

### scientific information

### **History of Information**

Feb 16, 2000



PHILOSOPHIÆ

NATURALIS

PRINCIPIA

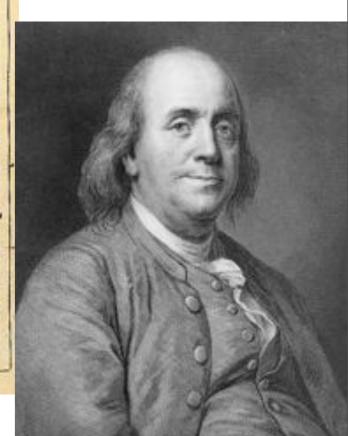
MATHEMATICA

Autore J.S. NEWTON, Trin. Call. Cantab. Soc. Mathefeos Professor Lucasium, & Societatis Regula Soduli.

> IMPRIMATUR S. PEPYS, Roy Soc. PRÆSES. July 5, 1686.

> > LONDINI,

Justin Societarie Regia ac Typis Jafepla Streeter. Profiat apud plures Bibliopolas. Assa MDCLXXXVII.





### aob

CLOSE

### "History of the World in 100 Objects"

http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/



A Section of the Transatlantic cable

Museum

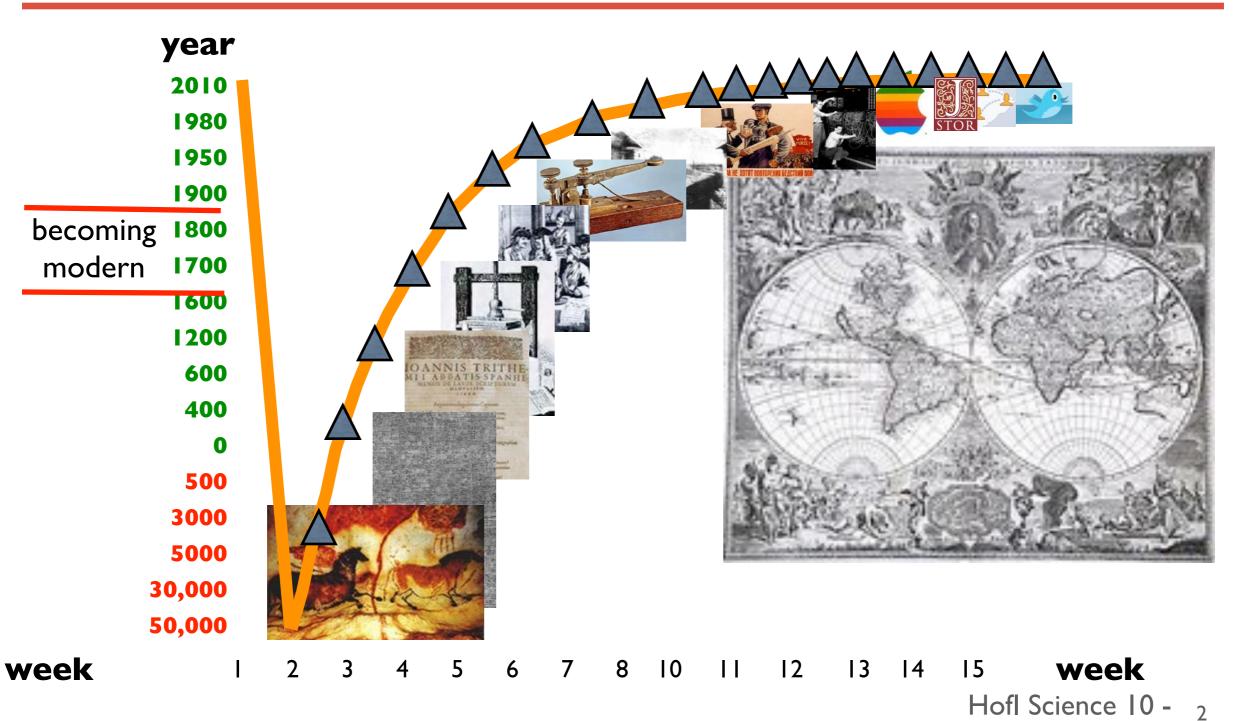
Birmingham conceived and made, a revolutionary cable which enabled the first successful transatlantic communication

