NOTES

PREFACE

1. The terms ‘natural philosophy’ and ‘science’ have throughout been used interchangeably. The latter, in the seventeenth century itself, usually refers to what we would call ‘knowledge’, but in cases of doubt I have added in square brackets my own preferred reading
3. Thomas White, An Exclusion of Scepticks From all Title to Dispute (London, 1665), p. 16.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

2. Thomas Carlyle defined ‘Universal History’ as “the history of the great men who have worked here.” ‘On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History’, lecture 1, May 5 1840.


12. Professor R.H. Popkin’s term: see ‘Third Force’ (n. 3 above).

13. Meric Casaubon accuses Hobbes of affecting “to be the Oracle of the world; who would make the world believe noe such thing was in the world, truly and really, as art, or science, or philosophie, till he was borne and began to wryte”; while Descartes, with “excessive pride and self-conceit”, appeared to think that “all other bookes and learning should be layd asyde, as needless, but what came from him, or was grounded upon his principles.” ‘On Learning’ (1667), printed in M.R.G. Spiller ed., “Concerning Natural Experimental Philosophie”: Meric Casaubon and the Royal Society (The Hague, 1980), pp. 203, 206. On Bacon’s “excessive passion… to signalize himself by new sentiments”, see René Rapin, *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Philosophy* (English transl., London, 1678), p. 120.


15. I am grateful to the Automobile Association Overseas Routes Department for their calculation of distances.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2


2. This was recognised by White’s eighteenth-century biographer Charles Dodd, who includes him in a list of “eminent Writers, whose Works had been made public to all Europe.” *The History of the English College at Doway* (London, 1713), p. 26 (my emphasis).


7. One modern scholar has gone so far as to claim in this context that “Hobbes, in a very real sense, developed his own natural philosophy in the shadow of Thomas White.” Lewis, ‘Hobbes and the Blackloists’, p. 86.


13. A. Dejordy & H.F. Fletcher eds., *A Library for Younger Schollers, compiled by an English Scholar-Priest about 1655* (Illinois, 1961), pp. 4, 45. The scholar-priest has been identified as probably Thomas Barlow, 1607–91, librarian of the Bodleian from 1642 to 1660.


21. Locke’s MS Notebook, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Locke f.14), contains references to *DM, Pl*, and *Euclides Physicus*, as well as to *Exclusion of Scepticks*, and *Apology for Tradition*. (pp. 8, 96, 139, 271.)

22. *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Vatican, 1948) lists all White’s works, citing decrees of 12 May 1655, 6 and 18 September 1657, 17 November 1661, 31 May 1663.


1638 or early in 1639. Reports of the outcome varied, but a supporter recalled that White had acquitted himself so well that he was thereafter "in credit with them [i.e. Chillingworth's own party] ever after." Anon., *Mr. Blacklow's Reply* (n.p., ?1657), p. 23. See also P. Des Maizeaux, *An Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of William Chillingworth* (London, 1725), pp. 40–41.

26. Matthew Poole, *Nullity of the Romish Faith* (Oxford, 1666), To the Reader; and cf. p. 148, where White is described as "one of the acutest of our Adversaries."


31. See chapter 14.

32. Dodd, *History*, p. 27.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 3


5. Plowden, *Remarks*, p. 261. Plowden’s critical attitude towards White’s character was no doubt induced by his detestation of Blackloism.


35. Letters to Farrington, 9 and 16 October 1627, OB, I.96, 97; *BC*, p. 78.

36. WA XXXIX.58; White’s will is in Barrett/Belson papers Q26/2, 3.

37. Thomas White, *Devotion and Reason* (Paris, 1661), pp. 16–17. This reference to the Ethiopian church may not have been as fanciful as it sounds, for a Jesuit mission had been established there in the early 1620s. A Portuguese missionary, Pedro Paez, had converted the Emperor Susenyto the Roman Catholic faith, so that there was official contact between Ethiopia and Rome at least until 1632, when Catholicism was finally rejected and the Jesuits expelled. During the decade of Catholic influence, the Portuguese Jesuit, Jeronimo Lobo, was sent out to Ethiopia. He later corresponded with Henry Oldenburg of the Royal Society, and the journal of his adventures has recently been translated into English and published as *The Itinerario*, ed. C.F. Beckingham (Hakluyt Society, London, 1984). [I am indebted for this reference to Professor
Notes to Chapter 3

David Knight. Richard Lassels in 1670 notes that Urban VIII had founded the College de Propaganda Fide "to maintain divers studens of the Eastern countryes, and even of India and Ethiopia too." Voyage for Italy (Paris, 1670), p. 185.

