

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

The birth of particle physics

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

The birth of particle physics

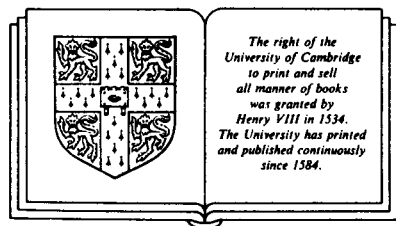
EDITORS

LAURIE M. BROWN

*Department of Physics and Astronomy
Northwestern University*

LILLIAN HODDESON

*Department of Physics
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
and Fermilab*



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge

London New York New Rochelle

Melbourne Sydney

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521338370

© Cambridge University Press 1983

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1983
First paperback edition 1986
Re-issued in this digitally printed version 2009

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Main entry under title:

The birth of particle physics.

“Based on the lectures and round-table
discussion of the International Symposium on
the History of Particle Physics, held at
Fermilab in May 1980” – Foreword

Includes index.

1. Particles (Nuclear physics) – Congresses.
2. Nuclear physics – History – Congresses.
I. Brown, Laurie M. II. Hoddeson, Lillian.
III. International Symposium on the History
of Particle Physics (1980:Fermilab)
QC793.B57 539.7 82-1162 AACR2

ISBN 978-0-521-24005-5 hardback
ISBN 978-0-521-33837-0 paperback

Contents

List of contributors	page vii
Foreword by Leon M. Lederman	xi
Editors' acknowledgments	xiv
Photographs of the symposium	xvii
Part I. Introduction	1
1 The birth of elementary particle physics: 1930–1950 <i>Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson</i>	3
Part II. Theoretical underpinnings	
2 The origin of quantum field theory <i>Paul A. M. Dirac</i>	39
3 Growing up with field theory: the development of quantum electrodynamics <i>Victor F. Weisskopf</i>	56
4 The development of meson physics in Japan <i>Satio Hayakawa</i>	82
Part III. Discoveries of particles	
5 The early stage of cosmic-ray particle research <i>Dmitry Skobel'tzyn</i>	111
6 Some reminiscences of the early days of cosmic rays <i>H. Victor Neher</i>	120
7 Unraveling the particle content of cosmic rays <i>Carl D. Anderson, with Herbert L. Anderson</i>	131
8 The intriguing history of the μ meson <i>Gilberto Bernardini</i>	155
9 Some aspects of French physics in the 1930s <i>Pierre V. Auger</i>	173
10 The scientific activities of Leprince-Ringuet and his group on cosmic rays: 1933–1953 <i>Louis Leprince-Ringuet</i>	177
11 The decay of “mesotrons” (1939–1943): experimental particle physics in the age of innocence <i>Bruno B. Rossi</i>	183
	v

<i>Contents</i>	vi
12 Particle physics in the 1930s: a view from Berkeley <i>Robert Serber</i>	206
13 The observation of the leptonic nature of the “mesotron” by Conversi, Pancini, and Piccioni <i>Oreste Piccioni</i>	222
14 The period that led to the 1946 discovery of the leptonic nature of the “mesotron” <i>Marcello Conversi</i>	242
15 On the discovery of the neutral kaons <i>Robert W. Thompson</i>	251
Part IV. Discussion and commentary	
16 First round-table discussion <i>Roger H. Stuewer (chairman), Robert W. Seidel, Donald F. Moyer, Victor F. Weisskopf, Gilberto Bernardini, Silvan S. Schweber, Paul A. M. Dirac, and Herbert L. Anderson</i>	261
17 Second round-table discussion <i>Spencer R. Weart (chairman), Takehiko Takabayasi, Satio Hayakawa, Charles Weiner, Bruno B. Rossi, Robert Serber, M. G. K. Menon, and Dudley Shapere</i>	278
18 Some characteristic aspects of early elementary particle theory in Japan <i>Takehiko Takabayasi</i>	294
Part V. A new picture	
19 My work in meson physics with nuclear emulsions <i>Cesare Mansueto Giulio Lattes</i>	307
20 The fine structure of hydrogen <i>Willis E. Lamb, Jr.</i>	311
21 Renormalization theory of quantum electrodynamics: an individual view <i>Julian Schwinger</i>	329
22 Two shakers of physics: memorial lecture for Sin-itiro Tomonaga <i>Julian Schwinger</i>	354
23 Particle physics in rapid transition: 1947–1952 <i>Robert E. Marshak</i>	376
Name index	402
Subject index	408

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
 Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Contributors

Carl D. Anderson
 2915 Loraine Road
 San Marino, California 91108

Herbert L. Anderson
 Physics Division MS 434
 Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory
 P. O. Box 1663
 Los Alamos, New Mexico 87545