### **Royal Society**

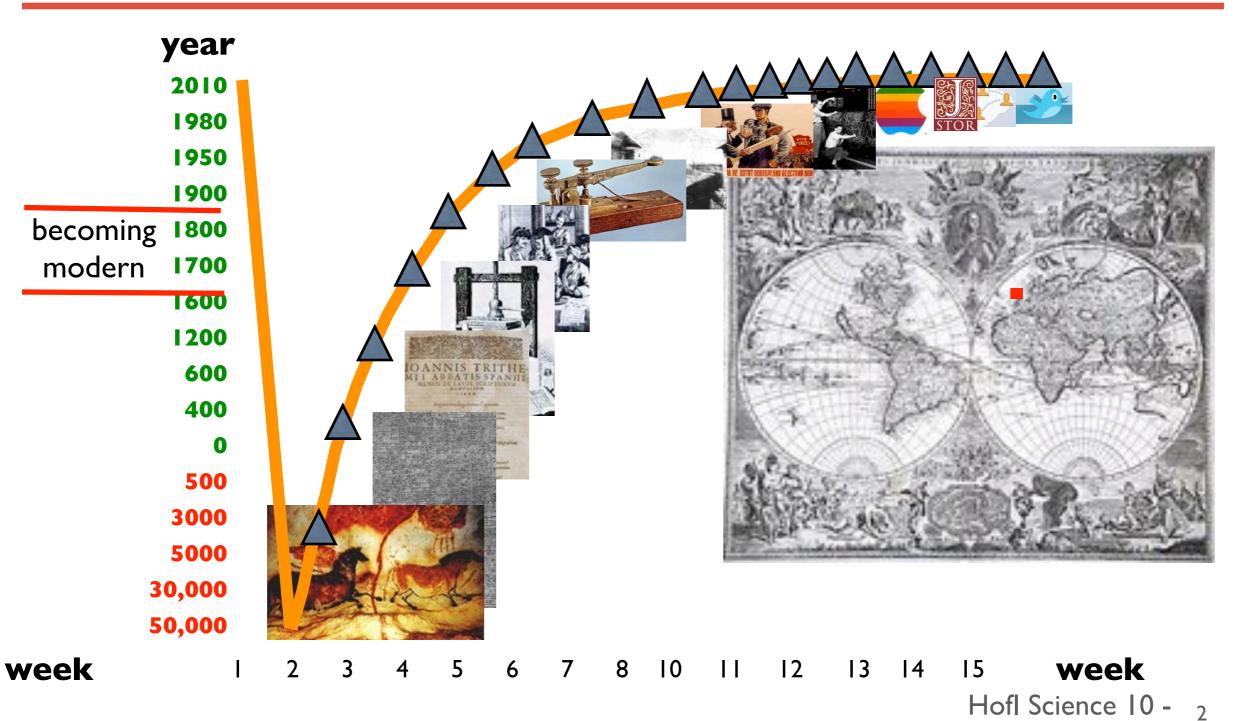
http://royalsociety.org/seefurther/



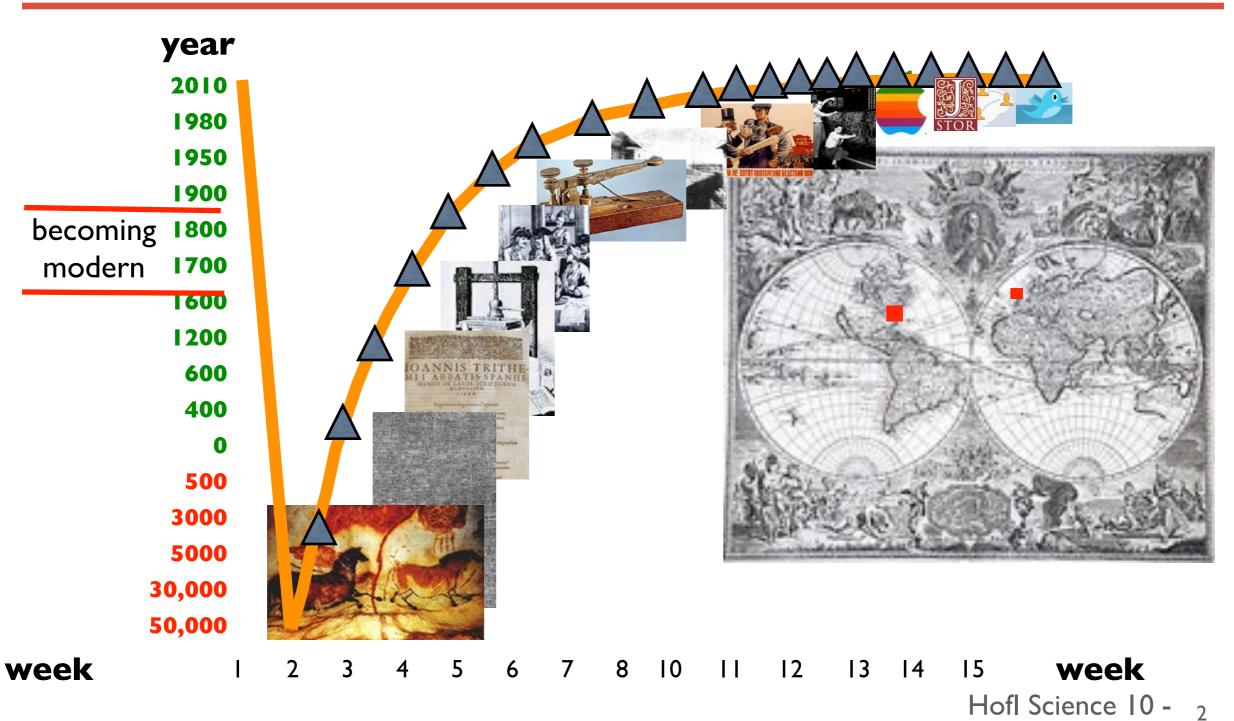




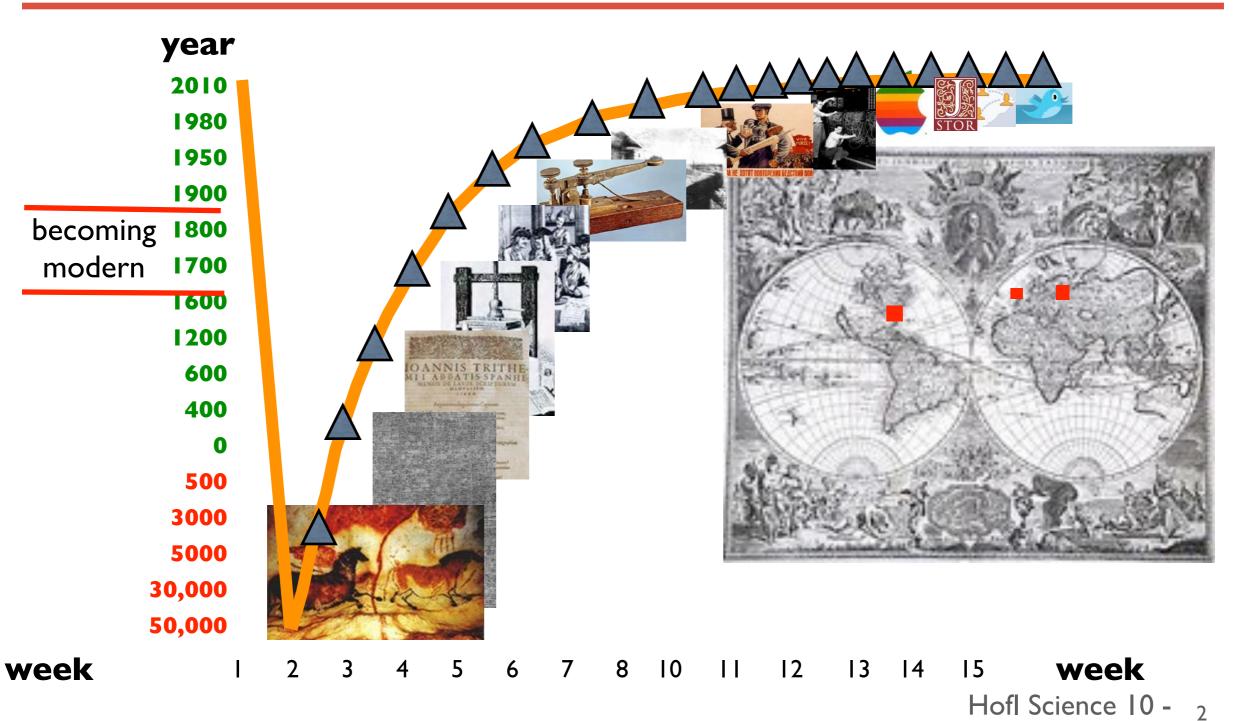




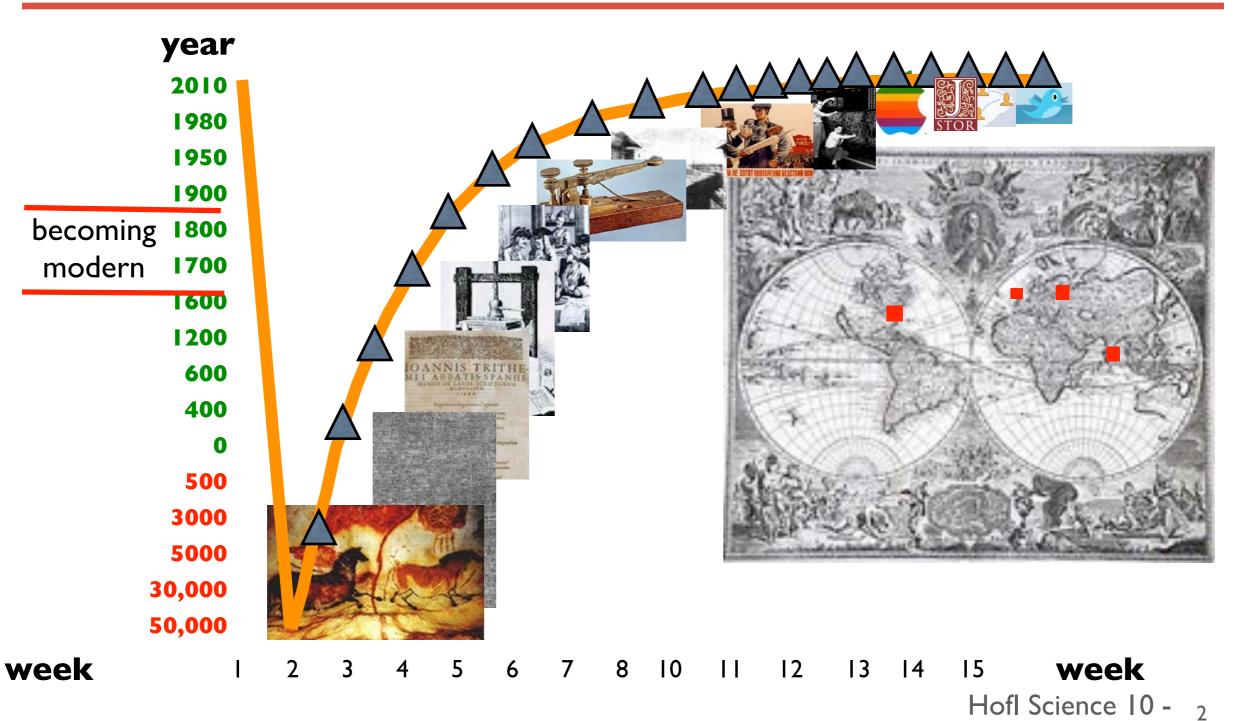




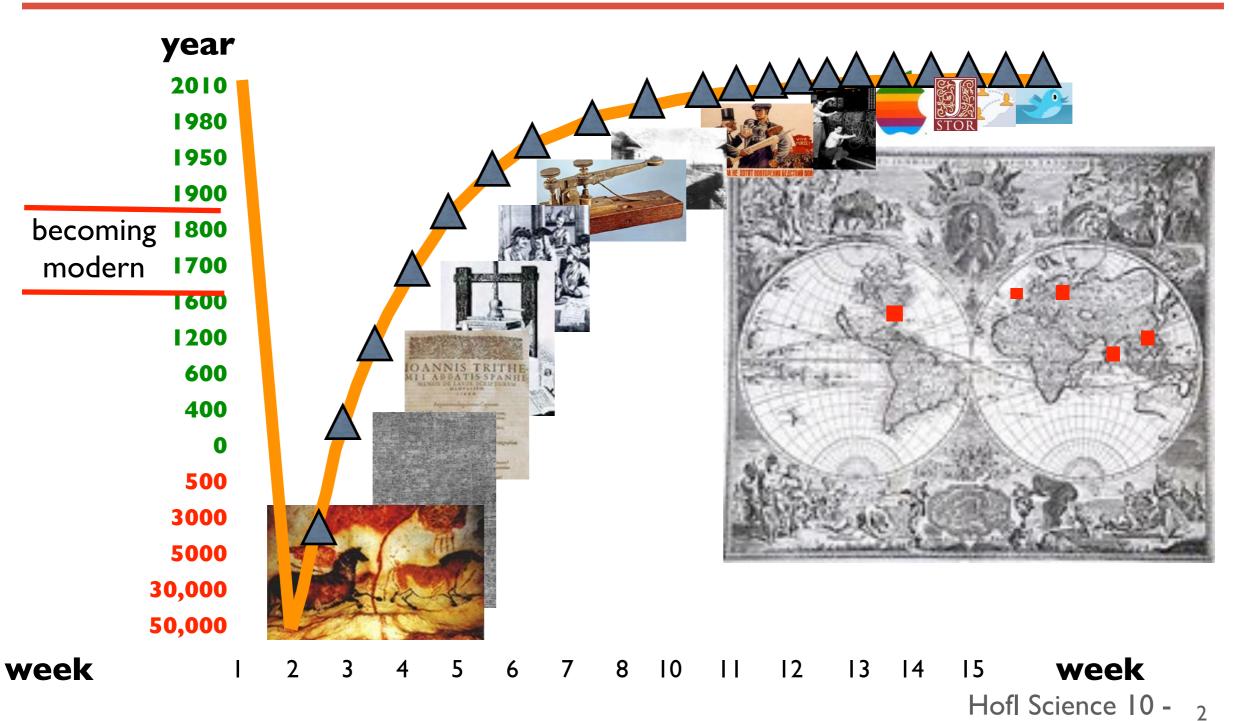




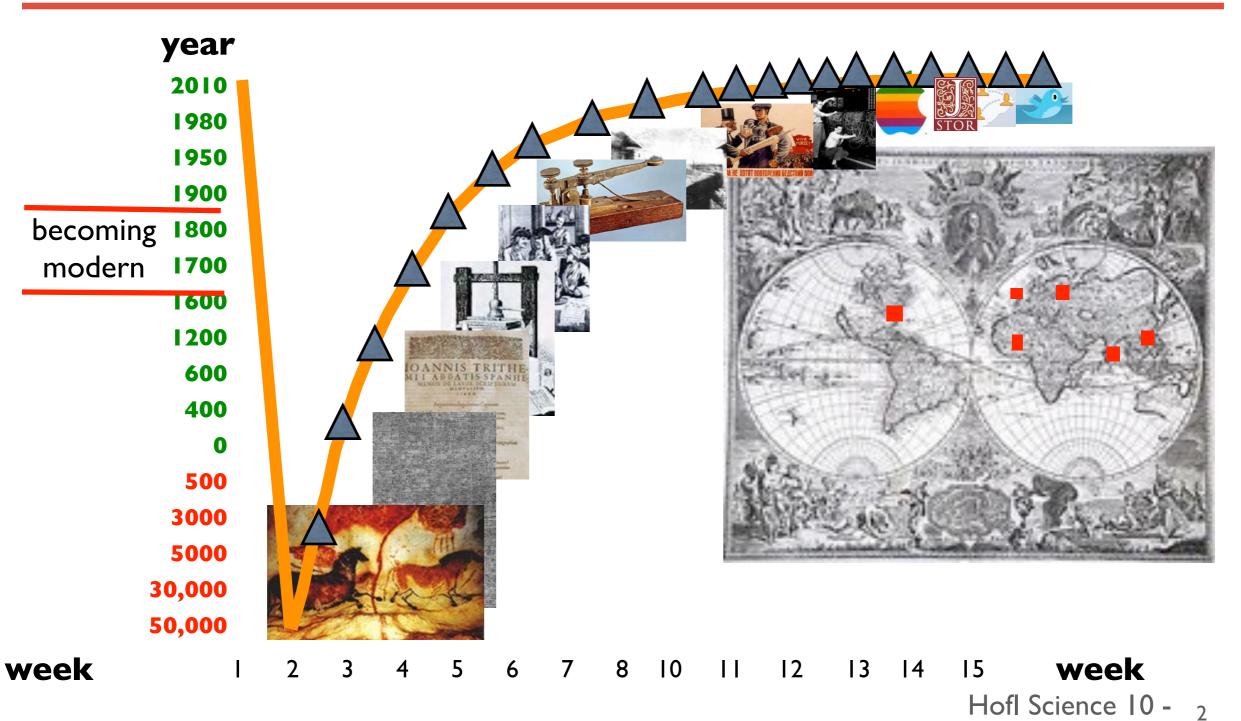














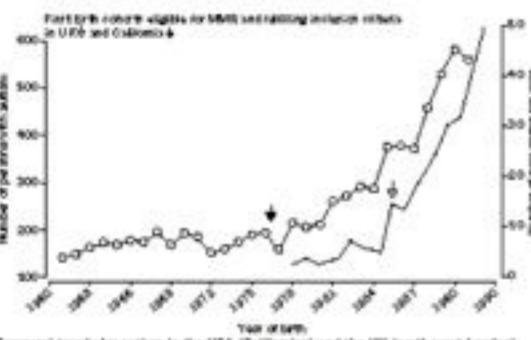
## where we are going today

scientific information

scientific revolution challenge to old authority

scientific society establishing new authority

challenges to the society's authority scientific medicine



#### emporal trends for autisms in the USA (California\*) and the UK (north-west London

1998 the expected numbers of newly diagnosed autistic children in California should have been 75–263 cases, according to SSM AV, the actual figure was 1,685 new cases. The temporal trend in inth-west London is almost identical, athlough the rise is delayed to about 10 years. The two surfaces use the same diagnostic criteria. The sequential trends are consistent with the timing of traduction of little to both regions.

rate from Department of Developments/ Services, Secrements, 1967-99 (www.ddx.cs.gov).