38. Contemplation, p. 36; Religion and Reason, To the Reader; BC, p. 106; ‘Apology’, fol. 19.


40. DM, p. 28.

41. Religion and Reason, p. 186.


43. S.W., Vindication, p. 17. The identity of White’s critic ‘S.W.’ has not been established. It is clearly not, however, as is sometimes claimed, John Sergeant. See B.C. Southgate, ‘Who is “S.W.”?’ A note on the authorship of a 1659 Vindication’, Notes & Queries N.S. 30, 1983, 440-441.

44. Peter Fitton, letter to Digby, 30 October 1653; in BC, p. 107.


46. An Encyclical Epistle (n.p., 1660), p. 34.

47. Letter to John Belson, Barrett/Belson papers, Q26/7.

48. Letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, BL Addit. MS 41846, fols. 84–86.


50. WA: Stonyhurst, Anglia AVIII.33; Controversy-Logicke, p. 4.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Athenae Oxonienses, III.1247.


6. OB IV.37, quoted by Anstruther, Seminary Priests, II.348.

7. Ibid., p. 351.


10. A hostile commentator suggests that White assumed the name Blacklo in conformity with his philosophy, “that may presume to make the poore vulgar ones beleeve black to be white, and white black.” BL Addit. MS 41846, f. 71.


17. WA XXXII.48.
24. Owen, Register, p. 53.
25. Ibid., p. 52.
26. Ibid., p. 68.
27. Valladolid Register, p. 101; CRS: The Douay College Diaries 3, 4 and 5, 1598–1654 eds. E.H. Burton and T.L. Williams (2 vols.; London, 1911) I.131. White's contact with Louvain persisted: he dedicated his Exercitatio Geometrica (1658) to his friend Gerard van Gutschoven, Professor of Mathematics at that university; and he directed his Muscarium against the Louvain philosopher Jonas de Thamo, who had written against Blackloism. Cf. Pugh, BC, Epistle to the Catholic Reader.
29. Owen, Register, pp. 80, 84. The idea of students working their way through college was not restricted to Douai. On poorer undergraduates at the English universities acting as servants for their dons and wealthier peers, see L. Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560–1640', Past and Present 28, 1964, 67–68.
30. Dodd, History, p. 5.
32. This document is recorded in D. Berti, Il Processo Originale di Galileo Galilei (Rome, 1876), pp. 130–31.
33. Pugh, BC, Epistle to the Catholic Reader. That Thomistry continued to be predominant at Douai at least into the 1670s and '80s, is attested by Sylvester Jenks, who completed his divinity course there in 1680: “Six years I spent in learning Thomistry, and as many more in teaching it...” A Short Review of the Book of Jansenius (n.p., 1710), p. 152.
34. Religion and Reason, pp. 15, 139, 163–64.
35. “Invitus, non tam missus quam coactus sum”: Muscarium, p. 10.
36. A.C.F. Beales. Education under Penalty: English Catholic Education from the Reformation to the Fall of James II, 1547–1689 (London, 1963), p. 152. The Lisbon archives are now held at Ushaw College, Durham, and I am grateful to Dr Michael Sharratt for drawing my attention to these and hospitably providing access. His own works, relevant to White's time at Lisbon, are listed in the bibliography.
37. WA XX.15.
38. Owen, Register, p. 21
40. See below, ch. 13.
41. For the literary importance of this, see G. Parry, The Seventeenth Century: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1603–1700 (London, 1989).
42. Baillet, Vie de Descartes, p. 245.
43. For a recent assessment of Mersenne and his associates, see P. Dear, Mersenne and the Learning of the Schools (Ithaca, NY, 1988). Mersenne at the time was described by Kenelm Digby as “alwayse (out of his generous affection to verity) inciting others to contribute to the publike stocke” of knowledge. TT, p. 74.

