

Descartes' Science, Holism, and the Mechanical Philosophy

Abstract (Word Count:100)

In recent treatments of “holism” in the history of science, Descartes’ natural philosophy is often judged to be a paradigm instance of a “mechanistic” and reductionist scientific approach. This essay, on the contrary, will challenge this view by exploring various aspects of Descartes’ conservation principle for the quantity of motion (size times speed), especially its largely neglected function as a measure of both durational motion and instantaneous “tendencies towards motion”. Despite the prevailing consensus, it will be demonstrated that an underlying non-local, or holistic, element is essential to a full understanding of the conservation principle’s development and intended operation.

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There are a significant number of contemporary scholars, possibly the majority, who accuse Descartes of having saddled the Western scientific tradition with a crass form of reductionism and mechanism. This “mechanistic” bias, according to some commentators, has played a major causal role in the rise of various negative social, political, and environmental effects, such as our present-day concerns over Western social/political imperialism, environmental exploitation, and race/gender discrimination. While some studies have been content to merely note the alleged mechanistic features of the Cartesian system (e.g., traditional analytic-based examinations, like Grosholz 1991), a number of postmodern, or gender, critics have proceeded to contrast their perception of Descartes' science with a variety of non-mechanistic alternatives which, they believe, are less prone to the social and environmental disadvantages listed above (Bordo 1987, chap. 1; Merchant 1980, chap. 9; Easlea, chap. 3; to name only a few). Implicit in all of their arguments, of course, is the basic assumption that Descartes' science is “mechanistic”; which further presupposes, more problematically, that some agreement can be reached on what exactly constitutes the mechanical philosophy.

Contrary to this prevailing consensus, this essay will argue that the nature and classification of Descartes' science cannot be so easily labeled, whatever the definition of “mechanical” one chooses to invoke. No matter which facet of the mechanical philosophy one appeals to, it will be argued that Cartesian science does not happily fit that description, and may actually comprise an outright violation of the adopted mechanical tenets. In particular, it will be demonstrated that any purely mechanistic, local, or reductionist interpretation of Descartes' science fails to take full account of his intricate treatment of the phenomena of plenum motion. There remains a global, non-reductive, and somewhat “holistic” conceptual element at the heart of Descartes'

physical theories—namely, the Cartesian conservation law for the quantity of motion (or sometimes speed). Acknowledging the diverse and complex function of the Cartesian conservation law will thus form the first part of our investigation, while its importance for the mechanical philosophy debate will comprise the second half.

1. Quantity of Motion.

After a long period of development and maturation, Descartes' conservation law for the quantity of motion, or product of size and speed, finally receives its canonical presentation in the *Principles of Philosophy* (1644):

[Motion] has a certain and determinate quantity, which we can understand easily to be able to remain always the same in the whole universe, even though it may change in its individual parts. That is why we might think that when one part of matter moves twice as fast as another which is twice as large, there is the same amount of motion in the smaller as in the larger. (Pr II 36)

This conservation principle serves as the basis of Descartes' three laws of nature, which, in turn, describe the basic motions of material bodies in the Cartesian plenum. Quantity of motion figures most prominently in the third natural law, as well as the accompanying seven collision rules which comprise the specific instances of that law. In short, the third natural law dictates that colliding bodies must either retain all their motion or transfer as much motion as they lose (thus conserving quantity of motion; Pr II 40). God's "immutability" constitutes the foundation of the conservation principle, since Descartes reasons that "it seems obvious to me that it is none other than God himself, who created in the beginning both motion and rest in the whole of matter, and now preserves through his normal course alone the same amount of motion and rest as he placed in it

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I will identify passages from the Miller and Miller (1983) *Principles* according to the following convention: Article 15, Part II, will be labeled "Pr II 15." Other translations are based on the Adam and Tannery edition of the *Oeuvres de Descartes* (Paris: Vrin, 1976), with passages marked, "AT", followed by volume and page number.

at that time." (Pr II 36)

