

History of Computing

Founding Editor

Martin Campbell-Kelly, Department of Computer Science, University of Warwick, Coventry, UK

Series Editors

Gerard Alberts, Institute for Mathematics, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Jeffrey R. Yost, Charles Babbage Institute, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, USA

Advisory Editors

Jack Copeland, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand

Ulf Hashagen, Deutsches Museum, München, Germany

Valérie Schafer, ISCC, CNRS, Paris, France

John V. Tucker, Department of Computer Science, Swansea University, Swansea, UK

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>

Simon Lavington

Early Computing in Britain

Ferranti Ltd. and Government Funding,
1948–1958

Simon Lavington
School of Computer Science
and Electronic Engineering
University of Essex
Colchester, UK

ISSN 2190-6831

ISSN 2190-684X (electronic)

History of Computing

ISBN 978-3-030-15102-7

ISBN 978-3-030-15103-4 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15103-4>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2019936292

© Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2019

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, expressed 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.

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Preface and Introduction

There is a tendency to view computer history either from a top-down or a bottom-up perspective. Enthroned at the top of the historical landscape are the policymakers: government mandarins and board-level industrialists who view each new generation of computers through their shifting requirements of economics, politics and national defence. Far below these policymakers, and secure at the foundational level, are the technology researchers and developers: the creators of theories and laboratory prototypes, whose motivation is the satisfaction of responding to challenges issued by their fellow academics. In between these two extremes is a largely unsung and heterogeneous collection of engineers, programmers and marketing staff who turn ideas into products, features into benefits and problems into solutions. Theirs is the song that you'll hear throughout this book.

The focus of the story is particularly on those who worked for one manufacturing company, Ferranti Ltd., and for the nine end-user organisations who purchased the first Ferranti computers in the period 1951–1957. It is a story grounded in technology but brought alive by personal experiences and practical compromise. Here you'll read of short-term social impacts and longer-term evolutionary adaptations, as new and untried equipment began to have an impact.

Why is this story of relevance to the emergence of modern computers? The 10-year period 1948–1958 was of great significance. The first Ferranti computer, which was prosaically called the Mark I, was the first production machine to have been delivered anywhere. A copy of this and improved versions called the Mark I* (*Mark One Star*) were the first substantial computers to have been delivered in Canada, Holland and Italy. And whilst American companies such as UNIVAC and IBM were selling tens of computers to their home market during the early 1950s, Ferranti seemingly had the rest of the world to itself.

Nevertheless, marketing was a struggle. In 1950, Ferranti employed Dr. B. V. (Vivian) Bowden, a Cambridge graduate with good connections in government and

industry, to promote these new computers. Bowden remembers¹ that “I had to determine if more than one machine of this type would ever be required, or if, as it was at that time widely believed, a single machine would be able to do all the computation which would ever be needed in this country. We have now [May 1953] sold half a dozen of these great machines and it has been my responsibility to discuss their possible application to a very wide range of subjects.... I have interviewed a large number of people whose interests are in the fields of science, engineering and commerce, from the chief designers of aircraft firms and the presidents of insurance companies to the organisation and methods branch of the Bank of England and the Treasury. I have discussed their problems with scores of accountants, actuaries, engineers and scientists of all kinds ...”

The scientific and engineering sectors were the more receptive to begin with. But Bowden found “that they all faced the same problems. If the calculations were short, they were done on desk calculating machines operated by clerks. If the calculations were long and complicated, there were three overwhelming objections to the use of a computer. The machine usually broke down before it finished the calculation, its memory was too small to hold all the data it needed, and, worst of all, it took so long for the mathematicians to get the program right that it was usually quicker (and cheaper) to get the calculation done by clerks ... We were more worried by the shortage of programmers than by anything else”

Users did eventually take the plunge but the uptake was slow. Travelling hopefully was the name of the game in the early days of the digital revolution. As remarked by Dr. G. W. (Gerry) Morgan of the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) in 1951: “It is very clearly recognised that quite 90% of the value of a computer does not become apparent until it is in use”.²

