

their figure, especially when the liquor began to evaporate*.

On all these accounts, Mr. Needham conjectured, that the pretended spermatic animals were only a kind of natural machines, bodies much more simply organized than those of real animals. I examined the machines of the calmar along with him, and the reader may be assured that his description of them is both exact and faithful. His experiments, therefore, demonstrate, that the seminal fluid consists of particles in quest of organization; that, in fact, it produces organized bodies; but that these bodies are not animals, nor similar to the individual which produces them. It is indeed, probable, that these organized bodies are only a kind of instruments for perfecting the semen, and bestowing on it an active force; and that it is by their internal action that they intimately penetrate the seminal fluid of the female.

* See Leeuwenh. Arc. nat. p. 306, 309, and 319.

C H A P. VII.

*Comparison of my own Experiments with those of
Leeuwenhoek.*

THOUGH my experiments were made with all the attention of which I was capable, and though I often repeated them, I am satisfied that many things must have escaped me. I have described only what I saw, and what every man may see, at the expence of a little art and patience. To free myself from prejudice, I even attempted to forget what other observers pretended to have seen, endeavouring, by this means, to be certain of seeing nothing but what really appeared; and it was not till I had digested my experiments, that I wished to compare them with those of former writers, and particularly with those of Leeuwenhoek, who had occupied himself more than 60 years in experiments of this kind.

Whatever authority may be due to this acute observer, it is certainly allowable to institute a comparison between a man's own observations, and those of the most respectable writer on the same subject. By an examination of this kind,

truth may be established, and errors may be detected, especially when the only object of inquiry is to ascertain the genuine nature of those moving bodies which appear in the seminal fluids of all animals.

In the month of November 1677, Leeuwenhoek, who had formerly communicated many microscopic observations to the Royal Society of London, concerning the juices of plants, the texture of trees, the optic nerve, rain water, &c. writes to Lord Brouncker, president of the Society, in the following terms: 'Postquam* Exc. Dominus Professor Cranen me visitatione sua sepius honorarat, litteris rogavis Domino Ham cognato suo, quasdam observationum mearum videndas darem. Hic Dominus Ham me secundo invisens, secum in laguncula vitrea semen viri, gonorrhœa laborantis, sponte destillatum, attulit, dicens, se post paucissimas temporis minutes (cum materia illa jam in tantum esset resoluta ut fistulæ vitreæ immitti posset) animalcula viva in eo observasse, quæ caudam et ultra 24 horas non viventia judicabat: Idem referebat se animalcula observasse mortua post sumptam ab agroto therebintinam. Materiam prædicatam fistulæ vitreæ immisissam, præsentente Domino Ham, observavi, quasdamque in ea creaturas viventes, ac post decursum 2 aut 3 horarum eamdem solus materiam observans, mortuas vidi.

* See Phil. Trans. No. 141, p. 1041.

Eamdem

'Eamdem materiam (semen virile) non ægroti alicujus, non diuturna conservatione corruptam, vel post aliquot momenta fluidiorem factam, sed sani viri statim post ejectionem, ne interlabentibus quidem sex arteriæ pulsibus, sepiuscule observavi, tantamque in ea viventium animalculorum multitudinem vidi, ut interdum plura quam 1000 in magnitudine arenæ sese moverent; non in toto semine, sed in materia fluida crassiori adhærente, ingentem illam animalculorum multitudinem observavi; in crassiori vero seminis materia quasi sine motu jacebant, quod inde provenire mihi imaginabar, quod materia illa crassâ ex tam variis cohæreat partibus, ut animalcula in ea se movere nequirent; minora globulis sanguini ruborem adferentibus hæc, animalcula erant, ut judicem, millena millia arenam grandiore magnitudine non æquatura. Corpora eorum rotunda, anteriora obtusa, posteriora ferme in aculeum desinentia habebant; cauda tenui longitudine corpus quinque sexiesve excedente, et pellucida, crassitiem vero ad 25 partem corporis habente, prædita erant, adeo ut ea quo ad figuram cum cyclaminis minoribus, longam caudam habentibus, optime comparare queam: Motu caudæ serpentino, aut ut anguillæ in aqua natantis, progrediebantur; in materia vero aliquantulum crassiori caudam oclies deciesve quidem evibrabant antequam latitudinem capilli procedebant. Interdum imaginabar me inter-

‘ noscere posse adhuc varias in corpore horum
 ‘ animalculorum partes, quia vero continuo eas
 ‘ videre nequibam, de iis tacebo. His animal-
 ‘ culis minora adhuc animalcula, quibus non nisi
 ‘ globuli figuram attribuere possum, permista
 ‘ erant.

