Bernard Fernandez

Unravelling the Mystery of the Atomic Nucleus: A Sixty Year Journey 1896 — 1956

English version by Georges Ripka



Unravelling the Mystery of the Atomic Nucleus

Bernard Fernandez

Unravelling the Mystery of the Atomic Nucleus

A Sixty Year Journey 1896 — 1956

English version by Georges Ripka



Bernard Fernandez rue Gabrielle d'Estrées 17 Vanves France Georges Ripka La Croix du Sauveur Queyssac les Vignes France

Title of the original French edition, De l'atome au noyau. Une approche historique et de la physique nucléaire—published by Ellipses—Copyright 2006, Édition Marketing S.A.

ISBN 978-1-4614-4180-9 ISBN 978-1-4614-4181-6 (eBook) DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-4181-6 Springer New York Heidelberg Dordrecht London

Library of Congress Control Number: 2012944736

© Springer Science+Business Media New York 2013

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed. Exempted from this legal reservation are brief excerpts in connection with reviews or scholarly analysis or material supplied specifically for the purpose of being entered and executed on a computer system, for exclusive use by the purchaser of the work. Duplication of this publication or parts thereof is permitted only under the provisions of the Copyright Law of the Publisher's location, in its current version, and permission for use must always be obtained from Springer. Permissions for use may be obtained through RightsLink at the Copyright Clearance Center. Violations are liable to prosecution under the respective Copyright Law.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

While the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication, neither the authors nor the editors nor the publisher can accept any legal responsibility for any errors or omissions that may be made. The publisher makes no warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein.

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Foreword to the French Edition

Throughout my life as a nuclear physicist, spent in the laboratory probing the properties of the atomic nuclei, I was repeatedly confronted with the question: how did this idea, this concept, this understanding arise, and by what path was it reached? The question obviously concerns our understanding and formulation of physical theory but also, and this is all too often forgotten, by the development of instrumentation. The revolutionary changes in our understanding of physical phenomena, which took place in the span of a few decades of the first half of the twentieth century, concern both equally. In fact, momentous upheavals of physical theory, such as the formulation of quantum mechanics, were forced upon physicists, often against their will, by a variety of experimental data which obstinately refused to be accounted for by prevailing theories.

Curiously, I never found a book which really answered this question. The book of Abraham Pais, *Inward Bound*, is a wonderful work and an inexhaustible source of references, written more for specialists. But it is a history of the physics of elementary particles and not of nuclear physics which preceded it. It highlights the evolution of the theory, casting somewhat aside the history of instrumentation. The two-volume work of Milorad Mladjenović is well documented, but it addresses mainly physicists without really answering the question. Upon scrutinizing paper after paper, upon following the tracks of progress, dead-ends, questioning and controversy, which form the matter upon which science breads, I observed that every step forward, be it modest or fundamental, was the fruit of a necessity. It never entered ready-made into the mind of a physicist, even if he was a genius, and we shall encounter several. It was almost always the answer to a concrete problem.

This book describes how atomic nuclei were discovered, progressively probed and understood. It begins with the discovery of radioactivity by Becquerel in 1896. It is written in a nontechnical language, without mathematical formulas. However, it is not intended to be a popularization of a scientific work, which might attempt to convey the essentials by means of analogies. I wish each sentence to be legible by both full-fledged physicists and non-specialists. The latter may occasionally consult the glossary at the end of the book for words marked by the sign \diamond . Footnotes offer punctual explanations and comments. References are listed at the end of each chapter. A detailed bibliography of all the cited books can be found at the end of this volume.

As far as possible, the narrative uses terms and concepts, such as rays, atoms, elements,... *in the sense they were used and conceived at the time*, and it follows their progressive and occasionally abrupt changes in meaning. Terms which were used at a given time were the most suitable and plausible working tools. It would be both silly and unbecoming to comment or criticize them from the point of view of one "who knows the end of the story." The reader, who knows more and better today, may find it occasionally surprising to be faced with a hypothesis considered to be a verified truth, only to find it discarded later.

I should add what this book *is not*. It describes only briefly the technical applications of atomic and nuclear physics. For example, it does not describe the history of nuclear power plants. However, a chronology of the development of the atomic bomb is given because its development caused a qualitative change in the research facilities after 1945.

It all started with the discovery of radioactivity by Becquerel in 1896. Radioactivity confirmed the reality of atoms and produced a profound change in the very concept of atoms. It later provided insight in to their structure and the existence of an inner nucleus. What at first appeared to be a simple black blur on a photographic plate prompted physicists to discover more in order to "lift a corner of the veil," according to the expression of Einstein. Progressively and due to relentless work and fertile imagination, new concepts were forged. Our knowledge of the atom greatly expanded during the 1930–1940 decade. The theoretical schemes upon which our present understanding is based were developed shortly before and shortly after the Second World War. That is where the history covered by this book ends, although it is a pursuing adventure.

*

This work has benefited from the encouragement and active help of my close collaborators, particularly of my friends at the *Service de Physique Nucléaire* of the French Atomic Energy Commission, as well as of the *Direction des Sciences de la Matière*. I spent endless hours and days in numerous libraries searching for documentation and original publications. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the warm and friendly welcome of the librarians, whose competence and devotion were a great help.

Some faithful friends not only encouraged me but also accepted the task of making a critical reading of this work, namely the nuclear physicists Jean Gastebois and Georges Ripka as well as the nonphysicist Maurice Mourier and the nonspecialist scientist Philippe Lazar. The translation of Russian texts is due to Anne-Emmanuelle Lazar. Finally Bernard Gicquel took the trouble to read and correct the translations of the German texts. A hearty thanks to them all!

