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Tyndall's Experiments on Magne-crystallic Action.¹

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IN 1845, Faraday made the surprising discovery that the vast majority of substances, not merely iron, nickel, and cobalt, are affected by a magnet: and showed also that the action is repulsive quite as often as attractive. Faraday's results excited the greatest interest and were the starting-point for many other researches. In fact, they paved the way for the work of Thomson and Maxwell, who came thereby to the establishment of the laws of electromagnetism.

Among the many workers who followed Faraday was Tyndall, who made certain interesting discoveries relating to the behaviour of crystals in the magnetic field.

A very lively discussion sprang up as to the mode of interpretation of the new discoveries, particularly that of the so-called diamagnetism. On one hand, Faraday was satisfied that he could describe them in terms of his 'lines of force': the majority, including Tyndall, referred everything to the existence of poles, magnetic and diamagnetic. Tyndall's experimental work, and the consequences which he drew from it, were devoted to the support of these views. When Faraday's conceptions prevailed it became clear that Tyndall's interpretation of his own experiments must have been incorrect. His collected account of his researches, published in the well-known "Diamagnetism and Magne-crystallic Action," never became a link in the chain of argument.

The recent analysis of crystal structure by means of X-rays throws some new light on those experiments of seventy years ago. We can see more clearly where Tyndall's conclusions were in error. But at the same time the experiments of Tyndall are seen to be closely related to a modern research of immense importance, that of the effect of stress on the constitution and physical properties of materials.

¹ Discourse delivered at the Royal Institution on Friday, Jan. 21.

FARADAY'S FIRST OBSERVATION OF DIAMAGNETISM.

On Sept. 13, 1845, Faraday made one of his most important discoveries, that of a relation between magnetism and light. He found that when plane polarised light was made to traverse a piece of his 'heavy glass,' a borosilicate of lead, in a direction coinciding with that of lines of magnetic force, the plane of polarisation was rotated. He had thus

FIG. 1.—The above figure and a few lines of explanation are photographed from Faraday's original notes.

been successful in showing that the action of a magnet did not require the co-operation of a magnetic substance such as iron for its manifestation, but might be directly connected with a substance of a different kind, namely, glass, and a different activity, namely, light. In the following months he tried to find some other connexion between magnetism and this glass. He floated his glass on a liquid and tried whether he could move it by a magnet, without result. But on Nov. 4 he succeeded in his search.

"The bar of heavy glass, $1\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch long and $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch square, was suspended by cocoon silk in a glass jar in principle as before and placed between the poles of the last magnet. When it was arranged and had come to rest I found I *could* affect it by the magnetic forces and give it position. Thus touching diamagnetics by magnetic curves

² Not filled in, but from other notes we know it was half an inch square.

and observing a property quite independent of light by which we may probably trace these forces into opaque and other bodies as the metals, etc."

"If 1 was the natural position on making the poles magnetic the glass swung into position 2 and on to position 3. If contact was united after 2 the tendency to 3 was diminished, *i.e.* was less than if there was no current. If whilst swinging contact of current was continued during vibration from 1 to 2 and broken from 2 to 3, then united from 3 to 2 and broken from 2 to 1 the bar was soon sent spinning round the whole circuit" (see Fig. 1).

The word 'diamagnetic' is here used to denote substances through which, on his views, magnetic lines were passing. It is not yet used as an anti-

pole, not *along* the lines as a piece of iron would do; and obviously the effect is very small as compared with the violent movements of iron in the same circumstances.

The action may be described as a repulsion of the glass by the magnet: and sometimes the early workers on the subject constructed apparatus specially designed to show the repulsive effect more obviously, and to distinguish it from a mere turning action in a magnetic field, if indeed this could be done. We can illustrate this point, and at the same time the diamagnetism of bismuth, by using a piece of apparatus constructed for Tyndall (Fig. 2).

FIG. 2.—Apparatus used by Tyndall. Two balls of bismuth are placed at opposite ends of an arm swinging at the end of a suspension thread. The electromagnets are staggered so as to combine their actions in turning the arms by means of the repulsive forces exerted on the balls. ("Diamagnetism and Magne-crystalline Action," p. 53.)

thesis to 'paramagnetic.' His new result obviously gave him intense pleasure, and in following it up he was so preoccupied that he did not even go to the meeting of the Royal Society on Nov. 20 when his paper on the "Action of Magnets on Light" was read.

We can easily repeat the experiment, using a piece of the same glass taken from the store left by Faraday. It is not the actual piece, Number 174, as he tells us in his notes, for this cannot be found. The glass turns slowly in the magnetic field, and its motions are obviously controlled by switching the current off and on. The glass tends to set itself *across* the lines of force running from pole to

FARADAY'S FIRST EXPLANATION OF DIAMAGNETISM.

Faraday at first suggested that the diamagnetic effect was the antithesis of the ordinary magnetic effect. A piece of iron when placed between two poles became so magnetised that a south pole was developed upon it in that part which was nearest to the north pole of the inducing magnet and vice versa. Faraday's suggestion that the diamagnetic substance developed north and south poles where a magnetic substance would have developed south and north respectively was taken to be a satisfactory explanation. It was the constant endeavour of later experimenters to express their results in accordance with Faraday's hypothesis: even when development had reached a stage some distance ahead of that described in the original paper (*Phil. Trans.*, 1846, p. 21).

Faraday was himself the first to feel doubts as to the satisfactory nature of his explanation. His early results could conveniently be described as showing an exact antithesis between two classes; where one was attracted by a magnet, the other was repelled: where one set itself in a certain direction in the magnetic field, the other avoided that direction as much as possible. It seemed proper to describe them as being in exact antithesis to each other, and the word diamagnetism was adopted as a means of expressing the experimental result.