45. Digby, in the codicil to his will, leaves £20 “to my most honoured friend Mr Thomas White, who lived sometime in my house with me at Paris.” BL Addit. MS 38175, f. 61.

46. Jacquot and Jones, Hobbes' Critique, p. 32.


50. DM, pp. 96–97; Jacquot and Jones, Hobbes’ Critique, p. 34.

51. DM, p. 108.


53. In his ‘Apology’ (f. 15), White refers to being approached in London for the political advice subsequently published as The Grounds in 1655.


55. See chapters 6 and 7 below.


57. John Hall, An Humble Motion to the Parliament of England concerning the Advancement of Learning and the Reformation of the Universities (1649); reprinted as The Advancement of Learning, ed. A.K. Croston (Liverpool, 1953).


59. Another Puritan contact at this time was Richard Baxter, with whom White corresponded: Baxter Correspondence VI, nos. 24, 28; cf; W.M. Lamont, Richard Baxter and the Millennium (London, 1979), pp. 30f. White wrote to Baxter as a friend, but Baxter was later vehemently to repudiate White’s political and theological views in his anti-Catholic Holy Commonwealth (London, 1659).

60. Wallis, Commercium epistolicum, esp. Letter VII.


62. Ibid., Q26/4, 5.


64. Encyclical Answer, pp. 53–54.

65. Barrett/Belson papers, Q26/17.

66. John Sergeant, Statera Appensa (London, 1661); to which White in turn responded with Staterae aequilibrium (London, 1661). Sergeant, as Secretary of the Chapter, also signed some Instructions for their Agent in 1667, in which it was made clear that the Capitulare had earlier “conjured him [i.e. White] to recall his Statera Morum when he was in Holland.” WA XXXII.136.

67. Otto von Guericke had demonstrated the existence of a vacuum in 1654, but the debate continued into the 1670s. See ‘Letter to Thomasius’, in Loemker ed., Leibniz, p. 94.


69. Douay Diaries II. 547.

70. Journals of the House of Commons, 17 October 1666.

71. Ath. Ox., III. 1211, where Wood refers to “the book Of Purgatory.”

72. See ch. 2, n. 23. Such beliefs in providential intervention are not confined to the seventeenth century: for the fire in York Minster in 1984 ascribed to “the wrath of God,” see newspapers for July 10, 1984.
73. Ath. Ox., III. 1247.
74. Pugh claimed that White "outlived... his own understanding" and reverted to second
childhood. BC, Epistle to the Catholick Reader.
75. White's will is in the Barrett/Belson papers Q26/2.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Robert Pugh, who became confesser to Henrietta Maria, and who died in Newgate goal
after being suspected of implication in the Oates plot, was a consistent opponent of
White and Blackloism. His pamphlet De Anglicani cleri retinenda in Apostolica
sedem observantia (Paris, 1659) was written "against Blacklow and his disciples" (Cal. 
Clarendon Papers IV. 251), and provoked White's Monumentam (1660), which was in
turn responded to with Excantationis Amuletum (1661). On these, see J.A. Bradney, A
Dissertation on Three Books... (London, 1923) -- a little-known work of 52 pages, some
still uncut in the BL copy in May 1991. Pugh, as 'Petrus Hobergus' (an anagram) also
sent a letter in November 1661 to Cardinal Barberini, outlining the problems of the
English Catholic clergy from an anti-Blackloist standpoint. This letter is reproduced as
Appendix X in Plowden, Remarks, pp. 360-379. The originals of Pugh's collection of
letters in BC were preserved until 1773 in the Jesuit college at Ghent.
2. BL Add. MS 29612, f. 60.
3. Both derogatory terms, 'faction' and 'cabal', are also used in the 1660 Letter from a
Gentleman, pp. 38, 39, in Anon, ed., Tracts relating to Thomas White, 1657, 1660;
henceforth cited as Tracts.
4. BC, Epistle to the Catholick Reader. Note Pugh's continuing acceptance of pre-
Copernican cosmology.
6. Rule of Faith, p. 119. Tillotson also includes William Rushworth, though expressing
doubt as to his possible identification with White himself.
12. Ibid., pp. 28, 34 (emphasis in original).
15. Religion and Reason, p. 119. White denies that "an opinion which confessedly is no
more but probable can be a sufficient ground to build Christian Faith upon."
16. Digby, letter to Holden, 18 November 1647; Holden, letter to Digby, 6 September,
1647, in BC, pp. 67, 27.
17. WA XXXII.294f. (my emphasis).
18. Hugh Cressy, Exomologesis (Paris, 1647), p. 182. On the distinction between oral and
written tradition, see also White's Preface to Rushworth's Dialogues.
21. Middle State, pp. 186, 205-6; Notes on Mr F.D.'s Result, pp. 5-8. The eighteenth-
century commentator Francis Blackbume concluded that "White had shaken the pillars
of Purgatory to their very foundations." Short Historical View, p. 132.
22. S.W., Vindication, p. 102; cf. pp. 83f.
23. Middle State, p. 196; Notes on Mr F.D.'s Result, p. 47.
24. John Gee, New Shreds of the Old Snare (London, 1624), quoted by K. Thomas,
Notes to Chapter 5 155