Vanves, France February 2006 Bernard Fernandez

Foreword to the English Edition

The present English version of the original book is the result of 3 years of fruitful collaboration between us. All the sections have been revised and often rewritten. Many references as well as the glossary have been reviewed and rewritten with English readers in mind. Indeed it should be considered as a second edition.

We would like to express our gratitude to Aron Bernstein and Philippe Lazar for their critical reading of the manuscript.

Vanves, France Queyssac les Vignes, France Bernard Fernandez Georges Ripka

Contents

Radioactivity: The First Puzzles	1
The "Uranic Rays" of Henri Becquerel	1
The Discovery	2
Is It Really Phosphorescence?	4
What Is the Nature of the Radiation?	5
A Limited Impact on Scientists and the Public	6
Why 1896?	7
Was Radioactivity Discovered by Chance?	7
Polonium and Radium	9
Marya Skłodowska	9
Pierre Curie	10
Polonium and Radium: Pierre and Marie Curie Invent Radiochemistry	11
Enigmas	14
Emanation from Thorium	17
Ernest Rutherford	17
Rutherford Studies Radioactivity: α -and β -Rays	18
β -Rays Are Electrons	19
Rutherford in Montreal: The Radiation of Thorium,	
the Exponential Decrease	19
"Induced" and "Excited" Radioactivity	20
Elster and Geitel: The Radioactivity of the Air and of the Earth	22
A Third Type of Ray: γ -Rays	24
The Emanation of Thorium Is a Gas Belonging to the Argon Family	24
A Proliferation of "X" Radiations	25
"An Enigma, a Deeply Astonishing Subject"	26
The Puzzle Is Disentangled	27
α-Rays Revisited	29
Radioactivity Is an Atomic Decay	30
The Puzzle Is Unravelled: Radioactive Families	30
Where Does the Energy of Radioactivity Come from?	
The Conjecture of Rutherford	32

Experimental Evidence of Transmutation	35
Radioactivity is Understood. Radioactive Families	35
Consecrations and Mourning: The End of an Era	37
1903: Henri Becquerel Shares the Nobel Prize	
with Pierre and Marie Curie	37
The Death of Pierre Curie	39
1908: Rutherford is Awarded the Nobel Prize	40
The Death of Henri Becquerel	40
References	41
A Nucleus at the Heart of the Atom	47
Prehistory of the Atom	47
Eighteenth Century: The Abbot Nollet	48
Beginning of the Nineteenth Century: John Dalton, William	
Prout, Gay-Lussac, Avogadro, and Ampère	49
Do Atoms Really Exist?	50
1865: Loschmidt Estimates the Size of Air Molecules	51
Spectral Lines: A First Indication of an Internal Structure of Atoms	52
Jean Perrin Advocates the Reality of Atoms	52
1897: The Electrons Are in the Atom	55
Electric Discharges in Gases, Cathode Rays and the Electron	55
"Dynamids": The Atoms of Philipp Lenard	55
Numeric Attempts to Describe Spectral Rays: Balmer and Rydberg	56
J. J. Thomson's First Model: An Atom Consisting Entirely	
of Electrons	57
A Speculation of Jean Perrin: The Atom Is Like	
a Small Scale Solar System	57
The "Saturn" Model of Hantaro Nagaoka	58
The "Plum-Pudding" Atom of J. J. Thomson	59
Charles Barkla Measures the Number of Electrons in an Atom	60
The Scattering of α Particles Makes It Possible to "See" a Nucleus	
in the Atom	63
An Observation of Marie Curie	63
William Henry Bragg: The Slowing Down of α -Particles in Matter	63
The "Scattering" of α-Particles	65
The Nature of the α -Particle: An Unresolved Question	66
The First Geiger Counter	67
The Nature of the α -Particle	69
Another Way to Count α -Particles: Scintillations	70
Back to the Scattering of α -Particles	71
The Experiments of Geiger and Marsden	72
Are the Large Deviations Caused by Multiple Small Deviations?	73
Rutherford Invents the Nucleus	74
A Last Ingredient: Moseley Measures the Charge of the Nucleus	
in the Atom	77
Barkla Creates X-ray Spectroscopy	77

Contents

The Diffraction of X-rays: Max von Laue, William Henry	
and William Lawrence Bragg	78
Henry Moseley Measures the Charge of Nuclei	79
A Paradox	81
References	83
Quantum Mechanics: The Unavoidable Path	89
Branching Off	89
An Improbable Beginning	91
The Peak of Classical Mechanics	91
A Persistent Problem	92
1900: Max Planck Invents the Quantum of the Action	94
A Quantum of Action	96
Finstein and Light Quanta	96
The Specific Heat of Solids	00
The First Solvay Council and the Theory of Quanta	00
Niels Bohr: The Quanta Are in the Atom	103
Robr Introduces Quanta in the Theory of the Atom	103
"On the Constitution of Atoms and Molecules"	105
Two Other Depers in Pohr's 1012 Trilogy	100
1012 1022: Victorias and Sathaska	100
1915–1925. Victories and Setoacks	109
Skepticishi, Elititusiashi and Adhesion	109
A Desliferation of Ortical Lines. The Zerman and Stark Effects	110
A Proliferation of Optical Lines: The Zeeman and Stark Effects	110
Arnoid Sommerfeid: Elliptic Orbits and New Quantum Numbers	111
Relativistic Corrections and the Fine Structure Constant	112
	113
A Further Contribution of Einstein: The Interaction	110
Between Radiation and Matter	113
The Stark Effect: A victory of the Theory of Quanta	114
	115
Kossel, Bohr and the Mendeleev Table	110
The Rare Earths	118
1918, 1921 and 1922: Three Nobel Prizes Attributed to Quanta	118
1925: Spin and the Pauli Principle	121
Wolfgang Pauli	121
Max Born	122
The Stern and Gerlach Experiment	123
The Compton Effect	124
A Strange Explanation of the Zeeman Effect	125
Pauli's Exclusion Principle	126
The "Spin" of the Electron	127
Quantum Mechanics	131
Louis de Broglie	131
Heisenberg and Matrix Mechanics	133

