

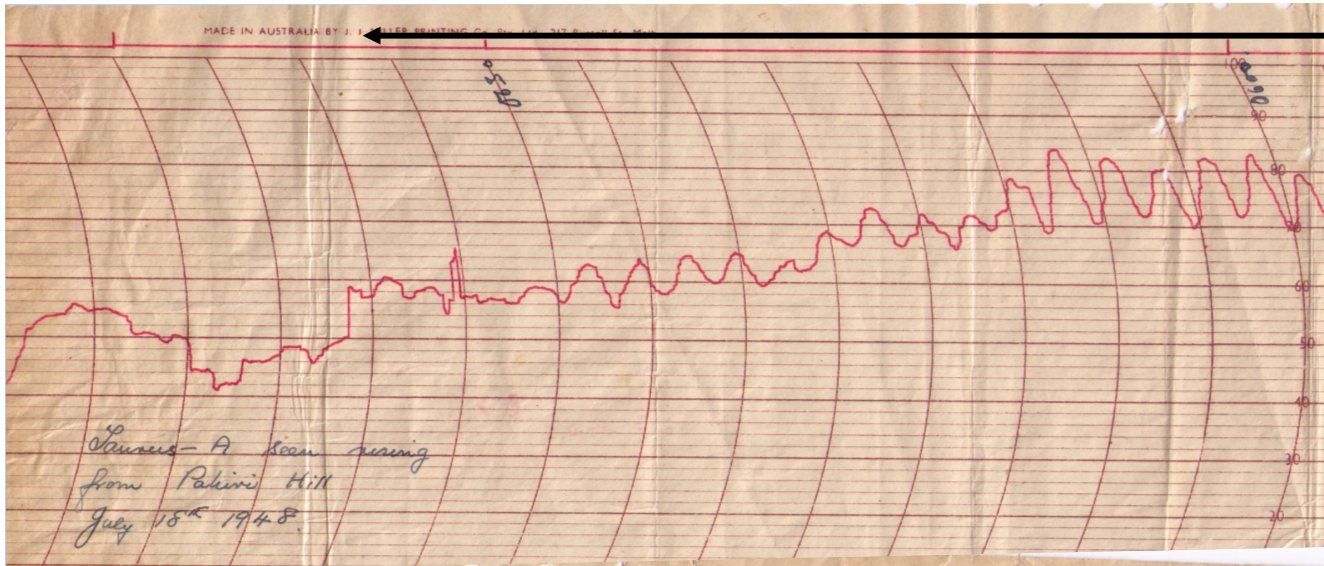
The Intellectual and Technical Ancestry of Miller's Early Career

Woodruff T. Sullivan, III
(woody@astro.washington.edu)
University of Washington

Millerfest, Durango 19 May 2011

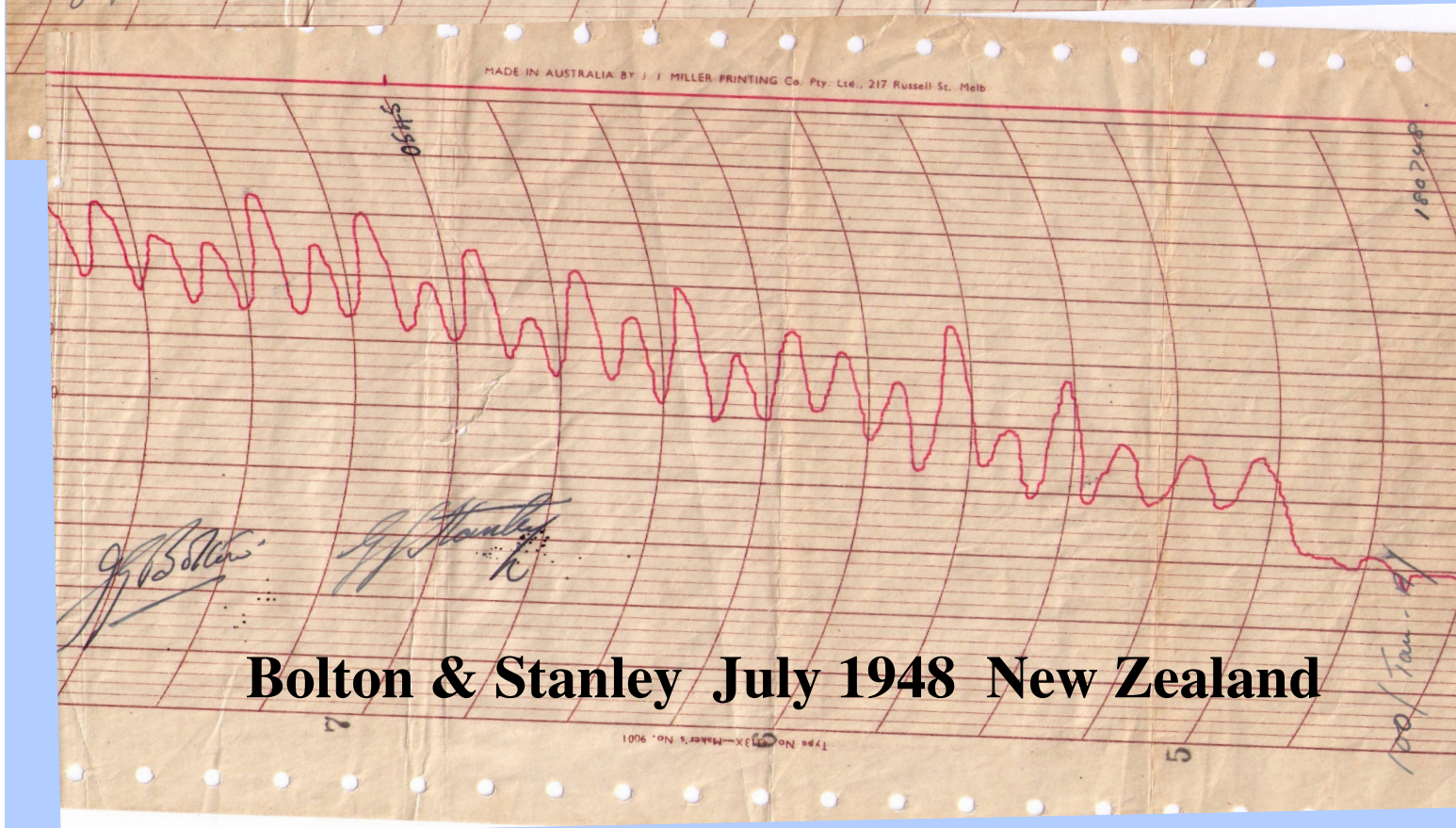
Miller has gotten the history bug





1 hr

fringes for Taurus A



Bolton & Stanley July 1948 New Zealand

ASTRONOMERS *in TURMOIL*

By Otto Struve

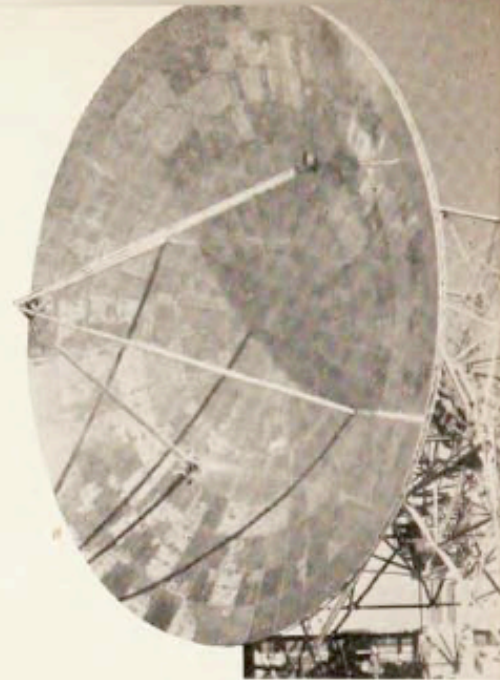
THE great upheaval in science, which began with chemistry and physics a quarter of a century ago, has recently penetrated the field of astronomy and caused a state of turbulence, uncertainty, and chaotic expansion unknown in the history of mankind. On October 4, 1957, the first Russian sputnik was thrust into an orbit around the earth and the words "exploration of space" replaced the ancient word astronomy.

The explosion which we are witnessing today is mainly due to the sudden recognition by our people of the importance of what the popular writers call the conquest of space. It is characterized by the creation of large research centers such as those controlled by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the National Science Foundation and by government spending of very large sums of money for the support of research and training of personnel. This expansion in terms of large and expensive research tools cannot by itself generate a corresponding expansion in terms of ideas. But I believe that we are in fact living in a period of vigorous, though much more

pansions produce an impressive flow of new knowledge. But will a future historian be able to apply to our era what C. P. Haskins has recently said about the age of Newton: "Surely there has never been a greater period in the history of science than that of Newton. The time of his most important work, the mid-seventeenth century, has perhaps never been surpassed in the sheer brilliance and variety of its intellectual and cultural contributions. These were the years of the founding of the Royal Society and the French Academy, and of the works of a host of brilliant innovators in fields ranging from science through literature and all the arts."*? Or will he be more impressed by the purely technical side of mid-twentieth century science, by the team work of many competent but not especially brilliant scientists, by the evident confusion of ideas, by the competitive aspects of our research and its political overtones?

Let us consider some of the effects of this rapid transformation.

The Number of Astronomers Is Inadequate





(Miller was actually alive when cars were like this!)

Otto Struve in 1955

(1st NRAO Director, 1959)

Miller's world-line in a nutshell

1941 - North Carolina

1963 - Davidson College & Harvard

1967 - PhD, U. California, Berkeley

1967 - Radiophysics, Sydney

1970 - MPI Radioastronomie, Bonn (via sailboat *Cygnus A*)

1972 - Kapteyn Lab, Groningen

1974 - back to Sydney

1977 - back to Groningen

1986 - NRAO, Socorro (VLA)

2011 - Durango

OH ABSORPTION IN THE GALAXY*

W. MILLER GOSS†

Radio Astronomy Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley

Received April 26, 1967

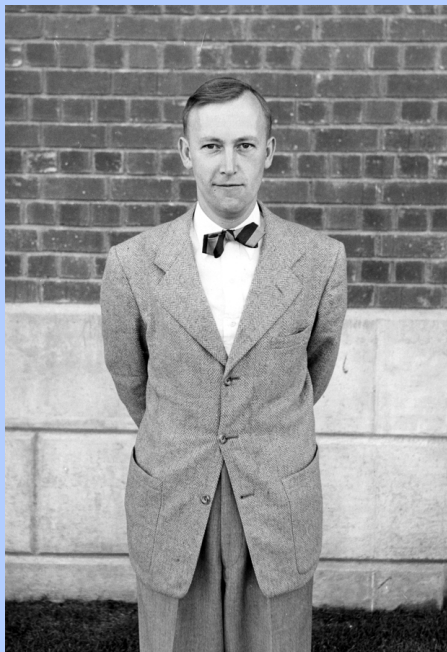
ABSTRACT

A survey of northern hemisphere radio sources for 18-cm OH absorption has been completed using the 85-foot Hat Creek telescope of the University of California. The observations were made with the 100-channel receiver with frequency resolutions of 10 kHz (1.8 km/s) and 2 kHz (0.36 km/s).

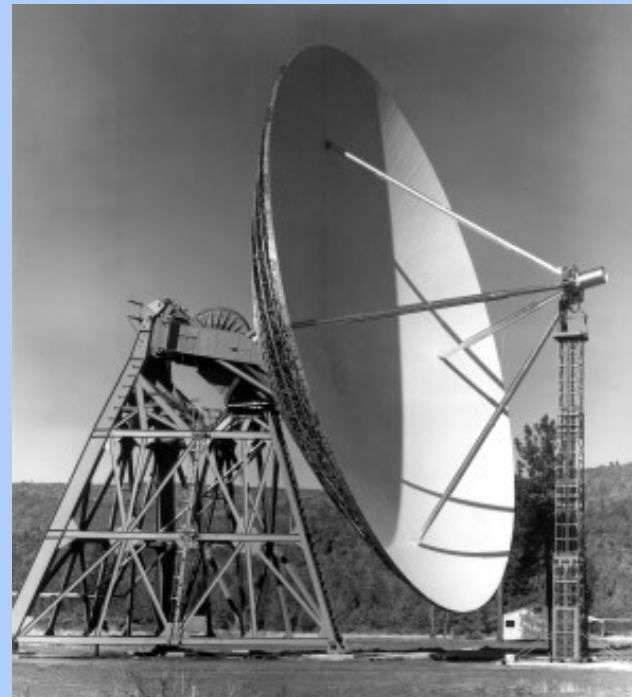
Galactic OH absorption lines have been found in 26 galactic sources and two extragalactic sources (W7 and Cyg A): W1 (NGC 7822), W9 (Tau A), W10 (Orion A), W12 (NGC 2024), W14 (IC 443), W22 (NGC 6357), W28, W29 (M8), W30, W31, W33, W35 (NGC 6604), W37 (M16), W38 (M17), W41, W42, W43, W44, W47, W66, W67, W69, W72, W73, W80 (NGC 7000), and W81 (Cas A). Four of these

* Based on a thesis submitted to the University of California, Berkeley, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree.

† Now at C.S.I.R.O. Radiophysics, Sydney, Australia.



Harold Weaver
1948



Hat Creek
85-ft
1962

Parkes 210-ft dish 1961



Frank Kerr
at the controls



URSI Sydney 1952



Chris

Smith

Mills

Hanbury Brown

Ruby Payne-Scott

Bolton

MPI f RA - Effelsberg 100-m dish (1972)



homologous deformation

Westerbork Synthesis Radio Telescope

1970 (10 + 2) 25-m dishes





Key early projects & collaborators & mentors

1967 - *Rev. Mod. Phys.* on “R.A. & ISM” (Dieter)

1967 - OH absorption survey (thesis, advisor: Weaver)

1970 - 408 & 5000 MHz galactic plane survey (Shaver)

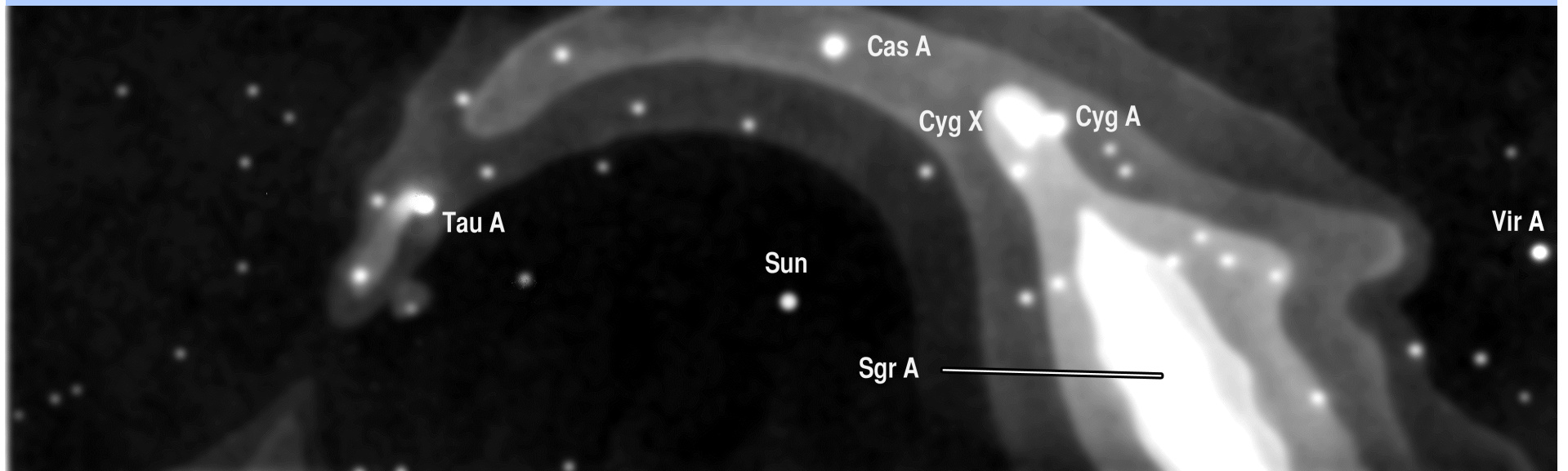
**- the 2 N. Americans help peace to be made between
Mills (U. Sydney) and Radiophysics (Robinson)**

