

AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

Terry M. Christensen for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of Science on April 3, 2009.

Title: John Archibald Wheeler: A Study of Mentoring in Modern Physics

Abstract approved:

Mary Jo Nye

This dissertation has two objectives. The first objective is to determine where best to situate the study of mentoring (i.e. the 'making of scientists') on the landscape of the history of science and science studies. This task is accomplished by establishing mentoring studies as a link between the robust body of literature dealing with Research Schools and the emerging scholarship surrounding the development, dispersion, and evolution of pedagogy in the training of twentieth century physicists. The second, and perhaps more significant and novel objective, is to develop a means to quantitatively assess the mentoring workmanship of scientific craftsmen who preside over the final stages of preparation when apprentices are transformed into professional scientists. The project builds upon a 2006 Master's Thesis that examined John Archibald Wheeler's work as a mentor of theoretical physicists at Princeton University in the years 1938 – 1976. It includes Wheeler's work as a mentor at the University of Texas and is qualitatively and quantitatively enhanced by virtue of the author having access to five separate collections with archival

holdings of John Wheeler's papers and correspondence, as well as having access to thirty one tape recorded interviews that feature John Wheeler as either the interviewee or a prominent subject of discussion. The project also benefited from the opportunity to meet with and gather background information from a number of John Wheeler's former colleagues and students. Included in the dissertation is a content analysis of the acknowledgements in 949 Ph.D. dissertations, 122 Master's Theses, and 670 Senior Theses that were submitted during Wheeler's career as an active mentor. By establishing a census of the students of the most active mentors at Princeton and Texas, it is possible to tabulate the publication record of these apprentice groups and obtain objective measures of mentoring efficacy. The dissertation concludes by discussing the wider applicability of the quantitative methodology and the qualitative analysis for the history of science and science studies.

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John Archibald Wheeler: A Study of Mentoring in Modern Physics

by
Terry M. Christensen

A DISSERTATION

submitted to

Oregon State University

in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Presented April 3, 2009
Commencement June 2009

Doctor of Philosophy dissertation of Terry M. Christensen
presented on April 3, 2009

APPROVED:

Major Professor, representing History of Science

Chair of the Department of History

Dean of the Graduate School

I understand that my dissertation will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my dissertation to any reader upon request.

Terry M. Christensen, Author

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am compelled to begin by thanking the National Science Foundation for its financial support of this endeavor in the form of Dissertation Improvement Grant 0751310. I am also grateful for the financial support and honor of resident fellowships awarded by the American Philosophical Society and the Philadelphia Center for the History of Science (PACHS). I am also indebted to Babak Ashrafi and Bonnie Clause of PACHS, who supplemented that agency's generous financial support with numerous opportunities for professional networking in the Philadelphia-Princeton academic community. Additionally, Finally, I was aided on this project in no small measure by a timely and particularly helpful suggestion from Professor David Kaiser of MIT. I am most appreciative a timely and expeditious Grant-in-Aid awarded to me by the American Institute of Physics.

This project required extensive research in five separate archival collections. Not surprisingly, I have benefited a great deal from the gracious hospitality and copious amounts of assistance from librarians, archivists, and technical support personnel at each of these institutions. At the Niels Bohr Library in the American Institute of Physics, I had the pleasure of working with Melanie Brown, Julie Gass, Stephanie Jankowski, Meghan Petersen, and Jennifer Sullivan, all of whom work under the capable direction of Joseph Anderson. At the American Philosophical Society, Martin Levitt's staff, including Anne Downey, Sandra Duffy, Roy Goodman, Charles Greifenstein, Earle Spamer, and Lydia Vazquez-Rivera, were especially helpful in view of the limited time-

frame in which I had to work in that facility. The members of Margaret Schlankey's staff at the Center for American History at the University of Texas, including Catherine Best, Michelle Bogart, Sarah Cleary, Roy Hinojosa, Michelle Lacy, Stephanie Malmros, Carol Mead, Emily Preece, and Shelley Rowland, provided timely and effective assistance. I am also grateful to, Margaret Carneiro, Janice Duff, Alex Marshall, Deborah McCarthy, Tommy Montoya, Pedro Moreno, David Reza, and Susan Rezalie, all of whom are part of Suzanne McAnna's staff in the Circulation Services Department of the Perry-Casteñeda Library the University of Texas at Austin. Molly White, Head Librarian of the Physics, Mathematics, and Astronomy Library also at the University of Texas, was particularly helpful with organizing the research such that I could maximize the use of my limited time in Texas. The most exhaustive research was conducted at Princeton University, where I had the privilege of working with Daniel Linke's staff including, Atrish Bagchi, Tad Bennicoff, Dan Brennan, Jennifer Cole, John Delooper, Sophia Echavarría, Adriane Hanson, Christine Kitto, Christie Lutz, Gene Pope, and Daniel Santamaria. Elizabeth Bennett, Princeton Librarian for the History of Science, and Jane Holmquist, Princeton's Astrophysics, Mathematics, and Physics Librarian were most helpful in organizing the Princeton research and facilitating the transport of dissertations and theses to and from my research area in the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library. The entire Special Collections staff of the Allen Library at the University of Washington went out of their way to make my stay there both pleasant and productive. In particular, I benefited

from the conscientious efforts of Katie Blake, Nicole Bouche, Mark Carlson, Sandra Kroupa, and Jim Stack. Kelly Spring, Assistant Curator of Manuscripts, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University, also provided timely and conscientious assistance in response to my questions. Finally, I would be grossly remiss if I failed to acknowledge the sustained and supportive efforts of the staff at Valley Library. Jane Nichols, Librarian for the History of Science, Patricia Narcum-Perez, supervisor for Circulation and Collection Maintenance, and Jeremy Belsher of the Circulation Staff have been particularly helpful throughout my tenure at Oregon State.

Of course getting to those institutions and navigating the campuses on which they are situated was made infinitely easier by Dutton, my traveling companion for nearly eight years. It is very difficult to convey everything that a Guide Dog does for his or her partner as they work together. Some things are tangible—most are not. This much is certain; Dutton and his predecessor Shippey have made it possible for me to build this new career. I cannot imagine how much more difficult this voyage would have been without either Dutton or Shippey. I am deeply indebted to Guide Dogs for the Blind for making these partnerships possible. Similarly, I am obliged to note the work of the Oregon Commission for the Blind which helped me develop the basic skills to navigate in a permanent fog as well as the technical proficiency necessary to exploit the advances in adaptive hardware and software. Philip Bourbeau, Chris Christian, Patricia MacDonnell, and Winslow Parker all deserve special mention in this context.

Even with the benefit of training provided by the Oregon Commission for the Blind and the able assistance of Dutton, there are still significant challenges associated with being a visually impaired scholar. Throughout my career at Oregon State, these difficulties have been considerably mitigated by Dr. Tracy Bentley-Townlin's staff in the Disability Access Services Office. I am particularly indebted to Technology and Production Support Services Manager, Haris Gunadi, his colleague Angela Tibbs, along with work-study assistants, Sheena Chen, Anton Dragunov, Caryn Ong, Jessi Ong, and Scott Shermer. Having corresponded with and-or visited a significant number of universities as part of this research (as well as prior to coming to Corvallis), it is clear to me that there is no better place to be a visually impaired scholar than Oregon State University.

My academic career has also profited handsomely from my associations with Professors, Ron Doel, Paul Farber, Melinda Gormley, William Husband, Ben Mutschler, Robert Nye, William Robbins, Lisa Sarasohn, and Jeffrey Sklansky of the Department of History as well as Professor William Lunch of the Department of Political Science and Professor Sharyn Clough of the Department of Philosophy.

This endeavor would have been exponentially more difficult without the unyielding support and encouragement of family and friends. Here, I particularly want to acknowledge Terry Anderson, Scott Andros, Dave and Pam Baldwin, Bill and Chris Bannerman, Warren and Verna Blakslee, Len and Mary Anne Cadwallader, Michelle Cadwallader, Sarah Cadwallader, Tom and

Katherine Cadwallader, Calvin T. and Judith Christensen, Gary and Jo Christensen, David and Virginia Dugger, Erik Ellis and Kristen Johnson, Darlene Hedin, Rachel Koroloff, Tully Long, Steve Lucker, Chuck Meitle, Ron Smith, Cindy Spencer, Leandra Swanner, and Katie Zimmerman. Many of the aforementioned served—often involuntarily—as sounding boards while I worked out the optimum course to steer through various logical arguments. I am also grateful for the assistance and enthusiastic support offered by many of John Wheeler’s former students and colleagues including Jacob Bekenstein, Paul Boynton, Adam Burrows, Freeman Dyson, Val Fitch, Larry Ford, Robert Fuller, Robert Geroch, Kent Harrison, Jim Hartle, Daniel Holz, Jim Isenberg, Daniel Kevles, John Klauder, Daniel Marlow, Bahram Mashoon, Richard Matzner, Alan Mills, Charles Misner, Daniel Rohrlich, Lawrence Shepley, S. Fred Singer, Daniel Sperber, John Toll, J. Peter Vajk, Robert Wald, Steven Weinberg, Cheuk-Yin Wong, and Wojciech Zurek. In addition to those named above, Kip S. Thorne, the Feynman Professor of Theoretical Physics at Caltech, deserves special mention. Professor Thorne’s book, *Black Holes and Time Warps: Einstein’s Outrageous Legacy*, was a major influence in my decision to return to school and pursue an academic vocation after the loss of visual acuity forced the termination of my seafaring career. Indeed, Kip’s remarks about having John Wheeler as a mentor motivated this project and the Master’s Thesis which preceded it.

Over the course of my life, I have been blessed with many mentors—both personal and professional. I would be hugely remiss if, in an

acknowledgement to a dissertation about mentoring, I failed to name those individuals who provided timely, sustained, and comprehensive counsel when it was needed most. Here I would include Professor David Scott Arnold, MGYSGT Calvin T. Christensen, USMC (Ret.), the Hon. Robert Chopping, Professor Robert Deery, Coach Ray Downs, Sr. Francis Madden, SNJM, Coach John Mattila, Capt. Reino Mattila, USMM, Mr. Marc Pemberton, Sr. Cecilia Ranger SNJM, Coach Dennis Warren, and Coach Fred Wilson.

There are two other individuals whose contribution to my professional success cannot be overstated. Despite the lack of a formal academic relationship, Professor Ken Ford took me under his wing. He provided timely counsel and professional socialization in the community of physicists. Perhaps most significantly, Ken championed my authorship of an article about John Wheeler in the April 2009 issue of *Physics Today*. It is all but impossible to imagine how this project would have taken its present form without Ken's support and encouragement. Finally, I have benefited enormously from the patience, encouragement, patience, empathy, patience, gentle course corrections, patience, and prescient counsel of Professor Mary Jo Nye. More than any other proximate cause, I am a professional historian because she took the time and effort to make me one. Having become something of an authority on mentoring, I can unequivocally assert that as a mentor, Professor Mary Jo Nye is second to none. I am grateful to her beyond measure.

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ABBREVIATION KEY FOR ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

| | |
|----------|--|
| APS-JAW | John Archibald Wheeler Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA |
| NBL-AIP | Niels Bohr Library and Archives, Center for the History of Physics, American Institute of Physics, College Park, MD |
| PRIN | Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton, NJ |
| PRIN-JAW | John Archibald Wheeler, Faculty File, Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton, NJ |
| PRIN-PHY | Physics Department Records, Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton, NJ |
| UT-JAW | John Archibald Wheeler Papers, Archives of American Mathematics, The Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX |
| UT-PCL | University of Texas Archives, Perry-Casteñeda Library, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX |
| UW-HMJ | Senator Henry M. Jackson Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Library, Seattle, WA |

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to a very special group of people. First and foremost, I dedicate this work to my wife and the Woman of My Dreams, Elizabeth P. Cadwallader. This work is also dedicated to three fine young men who have given my life new meaning, our sons, Steve Adams, Ben Adams, and Jay Jones. Finally, I dedicate this work to T. Sidney and Carolyn K. Cadwallader, my father and mother-in-law, who have been steadfast role models for living a life that is rooted in integrity.

JOHN ARCHIBALD WHEELER: A STUDY OF MENTORING IN MODERN PHYSICS

Preface

John Archibald Wheeler (1911 – 2008) was clearly among the first rank of twentieth century physicists. In fact, Wheeler was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Physics on at least two occasions.¹ Wheeler's many contributions to the corpus of physics include, but certainly are not limited to, the development of the scattering matrix that describes all possible outcomes for the collision of sub-atomic particles, his co-authorship of the first generalized description of nuclear fission, his revitalization of general relativity as a fertile research topic, and his pioneering work on the information theoretics in quantum mechanics. In fact, two books, *Gravitation* (co-authored with former students Charles W. Misner and Kip S. Thorne) and *Quantum Theory and Measurement* (co-authored with Wojciech H. Zurek), are among the top one percent of cited publications in physics.² What is more, as late as February 2009, one of these texts (*Gravitation*) remained in print, without revision, despite having been first published in 1973, more than thirty-five years ago.

These and other renowned accomplishments notwithstanding, I argue in this dissertation that John Wheeler's many contributions to the *corpus* of

¹ Ken Ford, personal communication with author, 05 Jan 2009; Val Fitch, personal communication with author, 06 Jan 2009; Kip Thorne personal communication with author, 06 Jan 2009.

² See Charles W. Misner, Kip S. Thorne, and John Archibald Wheeler, *Gravitation* (New York: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1973); John Archibald Wheeler and Wojciech Hubert Zurek, *Quantum Theory and Measurement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984). The assertion of citation data is based on citation counts from Google Scholar as detailed in the methodology section of Chapter I.

physics are less important than his contributions to the *community* of physicists. This assertion is based on the nature of scientific knowledge. Obviously, there would be no physics without continued growth in the quality and quantity of what is known about the universe around us. And yet, the bits of evidence that constitute that body are cumulative in nature.

This is not to say that the advancement of physics, or any other discipline for that matter, can be described as a linear chain of ideas, experimental data, and theoretical constructs that build upon one another in an inexorable and triumphant march of progress. Clearly, this model is an oversimplification. Indeed, as Thomas Kuhn (1922 – 1996) pointed out in his oft-quoted *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, science advances through fits and starts, rather similar to the “punctuated equilibriums” that characterize biological evolution. Over time, one can discern “Kuhnian cycles” of normal science punctuated by revolutions in which a once dominant theoretical construct is replaced by a more or less rapidly emergent worldview. More specifically, during the periods of normal science, evidence that does not support the presumed theoretical construct is deemed anomalous or even suspect. When however, the amount of anomalous evidence reaches a critical mass, there follows a conceptual upheaval, after which a new theoretical construct becomes dominant.³ It is important to note here that regardless of which theoretical construct prevails, none of the reproducible evidence is

³ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962, 1970), 167-169.

discarded. In a scientific revolution, we toss out the conceptual baby, not the evidentiary bath-water.⁴

This mode of operation is also reflected in the training of scientists. Scientific education, as Kuhn has pointed out, is textbook dependent until the last year or two of graduate school. Unlike historians, to cite one of many such examples, scientists in training do not examine a plethora of texts in order to formulate and synthesize a world view that is cognizant of, if not congruent with, the thinking of earlier scholars. Kuhn notes, "Scientific education makes use of no equivalent for the art museum or the library of classics and the result is a sometimes drastic distortion in the scientist's perception of his discipline's past." Indeed, once a dominant world-view is overturned, Kuhn observes, "a scientific community simultaneously renounces, as a fit subject for professional scrutiny, most of the books and articles in which that paradigm had been embodied."⁵ Such textbooks, of course, carefully present the evidentiary basis for the presumed theoretical construct. Thus, the very training of scientists simultaneously instills a disregard for discarded hypotheses and a predilection to preserve and evaluate evidence in the light of a dominant world view.

The foregoing should not be construed as a critique of scientific education. There are good reasons for training scientists as we have. The point is that as the discipline of physics develops a more comprehensive world model, a series of theoretical constructs will come and go, and even those

⁴ Kuhn, 1970, 169.

⁵ Kuhn, 1970, 167.

constructs that remain have a somewhat transient significance for new generations. As the Nobel Laureate and theoretical father of the meson, Hideki Yukawa (1907-1981) has observed:

However, as time goes on, what seemed initially to be abstract has gradually become something concrete to many physicists and a new sort of intuition took shape in their minds. Nowadays, a four-dimensional space-time world is intuitively grasped by a physicist almost as clearly as Newton's space and time were grasped by those in his time.⁶

In essence, Yukawa is saying that today's stunning conceptual breakthrough is tomorrow's mere building block, upon which future breakthroughs will be predicated. In any case, it is clear that evidentiary contributions to the corpus of knowledge are cumulative.

A proficient mentor, on the other hand, may well have a multiplicative influence on generations of scientists. The sociologist of science Harriet Zuckerman has examined aspects of the 'master-apprentice' relationship among scientists in her book, *Scientific Elite*. Among her examples of a master-apprentice chain, Zuckerman traces six generations of chemists from the Nobel Laureate Hans Krebs (1900 – 1981) through four generations of

⁶ Hideki Yukawa, *Creativity and Intuition: A Physicist Looks at East and West*, trans. John Bester (Tokyo: Kodansha International, Ltd., 1973), 103.

Nobel laureates and three generations of celebrated chemists all the way back to Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier (1743 – 1794).⁷

What is true for scientific mentors in general is true for John Archibald Wheeler in particular. Speaking at a 1977 festschrift honoring Wheeler, the former Wheeler student Charles Misner noted that Wheeler and his “family” of students were prime examples of the “workings of the apprentice system by which research attitudes and methods are passed on.” Another former Wheeler student, Ken Ford, referring to Wheeler’s stylistic influence, wrote, “There is an army of physics students in the United States whose view of nature and whose view of physics is more powerfully colored by the personalities and intellects of Niels Bohr and John Wheeler than they know.”⁸ That ‘coloring’ of perspective may be true of Wheeler’s students, but is it true of all physicists?

⁷ Harriet Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite: Nobel Laureates in the United States* (New York: The Free Press, 1977; Reprint, New Brunswick, NJ, 1996), 150. Krebs (1900 – 1981, Nobel prize 1953) studied with Otto Warburg (1883 – 1970, Nobel prize 1931); Warburg studied with Emil Fischer (1852 – 1919, Nobel prize 1902); Fischer studied with Adolf von Baeyer (Adolf von Baeyer (1835 – 1917, Nobel Prize 1905); Baeyer studied with Friedrich August Kekulé (1829 – 1896), who is credited with the discovery of the benzene ring; Kekulé studied with Justus von Liebig (1803 – 1873), one of the subject of J. B. Morrell's 1972 article; Liebig studied with Joseph-Louis Gay-Lussac (1778 – 1850) who performed some of the earliest experiments with gasses; Gay-Lussac studied with Claude Louis Berthollet (1748 – 1822) who did early work on chemical reactions and helped found the École polytechnique; Berthollet studied with Lavoisier (1743 – 1794) who developed what is now the standard system of chemical nomenclature.

⁸ *Family Gathering: Students and collaborators of John Archibald Wheeler gather some recollections of their work with him, and of his influence on them and through them on their own students, Assembled with the best wishes as John moves on to a new career in Texas* (Princeton, NJ: n.p., 1977). There is no number on the page that contains Charles Misner’s remarks. Ken Ford’s letter appears on pages 84-88.

There are, of course, well known cases of scientists such as Albert Einstein (1879 – 1975) who were enormously influential without having had a scientific mentor. Nonetheless, the work of Zuckerman, the five separate festschriften that were organized and published by Wheeler's students, and the massive body of scholarly literature dealing with research schools that feature a charismatic director, suggest that a mentor-apprentice relationship is a key element in the career of many, if not most, scientists. That being the case, several other questions come to mind: What, precisely is meant by the term "mentoring" as it is employed in this dissertation, and how is mentoring distinct from other forms of scientific pedagogy? Given the subjective nature of former students' testimonials, how can we objectively measure proficiency in mentoring? Is every physicist a mentor, or do a privileged few assume that role? In either case, what qualities are common among proficient mentors and are these qualities inherent within the particular scientist (i.e. a matter of nature) or inculcated by a mentor's mentor (i.e. a matter of nurture)? Where and how does this study fit in the extant scholarship regarding research schools as well as the developing body of scholarship dealing with the implementation and use of pedagogical instruments in science education? And finally, what are the implications of this study for future investigations in these areas?

Before discussing the individual chapters, I should point out that this dissertation is an extension of research that appeared previously in a Master's Thesis that focused on John Wheeler's work as a mentor to graduate students

in physics at Princeton University in the years 1938 – 1976.⁹ A significant finding of that Master's thesis, which is also replicated in this study, is that proficient mentors often have, at least in a qualitative sense, a multiplicative influence through generations of scientists. In particular, many of Wheeler's former students report that they frequently incorporated "Wheelerisms" (i.e. aphorisms that seemed to originate with Wheeler) and other of Wheeler's pedagogical practices as they mentored students of their own.

The goal of both the Master's thesis and this project is to develop insights into the teaching and training of scientists and thereby illuminate how scientists, especially those in theoretical studies, have learned to become productive members of the scientific community. It is hoped that by focusing on the historical career and contributions of a particular scientist such as John Wheeler, such insights would be more apparent. In sum, both studies concentrate on Wheeler's contributions to the community of physicists rather than the corpus of physics. It should also be noted that, with the exception of transcripts of interviews with John Wheeler by Charles Weiner (with Gloria Lubkin), Finn Aaserud, and Ken Ford, the 2006 Master's Thesis was developed using published sources (i.e. without access to archival material). Thus, the data supporting this dissertation is significantly more comprehensive, both qualitatively and quantitatively, than that supporting the earlier Master's Thesis, and the interpretations, based in both the data base

⁹ Terry M. Christensen, "Theoretical Physics Takes Root in America: John Archibald Wheeler as Student and Mentor" (Master's Thesis, Oregon State University, 2006).

and in further readings and discussions, are broader and more nuanced. A description of the newly incorporated source material follows.

There are five repositories of archival collections relating to John Archibald Wheeler. The vast bulk of Wheeler's papers, including correspondence files and research notebooks, is held by the American Philosophical Society and Philadelphia, PA (APS-JAW). A small, though significant collection is held at the Center for American History, Archive of American Mathematics, located at the University of Texas at Austin, TX (UT-JAW). The Princeton University Archives, Princeton, NJ, hold the Physics Department records of general and internal correspondence (PRIN-PHY) as well as John Wheeler's personnel file (PRIN-JAW). The Niels Bohr Library, Center for the History of Physics, at the American Institute of Physics in College Park, MD (NBL-AIP) holds the papers of John Wheeler's dissertation advisor, Karl Herzfeld, as well as thirty-one audio recordings of Oral History interviews (and transcripts) that were either conducted with John Wheeler or feature Wheeler as a subject. There is also a small, though no less informative, collection of papers relating to John Wheeler's work on defense related research and advocacy in the papers of Senator Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson, held in the Special Collections section of the Allen Library at the University of Washington in Seattle, WA (UW-HMJ). The Ph.D. dissertations and Senior Theses that were submitted during John Wheeler's tenure at Princeton are held in the Seeley G. Mudd, Manuscript Library at Princeton University (PRIN). Similarly, the Ph.D. dissertations and Master's Theses that

were submitted during John Wheeler's tenure at the University of Texas are held in the Perry-Castañeda Library (PCL-UT).

Among the more compelling archival holdings are John Wheeler's research notebooks. Starting in about 1950, John Wheeler began to use bound blank books as research notebooks. These books are characterized by Wheeler's distinctive hand, the effect of which is enhanced by his use of a fountain pen. As it turns out, each of these books is a combination of learning diary and reflection journal. Indeed, it appears that, just as one of Wheeler's own mentors, Niels Bohr, was known to think aloud in discussion with at least one other physicist, Wheeler tended to do at least part of his thinking on paper. Along with notes on calculations, drafts of upcoming lectures, and reflections on talks heard at various conferences, Wheeler often made margin notes to himself regarding interactions with his students and colleagues. Fifty-two of these notebooks are held among the Wheeler papers at APS-JAW, and twenty-four more are held in the John Archibald Wheeler Collection, at UT-JAW in Austin. The Wheeler collection at the APS was examined in October and November of 2007 and the Wheeler collection at UT-JAW was examined in the late spring of 2008.

As with any project of this size, there were unforeseen complications, three of which had a significant impact on the timing and degree of completion for various phases of the research. The first issue was the renovation of the American Philosophical Society's Library Hall (repository of the largest collection of John Wheeler's papers) which caused the collection to be closed

to scholars from 15 November 2007 through 01 April 2008. As a consequence of the remodeling schedule, the author was only able to spend six weeks with a very extensive collection. For reasons detailed below, the author chose Wheeler's research notebooks as a priority and was not able, within the timeframe available for the project, to return to complete an examination of Wheeler's correspondence held at that location.

Another setback was due to the condition of the collection of the Wheeler notebooks at APS. To expedite the examination of this part of the collection, and mitigate the time pressure generated by the impending closure of the archive, the author placed orders for several hundred photocopies of pages from Wheeler's research notebooks. Unfortunately, while approximately 300 pages were photocopied, many of the notebooks had deteriorated to the point at which it was no longer possible to photocopy pages from those books without doing additional damage. Since the reopening of the archive, the author has been told of aspirations to digitize the Wheeler collection. Alas, that endeavor awaits funding, and under any circumstances will take some years to complete.

A third complication is that Wheeler's papers (i.e. his correspondence files and research notebooks) seem to have been distributed between APS-JAW and UT-JAW without any evident over-arching plan. While the Wheeler collection at the APS-JAW is considerably larger and more comprehensive, the collection at UT-JAW has a number of significant holdings that were germane to this study. The lack of a systematic plan of allocation is evidenced

by the fact that both collections contain Wheeler research notebooks dating from the early 1950s through the 1980s, both collections contain Wheeler correspondence files dating from the early 1950s through the early 1980s, and both collections contain teaching materials and lecture notes from courses taught at both Princeton University and the University of Texas. It would appear to the casual observer that upon Wheeler's decision to return to Princeton in 1986, the material that had been in Wheeler's faculty office in the Center for Relativity on the ninth floor of the Robert Lee Moore Hall (RLM) remained in the UT-JAW archives, while the material that had been kept in Wheeler's home on Wildcat Hollow in Austin was transferred to the APS-JAW collection in Philadelphia. In terms of organizing the research, the absence of a systematic scheme for the distribution of Wheeler's papers made an expeditious survey of the collections (i.e. one guided by subject area or chronology) all but impossible.

Obviously, one primary objective of a study on mentoring is to identify those individuals who apprenticed under a given mentor. Surprisingly, none of the primary Wheeler collections (i.e. APS-JAW, UT-JAW, PRIN-PHY, PRIN-JAW) contain a census of Wheeler's Ph.D., Master's, or Senior Thesis students. To be clear, the Seeley Mudd Manuscript Library does maintain an online database of Senior Theses. In the course of research however, the author discovered a number of inconsistencies between the advisor acknowledged in the thesis itself and the advisor (or lack thereof) listed in the database.

As a consequence of the closure of APS, this primary objective (i.e. the identification of Wheeler's Ph.D. students) was undertaken in the second phase of the research. This task was accomplished in the Winter and early Spring of 2007-2008 in the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University (PRIN), by a systematic evaluation of the 555 physics Ph.D. dissertations and 669 Senior Theses in Physics that were submitted during John Wheeler's tenure at Princeton. Later, in the late spring of 2008, the author conducted a similar survey of the 389 physics Ph.D. dissertations and 122 Master's Theses that were submitted during Wheeler's tenure at the University of Texas at Austin. These dissertations were held in the Perry-Castañeda Library at the University of Texas at Austin (PCL-UT).

Identifying Wheeler's students was, however, not as straightforward a process as it might seem at first glance. During Wheeler's Princeton years, it was not customary to list the advisor of record at the beginning of the dissertation or a Senior thesis. Thus, the author was obliged to perform content analysis on the 949 Ph.D. dissertations (555 at Princeton University and 389 at the University of Texas at Austin), 122 Master's Theses (at the University of Texas) and 670 Senior Theses (669 at Princeton and one in Texas) that were submitted during Wheeler's career as an active mentor. In addition to positively identifying those students who had performed some portion of their apprenticeship under John Wheeler, this content analysis of the dissertation and thesis acknowledgements also provided meaningful insights into the working relationships of Wheeler with his apprentices.

Perhaps the most fruitful activity of this project was the development of a quantitative means of measuring John Wheeler's efficacy of a mentor. This part of the project, it should be noted, benefited from a very timely and insightful suggestion by Professor David Kaiser of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The process involved collecting publication data of Wheeler's former students as well as the publication data for former students of Wheeler's colleagues at Princeton and Texas. These publication records were evaluated using two metrics: The total number of publications credited to each former student and the significance of each publication as inferred by citation count. The development and application of these metrics is described, as noted below, in Chapter Four. The foregoing leads us to a discussion of the individual chapters.

Chapter One provides the basic framework for this study by examining the historiography of research schools and the historiography of scientific pedagogy. The focus in the chapter then narrows to specific reasons for choosing the discipline of theoretical physics and for choosing John Archibald Wheeler as the case in point. This chapter also contains a section that draws out the distinction between mentoring and other forms of instruction. Based on this distinction and what has been gleaned from the mushrooming accumulation of literature that addresses mentoring, some preliminary general principles of scientific mentoring begin to emerge. The opening chapter concludes with a discussion of the methods, materials, and strategies employed in this endeavor.

Chapters Two and Three are specific to John Wheeler. Chapter Two opens with a brief biographical sketch, then focuses on Wheeler's student years with sections that describe Wheeler's experience as an apprentice to Karl Herzfeld (1892 – 1978), Gregory Breit (1889 – 1981), and Niels Bohr (1885 – 1962). I have also included a discussion of Wheeler's complicated relationship with Albert Einstein. Chapter Three focuses on John Wheeler as a mentor. In this chapter, Wheeler's former students describe the lessons they took from their apprenticeship and have conveyed to their own students. These descriptions are augmented by Wheeler's own recollections such that it is possible to trace these lessons back through Wheeler to Herzfeld, Breit, and Bohr.

Although Chapter Four is the most quantitative element in this dissertation, I begin this chapter with qualitative insights into the nature of Wheeler's mentoring relationships based on the content analysis of the acknowledgements in the dissertations and theses submitted to the physics departments at Princeton and Texas. In the following sections, I place John Wheeler's 'productivity' of Ph.D. students in the context of (then) Caltech Vice-Provost David Goodstein's 1993 study of Ph.D. production in physics.¹⁰ According to Goodstein's calculations, it should be noted, John Wheeler supervised more than three times the number of Ph.D. students one would expect from a professor in a major research university. With the contextual

¹⁰ David L. Goodstein, "Scientific Ph.D. Problems". *American Scholar* 62, no.2 (Spr 1993), 215-221, <http://0search.epnet.com.oasis.oregonstate.edu:80/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&an=9304060251> (05 Jan 2006).

background of Goodstein's study, I introduce other quantitative criteria that enable the comparison of the quantity and significance of the science done by former Wheeler students in contrast to the former students of his colleagues.

I open the fifth and last chapter with a brief review of relevant scholarly literature regarding both research schools and pedagogical elements in science with the aim to establish this study as a bridge between these distinct, though related, bodies of scholarship. Based on the findings of this study, it is clear to me, and I believe it will be clear to the reader, that this study yields insights regarding the relationship of mentoring and research school literature in general and John Wheeler's success as a mentor in particular. Moreover, given that mentoring styles vary, it seems clear that a broad-based study of mentorship as practiced at various institutions may well have tangible benefits for the enterprise of graduate education in the physical sciences.

A maritime analogy seems apropos here. At sea, the officer who has command and control (i.e. "the con") of a vessel has the ability to set the ship's course and speed. The task of navigation is complicated however, by the effects of wind and current. Unlike the heading indicator or the engine RPM gauge, these influences are not obvious in the moment, and indeed, are only apparent when one compares the intended track of the vessel with a series of actual positions as plotted on a navigation chart. In sum, the ship's officers can only know where they are going by examining where they have been (i.e. a historical analysis). This is also true of mentoring in physics. Given the long-lived influence of skillful mentors, a thorough, well-structured, historical study

of mentoring in theoretical physics would seem to be a particularly fruitful enterprise.

Finally, I have also included a number of appendices that support assertions and conclusions found in the main body of the text. A timeline of John Wheeler's accomplishments in physics speaks to his prominent role in the development of physics in the twentieth century. John Wheeler's personal bibliography illustrates the degree to which he collaborated with students and former students, not to mention his habit of listing authors alphabetically so that his students' names usually came first in terms of authorship. There are also tables that list the Ph.D. dissertations, Master's Theses and Senior Theses by advisor so that the reader is able to make a first-hand comparison of Wheeler's work with these groups of students as against that of his colleagues. With the preceding background in hand, we are now prepared to get underway.

John Archibald Wheeler: A Study of Mentoring in Modern Physics

Chapter One: Foundation and Predicates of this Study

Section 1.1 Overview

Between 1930 and 2000, the annual production of physics doctorates in the United States increased by a factor of twelve.¹ How was such dramatic expansion possible? Most certainly, the role that physicists played in the waging of wars—both hot and cold—increased the demand for physics Ph.D.s as well as other scientists. Even before physicists became strategic assets however, the sudden and striking developments in quantum mechanics, as well as the emergence of nuclear physics, sparked a great deal of interest in mathematical and theoretical approaches to physics. In the face of this upheaval, and in order to remain attractive to students interested in the rapidly changing landscape of physics research, leading institutions went to great lengths to secure theoretical and mathematical physicists for their faculty.

But demand alone is no guarantee of supply. In order to satisfy the United States' requirement for well trained scientific and technical personnel, it was first necessary to recruit and or develop a group of master scientists

¹ In 1930 the U.S. produced 99 Ph.D.s in physics. By 2000, the annual average was over 1200. Source: Katherine Russell Sopka, *Quantum Physics in America, 1920-1935* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), 4.65. Also cited in Peter Galison, *How Experiments End* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 138; American Institute of Physics, "Number of Physics Ph.D.s Conferred in the United States, 1900-2003", <http://www.aip.org/oasis.oregonstate.edu/statistics/trends/highlite/ed/figure5.htm> (05 Jan 2006).

capable of training apprentices in the craft of doing science. Ironically, the European Fascism that served to exacerbate the demand for physicists during World War II initially supplied scientific craftsmen to the U.S. cadre of physicists. Many of Europe's most gifted scientists (e.g. Einstein) were Jewish, and through the implementation of anti-Semitic legislation and policies, were forced to resign their academic or research positions in Germany and elsewhere in central and Eastern Europe. Even this fortuitous influx of scientific talent was, however, insufficient to meet United States' universities increasing demand for theoretical and mathematical physicists.

For example, in the late 1930s, the Princeton physics department found itself in an increasingly expensive competition to hire at least one leading "mathematical physicist." At the time, Edward Condon (1902 – 1974) was teaching quantum mechanics at the same time he himself was learning the subject. Meanwhile, Princeton was developing a most unenviable reputation as being "somewhat backward" in regard to modern physics.² Consequently, in virtually every meeting of the Princeton Physics Department's Research Committee in the years 1934 – 1938, there is a discussion of to whom Princeton might offer a visiting and/or a full professorship in "Mathematical Physics." While, as is detailed below, mathematical physics is a separate enterprise from theoretical physics, the men Princeton was attempting to

² John Archibald Wheeler interview with Kenneth W. Ford, 20 Dec 1993—03 Jan 1994, transcript 404-405, 602.

recruit (e.g. Paul Adrien Maurice Dirac (1902 – 1984), Enrico Fermi (1901 – 1954), Werner Heisenberg (1901 – 1976), Richard Chase Tolman (1881 – 1948), John Hasbrouck van Vleck (1899 – 1980), were all known to have done significant work in theoretical physics.³ More to the point, all had worked with graduate students who had either shown great promise, or had gone on to distinguished careers in their own right. Of course, since the supply of esteemed theoreticians and mathematical physicists was quite limited, the quest for their services quickly escalated into a bidding war that senior faculty members at Princeton despaired of losing. Consider the wording of the 21 October 1937 minutes of the physics department's Research Committee working under the supervision of department chair Henry DeWolf Smyth (1898 – 1986):

That in view of the inability of the University to obtain with the aid of the Jones professorship a mathematical physicist of the greatest distinction and in view of the small difference in distinction of those under consideration from outside and those of our own faculty who qualify, and, further, in view of the fact that the general funds of the University appear to be inadequate to pay comparable salaries to that of the Jones professorship to our professors of mathematical physics, the Committee recommends that the donor be consulted to ascertain whether the income from the Jones Professorship of mathematical

³ See Research Committee Minutes, 1934-1938, Box 1, Folder 12, Research Committee Minutes, 1934-1942; see also letter from H.D. Smyth to Louis A. Turner dated 22 Nov, 1937, Box 3, Folder 3, Confidential Business, 1933-1939, Series I, Chairman H.D. Smyth Records, 1933-1953, PRIN-PHY.

physics may be converted into a Jones mathematical physics fund and thus administered.⁴

Meanwhile, the problem of having knowledgeable and well-regarded faculty in these burgeoning fields needed to be addressed for at least the short term. On 16 November 1937, as a stopgap measure, the Research Committee of the Department of Physics at Princeton decided to offer John Archibald Wheeler a half-year (Spring Semester 1938) position as a visiting lecturer in mathematical physics with duties to include “lecture and seminar work in nuclear theory and theoretical physics.”⁵

I would note here the Committee’s emphasis on teaching rather than on research. It is also useful to point out that the “seminar work” for which Wheeler was hired was almost certainly a graduate level course as it appears that none of the undergraduate courses offered at the time of Wheeler’s hiring were taught in a seminar format.⁶

It is also useful to note that, in comparison with other young physicists of his era, Wheeler had a very solid pedigree. He had studied under Karl Herzfeld (his dissertation advisor) at Johns Hopkins and had held post-doctoral fellowships under Gregory Breit and the legendary Niels Bohr. Then too, in less than three years at the University of North Carolina, Wheeler

⁴ Committee Minutes, 21 Oct 1937, Box 1 Folder 12, Research Committee Minutes, 1934-1942, Series I, Chairman H.D. Smyth Records, 1933-1953, PRIN-PHY.

⁵ Committee Minutes, 16 Nov 1937, Box 1, Folder 12, Research Committee Minutes, 1934-1942, Series I, Chairman H.D. Smyth Records, 1933-1953, Box 1, Folder 12, PRIN-PHY.

⁶ Princeton University General Catalogue, 1937-1938, 1938-1939, PRIN.

already had supervised a Ph.D. student (Katherine Way, 1903 – 1995) who seemed to have a promising career ahead of her in nuclear physics. Later, on 16 March 1938, the Princeton physics department recommended that John Wheeler be offered a full time assistant professorship for a three year term. On 21 April 1938, the Board of Trustees formally decided to hire Wheeler.⁷ The issue was not however, easily settled.

The committee that ultimately recommended the hiring of Wheeler gave strong consideration to Frederick Seitz (1911 – 2008) and it will be useful to consider the factors that went into the hiring decision. Unfortunately, we have no documentation of the committee's deliberations. Also, although department chair Henry DeWolf Smyth wrote a warm letter of condolence to Seitz after Wheeler had been chosen, the Smyth letter does not articulate the reasoning behind the Research Committee's decision.⁸ We can however make some informed inferences.

As it turns out, Seitz, of General Electric's Research Laboratory in Schenectady, NY, was the first choice of Smyth. Certainly at first blush, Seitz

⁷ Exchange of letters between Wheeler (22 Mar 1938) and Smyth (29 Mar 1938), Box 6, Folder 1, Departmental Business (R-Z) 1937-1938; "Departmental recommendation to the President of the University", 16 Mar 1938, Box 3, Folder 3, Confidential Business 1933-1939; "Excerpt from Report of the Committee on the Curriculum to the Board of Trustees", 21 Apr 1938, Box 3 Folder 3, Confidential Business 1933-1939, Series I, Chairman H.D. Smyth Records, 1933-1953, PRIN-PHY.

⁸ Letter from H. D. Smyth to F. Seitz, 30 Mar 1938, Box 6, Folder 1, Departmental Business (R-Z) 1937-1938, Series I, Chairman H.D. Smyth Records, 1933-1953, PRIN-PHY.

would have seemed to have the inside track. He had earned his Ph.D. at Princeton as a student of Eugene Wigner (1902 – 1995), a man who had since left Princeton for a tenured position at the University of Wisconsin, and who Princeton was just then trying to re-recruit to its faculty. Moreover, Seitz had expressed a good deal of enthusiasm for working with Wigner upon the latter's return to Princeton.⁹ There were three key differences between Seitz and Wheeler. The first was that Seitz's enthusiasm, as noted above, was contingent on Wigner's return to Princeton. Indeed, he was far less inclined to accept the Princeton offer if he was to be one of a group of two or more new and younger faculty members who were brought in at the same time.¹⁰ Wheeler, on the other hand, and perhaps based on his experience with Bohr in Copenhagen, did not seem to be troubled by the prospect of being part of a group of junior colleagues. In terms of expertise Wheeler had a background in nuclear physics, while Seitz's background was in solid-state physics. Finally Wheeler had established himself as a teacher while Seitz had established himself in industrial research. In a 9 March 1938 letter to Wigner, Smyth discounted the weight of the two backgrounds (i.e. nuclear physics versus

⁹ Letter from H. D. Smyth to E. P. Wigner, 09 Mar 1938, Box 3, Folder 3, Confidential Business 1933-1939, Series I, Chairman H.D. Smyth Records, 1933-1953, PRIN-PHY.

¹⁰ Regarding Seitz's attitude toward being one of two or three junior faculty that were brought in together, see letter from H. D. Smyth to L. A. Turner, 15 Feb, 1938 and letter from H. D. Smyth to L. A. Turner, 04 Mar 1938, Box 3, Folder 3 Confidential Business, 1933-1939, Series I, Chairman H.D. Smyth Records, 1933-1953, PRIN-PHY.

solid state physics) in the decision to hire one or the other man. Nor did Smyth seem particularly troubled by Seitz's lack of enthusiasm for being part of a group. In fact the decision was made to hire Wigner before there was a decision to hire either Wheeler or Seitz.¹¹ This leaves the issue of Wheeler's teaching (in particular, his work with graduate students) versus Seitz's industrial research as the salient factor in the committee's choice to offer the position John Wheeler.

As we alluded above, Eugene Wigner had been at Princeton before. In the years 1930 – 1936, he had served as a professor of mathematical physics, but for reasons that are not entirely clear, Wigner did not return to Princeton after the 1935 – 1936 academic year. Over time, various versions of the story have appeared. In a 1981 interview with Lillian Hoddeson, Gordon Baym, and Frederick Seitz, Wigner indicated that he was not asked to return to Princeton after the 1935 – 1936 academic year. On the other hand, in their 1998 National Academy of Sciences biographical memoir of Wigner, Frederick Seitz, Erich Vogt, and Alvin Weinberg indicate that Wigner was, in fact, offered a position at Princeton, but that the sticking point was that the position offered to Wigner was untenured. As for Wigner himself, his recollection, as told to Andrew Szanton, is less nuanced than the Seitz biographical memoir. Wigner told Szanton that in 1930, he and John von Neumann were both invited to visit

¹¹ Letter from H. D. Smyth to E. P. Wigner, 09 Mar 1938, Box 3, Folder 3, Confidential Business, 1933-1939, Series I, Chairman H.D. Smyth Records, 1933-1953, PRIN-PHY.

at Princeton. They each received appointments as half-time visiting professors with the obligation to spend half the academic year in Princeton. Wigner received appointment as full-time Visiting Professor for the 1935 – 1936 academic year, but much to his surprise, he was not reappointed for the next year. In retrospect, Wigner assumed that some one or more people objected to his having the position. After hearing this unpleasant news, Wigner contacted Gregory Breit at the University of Wisconsin. The two men had met when Breit was at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton and they had written an article together on the spectra of chemical reactions. Upon hearing that Wigner was available, Breit persuaded Wisconsin to hire Wigner as “acting professor” in 1936, and they collaborated on some more work. Then in 1938 Princeton tried to get John Van Vleck, who had been at Wisconsin and now was at Harvard, to join the Princeton Physics Department. Van Vleck declined and recommended Wigner, whom Princeton hired in fall 1938.¹²

In terms of institutional history, as the 1937 – 1938 academic year began, despite its best efforts, Princeton University had not been successful in

¹² NBL-AIP, Interview of Eugene Wigner by Lillian Hoddeson, Gordon Baym, and Frederick Seitz on 24 Jan 1981, www.aip.org/history/ohilist/4965.html; See also: Frederick Seitz, Erich Vogt, and Alvin Weinberg. “Eugene Paul Wigner, November 17, 1902 – January 1 1995”, National Academy of Sciences: Bibliographic Memoirs, <http://www.nap.edu/html/biomems/ewigner.html> (19 Nov 2008), also in National Academy of Sciences, *Bibliographical Memoirs*, Vol, 74, (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 1998): 364-388; Eugene P. Wigner with Andrew Szanton, *The Recollections of Eugene P. Wigner as told to Andrew Szanton* (New York: Plenum Press, 1992), 136, 166, 171-174, 179.

securing the services of another esteemed theoretician or mathematical physicist to improve the strength of the physics faculty in the growth areas of modern physics. Thus, despite whatever the concerns that led to Wigner's two-year relocation to the University of Wisconsin, and in spite of Smyth's distinct "lack of enthusiasm" for the idea of bringing Wigner back, Princeton offered Eugene Wigner the Jones Professorship in Mathematical Physics.¹³ One factor in this decision may well have been Wigner's success with graduate students, as evidenced by Seitz. So, where does that leave us?

Like most universities, Princeton wanted very much to improve the strength of its physics department, and in choosing the personnel to bring aboard it appears that a candidate's success with students, particularly graduate students, was a significant factor in the choice of whom to hire. Ideally, these new faculty members would not only add to the corpus of theoretical physics, but by instruction, example, and inculcation, they could add to the community of theoretical physicists—in a word, mentors. In the finest tradition of the guilds, these master craftsman of science would simultaneously advance the discipline and train apprentices (who themselves would be capable of advancing the discipline) with the same efficacy that nineteenth century German chemists (e.g. Justus von Liebig) had trained their

¹³ Series I, Chairman H.D. Smyth Records, 1933-1953, regarding Smyth's lack of enthusiasm for Wigner's return, see Box 3, Folder 3, Confidential Business, 1933-1939, letter from H. D. Smyth to L. A. Turner, 15 Feb, 1938 and letter from H. D. Smyth to L. A. Turner, 04 Mar 1938, PRIN-PHY.

students in the science—and artisanal craft—of chemistry. In gauging the loftiness of this aspiration, it may be recalled that the esteemed mathematical physicist William Thomson (1824 – 1907), known later in his life as Lord Kelvin, once observed:

The world renowned laboratory of Liebig brought together all the young chemists of the day. If I were to name the great men who studied at Giessen I should have to name almost every one of the great chemists of the present day who were young forty years ago.¹⁴

Clearly, it was, and is, in the best interests of universities to have strong faculties, particularly in disciplines which have captured the public's imagination. But what about the discipline itself?

And so we come to the central question that forms the rationale for this enterprise: What role do mentors play in the practice and development of science and how is that related to the role they play in the development of scientific practitioners?

To be sure, there are scientists such as Albert Einstein (1879 – 1955) who enjoyed fabulously successful careers without any indication of a mentor early in their career. Freeman Dyson (1923—), Professor Emeritus of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, NJ, observes, “A mentor can be helpful, but there are far too many exceptions—one thinks of Galileo, Newton,

¹⁴ William Thompson, “Scientific Laboratories,” *Nature* 31 (Nov 1884—Apr 1885): 409-413, 410; also quoted in Joseph Fruton, “The Liebig Group: A Reappraisal,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 132 (1988), 3. In a footnote, Fruton quotes William Thomson, “all the eminent chemists who were young in 1845 were pupils of Liebig.”

or Einstein—to conclude that a mentor is essential to success in science.”¹⁵

Nobel Laureate Steven Weinberg (1933—), who saw his Princeton dissertation advisor Sam Trieman (1925 – 1999) as a collaborator rather than a mentor, concurs, “a distinguished career in physics is not dependent on an apostle-like laying on of hands” by one or more senior physicists.¹⁶

Dyson’s observation and Weinberg’s experience notwithstanding, many others believe that skillful mentoring is very important to the careers of the scientific elite.¹⁷ Donald Kennedy, past president of Stanford University has written that mentoring is “the highest form of academic duty.”¹⁸ In his autobiography *Geons, Black Holes, and Quantum Foam: A Life in Physics*, John Wheeler states unequivocally that “a good mentor” is the most important element in the early career of a researcher. “In two postdoctoral years,” Wheeler continues, “I was blessed with two wonderfully strong mentors, Gregory Breit and Niels Bohr.”¹⁹ Certainly Breit and Bohr were major factors in

¹⁵ Freeman Dyson, personal communication with author, 17 Jan, 2008.

