Professor Hodgkin has told you how he was influenced as an undergraduate by the writings of four Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. I too was an undergraduate at Trinity, but by the time I was taking physiology seriously, in my final year in 1938-1939, there was yet another Fellow of the College who influenced me even more directly than the ones mentioned by Hodgkin, and that was Hodgkin himself. He was one of my teachers during that year, and my first introduction to research was the short period that we spent together at the Marine Biological Laboratory at Plymouth in the summer of 1939, when we succeeded in recording the resting and action potentials of the giant nerve fibre of the squid with an internal microelectrode. This work was brought to a stop by the war, but we joined up again at Cambridge early in 1946, and almost the whole of my share in the work for which the prize was given was done jointly with him during the succeeding five or six years.

Hodgkin has spoken about the ionic theory of the nerve impulse from a broad point of view, and I propose to go into greater detail on the quantitative aspects of the theory that we developed. The measurements on which this was based were made by a feed-back method which has become known as the "voltage clamp". In this, a pair of wires is introduced along the axis of the giant nerve fibre, as shown diagrammatically in Fig. 1. The potential difference across the membrane is measured between one of these wires and an electrode in the sea water just outside the fibre, while the other wire is used for passing current through the membrane to another external electrode. The voltage wire is connected to the input of an amplifier whose output goes to the current wire, the direction of the connections being such that any accidental change of membrane potential is almost completely annulled by the current that the amplifier sends through the membrane. Rectangular pulses can also
be fed into the amplifier through a second input. When this is done, the amplifier automatically sends through the current wire whatever current may be needed to make the membrane potential undergo step-wise changes proportional to those which are applied through the second input. This current is then displayed on a cathode-ray oscilloscope and photographed.

The net result is the same as would be obtained if a single ideal electrode was
placed inside the fibre and connected to a low-impedance source of voltage steps, and the current is recorded. A method of this kind was indeed tried by Cole and Marmont\textsuperscript{2} in 1947, and gave useful results, but it is not suitable for quantitative work because the current density that the electrode has to pass is really quite large and no one has yet made an electrode that is sufficiently free from polarisation troubles.

**Analysis of the Currents Through the Nerve Membrane**

In order to create a nearly instantaneous change in the potential difference across the membrane, the membrane capacity has to be charged or discharged by the passage of a substantial quantity of electricity in a very short time. This pulse of capacity current can be recorded by the voltage-clamp method, but in the figures reproduced here most of it cannot be seen because of its rapid rise and fall, and very short total duration, which is only a few microseconds. Analysis of these pulses has confirmed the existence of the capacity in the membrane of about 1 microfarad per square centimetre which had been demonstrated many years earlier with alternating current methods by Curtis and Cole\textsuperscript{3}. Our present concern is however with the currents which flow in the first few milliseconds after the completion of this capacity current, while the membrane potential is held constant by the feedback system.

The general features of these components of the current are illustrated in Fig. 2. The right-hand side of the figure shows that when the normal potential difference across the membrane is increased by 40 mV (inside made more negative), the currents are very small. They are barely visible at the amplification used in these records, but with more gain it is found that the current is always inwards, i.e., in the same direction as if the membrane obeyed Ohm's law. But where the inside of the fibre is made more positive by an equal amount (left-hand column), the currents are of a larger order of magnitude; further, if the fibre is in seawater (as in record C) there is a conspicuous early phase in which the direction of the current is against the change of membrane potential. If it were not for the feedback, this current would drive the inside of the fibre still more positive, that is to say, it would produce the rising phase of an action potential; similarly, the late phase of outward current is clearly a manifestation of the process responsible for the falling phase. The evidence derived from quite different experiments that Professor Hodgkin has already presented thus suggested that the inward phase of current was carried
dominantly by sodium ions, moving under the influence of concentration differences and the potential difference across the membrane. If so, it should disappear when the external sodium concentration is lowered by an appropriate amount. Records B and D show that this is the case.

