

and other festivities, at which the foreign members were the lions of the occasion; indeed, international courtesy reigned throughout the proceedings. This was carried so far in one section that hardly anything but French was spoken, those who wished to take part in the discussions receiving but little encouragement from the chair unless they addressed the meeting in the French tongue—or, rather, in French words. This was satisfactory to the majority, so far as the remarks of foreign members were concerned; but when the language was exotic in its character to follow was sometimes laborious. This week a series of excursions are being made to some of the chief ports of the United Kingdom.

THE LUMINIFEROUS ETHER.

AT the anniversary meeting of the Victoria Institute on June 29, Sir G. G. Stokes delivered his presidential address. After a few introductory remarks on the functions of the Institute, he said:—"I intend to bring before you to-night a subject which the study of light has caused me to think a good deal about: I refer to the nature and properties of the so-called luminiferous ether. This subject is, in one respect, specially fascinating, scientifically considered. It lies, we may say, in an especial manner on the borderland between what is known and what is unknown. In the study of it it is quite conceivable that great discoveries may be made, and, in fact, great discoveries have already been made, and I may say even quite recently, and we do not at present know how much additional light on the system of Nature may be in store for the men of Science; possibly even in the near future, possibly not until many generations have passed away. I will assume, as what is familiarly known to you all, and what is well established by methods into which I will not enter, that the heavenly bodies are at an immense distance from our earth. More especially is this the case with the fixed stars. Their distance is so enormous that even when we take as a base line, so to speak, the diameter of the earth's orbit, which we know to be about 184 millions of miles, the apparent displacement of the stars due to parallax is so minute as almost to elude our investigation. Nevertheless that distance is more or less accurately determined in the case of a few of the fixed stars. But the vast majority, as we have every reason to believe, are at such an enormous distance that even this method fails with them."

"To give a conception of the immense distance of the fixed stars, I will assume as known that light travels at the rate of about 186,000 miles in one second, a rate which would carry it nearly eight times round and round the earth in that time; and yet if we take the star which, so far as we know, is our nearest neighbour, it would take three or four years for light from that star to reach the earth. Now as we see the fixed stars there must be some link of connection between us and them in order that we should be able to perceive them. Probably all of you know that two theories have been put forward as to the nature of light, as to the nature accordingly of that connection of which I have spoken. According to one idea, light is a substance darted forth from the luminous body with an amazing velocity; according to the other, it consists in a change of state taking place, propagated through a medium, as it is called, intervening between the body from which the light proceeds and the eye of the observer. For a considerable time the first of these theories was that chiefly adopted by scientific men. It was that, as you know, which Newton himself adopted; and probably the prestige of his name had much to do with the favourable reception which for a long time it received. But more recent researches have so completely established the truth of the other view, and refuted the old doctrine of emissions, that it is now universally held by scientific men that light consists in an undulatory movement propagated in a medium existing in all the space through which light is capable of passing."

"This necessity for filling all space, or at least, such an inconceivably great extent of space, with a medium, the office of which, so far as was known in the first instance, was simply that of propagating light, was an obstacle for a time to the reception by the minds of some of the theory of undulations. Men had been in the habit of regarding the inter-planetary and inter-stellar space as a vacuum, and it seemed too great an assumption to fill all this supposed vacuous space with some kind of medium for the sole purpose of transmitting light. Notwithstanding,

even long ago strong opinions were entertained to the effect that there must be something intervening between the different heavenly bodies. In a letter to Bentley, Newton expresses himself in very strong language to this effect: 'That gravity should be innate, inherent and essential to matter, so that one body may act upon another at a distance through a vacuum, without the mediation of anything else, by and through which their action and force may be conveyed from one to another, is to me so great an absurdity that I believe that no man who has in philosophical matters a competent faculty of thinking, can ever fall into it. Gravity must be caused by an agent acting constantly according to certain fixed laws; but whether this agent be material or immaterial, I have left to the consideration of my readers.'

"What the nature of the connection between the earth and the sun, for example, may be whereby the sun is able to attract the earth and thereby keep it in its orbit—in other words, what the cause of gravitation may be—we do not know; for anything we know to the contrary, it may be connected with this intermediate medium or luminiferous ether. There are other offices, we believe, which this luminiferous ether fulfils, to which I shall have occasion to allude presently."

