The Legacy of 17th-Century Science in Britain

Waseda University, SILS, History of Modern Physical Sciences

Observation vs. Experiment

Observation:

- The causes of things will be revealed by a rational observation of nature.
- Things themselves have the *qualities* we perceive.
- The state of things is governed by general causes that operate *always* or for the most part.
- We observe the natural state.

Experiment:

- The nature of things is hidden and appearances are ultimately deceptive.
- Things are not determined by our perception of them.
- The state of things is governed by *immutable laws*, which we cannot perceive.
- We investigate by trial, interrogation, "torture."

- Exemplified in the writings of Francis Bacon (1561–1626).
- Experiments were a way of putting nature on trial.
- Conclusions reached by experiment are necessarily *tentative* and should be considered mere *hypotheses* in need of further testing, through further experiments.
- Experiments could be used to decide between two competing hypotheses, in a crucial experiment.

Theories of Matter

- Aristotle: Four elements (earth, air, fire, water), built up from qualities (hot, cold, moist, dry), plenum (no vacuum), change is qualitative.
- Early modern atomism: Matter is made up of different types of corpuscles; all change is the local motion of these tiny bodies.

Characteristics of matter:

Primary:

 Not accessible to us. Example: extension, weight, motion, etc.

Secondary:

• What we perceive. Example: Color, odor, temperature, etc. The position that all physical processes should be explained by analogies with human constructs (examples: clocks, automata).

All explanations should be based on the primary characteristics of matter.

Generally, change should be explained in terms of direct contact, as opposed to tendency or force, but this was often difficult.



Salomon de Caus, 1620

Robert Boyle (1627–1691)



- 7th son of the Earl of Cork.
- Active in the creation and development of the Royal Society of London.
- Advocate of mechanical philosophy and experimental science.
- Diligent experimenter—or rather Robert Hooke, his one-time assistant—producing results in chemistry, and pneumatics.
- Remembered as an early advocate and practitioner of the experimental method.
- Worked to reconcile mechanical and experimental philosophy and religion.

While observations tell us about what nature does on its own, experiments tell us about nature when it is guided and mastered—they force nature to yield *hidden secrets*.

Experiments should be constructed based on prior assumptions (hypotheses).

Conclusions reached by experiment are necessarily tentative and should be considered mere hypotheses in need of further testing.

Boyle argued that experiments could be used to decide between two competing hypotheses, in a crucial experiment.

 In this lecture, we will look at two examples of this process, which we can call (1) "vacuum within a vacuum," and (2) "adhering marbles."

Torricelli's Experiment

- Long tubes sealed on one end are filled with mercury. The open end is then submerged in a tub of mercury.
- The mercury always drops down, or is raised, to the same height.
- Unfortunately, it is difficult to get access to the chamber.



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Boyle's Air Pressure Experiments

- Boyle carried out a series of experiments on air pressure and the *spring* (elasticity) of air.
- These involved using an air pump to vary the pressure and volume.
- This led to the discovery of the relationship between pressure, volume and temperature.



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Boyle's Air Pump



The first air pump had been made by Guerick; the first pneumatic experiments carried out by Torricelli. Boyle and Hooke perfected the air pump so as to carry out experiments on the evacuated chamber.

Boyle's Law:

Given a quantity of air at constant temperature, pressure, *P*, varies inversely with volume, *V*,

$$P \propto 1/V$$
, or $P = k/V$,

where *k* is some constant.

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The Second Pump

- A superior, but more expensive apparatus.
- The rarity and difficulty of the pump meant that in practice the experiments were difficult to reproduce.
- The main issue concerned the contents of the chamber.



Air Pump Experiments



- New Experiments (1660) recorded 43 "trials" made with the new engine.
- This was the first time people had worked inside evacuated chambers. They performed various experiments such as:
 - Dropping feathers and coins at the same time.
 - Extinction of naked flames.
 - Others ...
- Boyle concluded that these were caused by the absence of common air, *a vacuum*, which he interpreted as the *real absence of anything*.