On this interpretation, the early phase of current should actually be reversed if the external sodium concentration is made low enough or if the internal potential is made high enough. This does actually occur, as is shown in Fig. 3. The curve which separates those with an early inward phase from those with an early outward phase evidently has zero sodium current; it defines the "sodium potential" at which the effect of the electrical potential difference
Fig. 3. Membrane currents when the internal potential is raised to values comparable to the peak of an action potential. Axon in sea water; temperature 3.5°C; outward current upwards. The records for 91 and 104 mV displacement of membrane potential show a phase of inward current, while those at 130 and 143 mV show an early hump in the outward current. The record at 117 mV shows neither, and it is therefore taken to be very close to the sodium equilibrium potential, at which the current carried by sodium is zero. From Hodgkin et al. 1.

Each of the voltage-clamp records shown so far was taken with the membrane potential held constant after the initial step. The next stage in the analysis was to find how the two components changed if the membrane potential was suddenly altered. The result was unexpectedly simple: each component altered instantaneously to a value which depended in a linear manner on the new value of the membrane potential, and passed through zero at the "sodium potential" or the "potassium potential" respectively. This kind of behaviour is what would be given by the circuit shown in Fig. 6: the resistances obey
Ohm's law as far as concerns the effect of sudden changes in potential, but in addition the values of the resistances alter smoothly, in times of the order of a millisecond, to give the time courses of current that are shown for example in Figs. 2-4.

We can thus speak of a sodium conductance and a potassium conductance, both in parallel with the membrane capacity, so that the total current observed is the sum of the currents through these channels. There was also a small component of current which obeyed Ohm's law (with a constant resistance) and was not noticeably affected by changes in the composition of the external fluid. This is represented by the "leak resistance" $R_l$ in Fig. 6.

The final stage of the analysis was to define the time course with which the sodium conductance and the potassium conductance changed after the membrane potential had been brought to a new value. The main features to be incorporated are shown in Fig. 7. A striking point which for some time we

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![Diagram](image)

Fig. 4. Separation of ionic current into components carried by Na and K ions. Curve C, representing the sodium current, is the difference between A (toral ionic current) and B (Na current brought to zero by lowering external Na concentration). Temperature, 8.5°C. From Hodgkin et al.
found difficult to formulate is the fact that each of the conductances rises with an S-shaped time course at the start, but falls along something very like a simple exponential if the membrane potential is restored to its resting value. The manner in which we did in the end represent it is most simply illustrated in connection with the potassium system. We defined a quantity $n$ which varied with ordinary first-order kinetics: that is to say, for each value of membrane potential, there was corresponding equilibrium value of $n$ and this equilibrium value was approached exponentially with a time constant which was also a function of membrane potential, and there was no discontinuity in the value of $n$ if membrane potential was changed suddenly. Then the forth power of $n$ varies in much the same way as the potassium conductance does. In the same way, the time course of the sodium conductance behaves like the product $m^3h$, where $m$ varies rather like $n$ but an order of magnitude more rapidly, and $h$ also obeys first-order kinetics but changes in the opposite direction, i.e. its equilibrium value is smaller the more positive the inside of the fibre is made. The equilibrium values and time constants for $n$, $m$ and $h$ were estimated from the curves of conductance change, and converted into the equiva-

![Figure 5](image_url)

Fig. 5. Relation between potassium efflux and membrane current density when outward current is drawn from a Sepia axon. Vertical bars show $\pm 2 \times$ standard error of means. From Hodgkin and Huxley.
Obey Ohm's law for rapid changes in the potential difference across the membrane, but change their values in times of the order of a millisecond if the membrane potential is held at a new value. $R_L$ is constant.

Equivalent circuit of a small area of membrane of the giant axon. $R_K$ and $R_{Na}$ obey Ohm's law for rapid changes in the potential difference across the membrane, but change their values in times of the order of a millisecond if the membrane potential is held at a new value. $R_L$ is constant.

lent pairs of first-order rate constants. Each rate constant-varied according to the membrane potential during the step applied by the voltage clamp, and this dependence was fitted by an empirical equation.