Nevertheless, it does not appear that any a priori justification can be given, based on God's immutability, for privileging quantity of motion (size times speed) over the range of all possible quantitative relationships (e.g., Why not "size + speed", or "size \times speed²"?) This is an especially troublesome dilemma for the Cartesians given the foundational role of quantity of motion in Descartes' physics. Since this quantity, size times speed, appears in many other seventeenth century scientific tracts, however (Gabbey 1973, 383), it is probable that Descartes likewise assumed that it was the quantity conserved in the interactions of his plenum, or matter-filled, world. For instance, Descartes must have been familiar with many of the Scholastic "impetus" theories which often measured a body's force of motion by its speed or velocity and its quantity of matter. Whereas the impetus theories chiefly involved "unconstrained" bodily motions and interactions, such as the "violent" motion of a naturally resting terrestrial body when thrown into the air, another potential source of Descartes' quantity of motion was probably derived from his familiarity with various statics principles, especially the various dynamical renditions of the "law of the lever". The similarity of quantity of motion to the quantities employed in his work on statics is quite evident in many letters on analysis of suspended weights (and other simple machines) from the late 1630s: for example, "to raise a 100-pound weight to a height of one foot twice is the same as raising a 200-pound weight to a height of one foot. . . . (AT II 229)"

Descartes' "statics principle", as we may dub it, differs from quantity of motion in that it comprises the product of weight and an infinitesimally small displacement, as he is at pains to point out: e.g., "note that I say 'begin to fall', and not simply 'fall', since it is only the beginning of the fall [of the weights] that we need to consider (AT II 233)". Nevertheless, the similarities between quantity of motion and his statics principle are quite strong. In one sense, of course, quantity of motion is non-instantaneous; i.e., it

includes the Cartesian concept of speed, which can only take place over a non-instantaneous temporal period (as best exhibited in the collision rules, Pr II 46–52). Yet, quantity of motion is also inseparably linked with the instantaneous property² which he sometimes labels, "tendency" (*tendere*, Pr II 39), although the *Principles* employs several designations interchangeably in depicting this notion (e.g., "striving", *conatus*, Pr III 56; "first preparation for motion", *prima praeparatio ad motum*, Pr III 63). Tendencies, since they are involved in the (non-instantaneous) motions of bodies, are thereby coupled to the states of affairs presiding at a single instant. He states: "Of course, no motion is accomplished in an instant; but it is obvious that every moving body, at any moment in the course of its motion, is determined (*determinatum*) to persevere in its motion in some direction along a straight line," (Pr II 39) The explanation would seem to imply that a tendency has a determination (which roughly corresponds to the direction of motion), for he also states in Article 39 that "each part of matter, . . . tends to persevere in its motion along only straight lines. . . ."³ Another term apparently used to signify quantity of motion is "agitation" (*agitation*), a concept which figures prominently in those sections of the *Principles* devoted to celestial phenomena: "Once moved, gold, lead, or other metals retain more agitation, or force (*vis*) to persevere in their motion, than pieces of

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The inconclusive debate on Descartes' understanding of instants, i.e., whether instants are durationless or comprise some length, will not be discussed (since it is a separate problem). See, Garber 1992, 268–270.

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Consequently, determination applies to both instantaneous tendencies and non-instantaneous motions, as Garber likewise concludes (1992 219–220). On Descartes' statics and dynamics, see Westfall 1971, chap. 2: Westfall's treatment of the development of Descartes' conservation principle generally agrees with the analysis above. For more on the pre-history of Descartes' natural philosophy, see Des Chene 1996; and for the mechanical philosophy, Gabbey 1985. The details of section 1 are treated at greater length in Slowik 1999, and owe a great deal to Gabbey 1993.

wood or rocks do of the same size and shape." (Pr III 122). The analysis of the agitation force, in Part III of the *Principles*, is equivalent to the definition of a moving body's QM in Part II, since they both measure a body's "force to persevere (*perseverare*) in its motion, i.e., in motion at the same speed in the same direction" (Pr II 43). Therefore, quantity of motion is also a measure of agitation force, while the agitation force, in turn, is a measurement of the instantaneous tendencies towards motion exhibited by Cartesian bodies (as Garber 1992, 208, and Prendergast 1975, 460, both agree).

In fact, since Cartesian motion requires duration (i.e., it does not take place at the level of instants), the distinction between instantaneous tendencies towards motion, as measured by quantity of motion, and infinitesimal displacements, as incorporated in the Descartes' statics principle, becomes difficult to maintain. Bearing in mind that instantaneous tendencies towards motion are not "real" motions, in Descartes' sense, it might be more accurate to regard them as more akin to an infinitesimal displacement (change of place). In addition, since Cartesian matter is ultimately pure extension, a body's shape, volume, surface area, etc., are the sole factors which (along with speed) determine its force of bodily motion. Consequently, "weight" is merely the by-product of the tendencies of plenum objects "to persevere in" straight line uniform motion (which is measured by quantity of motion). Tendencies towards uniform motion are thus the cause of the descent of terrestrial bodies, as well as the increasing velocity, or acceleration, of their free-fall over time (due to the incremental build-up of each separate "push"). In short, weight is as closely linked to size and speed, as instantaneous tendencies and quantity of motion are related to infinitesimal displacements and the statics principle.

