

1574

Kepler

Johann Kepler it was who discovered the form of the planets' paths in coursing round the sun and the law of their varying speed. This achievement, by far the most ^{triumphant} intricate unravelment of facts ever performed, - cunninger than any deciphering of hieroglyphics or of cuneiform inscriptions - occupied its author's whole time from October 1600 to October 1604, and the greater part of four years more. That fairylike town Prague was the scene of these studies and there in April 1609 was published the immortal Commentaries on the ^{Star} Motions of the Planet Mars. To gain any idea of a scientific research, one must look with one's own eyes and brain at the things with which it deals. Now the year 1892 happens to be a good one for watching Mars, and if the man from his own naked-eye observations set down

upon a star-map (say upon the figures in the Century Dictionary) the course of the planet from the third week in March to the end of the year, as it traverses the constellations Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Aquarius, the true greatness of Kepler will begin to dawn upon him. For the telescope was only invented in the very year in which Kepler's book was published; so that he had before him only naked-eye observations, and saw only what anybody may see.

During the year 1892 Mars will describe a loop among the stars, moving first eastwardly, then gradually bending to the south, then to the west, then to the north, and last to the east again, so that on October 6 he will cross his previous path at the point where he was on June 10. This motion in a loop is characteristic of all the planets; and to account for it, the ancients very naturally supposed each to move round a circle.

3
itself carried round another circle, within which,
though not at its centre, the earth was immovably
fixed. But they could not make the centre of
the first circle move at a uniform rate round
the circumference of the second, but took within
the latter, at the same distance from its centre
that the earth was, but on the opposite side, another
fixed point, round which the centre of the first
circle described equal angles in equal times.
They found themselves further obliged to suppose
that the first circle had a perpetual tilting, or
^{reciprocating} motion around an axis tangent to the second.

Copernicus, however, had shown that it was better
to suppose earth and planets to move round
a common centre very near the sun, while still
continuing to make them move on circles that
were carried round on other circles and balanced
back and forth.

Kepler was the scientific executor of the
astronomer Tycho Brahe, who had measured as
well as he could with the rude instruments of those days

4

the celestial latitude and longitude of Mars in ten alternate years. From the study of these observations ^{together with} and a few of his own of inferior value (for he was both near-sighted and awkward) and those by the ancient observer Ptolemy, Kepler found out and proved conclusively, that there are no such tiltings, or librations, as had been supposed but that all the motions of Mars take place in a plane having an excessively slow motion if any, and furthermore, what Copernicus had failed to discover, that the sun lies in this plane, and also that Mars does not move in ^{one} a circle carried by another, but simply in an ellipse having the sun at one of its foci*, and also that this ellipse itself turns round ^{at a} ~~with a~~ very slow rate, and also that Mars in its revolution ~~round~~ the line from the sun to Mars describes in its motion equal elliptical sectors in equal times. Was it not wonderful to make out all this, and with perfect certainty too, from mere naked eye observations which anybody could nowadays improve upon with the ^{commonest} ~~coarsest~~.

* The foci of an ellipse are two points within it such that if from them lines be drawn to any point on the ellipse those lines are equally inclined to the curve at that point and their sum is equal to the greatest diameter of the ellipse.

instruments?

The Kepler family had once been noble; but Johann's near ancestors were artisans of Nuremberg, coarse people, hard and shrewd, but not long-lived. His grandfather, was a bookbinder, had removed to Weil der Stadt near Stuttgart, where, owing to his reputation for sagacity, he had risen to be burgomaster, and where Johann was born. His father was a soldier and inn-keeper, his mother, a yellow blonde, little and spare, with a terrible tongue that was a curse to herself and to all that were near her; in later life narrowly escaped being burnt as a witch. Her husband abandoned her when Johann was 18 and his ^{only} brother 14 years old. Johann, who had been born prematurely, was physically puny and ailing all his life; yet was rather pleasing in appearance, and vivacious in his movements. Though not a precocious child, he was a clever lad, especially at mathematics, eager to learn, curious about all the ways of nature, and in short manifesting that gigantic power of right reasoning that distinguished him from other men. ~~He was~~ It was