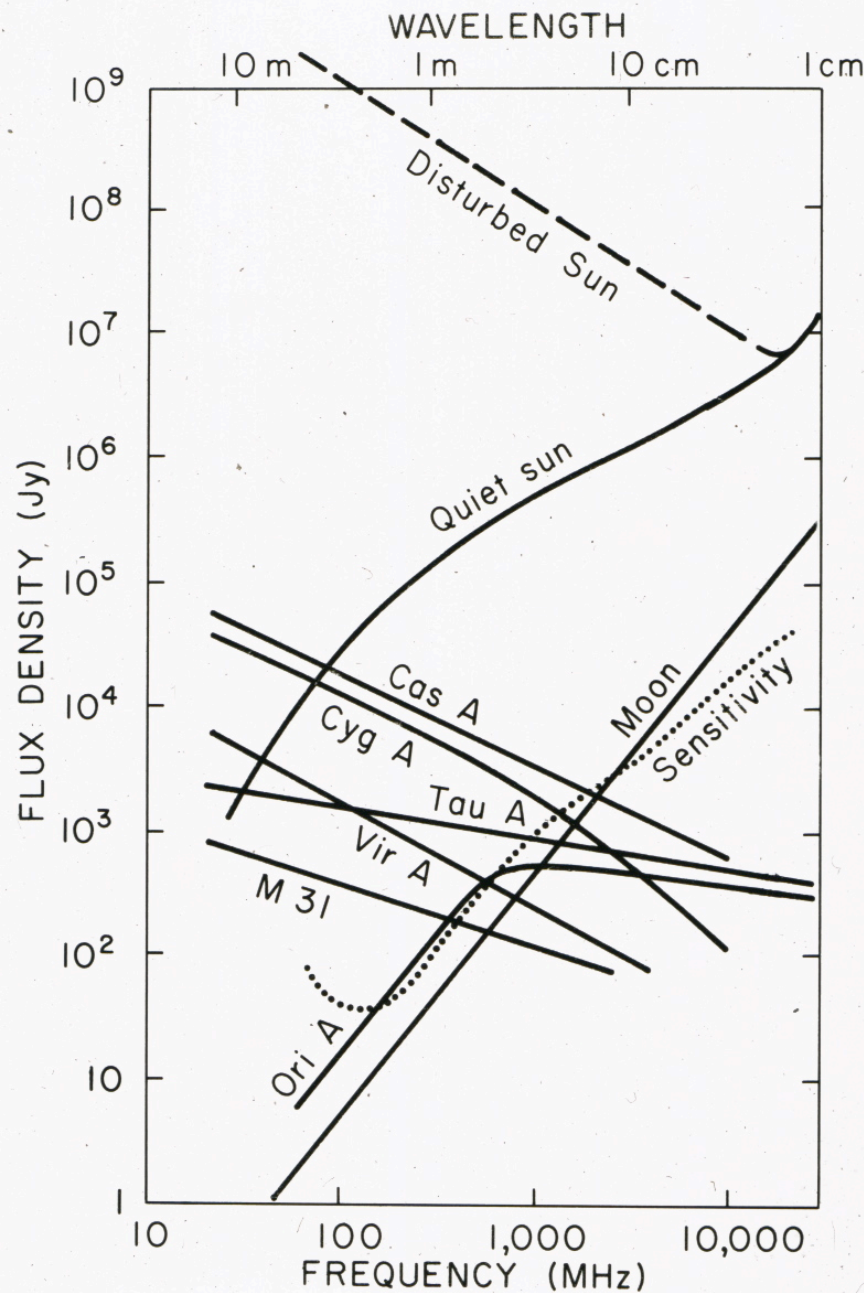
1970 - OH galactic plane survey (Robinson & Manchester)

**1972 - Parkes H I interferometer (Radhakrishnan, Murray
Brooks, Schwarz) [interf. had been used by Ekers]**

- Christiansen & Frater also mentors for interf.)

The sky as viewed by *Homo radio*





- below 100 MHz, the sun is *not* the strongest source!

- at higher frequencies, most sources get weaker AND receiver sensitivity is much worse

Major historical themes and conclusions

- #1 - first observers had **trouble establishing their legitimacy**, but eventually were accepted as radio *astronomers* using radio *telescopes*, researchers who inadvertently invented “optical astronomy”
- radio astronomy turned out historically to be **only the first stage of the opening of the electromagnetic spectrum** - X-ray, IR, UV, and gamma ray windows all followed on and were much more easily incorporated into astronomy because of the path that radio astronomy had already blazed
- overall, I call this opening of the entire electromagnetic spectrum **the 20th century’s “New Astronomy”**, no less important than earlier New Astronomies of Galileo, Herschel, and the astrophysicists of the late 19th century, all triggered by new technologies

Other themes and conclusions

#2 - radio astronomers **did not create a new discipline**, but (slowly) merged into (traditional) astronomy

- they ironically sought to be part of a **visual culture** through

(a) striving to make radio images

(b) searching for optical identifications

(c) joining (visual) astronomy

#3 - Radio astronomy was “**Technoscience**” - impossible to say whether science led technology or vice versa

#4 - early radio astronomy was **shaped by World War II and by the Cold War**

Early Radio Astronomy


1939 - 1945

World War II

England, 1894-1901
Germany, France
Solar Hertzian waves (search) 2

Jansky (BTL) 31-35
33 - Galactic background 3

Reber 37-47
37 - Large dish
39-47 - Gal. Backgr
43 - Sun




4

Southworth (BTL) 42-43
Sun (quiet) 5.6

Van de Hulst (Leiden) 44
Predicts 21-cm line 16.1


Dicke (MIT Rad. Lab) 45
Sun, Moon 10.1


Hey (AORG) 42
Sun (outburst) 5.2


Hey (AORG) 45-47
England
45 - Meteors
46 - Discrete source


Alexander (NZ) 46
Sun 5.8

Lunar Radar 46
DeWitt (USA)
Bay (Hungary) 12

Cavendish Lab 46-
(Cambridge, England)
Ryle, Smith, Hewish
46 - Michelson
interferometer 50 - 1-D
Fourier map of sun
51 - Precise radio source
positions
52-3 - 2-D Fourier map of
sun 

Jodrell Bank 45-
(Manchester, England)
Lovell, Davies,
Hanbury Brown
47 - Daytime meteor
showers
52 - Intensity interferometer
53 - Cygnus A double



Radiophysics Lab 45 -
(Sydney, Australia)
Pawsey, Bowen, Payne-Scott,
Bolton, Wild, Mills, Christiansen
46 - Hot corona
46 - Sea-cliff interferometer
47-8 - Lunar radar, passive moon
49 - Radio sources optical ID
50 - I, II, III solar bursts
52-3 - Grating array; Cross
52-3 - 2-D Fourier map of sun



8

9


7


USSR 46-
(Moscow, Gorky,
Crimea)
Ginzburg, Shklovsky,
Khaykin, Troitsky
Theory
Solar eclipse (47)


Canada 46-
(NRC, Ottawa)
Covington, Millman,
McKinley
46 - Sun
47 - Meteor radar


France 48-
(ENS, Meudon)
Denisse, Steinberg,
Laffineur
49 - Solar eclipses
49 - Slowly varying
component


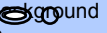
Japan 49-
(Tokyo, Osaka,
Nagoya)
Hatanaka, Oda,
Tanaka
Sun


Leiden, Holland 51-
Oort, Van de Hulst,
Muller
21-cm line
Galactic structure


Harvard 51, 53-
(USA)
Ewen, Purcell
21-cm line


Stanford 46-
(USA)
Villard, Manning
Meteor radar


NRL 46-
(USA)
Hagen, Haddock
Solar eclipses


Cornell 48-
(USA)
Seeger,
Williamson
Galactic
background
Sun


10.3

10.2, 11.3

10.4

10.5

16

21

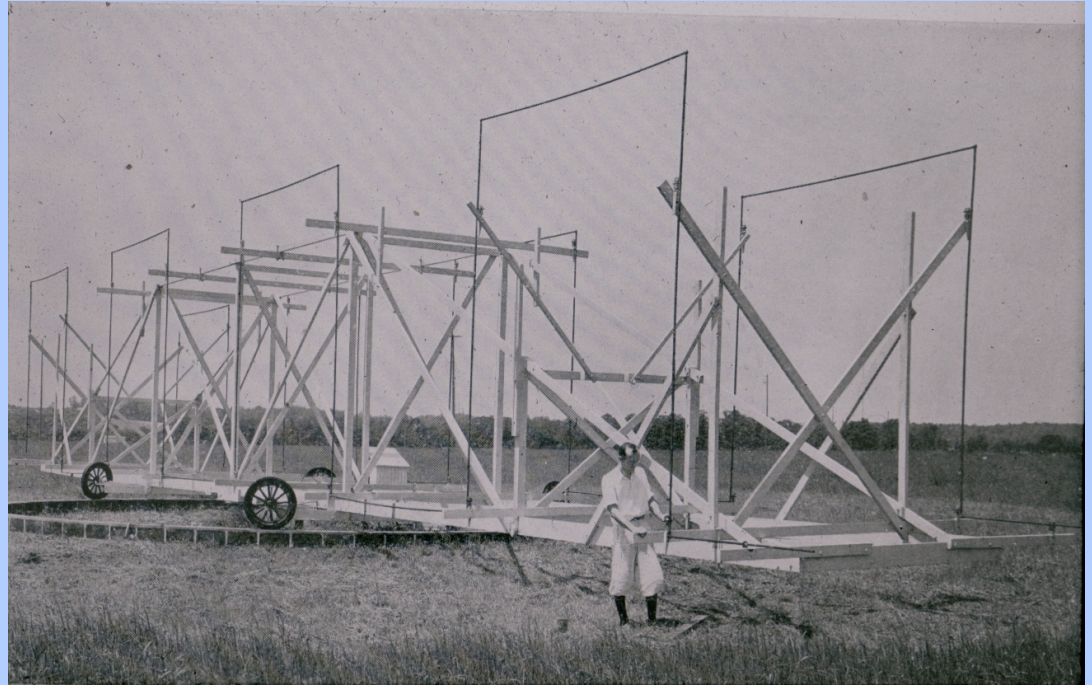
16

11.3

10.1

10.1

Karl Jansky 1932-35



Bruce array

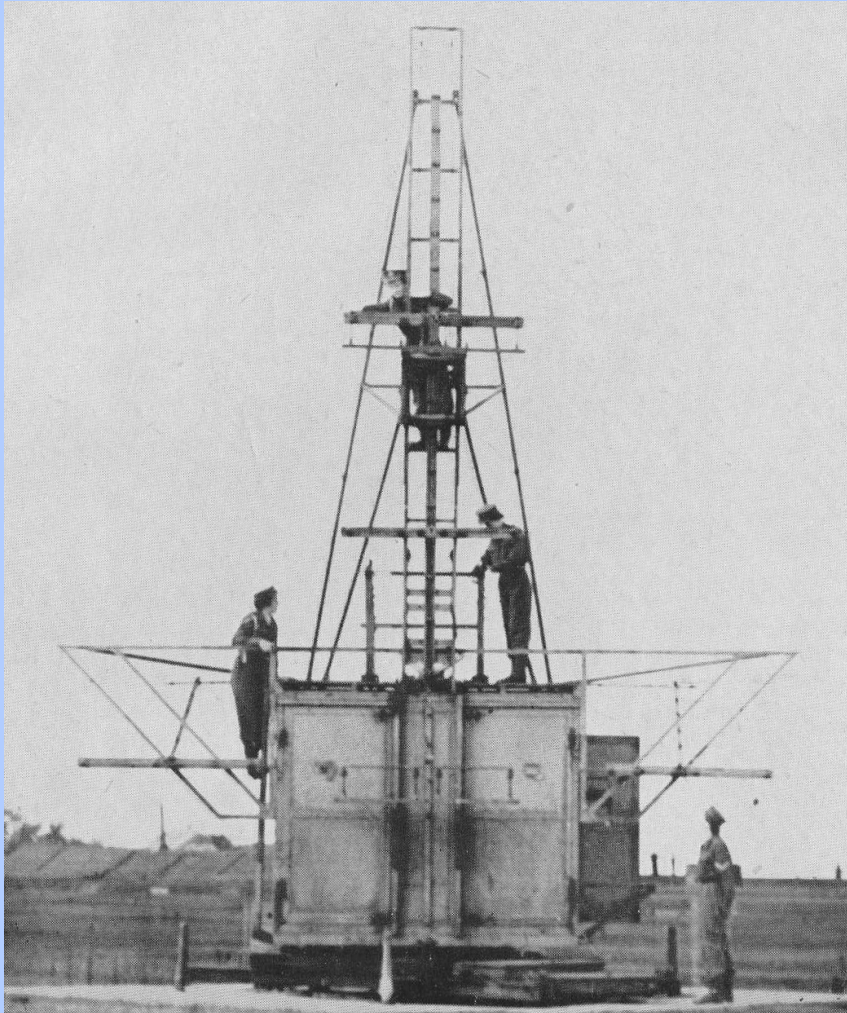
Grote Reber 1937-47

in his backyard, Wheaton, Illinois, USA



31-ft diam.
(8-meter)
paraboloid
“dish”