He prepared a list of substances which showed varying degrees of response to the action of the magnetic field, and the plan of the statement illustrates his first views ("Experimental Researches," Series xxi. No. 2424):—

"Iron	Alcohol
Nickel	Gold
Cobalt	Water
Manganese	Mercury
Palladium	Flint glass
Crown-glass	Tin
Platinum	Heavy glass
Osmium	Antimony
0° Air and vacuum	Phosphorus
Arsenic	Bismuth "
Æther	

It is to be observed that those preceding air and vacuum are to be considered above zero or magnetic, those succeeding, below zero or diamagnetic, which is meant to imply a true antithesis.

In Dec. 1845 ("Experimental Researches," Series xxi. No. 2429), Faraday writes :

"Theoretically, an explanation of the movements of the diamagnetic bodies, and all the dynamic phenomena consequent upon the actions of magnets on them, might be offered in the supposition that magnetic induction caused in them a contrary state to that which it produced in magnetic matter ; i.e. that if a particle of each kind of matter were placed in the magnetic field both would become magnetic, and each would have its axis parallel to the resultant of magnetic force passing through it ; but the particle of magnetic matter would have its north and south poles opposite, or facing towards the contrary poles of the inducing magnet, whereas with the diamagnetic particles the reverse would be the case ; and hence would result approximation in the one substance, recession in the other."

Even at that time, however, Faraday's views were not firmly established : and we may repeat an experiment of his which shows the nature of the contrary influences that were impressing him. A small glass tube filled with a weak solution of the magnetic substance iron sulphate sets itself axially between the magnetic poles ; but if it is surrounded as it swings by a strong solution of the same substance, it sets equatorially. The tube appears to be magnetic as compared to air, but diamagnetic as compared to the strong solution.

Might not, on this analogy, all substances, and also air and vacuum, be magnetic, reacting to the magnet in the same way but to different degrees ? And might not bismuth exhibit its peculiarities, not because it is in antithesis to iron, but merely because it is less magnetic than the air ? Yet he writes as follows :

"Such a view also would make mere space magnetic, and precisely to the same degree as air and gases. Now though it may very well be, that space, air and gases, have the same general relation to magnetic force, it seems to me a great additional assumption to suppose that they are all absolutely magnetic, and in the midst of a series of bodies,

rather than to suppose that they are in a normal or zero state. For the present, therefore, I incline to the former view, and consequently to the opinion that diamagnetics have a specific action antithetically distinct from ordinary magnetic action, and have thus presented us with a magnetic property new to our knowledge" ("Experimental Researches," Series xxi. No. 2440, Dec. 1845).

The extract describes his first-formed opinion.

PLÜCKER'S DISCOVERY OF MAGNE-CRYSTALLIC ACTION.

The next important step is due to Plücker :

"In 1847, Plücker had a magnet constructed of the same size and power as that described by Faraday, his object being to investigate the influence of the fibrous constitution of plants upon their magnetic deportment ; while conducting these experiments he was induced to try whether crystalline structure exercised an influence" (Tyndall, "Diamagnetism and Magne-crystalline Action," p. 2).

The first experiment made by Plücker gave an immediate and decided reply. The investigation of the behaviour of several crystals led him to announce the following laws :

"When any crystal whatever with an optic axis is brought between the poles of a magnet, the axis is repelled by each of the poles ; and if the crystal possesses two axes, each of these is repelled with the same force by the two poles.

"The force which causes this repulsion is independent of the magnetism or diamagnetism of the mass of the crystal ; it decreases with the distance more slowly than the magnetic influence exerted by the poles."

There is some truth in Plücker's conclusions, but much correction is necessary. Tyndall pointed out in 1850 that they broke down completely when applied to calcium and iron carbonate. These two crystals are isomorphous ; the former, Iceland spar, obeys Plücker's laws in that it sets its axis equatorially in the magnetic field, but iron carbonate sets its axis from pole to pole. Plücker had, however, done great service in directing attention to the peculiar behaviour of crystals in the magnetic field.

In the autumn of 1848 Plücker was in London. Faraday writes in his laboratory notes :

"16 Aug. 1848. Plücker has described to me certain of his results as to the crystalline diamagnetic relation and, as I understand it, the optic axis of a crystal having one optic axis tends to pass into the equatorial direction, or if a crystal have two optic axes then the line between them tends to pass into the equatorial direction."

"25 Aug. 1848. To-day Plücker showed me for the first time some of his experiments.

"FIRST OPTICAL RESULTS.

"A small rhomboid of Cal^e Spar was suspended by a single cocoon thread between my Elect. Magnet poles with the optic axis in a horizontal position. When the poles were very close as in the figure the diamagnetic force of the substance made it take the position shown in which the optic axis is axial to the magnet. But when the poles were opened out to distance of half or threequarters of an inch, then the mass pointed axially and the optic axis therefore equatorially [see Fig. 3]. . . . There is a given distance between the Mag poles (pretty close) when a certain or piece

rhomboid Δ of Cal^e spar between them is so affected that the diamagnetic and the magneto-optic force is balanced, at smaller distances the piece points diamagnetic and at larger distances Magneto optic. So that on increasing the distance the magneto-

FIG. 3. The figure is taken from Faraday's notes, Aug. 25, 1848.

optic force diminishes *less rapidly* than the magnetic force, and on diminishing the distance it increases less rapidly than the magnetic force. *But increasing or diminishing the strength of the magnet produces no alteration of this place of neutral action, it only increases or diminishes the strength of the action on each side of it: or rather the resultant of the two actions on each side of that neutral position.* So Plücker at least tells me, for I did not see that proved."