New Physics	135
Pauli Applies the New Mechanics to the Spectrum of Hydrogen	136
The Schrödinger Equation	136
Heisenberg and Schrödinger, Two Sides of the Same Coin	139
The Probabilistic Interpretation of Max Born	
and the End of Determinism	139
The Pauli Matrices	141
Indistinguishable Particles: Bose-Einstein "Statistics"	141
Enrico Fermi: A New "Statistics"	143
Paul Adrien Maurice Dirac	144
"Bosons" and "Fermions"	147
The Uncertainty Relations of Heisenberg	148
Nobel Acknowledgments	152
The Fifth Solvay Council: An Assessment of the New Mechanics	153
The German Language, the Language of Quantum Mechanics	154
A Brief Bibliography	155
References	157
A Timid Inform	162
The Atomic Nucleus in 1012	162
The Atomic Nucleus in 1915	165
The Discovery of Isotopes and the Measurement of Masses of Nuclei	165
Frederick Soddy	165
Instance Soudy	160
The Devivel of Desitivaly Charged "Concl Deve"	160
The First Dhusical Massurements of Atomia Massas	160
Frencis Acton and the Eirst Mass Spectrometer	160
The "Whole Number Lew" and the Old Hypothesis of William Brout	109
The Whole Number Law and the Old Hypothesis of William Flott	171
A Nakal Driza for the "Whale Number Dule"	175
The Atomic Massac Known in 1022: The Dinding Energy of Nuclei	175
An Enquiry Full of Surprises: B Dedicectivity	170
An Enquiry run of Surprises. ρ Radioacuvity	1/9
The velocity of the p Electrons	100
Uto Halli	100
Lise Melulei	102
The First " β Spectrometer"	104
The First p Spectrometer	100
Cloude Are Cethering	100
Leners Chadreiche A Cartinerer & Spectrum I	180
James Chadwick: A Continuous p Spectrum!	18/
Is It really a Continuous Spectrum?	189
III DETIIII: I ne War	190
The Decisive Enverteent of Charles Ellis	190
A Secondal Engrand Max Not De Constant I	191
A Scandal: Energy May Not Be Conserved!	193

Geiger and Bothe: A "Coincidence" Experiment	193
The Idea of Wolfgang Pauli	194
But Why Are So Many Spectral Lines Observed?	
The Key to the Mystery	196
The First Nuclear Reactions	199
The First Nuclear Reaction	200
Sir Ernest Rutherford, Cavendish Professor of Physics	202
New Nuclear Reactions	202
A Controversy Between Vienna and Cambridge	203
How Do the Transmutations Occur?	205
The Nucleus in 1920 According to Rutherford	207
The Size of the Nucleus	208
The Constitution of the Nucleus and of Isotopes	208
Rutherford the Visionary: The Neutron	209
Chadwick Hunts for New Forces	210
The Rapid Expansion of Experimental Means	213
Scintillation Methods	213
The Point Counter	214
The Geiger–Müller Counter	215
A Digression: The Birth and Development of Wireless Radio	216
The Electronically Amplified Ionization Chamber	217
Coincidence Measurements	219
The Measurement of the Energy of γ Radiation	220
A Unique Detector: Wilson's Cloud Chamber	222
The Atomic Nucleus in 1930	227
Some Certainties and One Enigma	228
At the Beginning of 1932, the Enigma Remains	231
References	233
1930–1940: A Dazzling Development	241
The Nucleus: A New Boundary	241
Quantum Mechanics Acting in the Nucleus	242
Salomon Rosenblum and the Fine Structure of α Radioactivity	244
1931: The First International Congress of Nuclear Physics	246
The Discovery of an Exceptional Isotope: Deuterium	249
The Discovery of the Neutron	253
Frédéric and Irène Joliot-Curie	254
Protons Are Ejected	256
The Neutron Is Revealed	257
Is the Neutron Lighter or Heavier than the Proton?	258
Nuclear Theory After the Discovery of the Neutron	263
Werner Heisenberg	263
Ettore Majorana	267
Eugene P. Wigner	270