25. James Mumford, Remembrance for the Living to pray for the Dead (2nd edn., Paris, 1660), Preface. White and his Middle State are not specifically named, but Mumford’s book is the one against which White in turn responded with his Devotion and Reason.

26. Epistle Declaratorie (1657), p. 34, in Tracts. For White’s re-interpretation of the situation, see Mr. Blacow’s Reply, p. 10. But that complaints were not confined to Leyburn, see ‘A.K.’, in a letter to George Fisher, 21 August 1657, where he writes of White’s “extravagancies [concerning purgatory], which if not retracted, as they have done the clergy much wrong, see they may doe still; whereby we have not these four years received ye charity which usually hath bene brought to us.” WA XXXI.76.

27. White, letter to Kenelm Digby, 4 July 1647; in BC, p. 18.

28. George Leyburn, Apologie … (n.p., n.d.), pp. 8, 13. This work is probably to be dated to shortly before the Restoration.

29. Douay Diaries II.547.


31. Plowden, Remarks, p. 285. This description seems to be derived from the Preface to Peter Talbot’s Blackloanae Haeresis (Gandavi, 1675), where Sergeant is referred to as being called “haud incongrue… Blaclo’s Philip.”

32. The Lord Bishop of Portalegre, letter to Abbot Montagu, dated by Pugh to 14 October, 1667, in BC, p. 124.


34. Francis Gage, letter to Sergeant, 11 April 1661, in OB II.71.


38. WA XXXI.78.

39. WA XXXIII.197.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6


7. For criticisms of The Grounds, see chapter 7, below; White’s ‘Supernumerary Chapter’ is in BL. Addit. MS 41846, fol. 180–81; his letter, probably to Kenelm Digby, is in ibid., fol. 84–86; for the ‘Apology’, see n. 1, above.


16. BL Addit. MS 41846, fols. 84–86; cf. ‘Apology’ fols. 18–19.

17. Oldenburg to Becher, 2 March 1660; cited by C. Webster, *Great Instauration*, p. 86.

18. Joseph Jane’s assessment, 8 June 1655, in *Nicholas Papers* II.333.


20. *Grounds*, Dedieatory Epistle. Subsequent references to page numbers will be given in the text.

21. White’s approach here may owe something to his contact with the Puritan reformers at this time. Comenius propounded similar political ideals in his educational treatise *The Great Didactic* (1657), ch. VI.9: “Those in subordinate positions are to be enlightened, that they may know how to obey their rulers wisely and prudently: not by compulsion, nor obsequiously, like asses, but freely moved by the love of order.” Quoted by J.W. Adamson, *Pioneers of Modern Education, 1600–1700* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 60.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 7


3. The printed publication date is 1655, but the BL copy is corrected to 1656, and G.K. Fortescue (*Catalogue of the Pamphlets ... collected by George Thomason, 1640–61*; 2 vols.; London, 1908) gives 5 August 1656.


13. White seems in fact to have constituted Coke’s main cause for concern: twenty-three pages are devoted specifically to *The Grounds*, compared with only thirteen and sixteen
pages respectively to Hobbes and Grotius.


18. *Ibid.*, p. 15. For Coke’s flippant anti-intellectualism cf. p. 20, referring to White’s *Ground* 10: “Indeed, herein (for aught I know) may be much Treasure and Learning; and there let it be, for I never intend to look into it.”

