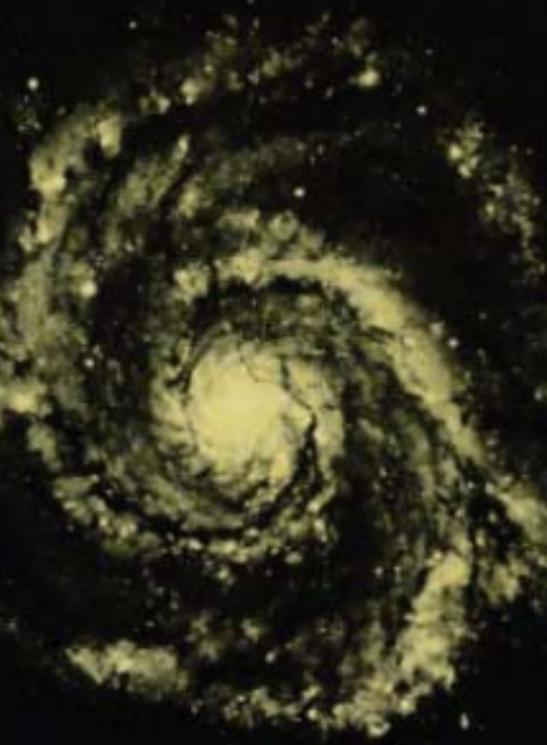


J.D. North

# THE MEASURE OF THE UNIVERSE

A History of  
Modern Cosmology



## CONTENTS

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| PREFACE TO THE DOVER EDITION   | i         |
| PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION   | v         |
| ABBREVIATIONS  | xi        |
| NOTATION   | xix       |
| INTRODUCTION   | xxiii     |
| <br><i>Part I. ORIGINS OF MODERN COSMOLOGY</i>   |           |
| <b>CHAPTER 1. NINETEENTH-CENTURY ASTRONOMY:<br/>THE NEBULAE</b>                                      | <b>3</b>  |
| 1. The apparent structure of the Milky Way and the nebulae   | 3         |
| 2. The Island Universe theory established  | 10        |
| <b>CHAPTER 2. COSMOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES WITH THE<br/>NEWTONIAN THEORY OF GRAVITATION</b>             | <b>16</b> |
| 1. Seeliger's and Neumann's objections to a Newtonian infinite                                       | 17        |
| 2. Charlier's hierarchic hypothesis  | 18        |
| <b>CHAPTER 3. FIELD THEORIES AND THE WISH TO RE-<br/>PHRASE NEWTON'S THEORY OF GRAVITA-<br/>TION</b> | <b>24</b> |
| 1. Gravitation and the field concept   | 25        |
| 2. Gravitation and the hydrodynamical analogues  | 32        |
| 3. The Le Sage-Thomson explanation of gravitation  | 38        |
| 4. Reasons for wishing to revise the Newtonian theory. Reality and<br>the field theories             | 41        |
| 5. The attempts to amend Newton's law  | 43        |
| 6. Gravitation and Lorentz invariance  | 49        |
| <b>CHAPTER 4. THE ORIGINS AND CONCEPTUAL BASIS<br/>OF EINSTEIN'S THEORY OF GRAVITATION</b>           | <b>52</b> |
| 1. Gravitation and light. The Principle of Equivalence   | 52        |
| 2. Relativity and covariance   | 56        |
| 3. The Riemannian framework and the calculus of tensors  | 58        |
| 4. Einstein and the concept of gravitational force   | 63        |
| 5. Einstein's field equations  | 65        |
| 6. Observational tests   | 67        |
| <b>CHAPTER 5. EARLY RELATIVISTIC COSMOLOGY</b>   | <b>70</b> |
| 1. Cosmological considerations   | 70        |
| 2. A closed universe. W. K. Clifford and others  | 72        |
| 3. The Einstein world  | 81        |
| 4. The cosmological constant   | 83        |
| 5. The de Sitter world and 'Mach's Principle'  | 87        |
| 6. The de Sitter effect and Weyl's Principle   | 92        |
| 7. Material content  | 104       |
| 8. The geometry of the de Sitter world   | 106       |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>CHAPTER 6. THE EXPANDING UNIVERSE: THE FORMAL ELEMENT</b>                                  | 110 |
| 1. The non-static line-element  | 111 |
| 2. The work of Friedmann, Lemaître, and Robertson   | 113 |
| 3. Eddington and the Lemaître model   | 122 |
| 4. The stability of the Einstein world  | 125 |
| 5. Types of relativistic models   | 129 |
| 6. The relativistic models: further points of comparison. The expanding universe              | 135 |
| <b>CHAPTER 7. THE EXPANDING UNIVERSE: THE ASTRONOMER'S CONTRIBUTION</b>                       | 142 |
| 1. The $K$ -term and Hubble's Law   | 142 |
| 2. Minor revision of the recession factor   | 145 |
| <b>CHAPTER 8. KINEMATIC RELATIVITY AND THE REVIVAL OF NEWTONIAN COSMOLOGY</b>                 | 149 |
| 1. The conceptual basis of Milne's theories   | 149 |
| 2. Milne's Cosmological Principle   | 156 |
| 3. The simple kinematic model. Milne on 'gravitation'   | 158 |
| 4. The development of Kinematic Relativity by Milne and Whitrow                               | 165 |
| 5. The relatively stationary substratum   | 168 |
| 6. Milne on gravitation and galactic evolution  | 170 |
| 7. Kinematic and General Relativity   | 173 |
| 8. The neo-Newtonian cosmology of Milne and McCrea  | 176 |
| 9. Sources of criticism   | 180 |
| <b>CHAPTER 9. THE THEORIES OF GRAVITATION OF BIRKHOFF AND WHITEHEAD</b>                       | 186 |
| 1. Birkhoff's theory of gravitation   | 186 |
| 2. Whitehead's theory of gravitation and its extension by J. L. Synge                         | 190 |
| 3. The Rayner-Whitehead cosmology   | 194 |
| <b>CHAPTER 10. CONTINUAL CREATION AND THE STEADY-STATE THEORIES OF BONDI, GOLD, AND HOYLE</b> | 198 |
| 1. Continual creation: some early arguments   | 198 |
| 2. Energy conservation. The Bondi-Gold theory   | 208 |
| 3. Hoyle's steady-state theory and McCrea's interpretation of it                              | 212 |
| 4. Creation as a physical process   | 217 |
| <b>CHAPTER 11. THE RECEDING GALAXIES: APPEARANCE AND REALITY, THEORY AND OBSERVATION</b>      | 223 |
| 1. The time-scale difficulty  | 223 |
| 2. The reality of the expansion. Alternative explanations of the red-shifts                   | 229 |
| 3. The decision: empirical considerations   | 234 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 4. The theoretical ( $\delta, m$ ) relation in relativistic cosmology, and the Stebbins-Whitford effect | 242 |
| 5. The theoretical ( $N, m$ ) relation  | 245 |
| 6. The theoretical ( $N, \delta$ ) relation   | 250 |
| 7. Other criteria   | 251 |
| 8. Cosmology and the formation of galaxies  | 255 |