Suffocating animals



Joseph Wright of Derby, "An experiment on a bird in an air pump," 1768

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Transmission of Sound



Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679)

- Remembered primarily as a political philosopher (*The Laviathan*; the famous phrase *bellum omnium contra omnes*), he was also famous in his own time for work in optics, geometry and natural philosophy.
- He was anti-Aristotelian and one of the most famous *mechanical philosophers* of his time, but retained a number of Aristotle's ideas about nature and the role of observation.
- He was an outspoken opponent of the *experimental philosophy*.
- He was never admitted to the Royal Society.



Hobbes doubted the public nature of experiment.

He believed that one should find natural causes by observation and then reason from these.

He treated Boyle's "hypotheses" as statements about natural causes.

He objected to designing experiments based on theoretical conjectures.

He claimed that experiments constructed situations that were "unnatural" and hence could not yield *natural causes*. Hence, they did not produce "philosophy."

Hobbes believed in a *plenum* (no vacuum) and that the evacuated chamber was full of a very fine airy substance (tiny particles) that got in around the side of the piston.

He believed that air is composed of a number of different kinds of particles of different sizes and densities, and that the pump only evacuated the large, massy ones.

He neither experimented nor saw the pump in action.

Boyle explained the force on the plunger by the "spring of the air" (some kind of *elastic force*). Hobbes claimed this was an anti-mechanistic attribution of *agency* to air—because such a force was regarded as a kind of agency. He used his different kinds of particles to explain the situation.

• There were more massy particles on the outside, which beat against the plunger.

Boyle attributed the phenomena in the chamber to a (near) vacuum. Hobbes denied that there could be a vacuum at all and attributed these to violent winds.

- Candles were blown out.
- Animals were literally blown to death.

Adhering Marbles

It was well known that two flat pieces of polished marble would stick together and required great force to separate.

It was believed, correctly, that they were held together by the pressure of the surrounding air.

Hobbes claimed that if a vacuum really could be produced, they should fall apart easily, *of their own accord*.



Adhering Marbles

Boyle had great difficulty separating the marbles in experiments. He used alcohol between them and a weight suspended from the bottom one.

Even when he eventually effected it, few people took notice. For example, Newton and Huygens continued to believe that marbles would not separate.



Vacuum within a Vacuum



The air pump could be used to change the volume of an *internal* evacuated chamber, such as a barometer.

When air is pushed into the outer chamber, the column of mercury moves up. (Left image.)

When air is drawn out of the outer chamber (right), the column of mercury moves down. (Right image.)

Vacuum within a Vacuum



Hobbes claimed that if a vacuum existed, the column on the left should go all the way up and that on the right should become level. With Boyle's pump, however, the process was never complete.

Boyle attempted this experiment numerous times without "success." He claimed that it *remained a crucial experiment*, to be tested by other pumps.

We are now firmly committed to Boyle's position on experiment. (Hobbes' objections may even seem absurd to many modern people.)

What can crucial experiments prove or disprove? How do we know when they are successful?

Is there a real distinction between cause and law?

What are the implications of the claim that experimental results must be public and reproducible?

Isaac Newton (1642–1727)

He developed the calculus (around 1665) and did much original work in mathematics. Wrote many papers, but left the majority unpublished.

He worked continuously on *alchemy* and *theology* – left many volumes of notes, never published. (The majority of Newton's writing are of these kinds.)

He founded a new form of mathematical dynamics; published in the *Principia* (1686).

He developed a new science of optics based on the refractive properties of light; published early in some papers in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society, and later in *Optics* (1704).



Newton brought to a close the astronomical revolution begun by Copernicus. He combined the dynamic research of Galileo with the astronomical work of Kepler and reorganized all of this in a new synthesis.