"In connection with the necessity for filling such vast regions of space with this medium, a curious question naturally presents itself. We cannot conceive of space as other than infinite, but we habitually think of matter as occupying here or there limited portions of space, as, for example, the different heavenly bodies. The intervening space we commonly think of as a vacuum, and it is only the phenomena of light that led us in the first instance to think of it as filled with some kind of material. The question naturally presents itself to the mind—is this ether absolutely infinite like space? This is a question to which science can give no answer. Though we cannot help thinking of space as infinite, yet when we turn our thoughts to some material existing in space perhaps we more readily think of it as finite than infinite. But if the ether, however vast the portion of space over which it extends, be really limited, we can hardly fail to speculate what there may be outside its limits. Space there might be wholly vacuous, or possibly outside altogether this vast system of stars and ether there may be another system subject to the same laws, or subject to different laws, as the case may be, equally vast in extent; and if there be, then so far as we can gather from such phenomena as are open to our investigation, there can be no communication between that vast portion of space in part of which we live and an ideal system altogether outside the ether of which we have been speaking."

"But the properties of the ether are no less remarkable than its vast or even possibly limitless extent. Matter of which our senses give us any cognisance is heavy, that is to say, it gravitates towards other matter which agrees with it in so far as being accessible to our senses. The question presents itself to the mind, does the ether gravitate towards what we call ponderable matter? This is a question to which we are not able to give any positive scientific answer. If the ether be in some way or other connected with the cause of gravitation, it would seem more likely that it itself does not gravitate towards ponderable matter."

"Again, we have very strong reason for believing that ponderable matter consists of ultimate molecules. First, that supposition accords in the simplest way with the laws of crystallography. Chemical laws afford still stronger confirmation of the hypothesis, through the atomic theory of Dalton, now universally accepted. Comparatively recently, the deduction of the fundamental property of gases from the kinetic theory, as it is called, affords strong additional confirmation of that view of the constitution of matter. Still more recently, the explanation which has been afforded by that theory of that most remarkable instrument the radiometer of Crookes has lent further confirmation in the same direction. None of these evidences apply to the ether, and accordingly we are left in doubt whether it too consists of ultimate molecules, or whether on the other hand it is continuous, as we cannot help conceiving space to be."

"The undulatory theory of light was greatly promoted in the first instance by the known phenomena of sound, and the explanation which they received from the hydrodynamical theory. Accordingly, since sound, as we know, consists of an undulatory movement propagated through the air (or it may be through other media), and depending upon condensation and rarefaction, it was supposed naturally that light was propagated in a

similar manner, by virtue of the forces brought into play by the condensation and rarefaction of the ether. But there is one whole class of phenomena which have actually no counterpart in those of sound; I refer to polarisation and double refraction."

"The evidence for the truth of the theory of undulations as regards the phenomena of common light depends in great measure upon the fact of interference and the explanation which the theory gives of the complicated phenomena of diffraction. But in studying the interference of polarised light, additional phenomena presented themselves which ultimately pointed out that the vibrations with which we are concerned in the case of the ether differ altogether in their character from those which belong to sound. The phenomena of the interference of polarised light prove incontestably that there exists in light an element of some kind having relation to directions transverse to that of propagation, and admitting of composition and resolution in a plane perpendicular to the direction of transmission according to the very same laws as those of the composition and resolution of forces, or velocities, or displacements in such a plane. This requires us to attribute to the ether a constitution altogether different from that of air. It points out the existence of a sort of elasticity whereby the ether tends to check the gliding of one layer over another. Have we no example of such a force in the case of ponderable matter? We have. We know that an elastic solid, which for simplicity I will suppose to be uncrystalline, and alike in all directions, has two kinds of elasticity, by one of which it, like air, tends to resist compression and rarefaction; while by the other it tends to resist a continuous gliding of one portion over another, and to restore itself to its primitive state if such a gliding has taken place. There is no direct relation between the magnitude of these two kinds of elasticity, and in the case of an elastic solid such as jelly the resistance to compression is enormously great compared to the resistance to a gliding displacement."

"If we assume that in the ether there is really an elasticity tending to restore it to its primitive condition when one layer tends to glide over another, an elasticity which it appears to be absolutely necessary to admit in order to account for the observed laws of interference of polarised light, the question arises, can we thereby explain double refraction?"