Stepping back from the efforts of Vivian Bowden in 1950, it is now clear that defence was the market driver in both the UK and the USA at the time. Britain felt especially hard-pressed with the passing of the McMahon Act 1946, which cut off American cooperation in the development of nuclear weapons. The Berlin Airlift and the radical changing of Soviet encryption methods marked 1948 as the year when the Cold War really became a threat. Then 1949 saw the Yangtze Incident and the emergence of the Peoples Republic of China. 1950 marked the start of the

¹ B. V. Bowden (1910–1989) obtained his Ph.D. from the Cavendish Lab., University of Cambridge. His wartime work on radar included a spell with a joint UK–US research team at the Naval Research Lab., Washington, followed by post-war work at MIT and the UK’s Atomic Energy Authority. He joined Ferranti in 1950. These quotations come from two sources: (a) Four-page letter written by Bowden on 8 May 1953, when applying for the post of Principal of Manchester College of Science and Technology (later UMIST). Bowden’s application was successful. He remained at UMIST until retiring in 1976. In 1963, he was created Lord Bowden of Chesterfield and held the appointment of Minister of State for Education and Science until 1965. He died in 1989. (b) Bowden, B. V. 1970. The language of computers. *American Scientist* 58 (1): 43–53. This paper was originally delivered at the Brighton College of Technology as the first Richard Goodman lecture, 2 May 1969.

² *GCHQ & Ferranti*. G. W. Morgan. GCHQ Minute X/565/1802, 7th November 1951. GCHQ ordered a Ferranti Mark I* computer towards the end of 1951 and took delivery of the machine in the autumn of 1953.

Korean War. With this backdrop, it was two government agencies, the Ministry of Supply and the National Research Development Corporation, that underwrote the development of all the early Ferranti computers.

A Reader's Guide

The first Ferranti computer did not spring fully-formed from the ground. It incorporated ideas that had first emerged from several research laboratories in the period 1946–1949 and on particular techniques developed at the University of Manchester. These came together in a 1948 prototype called the Small-Scale Experimental Machine, or simply *The Baby*. With government encouragement, this Baby was picked up and nurtured by Ferranti Ltd., a well-established Manchester electrical engineering firm. Chap. 1 provides the historical background to these events, with supporting technological details being conveniently confined to Chaps. 14, 15 and 16. It is no surprise that world-renowned luminaries such as John von Neumann and Alan Turing appear in these pages.

The transfer of technologies from academia to industry and the establishment of Ferranti's computer production resources are covered in Chaps. 2 and 4. A giant machine was being created that, to quote Ferranti's Computing Department Manager, contained "about 4,000 valves [thermionic tubes], 2,500 capacitors, 15,000 resistors, 100,000 soldered joints, six miles of wire and consumed 27 kW of power In point of fact, no one knew what the problems of maintenance would be, and the solution of these problems, together with that of improving the general efficiency, gave rise to a considerable amount of difficulty". In Chap. 4 we see that one set of solutions to the Mark I's software inefficiencies was incorporated into an upgraded version called the Mark I* (*Mark One star*).

They were exacting times for those whose lives were touched by the project. As one of the Ferranti programmers remembered, "It was a very good team—very exciting! And we were a good group, too, socially". The programs being written were largely applied to science and engineering applications, though the human side occasionally shone through: computer music, computer games and even the generation of love letters.

The Ferranti Mark I and Mark I* computers were proving difficult to sell to business and commerce. They were extremely expensive and their input/output facilities were at first ill-suited to accounting and management sectors dominated by punched-card equipment. Chapter 5 describes Ferranti's efforts to adapt and to introduce new products. Here and in Chap. 18 are presented the performance, cost and sales statistics of rival machines emanating from both UK and American computer manufacturers. 1955 was the critical year in which competitor computers began to appear.