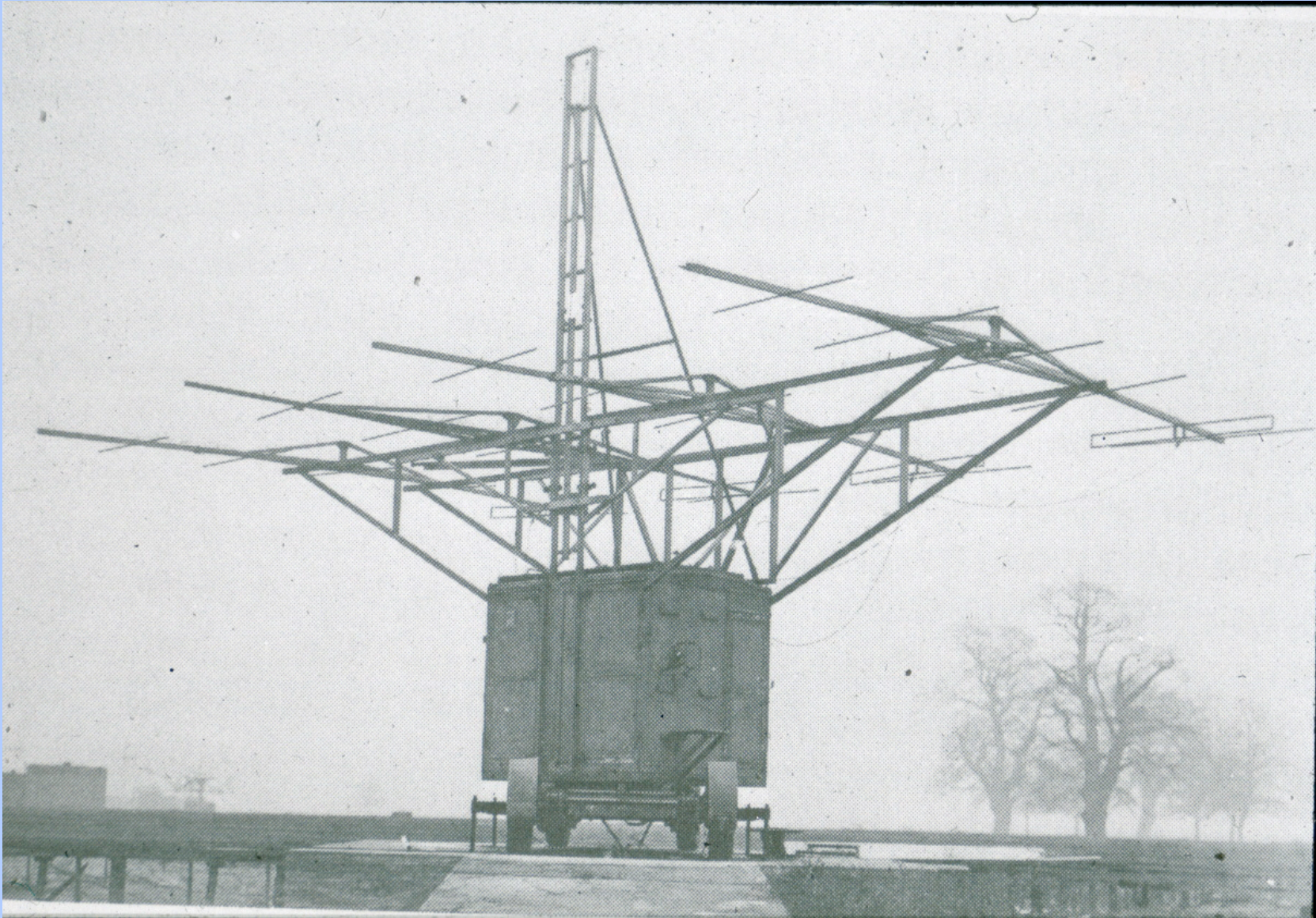
Detection of the Radio Sun - 1942



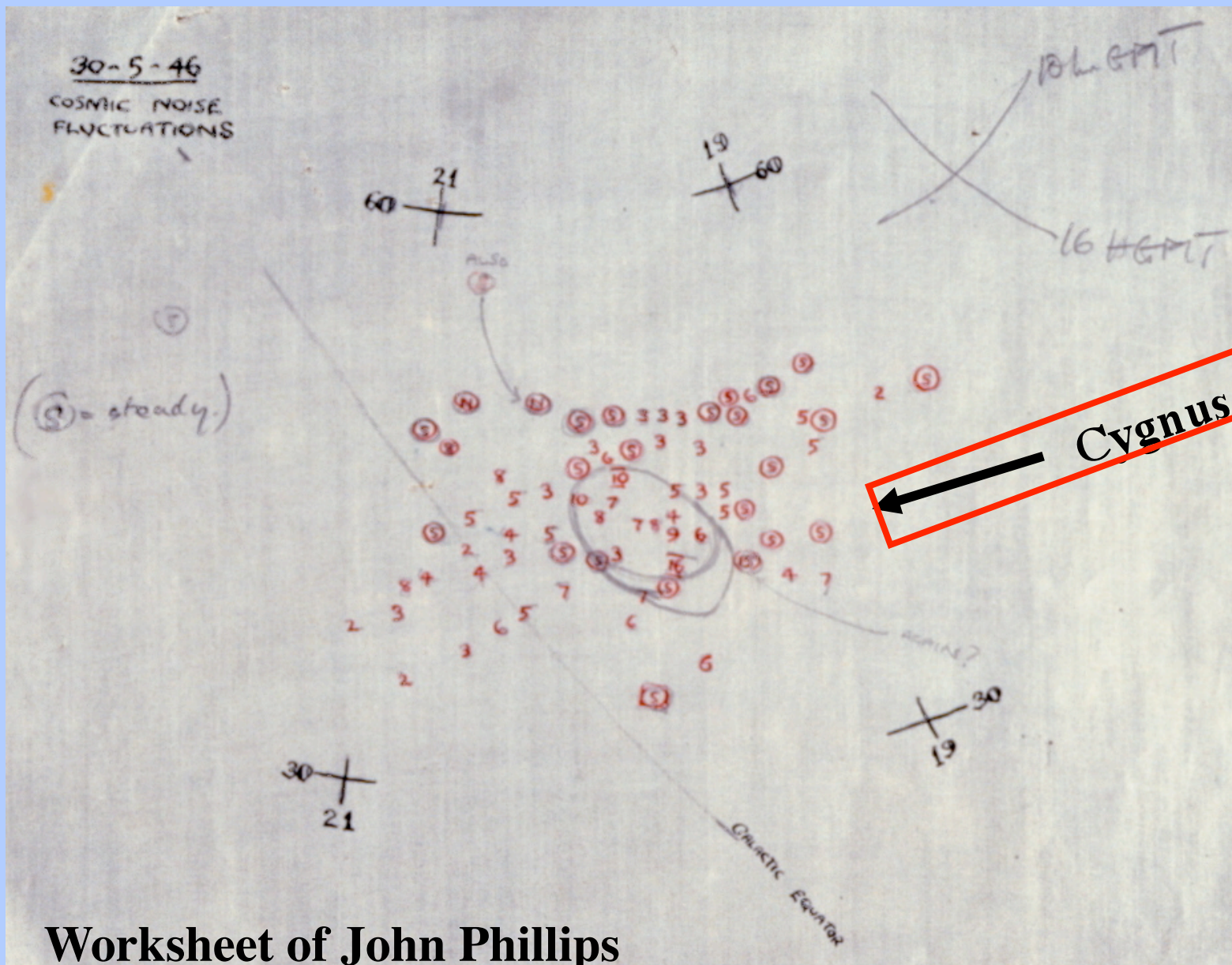
Army G.L. (Gun Laying) Mark II radar

John Stanley Hey

Hey's AORG team 1945-48
64 MHz (5 m) in Richmond Park, London



“Cosmic noise fluctuations 30 May 1946”



Worksheet of John Phillips

Meteor radar work Jodrell Bank 1946 to ~1960



Bernard Lovell's group
1952

The "searchlight aerial",
a steerable Yagi array

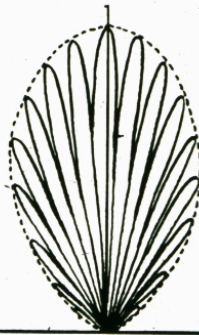


Martin Ryle at the Telecommunications Research Establishment 1939-45



Michelson Interferometer

FIG:1



Polar diagram of 2 element aerial systems with separation of 10λ .

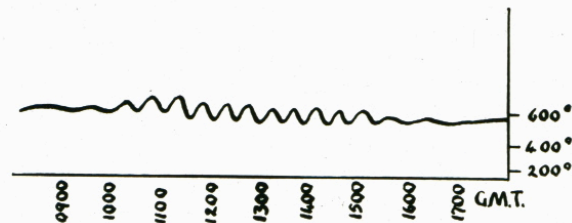


FIG:2

Record obtained with 10λ separation (17/6/46)

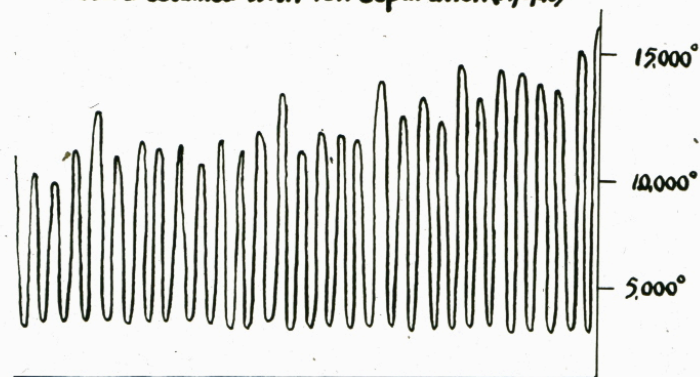
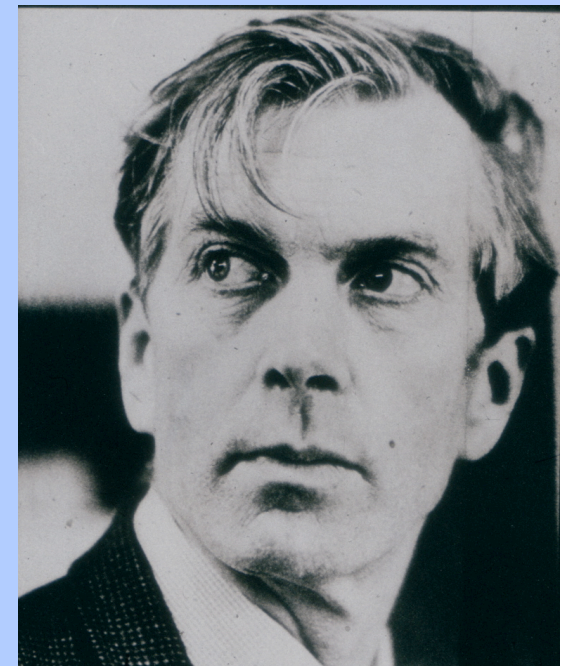


FIG:3

Record obtained with 140λ separation (26/7/46)

Sun with 10λ separation
($\lambda = 1.5$ m)

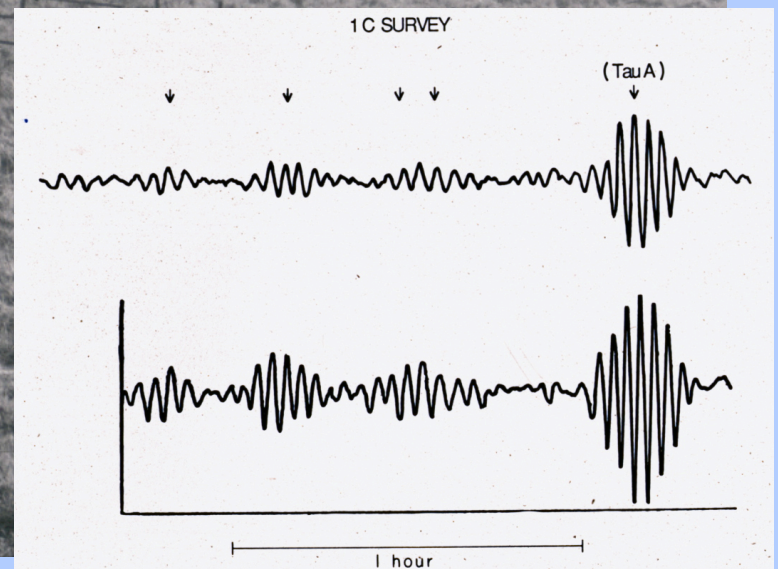
Sun with
 140λ separation



1946 *Nature*

The “Long Michelson”

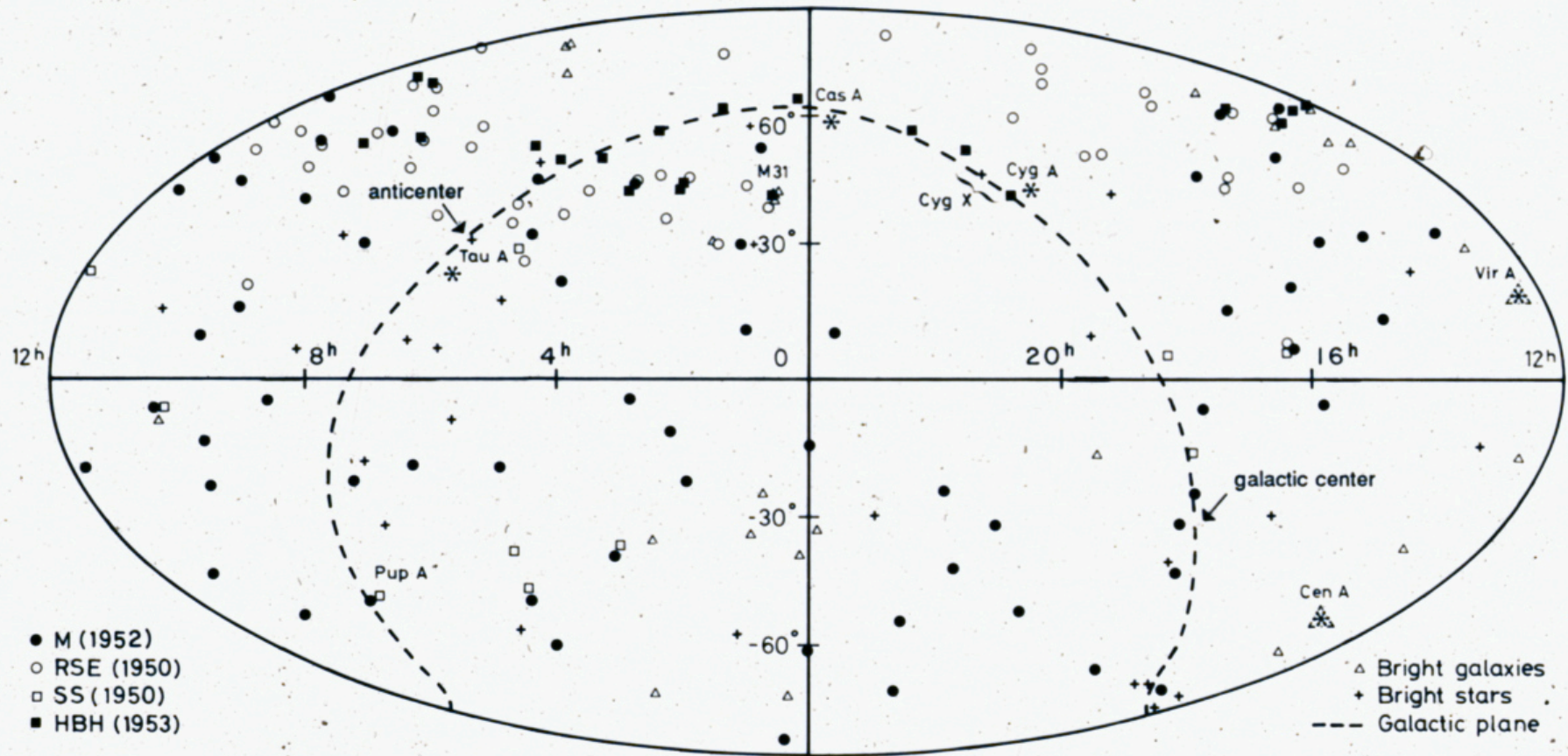
1C survey of 50 radio stars (1950) 81 MHz



Ryle's group - 1954

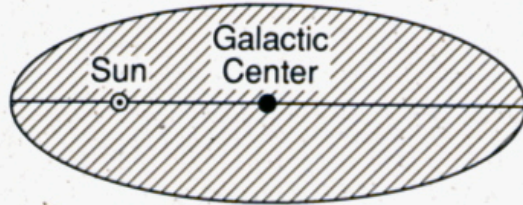


EARLY RADIO STAR SURVEYS



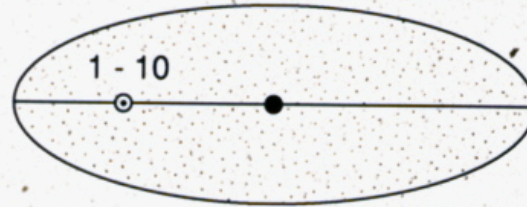
EARLY GALACTIC NOISE MODELS

Townes (1947)