He produced a new cosmology and a new way of thinking about the world, based on the *interaction between matter and mathematically determinate forces*.

He joined the mathematical and experimental method, producing the hypothetico-deductive method.

His work became the model for *rational mechanics* as it was later practiced by mathematicians, particularly during the Enlightenment.

When he was still an undergraduate, away from Cambridge to avoid the plague, he had two years of incredible productivity, which have been called "the miraculous years."

During this period, he laid the foundation for most of his life's work in the mathematical sciences.

- He developed the differential and integral calculus.
- He discovered the refractive property of colored light.
- He began to speculate on a mathematical law of gravity.

The Refraction of Colored Light



- Used a prism to separate white light into a spectrum.
- Concluded that white light was composed of all of the colored lights.
- Calculated the individual "refractabilty" of each of the colors.

The Reflection Telescope

- These results led to the development of the reflection telescope, to correct chromatic aberration.
- He sent the telescope and a paper to the Royal Society.
- This lead to a fierce debate with Robert Hooke.



The debate with Hooke was too much for Newton. He withdrew from the public sphere and stopped publishing.

- He taught at Cambridge and focused on alchemy and biblical studies.
- He spent all of his time in his chambers, working.
- He read classical Greek mathematics.
- He carried out correspondences with other scientists.



Newton's copy of Eulcid's *Elements*

Newton's Study of Alchemy



- Newton's manuscripts contain more writings on alchemy than on mathematics or experimental physics.
- He was interested both in the chemico-physical aspects and in the spiritual implications.
- For example, we find a warning to Boyle about the transmutation of gold into silver.

Newton's Study of Theology

- Taught himself Hebrew in order to read the Old Testament.
- Tried to prove that the Christian concept of the trinity (God, Christ, and Holy Ghost) was a late development.
- Became interested in sacred geometry.



Newton's "Rules for interpreting the words and language in Scripture"

Rules for interpreting y words & language in Scripture. 1. To observe Diligently the instat of Scriptury & analogy of the prophiling stile, & to reject those inhopsetations where this is not Jucly observed . Thus if any man interpret a Brast to signify some great nice, this is to be vijected as his private imagination becaus according to y shik & know " I all other Prophetigs sompting is a Rungson Mr. Rere is no grotend in scorp him other interpretation, excepting that it is sometimes proten of a single p To keep close to the same care of words, sepecial Ble meaning to to the those introportal where this is and observed. Thus if a man interpr ast to signify a kingdom in one scaline Etams 11 Same To prefer those interpretations well are most at of litterall meaning of y' scriptures unles coording to m " place plain where the know of circumstances o require an allegory. This if the wound by a sword she be interpreted of a spinhall wound , or if Cattel at Fringet and wial express by of concours of Ar mirs, It a Rail storm with other meteour should be in unbryorchil al Ballet; since there is nothing in the list to component Al 4 be rijethed as that king of any portion of

One of Newton's many calculations of the year of the apocalypse, when the "antichrist" would return and the world would end – 2060

Prop. 1. TR 2300 Oprophilick Day and commence Bafon the nin of the little hom of the He Poal. 2 Those day did not commence due the detruction of Jensalin & of Traple by the Romans A. 170. 3 The line have & Ralf a line Side commence befor the A They Did at commence after the name of granging the 7 thogy of The 12go Days Did not commence of on the year office. year 800 is well the Poper suprimary commends 6 They 32 not command after the right of Reps Gog . They 7 The Sifteen Robert the right \$135 Jup and a parts of the seven weeks. Thenfor the 2300 years do not end before y year 2132 The time times to half line 30 nd wid before 2060 nor non after 2370 ther The 12go Days 20 not ligin lifere 20go nor after 1374 the Hs Vor A Newston 7.3

Newton's De Motu coporum in gyrum

Edmond Halley (of the comet) visited Cambridge in 1684 and talked with Newton about inverse-square forces ($F \propto 1/d^2$).