This analysis was in fact carried in the sequence I have presented, and the voltage clamp results led directly to the formulation that we gave. But we had thought up many of its features long before the voltage clamp was developed, and even before Hodgkin and Katz, in the summer of 1947, demonstrated the part played by sodium in the generation of the action potential. Hodgkin and I spent a good deal of time in the early part of 1947 thinking what kind of system might give rise to an action potential. For the rising phase, we postulated, in the membrane, a system of sodium carriers which had a large dipole moment. In the resting state, the dipoles were held in one position by
Fig. 7. Time course of changes in sodium and potassium conductance when internal potential is raised by 56 mV. Temperature, 8.5ºC. The continuous curves are from the experiment of Fig. 4 and show the changes of conductance when the potential was maintained at the raised value; the broken curves show the effect of restoring the membrane potential to its resting value after 0.6 or 6.3 msec. From refs. 8 and 16.

the resting potential difference across the membrane. As the potential difference was reduced, the dipoles became free to turn and thus to ferry sodium ions across. These carriers were assumed to become subject to "inactivation" by reacting relatively slowly, but reversibly, with some substance in the axoplasm when they were in the position opposite to the one they took up in the resting state. The outward movement of charge in the falling phase was attributed to an increase in the potassium-permeability of the membrane which took place with a delay when the membrane potential was reduced; this was suggested directly by Cole's observation of this kind of rectification in the membrane together with the "inductance" which he had found and had attributed to a lag in the establishment of the new resistance after the membrane potential had been changed. Using these assumptions we computed the time courses of membrane-potential change that would be caused by the ion movements, and after a good deal of trial and error we found that plausible-looking action potentials resulted when appropriate numerical values were inserted. A propagated action potential computed in May 1947 incorporated the main features that emerged two or three years later from the voltage-clamp analysis: reduction of membrane potential caused (a) a rapid rise of
sodium permeability, (b) a slower decay of sodium permeability as the carrier became inactivated, and (c) a delayed rectification due to a rise in potassium permeability. Features of the voltage-clamp results that we did not anticipate were the finite delay in the rise of sodium permeability and the S-shaped curve of potassium permeability increase; the form of the variations of permeability with membrane potential was of course also different from what we had assumed in 1947.

Application to Various Phenomena in Nerve

Returning to the voltage-clamp analysis, the procedure that I have described led to a set of equations which described the time course of current through the membrane when the potential difference across it was changed in a step-wise manner. It was clear that the formulation we had used was not the only one that might have fitted the voltage-clamp results adequately, and it was by no means a foregone conclusion that the same equations would describe the behaviour of the membrane under its normal conditions of operation, where the ionic currents bring about changes of membrane potential instead of being drawn off by the feedback amplifier. We therefore calculated the responses of our mathematical representations of the nerve membrane to the equivalent of an electrical stimulus. Some of the computations of this kind that we made in 1951 are shown in Figs. 8-14. They included the "membrane action potential", i.e. an action potential in which all parts of the membrane are active synchronously; the propagated action potential; the impedance changes and the total movements of sodium and potassium into and out of the fibre in these action potentials; recovery during the relative refractory period; anode break excitation; and the oscillatory response of the membrane to a rectangular pulse of current. All these results were published in 1952 and showed a surprisingly good agreement with the behaviour of the real giant axon of the squid.

The computations so far described were done by hand. This was a laborious business: a membrane action took a matter of days to compute, and a propagated action potential took a matter of weeks. But it was often quite exciting. For example, when calculating the effect of a stimulus close to the threshold value, one would see the forces of accommodation-inactivation of the sodium channel, and the delayed rise of potassium permeability-creeping up and reducing the excitatory effect of the rapid rise of sodium permeability.
Fig. 8. "Membrane" action potentials, i.e. responses in which all the length of the fibre is active synchronously. Top: computed; bottom, observed. Temperature, 6.3°C. From ref. 8.

Fig. 9. Propagated action potentials. Top, computed; bottom, observed. Temperature, 18.5°C From ref. 8.
Fig. 10. Changes of sodium and potassium conductances (full lines and scale at left) during a propagated action potential (membrane potential change shown dotted; scale on right). Computed for temperature of 18.5ºC. From ref. 8.

Fig. 11. Changes in total conductance of the membrane during an action potential. (A) computed. Broken line, membrane action potential, 6ºC; full line, total membrane conductance. (B) records of propagated action potential (dots) and conductance change, reproduced from Cole and Curtis. From refs. 7 and 8.
Fig. 12. Recovery during the refractory period. Membrane responses: upper part, computed for 6.3°C; lower part, records from an actual nerve, 9°C. Time scales differ by a factor appropriate to the temperature difference. A and E, responses in resting nerve to weak and strong stimuli respectively; B-D, responses to stimulus of same strength as in E at various times after A. From ref. 8.