¹⁶ Steven Weinberg, personal communication with author, 13 Jun, 2008.

¹⁷ The list of examples includes, but is by no means limited to: Harriet Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite: Nobel Laureates in the United States* (New York: The Free Press, 1977; reprint, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishing, 1996), xxi, 14-15, 96 et seq; Frederic Lawrence Holmes, *Investigative Pathways: Patterns and Stages in the Careers of Experimental Scientists* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2004), xix, 27; Robert Kanigel, *Apprentice to Genius: The Making of a Scientific Dynasty* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), x, xiii.

¹⁸ Donald Kennedy, *Academic Duty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 116.

¹⁹ John Archibald Wheeler with Ken Ford, *Geons, Black Holes, and Quantum Foam: A Life in Physics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 50.

John Wheeler's leadership as a physicist and his prolific contributions to the corpus of knowledge.²⁰ Wheeler, in turn, became one of the most influential of mentors in theoretical physics in the United States. For his part, Weinberg also seems to agree that, more often than not, a mentor is helpful to a career:

There are some physicists who enjoy fine careers without the intervention of a mentor. Just as there are some physicists whose careers were enhanced because they had the benefit of a mentor. I am also certain that there are physicists who would have had a much more fulfilling and productive career if they had enjoyed the benefit of a good mentor.²¹

But if mentors are that important, why don't we know more about the process?

Where and how do such mentors originate? Is it nature, nurture, or simply a matter of professional competence?

²⁰ Wheeler's leadership in the areas of nuclear physics, quantum physics and general relativity has been noted by several historians. See, for example Peter Galison, "Physics Between War and Peace," in *Science, Technology, and the Military*, ed., Everett Mendelsohn, Merritt Roe Smith, and Peter Weingart (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1988), 57-58; Daniel J. Kevles, *The Physicists: The History of a Scientific Community in Modern America* (New York: Knopf, 1977), 328; Helge Kragh, *Cosmology and Controversy: The Historical Development of Two Theories of the Universe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 369-372; Helge Kragh, *Quantum Generations: A History of Physics in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 207-215, 279-280, 361-365, 410, 422; Silvan S. Schweber, "Quantum Field Theory From QED to the Standard Model," in *The Modern Physical and Mathematical Sciences*, ed. Mary Jo Nye, vol. 5 of The Cambridge History of Science Series, General eds. David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 382-383; Herbert F. York, *Arms and the Physicist* (Woodbury, NY: American Institute of Physics Press, 1995), 117-118; Kip S. Thorne and Wojciech H. Zurek "John Archibald Wheeler: A Few Highlights of His Contributions to Physics," in *Between Quantum and Cosmos: Studies and Essays in Honor of John Archibald Wheeler* ed. Wojciech Hubert Zurek, Alwyn van der Merwe, and Warner Allen Miller (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 3-13.

²¹ Weinberg, personal communication with author, 13 June, 2008.

One aspiration of this dissertation is that this micro-history focus on the mentoring style of John Archibald Wheeler and the outcomes of his work will offer some illumination to these questions. Before we begin, a further refinement is necessary. To be sure, one can fill hundreds of pages with testimonials to John Wheeler without gaining any novel or significant insight. In order to produce a product of scholarly value, it is necessary to contextualize this study in two frames of reference—a stereoscopic perspective. The first frame of reference situates John Wheeler's work as a mentor within the extant literature of scientific research schools.²² The second reference frame is the

²² The literature on research schools is formidable. A list of sources includes, but is not by any means limited to the following: William H. Brock, "Liebigiana: Old and New Perspectives," *History of Science* 19 (Sep 1981): 201-218; William H. Brock, *Justus von Liebig: The Chemical Gatekeeper* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Maurice Crosland, "Research Schools of Chemistry from Lavoisier to Wurtz," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 36, no. 3 (2003): 333-361; Joseph Fruton, "The Liebig Research Group: A Reappraisal," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 132 (1988): 1-66; Joseph Fruton, *Contrasts in Scientific Style: Research Groups in the Chemical and Biochemical Sciences* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1990); Gerald L. Geison, "Scientific Change: Emerging Specialties and Research Schools," *History of Science* 19 (Mar 1981): 20-40; Gerald L. Geison and Frederic L. Holmes, eds., *Research Schools: Historical Reappraisals*, Osiris, 2d ser., vol. 8 (1993); Owen Hannaway, "The German Model of Chemical Education in America: Ira Remsen at Johns Hopkins (1876-1913)," in *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the History of Alchemy and Chemistry* 23 (1976): 145-164; Frederic Lawrence Holmes, *Investigative Pathways: Patterns and Stages in the Careers of Experimental Scientists*, (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2004); J. B. Morrell, "The Chemist Breeders: The Research Schools of Liebig and Thomas Thomson," *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the History of Alchemy and Chemistry* 19 (Mar 1972): 1-46; Mary Jo Nye, "National Styles? French and English Chemistry in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Research Schools: Historical Reappraisals*, ed. Gerald L. Geison and Frederic L. Holmes, Osiris,

emerging body of literature regarding scientific pedagogy, specifically the work of MIT historian David Kaiser.²³

Section 1.2 An Underdeveloped Area of Scholarship

In 1981, Gerald Geison suggested that since research schools have been, “the predominant concrete organizational form in science since the mid-nineteenth century,” any study of scientific change that does not involve individual research schools as an analytical unit of study, “is bound to be inadequate or incomplete in some respects.”²⁴ Geison's 1981 paper (as well as his 1993 edited volume) explicitly defined research schools as, “small groups of mature scientists pursuing a reasonably coherent program of research side-by-side with advanced students in the same institutional context

2d ser., vol. 8 (1993), 30-49; Mary Jo Nye, “Scientific Disciplines: The Construction of Identity,” Chap. 1 in *From Chemical Philosophy to Theoretical Chemistry: Dynamics of Matter and Dynamics of Disciplines, 1800-1850* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993); Kathryn M. Olesko, *Physics as a Calling: Discipline and Practice in the Konigsberg Seminar for Physics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Kathryn M. Olesko, “Tacit Knowledge and School Formation,” in *Research Schools: Historical Reappraisals*, ed. Gerald L. Geison and Frederic L. Holmes, Osiris, 2d ser., vol. 8 (1993), 16-29; John W. Servos, “Research Schools and Their Histories,” in *Research Schools: Historical Reappraisals*, ed. Gerald L. Geison and Frederic L. Holmes, Osiris, 2d ser., vol. 8 (1993), 1-15.

²³ David Kaiser, “Cold War Requisitions: Scientific Manpower and the Production of American Physicists after World War II.” *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 33, no. 1 (2002): 131-160; David Kaiser, “Nuclear Democracy: Political Engagement, Pedagogical Reform, and Particle Physics in Postwar America,” *Isis*, 93 (2002), 229-268; David Kaiser, *Drawing Theories Apart: The Dispersion of Feynman Diagrams in Postwar Physics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); David Kaiser, ed. *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005).

²⁴ Gerald L. Geison, “Scientific Change,” 37

and engaging in direct, continuous, social and intellectual interaction.”²⁵ This definition, it seems to me, very aptly describes John Wheeler, his colleagues (especially the theoreticians) and their Ph.D. students at Princeton during the years 1938 – 1976, as well as Wheeler and his (theoretician) colleagues at Texas in the years 1976 – 1986. In any event, since Geison first promulgated his definition of research school and his argument for making them an analytical unit of study, a number scholars have sought to compare and contrast research schools by investigating their guiding philosophies, social characteristics, and productivity (i.e. output of students) across regional, disciplinary, or national boundaries.

This project augments that body of scholarship by approaching the issue from a more focused frame of reference. It is useful to recall here that early in his discussion, Geison incorporated J. B. Morrell’s description of an “ideal” research school. A prominent feature of that model was the presence of a “charismatic director.”²⁶ Yet, while scholars affirm the Morrell-Geison comment that charismatic leadership is a prerequisite for the success of a research school, the art or practice of mentoring is not discussed in any of

²⁵ Gerald L. Geison, “Scientific Change,” 20, 23 ; Geison and Holmes, *Research Schools*, 228.

²⁶ Geison, “Scientific Change,” 23; J. B. Morrell, “The Chemist Breeders,” (Mar 1972), 36-37.

these studies.²⁷ Nor is there any discussion of mentoring practice or proficiency in the studies which compare and contrast leadership styles in various research schools. The absence of a mentoring discourse in the context of research schools presents itself as an underdeveloped area of scholarship which this study can address.

This project is also novel in that it addresses the discipline of theoretical physics. To be clear, some very recent and quite engaging work by David Kaiser is notable in part because it addresses pedagogy in theoretical physics. Kaiser has chosen to concentrate on “paradigms” (i.e. worldviews) and pedagogical tools (e.g. Feynman Diagrams) as his fundamental units of analysis, while this present study chooses an individual mentor as the unit of analysis.²⁸

With the exception of Kaiser's work, virtually all of the research school literature has focused on experimental and observational disciplines. Much of

²⁷ Pamela M. Henson, “The Comstock Research School in Evolutionary Entomology,” in Geison and Holmes, *Research Schools*, 175-176; Kanigel, *Apprentice to Genius*, ix [Introduction]; David Kushner, “Sir George Darwin and a British School of Geophysics,” in Geison and Holmes, *Research Schools*, 220; Alan Rocke, “Group Research in German Chemistry, 78; R. Steven Turner, “Vision Studies in Germany: Helmholtz versus Hering,” in Geison and Holmes, *Research Schools*, 87, 89; Andrew Warwick, *Masters of Theory: Cambridge and the Rise of Mathematical Physics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 352; Harriet Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 126.

²⁸ David Kaiser, *Drawing Theories Apart: The Dispersion of Feynman Diagrams in Postwar Physics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.); David Kaiser, “Making Tools Travel: Pedagogy and the Transfer of Skills in Postwar Theoretical Physics,” in *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science*, ed. David Kaiser (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 41.

this scholarship deals with artisanal competencies that were passed along (some tacitly, some explicitly) from master to apprentice. The same can be said of those studies which explicitly target mentoring in science, with three notable exceptions.²⁹

In a 2001 study focusing on Niels Bohr and Richard Feynman, I examined the impact of a mentor's world-view (specifically the degree to which the mentor's approach was interdisciplinary) on the relative success of that mentor. The 2001 study did not however, address the art and practice of mentoring.³⁰ In the 2006 Master's Thesis, I focused the study of mentoring to a specific setting and in a theoretical context in an effort to augment the efforts of earlier scholars in the study of research schools and scientific change.³¹ One outcome of that study was that it appeared to confirm Michael Polanyi's finding that certain elements of pedagogical style (particularly those elements that are tacitly communicated) may act as genealogical markers through

²⁹ The three exceptions are Harriet Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, Terry M. Christensen, "Creating Chains of Wisdom: The Role of Interdisciplinarity in Mentoring" (Master's Thesis, Marylhurst University, 2001) and Terry M. Christensen, "Theoretical Physics Takes Root in America: John Archibald Wheeler as Student and Mentor" (Master's Thesis. Oregon State University, 2006). While Zuckerman discusses aspects of mentoring, her emphasis is on the sociological contexts which foster Nobel laureates rather than the practice of mentoring.

³⁰ Christensen, "Creating Chains of Wisdom."

³¹ Christensen, "Theoretical Physics Takes Root."

intellectual generations.³² Still, the findings were qualitative and suggestive rather than quantitative and conclusive. In the present project, I will provide a quantitative foundation for assessing the efficacy of mentors in theoretical sciences in general and that of John Archibald Wheeler in particular.

Finally there is this: In David Kaiser's edited volume *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science*, Kaiser and chapter co-author Andrew Warwick close with a number of suggestions for further inquiry. This passage concludes as follows:

Perhaps the single most important theme running through these questions is what might be learned from comparative studies. By comparing the skills and competencies generated through different training regimes we can illuminate those technical skills and sensibilities which, although normally tacit, lie at the very heart of different forms of scientific knowledge. These skills and sensibilities must be taught, learned, and applied; pedagogy is the link connecting these steps through time and space.³³

In this study I explicitly categorize mentors as instruments of scientific pedagogy, and with a focus on the mentoring work of John Archibald Wheeler, I have developed a quantitative basis for the comparative study of mentoring

³² Michael Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* (New York: Doubleday, 1966), 21-23; Kaiser, *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science*, (2005), 2, 7 ["Introduction"] and also 66-67 [Kaiser, "Making Tools Travel: Pedagogy and the Transfer of Skills in Postwar Theoretical Physics"]; Also in *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science*, see Hugh Gusterson, "A Pedagogy of Diminishing Returns: Scientific Involutions Across Three Generations of Nuclear Weapons Science," 91; and Kathryn Olesko, "The Foundations of a Canon: Kohlrausch's Practical Physics," 323, 340-341; Olesko, "Tacit Knowledge and School Formation," in *Geison and Holmes, Research Schools*, 16-17, 28; Mary Jo Nye, "National Styles?" in *Geison and Holmes, Research Schools*, 49.

³³ Andrew Warwick and David Kaiser, "Conclusion: Kuhn, Foucault, and the Power of Pedagogy", *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science*, 406.

in theoretical physics. This investigation may therefore be seen as both an augmentation of the extant research school literature and a bridge between that body of work and the recent research dealing with scientific pedagogy.

Section 1.3 Delimiting the Discipline: Theoretical Physics

Theoretical physics was first taught as a discrete subject in 'Germanic' universities during the later half nineteenth century. Late in his career, Georg Simon Ohm (1789 – 1854) became one of the first recipients of a theoretical professorship in theoretical physics. Historians Christa Jungnickel and Russell McCormmach suggest that theoretical physics began to be seen as a separate discipline after 1870 when Gustav Kirchhoff (1824 – 1887) became a professor of theoretical physics in Berlin.³⁴

By 1894, the French physics community had also concluded that a more generalized reference frame was necessary for a full comprehension of physical phenomena. The esteemed historian Mary Jo Nye describes a Faculty of Sciences Council meeting at the University of Bordeaux where it was decided to request the French Educational Ministry to create a new chair of physics for Pierre Duhem (1861 – 1916), with the title of mathematical

³⁴ Christa Jungnickel and Russell McCormmach, *Intellectual Mastery of Nature: Theoretical Physics From Ohm to Einstein*, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), xvi-xvii; see also, Silvan S. Schweber, "Theoretical Physics and the Restructuring of the Physical Sciences: 1925-1975," in *Big Culture: Intellectual Cooperation in Large Scale Cultural and Technical Systems*, ed. Guiliiana Gemelli (Bologna: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice Bologna, 1994), 135-136.

physics. This chair in fact came to be called a chair of theoretical physics.

Note what was said in the Council:

Physics has made great progress in recent years and developed so that the number of people charged with presenting it has greatly increased. A deep schism has been produced between what one calls, on the one hand, experimental physics---which seeks the numerical properties of bodies---and on the other hand, theoretical physics, which attempts to encompass the ensemble of phenomena in laws or mathematical formulas.³⁵

In France, as in Germany and Great Britain, the necessity of a global perspective—a generalized frame of reference in which to situate physical phenomena was clear.³⁶

Even with designated professorships, and the increasing incorporation of higher mathematics in the practice of physics, it was not until early in the twentieth century that physicists came to think of themselves in terms of theoretician or experimentalist.³⁷ Part of this cultural inertia is due to the lag in adequate mathematical training in secondary schools. Although this deficiency

³⁵ Mary Jo Nye, *Science in the Provinces: Scientific Communities and Provincial Leadership in France, 1860-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 213.

³⁶ Nye, *Science in the Provinces*, 213.

³⁷ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Intellectual Mastery of Nature*, 41-42; in Helmholtz' mind, a complete physicist should be able to do both mathematical physics and experimental physics; Peter Galison, *How Experiments End*, 138.

was initially prevalent on both sides of the Atlantic, it took somewhat longer to correct in the U.S. than it did in Germany.³⁸

I also want to be careful here not to give the impression of conflating applied or 'real-world' physics with experimental physics and/or conflating abstract or 'pure' physics with theoretical physics. In fact, during the formative years of theoretical physics in Germany, the extraordinary professors who were responsible for theoretical instruction were often assigned to lecture on technical or applied physics as well.³⁹ Coincidentally, in that same time frame, elements of the scientific leadership in the United States publicly disdained applied physics (i.e. the pursuit of science solely for profit). In any event the classification criteria were not terribly clear. As the historian Daniel Kevles observes, the term 'pure' referred more to a scientist's motives rather than their area of study.⁴⁰

³⁸ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Intellectual Mastery of Nature*, 6-7; John W. Servos, "Mathematics and the Physical Sciences in America," in *The Scientific Enterprise in America: Readings From Isis*, ed. Ronald L. Numbers and Charles E. Rosenberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 145-148, 153-159.

³⁹ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Intellectual Mastery of Nature*, 55-58.

⁴⁰ Daniel J. Kevles, "The Physics, Mathematics, and Chemistry Communities: A Comparative Analysis" in *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America, 1860-1920*, ed. Alexandra Oleson and John Voss (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 141. Among others, Kevles was doubtlessly referring to Johns Hopkins physicist Henry Augustus Rowland. See Henry Augustus Rowland, "A Plea for Pure Science" [Address as Vice-President of Section B of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Minneapolis, MN (15 Aug 1883)], in *The Physical Papers of Henry Augustus Rowland*, Compiled by A Committee of the Faculty of Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1902.), 594.

I further hasten to note that nothing in this study should be construed to suggest that one of these frames of reference (e.g. theoretical physics) can claim primacy over the other. These are complementary—though not necessarily synchronized—modes of attacking problems. A breakthrough in theory (e.g. special relativity) does not necessarily suggest an imminent and/or congruent breakthrough in experimental physics.⁴¹

In sum, the term “theoretical” physics, as employed here indicates a somewhat broader spectrum of inquiry that employs mathematical analysis to address the general nature of a class of phenomena. Mathematical Physics is typically focused on either mathematical descriptions of a given phenomenon (as opposed to a class of phenomena) and/or the development of mathematical techniques that can be applied to describe physical phenomena. Experimental Physics employs measuring and/or detection instruments situated in a laboratory or field setting to address the specific machinations of an individual phenomenon. Put simply, Mathematical Physics and Experimental Physics are distinguished from one another by their methods, the requisite equipment and the locale in which they are employed. Theoretical Physics is distinguished from both Mathematical Physics and Experimental Physics by its generalized frame of reference.

⁴¹ Galison, *How Experiments End*, 12.

Section 1.4 The Choice of Subject

Why choose John Wheeler? One obvious answer is his position among the “ultra-elite” of American physicists.⁴² Among his many contributions to the corpus of knowledge, in 1939 John Wheeler and Niels Bohr co-authored the first paper on the generalized mechanism of nuclear fission. Beyond that seminal work, Wheeler was a key player in the production of the 'Fat Man' plutonium weapon in the Manhattan project, and later, in the development of the Hydrogen Bomb. Wheeler introduced the scattering matrix (or S-matrix) to account for all possible final quantum states of collisions between nucleons. After turning his attention to general relativity, Wheeler and his students made a number of significant contributions to cosmology and cosmogony. In fact, John Wheeler coined the term “black hole,” and developed the concepts of a “Planck Length,” a Planck-time,” “quantum foam,” and “wormholes” in space-time.⁴³

Another element is Wheeler's effectiveness as a mentor. It is significant that Wheeler's former students have organized and published five separate

⁴² Harriet Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 104.

⁴³ See Appendix A: Timeline of John Archibald Wheeler's Life and Works.

festschrifts in celebration of his career.⁴⁴ Yet another measure of that effectiveness is output. David Goodstein, Vice Provost of Caltech, has estimated that a typical professor of physics can be expected to ‘produce’ fifteen doctorates in physics over the course of his or her career.⁴⁵ By contrast, John Wheeler supervised the dissertations of fifty-one Ph.D.s and co-supervised the dissertations of five others over the course of his career.⁴⁶ In other words, John Wheeler exceeded Goodstein’s “average” Ph.D. production by more than three-fold.

⁴⁴ The festschrifts include: John R. Klauder, ed., *Magic Without Magic: John Archibald Wheeler: A Collection of Essays in Honor of His Sixtieth Birthday* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1972); *Family Gathering: Students and collaborators of John Archibald Wheeler gather some recollections of their work with him, and of his influence on them and through them on their own students, Assembled with the best wishes as John moves on to a new career in Texas* (Princeton, NJ: n.p., 1977); Wojciech Herbert Zurek, Alwyn van der Merwe, and Warner Allen Miller, eds., *Between Quantum and Cosmos: Studies and Essays in Honor of John Archibald Wheeler* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988); Daniel M. Greenberger and Anton Zeilinger, eds., “Fundamental Problems in Quantum Theory: A Conference held in Honor of Professor John Archibald Wheeler.” *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 755 (Apr 1995), xiii-905; John D. Barrow, P. C. W. Davies, and Charles L. Harper, eds., *Science and Ultimate Reality: Quantum Theory, Cosmology, and Complexity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁴⁵ David L. Goodstein, “Scientific Ph.D. problems.” *American Scholar* 62, no.2 (Spr 1993): 215-221, <http://search.epnet.com.oasis.oregonstate.edu:80/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&an=9304060251> (05 Jan 2006), 217.

⁴⁶ This census is based on a survey of 555 Ph.D. dissertations submitted to Princeton University and 389 Ph.D. dissertations submitted to the University of Texas at Austin during John Wheeler’s tenure at these institutions. This total also includes Katherine Way, who received her Ph.D. under John Wheeler’s supervision at the University of North Carolina.

To be clear, mentoring is much more than dissertational obstetrics. Often the most influential professional role models are encountered as an post-doctoral fellow. Recall here Wheeler's comments about his good fortune in having both Gregory Breit and Niels Bohr as post-doctoral mentors. Then too, there are some cases in which scientists report that the person who most influenced the course of their career was a professor from their undergraduate career.⁴⁷ In other instances, even after a scientific career has been well established, a scientist may encounter an 'elder statesmen' who serves as an informal mentor within a specific (and usually novel) area of study.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ See, for example, *Family Gathering*, 336 [Michael Stern], 449-452 [Charles Patton], 465-469 [Larry Smarr]. These pages contain glowing tributes penned by scientists whose direct professional experience with John Wheeler was very limited. Michael Stern took undergraduate courses from Wheeler, completed his coursework for a physics Ph.D. at MIT., changed focus and became an M.D. Stern said of Wheeler, "The History of Science is the history of man's learning to see the world with new eyes... By having been your student, I have been able, in a small way, to participate in the tradition of Copernicus, Newton, Planck, and Einstein." Charles Patton also took classes from Wheeler as an undergraduate and went on to do graduate work and earn his doctorate at SUNY, Stony Brook. And yet, despite a relatively modest amount of time working with Wheeler, Patton felt compelled to note, "I do not yet have any students, but if I can manage to offer my students but a fraction of what you have offered me, I will have served them well." Larry Smarr was never a Princeton student. He had read Wheeler's *Geometrodynamics* as an undergraduate, corresponded with Wheeler, and as a graduate student, met with Wheeler at a number of relativity conferences. Nonetheless, he wrote to Wheeler, "It was always your unconventional approach to physics that drew me onward," and "I am honored to be able to say thank you for all you've done."

⁴⁸ Peter J. Frost and M. Susan Taylor, eds., *The Rhythms of Academic Life: Personal Accounts of Careers in Academia* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1996), 498.

These odd moments of conveyed inspiration and informal mentoring are problematic in that they are very difficult to document—let alone quantify. This is analogous to the problem faced by sociologist Harriet Zuckerman as she researched and wrote *Scientific Elite*. Even though there are some three-thousand awards available to scientists just in North America, the Nobel Prize remains the 'gold standard' by which all other awards are evaluated.⁴⁹ Because of the status of the Nobel Prize, data surrounding its recipients is relatively easy to find in comparison with other symbols of scientific achievement. Similarly, although dissertation supervision is hardly the only professional assignment that involves scientific mentoring, it is a fruitful avenue of research in that it has the advantage of being comparatively well-documented on an administrative level. Put simply, it is among the very few aspects of mentoring that can be measured.

Another measure of mentoring effectiveness is the output of one's students. Harriet Zuckerman, William T. Scott, J. B. Morrell, and Joseph Fruton have all commented that elite mentors turn out an extraordinary amount of work by comparison to the average scientist. Furthermore, Zuckerman, and Fruton both have observed that this trait is passed on to the

⁴⁹ Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, xxx [Introduction to the Transaction Edition]; Here, Zuckerman cites the Gale directory of Awards, Honors, and Prizes; Zuckerman uses the term 'gold standard' in association with the Nobel prize on several occasions beginning on xiii [Introduction to the Transaction Edition].

mentees of the elite.⁵⁰ In the following chapters and appendices, I will show that John Wheeler and his students follow that pattern observed by Zuckerman and Fruton.

Still another factor in choosing our subject is timing. John Archibald Wheeler came of age as a physicist just as theoretical physics was becoming established—taking root—in America. As early as 1930, a substantive cadre of American theoreticians had become established. Included in this grouping were renowned physicists such as Robert Oppenheimer (1904 – 1967), Isidor Isaac Rabi (1898 – 1988), Edwin C. Kemble (1889 – 1984), Carl Eckart (1902 – 1973), John C. Slater (1900 – 1976) , Robert S. Mulliken (1896 – 1986), Gregory Breit (1899 – 1981), Edward U. Condon (1902 – 1974), Philip M. Morse (1903 – 1985), and John H. Van Vleck (1899 – 1980).⁵¹ Among these luminaries, all but two (Rabi and Breit) were born in the United States.⁵² With the exception of Oppenheimer, all received their doctorates from American Universities. Essentially these were home-grown professionals who had spent just enough time in Europe (on an international fellowship) to become fluent in quantum mechanics and/or atomic physics. With their professional ascension,

⁵⁰ Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 145; William T. Scott, “Creativity in Chemistry,” in Rutherford Aris, H. Ted Davis, and Roger Stuewer, eds., *Springs of Scientific Creativity: Essays on Founders of Modern Science* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 285, 298; Fruton, *Contrasts in Scientific Style*, 23, 36, 38; Morrell, “The Chemist Breeders,” 27, 30.

⁵¹ John W. Servos, “Mathematics and the Physical Sciences in America,” 152.

⁵² Gregory Breit’s family came to America when he was a boy; I. I. Rabi’s family emigrated to the United States when he was an infant.

America became the new center of theoretical physics. In 1968, John Slater recalled that, as theoretical physics took root in America, even established Europeans were coming over, “to learn as much as to instruct.”⁵³

Additionally, as noted above, the rise of Fascism and its policy of ethnic oppression in Europe precipitated an influx of elite scientists—many of whom had known or worked with members of the American cohort in Europe. Among these were Enrico Fermi (1901 – 1954), Edward Teller (1908 – 2003), John von Neumann (1903 – 1957), Hans Bethe (1906 – 2005), and (of course) Albert Einstein (1879 – 1955). That combination intellectual horsepower coupled with the availability of large experimental apparatus (e.g. the cyclotrons developed by American experimental physicist Ernest O. Lawrence (1901 – 1958)) seemed to push America on the verge of supplanting Europe as the world’s epicenter of physics. Then came the war.

Military mobilization during World War II utilized physics—particularly theoretical physics—to a level beyond all precedence. Two aspects of this phenomenon are germane to our study. First of all, as a result of the Manhattan Project and the subsequent military projects associated with the Cold War (e.g. the development of a thermonuclear weapon), the physics community was awash in research funding. In essence, within two decades, John Wheeler and his colleagues saw the entire mode of doing theoretical

⁵³ John C. Slater, “Quantum Physics in America Between the Wars,” *Physics Today* 21 no. 1 (Jan 1968), 43; Also cited in Kevles, *The Physicists*, 221.

physics change. Secondly, the increased demand for scientific manpower placed a premium on the ability to educate—and mentor—the physicists that would keep the U.S. technologically ahead of its adversaries. Because of their ability to train physicists at the graduate level, skillful mentors (such as John Wheeler) were considered strategic assets.⁵⁴

Specifically, this study addresses three primary questions in regard to John Wheeler. First, what were the personal and professional characteristics that contributed to his success as a mentor? Ancillary to that inquiry, how did Wheeler's personality and professional habits compare with other well-known and/or studied mentors? Second, is there any evidence that these characteristics were inculcated into Wheeler's students and/or succeeding intellectual generations? If the answer is yes, is Wheeler the origin of a 'chain of wisdom' or simply a link in a much longer chain? And finally, are any of Wheeler's mentoring practices generalizable into a broader pedagogy for graduate studies in physics? If so, what are the key elements of Wheeler's style on which to focus? These questions require us to come to a shared understanding of the role of a mentor.

⁵⁴ David Kaiser, "Cold War Requisitions: Scientific Manpower and the Production of American Physicists after World War II" *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 33, no. 1 (2002), 143.

Section 1.5 The Role of Mentors: Molding the Scientific Elite

First of all, let us consider first the original and generalized meaning of 'mentor' and then turn to its characterization in recent scientific literature. The word "mentor" comes to us from the Greek poet Homer in *The Odyssey*. Recall here that Odysseus was a legendary Greek hero who ruled the island of Ithaka. He also led an army into the Trojan War. Before sailing off to war, Odysseus sought the counsel of the goddess Athene. Based on that advice, he entrusted the education and training of his son Telemachos, to his friend and counselor Mentor. Occasionally, over the twenty years that Odysseus was absent from Ithaka, Athene would appear to either Odysseus or Telemachos in the form of Mentor.⁵⁵ Thus, for Telemachos, Mentor was a teacher, surrogate father, counselor, and spiritual leader. Ultimately, the proper name Mentor became the common noun mentor, which the Oxford English Dictionary defines as: a person who offers support and guidance to another; an experienced and trusted counselor or friend; a patron, a sponsor. Since 1976, mentor has also come into use as a verb. In this study, I have and will employ both the noun and verb forms of mentor. The context of the passage in question will make the meaning clear.

⁵⁵ See Richmond Lattimore, trans., *The Odyssey of Homer* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967; Perennial Classics Edition, New York: HarperPerennial, 1991), 46 [Book II, Line 268] is the first of many examples.

Here, I need to make clear the difference between mentoring and teaching. Unfortunately, even within the mentoring literature, I have yet to locate a concise and or articulate differentiation of these separate but related enterprises.⁵⁶ As far as the literature is concerned, there is no bright red line that categorically distinguishes teaching from mentoring. That said, it is possible to contextualize mentoring in a formally structured framework. One other caution: The instructional scenarios described below are somewhat simplified. Although all educational methodologies can be located within a

⁵⁶ There is large body of mentoring literature: Chungliang Ai Huang and Jerry Lynch, *Mentoring: The Tao of Giving and Receiving Wisdom* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995); Association for Women in Science, *Mentoring Means Future Scientists: A Guide for Developing Mentoring Programs Based on the AWIS Mentoring Project* (Washington, DC: Association for Women in Science, 1993); Stephanie J. Bird and Robert L. Sprague, eds. *Mentoring and the Responsible Conduct of Research*, Special Issue: *Science and Engineering Ethics* 7, no. 4 (Jul 2001): 449-640; Robert Kanigel, *Apprentice to Genius: The Making of a Scientific Dynasty* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Shalonda Kelly and John C. Schweitzer, "Mentoring Within a Graduate School Setting," *College Student Journal* 99, no. 1 (Mar 1999): 130-148; National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering, Institute of Medicine (U.S.), *Adviser, Teacher, Role Model, Friend: on Being a Mentor to Students in Science and Engineering* (Washington DC: National Academy Press, 1977), <http://oasis.oregonstate.edu/search/cQ181+.A35+1999/cq+++181+a35+1999/-2,-1,0,E/1856~2152434&FF=&1,0,,1,0> (27 Feb 06); Alice G. Reinartz and Eric Robert White, eds., *Beyond Teaching to Mentoring* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2001); Gordon F. Shea, *Mentoring: How to Develop Successful Mentoring Behaviors* [Rev. Edn.] (Menlo Park, CA: Crisp Publications, 1992); Mark A. Templin, "A Locally Based Science Mentorship Program for High Achieving Students: Unearthing Issues that Influence Effective Outcomes," *School Science and Mathematics* 99, no. 4. (Apr 1999): 205-212 , EBSCOhost/Academic Search Elite/AN1877598 (15 Jan 2001); Lois J. Zachary, *The Mentor's Guide: Facilitating Effective Learning Relationships* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2000).

pedagogical continuum, very few instructors' styles can be located at one and only one place within that spectrum. Nonetheless, some aspects of teaching technique will be dominant in any particular course. Consider, for example, undergraduate lecture-based courses in university-level education. In these instances, teaching is a unilaterally didactic process: Teachers interact with the class as a whole, and with the exception of student recitation for the purpose of evaluation, the flow of information is asymmetric. A key element here is question selection. In a lecture-based format, the instructor determines which questions he or she will address to the students. By these means, the scope and content of the course is established.

Next in the spectrum of education methodology, we find seminar-based courses. In these instances, the instructor acts as a moderator for discussion of selected topics and issues. Here, while there is a bi-lateral flow of information, the instructor still interacts primarily with the class as a whole. Also, we again find that the instructor-moderator determines the investigative framework (i.e. the scope and content) of the discussion. We also find that question selection is the key element in determining this scope and content. The difference is that in lecture-based classes, the instructor determines which questions she or he will take up while in seminar-based classes the instructor uses question selection to determine which questions the *students* will

address.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, in either of these cases, the choice of questions to be addressed is in the hands of the instructor rather than the student. This hierarchy begins to relax as students get their first taste of a mentoring relationship when they begin writing research papers.

In such an enterprise, students are encouraged to formulate and refine the questions they will explore. Imbedded in this pedagogy is the art of question selection. John Wheeler, for example, was known to emphasize this very aspect of scholarship. He strongly believed that, “The right ANSWER is seldom as important as the right QUESTION.”⁵⁸ Moreover, as students are guided in the methodology of research and evaluation of source material, the instructor-student relationship becomes far more individualized. This process begins in upper division undergraduate work and continues through the early part of graduate training.

By the time a student pursues a doctorate, a substantial knowledge base has been established (and verified through examination). Nearly all of the instruction that takes place is individualized.⁵⁹ In contrast with lecture-based teaching models, students at the Ph.D. level are expected to be somewhat self-reliant where the acquisition of data is concerned. Similarly, in contrast to seminar-based teaching, they are expected to somewhat

⁵⁷ Kathryn M. Olesko, *Physics as a Calling*, 1-2.

⁵⁸ J. Peter Vajk in an email to the author (21 Sep 05). The emphasis originates with Professor Vajk.

⁵⁹ Kennedy, *Academic Duty*, 97.

autonomously formulate the questions that drive their investigation. There is also the element of time. These are long-term relationships that evolve as the work proceeds. In sum, the mentor, in contrast to other types of instructors, does not dispense data or steer discussion. Rather the role of a mentor is to instruct a student *how to think about* the information that is already in the student's possession.⁶⁰

We may recall here that the goddess Athene instilled confidence in Telemachos so that “among people he might win a good reputation.”⁶¹ This is also true of modern mentors. Sociologist Harriet Zuckerman observes that an important aspect of scientific mentoring is the inculcation of professional standards and conduct—a process that she refers to as “socialization.”⁶² We will explore the socialization of scientists at length below. For now, we note that Terrence Sejnowski, a former Wheeler Ph.D. student, summed up his professional socialization nicely:

From John Wheeler, I learned that with a sufficiently good intuition it is often possible to guess the solution to a difficult problem. But of more importance, I came to realize the extent to

⁶⁰ Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 122.

⁶¹ Lattimore, *The Odyssey of Homer*, 53 [Book III Line 75].

⁶² Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 123. For more on professional socialization, Zuckerman cites Robert K Merton, George G. Reader and Patricia L. Kendall, eds. *The Student-Physician: Introductory Studies in the Sociology of Medical Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957); Orville G. Brim, “Adult Socialization,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* 14: 555-562; David A. Goslin, *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research* (Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1969).

which science is a social enterprise; not one man, not a single group, but rather the collective effort of a community.⁶³

So, where and how does one (e.g. John Wheeler) become skilled at the craft of mentoring? What, in short, are the makings of a mentor?

Section 1.6 The Makings of a Mentor

As noted in the section above, a large number of publications that address the practice of mentoring have been released in the last fifteen years. Although many of these are of a general nature (or aimed largely at business leaders and educators), a few specifically address mentoring in science.⁶⁴ However, within both the general mentoring literature and that subset that addresses scientific mentoring, there are common threads of thought. In some recently published articles that deal with mentoring in science, we are told that a good mentor is a “careful listener,” a reliable (i.e. available and even-tempered) communicator. An effective mentor is sensitive to minority, gender and/or cultural issues, and is compassionate in regard to family concerns. On a professional level, the competent mentor is a role model who inculcates mentees with a sense of professional ethics and assists them in building

⁶³ Terrence J. Sejnowski to John Wheeler, Princeton University, Jan 1977 (included in the Wheeler Festschrift commemorative *Family Gathering*).

⁶⁴ See, for example: Association for Women in Science (A.W.I.S.), *Mentoring Means Future Scientists: A Guide for Developing Mentoring Programs Based on the AWIS Mentoring Project*; Bird and Sprague, eds., *Mentoring and the Responsible Conduct of Research*; Robert Kanigel, *Apprentice to Genius*; National Academy of Sciences (N.A.S.-U.S.), *Adviser, Teacher, Role Model, Friend: on Being a Mentor to Students in Science and Engineering*).

disciplinary networks.⁶⁵ While these characteristics are part of the definition that we seek, they do not capture the relative value that these attributes will have in establishing a scientific career, nor do they adequately describe the particular attributes that scientific mentors convey to their intellectual progeny.

Perhaps the most important convention that a mentor can inculcate is the need for a robust work ethic. Note the word choice. Hard work in and of itself is insufficient for a scientist aspiring to the elite levels of her or his discipline. A 'robust' work ethic can best be described as follows: "It is good to work hard. It is better to work smart. If you can work hard *and* smart, you'll always find success."⁶⁶ Thus in studying Wheeler's biography, we should be alert for incidents that convey the synergetic value of applying intelligence to labor.⁶⁷

Another quality that the best mentors pass on is intellectual rigor. In the literature we see references to keeping an "open mind" and being "non-

⁶⁵ What follows is synthesized from, National Academy of Sciences (N.A.S.-U.S.), *Adviser, Teacher, Role Model, Friend: on Being a Mentor to Students in Science and Engineering*, 5. However similar lists can be extracted or developed from: A.W.I.S., *Mentoring Means Future Scientists*; Bird and Sprague, *Mentoring and the Responsible Conduct of Research*; Fort, *A Hand Up: Women Mentoring Women in Science*; Reinartz and White, *Beyond Teaching to Mentoring*; Zachary, *The Mentors Guide: Facilitating Effective Learning Relationships*.

⁶⁶ I am indebted to my late grandfather Thorwald Christensen for this insight.

⁶⁷ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, passim. In fact, Wheeler comments on the work habits of nearly every collaborator, associate, or student that is mentioned in the text. In most cases the assessment is positive and adjectives such as "conscientious," "scrupulous," "methodical," "tireless," and/or "effective" are employed.

judgmental.”⁶⁸ Such intellectual rigor demands active engagement. An illustration by analogy seems apropos here.

Imagine you are in Portland, Oregon. To the east is Mount Hood, a familiar landmark with a distinctive silhouette. If the outline of that silhouette were to be drawn on a chalkboard, it is likely that every person in the room would recognize the shape as emblematic of Mount Hood *as seen from Portland*. Similarly a mirror image of the outline would be perceived as a representation of Mount Hood's outline *as seen from the east*. But would anyone in the audience recognize Mount Hood's outline from the north, or the south, or the northeast, or the southeast? Probably not—at least initially. Stated alternatively, a full comprehension of the mountain is not possible unless we circumnavigate it.

Scientific constructs, like mountains, cannot be fully comprehended unless they are examined from multiple perspectives. Simply keeping an 'open mind' is insufficient to the practice of science. Intellectual rigor requires a scientist to actively engage the issue in question from multiple reference frames and skilled mentors will instill that practice in their mentees.⁶⁹ Wheeler himself states, “There are many modes of thinking about the world around us

⁶⁸ The need for an keeping an open mind is from National Academy of Sciences (U.S.), *Adviser, Teacher, Role Model, Friend: on Being a Mentor to Students in Science and Engineering*, (27 Feb 06), 59. The desirability for being non-judgmental is expressed in Reinartz and White, *Beyond Teaching to Mentoring*, 37.

⁶⁹ I am deeply indebted to Sr. Cecilia Ranger SNJM, Ph.D. of Marylhurst University for the Mount Hood analogy to intellectual rigor.

and our place in it. I like to consider all the angles from which we might gain perspective on our amazing universe and the nature of existence.”⁷⁰

A conscientious mentor will train her or his mentee to repeatedly examine problems with “new eyes” in the hope of eradicating false or misleading presuppositions. Such erroneous assumptions can be particularly insidious. Alfred North Whitehead famously asserted that:

There will be some fundamental assumptions which adherents of all the variant systems within the epoch unconsciously presuppose. Such assumptions appear so obvious that people do not know what they are assuming because no other way of putting things has ever occurred to them. With these assumptions a certain limited number of types of philosophic systems are possible, and this group of systems constitutes the philosophy of the epoch.⁷¹

Overcoming such fundamental presuppositions requires more than just 'new eyes.'

It also requires intellectual courage—the confidence to adopt a carefully constructed conceptualization despite its unconventional nature. On 31 January 1958, Niels Bohr and Abraham Pais listened to a lecture by Wolfgang Pauli concerning elementary particles. Afterward Pauli approached Bohr and said, “You probably think these ideas are crazy.” “I do,” Bohr replied, “but

⁷⁰ Wheeler and Ford. *Geons*, 153.

⁷¹ Alfred North Whitehead, *Science in the Modern World: The Lowell Lectures, 1925* (New York: The Macmillan Co, 1925; reprint, New York: The Free Press, 1967), 48.

unfortunately they are not crazy enough.”⁷² Like his mentor Bohr, John Wheeler was no slave to conventional thinking. One night at Princeton, he called his (then) graduate student Richard Feynman to suggest that “positrons were simply electrons moving backward in time.”⁷³ To be sure, this inventory of ‘what makes a mentor’ is incomplete. Nonetheless, we have a sense of the types of events we are seeking in the early years of John Wheeler and in the analysis of his later career.

Section 1.7 Method, Strategy, and Tactics.

In general terms, I have adopted a methodology that approaches mentoring from two perspectives, internal and external. The internal approach, like much of the literature that deals with mentoring, is qualitative. Here my aim is to replicate the perspective of John Wheeler’s students. How did they see him both personally and professionally? The external approach is quantitative and relies data that derives from, but is external to the mentoring relationship. Examples of these metrics include the number of students who have apprenticed under a given mentor, the publication record of those students, including the reception of those students’ work within the physics community. I will proceed to unpack these approaches.

⁷² This anecdote is reported in Abraham Pais, *Niels Bohr’s Times in Physics, Philosophy, and Polity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 29. Pais was a party to the conversation.

⁷³ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 117.

The obvious starting point for an internally oriented study of John Wheeler as a mentor is *Family Gathering*, a two-volume commemoration of Wheeler's career through 1976, assembled by Georgia Witt, John Wheeler's administrative assistant in the Department of Physics at Princeton. *Family Gathering* consists of letters of appreciation (along with some career updates) from one hundred of Wheeler's former students and associates. The full title, *Family Gathering: Students and collaborators of John Archibald Wheeler gather some recollections of their work with him, and of his influence on them and through them on their own students, Assembled with the best wishes as John moves on to a new career in Texas*, reflects the deeply personal nature of this tribute. It was presented to John Wheeler by former student and co-author Charles Misner at the Eighth International Conference on General Relativity and Gravitation at the University of Waterloo in Ontario, Canada on 11 August 1977.⁷⁴ Although *Family Gathering* is but one of five separate festschrifts published in Wheeler's honor by former students, the many letters of fond remembrance provide invaluable insight into the nature of the relationships that John Wheeler maintained with students and colleagues

⁷⁴ *Family Gathering*, iii-iv. Here, it should be noted that, in its published form, the title of this book is capitalized like a sentence rather than the headline-like capitalization found in most book titles. Misner, Kip S. Thorne and John Wheeler co-authored the 1273 page opus *Gravitation* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1973). Despite its size and cost (\$249.00 hardcover; 111.95 paperback), this defining text remains in print and continues to sell.

alike. Clearly, a careful examination of this resource is critical to any study of Wheeler's Princeton years.⁷⁵

As a research tool for this project however, *Family Gathering* has significant shortcomings. One major problem is that it predates John Wheeler's tenure at the University of Texas. Consequently, while *Family Gathering* enables the researcher to surmise much about Wheeler's relationships with his Princeton colleagues and students, there is no information whatsoever regarding his students and colleagues at Texas. Another issue is that the relationship between Wheeler and a given contributor to *Family Gathering* is not always apparent. This mix of contributors includes colleagues that were not part of either the Princeton faculty or even the broader General Relativity community (e.g. Aage Bohr) as well as post-doctoral students, Ph.D. students, and undergraduates who completed either a junior or senior thesis under the supervision of Wheeler.

Another concern is that all the information submitted by Wheeler's students is, as of the time of this writing (Winter 2009) more than thirty years out of date. Many contributors have changed university and/or laboratory

⁷⁵ See note 43. The festschrifts include: John R. Klauder, ed., *Magic Without Magic: John Archibald Wheeler: A Collection of Essays in Honor of His Sixtieth Birthday*, 1972; *Family Gathering*, 1977; Wojciech Herbert Zurek et al, eds., *Between Quantum and Cosmos: Studies and Essays in Honor of John Archibald Wheeler*, 1988; Daniel M. Greenberger and Anton Zeilinger, eds., "Fundamental Problems in Quantum Theory: A Conference held in Honor of Professor John Archibald Wheeler." *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 755, 1995; John D. Barrow et al, eds., *Science and Ultimate Reality: Quantum Theory, Cosmology, and Complexity*, 2004.

affiliation. Some have passed away, and there are still others whose work leaves little or no evidentiary trace (e.g. those students whose research is largely concerned with defense related topics and who therefore have an almost non-existent publication record). Moreover, each of the contributors to *Family Gathering* has had thirty years to add to his or her curriculum vitae and their ranks of academic offspring—whom former Wheeler students have dubbed intellectual “grandchildren” of Wheeler.⁷⁶ Yet another sticking point in *Family Gathering* is a consequence of the book’s structure (i.e. an assembly of letters, curricula vitae, photos of former students with family, lists of graduate students, etc). The majority of these contributions were bound as they were submitted and therefore are not paginated in relation to the remainder of the book. This circumstance, of course, makes precise documentation of quoted passages somewhat problematic. The issue is addressed here in footnotes with the abbreviation “n.p.,” for no pagination. In sum, *Family Gathering* is both necessary and insufficient for any long-term assessment of Wheeler’s influence and-or impact on the community of physics.