19. BL Addit. MS 41846, fols. 84–86.


22. Fol. 84.


24. Fols. 84b–85.


26. Fol. 86.

27. *Ibid.* These assertions correspond with White’s earlier version of events as recorded in the autobiographical fragment in his *Muscarium*, where too he denies that he ever even spoke to Cromwell or his friends.

28. White’s ‘Apology for the Treatise of Obedience and Government’ is now in the Old Brotherhood Archives (II.130), at the Palace of Westminster.


30. Fol. 16.


42. B. Weldon, *Chronological Notes … from the Archives at Douai etc.* (London, 1882), p. 228.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. The word ‘chaos’ is applied at the time by Alexander Ross, who deplores the way “These new Philosophers... have like fantastick travellers, left the old beaten and known path, to find out wayes unknown, crooked and unpassable, and have reduced [Aristotle’s] comely order into the old chaos.” *Arcana Microcosmi* (London, 1651), p. 264.

and ‘Aristotelianism’ in Medieval and Renaissance Natural Philosophy’, *History of Science* 25, 1987, 335–58.
16. *Reflexions*, p. 82.
30. *Essays*, p. 47; cf. p. 50. See below, p. 82.
32. Jean Lacombe, letter to Mersenne, 3 October 1640; quoted by Dear, *Mersenne*, p. 204.
33. Cowley, ‘Ode to Mr Hobs’.
34. *Censure of Platonick Philosophie*, p. 11.


41. *Essays*, p. 44.


45. *Vanity*, subtitle.

46. *ES*, pp. 1–2, 72.


48. See chapters 11, 12.

49. *ES*, pp. 11, 14, 15.


51. *Scepsis*, subtitle. Following quotations are taken from the Address to the Royal Society.


55. *Essays*, pp. 45, 47, 49.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 9


7. The work of Charles Schmitt has greatly contributed to our understanding of the
flexibility of the scholastic framework. See e.g. his study John Case and Aris­totelianism in Renaissance England (Kingston and Montreal, 1983).


12. ES, p. 50.


15. Descartes, 1647; quoted by J. Cottingham, The Rationalists (Oxford, 1988), p. 31. Descartes does, however, concede that Aristotelians “frequently … have corrupted the sense of his writings, attributing diverse opinions to him which he would not recognise as his, were he to return to this world.”

16. Essays, p. 43; Vanity, p. 152.

17. Robert Boyle, A Disquisition about the Final Causes of Natural Things (1688), Preface; in Works IV.516.


19. Works V.44. Boyle does, however, doubt “whether Aristotle himself were of the same opinion” as them.


27. Thomas Hall, Examen Examinis (London, 1654), p. 239.


29. Rapin, Reflections, p. 58.


31. Hooker, Lawes, I.x.

32. Boyle, Works, I.17. Robert Hooke confirms that members of the Society “do not wholly reject Experiments of meer light and theory; but they principally aim at such, whose Applications will improve and facilitate the present way of Manual Arts.” Micrographia (London, 1665), Preface.

33. Meric Casaubon, A Letter to Peter Du Moulin (Cambridge, 1669), p. 31. Cf. Kenelm Digby, who advises his son that “the numerous crooked narrow cranies, and the restrayned flexuous rivolets of corporeall thinges, are all contemptible, further then the
knowledge of them serveth to the knowledge of the soule." *Two Treatises*, 'To my Sonne'.

34. *Advancement of Learning* I.iv, 3; 5; *Works* I.451, 453.

36. Webster, *Examen*, Epistle to the Reader; p. 103.
37. *Dialogue concerning the Two Chief World Systems* transl. Stillman Drake (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), pp. 54, 122. Galileo is aware that it is the Aristotelians or scholastics who have put undue emphasis on argument. Aristotle himself believed "that what sensible experience shows ought to be preferred over any argument." (p. 55; cf. p. 32)

38. Galileo himself is well aware that, the further science develops, "the less attractive it will be, and the smaller will be the number of its followers." *The Assayer* (1623), in S. Drake and C.D. O'Malley eds., *The Controversy on the Comets of 1618* (Philadelphia, 1960), p. 189.