*Part II. PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES*

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>CHAPTER 12. 'FACT' AND THE 'UNIVERSE'</b>                                  | 265 |
| 1. Basic objects  | 265 |
| 2. Fact   | 268 |
| 3. Objectivity and the uniqueness of the universe                             | 271 |
| <b>CHAPTER 13. THE ELEMENT OF CONVENTION IN COSMOLOGY AND SCIENCE</b>         | 276 |
| 1. 'Conventionalism': an ambiguous term. Poincaré and his critics             | 276 |
| 2. The Duhem-Quine thesis   | 285 |
| <b>CHAPTER 14. GENERALITY, SIMPLICITY, AND THE COSMOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES</b>    | 290 |
| 1. Simplicity   | 291 |
| 2. Generality   | 293 |
| 3. Deduction and extrapolation  | 296 |
| 4. Homogeneity and isotropy. The cosmological principles                      | 300 |
| 5. Cosmological theories and models   | 311 |
| <b>CHAPTER 15. CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS: (i) DISTANCE AND COORDINATES</b>          | 319 |
| 1. Distance, coordinates, and a possibly circular argument                    | 320 |
| 2. Coordinates. Whitehead's challenge of circularity                          | 324 |
| 3. Concepts of distance. Operationalism                                       | 330 |
| 4. Which distance-concept is fundamental?                                     | 337 |
| <b>CHAPTER 16. CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS: (ii) ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE</b>            | 349 |
| 1. Newton and Leibniz on 'space'  | 350 |
| 2. Absolute and universal time  | 355 |
| 3. Cosmic time and modern cosmology   | 357 |
| 4. The exaggerated philosophical involvement of theories of natural cosmology | 361 |
| <b>CHAPTER 17. CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS: (iii) INFINITY AND THE ACTUAL</b>         | 371 |
| 1. The concept of a potential infinity and its inadequacy                     | 372 |
| 2. Cantor's transfinite cardinals   | 377 |
| 3. Infinities in cosmology  | 379 |

## CONTENTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| CHAPTER 18. CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS: (iv) CREATION<br>AND THE AGE OF THE UNIVERSE | 384 |
| 1. The age of the universe  | 386 |
| 2. The First Event  | 389 |
| 3. Creation   | 399 |
| 4. Cause and creation   | 402 |
| CONCLUSION  | 407 |
| APPENDIX  | 408 |
| SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY   | 425 |
| INDEX   | 428 |