Andrew J. Wakefield,

Lancet 1998

correlation of MMR

vaccine & autism

# challenging scientific authority

"climategate"

mmr & autism

#### Assessment of urbanization effects in time series of surface air temperature over land

P. D. JONES, P. YA. GROISMAN, M. COUGHLAN, N. PLUMMER, W.C. WANG, & T. R. KARL



RECORDS of hemispheric average temperatures from land regions for the past 100 years provide crucial input to the debate over global warming <sup>1-4</sup>. Despite careful use of the basic station data in some of these compilations of hemispheric temperature <sup>1,2,4-6</sup>, there have been suggestions. That a proportion of the 0.5 °C warming seen on a century timescale may be related to urbanization influences—local warming caused by the effects of urban development. We examine here an extensive set of rural-station temperature data for three regions of the world: European parts of the Soviet Union, eastern Australia and eastern China. When combined with similar analyses for the contiguous United States <sup>9,10</sup>, the results are representative of 20% of the land area of the Northern Hemisphere and 10% of the Southern Hemisphere. The results show that the urbanization influence in two of the most widely used hemispheric data sets <sup>1,2,4</sup> is, at most, an order of magnitude less than the warming seen on a century linearies.

Chroatic Research Unit, School of Environmental Sciences, University of East Anglie, Norwich NR4 77 J. UK.

State Hydrological Institute, Leningred, USSFI

Bureau of Meteorology, Melbourne, Australia

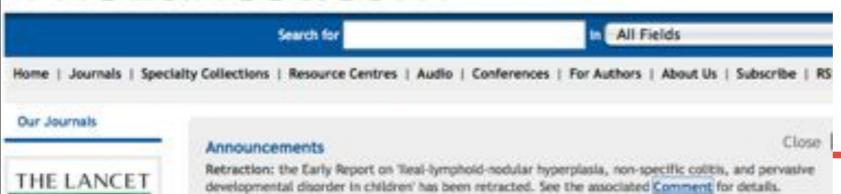
Annospheric Sciences Research Center, State University of New York, Albany, New York 12305, USA

National Climate Data Center, Asheville, North-Carolina 28801, USA

Fort tirth concre vigitive for MMS and ratificing analysis in that soc. in U.F.b. and California &

#### 1 10

### TheLancet.com



"climategate"

challenging

scientific

authority

mmr & autism

THE RESERVE

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## "mad & dismal age"

"Those dreadful revolutions, which cannot be beheld upon Paper, without horror; unless we remember, that they had this one happy effect, to open mens eies to look out for the true Remedy." Sprat, History

English Civil War, 1642-1651

death of Charles I

Commonwealth & Protectorate, 1649-1659

Restoration, 1660

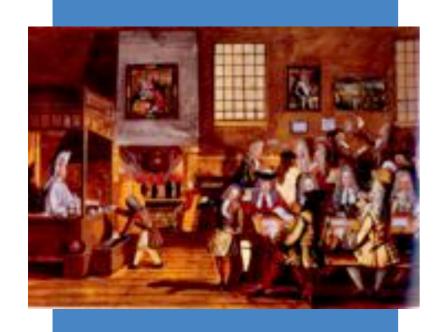
return of Charles II

**Great Plague**, 1665

Fire of London, 1666



## recap: social revolution

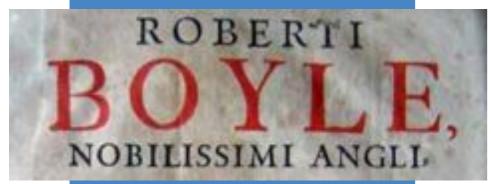


### the public sphere

"Have they not the same security that the whole Nation has for its lives and fortunes? ... that men of all sorts, and qualities, give their voice in every law that is made in Parliament." -- Sprat

## significant developments? the English gentleman

"Though the Society entertains very many men of particular Professions; yet the farr greater Number are Gentlemen, free, and unconfin'd." -- Sprat



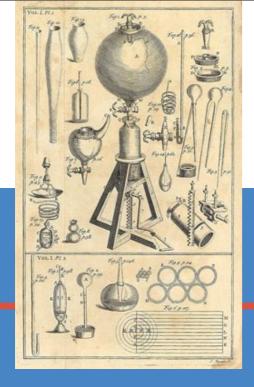


### scientific revolution?



"The Scientific Revolution outshines
everything since the rise of
Christianity and reduces the
Renaissance and Reformation to the
rank of mere episodes, mere internal
displacements within the system of
medieval Christianity".

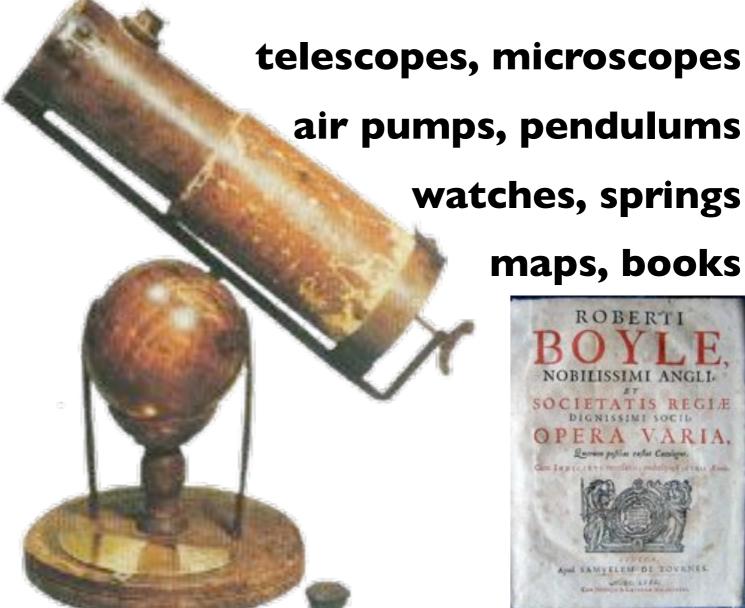
Herbert Butterfield, The Origins of Modern Science, 1300-1800, 1948



## technological revolution?

"Printing ... the most useful invention ever found out ... make men Polite .. encrease the Knowledge of Letters ... all useful Arts and Sciences ... Perfection of Human Knowledge." Defoe, Regulation of

the Press, 1704



maps, books ROBERTI



### scientific revolution?

what happened
what came before
what came afterwards
who was involved



## what happened?



Thomas Sprat 1635-1713

"the advancement of *Real Knowledge*" --Sprat



## what happened?



Thomas Sprat 1635-1713

"the advancement of *Real Knowledge*" --Sprat

"reliable truth-generating practices were put in place and institutionalized"

Steven Shapin,
A Social History of Truth, 1994

#### truth and trust











### before

#### the past and other countries

#### political prognostications

A lioness hath whelped in the streets;

And graves have yawn'd, and yielded up their dead;

Fierce fiery warriors fought upon the clouds,

In ranks and squadrons and right form of war,

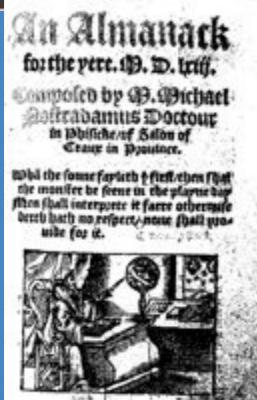
Which drizzled blood upon the Capitol;

#### tall tales

And of the Cannibals that each other eat, The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads Do grow beneath their shoulders.







"La sange du juste à Londres fera faute Bruslez par foudre de vingt trois le six, La dame antique cherra de place haute De meme sute plusiers seront occis"

## recap: almanacks & prophecy

"Sir Thomas Crewe .... hath heard at the Committee for examining the burning of the city, .... that it was done by plots ... it was bragged by several Papists that upon such a day in such a time, we should find the hottest weather that ever was in England; and words of plainer sense" --Pepys, November 2, 1666

"We talked much of Nostradamus his prophecy of these times, and the burning of the City of London, some of whose verses are put into Booker's Almanac this year .... My Lady Carteret herself did tell us how abundance of pieces of burnt paper were cast by the wind ...she took one up ... wheron there remained no more nor less than these words: "Time is, it is done" --Pepys, February 3, 1666/7



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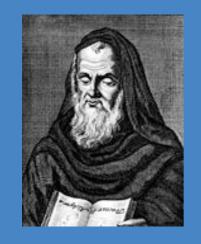
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### before



Roger Bacon c 1220-1229



Francis Bacon 1561-1626

scientific rumblings Roger Bacon

to

Francis Bacon

(and many more)



### revolutionary beliefs

#### old wives tales?

"Experience, though noon auctoritee Were in this world, were right ynogh to me To speke of woe that is in mariage"

Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale," c. 1390

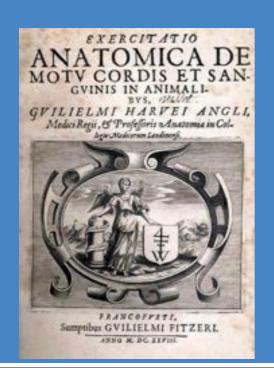
"Men did generally think, that no man was fit to meddle in matters of this consequence, but he that had bred himself up in a long course of Discipline for that purpose; that had the habit, the gesture, the look of a Philosopher. Whereas experience on the contrary tells us, that greater things are produc'd, by the free way, than the formal." -Sprat Hoff Science 10 - 15



#### "Why do we not,

I say, turn
over the living
book of the
world instead
of dead
papers."

