



LETTER XXXII.

Of the Azure-colour of the Heavens.

YOU have just seen, that the cause of the visibility of objects, is a motion of vibration extremely rapid, by which the minuter particles of their surfaces are agitated, and that the frequency of these vibrations determines the colour.

It is the same thing, whether these particles be agitated by an intrinsic force, as in luminous bodies, or whether they receive their agitation from illumination, or from foreign rays, by which they are illuminated, as in opaque bodies. The frequency or rapidity of the vibrations depends on the grossness of these particles, and on their elasticity, as that of the vibrations of a musical string depends on its thickness, and degree of tension; thus, as long as the particles of a body preserve the same elasticity, they represent the same colour; as the leaves of a plant preserve a green colour, as long as they are fresh; but when they begin to dry, the difference of elasticity, which then takes place, produces, likewise, a different colour. This subject I have already discussed. I now proceed to explain, Why the heavens appear to us of a blue colour in the day-time.

On observing this phenomenon with a vulgar eye, it would appear, that we are surrounded by a prodigious vault of azure, as painters represent the sky on a ceiling. I have no occasion to undeceive you respecting

respecting this prejudice: a small degree of reflection is sufficient to make you comprehend, that the heavens are not an azure vault to which the stars are affixed, like so many luminous studs. You are perfectly convinced, that the stars are immense bodies, at inconceivable distances from us, and which move freely through a space almost void, or which is filled only by that subtle matter called ether. And I will shew you, that this phenomenon is to be ascribed to our atmosphere, which is not perfectly transparent.

Were it possible to rise higher and higher above the surface of the earth, the air would become gradually more and more rare, till it ceased to assist respiration; and would, at length, entirely cease; we should then have reached the region of pure ether. Accordingly, in proportion as we ascend on mountains, the mercury in the barometer continues to fall, because the atmosphere becomes lighter and lighter: and then, likewise, it is remarked, that the azure colour of the heavens becomes fainter; and were it possible to mount into pure ether, it would entirely disappear; on looking upward, we should see nothing at all, and the heavens would appear black as night; for where no ray of light can reach us, every thing wears the appearance of black.

There is good reason, then, for asking, Why the heavens appear to be blue? This phenomenon could not exist, were air a perfectly transparent medium, as ether is: in that case, we should receive from above no other rays but those of the stars: but the lustre of day-light is so great, that the feeble light



of the stars is absorbed by it. You could not perceive the flame of a taper in the day-time, at any considerable distance; but that same flame, in the night, would appear very brilliant at much greater distances. This clearly proves, that we must look for the cause of the azure-colour of the heavens, in the want of transparency in the air. The air is loaded with a great quantity of small particles, which are not perfectly transparent, but which, being illuminated by the rays of the sun, receive from them a motion of vibration, which produces new rays proper to these particles; or else they are opaque, and become visible to us from being illumined.

Now, the colour of these particles is blue; and this explains the phenomenon: the air contains a great quantity of small blue particles: or it may be said, that it's minuter particles are bluish, but of a colour extremely delicate, and which becomes sensible to us only in an enormous mass of air. Thus, in a room, we perceive nothing of this blue; but when the bluish rays of the whole atmosphere penetrate our eyes at once, however delicate the colour of each singly, their totality may produce a very deep colour.

This is confirmed by another phenomenon, with which you must be well acquainted. If you look at a forest, from a moderate distance, it appears quite green; but in proportion as your distance increases, it acquires a bluish cast, and this gradually becomes deeper and deeper. The forests on the mountains of Hartz, which may be seen from Magdeburg, appear

thence

thence to be blue, but viewed from Halberstadt, they are green. The great extent of air between Magdeburg and these mountains, is the reason of it. However delicate or rare the bluish particles of the air may be, there is such a prodigious quantity of them in that interval, the rays of which enter into the eye at once, that they represent a tolerable deep blue.*

* This explanation of the blueness of the sky is strained and unsatisfactory. The air is, like water, perfectly colourless, otherwise any portion of it might be distinguished by the sight. Besides, the blueness of the sky, even in clear weather, is not uniformly the same, but acquires different degrees of intensity, and different shades, from a variety of circumstances, the climate, the season, and the elevation of the place. The true explanation of the phenomenon must be sought from other principles. The most refrangible rays are, at minute distances, attracted or repelled, by colourless substances, with the greatest force. A sun-beam, therefore, in it's passage through the atmosphere, will first lose it's violet rays most profusely, next the indigo, then the blue, and if the track be of sufficient length, perhaps a few of the green. The rays, thus separated, are either absorbed by the air, or they are reflected, and cause the blue appearance. Hence, on the summits of lofty mountains, the colour of the heavens seems faint and dark, and inclined somewhat to violet. On the contrary, in dense humid air, the colour is a light milky blue. Hence, also, the bright azure which paints the sky of the southern regions, owing to the dryness of the air, and the shortness of the light's tract. For the same reason, not only the quantity, but even the quality, of the light which we receive from the sun, depends on his altitude. At rising, and setting, those rays which reach the surface, and even the lower range of clouds, are chiefly the reddish; at a greater elevation of the sun, the prevailing colour of his beams is somewhat orange; and when still higher, it is a dilute yellow.

The same principles will account for the colour of the ocean,
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We remark a similar phenomenon in a fog, when the air is loaded with a great quantity of opaque particles of a whitish colour. On looking to only a small distance, you scarcely perceive the fog; but when the distance is considerable, the whitish colour becomes very perceptible; to such a degree, that it is impossible to see through it. The water of the sea appears green at a certain depth; but when you take up a small quantity, as much, for instance, as a glass will contain, it is sufficiently diaphanous, and has no sensible colour: but in a great extent, when you look toward the bottom, so many greenish rays collected produce a deep colour.

27th July, 1760.

which is dark blue. It is only in seas, not exceeding one hundred fathoms in depth, that the reflection from the white bottom dilutes the proper colour, and forms a glaucous hue. This appearance is an invariable sign of the shallowness of the water, which is often a token of the proximity of the land. Dr. Hally relates an observation that he made in a diving-bell, which confirms these reasonings; after descending to a great depth in the sea, he stretched out his hand, on which the sun shone through the water, and painted a beautiful crimson. The same observation may be extended, even to substances that are reckoned opaque. Hold an ivory knife in the focus of a burning glass, perpendicular to the pencil of light, and a bright yellowish spot will be perceived on the back. Incline the knife gradually, and the colour of the spot will pass through all the intermediate shades, and terminate in a fine red. It is scarce necessary to remark, that this experiment must be performed expeditiously, lest the ivory be scorched.—E.E.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIII.

Of Rays issuing from a distant luminous Point, and of the visual Angle.

AS long as the rays produced by the rapid vibration of the minuter particles of a body, move in the same transparent medium, they preserve the same direction, or diffuse themselves in all directions, in straight lines. These rays may be represented by the radii of a circle, or rather of a sphere, which, issuing from a centre, proceed in straight lines to the circumference; and it is on account of this resemblance, that we employ the same term *radius*, or ray, to express them, though, properly speaking, the light does not consist of lines, but of very rapid vibrations, going continually forward, in the direction of straight lines: and, for this reason, light may be considered as straight lines, issuing from a luminous point, in all directions.

Let C (*plate I. fig. 11.*) be a luminous point, from which rays issue in all directions. Let two spheres be described round C, as a centre, of the one of which, let the great circle be *abde*, and of the other ABDE. The light diffused over the surface of the smaller sphere *abde*, will likewise occupy that of the greater sphere ABDE. The light, then, must be more faint and weak at the surface of this last, than on that of the smaller sphere *abde*. Hence it may be concluded, that the effect of light must be smaller,

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in proportion to the distance from the luminous point. If we suppose, that the radius of the greater sphere is double that of the smaller, the surface of the greater sphere will be four times as great. Since, therefore, the same quantity of light is diffused over the surface of the greater sphere, and over that of the smaller, it must follow, that light, at double the distance, is four times more faint; at thrice the distance, nine times; at a quadruple distance, sixteen times; and so on.*

On applying this rule to the light of the sun, it will appear, that if the earth were removed to double the distance from the sun, the light derived from him would be rendered four times more faint; and if the sun were a hundred times farther from us, his brightness would be a hundred times a hundred, that is, ten thousand times less. Supposing, then, a fixed star to be as great, and as luminous as the sun, but that it was 400,000 times farther from us, its light will be 400,000 times 400,000, that is, 160,000,000,000 times more faint than that of the sun. Hence we see, that the light of a fixed star is nothing, compared to that of the sun; and this is the reason that we do not see the stars in the day time; a feebler light

* As the surfaces of spheres are to one another as the squares of their radii, it must be concluded, from what the Author has just now said, that the intensity of light, at different distances from the point which produces it, is in the inverse ratio of the square of these distances. It must be recollected, that the square of a number is the product which results from the multiplication of that number by itself.—F. E.

always

always disappears in presence of one much more bright. The same thing holds good with respect to candles, and all other luminous bodies, which administer less light, in proportion to their distance from us; and you must have frequently remarked, that however strong a light may be, it is insufficient to assist us in reading a printed book, if you remove from it to any considerable distance.

There is still another circumstance, closely connected with what I have just observed; namely, that the same object appears smaller to us, in proportion to its distance. A giant, at a great distance, does not appear taller than a dwarf near us. To form a clearer judgment of this, it is necessary to attend to the angles at which these objects are seen by us.

Let us suppose, then, (*plate I. fig. 12.*) *AB* to be an object, say a man, and that the eye looks at it from the point *C*. Draw from that point the straight lines, *AC* and *BC*, which represent the extreme rays proceeding from the object to the eye; we call the angle formed at *C*, the visual angle of that object for the point *C*. If we look at the same object from a smaller distance, at *D*, the visual angle *D* will be, undoubtedly, greater: hence it is clear, that the more distant the same object is, the smaller is its visual angle; and the nearer it approaches, its visual angle becomes greater.

Astronomers measure very accurately the angles under which we see the heavenly bodies, and they have found, that the visual angle of the sun is somewhat more than half a degree. If the sun were

K 4

twice



twice farther from us, this angle would be reduced to the half; and then it will not seem surprizing that it should furnish us four times less light. And if the sun were 400 times farther off, his visual angle would become so many times less, and then that luminary would appear no greater than a star. We must, therefore, carefully distinguish the apparent greatness of any object from it's real greatness. The first is always an angle greater or less, according as the object is nearer or more distant. Thus the apparent greatness of the sun, is an angle of about half a degree, whereas his real magnitude far surpasses that of the earth; for the sun being a globe, his diameter is estimated to be 172,000 German miles,* while the diameter of the earth is only 1720† miles.‡

29th July, 1760.

* 790,000 miles English.

† 7,920 miles English.

‡ Astronomers likewise call the apparent diameter of a star the angle under which it is seen. Thus, they say, that the mean diameter of the sun is 31' 58"; that of the earth, viewed from the sun, would be 17". Hence it follows, that the diameter of the earth being 2865 leagues, that of the sun is 323,000 leagues. The German mile contains 4000 fathoms, or 24,000 feet. The league of France contains 2282 fathoms. Hence it is easy to reduce the one measurement into the other.—F. E.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIV.

Of the Supplement which Judgment lends to Vision.

WHAT I have now submitted to you on the phenomenon of vision, belongs to optics, which is a branch of mixed mathematics, and which, likewise, holds a considerable rank in physics. Beside colours, the nature of which I have endeavoured to explain, it is the business of optics to treat of the manner in which vision acts, and of the different angles under which objects are seen.

You must have already remarked, that the same object may be viewed, sometimes under a greater visual angle, sometimes under a smaller, as it is less or more distant from us. I say farther, That a small object may be viewed under the same angle as a great one, when the former is very near, and the latter very distant. A small dish may be placed before the eye in such a manner, as to cover the whole body of the sun; and, in effect, a plate of half a foot diameter, at the distance of 54 feet, exactly covers the sun, and is seen under the same angle: and yet what a prodigious difference between the size of a plate and that of the sun: The full moon appears to us under nearly the same visual angle as the sun, and, of consequence, nearly as great, though in reality much smaller; but it is to be considered, that the sun is almost 400 times more remote from us than the moon.

The



The visual angle is a point of so much the more importance in optics, that the images of the objects, which paint themselves on the bottom of the eye, depend upon it. The greater or less the visual angle is, the greater or less they (the objects) are great or little. And as we see objects out of ourselves, only so far as their images are painted on the bottom of the eye, they constitute the immediate object of vision or sensation. One of these images, therefore, leads us to the knowledge only of three things. First, it's figure and it's colours conduct to the conclusion, That there is, out of us, a similar object, of such a figure, and such a colour. Secondly, it's magnitude discovers the visual angle under which the object appears to us: and, finally, it's place on the bottom of the eye makes us sensible of the direction of the external object, relatively to us, or that in which the rays emitted from it reach our eyes.

In these three particulars consists the phenomenon of vision; and we only perceive, 1st, the figure and colours; 2dly, the visual angle, or the apparent magnitude; and, 3dly, the direction, or the place in which we conclude that the object exists. Vision, then, discovers to us nothing respecting either the real magnitude of objects, or their distances. Though we frequently imagine, that we can determine by the eye the magnitude and distance of an object, this is not an act of vision, but of the understanding. The other senses, and habits of long standing, enable us to calculate at what distance an object is from us. But this faculty extends only to objects at no great distance.

distance. Whenever their distance becomes considerable, our judgment cannot exercise itself with certainty; and if sometimes we venture to hazard a decision, it is generally very remote from the truth.

Thus, no one can pretend to say that he sees the magnitude or the distance of the moon; and when the vulgar imagine they can judge of the first, by considering it as equal to that of the terrestrial bodies which are seen under the same angle, it is not by vision they are deceived, but by their judgment, which they want to apply to an object far beyond their reach. It is certain, therefore, that the eyes alone can determine nothing respecting the distance and magnitude of objects.

To this subject may be referred the very remarkable case of a man born blind, who obtained sight, by means of an operation, at an advanced period of life.* This person was at first dazzled: he could distinguish nothing as to the magnitude and distance of objects. Every thing appeared so near, that he wanted to handle them. A considerable time, and long practice, were requisite to bring him to the real use of sight. He was under the necessity of serving a long apprenticeship, such as we perform during the term of childhood, and of which we afterwards preserve no recollection.

This it is which instructs us, that an object appears to us so much the more clear and distinct as it

* This was the blind man, on whom the famous *Cheffelden* performed the operation of the couching cataract.—*F. E.*



is nearer; and reciprocally, that an object which appears clear and distinct is near; and when it appears obscure and indistinct, that it is at a distance. It is thus that painters, by weakening the tints of the objects which they wish to appear remote, and strengthening those which they would represent as nearer, are enabled to determine our judgment, conformably to the effect which they mean to produce. And they succeed so perfectly, that we consider some of the objects represented in painting as more distant than others: an illusion which could not take place, if vision discovered to us the real distance and magnitude of objects.

21st August, 1760.

LETTER XXXV.

Explanation of certain Phenomena relative to Optics.

YOU have just seen, that vision alone discovers to us nothing, respecting either the real magnitude or the distance of objects; and that all we imagine we see, whether as to the distance or magnitude of any object, is the effect of judgment. We must carefully distinguish that which the senses represent to us, from what judgment adds, in which we frequently deceive ourselves. Many philosophers, who have declaimed against the accuracy of the senses, and who meant thence to infer the uncertainty

tainty of all human knowledge,* have confounded the proper representations of our senses with judgment.

This is their mode of reasoning: We see the sun no bigger than a trencher, though it be infinitely greater; therefore the sense of seeing deceives us; therefore all our senses deceive us; at least, we cannot depend on them: therefore, all the knowledge we acquire by means of the senses, is uncertain, and probably false: We, therefore, know nothing. Such is the reasoning of these sceptics, who boast, so vain gloriously, of their ingenuity; though there be nothing so easy as to say, that every thing is uncertain; and the greatest dunce may make a shining figure in this sublime philosophy. But it is absolutely false, that the sight represents to us the sun no bigger than a pewter plate; it determines nothing whatever respecting his magnitude; it is our judgment alone that deceives us. When the objects, however, are not very distant we can pronounce with tolerable exactness on their dimensions and distances; and the other senses, joined to the degree of clearness with which we see these same objects, render our judgments sufficiently certain. Now, as soon as we have the idea of the distance of an object, we form to ourselves, likewise, that of its real magnitude, knowing that it depends on that distance.

* Such were the Pyrrhonists. We still give the name of *scepticism*, or *Pyrrhonism*, to this state of universal doubt or uncertainty.—F. E.

Hence



Hence, the more distant we reckon an object to be, the greater we conclude is its magnitude; and reciprocally, the nearer we conclude it is, the smaller we suppose it. We, of course, frequently take one body for another of much greater magnitude, when a suspension of judgment prevents our taking distance into the account. The reason is that a very large body may be seen at a great distance, under the same angle as a small object placed near us.

There is another phenomenon, well known to every one, and which has given occasion to many disputes among the learned, and which it is now perfectly easy to explain. The full moon appears to every eye at the time of her rising to be much greater than when she has got to a considerable height above the horizon, though the visual angle of the apparent magnitude be the same. The sun, too, at the time of rising and setting, appears to every one greater than at noon. What then is the foundation of this judgment, so universal, and so false? It is undoubtedly because we judge the sun and the moon in the horizon to be at a greater distance from us than when they have got to a considerable height.

But how come we to form such a judgment? The common answer is, that when the sun and the moon are in the horizon, we perceive a great many objects between them and us which seem to increase their distance; whereas when the sun and moon have risen to a great height, we perceive nothing between them and us, and therefore conclude that they are
nearer.

nearer. I know not whether this explanation will be satisfactory. It may be objected that an empty apartment appears greater than one completely furnished, though the size be exactly the same; several intervening objects, therefore, do not always lead us to imagine that one more remote is at a greater distance than is really the case. I flatter myself that the following solution will be deemed more natural, and better founded.

Let the circle A (*plate I. fig. 13.*) represent the earth, and the dotted circle the atmosphere, or air with which the earth is surrounded; suppose yourself stationed at the point A, if the moon is in the horizon, the rays will reach you in the direction of the line B A; but in her extreme height, the rays will descend in the line C A. In the first case the rays pass through the greater space B A; and in the second case through the smaller space C A. Now, you will please to recollect, that the rays of light which pass through a transparent medium have their force diminished in proportion to the length of the passage. The atmosphere or air, then, being a transparent medium, the ray B A must in its passage lose much more of its force than the ray C A. Hence it follows, in general, that all the celestial bodies appear much less brilliant in the horizon than when fully risen and elevated. We are able to look directly even at the sun, when he is in the horizon; but when once he has gained a certain height, the eye is constrained to shrink from his lustre.

I conclude from this that the moon, too, appears
less



less brilliant in the horizon than when elevated.* Now, you will recollect what I said a little above, in speaking of effect in painting, that the same object appears

* This explanation of the appearance of the horizontal moon was offered, in the beginning of the present century, by the acute Dr. Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne. It has since been refuted by that excellent optician, Dr. Smith, who was the first that completely investigated this curious subject. The following is an abstract of the theory, from Dr. Priestley's "History of Vision, Light, and Colours."

"If the surface of the earth were perfectly plane," says Dr. Smith, "the distance of the visible horizon would scarce exceed 5000 times the height of the eye above the ground, or the distance of miles (supposing the height of the eye to be between five and six feet) and all objects placed beyond that distance would appear in the visible horizon. All objects and clouds, likewise, placed at any distance beyond this, must consequently, if they be visible at all, appear to be in the horizon. "Hence," he says, "if we suppose a vast wall to be built at the extremity of the plane, beyond the point of visible distance, it will not appear straight, but circular, as if built upon the circumference of the horizon; and, if continued infinitely, would make a perfect semi-circle. If now this round plane, with the wall upon it, be imagined to be raised, till it come perpendicular to the rest of the plane, on which a person stands, the wall will appear like the concave figure of the clouds over his head. But though the wall in the horizon appear in the shape of a semi-circle, yet the ceiling will not, but much flatter; because the horizontal plane was a visible surface, which suggested the idea of the same distances quite round the eye; but in the vertical plane, extended between the eye and the ceiling, there is nothing that affects the sense with an idea of it's parts. Consequently the apparent distances of the higher parts of the ceiling will be gradually diminished. Now, when the sky is quite overcast with clouds of equal gravities, they will all float in the air at equal heights above the earth, and consequently will com-

pose

appears to us more distant when it's light is weakened: the moon, then, being in the horizon, must appear more distant than at any point of elevation.

pose a surface resembling a large ceiling, as flat as the visible surface of the earth. It's concavity, therefore, is not real, but apparent; and when the heights of the clouds are unequal, since their real shapes and magnitudes are all unknown, the eye can seldom distinguish the unequal distances of those clouds which appear in the same directions, unless when they are very near us, or are driven by contrary currents of the air. So that the visible shape of the whole surface remains alike in both cases. And when the sky is either partly overcast, or perfectly free from clouds, it is a fact that we still retain much the same idea of it's concavity, as when it was quite overcast. But if any one thinks that the reflexion of light from the air is alone sufficient to suggest that idea, he would not dispute it."

"The concavity of the heavens appears to the eye, which is the only judge of an apparent figure, to be a less portion of a spherical surface than an hemisphere. In other words," he says, "the center of the concavity is much below the eye; and, by taking a medium among several observations, he found the apparent distance of it's parts, at the horizon, was generally between three and four times greater than the apparent distance of it's parts over head."

"This he determined by measuring the actual height of some of the heavenly bodies, when, to his eye, they seemed to be half way between the horizon and the zenith. In this case their real altitude was only 23 degrees."

Upon these principles Dr. Smith constructed the following table:

| Sun or Moon's altitude, in degrees. | Apparent Diameters, or distances. |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 00 | 100 |
| 15 | 68 |
| 30 | 50 |
| 45 | 40 |
| 60 | 34 |
| 75 | 31 |
| 90 | 30 |

E. E.



The consequence is obvious; as we judge the distance of the moon greater in the horizon, we must likewise judge her magnitude greater. And in general all the stars, when near the horizon, appear to us greater, because their apparent distance is greater.

3d August, 1760.

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LETTER XXXVI.

Of Shade.

I HAVE endeavoured to explain almost all that is usually treated of in optics. All that remains is to speak of shade. You already know too well what is meant by shade to render it necessary for me to dwell long on the subject. Shade always supposes two things: a luminous body, and an opaque body, which does not transmit the rays of light. The opaque body, then, prevents the rays of a luminous body from getting behind it, and the space which the rays cannot reach, from this interception, is called the shade of the opaque body, or, what comes to the same thing, shade includes all that space in which the luminous body is not to be seen, because the opaque body obstructs its rays.

Let A (*plate I. fig. 14.*) be a luminous point, and B C D E an opaque body. Draw the extreme rays A B M, A D N, touching the opaque body. It is evident that no ray of light proceeding from A, can penetrate into the space M B E D N; and in what-

ever

ever point within that space the eye may be placed, at O for example, it will not see the luminous body. This space is the shade of the opaque body, and we see that it is continually increasing, and may extend to infinity. But if the body from which the rays proceed be itself of great magnitude, the determination of the shade is somewhat different. There are three cases which demand consideration; the first is, when the luminous body is less than the opaque; the second, when they are equal; and the third, when the luminous body is the greater. The first case is that which we have now been considering, in which the light is smaller than the opaque body.

The second is represented, (*plate I. fig. 15.*) in which the luminous body A is of the same magnitude with the opaque body B C E D. If you draw the extreme rays A B M, A E N, the space M B E N will be shaded, and through the whole of that space it will be impossible to see the luminous body. You see, likewise, that the lines B M and E N are parallel, and that the shade extends to infinity, always preserving the same breadth.