Finally, as any oral historian can attest, Wheeler’s former students’ memories of him are not the most reliable form of evidence. Anecdotes may

⁷⁶ Among the first to use the term grandchildren in relation to Wheeler’s academic influence is John S. Toll, then President of State University of New York at Stony Brook. See John S. Toll to John Archibald Wheeler 23 Jun 1977 in *Family Gathering*. See also Dieter Brill to John Archibald Wheeler (n.d.) in *Family Gathering*. After the publication of *Family Gathering* the term seems to have gained popularity among Wheeler’s former students.

well have become colored by the passage of time and codified by repetition.⁷⁷ Of course this is also true of Wheeler himself. Certainly, more than misremembering is involved here. Even in the short term, variations in perception and perspective will spawn differing memories of the same conversation or incident. Despite these problems, I am resistant to rejecting these recollections out of hand. Whenever practicable, I have sought independent corroboration of the facts. Often, when authentication was not possible (e.g. Wheeler's memories of interaction with his parents), factual particulars were less important than the thrust of the story. On these occasions, I have tended to accept the story at face value. If however, the facts and the timing were integral to the meaningfulness of the event, and no second source was available, then my policy has been to refrain from including the episode in this narrative. Here again, as with the internal and largely anecdotal evidence I have resisted including evidence that seems compelling but lacks corroborating documentation. For example, consider the 1972 Senior Thesis

⁷⁷ The literature is vast: for a discussion on the difficulties of distinguishing memory and history see Ronald J. Grele, "Movement Without Aim: Methodological and Theoretical Problems in Oral History," in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge, 1998); Soraya de Chadarevian, "Using Interviews to Write the History of Science," in *The Historiography of Contemporary Science and Technology*, edited by Thomas Söderqvist. *Studies in the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine*, vol. 4 (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997); Frederic L. Holmes, "Historians and Contemporary Scientific Biography," in *The Pauling Symposium: A Discourse on the Art of Biography*, ed. Ramesh S. Krishnamurthy, Clifford S. Mead, Mary Jo Nye, Sean C. Goodlett, Marvin E. Kirk, Shirley A. Golden, and Lori L. Zielinski (Corvallis, OR: Special Collections, Oregon State University Libraries, 1996), 201.

of Steven J. Pickrel, "Trapped Surfaces and the Initial Value Problem in Geometrodynamics." Given the subject area and the timeframe in which the thesis was written, it seems highly likely that John Wheeler advised this project. Pickrel's thesis however, contains no statement of acknowledgement toward a supervising or advising professor. Moreover the online database of Senior Theses at Princeton lists Pickrel's advisor as "not available."⁷⁸ Thus, I have not included Pickrel in my census of John Wheeler's advisees. Let us now examine the quantitative approach.

The external aspect of this investigation began with an effort to identify as many former Wheeler students as possible. While this undertaking was a relatively straightforward process for Wheeler's Ph.D. students at Texas, the process was somewhat more complicated for Wheeler's Princeton students. It seems that, while Princeton maintains an online database of Senior Theses (which, as we have seen above, includes a searchable advisor category), no such database for Ph.D. dissertations is extant. Thus, in order to identify John Wheeler's Princeton Ph.D. students, it was first necessary to examine the 555 dissertations that were submitted during and immediately after Wheeler's tenure there (1938 – 1978).⁷⁹ Similarly, to be certain that this dissertation did

⁷⁸ Steven J. Pickrel, "Trapped Surfaces and the Initial Value Problem in Geometrodynamics," Princeton University Senior Thesis, 1972; "Steven J. Pickrel," Princeton University Senior Theses Full Record, <http://libweb5.princeton.edu/theses/thesesid.asp?ID=79929> (27 Feb 2009).

⁷⁹ Although John Wheeler left Princeton in 1976, he continued to work with at least one Ph.D. student. See, Terrence J. Sejnowski, "A Stochastic Model of

not replicate any omissions or advisor misidentifications in the database of Senior Theses, it was also necessary to examine the 669 Senior theses that were submitted during Wheeler's tenure as well as during the Princeton emeritus years, 1986 – 1994, when he continued to advise undergraduate projects. The complication arises from the circumstance that, during Wheeler's early years at Princeton, there was no requirement to list the dissertation committee or even the advisor of record in the front of the dissertation just as there was no such requirement for Senior Theses. Thus, in order to link a particular student to a particular advisor, I was obliged to examine the acknowledgement section of each dissertation. Fortunately, in the vast majority of cases, this content analysis revealed the advisor of record.

There were however, a number of cases, particularly when the contributions of a number of faculty members were acknowledged, and-or ambiguous language was employed, for which it was impossible to discern an individual advisor with any sense of certainty. Indeed, simply locating the acknowledgements in a dissertation was sometimes problematic. For example, in earlier dissertations (ca. 1940s and early 1950s) the acknowledgement of an academic advisor was often the very last sentence on the last page preceding the academic apparatuses of appendices, bibliography, etc. Unfortunately, there were also a non-trivial number of

Nonlinearly Interacting Neurons," Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1978; in this dissertation, Sejnowski unambiguously identifies John Wheeler as his advisor.

exceptions to this general rule. Then too, there were a number of students who, for reasons unknown and unknowable, omitted any acknowledgement section (or sentence) whatsoever from their dissertation or thesis (e. g. Steven Pickrel). To be clear, at both Princeton and Texas, there were also cases in which Wheeler made acknowledged contributions to the theses and dissertations of students who were not his advisees of record. Therefore, in order to identify and account for those instances, I was also obliged to examine the 389 Ph.D. dissertations and 122 Master's Theses that were submitted to the physics faculty for approval and recommendation during Wheeler's years at Texas and shortly thereafter (1976 – 1988).⁸⁰

For all the challenges associated with the content analysis of dissertation acknowledgements, this approach proved to be fruitful on a number of levels. Beyond being able to link individual students with a particular advisor, or group of advisors, there were also occasions, as I have inferred above, in which the contributions of other faculty members (i.e. faculty

⁸⁰ Although Princeton awarded a Master's degree in physics during John Wheeler's tenure, a thesis was not required for the Master's degree. "In order to qualify for the degree of Master of Arts a candidate is required to pass the General Examination in his field of study, make application for his degree at the office of the Graduate School and pay the graduation fee. This regulation for the Master's Degree went into effect after Commencement Day, 1935." Princeton University Catalogue 1937-1938, call number P13.73 (p324), PRIN. Also, although Wheeler left Texas in 1986, he continued to work with at least two Ph.D. students. See David H. King, "Mach's Principle and Rotating Universes," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1990; and Benjamin Schumacher, "Communication, Correlation, and Complimentarity," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1990; in both cases, John Wheeler is listed as the advisor of record.

members who were not the advisor of record) were noted. This data provided a measure of the degree that individual professors involved themselves in the learning community as a whole. Likewise, although this element was more resistant to quantification, content analysis of these acknowledgements provided a sense of how students within the graduate cohort interacted with one another. This was particularly evident in experimental research.

The aim of the quantitative external approach was to develop a means by which the work of one mentor (e.g. John Wheeler) may be compared on an 'apples to apples' basis with that of another (e.g. Eugene Wigner), or alternatively, a group of other mentors (e.g. the physics faculty at Princeton during Wheeler's tenure). This comparison is based on data from the career of the mentor as well as data from the mentor's former students.

For a given mentor in question, the basis for presumed proficiency was the number of students supervised to a Ph.D. Of course, even senior professors have been known to change institutional affiliation. Therefore, it was necessary to introduce a time component into the mix. There are two choices here: I could compare the number of students supervised by a given mentor per year of service (a quantity that is nearly always fractional) or I could compare the time interval between completed Ph.D.s. (i.e. the reciprocal of the Ph.D. students per year metric). Since interval between Ph.D. students is usually not fractional, it is conceivable that this approach offers a starker contrast. Then too, it may seem aesthetically less troubling to deal with

fractional years than to deal with fractional students. The drawback is that, as some of my physicist friends and at least one editor has pointed out, using the time interval between Ph.D.s may be confused with the number of years a student works to earn a Ph.D. under a given mentor. Thus, even though the value of the number of Ph.D. students per year is nearly always fractional, it seems to be a more straightforward approach. Moreover, it is not clear that the 'interval between students' metric actually provides an enhanced contrast. A specific example may prove helpful here.

In the time-frame covered by this study, Eugene Wigner supervised twenty-five dissertations over the course of twenty-nine years and Arthur Wightman supervised twenty-four Ph.D. students over the course of twenty-six years. Dividing the number of Ph.D. students by the years of service, we see that Wigner supervised 0.86 Ph.D. students per year of service and Wightman supervised 0.92 students per year of service; a difference of 0.06 student per year of faculty service. If, on the other hand, we use the inverse value (i.e. years between supervised Ph.D. students), we see that Professor Wigner had an interval of 1.16 years between Ph.D. students and Professor Wightman had an interval of 1.08 years between Ph.D. students; a difference of 0.08 years. Based on a difference of 0.06 students per year versus a difference of 0.08 years per student, it does not appear that the years per student metric offers an enhanced contrast over the more clearly presentable metric of Ph.D.

students per year of service. In consideration of the foregoing, I have chosen to rank mentors based on the number of Ph.D. students per year of service.

The next step in quantifying the efficacy of mentors was to demonstrate a link between the work habits and standards of former apprentices to those of their mentors. Here, it may be useful to recall that Harriet Zuckerman has observed that among the scientific elite, professional standards of conduct are inculcated from mentor to apprentice in a process which she terms “socialization.”⁸¹ One of these standards is scientific productivity. Zuckerman has reported that mentors of the scientific elite are extraordinarily productive. Moreover, Zuckerman and others have suggested that there is a link between the productivity of the mentor and that of the former apprentice.⁸² In this study, I have presented statistical evidence in the form of publication data (see Chapter 4, Tables 4.3 and 4.4) that seems to affirm the link suggested by Zuckerman.

Furthermore, I suggest that a scientific aesthetic, a sense for significant problems that are coming ripe for solution, is also inculcated in the process of socialization. To that end, I have examined the publication records of former Wheeler apprentices (as well as the former apprentices of certain of Wheeler’s

⁸¹ See note 61, Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 123.

⁸² See note 49, Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 145; Walter T. Scott, “Creativity in Chemistry,” in Rutherford Aris, H. Ted Davis, and Roger Stuewer, eds., *Springs of Scientific Creativity: Essays on Founders of Modern Science* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 285, 298; Fruton, *Contrasts in Scientific Style*, 23, 36, 38; Morrell, “The Chemist Breeders,” 27, 30.

colleagues at Princeton and Texas) with an eye to both productivity and citation count. This latter measure, the number of times a given publication is cited, is taken as a measure of the significance of the work, and therefore the significance of the problem that work addresses.

There are actually two components to this metric. One is the number of times an individual publication is cited. The second is the number of former students' whose publications that reach a given citation threshold. In the first instance we are able to identify those researchers who are capable of very significant work that is appreciated and acclaimed by their peers. In the second instance we are able to identify those mentors with the aforementioned aesthetic—the scientific “taste” that enables them to consistently spot and solve important problems in advance of their peers—and the ability to instill that scientific aesthetic into their apprentices.

This task was accomplished in three steps. Rather than look at all the publication records from the 555 students who submitted dissertations during Wheeler's time at Princeton, I made a tactical decision to first identify those ten colleagues of Wheeler who had the highest rate of Ph.D. productivity (i.e. the largest number of Ph.D. students per year of service). This same process was employed to determine who, among Wheeler's Texas colleagues, had been particularly productive mentors. Once this subset of mentors was established, I merely had to plug in the names those professors' former apprentices from our initial survey of submitted dissertations, and examine the publication and

citation data for those individuals. Of course these numbers are of limited usefulness without some frame of reference by which they may be evaluated.

David Kaiser, a historian of science at MIT, has suggested adopting the classification standards of the SLAC-SPIRES database of High Energy Physics literature and employing those standards in evaluating the impact of specific works published by former students of John Wheeler as contrasted with former students of Wheeler's colleagues at Princeton and Texas.⁸³ As laid out in Chapter 4, extrapolating from the relatively narrow field of High-Energy Physics and, with an eye toward conservative estimates, the author has stipulated that, publications which are cited 500 times or more (classified as "renowned") make up less than 0.5% of all physics publications; papers or books cited from 250 to 499 times (classified as "famous") make up less than 2% of all publications in physics; and those cited between 100 and 249 times (classified as "very well known") constitute less than 10% of all physics publications. Lesser works (i.e. those having been cited between 50 and 99 times (classified as "well-known") and those cited between 10 and 49 times (classified as "known") were not included in this evaluation.

The optimum resource for citation data is the *Science Citation Index*. Unfortunately, until quite recently (Winter 2009), the *Science Citation Index*

⁸³ Personal communication with author, 14 Jul 2008; quoted by permission. The distribution data on citations is available at: <http://www.slac.stanford.edu/spires/play/citedist/>. I am indebted to Professor Kaiser for his assistance with this point.

existed in three media formats: print, CD-ROM, and a web-based database, the ISI Web of Knowledge. A further complication is that these formats did not overlap in time. Unfortunately, as a visually impaired scholar, neither the print volumes nor the CD-ROM were particularly accessible to me. This leaves the ISI Web of Knowledge database. The problem here is that this resource only encompassed material published in 1970 and beyond, and given the timeline of our study (1938 – 1994) the ISI database would be of very limited usefulness.

Other accessible databases include the SLAC-SPIRES High Energy Physics database (a slightly modified version of whose classification scheme I have adopted) and Google Scholar. As it turns out, there are non-trivial problems with both resources. The SLAC-SPIRES site is, as the name suggests, focused on High Energy Physics, and therefore somewhat less comprehensive than is required for the study of multi-faceted group of physicists such as Wheeler and his students. Google Scholar, on the other hand, is so inclusive as to be redundant. For example, a Google Scholar search for publications written by “JA Wheeler” lists some 895 books and articles.⁸⁴ Given that there are only 396 entries in John Wheeler’s personal

⁸⁴ Google Scholar, search author “JA Wheeler”, http://scholar.google.com/scholar?as_q=&num=100&btnG=Search+Scholar&as_epq=&as_oq=&as_eq=&as_occt=any&as_sauthors=%22JA+Wheeler%22&as_publication=&as_ylo=&as_yhi=&as_allsubj=all&hl=en&lr= (23 Nov 2008).

bibliography, the Google Scholar data would also seem to be of limited usefulness.

The good news is that Google Scholar is similarly redundant for all author searches. Therefore, it is useful as relative measure or, more charitably, a first order approximation of scientific productivity as estimated by the number of articles a given scientist has published. For better or worse, Google Scholar seems to employ this same redundancy as it assesses citation counts. In the case of John Wheeler, we see that as of 23 November 2008 the opus *Gravitation* (coauthored with former students Charles Misner and Kip Thorne) has been cited 2,723 times. Further down the webpage, we find instances when it appears that a particular chapter or section of *Gravitation* has been cited by some group of articles.⁸⁵ Again, this redundancy seems to be a universal feature of Google Scholar. Therefore the data pulled from this resource represents a first-order approximation that is at least minimally suitable for our comparative study. There are however, two other caveats in order.

Caveat One is that the data cited here is time sensitive. There are two factors at play here. On the one hand, every time a paper or book cites one of the publications in the Google Scholar database (or, for that matter, the SLAC-SPIRES database), the citation count will increase by one. On the other hand, over time, as the concepts presented in a given publication become seen as

⁸⁵ Google Scholar, search author "JA Wheeler" (23 Nov 2008).

less novel, the rate of citation increase drops to very nearly zero. That said, the aforementioned *Gravitation* is still in print and even though it has not been revised in thirty-five years, it is still cited.

Caveat Two is that while our quantitative approach seems promising, it is not applicable to experimental physics. In the relatively recent past, experimental physicists have adopted the unfortunate custom of extensively shared authorship. Consider the example of Dr. Richard W. Kadel who earned his Ph.D. under the supervision of Professor Val L. Fitch, a Nobel Laureate and colleague of John Wheeler at Princeton. According to Google Scholar, as of November 2008, Dr. Kadel has some 266 publications and one of them, “Observation of Top Quark Production in $p\bar{p}$ Collisions with the Collider Detector at Fermilab”, has been cited 790 times. This citation count places the Kadel paper in the “Renowned” class. But to what extent is the paper the work of Kadell? A closer look reveals that the paper is five pages in length and has

434 authors.⁸⁶ Moreover, since the authors' names appear in alphabetical order, there is no way to infer to what extent Dr. Kadel contributed to the final product, and therefore no reliable way to surmise a link between Dr. Kadel's work habits (or, for that matter, the significance of his work) and the training he received during his apprenticeship under Professor Fitch.

In closing the discussion of methodology as it relates to databases, I am compelled to call attention to another database of interest to this study. The Mathematics Genealogy Project, which is being developed by the Department of Mathematics at North Dakota State University, is a relatively new endeavor that aims to document the intellectual lineage of leading mathematicians. For example, after entering John Wheeler in the search engine, we can see that one of his students, Arthur Wightman completed his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1949 with a dissertation titled, "The Moderation and Absorption of Negative Pions in Hydrogen." As of November 2008, the North

⁸⁶ See Google Scholar, search author "RW Kadel", http://scholar.google.com/scholar?as_q=&num=10&btnG=Search+Scholar&as_epq=&as_oq=&as_eq=&as_occt=any&as_sauthors=%22RW+Kadel%22&as_publication=&as_ylo=&as_yhi=&as_allsubj=all&hl=en&lr= ; See also, R. W. Kadel et al [433 others], "Observation of Top Quark Production in $p^- p$ Collisions with the Collider Detector at Fermilab", *Physical Review Letters* 74, No. 14 (3 Apr 1995), 2626-2631, http://prola.aps.org/abstract/PRL/v74/i14/p2626_1 (23 Nov 2008); See also R. W. Kadel et al [627 others], "Observation of CP Violation in the B^0 Meson System" *Physical Review Letters* 87, No. 9 (27 Aug 2001), 091801-1 [8 pages], <http://prola.aps.org/abstract/PRL/v87/i9/e091801> (23 Nov 2008); See also R. W. Kadel et al [405 others], "Measurement of the W Boson Mass", *Physical Review D* 52, No. 9 (01 Nov 1995), 4784-4827, http://prola.aps.org/abstract/PRD/v52/i9/p4784_1 (23 Nov 2008).

Dakota database lists Wightman as having some twenty-one doctoral students and some 368 “descendants.”⁸⁷

Unfortunately, there are significant omissions in this database. In the case of John Wheeler, for example, only twelve of Wheeler’s Ph.D. students are listed. Wheeler is however, credited with 507 ‘descendants’ or intellectual grandchildren.⁸⁸ The surprising omission of nearly forty of Wheeler’s students may be due, at least in part, to the focus on mathematics. Still, it is hard to imagine that eighty percent of Wheeler’s students lacked a sufficient mathematical pedigree to be included here.

Then too, there is the case of Frederick J. Ernst. Typically, the Mathematics Genealogy Project lists only the Ph.D. students that can be traced in a given intellectual lineage. Along with these students names are the institutions from which they received their Ph.D. and the year in which their doctorate was awarded. The Ernst listing is atypical because there is neither an institution nor a degree year listed.⁸⁹ As it turns out, Frederick Ernst submitted a Senior Thesis at Princeton in 1955 that was supervised by John

⁸⁷ North Dakota State University, The Department of Mathematics, “The Mathematics Genealogy Project”, <http://genealogy.math.ndsu.nodak.edu/id.php?id=11904> (23 Nov 2008). One of Wightman’s students is the renown historian of science, S. Silvan Schweber.

⁸⁸ On the Mathematics Genealogy database, the search terms “John Archibald Wheeler”, “John A. Wheeler”, and “J. A. Wheeler” yield no matches. “John Wheeler” only came up when I sought a listing for Wheeler’s former student, Arthur Wightman.

⁸⁹ Mathematics Genealogy Project (23 Nov 2008).

Wheeler (see Appendix E, p. 698). Ernst's graduate work, however, was completed at the University of Wisconsin in 1958 without any apparent involvement on Wheeler's part.⁹⁰ In sum, while this venture shows promise, as of November 2008, it remains a work in progress. Nonetheless, a project that focuses on intellectual lineage is an indication that this study should enjoy some resonance with the mathematics and physics communities.

Section 1.8 Review

This thesis addresses mentoring in theoretical studies, a heretofore underdeveloped area scholarship. One object is to illuminate the art and practice of mentoring, in both a qualitative and quantitative sense as it is situated in a research school setting. A second, and related objective is to bridge the gap between the extant studies of research schools and the more recent examinations of pedagogy in scientific training. Because of his evident skill as a mentor and his position on the timeline of theoretical physics in America, John Archibald Wheeler is thought to be a particularly well-suited focus for this investigation. Finally, while the study faces a number of evidentiary challenges, there is also the promise significant insights into the production of science.

⁹⁰ Frederick Joseph Ernst, Jr., "The Wave Functional Description of Elementary Particles with Application to Nucleon Structure" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1958).

In the following chapter, I will further establish the foundation of this investigation by presenting a biographical sketch of Wheeler, paying particular attention to those events and circumstances that appear to bear on his career as a mentor.

Chapter Two: The Nature and Nurture of a Mentor: John Archibald Wheeler as Student

Section 2.1 Overview

John Archibald Wheeler's success as a mentor can be traced to a number of factors—some of which are biographical (as opposed to professional) in origin. That said, a systematic approach to the issue necessarily includes the obvious (i.e. Wheeler's eminence in theoretical physics). As noted in Chapter 1, John Archibald Wheeler was one of the United States' most celebrated physicists and among the few to make significant contributions in both quantum physics and general relativity. In her study of the scientific elite and Nobel laureates in the United States, social historian Harriet Zuckerman refers to Wheeler as a member of the “ultra-elite” among scientists.⁹¹

⁹¹ Harriet Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite: Nobel Laureates in the United States* (New York: The Free Press, 1977; reprint, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishing, 1996), 104. See also, Kip S. Thorne, and Wojciech H. Zurek “John Archibald Wheeler: A Few Highlights of His Contributions to Physics,” in *Between Quantum and Cosmos: Studies and Essays in Honor of John Archibald Wheeler*, ed. Wojciech Hubert Zurek, Alwyn van der Merwe, and Warner Allen Miller (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 1988): 3-13.

However, professional virtuosity and intellectual lineage do not by any means guarantee excellence as a mentor.⁹² Einstein was, of course, famous for not having any students. The late Richard Feynman, a Nobel laureate (and former Wheeler Ph.D. student) is another case in point. Despite wide acclaim for his ability to present concepts with clarity and verve, Feynman was not a prolific mentor. Over a career that spanned four years at Cornell and thirty-five years at Caltech, Feynman had at most a handful of Ph.D. students.⁹³ Another Nobelist, P. A. M. Dirac, was also notoriously reluctant to take on graduate students. Over his career, Dirac officially supervised a total of seven Ph.D.

⁹² Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 101-103, 105, 109, 150; See also Robert Kanigel, *Apprentice to Genius: The Making of a Scientific Dynasty*, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 234-235; J. B. Morrell, "The Chemist Breeders: The Research Schools of Liebig and Thomas Thomson," *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the History of Alchemy and Chemistry* 19 (Mar 1972), 19; William Thomson, "Scientific Laboratories," *Nature* 31 (Nov 1884—Apr 1885): 409-413, see 410 where Thomson writes, "The world renowned laboratory of Liebig brought together all the young chemists of the day. If I were to name the great men who studied at Giessen I should have to name almost every one of the great chemists of the present day who were young forty years ago."; Also quoted in Joseph Fruton, "The Liebig Group: A Reappraisal," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 132 (1988), 3. In a footnote, Fruton quotes William Thomson, "all the eminent chemists who were young in 1845 were pupils of Liebig."

⁹³Feynman's skill as a classroom and/or public lecturer was well known. Moreover, his text *The Feynman Lectures on Physics* is considered a must for any physicist's library (In this regard see James Gleick *Genius: The Life and Science of Richard Feynman* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 363-364). For more on Feynman as a mentor see Terry M. Christensen, "Creating Chains of Wisdom: The Role of Interdisciplinarity in Mentoring," Master's Thesis, Marylhurst University, 2001. The number of Feynman Ph.D. students is addressed on p.3 and pp. 59-61.

students.⁹⁴ Clearly, talent in and of itself is no guarantee of productivity in mentoring. So what does matter?

By way of understanding the factors that contributed to Wheeler's development of a personal style and method for mentoring, this chapter will present a chronological adumbration of the first twenty-four years of John Wheeler's life. These years include his childhood and early education, followed by his experience studying and doing physics with Karl Herzfeld, Gregory Breit, and Niels Bohr. This chapter also contains a section which addresses John Wheeler's enigmatic relationship with Albert Einstein. What follows is a selective analysis of these years with a view to thinking about the character of mentors and mentorship, as discussed in Chapter 1.

Section 2.2 Nature and Nurture: The Young Wheeler

Like most accounts of the life of an unusually gifted and influential physicist, the sources for John Wheeler's life depict an exceptional young man.⁹⁵ Many of the standard stories and themes associated with biographical

⁹⁴ R. H. Dalitz and Rudolf Peierls, "Paul Adrien Maurice Dirac: 8 August 1902—20 October 1984," *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society* 32 (1986), 154-156. Dirac also had some mentees for whom he was not the dissertation supervisor of record. Notable among these were Dennis Sciama and Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar.

⁹⁵ As yet, a scholarly biography of John Wheeler does not exist. The primary sources for learning about his youth are: "Wheeler, John Archibald, 1911-2008," interview by Kenneth W. Ford (transcript), Princeton, NJ and Meadow Lakes, NJ, 06 Dec 1993—18 May 1995, NBL-AIP, Call number [OH5]John Archibald Wheeler and Kenneth Ford, *Geons, Black Holes, and Quantum Foam: A Life in Physics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998); John Archibald

studies of scientists in their youth are present in Wheeler's life story. Though there is some evidence that the nature of these stories varies with discipline, the stories of Wheeler's youth resonate with those of other American physicists (e.g. Richard P. Feynman (1918 – 1988)).⁹⁶ That said, these elements are nonetheless important to the narrative. Among the themes to explore in the context of this study on mentorship are influences from family, friends, and teachers. Other areas of interest include the young Wheeler's attitudes toward education as well as his style of thinking and working. Finally, this chapter also examines the interactions of the young Wheeler with three remarkable and effective teachers and mentors in physics: Karl Herzfeld, Gregory Breit, and Niels Bohr.

John Archibald Wheeler, the oldest of four children, was born on the ninth of July, 1911 in Jacksonville, Florida. Wheeler's parents, Joseph Lewis Wheeler and Mabel Archibald Wheeler, were both librarians. Although Mabel

Wheeler, "Wheeler, John Archibald, 1911-2008," interview by Charles Weiner and Gloria Lubkin (transcript), Princeton, NJ, 05 April 1967, NBL-AIP, Call number [OH537]; Jeremy Bernstein, *Quantum Profiles* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

⁹⁶ For the variation of childhood stories among disciplines see Ronald E. Doel, "Oral History of American Science: A Forty Year Review," *History of Science* 41, no. 4 (Dec 2003): 349-378, 360-361, available online: <<http://oasis.oregonstate.edu/search/tHistory+of+Science/thistory+of+science/1%2C2%2C2%2CE/c8561053566&FF=thistory+of+science&1%2C1%2C%2C1%2C0>> (24 June 2006). See also Richard P. Feynman and Ralph Leighton, *Surely You're Joking Mr. Feynman: Adventures of a Curious Character* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 1985), 16-21, Feynman too, was fascinated by gadgets during his youth and achieved neighborhood acclaim for fixing radios by "thinking."

Wheeler left her career in order to raise her children and manage the Wheeler household, she remained active in library affairs by helping her husband evaluate books for library purchase. As they became old enough to participate, the Wheeler children joined in these discussions. As one might expect, the Wheeler household was filled with books. In addition to the typical childhood favorites *Swiss Family Robinson* and *Robinson Crusoe*, Wheeler reports that, early on, he had an appetite for technical books. Included in these were Franklin Day Jones' *Mechanisms and Mechanical Movements* (1920) and J. Arthur Thomson's *Introduction to Science* (1911).⁹⁷

In his autobiography, John Wheeler notes that, although his mother seemed very happy in marriage, throughout her life she was “sensitive about not having a college degree.” Perhaps because of that perceived shortcoming, Mabel Wheeler “made sure that all her children were encouraged in their academic pursuits.” Wheeler continues:

As the firstborn son, with an inclination toward mathematics and science, I got a disproportionate share of my mother's attention. My brothers and sister felt this imbalance. I didn't feel smothered, but I was aware of the expectations that she held for me.⁹⁸

In addition to the foregoing, the Wheeler autobiography contains a number of anecdotes that underscore a family life that emphasized the importance of

⁹⁷ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin, 05 April 1967; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 82; See also Franklin Day Jones, *Mechanisms and Mechanical Movements* (New York: Industrial Press, 1920); J. Arthur Thompson, *Introduction to Science* (New York: H. Holt & Co., 1911).

⁹⁸ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 65-66.

learning.⁹⁹ Of course, a child is also influenced by adults, teachers in particular, who are outside the family circle.

In John Wheeler's case, numerous family relocations complicate the issue of identifying influences outside the family. Although the point is not emphasized in the Wheeler autobiography, John Wheeler's father, Joseph Wheeler, was no ordinary librarian. Over the course of his career he wrote several books on the topics of library management and the place of the public library in American communities. Wheeler said of his father, "He saw the public library as the university of the people."¹⁰⁰ In fact, Joseph Wheeler was chosen to manage exhibits for the American Library Association at the (1915) San Francisco and (1926) Philadelphia World's Fairs.¹⁰¹

In order to advance in his profession, the elder Wheeler accepted positions at a series of libraries. For example, in September 1912 (after only eighteen months in Florida), Joseph Wheeler took a position as assistant director of the Los Angeles Public Library. Shortly thereafter, the Wheeler family moved from Jacksonville to Glendale, California. In 1916, after he completed the San Francisco assignment for the American Library

⁹⁹ Wheeler interview with Ford, 06—20 Dec 1993, Transcript 101-309.

¹⁰⁰ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin, 05 April 1967, 2.

¹⁰¹ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 67; In fact, the elder Wheeler's papers are presently housed in the Joseph Wheeler Collection at the College of Information of Florida State University. In a 20 Mar 2006 email to the author, Pamela J. Doffek (Librarian, Goldstein Library, College of Information, Florida State University) confirms that the papers of Joseph Wheeler are in the University's collection. As of this writing (2008) the collection remains unprocessed.

Association, Joseph Wheeler became head librarian of the Youngstown, Ohio public library. However, his stay in Youngstown was intermittent. During the war years (1917 – 1918), Wheeler's father worked for the Libraries War Service and was responsible for all book selections sent to overseas Armed Forces Libraries.

Another of the moves was the result of Joseph Wheeler's 1912 bout with scarlet fever, which left him with a weak heart. In 1921, in order to build up his health, the elder Wheeler took a sabbatical from the Youngstown library and relocated, with his wife and children to a farm owned by the Wheeler family near Benson, Vermont. Then, in October of 1922, Joseph Wheeler and his family returned to Youngstown. Later, after working for the American Library Association at the Philadelphia World's Fair in 1926, Joseph Wheeler was hired as the director of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore.¹⁰²

Consequently, John Wheeler's early education began in Washington, DC and continued (sequentially) in Youngstown, Ohio, in Benson, Vermont, back in Youngstown again, and concluded in Baltimore. Under these circumstances (i.e. repeatedly having to adjust to a new school), one might presume that Wheeler's public school experience was something less than optimal. In fact the moves—particularly the move to Vermont—advanced rather than hindered Wheeler's educational progress. More to the larger point,

¹⁰² Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 67, 71-73, 83.

the family did not remain in a community long enough for Wheeler to establish meaningful relationships with any non-family adults other than teachers.

Two such teachers are prominently mentioned in *Geons*. The first is Mary Donovan who taught between twenty-five and thirty-five pupils (spanning eight grades) in a one room schoolhouse near Benson, Vermont.¹⁰³ After completing the first grade in Washington, DC, Wheeler completed the second and third grades in Youngstown. He was finishing his fourth grade year when the family moved to Vermont. There, in Mary Donovan's classroom, Wheeler made remarkable progress. In *Geons*, he remarks:

I don't remember being considered especially precocious, and I don't remember getting any special attention from Mary Donovan, but somehow, after a little more than one school year in Vermont, I moved into the eighth grade back in Youngstown, four grades beyond the one I had left. Part of the reason, I think, is that I could listen in on the teacher's instruction of the older children and quietly work along with them. Also, I had time during the day to move at my own pace through the available books, and I did as much mathematics as I could. Since the first grade, when my grandfather Archibald had introduced me to mathematics, I had loved it and found that it came naturally to me.¹⁰⁴

Mary Donovan's influence is more apparent later in Wheeler's career when

¹⁰³ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin, 05 April 1967, 5. Here Wheeler recalls twenty-five students in Mary Donovan's school. In *Geons*, (p80) Wheeler remembers the number of students as thirty-five.

¹⁰⁴ Wheeler interview with Ford, 06 Dec 1993, 207; See also, Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 80.

Wheeler became known for giving his students “barely enough advice to keep [them] from floundering and but never so much that [they] felt that he had solved the problem for them.”¹⁰⁵

Although Mary Donovan did not openly extol Wheeler's academic ability, once Wheeler was back in Ohio, a number of his teachers took a more proactive role in his development. Most prominent among these was Wheeler's mathematics teacher, Lida F. Baldwin. “She gave me extra work, extra reading, and extra encouragement,” recalls Wheeler. Nor did Baldwin's commitment to Wheeler's academic success stop at the schoolhouse door. One afternoon, according to Wheeler, she called on his father at the Youngstown Library, “to make sure, I suspect, that my parent's commitment to my education matched her own.”¹⁰⁶ Wheeler also mentions Professor [Francis] Murnaghan (1893 – 1976) who taught calculus at Johns Hopkins.¹⁰⁷ Murnaghan was, other than Karl Herzfeld (Wheeler's dissertation advisor), “The best teacher I ever had as far as exposition [and clarity are]

¹⁰⁵ Kip S. Thorne, *Black Holes and Time Warps: Einstein's Outrageous Legacy* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1994), 262.

¹⁰⁶ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 80-81; Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 3.

¹⁰⁷ J. J. O'Connor and E. F. Robertson, “Francis Dominic Murnaghan.” MacTutor History of Mathematics (October 2003), Available Online: <<http://www-history.mcs.st-andrews.ac.uk/Biographies/Murnaghan.html>> (21 Mar 2006); North Dakota State University, Department of Mathematics, “Francis Dominc Murnaghan,” The Mathematics Genealogy Project [Online], Available:<<http://www.genealogy.math.ndsu.nodak.edu/html/id.phtml?id=11540>> (21 Mar 2006).

concerned.”¹⁰⁸ Coming from Wheeler, a man famous for his word-smithery, that is quite an endorsement.

Clearly, Wheeler's childhood was one in which he was inculcated with the importance of education. Desire alone however is insufficient to achieve academic goals. The pursuit of knowledge—particularly at the highest levels—takes tenacity and a great deal of work. An elite mentor must possess these qualities and, be able to inculcate that same robust work ethic in her or his mentees. So, where are the roots of John Wheeler's work ethic?

John Wheeler seems to have developed a tacit understanding of the importance of industriousness largely through the example of his parents. In Wheeler's autobiography, there is little evidence that the inherent worth of work was a frequent discussion topic. He recalls that, “It was an era when children's character and intellect were supposed to be developed through discipline and hard work, not through rewards and flattery.”¹⁰⁹ As he got older, Wheeler became responsible for certain family chores such as mowing the lawn and gathering eggs (after returning to Youngstown from Vermont, the Wheelers kept chickens in their back yard). Additionally, in both Youngstown and Baltimore, Wheeler had a paper delivery route. Even so, as a typical teen, particularly as college approached, John Wheeler was not above attempting to avoid jobs that he found tedious or unduly taxing. From time to time, he would

¹⁰⁸ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 6.

¹⁰⁹ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 80.

evade certain tasks with the excuse that the chore in question, “might not be the best way for me to spend my time if I am going to earn a scholarship for college.”¹¹⁰

Neither should one jump to the conclusion that John Wheeler was above a little mischief—creative and otherwise. As an adult, Wheeler was known to set off firecrackers at unexpected (some might say inappropriate) times and places. Indeed, he was also known to recruit his graduate students as accomplices in these escapades. Warner Miller, who was a student of Wheeler’s at Texas recalls, “Any good student of yours [Wheeler] would have fireworks at home stored in a box somewhere.” Then too, there was the ritual firing of the cannon at Wheeler’s summer home on High Island, Maine.¹¹¹

Teen, and for that matter, middle age mischief notwithstanding, it is clear that several adults, particularly teachers, inculcated a strong work ethic in Wheeler. He speaks fondly of high school teachers in Youngstown such as Mr. Love, the English teacher, Miss Doerschuck, who taught geometry and

¹¹⁰ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 83, also 74, 85. On p. 83 Wheeler recalls having paper delivery routes in Ohio and Baltimore, but in his 05 April 1967 interview with Charles Weiner and Gloria Lubkin, 05 Apr 1967, 7, here, Wheeler only recalls delivering papers for one year in Ohio; Wheeler interview with Ford, 09 Dec 1993, 301.

¹¹¹ Anecdotes about Wheeler’s fascination with explosive devices and his penchant for setting off fireworks abound. See, for example Wheeler interview with Ford, 06—20 Dec 1993, 204-304]; Warren Miller interview with Kenneth W. Ford, 27 Feb 1995, Miller home in Albuquerque, HTML no pagination, <http://www.aip.org/history/ohilist/23201.html> (19 Nov 2008); Interview with Bryce DeWitt and Cecile DeWitt-Morette interview with Kenneth W. Ford, 25 Feb 1995, University of Texas at Austin, 21.

especially Miss Lida Baldwin, who taught algebra and encouraged Wheeler (and his parents) to make the most of his talent. Wheeler recalls, “They were not the common variety of teacher who treats a fast learner as someone who can safely be ignored or even as someone who is a nuisance.” The first sentence describing Mary Donovan, with whom Wheeler completed the work of four academic years in one calendar year, notes that she walked to school every day from a nearby farm.¹¹² Reading beyond the text, it seems clear that Mary Donovan's daily slog through the Vermont winter very effectively reinforced other tacit lessons in the value of conscientiousness and diligence.

Even with the influence of these teachers and other adults, most of John Wheeler's work ethic is traceable to his family. In his interview with Ken Ford as well as in *Geons*, Wheeler discusses the pioneering spirit of the Archibald clan—several of whom homesteaded in Kansas as Free-Staters prior to the Civil War. From Kansas, the clan spread to Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. On his father's side of the family, Wheeler descended from Puritan stock that settled in Massachusetts. He reports that, “within a year of the founding of Concord, Massachusetts (1640), thirty-five Wheeler families lived there. Wheeler was the most common family name in Concord.” Implicit in

¹¹² Wheeler interview with Ford, 06—09 Dec 1993, 204, 301; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 80.

these family narratives is a high regard for the hard work and perseverance required of settlers in a new land.¹¹³

Joseph Wheeler seems to have had the most telling influence in this regard. John Wheeler warmly recalls his father's fondness for aphorisms. "There isn't anything that can't be done better," was a favorite along with "Do what you can, with what you have, where you are." These stayed with John Wheeler throughout his career as a scientist and a mentor. At the close of the *Geons* chapter describing his youth, Wheeler speaks with particular reverence for his father:

As I look at my own childhood and wonder what made me think I could grapple with nature's greatest mysteries, I have to give credit to a few teachers who saw some potential in me, and most of all to my father, for whom no mountain was insurmountable. He was no scholar, but he knew how to make his visions come true. ... I grew up in an environment where problem solving and achievement (as well as service) were the respected virtues, where the mind was supposed to do something, not just know something.¹¹⁴

Echoes of this creed appeared throughout Wheeler's career.

Indeed, John Wheeler consistently appreciated and encouraged industriousness in those around him. In fact, throughout the autobiography *Geons*, Wheeler nearly always begins the discussion of an individual with an

¹¹³ Wheeler interview with Ford, 06 Dec 1993, 102-108; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 68-70.

¹¹⁴ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 84.

assessment of that individual's work habits.¹¹⁵ Two prominent examples help to illustrate the point.

One such case in point is Ed Cruetz, then a young physicist with whom Wheeler worked on the Manhattan Project. Wheeler notes, "Ed Cruetz was a pleasure to work with. He was ready to sweep floors if that's what it took to get a job done." Based on his evaluation of Cruetz' attitude toward work, Wheeler subsequently recommended him for a senior position at General Atomics corporation. The work habits of the team of young physicists that Wheeler assembled to help in the development of the H-bomb received similar praise. The team included John Toll, now Chancellor Emeritus of the University of Maryland and Ken Ford now-retired executive director of the American Institute of Physics and co-author of *Geons*.¹¹⁶

Another example is the theoretical physicist Maria Goeppert-Mayer. Goeppert-Mayer had been one of Wheeler's professors at Hopkins. Later, she became a colleague in the Manhattan Project, and she would win a share of the Nobel prize for physics in 1963 for her work on nuclear shell structure. Unfortunately, Goeppert-Mayer's gender seemed to keep academic promotion out of her reach.¹¹⁷ Consequently, she waited thirty years to be appointed to a full professorship. Beyond her talent as a physicist, she earned Wheeler's

¹¹⁵ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, passim.

¹¹⁶ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 218-219.

¹¹⁷ Wheeler interview with Ford, 20 Dec 1993, 403, 406; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 97.

admiration for remaining positive and enthusiastic about theoretical physics despite the prejudice and devaluation that she endured for the bulk of her career. In *Geons* (1998) Wheeler noted, “To her colleagues she was a valued full partner, whatever status she might be assigned by local administrations.”¹¹⁸

At the elite levels of science, the importance of a solid work ethic is matched by the necessity of clear thinking. Are there clues in Wheeler's youth about the way he approached problems? While specific problem solving approaches were imparted to Wheeler later in life, one particularly significant element of thinking style seemed to emerge in his younger years. Fred Archibald, Wheeler's maternal grandfather, was a figure of early significance in this context. John Wheeler, along with his mother and siblings, had two extended stays with his grandparents in Washington, DC. The first occasion occurred when Joseph Wheeler was managing the American Library Association exhibit at the 1915 San Francisco World's Fair. Later (1917 – 1918), while the elder Wheeler was working for the Library War Service, the Wheeler family again lived in the Archibald home. During these intervals, Fred Archibald spent quite a lot of time with his grandson. While John Wheeler was

¹¹⁸ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 97.

in the first grade, his father “introduced him” to mathematics—including the rudiments of algebra.¹¹⁹

More importantly, Wheeler learned from his grandfather how to look at various sides of an issue:

Sunday dinners at my grandparents' home were special occasions, spiced by political argument. My great-uncle John W. Reid, my grandmother's brother, was a frequent guest at these dinners. He and my grandfather loved to debate issues of the war then in progress. ... My grandfather was an accomplished debater. After convincing everyone of his position over a Sunday dinner, he reversed himself and argued the other side. I was old enough [Wheeler was six at the time] to appreciate the give and take.¹²⁰

Later, as a high school senior in Baltimore, Wheeler performed well on the debate team. In addition to learning to consider a given issue from various perspectives, Wheeler credits this experience with solidifying the self-confidence that is requisite to the practice of science.¹²¹

Independence of thought, the willingness and ability to consider issues with ‘fresh eyes’ and without regard to conventional wisdom is an important component of careful reasoning. Here, both John Wheeler’s parents seem to have had an enduring influence. While attending the first grade in Washington, DC, Wheeler and his classmates were compelled to recite the Pledge of Allegiance. Joseph and Mabel Wheeler found this practice objectionable. For

¹¹⁹ Wheeler interview with Ford, 06 Dec 1993, 207. The timeline narrative that runs throughout this session (transcript pages 201-208) put John Wheeler in the first grade at that time; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*,73.

¹²⁰ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*,74.

¹²¹ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*,84.

them, compulsory recitation of this oath evoked the specter of state religion in a public school. I would note here that the year is 1917—some thirty-seven years before the U.S. Congress acted to insert the phrase “under God” into the pledge. In the end, though mindful of his parents' convictions, Wheeler kept his own counsel and recited the pledge with the rest of his class.¹²²

Later, while walking with his mother in Youngstown, Wheeler observed some workmen connecting pipe in a ditch. Rather than presuming that experienced workers such as these must have known what they were doing, John Wheeler reportedly announced, “They are connecting it wrong. It won't work that way.” Someone in the crew heard the comment, examined the work and saw that the boy [Wheeler] was right. The workmen immediately set about to correct the error. As Wheeler notes, such is the stuff of family legends.¹²³ This last anecdote is, again, standard fare in scientific biography: The young scientist sees something that all the adults miss completely. Still it points to another crucial element in the practice of science or—for that matter—mentoring.

Curiosity is a fundamental prerequisite for a life in science and, John Wheeler possesses an abundance of it. Beginning in his youth, Wheeler was particularly fascinated with mechanical devices. Like many youngsters, he made extensive use of a Meccano set (similar to an erector set) in the

¹²² Wheeler interview with Ford, 06 Dec 1993, 203; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 73.

¹²³ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 82.

construction of all manner of gadgets. In 1920, when Wheeler was nine, he built a crystal radio receiver so that he could hear KDKA Pittsburgh, the first commercial radio station in the United States. Later, guided by Franklin Jones's *Mechanisms and Mechanical Movements* and, working with wood, Wheeler and a high school friend built a combination lock, a repeating pistol, and an adding machine.¹²⁴ As impressive as these feats are, an excess of any quality—particularly curiosity—can have its drawbacks.

Wheeler learned this lesson, in somewhat dramatic fashion, on the family farm in Vermont. Along with his fascination with mechanical contraptions, John Wheeler was enticed by explosions. By the time he was four, he had learned that if he put a marble in an empty electric light socket, the marble would shoot out with a pop when he switched the socket on.¹²⁵ With his first chemistry set, Wheeler learned to make gunpowder. He learned that a mixture of acetylene and water would blow the cap off a bottle. In Vermont, while Joseph Wheeler and some neighbors were using dynamite to blast holes in the rocky ground for utility poles, John Wheeler was reading extensively about explosives. He knew that the dynamite was set off when a flame burned down a fuse cord to the blasting cap. Therefore, Wheeler

¹²⁴ Wheeler interview with Ford, 06 Dec 1993, 208; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 82-83.

¹²⁵ Wheeler interview with Ford, 06 Dec 1993, 203; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 82.

reasoned, if a flame was brought in direct contact with a blasting cap, the cap should explode. Wheeler relates the sequence of events:

I couldn't resist the temptation. I took two or three dynamite caps from the pig barn and went across the road to a secluded spot in the vegetable garden. I stuck a match in the ground, lit it, and then dropped caps onto it. I kept missing, so I got lower and lower before I released the caps, in hopes of scoring a bull's-eye. Finally, my point of release was only an inch or two above the match flame. With a mighty bang, the cap exploded before I had even let go of it. For weeks afterwards, I was digging little pieces of copper out of my chest and arms and legs. By great good fortune, none of them landed in my eyes.¹²⁶

Although the experiment cost Wheeler the tip of one finger and a small piece of his thumb, it did absolutely nothing to mitigate his fascination with explosions.¹²⁷ More importantly, his curiosity remained intact throughout his career.

Another vital quality for a scientist to possess is faith—specifically, the faith that a solution exists for every problem. This faith grew stronger in John Wheeler as a result of one of his part-time jobs. During his last year of high school and throughout his Hopkins years, John Wheeler worked Saturday nights in the public library. His job was help people research technical and/or industrial problems. Wheeler recalls:

And here is the greatest variety of questions that people bring in to you: “Where can I find out how to build such-and-such?” or “Where can I get the best information on reinforced concrete?” or “How can I tell about anticorrosion metals?” So this business of

¹²⁶ Wheeler interview with Ford, 20 Dec 93, 304; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 81-82; Bernstein, *Quantum Profiles*, 101-102.

¹²⁷ See note 21. Also, Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 82; Jeremy Bernstein, *Quantum Profiles*, 102.

feeling that anything could be tackled, and, by George, if you just gritted your teeth hard enough, you could find one way or another some information that would help somebody, was very inspiring. I kept on with that and kept learning from it, of course.¹²⁸

John Wheeler's father Joseph played a role here as well (beyond helping Wheeler get the job). Although he does not recall the German phrase "*Die Probleme existieren um überwinden zu werden*" [Problems exist to be overcome] among his father's aphorisms, Wheeler has observed that his father also subscribed to that sentiment.¹²⁹ As with curiosity, Wheeler's faith in the existence of a solution for every problem, as will be shown, served his career and his mentees well.

In September 1927, after graduating from Baltimore City College (actually a public high school) John Wheeler enrolled as an engineering major at Johns Hopkins University. He was sixteen years old.

Section 2.3 Johns Hopkins and Karl Herzfeld

John Wheeler never really considered an alternative to Johns Hopkins University for his college education.¹³⁰ As the first graduate research university established in America, Hopkins was a prestigious institution which, throughout its history, had attracted an excellent faculty.¹³¹ Perhaps more

¹²⁸ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 7.

¹²⁹ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 67. The translation is Wheeler's.

¹³⁰ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 84.