‘ Memini me, ante tres aut quatuor annos, ro-
 ‘ gatu Domini Oldenburg B. M. semen verile ob-
 ‘ servasse, et prædicta animalia pro globulis ha-
 ‘ buisse; sed quia fastidiebam ab ulteriori inqui-
 ‘ sitione, et magis quidem a descriptione, tunc
 ‘ temporis eam omisi. Jam quoad partes ipsas,
 ‘ ex quibus crassam feminis materiam, quoad
 ‘ majorem sui partem consistere sæpius cum ad-
 ‘ miratione observavi, ea sunt tam varia ac multa
 ‘ vasa, imo in tanta multitudine hæc vasa vidi,
 ‘ ut credam me in unica feminis gutta plura ob-
 ‘ servasse quam anatomico per integrum diem
 ‘ subiectum aliquod secanti occurrant. Quibus
 ‘ visis, firmiter credebam nulla in corpore hu-
 ‘ mano jam formato esse vasa, quæ in femine
 ‘ virili bene constituto non reperiantur. Cum
 ‘ materia hæc per momenta quædam aëri fuisset
 ‘ exposita, prædicta vasorum multitudo in aquo-
 ‘ sam magnis oleaginis globulis permistam ma-
 ‘ teriam mutabatur, &c.

The secretary of the Royal Society replied to this letter of Leeuwenhoek, that it would be proper to make similar experiments on the seminal fluids of other animals, not only to support the original discovery, but to distinguish whatever differences might appear in the number and figure

figure of the animalcules: And, with regard to the vascular texture of the thick part of the seminal fluid, he suspected that it was only a congeries of filaments, without any regular organization: ‘ Quæ tibi videbatur vasorum congeries,
 ‘ fortassis feminis sunt quædam filamenta, haud
 ‘ organice constructa, sed dum permeant vasa
 ‘ generatione inservientia in istiusmodi figuram
 ‘ elongata. Non dissimili modo ac sæpius no-
 ‘ tatus sum salivam crassiorem ex glandularum
 ‘ faucium foraminibus editam, quasi e convolutis
 ‘ fibrillis constantem*.’

Leeuwenhoek replied, 18th March 1678, in the following words: ‘ Si quando canes cœunt
 ‘ marem a femina statim seponas, materia quæ-
 ‘ dam tenuis et aquosa (lymphæ scilicet sperma-
 ‘ tica) a pene solet paulatim exstillare; hanc
 ‘ materiam numerosissimis animalculis repletam
 ‘ aliquoties vidi, eorum magnitudine quæ in
 ‘ femine virili conspiciuntur, quibus particule
 ‘ globulares aliquot quinquagies majores permi-
 ‘ scebantur.

‘ Quod ad vasorum in crassiori feminis virilis
 ‘ portione spectabilem observationem attinet,
 ‘ denuo non semel iteratam, saltem mihi metip-
 ‘ som comprobasse video; meque omnino persuasum
 ‘ habeo, cuniculi, canis, felis, arterias venasve
 ‘ fuisse a peritissimo anatomico haud unquam
 ‘ magis perspicue observatas, quam mihi vasa in
 ‘ semini virili, ope perspicilli, in conspectum
 ‘ venire.

* See Phil. Trans. No. 141. p. 1045.

‘Cum mihi prædicta vasa primum innotuere,
‘statim etiam pituitam, tum et salivam perspi-
‘cillo applicavi; verum hic minime existentia
‘animalia frustra quæsi.