John Comenius (1592-1670)



## anti-authoritarian revolutionaries

from **Ptolemy** (c. 100-170)

to

Copernicus, Galileo, Tycho, Kepler, Newton

from **Hippocrates** (460-375 bce)

**Galen** (c. 129-216)

to

**Paracelsus** (1493-1541)

**Harvey** (1578-1657)



### social revolutionaries

"Followers of nature itself and truth"

-Henry Oldenburg

```
the royal society, 1660
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Boyle (1627-1691)

Wren (1632-1723)

Locke (1632-1704)

Hooke (1635-1703)

Newton (1642-1727)

Halley (1656-1742)

Huygens (1629-1695)

Mercator (1620-1687)

Moxon (1627-1691)

Graunt (1620-1674)

Petty (1623-1687)

Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790)

Hofl Science 10 - 17

## scientific paradox?

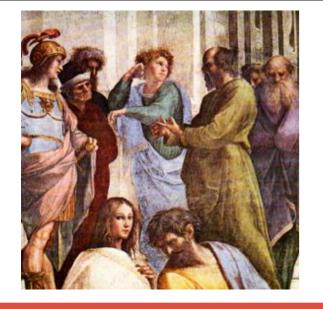
### authority vs experience

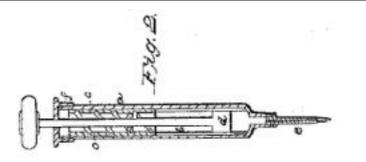
#### who to trust?

"so great a Number of Contemporaries ...
that lov'd truth so zealously; sought it so
constantly; and upon whose labours, mankind
might so freely rely"

"take the measure of the Royal Society, ...

from the honor, and reputation, of many of
those Men, of whom it is compos'd
--Sprat





### trust & reputation

Let us consider the matter in this way: If the wise man or any other man wants to distinguish the true physician from the false, how will be proceed?

.... He will consider whether what [the physician] says is true, and whether what he does is right, in relation to health and disease?

... But can any one attain the knowledge of either unless he have a knowledge of medicine?

... No one at all, it would seem, except the physician can have this knowledge; and therefore not the wise man; he would have to be a physician as well as a wise man.

--Plato, Charmides



## forming a Regular Assembly

I shall divide into three Periods of Time, according to the several Degrees of the preparation, growth, and compleat Constitution of the Royal Society.

The **First** shall consist of the first occasions of this Model, and the Men, who first devis'd to put it in execution: and shall end, where they began to make it a form'd, and Regular Assembly.

The **Second** shall trace out their first attempts, till they receiv'd the publick assistance of Royal Authority.

The **Third** shall deliver, what they have done, since they were made a Royal Corporation

## Sprat's wonderful model

Nature alone, which could pleasantly entertain them ... Trials in Chymistry, or Mechanicks ... their intention was more to communicate to each other their discoveries ... [as now in Paris], where they have at last turn'd their thoughts, from Words to experimental Philosophy

Their purpose is, in short, to make faithful Records, of all the Works of Nature, or Art, which can come within their reach: that so the present Age, and posterity, may be able to put a mark on the Errors, which have been strengthened by long prescription: to restore the Truths, that have lain neglected

to separate the knowledge of Nature, from the colours of Rhetorick, the devices of Fancy, or the delightful deceit of Fables

## Sprat's model

They have labor'd to inlarge it, from being confin'd to the custody of a few; or from servitude to private interests.

They have striven to preserve it from being over-press'd by a confus'd heap of vain, and useless particulars; or from being straitned and bounded too much up by General Doctrines

They have studi'd, to make it, not onely an Enterprise of one season, or of some lucky opportunity; but a business of time; a steddy, a lasting, a popular, an uninterrupted Work.

## Sprat's model

They have attempted, to **free** it from the Artifice, and Humors, and Passions of Sects; to render it an Instrument, whereby Mankind may obtain a Dominion over Things, and not onely over one anothers Iudgements.

And lastly, they have begun to establish these Reformations in Philosophy, not so much, by any solemnity of Laws, or ostentation of Ceremonies, as by solid Practice, and examples: not, by a glorious pomp of Words; but by the silent, effectual, and unanswerable Arguments of real Productions.

Members ... different Religions, Countries, and Professions ... not to lay the Foundation of an English, Scotch, Irish, Popish, or Protestant Philosophy; but a Philosophy of Mankind. ... the Church of England ought not to be apprehensive

to settle a constant Intelligence ... the general Banck, and Free-Port of the world ... receive strangers from all countries, into its number



### establishing trust

### by

observation & experimentation systematization correspondence publication exclusivity

corroding trust inconclusive results, projects

undermining trust scepticism, mockery





Robert Hooke 1663-1703



Robert Boyle 1627-1691

## observation & experimentation

### **Hooke & Boyle**

Trials in Chymistry, or Mechanicks . the right Art of Experimenting"--Sprat

### dealing with doubts

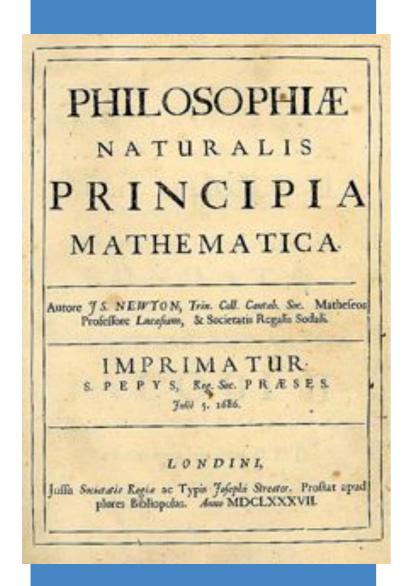
"the testimony of two witnesses," -- Boyle

"I judged that whatever men's eyes were in the younger age of the World, our eyes in this old age of it needed spectacles"

--Hooke, in defense of scientific devices



### systematization



#### classification

up next: organizing knowledge

### quantification and enumeration

"calculation brings everything to a certainty which before floated in the mind indefinitely"

--Samuel Johnson



## publication

### advertisements, articles, abstracts

"to print a Paper of advertisements... wherein will be contained heads or substance of the inquiries they are most solicitous about, together with the progress they have made and the information they have received from other hands ... a short account of such other philosophicall matters as accidentally occur."

--Robert Hooke

Boyle, random publication v Hooke, ordered



## "publish'd to the world"

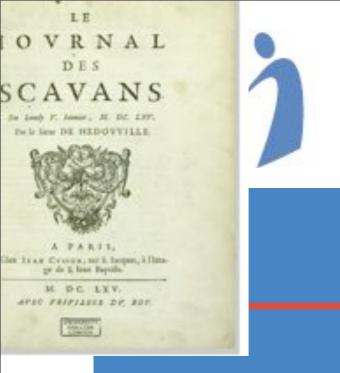
#### cures for sickness

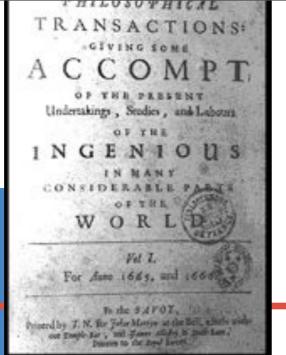
"[Publication] is a most heroick Invention:

For by such concealments, there may come very much hurt to mankind. If any certain remedy should be found out against an Epidemical disease; if it were suffer'd to be ingross'd by one man, there would be great swarms swept away, which otherwise might be easily sav'd."

-- Sprat

### 'ingross'd' ideas? coming up: medicine, IP





### society of letters



Henry Oldenburg 1619-1677

### corresponding secretary

Journal des Scavans, 1665

Philosophical Transactions, 1665

"their intention was more to communicate to each other their discoveries ... some resemblance, to the Academy lately begun at Paris ... "to all the learned world they called for aid"

--Sprat



# LIMPRIMEVR

### AV LECTEVR.

El desfein de ce Innruel estant de feire francie cu qui se paste de nouveau deux la Republique des luttres, il sera compost.

Premierement d'un Catalogue exalt des principanse liures qui d'imprimerent dans l'Europe. Et on ne se consenzera pas de donner les simples titres, comme ont fait insques à present la plospart des Bibliographes : mais de plus un dira defung

ils traitent, Or à quoy ils pennent efter reiles.

Secondament, quand it riendra à mourir quelque performe celebre par fa dolfrine er par fes invarages, on en fira l'Elige, er ou donnera vu Casalogue de ce qu'il aura mis au lour, avec les principales cir-

conflances de fa vie.

En troifiefine lien on fire freunir les experiences de Physique Co de Chymie ; qui pennent fernir à expliquer les effets de la Returé : les nonnelles desfouncertes qui s'a font dans les Arts Co deux les Sciences , comme les machines Co les innentions veilles on carienses que pennent font nir les Mathematiques : les observations du Ciel , alles des Meteores , Co ce que l'Anacomie pourra tronner de nonnesse dans les animans.

Bu quatriefest Den, les principales decifients des Tribanaux Steuliers Or Buleftestiques, les confures de Surbanue Co. dei entres l'ainerfèrez,

tent de ce Royaume que des P ays offrangers,

Enfin, on tafiberà de faire en forte qu'il ne fe paffe rien dens l'En-

Le feul denombrement des chofes qui le composeront pourroit suffice pour en faire connoistre l'acilied. Mais l'adionsteray qu'il sur tentpour en faire connoistre l'acilied. Mais l'adionsteray qu'il sur tentadountageux à ceux qui correprendent quelque courage confiderables puis qu'ils pourront l'en service pour publier leur dessein, en inhister tout le monde à leur communiquer les manuscripes, en les places surjet : une qui pourront contribute à la perseillieu des choses qu'ils auront entreprises.



TRANSACTIONS:

### ACCOMPT

Undertakings, Seedies, and Labours

OF TRE

### INGENIOUS

CONSIDERABLE PARTS

WORL

NAME OF TAXABLE PARTY.

Vet L

For Auto 1665, and 16662