Pierre V. Auger
 12 Rue Emile Faguet
 75014 Paris, France

Jeno M. Barnóthy*
 833 Lincoln Street
 Evanston, Illinois 60201

Madeline Barnóthy*
 833 Lincoln Street
 Evanston, Illinois 60201

Gilberto Bernardini
 Scuola Normale Superiore
 Istituto de Fisica
 Piazza dei Cavaliere 7
 I-56100 Pisa, Italy

Laurie M. Brown
 Physics Department
 Northwestern University
 Evanston, Illinois 60201

Robert Chasson*
 Department of Physics
 University of Denver
 Denver, Colorado 80208

Marcello Conversi
 Istituto di Fisica "G. Marconi"
 Università Degli Studi
 Piazzale Delle Science 5
 I-00100 Rome, Italy

Paul A. M. Dirac
 Department of Physics
 Florida State University
 Tallahassee, Florida 32306

Satio Hayakawa
 Physics Department
 Nagoya University
 Chikusa-ku
 Nagoya, Japan 464

Lillian Hoddeson
 Physics Department
 University of Illinois
 Urbana, Illinois 61801

Willis E. Lamb, Jr.
 Department of Physics
 University of Arizona
 Tucson, Arizona 85721

*Audience participant.

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
 Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Contributors

viii

Cesare Mansueto Giulio Lattes
 Instituto de Física “Gleb Wataghin”
 Universidade Estadual de Campinas
 Campinas, São Paulo, Brazil

Leon Lederman
 Fermilab
 P.O. Box 500
 Batavia, Illinois 60510

Louis Leprince-Ringuet
 86 Rue de Grenelle
 Paris 7, France

Robert E. Marshak
 202 Fincastle Drive
 Blacksburg, Virginia 24060

M. G. K. Menon
 Council of Scientific & Industrial
 Research
 Technology Bhaven
 New Mehrauli Road
 New Delhi 110029, India

Donald F. Moyer
 2025 Sherman Avenue
 Evanston, Illinois 60201

Yoichiro Nambu*
 The Enrico Fermi Institute
 University of Chicago
 5630 S. Ellis Avenue
 Chicago, Illinois 60637

H. Victor Neher
 760 Calabasas Road
 Watsonville, California 95076

Abraham Pais*
 Department of Physics
 Rockefeller University
 1230 York Avenue
 New York, New York 10021

Oreste Piccioni
 Physics Department B-019
 University of California, San Diego
 La Jolla, California 92093

*Audience participant.

Bruno B. Rossi
 Center for Space Research
 Room 37-667
 Massachusetts Institute of Technology
 Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Silvan S. Schweber
 Martin Fisher School of Physics
 Brandeis University
 Waltham, Massachusetts 02154

Julian Schwinger
 Department of Physics
 University of California, Los Angeles
 Los Angeles, California 90024

Robert W. Seidel
 History of Science and Technology
 470 Stephens Hall
 University of California
 Berkeley, California 94720

Robert Serber
 Department of Physics
 P.O. Box 133
 Columbia University
 New York, New York 10027

Dudley Shapere
 Department of Philosophy
 University of Maryland
 College Park, Maryland 20742

Dmitry Skobel'tzyn
 P. N. Lebedev Physical Institute
 Academy of Science USSR
 Leninsky Prospect, 53
 II7924 GSP
 Moscow B-333, USSR

Roger H. Stuewer
 School of Physics and Astronomy
 University of Minnesota
 Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Takehiko Takabayasi
 Department of Physics
 Nagoya University
 Chikusa-ku
 Nagoya Japan, 464

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Contributors

ix

Robert W. Thompson
5648 Dorchester
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Spencer R. Weart
Center for the History of Physics
American Institute of Physics
335 East 45th Street
New York, New York 10017

Charles Weiner
c/o STS Program
Room B-231
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Victor F. Weisskopf
Department of Physics and Astronomy
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Foreword

This book is based on the lectures and round-table discussions at the International Symposium on the History of Particle Physics, held at Fermilab in May 1980.

The organizers of the symposium, Laurie Brown and Lillian Hoddeson, argue that elementary particle physics evolved out of cosmic-ray and nuclear physics in the period 1930–50. In this same period, relativistic quantum field theory provided a theoretical structure that could be tested in the atom and extended into the subnuclear domain.

The idea was to explore these issues at a conference at which the participants in these events would reconstruct the happenings with their contemporaries, with following generations of particle physicists, and with historians of science. In planning this symposium, Hoddeson and Brown were guided by the experience and advice of Roger Stuewer, who had organized a successful symposium on the history of nuclear physics several years earlier.

