles there are found in any body not susceptible of any motion of vibration on it's surface, the more blackish and obscure it appears.

15th July, 1760.

L E T T E R XXXIX.

Transparency of Bodies relative to the Transmission of Rays.

I HAVE already remarked, that there are bodies, such as glass, water, and especially air, which transmit the rays of light, and, on account of this property, are denominated pellucid or diaphonous. The ether, however, is the medium in which the rays of light are formed, to which this property most intimately appertains; and other transparent bodies

arc

are endowed with it only by means of the ether which they contain, and with which they are so blended, that the agitations excited by the light may be communicated farther without being interrupted in their progress. But this transmission is never performed so freely as in the pure ether, though it always loses something; and this in proportion as the transparent body is more or less gross. The grossness may even become so considerable, that the light shall be wholly lost in it; and then the body is no longer transparent. Thus, though glass be a transparent body, a great lump of glass several feet thick is not so. In like manner, however pure the water of a river may be, you cannot see the bottom where it is very deep, though you can very easily where it is shallow.*

Transparency, then, is a property of bodies rela-

* The common distinction of bodies into opaque and transparent is inaccurate, for every body has a certain degree of transparency. All substances absorb light in it's passage, but in some this absorption is prodigious, and the quantity of light which penetrates through a certain thickness is so exceedingly minute as to elude our powers of perception. When the thickness is much diminished, the light becomes sensible, even in the case of bodies that are usually termed opaque; thus we can see through a plate of ivory and a leaf of gold. The different properties of substances with respect to the transmission of light, seems to depend on the greater or less regularity of the disposition of their elementary particles, and on their proximity or distance from each other; as these circumstances augment or diminish the chance of a ray's passing within the limit of absorption. Whatever be the intensity of the incident light, the same proportion of it is, in a given body, transmitted through the same thickness.—E. E.



tive only to their thickness; and when this property is ascribed to glass, to water, &c. it must always be understood with this restriction, that these bodies are not too gross; and that to every species there is a certain measure of thickness beyond which the body ceases to be transparent. There is not one opaque body, on the contrary, which may not itself become transparent, if reduced to a plate extremely fine. Thus, though gold is not transparent, gold leaf is so; and on examining the minuter particles of all bodies with a microscope, they are found to be transparent. It may then be with truth affirmed, that all bodies are transparent when reduced to a certain degree of fineness; and that no one is so when too gross.

In common language we denominate transparent the bodies which preserve this quality to a certain degree of thickness, though they lose it when they go beyond that bound. But with respect to ether, it is of its own nature perfectly transparent, and its extent diminishes not this quality in the smallest degree. The prodigious distance of the fixed stars prevents not their rays from being transmitted to us. But though our air appears to be of a perfect transparency, if it extended as far as the moon, that transparency would be entirely lost, and would prevent every ray of the sun, and of the other heavenly bodies, from penetrating to us. We should then be involved in Egyptian darkness.

The reason of it is evident, and we remark the same thing in sound, whose resemblance to light is confirmed

confirmed in every respect. Air is the most proper medium for the propagation of sound; but the agitations excited in the air are capable of shaking also the particles of all bodies; and these again putting in motion the interior particles, finally transmit the vibration through the substance of all bodies, unless they be too thick. There are bodies, then, which, relatively to sound, are the same thing which transparent bodies are relatively to light; and all bodies have this property with relation to sound, provided they are not too thick. When you are in your apartment, you can hear almost every thing that passes in the ante-chamber, though the doors are closely shut, because the agitation of the air in the ante-chamber communicates itself to the partitions, and penetrates through them into the inner apartment with some loss, however. Were the partition removed, you would undoubtedly hear more distinctly. Now the thicker the walls are, the more of its force does the sound lose in piercing through them: and the walls may be made so thick that nothing could be heard from without, unless it were some terrible noise, such as a discharge of cannon.