To summarize our discussion thus far, quantity of motion would appear to serve two primary functions: (a) it is a measure of a body's non-instantaneous size \times speed, as in the famous collision rules; and (b) it is a measure of a body's instantaneous tendency towards motion. Coming to grips with this duality—a duality which lies at the heart of

Descartes' conservation principle—will be of great importance for our investigation below, for the attempts to classify the general nature of his natural philosophy directly depend upon this seldom recognized feature.

2. Identifying the Mechanism in Descartes' Natural Philosophy

As one would expect given its loosely defined parameters and potential breadth of scope, the concept of a “mechanistic” or “mechanical” science derives from a host of competing, and often contradictory, philosophical intuitions. The implicit vagueness of the definitions that draw upon these intuitions not only threatens to undermine the very plausibility and applicability of the “mechanical” concept, but would likewise seem to undercut any interpretation of its alleged social and natural ramifications. In what follows, a few of the major trends within the plethora of proposed delineations of the mechanical philosophy will be examined, and compared with our understanding of Descartes' natural philosophy in light of section 1.

Holism. The confusion surrounding Descartes' alleged mechanistic legacy is nicely exhibited in a recent survey, by V. Dusek, regarding the holistic influences on the development of modern physics. In places, Dusek seems to suggest (quite correctly, in my opinion) that Descartes' physics is closer in spirit to later-day continuum mechanics, which is supposedly holistic, than to the sort of atomistic, reductionist physics of the Newtonians (Dusek 1999, 23, 204). Yet, in other passages, Dusek apparently reverses this judgment, now categorizing Descartes' physics as atomistic and reductionist (12, 247). One might reasonably wonder, at this point, if there exists any consensus on the nature of Descartes' natural philosophy, at all.

Dusek's uncertainty most likely stems from a failure to acknowledge the dichotomous role of quantity of motion in Descartes' physics, as outlined above. If one confines their interpretation of the conservation principle to the context of its first

presentation—that is, Part II of the *Principles*, which also presents the laws of motion and collision rules—then one will probably view quantity of motion as a sort of kinematic property reducible to the individual, durational motions of bodies before and after impact.⁴ The universal value of quantity of motion, consequently, will be judged to be the mere sum of each individual body's size \times speed. Yet, this type of reasoning fails to take account of quantity of motion's role as the measure of a body's instantaneous perseverance in straightline uniform motion, a concept that bears close ties with his statics. When the force of a body to descend is balanced against that of another, as in simple machines, infinitesimal or instantaneous quantities are invoked in the mathematical analysis. Furthermore, these quantities require a system of bodies whose interactions are interconnected or harmonized in a kind of "holistic" fashion; which is not a model readily derived from our experience of the kinematical impact of individual moving bodies, as employed by Newton's, or even Descartes', collision rules. Rather, the arrangement of bodies in a balance will only allow constrained, synchronous motions of the entire assemblage: i.e., to analyze the motion of one body, you have to indirectly take into account the movements of all bodies—such that, if one descends, the other rises (at least hypothetically via the law of the lever, and for minute distances or speeds). Consequently, Descartes' instantaneous version of quantity of motion, labeled (b) above, would seem to necessitate a system whose overall conserved force cannot be simply reduced to the isolated, individual motions of bodies.

Since the analysis of motion in the *Principles* often exhibits this statics-based approach, it would seem that Descartes proceeded to incorporate, or conflate, this holistic interpretation of instantaneous tendencies with his durational, size \times speed, analysis of

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"Kinematic" refers to the study of motion per se, unlike "dynamics" which studies motion under the action of forces.

bodily motion. For instance, at the end of Part III he claims that "for as all bodies in the universe are contiguous and act upon one another, the motion of one body is dependent on the motion of all the others, and therefore varies in numerous ways." (Pr III 157).⁵ This holistic emphasis is presented in a slightly more detailed manner in an analogy involving a circle of air particles, with positions labeled EFGHI spaced along its circumference: he states, "if the air at E is pushed towards F, the air at F will circulate in the direction of GHI and return to E, such that one cannot feel its weight, in the same way that one cannot feel the weight of a rotating wheel if it is balanced perfectly on its axle." (2 June 1631, AT X 205) Needless to say, to envision the motion of a series of plenum particles as involving so little effort, i.e., as if they had no weight, strongly attests to the non-local synchronization or harmony of Cartesian motion (as well as to the continuing influence of simple machines on Descartes' thinking).