Do the Protons and Neutrons form Shells as Electrons	
Do in the Atom?	271
A New Particle: The Positron	279
Cosmic Rays	279
Blackett and Occhialini	280
Carl Anderson Discovers a Positive Electron	282
The Positive Electron of Anderson and that of Dirac	283
Irène and Frédéric Joliot-Curie	286
The Birth of Particle Accelerators	289
Direct Acceleration: A High-Voltage Race	290
Acceleration in Steps	295
"Charge Independence" of the Nuclear Force	303
The Discovery of Artificial Radioactivity	305
The Joliot-Curies After the Solvay Council	307
"A New Kind of Radioactivity"	308
The Chemical Proof	309
It Spreads like Wildfire	310
The Importance of the Discovery	311
New Perspectives for Radioactive Indicators	312
The Death of Marie Curie	313
The 1935 Nobel Prizes Are Attributed to Chadwick	
and to the Joliot-Curies	314
The School of Rome	315
The Theory of β Decay	316
Neutron Physics in Rome	318
"Slow" Neutrons	321
A New Field in Nuclear Physics	323
Resonances	324
Fermi Is Awarded the Nobel Prize. The End of the Rome Team	326
The Great Exodus of Jewish Scientists Under Nazism	327
A Proliferation of Theories: Yukawa, Breit and Wigner, Bohr	331
Hideki Yukawa	331
The First Theories of Nuclear Reactions	335
The Structure of the Nucleus According to Bohr in 1937	338
The Death of a Giant: Ernest Rutherford	341
Hans Bethe Sums Up the Situation in 1936–1937	343
Hans Albrecht Bethe	343
The Structure of Nuclei	344
Nuclear Reactions	348
The Fission of Uranium	349
A Fragile Discovery: The Transuranic Elements	349
Loads of "Transuranic" Elements	352
At the Institut du Radium	354
Lise Meitner Flees Nazi Germany	358
Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassmann Set Again to Work	359

More and More Disconcerting Results	360
The Word Is Finally Uttered	363
The News Spreads to the United States	364
Confirmations	365
Niels Bohr: The Theory of Fission, Uranium 235	368
The Number of Emitted Neutrons	370
Leo Szilard	371
Is a Chain Reaction Possible?	372
The Last Publications Before the War	375
Francis Perrin and the Critical Mass	377
French Patents	378
References .	381
The Unknownly of the General World War	205
A Chronology	205
The New Force of Direction A Grand Le Wile	393
The New Face of Physics After the War	401
Big Science: Physics on a Large Scale	402
Team Work	402
The H-Bomb: Political and Military Implications	403
The American Supremacy	404
Europe and Japan After the War	405
Is "Big Science" Really the Result of the War?	409
References	411
The Time of Maturity	413
New Experimental Means	413
New Accelerators Have Ever Increasing Energies	414
New Detectors, New Measuring Instruments	419
Data Accumulate	425
The Papers of Bethe	425
Real Transuranic Nuclei	425
The Lifetime of the Neutron	429
Electron Scattering and the Electric Charge Distribution in Nuclei	430
The "Shell" Structure of Nuclei	433
A Model of Ouasi-independent Particles?	434
The Symmetries and Supermultiplets of Wigner et Feenberg	434
Arguments Put Forth by Maria Goennert-Mayer	435
The Spin-Orbit Interaction	436
Johannes Hans Danial Jansen	137
A Paradovical Model	130
Flastic Scattering and the "Optical Model"	430
The Nucleus Is Like & Cloudy Crystel Poll	441
"Onticel" Attempte	442
Upucat Auempts	442
The woods-Saxon "Optical Potential	443
The Computer: A Decisive Instrument	444

Direct Nuclear Reactions.	447
The Stripping of a Deuteron	448
Direct Reactions and Reactions Which Proceed Though	
the Formation of a Compound Nucleus	452
A Collective Behavior	455
Photonuclear Reactions	455
Giant Resonances	456
Are All Nuclei Spherical?	457
The Quadrupole Moment: An Indicator of Nuclear Deformation	458
James Rainwater and Aage Bohr	458
Aage Bohr, the Resolution of a Paradox	460
A Unified Model of the Nucleus	463
Ben Mottelson	463
New Data, New Confirmations	464
Bohr and Mottelson: The Key to Nuclear Spectra	465
The Birth of Nuclear Spectroscopy	467
Nobel Awards	468
The Nuclear Force	469
The Discovery of the π Meson	469
The π^0 Completes the Pion Trio	470
The Hard Core	471
Nuclear Matter	473
The Challenge	473
Keith Brueckner, Jeffrey Goldstone, Hans Bethe, and a Few Others	474
Solid Foundations	475
And What About Niels Bohr's Original Objection?	476
The End of an Era	476
References	479
	105
Where the Narrative Ends	487
Glossary	491
•	
Bibliography of cited books	513
Index	521
The Periodic Law or Mendeleev table	530

Radioactivity: The First Puzzles

Leurs métamorphoses sont soumises à des lois stables, que vous ne sauriez comprendre.

A. France, La Révolte des anges.

Their transformations are subject to stable laws which you could not comprehend.

The "Uranic Rays" of Henri Becquerel

Henri Becquerel, while searching for X-rays, discovers a radiation emitted by uranium. The scientific community shows no interest in such a weak and incomprehensible phenomenon with no practical applications.

On this Sunday morning, March 1, 1896, Henri Becquerel is working in his laboratory at the *Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle* in Paris. He is waiting in vain for the sun to come out [1-3] because he needs the intensity of sunlight in order to confirm some interesting observations made a week earlier and communicated to the *Académie des Sciences* on February 24. But in this never ending winter, the sky remains obstinately covered, day after day.

Becquerel is a distinguished physicist, born in a family with several generations of scientists [4, 5]. His grandfather, Antoine César, born in 1788, was admitted to the *École Polytechnique* in 1806. He distinguished himself as an officer in the Napoleonic armies. After the final fall of Napoleon in 1815, he left the army and began a successful scientific career, working on electricity, optics, phosphorescence, and electrochemistry. In 1829, he constructed the first constant current electric cell.