Plücker's experiment is readily shown; but a little care in adjustment is required. The dimensions of an equal-sided rhomb are rather too much the same in all directions: a somewhat more irregular piece is, I find, easier to work with. The effect is much more clearly seen with a good bismuth crystal, which was obtained in the following way. A little bismuth was melted in a glass tube which had been drawn to a point. The tube was placed in an electric furnace, from which it was made by clockwork to emerge very slowly. The fine end of the tube came out first, and the bismuth at the point was the first to solidify into crystalline form.

The rest of the metal crystallised slowly as the emergence proceeded, and, in the circumstances, continued the structure and orientation of the first fragment. In this way, due to Bridgeman, the mass contained large single crystals, not a mass of fine crystals as is usual when the solidification takes place rapidly.

When the crystal, which is ten times as long as it is broad, is placed in the magnetic field due to pointed poles, it sets strongly equatorially in accordance with the usual behaviour of a diamagnetic body: but when the poles are withdrawn somewhat, it sets axially with equal strength.

The experiments of Plücker introduced a new effect which Faraday afterwards called "magne-crystallic action." It clearly deserved a name, since its manifestations added a complication to the diamagnetism which had already been observed.

The new discoveries presented so many forms when repeated with different crystals suspended in different ways and with different forms of magnetic field that the complications were not unravelled for some years. Some of the difficulties were due to the circumstances of the experiments and had no relation to the real question. One of these incidental effects was that of attractions and repulsions due to transient currents induced in bodies already suspended for observation between the magnetic poles when the

magnets were excited. As is well known, the motion of a spinning block of copper is at once arrested by the action of such currents; on the other hand, a sheet of copper held near a pole is sharply repelled when the current is turned off, and if properly suspended can be set into a rapid spinning. These effects had nothing to do with diamagnetism, but they were apparently the cause of confusion on some occasions.

Another great source of difficulty was the overpowering effect of iron impurities; the diamagnetic effects are so feeble in all cases that a mere trace of iron, nickel, or cobalt is sufficient to mask them. So, for example, Plücker's experiments with antimony seem on this account to have been at variance with the true facts as proved by Faraday (Tyndall, p. 16).

FARADAY'S RESEARCHES ON MAGNE-CRYSTALLIC ACTION.

In 1848, Faraday published a series of researches on the magne-crystallic phenomena, which cleared

up some of the difficulties. But in 1850 he could still write as follows :

" Four years ago I suggested that all the phenomena presented by diamagnetic bodies, when subjected to the forces in the magnetic field, might be accounted for by assuming that they then possessed a polarity, the same in kind as, but the reverse in direction of, that acquired by iron, nickel, and ordinary magnetic bodies under the same circumstances. This view was received so favourably by Plücker, Reich, and others, and above all by W. Weber, that I had great hopes it would be confirmed ; and though certain experiments of my own did not increase that hope, still my desire and expectation were in that direction. (2641) Whether bismuth, copper, phosphorus, etc., when in the magnetic field are polar or not is, however, an exceedingly important question ; and very essential and great differences in the mode of action of these bodies under the one view or the other, must be conceived to exist. I found that in every endeavour to proceed by induction of experiment from that which is known in this department of science to the unknown, so much uncertainty, hesitation, and discomfort arose from the unsettled state of my mind on this point that I determined if possible to arrive at some experimental proof either one way or the other. This was the more important because of the conclusion in the affirmative which Weber had come to in his very philosophical paper. . . . (2642) It appeared to me that many of the results which had been supposed to indicate a polar condition were only consequences of the law that diamagnetic bodies tend to go from stronger to weaker places of action ; others, again, appeared to have their origin in induced currents. . . ."

Accordingly, he undertook a further series of researches which in the end brought him to regard all his effects as expressible in the simple form with which we are familiar. In his " Experimental Researches " he writes (Ser. xxvi., Oct. 1850, No. 2807) :

" When a paramagnetic conductor, as for instance a sphere of oxygen, is introduced into such a

magnetic field considered previously as free from matter, it will cause a concentration of the lines of force on and through it so that the space occupied by it transmits

FIG. 4.—The figure is taken from Faraday's " Experimental Researches," and was drawn to show his conception of the passage of lines of magnetic force through paramagnetic and diamagnetic bodies respectively.

more magnetic power than before. If, on the other hand, a sphere of diamagnetic matter be placed in a similar field it will cause a divergence or opening out of the lines in the equatorial direction, and less magnetic power will be transmitted through the space it occupies than if it were away" (see Fig. 4).

This describes diamagnetism generally : the complication of magne-crystallic action is described with equal simplicity :

" (2837) If the idea of conduction be applied to these magne-crystallic bodies it would seem to satisfy all that requires explanation in their special results. A magne-crystallic substance would then be one which in the crystallised state could conduct on wards, or permit the exertion of the magnetic force with more facility in one direction than another : and that direction would be the magne-crystallic axis. Hence, when in the magnetic field, the magne-crystallic axis would be urged into a position coincident with the magnetic axis by a force correspondent to that difference, just as if two bodies were taken, when the one with the greater conducting power displaces that which is weaker."

It is only a uniaxial crystal, of course, which possesses a single magne-crystallic axis ; it is the axis of a certain spheroid. The facility of conduction in different directions in a biaxial crystal requires an ellipsoid for its representation.