"The earliest attempts to explain it in accordance with the theory of transverse vibrations were made by attributing to the ether a molecular constitution more or less analogous to that which we believe to exist in ponderable matter. Following out speculations founded upon that view, the celebrated Fresnel was led to the discovery of the actual laws of double refraction; the theory, however, which he gave was by no means complete, inasmuch as the results were not rigorously deduced from the premises. Cauchy and Neumann, independently and about simultaneously, took up Fresnel's view of the constitution of the ether and applied it to explain the laws of double refraction. In their theory the conclusions arrived at were rigorously derived from the premises; but the results did not altogether agree with observation; that is to say, although they could by the adoption of certain suppositions be forced into a near accordance with the observed laws of double refraction, yet they pointed out the necessity of the existence of other phenomena which were belied by observation. Our own countryman Green was the first to deduce Fresnel's laws from a rigorous dynamical theory, although nearly simultaneously MacCullagh arrived at a theory in some respects similar, though on the whole I think less satisfactory."

"Still all these theories followed pretty closely the analogy of ponderable matter; and at least in the first three mentioned the ether was even imagined to consist of discrete molecules, acting on one another, like the bodies of the solar system regarded as points, by forces in the direction of the joining line, and varying as some function of the distance. I have already quoted the very strong language in which Newton rejected the idea of the heavenly bodies acting on one another across intervening spaces which were absolutely void. But the conception has nothing to do with the magnitude of the intervening spaces; and the conception of action at a distance across an intervening space which is absolutely void, is not a bit easier when the space in question is merely that separating two adjacent molecules, when the ether is thought of as consisting of discrete molecules, than it is when the space is that separating two bodies of the solar system, though in this latter case it may amount to many millions of miles. If the ether be in some unknown manner the link

of connection whereby two heavenly bodies are enabled to exert on one another the attraction of gravitation, then according to the hypothetical constitution of the ether that we have been considering, we seem compelled to invent an ether of the second order, so to speak, to form a link of connection between two separate molecules of the luminiferous ether. But since the nature of the ether is so very different as it must be from that of ponderable matter, it may be that the true theory must proceed upon lines in which our previous conceptions derived from the study of ponderable matter are in great measure departed from."

"If we think of the ether as a sort of gigantic jelly, we can hardly imagine but that it would more or less resist the passage of the heavenly bodies—the planets for instance—through it. Yet there appears to be no certain indication of any such resistance. It has been observed indeed in the case of Encke's comet, that at successive revolutions the comet returned to its perihelion a little before the calculated time. This would be accounted for by the supposition that it experienced a certain amount of resistance from the ether. Although at first sight we might be disposed to say that such a resistance would retard perihelion passage, yet the fact that it would accelerate it becomes easily intelligible, if we consider that the resistance experienced would tend to check its motion, and so prevent it from getting away so far from the sun at aphelion, and would consequently bring it more nearly into the condition of a planet circulating round the sun in a smaller orbit."

"Many years ago I asked the highest authority in this country on physical astronomy, the late Prof. Adams, what he thought of the evidence afforded by Encke's comet for the existence of a retarding force, such as might arise from the ether. He said to me that he thought we did not know enough as to whether there might not possibly be a planet or planets within the orbit of Mercury which would account for it in a different way. But quite independently of such a supposition it is worthy of note that the remarkable phenomena presented by the tails of comets render it by no means unlikely that even without the presence of a resisting medium, and without the disturbing force arising from the attraction of an unknown planet situated so near to the sun as not to have been seen hitherto, the motion of the head of a comet might not be quite the same as that of a simple body representing the nucleus, and being subject to the gravitation of the sun and planets and nothing else. It appears that the tails consist of some kind of matter driven from the comet with an enormous velocity by a sort of repulsion emanating from the sun. If the nucleus loses in this manner at each perihelion passage an exceedingly small portion of its mass, which is repelled from the sun, it is possible that the residue may experience an attraction towards the sun over and above that due to gravitation, and that possibly this may be the cause of the observed acceleration in the time of passing perihelion even though there be no resistance on the part of the ether. So that the question of resistance or no resistance must be left an open one."