This leads me forward to a new remark; that very powerful sounds may be heard through walls which are impenetrable to sounds more feeble; and, consequently, in order to form a judgment whether a wall is capable of transmitting sounds, it is necessary to take into the account not only the thickness of the wall, but likewise the strength of the sound. If the sound is very feeble, a very thin wall is sufficient



cient to stop it, though a louder could find an easy transmission. The same thing holds as to bodies which are permeable only to a very strong light. Objects not very brilliant are invisible through a glass blackened with smoke, but the rays of the sun force themselves through it, and it transmits perfectly well the image of that luminary. Astronomers employ this method to observe him; for without such precaution he would dazzle the eye. And when you happen to be in a dark room, with an aperture in the shutter exposed to the sun, in vain will you attempt to exclude the light by opposing your hand to the aperture; the rays of the sun will force themselves through.

It is perceivable at the same time that the light of the sun loses much of its lustre in passing through a body which, relatively to other objects, is not itself transparent. But a very strong light may lose much of its lustre, before it is entirely extinguished, while a feebler light is lost at once. A piece of very thick glass, then, will not be transparent, with respect to objects less brilliant, though the sun may be visible through it.

These remarks on transparent bodies lead me to the theory of refraction, of which you have frequently heard, and which I shall endeavour to place in its proper light.

18th July, 1760.

LETTER

LETTER XXX.

Of the Transmission of Rays of Light, though transparent Mediums, and their Refraction.

AS long as light moves in the same medium, whether it be ether, air, or any other transparent body, the propagation proceeds in straight lines, denominated rays, as they proceed from the luminous point, in all directions, as the radii of a circle, or a globe, issue from the centre. In the system of emanation, the particles darted from luminous bodies move in straight lines; the same thing holds, in that which I have had the honour of proposing, in which the agitations are communicated in straight lines, as the sound of a bell is transmitted in a straight line, by which also we judge from what quarter the sound comes; the rays in both systems, then, are represented by straight lines, as long as they pass through the same transparent medium; but they may undergo some inflection, in passing from one to another; and this inflection is called the *refraction* of the rays of light, the knowledge of which is necessary to account for many phenomena. I proceed, therefore, to lay down the principles, in conformity to which, refraction takes place.*

* The quantity of refraction is not proportional to the density of the medium. Sir Isaac Newton remarks, that inflammable substances, though specifically lighter than water, produce a much greater refraction: and it was this analogy which suggested to him, that diamonds belong to the same class; a conjecture which has been verified within these few years.—E. E.



It is an invariable law, that, when a ray, such as $E C$ (*plate I. fig. 8.*) falls perpendicularly on the surface $A B$ of another medium, it continues it's progress in the same straight line extended, as $C F$; it will, in this case, undergo no inflection or refraction. If, then, $E C$ is a ray of the sun, falling perpendicularly on the surface $A B$ of water, or of glass, it will enter it in the same direction, and continues it's progress in the line $C F$, which is, likewise, perpendicular to the surface $A B$, so that $E F$ shall be in one and the same straight line. This is the only case in which there is no refraction. But as often as the ray falls not perpendicularly on the surface of another transparent body, it does not pursue it's progress in the same straight line; it recedes less or more from it, and undergoes a refraction.

Let $P C$ (*plate I. fig. 9.*) be a ray, falling obliquely on the surface $A B$, of another transparent medium. On entering into this medium, it will not continue it's progress in the direction of the straight line $C Q$, which is the line $P C$ produced; but will recede from it, in the direction of the line $C R$, or $C S$. It will undergo, then, at the point C , an inflection, which we call refraction, which depends partly on the difference of the two mediums, and partly on the obliquity of the direction of the ray $P C$.

In order to comprehend the laws of this *inflection*, it is necessary to explain certain terms employed in treating this subject.

1st. The surface $A B$, which separates the two mediums, that from which the ray comes, and that into

which it enters, is called the *refracting surface*. 2^{dly}. The ray $P C$, which falls upon it, is called the *incident ray*; and, 3^{dly}, the ray $C R$, or $C S$, which pursues, in the other medium, a course different from $C Q$, is called, the *broken, or refracted ray*. And, having drawn through the surface $A B$, the perpendicular line $E C F$, we call, 4^{thly}, the angle $P C E$, formed by the incident ray $P C$, with the perpendicular $E C$, the *angle of incidence*; and, 5^{thly}, the angle $R C F$, or $S C F$, formed by the refracted ray $C R$ or $C S$, with the perpendicular $C F$, is called the *angle of refraction*.