The sales of early Ferranti computers were largely to government establishments, with defence applications predominating as the clouds of the Cold War loomed overhead. The UK's Ministry of Supply was the procurement entity responsible for

the installation of Ferranti computers at the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) at Cheltenham, the Armaments R & D Establishment at Fort Halstead in Kent and at the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston. The decisions, installations, applications, personalities and final shut-down of Ferranti Mark I* computers at these three locations are fully covered in Chaps. 10–12. The stories cover relevant requirements over the period 1945–1967.

Government funding secured the delivery of Ferranti Mark I computers at two Universities: Manchester and Toronto. The decisions, installations, applications, personalities and final shut-down of machines at these two sites are covered in Chaps. 2, 3 and 13. Another site with university and national Research Council connections was the Istituto Nazionale per le Applicazioni Calcolo (INAC) in Rome. The deployment and use of the Ferranti Mark I* at INAC is described in Chap. 9.

The Ferranti Mark I* ordered by the Amsterdam Laboratories of the Shell company in December 1952 is believed to have been the first computer in the world to be bought as a commercial venture rather than with direct or indirect government funding. The choice of this machine, its installation and its impact are covered in Chap. 8.

Both in the UK and in America, the aerospace industry was the first market sector to adopt the new type of digital computer with enthusiasm. Ferranti Mark I* machines were installed at the Chadderton factory of A. V. Roe (of Avro Lancaster and Avro Vulcan fame) and at the Ansty factory of Armstrong Siddeley Motors in, respectively, early 1956 and October 1957. The lives and times of these computers are covered in Chaps. 6 and 7. Since these two companies were largely working on government defence contracts, the Ferranti Mark I* installations can be said to have been partly financed by indirect government funds.

As for Ferranti, where did it all end? How did the company progress from being the first and largest British computer manufacturer in the early 1950s to losing its mainframe computer department in 1963 and finally becoming extinct in 1993? The saga, which covers successors to the Mark I series such as Pegasus, Mercury, Orion and Atlas, is revealed progressively in Chaps. 4, 5 and 13. Finally, the names and personal anecdotes of many of Ferranti's unsung employees from the Mark I days are rounded up in Chap. 17.

In summary, enjoy the photographs and enjoy the emerging hardware and software technologies and their applications but, above all, enjoy the personal reminiscences of those who made many small but useful contributions to the promotion of the modern computer in the decade from 1948.

Ipswich, UK

Simon Lavington

Acknowledgements

The author is especially fortunate to have established contact with a heroic band of former Ferranti employees, now in their nineties, who have come up with the personal anecdotes, original documents and photos which have breathed life into this book. Less heroically perhaps, but equally useful, has been the information given to the author by relatives of former Ferranti employees, two well-known computer pioneers and a couple of fellow historians. The following alphabetical list gives the names of all those to whom the author owes an especial thank you.

Judie Adnett, Peter Barnes, Reg Boor, Robin Bowden, Tony Brooker, Martin Campbell-Kelly, Andrea Celli, Olaf Chedzoy, Tony Comer, Sheila Cooper, Geraldine Cutler, Dai Edwards, Rosalie van Egmond, Allan Ellson, Brian Jeffrey, Len Hewett, Glynn Libberton, David Link, Margaret Marrs, Graham McLean, John McNamara, Jim Miles, Elisabetta Mori, Johnny Mudge, Ginny Murray, Gordon Pattison, James Peters, Tacye Phillipson, Alan Sercombe, Jan Shearsmith, Jonathan Swinton, Joan Travis, Len Whalley, Mike Williams, Onno Zweers.

Credits for image permissions are given towards the end of the book.