The third case is exhibited, (*plate I. fig. 16.*) in which the luminous body A A is greater than the opaque body B C E D. The extreme rays, touching the opaque body in B and E, if produced, will meet in the point O, and the space of the shade B O E becomes finite, and terminates in O. The shade, in this case, is termed conical. It is only into this space that the light has no admission, and in which it is

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impossible



impossible to see the luminous body. To this third case belong the shades of the celestial bodies, which are much smaller than the luminous body which enlightens them, namely the sun.

We have here, then, another display of the Creator's wisdom. For if the sun were smaller than the planets, their shades would not be terminated, but extend to infinity, which would deprive immense spaces of the benefit of the sun's light. But the magnitude of that luminary surpassing by so many times that of the planets, their shades are contracted to very narrow bounds, from which alone the light of the sun is excluded.

It is thus that the earth and the moon project their conical shades; and the moon may occasionally plunge into the shade of the earth either partially or totally. When this takes place, we say the moon is eclipsed, either wholly or in part. In the former case we call it a total eclipse of the moon; in the other, a partial eclipse. The moon, likewise, projects her shade, but it is smaller than that of the earth. It may happen, however, that the shade of the moon should extend as far as to the earth; and then those who are involved in that shade, undergo an eclipse of the sun. An eclipse of the sun, then, takes place when the moon, interposing, prevents our seeing the sun wholly, or in part. We see not the sun by night, though there be no eclipse; but we are then in the shade of the earth, which causes our greatest obscurity.

Hitherto

Hitherto we have considered only the cases in which the rays of light are transmitted in straight lines, which is the professed object of optics. But it has been already remarked, that the rays of light are sometimes reflected, and sometimes broken, or refracted. You will recollect, that when the rays fall on a well-polished surface, such as a mirror, they are reflected from that surface; and when they pass from one transparent medium to another, they undergo refraction, and are in some sense broken. Hence arise two other sciences. That which considers vision in reference to reflected rays is called catoptrics; and that which has for its object vision, in reference to broken or refracted rays, is termed dioptrics. Optics treat of vision relatively to direct rays of light. I shall present you with a summary of these two sciences, catoptrics and dioptrics, as they disclose phenomena which are every day presenting themselves, and of which it is of importance to investigate the causes and the properties. Every thing relating to the subject of vision is, beyond contradiction, an object highly worthy of exciting curiosity, and of engaging attention.

5th August, 1760.



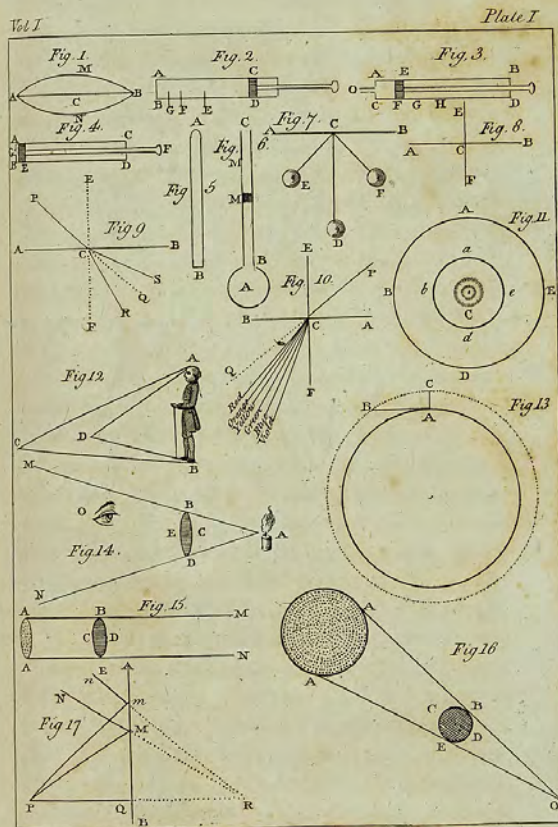
LETTER XXXVII.

Of Catoptrics, and the Reflection of Rays from plain Mirrors.

CATOPTRICS treat of vision relatively to reflected rays. When rays of light fall on a well polished surface, they are reflected in such a manner that the angles on all sides are equal among themselves.

To set this in a clear light, let A B (plate I. fig. 17.) be the surface of a common mirror, and P a luminous point, whose rays P Q, P M, P m, fall upon the mirror. Of all these rays, let P Q be that which falls perpendicularly on the mirror, and which has this particular and remarkable property, that it is reflected upon itself in the direction of Q P; just as on a billiard table, when the ball is struck perpendicularly against the ledge, it is repelled in the self-same direction. But every other ray, as P M, is reflected in the line M N, in such a manner as to make the angle A M N equal to the angle B M P; in which it is to be remarked, that the ray P M is named the incident ray, and M N the reflected ray. In like manner, to the incident ray P m, will correspond the reflected ray m n; and, consequently, because of the reflection, the ray P M is continued in the direction of the line M N, and the ray P m in the direction of m n, so that we have the angle A M N, equal to B M P, and the angle A m n, equal to the angle B m P.

This





This property is thus enounced: *The angle of reflection is always equal to the angle of incidence.*

I have already taken notice of this striking property; but my design, at present, is to shew what the phenomema in vision are which result from it. First, it is evident, that an eye, placed at N, will receive from the luminous point P, the reflected ray MN; thus the ray which excites in that eye the sensation of the body from whence it proceeded, comes in the direction MN, just as if the object P were in some point of that line; hence it follows that the eye must see the object P in the direction NM.

In order the more clearly to elucidate this fact, we must have recourse to geometry; and you will recollect with pleasure the propositions on which the following reasoning is founded. Let the perpendicular ray PQ be produced on the other side the mirror to R, so that QR shall be equal to PQ; I will shew you that all the reflected rays, MN, and *mn* being produced behind the mirror, must meet in that point. For, taking the two triangles PQM and RQM, they have first the side MQ common to both; then the side QR was made equal to the side PQ; and, finally, the angle PQM being a right angle, it's adjacent angle RQM must likewise be a right angle.* Therefore these two triangles, having each an equal angle contained by two equal sides, shall be every way equal,† and consequently the angle

* Euclid's Elements, book I. Prop. 13.

† Euclid, book I. Prop. 4.



$P M Q$ equal to the angle $R M Q$. But the angle $A M N$, and the angle $R M Q$, being vertical, are equal to each other,* therefore also the angle $A M N$ shall be equal to the angle $P M Q$; that is, the angle of reflection shall be equal to the angle of incidence.

In the same manner it is demonstrated that the reflected ray $m n$ being produced, would likewise pass through the point R , and consequently produce in the eye the same effect as if the object P were actually placed behind the mirror at R , this point being in the perpendicular $P Q R$, at the same distance as P from the surface of the mirror, but on different sides. This will enable you to comprehend clearly why mirrors represent objects as if they were behind them; and why we judge that these objects are placed as far behind the surface of the mirror as they really are before it. It is thus the mirror transports objects into another place, without changing their appearance. To distinguish in the mirror that apparent object from the real, we name the apparent object the image, and we say that the images represented by reflected rays are behind the mirror. This denomination serves to distinguish real objects from the images of them represented in mirrors; and the images which we see in mirrors are perfectly equal and similar to the objects, with this exception, that what in the object is on the left appears in the image on the right, and reciprocally. Thus a person wearing his sword on the left side, appears with it in the mirror on his right.

* Euclid, book I. Prop. 15.

From

From what has been said, it is always easy to settle the image of any object whatever behind the mirror.

For $A B$ (*plate II. fig. 1.*) being a mirror, and $E F$ an object, say an arrow: draw from the points E and F the perpendiculars $E G$ and $F H$, to the surface of the mirror, and produce these to e and f , so that $E G$ shall be equal to $e G$, and $F H$ to $f H$, $e f$ will be the image sought, which will be equal to the object $E F$, because the quadrilateral figure $G e f H$ is in all respects equal to the quadrilateral figure $G E F H$. It must be still farther remarked, that were you even to cut off from the mirror a part, as $C B$, and $A C$ was the mirror, the image $e f$ would not be changed. And consequently when the mirror is not sufficiently large to admit the falling of the perpendiculars $E G$ and $F H$ upon it, we must suppose the plane of the mirror to be extended, as we produce lines in geometry when we want to let fall perpendiculars upon them. What I have said respects only common mirrors, whose surface is perfectly plain. Convex and concave mirrors produce different effects.

7th August, 1760.

LETTER XXXVIII.

*Reflection of Rays from convex and concave Mirrors.
Burning Mirrors.*

EVERY thing relating to the reflection of rays is reduced, as you have seen, to two things; the one of which is the place of the image which the reflected rays represent; and the other the relation of

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the image to the object. In ordinary or plain mirrors, the image of the object is behind the mirror, at a distance equal to that of the object before the mirror, and it is equal and similar to the object. To both of these circumstances we must attend when the mirror is not plain; but when its surface is convex or concave; for in either case the image is, for the most part, strangely disfigured. You must frequently have remarked that on presenting any object before a spoon very highly polished, you see its image greatly disfigured, whether reflected from its interior surface, which is concave, or from its exterior, which is convex.

A globe of silver, finely polished, represents objects with sufficient accuracy, but in miniature. If the interior surface of the globe is well polished, objects appear upon it magnified; provided always that they are not too distant. For the same objects may likewise appear smaller and inverted, if they are removed far from the mirror. There is no occasion to take a whole globe; any part of its surface whatever produces the same effect. These mirrors are denominated spherical; and there are two sorts of them. The one is convex and the other concave, according as they are taken on the exterior or interior surface of the sphere. They are compounded of various metals, susceptible of a fine polish; whereas plain mirrors are made of a plate of glass, and covered on one side with a preparation of mercury, designed to stop the passage of the rays, and to reflect them. I begin with convex mirrors.

Let

Let $A C B$ (*plate II. fig. 2.*) be a mirror, the segment of a sphere, whose centre is G . If you place before this mirror an object E , at a great distance, its image will appear behind the mirror, at the point D , the middle point of the radius of the sphere $C G$; and the magnitude of this image will be to that of the object, in the relation of the lines $C D$ and $C E$: it will, therefore, be in this case much smaller than the object, as the line $C D$ is, in effect, much smaller than the line $C E$. If the object E approaches to the mirror, so likewise will its image. This is all demonstrable on geometrical principles, by supposing that any incident ray whatever, say $E M$, is reflected in the direction of $M N$, so that the angle $B M N$ may be equal to the angle $C M E$. Thus, when the eye is at N , receiving the reflected ray $M N$, it will see the object E , according to that direction, and will observe it in the mirror, at the point D : or, in other words, D will be the image of the object placed at E , but smaller. It is likewise easy to see, that the smaller the sphere is, of which the mirror is a segment, the more, likewise, is the image diminished.

I proceed to concave mirrors, the use of which is very common on many occasions. Let $A C B$ (*plate II. fig. 3.*) be a mirror, forming part of a sphere, whose centre is G , and $G C$ a radius. Let us suppose an object E , very distant from the mirror, its image will appear before the mirror at D , the middle point of the radius $C G$: for any ray of light whatever, $E M$, from the object E , falling on the surface of the mirror, at the point M , will be reflected thence,



thence, in such a manner, as to pass through the point D; and when the eye is placed at N, it will see the object at D; but this image will be to the object in the ratio of CD to CE, and consequently in this case smaller than it. And when you bring the object nearer to the mirror, the image retires; the object being placed even at the centre G, the image is there likewise. If you bring the object still forward to D, the image will retire infinitely beyond E. But if the object be placed still farther forward, between C and D, the image will fall behind the mirror, and appear greater than the object.

When you look at yourself in such a mirror, at some point between D and C, your face will appear frightfully large. This is explained by the nature of reflection, in virtue of which the angle of incidence, E M A, is always equal to the angle of reflection, C M N. To this species must be referred burning mirrors, and every concave mirror may be employed to burn. This remarkable property merits a more particular explanation.

Let A B C (*plate II. fig. 4.*) be a concave mirror, whose centre is G, and instead of the object, let the sun be at E; his reflected rays will represent the image of the sun at D, the middle point between C and G. Now, the magnitude of this image will be determined by the extreme rays S C, S C. This image of the sun will be, accordingly, very small, and as all the rays of the sun which fall on the mirror A C B are reflected in this image, they will be collected there, and will have so much more force, as
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the image D is smaller than the surface of the mirror. But the rays of the sun are endowed with the property of heating the bodies on which they fall, as well as that of illuminating them; hence it follows, that there must be at D a great degree of heat; and when the mirror is sufficiently large, this heat may become stronger than the most ardent fire. In fact, by means of such a mirror, you may burn in an instant any combustible body, and even melt metals of every kind. It is the image of the sun alone which produces these surprising effects. This image is usually denominated the focus of the mirror; it falls always in the middle point of the radius C G; between the mirror and its centre G.

You must carefully distinguish burning mirrors from burning glasses, of which I shall give some account in my next letter.

9th August, 1760.

L E T T E R XXXIX.

Of Dioptrics.

HAVING explained the principal phenomena of catoptrics, which result from the reflection of the rays of light; I proceed to treat of dioptrics, whose object is to unfold the phenomena of the refraction of rays, which takes place when they pass through different transparent mediums. A ray of light does not pursue the same straight line unless it
continues



continues it's progress through the same medium. As soon as it enters another transparent medium, it changes it's direction more or less, according as it falls upon it more or less obliquely. There is only one case in which it pursues a rectilinear course, namely, when it enters the other medium perpendicularly.

The instruments principally to be considered in dioptrics are the glasses employed in the construction of telescopes and microscopes. These glasses are of a circular form, but with two faces. Every thing relating to them is reducible to the figure of these two faces, which may be plain, or convex, or concave. Their convexity, or concavity, is always equal to that of a sphere, of which the radius must be known, it being considered as the measure of the curve of those surfaces. This being laid down, we shall have several kinds of dioptric glasses.

The first species, No. I. (*plate II. fig. 5.*) is that whose two faces are plain. By cutting a circular piece out of a plate of glass, of equal thickness, we shall have one of this species, which makes no change on objects either as to magnitude or distance. Glass No. II. has one of its surfaces plain, and the other convex; and such are termed *plano-convex*. The third species, No. III. has one face plain, and the other concave, and these are called *plano-concave*. The fourth, No. IV. has two convex surfaces, and is called *double-convex*. No. V. has two concave surfaces, and is called *double-concave*. The species Nos. VI. and VII. have one surface convex and the other concave; and
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we give them the name of *meniscus*. All these lenses are reducible to two classes; the one containing those in which convexity prevails, as Nos. II. IV. VI.; in the other, concavity is predominant, namely, Nos. III. V. VII. The former class is simply denominated convex, and the latter concave. These two classes are distinguished by the following property.

Let AB (*plate II. fig. 6.*) be a convex glass, exposed to a very distant object, EF , whose rays GA , GC , GB , fall on the glass, and, passing through it, undergo a refraction, which will take place in such a manner, that the rays proceeding from the point G shall meet on the other side of the glass in the point g . The same thing will happen to the rays which proceed from every point of the object. By this alteration all the refracted rays Al , Bm , Cn , will pursue the same direction as if the object were at e, g, f , and inverted; and it will appear as many times smaller as the distance Cg shall be contained in the distance CG . We say, then, that such a glass represents the object EF behind it at ef , and this representation is called the *image*, which is consequently inverted, and is, with the object itself, in the ratio of the distances of the glass from the image, and of the glass from the object.

It is clear, then, that if the sun were the object, the image represented at ef would be that of the sun; though very small, it will be so brilliant, as to dazzle the eye, for all the rays which pass through the glass meet in this image, and there exercise their double power of giving light and heat. The heat
there



there is nearly as many times greater, as the surface of the glass exceeds in magnitude the image of the sun, named it's focus, from which, if the glass be very great, you may produce the greatest effects of heat. Combustible substances, placed in the focus of such a glass, are instantly consumed. Metals are melted, and even vitrified by it; and other effects are produced far beyond the reach of the most active and intense fire.

The reason is the same as in the case of burning mirrors. In both the rays of the sun, diffused over the whole surface of the mirror, or glass, are collected in the small space of the sun's image. The only difference is, that in mirrors the rays are collected by reflection, and in glasses by refraction. Such is the effect of convex glasses, which are thicker in the middle than at the extremities, and which I have represented in Nos. II. IV. and VI. Those represented in Nos. III. V. and VII. are thicker at the extremities than at the middle, and being all comprehended under the term concave, produce a contrary effect.

Let ACB (*plato II. fig. 7.*) be a glass of this form. If you expose to it, at a great distance, the object EFG , the rays GA , GC , GB , proceeding from the point G , will undergo a refraction, on leaving the glass, in the direction of Al , Cm , and Bn , as if they had issued from the point g ; and an eye placed behind the glass, at m , for example, will see the object just as if it were placed at egf , and in a situation similar to that in which it is at the point G , but as many times smaller as the distance CG exceeds the distance

distance Gg . Convex glasses, then, represent the image of a very distant object behind them; concave glasses represent it before them; the former represent it inverted, and the latter in it's real situation. In both, the image is as many times smaller as the distance of the object from the glass exceeds that of the glass from the image. On this property of glasses is founded the construction of telescopes, spectacles, and microscopes.

11th August, 1760.

LETTER XL.

Continuation. Of burning Glasses and their Focus.

CONVEX glasses furnish some farther remarks, which I beg leave to lay before you. I speak here of those glasses in general which are thicker in the middle than at the extremities; whether both surfaces be convex, or one plane and the other convex; or, finally, one concave and the other convex, provided, however, that the convexity exceed the concavity, or that the thickness be greater at the middle than at the extremities. It is farther supposed that the glasses have a spherical figure.

They have first this property, that being exposed to the sun, they present behind them a focus, which is the image of that luminary, and which is endowed, like it, with the property of illuminating and burning. The reason is that all the rays issuing from



the sun, and falling on this surface, are collected by the refraction of the glass into a single point. The same thing happens whatever be the object exposed to such a glass; it always presents the image of it, which you see instead of the object itself. The following figure will render what I have said more intelligible.

Let $A B C D$ (*plate II. fig. 8.*) be a convex glass, before which is placed an object $E G F$, of which it will be sufficient to consider the three points E, G, F . The rays which, from the point E , fall upon the glass, are contained in the space $A E B$; and are all collected in the space $A e B$ by refraction, so as to meet in the point e . In the same manner the rays from the point G , which fall on the glass, and which fill the space $A G B$, are comprehended, by means of refraction, in the space $A g B$, and meet in the point g . Finally, the rays from the point F , which fall on the glass in the angle $A F B$, are refracted so as to meet in the point f . Thus we shall have the image $e g f$ in an inverted position behind the glass; and an eye placed at O , behind the image, will be affected in the same manner as if the object were at $e g f$, inverted, and as many times smaller as the distance $D g$ is smaller than the distance $C G$.

In order to determine the place of the image $e g f$, we must attend as well to the form of the glass as to the distance of the object. As to the first, it may be remarked, that the more convex the glass is, in other words, the more that the thickness of the middle $C D$ exceeds that of the extremities, the nearer the image

image will be to its surface. With regard to the distance, if you bring the object $E F$ nearer to the glass, its image $e f$ retires from it, and reciprocally. The image cannot be nearer to the glass than when the object is at a very great distance from it; it is then at the same distance as that of the sun would be, which is denominated the focus of the lens. When the object, then, is very distant, the image falls in the very focus, and the nearer you bring the object to the glass the farther the image retires from it, and that in conformity to a law in dioptries, by means of which you can always determine the place of the image, for every distance of the object, provided you know the focus of the glass, that is, the distance at which it collects the rays of the sun, in a space sufficiently small to set on fire a body exposed to it.

The point where the rays meet is, as has been said, the place of the image. Now, this point is easily found by experience. The different denominations of glasses are derived from it, as when we say, such a glass has its focus at the distance of an inch, another at the distance of a foot, another at the distance of ten feet, and so on; or, more concisely, a glass of an inch, a foot, or ten feet focus. Long telescopes require glasses of a very distant focus, and it is extremely difficult to make them exact. I once paid 150 crowns for one lens, which I sent to the academy of Peterburg; it has its focus at the distance of 600 feet: I am convinced it was of no great value; but they would have it on account of its rarity.



To be satisfied that the representation of the image *e g f*, in the preceding figure, is real, you have only to hold at that place a piece of white paper, the particles of which are susceptible of the different kinds of vibrations on which colours depend. Then all the rays from the point *E* of the object, on meeting at the point *e*, will put the particles of the paper into a movement of vibration similar to that which the point *E* has, and consequently you will see the point *e* of the same colour as the point *E*. In like manner the points *g* and *f* will have the same colours as the points *G* and *F* of the object; and you will likewise see on the paper all the points of the object expressed in their natural colours; which will represent the most exact and the most beautiful picture of the object. This will succeed perfectly well in a dark room by applying a convex lens to a hole made in the shutter. You will then see on a sheet of white paper, placed opposite to the aperture in the shutter, all the external objects so exactly painted, that you may trace them with a pencil. Painters make use of such a machine for designing landscapes and other views.*

13th August, 1760.

* The hypothesis of light, contained in the preceding letters, was first proposed in the middle of last century by the ingenious Mr. Huggens; but after the brilliant discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, it fell into oblivion, where it ought ever to have remained. What induced Mr. Euler to revive it, it is difficult to conceive. This hypothesis is not likely to have many abettors in the present age. As it appeals wholly to the imagination, it requires not any formal refutation. I shall mention a single objection, which seems to be conclusive: If ether were the vehicle of light, as air and water are of sound, the ear would likewise be, in some degree, an organ of vision.

LETTER XLI.

Of Vision, and the Structure of the Eye.

I AM now enabled to explain the phenomena of vision, which is undoubtedly one of the greatest operations of nature that the human mind can contemplate. Though we are very far short of a perfect knowledge of the subject, the little we do know of it is more than sufficient to convince us of the power and wisdom of the Creator. We discover in the structure of the eye perfections which the most exalted genius could never have imagined.

I shall not detain you at present with an anatomical description of the eye. It is sufficient to remark, that the exterior membrane *a A b* (*plate II. fig. 9.*) is transparent, and is called the *cornea* of the eye; behind this, on the inside, is another membrane *a m*, *b m*, circular and coloured, which we call the *iris*, in the middle of which is an aperture *m m*, called the *pupil*, which appears to us to be black. We find behind this aperture, the *crystalline* humour *b B C a*, which is a body somewhat like in form to a small burning glass; it is perfectly transparent, and of a membranous substance. Behind the crystalline humour the cavity of the eye is filled with a transparent jelly, called the *vitreous humour*. The anterior space between the horny tunicle *a A b*, and the crys-

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talline



talline *a b* contains a liquor fluid as water, which, for that reason, is called the *aqueous humour*.

Here, then, are four transparent substances, through which the rays of light, that enter into the eye, must pass: 1. the horny tunicle, or *cornea*; 2. the aqueous humour, between *A* and *B*; 3. the crystalline *b B C a*; 4. the vitreous humour. These four substances differ as to density; and the rays passing from one to another, undergo a particular refraction; and they are so arranged, that the rays coming from a point of any object, are still collected within the eye in a point, and there present an image.

The bottom of the eye at *E G F*, or the *retina*, is furnished with a whitish tissue, adapted to the reception of images; and it is thus, you will please to recollect, that the images of objects may be represented on a white ground. Conformably to the same principle, all the objects, whose rays enter into the eye, are found painted on the retina. Take the eye of an ox, and having removed the exterior parts which cover the retina, you will see all the objects painted there so exactly, that no artist could exceed it, or even arrive at such a degree of perfection. And in order to see any object whatever, the object must always be painted on the retina; and when, unfortunately, any of the parts of the eye are injured, or lose their transparency, the person becomes blind.

