

Fluxions, Forces, and Fields:

An overview of the mathematisation of physics in Europe through the modern period

Zella Baig

February 20, 2021

Tracing Back

- Let's take a convenient starting point: Einstein, special relativity, & aether theory
- Much of the groundwork had been laid by Lorentz, with his *Theory of Corresponding States*¹
- Much of the work Lorentz built on was done by George Fitzgerald, who was also influenced greatly by Maxwell

¹Janssen and Stachel, 2004.

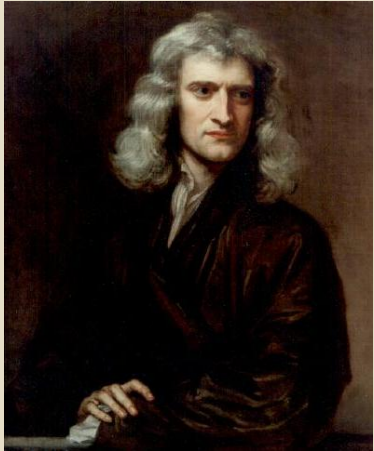
Beyond Maxwell

- 'Mentored' by William Thomson² (later Lord Kelvin)... who was a major figure in shaping physics (or natural philosophy) in C19
- Physics in Thomson's day had been centred around energy (and thus dynamics)...
- ... Which followed from continental development furthered by figures such as Lagrange and Laplace...
- ... Who worked using methods derived from Newton's work on celestial motion

²Smith, 1978.

The Birth of an Era: Isaac Newton

(1643-1727)



Newtonian Mathematical Ideals

- Saw God as mathematical, with a fondness for geometry
- Fluxions & Fluentsⁱ
- Clashes with Cartesianism³

³Westfall, 1981.

ⁱFor reading on notational impact, see: Guicciardini, 1989; Guicciardini, 2004; Boyer, 2012

Experimental Philosophy

- The method of **resolution** & **composition**:
 1. Observe and “come to the general properties of things”⁴
 2. Assume said properties and describe further phenomena
- **Hypotheses non fingo**⁵ - ignorance is acceptable!
- Nature able to be quantised (e.g. fluxional calculus & Halley’s Comet)
 - Concept of forces at a distance

⁴Newton and McGuire, 1970.

⁵Newton, Cohen, et al., 1999.

The Dynamical Age:
Pierre-Simon
Laplace

(1749-1827)



Laplacian Physics

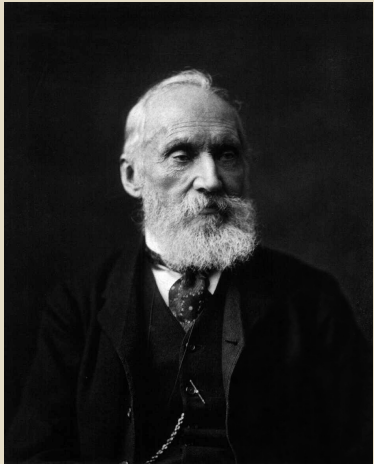
- The rise of French scientific dominance
- Physics spearheaded by Laplace (1749-1827) in early C19, who took an "astronomical view of nature"⁶
- Prevalence of central-force based models, for even minute scales⁷
- Competitions set-up with e.g. the Society of Arcueil to promote mathematical collaboration
- Development of light, heat, and electromagnetic theory with various contestants (e.g. Fourier) - via Laplacian methods

⁶Merz, 1896.

⁷Fox, 1974.

Heating Up: William Thomson

(1824-1907)



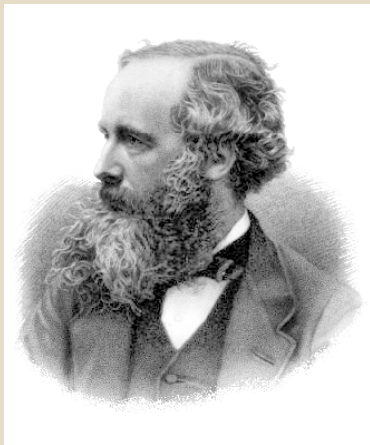
- Ideas of *vis-viva* around since Leibniz, *caloric* furthered by e.g. Carnot in early C19
- Natural philosophy shifted towards a focus on (conservation of) energy - in particular heat⁸
- Thomson follows Newtonian ideals - refusing to assign hypotheses
- There exist “absolute numerical relations” between heat and power⁹

⁸Smith, 1978.

