## **History of Computing**

## **Founding Editor**

Martin Campbell-Kelly, University of Warwick, Coventry, UK

## **Series Editor**

Gerard Alberts, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

### **Advisory Board**

Jack Copeland, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand Ulf Hashagen, Deutsches Museum, Munich, Germany Valérie Schafer, CNRS, Paris, France John V. Tucker, Swansea University, Swansea, UK Jeffrey R. Yost, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, USA The History of Computing series publishes high-quality books which address the history of computing, with an emphasis on the 'externalist' view of this history, more accessible to a wider audience. The series examines content and history from four main quadrants: the history of relevant technologies, the history of the core science, the history of relevant business and economic developments, and the history of computing as it pertains to social history and societal developments

Titles can span a variety of product types, including but not exclusively, themed volumes, biographies, 'profile' books (with brief biographies of a number of key people), expansions of workshop proceedings, general readers, scholarly expositions, titles used as ancillary textbooks, revivals and new editions of previous worthy titles

These books will appeal, varyingly, to academics and students in computer science, history, mathematics, business and technology studies. Some titles will also directly appeal to professionals and practitioners of different backgrounds.

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/8442

Aristotle Tympas

# Calculation and Computation in the Pre-electronic Era

The Mechanical and Electrical Ages



Aristotle Tympas National and Kapodestrian University of Athens Athens, Greece

The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

ISSN 2190-6831 ISSN 2190-684X (electronic) History of Computing ISBN 978-1-84882-741-7 ISBN 978-1-84882-742-4 (eBook) https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-84882-742-4

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017952052

#### © Springer-Verlag London Ltd. 2017

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by Springer Nature

The registered company is Springer-Verlag London Ltd.

The registered company address is: The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW, United Kingdom

## Preface

The research presented in this book started while I was a doctoral student in the United States, at the History, Technology and Society Department of the Georgia Institute of Technology. It was completed during the first sabbatical year available to me after joining the faculty of the History and Philosophy of Science Department at Greece's National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. It would take one more sabbatical year to turn these two rounds of research into a book. In the meantime, I had the opportunity to appreciate better the historiographical challenge involved in deciding to write a history of computing that would not project the analog-digital demarcation of the 1940s into the preceding history of computing-a history that would turn the analog-digital demarcation into a social question instead of treating it as technically answered. Aiming from the beginning at a history that would fully respect the fact that this demarcation was not there before the electronic era, I eventually had to accept that I would have to explain why and how this demarcation was prepared before the electronic era, through the long run formed by the mechanical era (from the emergence of the steam engine to that of the electric power network) and the electrical era (from the emergence of the electric power network to that of electronic computing). This required attention to the demarcations between (and associated classifications of) computing artifacts during the mechanical and electrical eras. In turn, this invited an emphasis on the history of comparisons of computing artifacts. In the end, it was this emphasis that was proven crucial in liberating from the effects of the projection of the analog-digital demarcation of the electronic era to the mechanical and electrical eras.

The arguments of the book are then developed around retrieving and interpreting a series of representative comparisons. Central here are comparisons involving the slide rule, an artifact with a uniquely rich history throughout the mechanical and the electrical eras. The book introduces it in two chapters, which offer an overview of the history of the use of the slide rule (Chap. 2) and details of its use in the context of electrification (Chap. 3). With the addition of a chapter that includes artifacts that represented the highest and the lowest ratio of machine to human computing capital, like the analyzers (Chap. 4) and the graphs (Chap. 5), respectively, the comparisons of the book open up to the whole range of computing artifacts—tools, instruments,

mechanisms, machines—that have been historiographically devaluated through their a posteriori placement under the allegedly inferior class of analog computers. The book includes a chapter that focuses on comparisons undertaken from the other side, that of promoters of the class of the calculating artifacts—calculating and tabulating machines—that were a posteriori designated as preelectronic ancestors of the digital electronic computer (Chap. 6). By this chapter, all the elements are in place in order to retrieve the key role of the concealment of the laboring with the analog part of computing machines through its encasement (blackboxing), which left on display only a view of the machine as digital (numbers).

It follows that this is not a book about preelectronic analog or digital computers but about the how and why the two emerged as technically different in the electronic era—the one with the concealed analogy, representing, supposedly, an evolution from an inferior to a superior class of computers. Emerging through the long-run history of this book, the analog and the digital are neither alternatives nor complementary. They are inseparable, with their alleged difference having actually to do with a full or restricted view to the computing process. Removing from public view the labor to produce the computing analogy, each special use went hand in hand with presenting the computing artifact as general purpose, universal, independent from labor to adjust it to special uses, and therefore capable of intelligence. Underneath then the demarcations that prepared for the one between the digital and the analog, we find the pursuit of a political economy of computing that devaluated the human capital versus the machine one. A resistance to an extreme version of this pursuit was persistently manifested in the defense of socially situated comparisons of computing artifacts, when the accuracy was not treated in isolation from flexibility and other computing variables and when it was further related to the issue of cost (and, therefore, indirectly, to ownership of the computing artifact). In the book, we see representative instances of the history of the passionate defense of the political economy of a mode of computing production that was based on a combination of an inexpensive slide rule and skillful use.