‘A cuniculorum coitu lymphæ spermaticæ
‘guttulam unam et alteram, e femella extillan-
‘tem, examini subjeci, ubi animalia prædicto-
‘rum similia, sed longe pauciora, comparuere.
‘Globuli item quam plurimi, plerique magnitu-
‘dine animalium, iisdem permixti sunt.

‘Horum animalium aliquot etiam deline-
‘ationes transmissi; figura, 1. [pl. VI. fig. 1.] ex-
‘primit eorum aliquot vivum (in semine cuni-
‘culi arbitror) eaque forma qua videbatur, dum
‘aspicientem me versus tendit. A B C, capitu-
‘lum cum trunco indicant; C D, ejusdem cau-
‘dam, quam pariter ut suam anguilla inter na-
‘tandum vibrat. Horum millena millia, quan-
‘tum conjectare est, arenulæ majoris molem vix
‘superant. [Pl. VI. fig. 2. 3. 4.] sunt ejusdem
‘generis animalia, sed jam emortua.

‘[Pl. VI. fig. 5.] delineatur vivum animalcu-
‘lum quemadmodum in semine canino sese ali-
‘quoties mihi attentius intuenti exhibuit. EFG,
‘caput cum trunco indignant, G H, ejusdem
‘caudam. [Pl. VI. fig. 6. 7. 8.] Alia sunt in
‘semine canino quæ motu et vita privantur,
‘qualium etiam vivorum numerum adeo in-
‘gentem vidi, ut judicare portionem lymphæ
‘spermaticæ arenulæ mediocri respondentem,
‘eorum ut minimum decena millia continere.’

In

In another letter to the Royal Society, dated
May 31, 1678, Leuwenhoek adds, ‘Seminis
‘canini tantillum microscopio applicatum iterum
‘contemplatus sum, in eoque antea descripta
‘animalia numerosissime conspexi. Aqua plu-
‘vialis pari quantitate adjecta, iisdem confestim
‘mortem accerit. Ejusdem seminis canini por-
‘tioncula in vitro tubo uncie partem duo-
‘decimalem crasso servata, sex et triginta hora-
‘rum spatio contenta animalia vita destituta ple-
‘raque, reliqua moribunda videbantur.

‘Quo de vasorum in semine genitali existen-
‘tia magis constaret, delineationem aliqualem
‘mitto, ut in figura ABCDE [pl. VI. fig. 9.]
‘quibus literis circumscriptum spatium arenulam
‘mediocrem vix superat.’

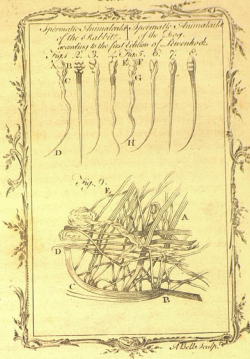
I have transcribed these passages from the Phi-
losophical Transactions, because they first ap-
peared in that work, before Leuwenhoek had
formed any theory; and, therefore, they must
be more agreeable to truth. After the ingenious
author had formed a system of generation, his
account of the spermatic animals varies, even in
essential articles*.

In the first place, what he says concerning the
number of these pretended animalcules is true;
but the figure of their bodies corresponds not
always to his description. Sometimes the end

* Here the author attempts a formal proof that Leewen-
hoek invented the single microscope, and discovered the exist-
ence of spermatic animals, before Hartshorne, which interrupts
the argument, is nowise interesting to the reader, and therefore
I have here omitted it in the translation.

next the tail is globular, and sometimes cylindrical; sometimes it is flat, and at other times it is broader than long, &c. With regard to the tail, it is often thicker and shorter than he represents. The vibratory motion he ascribes to the tail, and by which he alleges the animals are enabled to proceed forward, I never could distinguish in the manner he describes. I have seen these moving bodies vibrate eight or ten times, from right to left, or from left to right, without advancing the breadth of a single hair: and I have observed many of them which never could proceed forward, because this tail, in place of assisting them to swim, was, on the contrary, a small thread attached to the filaments or mucilaginous part of the liquor, and, of course, totally prevented the progressive motion of the body. Even when the tail appeared to have any motion, it resembled only the small bendings of a thread at the end of a vibration. I have seen these threads or tails fixed to the filaments, which Leeuwenhoek calls vessels: I have seen them separate from the filaments, after repeated efforts made by the moving bodies: I have seen them first long, then diminish, and at last disappear. Thus these tails ought to be regarded as accidental appendages, and not as real members of the moving bodies. But, what is more remarkable, Leeuwenhoek expressly affirms, in his letter to Lord Brouncker, that, besides the tailed animals, he observed in this liquor animalcules still more minute that had no tails, and were perfectly