The theoretical underpinnings were addressed by Paul Dirac, Victor Weisskopf, and Satio Hayakawa. Early cosmic-ray discoveries were described by Carl Anderson, Gilberto Bernardini, and Bruno Rossi. Quantum field theory was treated by Julian Schwinger, and the successful application to the atom was described by Willis Lamb, the field theorist who carried out the epochal atomic experiment. Robert Marshak and Robert Serber connected quantum field theory to the subnuclear phenomena observed in the 1940–50 cosmic-ray data and in the early postwar accelerator studies. These then were the principal speakers. Audience participation was very lively; some was sufficiently relevant to be included as short chapters, such as those of Oreste Piccioni and Robert Thompson.

Foreword

xii

It will be obvious to our readers that our speakers can only be representative of the heroes of the period under study. We are keenly aware that important contributors were not able to attend the symposium. The historians in our symposium called our attention to the omission of many important developments. In partial remedy, the editors have included a number of post-symposium papers. Dmitry Skobel'tzyn, H. Victor Neher, Pierre V. Auger, Louis Leprince-Ringuet, Marcello Conversi, Takehiko Takabayasi, Cesare M. G. Lattes, and Julian Schwinger (on Sin-itiro Tomonaga) helped to fill some of the gaps in the symposium's program. We recognize that there are still many omissions; there is room for additional symposia and much need for detailed scholarly work in this seminal period in the history of particle physics.

For the physicists at Fermilab, who tend to be obsessed with the future, the symposium gave us an opportunity to turn away, however momentarily, and pause from the routine—to step away from our fascinations with quarks and gluons and the exotica of constituent physics, to look up from our scintillation counters, microprocessors, wire chambers, Čerenkov counters, and all that regalia—and to renew contact with our culture and listen to the giants on whose shoulders we try to stand. The giants who lectured here also wrote the books we studied and established the physics upon which we base our work. They brushed away the cobwebs that obscured the beautiful theory of quantum electrodynamics, and they *observed*. The style of their observations is our heritage.

In a more personal vein, two of the speakers were my own teachers. Willis Lamb, at Columbia University during the years 1946–51, taught me 80 percent of my graduate courses. In those times we students worked very hard, but so did our professors. In fact (you may not believe this), I remember everything Willis taught me. His chapter reminds us how much the atom taught us about the world.

The second of my teachers present was Gilberto Bernardini. As a visiting professor from Rome, he brought the students at Columbia an insight into the exciting world of cosmic-ray physics. I don't remember anything Gilberto taught me. No, that is not quite true. I do remember something he taught me, and it was an interesting thing: He taught me to be naïve. He taught me to marvel at simple things that are really not so simple. I remember once when we had finished making a counter and were looking at the pulses on an oscilloscope. Yes, in those days we had oscilloscopes! A man off the street looking at the oscilloscope

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Foreword

xiii

would see green lines in a broken television tube. But the student of physics was much more sophisticated; when he saw these green lines pulsing up and down, he knew that it signified the passage of a particle, either an α particle or a μ meson. The passage of a particle through a counter happens today at Fermilab. We still look at oscilloscopes here, I'd like to reassure you, and we still see these pulses, and they signify the passage of particles through counters. This abstract happening is accepted very calmly. But Gilberto got hysterical when he saw these pulses. Of course, he is Italian. His excitement at the fact that you can interpret something so abstract as the passage of an ultramicroscopic particle and make that deduction from the green traces on the oscilloscope was a lesson which, generalized, is the essence of the subject with which we are concerned.

Leon M. Lederman

Editors' acknowledgments

It is a pleasure to thank all of those who participated in the symposium and contributed to the preparation of this volume. We sincerely regret that we are able to thank individually only a few of those who deserve credit here.

The institutions we want to thank are the following: Fermilab, which is supported by the U.S. Department of Energy and operated by the Universities Research Associates (URA), for generously hosting the symposium and for supplying many varieties of support ranging from office space and secretarial services to sustenance; the Sloan Foundation; the Division of Particles and Fields of the American Physical Society, for supplementary grants; and the Center for History of Physics of the American Institute of Physics, for support for tape recordings.