Opening up historiographically to socially situated comparisons of computing technology opens the history of this technology to the long and widespread use of an understudied universe of computing artifacts. It brings into the fore a myriad of graphs, a multitude of slide rules, and a range of analyzers. The book can be read as a history that exposes to representative samples of all of the above. The main argument from this history is that what we find in the analog-digital demarcation is the outcome of demarcations accumulated through a long series of comparisons, which go back to the beginning of the capitalist mode of production (industrial and, before it, merchant—the book focuses on the industrial one). This suggests that the computing revolution did not start in the 1940s; it did not follow in the industrial revolution. It made possible the industrial revolution just as it was made possible by it.

Athens, Greece

Aristotle Tympas

## Acknowledgments

The first round of support to the work that led to this book came from my former professors at Georgia Tech, especially Steve Usselman, Bruce Sinclair, Jim Brittain, Nancy Nersessian, Steve Vallas, Mark Shields, Ken Knoespel, Phil Scranton, Dan Kleinman, Gus Giebelhaus, John Krige, Allice Bullard, and Greg Nobles. Barney Finn (my host at the Smithsonian), Rik Nebeker (from the IEEE History Center), and, more recently, Tom Misa (from the Charles Babbage Institute) came to add their support. A faculty sabbatical as a visiting scholar at MIT, thanks to David Mindell, made it possible to conclude the research that I had started while a doctoral student at Georgia Tech.

In Greece, the key support by Kostas Gavroglu started while I was searching my way to graduate studies in the field and has continued ever since, through our collaboration as department colleagues at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. My department colleagues Theodore Arabatzis, Jean Christianidis, Manolis Patiniotis, and Stathis Araposthathis have supported me in many ways, intellectual and practical. Dionysios Anapolitanos and Costas Dimitracopoulos have also been very supportive. Collaboration with former students who moved on to start their work as postdoctoral researchers and instructors has added one more layer of support. Katerina Vlantoni, Nancy Megremi, Spyros Tzokas, Costas Morfakis, Christos Karampatsos, and Eirini Mergoupi are the ones whom I have had the closest and longer collaboration with. A new generation of doctoral students is following course in supporting me through our collaboration. Costas Raptis, a model of braveness to our community, deserves special mentioning.

Upon my return to Europe, I have also been receiving support through my participation in the ToE (Tensions of Europe) and the ESST (European Studies of Society, Science and Technology) scholarly communities. Johan Schot (earlier at the Technical University of Eindhoven, now with the Science Policy Research Unit at SPRU) and Jessica Mesman (Maastricht University) have been the two most influential persons behind the development of my ties to these communities.

A series of international fellowships and grants allowed me to advance to my research. In reverse chronological order, these came from the Chemical Heritage Foundation (*Doan Fellowship*), the Dibner Library, the National Museum of

Acknowledgments

American History, the Smithsonian Institution (*Resident Scholar Fellowship*), the History Center of the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers (*Fellowship*) in *Electrical History*), the Smithsonian Institution (*Visiting Student Fellowship*), the Hagley Museum and Library (*Residential Fellowship*), the National Science Foundation (*Dissertation Improvement Grant*), and the Georgia Institute of Technology (*Presidential Fellowship*). I want to thank the persons who decided to award these fellowships to me and the administrators, archivists, and librarians who assisted me in my research while I was taking advantage of them.

An early round of help with proofreading and editing by Jeff Sherrill was crucial at the start of the process that led to this book. A more recent round of help with checking various parts of the manuscript that led to this book by Polyxeni Malisova has been very helpful.

I am more than indebted to Springer's Wayne Wheeler and Simon Rees who stood by me repeatedly through the efforts to finish this book amidst unpredictable difficulties. I am also very thankful to the editor and the members of the editorial board of the Springer series that this book is falling under.

# Contents

1	Intro	oduction	1
	1.1	Topic, Period, and Argument	1
	1.2	Theoretical Framework	2
	1.3	Line of Argumentation.	3
	1.4	Strategy Regarding Primary Sources	4
	Refe	rences	5
2	"Th	e Delights of the Slide Rule"	7
	2.1	Introduction	7
	2.2	"No Device Has Been of Greater General Interest"	8
	2.3	"A Machine for Putting Logarithms to Work"	12
	2.4	"A Very Ingenious Instrument"	18
	2.5	"High-Speed Scales"	19
	2.6	"The Habit of Attempting That 'Ficticious Accuracy"	22
	2.7	"The Poor Man's Calculator"	25
	2.8	"As Well as the Pianist Knows His Keyboard"	27
	2.9	"Unfair to Compare"	30
	2.10	Conclusion	35
	Refe	rences	36
3	"Lig	htning Calculations Lightened"	39
	3.1	Introduction	39
	3.2	"With Lightning Speed"	40
	3.3	"Extreme Accuracy with a Slide Rule"	44
	3.4	"An Indispensable Companion"	49
		3.4.1 "For the Exercise of His Ingenuity"	49
		3.4.2 "A Transmission Line Calculator" for "the Most	
		Tedious Problem"	56
		3.4.3 "If Querist Will Lay Out His Slide Rules"	59
		3.4.4 "Equivalent to Millions of Dollars Annually"	62
	3.5	"Speed Up Computations of Many Sorts"	63