Principle J. N. for John Marrier at the Bell, which with not Emple har , and James allafe, in 2nd have a passen to the days haven.

### PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS.

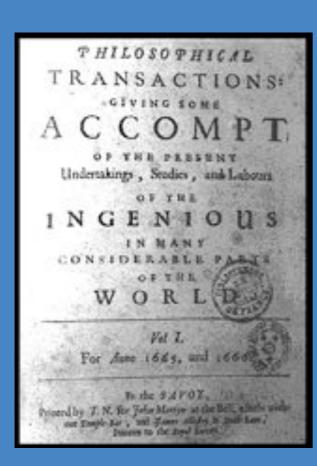
Mundey, March 6. 1664.

#### The Contents.

An Introduction to this Trail. An Accompt of the Improvement of Optick Glasses at Rome. Of the Objectation made in England, of a species one of the Belts of the Planet Jupicer. Of the motion of the late Commet produled, The Heads of many New Objectations and Experiments, in order to an Enperimental History of Coldy together with four Thermometrical Difeomfor and Experiments. A Relation of a very old Monstrom Call. Of a peculiar Lead-Ore in Germany, very afold for Eslays. Of an Hungarian Belias, of the same esfell with the Bohas Armetras. Of the New American Whale filling about the Bertmodus. A Narative continuing the success of the Pendulum-watches at Son for the Leagurades; and the Grant of a Patent thereupon. A Catalogue of the Philosophical Books published by Monsbeur de Fermut, Compileur at Thologie, Intely dead.

#### The Introduction.

the improvement of Philosophical Matters, than the communicating to such, as apply their Studies and Endeavours that way, such things as are discovered or put in practise by others a it is therefore thought fit to employ the Profe, as the most proper way to



1

(1)

Numb. 1.

### PHILOSOPHICAL

(10)

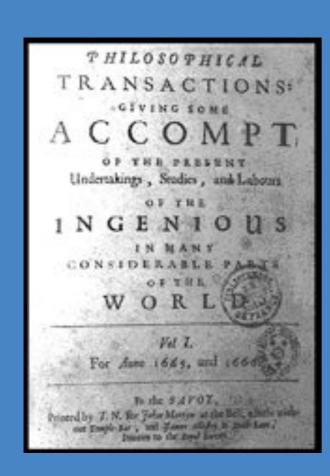
An Account of a very odd Monstrous Calf.

Letter of Mr. David Thomas, who fent this Account to Mr. Boyle,

is with Doctor Haughteyn of Salisbury, to whom he also referreth

By the same Noble person was lately communicated to the Royal Society an Account of a very Odd Monstrons Birth, produced at Limmington in Hampshire, where a Butcher, having caused a Cow (which cast her Calf the year before) to be covered, that the might the fooner be fatted, killed her when fat, and opening the Womb, which he found heavy to admiration, faw in it a Calf, which had begun to have hair, whose hinder Leggs had no Joynts, and whose Tongue was, Cerberus-like, triple, to each fide of his Mouth one, and one in the midft: Between the Fore leggs and the Hinder-leggs was a great Stone, on which the Calf rid: The Sternum, or that part of the Breast, where the Ribs lye, was also perfect Stone; and the Stone, on which it rid, weighed twenty pounds and a half; the outfide of the Stone was of Grenish colour, but some small parts being broken off, it appeared a perfect Free-stone. The Stone, according to the

for further Information.



[ 104 ]

A Discourse of the Rule of the Decrease of the Height of the Metcury in the Barometer, according as Places are elevated above the Surface of the Earth, with an Attempt to discover the true Reason of the Rising and Falling of the Mercury, upon change of of Weather.

By EDM. HALLEY.

HE Elastick Property of the Air has been long fince made out, by Experiments before the R. Society and elsewhere; and the Resistance of its Spring is found to be nearly equal to the Weight or Force that compresses it; as also, that the Spaces the same Air occupies, under dis-

## proceeding

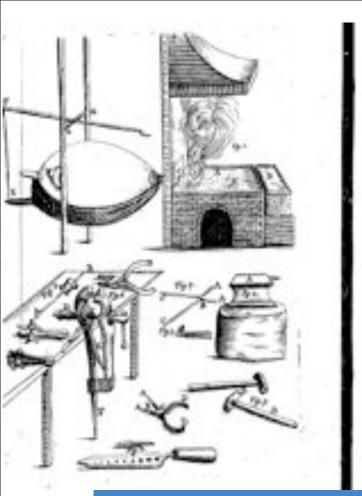
A Table shewing the Altitude to given Heights of the Mercury.

Inch. Feet.
30 0
29 915
28 1862
27 2844
26 — — 3863
25 4922
20 10947
15 18715
10 29662
5 48378
1 91831
0,5 - 110547
0, 25 129262
o, 1 29 mil. or 154000
0,01 41 mil. 216169
o, coi 53 mil. 278338

A Table shewing the Heights of the Mercury at given Altitudes.

Feet.	Inch.
0 -	30,00
	28, 91
2000	27, 86
3000	26, 85
4000	25, 87
	feet 24, 93
-	mile - 24, 67
2	20, 29
3	16,6S
	- I3, 72
5	11, 2S
	4, 24
15	1,60
	0,95
25	0, 23
30	0,08
10	0.011

"A Discource on the Rule of the Decrease of the Height of Mercury in the Barometer, According as Places are Elevated Above the Surface of the Earth, with an Attempt to Discover the True Reason of the Rising and Falling of the Mercury, upon Change of Weather" **Edmond Halley** Philosophical Transactions, 1686



## EXERCISES,

The Doftrine of

Handy-works.

Began Jan. 1. 1677. And intended to be Monthly continued. NOT SO Philosophical By Infinite Monthly Continued to the Company of the Company of

8008

Kings most Excellent Majoffy.

LONDON

Priced for Julyh Misson in the fign of Also on Endpos-Hill, 1677.

### philosophers, physicians, and mechanics

"this freedom ... which they use in embracing all assistance ... is most advantageous to them" --Sprat

Joseph Moxon, astronomy mathematics navagation self-help, ..

1677-86? Mechanick Exercises



Joseph Moxon 1627-1691

MECHANI

EXERCI

The Doftrine of

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LONDON

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Joseph Moxon 1627-1691

Numb, I.

MECHANICK EXERCISES:

Or, the Doctrine of

Handy-works.

Applied to the Art of

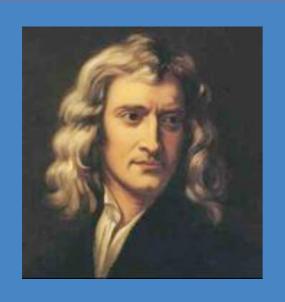
Printing.

PREFACE.

Efore I begin with Typographie, I shall fay fome-what of its Original Invention; I mean here in Europe, not of theirs in China and other Eastern Countries, who (by general affent have had it for many hundreds of years, though their Invention is very different from ours; they Cutting their Letters upon Blocks in whole Pages or Forms, as among us our Wooden Pittures are Cut; But Printing with fingle Letters Caft in Mettal, as with us here in Europe, is an Invention scarce above Two hundred and lifteen wears old: and not an undecidable Controverbe



### challenges: attribution



Isaac Newton 1642-1727

### **Hooke v Newton**

"It now remaines to know the propriety of a curve Line (not circular nor concentrical) made by a centrall attractive power which makes the velocitys of Descent ... in a Duplicate proportion to the Distances Reciprocally taken. I doubt not but that by your excellent method you will easily find out what the curve must be."

--Hooke to Newton, Jan 4, 1681



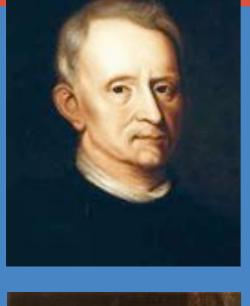
"Hooke concealed his invention about Watches too long; pray tell him not to do so with what other things hee hath of that kind."

## challenges: priority

### **Hooke v Hugyens**

--Moray to Oldenburg

"I my self had an other way of continuing and equalling the vibrations of a pendulum by clock work long before I heard of Monsieur Zulichems way, nay though equated with a Cycloeid yet I have not either cryd eureka or publisht it and yet I think I can produce a sufficient number of Credible witnesses that can testify for it about these 12 years. Soe that the argument that he soe much Relys upon to secure to him the Invention is not of soe great force as to perswaid all the World that he was the first & Sole inventor of that first particular of applying a pendulum to a clock." --Hooke





Christiaan Huygens 1629-1695



# establishing authority: exclusivity

### parting of the ways Royal Society

"as may conduce to the illustration and improvement of Philosophy, and of all Laudable and Useful Arts and Practices. ... Neither have we discouraged or refused the Essays of some famous Philosophers, learned Philologers and Antiquaries" Oldenburg, Philosphical Transactions, 1667

# 1

# establishing authority: exclusivity

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"as may conduce to the illustration and improvement of Philosophy, and of all Laudable and Useful Arts and Practices. ... Neither have we discouraged or refused the Essays of some famous Philosophers, learned Philologers and Antiquaries" Oldenburg, Philosphical Transactions, 1667

### Society of Antiquaries, 1717

coming up: Kunstschrank, Kunstskamer, Curiosities ...



"The Genius of Experimenting is so much dispers'd, that even in this Nation, if

there were one, or two more such Assemblies settled; there could not be wanting able men enough, to carry them on. All places and corners are now busie, and warm about this Work: and we find many Noble Rarities to be every day given in, not onely by the hands of Learned and profess'd Philosophers; but from the Shops of Mechanicks; from the Voyages of Merchants; from the Ploughs of Husbandmen; from the Sports, the Fishponds, the Parks, the Gardens of Gentlemen"

--Sprat

# establishing authority: credentials

# PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS.

Munday, March 6. 166.