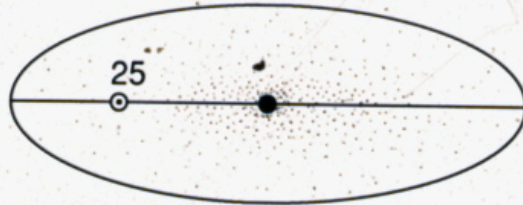


Ryle, Smith (1949 - 51)

Unsöld (1949)



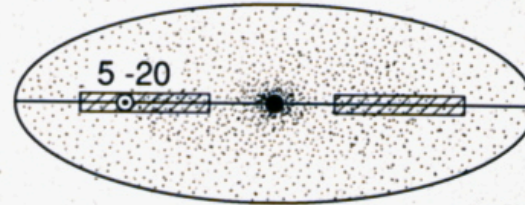
Bolton & Westfold (1951)
(+ isotropic component)



Westerhout & Oort (1951)

(+ isotropic component)

$\sim 10^{10}$ radio stars



Shklovsky (1952)

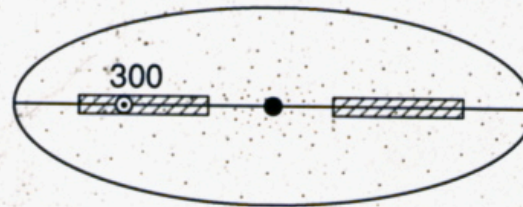
$\sim 10^{12-13}$ radio stars





Hanbury Brown & Hazard (1953)

(+ isotropic component)

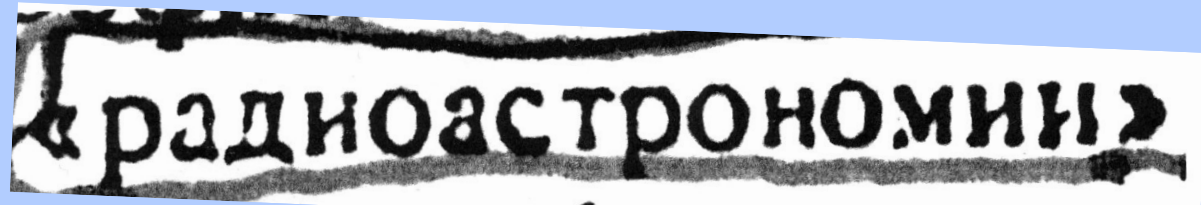
$\sim 10^5$ radio stars



 Hot Gas

 Radio Stars

Pause: The introduction of terminology can provide insight....



“radioastronomy”

- Ginzburg (1947), a review in *Uspekhi Fizicheskikh Nauk*

"The above....observations and analysis reveal great astrophysical, geophysical and radio-technical interest in 'radio astronomy' or 'radio astrophysics,' which we could call this new discipline."

1948

- Pawsey in a letter; then Ryle in a talk to the RAS followed by a short published review (Ryle also consulted his father about mixing up Latin and Greek derivatives)
- IAU sets up Commission 40 on “Radio Astronomy”

The adjective “astronomical” did *not* apply to radio matters:

“The ability to carry on one's observational research nearly independently of conditions of weather or of daylight appears peculiarly *unastronomical*.”

- Daniel Popper, 1952

“Detailed comparison of the radio observations with the *astronomical* data.”
[title of a section by Robert Hanbury Brown and Cyril Hazard (1952)]

Terminology reveals two groups of unequal status

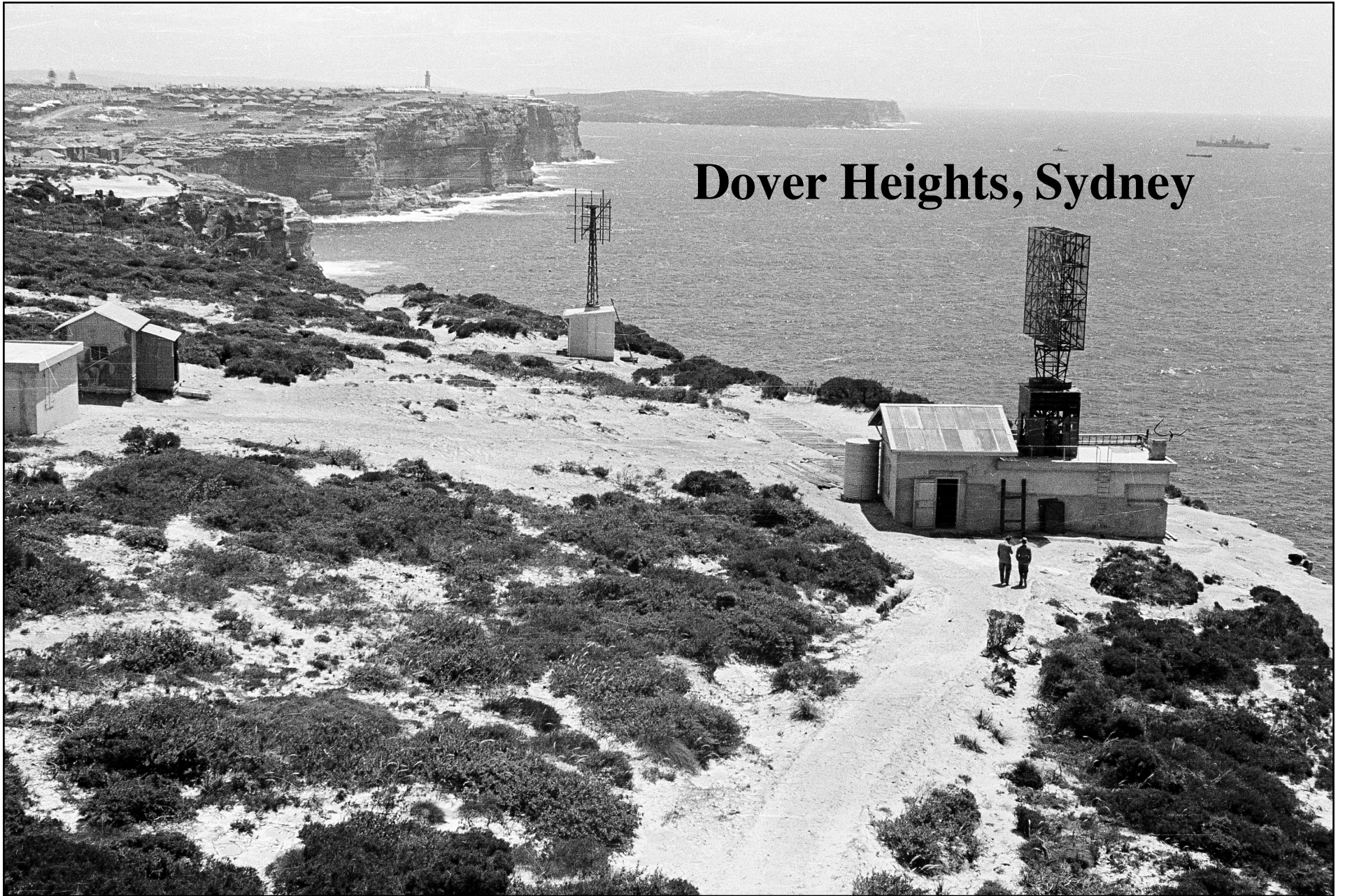
"radio engineers, radio physicists, radio-observing personnel, radio men, radio workers, radio technicians, electronic technicians, radio specialists, 'blind' astronomers, radio astronomers"

[the *blind* astronomers also did their *blind* astronomy using a *blind* telescope! (*New York Times*, 1952)]

Versus

"astronomers" or "astrophysicists," with rare qualifications such as "astronomers of the classical type, visual or photographic astronomers, astronomers in the traditional sense, general astronomers"

Dover Heights, Sydney





Typical air-warning
radar in Sydney region
(Dover Heights in 1941)

36 200-MHz dipoles

- first solar observations
of rising sun (1945-6)

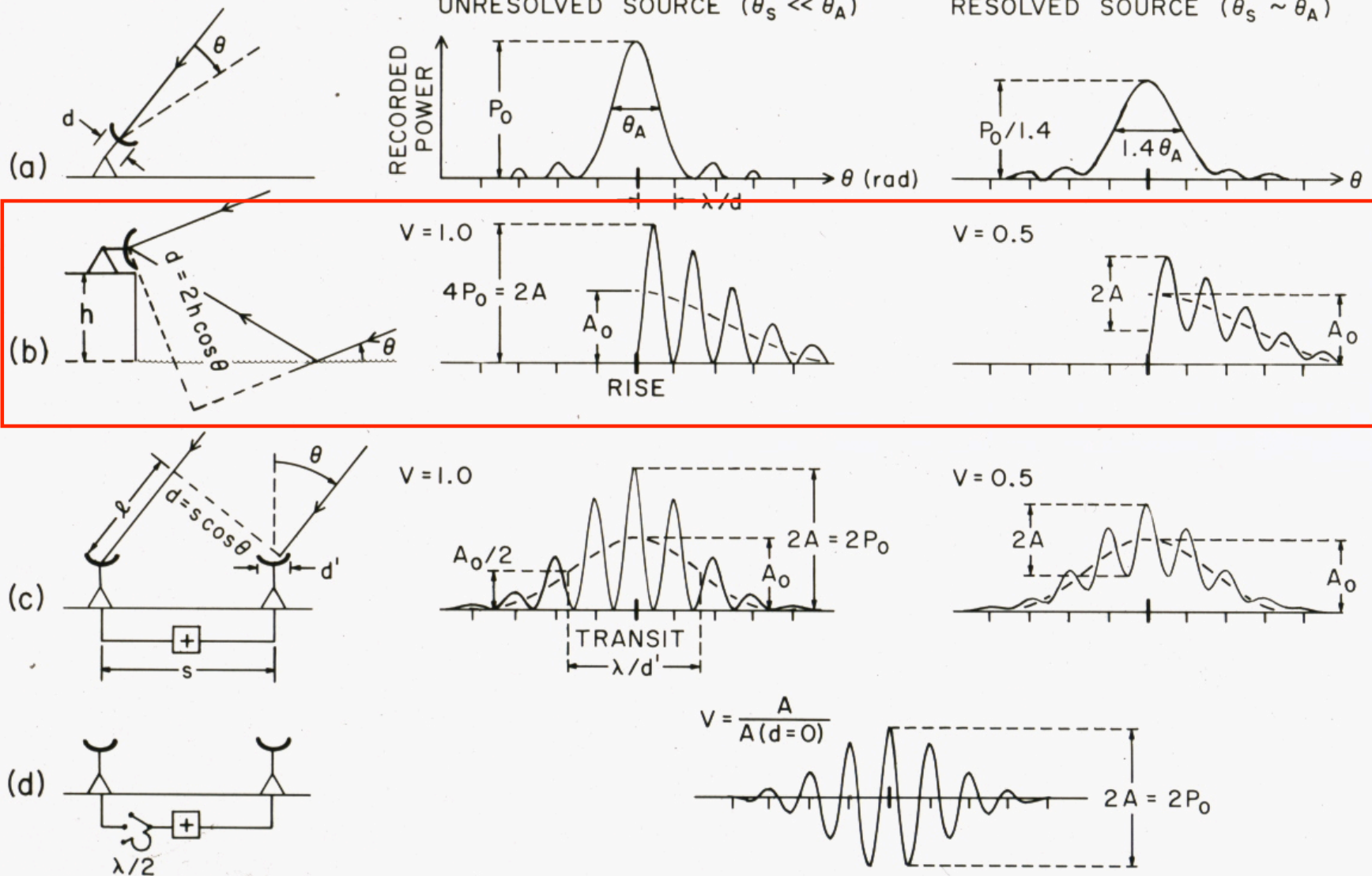
- Lloyd's Mirror effect,
or sea cliff interferometer

Joe Pawsey (d. 1962)

(Miller received the
Pawsey Medal in 1976)

Sea cliff interferometer (Lloyd's mirror)