6
this reasoning, no doubt, that stimulated him even
as a boy to his indomitable industry for which
he is celebrated and which was all the more ex-
traordinary that, not to speak of his delicate
health, his was a nature to which all drudgery
was uncommonly irksome. His success in his studies,
together with his weak body, naturally pointed to
his becoming a Lutheran minister, and to that end
he was sent to the university of Tübingen as a
stipendiary scholar. But when later astronomy seemed
to offer a better opening, he turned from Theology
and devoted himself to the study of the stars under
Professor Maestlin. In this he was governed, as
in all the affairs of life, by careful calculation; for
he assured us that ~~of~~ predilection for astronomy he
had none.

In those days, by a "mathematicus", or "Sternseher",
was meant understood a man that earned his living
by making astrological predictions. Into this study Kepler

threw himself with energy, and was more or less
addicted to it all his life. He soon came to rate it
as nonsense and trickery, and therefore disliked to
practise it. Yet, said he, astrology has been the nurse
of astronomy. He meant that astronomy could only
be advanced by students wholly given up to it, and that
the world could hardly be persuaded to give people
a livelihood for doing only that. For astronomy seemed
to be of no practical use, and was in fact of none
except to posterity; though by calling modern ma-
thematics and physics into being it has indirectly
been the source of all the conveniences and inventions
of our time.

At 22, Kepler was appointed professor of
mathematics at Grätz in Styria, a hundred miles south
of Vienna. At 25, he succeeded in marrying a well-
to-do wealthy young grass widow. Meantime, his
position in Grätz was becoming untenable on account
of his protestantism; for though so far from a bigot
that he was called a half-catholic and was finally read

8
out of the Lutheran church for his too easy opinions,
yet he would not join the catholic church. He used
so much policy that the jesuits took his part, and remained
after the other protestant professors and most of the
scholars had gone. But, at last, he was glad at 28 to
accept the great Tycho Brahe's invitation to become,
under him, assistant astronomer to the Emperor
Rudolph II. On Tycho's death in the following year,
Kepler was made chief "mathe-maticus", with an
additional allowance for preparing planetary tables
from Tycho's observations. A strange appointment
this, wherein former missed a rare opportunity of
doing a stupid thing; but the explanation of it is
that Kepler was designated by the dying Brahe
for the task. Besides, Rudolph really had some
knowledge of astronomy. These tables were com-
puted in 26 years, and were published under the
title of the Rudolphine Tables. During their preparation,

9
Kepler had many a tussle with the representatives
of the noble house of Brahe, who as long as Tycho
lived had frowned upon one who would demean
himself with stargazing, but who now insisted
that it should be his theories should govern the new
tables; for what Nature's truth might be, if they ever
so much as reflected that there was such a thing,
they neither knew nor cared. The last breath of the
dying Tycho himself had been expended in imploring
Kepler to follow his system; but then, that was
before Kepler's great discoveries. At 37, he
published his great work on the motions of Mars.
About that time discord arose between Emperor Rudolph
and his brother. Prague in 1611 found itself the focus
of the theatre of war. That year all Kepler's family were
very ill. His favorite son died, and his wife followed. She
left no will, so that the property was divided among her children

to the exclusion of the father. Meantime, Rudolph was forced to surrender Bohemia to his brother Matthew, and Kepler moved to Linz in education proper. After Rudolph's death, Matthew succeeding to the imperial throne, continued his brother's bounty to Kepler. In 1613, Kepler being 42 years old married after the maturest deliberation a poor girl 18 years younger than himself. At 46, he discovered his "third law," that the squares of the periodic times ^{proportional to} are ~~pro~~ the cubes of the mean distances, not a discovery involving any difficult reasoning, yet leading at once, had he only been able to see it, to the corollary that the planets are attracted to the sun inversely as the square of the distance. The same year began the Thirty Years' War. Then Emperor Matthew died and was succeeded by the bigoted Ferdinand

II. Kepler's books were prohibited in some places for teaching that the sun does not move round the earth. There was little hope of further salary, even if he should not be proceeded against; and he received private intimations from the emperor that it would be well for him to renounce astronomy. Then came the invention of logarithms, requiring the

planetary tables, now nearly ready, to be entirely reconstructed. In 1620, in the midst of his greatest difficulties, the learned James I. warmly invited Kepler to go to England; but he would not accept the proffer, lest the tale should be told to the disgrace of his own country; and at last by prudent conduct he overcame his chief difficulties. In 1630, at the age of 59 while on a journey he died rather suddenly of Ratisbon of an infectious fever. He had had in all 12 children.