This way of stating the rules allows us to see at once the principle of the experiments shown by Plücker to Faraday, which the latter so greatly extended. When the magnet poles were close, the crystal occupied a part of the field where the lines of force were very divergent. In such circumstances the orientation of the crystal would be determined by the general tendency for diamagnetic bodies to move from the stronger to the weaker parts of the field, and the crystal set its longer dimension perpendicular to the field ; the optic axis was then parallel to the lines of force. But when the magnetic poles were separated the crystal covered a part of the field in which there was little divergence : the magne-crystallic action then took charge, and the crystal set itself so that the direction of worst conduction of the lines, *i.e.* the optic axis, was at right angles to the lines.

EXPERIMENTAL ILLUSTRATION OF MAGNE-CRYSTALLIC ACTION.

A few simple experiments will serve as further illustration of these rules. We take a crystal of sulphate of iron which has the form of a thin plate : the flat sides are cleavage planes and the 'conducting power' for Faraday's lines is far greater across the plate than along the large faces. In a uniform field the crystal plate sets equatorially therefore, and even when allowed to move up to one of the poles keeps its face normal to the lines. A thin plate of iron would stand on edge on the pole : but the magne-crystallic action of this paramagnetic crystal is exceedingly strong.

A bismuth crystal so suspended that its axis (it is a uniaxial crystal) is vertical has no magne-crystallic action. Its motions are governed by the general tendency of its mass to move from the stronger to the weaker parts of the field: in a uniform field it has no appreciable tendency to set itself in any particular direction. But when the crystal is hung so that the axis is horizontal, that axis tends strongly to set itself along the lines of force, as we saw before.

Naphthalene is a monoclinic crystal. Its magne-crystallic properties are represented by an ellipsoid, one axis of which coincides with the single axis of

FIG. 5.—In this figure the positions marked *a* and *b* are positions of equilibrium of the naphthalene crystal in the magnetic field. The axis of symmetry is vertical and perpendicular to the plane of the paper. The cleavage plane is also vertical and its intersection with the plane of the paper is the longer side of the rhomboid. The form of the crystal shown in the figure is not a natural form, because the shorter side of the rhomboid is drawn parallel to one face of the cell of the crystal lattice, which face does not usually occur on the crystal. It is so drawn in order to show the relation between magnetic lines and the lattice.

If the crystal is hung from one end of the *b* axis, the position *a* is assumed, and if from the other, the position *b*. The position *c* is impossible.

symmetry. The cleavage is very perfect and the crystals take the form of thin plates parallel to the cleavage planes. The axis is also parallel to the cleavage planes, and if the crystal is suspended so that this axis is horizontal and the cleavage planes vertical, the axis and the planes move into the equatorial position, in this way fulfilling symmetrical considerations. But when the crystal is hung in a uniform field, so that the axis is vertical, the cleavage planes set themselves at a certain angle to the field. One of the axes of the magnetic ellipsoid then lies along the lines, another across them: the third is vertical. There is no obvious relation between the cleavage plane and the first two axes. Finke (*Annalen der Physik*, 31, 149; 1910) has shown that this may be said of various crystals examined by him. If now the crystal be suspended from the other end of the axis, its cleavage planes will make the same angle with the field but on the opposite side of the medial line (Fig. 5). Faraday describes results of this kind which he obtained with a paramagnetic crystal of sulphate of iron ("Experimental Researches," Series xxi. Nos. 2634-7). Naphthalene is diamagnetic: like many other organic crystals, it shows the magne-crystallic effect very strongly.

These experiments will serve to show the great variety of effects that may be observed. All of them are, however, easily correlated by Faraday's conception of lines of force. Let us remember that

there are several variables and give due importance to each. The first of these we call diamagnetism, implying that the lines pass through the substance in question less easily than through the air or a vacuum. The second is called magne-crystallic action, in reference to the fact that in a crystal the lines pass more easily in one direction than another. A third variable is the crystal shape, which may also affect the set in the magnetic field when the latter is divergent. A fourth is the amount of divergence of the field which, in a uniform field, falls to zero. After experimental disturbances have been allowed for, all these influences have to be taken into account.

The more divergent the field the more does the simple diamagnetic effect assert itself, and any magne-crystallic action which would tend to make the specimen set a crystal axis or axes at some particular inclination to the direction of the field is overpowered.

THE CONTRAST BETWEEN PARAMAGNETISM AND DIAMAGNETISM.

On the other hand, magne-crystallic action usually takes charge in a truly uniform field. For the sake of brevity and an easier explanation, it may be well to direct attention to a fact which was not fully appreciated by all the first experimenters, but was clearly set out by Sir William Thomson (Lord Kelvin) in 1885. A diamagnetic bar, apart from magne-crystallic action, tends to set itself *along* the lines of force in a *uniform* field, just as a paramagnetic bar. For we may imagine the bar to be made up gradually of a collection of cubes, placed successively one after the other in the magnetic field. The effect of the first cube is, as we should say in the language of Faraday, to spread out the lines of force on their way through the cube, and to crowd them together on either side of it. A second diamagnetic cube will, if free to move, go to that part of the field where the lines are least crowded; it will therefore avoid setting itself beside the first cube and prefer to place itself in front or behind it. A third will continue the same process, and in the end the cubes will form a bar pointing along the lines. In the case of a substance such as iron, there is a double converse.

FIG. 6.—Dia- and paramagnetic substances in a magnetic field. In both cases Position 2 is preferred to Position 3.

The lines are most dense just in front and just behind the first cube ; and a second cube will place itself in one of those positions because a magnetic substance seeks the strongest part of the field. Again, therefore, the bar grows along the lines, as in this case we know from experience (see Fig. 6).