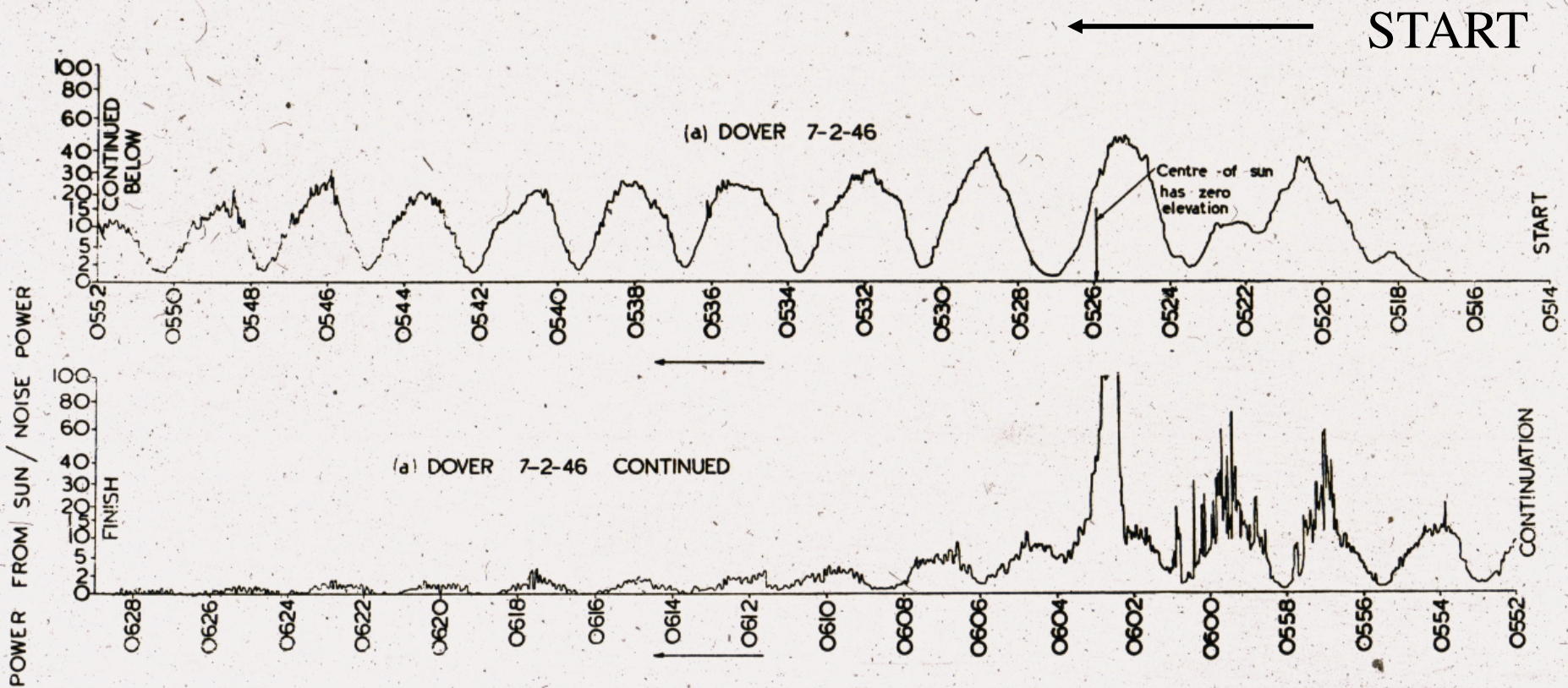
ANTENNA RESPONSES

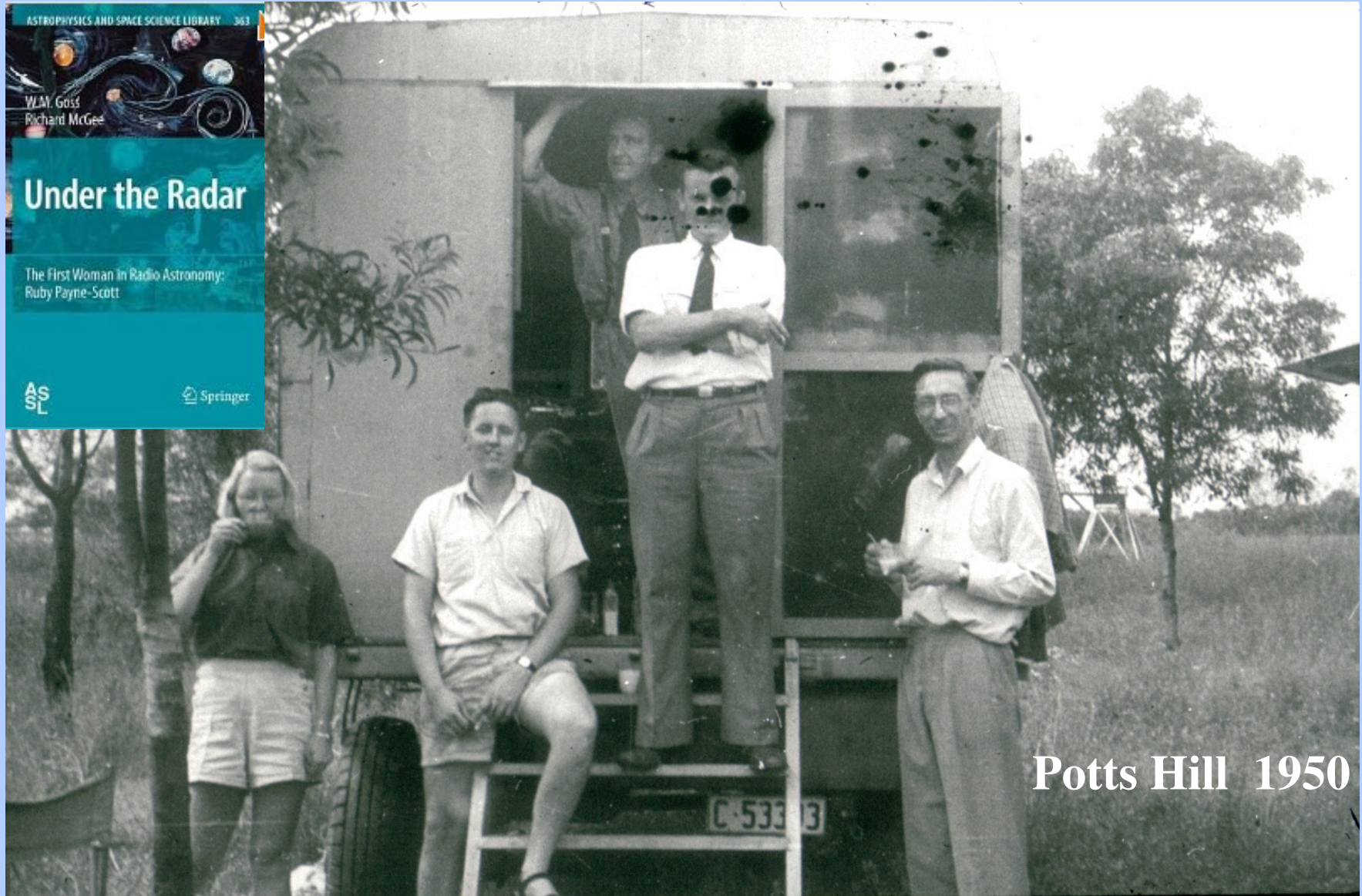
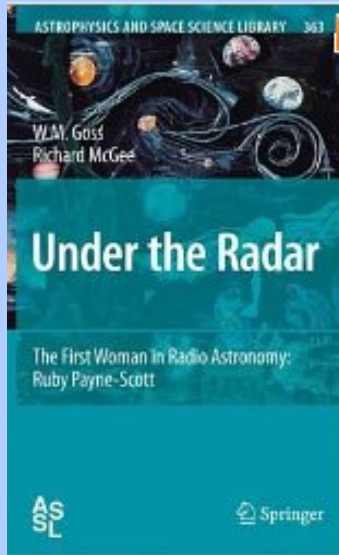


Sunrise on 7 Feb 1946

Pawsey, McCready & Payne-Scott (1947)

they stated the principle: $\text{image} = \text{FT}$ (fringe visibility)



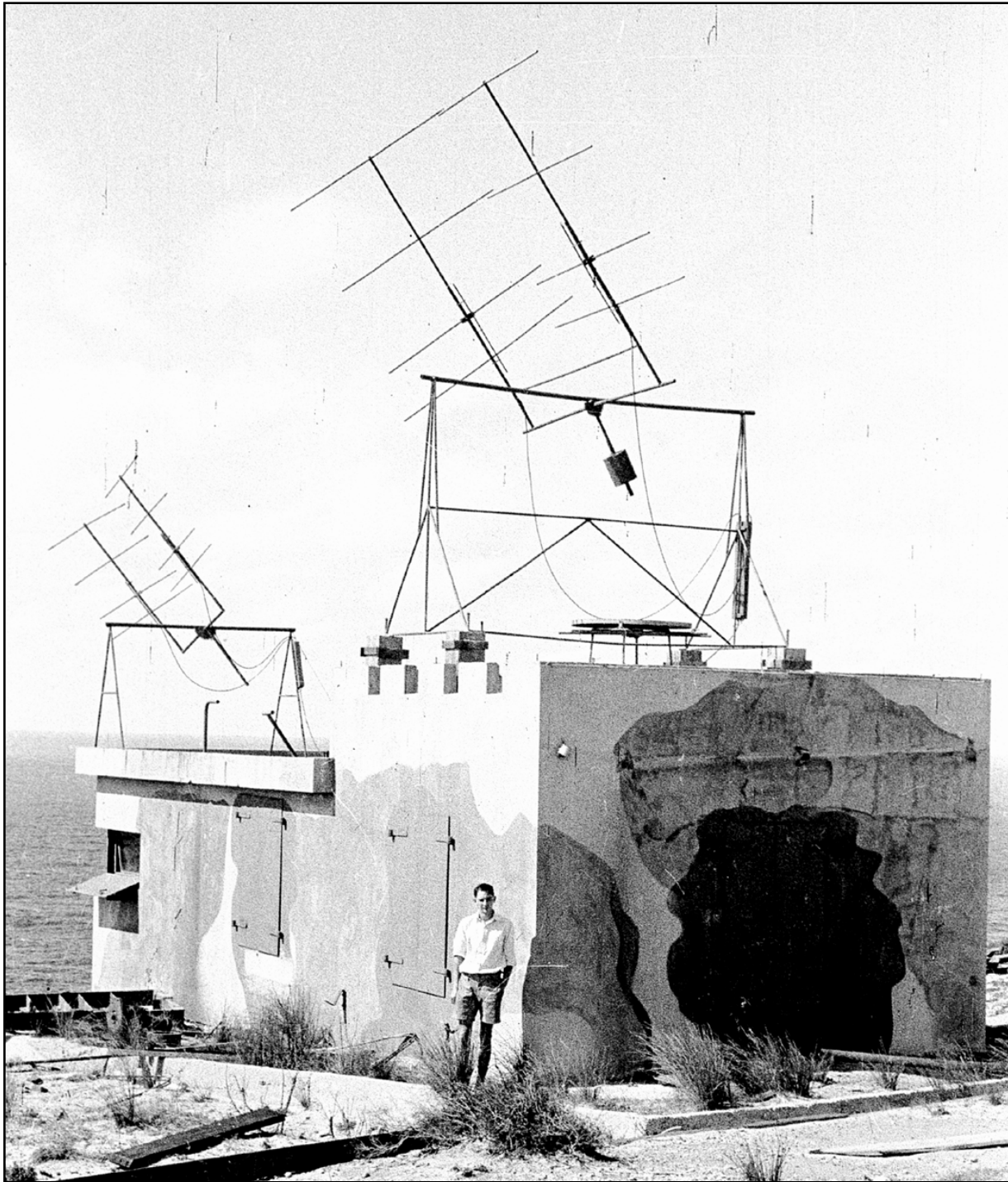


Potts Hill 1950

Ruby Payne-Scott

Alec Little

Joe Pawsey



Yagi aerials

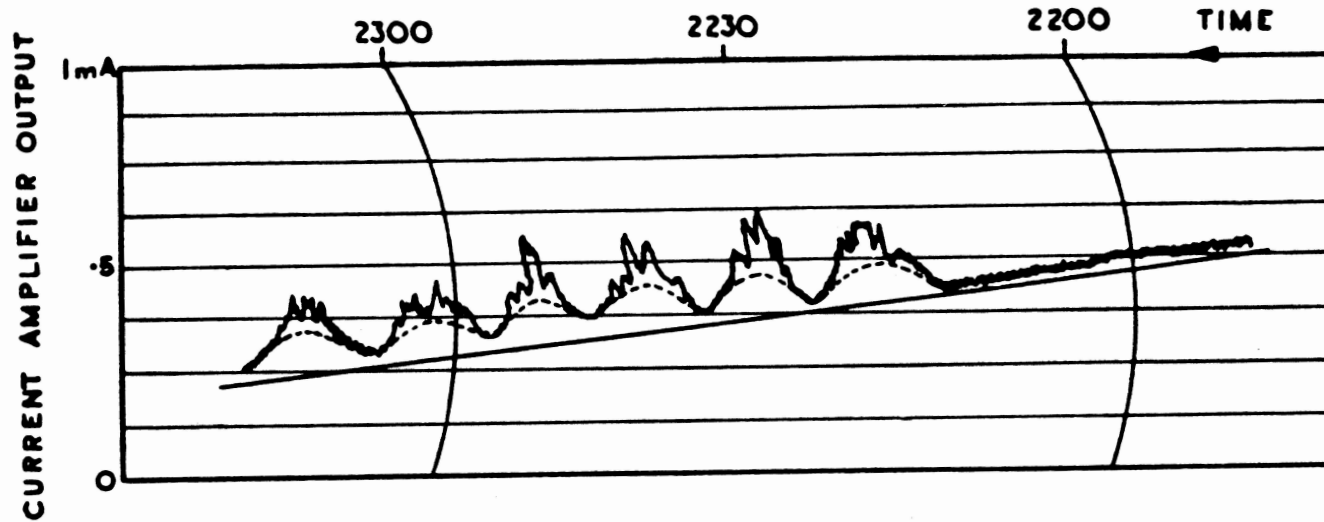
John Bolton

Dover Heights

Sydney 1946-48

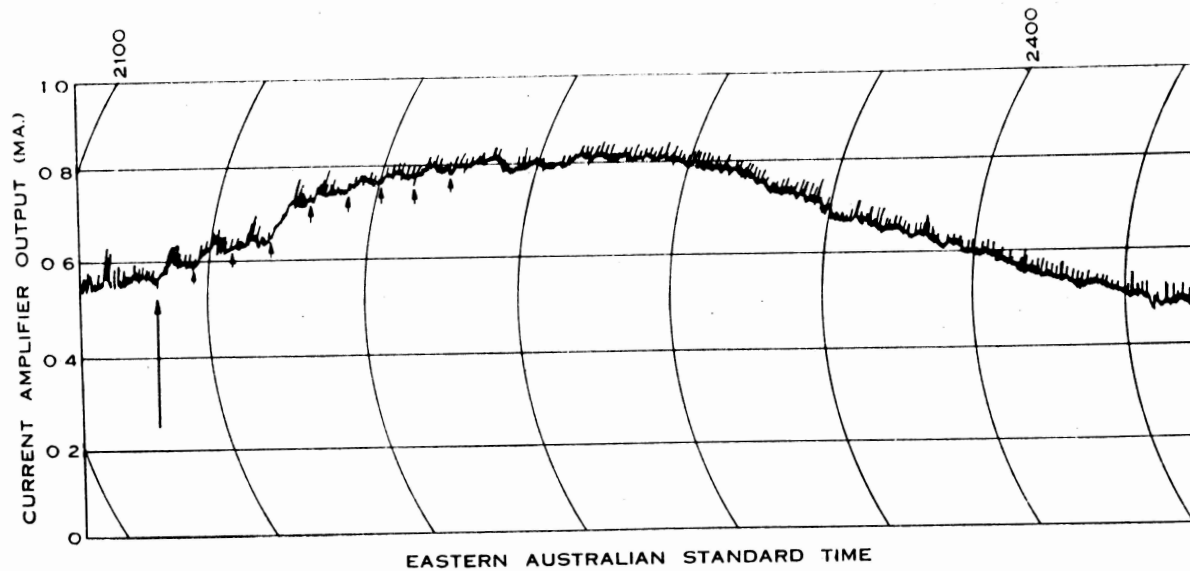
Bolton and Stanley

radio star fringes in 1947



Cygnus A

(note fluc's)



Taurus A

discovery record

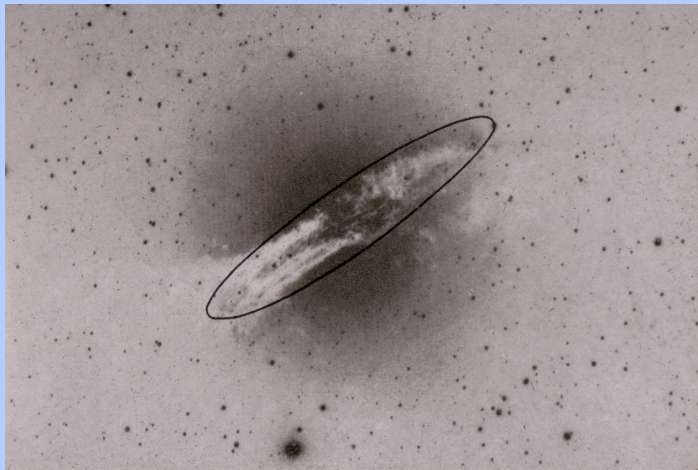
(arrows = minima)