Therefore, because of the inflection, which the ray of light undergoes, the angle of refraction is not equal to the angle of incidence $P C E$; for producing the line $P C$ to Q , the angles $P C E$ and $F C Q$ being vertical, are equal to each other;* as you will easily recollect. The angle $Q C F$, then, is equal to the angle of incidence $P C E$; therefore, the angle of refraction $R C F$ or $S C F$, is greater or less. There are, then, only two cases which can exist; the one, in which the refracted ray being $C R$, the angle of refraction $R C F$, is less than the angle of incidence $P C E$; and the other, in which the refracted ray being $C S$, the angle of refraction is greater than the angle of incidence $P C E$. In the former case, we say, that the ray $C R$ approaches the perpendicular $C F$; and in the other, that the refracted ray $C S$, recedes or deviates from the perpendicular.

It is necessary, then, to enquire, In what cases the

* Euclid's Elements, Book I. Prop. 15.



one or the other of these changes will take place? And we shall find, that this phenomenon depends on the difference of the density of the two mediums; or because the rays are transmitted with more or less difficulty through each of them. To prove this, it must be recollected, that ether is of all mediums the most rare, and that through which rays are transmitted, without the slightest resistance. After it, the other common transparent mediums are thus arranged: air, water, glass; thus glass is a medium more dense than water; water than air; and air than ether.

This being laid down, we have only to attend to these two general rules: 1st. When rays pass from a medium less dense into one which is more so, the refracted ray approaches the more to the perpendicular. This is the case, in which the incident ray being P C, the refracted ray is C R. 2dly. When the rays pass from a medium more dense to one less so, the refracted ray recedes from the perpendicular. This is the case, in which the incident ray being P C, the refracted ray is C S. Now, this inflection is greater or less, according as the two mediums differ in respect of density. Thus, rays, in passing from air into glass, undergo a greater refraction, than when they pass from air into water; in both cases, however, the refracted rays approach the perpendicular. In like manner, rays passing from glass into air, undergo a greater refraction than when they pass from water into air; but in these cases, the refracted ray recedes from the perpendicular.

Finally,

Finally, it must likewise be remarked, that the difference between the angle of incidence and the angle of refraction is so much greater, as the angle of incidence is greater, or, as the incident ray recedes farther from the perpendicular, the greater will be the inflection or refraction of the ray. A relation of all these angles exists, and is determinable by geometry; but it is not now necessary to enter into the detail. What has been already said, is sufficient for understanding what I have farther to propose on the subject.

22d July, 1760.

LETTER XXXI.

Refraction of Rays of different Colours.

YOU have seen, that when a ray of light passes obliquely from one transparent medium to another, it undergoes an inflection, which is called refraction, and that the refraction depends on the obliquity of the incidence, and the density of the mediums. I must now call upon you to remark, That diversity of colours occasions, likewise, a small variety in the refraction. This arises, undoubtedly, from hence, that the rays which excite in us the sensations of different colours, perform unequal numbers of vibrations in the same times, and that they differ among themselves, in the same manner as sharper or flatter sounds do. Thus, it is observable, that



that rays of red undergo the least inflection or refraction; after them come the orange; the yellow, the green, the blue and the violet, follow in order; so that violet-coloured rays undergo the greatest refraction; it being always understood, that the obliquity of the incidence, and the density of the mediums are the same. Hence, it is concluded, that rays of different colours have not the same refrangibility; that the red are the least refrangible, and the violet-coloured the most so.

If then, P C, (*plate I. fig. 10.*) is a ray passing, for example, from air into glass; the angle of incidence being P C E, the refracted ray will approach the perpendicular C F; and if the ray be red, the refracted ray will be in the direction C—red; if it be orange, the refracted ray will be C—orange, and so of the rest, as may be seen in the figure. All these rays deviate from the line C Q, which is P C produced, toward the perpendicular C F; but the red ray deviates the least from C Q, or undergoes the least inflection, and the violet recedes the farthest from C Q, and undergoes the greatest inflection.