But it is not sufficient, in order to our seeing objects, that their images should be painted on the retina; some are blind, though this takes place. Hence

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we see that images painted on the retina are not, after all, the immediate object of vision, and that the perception of the soul is communicated some other way. The retina is a reticulated contexture of nerves the most subtle, communicating with a great nerve, which, coming from the brain, enters the eye at *O*, and is denominated the optic nerve. These small nerves of the retina are agitated by the rays of light which form the image at the bottom of the eye; and this agitation is transmitted by the optic nerve to the brain. It is there, undoubtedly, that mental perception is formed: but the most dextrous anatomist is unable to pursue these nerves to their source: the union of the soul with the body must for ever remain a mystery.

15th August, 1760.

LETTER XLII.

Continuation. Wonders discoverable in the Structure of the Eye.

IT will not be disagreeable to you, I hope, to contemplate with me, somewhat more attentively, the wonders discoverable in the structure of the eye:

And first the pupil presents an object highly worthy of admiration. It is that aperture which we find in the middle of the iris or star, by which the rays pass into the inside of the eye, and which appears black. The larger it is, the greater quantity of rays

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can



can enter into the eye, to form on the retina the image which appears painted there; thus, the more the pupil is opened, the more brilliant this image will be.

On carefully examining the human eye, we observe, that the aperture of the pupil is sometimes greater and sometimes smaller. It is generally remarked, that the pupil is contracted when exposed to a very strong light; and, on the contrary, very much dilated where the light is faint. This variation is absolutely necessary to the perfection of vision. When we are in a very strong light, the rays being more powerful, fewer of them are wanted to agitate the nerves of the retina; the pupil, accordingly, is then more contracted. Were it more dilated, and consequently admitted more rays, their force would agitate the nerves too violently, and occasion pain. It is for this reason we are unable to look upon the sun without being dazzled, and without sensible pain in the bottom of the eye.

Were it possible for us to contract the pupil still more, so as to admit only a very small quantity of rays, we should not be very greatly incommoded by it; but the contraction of the pupil is not in our own power. Eagles possess this advantage, and are able to look directly at the sun; it is accordingly remarked, that their pupil is then so much contracted, as to appear reduced to a point. A clear light, requiring a very small dilatation of the pupil, in proportion as the light decreases, the pupil dilates, and in the dark is so enlarged, as almost to occupy the

whole of the iris. If it remained in the same state of contraction as in the light, the rays which enter into it would be too weak to agitate the nerves as much as is necessary to perception; the rays must, therefore, be then admitted in greater abundance, in order to produce a sensible effect.

Were it in our power to open the pupil still more, we should be able to see in a greater degree of darkness. To this purpose we are told of a person, who, having received a blow on his eye, the pupil was so dilated by it, that he could read, and distinguish the minutest objects in the dark. Cats and several other animals which roam in the dark, have the faculty of enlarging the pupil much more than the human species; and owls have theirs at all times too much dilated to bear even a moderate degree of light.

Now, when the pupil of the human eye dilates or contracts, it is not by an act of the will; man not having the power of dilating or contracting the pupil at pleasure. As soon as he enters into a luminous situation, it spontaneously contracts and dilates on his return to darkness. But this change is not produced in an instant; it requires a little time for this organ to accommodate itself to circumstances.

You must, no doubt, have remarked, that as often as you make a very sudden transition from a clear light to a dark place, as in the theatre of *Schuck*, you could not at first distinguish the company. The pupil was still too narrow to permit the few feeble rays which it admitted to make a sensible impression; but it gradually dilated to receive a sufficiency of rays.



The contrary happens, when you pass suddenly from darkness to a clear light. The pupil being then very much expanded, the retina is struck in a lively manner, you are quite dazzled, and under the necessity of shutting your eyes.

It is then a very remarkable circumstance that the pupil should dilate and contract according as vision requires, and that this change should take place almost spontaneously and independently of any act of the will. Philosophers who examine the structure and the functions of the human body, are greatly divided in opinion as to this subject, and there is little appearance that we shall ever have a satisfying solution of this wonderful phenomenon. The variability of the pupil is, however, an object essentially necessary to vision; and without which it would be very imperfect. But various other particulars are discoverable, equally entitled to admiration.

17th August, 1760.

LETTER XLIII.

Farther Continuation. Astonishing Difference between the Eye of an Animal, and the artificial Eye, or camera obscura.

THE principle on which the structure of the eye is founded, is, in general, the same as that according to which I explained the representation of objects on white paper by means of a convex lens. Both

Both of them must be resolved into this, that all the rays, proceeding from one point of the object, are again collected in a single point by refraction; and it seems of little importance whether this refraction is performed by a single lens, or by the several transparent substances of which the eye is composed. It might even be inferred from thence, that a structure more simple than that of the eye, by employing one single transparent substance, would have been productive of the same advantages; which would amount to a very powerful objection against the wisdom of the Creator, who has assuredly pursued the simplest road in the formation of all his works.

Persons have not been wanting who, from not having attentively examined the advantages resulting from the apparent complication, presumed to censure this beautiful production of the Supreme Being with a levity worthy of censure. They have pretended it was in their power to produce a plan more simple for the structure of the eye, because they were ignorant of all the functions which that organ had to discharge. I shall examine this plan of theirs; and I hope to convince you, that it would be highly defective, and altogether unworthy of being put in competition with that which actually exists.

Such an eye, therefore, would be reduced to a simple convex lens, A B C D, (*plate II. fig. 10.*) which collects, in a point, all the rays coming from one and the same corresponding point in the object. But this is only near to the truth. The spherical form, given to the surfaces of a lens, is liable to this inconvenience,



inconvenience, that it does not completely collect in one and the same point the rays which pass through its centre, and those which pass through the extremities. There is always a small difference, though almost imperceptible, in the experiments, by means of which we receive the image on a piece of white paper; but if this happened in the eye itself, it would render vision very confused.

The persons to whom I have been alluding, allege, that it may be possible to find another figure for the surfaces of the lens, which shall have the property of collecting anew all the rays issuing from the point O, in a point R, whether they pass through the centre, or through the extremities. I admit that this may be possible; but supposing the lens to possess this property, with respect to the point O, at the fixed distance C O, it would not possess it at points at a greater or less distance from the lens; or, even admitting this to be possible, which it is not, the lens would most certainly lose that property with regard to objects placed on one side, at T, for instance. Accordingly we see that when objects are represented on white paper, though such as are directly before the lens, say at O, may be sufficiently well expressed, those which are obliquely situated, as at T, are always much disfigured, and very confusedly expressed: and this is a defect which the most ingenious artist is incapable of rectifying.

But there is another and one not less considerable. In speaking of rays of different colours, I remarked, that in passing from one transparent medium to another,

ther, they undergo a different refraction; that rays of a red colour undergo the least refraction, and violet-coloured rays the greatest. Hence, if the point O were red, and if its rays, in passing through the lens A B, were collected at the point R, this would be the place of the red image. But if the point O were violet, the rays would be collected nearer to the lens, at V. Again, as white is an assemblage of all the simple colours, a white object, placed at O, would form several images at once, situated at different distances from the point O; the result of which would be, on the retina, a coloured spot that would greatly disturb the representation.

It is accordingly observable, that when in a dark room the external objects are represented on white paper, they appear bordered with the colours of the rainbow, and it is impossible to remedy this defect by employing only one transparent body. But it has been remarked, that this may be done by means of different transparent substances; but neither theory nor practice have hitherto been carried to the degree of perfection necessary to the execution of a structure which should remedy all these defects.* The human

* A similar defect has been remarked in the common telescope. Objects do not appear in it very clearly. You see, besides, at the circumference of the field which it encompasses, a mixture of colours, which is called *iris*. To remedy this inconveniency, achromatic telescopes have been constructed, whose object-glasses, being composed of more than one lens of different densities, and which of consequence refract the rays differently, produce an effect analogous to that of the transparent substances of the eye, of which our Author has been treating.—F. E.



eye, however, labours under none of the imperfections which I have mentioned, nor many others to which the hypothetical eye we have been analyzing would be liable. What a sublime idea must we form of Him who has furnished not only the whole human species, but every animal, nay even the vilest insects, with an organ of such curious construction!*

* The object of the Translator being not only to display *Euler's* philosophy, but likewise to exhibit the man as designed by his own pencil, he takes the liberty of presenting the English Reader with the conclusion of this letter, in the Author's own manner and words, transcribed from the original edition of this work. Though a French philosopher and statesman may feel ashamed of the alliance of science to religion, and endeavour to keep it out of sight, it would surely ill become us to follow the example. Let the Author express his own sentiments in his own way.

"But the eye which the Creator has formed is subject to no one of all the imperfections under which the imaginary construction of the freethinker labours. In this we discover the true reason why infinite wisdom has employed several transparent substances in the formation of the eye: it is thereby secured against all the defects which characterize every work of man. What a noble subject of contemplation! How pertinent that question of the Psalmist! *He who formed the eye, shall he not see? and He who planted the ear, shall He not hear?* The eye alone being a master-piece that far transcends the human understanding, what an exalted idea must we form of Him, who has bestowed this wonderful gift, and that in the highest perfection, not on man only, but on the brute creation, nay, on the vilest of insects!"—*E. E.*

19th August, 1760.

LETTER

LETTER XLIV.

Perfections discoverable in the Structure of the Eye.

THE eye, then, infinitely surpasses every piece of mechanism which human skill is capable of producing. The different transparent substances of which it is composed, have not only a degree of density capable of causing different refractions, but their figure is likewise determined in such a manner that all the rays proceeding from one point of the object are exactly collected in one and the same point, whether that object be more or less distant, whether it be situated directly or obliquely with respect to the eye, and though it's rays undergo different refractions.

Were the least change to be made in the nature and figure of these substances, the eye would lose all the advantages which we have been admiring. The strength of our sight is exactly proportioned to the extent of our necessities; and far from complaining that objects too remote escape this organ, we ought, on the contrary, to consider it as one of the most precious gifts of the Supreme Being.*

It

* *Mr. Euler's* idea is ingenious, that the three pellucid substances of which the eye is composed serve to correct the unequal refrangibility of the rays of light, and produce a perfect picture on the retina. Unfortunately this perfection is merely ideal, nor is the eye an achromatic instrument. A very simple experiment will evince the truth of this remark. Make two parallel black strokes adjacent to each other, on a bit of paper; shut the one eye, and hold



It must be farther remarked, that in order to see objects distinctly, it is not sufficient that the rays which come from one point should be collected in another. It is likewise necessary, that the point of re-union should fall precisely on the retina; if it fell either short of, or beyond it, vision would become confused. Now, if for a certain distance of objects, this point of union fall upon the retina, those of more distant objects would fall in the eye short of the retina; and those of nearer objects would fall beyond the eye. In either case there would be a confusion in the image painted on the retina.

The eyes of every man, therefore, are constructed for a certain distance. Some persons see distinctly only such objects as are very near to their eyes; we call them *Myops*, that is, short-sighted. Others, on the contrary, named *Presbytes*, see distinctly objects only which are very distant. And those who see distinctly objects at a moderate distance, are said to have good eyes. Both the other two, however, have the power of contracting or dilating the globe of the eye to a certain degree, and thereby of bringing

hold the paper about half a foot from the other, in a strong light, and bring it gradually nearer; at a certain distance the strokes will appear fringed with rainbow-colours. The Roman characters III or IIII, on the dial-plate of a watch, will answer still better. But though the eye is not constructed with mathematical accuracy, that organ is adapted, with sufficient nicety, for all the ordinary purposes of life. They mistake extremely the views of nature, who look for perfection in her works: she is, in general, sparing in her favours, and reserves exquisite skill for extraordinary occasions.—E. E.

nearer

nearer, or of removing, the retina, which enables them, likewise, to see clearly, objects a little more or less distant; this, undoubtedly, greatly contributes to render the eye more perfect, and it cannot surely be ascribed to chance merely.

Those who have good eyes, derive most advantage from their structure, as they are thus in a condition to see distinctly, objects very distant, and very near; but this never exceeds a certain bound. There is, perhaps, no one who can see at the distance of an inch, and, consequently, still less at a smaller distance. If you hold a writing close to your eyes, you will see the characters but very confusedly. This is all I presume to offer, on a subject of such high importance.

21st Aug. 1760.

LETTER XLV.

Of Gravity, considered as a general Property of Body.

HAVING now treated of light, I proceed to the consideration of a property common to all bodies, that of gravity. We find that all bodies, solid and fluid, fall downward, when they are not supported. I hold a stone in my hand; if I let it go, it falls to the ground, and would fall still farther, were there an aperture in the earth. While I write, my paper would fall to the ground, were it not supported by the table. The same law applies to every

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body



body with which we are acquainted. There is not one that would not fall to the ground, if it were not supported, or stopped by the way.

The cause of this phenomenon, or of this propensity of all bodies, is denominated gravity. When it is said, that bodies are heavy, or possess gravity, we mean, that they have a propensity to fall downward, and actually would fall, if we remove what before supported them.

The ancients were little acquainted with this property. They believed that there were bodies which had, naturally, a tendency to rise, such as smoke and vapours; and such bodies they termed light, to distinguish them from those which have a tendency to fall. But it has been discovered, by experiment, that it is the air which raises these substances aloft; for in a space void of air, it is well known, by means of the air-pump, that smoke and vapours descend as well as stone, and that these substances are, of their own nature, heavy, like others. When, therefore, they rise into the air, the same law acts upon them which acts upon a log of wood plunged into the water. Notwithstanding its gravity, it springs up, as soon as you leave it to itself, and swims, because it is not so heavy as water; and, in virtue of a general rule, all bodies rise in a fluid of more gravity than themselves.

If you throw a piece of iron, of copper, of silver, and even of lead, into a vessel full of quicksilver, they swim on the surface, and if you force them down, they re-ascend when left to themselves. Gold

alone

alone sinks, because it is heavier than quicksilver. And, since there are bodies which rise in water, and in other fluids, notwithstanding their gravity, for this reason merely, that they are not so heavy as water, or those other fluids; it is not at all surprizing, that certain bodies, less weighty than air, such as smoke and vapours, should rise in it.

I have already remarked, that air itself possesses gravity, and that by means of this gravity, it supports the mercury in the barometer. When, therefore, it is affirmed, that all bodies are heavy, it is to be understood, that all bodies, without a single exception, would fall downward in a vacuum. I might venture to add, that they would fall with an equal degree of rapidity; for a feather and a piece of gold descend with equal velocity in an exhausted receiver.

It might be objected to this general property of body, that a shell, discharged from a mortar, does not at once fall to the ground, like a stone, which I let drop from my hand, but mounts into the air. It cannot, however, be inferred, that the shell has no gravity; for it is evident, that the strength of the powder hurls the bomb aloft, and but for this, it would, without doubt, immediately fall to the ground. And we see, in fact, that it does not continue always to ascend, but as soon as the force, which carries it upward, is exhausted, down it comes with a rapidity, that crushes every thing it meets, a sufficient proof of its gravity.

When, therefore, it is affirmed, that all bodies are heavy, no one means to deny that they may be

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stopped,



stopped, or that they may be thrown aloft; but this is effected by an external power, and it remains indubitably certain, that all bodies whatever, as soon as left to themselves, at rest, or without motion, will assuredly fall when no longer supported. There is a cellar under my apartment, but the floor supports me, and preserves me from falling into it. Were the floor suddenly to crumble away, and the arch of the cellar to tumble in at the same time, I must infallibly be precipitated into it, because my body is heavy, like all other bodies with which we are acquainted. I say, *with which we are acquainted*, for there may, perhaps, be bodies destitute of weight; such as, possibly, light itself, the elementary fire, the electric fluid, or that of the magnet.*

Except these bodies, the gravity of which is not

* I must once more take the pious *Euler* out of the hands of the *quondam* Marquis, and let him speak for himself. The instance which the Author adduces, of bodies that, possibly, are destitute of gravity, is one taken from divine Revelation, that of the angels. "Such," says he, "as the bodies of angels, which have formerly appeared to men. A body, like this, would not fall downward, though the floor were suddenly to be removed from under it, but would move as firmly through the air, as on the earth." It is amusing to observe, with what solicitude the Parisian Annotator keeps clear of every thing that favours of religion. He seems apprehensive, that a single drop of water from Scripture, would contaminate the whole mass of philosophy. His terror is, with a little variation, that of *Macbeth*.

Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green a red.

SHAKESPEARE.

yet

yet confirmed by experiment, gravity may be considered as a general property of all the bodies which we know, in virtue of which, they all have a tendency to fall downward, and actually do so, when nothing opposes their descent.

23d Aug. 1760.

LETTER XLVI.

Continuation. Of specific Gravity.

YOU have just seen, that gravity is a general property of all the bodies with which we are acquainted, and that it consists in the effect of an invincible force, which presses them downward.

Philosophers have warmly disputed, whether there actually exists a power, which acts in an invisible manner upon bodies; or whether it be an internal quality, inherent in the very nature of the bodies, and, like a natural instinct, constraining them to descend. The question amounts to this: If the cause of gravity is to be found in the very nature of every body; or if it exists without it, so that were this extrinsic power to fail in it's operation, the body would cease to be heavy? Before we attempt a solution of this, it will be necessary to examine, more carefully, all the circumstances connected with gravity.

I remark, first, that when you support a body to prevent it's falling, if it rests on a table, it's pressure

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is



is equal to the force with which it would tend to fall; and if a thread is affixed to it, by which it may be suspended, the thread is stretched by that force; in other words, by the gravity of that body; so that if the thread were not of a certain strength, it would break. We see, then, that all bodies exercise a degree of force on the obstacles which support them, and prevent their falling, and that this action is precisely the same as that which would make the body descend, if it were at liberty. When a stone is laid upon a table, the table is pressed by it. You have but to put your hand between the stone and the table, to be sensible of this force, which may be increased to such a degree as even to crush the hand. This force is called the gravity of the body; and it is clear, that the weight, or the gravity, of every body, signifies the same thing, both denoting the force with which that body is pressed downward, whether this force exists in the body itself, or out of it.

We have an idea too clear of the weight of bodies, to make it necessary to dwell longer on the subject. I only remark, that when two bodies are joined together, their weight too is added, so that the weight of the compound is equal to the sum of the weight of the parts. From this we see, that the weight of bodies may be very different. We have also the certain means of exactly measuring and comparing them, by the help of a balance, which has the property of resting in equilibrium, when the bodies, put in its two scales, are of equal gravity. In order

to

to make this comparison, we agree on some fixed measurement, of a certain determinate weight, such as a pound, and, by means of a good balance, all bodies may be weighed, and their gravity ascertained, according to the number of pounds which they contain. A body too great to be put into the scale of a balance may be divided, and the parts being weighed separately, you have only to add the particulars. The weight of a whole house, however large, may be thus ascertained.

You must, no doubt, have frequently remarked, that a small piece of gold weighs as much as a piece of wood greatly superior in size; a proof that the gravity of bodies is not always regulated by their magnitude; a very small body may be of great weight, while a very large one may be light. Every body, then, is susceptible of two measurements, entirely different from each other. The one determines its magnitude or extent, called likewise its size; this measurement belongs to the province of geometry, which teaches the method of measuring the magnitude or extent of bodies. The other mode of measurement, by which their weight is determined, is totally different, and serves to distinguish the nature of the different substances of which bodies are formed.

You can easily conceive several masses of different substances, all of the same magnitude, or extent; each, for example, of a cubic figure, whose length, breadth, and height, shall be a foot. Such a mass, if it be of gold, would weigh 1330 pounds; if of

N 4

silver,



silver, 770 pounds; if of iron, 500 pounds; and if of water, only 70 pounds; were it of air, it would weigh no more than the twelfth part of a pound. From this you see, that the different substances of which bodies are composed, vary considerably in respect of gravity.

To express this difference, we employ certain terms, which might appear equivocal, if they were not perfectly understood. Thus, when it is said, that gold is heavier than silver, it is not to be understood, that a pound of gold is heavier than a pound of silver; for a pound, of whatever substance, is always a pound, and has always precisely the same weight; but the meaning is, that having two masses of the same size, the one gold and the other silver, the weight of the mass of gold will exceed that of the silver. And when it is said, that gold is 19 times heavier than water, we mean, that having two equal masses, the one of gold, the other of water, that which is of gold will have 19 times the weight of that which is of water. When we thus express ourselves, we say nothing of the absolute weight of bodies, we only speak by way of comparison, and with a reference always to masses of an equal size. Neither is it of importance, whether the size be great or small, provided they be equal.

25th Aug. 1760.

LETTER

LETTER XLVII.

Terms relative to Gravity, and their true Import.

GRAVITY, or weight, seems so essential to the nature of bodies, that it is almost impossible to form the idea of a body divested of this quality. And its influence is so universal, in all our operations upon body, that we must, in every instance, pay attention to its gravity, or weight. As to our own persons, whether we stand, sit, or lie, we continually feel the effect of the gravity of our own body: we could never fall, if the body were not, as well as all its parts, endowed with this force. Language itself is regulated according to this property of bodies. The place toward which a body tends in its descent, we term *low*; and the opposite direction from the body, we term *high*.

It must be remarked, that when a body, in falling, is at perfect liberty, it always descends in a straight line, pursuing which, its direction is said to be downward. This line is likewise called *vertical*, by which term we always mean a straight line, drawn from high to low; and if we conceive this line produced upward, till it reaches heaven, we call that point in the heavens our *zenith*, an Arabian word, denoting that point in the heavens which is directly over our head. You comprehend, then, that a vertical line, is that straight line in which a body falls, when no longer supported. When you affix a thread

to



to any body, holding it fast at the other end, that thread will be stretched out into a straight line, and that line will be vertical. Masons employ a small cord, with a leaden ball at one end, which they call a *plummet*, to direct the perpendicularity of the walls which they raise; for these, to be solid, must be vertical.

All the floors of a house ought to be so level, that the vertical line shall be perpendicular to them; the floor, in that case, is said to be horizontal; and you will please to remember, that a horizontal plane is always that to which the vertical line is perpendicular. When you are in a perfect plane, bounded by no mountain, its extremities are termed the *horizon*, a Greek word, which signifies the boundary of sight; and this plane then represents a horizontal plane, just as the surface of a lake.

We make use of still another term to express what is horizontal. We say that such a surface or line is *level*. We likewise say, that two points are on the level, when a straight line, passing through these two points, is horizontal, so that the vertical, or plumb line, shall be perpendicular to it. But two points are not on the level, when the straight line, drawn through these points, is not horizontal; for then one of them is more elevated than the other.

This is the case with rivers; their surface has a declivity; for were it horizontal, the river would be stagnant, and run down no longer, whereas all rivers are continually flowing toward places less elevated. There are instruments, by means of which we can ascertain,

ascertain, whether two points are on the same level, or which is the higher, and by how much. This instrument is called a *level*, and the application of it is called the art of levelling.

Were you to draw a straight line from any point, in your apartment at Berlin, to a given point in your apartment at Magdeburg, you might, by means of such an instrument, ascertain, whether this line were horizontal, or whether one of these points were more or less elevated than the other. I believe the point at Berlin would be more elevated than that at Magdeburg: and I found this opinion on the course of the rivers Sprée, Havel, and Elbe. As the Sprée runs into the Havel, it must, of course, be higher; and, for the same reason, the Elbe must be lower than the Havel: Berlin, therefore, stands higher than Magdeburg, provided you compare two points at an equal degree of elevation from the ground; for were a straight line to be drawn from the street pavement at Berlin to the pinnacle over the dome at Magdeburg, that line would perhaps be horizontal.

Hence you see how useful the art of taking levels is, when the conducting of water is concerned. For as water can run only from a more to a less elevated situation, before digging a canal, you must be well assured, that one of the extremities is more elevated than the other, and this is discovered by taking the level.

In building a city, the streets should be so disposed, as that, by means of a declivity on one side, the water may run off. It is otherwise in the construction



tion of houses, the floors of which should be perfectly horizontal, and without the smallest declivity, because there is no water to be discharged, except in the floors of stables, which are constructed with a gentle declivity. Astronomers take great pains to have the floors of their observatories perfectly level, to correspond with the real horizon in the heavens. The vertical line, produced upward, marks the zenith.