Early Optical Identifications

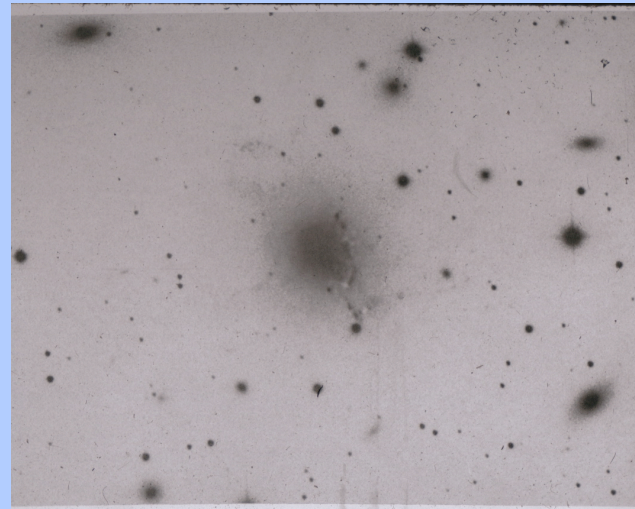


Taurus A

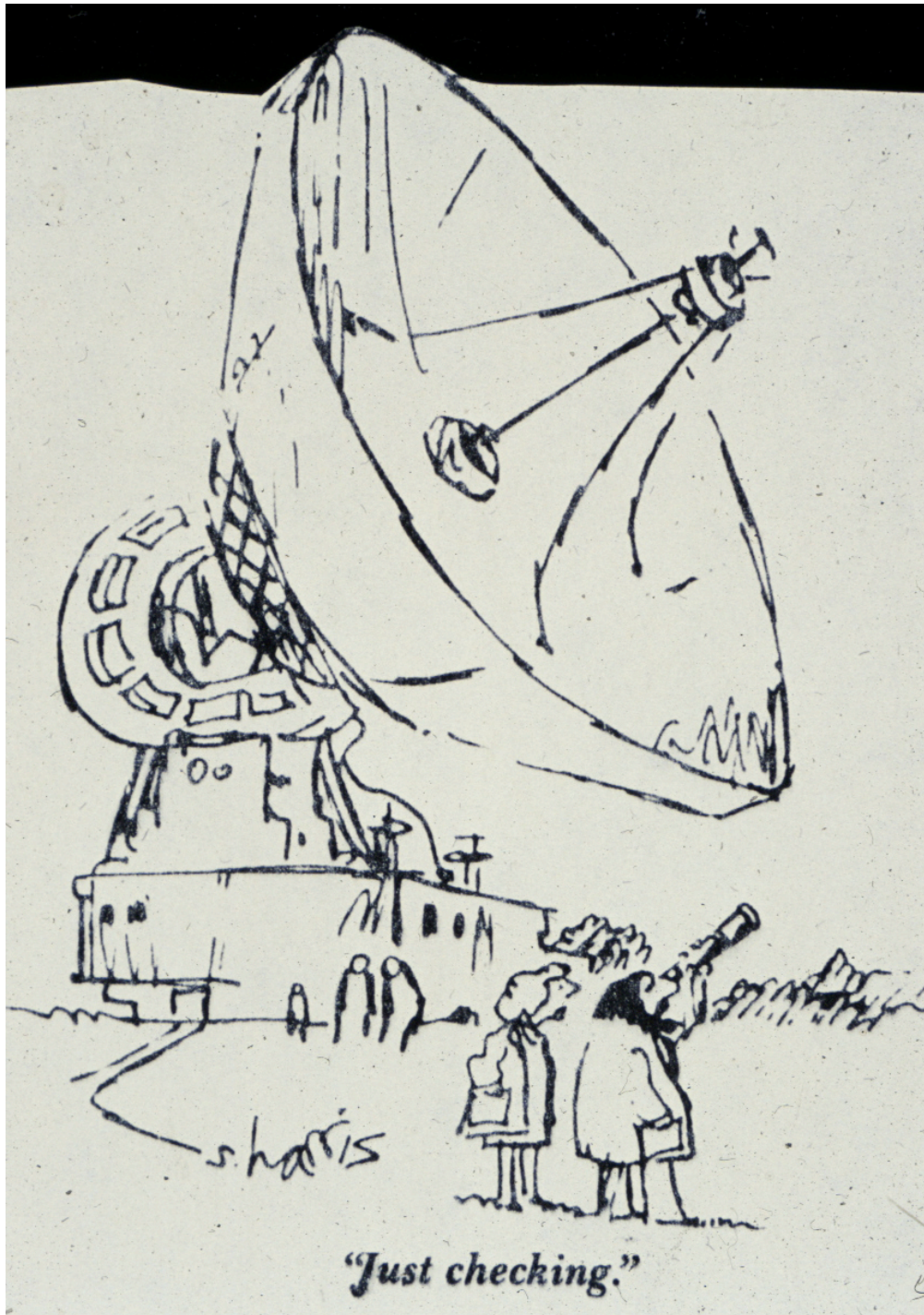
Bolton, Stanley and Slee (1949)



Centaurus A



Virgo A [Coma Ber A at first!]



The epistemic priority given
to the visual sense

e.g., “I see” = I understand

From a Bolton letter to
Minkowski (1952):

I hope that you will send a
photograph of the Puppis
object when convenient.
Photographs are much more
satisfying than the evidence
we get out of our machinery.

CYGNUS A POSITIONS

1948.5

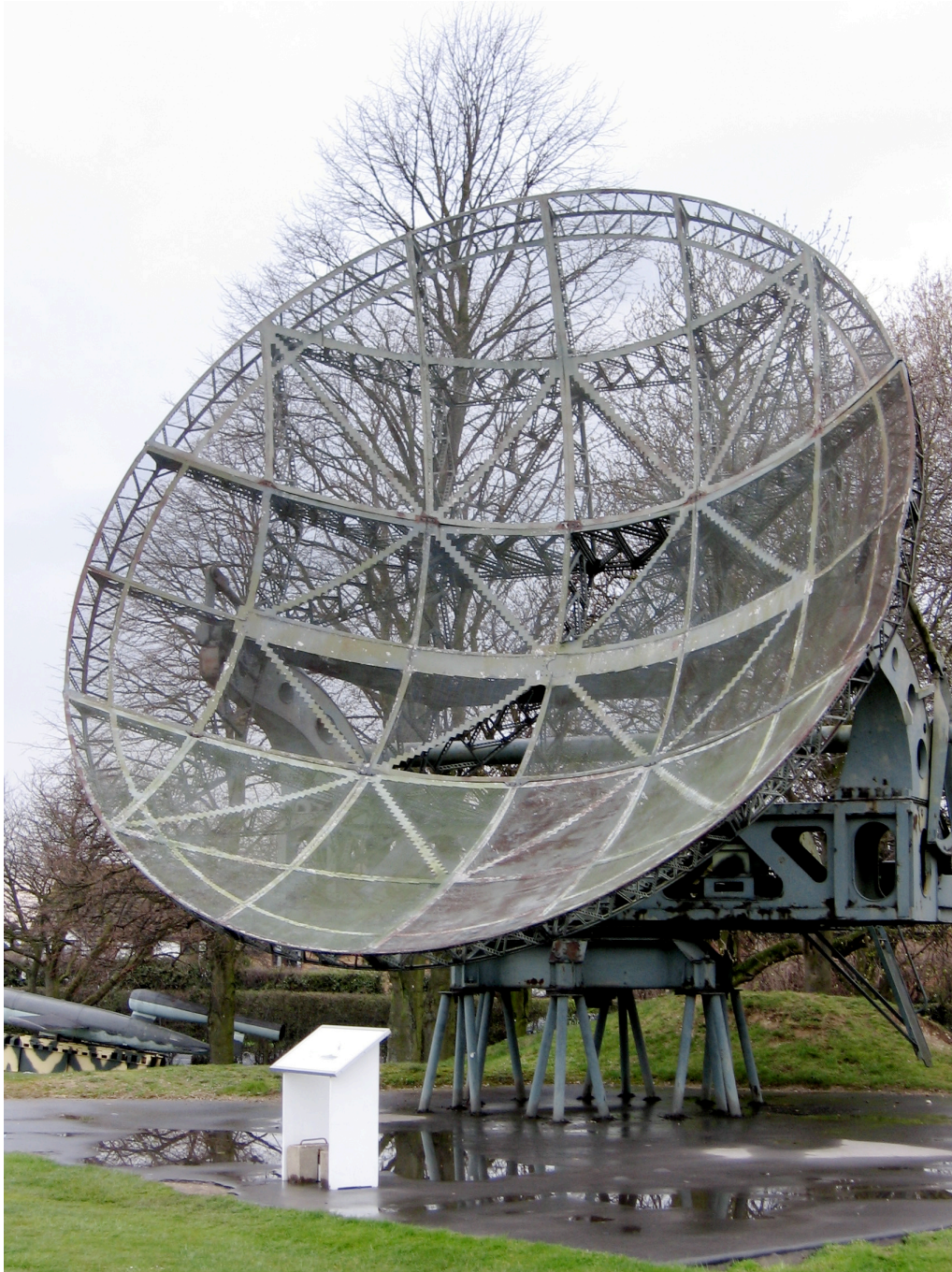
1949.0

1950.0

1951.0

1952.2



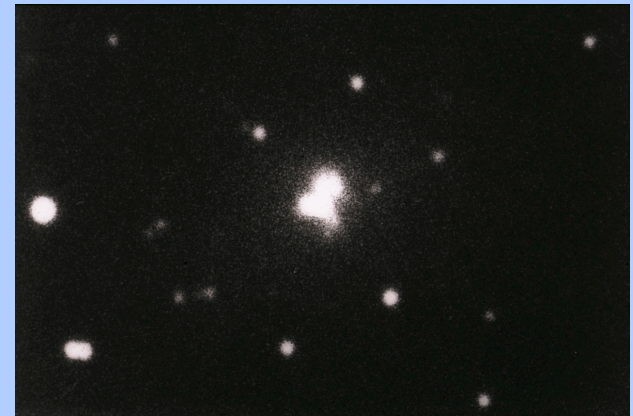


Graham Smith (1951)

Precise positions ($1'$) using
2 Würzburg antennas

214 MHz 2000 K T_{sys}

200-inch Palomar photo
Baade & Minkowski (1951)



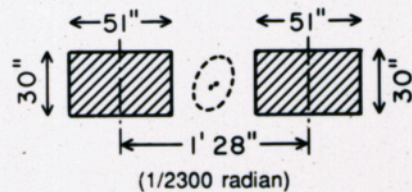
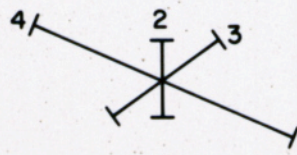
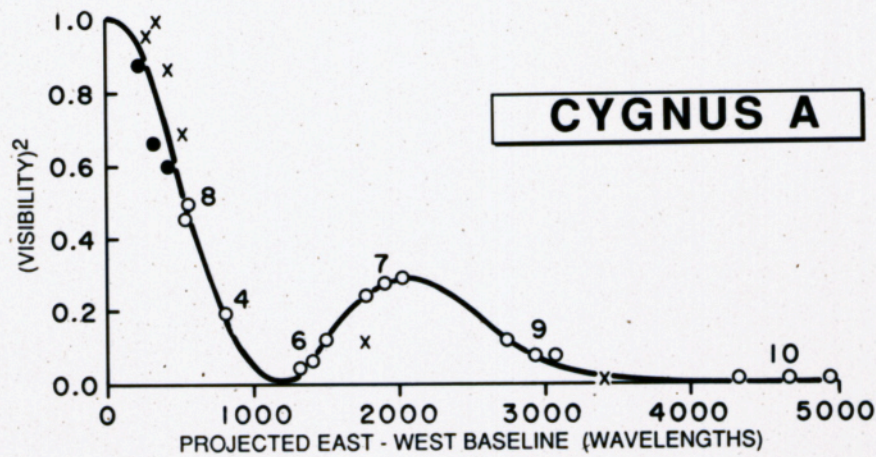
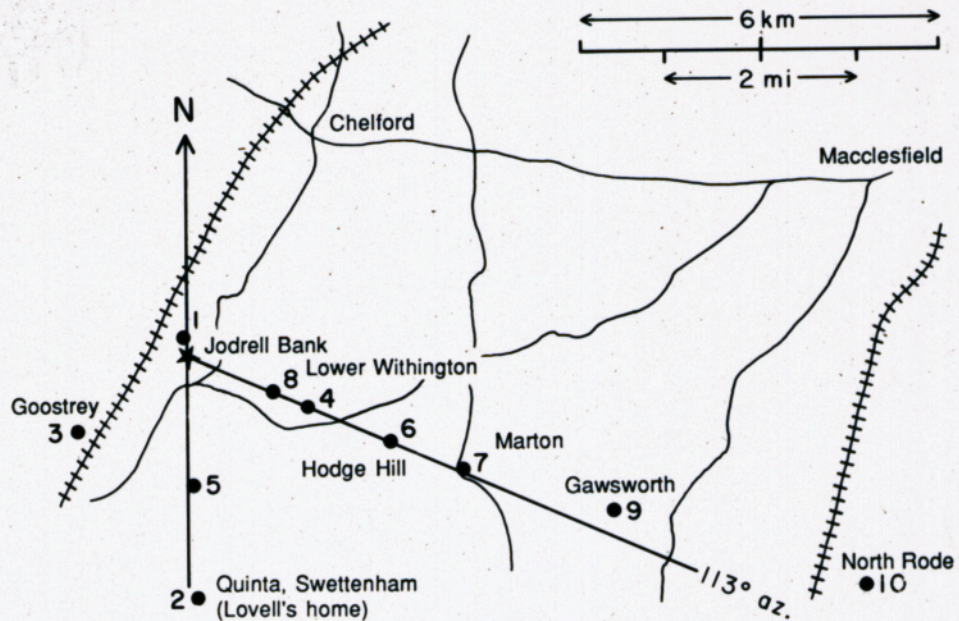
Cygnus A: colliding galaxies
receding at $\sim 17,000$ km/s

Long Baseline Interferometry (~10 km radio-linked baseline)

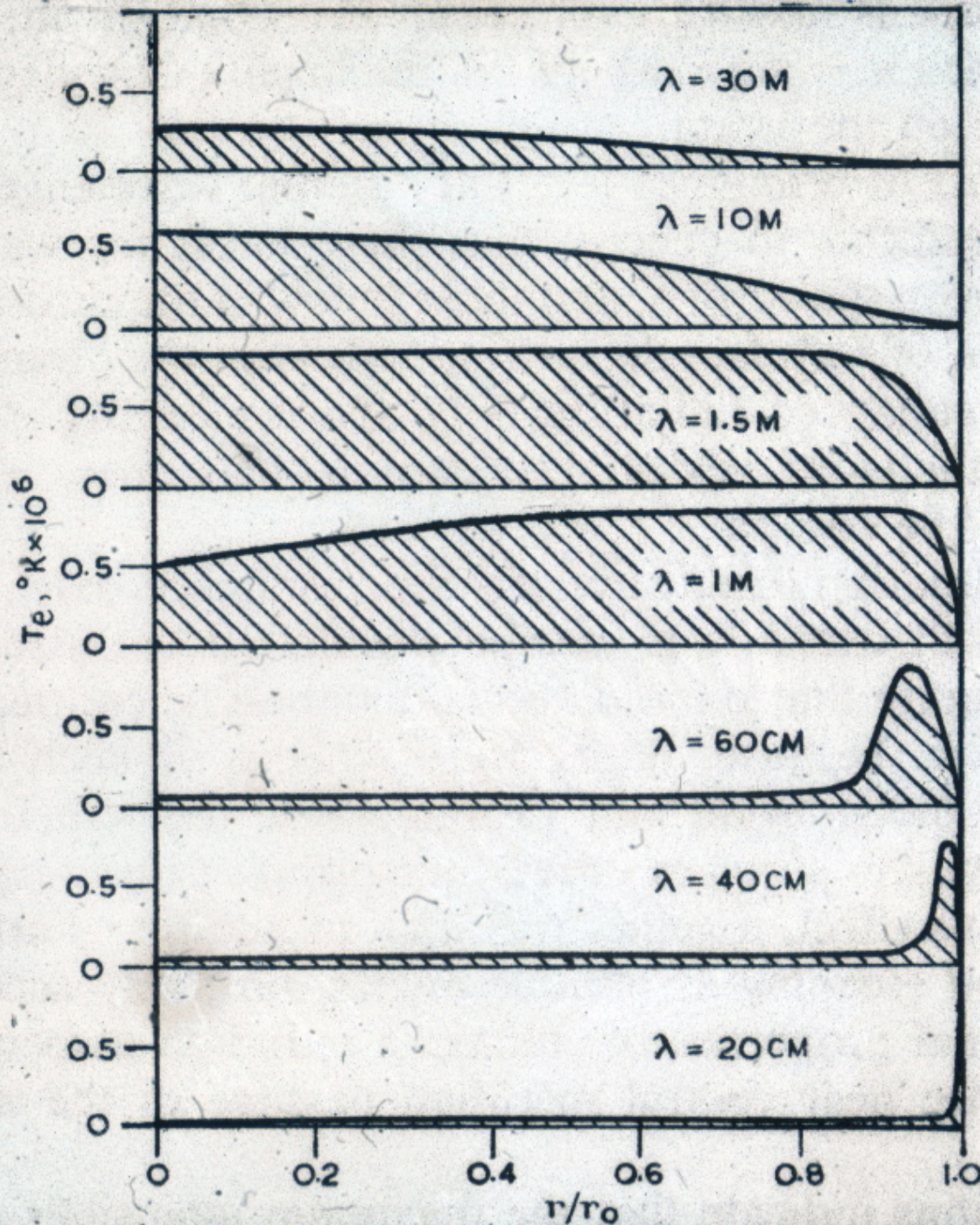
Jennison & Das Gupta (1953)