**NOTES TO CHAPTER 10**

3. *Works* I.90; Glanvill, *Vanity*, p. 76; *Athenae Redivivae: or the New Athenian Oracle* (London, 1704), p. 140. In Britain, some popular incredulity or ignorance persists: a survey reported in *The Sunday Times* of 22 April 1990, revealed that 30% of school-children were unaware that the earth orbits the sun.
5. *PI*, p. 188.
7. For an illuminating presentation of these issues, see E. Grant, 'In Defense of the Earth's Centrality and Immobility: Scholastic Reaction to Copernicanism in the Seventeenth Century', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 74, part 4 (Philadelphia, 1984).
8. *PI*, pp. 364–65. Digby defines the "orbis magnus" as that "whose semidiameter is the distance betwene the sunne and the earth." (*TT*, p. 60).
14. Descartes' lack of intellectual integrity in another context is noted with disapproval by Hobbes, who (according to John Aubrey) "sayd that he could not pardon him for writing in the Defence of Transubstantiation, which he knew to be absolutely against
his judgement, and done meerly to putt a compliment on the Jesuites." Brief Lives, ed. Clark L.367.

15. Descartes, Principles III.19; CSM I.251.
16. Principles III.26; CSM I.252. Descartes further explains that "it can be said that the same thing moves and does not move at the same time."

18. PI, p. 175.
23. This is confirmed in his later (1659) Letter to a Person of Honour, where he writes against accepting the theory of "the earth’s standing still" as an article of Catholic faith.
27. DM, pp. 194, 177.
30. PI, pp. 170–171, 179.
31. Boyle, much concerned with the credibility of witnesses to experimental results, is particularly scathing about “ignorant divers, whom prejudice opinions may much sway, and whose very sensations, as those of other vulgar men, may be influenced by predispositions, and so many other circumstances, that they may easily give occasion to mistakes.” (Works III.626, quoted by S. Shapin, ‘The House of Experiment in Seventeenth Century England’, Isis 79, 1988, 376.) White does appear to have been somewhat gullible in his response to reported experimental results: cf. DM, p. 228, where he recounts an improbable story of an experimenting Turk; and for Hobbes’s ironic response, cf. Jones, Hobbes, p. 247.
32. Joseph Glanvill refers to this theory as late as 1676, though only to reject it, since in particular White improbably “makes so constant and regular an effect, as is the flux and reflux of the Sea to be caus’d by so uncertain, and proverbially inconstant a thing as the Winds.” Essays, p. 52.
33. For an earlier (1571) account of the air as motor, see Andreas Cesalpino, cited by Grant, ‘Defense’, pp. 6–7.
34. DM, pp. 188, 181; PI, p. 175.
36. PI, pp. 177–8.
38. Biblical passages alleged to support geocentric cosmology included Psalms 18, 6–7; 103, 5; Ecclesiastes 1, 4–5; Joshua 10, 12–14; cited by Grant, ‘Defense’, pp. 61–62.
40. Digges’ A perfit description of the Caelestiall Orbes was published in 1576; see T.S. Kuhn, The Copernican Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), who characterises Digges as “the first to describe an infinite Copernican universe” (p. 233); Brush ed., Gassendi, p. 407.
41. PI, pp. 118–19.

43. DM, p. 31.

44. *Principles* II.18; CSM I.231.

45. *Physiologia*, p. 65 (my emphases).

46. See *Appendicula tentans solutionem problematis Torricelliani* (London, 1663). White is not alone: as another opponent of the vacuum, the Jesuit Francis Line argued against Boyle that, if there were a vacuum in Torricellian space, it would not be possible to see through it, since “no invisible species could proceed either from it, or through it, into the eye.” *Tractatus de corporum inseparabilitate* (London, 1661), quoted by Shapin and Schaffer, *Leviathan*, p. 157. Leibniz continued to sit on the fence about the possibility of a vacuum until at least 1669: see Loemker ed. *Leibniz*, p 94, a reference for which I am indebted to Professor Stuart Brown.


48. See e.g. John Wilkins, *The Discovery of a New World, or a Discourse tending to prove that it is probable there may be another habitable world in the moon* (1638); and see gen. S.J. Dick, *The Plurality of Worlds* (Cambridge, 1982).