Plate VIII.



perfectly globular: 'His animalculis (caudatis
' scilicet) minora adhuc animalcula, quibus non
' nisi globuli figuram attribueri possum, per-
' mista erant.' This is the truth. After Leeu-
wenhoek, however, had maintained that these
animalcules were the only efficient principle of
generation, and that they were transformed in-
to men, he regards as real animals those only
which had tails; and, accordingly, as it was
necessary that animalcules, to be transformed
into men, should have a constant and invariable
figure, he never afterwards mentions the round
animals without tails. I was struck with the
difference between the original composition of
this letter, and the form in which it appeared
twenty years afterwards in his third volume:
For, instead of the words which we have just
now quoted, we meet with the following in
page 63: 'Animalculis hinc permixta jacebant
' alia minutiores particulae, quibus non aliam
' quam globulorum seu sphaericam figuram af-
' signare queo.' This is a very different account
of the matter. A particle of matter, to which he
ascribes no motion, is extremely different from
an animalcule. It is astonishing that Leeuwen-
hoek, in copying his own letter, should have
changed an article of so much consequence.
What he immediately subjoins likewise merits
attention. He says, that, at the intreaty of Mr.
Oldenburg, he had examined this liquor three
or four years ago; and that he then imagined
these animalcules to be globules. Thus, these

pretended animalcules are sometimes globules without any sensible motion; sometimes they are globules which move with great activity; sometimes they have tails, and sometimes no tails. Speaking of spermatie animals in general, he remarks*, 'Ex hisce meis observationibus cogitare cœpi, quamvis antehac, de animalculis in seminibus masculinis agens, scripserim me in illis caudas non detexisse, fieri tamén posse ut illa animalcula æque caudis fuerint instructa, ac nunc comperi de animalculis in gallorum galinaceorum femine masculino.' Another proof that he has often seen spermatie animals of all kinds, without tails.

Secondly, It is worthy of remark, that Leeuwenhoek had very early discovered the filaments which appear in the semen before it be liquified; and that, at that time, when he had not conceived his hypothesis concerning the spermatie animals, he imagined the filaments to be veins, nerves, and arteries. He firmly believed, that all the parts and vessels of the human body might be clearly distinguished in the seminal fluid. He even persisted in this opinion, notwithstanding the representations made to him by Mr. Oldenburg, in name of the Royal Society. But, after he conceived the notion of transforming his spermatie animals into men, he never again takes any notice of these vessels. Instead of regarding them as the nerves and blood-ves-

* Tom. iii. p. 371.

sels

sels of the human body already formed in the semen, he does not even ascribe to them their real function, which is the production of the moving bodies. He observes*, 'Quid fiet de omnibus illis particulis seu corpusculis præter illa animalcula semini virili hominum inhærentibus! Olim et priusquam hæc scriberem, in ea sententia sui prædictas strias vel vasa ex testiculis principium secum ducere,' &c. And, in another place, he says, that what he had formerly remarked concerning vessels in the semen deserved no attention.

Thirdly, If we compare the figures 1. 2. 3. and 4. pl. VIII. IX. which we have represented exactly as they appear in the Philosophical Transactions, with those which Leeuwenhoek caused to be engraved several years after, we shall find very great differences, especially in those of the dead animalcules of the rabbit, 1. 3. and 4. and in those of the dog, which I have also delineated, in order to give a distinct idea of the matter. From all this, it may fairly be concluded, that Leeuwenhoek has not always seen the same phenomena; that the moving bodies, which he regards as animals, have appeared to him under different forms; and that he has contradicted himself with a view to make the species of men and of animals uniform and consistent. He not only varies as to the fundamental part of these experiments, but also as to the manner of mak-

* Tom. i. p. 7.

