In the first part of my lecture I would like to tell you a bit about the state of knowledge in the field of Elementary Particle Physics as the decade of the 1960's began with particular emphasis upon the Weak Interactions. In the second part I will cover the planning, implementation and analysis of the first high energy neutrino experiment. My colleagues, Jack Steinberger and Leon Lederman, will discuss the evolution of the field of high energy neutrino physics beyond this first experiment and the significance of this effort when seen in the context of today’s view of elementary particle structure.

I. HISTORICAL REVIEW
By the year 1960 the interaction of elementary particles had been classified into four basic strengths. The weakest of these, the gravitational interaction does not play a significant role in the laboratory study of elementary particles and will be ignored. The others are:

1. Strong Interactions
This class covers the interactions among so-called hadrons. Among these hadrons are the neutrons and protons that we are all familiar with along with the pions and other mesons that serve to tie them together into nuclei. Obviously, the interaction that ties two protons into a nucleus must overcome the electrostatic repulsion which tends to push them apart. The strong interactions are short range, typically acting over a distance of $10^{-13}$ cm, but at that distance are some two orders of magnitude stronger than electromagnetic interactions.

In general, as presently understood, hadrons are combinations of the most elementary strongly interacting particles, called quarks. You will hear more about them later.
2. Electromagnetic Interactions

You are all familiar with electromagnetic interactions from your daily experience. Like charges repel one another. Opposite charges attract. The earth acts like a giant magnet. Indeed matter itself is held together by the electromagnetic interactions among electrons and nuclei. With the exception of the neutrinos, all elementary particles have electromagnetic interactions either through charge, or magnetic property, or the ability to directly interact with charge or magnetic moment. In 1960, the only known elementary particles apart from the hadrons were the three leptons -- electron, muon and neutrino with some suspicion that there might be two types of neutrinos. Both the electron and muon are electromagnetically interacting.

3. Weak Interactions

Early in the century it was discovered that some nuclei are unstable against decay into residual nuclei and electrons or positrons. There were two important characteristics of these so-called decays.

a. They were “slow”. That is to say, the lifetimes of the decaying nuclei corresponded to an interaction which is much weaker than that characteristic of electromagnetism.

b. Energy and momentum were missing.

If one examined the spectrum of the electrons which were emitted, then it was clear that to preserve energy, momentum and angular momentum in the decay it was necessary that there be another decay product present. That decay product needed to be of nearly zero mass and have half integral spin. This observation was first made by Pauli. Fermi later gave it the name of neutrino.

The development of the Fermi theory of weak interactions in fact made the neutrino’s properties even more specific. The neutrino has a spin of $1/2$ and a very low probability of interacting in matter. The predicted cross-section for the interaction of a decay neutrino with nucleons is about $10^{-43}$ cm$^2$. Thus, one of these neutrinos would on the average pass through a light year of lead without doing anything.

The $\beta$-decay reactions can be simply written as:

$$\begin{align*}
Z &\to (Z+1) + e^- + \nu \\
Z &\to (Z-1) + e^+ + \nu
\end{align*}$$

By the failure to detect neutrino-less double $\beta$ decay, namely the process $Z \to (Z+2) + e^- + e^-$, it was established that the neutrino and anti-neutrino were indeed different particles. In the 1950’s, by means of a series of experiments associated with the discovery of parity violation it was also established that the neutrinos and anti-neutrinos were produced in a state of complete longitudinal polarization or helicity, with the neutrinos being left-handed and anti-neutrinos right-handed.

In the 1940’s and 1950’s, a number of other weak interactions were discovered. The pion, mentioned earlier as the hadron which serves to hold the nucleus together, can be produced in a free state. Its mass is about 273
times the electron mass and it decays in about $2.5 \times 10^{-8}$ seconds into a muon and a particle with neutrino-like properties. The muon in turn exhibits all of the properties of a heavy electron with a mass of about 207 times the electron mass. It decays in about $2.2 \times 10^{-6}$ seconds into an electron and two neutrinos. The presumed reactions, when they were discovered, were written as:

$$\pi^+ \rightarrow \mu^+ + \nu$$
$$\pi^- \rightarrow \mu^- + \bar{\nu}$$
$$\mu^+ \rightarrow e^+ + \nu + \bar{\nu}$$

It was also known by 1960 that these decays were parity violating and that the neutrinos here had the same helicity as the neutrinos emitted in $\beta$ decay.