¹³¹ The place of Johns Hopkins in American graduate education is well documented. See Burton R. Clark, ed., *The Research Foundations of*

important to the Wheeler family, Johns Hopkins was located in Baltimore, and therefore, John Wheeler could live at home and save on expenses. The fact that Wheeler was awarded a state scholarship to Hopkins further eased the financial burden on the family. In 1912, as a condition for receiving a bond from the state of Maryland, Johns Hopkins University had committed to establish a “school or department of applied science and advanced technology.” Johns Hopkins was further obliged to offer some 129 scholarships “to worthy men of this state.”¹³² John Wheeler, in the estimation of at least one local politician, was one of those worthy men.¹³³ As it turns out,

Graduate Education: Germany, Britain, France, United States, Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); John Calvin French, *A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946); Daniel Coit Gilman, *The Launching of a University, and Other Papers: A Sheaf of Remembrances* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1906); Hugh Hawkins, *Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874-1889* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Helge Kragh, *Quantum Generations: A History of Physics in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); Alexandra Oleson and John Voss, eds., *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America, 1860-1920* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979); Sheldon Rothblatt and Bjorn Wittrock, eds., *The European and American University since 1800: Historical and Sociological Essays* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Will Carson Ryan, *Studies in Early Graduate Education, The Johns Hopkins, Clark University, The University of Chicago* (New York: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1939 [Note: Also listed as Bulletin no. 30]); Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

¹³² Johns Hopkins University, “Johns Hopkins Chronology” [Online], Available: http://webapps.jhu.edu/jhuniverse/information_about_hopkins/about_jhu/chronology/index.cfm?window=print (06 Jan 2005), n.p.; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 85.

¹³³ Wheeler interview with Ford, 20 Dec 1993, 306; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 85.

the Hopkins education served John Wheeler's career as a mentor particularly well. Novel approaches to education were factors here.

From the beginning, the focus of Johns Hopkins University had been graduate education. However, for a variety of reasons it was not feasible to exclude undergraduate programs. One innovation was implemented at the inception of the university by its first president, Daniel Coit Gilman. Gilman devised a system in which students could achieve a bachelor's degree after three years of study so they could move quickly into a graduate program.¹³⁴ By the time Wheeler arrived at Hopkins, it was possible to “fly non-stop” from freshman to Ph.D. in six years without intermediate degrees (i.e. Bachelor of Arts and/or Master of Arts).¹³⁵ Thus, John Wheeler was able to graduate from Johns Hopkins with a Ph.D. in physics before his twenty-second birthday.

The problem however, with staying in the same university for the whole of one's education, is that one can become too indoctrinated to the dominant world-view at that particular institution. This is not always an easy concept for undergraduates to grasp. Richard Feynman, for example was shocked that he couldn't remain at MIT to complete his graduate work. Feynman's re-creation of his conversation about graduate school with John C. Slater, chair of physics at MIT, helps to illustrate the point. The conversation began with Feynman's

¹³⁴ French, *A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins*, 137-138; Gilman, *The Launching of a University*, 66-71.

¹³⁵ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 86-87.

announcing his intent to apply for admission to the MIT graduate program in physics:

[Slater] We won't let you in here.

[Feynman] What?

[Slater] Why do you think you should go to graduate school at MIT?

[Feynman] Because MIT is the best school for science in the country.

[Slater] You think that?

[Feynman] Yeah.

[Slater] That's why you should go to some other school. You should find out how the rest of the world is.¹³⁶

With the problem of institutional myopia in mind, the physics department at Johns Hopkins established a program that rotated upper division, advanced students from professor to professor, spending a month with each.

This innovative practice insured that, prior to being accepted by a dissertation supervisor, each upper division student had the experience of working with a master in a given field of physics. The cast of characters present at Hopkins at that time is impressive. August Pfund (1879 – 1949; discoverer of Hydrogen Pfund lines) taught physical optics. Robert Wood (1908 – 1955; famous for his ultraviolet light work and the chromospheric flash spectrum) also worked with advanced students in optics. Theoretician Gerhard Dieke (1901 – 1965) showed students how to apply quantum mechanics to atomic and molecular spectra, and Joyce Bearden offered instruction in x-ray

¹³⁶ Feynman and Leighton, *Surely You're Joking Mr. Feynman*, 59.

spectra. Wheeler was introduced to nuclear physics by Norman Feather (1904 – 1978), who was fresh from his Ph.D. work with the Nobelist (and mentor of Niels Bohr) Ernest Rutherford at Cambridge's Cavendish Laboratory.¹³⁷

Rutherford in fact, had specifically recommended Feather for the position at Johns Hopkins.¹³⁸

Another objective of rotating students throughout the faculty was for them to become familiar with both laboratory and theoretical techniques.¹³⁹

Perhaps most importantly, it also helped aspiring physicists to become accustomed to working with varying methodologies—and personalities.

Although Wheeler does not specifically articulate this thought, it seems clear that his working relationships with future mentors and mentees benefited from this exposure to a wide variety of intellects.

For Wheeler, there was yet another advantage in attending Johns Hopkins. Because of its proximity to Washington, there was a long-standing

¹³⁷ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 11; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 94; W. Norman Brown, comp., *John Hopkins Half-Century Directory: A Catalogue of the Trustees, Faculty, Holders of Honorary Degrees, and Students, Graduates and Non-graduates 1876-1926* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1926), 420-423; R. B. Lindsay, "Wood, Robert Williams." *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* Vol. XIV, ed. Charles Coulson Gillispie (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 497-499.

¹³⁸ Wheeler interview with Ford, 20 Dec 1993, 403-406; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 94; John Archibald Wheeler, "Some Men and Moments in the History of Nuclear Physics: The Interplay of Colleagues and Motivations," working paper, *Nuclear Physics in Retrospect: Proceedings of a Symposium on the 1930's* ed., Roger H. Stuewer (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1979): 217-284, 224.

¹³⁹ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 94.

relationship between the Johns Hopkins physics department and the scientific staff at the then Bureau of Standards (later the NBS and eventually the NIST).¹⁴⁰ In June of 1930, after Wheeler had completed his third year at Johns Hopkins, he was able to secure a summer job at the Bureau of Standards. For three months, Wheeler had the benefit of working with William F. Meggers (1870 – 1973), a renowned spectroscopist, on diatomic spectrum analysis. As a consequence of this work, and a subsequent paper coauthored with Meggers, by age nineteen, John Archibald Wheeler had become a published scientist.¹⁴¹ Meggers evidently enjoyed working with Wheeler as well. He invited Wheeler to return to work at NBS for each of the next two summers (1931 and 1932).

The transformation of John Wheeler from future engineer to future theoretical physicist took almost two years. One contributing factor was that, at Hopkins, the physics and engineering departments shared a small library. So, early on Wheeler was exposed to a number of physics texts and journals,

¹⁴⁰ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 5; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 107-108; Although the distinction is not made in *Geons*, this agency was officially known as the “Bureau of Standards” during the term of Wheeler’s employment. It became the National Bureau of Standards in 1934 and the “National Institute of Standards and Technology” in 1988. See National Institute of Standards and Technology, “NIST at 100: Foundations for Progress,” <http://www.100.nist.gov/directors.htm> (05 Jan 2009).

¹⁴¹ The paper was: W. F. Meggers and J. A. Wheeler, “The Band Spectra of Scandium-, Yttrium-, and Lanthanum Monoxides.” *National Bureau of Standards Journal of Research* 6, (1931): 239-275; See also: Spectroscopist of the Century ... William F. Meggers.” *Arcs & Sparks* (21 Nov 2002) [Online]. Available: <<http://www.cstl.nist.gov/acd/839.01/meggers.html>> (20 Mar 2006); Wheeler and Ford, 97.

many of which he found fascinating.¹⁴² Then there was a chance encounter on campus with Joseph Sweetman Ames, a renowned physicist who, at the time, was serving as president of Johns Hopkins. Ames asked what Wheeler's major was and Wheeler naturally replied that he was in engineering. John Wheeler recalls Ames' response as, "Well, maybe you'll get interested in physics."¹⁴³

Another factor was the nature of the work in the two disciplines. In 1928, the summer after his first year at Hopkins, John Wheeler worked at a silver mine in Mexico for his uncle John Archibald (for whom he had been named). Wheeler's job was to inspect, maintain, and rebuild the electrical motors that operated the pumps which kept the mine dry enough to work. The mine environment was particularly hard on electrical motors. Therefore, a good deal of Wheeler's time was spent repairing or, more often, replacing the windings of these motors.¹⁴⁴ As he worked, Wheeler began to ponder the sort of problems engineers solved in contrast with the sort of problems physicists solved. In *Geons*, Wheeler recalled his thoughts: "an engineer builds a bridge or whatever it is that lasts 20 or 50 years, but if somebody discovers something in science, well, that's a permanent acquisition of the human

¹⁴² Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 86.

¹⁴³ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 4.

¹⁴⁴ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 87-89.

race.”¹⁴⁵ In any case, after a summer of winding copper wire around electrical motors, physics began to seem more interesting.

The collegial atmosphere at Hopkins was another factor in Wheeler's decision. The small library that the physics and engineering departments shared also served as a sort of communal work area. There, Wheeler made friends in the in the physics department including Robert Murray. Murray and Wheeler would have long discussions about developments in quantum mechanics. Classes in the physics department, even for undergraduates, tended to be taught in a seminar style. As Wheeler reports, “Students gave the reports instead of the professor talking all the time. So that made a person feel a sense of commitment to what he was talking about.”¹⁴⁶ There were also weekly colloquia where a particular topic would be the focus of discussion for the entire academic year. For example, one year (not specified in the source material) Karl Herzfeld, Maria Goeppert-Mayer, and Gerhard Dieke facilitated a seminar on Max Born's treatment of quantum mechanics.¹⁴⁷ The book *Problems of Modern Physics* by the Nobelist Hendrik Antoon Lorentz (1853 – 1928), was another particularly strong influence for Wheeler's move into physics. Finally a coincidental meeting with R. Bowling Brown, who was at the

¹⁴⁵ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 7.

¹⁴⁶ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 6, 8.; Wheeler, “Some Men and Moments in the History of Nuclear Physics,” 226.

¹⁴⁷ The particular text is not specified. However a likely candidate is: Max Born and Pascual Jordan, *Elementare Quantenmechanik : Zweiter Band der Vorlesungen Über Atommechanik* (Berlin, Julius Springer, 1930).

time a teaching assistant for Wheeler's physics professor John C. Hubbard (1879 – 1954), sealed the deal. Wheeler officially changed his major at the outset of his third year at Johns Hopkins.¹⁴⁸

By 1931, Wheeler's career as a scientist was beginning to unfold. He had learned a good deal of physics and acquired a formidable mathematical toolbox. John Wheeler was ready for a mentor and Karl Herzfeld (1892 – 1978), the leading theoretician at Johns Hopkins was ready to have Wheeler as a student.

Karl Herzfeld, who came to the United States in 1926, was among the very first émigré physicists from Europe. Like many European academics, Herzfeld was a son of upper class Vienna. His father had been a prominent Viennese obstetrician and his mother was the daughter of a newspaper publisher. His uncle (on his mother's side) was the famous organic chemist, R. O. Herzog.¹⁴⁹ In 1910, Herzfeld entered the University of Vienna, whose

¹⁴⁸ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 8-9; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 86-88; The book cited by Wheeler is, H. A. Lorentz, *Problems in Modern Physics: A Course of Lectures Delivered in the California Institute of Technology by H. A. Lorentz*, ed. H. Bateman (Boston, New York: Ginn and Company, 1927).

¹⁴⁹ Joseph F. Mulligan, "Karl Herzfeld, February 1924 – June 3, 1978." <http://newton.nap.edu/html/biomems/kherzfeld.html> (20 Mar 06), also in National Academy of Sciences, *Biographical Memoirs*, Vol. 80 (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2001), 160-183; See also Karl Ferdinand Herzfeld (1892 – 1978), "Interview with Dr. Karl Herzfeld," by Bruce Wheaton, 11 May 1978, Washington, DC, transcript, <http://www.aip.org/history/ohilist/4669.html> (05 Jan 2009), in which Herzfeld notes that his father, "brought the second son of the King of Bulgaria into the world."

theoretical physics department was supervised by Friedrich Hasenöhr (1874 – 1915). Hasenöhr had taken over the theoretical professorship after the tragic suicide of Ludwig von Boltzmann (1844 – 1906).

One might expect, given the intellectual legacy of Boltzmann, that Vienna would be the center of statistical physics. Oddly, Herzfeld maintains that he actually mastered the subjects of statistical mechanics and thermodynamics during the time (academic year 1911 – 1912) that he spent working with Otto Stern (1888 – 1969) at the Eigenossische Technische Hochschule (ETH) in Zurich.¹⁵⁰ Stern, who was Einstein's assistant at ETH at the time, later became better known as an experimentalist and won the 1943 Nobel Prize in physics for his work in molecular beams.¹⁵¹ Herzfeld returned to Vienna and earned his doctorate in 1914, under the direction of Professor Hasenöhr, with a dissertation that applied statistical mechanics to a gas of free electrons as a model for a theory of metals.¹⁵² But this was hardly Herzfeld's first publication.

Before he even went to Zurich, Herzfeld had published four research papers and prior to completing his doctorate in 1914, he had published two

¹⁵⁰ Mulligan, "Karl Herzfeld," n.p.; Herzfeld interview with Wheaton, n.p.

¹⁵¹ Mulligan, "Karl Herzfeld," n.p.; Otto Stern, "Biography," http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/physics/laureates/1943/stern-bio.html (06 Jan 2009), also in *Nobel Lectures, Physics 1942-1962* (Elsevier Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1964).

¹⁵² Karl F. Herzfeld, "Zur Elektronentheorie der Metalle," *Annalen der Physik*, 4, No: 41, p. 27-52; As per Mulligan, "Karl Herzfeld," this was Herzfeld's dissertation completed under the supervision of Professor Friedrich Hasenöhr.

more. One of these early research papers included an attempt to derive a model for the hydrogen atom that preceded Bohr's famous 1913 paper.¹⁵³ Moreover, Herzfeld continued to write and publish during his four years of service as a heavy artillery officer in the Austro-Hungarian army.¹⁵⁴ After the war, a crumbling economy, social unrest, and the hope of a transition to chemistry led Herzfeld first to Munich, then back to Vienna, and eventually, with the promise of a salaried assistantship, back to Munich to work with theoretical physicist Arnold Sommerfeld (1868 – 1951) and professor of physical chemistry, Kasimir Fajans (1887 – 1975). As Joseph Mulligan, Herzfeld's biographer reports, "He [Herzfeld] impressed both professors so favorably that he was offered a position as Privatdozent in theoretical physics and physical chemistry, combined with an assistantship under Fajans for research in the latter field."¹⁵⁵

It was an exciting time to be in Munich. At the time, Sommerfeld's students included future Nobel Laureates Hans Bethe (1906 – 2005), Werner Heisenberg (1901 – 1976), and Wolfgang Pauli (1900 – 1958). Mulligan also observes that Herzfeld had a "considerable impact" on Linus Pauling (1901 – 1994) who had come to Sommerfeld's institute as a post-doc on a

¹⁵³ Herzfeld interview with Wheaton; as per Mulligan, "Karl F. Herzfeld", Karl F. Herzfeld, "Über ein Atommodell, das die Balmer'sche Wasserstoffserie aussendet," *Sitzungsberichte der Koniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien* 121, no. 2a, pp. 593-601.

¹⁵⁴ Mulligan, "Karl Herzfeld," n.p.

¹⁵⁵ Mulligan, "Karl Herzfeld," n.p.; Herzfeld interview with Wheaton, n.p.

Guggenheim Fellowship. Additionally, Mulligan notes that renowned physicists such as Walter Heitler (1904 – 1981), Alfred Landé (1888 – 1976), Otto Laporte (1902 – 1971), and Gregor Wentzel (1898 – 1978) all profited from their association with Herzfeld.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, during the winter of 1922 – 1923, while Sommerfeld took a visiting professorship at the University of Wisconsin, Herzfeld was tapped to deliver the lectures for Sommerfeld's classes in Munich.¹⁵⁷

And yet, despite this evidently heavy involvement in teaching, Herzfeld was an extraordinarily productive researcher during his Munich years (1919 – 1926). Joseph Mulligan recounts the publication record:

He published the first modern book in any language on kinetic theory and statistical mechanics (1925), which soon became a very popular graduate-level textbook in German-speaking universities. In the second edition of Hugh S. Taylor's *Treatise on Physical Chemistry*, Herzfeld and H. M. Smallwood wrote the sections on the kinetic theory of gases and liquids and on imperfect gases and the liquid state (1931). During his Munich years Herzfeld also contributed a number of important articles to the *Handbuch der Physik*, including one on Grösse und Bau der Moleküle [Size and Construction of Molecules (1924), another on Klassische Thermodynamik [Classical Thermodynamics] (1926), and a third with K. L. Wolf on Absorption und Dispersion (1928). In addition to the above monograph on the kinetic theory of heat, his *Handbuch* articles, and two articles in the *Handbuch der Experimental Physik*, one of which was a long article on the lattice theory of solids (1928), Herzfeld published over 30 shorter research papers in German journals.

¹⁵⁶ Mulligan, "Karl Herzfeld," n.p.; Herzfeld interview with Wheaton, n.p.

¹⁵⁷ Herzfeld interview with Wheaton, n.p.; Mulligan, "Karl Herfeld," n.p.

Mulligan further notes that because Herzfeld's interests covered such a wide spectrum, there has been a tendency to underestimate his research productivity.¹⁵⁸

In 1926, Herzfeld was offered a visiting professorship at Johns Hopkins, and as the three month appointment was drawing to a close, Hopkins extended the offer of a permanent position as a full professor. The continuing economic malaise in Germany, coupled with the paucity of opportunities for a permanent position, compelled Herzfeld, then a bachelor, to emigrate to the United States.¹⁵⁹

At this point, it will be helpful to take note of some patterns that we will see reflected in the career of John Wheeler. The broad range of interests is one example. The tendency to 'leapfrog' to significant problems is another. So is the remarkable level of productivity in research publications. Indeed, Herzfeld's commitment to remain productive in physics while fulfilling his military commitment, is echoed in Wheeler's habit of taking every opportunity to make time for his "Princeton physics" during the years when he was involved in Manhattan and Matterhorn projects. To that point, Ken Ford has remarked that, during Project Matterhorn, Wheeler would often rise as early as 3:00 AM in order to work on his research interests and still fulfill his

¹⁵⁸ Mulligan, "Karl Herfeld," n.p. The translations are by Mulligan.

¹⁵⁹ Herzfeld interview with Wheaton, n.p.

commitment to defense work.¹⁶⁰ Perhaps the most significant indicator of elements that would manifest in Wheeler's career was Herzfeld's commitment to his students.

While the author has yet to uncover any comprehensive reckoning of Herzfeld's students during the ten years (1926 – 1936) that he was at Johns Hopkins, it is clear that Herzfeld had a considerable number of Ph.D. students in his thirty-three years at Catholic University. Joseph Mulligan, author of Herzfeld's "Biographical Memoir" for the National Academy of Sciences, has written that of the eighty-five individuals who received a Ph.D. in physics from Catholic University in the years 1936 – 1962 (when Herzfeld was chair of the department), "almost half" had his or her dissertation supervised by Herzfeld. Moreover, as is often remarked about Wheeler, Herzfeld was generous with both his time and his ideas.¹⁶¹ There is one other similarity between the two men to address.

Although it is typically not stated explicitly, it is clear that both Wheeler and Herzfeld placed a high value on collegiality and professional relationships. When those conditions deteriorate, as they did at Johns Hopkins in 1935 – 1936 or at Princeton in the wake of the Vietnam War (esp. 1973 – 1975), both

¹⁶⁰ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 39; Ken Ford, personal communication with author, 31 Dec 2009.

¹⁶¹ Mulligan, "Karl Herzfeld," n.p.; *Family Gathering*, passim.

men felt compelled to move on.¹⁶² In his biographical memoir for Herzfeld, Mulligan quotes extensively from a letter Herzfeld wrote to his close friend and confidante Sommerfeld, describing the fractious nature of the Department under the stress of economic hardship.¹⁶³ Sommerfeld's reply is empathetic, insightful, and includes a touch of humor:

Das war aber jetzt ein Durcheinander! Nachdem ich so lange nicht das Geringste von Ihnen gehört, schrieb ich neulich an Dunlap - aber natürlich noch nach Baltimore - was mit Ihnen los sei, da ich einen hunch hatte, dass Sie in Hopkins abgebaut hatten ... Die Ueberseidlung nach Washington hat natürlich zwei Seiten: die aura spritualis wird Ihnen dort natürlich kongenialer sein, aber wenn das Institut noch im argen liegt, ist das auch kein idealer Zustand ... Vielleicht hat auch die Catholic University einmal Bedarf nach einem Gast-philosophen oder - psychologen, für welchen Fall ich mich bestens empfohlen halte.

[What a mess this is now. I hadn't heard from you in so long that I wrote recently to Dunlap - of course still in Baltimore - [to see] what was going on with you, because I had a hunch that things were coming apart on you at Hopkins ... The settlement on Washington naturally has two sides: The spiritual aura may be congenial [to you], but if the institute is in a sorry state, it's not an ideal situation ... Perhaps the Catholic University has a need for a guest-philosopher or - psychologists, for which case I am best recommended.]¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 316; Mulligan, "Karl Herzfeld," n.p.; Herzfeld interview with Wheaton.

¹⁶³ Mulligan, "Karl Herzfeld," n.p. Mulligan quotes from Herzfeld's letter to Sommerfeld of May 19, 1936. As per Mulligan, this letter is in the Sommerfeld Archive at the Deutsches Museum in Munich.

¹⁶⁴ Arnold Sommerfeld to Karl Herzfeld, 21 June 1936, Karl Herzfeld Papers, NBL-AIP. Translation by author.

Despite the experience of difficult times, both Herzfeld and Wheeler seemed to maintain an inherent optimism and to see their colleagues in the best possible light.¹⁶⁵

As for physics itself, Herzfeld viewed the discipline in the broadest possible context. He was ever mindful of how the topic that was under discussion fit into the larger conceptual realm. In class, he recited that relationship for his students as he began each and every course that he taught.¹⁶⁶ Wheeler remembers that Herzfeld did not deliver ‘canned’ lectures. Rather, Herzfeld's lectures seem to redevelop themselves as he spoke.¹⁶⁷ What seemed to impress Wheeler most of all was Herzfeld's reverence for the enterprise. In an obituary of Herzfeld for *Physics Today*, Wheeler wrote, “Physics for Herzfeld was not a secular, but a religious calling; it aimed, in his view, to make clear the structure and beauty of God's creation.”¹⁶⁸

Implicit in Herzfeld's view of physics as a religious calling is the faith in a rational and comprehensible universe. This is the same faith that resonated in Wheeler—a belief that every problem has a solution—from his days in the Enoch Pratt Free Library assisting library patrons who needed answers to technical questions. Wheeler came away from these Saturday evenings with

¹⁶⁵ See for example, Herzfeld interview with Wheaton, n.p.; Mulligan, “Karl Herzfeld,”; Wheeler with Ford, *Geons*, 316-317;

¹⁶⁶ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 6.

¹⁶⁷ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 95-96; Wheeler, “Some Men and Moments in the History of Nuclear Physics,” 226.

¹⁶⁸ John Archibald Wheeler, “Karl Herzfeld” [Obituary], *Physics Today* 32, no.1 (Jan 1979), 99.

the strong conviction that, “anything could be tackled, and, by George, if you just gritted your teeth hard enough, you could find one way or another some information that would help.”¹⁶⁹ Of course, whether or not a given problem lies within our capability to solve it is a separate question. The key element to take from this episode is Wheeler's explicit incorporation of the belief that a solution exists for every problem.

Here is also an echo of Einstein. Einstein's biographer, Abraham Pais, has suggested that, “if [Einstein] had a God, it was the God of Spinoza.”¹⁷⁰ In a letter to his friend, Maurice Solovine, Einstein wrote:

I can understand your aversion to the use of the term 'religion' to describe an emotional and psychological attitude which shows itself most clearly in Spinoza. [But] I have not found a better expression than 'religious' for the trust in the rational nature of reality that is, at least to a certain extent, accessible to human reason.¹⁷¹

Inherent in this doctrine of comprehensibility is an optimistic world-view that is an important element of a mentor's charisma in that it inspires mentees and expands the horizon of the doable. John Wheeler's Ph.D. work is a fine example of this phenomenon.

For Wheeler's dissertation, Herzfeld suggested a study of the scattering and absorption of light by helium atoms. Because the calculations involved

¹⁶⁹ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 7.

¹⁷⁰ Abraham Pais, *Subtle is the Lord: The Science and Life of Albert Einstein* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 17.

¹⁷¹ A. Einstein letter to M. Solovine; quoted in John Archibald Wheeler, “Albert Einstein March 14 1879—April 18, 1955.” in *National Academy of Sciences, Biographical Memoirs*, vol. 51 (Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences, 1980), 101-102.

three bodies (one nucleus and two electrons) this problem involved very complex computations. Beyond these difficulties, Wheeler's dissertation problem offers two important insights. First of all, Wheeler's craftsmanship in the art of problem solving begins to take form:

As I look back now at that paper written when I was a twenty-one-year-old student, I am startled to find in it approaches to physics that have appeared again and again in my work throughout the rest of my career. First is my way of tackling problems (the practical doer in me). Second is my way of thinking about nature (the dreamer and searcher in me). I fearlessly jumped into mathematical analysis—and surely must have had to learn much of the needed mathematics as I went along. Equally fearlessly, I jumped into numerical calculation. There was, of course, no such thing as a computer at that time, nor even an electrically driven calculator. I used a hand-cranked mechanical calculator.¹⁷²

This passage also demonstrates the sense of the joy with which Wheeler approached his work and the satisfaction that he derived from solving complex problems.

Then too, there is the development of Wheeler's aesthetics in physics and sense of the allure in a problem. He observes, “The problem suggested by Herzfeld had a special charm. It brought out the beautiful connection that exists in physics between absorption and scattering.”¹⁷³ The resultant paper, “Theory of the Dispersion and Absorption of Helium,” was submitted to *Physical Review* in January 1933. It is also noteworthy that, despite the tribulations inherent in performing multifaceted numerical calculations in the

¹⁷² Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 100.

¹⁷³ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 100.

1930's, John Wheeler was able to predict the refractive index of Helium to within three percent of its currently measured value.¹⁷⁴

Section 2.4 Gregory Breit

After receiving his Ph.D. from Hopkins, John Wheeler was selected as one of fourteen recipients of National Research Council (NRC) post-doctoral fellowships in physics. As part of the application process, Wheeler was required to make a decision about where he would study. In fact, this was a two part decision. By choosing a location, Wheeler was making a decision about the kind of physics he was going to do, and with whom he was going to work. In the end, although he briefly considered working with Wigner at Princeton, the decision came down to a choice between studying with Robert Oppenheimer (1904 – 1967) in California or Gregory Breit (1899 – 1981) in New York. Wheeler chose Breit and the reasoning is instructive:

Although I scarcely knew Breit at the time, I had formed a good opinion of him from hearing him speak at Physical Society meetings. I resonated with his style. Like me, he seemed to be always puzzling and was not afraid to let his puzzlement show.¹⁷⁵

Wheeler's reasons for *not* choosing Oppenheimer help complete the picture:

There was no doubt about his stature in physics or about his abilities as a teacher. Yet there was something about

¹⁷⁴ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 100; Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 9; See also J. A. Wheeler, "Theory of the Dispersion and Absorption of Helium." *Physical Review* 43 (1933): 258-263.

¹⁷⁵ Wheeler interview with Ford, 03 Jan 1994, transcript 601-602; The quotation is from Wheeler with Ford, *Geons*, 107.

Oppenheimer's personality that did not appeal to me. He seemed to enjoy putting his own brilliance on display—showing off, to put it bluntly. He did not convey humility or a sense of wonder or of puzzlement.¹⁷⁶

Clearly, for Wheeler, the process of problem solving was every bit as important—and informative—as the solution itself.

It is useful to keep in mind that physicists are puzzlers and problem solvers by nature.¹⁷⁷ The worst gift one can offer a puzzler is a solved puzzle. Implicit in Wheeler's remarks is a desire to see a mentor's mind at work. Wheeler was savvy enough to know that even if there was only one solution to a problem, there was certainly more than one path to that solution. From that perspective, Oppenheimer's somewhat teleological presentation of a *fait accompli* path to an answer was not only off-putting, it denied Oppenheimer's mentees the opportunity to observe the solution taking shape. Gregory Breit, by contrast, took a more collaborative—perhaps even more social—approach to problems. Working with Breit, Wheeler concluded, would offer him the opportunity to examine multiple pathways to a solution.¹⁷⁸

That said, Breit was something of a change from Herzfeld. Recall that Herzfeld tended to see a 'grand design' in nature. Wheeler once said of

¹⁷⁶ Wheeler interview with Ford, 03 Jan 1994, transcript 601-602; the quotation is from Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 107.

¹⁷⁷ This assertion is corroborated in virtually every scientific biography that has been written from Galileo to Feynman and beyond.

¹⁷⁸ Wheeler, "Some Men and Moments in the History of Nuclear Physics," 229; Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 9-10.

Herzfeld that he [Herzfeld], “had two religions, Catholicism and physics.”¹⁷⁹

Similarly, in nearly all his non-technical writing, Wheeler repeatedly speaks of beautiful solutions or the beauty in nature.¹⁸⁰ However, in Wheeler's case, the pastoral language is misleading. Ken Ford, coauthor of Wheeler's autobiography, speaks of Wheeler the combatant:

Above all, Wheeler saw physics as a struggle, a challenge. Problems were to be grappled with and conquered. I think he often used the language of contests, or even war. One might see Wheeler vs. nature as analogous to a fencing match or a wrestling match, in which finesse and adroitness counted for a lot and the beauty was in the execution and in the administration of the *coup de grace*.¹⁸¹

In any event, Gregory Breit, Wheeler's first post-doctoral mentor, took a far less metaphorical approach to physics.

Like John Wheeler, Gregory Breit did both his undergraduate and graduate training at Johns Hopkins University. Also, both men completed their graduate training at a very young age. Wheeler was twenty-one when he received his Ph.D. and Breit was twenty-two. Unlike Wheeler, who as noted above chose the ‘non-stop’ option at Hopkins (i.e. he did not receive any intermediate degrees on the way to his Ph.D.), Breit earned an A.B. (1918) a M.A. (1920) and a Ph.D. (1921) all from Hopkins. Although it is widely reported

¹⁷⁹ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 98.

¹⁸⁰ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 84, 148, 236, 355; See also, Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 9, 13, 24, 25, 27, 26; John Archibald Wheeler, “Some Men and Moments in the History of Nuclear Physics,” 224, 226, 227, 250, 255, 260; I believe these three publications from three distinct time periods establish the pattern.

¹⁸¹ Ken Ford in a 24 Mar 2006 email to the author.

that Gregory Breit had been “trained as an electrical engineer,” his dissertation (“The Distributed Capacity of Inductance Coils”) was supervised by the (then) chair of the Department of Physics and director of the Physical Laboratory, Joseph Sweetman Ames (1864 – 1943), who later (1929 – 1935) served as president of Johns Hopkins University.¹⁸² Some of the confusion about Breit’s training may be due to the fact that his thesis topic, at least on its face, appears to some (including Breit’s biographer, McAllister Hull) more like a study in engineering rather than one in physics. It is also worth noting that Breit completed his dissertation while working as an apprentice in the Radio Division of the (then) Bureau of Standards.¹⁸³ Nonetheless, Hull reassures us that Breit’s dissertation is a “masterly piece of applied mathematics,” foreshadowing the skill which, “Breit demonstrated for the rest of his professional life.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² McAllister Hull, “Gregory Breit, July 14, 1899 – September 11, 1981,” <http://www.nap.edu/html/biomems/gbreit.html> (08 Dec 03) n.p., also in *Biographical Memoirs*, National Academy of Sciences, Vol. 74 (Washington DC: National Academies Press, 1998), 26-57; See also Henry Crew, “Joseph Sweetman Ames, 1864 – 1943,” <http://books.nap.edu/html/biomems/james.pdf> (05 Feb 2009) n.p., also in National Academy of Sciences. *Biographical Memoirs*, Vol. 23 (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 1944), 180-201.

¹⁸³ Per Dahl, “Breit, Gregory,” in *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. Charles Gillispie, Vol. 19 (New York: Cengage Learning, 2008), 389

¹⁸⁴ Hull, “Gregory Breit,” n.p.

In any case, one gets the sense that Breit brought an engineer's down-to-earth approach to physics.¹⁸⁵ While Wheeler was inclined to wonder about the 'big-picture' implications in the relationships of electrons, positrons, and photons, this kind of reasoning was, as Wheeler delicately phrases it, “not congenial to Breit.”¹⁸⁶ In this respect, Gregory Breit's style as a physicist was more similar to that of Wheeler's intellectual grandfather, Ernest Rutherford than it was to either Herzfeld or Niels Bohr.¹⁸⁷ As far as Breit was concerned, if a phenomenon was not subject to measurement and/or calculation, it was not interesting in a professional sense. Rather than worrying about

¹⁸⁵ See Hull, “Gregory Breit,” and Dahl, “Breit, Gregory.” Hull observes that Breit was, “trained as an electrical engineer,” while Dahl reports that Breit received “all three degrees in electrical engineering.” In a personal communication with the author however, Kelly Spring, Assistant Curator of Manuscripts in Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University, reports that, as per Johns Hopkins *Half-Century Directory*, all Breit's degrees were in physics. Spring further reports that the Hopkins Department of Engineering was not established until 1913, and that prior to that time, the department of physics taught courses in what came to be called “electrical engineering.” Spring and university archivist James Simpert speculate that some overlap of course offerings between the departments of physics and engineering continued into the 1920s.

¹⁸⁶ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 119.

¹⁸⁷ See John Archibald Wheeler, “Niels Bohr, the man,” *Physics Today* (Oct 1985), 70. Rutherford held a very matter-of-fact view of physics and was not particularly fond of theorists. “When a young man in my laboratory uses the word 'universe,'” he [Rutherford] once thundered, “I tell him it is time for him to leave.” “But how does it come,” he was asked on another occasion, “that you trust Bohr?” “Oh,” was the response, “but he's a football player!”

phenomena that is too poorly understood for study, physicists should “do what is doable” and calculate the results that can be measured.¹⁸⁸

This approach to research is likely rooted in Breit’s early career which was dominated by experimental physics. In June of 1925, in an experimental project with Merle Tuve (1901-1982), which established the existence and measured the altitude of the ionosphere, Breit and Tuve unknowingly demonstrated the possibility of radio detection and ranging (RADAR) when they discovered that they received spurious return signals whenever airplanes took off or landed at a nearby airport in Washington, DC. Later, during World War II, both men (though no longer collaborating), capitalized on their knowledge of echo return from pulsed radio signals to assist in the development the proximity fuses used in anti-aircraft artillery. To be clear, Tuve’s work was on the leading edge of research while Breit was more involved in administering the project.¹⁸⁹

Even so, Breit was a formidable theorist. Writing in 1979, Wheeler said of Breit, “Insufficiently appreciated in the 1930s, he is today the most

¹⁸⁸ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 17; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 119; Wheeler, “Some Men and Moments in the History of Nuclear Physics,” 232-233.

¹⁸⁹ Philip H. Abelson, “Merle Anthony Tuve, June 27, 1901 – May 20, 1982,” <http://www.nap.edu/html/biomems/mtuve.html> (05 Feb 2009), n.p., also in National Academy of Sciences, *Biographical Memoirs*, Vol. 70 (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 1996), 406-423; Hull, “Gregory Breit,” 39; Dahl, “Breit, Gregory,” 391.

unappreciated physicist in America.”¹⁹⁰ As noted above, Breit began as an experimentalist and, like Fermi, he always kept a foot in the experimentalist's camp. Breit's transition to theoretician seems to have begun during a National Research Council post-doctoral fellowship in 1921 – 1922 with Paul Ehrenfest (1880 – 1933) at the University of Leiden. Breit also spent the 1922 – 1923 academic year as a post-doc at Harvard, though it is not clear whom he worked with most closely, if indeed, he had any one particular mentor in that time frame. Whereas both Wheeler's year with Breit in New York and his year with Bohr in Copenhagen seemed consequential to his career, Breit's year in Harvard is acknowledged with only one sentence by his biographers in the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* and the National Academy of Science's *Biographical Memoirs*.¹⁹¹ Breit returned to Europe in August of 1928 to accept a residency at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule (ETH), Zürich and follow up on some work performed by Wolfgang Pauli and Werner Heisenberg. Per Dahl reports however, that Breit, in view of what he saw as the “untruthful nature of theoretical physics and the need for new data about the nucleus,” cut his year abroad short and returned to the United States in January 1929. Evidently, Breit felt that it was more desirable to return to Washington to assist in obtaining this information through investigations into high-voltage developments. Nonetheless, Breit would remain associated with the ETH as a

¹⁹⁰ Wheeler, “Some Men and Moments in the History of Nuclear Physics,” 234; also quoted in McAllister Hull, “Gregory Breit,” 27.

¹⁹¹ Dahl, “Breit, Gregory,” 390; Hull, “Gregory Breit,” 31.

research associate until 1944.¹⁹² As a theoretician, Breit did some important early work with quantum electrodynamics and later, on nucleonic interactions (i.e. the interaction of two identical particles). Breit's most famous theoretical work was, of course, the set of papers that he and Eugene Wigner published in 1936 on nuclear resonance theory. The Breit-Wigner distribution, describing the cross-section of resonant nuclear scattering, has long been a cornerstone of nuclear studies.¹⁹³

Breit's early work with nucleons (protons and neutrons) was in fact the drawing card for John Wheeler.¹⁹⁴ Early on however, Wheeler became interested in pair theory (i.e. the interaction of light particles such as electrons, positrons, and photons that are external to the nucleus). Later in the year, Breit taught Wheeler how to use Coulomb wave functions as an analytical tool in particle interaction calculations. Despite the change in research focus and the intensive numerical calculations inherent in the later work, it was a very fruitful year. Out of this collaboration with Breit came five papers and a number of ideas that would "haunt [Wheeler] for many years."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Dahl, "Breit, Gregory," 390-391; Hull, "Gregory Breit," 36-37.

¹⁹³ Hull, "Gregory Breit," 49.

¹⁹⁴ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 10-11.

¹⁹⁵ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 114-115, 119. The papers include: J. A. Wheeler and G. Breit, "Li+ Fine Structure and Wave Functions near the Nucleus," *Physical Review* 44 (1933), 948; J. A. Wheeler, "Interaction Between Alpha Particles," *Physical Review* 45 (1934), 746; G. Breit and J. A. Wheeler, "Collision of Two Light Quanta," *Physical Review* 46 (1934): 1087-1091; F. L. Yost, J. A. Wheeler, and G. Breit, "Coulomb Wave-Functions" *Terrestrial Magnetism* 40 (1935), 443-447; F. L. Yost, J. A. Wheeler, and G.

Unfortunately, Breit was also known to have a temper. John Wheeler, for his part, contends that Breit excluded students from his ire:

Breit was short, intense, sometimes pugnacious. He had a high forehead and wore small circular eyeglasses. Although he was stubborn and difficult with some of his colleagues, that was a side of him that his research students did not see.¹⁹⁶

McAllister Hull, like Wheeler, a former student of Breit's, has observed that contrary to John Wheeler's fond memory, there was no special immunity for research students where Breit's temper was concerned:

Others of my colleagues were not so lucky. Gerry Brown, who remembers Breit as a second father, was regularly a target, and I was present when Gregory took the hide off a graduate student who had wished him 'a good talk' at a meeting: of course his talk would be good! There is no point in detailing more examples: they occurred regularly, and were simply a fact of life for his students (and on occasions) his colleagues.¹⁹⁷

On the other hand, Hull notes that Breit was quick to apologize and contrite whenever he found himself in the wrong.¹⁹⁸

Whatever the nature of their relationship when Wheeler served his apprenticeship as Breit's student, the two men did, in fact, have a somewhat spirited disagreement over the issue of a voluntary moratorium on publication of research in nuclear physics at the outset of World War II.¹⁹⁹ Some background will be helpful here.

Breit. "Coulomb Wave Functions in Repulsive Fields," *Physical Review* 49 (1936), 174-89.

¹⁹⁶ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 108.

¹⁹⁷ Hull, "Gregory Breit," n.p.

¹⁹⁸ Hull, "Gregory Breit," n.p.

¹⁹⁹ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 113;

Gregory Breit was born Gregory Breit Schneider in Nikolayev, Russia, some sixty miles northeast of Odessa on the Black Sea. His father Alfred operated a textbook business. In 1911, after Breit's mother, Alexandra Smirnova Breit Schneider died, the business was sold. The next year Alfred Breit Schneider left his two youngest children (Gregory and his sister Lubov) in the care of a governess, and emigrated to the United States. In 1915, Alfred Breit, having dropped the name Schneider, sent for his children to join him in Baltimore, MD, where he had settled. Besides his sister, Gregory had an older brother, Leo, who chose to avoid conscription in the tsar's army by fleeing through Turkey and joining the (now) Breit family in America.

Gregory Breit, in contrast to his brother, saw the Bolsheviks as the threat to the social fabric of his former country—if not the world writ large. Consequently, as soon as he was of age, the younger Breit sought to enlist in the tsar's army, return to Russia and fight to quell the insurrection. His offer of service was refused by the Russian recruiters "on physical grounds." Time did nothing to diminish these anti-communist sentiments and McAllister Hull (author of Breit's biographical memoir for the National Academy of Sciences), reports that "He [Breit] had a lifelong hatred of Communist Russia: much stronger than the intense distrust that most of us had."²⁰⁰ Although his political

²⁰⁰ Dahl, "Breit, Gregory," 389; Hull, "Gregory Breit," 30.

views were somewhat more moderate than those of Gregory Breit, it should be noted John Wheeler shared Breit's deep distrust of Soviet Communism.²⁰¹

Thus, it is not surprising that, alliances aside, Breit saw the Soviet Union as a future, if not a *de facto*, adversary throughout—indeed prior to the U.S. direct involvement in the war. In fact, Breit initiated the discussion over the publication of research in nuclear physics in 1940, mere months after Wheeler and Bohr had published their seminal work on the generalized mechanism of nuclear fission.²⁰²

In January 1942, immediately after the U.S. declaration of war against Japan, Germany, and Italy, Arthur Holly Compton organized the Metallurgical Laboratory in Chicago. Compton chose Breit to chair the fast-neutron project, supervise bomb studies, and lecture Met Lab staff on bomb theory that might guide plans for a plutonium bomb. In this timeframe, Breit himself contributed important work on isotope separation, neutron diffusion, and chain reactions. Compton also brought in Robert Oppenheimer to serve as a consultant, formally assigned under Breit.

Breit and Oppenheimer were two very different physicists, and the chemistry between them was, to put it mildly, unstable. Breit was concerned that hard-won advances in bomb theory might be leaking out and

²⁰¹ The historical record is laden with evidence supporting this assertion. From his work on the H-Bomb, to his involvement in Project JASON, to his support of the Anti-Ballistic Missile System in the late 1960s, John Wheeler was a proto-typical Cold War liberal.

²⁰² Dahl, "Breit, Gregory," 392.

Oppenheimer was adamant that progress was being hindered because information was not being disseminated in a timely fashion to enough of the people who could make meaningful contributions to the project. Breit resigned from the Manhattan project and moved to Washington where he performed research on ballistics, proximity fuses, and the degaussing of Navy ships as a defense against magnetic mines.²⁰³ Here it bears reiterating that, as with their shared mistrust of Soviet communism, neither John Wheeler nor Gregory Breit was particularly fond of Oppenheimer. The difference was that Wheeler, by nature, was prone to politely indulge the idiosyncrasies of others (e.g. Leo Szilard) while Breit was inclined to be confrontational. In any case, Oppenheimer had plenty of company among those colleagues who were put off by Breit's demeanor.²⁰⁴

A final irony must be reported here: Breit was indeed successful in convincing U.S. physicists to cease publishing the results of their research for the duration of the war. Scientific priority would be preserved based on the date a paper was submitted to a journal (e.g. *Physical Review*). Thus, the stream of research publications that had followed in the wake of Bohr and Wheeler's 1939 paper suddenly dried up. Meanwhile, Soviet scientists had been well aware of the war-changing potential of nuclear weapons. Their problem was convincing Soviet leaders that the development of the weapon

²⁰³ Hull, "Gregory Breit," 28, 40; Dahl, "Breit, Gregory," 392.

²⁰⁴ Wheeler interview with Ford, 03 Jan 1994, transcript, 502, 504; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 39.

was a worthwhile expenditure of resources in an economy that was barely able (with U.S. assistance) to sustain the burden of war. In the end, it was not the destructive power of nuclear weapons that carried the argument—it was the precipitous silence on the issue of nuclear research in scientific journals. As Richard Rhodes has wryly observed, “secrecy itself gave the secret away.”²⁰⁵

Returning to the issue of Breit’s temper, according to all historical comment, it did not subtract from Breit’s devotion to his students. Wheeler, for one, describes Breit as “presiding over a brood of students like a mother hen.”²⁰⁶ McAllister Hull remembers that Breit was very concerned with the health of his students. “Any ailment,” Hull notes, “was cause for concern and advice.” Dahl, Wheeler and Hull, have all noted Breit was very accessible to students (particularly so in Wheeler’s case since he and Breit shared an office) and generous with his time.²⁰⁷

Breit also invested a good deal of time in building a sense of community among his apprentices. For example, there were frequent Saturday afternoon excursions to the suburbs of New York which included a vigorous hike through the forest. Wheeler recalls:

²⁰⁵ Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987; reprint, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 500.

²⁰⁶ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 108.

²⁰⁷ Dahl, “Breit, Gregory,” 389; Hull, “Gregory Breit,” 34; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 108-109.

I don't think we felt we had any choice in this matter, but we would certainly have had no inclination to excuse ourselves from the outings. We saw them as a privilege, not a duty. They provided a wonderful opportunity to get to know Breit as a person, and they knitted us together as a group. Needless to say, physics was not entirely forgotten as we marched through the woods.²⁰⁸

Beyond the Saturday afternoon hikes, Breit filled his students' calendars.

There were weekly group lunches which, Hull reports, were sometimes nerve-racking for those who didn't think well on their feet because one never knew when Breit might pose a difficult question.²⁰⁹ On occasion the group would board a train for Princeton to attend a talk. One evening each week, Breit and I. I. Rabi co-facilitated a joint New York University-Columbia University seminar. Afterward, most of the attendees traveled to Rabi's house to continue the discussion. Breit's wife, Marjorie, actively socialized with the wives of research group members and orchestrated frequent get-togethers for the whole group at the Breit home. In short, Breit's students were socialized professionally (in the Zuckerman sense of the term) by being immersed in physics and the social customs of the physics community.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 108-109.

²⁰⁹ Hull, "Gregory Breit," 34; Here, Hull is using the memory of former Breit pupil Jack McIntosh. Hull also notes that the lunch-time questions involved a "great deal" of learning "including how to think on our feet!" [The exclamation point originates with Hull].

²¹⁰ Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 123.

Section 2.5 Niels Bohr

When John Wheeler had first applied for the NRC postdoctoral fellowship, he had considered spending a year in Leipzig with Werner Heisenberg.²¹¹ After some reflection however, Wheeler chose to start his postdoctoral work in the United States with Gregory Breit. Nonetheless, the plan to study in Europe remained in place. After a few months working under Breit, Wheeler (with Breit's encouragement and support), decided that a year with Niels Bohr (1885 – 1962) in the Copenhagen Institute of Theoretical Physics would benefit his career more than a year with Heisenberg in Leipzig.

Actually, it wasn't much of a decision. By 1934, Copenhagen had become established as the crossroads of theoretical physics in Europe and Germany was no longer an attractive site for Americans abroad. As Breit noted, if Wheeler went to Copenhagen and studied with Bohr, there was a good chance over the course of a year that he would meet most of the leading European theorists, including Heisenberg. On the other hand, if he went to Leipzig and studied with Heisenberg, the chances were rather smaller (especially given the 1934 political climate in Germany) that he would meet many first rank theorists unless he had the time and money to travel.²¹²

²¹¹ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 104.

²¹² Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 123; Wheeler, "Some Men and Moments in the History of Nuclear Physics," 238.