The committees we would like to thank include the Organizing Committee (Hans Bethe, Leon Lederman, Roger Stuewer, Spencer Weart, Robert R. Wilson, and ourselves), for help in selecting topics and speakers; Fermilab's History Committee (current members Richard Carrigan, chairman, Francis Cole, Thomas Collins, Lillian Hoddeson, Drasko Jovanovic, Lee Teng, Roger Thompson, Donald Young; past members Edwin Goldwasser, Richard Lundy, and Robert R. Wilson), for making the pivotal decision that Fermilab support a symposium on the history of particle physics and for continuing help with the program and arrangements; the Arrangements Committee (Betsy Anderson, Joanie Bjorken, Richard Carrigan, Helen Peterson, and May West), for masterminding the operation of the symposium; and the Exhibit Committee (Saundra Cox, Angela Gonzales, and Jose Poces), for producing an unusual and historically illuminating display of photographs and apparatus gathered from many individuals and institutions.

Editors' acknowledgments

xv

Many other committees contributed to the symposium in many ways that were not obvious, for example, in authorizing the travel support for individual symposium participants, and we are very grateful to them all.

Among the dozens of individuals whose participation in designing our undertaking was crucial, four stand out: Leon Lederman, May West, Helen Peterson, and Roger Stuewer. Had they not made their essential contributions, the symposium could not have taken place. Lederman, Fermilab's director, consistently provided enthusiastic advice and support, both moral and material. By recognizing and emphasizing publicly that the history of particle physics is part of the cultural heritage of our time, a heritage that deserves to be preserved and understood in detail, he set a precedent for scientific research leadership that has already, since our symposium, been followed at other institutions. May West, of Fermilab's library staff, generously provided necessary support services at every stage: initial invitations to speakers, preregistration and registration, handling telephone calls and symposium correspondence, processing transcripts and manuscripts. To Helen Peterson we are indebted for imaginative and effective supervision of countless essential arrangements: allocation of funds and staff; design of preregistration, registration, and symposium procedures; physical accommodations at the symposium; and the hosting of foreign guests; to name but a few. The seminal role of Roger Stuewer of the University of Minnesota included his support and advice during the early planning of the symposium, deriving from his conception and organization of the first similarly structured symposium on the history of nuclear physics at Minnesota in 1977, our model and guide.

Among the many other Fermilab employees who contributed to the symposium or to this volume, we want to thank especially the following: Richard Carrigan, for general support during the symposium in countless essential functions, including auditorium arrangements and the hosting of guests; Drasko Jovanovic, for a tour of Fermilab during the symposium, help with the exhibits, and financial assistance; Susan Grommes, for months of typing and other support services; Alfred Brenner and John Ingebretsen of the Fermilab computing department, for essential technical assistance in the preparation of this book; Joanie Bjorken, for an excellent spouse-and-friends program and a delightful May-wine garden party that all the participants at the symposium enjoyed; Chris Quigg and the Fermilab theory group for summer support for one of us (L. M. B.) while editing this volume; Roger Thompson,

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Editors' acknowledgments

xvi

for audio assistance, miscellaneous support, and library facilities; Anne Burwell and Raeburn Wheeler, for computer services; Margaret Pearson and Fred Coleman, for public information services; Thomas Collins, for technical advice; Judy Ward, Jackie Coleman, and Ellen Carr Lederman, for miscellaneous general support; Robert Armstrong, for transportation and other essential site services; Herman White, for tours at the symposium; Angela Gonzales, for the symposium poster; Brad Cox and other contributors, for the exhibit booklet; Bud Stanley and Richard Skokan, for recording and other auditorium facilities; John Barry, Cynthia Sazama-Reay, and Bill Ross, for cafeteria arrangements; Ruth Ganchiff, for arranging the concert; Rick Fenner and the photography department at Fermilab; Eileen McWayne, for telexing; Sybil Krebs and her staff, for duplicating; Pam Naber and her staff, for housing arrangements.

Non-Fermilab staff we want to thank for their contributions include the following: speakers, symposium chairmen, historians, and other symposium participants; Betsy Anderson, for the program booklet, operation of auditorium microphones during the symposium, and telephone arrangements for Carl Anderson's talk; Jeanne Laberrigue, for communicating the papers of Pierre Auger and Louis Leprince-Ringuet; Robert Chasson, for securing the contribution from H. Victor Neher; Gordon Baym, for general support and technical assistance; Brigitte Brown, for general assistance and the operation of microphones during the symposium; Albert Wattenberg, for technical advice; Dana Wade, Judy Cohen, and Sharon Soper, for typing; Wen-yuan Qian, for editorial assistance; Kathy Johnson, for photography; Mary K. Gaillard, for translation of the chapters by Pierre Auger and Louis Leprince-Ringuet; Michiji Konuma, Victoria Davis, and Riccardo Levi-Setti, for contributions to the exhibit; and Kyle Wallace, for many helpful conversations pertaining to the preparation of this volume.