#### The Contents.

An Introduction to this Tract. An Accompt of the Improvement of Optick Glasses at Rome. Of the Observation made in England, of a Spot in one of the Belts of the Planet Jupiter. Of the motion of the late Comet pradicted. The Heads of many New Observations and Experiments, in order to an Experimental History of Cold; together with some Thermometrical Discourses and Experiments. A Relation of a very odd Monstrous Calf. Of a peculiar Lead-Ore in Germany, very useful for Esays. Of an Hungarian Bolus, of the same effect with the Bolus Armenus. Of the New American Whale stiffting about the Bermudas. A Narative concerning the success of the Pendulum-watches at Sea for the Longitudes; and the Grant of a Patent thereupon. A Catalogue of the Philosophical Books published by Monsieur de Fermat, Counsellour at Tholouse, lately dead.

Beginning the Thirty Lift Volume.

### PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS.

For the Months of January, Feb. March and April. 172:

#### The CONTENTS.

L. Same Remarks on a late Effey of Mr. Callini, wherein he proposes to find, by Oifernation, the Parallex and Magnitude of Strings. By Edmand Halley, L. L. D. Astron. Reg. Geom. Prof. Savi's & R. S. S.

II. An Account of the External Manifler, and other Saliway Glands: Alfe of the Infections of all the Lymphoticks (as well above as below the Subclavious) into the Point; which Glands and Infectious have not liptherto been mentioned, or not truly definited by any durhars. By Richard Hale, M. D. Reg. Soc. & Col-Med. Lond. Soc.

III. De Pefe Conflantinopoli graffante. Anther supera V. Cl. Emanuele Timone. M. D. Filet feriptum al-Auther Clariffine, qui Conflantinopoli per muleu aunu Medicinum fererat, Excellentifine Ablegate Bricannico, Roberto Sutton, Eq. Aurare, traditum, epifem Equitir permifu, cum Societate Fegia communication idem R. Hale, M. D.

An Account of a Laminous Appearance in the Air, from at Dublin on January the 12th, 17%. By Philip Percival, Efg. Brother to the Right Humanable the Land Venerual, F.R. S. and communicated by his Landing to the Royal Society.

# exclusivity

V. Of the Infinity of the Sphere of Fixed Stars. By Edmund Halley, L. L. D. R. S. S.

VL Of the Mumber, Order, and Light of the Fix'd Stars.

By the fame.

VII. An Account of the Method of making Sugar from the Juice of the Maple Tree, in New England. By the Henturable Paul Dudley, Bjq. V. R. S. Communicated by John Chamberlayne, Ejq.

VIII. A Copy of an Affidevit made in Scotland, concerning a Roy's living a confiderable time nithrat Food. Communicated by Patrick Blair, M. D. F. R. S.

IX. A Differente concerning a Method of differenting the Pietucs of Flores by their External Strutture. By the Same.

N. An Account of a Book, Entiraled, Geometria Organica, five Deferiptio Linearum Curvarum Univerfalis. Author Colino Mac Laurin, Mathefres in Collegie Menn Abredoninfi Professor, & R. S. S.

V. 0/



## challenges: scepticism

"we are now arriv'd at that excessive censuring humor, that he who takes upon him to commend any thing ... will raise to himself farr more Enemies than Friends .. this sowrness of Criticism"

--Sprat





### scepticism & faith

"A perfect comprehensive Knowledge of Nature belongs only to
the Maker of all things; for it is not only to know what
things are, but how to make them; which would be a vain
Curiosity, and useless Knowledge to those, who have not a
Making and Creating Power. This is to know things à priori,
with an Intuitive Ideal Knowledge, which is infinitely more
superior to Reason, than Reason is to Sense: And it is the
affection of this Intuitive making Knowledge, which makes
some men Atheists, and others Hereticks."

--William Sherlock,

"Danger of Corrupting the Faith by Philosophy," 1697

# 1

### failed demos



Samuel Pepys 1663-1703

"And thither anon come all the Gresham College, and a great deal of noble company: and the new instrument was brought called the Arched Viall, where, being tuned with lute-strings, and played on with keys like an organ, a piece of parchment is always kept moving; and the strings, which by he keys are pressed down upon it, are grated in imitation of a bow, by the parchment; and so it is intended to resemble several vialls played on with one bow, but so basely and harshley, that it will never do. But, after three hours' stay, it could not be fixed in tune."

--Pepys, October 5, 1664



## personality and credibility

"The Royall Societie (generally) had the like for [Hobbes]; and he would long since have been ascribed a member there but for the sake of one or two person whom he took to be his enemies. Dr. Wallis ... Mr Boyle. I might adde Sr Paul Neile, who disobliges every body."

--John Evelyn, Brief Lives

"there is less credit to be placed in the Narrations of some of our Virtuosi, who have been so mistaken in their Accounts ... with what negligence and imperfectness will they register things? how unphilosophical will their memories be?"

--Henry Stubbe, Legends No Histories, 1670



### false claims

#### Mistakes about the SWEATING-SICKNES, and its Cure.

TO shew the great Utility of the Royal Society, he sayes

They will be able by degrees to purchase such Extraordinary Inventions, which are now close lock'd up in Cabinets; and then to bring them unto one Common Stock, which shall be upon all occasions exposed to all mens use. This is a most Heroick Invention; For by such concealments, there may come very much hurt to mankind. If any certain remedy should be found out against an Epidemicall disease, if it were suffer'd to be engross'd by one man, there would be great Swarms swept away, which otherwise might be easily sav'd. I shall instance in the Sweating-Sickness. The Medicine for it was almost Infallible. But, before that could be generally published, it had almost dispeopled whole Towns. If the same disease should have returned, it might again have been as destructive, had not the Lord Bacon ta-ken care to set down the particular course of Physick for it in his History of Henry the Seventh, and so put it beyond the possibility of any private man's invading it. This out to be imitated in all other Soveraign Cures of the like nature to avoid such dreadful casualties.

One would think by the words of our Historian, That the Cure of the Sweating-Sickness, were recorded by no Body but the Lord Bacon that it was almost Infallible; that the Sweating-Sickness did not return again; And that the Cure was rather concealed (and needed to be generally published) at first, then to be discovered by Observation and Experiments of those that first fell sick. But there is no such thing: for the same cure is related by Polydore Virgil, and Holinshed in their Histories of Henry the Seventh. And the same sickness did rage in the twenty second year of the said King his Reign, as well as the first. And the Cure related was so far from being almost Infallible, that my Lord Bacon only saies it commonly recovered the sick: and after it was so generally known, yet the twenty second year of that Kings Reign, many dyed of it (as Holinshed saith) howbeit not in the same number, by reason of the remedy found out at the beginning of it. To convince the Reader of the truth of what I say, and to shew how unacquainted cience 10 - 43



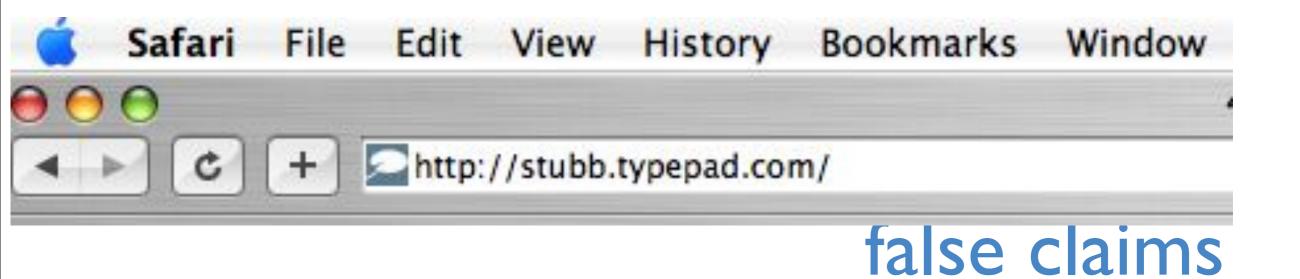
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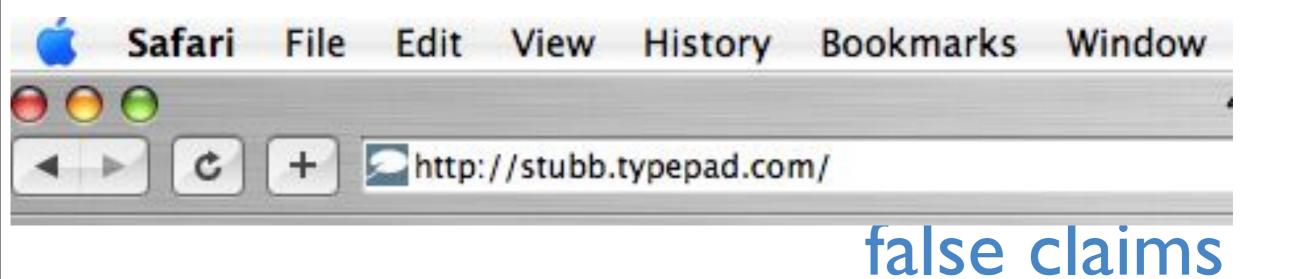


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Create your Hawaii dream vacation.

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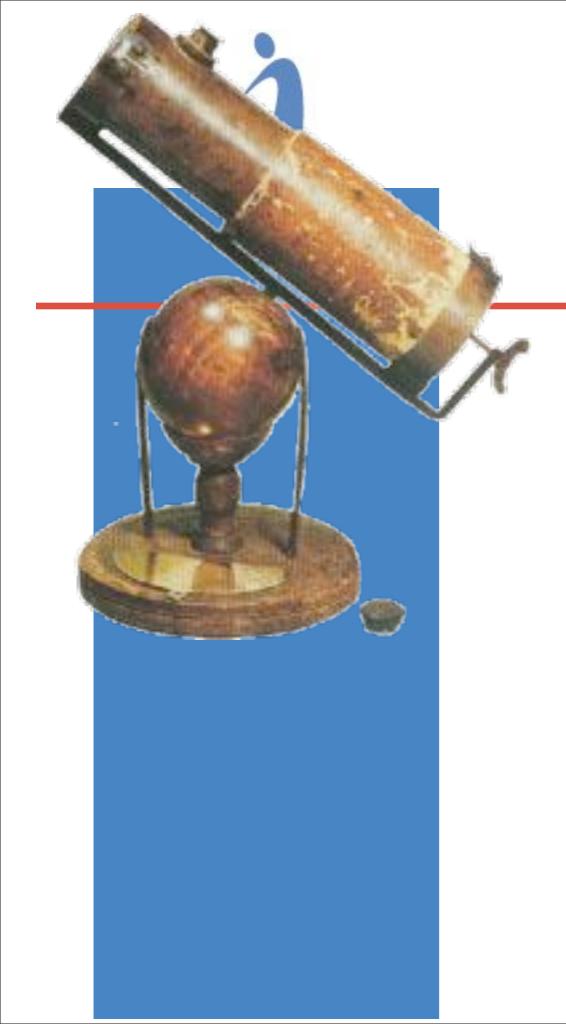
"I have sent one to weigh Air at the Picque of Teneriff that's the lightest Air. I shall have a considerable Cargo of that Air. Sheerness and the Isle of Dogs Air is the heaviest. Now if I have a mind to take Countrey Air, I send for, may be, forty Gallons of Bury Air, shut all my windows and doors close and let it fly in my Chamber.." Shadwell, Virtuoso

# mockery, a more serious problem?

### Charles II, 1664

"the King came and stayed an hour or two laughing at Sir W. Petty, who was there about his boat; and at Gresham College in general; at which poor Petty was, I perceive, at some loss; but did argue discreetly, and bear the unreasonable follies of the King's objections and other bystanders with great discretion; .. but the King ... cried him down with words only. Gresham College he mightily laughed at, for spending time only in weighing of ayre, and doing nothing else since they sat."

-- Pepys, February 1, 1663/4



### more mockery

# **Samuel Butler**, c1670 "The elephant in the moon"

Quoth he, --- A stranger Sight appears

Than e're was seen in all the Spheres,

A Wonder more unparallel'd,

Than ever mortal Tube beheld.

An Elephant from one of those

Two mighty Armies is broke loose,

And with the Horrour of the Fight

Appears amaz'd, and in a Fright;

Look quickly, lest the Sight of us

Should cause the startled Beast t' imboss.

Hofl Science 10 - 45