27th August, 1760.

LETTER XLVIII.

Reply to certain Objections to the Earth's spherical Figure, derived from Gravity.

YOU know well that the figure of the earth is nearly that of a globe. It has, indeed, been demonstrated, that it's form is not perfectly spherical, but somewhat flattened toward the poles. The difference, however, is so trifling, that it does not at all affect the object I have in view. Neither does the difference of mountain and valley excite any solid objection to it's globular figure; for it's diameter being 1720 German miles,* whereas the highest mountains being scarcely half a mile† in height, sink into nothing, compared to this prodigious mass.

The ancients had a very imperfect notion of the

* 7900 miles English.

† About 12,000 feet, or 2³ miles English.

real

real figure of the earth. It was in general considered as a huge massy substance A B C D (*plate II. fig. 11.*) flattened above as A B, and covered partly with earth, partly with water. According to their idea, the surface A B alone was habitable; and it was impossible to go beyond the points A and B, which they considered as the extremities of the world. When, in the progress of discovery, it was found that the earth was nearly spherical, and universally habitable, so that there were upon the globe spots diametrically opposite to us, the inhabitants of which are therefore called our *antipodes*, because their feet are turned directly toward ours; this opinion met with such violent contradiction, that certain fathers of the church represented it as a dreadful heresy, and thundered out anathemas against all who believed in the existence of the antipodes. A man, however, would now pass for an idiot, who would call it in question; especially since the opinion has been confirmed by the experience of navigators, who have actually more than once sailed round the globe. But another difficulty here presents itself, the solution of which must assist us in discovering the real direction of gravity.

If the circle A B (*plate II. fig. 12.*) say they, represents the earth, and we are at A, our antipodes will be diametrically opposite, at B. As we, then, have the head upward, and the feet downward, our antipodes must have the feet upward and the head downward, supposing these words to indicate the same direction as when we pronounce the same

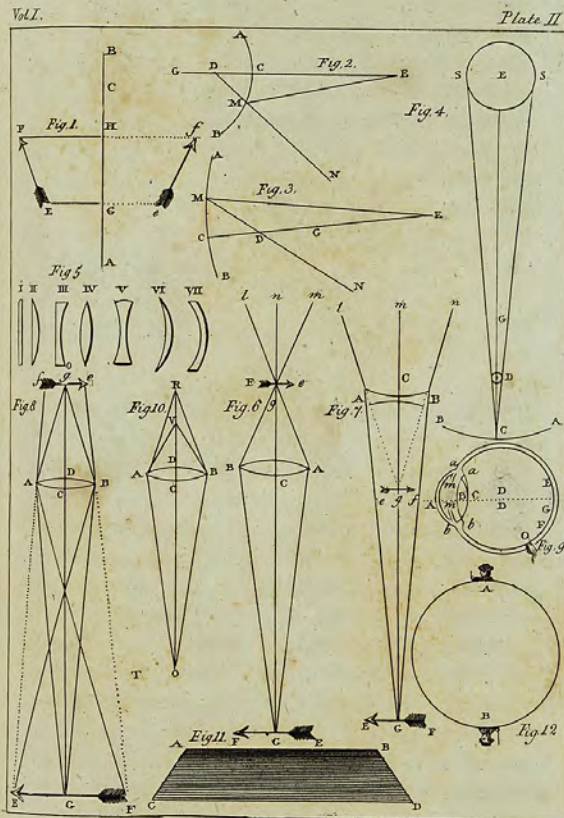
words



words at the place where we are. For navigators who have made the circuit of the globe, observe, that their head and feet had throughout maintained the same position relatively to the surface of the terrestrial globe.

Some persons whom this phenomenon embarrassed, formerly thought of explaining it, by the comparison of a globe, over the surface of which you see flies and other insects crawl on the under as well as the upper part. But they did not consider that the insects on the dependent surface adhere to it by their claws, and, without this assistance, would presently fall off. The antipode, then, must have his shoes furnished with hooks to hold him fast to the surface of the earth: but though he has none, he falls not any more than we do. Besides, as we imagine ourselves to be on the uppermost surface of the earth, the antipode has the same idea of his situation, and considers us as undermost.

But the whole phenomena are easily accounted for, on the hypothesis which experience has demonstrated, that the direction of gravity is sensibly perpendicular to the surface of the earth, at every point of that surface; that it varies at these different points; and that at those which are antipodes to each other, it must be exactly opposite. The terms *upward* and *downward*, therefore, do not express an invariable direction, but the direction of gravity, wherever it is. Our antipodes have their heads *downward* only with relation to us, but not with relation to themselves; they, as well as we, are in the position which the





the power of gravity constrains them to preserve; and that position is similar relatively to the surface of the earth. You had, undoubtedly, no need of this explanation; but there was a time, and it is not long elapsed, when it would have been necessary even to persons who were then honoured with the appellation of the learned.

28th August, 1760.

LETTER XLIX.

True Direction and Action of Gravity relatively to the Earth.

THOUGH the surface of the earth is unequal, because of the mountains and valleys which overspread it, it is, however, perfectly level wherever there is sea; the surface of water being always horizontal, and the vertical line, in the direction of which bodies fall, being perpendicular to it. If, then, the whole globe were covered with water, at whatever spot of the surface a person was, the vertical line would be perpendicular to the surface of the water.

Thus, the figure *A B C D E F G H I* (*plate III. fig. 1.*) representing the earth, it's surface being every where horizontal; at *A* the line *a A* will be vertical; at *B* the line *b B*; at *C* the line *c C*; at *D* the line *d D*; at *F* the line *f F*; and so of the rest. Now, at every place the vertical line determines what is to be denominated *upward* or *downward*; to persons at *A*, then,



then, the point *A* is downward, and the point *a* upward: and to persons at *F*, the point *F* will be downward, and the point *f* upward, and so for every other spot on the surface of the earth. All these vertical lines *a A*, *b B*, *c C*, *d D*, &c. are likewise named the directions of gravity, or weight, because bodies universally descend in the direction of these lines; thus a body left to itself at *g*, would fall in the direction of the line *g G*. Hence it is evident, that bodies, universally, must fall toward the earth, and that perpendicularly to the surface of the earth, or rather of the water, if it were water.

At whatever place of the earth, therefore, you may happen to be, as bodies fall there toward it's surface, we call *downward* that which is directed toward the earth, or is nearest to it; and *upward* what is placed in the opposite direction, or is farthest from the earth: and, universally, men having their feet pressed to the earth, their feet will be downward, and their heads upward. If the earth were a perfect globe, all the vertical lines *a A*, *b B*, *c C*, being produced inwardly, would meet at the centre of the globe, which is likewise that of the earth; and for this reason we say that bodies universally tend toward the centre of the earth. Thus, wherever you are placed, when asked, what is downward? the answer must be, what approaches nearest to the centre of the earth. In fact, were you to dig a hole in the earth at whatever place, and to continue your labour incessantly, digging always downward and downward perpendicularly, you would at length

reach the centre of the earth. You will remember how *Voltaire* used to laugh at the idea of a hole reaching to the centre of the earth, mentioned by *Maupertuis*. It is true such a project could never be executed, as it would be necessary to dig to the depth of 860 German miles;* but there is no harm in supposing it, in order to discover what would be the result.

Let us suppose, then, such a hole (*plate III. fig. 2.*) to be dug at *A*, and continued beyond the centre of the earth *O*, the whole length of the diameter, as far as to our antipodes *B*, and that we were to descend along this aperture. Before arriving at the centre *O*, and having reached, for example, to point *E*, the centre of the earth *O* will there appear downward, and the point *A* upward; and, unless something supported us, we should fall toward *O*. But having passed beyond the centre to *F*, for example, our gravity would then have a tendency toward *O*; this point, and much more the point *A*, would appear downward, and the point *B* upward. Thus the terms upward and downward would suddenly change their signification, though we should have passed from *A* to *B*, in the direction of a straight line.

As long as we are on the passage from *A* to *O*, we are descending; but in going from *O* to *B*, we are actually rising, for we are removing from the centre of the earth; our own gravity being always directed toward that point; so that, if we were to fall, whether from *E* or from *F*, we should always fall toward

* 3950 miles English.



the centre of the earth. Our antipode at B, if he wanted to pass from B to A, would be in precisely the same situation. From B to the centre O he would have to descend; but from O to A it would be all an ascent. These considerations lead us thus to define gravity or weight. It is a power by which all bodies are forced toward the centre of the earth. The same body which, being at A, is forced in the direction A O, if transported to B, will be forced, by the power of gravity, in the direction B O, which is directly opposite to the other. By the direction of gravity, then, we every where regulate the signification of the terms *upward* and *downward*, *rise* and *descend*, as gravity or weight has a very essential influence on all our operations and enterprises, and as even our own bodies are animated by it to such a degree, as universally to feel it's effects.

29th August, 1760.

LETTER L.

Different Action of Gravity with respect to certain Countries and Distances from the Centre of the Earth.

YOU are now sensible that all bodies are forced directly towards the centre of the earth, and perpendicularly to it's surface by their gravity: the perpendicular lines at the surface of our globe are accordingly considered as the directions of the power of gravity.

With

With strict propriety is the term *power* applied to gravity, as every thing capable of putting a body in motion is expressed by that name. Thus we ascribe power to horses, because they are able to draw along a chariot; or to the current of a river, or to the wind, because by their means mills may be put in motion. There can be no doubt, therefore, that gravity is a power, as it forces bodies downward: and we are abundantly sensible of the effect of this power, by the pressure which we feel when we carry a load.

Now, in every power two things are to be considered: first, the direction in which it acts, or forces along bodies; and, secondly, it's quantity, which is estimated by the effect it produces. As to the direction of gravity, it is sufficiently known, for we are sure that it forces all bodies toward the centre of the earth, or, which amounts to the same thing, that it acts perpendicularly to the surface of our globe.

It remains, therefore, that we examine it's quantity. This power is always determined by the weight of every body,* and as bodies differ greatly with respect

* In order to form an exact idea of the weight of a body, it must be recollected, that gravity impresses, or has a tendency to impress, on every particle of bodies, in an instant, a certain velocity, with which they would fall, if they were not supported; and that, abstracting the influence of the air, this velocity would be the same for each of the particles of bodies, whatever be their substance. This being laid down, we must understand by the weight of a body the effort necessary to prevent it from falling; and it is evident that, in order to this, it is necessary to destroy the velocity



spect to weight, those which are heaviest are likewise forced downward with the greatest violence. It has been asked, Whether the same body, transported to a different place of the globe, preserves always the same weight? I speak of bodies which lose nothing by evaporation. It has been demonstrated, by undoubted experiments, that the same body weighs somewhat less toward the equator, than toward the poles of the earth.

It will readily occur to you, that it is impossible to ascertain this difference by the exactest balance, because the standard weights employed for determining the weight of matter in bodies, undergo the

which gravity has impressed on every particle. This effort must, therefore, be equal to the sum of the velocities of all these particles. Hence it may be easily concluded, that bodies the most compact, that is, those whose particles are the closest, and which, consequently, contain a greater number of them in the same bulk, will weigh more than others, because the weight being the sum of the velocities impressed on each particle, that sum must be so much greater, as there are more material particles contained in the mass of the body.

From what I have just said, "we see the necessity of carefully distinguishing between the effect of gravity and that of weight: the former is the power of transmitting, or a tendency to transmit into every particle of matter a certain velocity, which is absolutely independent on the number of material particles; and the second is the effort which must be exercised to prevent a given mass from obeying the law of gravity. *Weight, accordingly, depends on the mass, but gravity has no dependance at all upon it.*"

I thought myself obliged to enter thus minutely into the subject, as the notions commonly entertained of it are not very exact.

—E. E.

same

same variation. Thus a mass, which with us might weigh 100 pounds, being transported to the equator, would still nominally be 100 pounds weight, but the effort will be somewhat less than here. This variation has been discovered by the effect itself of the power of gravity, which is the velocity of the descent, for it is found that the same body, under the equator, does not descend with so great velocity as in high latitudes. It is certain, therefore, that the same body, being transported to different places of the earth, undergoes a little change as to weight.

Let us now return to the aperture made in the earth through its centre; it is clear, that a body at the very centre must entirely lose its gravity, as it could no longer move in any direction whatever, all those of gravity tending continually toward the centre of the earth. Since, then, a body has no longer gravity at the centre of the earth, it will follow that, in descending to this centre, its gravity will be gradually diminished; and we accordingly conclude, that a body, penetrating into the bowels of the earth, loses its gravity, in proportion as it approaches the centre. You must be sensible, then, that neither the intensity nor the direction of gravity is a consequence from the nature of every body, as not only its intensity is variable, but likewise its direction, which, on passing to the antipodes, becomes quite contrary.

Having travelled, in idea, to the centre of the earth, let us return to its surface, and ascend to the summit of the loftiest mountains. We shall observe

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there



there no sensible change in the gravity of bodies, though there is very good reason to believe that the weight of a body diminishes in proportion as it removes from the earth. You have but to imagine a body gradually removing from our globe, till it reached the sun, or one of the fixed stars, it would be ridiculous to think that such a body must fall back to the earth, as it is almost a nothing compared to these stars. Hence, then, it may be concluded, that a body in removing from the earth must undergo a diminution of gravity, which will become smaller and smaller, till at last it wholly disappear.

There are reasons, however, which demonstrate, that a body removed to the distance of the moon, will still have some weight, though 3600 times less than it had on the earth. Let us conceive such a body to weigh 3600 pounds on the earth, no one, surely, is capable of supporting it here; but convey it to the distance of the moon, and I shall engage to support it with one of my fingers, for then it will weigh only one pound; and farther removed, would weigh still less. We are certain, therefore, that gravity is a power which forces all bodies toward the centre of the earth, that this power acts with the greatest force at the surface of the earth, and is diminished in proportion as it removes from thence, whether by penetrating toward the centre, or rising above the surface of the globe. I have still much to say on this subject.

30th August, 1760.

LETTER

LETTER LI.

Gravity of the Moon.

I HAVE said that a terrestrial body, placed at the distance of the moon, would be reduced to the 3600th part of its weight, or, in other words, would be forced toward the centre of the earth with a power 3600 times less than it has at the surface of the globe. This power, however, would be sufficient to make it descend to the earth, if it were no longer supported. It is true we are incapable of proving this by any experiment, as no means exist of raising ourselves to such a height. There is, however, a body at that height, the moon: she must, therefore, be subject to this effect of gravity, and yet we see she does not fall to the earth.

To this I answer, that if the moon were at rest, she would certainly fall, but the rapid motion which carries her along prevents her falling. There are experiments which prove the solidity of this answer. A stone dropped from the hand, without having any motion impressed upon it, falls immediately, in the direction of a straight vertical line; but if you throw this stone, impressing on it a motion which forces it out of that direction, it does not fall immediately downward, but moves in a curve line before it reaches the earth, and this will appear more sensibly in proportion to the velocity impressed upon it.

A cannon ball, discharged in a horizontal direc-

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tion,



tion, does not come to the earth till it has got to a considerable distance; and were it fired from the top of a high mountain, it might, perhaps, fly several miles before it reached the ground. If the direction of the cannon is farther elevated, and the quantity and strength of the powder increased, the ball will be carried much farther. This might be carried so far, that the ball should not light till it had reached the antipodes: nay, farther still, till it should not fall at all, but return to the place where it was shot off, and thus perform a new tour round the globe. It would thus be a little moon, making it's revolutions round the earth like the real moon.

You will now please to reflect on the height of the moon, and the prodigious velocity with which she moves, and you will no longer be surpris'd that she should not fall to the earth, though forced by gravity toward it's centre. There is another reflection which will place this in a clearer light. We have only to consider the path described by a stone thrown, or a cannon ball shot off, in an oblique direction. It is always a curve, such as represented in the annexed figure (*plate III. fig. 3*).

Let A be the summit of a mountain from which the cannon ball is fired off, which, after having moved in the direction A E F B, falls to the ground at B; and the path which it describes is a curve line. I remark, then, that if the ball were not heavy, that is, if it were not forced toward the earth by the power of gravity, it would not fall, though left to itself, as gravity is the only cause of it's descent;
much

much less, being fired off at A, as represented in the figure, would it ever fall to the ground. Hence we see, it is gravity that brings it down to the ground, after having described the curve A E F B; gravity, therefore, directs it's path in the curve A E F B; and if it were destitute of gravity, the ball would not describe a curve, but proceed forward in the direction of the straight line A C, the direction in which it was fired off.

This being laid down, let us attend to the moon, which assuredly does not move in a straight line; her path must of necessity be a curve, as she always preserves nearly the same distance from us, and that curve almost a circle, such as you would describe round the earth, with a radius equal to the moon's distance.

It is very reasonable to demand, Why the moon does not move in a straight line? But the answer is obvious; for as gravity occasions the curve direction of the path pursued by a stone thrown, or a cannon ball fired off, there is good ground for maintaining, that gravity acts likewise upon the moon, forcing her toward the earth; and that this gravity occasions also the curve direction of her orbit. The moon, then, has a certain weight, she is, of consequence, forced toward the earth; but this weight is 3600 times less than it would be at the surface of the earth. This is not merely a probable conjecture, but a truth demonstrated. For this gravity being supposed, we are enable to determine, on the most established mathematical



thematical principles, the path which the moon must pursue; and this is found perfectly to agree with that in which she actually does move; and this is a complete demonstration of the truth of the assertion.

1st September, 1760.

LETTER LII.

Discovery of universal Gravitation by Newton.

GRAVITY, then, or weight, is a property of all terrestrial bodies, and it extends, likewise, to the moon. It is in virtue of gravity that the moon presses toward the earth; and gravity regulates her motion just as it directs that of a stone thrown, or of a cannon ball fired off.

To *Newton* we are indebted for this important discovery. This great English philosopher and geometer, happening one day to be lying under an apple-tree, an apple fell upon his head, and suggested to him a multitude of reflections. He readily conceived that gravity was the cause of the apple's falling, by overcoming the force which attached it to the branch. Any person whatever might have made the same reflection; but the English philosopher pursued it much farther. Would this force have always acted upon the apple, had the tree been a great deal higher? He could entertain no doubt of it.

But had the height been equal to that of the moon?

Here

Here he found himself at a loss to determine whether the apple would fall or not. In case it should fall, which appeared to him, however, highly probable, since it is impossible to conceive a bound to the height of the tree, at which it would cease to fall, it must still have a certain degree of gravity forcing it toward the earth; therefore, if the moon were at the same place, she must be pressed toward the earth by a power similar to that which would act upon the apple. Nevertheless as the moon did not fall on his head, he conjectured that motion might be the cause of this, just as a bomb frequently flies over us, without falling vertically.

This comparison of the motion of the moon to that of a bomb, determined him attentively to examine this question; and, aided by the most sublime geometry, he discovered, that the moon in her motion was subject to the same laws which regulate that of a bomb, and that if it were possible to hurl a bomb to the height of the moon, and with the same velocity, the bomb would have the same motion as the moon, with this difference only, that the gravity of the bomb at such a distance from the earth, would be much less than at its surface.

You will see, from this detail, that the first reasonings of the philosopher on this subject were very simple, and scarcely differed from those of the clown; but he soon pushed them far beyond the level of the clown. It is, then, a very remarkable property of the earth, that not only all bodies near it, but those also which are remote, even as far as to the distance
of



of the moon, have a tendency toward the centre of the earth, in virtue of a power which is called gravity, and which diminishes in proportion as bodies remove from the earth.

The English philosopher did not stop here. As he knew that the other planets are perfectly similar to the earth, he concluded, that bodies adjacent to each planet possess gravity, and that the direction of this gravity is toward the centre of such planet. This gravity might be greater or less there than on the earth; in other words, that a body of a certain weight with us, transported to the surface of any planet, might there weigh more or less.

Finally, this power of gravity of each planet extends, likewise, to great distances around them; and as we see that Jupiter has four satellites, and Saturn five, which move round them just as the moon does round the earth, it could not be doubted, that the motion of the satellites of Jupiter was regulated by their gravity toward the centre of that planet; and that of the satellites of Saturn by their gravitation toward the centre of Saturn. Thus, in the same manner as the moon moves round the earth, and their respective satellites move round Jupiter and Saturn, all the planets themselves move round the sun. Hence *Newton* drew this illustrious and important conclusion: That the sun is endowed with a similar property of attracting all bodies toward its centre, by a power which may be called *solar gravity*.

This power extends to a prodigious distance around him, and far beyond all the planets, for it is this

power which modifies all their motions. The same great philosopher discovered the means of determining the motion of bodies from the knowledge of the power by which they are attracted to a centre; and as he had discovered the powers which act upon the planets, he was enabled to give an accurate description of their motion. In truth, before he arose, the world was in a state of profound ignorance respecting the motion of the heavenly bodies; and to him alone we are indebted for all the light which we now enjoy in the science of astronomy.

It is astonishing to think how much of their progress all the sciences owe to an original idea so very simple. Had not *Newton* accidentally been lying in an orchard, and had not that apple by chance fallen on his head, we might, perhaps, still have been in the same state of ignorance respecting the motions of the heavenly bodies, and a multitude of other phenomena depending upon them.* This subject, undoubtedly, is altogether worthy of your attention, and shall therefore be resumed in a future letter.

3d September, 1760.

* *Newton* was asked one day, How he had discovered the system of the universe? *By continually thinking upon it*, replied he. This anecdote has a greater air of probability than the story of the apple.—*F. E.*



LETTER LIII.

Continuation. Of the mutual Attraction of the heavenly Bodies.

THE Newtonian system, you will easily believe, made at first a great noise, and with good reason, as no one had hitherto hit upon a discovery so very fortunate, and which diffused, at once, such clear light over every branch of science. It has been expressed by several names, of which it is proper you should be informed, because it is frequently the subject of conversation.

It has been denominated, the system of universal gravitation; for *Newton* maintained, that not only the earth, but all the heavenly bodies, in general, are endowed with this property, of attracting those which surround them, with a power similar to that of weight, or gravity: hence is derived the term *Gravitation*. This power is, however, totally invisible; for we see nothing acting upon bodies, and pressing them toward the earth, and still less toward the heavenly bodies.

The loadstone, by which iron and steel are attracted, without our being able to discern the cause, presents a phenomenon somewhat similar. Though it be now certain, that this is produced by a substance extremely subtle, which penetrates through the pores of the loadstone and of the iron, it may, however, be affirmed, that the loadstone attracts iron, and that
iron

iron is attracted by it, provided this manner of speaking does not exclude the true cause. It may likewise be affirmed, then, that the earth attracts all bodies that are near it, nay those which are at very great distances; and we may consider the weight, or gravity, of bodies, as the effect of the attraction of the earth, which acts even upon the moon.*

Again, the sun, and all the planets, are endowed with a similar power of attraction, which extends to all bodies. In conformity to this manner of speaking, we say, that the sun attracts the planets, and that Jupiter and Saturn attract their respective satellites; hence *Newton's* system has likewise been denominated, the system of *Attraction*. As there can be no doubt that bodies very near the moon must likewise be pressed to it by a power similar to gravity, it may likewise be affirmed, that the moon, too, attracts adjoining bodies.

It was natural to suppose, that this attraction of the moon should extend as far as the earth, though it must be, undoubtedly, very feeble, as we have seen

* So far is the existence of a magnetic fluid from being undeniable, that it is highly improbable, if not absurd. The various phenomena of magnetism may clearly be derived from two laws, or general facts; than which a greater simplicity can hardly be expected. If we recur to the agency of a fluid, we must gratuitously bestow on it a number of properties; and, after all, we shall find it extremely difficult, I might say, impossible, to preserve consistency in our complicated hypothesis; nor shall we ever be able, from our assumptive principles, to account for the facts observed. Such, at least, has been the fate of the speculations hitherto offered on the subject of magnetism.—*E. E.*

that



that of the earth upon the moon to be; now, the same philosopher has placed this, also, beyond the reach of doubt, by demonstrating that the flux and reflux of the waters of the sea, of which I shall take occasion to speak afterwards, are caused by the attraction of the moon. It can no longer be doubted, therefore, that Jupiter and Saturn are reciprocally attracted by their respective satellites; and that the sun itself is subject to the attraction of the planets, though this attractive power be exceedingly small.