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

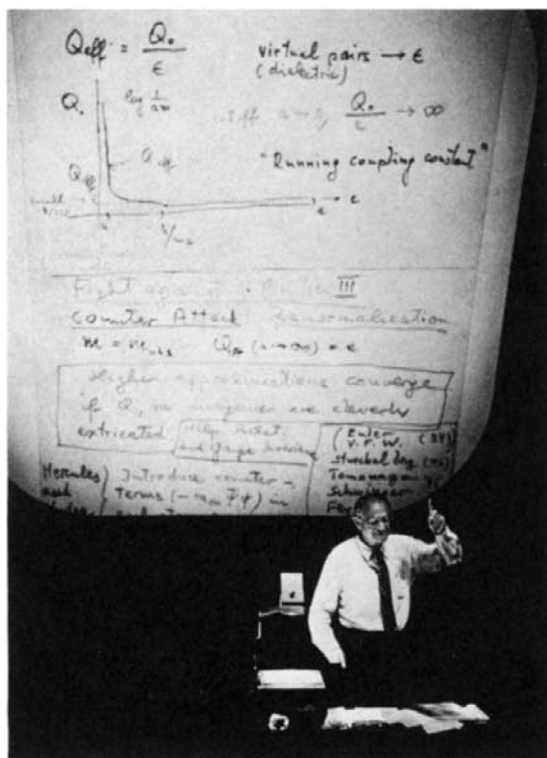
Photographs of the symposium



At May wine buffet, left to right: Laurie Brown, Julian Schwinger, Lillian Hoddeson, Peter Galison, Satio Hayakawa, Bruno Rossi (credit: Ryuji Yamada).



Paul A. M. Dirac (credit: Fermilab Photography Department).



Victor Weisskopf delivering his talk at the symposium (credit: Fermilab Photography Department).

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Photographs of the symposium

xix



Left to right: Satio Hayakawa, Abraham Pais, Robert Marshak
(credit: Fermilab Photography Department).



Left to right: Gilberto Bernardini and his former graduate student
Leon Lederman (credit: Kathy Johnson).

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Photographs of the symposium

xx



Panel discussion, left to right: Herbert Anderson, Samuel Schweber, Victor Weisskopf, Paul Dirac, Gilberto Bernardini, Robert Seidel (credit: Fermilab Photography Department).



Panel discussion, left to right: Dudley Shapere, Charles Weiner, Robert Serber, M. G. K. Menon, Bruno Rossi, Satio Hayakawa (credit: Fermilab Photography Department).

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Photographs of the symposium

xxi



Yoichiro Nambu and Takehiko Takabayasi (credit: Kathy Johnson).

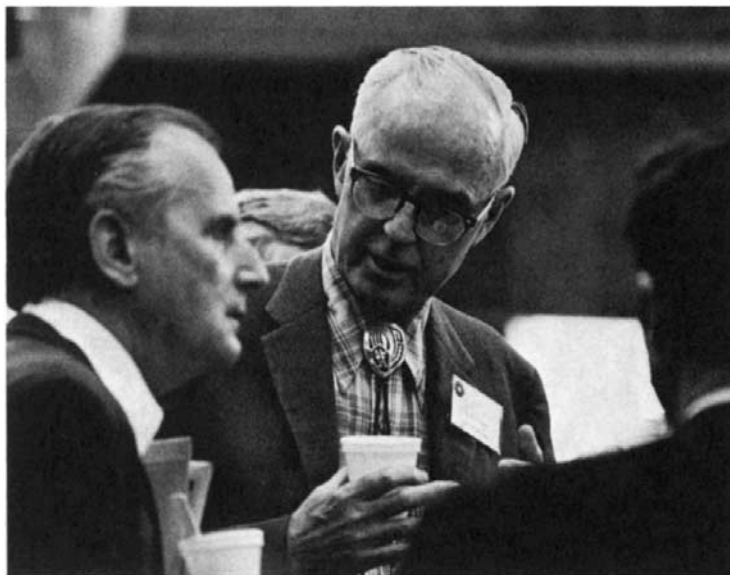


Spencer Weart, Robert Wilson and M. G. K. Menon, conversing at symposium coffee break (credit: Fermilab Photography Department).

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-33837-0 - The Birth of Particle Physics
Edited by Laurie M. Brown and Lillian Hoddeson
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Photographs of the symposium

xxii



Willis Lamb conversing with participant at the symposium (credit: Fermilab Photography Department).



Part of symposium Planning Committee in the Milton G. White History of Accelerators Room at Fermilab, left to right: Richard Carrigan, Brigitte Brown, Laurie Brown, Donald Moyer, May West, Joan Bjorken, and Lillian Hoddeson (credit: Fermilab Photography Department).