All the endowments of Kepler's intellect and heart seem to have been concentrated upon one function, that of reasoning. In his great work on Mars, he has laid bare to us all the operations of his mind during the whole research; and what better sign of the perfection of his ratiocination could there be than that no better pathway could be found by which to lead another's thought to the same conclusion.

12

them that his own had ^{broken} ~~transcended~~ in the first instance. His admirable method of thinking consisted in forming in his mind a diagrammatic or outline representation of the entangled state of things before him, omitting all that was accidental, retaining all that was essential, observing suggestive relations between the parts of the diagram, and performing divers experiments upon it, or upon the natural objects, and noting the results.

The first quality required for this process, the first element of high reasoning power, is evidently imagination; and Kepler's fecund imagination strikes every reader. But "imagination" is an ocean-broad term, - almost meaningless, so many and so diverse are its species. What kind of an imagination is required to form a mental diagram of a complicated state of facts? Not that fact-imagination that "bodies forth the

13

forms of things unknown," but a docile imagination, quick to take Dame Nature's hints. The fresh imagination notes in ornaments and accessories; a Kepler's makes the clothing and the flesh drop off, and the apparition of the naked skeleton of truth to stand revealed before him. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find that Kepler looked upon life with an eye of sadness, without tears, yet without illusions.

No man was ever more coolly sensible of his own faults and weaknesses, as well as of his own superior powers. In coming to an understanding with Bohé, he recommends himself as follows: "in observing I am under the disadvantage of nearsightedness, and am awkward in handling instruments; while in transacting business, my own or others, I ~~etc~~ betray an impertinent and choleric nature; nor can I bear to sit long at work,

without getting up and moving about, nor to
pass my regular hours for meals, even when I
am not downright ill." There is no looking at
himself through soft violet glass here.

He never was able to put aside a puzzle
until he had completely resolved it. Early in his studies
of Mars he obtained a theory which so accurately
represented its heliocentric longitudes, that he ever
after called it his "vicarious theory," inasmuch as
it obviated the necessity of reverting to the obser-
vations. It saved the appearances as far as helio-
centric longitudes went; and that would have
satisfied many an astronomer. But Kepler could
not be satisfied, since the theory did not agree with the
latitudes nor geocentric longitudes; and by far
the greater part of his labor came after he had
obtained this vicarious hypothesis.

Kepler was forever trying experiments with
his figures. No bad luck, not dozens of negative results,

15
which other men reckon failures, could discourage him from trying again. For it would be a great mistake to suppose that he was addicted to wasting time on wild-cat theories, or what Darwin used to call nonsense-experiments. Each step was made deliberately, and for sound reasons; and few of Kepler's "failures" failed to throw some light on the problems he had in hand.


When the slightest clue presented itself, Kepler's promptitude to seize upon it was amazing. The last and most essential step of his great discovery was made according to his own account by accident. Namely, it was due to his remarking that two numbers which seemed to have no connection with one another were nearly equal, one 429, the other 432. Kepler does not remark that an ordinary man's attention would not have been struck by this near equality, or if it had, would never have divined its meaning. Significance.

16

There is one moral quality without which a reasoner cannot escape fallacies, and that is a sturdy honesty of purpose. For the lack of that, we every day see creatures in the guise of men losing fortune, health, and happiness too, deluded by their own sophisms. But Kepler, while not altogether devoid of astuteness and diplomacy, could hardly bring himself to aid his fellowmen to dupe themselves with astrological predictions; and this certainly was the nearest approach to duplicity that he ever made. It had its effect, no doubt, in blinding him to the fanciful character of some of his speculations; — another instance of the inevitable intellectual retribution which follows upon guile.