He was awarded the prestigious Copley Medal of the *Royal Society* in London in 1837, and in 1838, he became member of the *Académie des Sciences*. In 1838, he held the first physics chair in the *Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle* in Paris. When he died in 1878, Henri Becquerel, his grandson, was 26 years old.

Becquerel's father was the second son of Antoine César, Alexandre Edmond Becquerel, born in 1820. Although he passed successfully the admittance examinations to both the *École Polytechnique* and the *École Normale Supérieure*, he chose to work as an assistant to his father in the *Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle*. In 1852, he became Professor at the *Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers* and he was elected member of the *Académie des Sciences* in 1863. Upon the death of his father, he succeeded him as professor in the *Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle*, where he specialized in electricity, magnetism, and optics. His works on phosphorescence and luminescence [6] were published in 1959 and assembled in two books [7, 8], published in 1859 and in 1867. They remained a standard reference for half a century. He invented a device, called the phosphoroscope, with which he proved that fluorescence, which had been discovered by G. G. Stokes in 1852, was nothing but phosphorescence lasting for a very short time. Alexandre Edmond Becquerel died in 1891.

Henri (Antoine Henri Becquerel, according to his birth certificate) was born on December 15, 1852, in the *Muséum*, the home of his parents. In 1872, he was admitted to the *École Polytechnique*, where he met Henri Poincaré, who was to become one of the most famous scientists of the time. They develop a long-lasting friendship. In 1876, he graduated from the *Écoles des Ponts et Chaussées*. First, he became an instructor at the *École Polytechnique* and later an assistant naturalist in the *Muséum*. In 1889, at the age of 37, he was elected member of the *Académie des Sciences*, and in 1895, he became physics professor at the *École Polytechnique*.

Henri Becquerel, polite and friendly, is a clever and rigorous experimentalist. Akin to many French physicists at that time, he is more inclined to observation than to theoretical speculation. His research, so far, is devoted to optics, a family tradition. In 1876, Lucie Jamin, the daughter of the Academician J. C. Jamin, becomes his wife and gives birth to a son, Jean, in 1878. She dies a few weeks later at the age of 20. On August 1890, Louise Désirée Lorieux becomes the second wife of Henri and Jean is brought up as her son. True to the family tradition, Jean will later also be admitted to the *École Polytechnique* and elected member of the *Académie des Sciences*.

The Discovery

The experiments, which Becquerel is performing in 1896, are motivated by the discovery of "X-rays," which Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen [9–11] had made a few months earlier. Röntgen had studied the "cathode rays" produced by electrical discharges in gases. When a voltage exceeding a 1,000 V is created between two conductors placed in a container of gas maintained at low pressure, an electrical

discharge occurs. The discharge consists of *cathode rays* emanating from the negatively charged conductor, called the cathode (We know today that cathode rays are electrons). Röntgen discovered that, when the cathode rays hit the glass wall of the container, they emit an unknown radiation which has a greater penetration power than light. He called them "X-rays." This discovery caused quite a stir and physicists, among whom Henri Becquerel, were quite excited. In the session of January 20, 1896 of the *Académie des Sciences*, two medical doctors, Paul Oudin and Toussaint Barthélémy, displayed X-ray photographs. Poincaré received a reprint of the paper of Röntgen. He and Becquerel were particularly impressed by the fact that the X-rays were emitted from the luminescent spot which was produced on the glass container by the impinging cathode rays. In a paper devoted to X-rays and published on January 30, 1896 in the *Revue Générale des Sciences*, Poincaré wrote:

It is the glass which emits the Röntgen rays and it emits them by becoming phosphorescent. Are we not then entitled to ask whether all bodies, whose phosphorescence is sufficiently intense, emit X-rays of Röntgen, in addition to light rays, whatever the cause of the fluorescence is? [12].

This is precisely what Becquerel is investigating in his laboratory of the *Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle*. He is quite familiar with luminescence which he had studied at length with his father. Luminescent bodies are not spontaneously luminous but, when they are exposed to light, they radiate their own light, almost immediately¹ in the case of fluorescence, or within a variable laps of time, in which case the phenomenon is called phosphorescence.² Becquerel possesses thin strips of double uranium and potassium sulfate, and he is quite familiar with their phosphorescence which is intense but lasts only about a hundredth of a second. He then performs the following experiment, which he later described in a communication to the *Académie des Sciences*, dated February 24:

We wrap a Lumière photographic plate, composed of a bromide gel, between two sheets of very thick black paper, such that the photographic plate does not become veiled when exposed to sunlight during a whole day. On top of the paper sheet, we place a strip of a phosphorescent substance, and the lot is exposed to the sun during several hours. When the photographic plate is subsequently developed, the silhouette of the phosphorescent substance appears in black on the photograph [...] We are led to conclude from these experiments, that the phosphorescent substance emits a radiation capable of passing through the paper which is opaque to light [13].

Becquerel exposes this assembled package to sunlight, the most intense source of light at his disposal. The following Wednesday, February 26, he attempts to make an X-ray photograph. He repeats the experiment, but this time, he slips a thin strip

¹That is to say, within a time delay of the order of one hundred millionth of a second.