"The supposition that the ether would resist in this manner a body moving through it is derived from what we observe in the case of solids moving through fluids, liquid or gaseous, as the case may be. In ordinary cases of resistance, the main representative of the work apparently lost in propelling the solid is in the first instance the molecular kinetic energy of the trail of eddies in the wake. The formation of these eddies is, however, an indirect effect of the internal friction, or if we prefer the term viscosity, of the fluid. Now the viscosity of gases has been explained on the kinetic theory of gases, and in the case of a liquid we cannot well doubt that it is connected with the constitution of the substance as not being absolutely continuous but molecular. But if the ether be either non-molecular, or molecular in some totally different sense from ponderable matter, we cannot with safety infer that the motion of a solid through it necessarily implies resistance."

"The luminiferous ether touches on another mysterious agent, the nature of which is unknown, although its laws are in many respects known, and it is applied to the every-day wants of life, and its applications are even regulated by Acts of Parliament; I allude to electricity. I said that the nature of electricity is unknown. More than forty years ago I was sitting at dinner beside the illustrious Faraday, and I said to him that I thought a great step would have been made if we could say of electricity something analogous to what we say of light, when we affirm that light consists of undulations; and he said to me that he thought we were a long way off that at present. But, as I said, relations

have recently been discovered between light and electricity which lead us to believe that the latter is most closely connected with the luminiferous ether."

"Clerk-Maxwell showed that the ratio of two electrical constants which are capable of being determined by laboratory experiments, and which are of such a nature that that ratio expresses a velocity, agrees with remarkable accuracy with the known velocity of light. This formed the starting-point of the electro-magnetic theory of light which is so closely associated with the name of Maxwell."

"According to this idea, light may be looked on as the propagation of an electro-magnetic disturbance, whatever the appropriate idea of such a thing may actually be. The theory has quite recently received remarkable confirmation by the investigations of Hertz, who has shown that what are incontestably electro-magnetic disturbances, and are investigated by purely electrical means, exhibit some of the fundamental phenomena of light, such, for example, as interference and polarisation. It appears that these electro-magnetic waves are strictly of a similar nature to the waves of light, though there is an enormous difference in the scale of wave-lengths, which in the case of light range about the $\frac{1}{1000000}$ th part of an inch, while the electro-magnetic waves which have been investigated by purely electrical methods range from a few inches to many yards."

"I have ventured to bring this interesting subject before you in the course of the address which I have just delivered. I have not attempted to lay before you the evidence on which scientific men rely for the truth of the conclusions which I have mentioned as well established. That would have required, not merely an evening address, but a whole course of lectures. Neither have I made any allusion to possible bearings of the scientific conclusions on questions relating to religious beliefs. Anything of that kind I leave to your own minds; my object has been simply to present to you very briefly the conclusions of science in that limited branch which I have selected, distinguishing as impartially as I could what is well established from what is debatable or even merely conjectural."

THE NATURE OF DEPOLARISERS.¹

WHEN an electric current is passed between plates of platinum through a solution of sulphuric acid, the hydrogen and oxygen are partly retained at the surfaces—and apparently also within the plates—and under these conditions are capable of interacting, as in the well-known Grove gas battery: so that in so far as the "gases" thus circumstanced are concerned the change may be expressed by a reversible equation. This reversal constitutes the well-known phenomenon termed polarisation by physicists.

Reversal owing to the retention of hydrogen in circuit is promoted to different extents by different metals—hence apparently the varying electromotive forces of single fluid cells containing different negative plates; and when the pressure is sufficient to retain the whole of the hydrogen at the plate, it becomes total—hence it is, for example, that zinc does not dissolve in sulphuric acid under great pressure.

Various substances known generally as depolarisers are used to prevent the accumulation of products of electrolysis and the consequent reversal of the action—such as copper sulphate in the case of the Daniell cell and "nitric acid" in the case of the Grove and Bunsen cells; but whereas the action of copper sulphate is easy to understand, that of "nitric acid" offers many difficulties. As the heat of dissolution of copper in dilute sulphuric acid is a negative value (about 12,000 units), the displacement of copper by hydrogen—*i.e.* the heat of dissolution of hydrogen in copper sulphate—is a positive value, so that not only does the presence of the copper sulphate prevent the accumulation of hydrogen, but in removing hydrogen it also serves to increase the electromotive force of the cell from about 37/46ths to about 50/46ths of a volt. The principle underlying this is extensible even to cases in which one part of the cumulative effect of the cycle of change is a negative value. Thus, although copper has a negative heat of dissolution, it will readily dissolve in dilute sulphuric acid if it be used in place of zinc in a Grove cell, the negative heat of dissolution of copper being more than compensated for by the positive heat of dissolution of hydrogen in "nitric acid"; and it is well known that copper dissolves in many weak acids in presence of oxygen. It is

easy to understand how oxygen acts in such cases, but the facts show that the effect produced by "nitric acid" is not so readily interpreted, and their consideration raises important questions of general application.