Johann Kepler it was who discovered the form of the paths of the planets in their courses round the sun and the laws of their velocities in these paths. This achievement, by far the most difficult unravelling of facts ever done, — greater than Mendeleef's Law, greater than the deciphering of ^{any} hieroglyphics or cuneiform inscriptions, — occupied the whole time of its author, in beautiful town of Prague, from October 1600 to October 1604, and a great part of his time for four years more. The great book which explained it De Motibus Stellae Martis was published in April 1609. If the reader cares to procure Heib's Star Atlas and, with the aid of an opera glass to set down night after night ^{during a suitable year, say 1892,} ~~for two years~~ the positions of the planet Mars ^{among the stars,} he will find that it moves

generally in an easterly direction, but with one
turn backwards, or retrogression, so as to describe a
long loop. Thus in the third week of March before
sunrise Mars may be seen in the south east in
the bow of Sagittarius. He will traverse that constellation
till the wings of that figure and be found June 10 behind
the shoulder of Capricornus. On July 6, he will be stationary
under the tail in the flipper of Capricornus. Then, he
will go back in a southerly course (coming in to
opposition August 3) till it gets ^{on Sep 4} where the leg of
Capricornus reaches beyond the ^{chest} body. Here it will
turn east again, and on October 6 will be
just about where it was on June 10; and before
the end of the year it will rapidly traverse the ^{first} ~~best~~ ^{most} ~~best~~
of Capricornus and the whole ~~of~~ breadth of ^{about the loins} ~~the~~ ^{first} ~~best~~
width, when it will be lost in the beams of
the setting sun. To account for this sort of
motion, the ancients supposed each planet to move

3
round a circle itself ~~to~~ carried round another
to which it was inclined, and perpetually tilting
backward and forwards. Copernicus showed that it
was better to suppose the earth and planets all to
move round the sun; but he continued to suppose
they moved in circles carried in on ^{other} circles and
having a tilting or balancing motion. Now, re-
member that ^{the} telescopes had not yet been invented;
Kepler had before him nothing but naked-
eye observations; ^{he saw only what anybody can see} such as anybody could make
now with a ^{sextant and a} star-catalogue and yet what did
he make ^{by} the study of ^{ten} ~~two~~ years observations
of Tycho Brahe and he found and conclusively proved
that all the motions of Mars take place in one plane,
that it describes ~~not a~~ ^{not a} circle on a circle nor any
curve but an ellipse, that the sun is in ^{one} the focus of
this ellipse, and that Mars in its ^{revolution} motions round
the sun describes equal triangular ^{areas}  bits in
equal times. Was ^{it} not ~~this~~ wonderful, to ^{make out} discover

4
all this, and that with complete certainty, from mere
naked eye observations?

The Kepler's had once been noble; but Johann's
near ancestors were artisans of Nuremberg, his grandfather
~~was a bookbinder, his father a soldier. They were coarse~~
people but hard and shrewd. His grandfather was a
bookbinder, his father a soldier. His mother was
a terrible creature, little, spare, blond, with a most terrible
tongue, who after Johann grew up came near being
Ghent for a witch. ^{His father ran away and left her with her two boys in destitute circumstances} He himself was a delicate, always
ailing, if not scrupulous, little fellow, very near sighted, but
very lively. He was not a precocious child, nor had he
as a youth any bent for astronomy. But he was
bright, very clever at mathematics, very curious about
nature, and ~~very~~ much given to beginning things that
he ~~did not~~ ^{could not} finish. As a man he had the tempe-
rament of a student, irascible and almost
ill-tempered. But he was singularly conscious

5
of his own defects, and looked upon all the
affairs of life with a cool, unbiassed eye. He
married twice, first, at 25, a rich widow, then at
42, a poor girl. He had 6 sons and 6 daughters.
His health was never strong; he had to be very careful
about his diet. Though a hard worker, he was not at
all fond of drudgery. He died at 59 ^{rather suddenly} ~~of an obscure~~
~~of a fever~~ of an obscure disease.