²The laps of time can vary from a thousandth of a second to several thousand seconds.

of copper, in the shape of a Maltese cross, between the phosphorescent uranium sulfate sheet and the photographic plate, the latter being again wrapped in thick black paper. He knows that the copper strip is opaque to X-rays, and he expects that, after a similar exposure to sunlight, a Maltese cross will appear in white on the developed photographic plate. He proceeds to expose this newly assembled package to sunlight in order to produce the phosphorescence. The sky is clear until 10 a.m. but obstinately remains clouded thereafter. The following day, the sun shines only between 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. when new clouds appear. Becquerel then puts the package into a drawer, pending better weather. The following 2 days remain grey. No sign of improvement on the following Sunday, March 1, when it even begins to rain [14].

Rather than wait, possibly several days more, Becquerel decides to develop the photographic plate in his drawer. He expects to obtain a weak picture because the plate was exposed to sunlight for a short time only, and the induced phosphorescence was expected to be weak. However, contrary to his expectations, the developed photographic plate shows that it had been intensely exposed. It also displays a somewhat blurred shape of the Maltese cross! Becquerel is surprised and, true to the clear-sighted and rigorous physicist he was, he repeats the experiment maintaining this time the assembled package in complete darkness. The photographic plate is again strongly exposed! On Monday, March 2, 1896, he presents the following note to the *Académie des Sciences*:

I insist on the following feature, which I consider very important and not in accord with the phenomena we might have expected to observe: the same crystalline strips, placed upon the photographic plates, under the same conditions and with the same screens, but protected from incident radiation and maintained in darkness, produce the same exposure on the photographic plate [...] I immediately thought that this action had necessarily continued in darkness [15].

Henri Becquerel has just discovered what we call today radioactivity.

Is It Really Phosphorescence?

At first, Becquerel believes that the physical process which he is observing is phosphorescence produced by exposure to light and that it should therefore die out in time. In order to make sure, doubt being the physicist's best advisor, from March 3 onwards, Becquerel maintains his strips in darkness, and, from time to time, he checks their radiative power. Month after month, it persists, showing no sign of weakening. In November 1896, Becquerel notes:

... protected from any known radiation, [...] the substances continued to emit active radiation which penetrated glass and black paper, and this has been going on for 6 months for some samples and 8 months for others [16].

He makes another strange observation: similar experiments performed with other luminescent substances fail to produce the effect [17]. However:

All the uranium salts which I have studied, whether they are, or not, phosphorescent, exposed to light, crystallized, melted or dissolved, gave similar effects; I was therefore led to conclude that the effect was due to the presence of the element uranium in the salts¹, and that the metal would produce a stronger effect than its compounds. The experiment was performed [...] and it confirmed this prediction; the photographic effect is notably more intense than that produced by a uranium salt [18].

Becquerel insists that it does not matter whether the uranium salts are crystallized, melted, or dissolved because only the crystallized form is phosphorescent. The relation between the phenomenon he discovered and phosphorescence becomes increasingly doubtful. In other words, the "radiant" activity appears to bear no relation to the exposure of the substance to sunlight.

Although he continues to use the word "phosphorescence," Becquerel gradually gives up the original idea which led him to the discovery. To be faced with such a phenomenon, which occurs in a similar fashion independently of the chemical compound of uranium, was quite an extraordinary experience for a physicist or a chemist at the end of the nineteenth century. One thing, which chemistry had shown since Lavoisier, was precisely the fact that properties of chemical substances did not reflect the properties of the elements from which the substances are formed. Kitchen salt, for example, is sodium chloride and its properties are quite different from those of either sodium or chlorine. The radiant activity of uranium was both strange and unique.

What Is the Nature of the Radiation?

The terms "ray" or "radiation" are used to describe something which emanates from a source and propagates in a straight line, as sun rays do. In the paper announcing his discovery of X-rays, Röntgen wrote:

The reason why I allowed myself to call "rays" the agent which emanated from the wall of the discharge vessel, is partly due to the systematic formation of shadows which were observed when more or less transparent materials were placed between the apparatus and the fluorescent body (or the sensitive plate) [9].

According to the theory of Maxwell, brilliantly confirmed experimentally in 1888 by Hertz, any sudden electric or magnetic disturbance becomes the source of an electromagnetic field \diamond which propagates in a straight line at the speed of light.

¹Emphasized by the author.

This electromagnetic field is in fact light, visible light being nothing but a particular instance. Röntgen showed that X-rays propagate in a straight line and, in spite of the fact that they could neither be reflected nor refracted, he believed that they were electromagnetic waves, that is, a kind of light which is invisible to our eyes but which can be detected on a photographic plate (or on a luminescent screen).

In his second communication on the discovery of X-rays, Röntgen noted that they had the power of discharging electrified bodies [10], that is, that they allowed an electric current to pass through air, a feature which was confirmed by numerous other works [19–22]. Becquerel subjects his "uranium rays" to similar tests. For this purpose, he uses a gold leaf electroscope^{\diamond}. When they are electrically charged, the gold leaves repel each other. But when Becquerel places a piece of uranium in their vicinity, they gradually coalesce: the electroscope discharges itself, indicating that some electricity has escaped through the air:

I have recently observed that the invisible radiation emitted under these conditions has the property of being able to discharge electrified bodies which are subject to their radiation [23].

This property will play a major role, as we shall see. Since it manifests itself by a measurable electric process, the radiation becomes detectable. This became the first detector other than the photographic plate.