⁹Thomson, 1851.

**Models and
Mathematics:
James Clerk Maxwell**

(1831-1879)



The Birth of Electromagnetism

- Faraday had done groundbreaking work on electromagnetism, but almost entirely qualitative
- Maxwell reticent to attribute any physical cause; *Faraday's Lines*¹⁰ makes no claim of physicality
- *Dynamical Theory*¹¹ made little note of aether as it was mathematically unnecessary
- *Physical Lines*¹² - first postulates light being electromagnetic, as well as displacement current

¹⁰Maxwell, 1856.

¹¹Maxwell, 1865.

¹²Maxwell, 1861.

Maxwell & Vectors

- Greatly develops ~~vector~~ calculus out of necessity for his mechanical models - Maxwell didn't have vector notation at his disposal!
- Modern formulation only introduced in 1884, by Heavyside¹³
- Vector notation itself only introduced in 1843, by Hamilton¹⁴

¹³Hunt, 2012.

¹⁴Crowe, 1994.

**Transformations &
Time:
Henri Poincaré**

(1854-1912)



The First Cracks

- Following Maxwell's work, electromagnetism became dominant¹⁵
- The nature of the aether was hotly debated
- Lorentz develops ideas of 'local time' & 'corresponding states' (co-ordinate transforms - *but only of EM waves*¹⁶)

¹⁵Hunt, 1994.

¹⁶Brown, 2005.

Developing Physicality

- Develops theory to be (functionally) identical to modern Lorentz transformations¹⁷
- Willing to ignore aether hypotheses, as mathematically unnecessary¹⁸
 - Unwilling to fully commit to ideas: “Of hypotheses there is never lack”¹⁹
- Einstein would soon go on to have his *annus mirabilis* and completely shift away from aether theory

¹⁷Darrigol, 1995.

¹⁸Poincaré, Blondin, and Neculcea, 1901.

¹⁹Poincaré and Halsted, 1929.

Conclusion

To Sum Up...

- Initial shift with Newton's development of *experimental philosophy* and quantisation of nature
- Development of continental force-based physics
- Shift towards disciplinary rigour with Thomson and others
- Maxwellian development of electromagnetic theory
- The final steps away from the aether - after thousands of years

Thank You

References

- [1] Bacon, F. *Novum organum Scientiarum*. Londini, 1620.
- [2] Boyer, C. B. *The History of the Calculus and Its Conceptual Development*. Courier Corporation, 2012.
- [3] Brown, H. R. *Physical Relativity: Space-Time Structure from a Dynamical Perspective*. Oxford University Press, 2005.
- [4] Clavius, C. *Opera Mathematica*. Vol. 3. 1612, p. 2.
- [5] Clifford, W. and Tucker, R. *Elements of Dynamic: An Introduction to the Study of Motion and Rest in Solid and Fluid Bodies*. v. 1-3. MacMillan and Company, 1878.
- [6] Craik, A. D. D. "Calculus and Analysis in Early 19th-Century Britain: The Work of William Wallace". In: *Historia Mathematica* 26.3 (1999).
- [7] Crowe, M. J. *A History of Vector Analysis: The Evolution of the Idea of a Vectorial System*. Courier Corporation, 1994.
- [8] Darrigol, O. "Henri Poincaré's Criticism of Fin De Siècle Electrodynamics". In: *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part B: Studies in History and Philosophy of Modern Physics* 26 (1995), pp. 1–44.
- [9] Dickinson, M. *Photograph of William Thomson, Lord Kelvin*. 1911.