Needless to say, there was a general acceptance in 1959 that the neutrinos associated with $\beta$ decay were the same particles as those associated with pion and muon decay. The only hint that this may not be so came from a paper by G. Feinberg in 1958 in which he showed that the decay $\mu \rightarrow e^- + \gamma$ should occur with a branching ratio of about $10^{-4}$ if a charged intermediate boson ($W$) moderated the weak interaction. Inasmuch as the experimental limit was much lower ($\sim 10^{-8}$) this paper was thought of as a proof that there was no intermediate boson. Feinberg did point out, however, that a boson might still exist if the muon neutrino and the electron neutrino were different.

One final historical note with respect to neutrinos. In the mid-nineteen fifties Cowen and Reines in an extremely difficult pioneering experiment were able to make a direct observation of the interaction of neutrinos in matter. They used a reactor in which a large number of $\bar{\nu}$ are produced and observed the reaction $\bar{\nu} + p \rightarrow n + e^\prime$. The cross-section observed was consistent with that which was required by the theory.

II. CONCEPTION, PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EXPERIMENT

The first conception of the experiment was in late 1959. The Columbia University Physics Department had a tradition of a coffee hour at which the latest problems in the world of Physics came under intense discussions. At one of these Professor T. D. Lee was leading such a discussion of the possibilities for investigating weak interactions at high energies. A number of experiments were considered and rejected as not feasible. As the meeting broke up there was some sense of frustration as to what could ever be done to disentangle the high energy weak interactions from the rest of what takes place when energetic particles are allowed to collide with targets. The only ray of hope was the expectation that the cross sections characteristic of the weak interactions increased as the square of the center of mass energy at least until such time as an intermediate boson or other damping mechanism took hold.

That evening the key notion came to me - perhaps the neutrinos from pion decay could be produced in sufficient numbers to allow us to use them
in an experiment. A quick "back of the envelope" calculation indicated the feasibility of doing this at one or another of the accelerators under construction or being planned at that time. I called T. D. Lee at home with the news and his enthusiasm was overwhelming. The next day planning for the experiment began in earnest. Meanwhile Lee and Yang began a study of what could be learned from the experiment and what the detailed cross-sections were.

Not long after this point we became aware that Bruno Pontecorvo had also come up with many of the same ideas as we had. He had written up a proposed experiment with neutrinos from stopped pions, but he had also discussed the possibilities of using energetic pions at a conference in the Soviet Union. His overall contribution to the field of neutrino physics was certainly major.

Leon Lederman, Jack Steinberger, Jean-Marc Gaillard and I spent a great deal of time trying to decide on an ideal neutrino detector. Our first choice, if it were feasible, would have been a large Freon bubble chamber that Jack Steinberger had built. (In the end that would have given about a factor of 10 fewer events at the Brookhaven A.G.S. than the spark chamber which we did use. Hence it was not used in this experiment).

Fortunately for us, the spark chamber was invented at just about that time. Gaillard, Lederman and I drove down to Princeton to see one at Cronin's laboratory. It was small, but the idea was clearly the right one. The three of us decided to build the experiment around a ten ton spark chamber design.

In the summer of 1960, Lee and Yang again had a major impact on our thinking. They pointed out that it was essentially impossible to explain the absence of the decay $\mu \rightarrow e + \gamma$ without positing two types of neutrinos. Their argument as presented in the 1960 Rochester Conference was more or less as follows:

1. The simple four-fermion point model which explains low energy weak interactions leads to a cross-section increasing as the square of the center of mass energy.
2. At the same time, a point interaction must of necessity be S-wave and thus the cross-section cannot exceed $\lambda/4\pi$ without violating unitarity. This violation would take place at about 300 GeV.
3. Thus, there must be a mechanism which damps the total cross-section before the energy reaches 300 GeV. This mechanism would imply a "size" to the interaction region which would in turn imply charges and currents which would couple to photons. This coupling would lead to the reaction $\mu \rightarrow e + \gamma$ through the diagram.
4. The anticipated branching ratio for $\mu \rightarrow e + \gamma$ should not differ appreciably from $10^{-5}$. The fact that the branching ratio was known to be less than $10^{-8}$ was then **strong evidence** for the two-neutrino hypothesis.