Newton stated that he had already shown that inverse-square force implied an ellipse, but could not find the documents.

Later he rewrote this into a short document called *De Motu coporum in gyrum,* and sent it to Halley.

Halley was excited and asked for a full treatment of the subject.

Two years later Newton sent Book I of *The Mathematical Principals of Natural Philosophy* (*Principia*).

Key Point

The goal of this project was to derive the orbits of bodies from a simpler set of assumptions about motion. That is, it sought to *explain* Kepler's Laws with a simpler set of laws.

- I. The planets move in ellipses with the sun at a focus.
- II. Equal areas are swept out in equal times.
- III. Periods are as the three-halves power of the distances ($P^2 \propto D^3$, or $P \propto D^{3/2}$).

Newton's Principia, 1687, 1713, 1726

Newton was able to show how all of Kepler's laws depended on certain simple *mathematical assumptions* about the nature of motion and force.

The structure of the *Principia* was is as follows:

- Book I: The mathematics of dynamic systems in void spaces.
- Book II: The mathematics of dynamic systems in gases and fluids.
- Book III: The application of these general methods to the solar system, comets and mechanics that is, to our world.

Newton, Principia

"I consider *philosophy* rather than [mechanical] arts and write not concerning manual but natural powers, and consider chiefly those things which relate to gravity, levity, elastic force, the resistance of fluids, and the like forces, whether attractive or impulsive; and therefore I offer this work as the *mathematical principles of philosophy*, for the whole burden of philosophy seems to consist in this – from the phenomena of motions to investigate the forces of nature, and then from these forces to demonstrate the other phenomena; and to this end the propositions in the first and second Books are dedicated.

Newton, Principia

"In the third Book, I give an example of this in the exposition of the *System of the World*; for ... I derive from the celestial phenomena the forces of gravity with which bodies tend to the Sun and the several planets. Then from these forces, by other propositions, which are also mathematical, I deduce the motions of the planets, the comets, the Moon, and the sea."

Newton's Principia, 1687 (1713, 1726): Laws of motion

AXIOMATA _{sive} LEGES MOTUS

[13]

Lex. I. Corput omne perfeverare in flatn fuo quiefcendi cel movendi uniformiter in directions, nij quatenne acciribus impreffie cogine flatum illum innare.

Plotellia perfoveant in motibus fuis nifi quarente a refiftentia aeri retardantur & vi gravitati impellantur deorifantrochus, cuite patres obrenedo perpetur erathanti fefe e motibus refilinici , non ceffer totari nif quarente ab aer cearadatur. Mijora autem Planetarum & Cometarum corpora nuontu fuos & progrefilivos & circulares in fpatis minus refiftentibus fidos conference diarius.

Lex. II.

Mutationem motus proportionalem effe vi motrici impreff.e. & fieri fecundum lineam vestam qua vis illa imprimitur.

Si via aliqua notum quenvia genecet, dupla duplam, tripta triplum generabit, Iver fund keimel, five gradatim & faccelliveimpretta faceir. Et hic motus quotian in candem fomper plagan cumvi generatrice determinatur, fi corputatiene movelatur, motrigin vel configuration di programa de la companya de la quo obligue adjeitur, & cumzeo fecundum utrialej, determinatioem componitor.

[13] Lex. III.

Astioni contrarian#femper& «qualem effe reastionem : fose corporum duorum astiones in fe muno femper effe «quales & in partes contrarias dirigi.

Quicquid premit vel trabia alterum, natuundenab eo premias velorabitar. Sisui lapiden fuin altegutun trabia, testan tertain Sequus apuliteria lapidem fuin altegutun trabia, testan conferencebanali fe conatu ungelte Equust verdu lapidem, at la alteria trabia estanti estanti alterua. Si corpus alquot incorpus alteria in progene sunta metratis andonolocum attacent, idem quoque visillim in more proprio canden untatorent in pardicidari entratis estanti estanti estanti estanti estanti dem quoque visillim in more proprio canden untatorent in pardicidare. Her develoatino estanti estanti estanti estanti foldare. Her develoatino estanti estanti alterua selectarian foldare. Her develoatino estanti internatione tento estanti foldare estanti estorianti, inter corporibui reciproce proportioneles.