A Limited Impact on Scientists and the Public

Whereas the discovery of X-rays aroused considerable interest among both physicists and the public, the "radiant activity of uranium" made a very limited impact on physicists and none on the general public. In the year 1896, more than 1,000 publications were devoted to X-rays, but barely a dozen to the radiation of uranium [24]. Indeed, X-rays provided the possibility to see the interior of the human body, the dream of medical doctors, who would not even have imagined such a possibility a year earlier. Furthermore, X-rays are easy to produce. They required a Crookes tube and a Rühmkorff coil which could be found in practically any lab. The 1897 issue of the *Almanach Hachette*, subtitled *Petite Encyclopédie populaire de la vie pratique*¹ noted:

It is truly the invisible which is displayed by the mysterious X-rays, which we all have heard about. To show the bone hidden under the flesh, the weapon or projectile buried in a wound; to read all the inside of the human body—perhaps even thoughts!—to count the coins through a carefully closed purse; to seek the most intimate confessions hidden in a sealed envelope; it all becomes child's play for any amateur. And what is required to perform such miracles? Precious little: an induction coil, a glass bulb and a simple photographic plate [25].

¹Little encyclopædia of practical life.

The radiation of uranium was far less interesting. For one thing, it was very weak: exposures lasting hours were required whereas, in 1897, 10 min were sufficient to produce an X-ray photograph (the first X-ray photograph, which showed the hand of Bertha, the wife of Röntgen, was obtained in 1 h). But most of all, nobody could see what the uranium rays could be used for. The case of the English physicist Sylvanus P. Thomson is quite instructive in this respect. He was also interested in X-rays, and, like Becquerel, he thought that they were linked to phosphorescence. He even observed, at about the same time as Becquerel, that phosphorescence." But Becquerel was the first to publish his observations. Thomson published his a few months later [26], in June 1896, and then he abandoned their study in order to devote his research to the study of X-rays. After November 1896, even Becquerel abandoned the study of uranium radiation for several years. With the experimental means available to him at the time, he could not see how to progress further.

Why 1896?

Becquerel used to say that radioactivity was bound to be discovered at the *Muséum*. He considered that his discoveries were "daughters of his father and grandfather; they would have been impossible without them." [27] However, in a lecture delivered at the University of Yale in March 1905, Ernest Rutherford claimed that the discovery could well have been made a century earlier:

In this connection it is of interest to note that the discovery of the radioactive property of uranium might accidentally have been made a century ago, for all that was required was the exposure of a uranium compound on the charged plate of a gold-leaf electroscope. Indications of the existence of the element uranium were given by Klaproth in 1789, and the discharging property of this substance could not fail to have been noted if it had been placed near a charged electroscope. It would not have been difficult to deduce that the uranium gave out a type of radiation capable of passing through metals opaque to ordinary light. The advance would probably have ended there, for the knowledge at that time of the connection between electricity and matter was far too meagre for an isolated property of this kind to have attracted much attention [28].

Was Radioactivity Discovered by Chance?

When he developed his photographic plate on March 1, 1896, Becquerel certainly did not expect to see what he saw. Can we say that he discovered radioactivity by chance? Becquerel had designed an experiment with a well defined goal, namely,

to observe a radiation, if it exists, similar to X-rays and emitted by phosphorescent substances. The lack of sunlight as well as his decision to develop the photographic plate admittedly played an important role. But his experiments would have led him. sooner or later, to the same discovery. The nature of a true physicist consists in being surprised by the right thing. In this respect, Becquerel left nothing to chance [29]. Better still, by mounting successive and rigorous experiments, he gradually showed that his initial idea was wrong, that the radiation was not linked to phosphorescence, but that instead, it was a truly new phenomenon linked to the presence of uranium. It is in this respect that he truly discovered radioactivity. Sylvanus Thomson had made the same observation in a similar fashion, but without persevering. Similarly, Abel Niepce de Saint-Victor, a French officer and amateur chemist, had observed that uranium salts could leave a trace on a photographic plate long after it had been exposed to sunlight, and he observed the same effect with tartaric acid. He published a number of papers between 1857 and 1867 on what he called "A new action of light." [30] But he always linked the observed effects to exposure to light: he did not discover radioactivity.

The discovery made by Becquerel was truly unexpected. But is that not the nature of every true discovery?

Polonium and Radium

A young Polish student and her French husband, working outside the French university establishment, discover two new elements, polonium and radium, which are considerably more radioactive than uranium. Their discovery rekindles research on radioactivity. Pierre and Marie Curie ask the crucial question: where do radioactive elements find the energy required for them to radiate?

Two years after the discovery of radioactivity by Henri Becquerel, the study of the "radiating activity" of uranium had ceased. But on the April 12, 1898, a young Polish woman, married to a French Physicist, delivers a communication to the *Académie des Sciences* which ignites a fire of interest which, this time, is likely to last.

Marya Skłodowska

Marya Skłodowska [31–34] was born in Warsaw in 1868 into a family with already three daughters, Sofia, Bronisława and Helena, and a son, Joseph. Her father, Władysław Skłodowski, teaches physics at the *Gymnasium* in Nowolipki street. Marya was born at a particularly dark time of Polish history. The defeat of the January 1864 uprising against Russian rule is followed by a ferocious repression. The Tsar decides to Russianize the country. Russian becomes the official language and the use of Polish is forbidden, even in schools. Władysław loses his job. After considerable difficulties, he succeeds in becoming a monitor in a boarding school with a small teaching duty. The family lives in poverty. Sofia dies from typhus in 1876 and Mrs. Skłodowska catches tuberculosis. She dies May 9, 1878, when Marya is barely 11 years old.