This is the origin of the system of universal attraction, in which it is maintained, and with good reason, that not only does the sun attract the planets, but is reciprocally attracted by each of them; nay, that all the planets exert their attractive power upon each other. The earth, then, is attracted, not only by the sun, but also by all the other planets, though their power be almost imperceptible, compared to that of the sun.

You will easily comprehend, that the motion of a planet, which is attracted not only by the sun, but by the other planets, in however small a degree, must be somewhat different from what it would have been, were it attracted by the sun only; and that, consequently, the attractions of the other planets must cause some small derangement of that motion. Now these derangements are, likewise, confirmed by experience; and this has carried the system of universal attraction to the highest possible degree of certainty, so that no one now presumes to dispute its truth.

I must,

I must likewise remark, that comets, too, are subject to this law; that they are principally attracted by the sun, whose action regulates their motion; but that they, likewise, feel the attractive power of all the planets, especially when they are not very distant from them. It is a general rule, as we shall see afterwards, that the attraction of all the heavenly bodies diminishes in proportion to the distance, and increases in proportion to the nearness. Now, comets, likewise, are endowed with a power, by which other bodies are attracted toward them, and so much the more sensibly, as they approach nearer. When, therefore, a comet passes somewhat more closely to a planet, it may derange the motion of that planet by its attractive power; and its own will likewise be disturbed by that of the planet. These consequences are verified by real observation.

Examples might be adduced to prove, that the motion of a comet has been deranged by the attraction of the planets, near which it happened to pass,*

* The comet of 1682, which should have re-appeared in 1757, underwent, from the attractive powers of Jupiter and Saturn, near which it passed, a considerable derangement, which retarded its appearance nearly two years. Mr. *Clairaut* calculated, theoretically, the perturbations which its motion must have suffered, and predicted the return of that comet, with a degree of exactness, which constitutes a convincing proof in favour of the system of gravitation. There was, however, an error of two months. But Mr. *de la Place* has since demonstrated, that it would have been much less, had we then been able to calculate the perturbations of Jupiter and Saturn, with as much exactness as it now can be done.—*F. E.*

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and that the motion of the earth, and of the other planets, has already undergone some derangement, from the attraction of comets.

The fixed stars being bodies similar to the sun, are likewise endowed, no doubt, with an attractive power, but their enormous distance prevents our feeling any sensible effect from it.

5th Sept. 1760.

LETTER LIV.

Different Sentiments of Philosophers, respecting universal Gravitation. The Attractionists.

IT is established, then, by reasons which cannot be controverted, that an universal gravitation pervades all the heavenly bodies, by which they are attracted toward each other; and that this power is greater in proportion to their proximity.

This fact is incontestable, but it has been made a question, Whether we ought to give it the name of *impulsion*, or *attraction*? The name, undoubtedly, is a matter of indifference, as the effect is the same. The astronomer, accordingly, attentive only to the effect of this power, gives himself little trouble to determine, whether the heavenly bodies are impelled toward each other, or whether they mutually attract one another: and the person, who examines the phenomena only, is unconcerned, whether the earth at-

tracts

tracts bodies, or whether they are impelled toward it, by some invisible cause.

But, in attempting to dive into the mysteries of nature, it is of importance to know, if the heavenly bodies act upon each other by impulsion, or by attraction; if a certain subtle invisible matter impels them toward each other, or if they are endowed with a secret, or occult, quality, by which they are mutually attracted? On this question philosophers are divided. Some are of opinion, that this phenomenon is analogous to an impulsion; others maintain, with *Newton*, and the English in general, that it consists in attraction.

It must be observed, that the terms *attract*, and *draw*, are not perfectly synonymous; that, accordingly, it is not to be supposed, there is an intermediate body between the sun and the earth.

The English, and those who have adopted the same opinion, explain it in this manner. They maintain, that the quality of mutual attraction is proper to all bodies; that it is as natural to them as magnitude, and that it is a satisfying solution of the question, That the Creator willed this mutual attraction of bodies. Had there been but two bodies in the universe, however remote from each other, they would have had, from the first, a tendency toward each other, by means of which they would have, in time, approached and united. Hence it follows, that the greater a body is, the more considerable is the attraction which it exerts upon others; for, as this

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quality



quality is essential to matter, the more of it any body contains, the greater is it's attractive force.

As the sun, therefore, considerably surpasses all the planets in magnitude, it's attractive force must be much greater than theirs. They likewise remark, that the mass of Jupiter, being much greater than that of the earth, the attractive force which he exercises over his satellites, is much more powerful than that with which the earth acts upon the moon.

According to this system, the gravity of bodies on the earth, is the result of all the attractions exercised upon them by the particles of our globe; and if it contained more matter than it actually does, it's attraction would become more powerful, and the gravity of bodies would be increased. But if, on the contrary, the mass of the earth should happen, by some accident, to be diminished, it's attractive force, too, would be diminished, as well as the gravity of bodies, at it's surface.

It has been objected to these philosophers, that, on their hypothesis, any two bodies, whatever, at rest, for instance, on a table, must attract each other, and, consequently, approach. They admit the consequence, but they insist, that, in this case, the attraction would be too small to produce any sensible effect; for, if the whole mass of the earth, by it's attractive force, produces in every body, only that effect which we perceive in the weight of a body, a mass many millions of times smaller than the earth, will produce an effect as many times smaller.

It

It must readily be admitted, that if the weight of a body became many millions of times less, the effect of gravity upon it must be reduced to almost nothing: attraction, therefore, cannot be perceptible, except in bodies of very great magnitude. The partisans of the system of gravitation, therefore, are not vulnerable on this side, and they produce, in support of their opinion, an experiment made in Peru, by the French academicians,* in which they perceived the effect of a slight attraction of a prodigious mountain on adjacent bodies. In adopting, therefore, the system of attraction, we need to be under no apprehension of it's leading us to false consequences; and it has hitherto been always confirmed by the new facts which have been discovered.

7th September, 1760.

LETTER LV.

Power by which the Heavenly Bodies are mutually attracted.

YOU are well acquainted with the property of the loadstone, that of attracting iron. You have seen small bits of iron and steel, such as needles, when

* The academicians sent to Peru, in 1735, to measure a degree of the meridian, observed a deviation of 8" in the plumb-line of their quadrant, occasioned by the attraction of *Pichincha*, a mountain near the place where they were making their observations. Dr. *Maskeleyne* has more recently made observations for ascertaining the effect of the attraction of the mountains of Scotland.—F. E.



placed near the loadstone, move to it with a force proportioned to their proximity. As you see nothing that impels them toward the loadstone, we say that the loadstone attracts them, and this phenomenon we call *attraction*. It cannot be doubted, however, that there is a very subtle, though invisible, matter, which produces this effect, by actually impelling the iron toward the loadstone; but as modes of expression are regulated by appearances, it has become customary to say, that the loadstone attracts iron.

Though this phenomenon be peculiar to the loadstone and iron, it is perfectly adapted to convey an idea of the signification of the word attraction, which philosophers so frequently employ. They allege, then, that all bodies, in general, are endowed with a property similar to that of the loadstone, and that they all mutually attract; but that this effect becomes not perceptible, unless they are very great, and cannot be perceived when they are small.

However great, for example, a stone may be, it exercises no sensible attraction on other bodies adjacent to it, because its power is too small. But if its mass were to increase, and to become many thousands of times greater, its effect would, at length, become perceptible. It has already been remarked, that, from actual observation, it was found, that a lofty mountain in Peru had produced attraction, though, indeed, in a very small degree. A mountain still greater, would produce, therefore, a more sensible attraction; and a body much greater, such

as the whole globe, would attract others with a force proportionably greater; and this force would be, precisely, the gravity with which we see that they are actually impelled toward the earth.

According to this system, then, the gravity which obliges all bodies to descend, is nothing else but the result of the attraction of the whole mass of the earth. If this mass were greater, or less, the gravity, or weight, of bodies would be proportionably greater or less. Hence it follows, that all the other great bodies in the universe, as the sun, the planets, and the moon, are endowed with a similar attractive power, but greater or less, in proportion as they themselves are so.

As the sun is many thousands of times greater than the earth, his attractive power exceeds that of the earth, so many thousand times. The mass of the moon is calculated to be forty times less than that of the earth: it will follow, that her attractive force is so many times less; and the same rule applies to all the heavenly bodies.

9th September, 1760.

LETTER LVI.

The same Subject continued.

IN virtue of the system of attraction, or universal gravitation, each of the heavenly bodies attracts all the rest, and is reciprocally attracted by them.



In order to form a judgment of the force with which these bodies attract the others, we have only to consider two bodies, whose attraction is mutual. And here we must attend to three things; first, to the body attracting; secondly, to the body attracted; and, finally, to their distance; for on these three circumstances the attractive power depends.

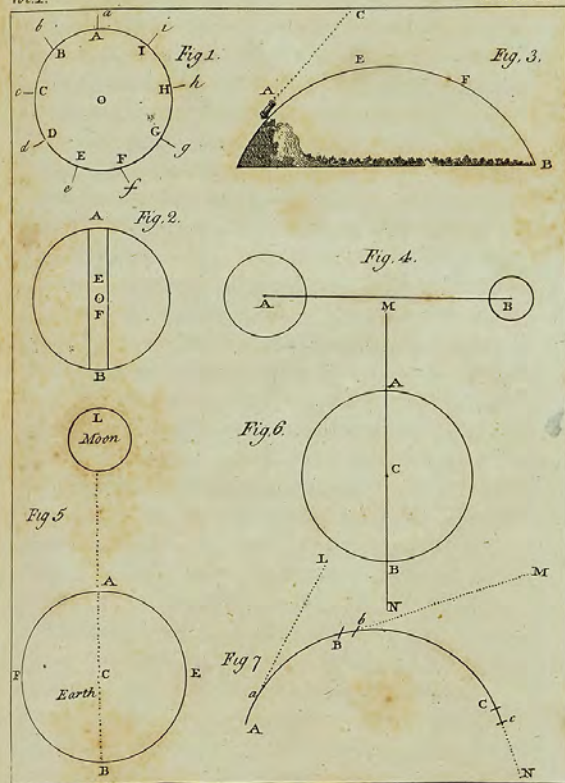
Let *A* (plate III. fig. 4.) be the attracting body, and *B* the body attracted; both of them spherical, the heavenly bodies being nearly of this figure. Take for their distance that of their centres *A* and *B*, that is, the straight line *A B*. Now, with respect to the mass of the attracting body *A*, it must be remarked, that the greater it is, the greater also will be its power to attract the body *B*. Consequently, if *A* were twice as great as *B*, this last would feel an attraction, twice as powerful, exercised over it, by the other; if it were three times as great, the effect would be triple, and so on, always supposing the distance of their centres to be the same.

If, then, the earth contained more or less matter than it actually does, it would attract all adjacent bodies, with greater or less force, or their weight would be increased or diminished. And, as the earth itself is attracted by the sun, the same thing might be affirmed as to it, should the mass of that luminary happen to change. As to the attracted body *B*, supposing the attracting body *A*, and the distance *A B*, to continue the same, it is to be remarked, that the greater or smaller its mass is, the greater or less, also, is the power with which it is attracted to-

ward

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Plate III.





ward A. Thus, if the body B were twice as great, it would be attracted toward A, with double the force; if three times greater, with triple the force, and so on.

In order more clearly to elucidate this remark, we have only to substitute the earth in the place of the attracting body A; then the force with which the body B is attracted, is nothing else but the weight of that body. Now, it is demonstrated, that the greater or smaller the body B is, the greater or less, also, is its gravity; hence it follows, that while the attracting body A, and the distance, A B continue the same, the attraction which B feels, precisely follows the magnitude of that body. To express this circumstance, mathematicians employ the term *proportional*; thus they say, The body B is attracted by the body A, with a force proportional to its mass; the meaning of which is, that if the mass of body B were twice, thrice, or four times greater, the attractive power would be precisely so many times increased. Thus, with respect to the attracting body A, they say, that the power which it exercises over the body B, is proportional to its mass, so long as that of B, and the distance A B continue the same.

I must farther observe, that when we speak of the quantity of the attracting body A, or of the attracted body B, we mean the quantity of matter which each contains, and not their magnitude merely. You will recollect, that bodies differ considerably, in this respect, and that there are some, which, in a very small compass, contain a great deal of matter, gold, for example,



example, while others, such as air, contain very little in a great space. When, therefore, we here speak of bodies, we are always to be understood as referring to the quantity of matter which they contain: this is what we mean by their mass.

All that now remains is, to examine the third circumstance, namely, the distance A B of the two bodies, supposing them to continue always the same. It must be observed, that as the distance A B increases, the attraction diminishes: and that as they approach nearer, it increases: but in conformity to a law, which it is not so easy to express. When the distance becomes twice as great, the force with which the body B is attracted toward the body A, will be twice two, or four times less; and for triple the distance, the attraction becomes three times three, that is nine times less. If the distance becomes four times greater, the power of attraction becomes four times four, that is sixteen times less, and so on. Finally, for a distance a hundred times greater, the power of attraction will be a hundred times a hundred, or ten thousand times less. From this it follows, that at very great distances, it must become altogether imperceptible. And reciprocally, when the distance A B is very small, the attraction may be very considerable, though the bodies may be of no great magnitude.

11th September, 1760.

LETTER

LETTER LVII.

The same Subject continued.

I HAVE now demonstrated, that when a body B is attracted by a body A, the power of attraction is proportional to the mass of the attracting body A, and to that of the attracted body B; but it depends, to such a degree, on the distance of these bodies, that if it should become twice, thrice, four or five times greater, the power of attraction would become four, nine, sixteen, or twenty-five times less.

In order to ascertain the rule of these quantities, we must multiply, into itself, the number which marks how many times the distance is increased, and the product will shew how many times less the power of attraction has become. To put this rule in it's clearest light, it must be observed, that when we multiply a number into itself, the product, resulting from it, is called it's *square*. Thus, to find these squares, we must multiply the numbers by themselves, as below.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| Multiplied by | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Square | 1 | 4 | 9 | 16 | 25 | 36 | 49 | 64 | 81 | 100 |

| | | | |
|---------------|-----|---------------|-----|
| Multiplied by | 11 | Multiplied by | 12 |
| | 11 | | 24 |
| | 11 | | 12 |
| Square | 121 | Square | 144 |

It



It is clear, from this last example, that the square of number 12 is 144; and if you wish to know the square of any number whatever, say 258, you must multiply that number by itself, as in the following separation:

$$\begin{array}{r}
 258 \\
 258 \\
 \hline
 2064 \\
 1290 \\
 516 \\
 \hline
 66564
 \end{array}$$

From which we see, that the square of 258 is 66564; and the squares, of all numbers whatever, may be calculated in like manner.

As the distance of bodies, then, must be multiplied by itself, it is evident, that the power of attraction diminishes, as much as the square of the distance increases: or, that the square of the distance becomes as many times greater, as the power of attraction is diminished.

In treating subjects of this nature, mathematicians employ expressions, whose signification it is proper you should know, because they sometimes occur in the course of conversation. If the attractive power increased in proportion to the square of the distance, we would call it *proportionally* to the square of the distance; but as the direct contrary takes place, and as the attractive power diminishes as the square of the distance increases, we employ the term *reciprocally*,

cally, to express this contrariety, saying, that the power is reciprocally proportional to the square of the distance.* It is a geometrical mode of expression, the meaning of which you perfectly comprehend, and it refers to what I have just been attempting to explain.

In order to judge aright of the power which one body exercises over another, you have only to remark, that this power is, first of all, proportional to the mass of the attracting body: then, to that of the body attracted; and finally, reciprocally to the square of their distance. Hence, it is evident, that though the earth, and the other planets, are likewise attracted toward the fixed stars, this power must be imperceptible, on account of their prodigious distance.

Supposing, therefore, the mass of a fixed star to be equal to that of the sun, at equal distances, the earth would be attracted toward it, with a force as great as toward the sun; but as the distance of the fixed star is 400,000 times greater than that of the sun, the square of this number being 160,000,000,000, that is, a hundred and sixty thousand millions, the power with which it acts upon our globe, is a hundred and sixty thousand millions of times less than that of the sun; and, consequently, too feeble to produce any perceptible effect. For this reason, the attractive power of the fixed stars does not at all affect the earth's motion, nor that of the planets and the

* It is more customary to say, that attraction is in the direct ratio of the masses of the attracting and attracted bodies; and in the inverse ratio of the square of their distance.—F. E.

moon;



moon; but it is that of the sun which chiefly regulates their motions, because his mass exceeds many thousands of times the mass of each planet.

When, however, two planets approach, so that their distance becomes less than that of the sun, their attractive power increases, and may become sufficiently perceptible to derange their motion. Such derangement has, in fact, been observed; and constitutes an irrefutable proof of the system of universal gravitation. Accordingly, when a comet approaches very near to a planet, the motion of this last may be considerably affected by it.

13th September, 1760.

L E T T E R LVIII.

Motion of the heavenly Bodies. Method of determining it by the Laws of universal Gravitation.

FROM what has been said, respecting the power by which all the heavenly bodies mutually attract each other, proportionally to their mass and distance, you are enabled to comprehend, how their motions may be determined, and the real place of each body, at any given time, accurately assigned.

In this astronomy consists; the object of which is an exact knowledge of the motions of the heavenly bodies, in order to be able to determine, for every instant of time, whether past or to come, the place in which each of them must be, and in what place of the

the heavens it must appear, whether viewed from the earth, or any other point whatever of the universe.

The science which treats of motion in general, is named *mechanics*, or *dynamics*. Its object is to determine the motion of all bodies whatever, animated by whatever power. This science constitutes one of the principal branches of mathematics; and those who apply to it, exert all their efforts to carry mechanics to the highest possible degree of perfection. The subjects about which this science is conversant, are, however, so intricate, that there is hitherto no great ground of boasting of our progress in the investigation of them; and we must rest satisfied with advancing step by step. Not many years are elapsed since we began to make any progress at all in this career, and what has been done is chiefly to be ascribed to the academy of sciences at Paris, which proposes annual prizes to the best proficient in the prosecution of this science.

The greatest difficulty arises from the number of powers which act upon the heavenly bodies. If each of these were attracted toward only one single point, there would be very little difficulty in the way; and the great *Newton*, who died in 1728, was the first who gave a complete demonstration of the motion of two bodies which have a mutual attraction, in conformity to the law which I have laid down. In virtue of this law, were the earth attracted toward the sun only, we should be able perfectly, without research, to determine its motion. The same thing would apply to the other planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars,



Mars, Venus, and Mercury, if they were attracted only by the sun. But the earth being attracted, not only by him, but by all the other heavenly bodies, the question becomes infinitely more complex and difficult, from the great diversity of powers to which we must pay attention.* You may neglect, however, the powers with which it is attracted toward the fixed stars, because, however enormous their masses may be, they are so prodigiously distant, that the power which they exercise upon the earth, may be considered as just nothing.

The motion of the earth, therefore, and of the other planets, will always be as perfectly the same, as if the fixed stars did not exist. Excepting, then, the power of the sun, we have only to consider the power with which the planets mutually attract each other. Now, these powers are extremely small, compared to those by which each planet is attracted toward the sun, because the mass of the sun is much greater than that of each planet.

As, however, these powers increase according as the distances diminish, so that a power four times greater corresponds to a distance twice less; and a

* They are usually combined by three and three; that is, the effect resulting from the attraction of two bodies upon a third is sought. This celebrated problem, known by the name of the problem of three bodies, has been an object of the researches of all the great geometricians of our age; and though it has hitherto been resolved only by an approximation to the truth, the most fortunate applications have, however, been made, such as the theory of the moon, that of Jupiter, of Saturn, &c.—*F. E.*

power nine times less corresponds to a distance three times greater, and so on, according to the squares of the numbers, as I explained the subject in the preceding letter, it might be possible for two planets to approach so near, that their attractive power should become equal to that of the sun, may, greatly exceed it.

Fortunately, this never takes place in our system, and the planets always remain at such a distance from each other, that their attractive power is ever incomparably smaller than that of the sun. For this reason, without extending our views beyond what is thus certainly known, we may consider every planet as attracted only by the power of the sun, and by that it is easy to determine its motion. This, however, can take place, only when we are disposed to rest satisfied with a result near the truth; for if we wish to have more exact information, we must attend to those feebler powers with which the planets act upon each other; powers which really produce the little irregularities clearly observed by astronomers; and to the attainment of the perfect knowledge of these, is directed all the sagacity of both astronomers and geometricians,

15th September, 1769.



LETTER LIX.

System of the Universe.

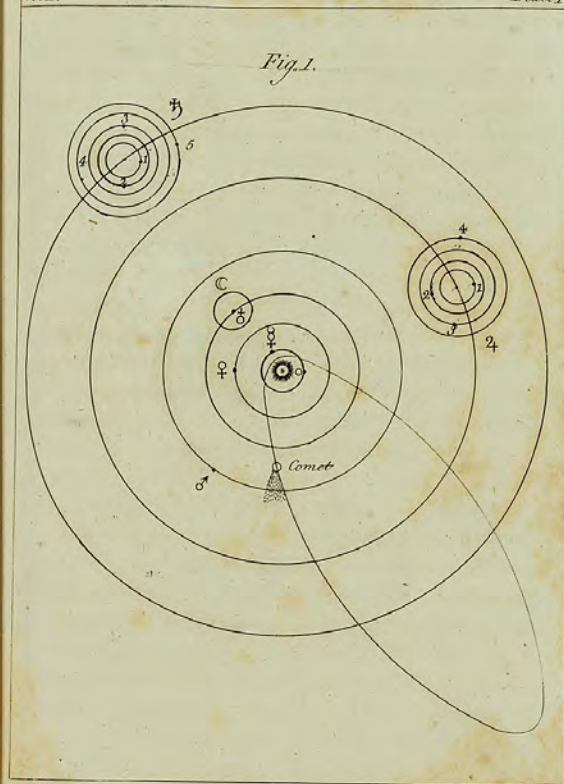
IN order the more clearly to elucidate what I have been advancing, respecting the motion of the heavenly bodies, and the powers which produce it, permit me to present to you, (*plate IV. fig. 1.*) the system of the universe, or a description of the heavenly bodies which compose it.

We must, first of all, observe, that the fixed stars are bodies entirely similar to the sun, and luminous of themselves; that they are at a very great distance from that luminary; and also very distant from each other, and that every one of them is, perhaps, of equal magnitude with the sun. You are already informed, that the fixed star nearest to us, is at least 400,000 times more distant than the sun. Each of the fixed stars seems designed to communicate light and heat, to a certain number of opaque bodies, similar to our earth, and, undoubtedly, inhabited likewise, placed near them, but which we cannot see, on account of their prodigious distance.

Though it is impossible to ascertain this by actual observations, we must conclude it, from their analogy to the sun, who serves to warm and to illuminate the earth and the other planets. We know, particularly, six of these bodies; they are not in a state of rest, but each of them moves round the sun, in the direction of a curve line, somewhat different from

Vol. I.

Plate IV





from a circle, and which is called the planet's orbit. The sun himself is, nearly, in a state of rest, as well as all the fixed stars; the motion which they appear to have, being entirely owing to that of the earth.

I have, accordingly, represented on the annexed sheet, what is called the solar system, which contains all the opaque bodies that move round the sun, and derive from him all the benefits which he imparts to us. This sign ☉ (*plate IV. fig. 1.*) represents the sun at rest. You see, besides, six concentric circles, representing the orbits described by the planets in their motion round him.