# still going

### Spectator, |7||

"innumerable Retainers of Physick, who, for want of other Patients, amuse themselves with the Stifling of cats in an Air Pump, cutting up Dogs alive, or impaling of Insects upon the Point of a Needle for Microscopical Observations."



## still going



Jonathan Swift 1667-1745

Jonathan Swift, 1725
"Voyage to Laputa"
the flapper

the "Academy of Projectors"
objects for words
sunbeams out of cucumbers
food out of excrement
houses built from the top down
pillows out of marble ...



# looking for results: "what have ye done?"

"When the philosophers of the last age were first congregated into the Royal Society, great expectations were raised of the sudden progress of useful arts; the time was supposed to be near, when engines should turn by a perpetual motion, and health be secured by the universal medicine; when learning should be facilitated by a real character, and commerce extended by ships which could reach their ports in defiance of the tempest. But improvement is naturally slow.

"The society met and parted without any visible diminution of the miseries of life. The gout and stone were still painful, the ground that was not ploughed brought no harvest, and neither oranges nor grapes would grow upon the hawthorn. At last, those who were disappointed began to be angry; those likewise who hated innovation were glad to gain an opportunity of ridiculing men who had depreciated, perhaps with too much arrogance, the knowledge of antiquity. And it appears, from some of their earliest apologies, that the philosophers felt with great sensibility the unwelcome importunities of those who were daily asking, "What have ye done?"

Samuel Johnson, Idler 1759

Hofl Science 10 - 48



### health sciences

"Cramp be thou faintless
As our Lady was sinless
When she bare
Jesus"

--Pepys

# sickness: a test for trustworthiness

"[T]he time was supposed to be near, when engines should turn by a perpetual motion, and health be secured by the universal medicine;

"The society met and parted without any visible diminution of the miseries of life. The gout and stone were still painful."

Samuel Johnson, Idler 1759



## nasty, brutish, and short

### the European experience

black death: 1347

plague again: 1665

in London, of about 1/2 million, 100,00 died



### slow progress

The plague is much in Amsterdam, and we in fears of it here. Pepys, **Dec.** 31, 1663

The talk upon the 'Change is, that De Ruyter is dead, with fifty men of his own ship, of the plague, at Cales,

June 30, 1664

We were told to-day of a Dutch ship of 3 or 400 tons, where all the men were dead of the plague, and the ship cast ashore at Gottenburgh, Sept. 24, 1664

Thence to the Coffee-house ... where all the newes is of the Dutch being gone out, and of the plague growing upon us in this towne, May 24, 1665



### slow progress

In the evening home to supper; and there, to my great trouble, hear that the plague is come into the City (though it hath these three or four weeks since its beginning been wholly out of the City); but where should it begin but in my good friend and neighbour's, Dr. Burnett, in Fanchurch Street: which in both points troubles me mightily. June 10,

The towne grows very sickly, and people to be afeard of it; there dying this last week of the plague 112, from 43 the week before, The Mortality Bill is come to 267; June 29th, 1665

Above 700 died of the plague this week. July 13, 1665

The sickness is... almost every where, there dying 1089 of the plague this week.

**July** 19, 1665 Hofl Science 10 - 52

# 1

## spreading plague/ spreading news



Daniel Defoe 1659?-1731

"We had no such thing as printed newspapers, in those days, to spread rumours and reports of things; and to improve them by the invention of men, as I have lived to see practised since. But such things as those were gathered from letters of merchants, and others, who corresponded abroad, and from them was handed about by word of mouth only; so that things did not spread instantly over the whole nation as they do now. But it seems that the Government had a true account of it, and several councils were held, about ways to prevent its coming over; but all was kept very private."

--Daniel Defoe, Journal of the Plague Years, 1722

Hofl Science 10 - 53



### advice of the physician

PROCLAMATION

"'That no hogs dogs, or cats, ... be kept within any part of the city' ...

"Wherefore were we ordered to kill all the dogs and cats, but because as they were domestic animals, and are apt to run from house to house ...so they are capable of carrying ... infections streams ... even in their furs and hair ... by the advice of the physician, that all dogs and cats should be immediately killed."

--Defoe, Plaque Years



### scientific advances?

"Kinyoun was an accomplished bacteriologist, but he was not aware of Paul-Louis Simond's discovery in 1894 of the role of rat fleas in the spread of Yersinia pestis, because it was not confirmed until 1906 by a British scientific commission in India.

Thus, unaware that crudely enforced quarantines will not contain a plague epidemic, Kinyoun [in 1900] fueled more fury by trying to extend these measures with compulsory health passes for train and sea travel out of the city."

Dorothy Porter, review of Marilyn Chase, The Barbary Plague: The Black Death in Victorian San Francisco, 2003

Hofl Science 10 - 55



## nasty, brutish, and short



### smallpox

**Queen Anne** (1665-1714)

17 pregnancies

3 still births

10 miscarriages

3 died in infancy of **smallpox** 

William Duke of Gloucester (1689-1700)



# foreign born disease foreign born cure

#### inoculation

India, 8th century

China, 10th century

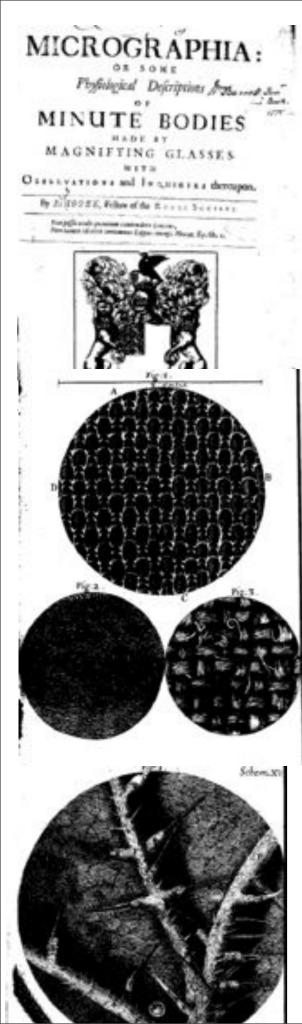
Tibet, 11th century

Africa?

Turkey,? 16th century

England, France, US 18th century

Hofl Science 10 - 57



# attacking smallpox

"the ingenious Invention of that Excellent person, Doctor Wren, of injecting liquors into the veins of an Animal, seems to be reducible to this head: I cannot stay, nor is this a fit place, to mention the several Experiments made of this kind by the most incomparable Mr. Boyle, the multitudes made by the lately mention'd Physician Doctor Clark, the History whereof, as he has been pleas'd to communicate to the Royal Society, so he may perhaps be prevail'd with to make publique himself: But I shall rather hint, that certainly, if this Principle were well consider'd, there might, besides the further improving of Bathing and Syringing into the veins, be thought on several ways, whereby several obstinate distempers of a humane body, such as the Gout, Dropsie, Stone, &c. might be master'd, and expell'd; and good men might make as good a use of it, as evil men have made a perverse and Diabolical. And that the filling of the pores of the skin with some fluid vehicle, is of no small efficacy towards the preparing a passage for several kinds of penetrant juices, and other dissoluble bodies, to insinuate themselves within the skin."

> --Hooke, 1665 Hofl Science 10 - 58



## variolation



Lady Mary Wortley
Montague
1689-1762

### England, France, US 18th century

England Lady Mary Wortley Montague

France Montpelier, but not Paris

US Onesimus

# )

## mad men

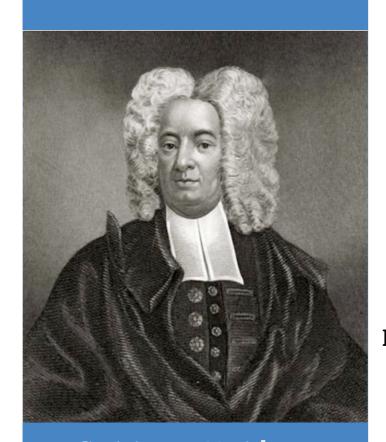


Voltaire [François-Marie Arouet] 1694-1778

"It is whispered in Christian Europe that the English are mad and maniacs: mad because they give their children smallpox to prevent their getting it, and maniacs because they cheerfully communicate to their children a certain and terrible illness with the object of preventing an uncertain one. The English on their side say: 'The other Europeans are cowardly and unnatural: cowardly in that they are afraid of giving a little pain to their children, and unnatural because they expose them to death from smallpox some time in the future.' To judge who is right in this dispute, here is the history of this famous inoculation which is spoken of with such horror outside England." Voltaire, Letters on England



## US



Cotton Mather 1663-1728

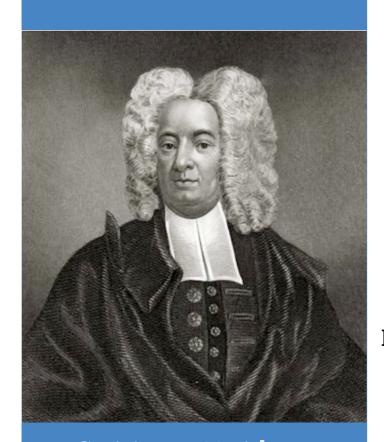
## Boston outbreak 1721 HMS Seahorse

"Inquiring of my Negro-man, Onesimus, who is a pretty intelligent fellow, whether he had ever had the smallpox, he answered both yes and no. He told me that he had undergone the operation which had given something of the smallpox and would forever preserve him from it, adding that was often used in West Africa."

Cotton Mather



## US



Cotton Mather 1663-1728

# Boston outbreak 1721 HMS Seahorse

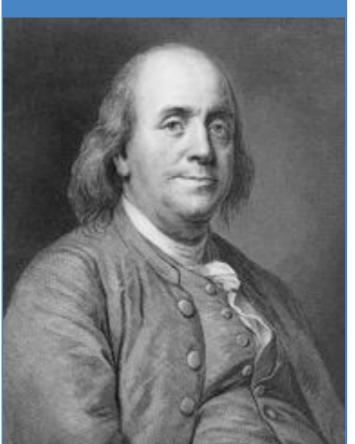
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Cotton Mather

"Cotton Mather, you dog, dam you! I'l inoculate
you with this; with a pox to you"

[note attached to missile]





Benjamin Franklin 1706-1790

To the Author of the New-England Courses. SIR