	3.6	"Uses Slide Rule"	68
	3.7	Conclusion	71
	Refe	erences	71
4	"Lil	ke the Poor, the Harmonics Will Always Be with Us"	75
	4.1	Introduction	75
	4.2	"Mathematician <i>Par Excellence</i> "	76
	4.3	"A Marvel of Mechanical Skill and Mathematical Accuracy"	87
	4.4	"Eminently Satisfactory"	92
	4.5	"With a Reasonable Accuracy"	
	4.6	"Quickly and Easily"	
	4.7	"The Skill of the Expert Mechanical Technicians"	
	4.8	"Still Not the Ideal Analyzer"	
	4.9	Conclusion	
	Refe		118
5	"ТЬ	e Inner Satisfaction That Comes with Each Use	
3			123
	5.1	Introduction	
	5.2	"A Perfect Poem: The Most Lovely Exposition	123
	5.2	of Mathematics in Simple Form".	124
	5.3	"A Convenient Table: A Welcomed Help"	
	5.4	"New Catechism of Electricity"	
	5.5	"It Would Lead Too Far to Explain Here in Detail the Laying	140
	5.5	Out of an Alignment Chart"	149
	5.6	"Done Graphically Without the Computer Knowing	
	5.0	Anything Whatever About the Mathematics"	156
	5.7	"Mention Should Be Made of a Circle Diagram	
		that Picturizes in a Most Simple and Practical Manner"	161
	5.8	"Time-Honored Graphical Procedures Within a Modern	
		Technical Framework".	168
	5.9	Conclusion	
	Refe	erences	171
6	"Тh	e Appearance of a Neatly Finished Box"	177
U	6.1	Introduction	
	6.2	"Cannot Be Altered Until the Operation Has Been Finished"	
	6.3	"The Miscalculation of Mains"	
	6.4	"Can Be Put in the Hands of a Girl"	
	6.5	"The True Automatic Machine Belongs to a Possible	170
	0.0	Rather Than an Actual Class"	201
	6.6	"No Short Summary Can Be at All Complete"	
	6.7	Conclusion	
			213 214
	Refe	erences	214

7	Conclusion	217
Refe	erences	219
Inde	ex	235

# List of Figures

Fig. 2.1	Advertisement that introduces an IBM electronic computer as equivalent to 150 slide rules (1951)	13
Fig. 2.2	Marlboro advertisement that relates skill and independence	
	to the slide rule (1956)	14
Fig. 3.1	General Electric engineers A. T. Sinks (bottom right) and	
	Edith Clarke (top left) posing with a slide rule of standard	
	design and a hybrid calculating artifact with sliding of	
	personal design (1941)	64
Fig. 3.2	Patent drawing of the hybrid calculating artifact with sliding	
	by Edith Clarke (1925)	65
Fig. 4.1	Page with tables of quantitative (left) and qualitative (right)	
	comparisons of methods-artifacts of harmonic analysis by	
	MIT's Frederick Dellenbaugh (1921)	79
Fig. 4.2	Sketches of the replacement of adults with calculating	
	machines by children with a network analyzer in a	
	Westinghouse Engineer editorial (1944)	80
Fig. 4.3	Photograph of engineers absorbed by an artificial line at the	
	calculating laboratory of MIT's electrical engineering department	
<b>D</b> <sup>1</sup> 4 4	as shown in an article by Frederick Dellenbaugh (1923)	83
Fig. 4.4	Photograph of a planimeter-based simple harmonic	0.4
Eia 15	analyzer by MIT's Vannevar Bush (1920)	84
Fig. 4.5	Nomograph (alignment chart) for some of the circular and hyperbolic functions involved in electrical engineering	
	calculations by MIT's Vannevar Bush (1920)	85
Fig. 4.6	Photograph of the harmonic analyzer by L. W. Chubb in a	05
115. 1.0	Westinghouse trade catalog (1916)	94
Fig. 4.7	Patent drawing of the harmonic analyzer by Westinghouse's L. W.	
	Chubb with the planimeter and the oscillograph shown to the	
	left and to the right, respectively (1919)	95

. 103
. 104
. 105
. 106
. 109
. 110
. 110
. 132
. 179
. 179
. 185