That nearest to the sun is Mercury, marked by the sign ☿, and the black dot you see in the orbit represents the body of Mercury, who performs his revolution round the sun in about 88 days.

Next comes Venus, marked by ♀, who completes a revolution round the sun in seven months nearly.

The third circle is the orbit of the earth, marked by the sign ♁, and which completes a revolution round the sun in a year. We have no other meaning, in truth, to the word year, but the time employed by the earth in performing a revolution round the sun; and the duration of the common year nearly approaches to this solar year.

But while the earth is moving round the sun, there is another body moving round the earth, and keeping the direction of it's orbit; this is the moon, whose own circle, or orbit, is marked by ☾.

The two first planets, Mercury and Venus, have



no visible bodies which attend them; neither has Mars δ , which is the fourth, and performs his revolution in about two years.

The fifth circle is the orbit of Jupiter, marked by ζ , who performs his revolution in twelve years nearly. Round him move four satellites, represented in the plate, with their orbits, and marked by the figures 1, 2, 3, 4.

Finally, the sixth and last circle is the orbit of Saturn, marked thus, η , who employs almost thirty years in performing one revolution round the sun. This planet is attended, in his course, by five satellites, marked by the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Thus, then, the solar system consists of six primary planets, Mercury γ , Venus ν , the Earth ϵ , Mars δ , Jupiter ζ , Saturn η , and ten secondary planets or satellites, namely, the moon, the four attendants of Jupiter, and the five of Saturn.*

* To this enumeration must now be added, the planet discovered at Bath the 17th of March, 1781, by Mr. *Herschel*, and taken at first for a comet. It is more distant from the sun than Saturn, and its orbit must be represented by a seventh circle, circumscribing all the others. The period of its revolution is about 83 years. Tables of its motion have been constructed, which represent already the observations with an exactness, that announces the perfection both of the instruments, and of the method of calculation.

It is admitted, that this star was seen in 1756, in the month of September, by Mr. *Mayer*, of Gottingen; but that astronomer took it for a fixed star, and having observed it only once, he could not ascertain its motion: his determination agrees in other respects with the place which the tables assign to the planet of Mr.

Herschel,

This system contains, besides, several comets, the number of which is unknown. The figure on the plate represents one of them, whose orbit differs from that of the planets, because it is drawn out into extreme length, so that a comet sometimes approaches very near to the sun, and sometimes removes to such an immense distance, as entirely to disappear. Of comets it has been remarked, that one finishes his revolutions in his orbit, in about sixty years; this is the one that was visible last year. As to the other comets, it is certain, that they employ several centuries in performing one revolution in their orbits; and as, in past ages, no exact observations were made of them, we are totally in the dark with respect to their return. Of these, then, consists the solar system; and, most probably, every fixed star has one similar to it.*

17th September, 1760.

Herschel, for that epoch. It bears the name of the person who discovered it.

The mean distances of the planets from the sun, may be thus respectively expressed: that of Mercury by 4, that of Venus by 7, that of the earth by 10, that of Mars by 15, that of Jupiter by 52, that of Saturn by 95, and, finally, that of the planet *Herschel* (a) by 191—*F. E.*

* Astronomers expect about 1790 the comet observed in 1531, and in 1661, which they believe to be the same star, and the period of which appears to be about 130 years.—*F. E.*

(a) In compliment to his patron, King George III. Mr. *Herschel* named his recently discovered planet *Georgium Sidus*. The republican *Condorcet*, in contempt of Kings, gives it the name of the Discoverer.—*E. E.*



LETTER LX.

The same Subject continued.

IN addition to what I have said respecting the solar system, I must communicate some observations for the explanation of the figures. And, first, it must be remarked, that the lines which mark the paths in which the planets move, have no real existence in the heavens, as the whole immensity of space in which they move is a vacuum, or rather filled with that subtle matter which we call the *ether*, and which I have already so often mentioned.

Again, the orbits of the planets are not all in the same plane, as the figure presents them: but if the orbit which the earth describes round the sun, is properly represented on the paper, we must imagine the orbits of the five other planets to be partly elevated, and partly depressed, with reference to it; or, that the orbit of each planet bears upon it an oblique direction, making an intersection with the paper, under a certain angle, which it is impossible to represent in a figure drawn upon a plane.

Farther, the orbits of the planets are not circles, as the figure appears to indicate, but rather somewhat oval, one more, another less so; no one, however, recedes very considerably from the circular form. The orbit of Venus is almost a perfect circle; but those of the other planets are more or less extended

tended lengthwise, so that these planets are sometimes nearer to the sun, sometimes farther off.

The orbits of comets are particularly distinguishable, being greatly extended in length, as I have represented it in the figure. As to the moon, and the satellites of Jupiter and Saturn, their orbits, too, are nearly circular.

Neither must we conceive them as moving in one and the same direction, as they appear on the plane of the paper; for they do not remain in the same place, but are themselves carried round the sun along with the primary planet to which they belong. It is thus we must understand the lines represented in the figure. Imagination must supply what it is impossible, on a plane surface, accurately to exhibit.

You are now enabled to comprehend, with ease, what the late Mr. *de Fontenelle* meant to display, in his book on the plurality of worlds. The earth, with its inhabitants, is sometimes denominated a world; and every planet, nay, every one of the satellites, has an equal right to the same appellation, it being highly probable, that each of these bodies is inhabited as well as the earth.

There are sixteen worlds, then, in the solar system alone. And every fixed star being a sun, round which a certain number of planets perform their revolutions, and of which some have, undoubtedly, their satellites, we have an almost infinite number of worlds, similar to our earth, considering, that the number of stars, perceptible to the unassisted eye,



exceeds some thousands, and that the telescope discovers to us an incomparably greater number.

If it is meant to comprehend under the name of *world* the sun, with the planets and their satellites, and which derive heat and light from him, we shall have as many worlds, as there are fixed stars. But if by the term *world*, we understand the earth, with all the heavenly bodies, or all the beings which were created at once, it is clear that there can be but one world, to which we refer every thing that exists. It is in this sense the term *world* is employed in philosophy, particularly in metaphysics; it is in this sense we say, that there is but one world, the assemblage of all created beings, past, as well as present, and future, whose existence is subject to general laws.

When, therefore, philosophers dispute, whether our world is the best or not, they proceed on the supposition of a plurality of worlds; and some maintain, that the one which exists, is the best of all those which could have existed. They consider the Deity as an architect, who, intending to create this world, traced several different plans, of which he selected the best, or that in which the greatest perfections were all combined, in the highest degree, and executed it in preference to all the others.

But the great quantity of evil that prevails, and is diffused over the surface of our globe, and which flows from the wickedness of man, suggests an important enquiry, namely, Whether it would have been possible to create a world, wholly exempted from these evils?

In my opinion, a distinction must be carefully made, between the plans of a world, which should contain corporeal substances only, and those of another world, which should contain beings intelligent and free. In the former case, the choice of the best, would be involved in very little difficulty; but in the other, where beings intelligent and free constitute the principal part of the world, the determination of what is best is infinitely beyond our capacity; and even the wickedness of free agents may contribute to the perfection of the world in a manner which we are unable to comprehend.

It would appear, that philosophers have not been sufficiently attentive to this distinction, however essential it may be. But I am too sensible of my own incapacity, to enter any deeper into this difficult question.

19th September, 1760.

LETTER LXI.

*Small Irregularities in the Motions of the Planets,
caused by their mutual Attraction.*

IN order to determine the motion of the bodies which compose the solar system, it is necessary to distinguish the primary planets, which are Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, from their satellites, namely, the moon, the four satellites of Jupiter, and the five of Saturn.



It has been explained to you, that these six planets are principally attracted toward the sun, or, that the force with which they are impelled toward him, is incomparably greater, than the powers which they exert one upon another, because his mass is incomparably greater than that of the planets, and because they never sufficiently approach to each other to render their reciprocal attraction very considerable. Were they attracted only toward the sun, their motion would be sufficiently regular, and easily determined. But the feebler powers of which I have been speaking, occasion some slight irregularities in their motion, which astronomers are eager to discover, and which geometers endeavour to determine, on the principles of motion.

An important question is here agitated, namely, *The powers which act upon a body being known, how to find the motion of that body?* Now, upon the principles above laid down, we are acquainted with the powers, to the influence of which every planet is subjected. Thus the motion of the earth is somewhat affected; first, by the attraction of Venus, which sometimes passes very near it; and, secondly, by that of Jupiter, which, on account of the prodigious mass of this planet, becomes considerable, though he be always at a great distance. The mass of Mars is too small to produce any perceptible effect, though he is sometimes very near us; and Saturn, though his mass be the greatest, next to that of Jupiter, is too distant.

The moon, though her mass be very small, produces,

duces, however, some derangement, from her being very near the earth. The comet, which appeared last year, was seven times nearer to us than the sun, when his distance was smallest; there is a great degree of probability, therefore, that it may have deranged the earth's motion, especially if his mass was considerable, a circumstance with which we are not acquainted. If this comet were as great as the earth, the effect must have been very considerable; but its apparent smallness induces me to believe, that its mass is much less than that of the earth, and, consequently, its effect must have been proportionally less. When we saw this comet, however, it had got to a great distance; at the time when it was nearest, it was invisible to us, but it must have appeared very brilliant to our antipodes.

What has been said, respecting the derangements occasioned in the earth's motion, takes place likewise in the other planets, regard being had to their mass, and to their proximity. As to the moon, and the other secondary planets, the principle of their motion is somewhat different. The moon is so near the earth, that the attraction she feels from hence greatly exceeds that of the sun, though the mass of this luminary be many thousands of times greater than that of the earth. Hence it is, that the motion of the moon follows that of the earth, and that she remains, as it were, attached to it, which makes the moon to be considered as a satellite to our planet.

Had the moon been placed much farther from us, and had she been attracted less toward the earth than
toward



toward the sun, she would have become a primary planet, and performed her own revolutions round the sun; but she is 300 times nearer to us than she is to the sun; hence it is evident, that she must exercise a much feebler influence upon her than the earth does. The moon being principally attracted by two bodies, the sun and the earth, it is evident that the determination of her motion, must be much more difficult than that of the primary planets, which are subject to the attraction of the sun only, excepting the slight derangements which have been mentioned. The motion of the moon has, accordingly, in all ages, greatly embarrassed philosophers; and never have they been able to ascertain, for any future given time, the exact place of the moon in the heavens.

You perfectly comprehend, that in order to predict an eclipse, whether of the moon or of the sun, we must be able accurately to ascertain the moon's place. Now, in calculating eclipses, formerly, there was frequently a mistake of an hour or more: the eclipse actually taking place an hour earlier or later than the calculation. Whatever pains the ancient astronomers took to determine the moon's motion, they were always very wide of the truth. It was not till the great *Newton* discovered the real powers which act upon the moon, that we began to approach nearer and nearer to truth, after having surmounted many obstacles which retarded our progress.

I too have employed much time and attention on the subject; and Mr. *Meyer*, of Gottingen, pursuing the

the track which I had opened, has arrived at a degree of precision, beyond which it is perhaps impossible to go. Not much more, then, than ten years have elapsed since we could boast of any thing like accurate knowledge of the moon's motion. Since that time we are able to calculate eclipses so exactly, as not to make the mistake of a single minute, whereas, before, there was frequently the difference of eight minutes, and more. To analysis, then, we are indebted for this important discovery, the source of unspeakable advantages, not to the astronomer only, but likewise to the geographer, and the navigator.

23^d September, 1760.

LETTER LXII.

Description of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea.

THE attractive power of the heavenly bodies extends, not only to the mass of the earth, but to all the parts of which it is composed. Thus all the bodies, which we see on the surface of the earth, are attracted, not only toward the earth itself, from which results their gravity, and the weight of every one in particular, but, likewise, toward the sun, and toward all the other heavenly bodies, and that more or less, according to the mass of these bodies and their distance.

Now, it is evident, that the force with which a body,



body, say a stone, is attracted toward the earth, must be incomparably greater than that with which the same body is attracted toward the sun, the other planets, and the moon, because of their great distance. Such a body, being at a distance from the centre of the earth, equal to a radius of this globe, is 60 times farther from the moon. Though, then, the mass of the moon were equal to that of the earth, the attraction toward the moon would be 60 times 60, that is 3600 times less than the attraction toward the earth, or, the gravity of the body. But, the mass of the moon is about 70 times less than that of the earth; hence the attractive power of the moon becomes still 70 times 3600, that is, 252,000 times less than the gravity of the body.

Again, though the sun be many thousands of times greater than the earth, he is about 24,000 times more distant from us, than the centre of the earth; and for this reason, the attraction of the sun upon a stone is extremely small, compared to its gravity. Hence you see, that the gravity of terrestrial bodies, which is nothing else but the force with which they are attracted toward the earth, cannot be perceptibly affected by the attraction of the heavenly bodies.

Though this attraction, however, be very inconsiderable, there results from it a remarkable phenomenon, which long puzzled philosophers; I mean the flux and the reflux of the sea. It occurs so frequently, even in common conversation, that it is almost a matter of necessity to understand it. For this reason, I propose to explain more minutely, this singular

ular phenomenon, and to unfold the causes which produce it.

I begin, then, with the description of the well-known phenomenon, of the *flux* and *reflux* of the sea. Hardly any one is ignorant, that by far the greatest part of the surface of our globe is covered with a mass of water, called the *Sea*, or the *Ocean*. This immense fluid mass is very different from rivers and lakes, which, according to the different seasons of the year, contain sometimes less water, sometimes more, whereas, in the sea, the quantity of water, at all times, continues nearly the same. It is, however, observed, that the water of the sea rises and falls alternately, with wonderful regularity, twice every twenty-four hours.

If, for instance, in a harbour, the water is now at its greatest height, it will presently begin to subside, and this decrease continues for six hours, at the end of which, its depth will be at the lowest. It then begins again to rise, and the increase, likewise, lasts six hours, when it is again at its greatest depth. It immediately begins again to fall for six hours, and then rises as many, so that in the space of about 24 hours, the water rises and falls twice; and arrives, alternately, at its greatest and least depth.

It is this alternate increase, and diminution of the water of the sea, which we call its *flux* and *reflux*, or its flowing and ebbing: and more particularly, the flux denotes the time, during which it increases or rises, and the reflux, the time of its decrease or falling. The flux and reflux together, likewise, go by the



the name of *tide*. This alternation, then, is to be the subject of our present disquisition.

It is, first of all, to be remarked, that the difference between rising and falling, keeps pace with the variations of the moon. At full, and new moon, the water rises higher than at the quarters: and about the time of the vernal, and autumnal equinoxes, in the months of March and September, this alternate motion of the sea is most considerable. A great difference is, likewise, observed, according to the situation of the coasts. The flux, in some places, is never more than a few feet, while, in others, the rise is 40 feet and upwards. Such are the tides in the ports of *St. Malo*, in France, and of *Bristol*, in England.

It is farther to be remarked, that this phenomenon is perceptible, chiefly, in the ocean, where there is a vast extent of water, and that in seas bounded and confined, such as the Baltic, and the Mediterranean, it is much less considerable. The interval, from the flux to the succeeding reflux, is not exactly six hours, but about 11 minutes more; so that the same changes do not take place, the day after, at the same hour, but fall out about three quarters of an hour later: so that a revolution of 30 days is requisite, to bring them round to the same hour; now, this is precisely the period of one revolution of the moon, or the interval, between one new moon, and that which immediately follows.

26th September, 1760.

LETTER

LETTER LXIII.

Different Opinions of Philosophers respecting the Flux and Reflux of the Sea.

WHEN the water of the sea rises at any place, we are not to imagine that it swells from any internal cause, as milk does when put in a vessel upon the fire. The elevation of the sea is produced by a real increase of water flowing hither from some other place. It is a real current which is very perceptible at sea, conveying the waters toward the place where the flux is.

In order to have a clearer comprehension of this, you must consider that in the vast extent of the ocean there are always places where the water is low, while it is high at others; and that it is conveyed from the former to the latter. When the water rises at any place, there is always a current, conveying it from other places, where it is of course at that time low. It is an error, therefore, to imagine, with some authors, that during the flux of the sea the total mass of water becomes greater, and that it diminishes during the reflux. The entire mass or bulk of water remains ever the same; but it is subject to a perpetual oscillation, by which the water is alternately transported from certain regions to others; and when the water is high at any place, it is of course low somewhere else, so that the increase at places where it is

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high is precisely equal to the decrease at those where it is low.

Such are the phenomena of the flux and reflux of the sea, the cause of which ancient philosophers endeavoured to discover, but in vain. *Kepler*, in other respects a great astronomer, and the ornament of Germany, believed that the earth, as well as all the heavenly bodies, was a real living animal, and considered the flux and reflux of the sea as the effect of its respiration. According to this philosopher, men and beasts were just like insects feeding on the back of the huge animal. You will hardly expect I should go into the refutation of an opinion so ridiculous.

Descartes, that great French philosopher, endeavoured to introduce a more rational philosophy; and remarked, that the flux and reflux of the sea was principally regulated by the moon's motion; which was indeed a very important discovery, though the ancients had already suspected a connection between these two phenomena. For if high water or the top of the flux happen to-day at noon, it will be low water at 11 minutes after six in the evening: it will rise till 22 minutes after midnight; and the next low water will be 33 minutes after six in the morning of the day after; and the ensuing high water, or flux, will be three quarters of an hour after noon: so that from one day to another the same tides are later by three quarters of an hour.

And as the same thing precisely takes place in the moon's motion, which rises always three quarters of an

an hour later than the preceding day, it was presumable that the tides followed the course of the moon. If at any given place, for example, on the day of new moon, high water happen to be at three of the clock, afternoon, you could rest assured, that ever after, on the first day of the moon, the flux would invariably be at the height at three o'clock afternoon, and that every following day it would fall later by three quarters of an hour.

Again, not only the time when every flux and reflux happen exactly follows the moon, but the strength of the tides, which is variable, appears still to depend on the position of the moon. They are every where stronger after the new and full moon, that is, at these periods the elevation of the water is greater than at other times; and after the first and last quarters, the elevation of the water, during the flux, is smaller. This wonderful harmony between the tides, and the motion of the moon, was, undoubtedly, sufficient ground to conclude, that the chief cause of the flux and reflux of the sea was to be sought for in the action of the moon.

Descartes accordingly believed, that the moon, in passing over us, pressed the atmosphere, or the air which surrounds the earth, and that the air pressing on the water, in its turn, forced it to subside. Had this been the case, the water must have been depressed at the places over which the moon was, and that the same effect should be produced 12 hours after, in the ensuing tide; which, however, does not happen. Besides the moon is too distant from the earth,



and the atmosphere too low to be impressed by the moon; and admitting that the moon, or any other great body, were to pass along the atmosphere, it would be very far from undergoing any pressure from it, and still less would the sea feel this pretended pressure.

This attempt of *Descartes* to explain the flux and reflux of the sea, has therefore failed; but the connection of this phenomenon with the moon's motion, which this philosopher has so clearly unfolded, enabled his successors to employ the application of their researches with more success. This shall be the subject of some following letters.

30th September, 1760.

LETTER LXIV.

Explanation of the Flux and Reflux, from the attractive Power of the Moon.

DESCARTES's method of explaining the flux and reflux of the sea, by the pressure of the moon upon our atmosphere, not having succeeded, it was reasonable to look for the cause of it in the attraction which the moon exercises upon the earth, and consequently also upon the sea.

The attractive power of the heavenly bodies having been already sufficiently established, by so many other phenomena, as I have shewn, it could not be doubted that the flux and reflux of the sea must be

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an effect of it. As soon as it is demonstrated that the moon, as well as the other heavenly bodies, is endowed with the property of attracting all bodies, in the direct ratio of their mass, and in the inverse ratio of the square of their distance, it is easily comprehended that its action must extend to the sea; and the more so, as you must frequently have observed, that the smallest force is capable of agitating a fluid. All that remains, therefore, is to enquire, whether the attractive power of the moon, such as we suppose it, is capable of producing in the sea the agitation known to us by the name of flux and reflux.

Let the annexed figure (*plate III. fig. 5.*) represent the earth and the moon. A is the place where we see the moon over the earth; B that which is directly opposite, or the antipodes of A; and C is the centre of the earth. As the point A is nearer the moon than the point B, a body at A is more powerfully attracted toward the moon than a similar body at B. And if we suppose a third similar body to be placed at the centre of the earth C, it is evident that the body A will be more powerfully attracted toward the moon than the body C, and this last than the body B, because the body A is nearer to the moon, and the body B more remote than the body C. But similar bodies placed at E and F, are almost as much attracted by the moon as that which is at the centre of the earth C, as they are all three nearly equidistant from the moon.

Hence we see that bodies placed on the surface of

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the earth are not all equally attracted toward the moon. This inequality of attraction depends on the inequality of their distance from the centre of the moon L, so that a body is so much the more powerfully attracted by the moon, as it's distance is less; and the contrary takes place according as the distance is greater.

To these differences in the action of the moon on bodies differently situated, we must here chiefly pay attention; for if all bodies were equally attracted toward the moon, they would equally obey this power, and no derangement could take place in their mutual situation.

You can easily form the idea of several carriages drawn along by powers perfectly equal; they will proceed on the road, always preserving the same order, and the same distances; but as soon as some of them advance more briskly, and others more slowly, the order will be deranged. The same thing takes place in the case of the different bodies which are attracted by the moon; if they all felt, in the same degree, the action of that luminary, they would preserve the same relative situation, and we should perceive no change in them: but as soon as the force with which they are attracted toward the moon varies as to each of them, their order and their relative situation necessarily change, unless they are attached to each other by bands which that power is unable to burst asunder.

But this is not the case with the sea, as all the particles of a fluid are easily separated from each other,
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and every one may obey the impressions which it receives. It is evident, then, that when the powers which act on the different parts of the sea are not equal to one another, an agitation, or derangement, must be the consequence.

We have just seen that the different parts of the sea are attracted unequally by the moon, according as they are unequally distant from her centre; the sea must, therefore, be agitated by the force of the moon, which, continually changing her situation, with respect to the earth, and performing a revolution round it in about twenty-four hours and three quarters, makes the sea undergo the same changes, and presents the same phenomena in the same period of twenty-four hours and three quarters; the flux and reflux must, therefore, be retarded from one day to another three quarters of an hour, which is confirmed by constant experience.

It now remains that we shew, How the alternate elevation and depression of the sea, which succeed each other after an interval of six hours and eleven minutes, result from the inequality of the powers of the moon. This I propose to examine in my next letter.

4th October, 1760.



LETTER LXV.

The same Subject continued.

YOU have seen that the moon causes no alteration in the state of the earth, but in so far as she acts unequally on it's different parts. The reason of it is, that if all it's parts equally felt the same action, they would be equally attracted, and no change in their relative situation would result from it.

But a body being at A (*plate III. fig. 5.*) nearer the moon than the centre of the earth C, is more powerfully attracted to it than a body at C would be: it will approach it, then, with greater velocity than this last: from hence it necessarily follows, that the body A retires from the centre C, and approaches the moon: as if there were two chariots, the one at A, the other at C, and if the chariot A were drawn toward L with greater force than the chariot C, it would remove from C. It is thus that the power of the moon has a tendency to withdraw the point A from the centre C.

Now to remove a body from the centre of the earth is to raise it: and the water at A being now the thing in question, it is certain that the force of the moon tends to raise the water which is at A, by a power equal to the excess of the attraction toward the moon felt at A, above that felt at C. By this power, then, the moon raises the waters of the earth which are immediately under her.

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Let us now, likewise, attend to a body at B, directly opposite to the point A; the centre of the earth C, more powerfully attracted by the moon than the point B, will approach nearer to it, and this last, so to speak, will remain behind, just as a chariot, which was drawn more slowly than that which precedes it. The point B will consequently remove from the centre C, and rise; for to remove from the centre of the earth, and to rise, is one and the same thing.