Then too, over time, Wheeler had come to see Niels Bohr as the foremost theoretician of nuclear physics. On the application to the Fellowship Committee of the National Research Council Wheeler wrote, “Bohr is the best man under whom to investigate the nucleus. He is the man with the great mind and imagination who stimulates and foresees all the others.”²¹³ It is hard to imagine Wheeler making a more auspicious choice. During the time that Niels Bohr directed the Institute for Theoretical Physics in Copenhagen, from 1921 to 1962, eleven Nobel laureates worked or studied there in the capacity of undergraduate, postdoctoral fellow, or visiting fellow. This list includes Felix Bloch (1905 – 1983), Aage Bohr (1922– ; Aage was, of course, something of a captive audience), Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar (1910 – 1995), Max Delbrück (1906 – 1981), Werner Heisenberg (1901 – 1976), George de Hevesy (1885 – 1966), Lev Landau (1908 – 1968), Ben R. Mottelson (1926–), Wolfgang Pauli (1900 – 1958), Linus Pauling (1901 – 1994), and Harold C. Urey (1893 – 1981). While the character of each relationship with Bohr varied,

²¹³ While the sentiment remains constant, there are varying versions of this statement. c.f. Wheeler interview with Ford, 03 Jan 1994, transcript, 606; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 123; Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 17-18; Wheeler interview with Aaserud (04 May 1988), n.p.; Wheeler, “Some Men and Moments in the History of Nuclear Physics,” 238;

all but two (Chandrasekhar and Mottelson) acknowledged the work with Bohr in their Nobel biography.²¹⁴

²¹⁴ Felix Bloch, “Biography”, <http://nobelprize.org/physics/laureates/1952/bloch-bio.html> (24 Mar 06), also in *Nobel Lectures, Physics 1942-1962* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Co., 1964); Aage Bohr, “Autobiography”, <http://nobelprize.org/physics/laureates/1975/bohr-autobio.html> (24 Mar 2006), also in *Les Prix Nobel*, ed. Wilhelm Odelberg (Stockholm: Nobel Foundation, 1976); David C. Cassidy, *Uncertainty: The Life and Science of Werner Heisenberg* (New York: Freeman, 1993); Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, “Autobiography”, <http://nobelprize.org/physics/laureates/1983/chandrasekhar-autobio.html> (24 Mar 2006), also in *Les Prix Nobel* ed. Wilhelm Odelberg (Stockholm: Nobel Foundation, 1984); Max Delbrück, “Biography”, <http://nobelprize.org/medicine/laureates/1969/delbruck-bio.html> (24 Mar 06), Also in *Nobel Lectures, Physiology or Medicine 1963-1970* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Company, 1972); Werner Heisenberg, “Biography”, <http://nobelprize.org/physics/laureates/1932/heisenberg-bio.html> (24 Mar 2006), also in *Nobel Lectures, Physics 1922-1941* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Co., 1965); George de Hevesy, “Biography”, <http://nobelprize.org/chemistry/laureates/1943/hevesy-bio.html> (24 Mar 2006), also in *Nobel Lectures, Chemistry 1942-1962* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Co., 1964); Lev Landau, “Biography”, <http://nobelprize.org/physics/laureates/1962/landau-bio.html> (24 Mar 2006), also in *Nobel Lectures, Physics 1942-1962* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Co., 1964); Ben R. Mottelson, “Autobiography”, <http://nobelprize.org/physics/laureates/1975/mottelson-autobio.html> (24 Mar 2006), also in *Les Prix Nobel en 1975*, ed. Wilhelm Odelberg (Stockholm: Nobel Foundation, 1976); Abraham Pais, *Niels Bohr's Times in Physics, Philosophy, and Polity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Wolfgang Pauli, “Biography”, <http://nobelprize.org/physics/laureates/1945/pauli-bio.html> (24 Mar 2006), also in *Nobel Lectures, Physics 1942-1962* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Co. 1964); Linus Pauling, “Biography”, <http://nobelprize.org/chemistry/laureates/1954/pauling-bio.html> (24 Mar 2006), also in *Nobel Lectures, Chemistry 1942-1962* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Co., 1964); Harold C Urey, “Biography”, <http://nobelprize.org/chemistry/laureates/1934/urey-bio.html> (24 Mar 2006), also in *Nobel Lectures, Chemistry 1922-1941* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Co., 1966).

Bohr, like Herzfeld, assumed a broad world view in physics. As Wheeler has stated:

And of course there was a completely different spirit between Bohr's approach to nuclear physics and Breit's—Bohr looking over the whole thing without getting down to detailed calculation on any one aspect and always looking for a paradox that would throw light on a whole new approach, and Breit, on the other hand, focusing on a very careful comparison of a detailed model with experiment and the soul of integrity and giving one the feeling that any part of physics should in principle, if one understood it properly, be subject to calculations so you could really hope to check the theory against your experiment and not just talk.²¹⁵

And yet talk was intrinsic to Bohr's methodology of physics.

As the product of five generations of academicians, Niels Bohr acquired the practice of scholarly dialogue very early in life. His father, Christian Bohr, a renowned Danish scientist, had been nominated for a Nobel prize twice (1907, 1908) for his work on the physiology of respiration. Christian Bohr was also a prominent member of the Videnskabernes Selskab [the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters]. After academy meetings, Bohr would often invite a number of colleagues to his home for extended discussions. This after-meeting meeting usually included the famous philosopher of religion Harald Höffding, the physicist Christian Christiansen, and the linguist Vilhelm Thomsen. As soon as they were old enough to benefit from the conversation, Niels Bohr and his younger brother Harald were permitted to sit in on these

²¹⁵ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 17.

discussions.²¹⁶ It appears that the Bohr sons were subjected to tacit learning at an early age. It would also appear that the habit of auditory analysis stuck.

Throughout his career, Bohr seemed to need to verbalize concepts as if by hearing them spoken he could detect the presence or absence of a “ring of truth.” The physicist Abraham Pais, who is also Bohr's biographer, and John Wheeler have both noted that Bohr worked best when at least one other physicist was present to serve as a sounding board.²¹⁷ Wheeler observes:

He always liked to have at least one other person present, even if he were lost in his own thoughts. When the moment came that he wanted to pull forth an idea and examine it, he needed a foil, someone with whom he could toss the idea back and forth. Léon Rosenfeld filled this role for some years. So did Bohr's son Aage.²¹⁸

Where Gregory Breit had subjected concepts to trial by calculation, Niels Bohr employed trial by oration.

Whenever and wherever Bohr set to work, the day would begin with verbally rehearsing the arguments that formed the basis for quantum and/or nuclear theory. Since Bohr had been an accomplished football (soccer) player, this ritual is often described with athletic metaphors. Abraham Pais describes

²¹⁶ Abraham Pais, *Niels Bohr's Times in Physics, Philosophy, and Polity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 33-36, 98-99. See also: Leon Rosenfeld, “Bohr, Niels Henrik David,” in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* vol. II, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), 239-254

²¹⁷ Pais, *Niels Bohr's Times*, 3, 7-8, 421-422; Wheeler interview with Ford, 10 Jan 1994, transcript, 607, 702; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 126; John A. Wheeler, “'No Fugitive and Cloistered Virtue'—A Tribute to Niels Bohr,” *Physics Today* 16, no. 1 (Jan 1963), 31; Wheeler, “Niels Bohr, the Man,” 66-72

²¹⁸ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 126.

Bohr's practice as "an athlete warming up before entering the sports arena."²¹⁹ John Wheeler, who also tended to view physics as a contest, saw Bohr's custom as a more vigorous endeavor. Wheeler characterized Bohr's routine as "a one-man tennis match."²²⁰

There was another element of Bohr's method which, for Wheeler, must have induced fond memories—even if only at a subliminal level. In order to ferret out the weakness or contradictions in a hypothesis, Bohr would temper concepts by alternatively building them up and then tearing them down.

Wheeler offers a synopsis of the process:

Usually the new issue became a focal point for discussion in the next days. Those days could almost have been numbered odd and even. One day was a day of building. "If so-and-so is true, such-and-such follows. That will give us the chance to understand thus-and-so. That means it will be absolutely central to measure this-and-this cross section. Then we will be able to predict such-and-such with great assurance." No criticism. That was reserved for the next day. If at its end anything survived, that battle-tested core became the starting point of yet another day of building—and so on, up to a conclusion that could be played out as a complete tennis match.²²¹

Although Wheeler does not articulate the thought, Bohr's method of alternatively supporting and attacking a concept was reminiscent of Sunday evenings in Baltimore when Wheeler's grandfather Archibald would promote

²¹⁹ Pais, *Niels Bohr's Times*, 8.

²²⁰ Wheeler, "Niels Bohr, the man," 66.

²²¹ Wheeler, "Niels Bohr, the man," 68. See also. Edwin F. Taylor, "The Anatomy of Collaboration," in *Magic Without Magic: John Archibald Wheeler; A Collection of Essays in Honor of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed, John R. Klauder (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1972): 474-485, 477.

one side of a political argument before dinner and attack it afterward.²²² By this practice, Bohr tacitly communicated to his students the manner by which raw concepts must be refined before they can be woven into the tapestry of science.

Even paper writing was an intensely verbal endeavor. From the outset, Bohr seldom wrote papers in the sense of putting pen to paper. Instead, he preferred to dictate to an amanuensis of the moment. If Rosenfeld or Aage Bohr were not available, Bohr would enlist whomever he could find. Pais suggests this was, at least in part, a consequence of Bohr's poor penmanship.²²³ However, Bohr's wife Margrethe recalls that, "he had so much in his head that just had to be put down, and he could concentrate while he dictated."²²⁴ Since there has been no evidence presented that Bohr evaluated the penmanship of his 'scribes', Margrethe Bohr's recollection is more resonant with the widely acknowledged need for Bohr to think aloud.

Certainly getting a new idea onto paper was no guarantee of imminent publication for either Bohr or his collaborators. The editing process with Bohr could be extraordinarily thorough. According to Pais, Bohr defined a manuscript as "a document on which to make corrections."²²⁵ Two factors were at play. One element, very likely stemming from his boyhood

²²² Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 74.

²²³ Pais, *Niels Bohr's Times*, 10, 102-103.

²²⁴ Pais, *Niels Bohr's Times*, 102-103.

²²⁵ Pais, *Niels Bohr's Times*, 103.

conversations with the philosopher Harald Høffding and the linguist Vilhelm Thomsen, was that Bohr was acutely sensitive to the nuances in the spoken and written word. Pais recalls Bohr's thoughts on the matter:

What is it that we human beings depend on? We depend on our words. We are suspended in language. Our task is to communicate experience and ideas to others. We must strive continually to extend the scope of our description, but in such a way that our messages do not thereby lose their objective or unambiguous character.²²⁶

Plainly, for Bohr, word choice was more than mere auditory cosmetology. It seems safe to surmise that by repeated revisions, Bohr was tacitly communicating the importance of craftsmanship in language. On a less esoteric plane, there is also the story of Wheeler and Bohr, in the spring of 1939, combing through dictionaries in Princeton's Fine Hall for more than an hour because Bohr disliked the term “fission” for the splitting of a nucleus. Wheeler recalls, “‘If fission is a noun,’ he said to me, ‘what is the verb? You can't say ‘a nucleus fishes!’”²²⁷ Despite their heroic efforts to find a suitable verb, the noun ‘fission’ has endured.

Of course, language was secondary to accuracy. Science historian Gerald Holton has listed four reasons why he sees Niels Bohr as an exemplar of scientific integrity. The very first (and presumably most significant) rationale Holton offers is that Bohr tried, “to get it right at all costs, sparing no effort.” As a corollary to this notion, Holton maintains that once a concept has been

²²⁶ Pais, *Niels Bohr's Times*, 445-446.

²²⁷ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 21-22.

thoroughly tested, one must also possess the courage of conviction to hold to one's hypothesis even “before it is fashionable or safe.” To support his contention, Holton cites the 'Bohr atom' paper of 1913 as a novel concept that was rigorously examined and submitted to a very skeptical community.²²⁸

Wheeler got the message. In *Geons*, Wheeler recalls that Bohr had “little concern for priority.” Rather he preferred to “ruminate on a topic at length, patiently polishing its details.” This, of course is in stark contrast to the typical late twentieth century physicist—especially one just embarking on a career—for whom precedence in publication is an (albeit justified) obsession. In fact, a common practice is to publish something—even a letter to the *Physical Review Letters* and fill in the details later.²²⁹ As it turns out, during their time in Copenhagen (1934 – 1935), Wheeler and Milton Plesset had written a paper on gamma-ray (high-energy photons) scattering in interactions with atomic nuclei. In the early days of cosmic ray research, they believed that they had made significant progress in an area of interest. Bohr however, believed that more could and should be done before the paper was submitted to a journal. Although Wheeler and Milton worked at the refinements

²²⁸ Gerald Holton, “Niels Bohr and the Integrity of Science,” *American Scientist* 74, no. 3 (May-Jun 1986), 240

²²⁹ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 129-130; Caltech Vice-Provost David Goodstein in a 17 Mar 2006 email to the author, reports that if a scientist has one or two real contributions to make, they will divide them up into a number of letters which are submitted in advance of the main papers.

suggested by Bohr, they ultimately ran out of time, and their work went unpublished.²³⁰

A similar situation arose in the spring of 1939. Bohr and Wheeler had collaborated on the first study of the generalized mechanism of nuclear fission.²³¹ Unfortunately, Bohr needed to return to Denmark in April of 1939, well before the editing process was complete. Wheeler recalls (with a hint of pride):

Bohr's usual habit to go back and forth with his coauthors, often for an extended period, as he struggled for the precision, generality, and clarity that he always held forth as a goal. This time, uncharacteristically, he gave me permission to edit and submit the paper without sending the final version to him for review.²³²

Wheeler also reports that Victor Weisskopf (1908 – 2002) and Rudolph Peierls (1907 – 1995), two physicists familiar with Bohr's work habits, were amazed (and envious) when they learned how smoothly the fission paper had been handled. The paper was submitted in June of 1939 and published on 1 September 1939, the day that Germany invaded Poland and World War II began.²³³

²³⁰ Wheeler interview with Ford, 03 Jan 1994, transcript, 608; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 129-130. It should be noted here that Wheeler's bibliography does in fact contain a paper written with Milton Plesset ("Inelastic Scattering of Quanta with Production of Pairs, *Physical Review* 48, no. 4 (15 Aug 1935), 302-306), which was received from the Institute for Theoretical Physics in Copenhagen, Denmark on 12 Jun 1935.

²³¹ The paper in question is: N. Bohr and J. A. Wheeler, "The Mechanism of Nuclear Fission," *Physical Review* 56, No. 5 (01 Sep 1939), 426-450.

²³² Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 31.

²³³ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 31-32.

In June of 1935, John Wheeler left Copenhagen for the United States. His fiancé, Janette Hegner, and an assistant professorship at the University of North Carolina awaited his return. John Archibald Wheeler was ready to become a mentor. He was twenty-four years old.

Section 2.6 Einstein's Protégé

Two commonplaces in the historiography of Albert Einstein are; 1) he had no apprentices and 2) by the time he emigrated to the United States, he was no longer in the forefront of theoretical physics. This latter sentiment was almost certainly (at least in part) a carry-over from the 1927 Solvay Congress during which Niels Bohr had clearly won the great debate with Einstein over the validity of quantum theory.²³⁴ Recall that in a 4 December 1926 letter to Max Born, Einstein famously asserted:

Quantum mechanics is very impressive. But an inner voice tells me that it is not yet the real thing. The theory produces a good deal but hardly brings us closer to the secret of the Old One. I am at all events convinced that He is not playing at dice.²³⁵

²³⁴ Kragh, *Quantum Generations*, 213.

²³⁵ Albert Einstein, Max Born, and Hedwig Born *The Born Einstein Letters: Correspondence between Albert Einstein and Max and Hedwig Born from 1916 to 1955 with Commentaries by Max Born*, trans. Irene Born (New York: Walker and Company, 1971), 90-91; This particular sentence is quoted in virtually every biography of Einstein as well as in countless other texts. Two more scholarly examples are: Pais, *Subtle is the Lord*, 443 and Pais, *Niels Bohr's Times*, 318.

Einstein's decline in status was not so much a result of his loss in the debate as it was in his adamant (some might say 'stubborn') disavowal of the quantum mechanical world view.

Albeit very gently, John Wheeler acknowledged Einstein's diminished influence in a series of talks which marked the centenary of Einstein's birth. In an 8 May (1979) lecture at Leeds University, Wheeler described his first meeting with Einstein. It was in the autumn of 1933; Wheeler was a post-doc studying with Gregory Breit and Einstein had just recently emigrated to the United States. The meeting came about on one of Breit's periodic sojourns away from the NYU campus.²³⁶ Breit and his students were invited to a "carefully unannounced" seminar in which Einstein would discuss his latest work. Reflecting on Einstein's remarks, Wheeler observed, "It was clear on this first encounter that Einstein was following very much his own line, independent of the interest in nuclear physics then at high tide in the United States." In an interview with Ken Ford, in preparation for writing *Geons*, Wheeler was more direct, "I didn't get the feeling he had any great vision that one could subscribe to or develop or go on with. He seemed to be trying equations on the wholesale scale without any great physical idea to guide it."²³⁷ Put simply, in

²³⁶ Wheeler, "Some Men and Moments in the History of Nuclear Physics," 232; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 108-109, 111-112.

²³⁷ John Archibald Wheeler, "Einstein: His Strength and His Struggle," working paper, Twentieth Selig Brodetsky Memorial Lecture, University of Leeds, 8 May 1979 (Leeds, UK: Leeds University Press, 1980), 3; John Archibald Wheeler, "Albert Einstein March 14 1879—April 18, 1955." in *National*

the view of Wheeler and many of his colleagues, physics seemed to have moved beyond Einstein.

In 1936, while teaching at North Carolina, Wheeler applied for a leave of absence so that he could accept a visiting appointment to the Physics department Princeton. John Wheeler intended this “mini-sabbatical” to allow him to complete some thinking and writing about nuclear physics without the encumbrance of classroom responsibilities. Wheeler also intended to establish a personal relationship with the theoretician Eugene Wigner (1902 – 1995) and the mathematicians Herman Weyl (1885 – 1955) and John von Neumann (1903 – 1957). Despite his first impression of Einstein as being beyond his prime, in *Geons*, Wheeler claims that he wanted to get to know Albert Einstein even though, “our interests were then so different that I didn’t expect to learn very much from him.”²³⁸ So, why would Wheeler want to better know a man from whom he drew a lackluster first impression and “didn’t expect to learn very much?”

One important part of the attraction Wheeler felt for Einstein was that they shared world-view based on comprehensibility:

There was one extraordinary feature of Einstein the man I glimpsed that [first] day, and came to see ever more clearly each time I visited his house climbed to his upstairs study, and we explained to each other what we did not understand. Over and

Academy of Sciences, *Biographical Memoirs*, vol. 51 (Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences, 1980), 99; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 111-112; Wheeler interview with Ken Ford, 03 Jan 1994, transcript 604.

²³⁸ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 150.

above his warmth and considerateness, over and above his deep thoughtfulness, I came to see, he had a unique sense of the world of man and nature as one harmonious and someday understandable whole, with all of us feeling our way forward through the darkness together.²³⁹

This sentiment is the very same doctrine of comprehensibility that was evident in Herzfeld's 'faith' in physics. It is the same conceptual optimism—the belief that anything can be tackled and further, that sooner or later every problem will yield a solution—that grew out of Wheeler's work as an assistant librarian for technical literature in Baltimore. Finally, in a March 1979 lecture John Wheeler extolled Einstein and several other scientists and inventors specifically because they approached their work with a "larger"—and therefore more comprehensive—frame of reference.²⁴⁰

The dynamics of John Wheeler's relationship with Einstein changed when, according to his own metaphor, Wheeler came under the conceptual influence of gravity (as it is understood in general relativity). This attraction to gravity came about as consequence of Wheeler's work in nuclear physics. Early in 1952, he revisited two 1939 papers by Robert Oppenheimer (one with George Volkoff, the other with Hartland Snyder) that predicted the gravitational collapse of a star that had consumed its nuclear fuel. Wheeler believed that the mathematical singularity predicted by Oppenheimer and his associates had to be incorrect, and he set out to rectify the situation. Wheeler observed, "I

²³⁹ Wheeler, "Albert Einstein March 14 1879—April 18, 1955," 99-100; Wheeler, "Einstein: His Strength and His Struggle."3-4.

²⁴⁰ John A. Wheeler, "Einstein and other seekers of the larger view," *Science and Public Policy* 6 (Dec 1979), passim.

wanted to teach relativity for the simple reason that I wanted to learn the subject.” On 6 May 1952, Wheeler obtained permission to teach a graduate level course in general relativity.²⁴¹

From the outset of the course, Wheeler and his students worked to get beyond the mathematical formalism that had come to dominate the subject.²⁴² In this endeavor, Wheeler found a kindred spirit in Einstein. Although Einstein's name is forever linked to equations—one in particular—he was not (at least by professional standards) a particularly skilled mathematician. Like Bohr (and unlike Breit) Einstein approached physics through intuition and articulated concepts rather than through applied calculation. The mathematician David Hilbert once remarked, “Every boy in the streets of our mathematical Göttingen understands more about four-dimensional geometry than Einstein. Yet, despite that, Einstein did the work and not the mathematicians.”²⁴³ Why would this be true?

²⁴¹ For quotation, see Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 228-229; for permission to teach relativity, see Wheeler notebook “Relativity I”, p 1, “6 May 1952 [Underlining in original] 5⁵⁵pm. Learned from Shenstone ½ hour ago the great news that I can teach relativity next year. I wish to give the best possible course. To make the most of the opportunity, would be good to plan for a book on the subject. Points to be considered: (1) a short introductory outline of the whole (2) Emphasis on the Mach point of view (3) Many tie-ups with other fields of physics. Mention these in class; in the book put them in the ends of chapters as examples. Show [correct word ?] simplifying, APS-JAW.

²⁴² Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 228, 231.

²⁴³ Philipp Frank, *Einstein, Sein Leben und seine Zeit* (München: Paul List Verlag, 1949), p. 335, quoted in Wheeler, “Einstein: His Strength and His Struggle,” 5.

Wheeler suggests that Einstein's years of work in the patent office forced him to adopt a world-view that was more general (and therefore more comprehensive) than that held by the mathematicians who, at least professionally, were more narrowly focused. For seven years, on a daily basis, Einstein was required to examine novel (or not-so-novel) attempts to apply the laws of physics in everyday life. As concisely as possible, he would have to explain to the patent applicant why the invention was (or was not) worthy of a patent. In the course of denying a patent, Einstein was often obliged to explain some general principle of physics that rendered the applicant's invention unworkable.²⁴⁴ It is also worth noting here that Einstein and Wheeler shared a youthful (and probably lifelong) fascination with mechanical contraptions.²⁴⁵

The dividends of Wheeler's choice to explore relativity from a generalist's (i.e. conceptualist) world-view were handsome. Over the course of that first year, Wheeler quickly realized that decades of a strict mathematical treatment of relativity had only just scratched surface of relativity's conceptual bounty:

What I learned in teaching the course was that the riches of Einstein's theory had been far from fully mined. Hidden beneath the equations, simple in appearance, complex in application—was a lode waiting to be brought to the surface and exploited.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ John Archibald Wheeler, "Albert Einstein March 14 1879—April 18, 1955." in National Academy of Sciences, *Biographical Memoirs*, vol. 51 (Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences, 1980), 102-103.

²⁴⁵ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 83; Wheeler, "Albert Einstein March 14 1879—April 18, 1955," 100-101.

²⁴⁶ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 231.

Small wonder that the enterprise of unearthing this lode dominated the next quarter century of John Wheeler's life.

Wheeler and Einstein also shared a high regard for the value of collegueship. This collegueship, it must be noted, included the participation of students in a seminar format. Wheeler asserts, "No tool of collegueship is more useful than the seminar." In such a context, professors are not to pontificate from a pedestal. Rather, Wheeler declares that a seminar setting obligates students to question their professors. In the end, Wheeler and Einstein agreed that theoretical constructs are best strengthened (or most efficiently eliminated) by the rigorous examination of both students and peers.²⁴⁷

Given their mutually held fondness for the seminar method of investigation, it is not surprising that Einstein made himself available to Wheeler's relativity seminar twice in the last years of his life. The first of these was on 16 May 1953, when Einstein invited Wheeler's seminar group over to his house for tea. The following year, on 14 April 1954 (one year and four days before his death), Einstein addressed Wheeler's seminar group in Fine Hall on the Princeton campus.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ Wheeler, "Albert Einstein March 14 1879—April 18, 1955," 103-104.

²⁴⁸ John A. Wheeler, "Mercer Street and other Memories," in *Albert Einstein: His Influence on Physics, Philosophy, and Politics*, ed. Peter C. Aichelburg and Roman U. Sexl (Braunschweig, Germany: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1979), 202; Wheeler, "Einstein: His Strength and His Struggle," 104.

One example of the benefits that collegueship with Einstein provided stands out for Wheeler. In response to a question regarding radiation damping, Einstein referred Wheeler to a 1909 article in which he and Walter Ritz set out their respective positions clearly and distinctly. The dialogue was summed in one sentence, “Ritz treats the limitations to retarded potentials as one of the foundations of the second law of thermodynamics, while Einstein believes that the irreversibility of radiation depends exclusively on considerations of probability.”²⁴⁹

Three other examples of the nature of John Wheeler's relationship with Einstein are useful to this discussion. One such instance is John Wheeler's invitation to author Einstein's biographical memoir for the National Academy of Sciences. Obviously a large number of academy members were capable of writing Einstein's memoir; the fact that John Wheeler was chosen certainly seems significant.

Some background on author selection for these memoirs may prove illuminating. In the National Academy of Science, selecting an author for a given Biographical Memoir falls to the scientific peers of the deceased. The academy is divided into twenty sections (ranging from applied physics to plant biology) that correspond to the various sub-disciplines of science recognized by the academy. To assign a memoir, the chair of the appropriate section (in

²⁴⁹ A. Einstein and W. Ritz, *Physikalisches Zeitschrift*, 10 (1909): 323-34, quoted in Wheeler, “Albert Einstein March 14 1879—April 18, 1955,” 104.

Einstein's case, physics) works with other members in that section to identify someone who “has an intimate knowledge of the life and scientific work of the deceased.” It is also noteworthy that in order to choose the individual best qualified (i.e. one with an 'intimate' knowledge of the deceased), the members of a section are free to choose authors who are not members of the National Academy of Sciences.²⁵⁰ It is significant that from this relatively large pool of authors who had intimate knowledge of Einstein's life and work, John Wheeler was selected to be the author of the Einstein's Biographical Memoir

Another example of Wheeler's affection for Einstein is found in *Albert Einstein: His Influence on Physics, Philosophy, and Politics*, edited by Peter C. Aichelburg and Roman U. Sexl, which appeared in 1979—the centenary year of Einstein's birth. The book contained sixteen chapters, which were contributed by fifteen authors. I note here that John Wheeler, unlike the other contributors, submitted two chapters to this volume. These were, “Black Hole: An Imaginary Conversation with Albert Einstein”, and “Mercer Street and Other Memories.”²⁵¹ The latter selection is a fond remembrance of Wheeler's relativity class joining Einstein for tea in his Mercer Street home. The former selection is more telling of the relationship. Certain passages in this dialogue very much have the flavor of a junior colleague reporting to a mentor:

²⁵⁰ Stephen Mautner, Executive Editor of National Academies Press, Joseph Henry Press, 13 April 2006, in voice mail to author (10:59 AM PDT).

²⁵¹ Peter C. Aichelburg and Roman U. Sexl, eds., *Albert Einstein: His Influence on Physics, Philosophy, and Politics* (Braunschweig, Germany: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1979).

[Wheeler] I and my colleagues have to confess that we have made only a bare beginning at studying the approach to singularity both in cosmology and in black hole physics.

[Einstein] To understand that approach is really important.

[Wheeler] Our Soviet colleagues propose fascinating physical insights as to what goes on in the final stages of collapse, but not convincing mathematical methodology. Colleagues in the West have the mathematical methodology but so far it has not sufficed to provide the insight that we all want.

[Einstein] This is an old story in physics. We know in the end everything comes together in a new and better and larger unity.

And further:

[Wheeler] I don't have to tell you that there is still a non-negligible body of our colleagues who think that an asymptotically flat universe is more natural than a closed universe.

[Einstein] But that view takes the geometry of faraway space out of physics and makes it part of theology, to be discovered by reading Euclid's bible. It puts us back to the days before Riemann, days when space was still for physicists, a rigid homogeneous something, susceptible of no change or conditions. Only the genius of Riemann, solitary and uncomprehended, had already won its way by the middle of the last century to a new conception of space, in which space was deprived of its rigidity, and in which its power to take part in physical events was recognized as possible.

Finally:

[Wheeler] But whether you call particles geometry or something else, does it not trouble you that collapse should mean their end?

[Einstein] To me the problem of collapse is no greater than the problem of the big bang. Both are a warning that the universe presents deeper issues than we ever realized. That to me is the lesson of the black hole. Alas, I can say no more. I feel myself being carried away, not to return for another hundred years. But let me leave you hope for the work of all your colleagues. "All of

these endeavors are based on the belief that existence should have a completely harmonious structure. Today we have less ground than ever before for allowing ourselves to be forced away from this wonderful belief.

It is very difficult to read these words without visualizing a mentor encouraging a mentee to press on.

The mentor-mentee relationship also surfaces in events surrounding Wheeler's first paper on geons.²⁵² In the fall of 1954, Wheeler sent a copy of his paper to Einstein. A relatively long interval passed before Einstein contacted Wheeler and suggested that they discuss the paper orally. Wheeler recalls that Einstein had considered the concept of a geon, but that he had concluded it was not important since “he saw no link with anything in nature.” Moreover, Wheeler continues, “With his usual astonishing intuition, Einstein said in this conversation that he was prepared to admit that his equations of relativity allowed for geon solutions of the kind I was exploring, but he doubted the stability of a geon”—a conclusion Wheeler independently proved a few years later.²⁵³

For the purpose of this project, the details of Wheeler's paper are less important than the nature of the interaction. Here again, interplay of Wheeler and Einstein is very similar to that of a younger scholar working (albeit very independently) with an older mentor. As noted above, there is far more to

²⁵² Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 236. Wheeler defines a 'geon' as a “hypothetical entity, a gravitating body made entirely of electromagnetic fields.” The name is derived from (g for “gravity,” e for “electromagnetism,” and on as the word root for “particle.” Hence geon.

²⁵³ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 238.

mentoring than parenting a dissertation. At the time of the geons consultation, Wheeler was forty-three years old. Einstein was seventy-five. In light of the foregoing and, given John Wheeler's quarter century commitment to general relativity, it seems clear that, at least in a virtual sense, Albert Einstein served as a mentor for John Wheeler.

Section 2.7 Review

So, what has been learned? First of all, it has been shown that many qualities that make for the character of an exceptional mentor were present in John Wheeler's youth. Certainly, he was a curious child and a precocious learner. This last is evidenced on numerous occasions in the preceding chapter. A prime example is the year in the one-room schoolhouse in Benson, Vermont, when John Wheeler completed the work of four academic years in one. Here, Wheeler learned (at least implicitly) that with motivated students, less direction is often more effective.

Other elements of character and a personality suited to mentoring surface sporadically in the narrative of Wheeler's life. From the beginning, John Wheeler was an independent thinker. Witness his choice to respect his parents' objections regarding the Pledge of Allegiance and then deciding that their convictions were not necessarily his. The anecdote about correcting the workmen in a ditch who were improperly connecting pipe demonstrates that Wheeler was always ready to look a situation over for himself—with 'fresh

eyes.' At Sunday dinners with his grandfather Archibald, Wheeler learned that there are always (at least) two sides to any proposition and, that a careful thinker will consider them all. From his teachers in Vermont and Youngstown, John Wheeler learned the importance of teachers who cultivate the learning habits and expand the curriculum of gifted students. More than anyone else, Joseph Wheeler taught his son the worth of work and the pride in a job well done. Finally, from his entire family—though most of all from his parents—John Wheeler learned the Joy of learning. So what did his mentors provide?

Wheeler has been asked more than once to compare Gregory Breit's approach to physics with that of Niels Bohr. There is no point in reciting that answer here. A better question might be, "What did you, both as a physicist and mentor, take from your experience with these mentors?" The most compelling clue is contained in Wheeler's reflections on the first published paper for which he was the sole author. For the convenience of the reader, the salient section of the block quotation has been re-posted here:

As I look back now at that paper written when I was a twenty-one-year-old student, I am startled to find in it approaches to physics that have appeared again and again in my work throughout the rest of my career. First is my way of tackling problems (the practical doer in me). Second is my way of thinking about nature (the dreamer and searcher in me). I fearlessly jumped into mathematical analysis -and surely must have had to learn much of the needed mathematics as I went along. Equally fearlessly, I jumped into numerical calculation.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁴ J. A. Wheeler, "Theory of the Dispersion and Absorption of Helium," *Physical Review* 43 (1933), 258-263.

It is useful to keep in mind that this paper was written before Wheeler had extensive contact with either Breit or Bohr.

Here it is interesting to see how Wheeler refers to the way he tackles problems as being “a doer.” This approach is very much in the spirit of Breit. However, in the very next line Wheeler refers to himself as a “dreamer and a searcher.” This sentiment is very much in the spirit of Bohr. Finally there is the confidence (or perhaps faith) that a solution exists for every problem—a notion which was very congenial to Herzfeld and Einstein.

Plainly, there is more to the story of Wheeler's success as a mentor than his experience as an apprentice to Herzfeld, Breit, Bohr, and his quasi-apprenticeship with Einstein. John Wheeler came from a family that emphasized the importance of acquiring knowledge, inculcated a robust work ethic, and encouraged independent thinking. A number of adults including extended family and teachers reinforced these values. Still, Wheeler's professional skills, standards, and philosophy were not products of his youth; they were the result of a process of professional development that, according to science historian Frederic Holmes, takes an average of ten years.²⁵⁵

Frederic Holmes and others have reported the conventional wisdom of twentieth century scientists that “the most effective way to win a Nobel Prize is

²⁵⁵ Frederic Lawrence Holmes, *Investigative Pathways: Patterns and Stages in the Careers of Experimental Scientists* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 200), xix [introduction].

to be trained by a Nobel Prize winner.”²⁵⁶ Likewise, it seems reasonable that skillful mentors quite often served as apprentices to other skillful mentors. Such groupings form a master-apprentice chain of wisdom that may well stretch over multiple generations of science.

So, what is the single most important thing that Wheeler took from his mentors? The answer is nurture. Consider the analogy of a track coach. The finest track coach on the planet cannot teach a slow runner to run fast. At best that coach will be able to help a slow runner become less slow. The same is true of mentors.

There are certain qualities which, taken together, characterize most successful scientists. These include academic talent, independent and careful thinking, a robust work ethic or even taking joy of learning almost anything. None of these elements are 'teachable' in the standard sense of the word. A skillful mentor who can recognize the potential in a young scientist has the opportunity to nurture that nascent talent into full bloom.²⁵⁷ Therefore, in analyzing the qualities that established John Wheeler as a skillful mentor, a useful approach has been to look upstream for the professional practices, standards, and philosophy that Wheeler's mentors were most likely to inculcate in him.

²⁵⁶ Holmes, *Investigative Pathways*, 28; others who observe this tendency include Harriet Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 99-100 and tables on 101-103; Kanigel, *Apprentice to Genius*, xiv [introduction] and elsewhere.

²⁵⁷ Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 110-112.

This chapter has shown how, in John Wheeler's early years, the personal qualities of a mature scientific mentor were developing. The next chapter deals with Wheeler's ability to nurture the potential in succeeding generations of scholars.

Chapter Three: Mentoring in Modern Physics: John Archibald Wheeler as Mentor

Section 3.1 Overview

At Waterloo University, in Ontario, Canada, former Wheeler student Kip Thorne delivered a lecture during the opening session of the Eighth International Congress on General Relativity and Gravitation. The date was Thursday, 11 August, 1977. At the close of Thorne's talk, another former Wheeler student, University of Maryland physicist Charles Misner, approached the podium. There, Misner presented John Archibald Wheeler with the commemorative volume, *Family Gathering*.²⁵⁸ In his remarks, Misner explained that the aim of the project's initiator (who chose to remain anonymous) was to present John Wheeler with a collection of personal letters that, "could show in practice some of the workings of the apprenticeship system by which research attitudes and methods are passed on."²⁵⁹ Professor Misner went on to quote the *Family Gathering* letter from Kenneth W. Ford:

In John Wheeler's own professional development, the influence of Niels Bohr was deep and lasting. John, in turn, has had a profound influence on the style as well as the achievement of a large number of people who worked with him. I and many others, in our turn, have transmitted some part of this legacy to our students. There is an army of physics students in the United States whose view of nature and whose view of physics is more

²⁵⁸ The full title is *Family Gathering: Students and Collaborators of John Archibald Wheeler gather some recollections of their work with him and of his influence on them and through them on their own students. Assembled with the best wishes as John moves on to his new career in Texas.*

²⁵⁹ *Family Gathering*, 1977, n.p.

powerfully colored by the personalities and intellects of Niels Bohr and John Wheeler than they know. Like the oral traditions that dominate some Indian tribes, powerful threads of influence run through generations of scientists. John Wheeler is one of the “medicine men.”²⁶⁰

For Charles Misner, Ken Ford and others, John Wheeler was far more than a mere teacher; he was part of a 'chain of wisdom' that stretched back to (and perhaps through) Niels Bohr.

This sense of Bohr's influence on John Wheeler is echoed by the physicist Jeremy Bernstein who observes, “Every scientist—Einstein being a notable exception—can find in his or her career a decisive teacher. For Bohr it was Ernest Rutherford. For Feynman it was Wheeler, and for Wheeler it was Bohr.” James Gleick, biographer of former Wheeler student and Nobelist Richard Feynman (1918 – 1988) , described John Wheeler as the “apostle of Niels Bohr.”²⁶¹

Notwithstanding the analysis of former students such as Misner, and observers such as Bernstein and Gleick, Bohr is only part of the story. As the previous chapter has shown, several factors shaped John Wheeler's career—both as a physicist and as a mentor. In addition to Bohr, Gregory Breit provided Wheeler with an important complementary model for doing theoretical physics during his apprenticeship. Karl Herzfeld is a third

²⁶⁰ *Family Gathering*, 1977, n.p.

²⁶¹ Jeremy Bernstein, *Quantum Profiles* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 107; James Gleick, *Genius: The Life and Science of Richard Feynman* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 93.

apprenticeship mentor whose influence on Wheeler's career is perhaps more visible in retrospect, but in any case, must not be discounted.²⁶²

In fact, Wheeler felt privileged to have studied under all three men. Of Herzfeld, Wheeler wrote: “No one who came so early from Europe to America continued longer to give so richly to this country out of the great European tradition of theoretical physics.” Wheeler concluded the obituary of his former dissertation advisor by observing:

In saying farewell to a man of great human warmth, one who deeply cared, one treasures all the more his contributions to kinetic theory, statistical mechanics, and the structure of matter—and the high human standard he made for what it is to be a physicist.²⁶³

In light of this eulogy, and keeping in mind the discussion of Herzfeld in Chapter 2, any investigation of John Wheeler's interactions with students must certainly take into account the influence of Karl Herzfeld.

Similarly, John Wheeler's experience as Gregory Breit's apprentice had an impact on the way Wheeler interacted with his students. It is also quite possible that Wheeler's experience with Breit taught him how NOT to behave with colleagues. At the outset of World War II, Wheeler suffered an unpleasant interaction with his former mentor in regard to Breit's proposed moratorium on

²⁶² Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 107. When Wheeler was considering his choices for post-doctoral work after leaving Hopkins, Herzfeld told Wheeler that Breit “would be right” for him.

²⁶³ John Archibald Wheeler, “Karl Herzfeld” [Obituary], *Physics Today*, 32, no.1 (Jan 1979): 99; The first statement was also quoted in Joseph F. Mulligan, “Karl Ferdinand Herzfeld, February 24, 1892 — June 3, 1978,” *Biographical Memoirs*, National Academy of Sciences, <http://newton.nap.edu/html/biomems/kherzfeld.html> (20 Mar 06) n.p.

the publication of studies in nuclear physics. Although Wheeler claims (at least as a student) not to have seen the confrontational side of Breit, he was well aware that Breit's relationships with his colleagues were often "prickly."²⁶⁴ Still, Wheeler remained one of Breit's admirers. The reader may also recall from Chapter 2 that at a May 1977 symposium (less than three months before Wheeler was honored in Ontario) he described Breit by observing: "Insufficiently appreciated in the 1930s, he [Breit] is today the most unappreciated physicist in America."²⁶⁵ In an interview with Charles Weiner and Gloria Lubkin, Wheeler was asked to compare the relative influence on his career of Breit (who tended to focus on the elements of a theory that can be calculated immediately) and Bohr (who tended to emphasize a broader, more schematic perspective), Wheeler responded, "I don't think one can get along without both. Bohr certainly would never have proposed to get along without it [Breit's approach]. He was most conscious of these checks, but content to let other people make them."²⁶⁶ Some years later, Wheeler reiterated the

²⁶⁴ The work "prickly" occurs in Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 107; See also Wheeler interview with Ford, 03 Jan 1994, transcript, 502, 505-506.

²⁶⁵ John Archibald Wheeler, "Some Men and Moments in the History of Nuclear Physics: The Interplay of Colleagues and Motivations," in *Nuclear Physics in Retrospect: Proceedings of a Symposium on the 1930's* ed. Roger H. Stuewer (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1979): 217-284, 234; Wheeler's statement is also quoted in McAllister Hull, "Gregory Breit: July 14, 1899 – September 11, 1981," National Academy of Sciences, *Biographical Memoirs*, Vol 74, 1998, <http://www.nap.edu/html/biomems/gbreit.html> (08 Dec 2003), n.p., also in National Academy of Sciences, *Biographical Memoirs* Vol 74 (Washington DC: National Academies Press, 1998) 26-57.

²⁶⁶ Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin, 05 Apr 1967, transcript, 17.

importance of Breit to his career. “I don’t think I could have built a better base for a career in theoretical physics,” Wheeler noted, “than I did at New York University with Breit, and at the University Institute for Theoretical Physics in Copenhagen with Bohr.”²⁶⁷

Nonetheless, among Wheeler intimates, there is a pervasive perception of Wheeler as the intellectual progeny of Bohr and Bohr alone. Prior to co-authoring the Wheeler autobiography *Geons*, Ken Ford conducted an extensive series of interviews with John Wheeler. In one of the later taped interview sessions (session ten of twelve), Ford asked a question about Niels Bohr.²⁶⁸ The wording of that question indicates the extent to which many view Wheeler almost exclusively in terms of Bohr's mentorship to the exclusion of Breit and Herzfeld:

It is often said that your style, your approach to physics, even some of your mannerisms, are derived from Bohr. Do you agree with this assessment? In what ways did your postdoctoral year with Bohr change you as a person and/or as a physicist? Was Bohr’s influence a factor much later when you had the courage to tackle fundamental puzzles of the quantum and its relation to the universe?²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 103.

²⁶⁸ Wheeler interview with Ford (transcript), Princeton, NJ, 06 De 1993 – 12 Apr 1995; the first twelve sessions were tape recorded and transcribed; the last “tapes” (05 Oct 1994 – 12 Apr 1995) are remarks transcribed directly from dictation, after the writing of *Geons* had commenced. This particular interview was conducted on 15 Mar 1994 in Wheeler's office (in Jadwin Hall) at Princeton University.

²⁶⁹ Wheeler interview with Ken Ford (15 Mar 1994), 1803.

It is interesting to note that at no point in the twelve sessions (conducted over several months) did Ford ask a similar question about Wheeler's relationship with either Gregory Breit or Karl Herzfeld.

Wheeler's response to Ford's question is as informative for what he does not say as it is for what he does:

In what way did my postdoctoral year with Bohr change me as a person or as a physicist or both? I can remember what an inferiority complex I felt as colleagues at the Institute would sit around talking in German or Danish and me having trouble just keeping up with what they were saying, let alone trying to say anything myself ... It was a great encouragement to know James Franck. He was a marvelous people person ...

One of the features about life in Copenhagen, [with] Bohr, Franck and others, [was] the willingness to discuss questions all over the map—politics, business, what-not. The feeling that it was all part of the scene that went on to take an interest in.

I can recall Bohr taking the better part of the summer to write an obituary of Rutherford. He had such an admiration for Rutherford that he wanted to do it right. He had a special responsibility in Denmark, because he occupied the House of Honor. In that status, he was supposed to stand up for learning and matters of principle. It's almost like being named Archbishop, I suppose, except dealing with a wider range of issues. He and his wife, for example, spent quite a little effort in looking after the students in the field of art to give them encouragement, afternoon teas from time to time. The courage to tackle fundamental puzzles of the quantum and its relation to the universe.

Courage is one word, but another word that might be more accurate would be desperation. That is some way to get through. Some day things will look so much simpler than they do today, and a desperate search to find a way through to that later day.²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ Wheeler interview with Ford (15 Mar 1994), 1804-1805.

While Wheeler humbly speaks of his “desperation” to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of physics, there is no mention of Bohr's influence on the way that he (Wheeler) did physics.

It appears that John Wheeler very much preferred to see himself as his own man and distinct from the intellectual shadow of Bohr. This point comes through clearly in a 1988 interview with the historian and director of the Niels Bohr archive, Finn Aaserud. The discussion takes place in the context of Aaserud's asking about Wheeler's working relationship with Bohr during the 1939 nuclear fission paper in contrast with their working relationship when Wheeler was first in Copenhagen:

[Aaserud] But he must have been very difficult to work with. I mean, he was all-consuming in some sense. I spoke for example to Weisskopf about it [Victor Weisskopf, 1908 – 2002]. Of course he loves Bohr, but also I got the impression that he could only be there for a little because, you know, it takes your own independence out of you, because it's so demanding and you become a part of Bohr in the discussion process, in a way. I don't know if that's the way he put it, but isn't that true? Or do you think that you could work as equals?

[Wheeler] Well, I can recall, in the paper on nuclear fission, the formula for example for the rate of fission. I came with that to Bohr, and I had to argue it and persuade, but he accepted it. But he wouldn't take anything just on somebody's say so. He wanted to understand it through and through.

[Aaserud] Was that different by virtue of your being at Princeton then? I mean, then you were more equals?

[Wheeler] Yes. Perhaps so.

[Aaserud] I mean, the visitors at the Bohr Institute had a very different role, of course, and I don't know if Bohr saw himself

more as a mentor for them, than with you in Princeton at that time.

[Wheeler] It's odd, I never thought of him as a mentor at all.

[Aaserud] No?

[Wheeler] No. I thought of our not facing each other, but facing a common difficulty, to try to understand something. And I'm not sure that it would have made any difference to be in Copenhagen. Well, after all, the paper on the collective model of the nucleus, which eventually just David Hill and I published, we worked out ... [The interview was interrupted by a telephone call; when the discussion resumes, the subject has changed.]²⁷¹

Still, Wheeler's assertion of intellectual parity with Bohr needs to be taken in context. It may be recalled from Chapter One that, in his 1998 autobiography (published ten years after the Aaserud interview), Wheeler himself described Bohr as a mentor: "What does a young researcher need at the beginning of a career? Perhaps, most of all, a good mentor." Wheeler concluded this passage by noting "In two postdoctoral years, I was blessed with two wonderfully strong mentors, Gregory Breit and Niels Bohr."²⁷²

So, what can be discerned in these evidently disparate narratives?

Kenneth Ford, co-author of Wheeler's autobiography, notes that:

By any external measure, Wheeler is a very modest man. If asked whether he is in the same league as Bohr and Einstein, he would surely laugh and say, 'Of course not.' Yet, deep down,

²⁷¹ John Archibald Wheeler, "Wheeler, John Archibald 1911 – 2008", interview by Finn Aaserud, 04 May 1988, Princeton, NJ, unpaginated transcript, NBL-AIP, call number, OH30194.

²⁷² Wheeler with Ford, *Geons*, 103; Wheeler also refers to Bohr as his mentor on page 91.

Wheeler has a sense of his own stature and, in my opinion, does see himself as in the same league as Bohr and Einstein.²⁷³

Nonetheless, Ford continues, “Wheeler revered Bohr.” It is also worth noting here that Bohr's portrait hung in Wheeler's office in Jadwin Hall until after Wheeler's death.²⁷⁴

It appears that Wheeler was torn between a need for recognition of his own physics oeuvre and his deep veneration for Bohr. This is not an unusual circumstance in science. As the historian Frederic L. Holmes has noted, the transition from apprentice to independent scientist is a very complex process.²⁷⁵ To the case in point; for Wheeler to distinguish himself from the historical shadow of a giant such as Bohr was a difficult prospect at best. Here it is useful to consider the phrasing of Aaserud's question, specifically his reportage of Victor Weisskopf's experience: working with Bohr could be “all-consuming” in the sense that it “takes your own independence out of you, because it's so demanding and you become a part of Bohr in the discussion process.”²⁷⁶ Weisskopf's concerns about working with Bohr were familiar to Wheeler. In *Geons*, he writes:

The plan [for a 1949 Guggenheim Fellowship] included the proposition that I spend the year in Paris, with side trips to Copenhagen. Although I wanted to work with Bohr, I did not want to get back fully into the conversational culture of his institute. I

²⁷³ Kenneth W. Ford, letter to author (02 May 2006). Included in the letter was a photograph of Wheeler with busts of Einstein and Bohr. Ford reports that this photo was taken by him at Wheeler's request.