ing

ing them; for he expressly tells us, that he always diluted the semen with water, to separate its parts, and to give more freedom of motion to the animalcules*; and yet, in his first letter to Lord Brouncker, he says, that, when he mixed the semen of dogs, in which he before had seen innumerable animals, with water, they all instantly died. Thus Leeuwenhoek's first experiments were made, like mine, without any mixture; and it appears, that he was not in use to mix the liquor with water till long after he began his experiments, and till he conceived the idea that water killed the animalcules; which, however, is not true; I imagine that the addition of water only dissolves the filaments too suddenly; for, in all my experiments, I have seen but very few filaments in the liquor, after its being mixed with water.

Leeuwenhoek was no sooner persuaded that the spermatic animalcules were transformed into men and other animals, than he imagined that he saw two distinct kinds in the semen of every animal, the one male and the other female. Without this difference of sex in the spermatic animalcules, it was difficult, he says, to conceive the possibility of producing males and females by simple transformation. He mentions these male and female animalcules in his letter published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 145. and in several other places†. But he attempts not to

* Tom. iii. p. 92, 93.

† See tom. i. p. 163. and tom. iii. p. 101. of his works.

describe

describe the differences between the male and female animalcules, which never existed but in his own imagination.

The famous Boerhaave having asked Leeuwenhoek, whether he had observed any differences in the growth and size of spermatic animals? Leeuwenhoek replied, that, in the semen of a rabbit which he had opened, he saw an infinite number of animalcules: 'Incredibile,' says he, 'viventium animalculorum numerum' 'conspexerunt, cum hæc animalcula scypho' 'imposita vitro et illic emortua, in rariore ordines disparescent, et per continuos aliquot dies' 'sepius visu examinasset, quædam ad justam' 'magnitudinem nondum excrevisse adverti. Ad' 'hæc quædam observavi particulas perexiles et' 'oblongas, alias aliis majores, et, quantum oculis apparebat, cauda destitutas; quas quidem' 'particulas non nisi animalcula esse credidi, quæ' 'ad justam magnitudinem non excrevisset*.' Here we have animalcules of different sizes, and some with tails, and others that had no tails, which better correspond with my experiments than with Leeuwenhoek's system. We only differ in a single article. He considers the oblong bodies without tails as young animalcules which have not yet arrived at their full growth: But I, on the contrary, have seen these pretended animals originally spring from the filaments with their tails or threads, which they gradually lost.

* See tom. iv. p. 280, 281.

In

therefore, it is unnecessary to suppose them endowed with the natural instinct peculiar to sheep; since those of man, of the dog, and of the bitch, move in the very same manner; and since this motion depends upon particular circumstances, the principal of which is, that the fluid part of the semen should be on one side, and the thick or filamentous part on the other; for then the whole moving bodies disengage themselves from the filaments, and proceed, in the same direction, into the more fluid part of the liquor.

In another letter, written the same year, and addressed to Boerhaave*, he relates some farther observations concerning the semen of the ram: He tells us, that, when the liquor was put into separate glasses and examined, he observed flocks of animalcules moving all in the same direction, and other flocks returning the contrary way. He adds: '*Neque illud in unica epididymum parte, sed et in aliis quas præcideram partibus, observavi. Ad hæc, in quadam parastatarum reflecta portione complura vidi animalcula, quæ necdum in justam magnitudinem adoleverant; nam et corpuscula illis exiliora et caudæ triplo breviores erant quam adultis. Ad hæc, caudas non habebant desinentes in mucronem, quales tamen adultis esse passim comperio. Præterea, in quadam parastatarum portionem incidi, animalculis, quantum discernere potui, destitutam, tantum illi quædam perexiguæ inerant*

* See tom. iv. p. 304.

particulæ,

'particulæ, partim longiores partim breviores;
'sed altera sui extremitate crassiusculæ; istas
'particulas in animalcula transiituras esse non du-
'bitabam.' From this passage, it is apparent that
Leeuwenhoek had seen in this seminal liquor,
what I have found in the semen of all the ani-
mals which I examined, moving bodies that dif-
fered in size, figure, and motion; and these cir-
cumstances, it is obvious, correspond better with
the notion of organic particles in motion, than
with that of real animals.