It is evident, therefore, that the power of the moon tends to raise the waters, not only at A, but likewise at B, the point diametrically opposite, and that by a force equal to the difference of the attraction of the moon at B and at C, which is less at B than at C. Now, those who are at A, have the moon directly above them, or in their zenith; and those who are at B see nothing of the moon, because she is then in a point of the heavens diametrically opposite to their zenith, called *Nadir*.

Hence it appears, that at whatever part of the sea it may be, the water must rise equally when the moon is in the zenith of that place, and in it's nadir, or, when the moon is at it's greatest elevation above the horizon, or at it's greatest depression under it. At the intermediate periods, when the moon is in the horizon, either rising or setting, she exercises no power capable of raising the sea; a small contrary power tends even to make it fall.

According to this system, at the place of the sea, where the moon is in the zenith, it's power has a tendency



tendency to raise the waters; about six hours after, when she has reached the horizon, her power has a tendency to make them fall. Twelve hours and twenty-two minutes after, the moon being then at the point most distant, under the horizon, she exercises the same power to raise the water; and at the end of eighteen hours, thirty-three minutes, when she has got to the opposite horizon, the waters are fallen: till at length, twenty-four hours and forty-five minutes from the first period, she returns to the zenith, raising the water as on the preceding day: and this is confirmed by uniform experience.

This alternate elevation and depression of the sea, at intervals of six hours and eleven minutes, having such a perfect conformity with the moon, leaves us no room to doubt that the flux and reflux of the sea are caused by the attractive power of the moon.

It is a remarkable circumstance that she acts equally on the sea, in raising it, whether she is at her greatest height above the horizon, or at the most distant point under it. This appeared at first very strange to philosophers, who imagined that the moon must produce, under the horizon, an effect contrary to that which she produces when in the zenith. But you see clearly that the moon produces the same effect in these two diametrically opposite positions, as I have demonstrated in the figure above referred to, that the effect of the moon is the same at A and at B.

7th October, 1760.

LETTER LXVI.

The same Subject continued.

FROM what has been said respecting the flux and reflux of the sea, you must be sensible that the system of *Newton*, which I have adopted, is directly contrary to that of *Descartes*. According to this last, the moon exercises a pressure, and the sea must subside at places situated directly under her; but, according to *Newton*, she acts by attraction, and forces the water to rise at these very places.

Experience, then, must determine which of these two systems is to be received. No more is necessary than to consult the observations made with respect to the ocean, in order to see whether the water rises or falls when the moon is in the zenith. Recourse has actually been had to this; but it is found that when the moon is at either the zenith, or nadir, of a given place, the water there is neither high nor low; and that high water does not take place till some hours after the moon has passed the zenith.

From this circumstance, persons who examine things superficially, concluded at once, that neither of the systems was admissible; and the Cartesians have taken advantage from it, presuming, that if *Newton's* was rejected, that of *Descartes* must necessarily be adopted, though the observations referred to are as contrary to the system of *Descartes* as they appear to be to that of *Newton*.



But the system of *Descartes* is overturned by this single phenomenon, that the sea is always in the same state after a period of twelve hours and twenty-two minutes, or that its state is always the same, whether the moon be above or below the horizon; and it is impossible for its supporters to shew how the moon, being over the heads of our antipodes, can produce the same effect as when she is over ours. To this purpose, see *plate III. fig. 6.*

Experience proves that the state of the water at *A* is the same, whether the moon be at *M*, the zenith of the point *A*, or at *N*, its nadir, which is consequently the zenith of the antipodes at *B*. The effect, of the moon, then, on the water at *A*, is the same in both cases. But if the moon acted by pressure, according to *Descartes*, it would follow, that when the moon is at *M*, the water at *A* must fall; and if she were at *N*, it is impossible that the water at *A* should undergo the same pressure.

In the system of attraction, on the contrary, it is incontestably certain, that the action of the moon must be nearly the same, whether that luminary be at *M* or at *N*; and this is demonstrated by actual observation.

I must here repeat a preceding explanation, because it is a matter of the utmost importance. When the moon is at *M*, the point *A* is nearer it than the centre *C*; it is, therefore, more powerfully attracted than the centre; the point *A* will remove from the centre, consequently it will then rise: the moon being at *M*, has a tendency to raise the water at *A*.

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Let us now see what effect the moon, being at *N*, will produce, where she arrives in twelve hours and twenty-two minutes after she was at *M*. As the point *A* is more distant from the moon at *N* than the centre *C*, it will be more feebly attracted; the centre *C* will advance with greater velocity toward *N*, than the point *A*; the distance *A C* will accordingly become greater; the point *A* will, therefore, be more distant from the centre *C*. But to be more distant from the centre of the earth is to rise, consequently the moon being at *N*, makes the point *A* to ascend, that is, she has a tendency to raise the water at *A*, as if the moon were at *M*.

But here experience presents a very formidable objection; for it is observed, that the moon being at *M*, or at *N*, the water is not then at its greatest elevation at *A*. This does not take place till a considerable time after, and thence some have been induced to reject this explanation altogether. But you will easily see that their decision is extremely precipitate.

I have not said, that when the moon is at *M* or *N*, the water at *A* is at its greatest height; I have only said, that the power of the moon has then a tendency to make the water rise. But the water at *A* could not rise, unless its quantity were increased; and that increase can be produced only by the flowing of the water from other parts, some of them very distant. A considerable time, therefore, is requisite to the accumulation of a sufficient quantity of water; it is, then, very natural to suppose, that high water at *A* should not take place for some time after the moon

has



has passed M or N. This observation, therefore, is so far from overturning our system, that it tends strongly to confirm it.

There is no room to doubt that the power which has a tendency to raise the sea, must precede it's greatest elevation, nay, that a considerable time must intervene, as the water must flow thither from places very remote, that is, from places where the water must be low, while it is high at A. If the water has to pass through straits, or has it's current otherwise obstructed, high water will be still more retarded;* and if, in the ocean, it is high water at A, two hours after the moon has passed M or N, it will not be at the height, in narrow and bounded seas, for three hours or more: and this perfectly agrees with daily observation.

11th October, 1760.

* It may be proper, in this place, to give a popular view of so interesting a subject as that of tides. Suppose, therefore a cistern of water communicates with another, also of water, and in the same state; the surface of both will constantly preserve, or endeavour to preserve, the same level. But if one of the cisterns were filled with oil, or any such light fluid, the surface would evidently rise above the level of the other; and the more so, the greater was the depth of the oil. The same consequence would follow, if, by any cause, the specific gravity of the water in one of the cisterns was diminished. And this is actually the effect which the moon and sun produce on the waters of the ocean; those particles nearest these luminaries are more attracted by them than the particles at the centre, or at the extremities of the transverse diameter, which are more attracted than the particles on the farthest side; and therefore, in both cases, the tendency to the centre is diminished. Hence a protuberance will be formed on the nearer and farther
sides

LETTER LXVII.

The same Subject continued.

IT is no longer, then, a matter of doubt, that the flux and reflux of the sea is caused by the attractive power of the moon. But there remains one difficulty more to be removed: Why is the motion of the sea much more considerable at the time of new and full moon than at the other quarters? If the moon were nearer the earth when she is new, or full, than when she is in her quarters, there would be no difficulty in the question, as her proximity would increase her power. But though the moon approaches the earth sometimes more, sometimes less,

sides of the globe, proportional to the depth of the ocean. But this general swell is never suffered to attain it's just elevation; for the necessary motions are not supported a sufficient length of time, and the impressions soon give a contrary tendency. The flow of the waters is most obstructed in narrow seas, which are remote from the great ocean. Hence the lateness and irregularity of the tides in such seas. When a large river, or an arm of a sea, frequently contracts and widens, it often happens that the tide, in pushing up, occasions a great swell in the narrows, which produces a strong current, that continuing, after it's cause has ceased to operate, reduces the water below it's proper level, till a quantity is again accumulated, and repeats the same effects; and thus an ebb and flow may happen several times in the course of a day. This is particularly remarked in the river St. Lawrence, in North America.

A large lake cannot have any sensible tides, for every portion of it's waters is almost equally attracted by the sun or moon.

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the difference is always too small to occasion a change so considerable in the flux and reflux of the sea.

Besides, this difference is not regulated by the new and full moon; and it may happen, that the moon, in the intermediate quarters, should be nearer to us than when she is new or full. We must have recourse, therefore, to another cause capable of increasing the flux and reflux of the sea at the new and full moon, and of diminishing it at the intermediate quarters.

The system of attraction shews us, at first, that it is the action of the sun which, joined to that of the moon, furnishes a complete solution of all the phenomena presented to us by the flux and reflux of the sea. Indeed, all that I have said respecting the power which the moon exercises on the sea, is equally applicable to the sun, whose attractive power acts likewise unequally on all the parts of the earth, according as they are more or less remote from him. The attraction of the sun is even much more intense than that of the moon, as it chiefly regulates the motion of the earth, and carries it round its orbit.

As to the motion which he communicates to the sea, it depends on the inequality of that action, with relation to the different points of the surface of the earth, which are more or less attracted toward the sun than its centre, as I have already shewed you, in explaining the effect of the moon. If all the parts of the earth were attracted equally, no change in their mutual situation would take place. But though the power of the sun be much greater than that of
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the moon, the inequality, with relation to different parts of the earth is, nevertheless, smaller, on account of the great distance of the sun, which is 300 times farther from us than the moon. The difference of the power with which the centre of the earth, and the points of its surface, are attracted toward the sun, is, therefore, very small; and from calculations actually made, it is found to be three times less, nearly, than that of the moon upon these points. The attractive power of the sun alone, then, would likewise be capable of causing the flux and reflux of the sea; but it would be about three times less than that which is the effect of the combined influence of these two luminaries.

It is evident, then, that the flux and reflux of the sea are produced by the power of both the sun and the moon, or that there are really two tides, occasioned, the one by the moon, the other by the sun, and called the *lunar tide* and the *solar tide*. That of the moon, nearly three times greater, follows its motion, and from one day to another is retarded three quarters of an hour: that which follows the action of the sun, would constantly correspond to the same hours of the day, if it existed alone, or if there were no moon. These two tides, the lunar and the solar together, produce the flux and reflux of the sea; but as the one and the other, separately, make the waters of the sea alternately to rise and fall, when it happens that these two causes, conjointly, make the sea rise and fall, its flux and reflux become much more considerable; but when the one tends to raise
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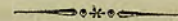
the sea, and the other to lower it, at the same place, when they act in contrary directions, the one will then be diminished by the other, and the lunar tide will be weakened by the solar. According as these two tides assist, or check, each other, the flux and reflux will, then, be more or less considerable.

Now, as at the time of new moon, the sun and moon are in the same parts of the heavens, their effects being perfectly in unison, the flux and reflux must then be greatest, being equal to the sum of the two tides. This will equally take place at the time of full moon, when the moon is opposite to the sun, as we know that she produces the same effect, though she be in a point of the heavens diametrically opposite to the first. The flux and reflux must, therefore, be greater at new and full moon, than at the first and last quarters. For then the power of the sun is exerted to lower the waters, and that of the moon to raise them. It is evident, therefore, that, at these seasons, the flux and reflux must be less considerable, and actual observation confirms it.

It might be still farther demonstrated, by calculation, that the effect of the moon, or of the sun, is somewhat greater, when these bodies are at the equator, or equally distant from the two poles of the globe: which happens at the time of the equinoxes, toward the end of the months of March and September. It is found, too, that then the tides are strongest. It follows beyond all doubt, then, that the tides, or the flux and reflux of the sea, are caused by the attractive power of the moon and of the sun, in

in as much as these powers act unequally on the different parts of the sea. The happy explanation of this phenomenon, which had so dreadfully perplexed the ancients, is a complete confirmation of the system of attraction, or of universal gravitation, on which is founded the motion of all the heavenly bodies.

14th October, 1760.



LETTER LXVIII.

More particular Account of the Dispute respecting universal Gravitation.

HAVING given you a general, but exact, idea of the powers which produce the principal phenomena of the universe, and on which are founded the motions of all the heavenly bodies, it is of importance to consider, with more attention, those powers which are the principal points of the system of attraction.

It is supposed, in this system, that all bodies mutually attract each other, in the ratio of their mass, and relatively to their distance, in conformity to a law already explained. The satisfying manner in which most of the phenomena in nature are accounted for, proves that this supposition is founded in truth; and that the attraction which different bodies exercise upon each other, may be considered as a most undoubted fact. It now remains, that we enquire into the cause of these attractive powers; but this



research belongs rather to the province of metaphysics than of mathematics. I dare not, therefore, flatter myself with the prospect of assured success in the prosecution of it.

It being certain, that any two bodies whatever are attracted to each other, the question is, What is the cause of this attraction? On this point philosophers are divided. The English maintain, that attraction is a property essential to all the bodies in nature, and that these bodies, hurried along by an irresistible propensity, tend mutually to approach, as if they were impelled by feeling.

Other philosophers consider this opinion as absurd, and contrary to the principles of a rational philosophy. They do not deny the fact; they even admit, that powers exist, which are the causes of the reciprocal tendency of bodies toward each other; but they maintain, that they are foreign to the bodies; that they belong to the ether, or the subtle matter which surrounds them, and that bodies may be put in motion by the ether, just as we see that a body, plunged into a fluid, receives several impressions from it. Thus, according to the first, the cause of the attraction resides in the bodies themselves, and is essential to their nature; and, according to the last, that it is out of the bodies, and in the fluid which surrounds them. In this case, the term attraction would be improper; and we must rather say, that bodies are impelled toward each other. But as the effect is the same, whether two bodies are reciprocally impelled, or attracted, the word attraction

tion need not give offence, provided it is not pretended, by that term, to determine the nature itself of the cause.

To avoid all confusion which might result from this mode of expression, it ought rather to be said, that bodies move, as if they mutually attracted each other. This would not decide, whether the powers which act on bodies reside in the bodies themselves, or out of them; and this manner of speaking might thus suit both parties. Let us confine ourselves to the bodies which we meet with on the surface of the earth.

Every one readily admits, that all these would fall downward, unless they were supported. Now, the question turns on the real cause of this fall. Some say, that it is the earth which attracts these bodies, by an inherent power natural to it; others, that it is the ether, or some other subtle or invisible matter, which impels the body downward: so that the effect is, nevertheless, the same in both cases. This last opinion is most satisfactory to those who are fond of clear principles in philosophy, as they do not see, how two bodies at a distance can act upon each other, if there be nothing between them. The others have recourse to the divine Omnipotence, and maintain, that God has endowed all bodies with a power of mutual attraction.

Though it be dangerous to venture on disputing concerning the limits of divine power, it is, nevertheless, certain, that if attraction were an immediate work of that power, without being founded in the nature



nature of bodies, this would be the same thing as saying, that God immediately impels bodies toward each other, and this would amount to a perpetual miracle.

Let us suppose, that before the creation of the world, God had created only two bodies, at a distance from each other; that nothing absolutely existed out of them, and that they were in a state of rest; would it be possible for the one to approach the other, or that they should have a propensity to approach? How could the one feel the other at a distance? Whence could arise the desire of approaching? These are perplexing questions. But if you suppose that the intermediate space is filled with a subtle matter, we can comprehend, at once, that this matter may act upon the bodies, by impelling them; the effect would be the same as if they possessed a power of mutual attraction.

Now, as we know, that the whole space which separates the heavenly bodies, is filled with a subtle matter, called *ether*, it seems more reasonable to ascribe the mutual attraction of bodies to an action which the ether exercises upon them, though its manner of acting may be unknown to us, rather than to have recourse to an unintelligible property.

Ancient philosophers satisfied themselves with explaining the phenomena of nature, from qualities which they called *occult*, saying, for example, that opium causes sleep, from an occult quality, which disposes it to procure sleep. This was saying just nothing, or rather was an attempt to conceal ignorance.

rance. We ought, therefore, likewise to consider attraction as an occult quality, in as far as it is given for a property essential to bodies. But, as the idea of all occult qualities is now banished from philosophy, attraction ought not to be considered in this sense.

18th October, 1760.

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LETTER LXIX.

Nature and Essence of Bodies: or Extension, Mobility, and Impenetrability of Body.

THE metaphysical disquisition, Whether bodies may be endowed with an internal power of attracting each other, without being impelled by an external force, cannot be terminated, till we have examined more particularly the nature of body in general. As this subject is of the last importance, not only in mathematics and physics, but in every branch of philosophy, you must permit me to go into a more particular detail of it.

First, it is asked, What is body? However absurd this question may appear, as no one is ignorant of the difference between what is body and what is not, it is, however, difficult to ascertain the real characters which constitute the nature of bodies. The Cartesians say, it consists in extension, and that whatever is extended is a body. They clearly understand, that extension has, in this case, three dimen-



sions; and that a single dimension, or extension in length only, gives only a line; and that two dimensions, length and breadth, form only a surface, which still is not a body. To constitute a body, therefore, we must have three dimensions, and every body must have length, breadth, and depth, or thickness; in other words, an extension in three dimensions.

But, it is asked, at the same time, if every thing which has extension is a body? This must be the case, if the definition of *Descartes* be just. The idea which the vulgar form of spectres contains extension; it is, however, denied that they are bodies. Though this idea be purely imaginary, it serves to prove, however, that something may have extension without being a body. Besides, the idea which we have of space, contains, undoubtedly, an extension with three dimensions. It is admitted, nevertheless, that space alone is not a body; it only furnishes the place which bodies occupy and fill.

Let us suppose, that all those which are at present in my apartment, air and every thing, were annihilated by the divine Omnipotence, there would remain still in the apartment the same length, breadth and height, but without a body in it. Here, then, is the possibility of an extension that shall not be a body. Such a space, without body in it, is called a vacuum; a vacuum then is extension without body.

It may likewise be said, according to the vulgar superstition, that a spectre has extension, but that body, or corporality, is wanting to it. It is clear, then, that extension is not sufficient to constitute a
body,

body, that something more is necessary; hence it follows, that the definition of the Cartesians is not exact. But what more is necessary, beside extension, to constitute a body? The answer is, mobility, or the possibility of being put in motion; for, though a body be at rest, whatever may be the causes which preserve it in that state, it would, however, be possible to move it, provided the powers applied to it were sufficient. By this, space is excluded from the class of bodies, as we see that space, which only serves to receive bodies, remains immovable, whatever motion the bodies that it contains may have.

It is likewise said, that, by the help of motion, bodies are transported from one place to another; by which we are given to understand, that the places and space remain unchangeable. My apartment, however, with the vacuum which I have above supposed, might undoubtedly be moved, and actually is so, as it follows the motion which carries round the earth itself; here, then, is a vacuum in motion, without being a body. The vulgar superstition, too, bestows motion on spectres; and this is sufficient to prove, that the power of being moved, and extension, alone, do not constitute the nature of bodies. Something more is wanting; there must be matter to constitute a body, or rather, it is this which distinguishes a real body from simple extension, or from a spectre.

Here, then, we are reduced to explain what is to be understood by the term *matter*, without which extension cannot be body. Now, the signification
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of these two terms is so much the same, that all body is matter, and all matter is body; so that even now we have made no great progress. We easily discover, however, a general character, inseparable from all matter, and, consequently, pertaining to all bodies; it is *impenetrability*, the impossibility of being penetrated by other bodies, or the impossibility that two bodies should occupy the same place at once. In truth, impenetrability is what a vacuum wants in order to be a body.

It will, perhaps, be objected, that the hand may be easily moved through air and through water, which are, nevertheless, acknowledged bodies; these, then, must be penetrable bodies, and, consequently, impenetrability is not an inherent character of all bodies. But it is worthy of remark, that when you plunge your hand into water, the particles of the water make way for your hand, and that there is no water in the space which your hand occupies. If the hand could move through the water, while that fluid did not make room for it, but remained in the place which the hand occupied, then it would be penetrable; but it is evident this is not the case. Bodies, then, are impenetrable: a body, therefore, always excludes, from the place which it occupies, every other body; and as soon as a body enters into any place, it is absolutely necessary that the body which occupied it before should leave it. This is the sense which we must affix to the term impenetrability.

27th October, 1760.

LETTER

LETTER LXX.

Impenetrability of Bodies.

THE instance of a sponge will, perhaps, be produced as an objection to the impenetrability of bodies; which, plunged into water, appears completely penetrated by it. But the particles of the sponge are very far from being so, in such manner as that one particle of the water should occupy the same place with one particle of the sponge. We know that sponge is a very porous body; and that before it is put into the water, its pores are filled with air; as soon as the water enters into the pores of the sponge, the air is expelled, and disengages itself under the form of little bubbles; so that, in this case, no penetration takes place, neither of the air by the water, nor of the water by the air, as this last always makes its escape from the places into which the water enters.

It is, then, a general, and essential property of all bodies, to be impenetrable; and, consequently, the justness of this definition must be admitted: *that a body is an impenetrable extension*; as not only all bodies are extended and impenetrable, but likewise, reciprocally, as that which is, at the same time, extended and impenetrable, is, beyond contradiction, a body. Vacuum is, accordingly, excluded from the class of bodies; for, though it has extension, it wants impenetrability; and wherever we meet with a vacuum, there



there bodies may be introduced, without thrusting any thing out of it's place.

We must attempt to remove another difficulty, raised against the impenetrability of bodies. There are, say the objectors, bodies, which admit of compression into a smaller space, as, for example, wool, and especially air, which it is possible to reduce into a space a thousand times smaller than what it occupies. It appears, then, that the different particles of air are reduced in the same place, and that, consequently, they mutually penetrate.

There is, however, nothing in this; for the air, too, is a body, or a substance full of empty pores, or filled with that fluid, incomparably more subtle, which we call *ether*. In the first case, no penetration will ensue, as the particles of air only approach nearer to each other, according as the vacuum is diminished; and, in the other case, the ether finds a sufficiency of small passages by which to escape, as the particles of the air approach each other, but all the while without any mutual penetration. For this reason, it is necessary to employ a greater force, when we want to compress the air more: and if the air were compressed to such a degree, that it's minute particles touched each other, we could not carry the compression farther, because, were it possible, the minute particles of the air must mutually penetrate.

It is, then, a necessary and fundamental law in nature, that no two bodies can penetrate each other, or occupy the same place at once: and it is in a conformity to this principle, that we must look for the real
source

source of all the motions which we observe in all bodies, and of the changes which befall them. As two bodies cannot continue their motion without penetrating each other, it is absolutely necessary that the one should give place to the other. If, then, two bodies are moving in the same line, the one to the left, the other to the right, as it frequently happens at billiards, if each were to continue it's motion, they must mutually penetrate, but this being impossible, as soon as they come to touch, a shock takes place, by which the motion of each body is almost instantly changed; and this shock is produced, in nature, only to prevent penetration. The motion of each body is precisely changed no further than is necessary to prevent all penetration; and in this consists the real cause of all the changes which happen in the world.

When all these changes are attentively considered, they are found always to take place, in order to prevent some penetration, which, without these changes, must have ensued. At the moment I am writing, I observe, that if the paper were penetrable, the pen would pass freely into it, without writing: but as the paper sustains the pressure of my pen, moistened with ink, it receives from it some particles which form these letters; which could not happen if bodies penetrated each other.

This property of all bodies, known by the term *impenetrability*, is, then, not only of the last importance, relatively to every branch of human knowledge, but we may consider it as the master-spring
which



which nature sets a-going, in order to produce all her wonders. It merits, then, an attentive examination, in order that we may be enabled to explain more clearly the nature of bodies, and the principles of every species of movement, commonly called *law of motion*.

25th October, 1760.

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LETTER LXXI.

Of the Motion of the Bodies, real and apparent.

ALL bodies are at rest, or in motion. However evident this distinction may be, it is almost impossible to judge whether a body is in the one state, or in the other. The paper which I see on my table seems to me really at rest; but when I reflect that the whole earth is moving with that astonishing velocity which I explained in a former letter,* my house, my table, and the paper, must absolutely be carried along with the same rapidity. Thus every thing that seems to be at rest, has, in reality, the same motion as the earth.