²⁷⁴ Based on the author's visit to Wheeler's office, 24 Apr 2008.

²⁷⁵ Holmes, *Investigative Pathways*, 42

²⁷⁶ Wheeler interview with Aaserud (04 May 1988).

wanted time for isolated thinking and calculating, and knew that it would be an easy matter to travel by train from Paris to Copenhagen as often as I wished during the year.²⁷⁷

It would seem that Wheeler's nonchalance in the Aaserud interview notwithstanding, working with Bohr was, for Wheeler, something of a mixed blessing.

Wheeler's connection with Bohr stands in contrast to his relationship with Gregory Breit. Like Bohr, Wheeler has also described Breit as a mentor who was crucial to his career and yet, unlike the relationship with Niels Bohr, Wheeler never seemed compelled to make a declaration of independence from Breit.

In light of the foregoing, several questions emerge. Given the complexity of Wheeler's relationship with Bohr, how did Wheeler see himself in relation to his own students? How did Wheeler's students see themselves in relation to him? What aspects of the pedagogies employed by Herzfeld, Breit, and-or Bohr, did Wheeler incorporate into his own style? For that matter, were there aspects of Wheeler's style of doing physics that Wheeler's former students transmitted to their intellectual progeny? If so, what were they? Finally, as their own research and mentoring careers wind down, have the assessments of Wheeler's students changed between 1977 and 2009, and if so, how?

²⁷⁷ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 183

With an eye to these questions, this chapter will focus on the qualitative aspects of John Wheeler's mentoring relationships with his students. This dissertation builds on, and differs from, a previous Master's Thesis in three significant ways. First of all, whereas the Master's Thesis relied primarily on letters to Wheeler by the contributors to *Family Gathering*, and more recent recollections of former students and colleagues obtained through electronic correspondence and personal communications with the author, this chapter benefits from having had access to archival materials including John Wheeler's research notebooks, and especially the 944 Ph.D. dissertations that were submitted to the respective departments of physics during Wheeler's years at Princeton and the University of Texas. Secondly, while at Princeton and Texas, the author had the opportunity to directly communicate with colleagues who knew Wheeler as an active faculty member (e.g. Val Fitch at Princeton and Richard Matzner at Texas); as well as those who knew him primarily as an emeritus (e.g. Dan Marlow at Princeton); and colleagues who, though working in the same fields, were outside Wheeler's 'sphere of influence' (e.g. Steven Weinberg at Texas). Finally, this dissertation benefited from the author having the opportunity to actually hear taped interviews with Wheeler's former students and colleagues, in addition to examining the transcripts of those interviews.

The aspiration of this chapter is to see John Wheeler from the perspective of his apprentices as well as his colleagues. In parallel, the

chapter will review Wheeler's assessment of the mentoring styles of Herzfeld, Breit, and Bohr. The overriding question here is, are there aspects of doing theoretical physics that John Wheeler acquired from his mentors and unconsciously or consciously transmitted to (or nurtured in) his apprentices, and if so, what are they?

The main focus of this study is on John Wheeler's Ph.D. students. This emphasis should not imply however, that Wheeler directed all his pedagogical energy toward doctoral students. Given the institutions in which he was employed, one might expect that a non-trivial number of the Wheeler academic family to be post-doctoral fellows. There is no reason to suppose that John Wheeler would have had less contact or put less effort into mentoring this population than he did for his Ph.D. students. Unfortunately, this group was very poorly documented. With the exception of anecdotal evidence here and there, the number and identities of Wheeler post-docs are absent from the historical record.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁸ Neither Princeton nor the University of Texas had—or has—in place a systematic means of tracking post-doctoral fellows and the professors that they are committed to work with. I suspect this situation exists because in many, if not most cases, the funding for post-doctoral fellowships is external to the university (e.g. the National Science Foundation). Of course, in the modern era, even external funding is channeled through a university's Sponsored Research Office rather than the department of physics. It is not clear however, that in the time-frame in question, those funds were processed in a standardized manner. In any event neither the physics department at Princeton or the University of Texas seemed to be able to unambiguously identify the mentors of individual post-doctoral fellows.

Then too, there are the undergraduate Junior Projects and Senior Theses that are required of physics majors at Princeton (the University of Texas has no such requirement). In fact, a number of former Princeton undergraduate students were among the contributors to *Family Gathering*. As might be expected in a festschrift, many of these letters contain moving expressions of gratitude for the inspiration, insight, and guidance they had received from Wheeler.²⁷⁹ There are also, however, a number of instances in which Wheeler is profusely thanked in the acknowledgement section of dissertations and theses. Given the typically pro-forma nature of academic acknowledgements in that era (e.g. 'I want to thank Professor Dutton for suggesting this problem and his continued advice throughout. '), this particular well-spring of affection is noteworthy. So, what qualities set Wheeler apart from other professors?

For one thing, there was Wheeler's willingness to involve himself with junior scholars. A careful inspection of the advising assignments for Senior Theses (no record of advising was kept for the Junior Projects), reveals that this duty was almost always taken up by junior faculty members. Unlike most senior faculty, Wheeler welcomed the opportunity to work with younger students. He supervised at least twice as many Senior Theses as did any of his colleagues at Princeton and more Master's Theses than all but three of his

²⁷⁹ *Family Gathering*, James B. Hartle, 206; R. Bruce Partridge, 236; Anthony Zee, 331; Adam Burrows, 464; Gary Horowitz, 486.

colleagues at Texas. In fact, when one correlates the Senior Thesis advising data from Appendix E (page 698), with the listing of faculty found in the Princeton University Catalogues, we find that Professor Thomas R. Carver (twenty-one Senior Theses advised; second only to John Wheeler) supervised only three Senior Theses after he became a full professor, whereas John Wheeler supervised all but three of the forty-three Senior Theses that list him as the advisor after he became a full professor. It should also be noted that Wheeler continued advising Princeton seniors even after his return from Texas in 1987.²⁸⁰ Indeed, John Wheeler has famously proclaimed, “We all know that the real reason universities have students is in order to educate the professors.”²⁸¹

Moreover, there are numerous people whom Wheeler significantly influenced despite the fact there was comparatively little individual interaction. On 25 March 2008, shortly before his death on 13 April 2008, Wheeler received a letter from Professor Adam Burrows of Princeton. In the opening lines of his letter, Burrows noted that he had merely been an undergraduate student in three courses taught by Wheeler. Nonetheless,

²⁸⁰ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 239; Wheeler Interview with Ken Ford, Meadow Lakes, NJ (24 Mar – May 1995), 2402; Princeton University, “Daniel E. Holz,” Princeton University Senior Thesis Full Record, <http://libweb5.princeton.edu/theses/thesesid.asp?ID=79257> (03 May 2006).

²⁸¹ John Archibald Wheeler, interview with Jiří Bičák. *Czechoslovak Journal of Physics A*, Czech translation published in: *Československý časopis pro fyziku A* 28 (1978), 364-374; *Kosmické rozhledy* 2 (1979). The Polish translation published in: *Postepy fizyki* 29 (1978), 523-534. I am indebted to Ken Ford for alerting me to this quotation. See also Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 150.

Wheeler's enthusiasm for the subject at hand was contagious enough for Burrows to catch the bug:

So, I have come full circle back to Princeton University ... I am writing this letter to thank you for the inspiration you provided me during my salad days, for the stimulating courses you taught, for your generous mentorship, and for the glimpse you provided me of Physics at its best. I have often thought over the years about your role in sparking my interest in gravitation in particular, but astrophysics in general, and wanted to send you this modest note of gratitude upon my return to Old Nassau.²⁸²

In fact, Burrows was but one of several former Wheeler students who eventually became one of his colleagues.

Though seemingly always pressed for time, John Wheeler did not limit himself to helping future scientists. Carl S. Rapp, whose Senior Thesis was submitted to the Department of Politics, acknowledged Wheeler's assistance: "I am especially grateful for the aid and counseling offered me by Professor John Wheeler of the Princeton Department of Physics, whose sound advice has been invaluable in the writing of this paper."²⁸³ Brit Katzen, who submitted a Senior Thesis to the Department of History in 1998, closed her

²⁸² Letter, Adam Burrows to John A. Wheeler, 19 March 2008; quoted by permission.

²⁸³ Carl S. Rapp, "A Study of the Modern Concept of Limited Warfare," Senior Thesis [Department of Politics], Princeton University, 1959, iii. Note: No other individual is acknowledged in Rapp's thesis and the online database of Senior Theses maintained by Princeton [<http://libweb5.princeton.edu/theses/theses.asp> (05 Nov 2008)] lists the advisor for Rapp's thesis as "not available. Also, this thesis was found in Box 29, Folder [bound] Defense Studies, 1958-1960, JAW-UT.

acknowledgements with this: “Finally Professor Wheeler, thanks for all the walks. You’re what made Princeton great for me.”²⁸⁴

More to the point, as a consequence of their advising relationships with John Wheeler, many of the young physicists went on to establish long-term, collaborative relationships with other Wheeler ‘progeny’ regardless of differences in age or stage of careers. In part this may be due to Wheeler assisting these students in choosing subjects that were both significant and doable within the one to two semester timeframe available to undergraduates. Wheeler, for one, was very proud of the results. “I have supervised many a senior thesis in my years at Princeton”, he remarked, “and some of them rate in quality and significance with Ph.D. dissertations.”²⁸⁵ Wheeler’s enthusiasm notwithstanding, a more measured evaluation the quality of the work found in Senior Theses comes from Professor Dan Marlow, Chair, Department of Physics, Princeton University. Marlow observes:

There is a lot of hype on that subject. The problem is that a grade on a Senior Thesis is viewed by some as a grade on the advisor as well as the student. Therefore, there is a natural bias toward seeing these theses in the most favorable light. Yes, we get some kids here that are ‘off-the-scale’ bright and who, by

²⁸⁴ Brit B. Katzen, “The Search for Pregeometry: The Work of John Archibald Wheeler” (Senior Thesis, Princeton University, 1998), 60, PRIN. Used by permission of the Princeton University Library.

²⁸⁵ *Family Gathering*, examples include James B. Hartle, 206; David H. Sharp, 213; R. Bruce Partridge, 236; Anthony Zee, 331; Gary Horowitz, 486. For an example of a significant but doable project, see Daniel Holz, “Primal Chaos Black Holes” (Senior Thesis, Princeton University, 1992), PRIN. Used by permission of the Princeton University Library. Wheeler’s praise of Senior Theses is found in, Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 150.

their senior year, are capable of work that merits publication. Even so, while most students are highly capable, they are generally not at the level of professional researchers during their undergraduate years. We might have one, or very rarely, two such students in a given year and none the next. It is by no means correct to say that a majority or even a substantial percentage of our senior theses merit publication.

Those caveats aside, Marlow continues:

I would certainly not recommend doing away with the thesis and it's great that there are some that are of publication quality, since that no doubt inspires all students to aim high.²⁸⁶

On the face of it, Professor Marlow's contemporary assessment is undoubtedly more accurate than Wheeler's recollection. In fact, a casual survey of the publication record of Wheeler's former undergraduate students indicates that very few were published until they were in graduate school.

Then again, it seems that one of the implicit objectives of the Senior Theses is to build scholarly confidence. In that context, the percentage of theses that are "publishable" is less important than the percentage of students who believe they have the ability to become professional physicists. By that measure, judging by the contributions to *Family Gathering*, the statements of acknowledgement found in the Senior Theses, and more contemporary recollections of his students, Wheeler was successful in that part of the enterprise.

In addition to the Senior Theses, Princeton requires its physics majors to submit a Junior Paper, usually one that deals with a historical subject.

²⁸⁶ Personal communication with the author (09 Jan 2008, 06 Dec 2008), quoted by permission.

Unfortunately, unlike the Senior Theses, the Junior Papers and projects are not catalogued and retained in the archives. Consequently, there is no way to know how many of these projects and papers were supervised by John Wheeler, or how his input as an advisor was received. As with the post-doctoral students however, one occasionally encounters anecdotal evidence. Professor Daniel Kevles, renowned historian of science at Yale, recalls that John Wheeler was the advisor for his Princeton Junior Paper: "It was my first experience doing independent work on a theoretical project. Wheeler was generous with his time and encouraging with his criticism. I came away from the project with more confidence and fond memories of Wheeler."²⁸⁷

Wheeler was also known to make himself readily available to assist students who were not his advisees. Indeed, Wheeler's assistance and counsel were acknowledged in several dissertations for which he was not the advisor of record. Two examples come to mind: Paul Boynton, though not a Wheeler advisee, experienced John Wheeler as, "one of the most memorable and effective mentors I ever encountered. He has been an inspiration to me throughout my life, and not just my professional life."²⁸⁸ Claudio Bunster (né Teitelboim), whose dissertation was supervised by Karel Kuchař, wrote:

I have been struggling for a long while to find words for my expressing my deepest gratitude to John Wheeler. I have not found them. He has given me so much that any acknowledgement seems insignificant. I can only say that,

²⁸⁷ Personal communication with author (09 May 2008), quoted by permission.

²⁸⁸ Personal communication with author (20 Nov 2007), quoted by permission.

through my contact with him, I have discovered a new world. I shall remain indebted to him forever.²⁸⁹

To be clear, Teitelboim also expressed high praise of Professor Kuchař.

In any case, the remarks submitted by those individuals who obtained counsel and-or completed projects other than a Ph.D. under the supervision of John Wheeler are likely to enhance our comprehension of Wheeler as a mentor. Before proceeding however, it will be useful to explore a common theme in the *Family Gathering* letters to Wheeler and in subsequent interviews with Wheeler's former students—namely, his “lecture” style.

The term “lecture,” as employed by Wheeler's students refers not only to the organization and delivery of prepared remarks, or the on-board problem solving sessions in which Wheeler ‘collaborated’ with his class, but also the inclusion of numerous detailed illustrations which provided a physical representation of the mathematical formalism describing a given phenomena.²⁹⁰ Two classic Wheeler illustrations (shown below) come to mind immediately: 1) The famous capital “U” with an eye (looking to the right) symbolized the role of the observer-participant in physical phenomena; and 2) the two-dimensional radial coordinates collapsing along a third axis into a black hole was symbolic of the way, according to general relativity, that mass

²⁸⁹ Claudio Teitelboim, “The Hamiltonian Structure of Spacetime” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1973), 105, PRIN. Used by permission of the Princeton University Library. Note, John Wheeler was not the advisor of record for this dissertation.

²⁹⁰ See *Family Gathering*, Kenneth W. Ford, 84, where, in regard to Wheeler's work in class, Ford remarks, “we learned physics by watching Wheeler learn.”

causes the curvature of space, which in turns, deflects the trajectory of mass (to quote Wheeler: “Spacetime tells matter how to move; matter tells spacetime how to curve.”)²⁹¹

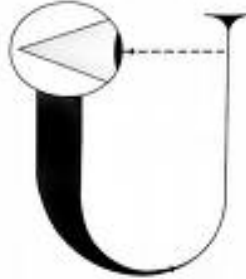


Figure 2-1. Wheeler’s depiction of the universe as a self-excited circuit: “Does looking back ‘now’ give reality to what happened then.” This notion builds on Bohr: “No elementary phenomenon is a phenomenon until it is a registered [observed] phenomenon.”

²⁹¹ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 339, used by permission; Mirjana R. Gearhart, Forum: John A. Wheeler, “From Big Bang to Big Crunch,” *Cosmic Search Magazine* 1, no. 4 (1979) <http://www.bigear.org/vol1no4/wheeler.htm> (22 Oct 2003); Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 235.

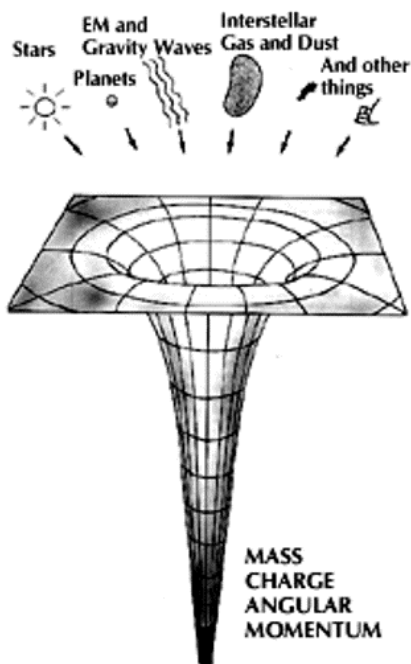


Figure 2-2. The curvature of Spacetime in the vicinity of a Black Hole and its resultant effect on the trajectory of matter.

Section 3.2 A Professor with an Anschaulich Perspective

As illustrated above, a frequent topic raised (and admired) by Wheeler's former students is his ability to make the physical quality of a phenomenon stand out from the mathematical formalism that describes it. This ability goes beyond the diagrams that accompanied Wheeler's lectures and informal discussions. A *Family Gathering* letter from Edward F. Redish, whose Princeton senior thesis was supervised by Wheeler, helps to frame this discussion. In regard to Wheeler's 'lecture' style, Redish wrote:

[Y]ou have a particular style of thinking about problems in physics. Beneath whatever algebra represents a phenomenon,

you always find the working-model; a real thing with nuts, bolts, and rust, with moving parts and real world limitations, and, above all, a picture that you can draw. You always showed a deep empathy for physical phenomena.

This is a stylistic aspect of physics which didn't come naturally to me. Like many of my own students, I was more adept at manipulating equations than in extracting the "real physics." I have had to work hard to develop a physical empathy, but the struggle to do so has been rewarding and the results intensely satisfying.²⁹²

So, what does it mean to 'extract the real physics?'

The historian Arthur Miller has noted that visual representation has long been associated with science. In the case of Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), diagrams of his falling body experiments enabled him to show that weights fall at consistent rate of acceleration regardless of their horizontal motion. As proof of his hypothesis, Galileo developed a thought experiment; if a weight is dropped on the forward side of a ship's mast, the weight falls to the forward side of the mast's base—even if the ship is in motion (so long as the motion is uniform). From this thought experiment, Galileo demonstrated a *quality* of motion (i.e. vertical and horizontal movement are separate components of the total motion of a body).²⁹³ Differential calculus, had it been available to Galileo, would have served to *quantify* the vertical motion of the falling body. In

²⁹² *Family Gathering*, Edward F. Redish, 270.

²⁹³ Arthur I. Miller, "Image and Representation in Twentieth Century Physics," in *The Modern Physical and Mathematical Sciences*, ed. Mary Jo Nye, Vol. 5 of *The Cambridge History of Science*, General eds. David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 198-215, 191-194; See also James T. Cushing, *Philosophical Concepts in Physics: The Historical Relation between Philosophy and Scientific Theories* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 80, for Galileo's thought experiment.

and of itself, however, the calculus could not have provided a qualitative description of the fall, or for that matter, the mutual independence of horizontal and vertical motion.

In the wake of Isaac Newton (1642 – 1727) and Gottfried Leibniz (1646 – 1716), differential and integral calculus evolved into more sophisticated analytical tools through the advances of Leonhard Euler (1707 – 1813), Joseph-Louis Lagrange (1736 – 1813), Pierre Simon Laplace (1749 – 1824), Jean-Baptiste Fourier (1768 – 1830), and others. Concurrently, the physical phenomena that scientists were investigating became more complex. The qualitative analysis of Galileo's falling ball only involved the vertical dimension. Real world physics, however happens in three dimensions. As Ludwig Boltzmann (1844 – 1906) observed:

Surfaces of the second order, represented by equations of the second degree between the rectangular co-ordinates of a point, are very simple to classify, and accordingly all their possible forms can easily be shown by a few models, which, however, become somewhat more intricate when lines of curvature, loxodromics and geodesic lines have to appear on their surfaces.²⁹⁴ On the other hand, the multiplicity of surfaces of the third order is enormous, and to convey their fundamental types it

²⁹⁴ A loxodromic line is equivalent to a rhumb line. Each makes the same angle with successive meridians of longitude regardless of the latitude at which they intersect. On a Mercator projection (also known as a loxodromic projection) a loxodromic or rhumb line is straight. However on the surface of a sphere (or an oblate spheroid) a loxodromic line is neither straight nor the shortest distance between two points. The contrast here is with a Great Circle which appears curved on a Mercator projection, but is in fact a straight line on the surface of a sphere.

is necessary to employ numerous models of complicated, not to say hazardous construction.²⁹⁵

Since real-world models were so difficult to construct, physicists used common experiences and knowledge as metaphors. Such metaphors added a qualitative sense to the quantized understanding that emerged from analysis by differential equations. These metaphors also offered a way to visualize what cannot be seen.

For example, James Clerk Maxwell (1831 – 1879) developed a set of four differential equations that described the oscillating and reciprocating motion of electromagnetic fields. Nowhere in these equations is there the tiniest hint of a wave. Nonetheless, the metaphor of waves in water was employed to explain the interference, refraction and diffraction of light “waves.” It is important here to note the perceptual difference between the phenomenon of light and Galileo's falling weight. Many people, particularly in Galileo's day, have seen an object dropping from the mast of a ship; it was therefore a matter of common perception. On the other hand, no one has ever seen a light wave; it can be visualized, though not seen.

In his “Image and Representation in Twentieth Century Physics,” Arthur Miller employs the language of Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804) and introduces the terms “*Anschaulichkeit*” and “*Anschauung*.” *Anschaulichkeit*, translated as visualizability, is used to describe a phenomenon that “is immediately given to

²⁹⁵ Ludwig Boltzmann, “Model,” in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., Vol. 18 (New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911): 638-640, 638.

the perceptions or what is readily graspable in the Anschauung [visual perception]” (e.g. a weight falling from a ship's mast). Anschauung, translated by Miller as images of visualization, is more abstract, and in Kant's frame of reference, superior to the more concrete Anschaulichkeit. Anschauung can also be translated as “intuition.” Intuition in this sense, Miller explains, “meant the intuition of phenomena that results from a combination of cognition and perception.” From the related concepts of Anschaulichkeit and Anschauung, including the compound meaning of Anschauung, Miller coins the term “anschaulich,” by which he means a concept that, in English, most nearly matches the word “intuitive.” Miller continues, “Translating this formalism to the way in which scientists in the German-language milieu understood it is to say that the Anschauung of an object or phenomenon is obtained from a combination of cognition and mathematics.”²⁹⁶

Of course, in the case of weights falling from a mast, there is no reason to distinguish between what one has seen and what is visualizable; Anschaulichkeit and Anschauung are equivalent. In the case of quantum mechanics, the wave-particle duality of light, the physics of nucleons (particles that make up a nucleus), or even the mass-induced curvature of a four-dimensional space-time however, a perspective that involves what is

²⁹⁶ Miller, “Image and Representation,” 197.

anschaulich enables both a qualitative and quantitative assessment of a phenomenon.²⁹⁷

I would also point out that the development of an anschaulich perspective is not trivial; at some point in the process, the theoretician begins to get a sense of diminishing returns on his or her effort. Ergo, as quantum mechanics became more complex, it became increasing a matter of mathematical analysis. This is particularly evident in the work of Werner Heisenberg (1901 – 1976). By the late 1920s, there was a general retreat from incorporating physical representations into the discussion of quantum mechanics and an increased reliance on theoretical formalisms. The exception to this trend was Erwin Schrödinger (1887 – 1961) who promulgated his equation for quantum wave-mechanics in 1926. Even so, Schrödinger was aiming to eliminate the discontinuities in quantum theory rather than to bring graphical representation back into the practice of theoretical physics. Consequently, Schrödinger's fling with physicality did not stop the swing toward mathematical formalism. This is seen in the quantum electrodynamics work of Paul Adrien Maurice Dirac (1902 – 1984). Galileo's famous assertion, “the Grand book of the universe was written in the language of mathematics

²⁹⁷ Miller, “Image and Representation,” 197-199.

...” seemed to be the guiding philosophy in the quantum physics community.²⁹⁸

During the 1930s and immediately following World War II, the hot topic within theoretical physics was quantum electrodynamics (QED). There were flaws in Dirac's early work (ca 1930) that needed to be addressed in order for the new sub-discipline of particle physics to move forward. The National Academy of Sciences organized a conference of the leading QED theorists, which was held on Shelter Island, New York in June of 1947. While some progress was shared, shortly after the Shelter Island meeting, there was a consensus among the participants that another conference would be useful. That conference, also organized and funded by the NAS, was held in the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania from 30 March through 2 April, 1948.²⁹⁹ Mathematical formalism, in the manner of Julian Schwinger (1918 – 1994), dominated both conferences but especially the latter. In fact, at the 1948 Pocono conference, Richard Feynman utterly failed to communicate his

²⁹⁸ Galileo Galilei, *Il Saggiatore (The Assayer)*, trans. George MacDonald Ross, 1998, Available online: <<http://www.philosophy.leeds.ac.uk/GMR/hmp/texts/modern/galileo/assayer.html>> (20 May 2005). The full quotation is: “Philosophy is written in this grand book the universe, which stands continually open to our gaze. But the book cannot be understood unless one first learns to comprehend the language and to read the alphabet in which it is composed. It is written in the language of mathematics, and its characters are triangles, circles, and other geometric figures, without which it is humanly impossible to understand a single word of it; without these, one wanders about in a dark labyrinth.”

²⁹⁹ Richard P. Feynman, “Pocono Conference,” *Physics Today*, 1, no. 2 (Jun 1948): 8-10, 8.

analysis, in part because his graphical representation of path integrals (now known as Feynman Diagrams), completely alienated a number of the older physicists, including Niels Bohr.³⁰⁰ At the time, there seemed to be no room for an anschaulich perspective in QED.

Nonetheless, from the first, John Wheeler, who attended both QED conferences, recognized that teaching subjects as complex as nuclear physics, quantum mechanics, or general relativity required him to provide an analysis from as many perspectives as possible. Wheeler evidently realized (as did Bohr in areas other than QED), that while mathematical formalisms of physical phenomena offer precise quantization, they are often qualitatively (i.e. physically) ambiguous. To rely exclusively on mathematical formalisms, even if students such as Redish were more accustomed to (or enamored with) an intensely mathematical methodology, was to do his students a disservice.

Karl Herzfeld was also a man who utilized an anschaulich perspective, and the next section will address the influence of Herzfeld in John Wheeler's mentoring style.

³⁰⁰ Gleick, *Genius*, 257-259; The alienation of Bohr is significant because Bohr had a well-known aversion to an over-reliance on mathematics in the explication of physical phenomena. For more on this see Abraham Pais, *Niels Bohr's Times in Physics, Philosophy, and Polity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 20, 178-179; See also Feynman, "Pocono Conference," 10, Adding salt to the wound, Feynman was assigned the task of writing up John Wheeler's notes from the conference. The report on Schwinger's presentation occupied half a column. Feynman's presentation merited only five lines, beginning with the phrase, "There was also presented by Feynman ..."

Section 3.3 Wheeler as Mentor: The Influence of Herzfeld

As reported in Chapter 2, Wheeler observed, “Herzfeld had two religions, Catholicism and physics.”³⁰¹ That faith in physics was manifested in a fundamental presumption that the universe was comprehensible. This ‘faith’ in the comprehensibility of the universe is, of course, a ubiquitous and a long-standing characteristic among many theoretical physicists, with Albert Einstein foremost among them.

Einstein’s remark “*Raffiniert ist der Herr Gott, aber boshaft ist er nicht.*” Is well-known and is translated by Amir Aczel as: “Tricky (crafty, shrewd) is the Lord God, but malicious He is not.” In his book *The Shaky Game: Einstein, Realism, and the Quantum Theory*, the philosopher of science Arthur Fine discusses Einstein’s realism, coining the term “motivational realism.” Karen Merikangas Darling uses this term to discuss the faith in physics of the turn-of-the-twentieth-century theoretical physicist Pierre Duhem, who (like Herzfeld) was a practicing Catholic. For Duhem, all physicists take physical theory to be at least approximately true and, in Duhem’s view, physicists “simply cannot help but think that physical theory is a reflection of a real and logically unified ontological order.” Otherwise, they would have no motivation to continue their scientific quest.³⁰²

³⁰¹ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 98.

³⁰² Karen Merikangas Darling, “Motivational Realism: The Natural Classification for Pierre Duhem,” *Philosophy of Science*, 70 (Dec 2003), 1125-1136, esp. 1128, 1129-1131; Arthur Fine, *The Shaky Game: Einstein, Realism, and the Quantum Theory*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago

Here, it may be useful to recall Wheeler's obituary of Herzfeld in which Wheeler lauded Herzfeld's efforts "to make clear the structure and beauty of God's creation" and Wheeler's non-technical writing in which he repeatedly speaks of beautiful solutions or the beauty in nature.³⁰³ By precept and example, Wheeler and Herzfeld demonstrated a deep and profound conviction regarding the ultimate clarity and comprehensive nature of physical law. We might call this attitude one of motivational realism, a simultaneously unprovable and irrefutable presupposition of a clear and cohesive explanation of natural phenomena. It is the "faith" in physics that Wheeler saw in Herzfeld. The next question is, to what extent did Wheeler inculcate this 'faith' in his apprentices? The following four narratives make the case:

William Wooters, a graduate student at Texas, describes how, during the preparation of his dissertation, John Wheeler instilled his conviction of a comprehensible universe:

Professor Wheeler, having awakened my interest in the foundations of quantum mechanics, generously gave much of his valuable time to discuss with me the problems and prospects of

Press, 1986); and, on Einstein's remark, Amir D. Aczel, *God's Equation: Einstein, Relativity, and the Expanding Universe* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1999), 13-14

³⁰³ Wheeler, "Karl Herzfeld" [Obituary], *Physics Today* 32, no.1 (Jan 1979), 99; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 84, 148, 236, 355; See also, Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 April 1967), 9, 13, 24, 25, 26, 27; John Archibald Wheeler, "Some Men and Moments in the History of Nuclear Physics," 224, 226, 227, 250, 255, 260; Wheeler interview with Ford (15 Mar 1994), 1804-1805.

physics at its most fundamental level, and transferred to me his belief that the hardest problems can yet be solved.³⁰⁴

Sometimes this insight came by way of a negative example.

Kip Thorne has written of his experience as Wheeler's graduate student and the first problem that John Wheeler assigned him in the Fall of 1962. The problem stemmed from a discovery by Wheeler's colleague Mael Melvin, then at Florida State University. The conventional thinking about magnetism was that magnetic field lines (one may recall here the grammar school experiment with iron filings on paper) are mutually repulsive and only held together by the metal bar that they pass through. As Thorne reports, Melvin had shown (using Einstein's field equation) that magnetic field lines can also be held together by gravity without the aid of any physical magnet. Melvin's reasoning was that magnetic field lines are a form of energy, and since energy is a form of mass, it gravitates. Wheeler believed that Melvin had overlooked an inherent instability and, "like a pencil balanced on its point," any perturbation would cause the field lines to collapse—possibly into some sort of singularity (e.g. a miniature black hole).

The problem Wheeler assigned Thorne was to perform the calculations and see if his [Wheeler's] hunch could be verified. With this assignment from his brand new professor in hand, Thorne set to work:

³⁰⁴ William K. Wothers, "The Acquisition of Information from Quantum Measurements" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1980), iii. Note John Wheeler was not Wothers's supervising professor of record.

For many months I struggled with this problem. The scene of the daytime struggle was the attic of Palmer Physical Laboratory in Princeton, where I shared a huge office with other physics students and we shared our problems with each other, in a camaraderie of verbal give-and-take. The nighttime struggle was in the tiny apartment, in a converted World War II army barracks, where I lived with my wife, Linda (an artist and mathematics student), our baby daughter, Kares, and our huge collie dog, Prince. Each day I carried the problem back and forth with me between army barracks and laboratory attic. Every few days I collared Wheeler for advice. I beat at the problem with pencil and paper; I beat at it with numerical calculations on a computer; I beat at it in long arguments at the blackboard with my fellow students; and gradually the truth became clear. Einstein's equation, pummeled, manipulated, and distorted by my beatings, finally told me that Wheeler's guess was wrong. No matter how hard one might squeeze it, Melvin's cylindrical bundle of magnetic field lines will always spring back. Gravity can never overcome the field's repulsive pressure. There is no implosion.

Here, some students might well begin to feel some fear for their professional future; in his very first assignment in graduate school, Thorne had disappointed his professor by failing to prove the professor's new pet hypothesis. As we have seen however, for John Wheeler (again, as with Karl Herzfeld) the physics was sacred; it was far more important than any particular physicist's ego. This attitude is reflected in the reaction Thorne received when he presented Wheeler with the fruit of his labor:

This was the best possible result, Wheeler explained to me enthusiastically: When a calculation confirms one's expectations, one merely firms up a bit one's intuitive understanding of the laws of physics. But when a calculation contradicts expectations, one is on the way toward new insight.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁵ Kip S. Thorne, *Black Holes and Time Warps: Einstein's Outrageous Legacy* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1994), 262-265.

Obviously faith in an outcome is important. On the other hand, there has to be a practical means of applying this comprehensibility principle. After all, faith without works is nothing more than wishful thinking.

Peter Vajk, in acknowledging Wheeler's contribution to his dissertation, describes how Wheeler taught him to attack a difficult problem. Although the method incorporated an unyielding application of mathematical pressure, it nonetheless preserved the requisite agility to accommodate fresh approaches.

Vajk writes:

In large part, this thesis owes its general form to my advisor, Professor John A. Wheeler, who many years ago stimulated my interest in physics, especially general relativity. More recently, during the development of this thesis, he has taught me by example the value of asking, upon completing a calculation, 'To what question have I found the answer?' This process of self-interrogation was most valuable at those times (well-known to most graduate students) when I was faced with the quasi-existential dilemma, 'Where do I go from here?' During these sometimes protracted agonies, Dr. Wheeler's unlimited patience has also been most helpful.³⁰⁶

The patience that Vajk found so helpful could have, just as easily been characterized as faith—the now familiar philosophical grounding in the comprehensibility of the universe that so many students saw in Wheeler.

Brendan Godfrey, a Wheeler Ph.D. student (1970) and current (as of 2008) Director of the Air Force Office of Scientific Research, saw this aspect of Wheeler and articulated his perception of Wheeler's faith in *Family Gathering*:

³⁰⁶ J. Peter Vajk, "The Theory of Spherically Symmetric Spacetimes: A New Formulation" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1968), v, PRIN. Used by permission of the Princeton University Library.

“I am most struck by you not so much as a scientist, per se, but as a man of religion and philosophy, with a thirst for learning and a deep insight into history.³⁰⁷

In the narratives of Wooters, Thorne, Vajk, and Godfrey we have seen how Wheeler inculcated a deep and abiding faith in physics and the comprehensibility of the universe in his own mentees. We have also seen that origins of this faith in physics as a philosophy of science was most clearly articulated to Wheeler by his mentor Herzfeld (perhaps one should include Einstein here as well). As Wheeler said of Karl Herzfeld, “I’m immensely indebted to [Herzfeld] for his wonderful perspectives on physics.”³⁰⁸ But having physics as a religion goes beyond a simple faith in the ultimate solution of problems. Religious indoctrination includes standards of conduct. Here again we employ the narratives of Wheeler’s students.

In his 1977 *Family Gathering* letter, Kip Thorne catalogued the most important things that he had learned from John Wheeler. First among these lessons was a tacitly communicated resolve to maintain rigorous scientific integrity:

The most important thing that I learned from you, and have tried to pass on to my own students, is a code of ethics for scientific research: You never verbalized that code; rather, you instilled it in your students by your own example and by the advice you

³⁰⁷ *Family Gathering*, 391; Air Force (U.S.), Office of Scientific Research, “Dr. Brendan B. Godfrey” [Biography], available online: <<http://www.afosr.af.mil/pages/godfrey.htm>> (16 Sep 2005).

³⁰⁸ Wheeler interview with Ken Ford (20 Dec 1993), 408.

gave when they faced decisions: Research should be a cooperative quest for truth, you implied; not a competitive quest for recognition and individual credit. When two groups have done similar work nearly simultaneously, they should try to publish jointly, taking the best from each effort and sharing the credit. [underlining in original]³⁰⁹

Stated alternatively, the best lesson that Kip Thorne absorbed from John Wheeler was that the work of physics should be considered sacrosanct and beyond professional and/or personal envy. If, indeed, the work is sacrosanct, then the originator of the work is also deserving of one's respect, regardless of their race, age, gender, or station in life. Anything less than this level of integrity only serves to demean the profession. In this respect, John Wheeler again seems to have echoed the sentiments of Karl Herzfeld who, in Wheeler's own words, considered physics, "not a secular, but a religious calling."³¹⁰ Indeed, acting in the spirit of an apostle of physics, Herzfeld tirelessly encouraged women and minorities to undertake graduate study in physics throughout his tenure at Catholic University.³¹¹ Karl Herzfeld also was

³⁰⁹ *Family Gathering*, Kip S. Thorne, 306.

³¹⁰ Wheeler, "Karl Herzfeld" [Obituary], *Physics Today* (Jan 1979), 99; see also, Mulligan, "Karl Ferdinand Herzfeld," n.p., The notion of science as a devotional calling is found in Max Weber's 1918 essay "Science as a Vocation," pp. 129-156 in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, trans. and ed., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1948), 134.

³¹¹ It is noteworthy that while he was a Catholic University, Herzfeld made an informal arrangement with the physics department of (largely black) Howard University to steer their best and brightest students toward graduate work at Catholic University, thereby offering black physics students an avenue to graduate education. Also, during Herzfeld's time at Catholic University (1936-1962) 85 Ph.D.s were awarded in physics; nearly 10% of these went to women—a huge percentage in that era.

responsible for John Wheeler's first direct experience with women in the discipline of physics when Herzfeld and Maria Goeppert-Mayer (1906 – 1972) jointly conducted a seminar on quantum physics at Johns Hopkins University.

Goeppert-Mayer became one of the most widely-recognized women in theoretical physics, sharing the 1963 Nobel Prize in Physics with Eugene Wigner and J. Hans D. Jensen. Her path had not been easy. Although Maria Goeppert's father was a professor of pediatrics at Göttingen, she nonetheless had to overcome numerous systematic obstacles and an imploding German economy just to gain admission to the university that employed her father. The Nobelist James Franck (1882 – 1964), later a mentor, and eventually a colleague at Johns Hopkins, was a family friend and neighbor, as was the renowned mathematician David Hilbert (1862 – 1943).³¹² The mathematicians Richard Courant (1888 – 1972), Hermann Weyl (1885 – 1955), Gustav Herglotz (1881 – 1953), and Edmund Landau (1877 – 1938) were members of the faculty in Göttingen's mathematics department and known to the Goeppert family. As might be expected, this collection of luminaries

³¹² Robert G. Sachs, "Maria Goeppert-Mayer, 1906 – 1972," in National Academy of Sciences, *Biographical Memoirs*, Vol.50, n.p. <http://www.physics.ucla.edu/~moszkows/mgm/rgsmgm4.htm>, also in National Academy of Sciences. *Biographical Memoirs* Vol. 50 (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 1979), 310-329: Maria Goeppert-Mayer, "Biography," http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/physics/laureates/1963/mayer-bio.html (12 Feb 2009). Also in *Nobel Lectures, Physics 1963-1970* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Company, 1972), n.p.; James Franck, "Biography," http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/physics/laureates/1925/franck-bio.html (16 Feb 2009), also in *Nobel Lectures, Physics 1922-1941* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Company, 1965), n.p.

precipitated a flow of talented students to and through Göttingen, and Maria Goeppert came to know many of them including Arthur Holly Compton (1892 – 1962), Max Delbrück (1906 – 1981), Paul A. M. Dirac (1902 – 1984), Enrico Fermi (1901 – 1954), Werner Heisenberg (1901 – 1976), John von Neumann (1903 – 1957), J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904 – 1967), Wolfgang Pauli (1900 – 1958), Linus Pauling (1901 – 1994), Leo Szilard (1898 – 1964), Edward Teller (1908 – 2003), and Victor Weisskopf (1908 – 2002).³¹³

As a young woman, Maria Goeppert held a keen interest in mathematics, and in the Spring of 1924, she began her academic career at Göttingen as mathematics student. Later that year, Max Born invited her to join the Göttingen physics seminar. This was, of course, a time of great strides in quantum theory and Göttingen was then one of the epicenters of modern physics. Consequently, Maria Goeppert's strong mathematical background was well suited to the Göttingen physics program. In spite of Born's (and Goeppert's) predilection to mathematical formalism however, it is clear that, over time, Goeppert was also influenced by James Franck's nonmathematical approach to physics. Robert Sachs, Goeppert-Mayer's biographer, observes that, "a reading of her [Goeppert's] thesis reveals that Franck already had an influence at that stage of her work."³¹⁴

³¹³ Sachs, "Maria Goeppert-Mayer, 1906 – 1972," n.p.

³¹⁴ Sachs, "Maria Goeppert-Mayer, 1906 – 1972," n.p.

In 1929, Joseph E. Mayer, a young American chemist on a Rockefeller Fellowship, came to study with James Franck. He and Maria Goeppert struck up a fast friendship and they were married in 1930, after she had completed her Ph.D. The couple then headed to Baltimore where Joseph Mayer took up a position in the Department of Chemistry at Johns Hopkins University.³¹⁵

Despite her obvious qualifications, including impressive work on the Fermi model of the atom, Goeppert-Mayer received no offer of regular employment at Johns Hopkins.³¹⁶ In 1935, Isaiah Bowman became president of Johns Hopkins and Maria Goppert-Mayer's prospects for permanent employment at Hopkins plummeted. John Wheeler and the physicist Joseph Mulligan (author of Karl Herzfeld's biography in the 2001 National Academy of Sciences *Biographical Memoirs*) each later observed that, "a negative attitude toward foreigners," coupled with her gender, effectively eliminated any possibility that Maria Goeppert-Mayer could become part of Hopkins' regular faculty. Wheeler and Mulligan differed in that Mulligan tended to see this xenophobia and sexism as having originated within the physics department while Wheeler found fault more specifically with Bowman. In either case, as a

³¹⁵ Bruno H. Zimm, "Joseph Edward Mayer (February 5, 1904 - October 15, 1983)," http://books.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=4548&page=210 (16 Feb 2009), 210-221, also in National Academy of Sciences, *Biographical Memoirs* V 65 (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 1994), 214, 216.

³¹⁶ Wheeler interview with Ken Ford (06 Dec 1993-04 Feb 1994), 104, 908, discusses Herzfeld-Mayer seminar. Also in Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 97; Wheeler interview with Ford (03 Jan 1994), 605 discusses Mayer's work on the Fermi model of the atom. See also Mulligan, "Karl Ferdinand Herzfeld, February 24, 1892 — June 3, 1978" n.p.

consequence of these prejudices, Wheeler notes that Hopkins lost three first-rate scientists. Joseph Mayer and Maria Goeppert-Mayer went on to Columbia, then Chicago, and finally to UC San Diego where Maria Goeppert-Mayer was at long-last offered a tenured position. In addition, at least in part because he was unhappy about the Hopkins' unwillingness to employ Goeppert-Mayer, Herzfeld left Hopkins for Catholic University in Washington, DC in 1936. Herzfeld was still associated with Catholic University when he died in 1978.³¹⁷

Like Herzfeld, Wheeler saw physics as a vocation or a calling that transcended racial, ethnic, or gender boundaries. As a case in point, Wheeler's very first Ph.D. student at the University of North Carolina was Katherine Way, who went on to a distinguished research career at the National Bureau of Standards. In *Geons*, as well as his interviews with Ken Ford, Wheeler describes Way as one of a "tiny handful" of women in physics in the 1930's. Although women physicists are "more numerous now," Wheeler asserted, "they still [Wheeler was speaking in the 1990s] are not nearly numerous enough." For Wheeler, the gender of Katherine Way was far less important than her contributions to the corpus of knowledge in physics. In fact,

³¹⁷ See Joseph F. Mulligan, "Karl Ferdinand Herzfeld," n.p. With regard to Goeppert-Mayer and departmental dissension, Mulligan cites a 16 May 1936 letter from Herzfeld to his old professor Arnold Sommerfeld in Munich, Germany. This letter is in the Sommerfeld Archive at the Deutsches Museum in Munich; For John Wheeler's thoughts on Isaiah Bowman and the departure of Goeppert-Mayer, Mayer, and Herzfeld, see Wheeler interview with Ford (20 Dec 1993-04 Feb 1994), 406, 908; See also Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 97.

on three separate occasions in the interviews with Ken Ford, Wheeler recalled that Way had some important insights that, in retrospect, should have pointed him toward the mechanism of nuclear fission. Wheeler's final comment on Katherine Way speaks to his sense of collaboration with his students. Wheeler seems to recall thinking at the time (1937) that her thesis would offer him, “a wonderful opportunity for me to learn more nuclear physics.”³¹⁸

Moreover, even the most casual survey of the surnames on the letters incorporated into *Family Gathering* reveals a broad spectrum of ethnicity. While this level of ethnic inclusion is all but assumed in 2008, such was certainly not the case through much of John Wheeler's career. In 1936, for example, future Nobel Laureate Richard Feynman was not accepted into the undergraduate program at Columbia University because the university faculty already had its agreed-upon quota of Jews. Later, despite the fact that Feynman had been the best undergraduate that the MIT physics department had seen in years and despite his achieving a perfect score in the physics

³¹⁸ Wheeler interview with Ken Ford (10 Jan 1994-10 Jan 1995), notes Katherine Way as his first Ph.D. student, 903, 1805, 2311; *Ibid*, 708, 902, 1004 notes that Katherine Way's work on physics of the nucleus adds insight that (in retrospect) pointed toward the mechanism of nuclear fission; *Ibid*, Wheeler notes that Way's dissertation gave him “an opportunity to learn more nuclear physics; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 150 notes that Way was among a “tiny handful of women in physics at the time [1930s] and while there are more now [1990s] there still are not nearly enough;” See also Murray Martin, Norwood Gove, Ruth Gove, Subramanian Raman, and Eugene Merzbacher. “Katharine Way” [Obituary], *Physics Today* 49 no. 12 (Dec 1996): 75, Academic Search Premier <http://0search.epnet.com.oasis.oregonstate.edu:80/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&an=9612171661> (13 Sep 2005).

section of the Graduate Record Exam, a veritable flurry of correspondence was required to get Feynman admitted to Princeton.

An exchange of letters between Philip Morse, professor of physics at MIT and Harold Smyth, chair of physics at Princeton illustrates the zeitgeist in which all parties operated. On 17 January 1939, Smyth wrote to Morse in response to the latter's letter of recommendation:

One question always arises, particularly with men interested in theoretical physics. Is Feynman Jewish? We have no definite rules against Jews but have to keep their proportion in our department reasonably small because of the difficulty in placing them.

Morse responded the next day (18 January 1939):

It had never occurred to me that Feynman might be Jewish until you asked me. On looking up his record, I find that he is. His physiognomy and manner, however, show no trace of this characteristic and I do not believe the matter will be any great handicap to him.³¹⁹

The question was evidently still not resolved until two more letters went from John Slater, chair of physics at M.I.T. to Smyth. In the second, Slater assured Smyth that even though Feynman was Jewish, "as compared for instance with Kanner and Eisenbud, he is more attractive personally by several orders of magnitude." By 09 March, 1939, the case had been made and Smyth advised Slater that Princeton would be offering an assistantship to Feynman for the

³¹⁹ Feynman GRE record (no date), Physics Dept. Records, Box 8, Folder 9, Graduate School, 1934-1942, PRIN-PHY; exchange of letters between P.M. Morse and H.D. Smyth re Feynman 17 Jan 1939, 18 Jan 1939, Physics Dept. Records, Box 6, Folder 3, Departmental Business, 1938-1942, Series I, Chairman H.D. Smyth Records, 1933-1953, PRIN-PHY.

next academic year. To be fair, after Feynman had completed his degree, Smyth expressed some hope to Wheeler that Princeton might be able to retain Feynman on a permanent basis after the war.³²⁰

While Princeton did not accept female undergraduates until 1968, Wheeler's remarks concerning Katherine Way, Maria Goeppert-Mayer, and the general under-population of women in the field of physics (noted above), suggest his disagreement with that policy. Indeed, once the admissions policy had changed, Wheeler encouraged talented young women to apply to Princeton, and in at least two cases, lobbied for their admission.³²¹ In March of 1975, while serving as a visiting professor at the University of Washington, Wheeler wrote to Professor Frank Shoemaker at Princeton to lobby for the admission of Leslie Ann Ambrose and Carol Curry, two high-school students that he had met at an event in Seattle. Thus, we have every indication that throughout his career. John Wheeler, like his mentor Karl Herzfeld, judged students and colleagues based on their willingness to work and their ability to

³²⁰ Letter from H.D. Smyth to J.C. Slater 09 Mar 1939, Physics Dept. Records, Box 6, Folder 3, Departmental Business, 1938-1942, Series I, Chairman H.D. Smyth Records, 1933-1953; letter from H.D. Smyth to J.A. Wheeler, re Feynman placement, 18 Jun 1942, Physics Dept. Records, Box 6, Folder 6, Departmental Business, 1938-1942, Series I, Chairman H.D. Smyth Records, 1933-1953, PRIN-PHY. See also Gleick, *Genius*, p 50 for Feynman not being admitted to Columbia as an undergraduate; see p 84 for the quotation in the letter from Slater to Smyth.