It appears, therefore, that Leeuwenhoek's ob-
servations, though he draws very different con-
clusions from them, perfectly correspond with
mine: And, though there be some opposition in
the facts, I am fully persuaded, that, whoever
shall take the trouble of repeating the experi-
ments, will easily discover the source of these dif-
ferences, and find that I have related nothing
but truth. To enable the reader to decide in this
matter, I shall add a few remarks:

We do not always see, in the human semen,
the filaments I have mentioned: For this pur-
pose, the liquor must be examined the moment
it is extracted from the body; and even then
they do not uniformly appear. When the li-
quor is too thick, it presents nothing but large
globules, which may be distinguished with a
common lens. When examined with the micro-
scope they have the appearance of small oranges;
they are very opaque, and one of them occu-
pies

pies the whole field of the microscope. The
first time I observed these globules, I imagined
them to be foreign bodies which had fallen into
the liquor. But, after examining different drops,
I found that the whole liquor was composed of
these large globules. I observed one of the
largest and roundest of them for a long time.
At first it was perfectly opaque: A little after,
I perceived on its surface, about half way be-
tween the centre and circumference, a beautiful
coloured luminous ring, which continued more
than half an hour, then gradually approached
the centre, which became clear and coloured,
while the rest of the globule remained opaque.
This light, which illuminated the centre, resem-
bled that which appears in large air-bubbles.
The globule now began to grow flat, and to
have a small degree of transparency: And after
observing it for three hours, I could perceive no
other change, no appearance of motion, either
internal or external. I imagined that some change
might happen by mixing the liquor with water.
The globules were indeed changed into a trans-
parent homogeneous fluid, which presented no-
thing worthy of remark. I left the semen to
liquify of its own accord, and examined it at the
distance of 6, 12, and 24 hours; but found no-
thing like life or motion. I relate this experi-
ment to show, that the ordinary phenomena
are not always to be expected in seminal fluids,
though they be apparently similar.

Sometimes all the moving bodies have tails, especially in the semen of man, and of the dog; their motion is not then very rapid, and appears to be performed with difficulty. If the liquor be allowed to dry, the tails or threads are first deprived of motion; the anterior extremity continues to vibrate for some time, and then all motion ceases. These bodies may be long preserved in this state; and, if a small drop of water be then poured upon them, their figure changes; they fall down into several minute globules, which appear to have a small degree of motion, sometimes approaching each other, and sometimes trembling, and turning round their centres.

The moving bodies in the human semen, and in those of the dog and bitch, resemble each other so strongly, that it is not easy to distinguish them, especially when examined immediately after they are taken from the body of the animal. Those of the rabbit appear to be smaller and more active. But these differences and resemblances proceed more from the different states of the fluids during the time of examination, than from the nature of the fluids themselves, which ought indeed to be different in different species of animals: For example, in the human fluid, I have remarked large filaments, as represented in pl. III. fig. 3. &c. and I have seen the moving bodies separate from these filaments, from which they appeared to derive their origin. But I could perceive nothing of this kind in the
semen

semen of the dog. Instead of distinct filaments, it is generally composed of a compact mucilage, in which we with difficulty perceive some filamentous parts; and yet this mucilage gives birth to moving bodies similar to those in the human semen.

The motion of these bodies continues longer in the fluid of the dog, than in that of man, which enables us more easily to distinguish the change of form above remarked. The moment the fluid issues from the body of the animal, we find most of the animalcules possessed of tails. In 12, 24, or 36 hours afterwards, almost the whole tails disappear; we then perceive only oval bodies moving about, and generally with more rapidity than at first.

The moving bodies are always below the surface of the liquor. Several large transparent air-bubbles commonly appear on the surface: but they have no motion, unless when the liquor is agitated. Below the moving bodies we often perceive others still more minute: These have no tails; but most of them move: And, in general, I have remarked, that, of the numberless globules in all these liquors, the smallest are generally blacker and more obscure than the others; and that those which are extremely minute and transparent have little or no motion. They seem likewise to have more specific gravity; for they are always sunk deepest in the fluid.