Corol. I.

Corpus viribus conjunctis diagonalem parallelogrammi eodom tempore defcribere, quo latera feparatis.

Si corpus datotempore, viíola M, ferreturab A ad B, & viíola N, ab A ad C, compleatur parallelogrannmum ABDC, & vi utraq, feretur id codem tempore ab A ad D. Nam quoniam vis N agit fecundum lineam



AC ipfi BD parallelam, huc vis nihil mutabit velocitatem accedendi ad lineam illam BD a vi altera geniram. Accedet ipitur corpus codem tempore ad lineam BD five vis N imprimatur, five non, atq; adco in fine illius temporis reperietur alicubi in linea

Newton's Laws

Law I

"Every body continues in its state of rest, or of uniform motion in a right line, unless it is compelled to change that state by forces impressed upon it." [Inertia]

Law II

"The change of motion is proportional to the motive force impressed; and is made in the direction of the right line in which that force is impressed." $[F \propto a, F = ma]$

Law III

"To every action there is always opposed an equal reaction, or the mutual action of two bodies upon each other are always equal, and directed to contrary parts." [Equal and opposite reactions] Newton used the ideas of limits developed in the calculus to develop a geometry of forces.

Principia, Prop. 1 shows that a body which is continuously acted upon toward a center of force will move in a *closed curve*.



The Geometry of Force

By studying the *geometrical objects* that model the force, Newton was able to show what kinds of forces would produce what kinds of curves.

In this way, he was able to prove that a force that acts inversely as the square of the distance ($F \propto 1/d^2$, such as gravity) will produce an ellipse.

That is, he was able to derive Kepler's 1st law from his own laws of motion and the mathematics of limits.



At the end of the *Principia*, in a section called the "General Scholium," Newton introduces the concept of God and explains how God functions in his philosophy. This section explains that God is always and everywhere acting on the world to maintain the laws of nature.

God is the *active cause* of gravity.

God's presence produces the two absolute substrates in which all action occurs: Absolute Space and Absolute Time.

God's constant action preserves the world in its present state; He maintains the forces that control matter.

Newton, Principia, Scholium on Time and Space:

"Absolute, true, and mathematical time, of itself, and from its own nature, flows equably without relation to anything external...

Relative, apparent, and common time, is some sensible and external (whether accurate or unequable) measure of duration by means of motion, which is commonly used instead of true time; such as an hour, a day, a month, a year."

Newton, Principia, Scholium on Time and Space:

"Absolute space, in its own nature, without relation to anything external, remains always similar and unmovable.

Relative space is some movable dimension or measure of the absolute spaces; which our senses determine by its position to bodies; and which is commonly taken for immobile space; such is the dimension of a subterraneous, or aerial, or celestial space, determined by its position relative to the Earth."

Newton, Principia, General Scholium:

"The true God is a living, intelligent, and powerful Being; and it follows from his other perfections, that he is supreme, or most perfect. He is eternal and infinite, omnipotent and omniscient; that is, his duration reaches from eternity to eternity; his presence from infinity to infinity; he governs all things, and knows all things that are or can be done. He is not eternity and infinity, but eternal and infinite; he is not duration or space, but he endures and is present." Much of Newton's actual interests and activities were stripped away from the public memory of his *style of science*.

In France, Newton was held up as a key figure of the Enlightenment (by for example Voltaire, Laplace).

When we talk about *Newtonianism*, and the Newtonian worldview, we are talking about this <u>public image</u> created by Enlightenment thinkers, not the historical man himself with all his spiritual interests.