It is quite certain that no one has ever seen the first of these effects, because it must be so minute and difficult to separate from others. We may safely infer it, as Thomson pointed out, because our theories of the electromagnetic field have been abundantly justified by other means. The susceptibility of bismuth, by far the most diamagnetic substance, is only about 10^{-6} ; in other words, the strength of the field on one side of a bismuth cube of 1 cm. side would only be about a thousandth part of 1 per cent. greater than at the front or back of the cube. Near a pointed pole the strength of the field might easily vary by 50 per cent. in a centimetre. It is easy to see how feeble is the force tending to arrange the supposed cubes parallel to the lines of a uniform field as compared with the forces acting on a bar placed near the pole.

The analogous effect in electrostatics can, however, be realised. When two plates are immersed in oil and maintained at a large difference of potential, an elongated rod of glass hung from a fibre sets itself along the lines of force (to make sure that the effect is true the rod must be free from any conductivity due to its own substance or a water film). This corresponds to the setting of a magnetic body in a uniform field. When bubbles of air are allowed to rise through the oil they are³ drawn out along the lines of force ; which effect, since the inductivity of air is less than that of oil, represents the setting of a diamagnetic body along lines of magnetic force.

When a diamagnetic substance sets itself across the lines of a magnetic field, and no magne-crystalline action is at work, it is because the field is not really uniform. It is perhaps a little confusing when it is said, as is sometimes the case, that diamagnetic and paramagnetic substances are the antitheses of one another in that one kind sets itself across the field and the other along it. This is only true of a field which is non-uniform. Indeed, it may be said that the use of the word antithesis is incorrect in any case. There would be a true antithesis if one substance could be defined by its pointing along the lines of force in one direction while another pointed in exactly the opposite direction ; there is no true antithesis between pointing along the lines and pointing across them. It seems to

me, though I say it with diffidence, that this difficulty was stirring in Faraday's mind and was the true cause of the uneasiness of which he spoke in a quotation given above, and of his aversion to the description of diamagnetism and paramagnetism as being the antitheses of one another.

Faraday, as I have said, when this thorough examination of the facts had led him to frame a hypothesis which would link them together, based his interpretation on the existence of lines of force, and found himself able to place both his own results and those of others in their place within a self-contained system.

Kelvin placed this hypothesis in mathematical form, thus completing the treatment of the subject of magnetism by Poisson ; the latter had left out of his consideration the consequence of magnetic susceptibility being different in different directions, not because he overlooked the possibility of such an effect, but because no case of its occurrence was known to him.

THE HYPOTHESIS OF POLARITY.

Faraday's views were not accepted, however, by other experimenters on the same subject, and in particular by Tyndall. The idea of polarity was not to be given up easily, and innumerable experiments were made to show that a 'diamagnet' had poles like a magnet, but in the opposite sense. A bar of bismuth would develop north and south poles when, in similar circumstances, a bar of iron would develop south and north. Of course, when the facts are prepared for mathematical treatment, they can be expressed in this way. It is generally convenient and justifiable to represent a magnet by two poles because the form of the field at any reasonable distance is satisfactorily represented thereby, though in the immediate neighbourhood the lines of a real magnet do not run like those of the theoretical bipole. Within the body of the magnet the lines run from the south pole to the north, continuing and completing their course outside so that every line is a closed circuit ; but all lines near a bipole run from the north pole to the south pole. So also in the magnetic shell, which is in the mathematical treatment the exact analogue of the electrical condenser, the bulk of the lines run from one plate to the other across the narrow space between the two plates ; comparatively few run from the outside of one plate, through surrounding space, to the back of the other. In the condenser, the internal field is the most important, the external being looked on as a correction. In the magnetic shell the reverse is the case ; the outside

³ My authority is Capt. Dunsheath of the Hlenley Telegraph Works Co.

field is that which is considered because it represents more and more closely, as the plates are brought closer together, the field due to a current circulating about the contour of the condenser. The theoretical charges on the plates have to be made larger and larger as the plates are brought together, so that the strength of the outside field may remain the same.

Now, if a piece of bismuth is placed along the lines of a magnetic field, the lines avoid the piece to some extent, though, as already explained, the avoidance is extremely small. If we take the bismuth away and replace it by a feeble bipole

FIG. 7.

consisting of south-pole magnetism, of proper amount, where the lines come out of the bismuth, and a corresponding amount of north-pole magnetism where they go in, the whole arrangement being made in a vacuum, or permissibly, in the air, we get (Fig. 7) in this artificial way an external field resembling that which exists when the bismuth is in place. It can be said that polarity is developed in the bismuth in a sense opposite to that which is found in iron in the same circumstances. If the effect is to be represented, for the convenience of treatment, as due to the presence of a bipole, then the sense of the bipole in the case of bismuth is opposite to the sense in the case of iron. The old argument, therefore, was not between two hypotheses but between two languages in terms of which the facts were to be described. Such an antagonism, once believed in and debated, could be and was the cause of an immense variety of experiments devised to justify one side or the other. But Faraday felt that his way of putting the facts was more fruitful in suggestion of further experiments, and more convenient as a foundation for theoretical development. He has been abundantly justified.

THE WORK OF TYNDALL AND KNOBLAUCH.

We now come to the part which Tyndall played in a debate which was conducted on both sides in such an able and, it is pleasant to observe, in such a friendly way. In the first place, Tyndall and Knoblauch published in 1850 an account of experiments which they had made. They showed that Plücker's first views, those which included the repulsion of the optic axis of a uniaxial crystal by the poles of the magnet, were, as already stated,

incorrect in many cases, and they substituted an amended set of rules in the following terms:

"If the arrangement of the component molecules of any crystal be such as to present different degrees of proximity in different directions, then the line of closest proximity, other circumstances being equal, will be that chosen by the respective forces for the exhibition of their energy. If the mass be magnetic this line will set axial; if diamagnetic, equatorial."