³²¹ Memo from Wheeler to F.C. Shoemaker, 14 Mar 1975, Series I, Princeton Files, Box 1 "A – American Phil", Folder, "Ambrose, Leslie", APS-JAW.

contribute to the corpus of knowledge rather than their gender, race, or ethnicity.³²²

In Chapter Two, we learned that Gregory Breit had a keen interest in the welfare of his students and took measures to build a sense of community. Karl Herzfeld, though no less interested in the welfare of his students, tended more toward individual involvement rather than group activities. Wheeler, in the matter of personal involvement with students, seems to have incorporated elements from both Herzfeld and Breit. A good number of the contributions to *Family Gathering* remark on the personal kindness, hospitality, and concern for a student's welfare that John Wheeler demonstrated in his work with his mentees. In fact, to guarantee his accessibility to students, Wheeler regularly scheduled several consecutive advising appointments on Saturdays. In practice, as one appointment overlapped another, these meetings became small-group learning sessions in which the participants had an opportunity to assist others on their various projects. Paul Boynton reports that, in general terms, Wheeler would give priority to whomever had most recently walked through the door, but all would contribute to the discussion, and more importantly, all (i.e. undergraduates, graduate students, and post-docs) had

³²² Mulligan, "Karl Ferdinand Herzfeld," n.p.

equal standing.³²³ Again, this has a familiar ring. Wheeler's Saturday seminars were in the tradition of Karl Herzfeld, who regularly came in on Saturday to meet with students, and Gregory Breit, who often scheduled group activities for his students on Saturday. Herzfeld's predilection for individual attention is evidenced by his choice to schedule Sunday appointments (all but unheard of in academic circles) for at least one student, who happened to be an orthodox Jew.³²⁴

Of course, Herzfeld was only one of the principal mentors in John Wheeler's career. In the preceding remarks, we have touched upon certain aspects of Breit's mentoring style that were adopted by Wheeler, but this has only just scratched the surface. Let us now examine the influence of Gregory Breit on John Wheeler's mentoring style in some detail.

Section 3.4 Wheeler as Mentor: The Influence of Breit

In the last chapter, we learned that Wheeler's first postdoctoral mentor, Gregory Breit, emphasized the immediately do-able (i.e. calculable) in theoretical physics. Thus, the development of sophisticated computational skills in mathematical analysis among Wheeler's students is more likely

³²³ *Family Gathering*, regarding Wheeler's concern for the well-being of his students, see David Lawrence Hill, 47; Kenneth W. Ford, 84; Arthur Komar, 107; B. Kent Harrison, 182; John R. Klauder, 190; Jacob Bekenstein, 423; J. R. "Hugh" Dempster, 489; For the Saturday meetings see Fred K. Manasse, 258; Cheuk-Yin Wong, 287; Paul Boynton, personal communication with author, 07 Mar 08, used by permission.

³²⁴ Mulligan, "Karl Herzfeld," n.p.

traceable to the influence of Breit rather than to Herzfeld or Bohr. Moreover, the students that John Wheeler worked with as undergraduates are more likely to have acquired (or polished) particular skills—especially mathematical skills—than those students who only did graduate work with Wheeler.

At this point, it may be useful to remind ourselves of the distinction between mathematical and theoretical physics from Chapter One: Theoretical Physics employs mathematical analysis to address the general nature of a class of phenomena (e.g. acceleration) whereas Mathematical Physics is typically focused on either mathematical descriptions of a given phenomenon (e.g. the electric field of an electron) and/or the development of mathematical techniques that can be applied to describe certain physical phenomena (e.g. Fourier analysis). In short, Theoretical Physics is distinguished from Mathematical Physics its generalized frame of reference.

Here too, it is useful to reflect on Wheeler's view that self-confidence is a pre-requisite to the practice of science. Even though Wheeler came to Hopkins and later, to Breit at NYU, with “no shortage” of confidence in his abilities, the experience of producing five papers out of his work with Breit could only have enhanced his [Wheeler's] conviction that, in time, he could

solve any problem.³²⁵ Therefore, the best evidence of the transmission of Breit's influence to Wheeler's undergraduates would include both the acquisition of mathematical skills and the inculcation of confidence in their ability to solve difficult problems.

One such case in point is Robert Marzke, who went from Princeton (A.B. 1959) to earn a Ph.D. at Columbia (1966). At Princeton, under John Wheeler's guidance, Marzke wrote a senior thesis titled, "The Theory of Measurement in General Relativity." In *Family Gathering*, Marzke speaks of the confidence that Wheeler inculcated in his students as an exemplar for physics education:

While perhaps not as important as your work with graduate students, your willingness to direct many undergraduates in their first attempts at research sets an example for everyone in the area of higher education, I feel. Those of us who worked with you recall the wealth of ideas and projects, as well as your confidence in our ability to tackle them despite our inexperience. This made us especially determined to produce results, and on occasion we even did so. The value of this kind of learning to a student is inestimable. It is university education at its best.³²⁶

³²⁵ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 84, on self-confidence as necessary to the practice of science; *Ibid*, 277, Wheeler notes that even as a boy he had "not been short on confidence."; *Ibid*, 114-115, 119. The papers (also cited in chapter 2) include: J. A. Wheeler and G. Breit, "Li+ Fine Structure and Wave Functions near the Nucleus," *Physical Review* 44 (1933), 948; J. A. Wheeler, "Interaction Between Alpha Particles," *Physical Review* 45 (1934), 746; G. Breit and J. A. Wheeler, "Collision of Two Light Quanta" *Physical Review* 46 (1934): 1087-1091; F. L. Yost, J. A. Wheeler, and G. Breit, "Coulomb Wave-Functions," *Terrestrial Magnetism* 40 (1935), 443-447; F. L. Yost, J. A. Wheeler, and G. Breit, "Coulomb Wave Functions in Repulsive Fields," *Physical Review* 49 (1936), 174-89.

³²⁶ *Family Gathering*, Robert Marzke, 141.

In Marzke's letter, we have the aforementioned 'best evidence' that Wheeler instilled both confidence (or at least the unwillingness to back down from complicated problems) and mathematical expertise in his undergraduate charges.

Another example is Joel Primack who earned his A.B. in physics at Princeton in 1966 and his Ph.D. at Stanford in 1970. Primack's Senior Thesis, "Unified Model Calculations in Fission Theory", was completed under the guidance of Gerald E. Brown. While this work plainly involved a good bit of complicated analysis, Primack was very appreciative that Wheeler framed the problem in a broader context. In *Family Gathering*, he wrote:

Both by instruction and example, you have helped to shape my career in physics ... You inspired your students to take the entire natural world for our arena as physicists, discouraging narrow specialization, and you taught us to approach all physical problems in a challenging and productive way ... there is one other thing that I learned as your student, and that is the realization that physics at its best is a warmly human enterprise. For this great lesson, and for your friendship, I am deeply grateful.³²⁷

There are two elements in this letter that need to be unpacked. One is the key phrase, "challenging and productive." Stated alternatively, Wheeler was exhorting his charges to take on difficult problems (i.e. approach problems with confidence), find an avenue of attack, and solve what can be solved—all strategies that Wheeler would have had to exercise when he worked under the supervision of Gregory Breit.

³²⁷ *Family Gathering*, Joel R. Primack, 506.

A second major point to amplify is the enduring nature of Wheeler's influence. Primack's letter was written in 1977, at least eleven years after he had worked with John Wheeler. Moreover, although Joel Primack was not one of John Wheeler's advisees, he nonetheless credits Wheeler with helping "to shape his [Primack's] career in physics." Joel Primack is hardly a unique case. As will be seen elsewhere in this study, my research has uncovered a number of students who were profoundly influenced by Wheeler even though they had relatively little contact in a prescribed academic sense (i.e. no formal advising relationship).

A third example of mentoring in the "Breit" mode should cement the case. For his Senior Thesis, Jim Ritter chose a topic ("The Cauchy Problem for the Klein-Gordon and DeWitt Equations") that involved very sophisticated and intricate mathematical reasoning, and for his advisor, he chose John Wheeler.³²⁸ It seems quite likely that Wheeler would have had to teach Ritter some of the nuances in the formulation of this problem, but, as we read Ritter's 1977 letter from *Family Gathering*, it is just as obvious that more than mere instruction was involved here:

³²⁸ Princeton University, "James G. Ritter," Princeton University Senior Thesis, <http://libweb5.princeton.edu/theses/thesesid.asp?ID=79578> (22 Aug 2005). The Cauchy Problem is a partial differential equation that describes unique solutions to mathematical functions that are centered at the origin of a coordinate system and describe a boundary with unique and particular features. The Klein-Gordon Equation is a relativistic version of the Schrödinger equation that describes quantum motion. The DeWitt (or Wheeler-DeWitt) equation describes a wave function of the universe in the context of quantum gravity.

It is no easy thing, I think, for a former student to write of what he owes to a teacher; particularly when that teacher was for him a truly formative influence. Indeed, to say 'a former teacher' is not really accurate, for a truly great teacher leaves within each of his students, a slice of himself, a small kernel which forms such an integral part of the student that it grows, develops, and changes along with its host throughout all the years that follow.

As we read further, we see that Wheeler's influence went far beyond physics.

So I (along with so many) owe to you not only what I have learned of the beauty and delight of science (though I have never had a more gifted and inspiring teacher) but also a manner of seeing the world, of creating order out of that apparent chaos which surrounds us all. And this is a knowledge which illuminates not only that work I have done or shall do in physics, but in every area of my life; in politics, in art, even in personal relations. Not that we have always agreed in these areas – nor do I think you would have wanted that – but that your insistence on honest and unflinching analysis, your deep-rooted belief that there is a fundamental beauty and simplicity to truth, and your understanding and wise compassion have always been for me the sought-for framework and goal of any undertaking.³²⁹

It is also noteworthy that, here again, Wheeler's influence was enduring.

Ritter's 1977 letter was composed some twelve years after he completed his thesis under Wheeler's supervision.

As impressive as these testimonials are, one should continue to bear in mind that these are letters from students whose experience with Wheeler was on the undergraduate level. Before they were in a position to serve as a mentor, these people would have had to serve a graduate level apprenticeship under someone other than John Wheeler. Under those circumstances, one wonders how much of the reasoning style that was passed to succeeding

³²⁹ *Family Gathering*, Jim Ritter, 531-532.

generations of physicists was directly traceable to Wheeler and how much was an amalgamation of various mentors' styles.

The previously examined letter of Edward F. Redish (AB Princeton, 1963; Ph.D. MIT 1968) is informative on this score. Redish reports:

It isn't always possible to tell with whom a person studied, but there are particular aspects of the Wheeler style that many of us who had the good fortune to work with you have tried to emulate. First of all you have always had a wide-ranging enthusiasm for all of science and for physics in particular ... Your excitement about understanding everything from brain waves to gravity waves struck a resonant chord in us, heightening our own love of science.

After discussing Wheeler's ability to 'extract the physics from the mathematics,' Redish continues:

I try to emphasize this outlook in my own teaching at all levels, from graduate students to non-calculus premeds. Every one of my courses begins with the Wheelerian: "Redish's First Moral Principle: Always make a mental picture," followed by the direct Wheelerian commandments: "Guess the answer." and "Build up your tool kit."

You also taught me that nothing is too hard to be taught to anyone. Your ability to distill difficult concepts into a clear and simple presentation has strongly influenced my teaching style ... I feel that my attitude toward physics and my entire career was influenced in an important way by your teaching even though our interaction was limited to a single year.³³⁰

Based on this report from Edward Redish, it is evident that even undergraduates who enjoyed a very limited window of direct interaction with John Wheeler, were nonetheless strongly influenced by him to the point where they transmitted his style of doing physics on to their own students.

³³⁰ *Family Gathering*, Edward F. Redish, 270-271.

The renowned cosmologist James Hartle (AB, Princeton, 1960), for example, seems to have had only one class in which John Wheeler was the professor of record. Hartle's senior thesis ("The Gravitational Geon") was written under the supervision of Dieter Brill (a former Wheeler student), and he went on to Caltech to earn a Ph.D. under the supervision of (future Nobelist) Murray Gell-Mann (1929 –).³³¹ Nonetheless, despite Hartle having comparatively little direct and-or formal pedagogical interaction with John Wheeler, Wheeler's influence on his [Hartle's] career appears to have been substantial. He concluded his letter:

You suggested looking into variational principles for rotating relativistic stars and together with David Sharp [a Wheeler undergraduate advisee], I did. This led to my early work on relativistic stellar structure much of which was pursued with your student Kip Thorne. Eventually, at Santa Barbara [UC Santa Barbara] I came to see so many interesting but solvable problems in relativity that I made it my dominant area of research and it has remained so since.

Even now in reading this over I am impressed with the crucial role you have played at the significant stages of my career. It is therefore with appreciation for your teaching, thanks for your

³³¹ *Family Gathering*, James B. Hartle, 206-207; Appendix E, Senior Theses at Princeton, 1938-1978, 1988-1994; See also James B Hartle, "James B. Hartle's Homepage", <http://www.physics.ucsb.edu/~hartle/> (02 Dec 2008), and Google Scholar, search "JBHartle", http://scholar.google.com/scholar?as_q=&num=10&btnG=Search+Scholar&as_epq=&as_oq=&as_eq=&as_occt=any&as_sauthors=%22JB+Hartle%22&as_publication=&as_ylo=&as_yhi=&as_allsubj=all&hl=en&lr= (02 Dec 2008). Among other notable works, Hartle achieved considerable distinction for his 1983 paper "Wave Function of the Universe" (co-authored with Stephen Hawking). As per Google Scholar (02 Dec 2008), this paper has been cited nearly 1800 times.

counsel, and admiration for your example that I send you and Janette my best wishes.³³²

Beyond the superlatives and testimony of pedagogical embodiment, we also see more subtle concepts emerge in this collection of remembrances.

In each of the above letters, one gets a sense of Wheeler's contagious enthusiasm for physics. Ken Ford, co-author of Wheeler's autobiography, reports that Wheeler's enthusiasm—even about classical mechanics—convinced him [Ford] that John Wheeler was the best choice to guide his dissertation.³³³ Joel Primack wrote that doing physics with Wheeler was “a warmly human enterprise,” and Robert Marzke spoke of Wheeler's “confidence in our ability to tackle [complex problems].” Edward Redish very clearly demonstrated a sense of intellectual lineage when he explicitly stated that Wheeler's enthusiasm is a quality that he [Redish] consciously attempted to emulate with his own students.

Edward Redish's letter also speaks indirectly to the issue of Breit's influence on John Wheeler as a mentor. The reference to a “Wheelerian commandment” to 'build up your toolkit' is significant. As we have seen, John Wheeler spent much of his postdoctoral year with Breit doing very involved calculations. As noted in Chapter 2 (and above), five of Wheeler's published papers stemmed from his year with Breit. Along the way, Wheeler was able to expand his mathematical toolkit (e.g. when Breit taught him to use Coulomb

³³² *Family Gathering*, James B. Hartle, 207.

³³³ Ken Ford, in a telephone conversation with the author (03 May 2006).

Wave functions in analysis) such that he became an extremely proficient mathematical craftsman. Indeed, Professor Richard Matzner, a colleague of Wheeler at Texas as well as an intellectual descendent of John Wheeler (through Charles Misner at Maryland) observed that:

I always had a sense of John as a global thinker, in the manner of Bohr, as contrasted with the focused and mathematically rigorous reasoning style of Steven Weinberg. However, in my examination of John's early work, I have come to see him as a formidable calculator.³³⁴

The idea of a mathematical toolkit, especially as it relates to the craft of doing theoretical physics, is an important concept to grasp. Richard Feynman attributes much of his success to having taught himself a good deal of mathematics. Because he was self-taught, Feynman had a "different box of [mathematical] tools."³³⁵ Of course, having the tools is only a part of becoming a physicist. One also must learn how and where to apply the tools.

Consider the art of carpentry. There is a profound difference between an amateur handyman and a master craftsman. For example, even though a handyman and a master carpenter may each complete a cabinet, there is likely to be a substantial difference in quality. Put simply, the difference between an amateur and a craftsman is that the former knows how a tool works; the latter knows how to work a tool. The analogy holds with physicists

³³⁴ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 114-115, 119; The papers stemming from Wheeler's year with Breit are listed in a footnote in Chapter 2 and are numbers 4, 5, 7, 9, and 10 in Wheeler's bibliography. Also, Richard Matzner, personal communication with the author, 05 Jun 2008.

³³⁵ Feynman and Leighton, *Surely You're Joking Mr. Feynman*, 77-78.

and mathematics. Virtually all physicists possess the mathematical literacy to know how a given function works. The best theoreticians however, not only know the functions, they know how and where to most profitably apply them. A clear example of this is found in John Wheeler's research notebook "Nucleonics I." The context of Wheeler's line of reasoning is the mechanism of nuclear fusion in the hydrogen bomb:

"Before developing further, have to decide what kind of coordinates to use; and before deciding this, have to see how electrostatic energy looks.

Wrong. We want to use trilinear diagram, even for large displacements. Hence we must use A, B, C $eA = a/R_0$, etc; $1 + \xi = e^{2(A+B)} = 1 + 2(A+B) + \frac{1}{2} 4(A+B)^2 + \frac{1}{6} (A+B)^3$

$\xi = 2(A+B) + 2(A+B)^2 + \frac{4}{3}(A+B)^3 + \dots$

[further on the page, Wheeler continues] Can already smell out important result.³³⁶

For those readers who do not routinely perform third order differential equations, some explication may prove useful.

Imagine a plumber who is attempting to replace a broken pipe. As she surveys the problem, she realizes that there is no room in the problem area for her to move her wrenches. Thus, in order to effect repairs, she has to prepare a sub-assembly of pipes, and most importantly, she must prepare that assembly in such a manner that the act of screwing in the sub-assembly does not unscrew the individual components that comprise it. In essence, Wheeler saw how the problem was shaping up, and he took steps to simplify the

³³⁶ John A. Wheeler, Nucleonics I, 17 Jul 1951, p 54-55, APS-JAW.

calculation without sacrificing any potential insight. In light of the foregoing, what can we particularly identify as contributions to the enterprise of physics that came though John Wheeler from Gregory Breit?

Obviously the corpus of physical knowledge benefited from the five papers that grew out of Wheeler's year of collaboration with Breit. By contrast with the cumulative effect of Wheeler's papers however, the craftsmanship Wheeler acquired was multiplicative in that it was passed on to succeeding generations of physicists.

Then too, there is the Wheelerian commandment: "Guess the answer." This dictum (or something like it) occurs often in the reminiscences of Wheeler's former students.³³⁷ The point that Wheeler was communicating was 'one must apply one's intelligence and look beyond the imminent details of a problem.' Hard work (i.e. laborious calculation) in and of itself, is insufficient to the task of theoretical physics. The reader may recall here the characterization of a robust work ethic from Chapter 1: "It is good to work hard. It is better to work smart. If you can work hard and smart, you'll always find success."³³⁸

In the context of theoretical physics, it is advisable to begin by developing a sense of magnitude: how big or little is the phenomenon one is

³³⁷ For example, *Family Gathering*, J. R. "Hugh" Dempster, 489; Jacob Bekenstein, email to the author (16 Sep 2005); Peter Vajk, email to the author (21 Sep 2005); Edwin F. Taylor, "The Anatomy of Collaboration," in *Magic Without Magic: John Archibald Wheeler; A Collection of Essays in Honor of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. John R. Klauder (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1972): 474-485, 484-485.

³³⁸ Again, this insight is the gift of my grandfather, Thorwald Christensen.

attempting to calculate. Also, before undertaking a detailed computation, it is often useful to perform a dimensional analysis (i.e. determine the dimensions or units of the final answer that is sought). If the final answer will be a unit of force in the cgs (centimeter-gram-second) system of measurement, how will the units associated with the variables in the problem need to be algebraically manipulated so that the final answer is in dynes? Hence, one is well advised to “guess the answer” before beginning to calculate.

On the face of it, these suggestions are straightforward. In fact, nearly all first year physics and chemistry students are taught dimensional analysis. As the calculations become more complex however (e.g. a three-body problem), keeping the dimensions and their magnitudes in algebraic order becomes more challenging. On the scale of elementary particles, simply keeping track of the magnitude of forces can be problematic. The difficulty is that electromagnetic forces are inversely proportional to the square of the distance between the two (or three) charged particles. Thus, as the distance between particles approaches the sub-atomic scale (the radius of a proton is on the order of 10^{-15} meters) the forces exerted between the particles increase exponentially.³³⁹

These and other complications (e.g. even though the spectrum of mathematical solutions is continuous, the energy of any individual particle is

³³⁹ Francis W. Sears, Mark W. Zemansky, and Hugh D. Young, *University Physics* 6th Ed. (Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, 1992), 596-603.

quantized), require one to perform 'reality' checks (i.e. "guess the answer") before computing each step of the calculation. While there is no instance in which Wheeler directly ascribes this bit of wisdom to Gregory Breit, it seems reasonable to presume the tacit communication of this lesson over the several months that John Wheeler sat calculating in the same office with Breit.

Assertive vision is yet another element of mentoring skill that emerges from Edward Redish's letter to John Wheeler. Here, I am not referring to vision in the sense of being visionary, though by all accounts Wheeler also had that quality. Rather, I am referring to the ability to visualize the end product (the same vision that enables a master carpenter to see a finished cabinet in a stack of wood) and further, to enable others (i.e. Wheeler's students) to visualize the end product of their labors. This goes well beyond developing a sense of magnitude and the unit dimensions of the answer. In Redish's words, John Wheeler helped him see beyond the mathematics to, "the working model; a real thing with nuts, bolts and rust."³⁴⁰ In other words, at least in part because of his formidable mathematical skill, John Wheeler was able to see through the mathematics to the end product, the physical reality that his students were attempting to model. This sort of revelation was not confined to undergraduates.

Richard Feynman recalls his early work in quantum electrodynamics. He had begun wrestling with the problem of an electron's force on itself during

³⁴⁰ *Family Gathering*, Edward F. Redish, 270-271.

his undergraduate years at MIT, eventually setting the calculation aside. Later, in graduate school at Princeton, Feynman returned to the problem. In the fall of 1940, Feynman believed that he had made a breakthrough. He showed his calculations to John Wheeler, (then) Feynman's thesis advisor. Feynman reports:

Wheeler said right away: Well, that isn't right because it varies inversely as the square of the distance of the other electrons, whereas it should not depend on any of these variables at all. It'll also depend inversely upon the mass of the other electron; it'll be proportional to the charge on the other electron.

Feynman continued:

What bothered me was, I thought he must have done the calculation. I only realized later that a man like Wheeler could immediately see all that stuff when you give him the problem. I had to calculate, but he could see.

Then he [Wheeler] said: And it'll be delayed—the wave returns late so all you've described is reflected light.³⁴¹

This sort of assertive vision with regard to mathematics is the product of having done countless calculations. Wheeler could 'see' what Feynman had to calculate because he [Wheeler] had performed far more calculations that

³⁴¹ Feynman and Leighton, *Surely You're Joking*, 77-78; Feynman also shared this anecdote in his Nobel Lecture. See, Richard P. Feynman, "The Development of the Space-Time View of Quantum Electrodynamics," Nobel Lecture (11 Dec 1965), <http://nobelprize.org/physics/laureates/1965/feynman-lecture.html> (24 Mar 06); Also in *Nobel Lectures, Physics 1963-1970* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Company, 1972.), n.p.

involved light quanta; and these are precisely the kind of calculations that Wheeler had performed under the supervision of Gregory Breit.³⁴²

Perhaps more importantly, because of these enhanced abilities with sophisticated analytical tools, John Wheeler was able to effectively communicate with junior physicists (such as Redish and Feynman) who tended to think in equations rather than physical phenomena. Wheeler could look at a board filled with dense, closely reasoned equations and reveal Redish's 'working model' and Feynman's reflected light. David L. Hill, a Wheeler Ph.D. student who co-authored an important paper on the structure of the nucleus with him, described Wheeler's assertive vision very succinctly: "You show a virtuoso facility for applying analytical and mathematical stratagems to elicit glimpses of the terrain and possibly of the solution before a massive attack is made on the problem."³⁴³

Finally, there is the matter of Breit's concern for his students. Although his prickly personality may have obscured this quality to some, Breit cared

³⁴² Wheeler and Ford, *Geons* 114-115, 119; Wheeler interview with Ford, 603 (03 Jan 1994).

³⁴³ *Family Gathering*, David L. Hill, 47; The paper ("Nuclear Constitution and the Interpretation of Fission Phenomena," *Physical Review*, 89, no. 5 (01 March 1953):1102-1145) has been cited more than 984 times. Google Scholar, "DL Hill", http://scholar.google.com/scholar?as_q=&num=20&btnG=Search+Scholar&as_epq=&as_oq=&as_eq=&as_occt=any&as_sauthors=%22DL+Hill%22&as_publication=&as_ylo=&as_yhi=&as_allsubj=some&as_subj=phy&hl=en&lr=&safe=off (04 Dec 2008); See also Wheeler interview with Ken Ford (14 Feb 1994 – 21 Mar 1994), 1207, 1901, 1902, 1906 and esp. 1703, 2320; Wheeler interview with Finn Aaserud (04 May 1988), n.p.

very deeply about his students' welfare. This concern took several forms. The Maryland physicist McAllister Hull, author of Breit's biographical memoir, reports that the health of his students was always a concern. Breit evidently admonished Gary Herling (then his student) that, "an hour of exercise a few times during the week is much better than several hours of exercise every few weeks." Wheeler has recalled that he and other of Breit's students were often "invited" to accompany Breit on vigorous walks through the suburbs of New York.³⁴⁴ In matters of publication, Breit was very careful to see that his students got proper credit for their contribution to a paper. McAllister Hull, noted that John Wheeler spoke of Breit's "'kindness' in crediting his work with joint authorship on papers." This conscientiousness with regard to sharing credit is echoed by Wheeler's students.³⁴⁵

Another aspect of Breit's concern for his students was his unrelenting efforts to find employment and career opportunities. Wheeler believes that a letters from Breit to the National Research Council and to Niels Bohr helped secure the renewal of Wheeler's postdoctoral fellowship and get him to

³⁴⁴ McAllister Hull, "Gregory Breit: July 14, 1899 – September 11, 1981," *Biographical Memoirs*; Wheeler interview with Ken Ford (03 Dec 1994), 504. Here Wheeler also remarks that Breit, "had something of the German professor's sense of responsibility to his research students"; See also Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 108, for the notion that Breit's 'invitations' were less than completely voluntary.

³⁴⁵ Hull, "Gregory Breit," *Biographical Memoirs*, n.p. [Since the electronic copy of this memoir is not paginated it is impossible to direct the reader to specific locations for these quotations.]; In the case of Wheeler's students, see *Family Gathering*, Dieter Brill, 164; Fred K. Manasse, 258; Kip S. Thorne, 306.

Copenhagen for his second postdoctoral year. Hull observed that Breit was extremely well connected in the physics community. In 1968, more than 200 colleagues and former students attended a symposium in Breit's honor at Yale. Breit was well known to use these connections to the benefit of students and colleagues. In fact, Hull refers to Breit's efforts on his student's behalf as "legendary." As part of this process, Breit would frequently invite his students to parties at his house where they would meet and socialize with luminaries of physics (e.g. Werner Heisenberg). Breit's colleagues also benefited from his stature in the profession. As we have seen, in 1936, when (future Nobelist) Eugene Wigner lost his position at Princeton, Breit was instrumental in helping Wigner find a suitable position at Wisconsin.³⁴⁶ Here too, we find a resonance in Wheeler's students; many of whom specifically credit Wheeler with advancing their career.³⁴⁷ During the early 1950's Wheeler lobbied Harold Smyth, chair of Princeton's physics department, to release some of his [Wheeler's] graduate students to work on the hydrogen bomb:

Insofar as graduate students are going to have to get part of their training working on university sponsored war projects"—an assertion seemingly so obvious that Wheeler felt no need to

³⁴⁶ Wheeler interview with Ken Ford (10 Jan 1994), 701; Hull, "Gregory Breit," *Biographical Memoirs*, n.p.

³⁴⁷ See *Family Gathering*, David L. Hill, 47; Charles Misner, 125-126; Daniel Sperber, 144; John G. Fletcher, 200; Masami Wakano, 231; Cheuk-Yin Wong, 287; Kip S. Thorne, 309; Robert Geroch, 351.

justify it—it will be hard for them to do better than on the thermonuclear project for all-around range of ideas.³⁴⁸

In sum, the evidence indicates that, at a minimum, Breit reinforced the people skills that Wheeler had learned and/or developed under Herzfeld. Most significantly however, Breit helped Wheeler become a craftsman in the use of mathematics. In the next section, we move from Wheeler's skill at calculation to his skill at conceptualization.

Section 3.5 Wheeler as Mentor: The Influence of Bohr

As has been noted above, many of John Wheeler's former students and outside observers see a clear linkage between the mentoring styles of Wheeler and Niels Bohr. So what, in the eyes of Wheeler's students, makes Wheeler seem like Bohr? Was it Wheeler's penchant for explication in terms of physical constructs (e.g. what Edward Redish referred to as a 'working model complete with nuts, bolts, and rust'), his philosophy of science, or (beyond a carefully reasoned philosophy) some deeply-rooted faith in the rationality of the physical universe?

Jacob Bekenstein, who achieved considerable distinction for his work linking the surface area of a black hole with entropy, sees John Wheeler as more prophet than philosopher. In a letter of 16 September 2005, Bekenstein observed:

³⁴⁸ David Kaiser, "Cold War Requisitions: Scientific Manpower and the Production of American Physicists after World War II," *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 33, no. 1 (2002): 131-160, 144.

Wheeler is often prophetic. Two little known examples: In a review in 1966 he suggested that the Crab Nebula gets its energy from the spin of a neutron star, mentioning that this requires good coupling between star's magnetic field and surrounding plasma clouds. A year later the pulsars were discovered and soon interpreted by Gold as magnetized rotating neutron stars. When the Crab pulsar was discovered, it became clear that it indeed powers the emissions and some of the expansion of the Crab nebula. Another example: back in the 40's Wheeler studied the theoretical properties of what he called a "polyelectron", an analog of the ionized hydrogen molecule with the protons replaced by positrons. It is interesting as a pure QED three-body problem. Polyelectrons were first prepared at Bell Labs in 1981.³⁴⁹

Whether one sees John Wheeler as a physicist, a philosopher or a prophet, it is clear that Wheeler (like Bohr) tended to look for physical phenomena—for anschaulich properties—to support the mathematical formalisms of theoretical physics. Why this is so becomes apparent when we look to Richard Feynman's 1965 Nobel lecture.

The most famous of Wheeler's physical conjectures occurred while he and his (then) student Richard Feynman were attempting to eliminate some persistent and troublesome infinities in the mathematics that describe quantum

³⁴⁹ Jacob Bekenstein, email to author, 16 Sep 2005; Wheeler's conjecture on the rotating neutron star in the Crab Nebula is also recounted in *Family Gathering*, 423; See also, Google Scholar, "JD Bekenstein", http://scholar.google.com/scholar?as_q=&num=30&btnG=Search+Scholar&as_epq=&as_oq=&as_eq=&as_occt=any&as_sauthors=%22JD+Bekenstein%22&as_publication=&as_ylo=&as_yhi=&as_allsubj=some&as_subj=phy&hl=en&lr=&safe=off (04 Dec 2008). Bekenstein's 1973 paper, "Black Holes and Entropy" (*Physical Review D* 7, no. 8 (15 Apr 1973):2333-2346) has been cited more than 1700 times; His 1974 paper, "Generalized Second Law of Thermodynamics in Black Hole Physics" (*Physical Review D* 9, no. 12 (15 Jun 1974):3292-3300) has been cited more than 450 times.

electrodynamics (QED).³⁵⁰ One evening, Wheeler telephoned Feynman with a novel conceptualization:

[Wheeler]: Feynman, I know why all electrons have the same charge and the same mass.

[Feynman]: Why?

[Wheeler]: Because, they are all the same electron! ... Suppose that the world lines which we were ordinarily considering before in time and space—instead of only going up in time were a tremendous knot, and then, when we cut through the knot, by the plane corresponding to a fixed time, we would see many, many world lines and that would represent many electrons, except for one thing. If in one section this is an ordinary electron world line, in the section in which it reversed itself and is coming back from the future we have the wrong sign to the proper time - to the proper four velocities—and that's equivalent to changing the sign of the charge, and, therefore, that part of a path would act like a positron.

[Feynman]: But, Professor, there aren't as many positrons as electrons.

[Wheeler]: Well, maybe they are hidden in the protons or something.

Feynman concludes:

I did not take the idea that all the electrons were the same one from him as seriously as I took the observation that positrons

³⁵⁰ The problem was that the mathematical terms describing finite physical phenomena went to infinity in the equations. Quantum Electrodynamics (QED) is the study of the interaction of charged particles at the quantum level (i.e. electrons, photons, etc.).

could simply be represented as electrons going from the future to the past in a back section of their world lines. That, I stole!³⁵¹

Later in his speech, Feynman credits John Wheeler's conjecture about the physical nature of positrons as an important clue in the QED work for which Feynman was awarded the Nobel Prize.³⁵²

Feynman also alerts us indirectly to the importance of physical conceptualization of phenomena (anschaulich) in mentoring. Here it will be useful to revisit the QED controversy of the late 1940s. The reader may recall that Feynman shared his 1965 Nobel prize with Sin-Itiro Tomonaga (1906 – 1979) and Julian Schwinger (1918 – 1994). Each of the three men took a different approach to QED, and the formalisms developed by Feynman and Schwinger seemed particularly far removed from one another. These widely disparate formalisms were eventually shown to be equivalent by the

³⁵¹ Richard P. Feynman, "The Development of the Space-Time View of Quantum Electrodynamics," Nobel Lecture (11 Dec 1965), <http://nobelprize.org/physics/laureates/1965/feynman-lecture.html> (24 Mar 06); Also in *Nobel Lectures, Physics 1963-1970* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Company, 1972.), n.p.

³⁵² Feynman, "The Development of the Space-Time View of Quantum Electrodynamics," n.p.; Oddly enough, there is no mention of this story or Wheeler's contribution to Feynman's work in either of Feynman's autobiographical collections of anecdotes (i.e. Richard Feynman and Ralph Leighton, *Surely You're Joking Mr. Feynman: Adventures of a Curious Character* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 1985) and Richard P. Feynman with Ralph Leighton, *What Do You Care What Other People Think* (New York: Bantam Books, 1988)); Moreover, neither the story nor Wheeler's name appear in Richard P. Feynman, *QED: The Strange Theory of Light and Matter* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); The 'all the same electron' story is however, retold by Feynman's biographer James Gleick (Gleick, *Genius*, 122-123) and Feynman's former colleague and Nobelist Murray Gell-Mann (Gell-Mann, Murray. "Dick Feynman—The Guy in the Office Down the Hall." *Physics Today* 42, no.2 (Feb 1989): 50-54, 52).

mathematician Freeman Dyson.³⁵³ This circumstance is, of course, similar to the situation in quantum mechanics in the late 1920s when the Nobelists Werner Heisenberg and Erwin Schrödinger adopted two very different approaches to the problem of quantum states. And yet, Heisenberg's matrix algebra and Schrödinger's wave equations described exactly the same phenomena.³⁵⁴ On its face, this situation would not seem to be problematic. Just as there are no preferred frames of reference, there are bound to be multiple perspectives from which to view or analyze a physical process.

The drawback, as Feynman noted in his Nobel lecture, is that even though varying approaches to a problem may be equivalent mathematically, they are not typically equivalent conceptually:

Physical reasoning does help some people to generate suggestions as to how the unknown may be related to the known. Theories of the known, which are described by different physical ideas may be equivalent in all their predictions and are hence scientifically indistinguishable. However, they are not psychologically identical when trying to move from that base into the unknown. For different views suggest different kinds of modifications which might be made and hence are not equivalent in the hypotheses one generates from them in one's attempt to understand what is not yet understood. I, therefore, think that a good theoretical physicist today might find it useful to have a wide range of physical viewpoints and mathematical expressions of the same theory (for example, of quantum electrodynamics) available to him.

Feynman went on to say, "This may be asking too much of one man."³⁵⁵

³⁵³ Gleick, *Genius*, 267-270.

³⁵⁴ David C. Cassidy, *Uncertainty: The Life and Science of Werner Heisenberg* (New York: Freeman, 1993), 212-213.

³⁵⁵ Feynman, Nobel Lecture (11 Dec 1965), n.p.

Whether or not it is asking too much of one man, Feynman's statement describes the anschaulich methodology of John Wheeler. In *Geons*, Wheeler observes, "There are many modes of thinking about the world around us and our place in it. I like to consider all the angles from which we might gain perspective on our amazing universe and the nature of existence."³⁵⁶ Cheuk-Lin Wong, a Wheeler Ph.D. protégé observes, "He [Wheeler] has an inventive mind that bodes no boundaries. His 'blackhole,' 'wormhole,' 'geons,' [and] 'quantum foams' have now become familiar terms in physics vocabulary."³⁵⁷ A key point to be re-emphasized here (in paraphrase of Feynman) is that, although the language of mathematics lends itself to precise description, as often as not, physical processes can be mathematically ambiguous, Feynman, Schwinger, and Tomonaga all provided separate and precise mathematical descriptions of QED. Given this circumstance, Niels Bohr (despite his objection to Feynman's use of diagrams at Pocono) was reluctant to place too much reliance on mathematical formulations.³⁵⁸ Similarly, John Wheeler chose to emphasize physical models and let the physics drive the development of

³⁵⁶ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 153; This thought is also expressed in the Wheeler interview with Weiner and Lubkin (05 Apr 1967), 12; and also the Wheeler interview with Finn Aaserud (04 May 1988), n.p.; *Family Gathering*, B. Kent Harrison, 182; Also in Jacob Bekenstein, email to author (16 Sep 05).

³⁵⁷ Cheuk-Yin Wong, email to the author (25 Oct 2005).

³⁵⁸ Pais, *Niels Bohr's Times*, 20, 178-179.

equations rather than allowing the mathematics to be the conceptual engine.³⁵⁹

Section 3.6 Wheeler as Mentor: A Style of His Own

This chapter has aimed to correlate the sentiments of John Wheeler's students with what we know of Wheeler's relationship with his mentors. Several questions prompted these comparisons. First among these was: If Wheeler saw Bohr more as a collaborator than a mentor, how did he see himself in relation to his own students? A number of Wheeler apprentices have written about the priority he placed on helping his students as well as the respect that they were accorded. Ken Ford observed that “we learned [physics] by watching John Wheeler learn.”³⁶⁰ Kip Thorne has written that, from their very first meeting, Wheeler made him [Thorne] feel like a colleague rather than a student. Moreover, Thorne continues, “Wheeler's paramount goal was the education of his fledglings, even if that slowed the pace of discovery.”³⁶¹ Wheeler's assistance, however, was not limited to professional

³⁵⁹ See *Family Gathering*, Kip Thorne, 306-307; Frank Zerilli, 533; B. Kent Harrison, 182; Jacob Bekenstein, 423-424; Fred K. Manasse, 258-259, among others.

³⁶⁰ *Family Gathering*, Kenneth W. Ford, 84.

³⁶¹ Thorne, *Black Holes and Time Warps*; the reference to collegiality is from 262; the quotation is taken from 270. Kip S. Thorne, “Nonspherical Gravitational Collapse: A Short Review,” in *Magic Without Magic: John Archibald Wheeler: A Collection of Essays in Honor of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. John R. Klauder (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1972), 231. Here, Thorne emphasizes Wheeler's collegial approach to a brand new graduate student.

matters such as research problems, thesis work, and publication. Many of the *Family Gathering* letters speak to Wheeler's "warmth," "courtesy," and "concern for his students."³⁶² For his part Wheeler has observed that, "I can learn only by teaching." From that conviction, he has developed the axiom: "Universities have students to teach the professors."³⁶³ Plainly, Wheeler sees his students more as collaborators than as apprentices.

This chapter also sought to address the question of pedagogical heritage. Specifically, what aspects of Wheeler's style of doing physics did (or do) Wheeler's former students transmit to their intellectual progeny? Again, a number of contributors to *Family Gathering* (including Dieter Brill, Daniel Sperber, Jacob Bekenstein, John Toll, and Larry Shepley) allude to adopting elements of Wheeler's style in the classroom or when advising their students. Others, most notably Kip Thorne, Ken Ford, and Fred Manasse remark that they have consciously worked to emulate John Wheeler's style over the spectrum of activities in their professional careers. Thorne, in particular, wrote extensively about attempting to incorporate John Wheeler's code of ethics for scientific research, as well as Wheeler's style of research, writing and lecturing

³⁶² See *Family Gathering*, Dieter Brill, 164-165; B. Kent Harrison, 182; Cheuk Yin Wong, 287; Kip S. Thorne, 306-309; Brendan Godfrey, 391; Jacob Bekenstein, 423-424; J. R. Hugh Dempster, 489-450.

³⁶³ Wheeler interview with Ken Ford (14 Feb 1994-10 Jan 1995). The sentiment "Universities have students to teach professors," is expressed on 1209, 1906, and 2318. The conviction that he has to teach in order to learn is expressed on 1704. See also Wheeler interview with Charles Weiner and Gloria Lubkin (05 April 1967). The sentiment of learning by teaching is also expressed on 8; See also Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 150.

into his own pedagogy.³⁶⁴ Thorne also recalls one particularly memorable day at Caltech when some of his students approached him with a passage from the Misner-Thorne-Wheeler opus *Gravitation*.³⁶⁵ Their complaint was that the passage in question was too “Wheeleristic” and that Thorne should have used his influence with Wheeler to “tone it down.” Thorne gleefully replied, “Wheeler did not write that section: *I* wrote it!” [Thorne's emphasis].³⁶⁶

Finally, have the assessments of Wheeler's students changed between 1977 and 2008? If so, how? If anything, Wheeler's students' fondness for him has grown over the years. As any student of oral history knows, admiration tends to appreciate over time. Even so, the hope was to uncover some articulation of how Wheeler's mentoring methodology had evolved over time. This was only partially successful.³⁶⁷ On 27 October 1976, Cheuk-Yin Wong wrote a letter to be included in *Family Gathering*. It began as follows:

In looking back on my happy years of apprenticeship under your guidance, I was reminded of the traditional Confucian definition of a great teacher as someone who is able to pass on to others what was transmitted from the past, and in the process, opens up great avenues for future generations.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁴ *Family Gathering*, John Toll, 67-68; Ken Ford, 84-86; Daniel Sperber, 144; Dieter Brill, 164-165; Fred K. Manasse 258-259; Larry Shepley, 300; Kip Thorne 306-310; Jacob Bekenstein, 423-424.

³⁶⁵ See Charles Misner, Kip S. Thorne and John Archibald Wheeler, *Gravitation* (San Francisco, W. H. Freeman, 1973). This 1259 page opus continues to be the defining work on relativistic gravity.

³⁶⁶ *Family Gathering*, Kip S. Thorne, 309.

³⁶⁷ In a sense, this avenue of inquiry affirmed the well-known Wheelerism; “The right question is more important than the right answer.”

³⁶⁸ *Family Gathering*, Cheuk-Yin Wong, 287.

On 25 October 2005, Professor Wong sent an email that listed six areas in which John Wheeler made lasting contributions to the lives and careers of his students. While Wong's 2005 correspondence was more analytical than his letter of 1976, it is no less laudatory.³⁶⁹ The same can be said of more recent communications from John S. Toll, Charles Misner, Jacob Bekenstein, Peter Vajk, and Robert Fuller among others.³⁷⁰ Dan Holz, John Wheeler's last advisee of record, summarized his socialization in physics as follows:

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the tremendous support and encouragement given to me by John A. Wheeler. Over the last two years he has introduced me to the world of physics research and shaped the way I think about physics. I have benefited greatly, both as a physicist and as a person, from his example, and will carry this with me always. John Wheeler has had a profound impact on my life and I am deeply indebted.³⁷¹

But is *anybody* really that good? It seems appropriate here to insert a disclaimer.

A large portion of the primary source material for this study has come from transcripts of interviews as well as correspondence with former Wheeler students and colleagues. I have also conducted an extensive examination of acknowledgements in hundreds of theses, dissertations, and documents included in various Wheeler festschrifts (esp. *Family Gathering*). By their very

³⁶⁹ Cheuk-Yin Wong, email to author (25 Oct 2005).

³⁷⁰ Emails to the author from Robert Fuller (01 Sep 2005), Charles Misner (01 Sep 2005), Jacob Bekenstein (16 Sept 2005), Peter Vajk (21 Sep 2005), and John S. Toll (20 Feb 2006).

³⁷¹ Daniel E. Holz, "Primal Chaos Black Holes" (Senior Thesis, Princeton University, 1992), n.p. PRIN. Used by permission of the Princeton University Library.

nature, such source material can be characterized by a benign myopia in which the subject's faults lay outside the author's field of vision.

While John Wheeler was widely admired, that admiration was never universal. Unfortunately, the task of presenting a balanced picture is complicated by the circumstance that those students who were not successful under a particular mentor are seldom part of the historical record. There are no theses from which to glean acknowledgements. The unsuccessful students are not asked to contribute to festschrifts, nor are they likely to be interviewed by biographers.

Colleagues, including those former students who have achieved professional parity, are sometimes more candid in their evaluation of conduct outside the mentoring process. For example, Kip Thorne, once a student, and later a close friend and admirer of John Wheeler, has noted his strong disagreement with Wheeler in the matter of the Edward Teller and Robert Oppenheimer controversy.³⁷² Ken Ford has mentioned that, on occasion, Wheeler's determination to evaluate all sides of an issue made Marvin

³⁷² Thorne, *Black Holes and Time Warps*, 235. The night before his testimony before the Atomic Energy Commission (28 April 1954), Teller came to Wheeler's hotel room in Washington, DC (Wheeler was in Washington on separate business and not involved in the hearings) and expressed his [Teller's] misgivings about the impact of his testimony on Oppenheimer's career. Wheeler told Teller that he should be guided by his integrity and tell the whole truth as he saw it. See also Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 201-202. Wheeler's version of events largely matches Thorne's, although Wheeler sees Teller as the martyr rather than Oppenheimer. Wheeler's reasoning is that Teller knew he was putting nearly all of his professional relationships at risk, and yet he chose to tell the truth as he saw it.

Goldberger (a former Princeton colleague and president emeritus of Caltech) want to “wring his [Wheeler's] neck.”³⁷³ Bryce DeWitt, a colleague of Wheeler at Texas, felt strongly that, Wheeler had done his former student Hugh Everett III a “scandalous” disservice by failing to support him in the face of criticism from Bohr and his followers over Everett’s ‘Many Worlds’ thesis. After all, DeWitt reasoned, Everett’s thesis had been written under Wheeler’s supervision.³⁷⁴ That said, the consensus of those who have spoken to the issue is that John Wheeler's faults were for the most part, subtle and benign in nature; perhaps even relatively few in number, but present nonetheless.

³⁷³ Telephone conversation between Ken Ford and the author (03 May 2006). Goldberger's frustration with Wheeler is also captured in Finn Aaserud, “Sputnik and the ‘Princeton Three:’ The National Security Laboratory that was not Meant to Be,” *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 25 no. 2 (1995): 185-240, 219. The context of Goldberger's irritation was that he, Wheeler, and Princeton economist Oskar Morgenstern had, in the wake of Sputnik, concluded that the United States needed a National Security Laboratory. The new lab would be located at Princeton. The difficulty was that none of the three men wanted to serve as director of the lab (a position that would require them to abandon their academic career for the two to three years it would take to get the lab up to speed). In a letter to their Princeton colleague Eugene Wigner, Goldberger expressed his disappointment in Wheeler: “I was induced to go back to Washington for a day after you left as perhaps you heard. John and Oskar worked on me to take the job; I worked on John in turn. Nobody yielded. I must say, however, that my reservations about John’s being director, which I’m sure you sensed from our earlier discussions, were reinforced by seeing him in action as a leader. He has many great virtues and his halo is the finest gold. There is however an amorphous quality about him both in his reception of ideas and in his transmission of information to others. I find myself wanting to shake him to make him say something straight out and incisively. I have difficulty in putting this idea into words, but Oskar described his own feelings to me in a similar way.”