- [10] Fox, R. "The Rise and Fall of Laplacian Physics". In: *Historical Studies in the Physical Sciences* 4 (1974), pp. 89–136.
- [11] Gooding, D. *Final Steps to the Field Theory: Faraday's Study of Magnetic Phenomena, 1845-1850*. Berkeley, 1981.
- [12] Gooding, D. and James, F. A. J. L. *In Nature's School': Faraday as an Experimentalist*. London: Macmillan Education UK, 1985, pp. 105–136.
- [13] Greenberg, J. L. "Mathematical Physics in Eighteenth-Century France". In: *Isis* 77.1 (1986), pp. 59–78.
- [14] Guérin, J.-B. P. *Pierre Simon Marquis de Laplace (1745-1827)*. 1838.
- [15] Guicciardini, N. "Dot-Age: Newton's Mathematical Legacy in the Eighteenth Century". In: *Early Science and Medicine* 9.3 (2004), pp. 218–256.
- [16] Guicciardini, N. *The Development of Newtonian Calculus in Britain, 1700–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- [17] Hunt, B. J. "Oliver Heaviside: A First-Rate Oddity". In: *Physics Today* 65.11 (2012), pp. 48–54.
- [18] Hunt, B. J. *The Maxwellians*. Cornell University Press, 1994.

- [19] Janssen, M. and Stachel, J. J. *The Optics and Electrodynamics of Moving Bodies*. Max-Planck-Institute for the History of Science, 2004.
- [20] Kneller, G. *Portrait of Newton at 46*. 1689.
- [21] Maxwell, J. C. "A Dynamical Theory of the Electromagnetic Field". In: *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 155 (1865), pp. 459–512.
- [22] Maxwell, J. C. *A Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1873.
- [23] Maxwell, J. C. *Matter and Motion*. Dover, 1877, pp. 89–90.
- [24] Maxwell, J. C. "On Faraday's Lines of Force.". In: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1856.
- [25] Maxwell, J. C. *On Physical Lines of Force*. London: Royal Society, 1861.
- [26] Maxwell, J. C. and Niven, W. D. *The Scientific Papers of James Clerk Maxwell*. New York: Dover Publications, 1965.
- [27] Merz, J. *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*. A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century. Blackwood & Sons: London, 1896, Pp. xiv+, 458.

- [28] Newton, I. *MS Add.,f. 243r*. Portsmouth Collection, 1670–1710.
- [29] Newton, I., Cohen, B., et al. *The Principia: Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*. 3rd ed. University of California Press, 1999, p. 943.
- [30] Newton, I. and McGuire, J. E. “Newton’s ”Principles of Philosophy”: An Intended Preface for the 1704 ”Opticks” and a Related Draft Fragment”. In: *The British Journal for the History of Science* 5 (1970), pp. 178–186.
- [31] Newton, I. and Whiteside, D. T. *The Mathematical Papers of Isaac Newton*. Vol. 7. Cambridge, 1967–1981.
- [32] Poincaré, H., Blondin, J., and Neculcea, E. *Electricité et Optique. La lumière et les Théories électrodynamiques (Sorbonne lectures of spring 1888, 1890, and 1899*. 1901, pp. 403–420.
- [33] Poincaré, H. and Halsted, G. B. *The Foundations of Science: Science and Hypothesis, the Value of Science, Science and Method*. Science Press, 1929, p. 147.
- [34] Popular Science Monthly. *Henri Poincaré*. 1913.
- [35] Rees, G. “Mathematics And Francis Bacon’s Natural Philosophy”. In: *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 40 (159 (4) 1986), pp. 399–426.

- [36] Rindler, W. "Einstein's Priority in Recognizing Time Dilation Physically". In: *American Journal of Physics* 38 (1970), pp. 1111–1115.
- [37] Shapiro, A. E. "Newton's "Experimental Philosophy"". In: *Early Science and Medicine* 9.3 (2004), pp. 185–217.
- [38] Smith, C. "A New Chart for British Natural Philosophy: The Development of Energy Physics in the Nineteenth Century". In: *History of Science* (1978), pp. 231–279.
- [39] Stodart, G. *Engraving of James Clerk Maxwell*. 1890.
- [40] Tait, P. G. *Letter from Tait to Thomson, 12 December 1861*. Kelvin Papers. 1861.
- [41] Thomson, W. *On the Dynamical Theory of Heat, with Numerical Results Deduced from Mr Joule's Equivalent of a Thermal Unit, and M. Regnault's Observations on Steam*. Vol. 20. Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. 1851. 261-288.
- [42] Thomson, W. and Tait, P. G. *Treatise on Natural Philosophy*. Clarendon Press, 1867.
- [43] Westfall, R. S. *Never at Rest: A Biography of Isaac Newton*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.