Contents

1	The Small Seeds of Innovation	1
1.1	Post-war Britain	1
1.2	Old-Style Computing	2
1.3	Ferranti Ltd. in the UK's Industrial Context	4
1.4	Ferranti: A Powerhouse of the Northwest	7
1.5	A Baby Is Born	9
1.6	The Amazingly Brief MOS Contract	14
1.7	The Wider Context	18
	References	18
2	Academic/Industrial Collaboration: From Chorlton-on-Medlock to Moston, and Back	21
2.1	The University Waits: People and Places	21
2.2	The Moston Team Gets to Work	26
2.3	The New Computing Machine Laboratory	31
2.4	The Giant Arrives	32
2.5	The Laboratory Prepares for Serious Users	36
2.6	External Users Arrive	38
2.7	Applications in Science, Engineering and Commerce	41
2.8	Music, Games and Romance	43
2.9	Getting Serious	47
	References	48
3	Canada Calling: Toronto Gets a Mark I.	49
3.1	The Ministry of Supply Needs Some Computers	49
3.2	The Canadian Computing Scene	51
3.3	UTEC: Toronto's Home-Grown Computer	54
3.4	Toronto Orders a Ferranti Computer	56
3.5	FERUT's Sea Voyage from Manchester to Toronto	59
3.6	Continuing Links with Manchester	62

3.7	The Saint Lawrence Seaway Calculations	64
3.8	FERUT in Action	66
3.9	The End of FERUT	69
	References	70
4	A Star Is Born: Ideas and Upgrades	73
4.1	The Tin Hut	73
4.2	John Bennett Calls for Change	78
4.3	Reactions from Chorlton-on-Medlock and Cheltenham	79
4.4	Christopher Strachey's Rocket	81
4.5	Moston's Star Twinkles	84
4.6	London's Star: A Different Galaxy	87
	References	93
5	Into the Market	95
5.1	The Players and the Stage	96
5.2	Indecisions and the Three MOS Installations	98
5.3	The Wider Market: NRDC's Encouragement	99
5.4	The Dutch and the Italians Come Calling	103
5.5	The Competition	105
5.6	Ferranti's Aerospace Sales Efforts	108
5.7	Commercial Data-Processing	112
5.8	The Drift Away from Moston	117
	References	121
6	The AVRO Mark I* Installation at Chadderton	123
6.1	A. V. Roe at Chadderton, Manchester	123
6.2	Avro's Computing Environment, Digital and Analogue	124
6.3	Personal Anecdotes of Computing at Chadderton	127
6.4	The Silent Slave	132
6.5	System Software and Applications Programs	134
6.6	The End of the Ferranti Mark I* at Avro	135
6.7	What came next at Chadderton and Woodford?	140
	References	142
7	The Mark I* at Armstrong Siddeley, Ansty, Coventry	143
7.1	Reluctance at Armstrong Siddeley Motors	143
7.2	Enthusiasm Grows	144
7.3	Installation and Maintenance	146
7.4	The Programmers at Armstrong Siddeley	150
7.5	Integrating Computing Within the Company's Activities	152

7.6	Applications	153
7.7	Acquiring a Second Mark I*	155
7.8	What Came Next?	157
	References	159
8	The Ferranti Mark I* Installation in Amsterdam	161
8.1	KSLA, the Shell Company's Laboratories in Amsterdam	161
8.2	Shell's Search for a Digital Computer	162
8.3	The MIRACLE Arrives	165
8.4	MIRACLE Gets to Work and Expands	170
8.5	Lidy's Story	175
8.6	The End of MIRACLE and What Followed	179
	References	182
9	The Ferranti Mark I* Installation in Rome	183
9.1	The Italian Scenario	183
9.2	INAC and FINAC in Rome	184
9.3	FINAC at Work	190
9.4	The Wider Picture	196
9.5	How Did It All End?	197
	References	199
10	GCHQ Cheltenham's Mark I*	201
10.1	US and UK SIGINT at the Start of the Cold War	201
10.2	The Possibilities of General-Purpose Computers	203
10.3	Comparing ATLAS and ABNER with the Ferranti Mark I*	207
	10.3.1 The ERA ATLAS Project	207
	10.3.2 The ASA ABNER Project	208
	10.3.3 Technical Comparisons of the Three Computers	210
10.4	GCHQ's Links with UK Industry, Especially Ferranti Ltd	212
10.5	Delivery of CLEOPATRA, GCHQ's Ferranti Mark I*	215
10.6	The Possible Applications of CLEOPATRA	218
10.7	Comparative Rates of Computation: Oedipus	221
10.8	What Followed CLEOPATRA at Cheltenham?	222
	References	223
11	The Mark I* at the Armaments Research Development Establishment, Fort Halstead	225
11.1	Armaments Research, Pre-war and Post-war	225
11.2	Arranging the Purchase of a Computer for Fort Halstead	226
11.3	Installation of AMOS; Early Computing Activity	227
11.4	The Maturing Applications of AMOS	230