49. Montaigne, in Frame ed., p. 390, quoted by Dick, *ibid.*, p. 47; White, *Contemplation of Heaven*, p. 94; William Rushworth, *Dialogues* (Paris, 1654; edition corrected and enlarged by White), p. 250. (The authorship of this work, sometimes referred to as *An Apology for Tradition*, has been attributed in its entirety to Thomas White by e.g. John Tillotson and some modern scholars. White was, however, responsible for only the Preface and fourth dialogue in the second (1654) edition. See B.C. Southgate, ‘A Note on the Authorship of Rushworth’s *Dialogues*’, *Notes and Queries* N.S. 28, 1981, 207–208.) Locke later speculates about another “species of creatures inhabiting, for example, Jupiter or Saturn (for that it is possible there may be such, nobody can deny).” *An Essay concerning Humanè Understanding* (London, 1690), IV.xviii, 3.

50. DM, p. 190.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 11


4. *PI*, Author’s Design.


15. Molesworth ed. *English Works*, III. 23, 4. Hobbes’ affirmation that geometry is “the only Science that it hath pleased God hitherto to bestow on mankind” is reiterated by Glanvill, with his reference to “the indisputable Mathematicks, the only Science Heaven hath yet vouchsaft Humanity.” *Vanity*, p. 166.

16. For one seventeenth-century example, see William Petty’s aspirations to apply mathematical methods “to other than purely mathematical matters, viz. to policy... by reducing many terms of matter to terms of number, weight, and measure, in order to be handled mathematically.” Petty to Southwell, 19 March 1678; quoted by W. Letwin, *The Origins of Scientific Economics: English Economic Thought, 1660–1776* (Westport, Conn., 1975); and cf. Petty’s *Political Arithmetick* (London, 1690).

17. Rushworth, *Dialogues*, ‘To the Reader’.

18. *Pl*, ‘Author’s Design’. White is duly applauded by Digby for having in *De Mundo* taught “how the Theorems and demonstrations of Physicks, may be linked and chained together as strongly and as continually as they are in Mathematicks.” *Observations*, pp. 99–100.


22. Jacquot and Jones (*Hobbes* Critique, Introduction, p. 26; and cf. p. 34) claim that White probably had access to a manuscript of Digby’s *Two Treatises* even before publication of *De Mundo*.


24. See e.g. Anon., ‘Observations made upon Sir Kellam Digby his little booke entitled of the infallibilitie of religion’, BL Add. MS 41846, f. 70. Further evidence for the popular perception of White’s relationship to his friend may be taken from *The Athenian Oracle* (4 vols.; London, 1703), IV.344, where he is referred to as “Sir Kenelm Digby’s Tutor”.

25. *TT*, pp. 144, 7; cf pp. 65, 70, 117, 120.


31. See *Religion and Reason*, p. 134, where he responds to his critic ‘S.W.’’s charge that Epicureanism implies moral degeneracy: “For Epicurus, the eloquent Gassend us hath taken a great deal of pains to perswade the World you are in Errour.” Gassendi was known personally to White in the 1640s: see ch. 4.


Notes to Chapter 11  

85, 86.
39. ES, p. 41.
41. TT, pp. 343–44, 38; cf. p. 143. Leibniz accepts that the reformed philosophy of Digby and other modern corpuscularians is not only “more true but more consistent with Aristotle.” Loemker ed., Leibniz, p. 95 – a reference for which I am indebted to Professor Stuart Brown.
42. PI, p. 43; cf. p. 192.
45. PI, p. 52. On White’s acceptance of the limitations of our senses, see also PI, p. 103, where, referring to our experience of phenomena attributable to light, he concedes: “these things seem so only, through the defect of our Senses.” And cf. Grounds, p. 83, where in a quite different context, he comments on “our understandings not being able to reach such small and petty differences as nature maketh.”
46. PI, p. 54.
48. Ibid., pp. 205–6. While these minute particles “may be suppos’d, in every Element,” they are experienced only in compounds; they “never exist, but in composition with others.”
49. DM, pp. 57–58; PI, p. 57.
50. PI, p. 70.
51. White specifically refers to “Motion, Gravity, Light, Colours, Sight, Sound; all which the Digbyean Philosophy makes as clear as day.” ES, p. 52. He might have added in particular magnetism and memory.
52. ES, p. 29.
53. Ibid., p. 155.
56. White’s (undated) MS ‘Of Transubstantiation’ is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: Gough Norfolk 15, fols. 246–49. The italicised words (my emphasis) have been inserted by White, so his equation of ‘corpuscularian’ with ‘best’ does seem of some significance.
57. TT, pp. 205–8, 232, 235.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