The global or "holistic", as opposed to local, feature of Cartesian natural philosophy is seldom discussed in the literature.⁶ Most commentators appear to favor a reductionist reading of Cartesian matter and motion, as does E. Grosholz, in her claim that "the whole is not greater than the sum of its parts, and there is no systematic interdependency among the parts, or among the parts and the whole." (1991, 76) C. Merchant reaches similar conclusions, contrasting the reductionist particle-based approach of the mechanical school with what she takes to be the "holistic" outlook of modern ecology. As for the latter, "no element of an interlocking cycle can be removed without the collapse of the cycle. . . . Each particular part is defined by and dependent on the total context. The cycle itself is a dynamic interactive relationship of all its parts,"

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Descartes' hypothesis of instantaneous circular motions of plenum bodies (Pr II 33) is also relevant to this discussion, needless to say.

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For some studies of teleology in Cartesian physics, see; Collins 1971, Part 1; and, Machamer 1976.

(1980,293) In an ironic twist, Merchant's definition of a holistic system would seem to be a more accurate description of Descartes' cosmos than of any ecological system: that is, the removal of a part of the Cartesian plenum would violate the conservation principle, and possibly derail the large scale circular motion of bodies (Pr II33), lock-up the harmoniously arranged vortex rotations (Pr III 65–66), or, at the least, force an instantaneous increase in the motion of other particles located somewhere in plenum. On the other hand, we have ample knowledge of many plant and animal species whose removal from, or extinction within, a given ecological system did not bring about an equally large scale change, and possibly did not adversely affect the ecosystem, at all.

In all fairness, both Grosholz and Merchant do raise legitimate concerns, especially regarding the naive mechanism of some of Descartes' specific biological and physical models (such as the human body). But, Grosholz and Merchant extend the charge of crass reductionism to the entire Cartesian scheme of natural philosophy, and thus overlook the very tangible "systematic interdependency among the parts", to use Grosholz own phrase, revealed in the workings of quantity of motion. In the case of Merchant, furthermore, some of the difficulties may be traced to her characterization of the general features of Early Modern mechanistic theories, where it is alleged that "nature is made up of modular components or discrete parts connected in a causal nexus that transmitted motion in a temporal sequence from part to part." (228) This is not an accurate description of Descartes' *overall* theory, as was explained in section 1, for Cartesian bodies interact simultaneously or synchronously as a connected whole, and not "in a temporal sequence from part to part". In fact, the somewhat bizarre, holistic consequences of Cartesian physics are nicely captured in J. Henry's succinct summary that "when [Cartesian] motion started somewhere in the world, somewhere else in the world the corresponding amount of motion had to be absorbed." (Henry 1997, 60)

Atomism. If atomism is a central component of any mechanical natural philosophy, then Descartes is not a mechanist. In the *Principles*, he offers the (Scholastic-based) argument that since any part of matter, or extension, is potentially divisible either in thought or by God, atomism is impossible (Pr II 20). Rather, Descartes' preferred units of matter are his three basic elements, which are mutually convertible given the intrinsic continuity of the Cartesian extended substance. This corpuscularian theory, as it is often called, does not necessarily constitute a hybrid type of atomism. Indeed, Dusek (24) would apparently classify it as a "monism", which he regards as an extreme form of holism, and the polar opposite of atomism. (Descartes' dualism of matter and mind complicates this issue, however, and would appear to disqualify his theory from a pure "substantial monism", rendering it a mere "material monism", instead.)

The continuity of the Cartesian plenum, moreover, leads us back to the holistic emphasis in Descartes' thinking, as opposed to the atomist and local. As mentioned above, Dusek regards the mechanics of continuously extended materials, i.e., continuum mechanics, as a holistic theory (1999, 230). Nevertheless, drawing such an analogy between Descartes' plenum physics and continuum mechanics should not be taken to extremes, since they differ on matters of more than just historical origin. Yet, many of the concepts of continuum mechanics bear an interesting resemblance to various Cartesian hypotheses: for example, an elementary textbook notes that "observed macroscopic behavior [of bodies] is usually explained by disregarding molecular [or particle] considerations and, instead, by assuming the material to be continuously distributed throughout its volume and to completely fill the space it occupies." (Mase 1970, 44) Correlating spatial volume with indefinitely-divisible matter is admittedly quite Cartesian, although one has to stretch the interpretation of this passage a bit to encompass Descartes' decidedly corpuscularian thesis of the three material elements. Even conceding this last point, there is a sense in which Descartes

does disregard the individual, local behavior of bodies (and elements) in favor of a "holistic" treatment of plenum phenomena, much like the continuum theorist's continuously distributed matter. A notable instance of this type of thesis is the function of Descartes' first elements of matter: i.e., as the most minute material particles, these elements must, in a quasi-miraculous manner, fill in the gaps left in the wake of the larger second and third elements' motion through the plenum (Pr III 52). It is hard to see how this holistic feature of plenum activity could be derived exclusively from the local behavior of individual first element matter, especially if one insists that their behavior is solely governed by the durational "size times speed" version of quantity of motion, which only takes account of the size and speed of the locally interacting bodies.