With these observations in mind the experiment became highly motivated toward investigating the question of whether $\nu_\mu = \nu_e$. If there were only one type of neutrino then the theory predicted that there should be equal numbers of muons and electrons produced. If there were two types of neutrinos then the production of electrons and muons should be different. Indeed, if one followed the Lee-Yang argument for the absence of $\mu \rightarrow e + \gamma$ then the muon neutrino should produce no electrons at all.

We now come to the design of the experiment. The people involved in the effort were Gordon Danby, Jean-Marc Gaillard, Konstantin Goulianos, Nariman Mistry along with Leon Lederman, Jack Steinberger and myself. The facility used to produce the pions was the newly completed Alternate Gradient Synchrotron (A.G.S.) at the Brookhaven National Laboratory. Although the maximum energy of the accelerator was 30 GeV, it was necessary to run it at 15 GeV in order to minimize the background from energetic muons.

Pions were produced by means of collisions between the internal proton beam and a beryllium target at the end of a 3-meter straight section (see Figure 1). The detector was set at an angle of 7.5° to the proton direction behind a 13.5-meter steel wall made of the deck-plates of a dismantled cruiser. Additional concrete and lead were placed as shown.

To minimize the amount of cosmic ray background it was important to minimize the fraction of time during which the beam was actually hitting the target. Any so-called “events” which occurred outside of that window could then be excluded as not being due to machine induced high energy radiation.

The A.G.S. at 15 GeV operator at a repetition rate of one pulse per 1.2 seconds. The beam RF structure consisted of 20 ns bursts every 220 ns. The beam itself was deflected onto the target over the course of 20-30 $\mu$s for each cycle of the machine. Thus, the target was actually being bombarded for only $2 \times 10^{-6}$ sec. for each second of real time.

*Figure 1. Plan view of the A.G.S. neutrino experiment.*
In order to make effective use of this beam structure it was necessary to gate the detector on the bursts of pions which occurred when the target was actually being struck. This was done by means of a 30 ns time window which was triggered through the use of a Cerenkov counter in front of the shielding wall. Phasing of the Cerenkov counter relative to the detector was accomplished by raising the A.G.S. energy and allowing muons to penetrate the shield.

Incidentally, this tight timing also served to exclude 90 % of the background induced by slow neutrons.

The rate of production of pions and kaons was well known at the time and it was quite straightforward to calculate the anticipated neutrino flux. In Figure 2 we present an energy spectrum of the neutrino flux for a 15 GeV proton beam making use of both pion and kaon decay. It is clear that kaon decay is a major contributor for neutrino energies greater than about 1.2 GeV. (These neutrinos come from the reaction $K^+ \rightarrow \mu^+ + \left( \frac{\nu}{\bar{\nu}} \right)$).

Needless to say, the main shielding wall is thick enough to suppress all strongly interacting particles. Indeed, the only hadrons that were expected to emerge from that wall were due to neutrino interactions in the last meter or so. Muons entering the wall with up to 17 GeV would have been stopped by ionization loss. The only serious background was due to neutrons leaking through the concrete floor; these were effectively eliminated in the second half the experiment.

![Energy spectrum of neutrinos as expected for A.G.S. running at 15 GeV.](image)

Figure 2. Energy spectrum of neutrinos as expected for A.G.S. running at 15 GeV.
Figure 3. Spark chamber and counter arrangement. This is the front view with neutrinos entering on the left. A are the trigger counters. B, C and D are used in anti-coincidence.

Figure 4. A photograph of the chambers and counters
The spark chamber is shown in Figure 3 and 4. It consisted of ten modules, each of 9 aluminum plates, 44 in. x 44 in. x 1 in. thick separated by 3/8 in. Lucite spacers. Anticoincidence counters covered the front, top and rear of the assembly, as shown, to reduce the effect of cosmic rays and muons which penetrate the shielding wall. Forty triggering counters were inserted between modules and at the end of the assembly. Each triggering counter consisted of two sheets of scintillator separated by 3/4 in. of aluminum. The scintillators were put in electronic coincidence.