Keppler's style of writing is admirable; and carries
conviction to the mind of the reader by detailing the
whole ^{train} ~~current~~ of reasoning of the author. Occasionally
it is enlivened by personal poetical quotations or home-
ly similes. In his book on the New Star in ^{The foot of} Ophiuchus
(chapter xxvii) discussing the Epicurean opinion that
the world is due to the fortuitous concurrence of atoms,
he says: "Yesterday when fatigued with writing and
~~with~~ my soul reduced to ponder by thinking of those
atoms, I was called to supper and my wife brought
me a salad. So, said I, if throughout the ~~air~~ air
there had been flying from eternity, a lot of

6

finger platters, leaves of lettuce, grains of salt,
drops of water, vinegar, and oil, ^{and} cuts of eggs, it should
at last happen by chance that that would make
a salad. Yes, said my wife, ^{but} not as nice a one
as this." In his work Harmonice Mundi, where he
announces his celebrated third law of planetary
motion (Book V, praemium) he says: "It is a toss-up
whether I write this book to be read by contemporaries
or posterity; and it makes no difference; it can well
wait its reader for a hundred years, if God himself has
for six thousand years stood awaiting an understanding con-
temper observer." I confess I do not like this passage.

The rule of three it suggests is quite out of place;
and besides, it implies that Kepler thought he
had said the last word about the ^{regularities} laws of
the solar system, thus betraying an enormous
misunderstanding of his function in the de-
velopment of science.

Johann was born), his father was a soldier. His mother was a little, spare, blond, with a terrible tongue, a curse to herself and all who were near her, who after Johann grew up came very near being burnt for a witch. His father ran away and left her with her two boys ~~in~~ destitute.

Johann was a delicate little man, always ailing, very near sighted, lively and witty. He was not a precocious child; nor had he in his youth any bent for astronomy. He was clever, however, especially at mathematics, extremely curious about all natural things, and good at his books; so that his mother managed to send him to the University. When he was young, he was much given to beginning studies which he was not able to carry out; older, he had the temper common among students, irascible and almost ugly. But he was always singularly conscious of his own defects, and looked upon the affairs of

life with a cool, unbiassed eye. He married
twice; first, at 25, a well-to-do widow; then,
at 42, a poor girl. He had six sons and six
daughters. He died at 59 rather suddenly of an
obscure disease.

principle in his representation were as follows.

1^{st} , he represented the ~~plan~~ deferent ~~which~~ by the circle circumscribing the ~~true~~ ellipse, thus giving it a breadth too great in the case of ^{Mars} the most elliptical of the superior planets, by one half of one ^{per cent} ~~percent~~. 2^{nd} , instead of supposing the ^{moving} radius A D to describe equal areas in equal times, he drew a line from D, the ^{attachment} point of the epicycle ^{to} ~~and~~ the deferent, to B, ^{called the centre of the equant, being} ~~the~~ which was really the empty focus of the ellipse, and he supposed this line B D to turn equably, so as to describe equal angles in equal times. This made ~~it~~ a quite observable error, but only in the case of Mars. 3^{rd} , he not only made the epicycle circular but he placed ~~the~~ its centre upon the deferent. 4^{th} , he made the planet to ~~move round~~ revolve in its epicycle in such a manner ~~at a uniform~~ so as to describe

The former phenomenon was accounted for by supposing that at two opposite seasons the epicycle was at a greater distance from the earth than at the seasons three months from these, and to produce this motion a complicated mechanism was introduced. Namely, the centre of the epicycle remaining fixed, the centre of the deferent itself revolved uniformly about a centre, ~~as shown in Figure 3.~~ ^{as shown in Figure 3.} ~~in a line~~ with the ~~sun~~ ^{relative}. But this hypothesis is greatly falsified the ^{relative} distances from the earth, and inasmuch as the plane of the orbit of Mercury is inclined more than 90° to the ecliptic, it thus threw the latitudes into confusion, so that to bring them nearly right the deferent was supposed to oscillate about an axis in its plane while the ~~eccentric~~ epicycle had two independent oscillations about different axes, and even so the theory remained unsatisfactory.