We must therefore distinguish between two kinds of rest, the one absolute, the other apparent. Absolute rest takes place when a body remains constantly in the same place, not with relation to the earth, but with relation to the universe. If the fixed stars remained always in the same place of the universe,

* Letter II.

they

they would be at rest, though they seem to move very rapidly; but as we are not certain of it, we must not pretend to affirm, that the fixed stars are in a state of absolute rest.

A body is said to be in a state of apparent rest, when it preserves the same situation on the earth. It is likewise to be presumed, that these terms, rest and motion, have been introduced into language to mark rather appearances than truth; and in this sense, I affirm, without hesitation, that my table is at rest, as well as the whole earth; and that the sun and the fixed stars are in motion, and that a very rapid motion, although they are really at rest. We should, therefore, be ascribing strange and purely metaphysical ideas to these expressions, if we understood by them *absolute rest*, or *motion*; and it is absurd to employ, as some persons do, passages of the Holy Scriptures to prove that the earth is at rest, and the sun in motion.

Language is formed for general use; and philosophers are under the necessity of forming a particular language for themselves. As we are incapable to judge of absolute rest, it is very natural for us to consider those bodies as at rest which preserve the same situation relatively to the earth; as it is very probable the inhabitants of other planets, likewise, form their judgment of rest from the same situation relatively to their respective planet.

We observe, that navigators consider as at rest the objects which preserve the same situation relatively to their vessel, and that the coasts which they dis-



cover appear to them to be in motion; and no one thinks of finding fault with their using the common modes of expression. There is, therefore, a great difference between rest and motion, real or absolute, and between rest and motion apparent, or relative to a body, considered at the time as in a state of rest, though perhaps it may be in motion. The principles or laws of motion refer chiefly to the absolute state of bodies, that is, to their rest or motion, real or absolute. In order to discover these laws, we begin with considering a body singly and abstractedly from all others.

This hypothesis, though it never can take place, is, in reality, very proper to assist us in distinguishing what is operated by the nature of body itself, from that which other bodies are capable of operating upon it.

Let a body, then, be alone, and at rest; it may be asked, Will it continue at rest, or will it begin to move? As there is no reason which should incline it to move to one side rather than to another, it is concluded that it would remain always at rest. The same thing must happen, on the supposition of the existence of other bodies, provided they do not act on the body in question; hence results this fundamental law: *When a body is once in a state of rest, and nothing external acts upon it, it will remain always in that state: and if it begin to move, the cause of motion would be out of it, so that there is nothing in the body itself which is capable of putting it in motion.* When, therefore, we see a body which has been at rest begin to
move,

move, we may rest assured that this motion has been occasioned by an exterior power, as there is nothing in the body itself capable of putting it in motion; and if it were alone, and cut off from all communication with other bodies, it would remain always at rest.

However well founded this law may be, and however entitled to rank with geometrical truths, there are persons little accustomed to profound investigation, who pretend that it is contradicted by experience. They allege the example of a thread, to which a stone is appended; the stone is at rest, but falls the moment that the thread is cut. It is certain, say they, that the action by which the thread is cut is not capable of making the stone move; the stone, therefore, must fall by a power which is proper to itself, and internal.

The fact is certain; but it is evident, at the same time, that gravity is the cause of the descent, and not an internal power in the stone.

They say farther, that gravity may be an intrinsic power, attached to the nature of the stone; on which it must be remarked, that gravity is produced either by a subtile matter, or by the attraction of the earth. In the first case it certainly is that subtile matter which causes the descent of the stone; in the second, which appears favourable to our opponents, it can with no propriety be affirmed, that the stone descends by an intrinsic power; it is rather the earth which contains the cause of it, and which produces the descent of the stone, by its attractive power:



for if the earth did not exist, or were deprived of it's attractive power, they admit that the stone would not descend.

It is certain, therefore, that the cause of the descent does not reside in the stone itself: the cause, then, is always extrinsic, whether it be in the subtle matter or in the earth, supposing it to be endowed with an attractive power, as the partisans of attraction pretend. This difficulty being removed, the law, which I have laid down, subsists in full force; namely, That a body, once at rest, will always remain so, unless it be put in motion by some foreign cause. This law must take place, provided the body has been at rest but a single instant, though it was in motion immediately before; and, when once reduced to a state of rest, it will always preserve that state, unless some foreign cause intervene to put it again in motion. This principle being the foundation of all mechanics, it was necessary for me to establish it with all possible precision.

28th October, 1760.

LETTER LXXII.

Of uniform, accelerated, and retarded Motion.

I RETURN to the case of a body placed in such a manner as to have no connection with any other. Let us suppose it to have received some motion from whatever cause; it remains that we enquire, What

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will afterwards happen to it? Will it continue to move? Or will it suddenly return to a state of rest; or after some time? You must be sensible, that this is an enquiry of some importance, and that all our researches respecting the motion of bodies depend upon it. Let us examine if, by means of reasoning, we are able to resolve it.

A body is at rest, as long as it, and all it's parts, remain in the same place; and it is in motion when that body, or some of it's parts only, pass from one place to another. Now, there are two things to be considered in motion, the direction and the velocity. The direction is the place toward which the body is carried, and the velocity is the space, greater or less, through which it moves in a certain time. I am persuaded you have already juster ideas of this than I could communicate by the most ample explanation. I remark only, that as long as a body preserves the same direction, it moves in a straight line; and reciprocally, as long as a body moves in a straight line, it preserves the same direction; but when it moves in a curve, it is continually changing it's position.

If a body, then, (*plate III. fig. 7.*) moves in the curve A B C; when it is at A, it's direction is the small line A a; when it is at B, it's direction is the small line B b; and at C, the small line C c. Let these small lines be produced; the continuations of which are marked by the straight dotted lines A L, B M, C N; and it will be affirmed, that when the body passes through A, it's direction is the straight line A L, because, if the body preserved the same di-

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rection



rection which it had at A, it would move in the straight line A L. It is evident, then, that it moves in the curve only in so far as it is continually changing its direction. And when it arrives at B and at C, the direction from which it deviates is expressed by the straight lines B M and C N.*

A body preserves the same velocity in its motion as long as it moves through equal spaces in equal times. This motion is called *uniform*. Thus, for example, if a body moves in such a manner as always to proceed ten feet during every second, we call this motion uniform. If another body proceeds twenty feet in a second, its motion too would be uniform, but its velocity would be twice as great as that of the preceding.

* The argument, *causa sufficiens*, or *sufficient reason*, is a sort of jargon introduced by some metaphysicians in the beginning of the present century, which has still its advocates on the continent. To conclude that a thing is such because we see no sufficient reason to the contrary, is, indeed, a strange method of reasoning. What can be more preposterous than to employ our ignorance as the instrument of discovering truth? And yet this is the plain statement of the argument. The instance mentioned in the text, is a noted one, though the ingenious Father *Boscovich* remarks, that any inference whatever may with equal justice be drawn from the same premises. Thus, we may say, that no sufficient reason can be given that a moving body A should approach a point B, rather than recede from it; it will, therefore, keep constantly at the same distance, and, consequently, describe a circle about that point. Hence bodies move not in straight lines, but in circles. In the same manner we might say that motion is not uniform, and indeed prove any thing we please. The fact is, that we derive no part of our knowledge from any abstract reasoning on the nature of things.

From

From what I have just said of the uniformity of motion, it is easy to comprehend what is not uniform motion; for when the velocity of a body is not equal, its motion is not uniform. When the velocity of a body goes on increasing, its motion is said to be *accelerated*, and when it is continually diminishing, we say it is *retarded*. In this last case, the velocity may come to be retarded to such a degree, that the body shall at length come to a state of rest.

Having made these remarks on the velocity and direction of moving bodies, I return to the case of a solitary body, which I suppose to be put in motion by any cause whatever. As soon as it has begun to move, it must have acquired a certain direction, and a certain velocity: and the question is, Will it afterwards preserve the same direction and the same velocity; or, Will it undergo some alteration? We cannot affirm that it will be reduced to a state of rest in an instant, for, in this case, it could not have had any motion, all motion supposing duration, however short. Now, as long as the motion lasts, it is certain that the direction will remain the same.

In truth, it is impossible to conceive why the body should go out of its road, to one side rather than to another; and, as nothing comes to pass without reason, it follows, that the body in question will always persevere in the same direction, or, that its motion will proceed in a straight line, which is a great step made toward the decision of the question.

It is likewise maintained, that the velocity of the
T 3 body,



body, of which I speak, cannot change: for in that case it must either increase or diminish, and no reason can be assigned capable of producing this change. Hence it is concluded, that this body will always continue to move with the same velocity, and in the same direction, or that it will proceed continually in the direction of a straight line, without ever deviating from it, and always with equal speed. This motion will be performed, then, always in a straight line, and with an equal velocity, without ever being slackened or retarded; the body, therefore, will never be reduced to a state of rest.

What has been said of a body, which I have supposed solitary, would happen in like manner to our globe, if no other bodies had any influence upon it, for then it would be the same thing as if they did not exist. The question, then, is resolved. A body in motion will always preserve it in the same direction, and with the same velocity, unless some external cause interpose, capable of altering it's motion. So long, therefore, as a body is not subject to the action of some external cause, it will remain at rest, if it has once been in a state of rest; or will be moved in the direction of a straight line, and always with the same velocity, if it has once been put in motion; and this is the first and principal law of nature on which the whole science of motion must be founded.

From it we deduce at once this conclusion, that as often as we see a body which was at rest put in motion, or a body moving in a curve line, or whose velocity

locity changes, it is certain, that an external cause acts upon it. No change can possibly take place either as to direction or velocity, but what is the operation of a foreign cause.

1st November, 1760.

LETTER LXXIII.

Principal Law of Motion and Rest. Disputes of Philosophers on the Subject.

WITH whatever solidity this principle is established, that every body put in motion continues to move in the same direction, and with the same velocity, unless some exterior cause interpose to derange this motion; it has, nevertheless, been combated by certain philosophers, who have never made any great progress in the science of motion; while those to whom we are indebted for all the great discoveries which have been made in this science, unanimously agree, that all their researches have proceeded entirely on this principle. It is attacked by two sects of philosophers, whose objections I proceed to propose, and shall endeavour to refute.

It is alleged by the one, That all bodies have a propensity to rest, which is their natural state, and that motion is to them a state of violence; so that when a body is put in motion, it has a tendency, from it's very nature, to return to the state of rest; and that it makes every effort to destroy it's motion,



independently of every external or foreign cause. They allege, in proof, experience, so convincing, according to them, that we know of no motion in nature that does not very sensibly betray this reluctance. Do we not see, say they, on the billiard table, that with whatever force we strike a ball, it's motion is quickly slackened, and it soon returns to a state of rest. As soon as the motion of a clock ceases to be kept up by the external force which set it a going, it stops. It is remarked of all machines in general, that their motion lasts no longer than the external powers by which they are agitated. Hence they conclude, that a body put in motion is so far from preserving it from any thing in it's own nature, that, on the contrary, an external force must be employed to keep it up.

You must be sensible that, if this conclusion is just, our principle is completely subverted; as, in virtue of this principle, the ball and the machines in question, once put in motion, must always preserve the same, unless external causes have occasioned some change in it. Thus, in the experiments referred to, had there been no external cause which tended to destroy the motion, we should have been under the necessity of abandoning our principle.

But, if we attend to every thing, we shall find so many obstacles opposed to the motion, that we need no longer wonder it should be so speedily extinguished. In fact, it is first the friction on the billiard table which diminishes the motion of the ball, for it cannot advance without rubbing against the cloth.

Again,

Again, the air being a substance, causes likewise a resistance capable of diminishing the motion of bodies. To be convinced of this, you have only to move your hand rapidly through the air. It is evident, then, that in the case of the billiard table, it is the friction and the resistance of the air which counteract the motion of the ball, and soon reduce it to a state of rest.

Now, these causes are external, and it is easily comprehensible that, but for these obstacles, the motion of the ball must have always continued. The same reasoning is applicable to machines of all kinds, in which the friction which acts on the different parts is so considerable, that it is visibly a very sufficient cause of soon reducing the machine to rest.

Having, then, discovered the real causes which produce, in the cases alleged, the extinction of motion, and that these causes are external, and not resident in the moving body, it is evidently false, that bodies have in their nature a propensity to rest. Our principle, therefore, subsists in full force, and even acquires additional strength from the preceding objections. Every body, then, always preserves the motion which it has once received, unless foreign causes interpose to change the direction or the velocity, or both at once. And thus we have got rid of one phalanx of the adversaries who combat our principle.

The other is more formidable, for they are no less than the celebrated Wolfian philosophers. They do not, indeed, openly declare against our principle, nay they



they even express much respect for it; but they advance others which directly oppose it.

They maintain, That all bodies, in virtue of their nature, are making continual efforts to change their state; that is, when they are at rest, they make an effort to move; and, if they are in motion, make continual efforts to change their velocity and direction. They allege nothing in proof of this assertion, except certain crude reasonings, drawn from their system of metaphysics, which I shall hereafter take occasion to lay before you. I only remark, at present, that this opinion is contradicted by the principle which we have so firmly established; and by experience, which is in perfect conformity with it.

In fact, if it be true that a body at rest remains, in virtue of its nature, in that state, it must be undoubtedly false that it should make, in virtue of its nature, continual efforts to change its state. And if it be true that a body in motion preserves, in virtue of its nature, this motion, in the same direction, and with the same velocity, it is impossible that the same body should, in virtue of its nature, be making continual efforts to change its motion.

These philosophers, in attempting to maintain, at the same time, the true principle of motion, and their own absurd opinion, have fallen into self-contradiction, and thereby subverted their own system. It is, therefore, placed beyond the reach of dispute, that our principle is founded in the very nature of body, and that whatever is contrary to it ought to be banished from sound philosophy: and this same principle

ciple enables us to clear it of certain subtilties in which it has been involved.

This principle is commonly expressed in the two following propositions: First; *A body once at rest will remain eternally at rest, unless it be put in motion by some external or foreign cause*: Secondly; *A body once in motion will preserve it eternally, in the same direction, and with the same velocity; or will proceed with an uniform motion, in a straight line, unless it is disturbed by some external, or foreign cause*. In these two propositions consists the foundation of the whole science of motion, called *mechanics*.

4th November, 1760.

LETTER LXXIV.

Of the Inertia of Bodies: Of Powers.

AS we say, that a body, so long as it is at rest, remains in the same state, so we likewise say of a body in motion, that as long as it moves in the same direction, and with the same velocity, it remains in the same state. To continue in the same state, then, signifies nothing more than to remain at rest, or to preserve the same motion.

This manner of speaking has been introduced for the purpose of expressing more succinctly our grand principle, that every body, in virtue of its nature, preserves itself in the same state, till an extraneous cause come to disturb it, that is, to put the body in motion when at rest, or to derange its motion.

It



It must not be imagined that a body, in order to preserve the same state, must remain in the same place; this, indeed, is the case when the body is at rest; but when it moves with the same velocity, and in the same direction, we say, equally, that it continues in the same state, though it is every instant changing its place. It was necessary to make this remark, to prevent the possibility of confounding change of place with that of state. If it be now asked, Why bodies continue in the same state? The answer must be, that this is in virtue of their peculiar nature.

All bodies, in as far as they are composed of matter, have the property of remaining in the same state, if they are not drawn out of it by some external cause. This, then, is a property founded on the nature of bodies, by which they endeavour to preserve themselves in *the same state*, whether of rest or motion. This quality with which all bodies are endowed, and which is essential to them, is called *inertia*,* and it enters as necessarily into their constitution as extension and impenetrability; to such a de-

* We have already in common use, in our own language, the adjective *inert*, and the adverb *inertly*, and their meaning is generally understood. But hitherto no author of name, except in works of philosophy, has ventured to introduce the correspondent substantive noun into general composition, much less to clothe it with an English form. The Latin term *inertia* is, therefore, retained in this translation. The linguist and the philosopher need no interpretation. The unlearned reader is referred to what Mr. Euler says in the context, or to the explanation of foreign and scientific terms affixed to this work.—E. E.

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gree, that it would be impossible for a body to exist, divested of this *inertia*.

This term was first introduced into philosophy by those who maintained that all bodies have a propensity to rest. They considered bodies as somewhat resembling indolent persons, who prefer rest to exertion, and ascribed to bodies an aversion to motion, similar to that which sluggards have for labour; the term *inertia* signifying nearly the same thing as sluggishness. But though the falseness of this opinion has been since detected, and though it is certain that bodies remain equally in their state of motion, as in that of rest, yet the term *inertia* has been still retained to denote in general the property of all bodies to continue in the same state, whether of rest or of motion.*

The exact idea of *inertia*, therefore, is a repugnance to every thing that has a tendency to change the state of bodies; for as a body, in virtue of its nature, preserves the same state of motion, or of rest, and cannot be drawn out of it but by external causes, it follows that, in order to a body's changing its

* The distinguishing property of inanimate matter is its absolute passiveness or want of disposition to change its state, whether that of rest, or of motion. The term *inertia* is improper, since it conveys an idea of sluggishness, or a reluctance to be put in motion; whereas bodies are obedient to the smallest impulse, and the action generated is ever proportioned to the force. The expression *vis inertiae*, commonly used, is really a contradiction of terms. Indeed, it would be no disservice to natural philosophy, if the law that "action and re-action are equal and opposite," were entirely omitted.—E. E.

state,



state, it must be forced out of it by some external cause: without which it would always continue in the same state. Hence it is, that we give to this external cause the name of *power* or *force*. It is a term in common use, though many by whom it is employed have but a very imperfect idea of it.

From what I have just said you will see that the word *force* signifies every thing that is capable of changing the state of bodies. Thus, when a body which has been at rest is put in motion, it is a force which produces this effect; and when a body in motion changes its direction, or velocity, it is likewise a force which produces this change. Every change of direction, or of velocity, in the motion of a body, requires either an increase or a diminution of force. Such force, therefore, is always out of the body whose state is changed; for we have seen that a body left to itself, preserves always the same state, unless a force from without acts upon it.

Now, the *inertia* by which a body tends to preserve itself in the same state, exists in the body itself, and is an essential property of it: when, therefore, an external force changes the state of any body, the *inertia* which would maintain it in the same state, opposes itself to the action of that force; and hence we comprehend, that the *inertia* is a quality susceptible of measurement, or that the *inertia* of one body may be greater or less than that of another body.

But bodies are endowed with this *inertia* in as far as they contain matter. It is even by the *inertia*, or the resistance which they oppose to every change of state,

state, that we judge of the quantity of a body; the *inertia* of a body, accordingly, is greater in proportion to the quantity of matter which it contains. Hence we conclude, that it requires a greater force to change the state of a great body, than that of a small one; and we go on to conclude, that the great body contains more matter than the small one. It may even be affirmed that this single circumstance, the *inertia*, renders matter sensible to us.

It is evident, then, that the *inertia* is susceptible of measurement, and that it is the same with the quantity of matter which a body contains: as we denominate, likewise, the quantity of matter in a body, its mass, the measure of the *inertia* is the same as that of the mass.

To this, then, is reduced our knowledge of bodies in general. First, we know, that all bodies have an extension of three dimensions; secondly, that they are impenetrable; and hence results their general property, known by the name of *inertia*, by which they preserve themselves in their state; that is, when a body is at rest, by its *inertia* it remains so; and when it is in motion, it is likewise by its *inertia* that it continues to move with the same velocity, and in the same direction; and this preservation of the same state lasts till some external cause interpose to produce a change in it. As often as the state of a body changes, we must never look for the cause of such change in the body itself; it exists always out of the body, and this is the just idea which we must form of a power or force.

8th November, 1760.



L E T T E R LXXV.

Changes which may take place in the State of Bodies.

THE fundamental principle of mechanics, with the idea of *inertia*, which I have endeavoured to explain, enables us to reason on solid ground respecting various phenomena presented to us in nature. On seeing a body in motion, which should proceed uniformly in a straight line, that is, which should preserve the same direction, and the same velocity, we would say; that the cause of this continuation of motion is not to be found out of the body, but that it is founded in it's very nature, and that, in virtue of it's *inertia*; it remains always in the same state; as we would say, were the body at rest, that this took place in virtue of it's *inertia*.

We would likewise be right in saying that this body undergoes no action from any external cause; or, if any such existed, that these powers reciprocally destroyed each other in such a manner that the body is in the state in which it would be if no force acted upon it.

If it is asked, then, Why the body continues to move in this manner? The answer is obvious. But if it is asked, Why this body has begun thus to move? The question is totally different. It must be said, that this motion has been impressed upon it by some external force, if it was before at rest; but it would be impossible to affirm any thing with certainty

tainty respecting the quantity of that force, because, perhaps, no traces of it remain. It is, therefore, abundantly ridiculous to ask, Who impressed motion on every body at the beginning of the world? Or, Who was the prime mover? Those who put the question admit, then, a beginning, and, consequently, a creation; but they imagine that God created all bodies at rest. Now, it may be answered, That he who could create bodies could impress motion upon them. I ask them, in my turn, If they believe it to be more easy to create a body at rest than in motion? They both equally require the omnipotence of God, and this question belongs not to the province of philosophy.

But when a body has once received motion, it preserves that motion by it's own nature, or by it's *inertia*, in the same state in which it must constantly remain, until a force, or some foreign cause, oppose an obstacle to it. As often, then, as we observe that a body does not remain in the same state, that a body at rest begins to move, or that a body in motion changes it's direction, or velocity, we must admit that this change has it's cause out of the body, and that it is occasioned by a foreign force. Thus, as a stone, left to itself, descends, the cause of that descent is foreign to the body, and it is not from it's own nature that the body descends, but from the effect of a foreign cause, to which we give the name of *gravity*.

Gravity, then, is not an intrinsic property of body;

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it is rather the effect of a foreign force, the source of which must be sought for out of the body. This is geometrically true, though we know not the foreign forces which occasion gravity. It is the same when we throw a stone. We see clearly, that it does not follow, in it's motion, the direction of a straight line, and that it's velocity does not always continue the same. It is gravity, likewise, which changes the direction or the velocity of the body; but for it, the stone would describe a straight line in the air, and proceed forward with the same velocity; and were gravity to be suddenly annihilated, during the motion of the stone, it would continue to move in a straight line, and would preserve the same direction, and the same velocity, which it had at the instant when gravity ceased to act upon it.

But as gravity acts continually, and upon all bodies, we need not be surprized, that we meet with no motion in which the direction and the velocity continue the same. The case of rest may very well take place; it is when something invincibly opposes the fall of a body; thus the floor of my apartment prevents my falling into that below it. But the bodies which appear to us at rest, are carried along by the motion of the earth, which is neither rectilinear nor uniform: it cannot be affirmed, therefore, that these bodies remain in the same state. Neither is there one of the heavenly bodies which moves in a straight line, and always with the same velocity: they are continually changing their state; and even the forces which produce

duce this continual change are not unknown to us; they are the attractive powers which the heavenly bodies exercise over one another.

I have already remarked, that these forces may, very probably, be caused by the subtile matter which surrounds all the heavenly bodies, and fills the whole space of the heavens; but, according to the opinion of those who consider attraction as a power inherent in matter, this force is always foreign to the body on which it acts. Thus, when we say the earth is attracted toward the sun, it is acknowledged, that the force which acts upon the earth is not resident in the earth itself, but in the sun; as in fact, if the sun did not exist, there would be no such force.

This opinion, however, that attraction is essential to all matter, is subject to so many other inconveniences, that it is hardly possible to allow it a place in a rational philosophy. It is certainly much safer to proceed on the idea, that what is called attraction, is a power contained in the subtile matter which fills the whole space of the heavens; though we cannot tell how. We must accustom ourselves to acknowledge our ignorance on a variety of other important subjects.

11th November, 1760.