11.5	COSMOS, A Compatible Successor to AMOS	232
11.6	Into the 1980s	236
	References	237
12	The Mark I* at the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment, Aldermaston	239
12.1	Preparing for the UK's Nuclear Deterrent	239
12.2	Aldermaston Acquires a Mark I*	240
12.3	The End of the Mark I* at Aldermaston	244
12.4	What Came Next? the Supercomputer Race	244
12.5	Software Activity at AWRE	246
	References	249
13	What Came Next?	251
13.1	The New Life at Dover Street	251
13.2	The Computer Becomes User-Friendly	255
13.3	Goodbye Mark I, Goodbye FC	259
13.4	Ferranti and Supercomputers	263
13.5	From Ferranti via ICT and ICL to Oblivion	267
13.6	Any Star Dust Left Today?	269
	References	272
14	Appendix A. Baby's Conception: The Back Story	273
14.1	Computer History: The Wider Context	273
14.2	Max Newman's Plans for a Computing Machine Laboratory	276
14.3	Willis Jackson and Max Newman's BP Hardware	284
14.4	Alan Turing and the ACE Connection	287
14.5	Albert Uttley and the TRE Connection	289
14.6	Jack Good and the Princeton Connection	290
14.7	Conclusions on Conceptions	296
	References	298
15	Appendix B. Mark I and Mark I* Software Details	299
15.1	Notations and the 5-Bit Teleprinter Code	299
15.2	Instruction Format and Programmer-Accessible Registers	301
15.3	Further Explanation of the Mark I Instruction Set	307
15.4	Storage Organisation: Primary and Secondary Memory	310
15.5	Basic System Software	312
15.6	Alan Turing's Formal Mode: An Embryonic Operating System?	315
15.7	The Mark I Operator's Console	316
15.8	Instruction Speeds for the Ferranti Mark I	318
15.9	Automatic Coding and Autocodes	318
15.10	Instruction-Set Differences Between the Ferranti Mark I and Mark I*	319

15.11	Number Representation and the Instruction Set for the Ferranti Mark I*	320
15.12	The Input Routine for the Ferranti Mark I*	325
15.13	Other Systems Software for the Ferranti Mark I*	326
	References	330
16	Appendix C. Mark I and Mark I* Hardware Details	331
16.1	Physical Layout of Sub-units in the Ferranti Mark I	331
16.2	Register-Level Architecture	334
16.3	Circuit Technology	335
16.4	Storage Technology	336
16.5	Input/Output Equipment	340
16.6	Power Supplies	341
16.7	Reliability	342
16.8	Later Hardware Modifications	343
	References	344
17	Appendix D. Naming Names	345
17.1	Ferranti Engineers Working on the Mark I and Mark I*	346
17.2	Ferranti Programmers	352
17.3	Comparison with Other UK Industrial Programming Groups	358
17.4	Relevant Manchester University Staff	361
17.4.1	The Early Days of Ferranti Collaboration	361
17.4.2	Later Collaborations with Ferranti Ltd	364
	References	366
18	Appendix E. Performance, Cost and Delivery Details of Other Computers	367
18.1	Analysis of UK Computer Deliveries, 1955–1957	367
18.2	American and British High Performance Computers, 1954–1964	367
	Picture Credits	373
	References	377
	Name Index	383
	Subject Index	387