1. ES, p. 35.
3. White discusses the soul in PI, Book V, pp. 244f. See also DM, Dialogue 1, the influence of which is acknowledged by Digby: A Discourse concerning Infallibility in Religion (Paris, 1652), pp. 76–78.
12. *PI*, pp. 104–5. White distinguishes ‘memory’ from ‘remembrance’, when we deliberately activate memory, or produce memory ‘made by design’; and from ‘dreams’, which derive from atomic motions occurring without any external stimulation.
14. It is interesting to note that, despite their own virtual disappearance from historical writing in the twentieth century, both White and Digby – together with Claude Bérigard and Hobbes – were cited with approval in this context by a nineteenth-century commentator: Sir William Hamilton, actually quoting an extract from White’s *Peripateticall Institutions*, commends them for their early “mechanical hypothesis of perception and memory.” Sir William Hamilton ed., *The Works of Thomas Reid* (6th edn., 2 vols.; Edinburgh, 1863), II.898.
15. See e.g. Walter Charleton, *Physiologia*, Book III, ch. xv, where even the apparently mysterious phenomenon of love-at-first-sight is explained in terms of atoms.
17. See chapter 14 below.
20. *PI*, pp. 109f., for which see also following paragraph.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 13

1. ‘Apology’, f.23.
5. *Novum Organum* LLXXXIX; *Works* I.197.
7. *Novum Organum* LLXXXIX; *Works* I.197.
10. *De Corpore*, Dedication; *Works* I.x–xi.
13. White’s Preface to the 1654 edition of Rushworth’s *Dialogues*.
“tried by the Mathematicks, and made subservient to them.” of Credulity and Incredulity (1668), quoted by Spiller ed., Casaubon, p. 129.


17. Ibid., p. 25.
23. Advancement of Learning II.1.4; Works I.498.
27. PI, pp. 411–12. Cf. White’s later assertion that “Certainly, it was not God’s intention to make the Mysteries of Faith Ridiculous, and absurd to common sense, but as congruous as the nature of ye mystery would bear.” ‘Of Transubstantiation’, fols. 247–247v.
29. S.W., Vindication, p. 5.
31. Ibid.
33. Pseudodoxia Epidemica, p. 35.
34. Religion and Reason, pp. 10, 197; cf. p. 25.
35. Ibid., pp. 190–91.
37. Browne, Religio Medici, in Works I.18.; Ross, Philosophical Touchstone, p. 106. See also Montaigne, ‘Apology’: “To Christians it is an occasion for belief to encounter something incredible. It is the more according to reason as it is contrary to human reason.” Frame ed., Works, pp. 368–69.
39. Toland, Christianity not mysterious, subtitle.
40. Vindication, p. 85.
43. This is not of course intended to imply that ‘Aristotelianism’ was simple, but that White’s adaptation would not necessarily have proved acceptable to earlier Aristotelians.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 14

1. Ath. Ox. 3.1247.
2. Letter to Anthony à Wood, 19 May 1683; Bodley MS Wood F.44, f.155.
4. See P. Harth, Contexts of Dryden's Thought (Chicago and London, 1968), ch. 8. Though critical, Harth is one of the few to take due note of Blackloism's importance.
5. At this time Sergeant was described by one Protestant adversary as White's “under-dauber”. Taylor, Dissuasive, Part 2 (1668), p. 64. Cf. Tillotson on White as Sergeant's “seducer”. Rule of Faith, p. 316.
7. Ibid., pp. 11–12.
8. John Sergeant, The Method to Science (London, 1696), Preface. Admittedly, Sergeant seems caught in a “time-warp” here, for the disparate theorists he cites in this context are Gassendi, Descartes, White and Digby.
10. PI, p. 104; cf. TT, pp. 245, 273, 284, 356.
12. Ibid., pp. 229, 146, 269, 162.
18. BL Add. MS 29612, f.60.
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