D lading in your laft a Story concerning Inocularion, with the News of the intended Expedition against the Lastern Indiana; they cafually lodged together in the fame Apartment of my Brain, and by heat Morning formed themselves into the following Pro-

A Project for reducing the Eastern Indians by

That there beforthwich salifted a fufficient number of minister, to be commented by a Mojor General Inocumor, who in Enzlity of a Pitis Officer, may to Dury to Horietuck

That they be compleatly armed with Incision-Lancet. Findora's Box, Nut-Shell and Filler, their Exercife and Differning to be according the Praffice of that able but experienc's Officer among A roll Turky Com Inoculafor General's good Friend and intimate Acquaintance) Cipt. General Timouins.

The their Ammunicion be of the both Proof, that it, a That the Institutors be set Valuntary, who before their afund Poot, and travelling Charges, may be allowed Gratuity of 19 L per Hoods of rach Indian who furlives, conveys and foreads the infection among ft bis tries ; and of 5 to per Head for thefe who blow up too or (or die) befere they reach she Places where Exception in er entended.

I hat in Confideration of the difference, of Climate, and ther more preffing Occasions, the Timotive derest net E pedicione to be made undpin Winter and Spring, but feel be in Summer, or in all Probability like to do most Execution in that Scalone

The three greatest Evils incidedt to Mankind, are a sword, Famine and Pelliftmeet. The first, or Just hath beer alle wed and practiced by all Nations All Ages. The fecond is also made use of to manoy the in the Inflance of Blocksding or flar-Tagwe: But the doing of Execution by John or Pallaiere, Seems referred for the Hipmour the Loculatic and his An Directions. That it is

Inoculation by function and the function of the control of the con

# 1

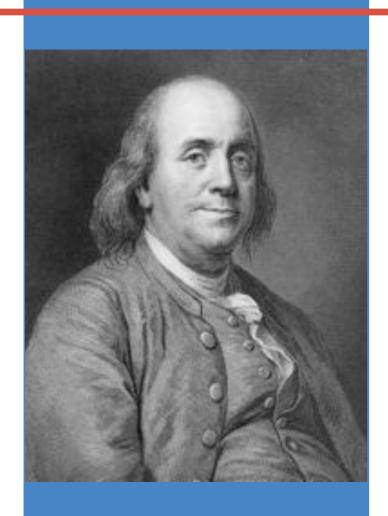
## afterthoughts



"it does not seem to make that progress among the common people in America, ... Scruples of conscience ... The expence of having the operation performed by a surgeon ... A small Pamphlet .. by some skilful Physician ... directing what preparations .. should be used .. what precautions to avoid .. and how the operation is to be performed, the incisions dressed the patient treated .. might encourage parents to inoculate their own children .. and thereby save thousands of lives" --Franklin, letter, 1759



## declining scepticism



"In 1736 I lost one of my sons, a fine boy of four years old, by the smallpox taken in the common way. I long regretted bitterly and still regret that I had not given it to him by inoculation. This I mention for the sake of the parents who omit that operation, on the supposition that they should never forgive themselves if a child died under it; my example showing that the regret may be the same either way, and that, therefore, the safer should be chosen."

--Franklin, Autobiography 1793



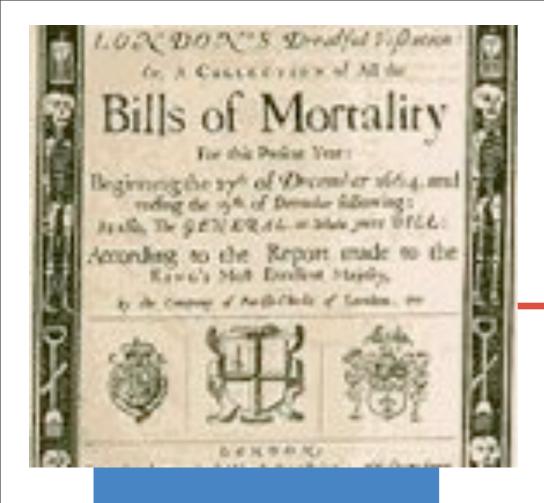
# "the safer way"

### a shortage of numbers

**tracking population**Graunt, Petty

### accounting for death

how many sick? how many died? how many recovered? how many?



# A gene

#### A generall Bill for this prefent year, ending the 19 of December 1664, according to the Ripor made to the KINGS mod Excellent Mage).

By the Company of Purch Occlused Landon, St.C.

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Bodrac	Fugherd	Parameter -
Kelind	Governod Science	Quidit
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Name and Schilet	8 Hanga & made unay electricises?	R. ptage
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Cherce Complete and Little A	e james es	Stone Illeger backen sindle. See
Cantrard Photh	c Impolares 125	Timber
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Engraphed to the Busies in the sign Patient and mohe Publishment's year-

Increased of the Plager in the 13 : Paralles and as the Poll-1 out other year.

## death rate

1603: regular bills of mortality

**1611:** incorporation of parish clerks counting by "searchers"

**1629:** other deaths

1728: age of deceased

**1837:** last bills



## political arithmetic



William Petty 1623-1787

### politics and population

William Petty, RS (1623-1687) surveyor Political Arithmetic of Ireland

> velocity of circulation natural vs market price economic surplus population change



## headcounters



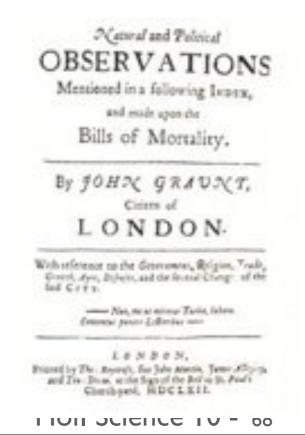
John Graunt 1620-1674

"His Majesty gave
this particular
charge to His
Society, that if they
found any more such
Tradesmen, they
should be sure to
admit them all,
without any more
ado."

--Pratt

#### John Graunt, RS

Natural and Political Observations ... upon the Bills of Mortality 1662



### [ 152 ]

An Extract of two Essays in Political Arithmetick concerning the comparative Magnitudes, &c. of London and Paris by Sr. William Petty Knight. R. S. S.

The excellent Author of thefe two Effays, has in feveral former of the same Nature made it appear that Mathematical Reasoning, is not only applicable to Lines and Numbers, but affords the best means of Judging in all the concerns of humane Life. In the prefeat he endeavours to prove London, as it now is, the most considerable City now in being, by fliewing it much to exceed Paris, ( which not only the French but foreigners have afferted to be the chief City of Europe. ) both in People, Housing, and Wealth: The first by comparing the Bills of Mortality, whereby he finds that the People of London are as many as those of Paris and Rowen put togather. The fecond by compareing the number of Houses, which by the Chimny-Books are found above 80000 in London, whereas a great Author among the French, (who feldome faile to magnifie their own things,) reckons but 50000 Houses in Paris. As to the third, to wit the Wealth, he conceives that there is yet a much greater disproportion, there being no comparison between them for Trade, and besides a good argument drawn from the Law-Suites of both places, he concludes from the Paris bills of Mortality, that two 5ths of the People of Paris are fo poor

# competitive counts

### [ 152 ]

An Extract of two Essays in Political Arithmetick concerning the comparative Magnitudes, &c. of London and Paris by Sr. William Petty Knight. R.S.S.

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A further Affertion of the Propositions concerning the Magnitude, &c. of London, contained in two Essays in Political Arithmetic; mentioned in Philos. Transact. Numb. 183; together with a Vindication of the said Essays from the Objections of some Learned Persons of the French Nation, by Sr. W. Petty Knt. R.S.S.

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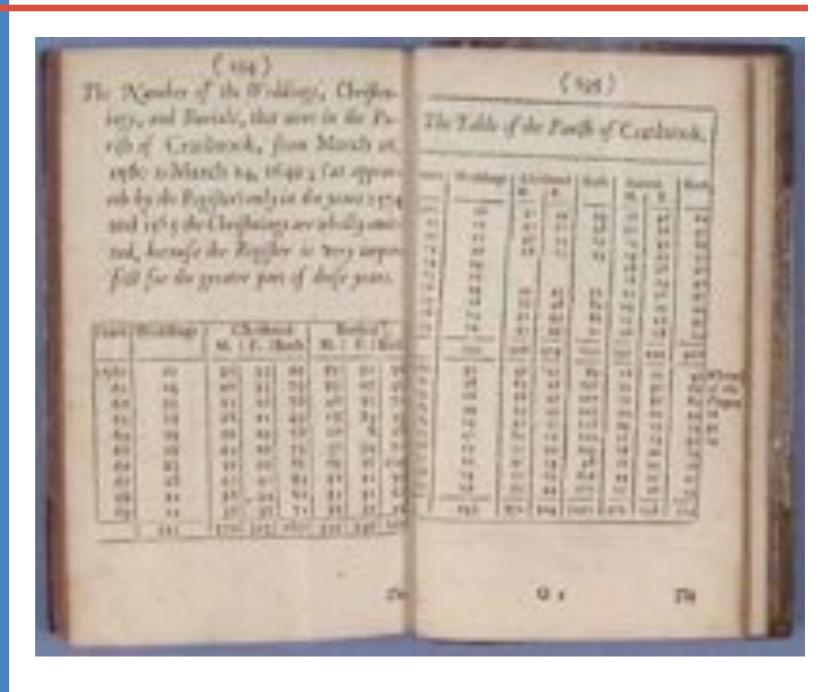
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### battle with 'declinists'

# 1

# births, marriages, & deaths





### An I a n a x of the Positions, Obsernations, and Questions contained in this Discourse.

trac Accompt of the Plague cannot be 1950,

prepare old, and about thirty for pay Common

cons durated cornery wise of Chromical Delication, and

## counting difficulties

#### shame

"The Old-Women Searchers, after the mist of a Cup of Ale, and the bribe of a two-grout fee ... cannot tell whether this emaciation or leanness were from a phthisis, or from an Hectick Fever, Atrophy, &c. or from an Infection of the Spermatick parts ... onely hated persons, and such, whose very Noses were eaten off were reported by the searchers to have died of this too frequent Malady."

### principle

#### fear



# authority again

"to commit the work to the care of such men, who, by the freedom of their education the plenty of their estates, and the usual generosity of Noble Bloud, may be well suppos'd to be most averse from sordid

--Sprat

"the distribution of credibility followed the contours of English society"
--Steven Shapin

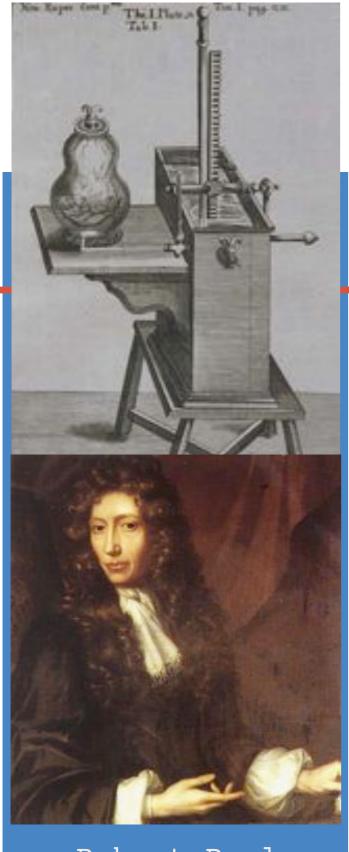
considerations"

**Hooke's** subordination

**Graunt's**"shop arithmetic"

**Petty &**Anne Greene





Robert Boyle 1627-1691

## scientific knowledge

#### matters of trust

in machines

in books

in calculation

in *people* aristocrats, gentlemen, women, servants



# authority & not experience

membership

peer review

back to the university



## summary

### beginnings of science

from facts and curiosities to evidence and calculation

from certainty to trust

from "diligent and laborious individuals" to credentials and institutions



## ahead

#### 18 Feb: Reference books and the organization of knowledge

#### Required reading:

 McArthur, Tom. 1986. Ch 12-15, pp. 91-133 in Worlds of Reference. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.