Russell has shown that when "nitric acid" is freed from nitrous compounds it does not dissolve silver, but that action sets in when a trace of nitric oxide is introduced, and continues with increasing rapidity as the quantity of the nitrous compound—a necessary product of the action—increases; Veley's later experiments have shown that the same is true of copper, without, however, affording any further explanation of the phenomena. Although it is not to be expected that such metals would dissolve in nitric acid even when coupled with a relatively electronegative conductor, as they have negative heats of dissolution, yet if the acid also acted as depolariser a cycle might be formed in which sufficient energy would be developed to condition change: it therefore follows that in such cases *nitric acid* does not act as the depolariser in accordance with the equation: $2Ag + 2NO_3H + ONO_2H = 2AgNO_3 + H_2O + NO_2H$, and that in point of fact the nitrous compound is the depolariser, although the nitric acid is the actual solvent of the metal, the hydrogen of the acid being virtually directed displaced by the metal with the assistance, however, of the current energy derived from its own oxidation by the nitrous compound.

But what interpretation is to be given of the behaviour of more active metals, such as zinc, magnesium, &c., which have positive heats of dissolution, and therefore are capable of dissolving in the pure dilute acid if coupled with a relatively negative conductor; does nitric acid in their case directly act as a depolariser? If it be capable of thus acting, such metals even when uncoupled should dissolve in the pure diluted acid. It is noteworthy that when such metals are dissolved in nitric acid hydrogen is sometimes evolved. It has been suggested that this hydrogen is derived from the interaction of the metal and water, but I cannot now regard this as a probable explanation; its production serves rather to suggest a deficiency of the depolarising agent, which cannot well occur if nitric acid be the depolariser. Indeed, if nitric acid be regarded as directly active, it is remarkable that in presence of the large excess of the acid which is always present any hydrogen should escape; and also that the reduction should extend so far as it often does, and not extend merely to the formation of nitrous acid. If, however, the acid be incapable of directly acting as a depolariser, and a nitrous compound be the initially active depolarising agent, it is no longer surprising that owing to the nitrous compound suffering further reduction it should be deficient in parts of the circuit, and that consequently hydrogen should escape. Why the reduction should extend so much further when metals having positive heats of dissolution are used, however, still requires elucidation.

In the case of sulphuric acid, whatever metal be dissolved in the *diluted* acid, no reduction takes place; and it is only when the concentrated and more or less heated acid is used that sulphurous oxide and other reduction products are obtained. It appears not improbable that reduction only takes place under conditions under which the presence of sulphuric *oxide* is possible, *i.e.* that depolarisation is effected by sulphuric *oxide* and never by sulphuric *acid*, although this latter may be regarded as the actual solvent of the metal. There is at present no evidence forthcoming to show that nitric acid can dissociate into the anhydride and water, and even if such a change took place in concentrated solutions, there is no reason to assume that it can also take place in dilute solutions, and that this is the explanation of the difference between nitric and sulphuric acids. It is well known, however, that nitric acid is resolved with extreme facility into nitrogen dioxide, water and oxygen, and that it is excessively sensitive to the action of nitric oxide—a trace of nitric oxide would therefore exercise a fermentative action and condition, the formation, it may be, of nitrous acid, or—as there is no evidence compelling us to suppose that the compound represented by the formula HNO_2 exists—it may be of nitrogen dioxide. In this latter case, solutions of nitric acid would resemble concentrated sulphuric acid in containing a reducible oxide, and it may be that their depolarising action is initially exerted through such an oxide alone.

To arrive at a clear conception of the function of acids in dissolving metals, and of the nature of depolarising agents, it would therefore appear to be necessary to take into account many circumstances to which hitherto but little attention has been paid.

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¹ Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Chemical Society, No. 125.