*Figure 5. Some typical single muon events.*
Events were selected for further study if they originated within a fiducial volume which excluded the first two plates, two inches at top and bottom and four inches at front and rear of the assembly. Single track events also needed to stay within the fiducial volume if extrapolated back for two gaps. Single tracks were not accepted unless their production angle relative to the neutrino direction was less than 60°.

A total of 113 events were found which satisfied these criteria. Of these, 49 were very short single tracks. All but three of these appeared in the first half of the experiment before the shielding was improved and they were considered to be background. In retrospect, some of these were presumably neutral current events, but at the time it was impossible to distinguish them from neutron induced interactions due to leakage over and under the shield.

The remaining events included the following categories.

a) 34 “single muons” of more than 300 MeV/c of visible momentum. Some of these are illustrated in Figure 5. Among them are some with one or two extraneous sparks at the vertex, presumably from nuclear recoils.

b) 22 “vertex” events. Some of these show substantial energy release. These events are presumably muons accompanied by pions in the collision. (See Figure 6)

c) 8 “shower” candidates. Of these 6 were selected so that their potential range, had they been muons would correspond to more than the 300 MeV/c. These were the only candidates for single electrons in the experiment. We will consider them in detail shortly.

It was quite simple to demonstrate that the 56 events in categories (a) and (b) were almost all of neutrino origin.

By running the experiment with the accelerator off and triggering on cosmic rays it was possible to place a limit of 5 ± 1 on the total number of the single muon events which could be due to such background. Indeed, the slight asymmetry in Figure 7 is consistent with this hypothesis.

It was simple to demonstrate that these events were not neutron induced. Referring to Figure 7 we see how they tend to point toward the target through the main body of steel shielding. No more than 10^{-4} events should have arisen from neutrons penetrating the shield (other than from neutrino induced events in the last foot of the shield itself). Indeed, removing four feet of steel from the front would have increased the event rate by a factor of 100; no such increase was seen. Furthermore, if the events were neutron induced they would have clustered toward the first chambers. In fact they were uniformly spread throughout the detector subject only to the 300 MeV/c requirement.

The evidence that the single particle tracks were primarily due to muons was based on the absence of interactions. If these tracks were pions we would have expected 8 interactions. Indeed, even if all of the stopping tracks were considered to be interacting, it would still lead to the conclusion that the mean free path of these tracks was 4 times that expected for hadrons.

As a final check on the origin of these events we effectively replaced four
feet of the shield by an equivalent amount as close as possible to the beryllium target. This reduced the decay distance by a factor of 8. The rate of events decreased from $1.46 \pm 0.02$ to $0.3\pm0.2$ per $10^{16}$ incident protons.

All of the above arguments convinced us that we were in fact looking at neutrino induced events and that 29 of the 34 single track events were muons produced by neutrinos (The other five being background due to cosmic rays). It is these events that will form the basis of our arguments as to

Figure 6. Some typical "vertex" events.
the identity of $\nu_\mu$ and $\nu_e$. But, first we must see what electrons would look like in passing through our spark chambers. An electron will on the average radiate half of its energy in about four of the aluminum plates. This will lead to gammas which will in turn convert to other electron-positron pairs. The net result is called a “shower”. Typically an electron shower shows a number of sparks in each gap between plates. The total number of sparks in the shower increases roughly linearly with electron energy in 400 MeV region.

In order to calibrate the chambers we exposed them to a beam of 400 GeV electrons at the Brookhaven Cosmotron (See Figure 8). We noted that the triggering system was 67% efficient with respect to these electrons. We then plotted the spark distribution as shown in Figure 9 for a sample of $2/3 \times 29$ expected showers. The 6 “shower” events were also plotted. Clearly, the difference between the expected distribution, had there been only one neutrino, and the observed distribution was substantial. We concluded that $\nu_\mu \neq \nu_e$.

Figure 7. Projected angular distribution of the single track events. The neutrino direction is taken as zero degrees.
As a further point, we compared the expected rate of neutrino events with that predicted by the Fermi theory and found agreement within 30\%.

The results of the experiment were described in an article in Physical Review Letters Volume 9, pp. 36-44 (1962).

Figure 8. Typical 400 MeV/c electrons from the Cosmotron calibration run.
Figure 9. Spark distribution for 400 MeV/c electrons normalized to expected number of showers should be $\nu_\mu \neq \nu_e$. Also shown are the observed “shower” events.