Hylomorphism. If there is any category on which Descartes' acclaim as a arch-mechanist can be truly laid, it most likely centers upon his repudiation of the doctrine of Scholastic forms. Rejecting the view that material objects are comprised of an inert property-less substratum (primary matter) and a determinate quality-bearing essence (substantial form), Descartes confidently asserted that "all of the forms [i.e., properties] of inanimate bodies can be explained without having to assume anything else for this in their matter but motion, size, shape, and the arrangement of their parts." (AT XI 25–26).

Overall, Descartes' plan is quite simple: reduce the discussion of the class of non-observable metaphysically suspect properties, such as color, weight, taste, etc., to a discussion of the empirically sound observable properties of size, shape, and motion. The direct impact of inert, qualitatively indistinct chunks of matter thus serves as the foundation of his physics—and it is this exclusive emphasis on body-to-body contact which is highly characteristic of the mechanical philosophy.

Nevertheless, the denial of "qualitative" bodily properties (other than extension) and the endorsement of body-to-body contact are not straightforwardly related or

defined; and are not sufficient in themselves to either qualify or disqualify one as a mechanist. One can embrace Scholastic-like bodily qualities and yet still adhere to a contact-mechanical thesis, as the case of Leibniz clearly demonstrates. In fact, many of Descartes' contemporary critics, who we also regard as mechanical philosophers, were quite content to accept the notion that physics deals with the local motions of bodies, but that mere extension and speed were not enough to capture the full variety of physical phenomena: e.g., Gassendi, Newton, etc. (Copenhaver 1998). As for Descartes, it would appear that this his contact-mechanical physical theory likewise did not deter him from postulating a rather "substantial form"-like concept; namely, the human soul, which is diffused throughout a body but, like Scholastic "heaviness", can still act at point (i.e., the pineal gland and the center-of-gravity, respectively; Garber 1992, 98).

If we return to the conservation principle, furthermore, which has been our main subject of investigation, there is a strange sense in which Descartes' conception and application of quantity of motion similarly posits a sort of substantial form, although it is a global version diffused throughout extension and able to act at many points simultaneously. Despite his rejection of "mentalistic" substantial forms within *individual* bodies, such as weight (e.g., *Sixth Replies*, AT VII 441–442), Descartes nevertheless invokes a force in the *whole of matter* that acts in much the same way: first, it is a quasi-"property" coupled (by God) to a pre-existing material substratum (in this case, the material world); second, its teleological-like conservation of quantity of motion cannot be reduced to matter and motion alone (since God's sustaining act is required). The resemblance to substantial forms, although largely coincidental, did cause Descartes some concern: in a letter to More, he admits that he had been previously disinclined to discuss his views on force out of a "fear of appearing disposed to favor the beliefs of those who regard God as a world-soul conjoined to matter." (July 1649, AT V 404) Quantity of motion may not be God's soul united with the material world, yet many of its holistic,

irreducible, and "mysterious" features nevertheless betray a strong teleological bias—a bias that runs counter to our preconceived notions of the “mechanical” philosophy.

3. Conclusion

The subject of this essay, it should be recalled, has not been to exhaustively compare all the properties of Descartes’ physics with the tenets of the mechanical philosophy. Even if this project could be carried out, which is doubtful given the vagueness of the mechanical “paradigm”, it would still not undermine the fact that numerous aspects of Descartes’ theory differ quite radically from our modern interpretation of the mechanical school (and Descartes’ science, for that matter). Rather, our more limited goal has been to reveal the two distinct, if closely linked, aspects of Descartes’ conservation principle—i.e., the measure of a body’s non-instantaneous, durational, size \times speed, and the measure of a body’s instantaneous, non-durational, tendency towards straight-line uniform motion—and to show how these two versions of quantity of motion relate to the mechanical and non-mechanical features of the Cartesian physical system. The instantaneous interconnectedness of the Cartesian plenum, which bears many of the hallmarks of a holistic outlook, defies a classification purely along the lines of “size \times speed”; and likewise defies attempts to exclusively saddle Cartesian science with a host of modern social/environmental ills.⁷

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