Jodrell Bank, UK

Cyg A is a *double* source



The road to aperture synthesis



Martyn (1946)

predicted
limb brightening

The push to images of better angular resolution - testing out ideas on the sun

at Cambridge, 3 successive students of Ryle

Stanier (1950) - 1-D at 500 MHz - 17 spacings out to 220 m
- limb-darkened sun

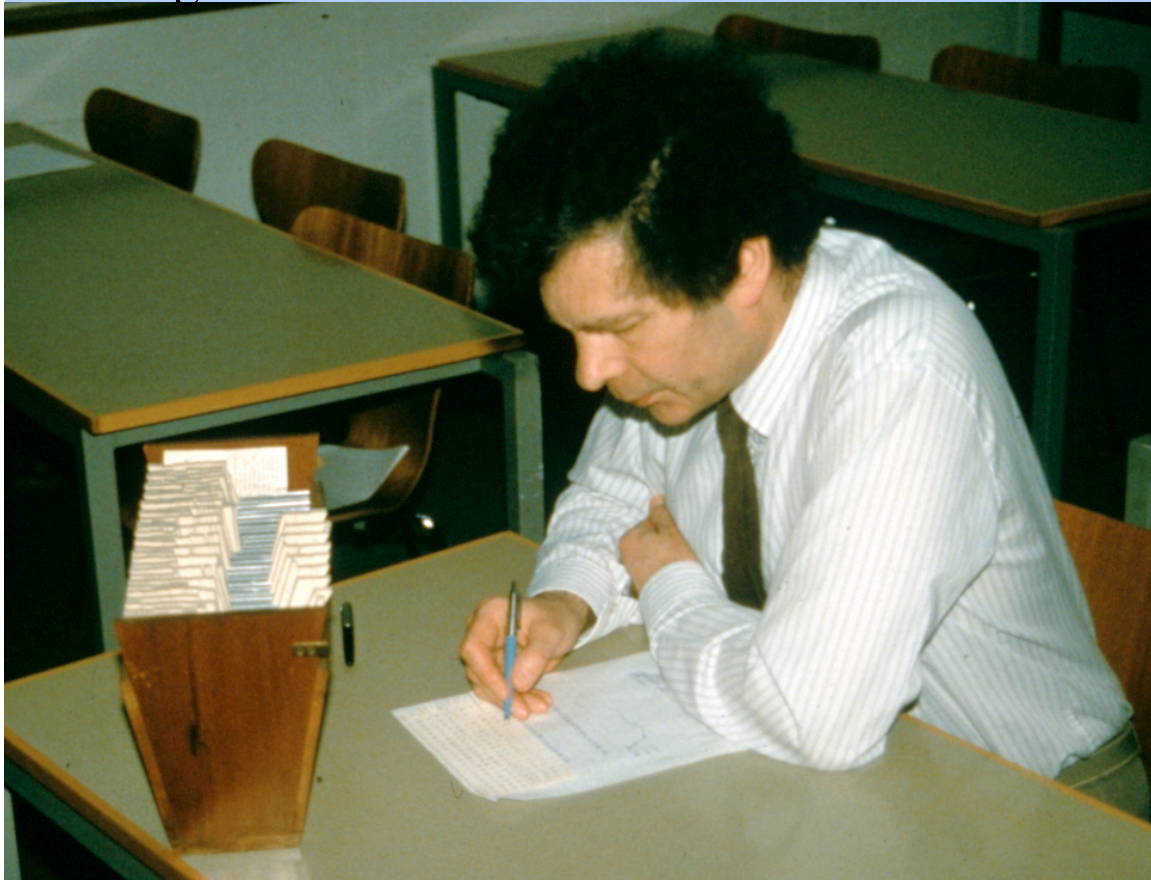
Machin (1951) - 1-D at 81 MHz

O'Brien (1951-3) - 2-D at 210 MHz

- on one day measured 43 spacings!
- polar diam 20% less than equatorial diam.
- also measured *phases* ; located one “hotspot”
- also did some earth-rotation synthesis

Peter Scheuer demonstrates how to use **Lipson-Beevers strips** (1988)
7000 cosine strips and 7000 sine strips in 2 wooden boxes

- cardboard strips printed with, for a given value of A and n , the values of $A \cos nx$ in (say) 3° increments of x .
- measure your visibilities, then pick out the right strips, line 'em up, and add 'em to calculate the sums needed for the terms in the Fourier integral for a brightness distribution



n=1

0.500
 0.996
 0.985
 .966
 940
 .906
 866
 819
 766
 727
 643
 573
 500
 422
 342
 258
 174
 086
 0
 -089
 -174
 -269
 -342
 -422
 -500
 -574
 -643
 -707
 -766
 -819
 -866
 -906
 -940
 -966
 -985
 -996
 -1000

13

1.25

0.500
 994
 976
 947
 906
 855
 794
 722
 643
 555
 461
 360
 259
 151
 +044
 -066
 -174
 -281
 -383
 -479
 -574
 -658
 -737
 -805
 -866
 -914
 -954
 -980
 -996
 -1.000
 -991
 -972
 -940
 -899
 -844
 -782
 -707

16

1.5

0.500
 991
 966
 924
 866
 793
 707
 608
 500
 381
 259
 129
 0
 -132
 -259
 -384
 -500
 -609
 -707
 -795
 -866
 -925
 -966
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Homemade Lipson-Beevers strips - Christiansen

Christiansen Grating Arrays

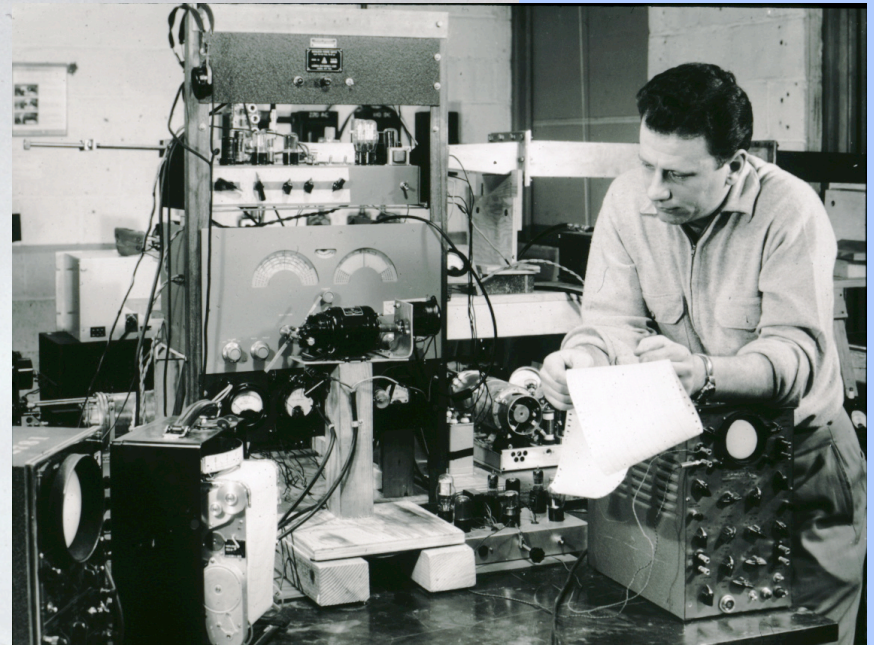
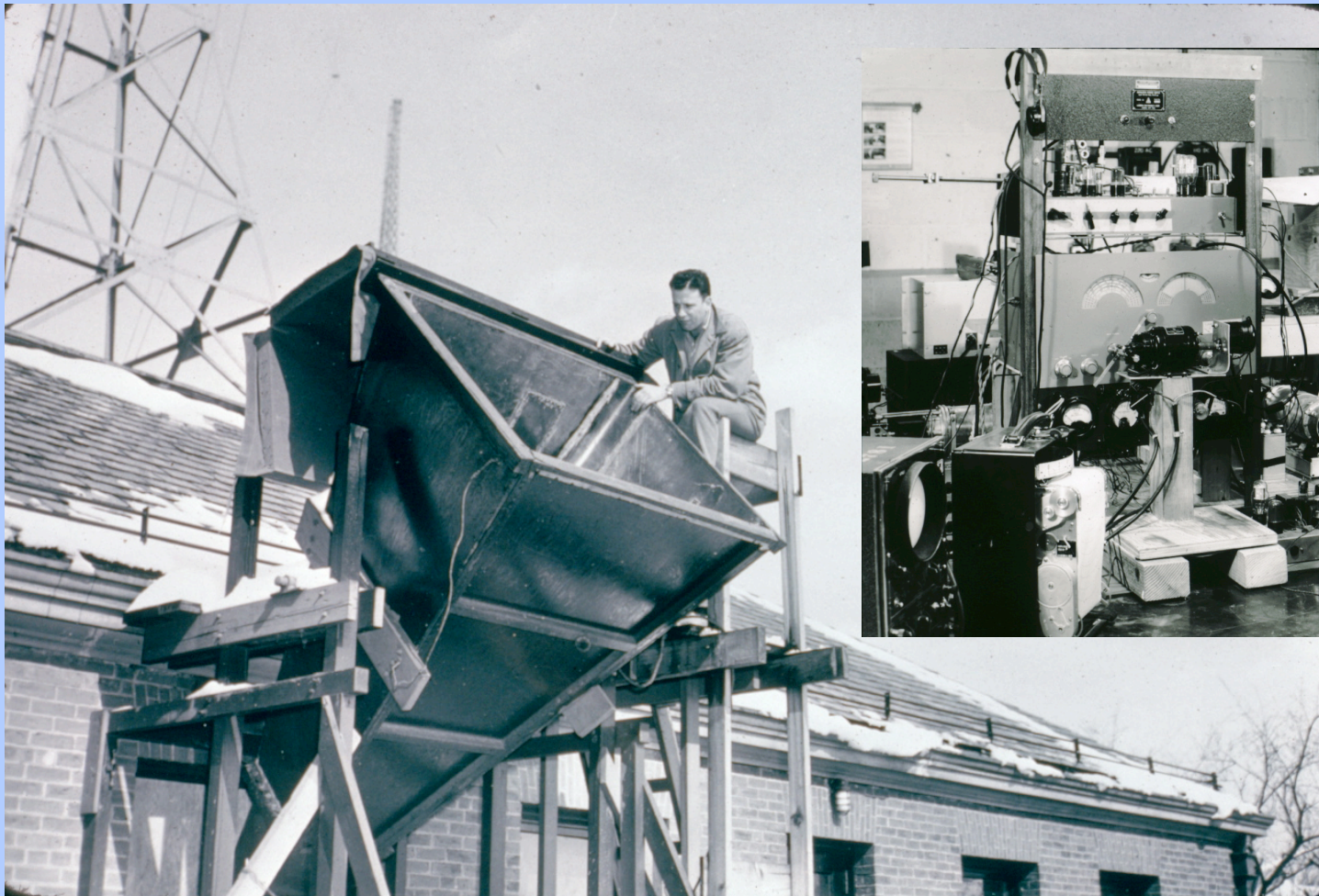
Potts Hill, Sydney

1952-56

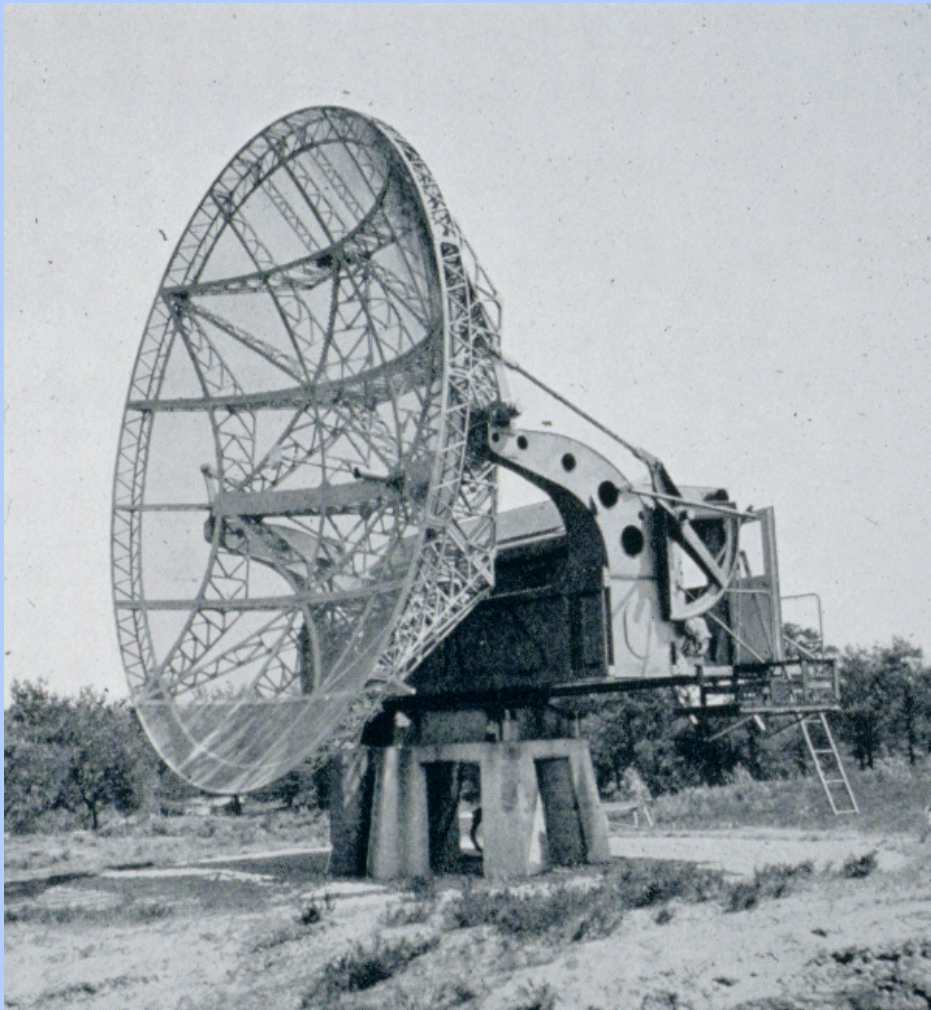


21-cm Hydrogen Line

Ewen & Purcell (1951), Harvard
microwaves [very high frequencies]