On June 12, 1883, at the age of 15, Marya graduates brilliantly from secondary school, earning a gold medal. But universities are closed to women. Her elder sister Bronia would also like to attend university and so the two sisters decide to make a deal: Marya will help Bronia financially to go to Paris by becoming a primary school teacher. Once Bronia gets the required diploma, she will in turn help Marya to join her in Paris. Seven years pass before Bronia, who has almost finished her medical studies and is married, can welcome her sister.

In the fall of 1891, in Paris, Marya attends the lectures of Gabriel Lippmann, Edmond Bouty, and Paul Appell at the *Sorbonne*. In July 1893, after living in considerable poverty for 2 years, she obtains a bachelor's degree in physics; she is the best student in her class. She goes back home to Poland for a vacation, fearing

that she might not find the money to return to Paris. But, thanks to a heaven-sent subsidy (an *Aleksandrovič* grant of 600 rubbles), she returns to Paris and, in July 1894, she obtains a bachelor's degree in mathematics, graduating as second best in her class.

While preparing her bachelor's degree in mathematics, Marya begins to work in the laboratory of Gabriel Lippmann where she receives an assignment which pleases her: the *Société d'Encouragement de l'Industrie Nationale*¹ asks her to study magnetic properties of various steels. However, she lacks both the necessary funds and know-how. Then 1 day she mentions this to a Polish friend, Jósef Kowalski, physics professor in Freiburg, who was passing through Paris. He proposes to present her to Pierre Curie, a physicist who had done important work on magnetization.

Pierre Curie

Born on May 15, 1859, Pierre Curie is then 35 years old [35–38]. His brother Jacques is 4 years older. His father, Eugne Curie, was a medical doctor. Pierre never went to school: he was educated by his parents, some friends, and private tutors. He was described as a dreamy person who loved to walk in the country, where, thanks to his father, he could name every plant and animal he would come across. At the age of 14, his father entrusted him to a mathematics teacher, Albert Bazille. He passed the *baccalauréat*² at the early age of 16. The following year, he became an assistant to Paul Desains, a specialist of infrared radiation, after which he began to work in the laboratory of Charles Friedel, where he joined his brother Jacques. The two brothers discovered that some crystals, when compressed or elongated, emit electricity. Ten years, later the phenomenon was called piezoelectricity [39]. Pierre used this property to construct an extremely sensitive and precise electrometer.

In 1882, Pierre becomes an assistant at the newly founded *École Municipale de Physique et de Chimie Industrielle*.³ Strictly, he does not have a lab at his disposal because the school's lab is reserved for the students. Fortunately, however, the director, Léon Schützenberger, a chemist who is also professor at the *Collge de France*, is an intelligent and liberal minded man who permits Pierre to pursue his personal research there. Pierre continues to work on crystallography. He believes that the symmetries displayed in the beautiful geometrical figures of crystals reflect deeper symmetries of the constituent atoms [40]. The importance which Pierre Curie attached to symmetry makes him appear today as a precursor [40, 41].

In 1891, he begins to study magnetization. He discovers and formulates what we call today the "Curie law" \diamond which exhibits a critical temperature (the Curie

¹The society for the encouragement of national industry.

²Equivalent to the GCE both O and A levels.

³The municipal school of industrial physics and chemistry.

temperature^{\diamond}) above which ferromagnetic substances lose their magnetization [42]. In spite of the fact that he holds no university position and has no official laboratory to work in, he becomes a well known scientist, especially abroad. It is therefore quite logical for Jósef Kowalski to suggest that Marya Skłodowska should consult him for her work on magnetization. They meet 1 day in the spring of 1894. The meeting becomes a mutual discovery and they are married a year later, on July 25, 1895, after some hesitation of Marya, to whom marriage means that she must give up the idea of returning to her father in her home country. She has the feeling of somehow betraying her country by getting married to a Frenchman and settling in France. But Pierre insists on the fact that she can continue her scientific work in France. And, after all, they are in love...

Polonium and Radium: Pierre and Marie Curie Invent Radiochemistry

Following the advice of Pierre, Marya, who now bears the name of Marie, completes her work on magnetization [43, 44] and searches for a subject for her PhD. This by itself is exceptional: so far, no woman in France had defended a PhD thesis in physics. Pierre suggests studying the "Becquerel rays" a subject that had been neglected for about 2 years. He even offers her a quartz piezoelectric electrometer with which she can measure the extremely weak electric current produced by the radiation of uranium. Although quadrant electrometers were available, his electrometers made it possible to measure the absolute value of the current in units of amperes (in fact tiny fractions of amperes). As Marie later stated:

We obtain thus not only an indication but a number which accounts for the amount of active substance [45].

Where should she begin? Together with Pierre, Marie decides to find out whether substances other than uranium emit similar radiations. She soon discovers that thorium also radiates [46]. By coincidence, the German physicist Gerhard Schmidt published only a week earlier his observation that thorium was "active," that is, it emitted radiations [47]. However, the attention of Marie is attracted to a small detail. In practically all the cases she had studied, the activity of the uranium compound was precisely that which she could calculate, knowing the amount of uranium in the sample. She finds, however, one exception: two uranium minerals, namely, pitchblende (uranium oxide) and chalcolite (a copper and uranyl phosphate), are more active than what their uranium content would grant. She sees in this remarkable feature a hint that these minerals contain an element which is far more active than uranium. This is where the electrometer of Pierre turns out to be useful because it makes it possible to measure precisely weak currents of the