The key-word is "proximity." This condensed statement of course requires explanation. Tyndall supplies it in full in his book on "Diamagnetism and Magne-crystallic Action." A very brief summary will be sufficient for our present purpose. In the first place, the observations made by him and his partner on the behaviour of crystals in the magnetic field convinced them that the plane of cleavage determined in a number of cases the position which the suspended crystal would take. Magnesium sulphate, zinc sulphate, saltpetre, and topaz were diamagnetic substances, and their cleavage planes, the crystals being so suspended that these planes were vertical, always set themselves equatorially, *i.e.* at right angles to the field. On the other hand, nickel sulphate, scapolite, and beryl, which were magnetic crystals, in the same circumstances set their cleavage planes parallel to the field.

The connexion between these results and the statement quoted above lies in this, that the molecules in a crystal were supposed to be in greater proximity along a cleavage plane than in any other direction. Let us take bismuth as an example; it is diamagnetic and sets its cleavage plane equatorially in accordance with Tyndall's rule. Its structure has now been determined by X-ray analysis, so that we can see what meaning can be attached to the claim for proximity in the plane of cleavage. The bismuth structure can be looked on, approximately, as a slightly distorted cube; one of the cube's diagonals has been a little stretched, while the other three have been left unchanged. The crystal is therefore uniaxial; the axis is the stretched diagonal. The principal cleavage plane is perpendicular to the axis. The spacing of the planes parallel to the cleavage is larger than that of any other set of planes in the crystal, and these consequently contain more molecules to the unit area than any other planes. Tyndall would have said that in those planes there was a maximum proximity between the molecules.

The X-ray analysis of other crystals often shows the cleavage plane to have the largest spacing and

therefore the closest degree of packing. This means that the points of the crystal lattice are closest together in that plane, but it does not mean that the atoms or molecules are nearer together in that plane than in any other. Nothing can be said about that until the actual distribution of the atoms in the unit cell has been determined. It would be much safer to say that the existence of a cleavage plane implies a certain *looseness of packing across* the crystal planes which are parallel to the cleavage. This would imply a greater tightness in other directions, but not necessarily a greater proximity. It is only at first glance that the latter term seems to have a clear meaning. But we must let it stand in order to realise the argument as it presented itself to the authors of the statement quoted.

It happens that in the case of bismuth we do actually find a closer bonding between the atoms in the cleavage plane than in any other; but this is peculiar to the structure of bismuth and has no relation to the supposed close proximity of *molecules* in the cleavage plane.

Now we come to the essential point of the argument. It is supposed that proximity offers magnetism or diamagnetism, whichever it may be, the opportunity to "exhibit its greatest energy." We are to remember that the hypothesis on which we are working expresses itself in terms of poles and that a magnet attracts a piece of iron by inducing poles in it, which poles then react with the poles of the magnet. When a piece of iron is allowed to attach itself to a magnet, the poles induced in it are much stronger than if the magnet and the iron are separated by a little distance. If a second piece of

FIG. 8.—When pieces of iron are all in contact with one another and the end one with the magnet, the nail can hang as shown in (a). But when, as in (b), the iron blocks are somewhat separated from one another and from the magnet, the nail falls.

iron is brought near the first, every increase in its proximity increases the strength of the poles which are developed in this piece by the influence both of the original magnet and of the first piece of iron.

A simple experiment will serve as an illustration (Fig. 8): The nail hangs in the first case, and not in the

second, because the close proximity of the iron blocks increases the strength of the poles in all of them. In the second case, the nail will not hang;

although the magnet is actually closer to it. The benefit of mutual 'proximity' of the separate pieces of iron is obvious. An equally simple explanation can be given in terms of lines of force, but we are using the alternative language.

Chains of iron fragments form readily between magnet poles of opposite nature. A rod of iron "transmits the magnetic force," and generally acts more efficiently than a set of iron fragments which are not allowed to get into close proximity with each other. Tyndall sticks short lengths of iron wire through disc-shaped pieces of apple and shows that the disc sets itself at right angles to the field, the bits of wire therefore lying parallel thereto. In each bit are many molecules of iron in close proximity, and the fact is more effective in directing the apple than the existence of a number of bits scattered over the disc without being in 'proximity' to each other.

DIAMAGNETISM AND 'PROXIMITY.'

It is now argued by Tyndall that if the magnetic influence of a magnet is extended by means of proximity, the diamagnetic influence must be extended in the same way. If the close proximity of iron fragments will help them to set with greater firmness in the direction joining opposite poles, then the closer proximity of bismuth fragments should cause them to set with greater firmness across them. In this way Tyndall interpreted the rule, which he believed he had established, that the cleavage planes of magnetic crystals tended to set axially, and those of diamagnetic crystals equatorially.

It is interesting to observe that Tyndall was attempting to supply both a rule for the setting of crystals and an explanation of the rule in terms of structure. Faraday stopped short when he had supplied a picture of the distribution of his magnetic lines, or, as we should now say, a map of the distribution of energy in the magnetic field.

As I have already pointed out, there is no clear meaning to the term "greater proximity in the cleavage plane." Moreover, if conclusions were to be drawn from analogy with phenomena on a larger scale, they would run contrary to the intended argument; for, on that scale at least, a line of diamagnetic masses tends to set itself axially, not equatorially. A piece of bismuth makes an extremely minute alteration in the disposition of the lines of force, for which reason it is a very poor detector of the existence of the lines in comparison with iron; and the change, since it is so small, can indeed be detected by a piece of iron in the form of a magnet, but certainly not by

another piece of bismuth, no matter how close they are together.