Would the membrane potential get away into a spike, or die in a subthreshold oscillation? Very often my expectations turned out to be wrong, and an important lesson I learnt from these manual computations was the complete inadequacy of one’s intuition in trying to deal with a system of this degree of complexity.

Later on, we extended the range of our calculated responses by using the electronic computers EDSAC I and EDSAC II in the Mathematical Laboratory of Cambridge University. The first case we dealt with in this way was the effect of lowered calcium concentration. Frankenhaeuser and Hodgkin in 1957 had shown with the voltage clamp that the main effect of changing the calcium concentration was to shift along the membrane potential axis all the functions which govern the permeability changes. Incorporating this change alone into the equations made the computer deliver a variety of oscillatory responses that were closely similar to the responses of real nerve fibres in low-
Fig. 13. Anode break responses. Above: computed, 6.3%; below, record from a real nerve, 18.5°C. Time scales differ by a factor appropriate to the temperature difference. In each case, a long-lasting steady current lowering the internal potential below its resting value is terminated at time zero. From ref. 8.

Fig. 14. Responses of the membrane to a constant current, uniformly applied. (A) computed; (B₁) and (B₂) observed, for currents of +1.49 µA/cm² and -1.49 µA/cm² respectively. 19°C. From ref. 8.
An example is shown in Fig. 15, where a single anodal shock starts off a series of increasing oscillations which build up into repetitive action potentials.

Later, we calculated the propagated action potentials corresponding to various temperatures. It was assumed that the only effect of altered temperature was to change the rates of the permeability factors with a $Q_10$ of 3; it is now known that there are also appreciable changes in the absolute values of the ionic currents but Fig. 16 shows that the single assumption led to results that were strikingly similar to the experimental records that Hodgkin and Katz had obtained in 1947 from real squid fibres.

Another case we computed was the effect of an anodal pulse during the action potential itself. Various authors had shown that such a pulse, if of sufficient strength, could cause an all-or-none return of the membrane potential to approximately its resting level. Fig. 17 shows that the computed action potential can be abolished in the same way.

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**Fig. 15.** Computed response of membrane of axon in solution with 0.35 times the usual calcium concentration. A small anodal stimulus gives rise to increasing oscillations which build up into a series of spikes which is continued indefinitely. Ordinate scale 10 times larger in upper part of figure than in lower part. From ref. 9.
The other situation we have explored to some extent with EDSAC II is the response in a continuous nerve to stimuli of just threshold value applied at one point. Some of these computations have required the mathematical representation to be set up as a partial differential equation, with the membrane properties represented separately for each of a number of points along the length of the nerve. Several intriguing results have emerged, but it is not worth laying much emphasis on them since the equivalent experiments on the real nerve have not been performed, and the situations in question are so unstable.
that it may well be impossible to realise them in practice even if they are possible in principle. For example, the equations lead to solutions representing a wave, or even a series of waves, of just threshold amplitude, travelling along the fibre at much lower velocity than the normal spikers. Also, when a just threshold pulse is applied at one point, action potentials may propagate away in both directions although the membrane potential change at the stimulated point only reaches about 20 mV.

Conclusion

The agreement between these computed responses and the potential changes that can be recorded from real nerve fibres is certainly encouraging, but I would not like to leave you with the impression that the particular equations we produced in 1952 are definitive. First, it has been clear all along that these equations only cover the rapid events in and immediately after the action potential and they are inadequate for dealing with questions like the maintenance of the resting potential. Second, Cole and Moore have shown that the rise of potassium conductance can in some conditions be much more delayed.
than is accounted for by our fourth-power formulation. Thirdly, a recent paper by Rosalie Hoyt\textsuperscript{15} shows that the sodium conductance change may satisfactorily be represented by a single variable governed by a second-order differential equation while in our formulation it was represented by a product of two variables each governed by a first order equation. Fourth, Bernhard Frankenhaeuser of the Nobel Institute here has achieved the remarkable feat of doing voltage-clamp measurements on single nodes of Ranvier in myelinated nerve fibres and has found that there are substantial differences in behaviour from the squid giant axon, although the main outlines are the same. Both Hodgkin and I feel that these equations should be regarded as a first approximation which needs to be refined and extended in many ways in the search for the actual mechanism of the permeability changes on the molecular scale.