Now, if P C is a ray of the sun, it produces, at once, all the coloured rays indicated in the figure; and if a piece of white paper is placed to receive them, you will, in effect, see all these colours; hence, it is affirmed, that every ray of the sun contains, at once, all the simple colours. The same thing happens, if P C is a ray of white, or if it proceeds from a white body. We see all the colours produced from it by refraction, whence it is concluded,

that

that white is an assemblage of all the simple colours, as we shewed formerly. In truth, we have only to collect all these coloured rays into a single point, and the colour of white will be the result.

It is thus we discover what are the simple colours. Refraction determines them incontestibly. In following the order which it presents, they are these: 1. red, 2. orange, 3. yellow, 4. green, 5. blue, 6. violet. But it must not be imagined, that there are but six: for as difference of colours arises from the number of vibrations which rays perform in one and the same time, or rather the undulations which produce them: it is clear, that the intermediate numbers equally give simple colours.* But we want names, by which to design these colours; for be-

* This remark, that the number of primitive colours much exceeds six, is very just. The colours of the rainbow, or of the spectrum, formed by a prism, pass into each other by insensible shades, so that it is impossible to define their boundaries. There is reason to suspect, that, even the great *Newton* was, in this instance, misled, by a predilection for the number seven, which during many ages, has been regarded with a sort of mystical veneration. The correspondence, which he observed, between the divisions of the spectrum, and those of the monochord, and which so many authors have since repeated, is wholly ideal; for the proportions, between the extent of the different colours are, in a great measure, determined by the peculiar quality of the refracting mediums. Thus a prism of glass, in which alkali predominates, forms a spectrum, extremely unlike that formed by one of glass, composed principally of lead. Were a person to reckon only the most conspicuous of the primitive colours, he would, most probably, select the number six, for the indigo can hardly be distinguished.—*E. E.*

tween



tween yellow and green, we evidently perceive intermediate colours, for which we have no separate names.

In conformity to the same laws, are produced the colours visible in the rainbow. The rays of the sun, in passing through the drops of water which float through the air, are, by them, reflected and refracted, and the refraction decomposes them into the simple colours. You must, undoubtedly, have remarked, that these colours follow each other, in the same order, in the rainbow, the red, orange, yellow, green, blue, and violet; but we discover in it, also, all the intermediate colours, as shades of one colour to another, and had we more names to distinguish these degrees, we might find more of them from the one extremity to the other. A more copious language may, perhaps, enable another nation actually to reckon up a greater number of different colours; and another, it may be, cannot reckon up so many; if, for example, it wants a term to express what we call orange. Some to these add purple, which we perceive at the extremity of the red, but which others comprehend under the same name with red.

C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	A.	B.
Purple.	Red.	Orange.	Yellow.	Green.	Blue.	Violet.

These colours may be compared to the notes of an octave, as I have done here, because the relations of

of colours, as well as those of sounds, may be expressed by numbers. There is even an appearance, that by straining the violet a little more, you may come round to a new purple, just as in rising from sound to sound, on going beyond B, you come round to c, which is the octave above C. And, as in music, we give to these two notes the same name, because of their resemblance, the same thing takes place in colours, which, after having risen through the intervals of an octave, resume the same names: or, if you will, two colours, like two sounds, in which the number of vibrations in the one, is precisely the double of the other, pass for the same, and bear the same name.

On this principle it was, that father *Castel*, in France, contrived a species of music of colours. He constructed a harpsichord, of which every key displayed a substance of a certain colour, and he pretended, that this harpsichord, if skilfully touched, would present a most agreeable spectacle to the eye. He gave it the name of the *ocular* harpsichord, and you must, undoubtedly, have heard it talked of. For my part, painting rather seems to be that to the eye, which music is to the ear; and I greatly doubt, whether the representation of several shreds of cloth, of different colours, could be very agreeable.

27th July, 1760.