In the case of a uniaxial crystal, a principal cleavage must from symmetry considerations be related to the axis and, if it is unique, must be perpendicular thereto. When there is more than one cleavage, the cleavage planes must be symmetrically disposed about the axis as in the case of Iceland spar. It is not, therefore, surprising that, in the former case, the cleavage plane should place itself exactly, either equatorially or axially, and that in the latter case a plane perpendicular to the axis might be looked on as a resultant of cleavage planes and therefore set itself equatorially. But it does seem remarkable that, as Tyndall pointed out, the substitution of iron for calcium in Iceland spar, to form the isomorphous iron carbonate, should turn the structure round through 90° in the magnetic field; especially if we assign diamagnetism and paramagnetism to different causes. It may be there are other cases of the same change; and any rule of this kind must clearly be of importance.

THE EFFECTS OF PRESSURE ON MAGNETIC SUSCEPTIBILITY.

We now come to another set of experiments, very interesting and important, which were used by Tyndall in the defence of the 'polarity' position. The method of these experiments was suggested by an accident. When working in Berlin with a fine magnet placed at his disposal by Magnus, he was observing the action of the magnet on a bismuth cube which was so shaped that two opposite faces were perpendicular to the optic axis and parallel to cleavage planes. When the current was switched on, the magnet poles rushed together because the separate parts of the magnet had not been properly bolted down. The bismuth cube was crushed to some extent. Working conditions having been restored, it was found that the bismuth set itself at right angles to its former position. The line of pressure, which, of course, had been parallel to the field, was now perpendicular to it. Tyndall now argued that the particles of bismuth had been brought into greater proximity by the pressure and that the setting of this line of great proximity was in accordance with the rule given by himself and Knoblauch. So began an extended series of researches on the effects of pressure which are fully described in his book. As an example let us take the following:

"A quantity of bismuth was ground to dust in an agate mortar, gum-water was added, and the

mass was kneaded to a stiff paste. This was placed between two glasses and pressed together; from the mass when dried two cubes were taken, the line of compression being perpendicular to two of the faces of each cube and parallel to the other four. Suspended by a silk fibre in the magnetic field, upon closing the circuit the line of compression turned strongly into the equatorial position. . . ."

When carbonate of iron was used the line of pressure set axially.

Such an experiment is very striking, whatever its explanation may be. Tyndall argued that he had by compression increased the proximity along the line of pressure, but it is difficult to see how this can be. If a number of particles of one kind are distributed with complete irregularity in a paste medium which is then subjected to pressure in one direction, the alteration in form of the paste block will not alter the law of distribution of the particles. In any case, as we have already seen, proximity does not produce any observable effects.

LORD KELVIN'S EXPLANATION OF TYNDALL'S RESULTS.

It is surely natural to suggest that the particles acquired some orientation from the pressure, which might well happen if they possessed shapes which were related in some particular way to their structures. Thomson immediately pointed this out to Tyndall, who replied that if that were the case, the bismuth fragments being naturally in the form of flakes parallel to the cleavage plane, the line of pressure ought therefore to set itself axially, whereas it actually set equatorially. This was certainly a good reply. Perhaps the counter argument is that the crystal fragments have not actually been shown to set in this way. Miss Knaggs has made an X-ray measurement of the set of the fragments in one specimen of squeezed dough containing bismuth particles, and has found that the cleavage planes are not closely coplanar with the surface, as they must be if Tyndall's argument is to be good. Though this is a single example, it looks as if a way of escaping the difficulty was to be found.

As I have said, Tyndall's reply to Thomson was good, but, to use his own words, though it formed "a strong presumptive argument it was not yet convincing." He strengthened his case greatly by a further experiment. Comparing the repulsion exerted by a magnet on a natural crystal of bismuth with that exerted on a mass of compressed powder in dough, he found the latter greater than the former. He had cut the crystal into the form of a cube and placed it on one arm of a torsion balance

so that the cleavage plane was perpendicular to the magnetic field, and the repulsive force as great as it could possibly be. The dough had been pressed into a cube of the same size and placed with its line of pressure at right angles to the field. Tyndall argued that there must be a direct effect of pressure, since it had done more than all that the natural phenomena could do.

Now it is clear that if the orientation of a bismuth crystal in a uniform magnetic field, *i.e.* the magne-crystallic action, is due to the arrangement of the atoms and molecules in the crystal structure, the perfect crystal ought to show the effect more perfectly than the fragments distributed through the dough, however perfectly the latter may be arranged. But Miss Knaggs has made an X-ray photograph from the face of a natural 'crystal.' The specimen was chipped out of a mass of crystals left in a crucible, and must have resembled that which Tyndall used. The photograph showed at once that the specimen was a compound of more than one crystal, and that different orientations were present. Cleavage planes, and also others which in a single crystal would make large angles with the cleavage planes, were nearly parallel to the face under test. It is possible, therefore, that there was really more of the effective orientation in the pressed specimen than in the natural piece. A photograph of the single crystal made by Bridgman's method taken in the region of the cleavage plane gave a much cleaner picture.

A piece of bismuth can be looked on as an aggregate of crystals. There may be but one perfect crystal or there may be a number, small or large, of smaller crystals, each perfect. If proximity were increased by pressure, the change in proximity would have to occur in respect to the mutual distances in either of the separate crystals, or of the atoms and molecules in the single crystal. The X-ray analysis shows that the latter alternative is impossible, because from many tests recently carried out in respect to metal structure, we learn that no permanent change in the crystalline lattice is occasioned by stress. The former alternative is also ruled out, because, as Faraday pointed out,⁴ bismuth is actually of a lower density after compression than it was before; the pressure having of course been removed. Apparently the breaking up of the specimen increases the extent of the cavities.