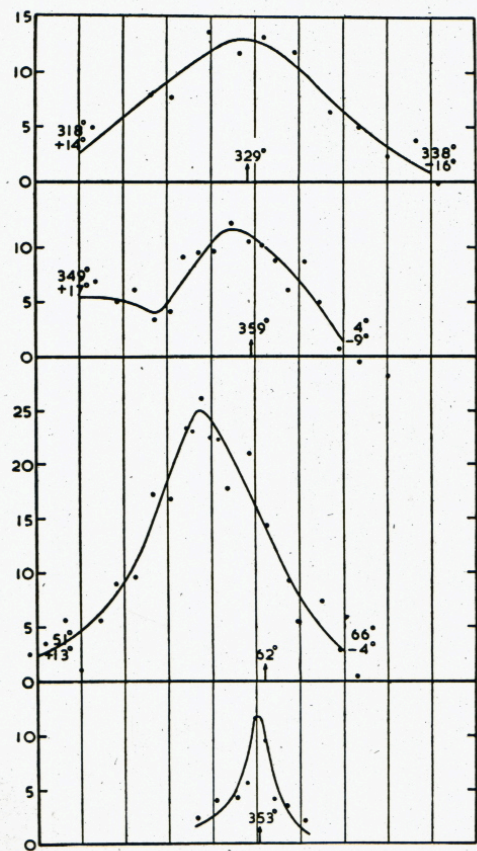
Leiden & Kootwijk



7.5-m-diam. Würzburg dish

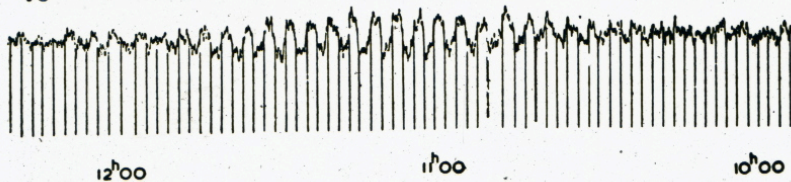


Jan Oort & Henk van de Hulst

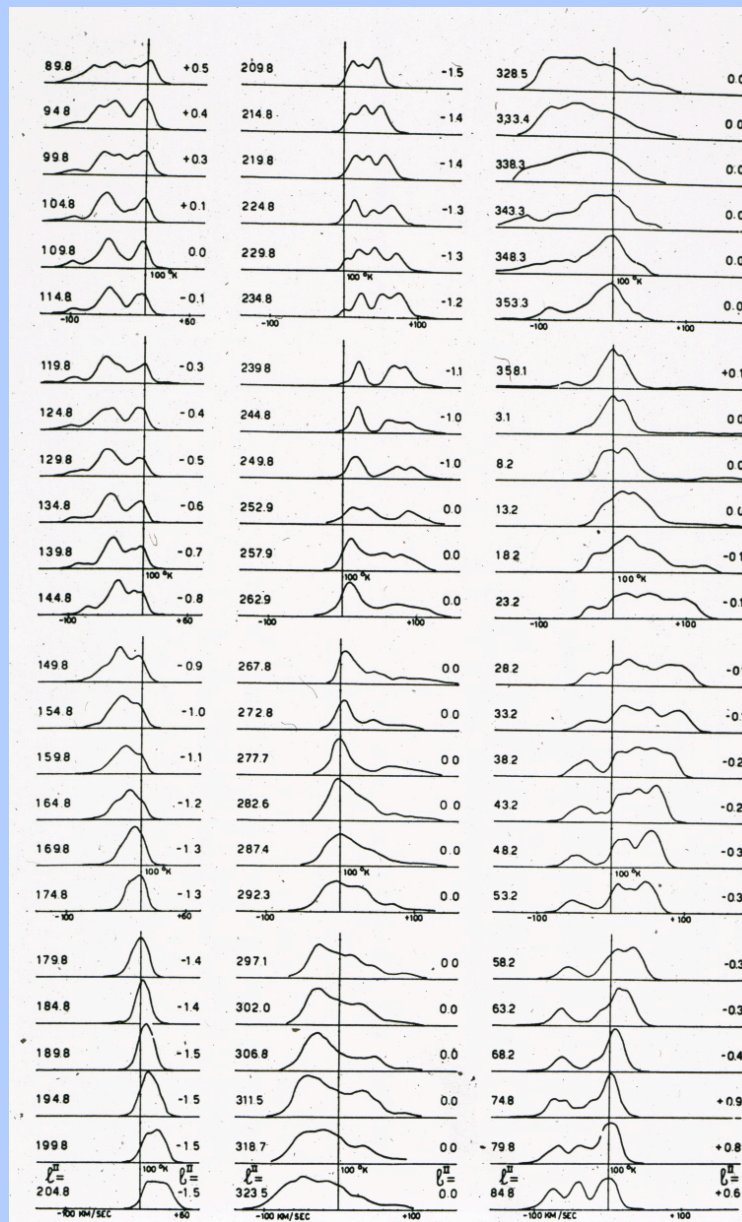


Cygnus 4 Juni 1951

Maximum $l = 58^\circ$ $b = +3^\circ$



1951 *Nature*



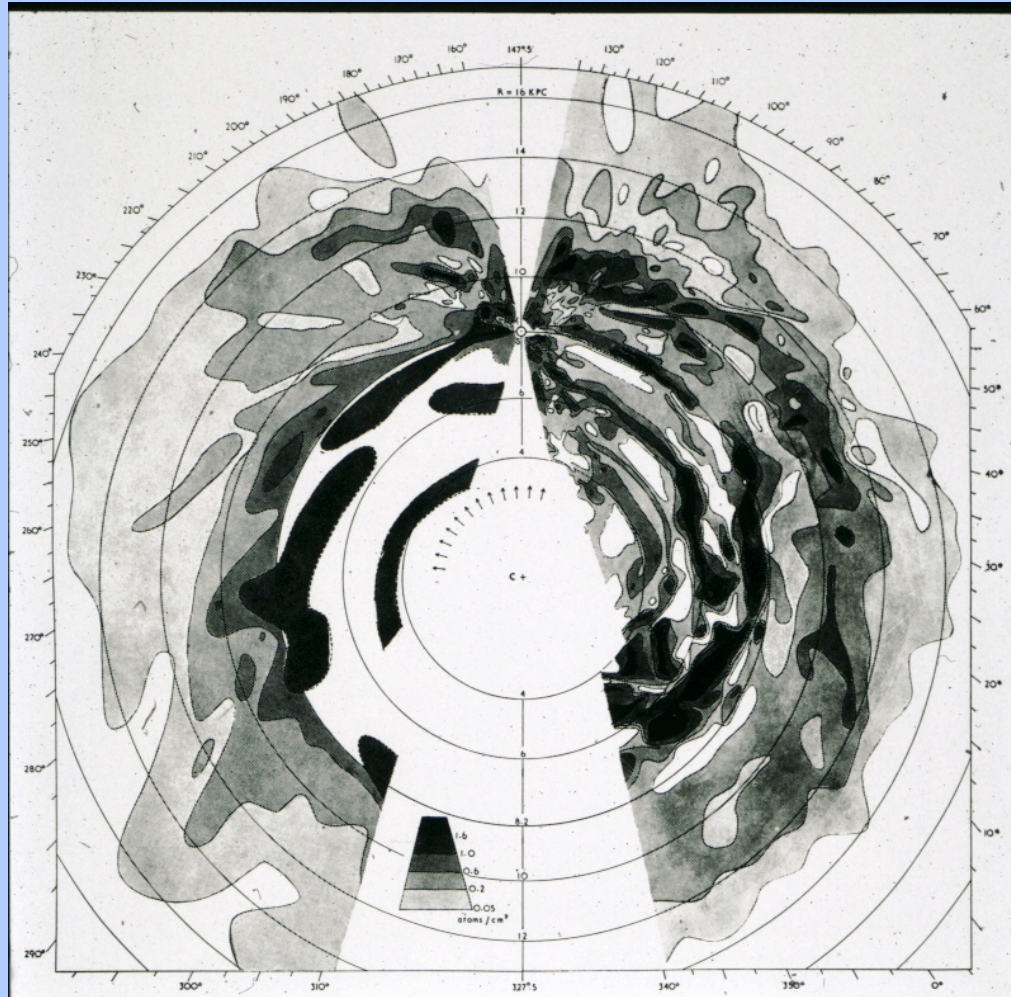
1952-54 single-channel scanning!



The “21 cm Club” (Sydney, 1952): Frank Kerr, Paul Wild, Jim Hindman, Doc Ewen, Lex Muller, Chris Christiansen

1958 - Milky Way hydrogen-line map

(new galactic coordinate system)



Sydney - 36-ft dish
Kerr & Hindman





**And so we return
to where
Miller began....**

**Hat Creek
85-ft (1962)**

Major historical themes and conclusions

- #1 - first observers had **trouble establishing their legitimacy**, but eventually were accepted as radio *astronomers* using radio *telescopes*, researchers who inadvertently invented “optical astronomy”
- radio astronomy turned out historically to be **only the first stage of the opening of the electromagnetic spectrum** - X-ray, IR, UV, and gamma ray windows all followed on and were much more easily incorporated into astronomy because of the path that radio astronomy had already blazed
- overall, I call this opening of the entire electromagnetic spectrum **the 20th century’s “New Astronomy”**, no less important than earlier New Astronomies of Galileo, Herschel, and the astrophysicists of the late 19th century, all triggered by new technologies

Other themes and conclusions

#2 - radio astronomers **did not create a new discipline**, but (slowly) merged into (traditional) astronomy

- they ironically sought to be part of a **visual culture** through

(a) striving to make radio images

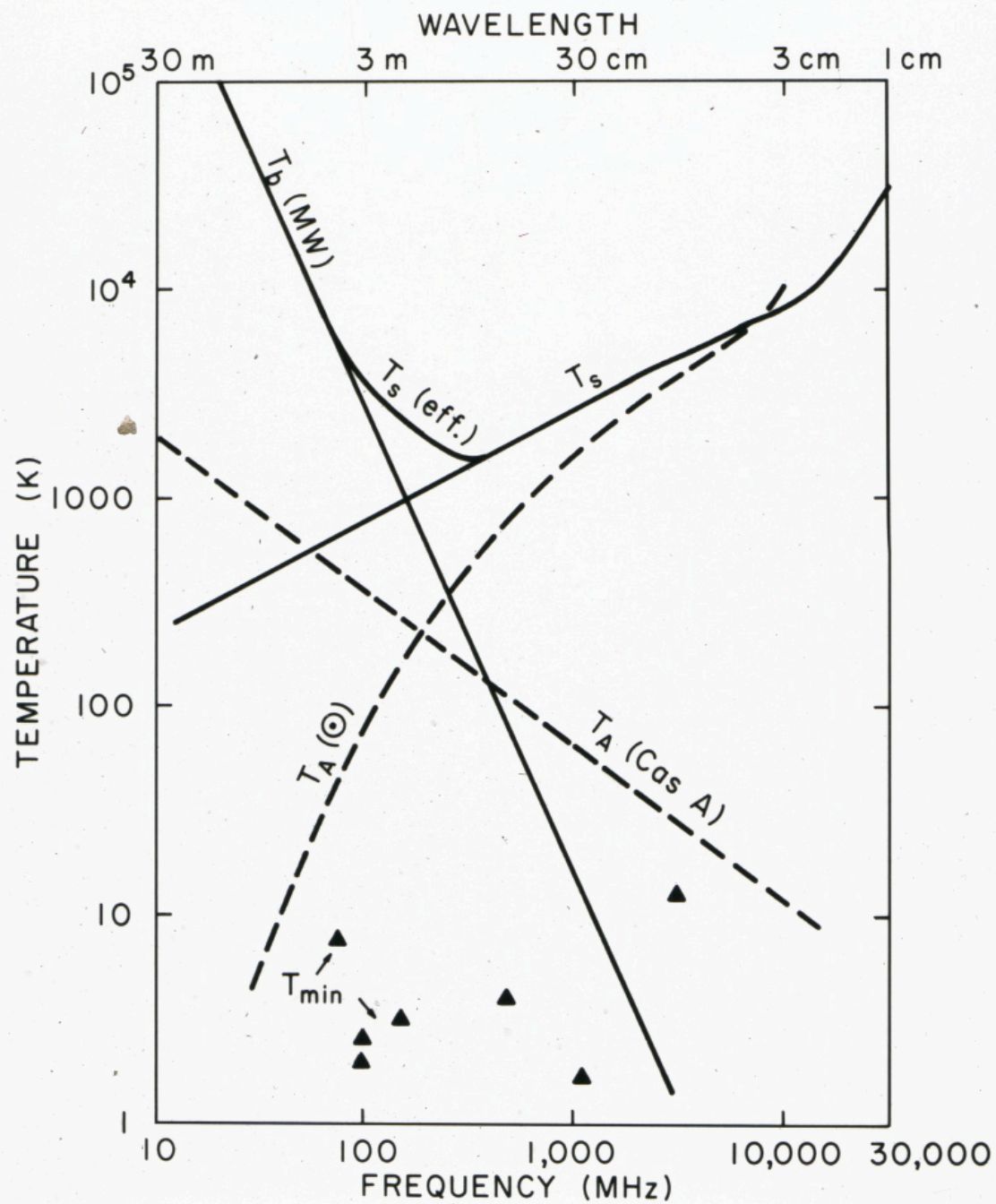
(b) searching for optical identifications

(c) joining (visual) astronomy

#3 - Radio astronomy was “**Technoscience**” - impossible to say whether science led technology or vice versa

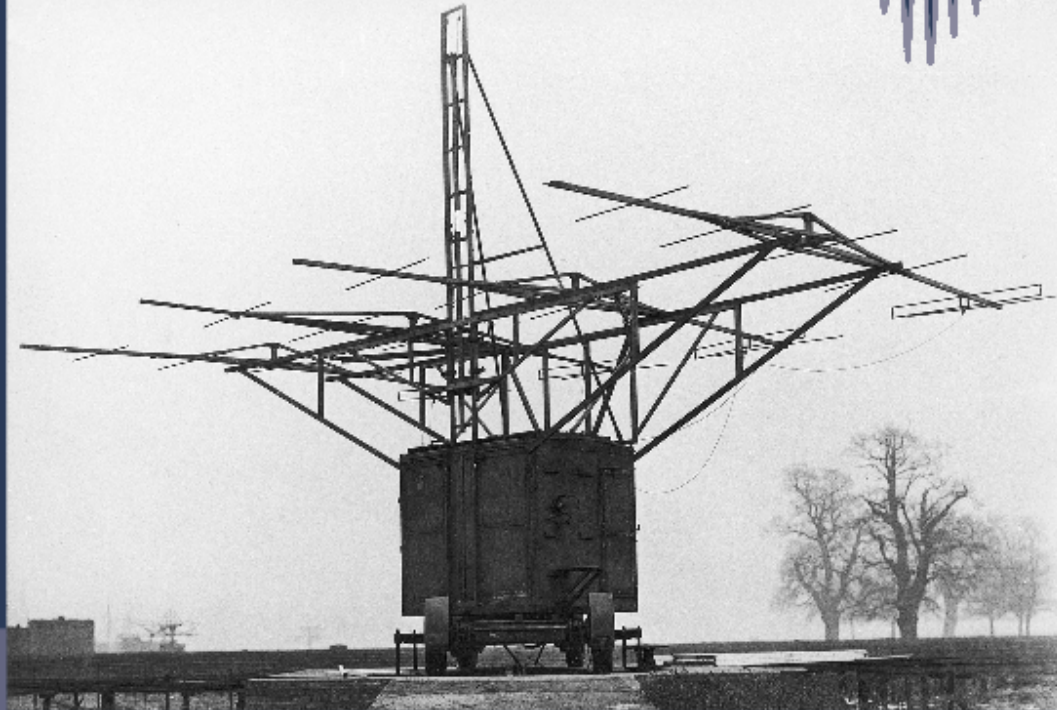
theme #4 - early radio astronomy was **shaped by World War II**
and then by the Cold War

- in particular US radio astronomy lagged badly in the postwar decade despite a far higher level of funding than in the UK and Australia
- this funding was from the military, which shaped it to shorter wavelengths (microwaves), which was **not** where the most profitable science could be done; overseas groups realized this
- *eventually* (1960s) US could take advantage of this shorter wavelength regime and compete more effectively



Cosmic Noise

A History of Early Radio Astronomy



CAMBRIDGE

Woodruff T. Sullivan III

Available in airports
and supermarket
checkouts since 2009