Tyndall made many paste models of crystals, mixing powders of bismuth, carbonate of iron, or

other active substances with flour and water, or gum. He pressed the mass by different amounts in different directions and then cut it to shape; in this way he imitated the magne-crystallic action in detail. At one time, in order to meet the objection that he was merely rearranging the small crystals in his paste and conglomerates, he took some white wax "concerning whose amorphism there can be but little doubt." The substance is diamagnetic. A little cylinder of the wax suspended in the magnetic field set with its axis equatorial. It was then placed between two stout pieces of glass and squeezed as thin as a sixpence; suspended from its edge, the plate thus formed set so that its length, which coincided with the axis of the previous cylinder, was axial and its shortest dimension equatorial. But we know now that wax is anything but amorphous; its crystalline structure has not only been observed but also accurately measured; and we know also that pressure arranges the orientation of the crystals.

Tyndall obtained the same result with a piece of bread, and we may repeat the experiment. A small piece of the crumb is squeezed between two glass plates, and the edges of the irregular mass are trimmed off, so as to leave a thin disc. When this is suspended so that its plane is vertical, it sets equatorially if the poles are close together and the field is very divergent. It is therefore diamagnetic. But when the bread is moved

FIG. 9.—The black lines show different positions of a thin wafer of pressed bread hung by a single fibre. In the outer parts of the magnetic field it sets more or less along the lines, but as it is brought up to the more intense parts, where there is great divergence of the lines, it turns so as to set itself at right angles to the field.

from the space between the poles to a more uniform part of the field, the plane of the disc turns through a right angle and sets itself parallel to the lines of force. It is quaint to observe how the bread, as it is moved up to the poles, sets itself to pass neatly through the narrow gate and take up a parallel position on the further side. This is due to magne-crystallic action, so that the bread contains crystals, a fact easily verified by X-ray methods.

THE EFFECTS OF PRESSURE ON CRYSTALLINE CONDITION.

The long series of interesting and ingenious experiments which Tyndall made to show that pressure produced proximity and proximity produced the equivalent of magne-crystallic action, must be held to have failed in their original purpose. But they will doubtless be put to a different use.

⁴ His reference was to "Gmelin's Handbook of Inorganic Chemistry," vol. 4, p. 428.

They are related to a subject of immense importance in these days, namely, the effects of pressure and tension and mechanical treatment generally, upon the state of a material and upon its physical properties. The consideration of such questions is fundamental to metallurgy and to other industries. The microscope has for many years been employed for the purpose, and the new methods of X-ray analysis are already being put into service. It may well repay us to consider Tyndall's experiments in a new light; and to examine the actual nature of those rearrangements which produced such remarkable changes in magnetic reactions. Tyndall himself discussed the effects of pressure in producing planes of possible cleavage, and was one of the pioneers in showing how such planes, occurring in the earth's crust, were not always to be interpreted as the result of sedimentary deposition, but rather of pressure, which might, if it were exerted more or less along the deposition planes, produce cleavages across the latter. He extended the principle to account for stratification in rolled materials, even in biscuits and pastry!

Faraday's use of lines of force did not, in reality, demand so much framing of hypothesis as Tyndall's polarity. It is to be observed that, as Faraday pointed out, they had no differences about facts, merely about methods of description, which methods, however, were of different value as suggesting development. To Faraday's conceptions have been added theories of magnetism and diamagnetism based on the existence of resistanceless molecular circuits as imagined by Ampère and Weber, or on revolving electrons as explained by Langevin. In the most recent times the quantum theories have again modified our ideas.

MODERN CONSIDERATIONS.

The crude hypothesis of the molecular circuit leads simply to a useful point of view of the difference between paramagnetism and diamagnetism, and the most modern discussions, though they differ greatly in appearance, leave that point of

view almost untouched. If any of Faraday's lines of force thread a circuit which has no electrical resistance, that number can never be changed. If, therefore, a substance be brought into a magnetic field, the molecular circuits in the atoms of the substance act like obstructions to the lines; and the total obstruction, of which the negative magnetic susceptibility is a measure, is proportional to the sum of the areas of all these circuits, as projected on a plane perpendicular to the lines. It is of no consequence whatever whether there are already currents in those circuits; unless, indeed, the circuits are movable and can alter their set towards the imposed field. Thus the diamagnetism is unaffected by the existence of molecular magnetic fields; or by any changes in them, so long as the total of the projected areas of the circuits is unchanged.

This result does not hold if circuits approach each other so closely that they offer less obstruction to the lines than if they were more separated. Two resistanceless circuits running closely parallel to each other offer little more opposition to the passage of lines than either circuit alone. We should imagine that such changes in the relative position of circuits would only occur in strenuous circumstances such as, possibly, those of crystallisation. It is known that diamagnetic susceptibility may vary very slightly: for example, Oxley has shown that crystallisation sometimes brings about small but definite alterations. As has often been pointed out, this simple theory makes diamagnetism a property of all substances, which can be affected, even overwhelmed, when the circuits already contain currents, and therefore can be orientated afresh by the magnetic field.

Let me say in conclusion that although recently acquired knowledge of the structure of materials leads us to reconsider Tyndall's experimental results, we are still far from the full explanation of the connexion between structure and magnetism, and of the influence of the latter upon physical properties.