³⁷⁴ Bryce DeWitt and Cecile DeWitt-Morette interview with Kenneth W. Ford, 29 Feb 1995, Austin, TX, transcript, 6-7, NBL-AIP.

Section 3.7 Review

This chapter has examined the mentoring skill of John Wheeler as seen through the eyes of his students. In particular, the chapter addressed six questions: If Wheeler saw Bohr more as a collaborator than a mentor (presumably Breit and Herzfeld were also seen in this light), how did he see himself in relation to his own students? How did Wheeler's students see themselves in relation to him? Were there aspects of Wheeler's style of doing physics that Wheeler's former students consciously transmit (or transmitted) to their intellectual progeny? If so, what were they? Finally, as their own research and mentoring careers wind down, have the assessments of Wheeler's students changed between 1977 and 2008? If so, how?

Consciously or not, John Wheeler synthesized the best attributes of Herzfeld, Breit, and Bohr into a mentoring style of his own. Wheeler's students report that he unfailingly treated them, and indeed all whom he encountered, with courtesy and respect; he communicated an uncommon and inspiring enthusiasm for physics; he inculcated both mathematical craftsmanship and anschaulich conceptualization such that his students could 'extract the physics from the mathematics' for their own students. Beyond the physics, Wheeler's

students have indicated that his concern for their welfare, personal as well as professional, was second to none.³⁷⁵

John R. Klauder, editor of an earlier Wheeler festschrift volume (*Magic Without Magic*), summed the prevalent attitude of Wheeler's apprentices: "I have never met a Wheeler product who didn't speak warmly of his experience—and I never expect to."³⁷⁶

³⁷⁵ See *Family Gathering*, Gilbert Plass, 34; John S. Toll, 67; Kenneth W. Ford, 84; James J. Griffin, 103; Dieter Brill, 164; B. Kent Harrison, 182; John R. Klauder, 190; Fred K. Manasse, 258; Andris Suna, 283; Robert Geroch, 351; James York, 366; Jacob Bekenstein, 423; Bahram Mashoon, 429; J. R. Hugh Dempster, 489; S. Fred Singer, 516; Frank Zerilli, 533.

³⁷⁶ John R. Klauder, ed., *Magic Without Magic: John Archibald Wheeler: A Collection of Essays in Honor of His Sixtieth Birthday* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1972); The quotation is from *Family Gathering*, John R. Klauder, 191.

Chapter Four: Mentoring in Modern Physics: Measuring the Efficacy of a Mentor

Section 4.1 Overview

In the previous chapter, I focused on qualitative aspects of mentoring with specific emphasis on the transfer of research attitudes and methods along a 'chain of wisdom' from the physicists who mentored John Wheeler, through Wheeler himself, and on to Wheeler's intellectual progeny. In contrast to Chapter Three, this chapter will, for the most part, be concerned with the quantitative means by which a given mentor's proficiency may be evaluated. Stated alternatively, whereas the previous chapter analyzed the mentoring attitudes and practices of John Wheeler in relation to the attitudes and practices employed by his mentors, this chapter will focus on a quantitative analysis of the outcomes of Wheeler's mentoring in relation to the mentoring outcomes of his peers.

That said, section two of this chapter, which details the insights made available through content analysis of the acknowledgements included in the dissertations, Master's Theses, and Senior Theses submitted during John Wheeler's tenure at Princeton and the University of Texas is, like Chapter Three, qualitative in nature. The quantitative examination of John Wheeler's mentorship begins in section three of this chapter where David Goodstein's 1993 study of Ph.D. production is used to calibrate Wheeler's mentoring career in terms of the number Ph.D. dissertations that he supervised. From

that point, I go on to develop the quantitative criteria by which Wheeler's mentorship can be compared to that of his colleagues. Sections four and five are the products of tabulating the publication records of those physicists who had earned their doctorate under the supervision of John Wheeler or under the supervision of one of his colleagues at either Princeton or the University of Texas. Section six offers the reader a brief review of the major points of this chapter as they relate to the dissertation as a whole.

Section 4.2 Insights into the Mentoring Relationship: Content Analysis of Dissertation and Thesis Acknowledgements

As stated in the introduction to this dissertation, in order to develop a census of John Wheeler's students, it was necessary to analyze the content of acknowledgements found in the dissertations, Master's Theses, and Senior Theses submitted to the physics departments at Princeton and the University of Texas during John Wheeler's tenure at those institutions. As it turns out, this content analysis was a particularly fruitful—if somewhat laborious—avenue of research.

To anyone who has even a passing familiarity with dissertation writing styles, it will come as no surprise that the vast majority of acknowledgements were of a *pro-forma* nature (e.g. 'I would like to thank Professor Dutton for suggesting this problem and for his/her continued advice.'). A somewhat smaller subset of acknowledgements offered more specific expressions of appreciation (e.g. 'I want to thank Professor Dutton for suggesting the

problem, for his/her continued advice throughout the project and for his/her timely and insightful suggestion that assisted in the completion of Chapter xyz.').

There were an even smaller number of acknowledgements in which a student recalled his/her mentor guiding them through a particularly difficult part of the process (e.g. I especially want to thank Professor Dutton for suggesting the problem, and for his/her enthusiastic encouragement, particularly when a number of complicating factors coalesced such that the completion of this project appeared doubtful.'). While these 'dark night of the soul' expressions of gratitude are often compelling, they pale in comparison to some even more weighty testimonials.

These sober pronouncements were very rare, and they signified that a student was cognizant that a deep and profound understanding of the craftsmanship of science had been conveyed to him or her by a skilful and conscientious mentor. Such affirmations typically took one of the following forms: 'Thanks to Professor Dutton, I now know what it means to be a professional physicist,' or 'I want to thank professor Dutton for providing me a wonderful example of how physics should be done.' One of the more persuasive findings of this project was that no professor at Princeton and only one professor at Texas received more of these superlative testimonials than John Wheeler.

Two examples of this sort of emotive proclamation (i.e. ‘I now know what it means to be a physicist’) may be illustrative here. Demetrios Christodoulou, a Wheeler student who earned his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1971, acknowledged the impact of John Wheeler’s mentoring as follows:

I can find no words in the English language adequate to express my gratitude to my advisor, Prof. John A. Wheeler. Without him, I would be sitting at this moment in a crowded sophomore classroom with two or three hundred students packed like sardines, and listening to a professor saying ‘recently the student Planck ...’. He picked me from the 11th grade of a Greek High School and made me a graduate student of the Physics Department of this University. When I came to Princeton I was not completely ignorant, but my knowledge resembled little pieces of wood wandering in a sea of mystery. He taught me what physics really is. From his own example I learned also how a real physicist should be. To him goes my deepest admiration.³⁷⁷

Fifteen years later, Warner A. Miller, a 1986 Ph.D. student at the University of Texas summarized his experience of being John Wheeler’s apprentice in these words:

I wish to express my sincere thanks to my friend and advisor John Archibald Wheeler for the absolutely wonderful research environment he provided for me and my fellow colleagues -- The Center for Theoretical Physics at the University of Texas at Austin. Perhaps the most influential feature of our collaboration was the daily interaction we had in his car on the way to and from the university. Null-strut geometrodynamics was, in a large part, molded and created this way. My communication skills were likewise sharpened. I thank him for this also (The lesson -- Clear Communication!). Our interaction was not one of student to teacher, but rather student-teacher to student-teacher. Now that I have graduated, I can appreciate, more than ever before, our stimulating research collaboration. John Wheeler has helped

³⁷⁷ Demetrios Christodoulou, “Investigations in Gravitational Collapse and the Physics of Black Holes,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1971.

open my eyes to the world of knowledge. Thank you, John Wheeler.³⁷⁸

Clearly, John Wheeler inspired personal devotion and professional dedication in a number of his students. It should be noted however, that even the content of less moving dissertation acknowledgements can provide insight into the mentoring relationship. These insights, in turn, augment the statistical analysis that follows later in this chapter.

Beyond insight into the mentoring relationship, acknowledgement analysis can also offer a sense of the environment in which mentors and apprentices interact. In particular, the acknowledgment analysis revealed a significant number of cases when professors other than the advisor of record were acknowledged. To be clear, this circumstance is not terribly surprising in experimental physics where groups of faculty members and graduate students often collaborate on a single experiment or a group of closely related experiments that rely on shared apparatus. The surprising element was how often non-advisers to theoretical projects were acknowledged. For example, nineteen Princeton Ph.D. students, who were not John Wheeler's advisees, nonetheless felt compelled to acknowledge his contribution to their dissertation. Indeed, some of the most heartfelt expressions of gratitude received by John Wheeler, came from students with which he had no formal advising relationship. Here too, an example may prove useful. It may be

³⁷⁸ Warner A. Miller, "Foundations of Null-Strut Geometrodynamics," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1986.

recalled from the previous chapter that William K. Wootters submitted his Ph.D. dissertation to the University of Texas at Austin in 1980. Although Wootters' advisor of record was Professor Linda E. Reichl, it is clear from the acknowledgement in his dissertation that John Wheeler had made important contributions as well:

I would like to express my sincere thanks to two teachers – Professors L. E. Reichl and John A. Wheeler – whose encouragement was as responsible as anything else for the completion of this work. Professor Reichl not only gave me the opportunity to study the problem of the acquisition of information, but also kept me consistently on the right track, even during those times when I might otherwise have given up.... Professor Wheeler, having awakened my interest in the foundations of quantum mechanics, generously gave much of his valuable time to discuss with me the problems and prospects of physics at its most fundamental level, and transferred to me his belief that the hardest problems can yet be solved.³⁷⁹

Beyond the obvious utility of acknowledgement analysis in mentor identification, the above examples demonstrate that this approach can offer valuable insights into the nature of a given mentoring relationship. Moreover, this last example demonstrates that content analysis of dissertation acknowledgements may also provide a sense of the extent to which individual professors engage in—or individual physics departments promote—a collaborative atmosphere. In sum the content analysis of acknowledgements

³⁷⁹ Wootters, “The Acquisition of Information from Quantum Measurements,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1980. It may be recalled that a shorter version of this passage from Wootters 1980 Ph.D. dissertation was quoted in the previous chapter as an example of how a philosophical approach to physics (i.e. ‘the hardest problems can yet be solved’) is often transmitted from mentor to apprentice, in this case from Herzfeld to Wheeler to Wootters, along a chain of wisdom.

in dissertations and theses was a very fruitful avenue of research that provided a qualitative texture to the quantitative analysis described below.

Section 4.3 Mentoring Efficacy By the Numbers: Choosing Measures of Efficacy in Mentoring

The testimonials recounted above and in the preceding chapters make clear that many of Wheeler's former students became lifelong admirers. Then again, John Wheeler had a number of illustrious colleagues, and it stands to reason that those colleagues had many admirers among their former students as well. So, what set John Wheeler apart?

One prominent quality that makes John Wheeler unique among mentors is the quantity of his students. As reported in Chapter One, David Goodstein, Vice Provost of Caltech, has observed that a typical professor of physics can be expected to 'produce' fifteen doctorates in physics over the course of his or her career.³⁸⁰ Over the course of John Wheeler's career however, he supervised the dissertations of fifty-one Ph.D.s and co-supervised

³⁸⁰ David L. Goodstein, "Scientific Ph.D. problems," *American Scholar* 62, no.2 (Spr 1993): 215-221, <http://0-search.epnet.com.oasis.oregonstate.edu:80/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&an=9304060251> (05 Jan 2006), 217.

the dissertations of five others.³⁸¹ In other words, John Wheeler exceeded the average Ph.D. production by more than three-fold.

Although Wheeler often spoke enthusiastically about teaching (The famous Wheeler quip, “Universities have students to teach the professors,” may be recalled here), the extent to which he committed himself to mentoring of junior scholars was not apparent until I was able to perform content analysis on the manuscript holdings at Princeton and Texas.³⁸² At Princeton, for example, as mentioned earlier in Chapter Three, Wheeler supervised forty-three Senior Theses, two of which were from students outside the physics department.³⁸³ Additionally, there were five instances when Wheeler served as a co-supervisor, and at least two other occasions where, based on the content of the acknowledgements, Wheeler served as a de-facto advisor or co-advisor to an undergraduate student.³⁸⁴ As it stands, counting only the

³⁸¹ This census is based on a survey of 555 Ph.D. dissertations submitted to Princeton University and 389 Ph.D. dissertations submitted to the University of Texas at Austin during John Wheeler’s tenure at these institutions. This total also includes Katherine Way, who received her Ph.D. under John Wheeler’s supervision at the University of North Carolina.

³⁸² Wheeler interview with Ford, transcript, 1209, 1906, 2318; see also Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 150.

³⁸³ Cooper, Duncan L Cooper, “Variational Properties of Chern’s Invariant Differential Forms,” Senior Thesis [Department of Mathematics], Princeton University, 1965; Charles Patton, “The Logical Microstructure of Physical Systems,” Senior Thesis [Department of Mathematics], Princeton University, 1972.

³⁸⁴ Brit B. Katzen, “The Search for Pregeometry: The Work of John Archibald Wheeler,” Senior Thesis [Department of History], Princeton University, 1998, 60; Carl S. Rapp, “A Study of the Modern Concept of Limited Warfare,” Senior

forty-three Senior Theses for which John Wheeler was the advisor of record, he supervised more than twice as many Senior Theses as any other member of the Princeton Physics faculty. Moreover, in stark contrast to other senior faculty, Wheeler supervised all but three of the forty-three Senior Theses after he had become a full professor. Archival research at the University of Texas yielded similar results in that only two professors in the Texas physics department supervised more Master's Theses than did Wheeler. Here, it bears noting that Wheeler was in the twilight of career when he began his appointment at the University of Texas. Wheeler's heavy involvement in mentoring (as compared to his colleagues at Princeton and Texas) is illustrated in the tables below.

Table 4.1 Ph.D. Dissertations and Senior Theses Supervised at Princeton

| Professor | Total Ph.D.s Supervised | Ph.D. Students per Year | Contribution of Non-Advisor to Dissertation Acknowledged | Senior Theses Supervised³⁸⁵ |
|--|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|---|
| J. A. Wheeler | 46 | 1.22 | 19 | 46 |
| T. R. Carver | 16 | 0.76 | 13 | 21 |
| R. H. Dicke | 25 | 0.80 | 8 | 11 |
| V. L. Fitch | 15 | 0.71 | 5 | 5 |
| M. L. Goldberger | 19 | 0.95 | 10 | 4 |
| R. Sherr | 14 | 0.45 | 17 | 11 |
| S. B. Trieman | 24 | 1.02 | 16 | 4 |
| A. S. Wightman | 24 | 0.93 | 14 | 11 |
| E. P. Wigner | 25 | 0.83 | 16 | 0 |
| P. U. Physics Department (105 Faculty) | 555 | 0.13 | N/A | 669 |

Table 4.1 Ph.D.s and Senior Theses Supervised at Princeton, 1938-1978, 1988-1994. The ten professors selected are those who supervised the most Ph.D. dissertations in the 1938-1978 time frame. The column “Contribution of Non-Advisor to Dissertation Acknowledged” refers to cases in which a professor other than the advisor of record is acknowledged. Wheeler’s enthusiasm for working with students is evidenced by the total number of dissertations supervised, the number of occasions in which he is acknowledged and the number of Senior Theses he supervised. As a case in point of intellectual lineage, Arthur S. Wightman is himself a former Wheeler Ph.D. student.

³⁸⁵ While Princeton did offer a Master’s degree in Physics, there was no requirement for a thesis to be submitted. See Princeton University Catalogue 1937-1938 (p324), PRIN; This regulation remained in effect throughout Wheeler’s tenure at Princeton.

Table 4.2 Ph.D. and Master's Thesis Supervision at Texas, 1976-1988³⁸⁶

| Professor | Total Ph.D.s Supervised | Ph.D. Students per Year | Contribution of Non-Advisor to Dissertation Acknowledged | Master's Theses Supervised |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| J. A. Wheeler | 4 | 0.4 | 9 | 6 |
| R. D. Bengston | 13 | 1.08 | 17 | 7 |
| B. S. DeWitt | 11 | 0.92 | 11 | 0 |
| D. A. Dicus | 9 | 0.75 | 7 | 0 |
| J. L. Erskine | 10 | 0.83 | 6 | 6 |
| M. Fink | 9 | 0.75 | 21 | 11 |
| R. A. Matzner | 17 | 1.42 | 10 | 2 |
| C. F. Moore | 10 | 0.83 | 4 | 4 |
| W. C. Schieve | 10 | 0.83 | 9 | 1 |
| L. C. Shepley | 9 | 0.75 | 13 | 2 |
| J. C. Thompson | 12 | 1.00 | 12 | 7 |
| U.T. Physics Dept. (97 Faculty) | 389 | 0.33 | N/A | 122 |

Table 4.2 Ph.D.s and Master's Theses Supervised at the University of Texas at Austin, 1976-1988. The selected Professors, other than John Wheeler, are those who supervised the largest number of Ph.D. dissertations in the time frame 1976 – 1988. The column “Contribution of Non-Advisor to Dissertation Acknowledged” refers to cases in which a professor other than the advisor of record is acknowledged. As two cases in point of intellectual lineage, I note here that Lawrence C. Shepley was a Wheeler Ph.D. student at Princeton and Richard A. Matzner is an intellectual grandson of Wheeler through Charles W. Misner.

³⁸⁶ Despite retiring from Texas in 1986, Wheeler continued to work with at least two students who listed John Wheeler as their supervising professor on dissertations that were submitted in 1990.

Even though Wheeler supervised fewer students per year than the colleagues listed in Table 4.2, his numbers compare favorably with the department as a whole. Moreover, it should be noted that John Wheeler was sixty-five years old when he began his tenure at Texas and seventy-five years old when he returned to Princeton as an emeritus professor of physics. Of course there is more to mentoring than having large numbers of students—even large numbers of former students who sing the praises of their former mentor. How then, can we objectively measure a given mentor’s efficacy? “By their fruits, you shall know them.”³⁸⁷

Section 4.4 Assessing Mentoring Efficacy Through Students’ Scientific Productivity

The sociologist Harriet Zuckerman found that one prominent trait of the scientific elite is their tremendous scientific productivity.³⁸⁸ In the context of Zuckerman’s findings, it should not be surprising that the publication record of former Wheeler students was, for the most part, more robust than the publication record of those students mentored by Wheeler’s colleagues. Two metrics, scientific productivity and disciplinary significance (as measured by citation count) were employed in making this evaluation.

Obviously, the total number of publications submitted is a function (among other considerations) of the length of a career. A standard expectation

³⁸⁷ Mathew 7:16, *World English Bible*.

³⁸⁸ Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 37, 62, 146.

among research physicists seems to be two publications per year. If we presume a thirty-five year career (i.e. a doctorate awarded at age thirty and retirement at age sixty-five), then one can estimate that, on average, a professional researcher will produce something on the order of seventy publications. Of course, not all former students become researchers or remain active in physics research. Some move into disciplines other than physics (e.g. Wheeler's undergraduate advisee, Michael Stern), others move to administrative positions (e.g. Wheeler Ph.D. student John S. Toll), and still others perform defense related research that is not available to general researchers for citation (e.g. Wheeler Ph.D. student, Hugh Everett, III).³⁸⁹

In light of the foregoing, I chose to take one hundred publications as a benchmark for high scientific productivity over the course of a career (Wheeler himself has 396 publications to his credit), while fifty publications are considered a threshold for high productivity at the midpoint of a career. For the purposes of comparing Wheeler's former students with that of his colleagues, I developed a "Student Productivity Index", which is the percentage of former students who are credited with a benchmark level of publications.

³⁸⁹ Michael Stern, personal communication with author, 17 Oct 2007; for John Toll, see Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 101; for Everett see Peter Byrne, "The Many Worlds of Hugh Everett." *Scientific American* 297, no. 6 (Dec 2007), 98, <http://proxy.library.oregonstate.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=27431241&loginpage=Login.asp&site=ehost-live> (23 Feb 2009).

At this point in time (Winter 2009), the majority of students who studied under Wheeler and his colleagues at Princeton are currently either retired or in the later stages of their career. Therefore the benchmark for high productivity for Wheeler's Princeton students was set at one hundred publications. By contrast, a number of Wheeler's Texas students are just now passing the midpoint of their careers so that, for that population, fifty publications is taken as the threshold of high scientific productivity. The problem is to find an expeditious means documenting scientific productivity. Fortunately, this project has profited from the availability of online searchable databases such as Google Scholar, the ISI Web of Knowledge (the cyber-version of Science Citation Index), and the SLAC-SPIRES High Energy Physics (HEP) database. Here, a discussion of all three databases is in order.

Both Google Scholar and SLAC-SPIRES offer convenience. There is no charge for individual access, and a user need not be affiliated with a subscribing institution. And yet, for all their convenience, each of these databases has shortcomings. The difficulty with SLAC-SPIRES is that, as the name suggests, the focus of the database is on High Energy Physics, which serves to exclude a broad spectrum of research. Given that John Wheeler and—more to the point—his students engaged in research that ranged from nuclear/particle physics to general relativity/ cosmology to the interface of quantum mechanics and information theory, the narrow focus of SLAC-

SPIRES effectively disqualified the HEP literature database for use in this dissertation.

Google Scholar has the opposite problem of the SLAC-SPIRES HEP literature database in that it is somewhat too inclusive. This inclusivity is manifested in a mysterious and poorly understood redundancy. For example, a Google Scholar search for publications authored by “JA Wheeler” yields some 895 results.³⁹⁰ Given that there are only 396 entries in John Wheeler’s personal bibliography, the Google Scholar data would seem to be of limited usefulness. A mitigating factor is that Google Scholar seems to be similarly redundant for all author searches. Therefore, as an instrument to measure scientific productivity, Google Scholar seems to be useful as a relative indicator or, more charitably, as a first order approximation.

Of course, the optimum resource for citation data is the *Science Citation Index*. Here again, there are serious difficulties with this source. Until quite recently, the *Science Citation Index* existed in three separate media formats: print, CD-ROM, and the online ISI Web of Knowledge. The foremost complication was that these formats did not overlap in time, and worse, the web-based ISI Web of Knowledge database did not extend back in time before 1970. Given that the post 1970 time frame misses much of John Wheeler’s

³⁹⁰ search author “JA Wheeler,”
http://scholar.google.com/scholar?as_q=&num=100&btnG=Search+Scholar&as_epq=&as_oq=&as_eq=&as_occt=any&as_sauthors=%22JA+Wheeler%22&as_publication=&as_ylo=&as_yhi=&as_allsubj=all&hl=en&lr= (23 Nov 2008).

career, and that the CD-ROM and print versions were not—indeed are not—accessible to those of us who are visually impaired (e.g. this author), the Science Citation Index, like the SLAC-SPIRES database was, regrettably, unsuitable for the research at hand.

Thus, despite its less than desirable redundancy issues, at the time this project was undertaken, Google Scholar was the only database available to the author that was comprehensive in terms of a broad spectrum of physics publications and inclusive of the requisite time frame. Fortunately, future scholars will benefit from a recently released and somewhat more robust ISI database (i.e. one that extends back in time to 1900). At the time of this writing however (Winter 2009), Oregon State University was not yet a subscriber to the newer version of the ISI database. With the foregoing stipulations in hand, the methodology supporting these Student Productivity Indices and the comparison of these indices for John Wheeler and his colleagues are included in the following section.

Broadly speaking, the physicists who completed their Ph.D. at Princeton demonstrated a higher rate of productivity than those who trained at Texas. As a matter of course in assessing mentoring outcomes, a researcher should consider whether a particular trait is characteristic of an institution or an individual mentor. In the case of scientific productivity, it appears that on an institutional basis, the ethos of scientific productivity was—and perhaps is—inculcated to a higher degree in Princeton than it is at Texas. In both cases, as

compared with the former students of his colleagues, John Wheeler's former students demonstrated an average level of scientific productivity. A Google Scholar survey of former Wheeler Ph.D. students from Princeton indicates that fifteen out of Wheeler's forty-six Ph.D. students (32.6%) have more than 100 publications. In other words, for his Princeton years, Wheeler had a Student Productivity Index of 32.6%. Among Princeton physics professors, Wheeler ranked fourth in Student Productivity behind Val Fitch (46.6%), Sam Trieman (41.7%) and Ruby Sherr (35.7%). It should be noted from Table 4.1 however, that each of these professors had a comparatively small numbers of students. With fifteen and fourteen students respectively, Val Fitch and Ruby Sherr each supervised fewer than one-third of the number of Ph.D. students supervised by Wheeler. Similarly, Sam Trieman's twenty-five Ph.D. students is slightly more than half the number supervised by Wheeler at Princeton.

Then too, it may be recalled from the Introduction as well as Chapters One and Two that John Wheeler was extensively involved in defense related research and consulting. A prime example of the depth of Wheeler's involvement in defense work is his effort to establish a National Security Laboratory (a predecessor to Project JASON) at Princeton.³⁹¹ Thus, it is not

³⁹¹ Finn Aaserud, "Sputnik and the 'Princeton Three': The National Security Laboratory that was not Meant to Be," *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 25 no. 2 (1995), 185-240; See also extensive correspondence between Wheeler and defense contractors (e.g. Rand, Convair, Dupont) at UT-JAW; See also "Anti-Ballistic Missile System Notes, 1969," Box 9.7/2008-164/20, UT-JAW; See also "Defense Studies" (3 vol.

surprising that, as we see from the letters and curricula vitae submitted to *Family Gathering*, a relatively large number (i.e. 15%) of Wheeler's Princeton students (e.g. David M. Chase, Robert Euwema, Hugh Everett III, Brendan Godfrey, Clifford Rhoades, S. Fred Singer, and Frank J. Zerilli) spent all or significant portions of their career in defense related research.³⁹² Therefore, it is likely that a high percentage of the research conducted by those former apprentices was (or is) classified, and thus not available for general circulation. If those publication records were available in their entirety, it is probable that Wheeler's Student Productivity Index for his Princeton years would have ranked higher among his colleagues. Wheeler's Student Productivity Index (based on a benchmark of fifty publications) for his Texas years, also ranks fourth among those colleagues who were closest to Wheeler in rate of Ph.D. production. That said, a combined Student Productivity Index (i.e. one that considered both Wheeler's Princeton and Texas students) would place Wheeler with William Schieve with 30% of their students achieving the 100 publication threshold. Wheeler would also lead the Texas department with 46% of his students achieving the fifty publication threshold.

1955-1958; 1959-1962; 1963-1968), UT-JAW; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 271-288; See also Wheeler correspondence regarding Advisory Group on Scientific Manpower, Senator Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson Papers, Accession No. 3560-003, Box 251, UW-HMJ.

³⁹² See *Family Gathering* for curricula vitae of Chase, Euwema, Godfrey, Rhoades, Singer, and Zerilli; See also Byrne, "The Many Worlds of Hugh Everett," 98; these seven former Wheeler apprentices amount to 15% of Wheeler's total of forty-six Ph.D. advisees at Princeton.

Table 4.3 Student Productivity Index – Selected Professors at Princeton

| Professor | Number of Ph.D. Students | Students with 100+ Publications | % of Ph.D. Students | Students with 50+ Publications | % of Ph.D. Students |
|------------------|---------------------------------|--|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| J. A. Wheeler | 46 | 15 | 32.6% | 22 | 47.8% |
| T. R. Carver | 16 | 1 | 6.3% | 3 | 18.7% |
| R. H. Dicke | 25 | 7 | 28.0% | 8 | 32.0% |
| V. L. Fitch | 15 | 7 | 46.6% | 9 | 60.0% |
| M. L. Goldberger | 19 | 6 | 31.6% | 7 | 36.8% |
| R. Sherr | 14 | 5 | 35.7% | 7 | 50.0% |
| S. B. Treiman | 24 | 10 | 41.7% | 12 | 50.0% |
| A. S. Wightman | 24 | 6 | 25.0% | 11 | 45.8% |
| E. P. Wigner | 25 | 4 | 16.0% | 10 | 40.0% |

Table 4.3 Student Productivity Indices for Selected Professors at Princeton, 1938 – 1978. Although Wheeler ranks fourth among his colleagues, a relatively large portion of his students spent significant portions of their career in defense related research and consequently, many of the publications authored by those students was (or is) classified and therefore not available to the standard research journals used in accumulating this data.

Table 4.4 Student Productivity Index – Selected Professors at Texas

| Professor | Number of Ph.D. Students | Students with 100+ Publications | % of Ph.D. Students | Students with 50+ Publications | % of Ph.D. Students |
|------------------|---------------------------------|--|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| J. A. Wheeler | 4 | 0 | 0% | 1 | 25.0% |
| R. D. Bengston | 13 | 2 | 15.4% | 4 | 30.8% |
| B. S. DeWitt | 11 | 0 | 0% | 1 | 9.1% |
| D. A. Dicus | 9 | 1 | 11.1% | 4 | 44.4% |
| J. L. Erskine | 10 | 0 | 0% | 1 | 10.0% |
| M. Fink | 9 | 1 | 11.1% | 2 | 22.2% |
| R. A. Matzner | 17 | 2 | 11.8% | 4 | 23.5% |
| C. F. Moore | 10 | 1 | 10.0% | 3 | 30.0% |
| W. C. Schieve | 10 | 3 | 30.0% | 3 | 30.0% |
| L. C. Shepley | 8 | 0 | 0% | 1 | 12.5% |
| J. C. Thompson | 13 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |

Table 4.4 Student Productivity Index for Selected Professors at the University of Texas at Austin, 1976 – 1988. Here again it should be noted that John Wheeler began his tenure at the University of Texas at the age of sixty-five. Nonetheless, the productivity of his students ranks fourth among his colleagues.

But scientific productivity is only one indication that a given mentor's students have established (or are establishing) distinguished careers. A perhaps more compelling marker is the significance or 'impact' of the research performed by a given mentor's former apprentices. The following section details how this data was extracted from available source material and applied to the project at hand.

Section 4.5 Assessing Efficacy Through the Impact of Students' Published Research

A second element of the quantitative analysis employed in this dissertation is the "Index of Students' Impact," which is the percentage of a given mentor's former students with one or more publications that have achieved a threshold level significance as determined by the number of times that particular publication has been cited in scientific research journals. In establishing this citation threshold, I have benefited from a very timely and insightful suggestion by Professor David Kaiser of MIT. In essence, this metric is an adaptation of the distribution curve of the SLAC-SPIRES database of High Energy Physics literature.³⁹³ To be clear, I am employing the schematic organization of the SLAC-SPIRES HEP distribution curve, not the database itself nor the distribution curve derived from citations of HEP literature.

³⁹³ Stanford University, "SLAC-SPIRES HEP Database of Citation Distribution" (01 Dec 2005), <http://www.slac.stanford.edu/spires/play/citedist/> (14 Jul 2008).

Here, the reader is well-served by a review of the characteristics of the SLAC-SPIRES HEP distribution curve. The SLAC-SPIRES database classifies publications as follows:

- 1) Those publications with 500 or more citations are categorized as “Renowned” and they represent approximately 0.34% of all the citeable papers in the High Energy Physics (HEP) database.
- 2) Those publications with 250 – 499 citations are categorized as “Famous” and they represent approximately 1.19% of all the citeable papers in the HEP database.
- 3) Those publications with 100 – 249 citations are categorized as “Very Well-Known” and they represent approximately 5.29% of all the citeable papers in the HEP database.
- 4) Those publications with 50 – 99 citations are categorized as “Well-Known” and they represent approximately 9.49% of all the citeable papers in the HEP database.
- 5) Those publications with 10 – 49 citations are categorized as “Known” and their approximate percentage of all the cited papers in the HEP database is not listed.
- 6) Those publications with 1 – 9 citations are categorized as “Less Known” and their approximate percentage of all the cited papers in the HEP database is not listed.
- 7) Those publications with 0 citations are categorized as unknown and their approximate percentage of all the cited papers in the HEP database is not listed.

I also note here that, in the breakdown of citation percentiles, SLAC-SPIRES includes an unnamed subset of the “Renowned” category that is limited to papers with 1000 or more citations. These represent approximately 0.12% of all the cited papers in the HEP database. As can be surmised, the vast majority—indeed 90% of all citeable papers in the HEP database—are cited fewer than fifty times. Also, as noted on the SLAC-SPIRES website, the category ‘sort bins’ are not cumulative (i.e. each publication is counted in

one—and only one—category).³⁹⁴ Thus, a scientist who authors a paper that is cited 403 times is credited for a paper with 250 – 499 citations, but that same paper is not simultaneously credited in the 50 – 99 bin or the 100 – 249 bin. As noted at the outset of this section, the SLAC-SPIRES distribution categories and sort bins are derived from the literature on High Energy Physics. The question is whether though their usefulness can be extended beyond that subfield of physics.

A recent study of citation statistics of all papers in the *Physical Review*—covering all branches of basic physics research, not just High Energy Physics—found a remarkably similar distribution of citations.³⁹⁵ Once again, fifty citations emerges as a useful and meaningful lower bound for indicating papers of special significance; and the distribution bins (50 – 99 citations; 100 – 249 citations, and so on) showed a similar pattern to the SLAC-SPIRES data. Thus, with the stipulations that are explained in the following paragraphs, I feel confident adopting a modified SLAC-SPIRES citation distribution curve and citation category bins for this study.

The first stipulation concerns the poorly understood redundancy issue in Google Scholar. As with the publication statistics, it appears that Google Scholar has something of a universal redundancy in the citation count for any

³⁹⁴ SLAC-SPIRES HEP Database of Citation Distribution” (01 Dec 2005).

³⁹⁵ Sidney Redner, “Citation Statistics from 110 Years of *Physical Review*,” *Physics Today* 58, No. 6 (Jun 2005), 49-54. I am indebted to Professor David Kaiser for alerting me to this source.

given publication. For example, in the case of John Wheeler, we see that as of 23 November 2008, the opus *Gravitation* (coauthored with former students Charles Misner and Kip Thorne) had been cited 2,723 times. Further down the search results webpage, we find instances when it appears that a particular chapter or section of *Gravitation* has been cited by some group of articles. This same redundancy was found in a number of 'spot-checks' involving well-known and not-so-well-known publications. Here again, as with the total number of publications, the data extracted from Google Scholar is taken to represent a relative rather than an absolute measure. Unfortunately, for the reasons detailed above, a relative measure will have to suffice for this dissertation.

Three other points need to be made regarding the "Index of Students' Impact" metric. While the SLAC-SPIRES and Redner distribution curves suggest a lower bound of fifty citations as the threshold of significance in citation counts, the inherent redundancy in the Google Scholar database suggests modifying the significance threshold of fifty upwards to a threshold of 100. In other words, in order to be counted as a former student who produced significant publications, that student would have to be credited with a publication that had been cited at least one hundred times. It should be noted here that 100 citations is well within the ninetieth percentile in relation to citation counts for all published research in physics.

The second point is that, for reasons having to do with formatting the text in this dissertation, our tables have been truncated in comparison to the SLAC-SPIRES classification scheme. In particular, SLAC-SPIRES uses three separate categories to delineate publications that have been cited more than 100 times: “Renowned,” 500+ citations; “Famous,” 250 – 499 citations; “Very Well-Known,” 100 – 249 citations. I have chosen to combine the ‘Famous’ category (250 – 499 citations) and the ‘Very Well-Known’ category (100 – 249 citations) into a “Very Well-Known” classification of papers with between 100 and 499 citations. Here, it bears reminding that even with Google Scholar’s redundancy issues, fewer than 10% of all research publications are cited 100 times or more.

Finally, unlike the SLAC-SPIRES HEP database, I have chosen to make the bins cumulative. In other words, a paper that is cited 508 times is counted for the author of that paper as both a ‘renowned’ and a ‘very well-known’ publication. The distinction comes from the fact that SLAC-SPIRES is assessing individual publications while this dissertation is using those publications to assess the significance of the science performed by a given physicist. Stated alternatively, SLAC-SPIRES is concerned with publications and we are concerned with physicists. Thus for SLAC-SPIRES, individual papers are classified as renowned or very well-known—but not both. Whereas for our purposes, a physicist who publishes a renowned paper is also given credit for publishing a very well-known paper. With the foregoing stipulations in

mind, the tables comparing the Index of Students' Impact for Wheeler and selected colleagues are shown below.

Table 4.5 Index of Students' Impact for Selected Mentors at Princeton

| Professor | Number of Ph.D. Students | Students with 'Renowned' Publications having 500+ Citations | % of Ph.D. Students | Students with 'Very Well-Known' Publications having 100 - 499 Citations | % of Ph.D. Students |
|------------------|--------------------------|---|---------------------|---|---------------------|
| J. A. Wheeler | 46 | 11 | 23.9% | 28 | 60.9% |
| T. R. Carver | 16 | 0 | 0% | 2 | 12.5% |
| R. H. Dicke | 25 | 3 | 12.0% | 8 | 32.0% |
| V. L. Fitch | 15 | 3 | 20.0% | 5 | 33.3% |
| M. L. Goldberger | 19 | 2 | 10.5% | 6 | 31.6% |
| R. Sherr | 14 | 0 | 0% | 4 | 28.6% |
| S. B. Treiman | 24 | 6 | 25.0% | 11 | 45.8% |
| A. S. Wightman | 24 | 2 | 8.3% | 11 | 45.8% |
| E. P. Wigner | 25 | 4 | 16.0% | 13 | 52.0% |

Table 4.5 The Impact of Students' Work for selected professors at Princeton. The relatively high percentage of students with 'renowned' or 'famous' publications to their credit is indicative of the strength of this department. This data also speaks to the mentoring proficiency of Val Fitch, Sam Treiman, Arthur Wightman (himself a former Wheeler student), Eugene Wigner, and Wheeler himself. Note, since this table is intended to assess the work of students rather than the impact of papers, the "Very Well-Known" column includes the work of those students who authored "Renowned" publications.

Table 4.6 Index of Students' Impact for Selected Mentors at Texas

| Professor | Number of Ph.D. Students | Students with 'Renowned' having Publications 500+ Citations | % of Ph.D. Students | Students with 'Very Well-Known' Publications having 100 – 499 Citations | % of Ph.D. Students |
|------------------|---------------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| J. A. Wheeler | 4 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| R. D. Bengston | 13 | 1 | 7.7% | 2 | 14.4% |
| B. S. DeWitt | 11 | 0 | 0% | 1 | 9.1% |
| D. A. Dicus | 9 | 1 | 11.1% | 3 | 33.3% |
| J. L. Erskine | 10 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| M. Fink | 9 | 0 | 0% | 1 | 11.1% |
| R. A. Matzner | 17 | 0 | 0% | 3 | 17.6% |
| C. F. Moore | 10 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| W. C. Schieve | 10 | 1 | 10.0% | 3 | 30.0% |
| L. C. Shepley | 8 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| J. C. Thompson | 13 | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |

Table 4.6 The Impact of Students' Work for Selected Professors at Texas. As of Winter 2009, none of John Wheeler's Ph.D. students has authored a renowned publication. Note, as with Table 4.5 there is a redundancy in the "Renowned" and "Very Well-Known" columns. Note also that W H. Zurek, the former W. Schieve student with "Renowned" work, wrote at least one of the "Renowned" pieces as a post-doc with Wheeler.

The results of this analysis are striking. Some 38.1% of the students who earned a doctorate under the supervision of John Wheeler or one of his Princeton colleagues are credited with at least one publication that is 'very well-known' (i.e. cited more than 100 times). Indeed, 12.9% of the Princeton-trained physicists had authored or co-authored at least one 'renowned' publication (i.e. cited more than 500 times). The impact of those physicists who trained under Wheeler and his colleagues at Texas is somewhat less impressive. Of those physicists who earned their doctorate at the University of Texas during the timeframe 1976-1988, 10.5% are credited with a 'very well-known' publication and 2.6% have authored or co-authored a 'renowned' paper.

Again we face the question of whether mentoring efficacy is an institutional or an individual trait. In fact, the research presented here indicates that it is both.

Clearly, in contrast with Texas, the intellectual horsepower at Princeton (e.g. six current or future Nobelists were colleagues of Wheeler at Princeton) was a drawing card for the best students.³⁹⁶ Even among that illustrious company however, Wheeler always seemed to stand out as a drawing card. Some examples come immediately to mind. Tom Griffy, who served as chair

³⁹⁶ During John Wheeler's tenure at Princeton, the Physics faculty included six current or future Nobel Laureates: Eugene Wigner, Val Fitch, James Cronin, Philip Anderson, David Gross, and Frank Wilczek.

of the Texas physics department from 1974 to 1984, believed that having Wheeler aboard brought an enhanced “credibility” to the department, and without Wheeler on the faculty, Griffy doubts that he could have attracted Nobel Laureate Steven Weinberg from Harvard to Texas in 1982.³⁹⁷ The timing is significant here. Unlike Wheeler, who had, at least nominally, retired from Princeton in 1976 at the age of sixty-five, Weinberg was only forty-nine and had been awarded the Nobel Prize just three years before he came to Texas.³⁹⁸

This was not the only time the physics department at Texas employed Wheeler as an attraction. Brice DeWitt and Cecile DeWitt-Morette, two of Wheeler’s colleagues at Texas, credit Wheeler with bringing the eminent physicists Philip Candelas, David Deutsch, and Claudio Teitelboim (each of whom has multiple “Renowned” publications to their credit) to Texas. In another effort to strengthen the department, Wheeler organized several conferences (e.g. the “Tenth Texas Relativistic Astrophysics Symposium”) that were aimed at potential graduate students whom the department saw as particularly promising. Participants received an all expenses paid trip to Austin where, in addition to the conference, they had ample opportunity to interact

³⁹⁷ Thomas Griffy, “Interview with Tom Griffy,” interview by Ken Ford, 28 Feb 1995, University of Texas at Austin, transcript. <http://www.aip/history/ohilist/23203.html> (09 Oct 2008).

³⁹⁸ Steven Weinberg, “Autobiography,” http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/physics/laureates/1979/weinberg-autobio.html (05 Mar 2009), also in *Nobel Lectures, Physics 1971 – 1980* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 1992).

with the physics faculty.³⁹⁹ Indeed, Wheeler's potential to attract high caliber students and faculty was evident very early in his career. In March of 1942 (more than three years before Wheeler was offered tenure as an associate professor at Princeton), G. W. Stewart, the Dean of Faculty at the University of Iowa offered Wheeler the position of Dean of Iowa's graduate school.⁴⁰⁰ In sum, although Princeton clearly had (and has) an institutional advantage in attracting high quality students and faculty, John Wheeler made a number of successful efforts at mitigating Texas' perceived shortcomings.

Setting institutional considerations aside, it can be seen in Table 4.6, that nearly one in four of the physicists who apprenticed under John Wheeler during his Princeton years, has authored or co-authored at least one 'renowned' publication, and more than 60% authored or co-authored at least one 'very well-known' publication. Thus, for his Princeton students, John Wheeler is credited with an 'Index of Students' Impact' of 60.9%. It is worth noting here that only one of Wheeler's Princeton colleagues had an Index of Students' Impact that exceeded 50% and that professor (E. P. Wigner) had slightly more than half the number of students mentored by Wheeler. Indeed,

³⁹⁹ Bryce DeWitt and Cecile DeWitt-Morette, "Interview with Bryce DeWitt and Cecile DeWitt-Morette," interview by Kenneth W. Ford, 28 Feb 1995 Austin, TX, transcript, NBL-AIP; see also "Final Program", Box 9.8/2008-164/33 (7), "Symposia 80 - 82." Folder [bound] "Texas Symposium 1980," UT-JAW.

⁴⁰⁰ See, G. W. Stewart to John A. Wheeler, 08 Mar 1942, Box 34 "Correspondence," Folder "1942-1947," UT-JAW; See also "Physics Dept. Records" Box 4, Folder 4 "Trustees Decision to Promote Wheeler," PRIN-PHY.

excluding Wheeler, the average Index of Students' Impact among Princeton Professors was 31.3%. But there is more to the story.

Here, let us recall the caveat regarding extensively shared authorship in experimental physics that was introduced in Chapter One. In particular, I cited the instance of Roger Kadel, a former apprentice of Nobelist and Wheeler colleague Val Fitch. While Kadel had been credited with authoring one “renowned” publication, it turns out that the publication in question listed 434 authors and was five pages in length.⁴⁰¹ But, Kadel is not an isolated case. Lawrence R. Sulak, another former Fitch apprentice, is credited with seven publications that have achieved ‘renowned’ status. On closer inspection however, we find that the articles for which Sulak is credited averaged less

⁴⁰¹ R. W. Kadel et al [433 others], “Observation of Top Quark Production in $p\bar{p}$ Collisions with the Collider Detector at Fermilab”, *Physical Review Letters* 74, No. 14 (3 Apr 1995), 2626-2631, http://prola.aps.org/abstract/PRL/v74/i14/p2626_1 (23 Nov 2008).

than five pages in length and featured an average of 82 authors.⁴⁰² A similar case could be made about the 'renowned' publication of David G. Cassel, another former student of Val Fitch.⁴⁰³ Only one former Wheeler student, Kip Thorne, has any publication that is the product of extensively shared authorship (fourteen authors, eight pages), and that work, like the published research of Kadel, Sulak, and Cassel involved experimental research.⁴⁰⁴ To be fair, all but two of the 'renowned' articles credited to Sulak were published in *Physical Review Letters* which has a strict editorial policy that limits the

⁴⁰² Lawrence R. Sulak, et al [36 others], "Observation of a neutrino burst in coincidence with supernova 1987A in the Large Magellanic Cloud," *Physical Review Letters* 58, No 14 (06 Apr 1987), 1494-1496; Lawrence R. Sulak, et al [28 others], "Measurement of Atmospheric Neutrino Composition with the IMB-3 Detector," *Physical Review Letters* 66, no, 20 (20 May 1991), 2561-2564; Lawrence R. Sulak, et al [22 others], "Electron and Muon-Neutrino Content of the Atmospheric Flux," *Physical Review D* 46, No. 9 (01 Nov 1992), 3720-3724; Lawrence R. Sulak, et al [125 others], "Measurements of the Solar Neutrino Flux from Super-Kamiokande's First 300 Days," *Physical Review Letters* 81, No. 6 (10 Aug 1998), 1158-1162; Lawrence R. Sulak, et al [120 others], "Evidence for Oscillation of Atmospheric Neutrios," *Physical Review Letters* 81, No. 8 (24 Aug 1998), 1562-1567; Kamiokande Collaboration [Lawrence R. Sulak and 123 others], "Study of the Atmospheric Neutrino Flux in the Mult-GeV Energy Range," *Physics Letters B* 436, Nos. 1-2 (17 Sep 1998), 33-41; Lawrence R. Sulak, et al [118 others], "Solar ⁸B and HEP Neutrino Measurements from 1258 Days of Super-Kamiokande Data," *Physical Review Letters* 86, No 25 (18 Jun 2001), 5651-5655.

⁴⁰³ David G. Cassel, et al [173 others], "Evidence for Penguin-Diagram Decays: First Observation of $B \rightarrow K^*(892)\gamma$," *Physical Review Letters* 71, No. 5 (02 Aug 1993), 674-678.

⁴⁰⁴ Kip S. Thorne, et al [13 others], "LIGO: The Laser Interferometer Gravitational-Wave Observatory," *Science* 256, No. 5055 (17 Apr 1992), 325-333

number of pages in an article.⁴⁰⁵ I should also note that Kip Thorne has three other 'renowned' publications that have no more than one or two co-authors.

The foregoing is not intended to diminish the accomplishments of these particular experimental physicists or—more to the point of this dissertation—their mentors. Rather the point is that extensively shared authorship offers, at best, an ambiguous measure of the efficacy of a mentor in terms of both the "Student Productivity Index and the "Index of Students' Impact." Thus, for the latter years of John Wheeler's career, it became increasingly difficult to gauge the efficacy of a mentor in experimental physics. That reservation aside, the publication data for the physicists who apprenticed at Princeton in the years 1938 – 1978 suggests the presence of an exceptional group of mentors, with John Wheeler foremost among them.

The mentoring outcomes (as measured by the 'Index of Students' Impact') at Texas tell a very different story. As of this writing (Winter 2009), none of Wheeler's Texas students has produced a "very well known" publication.

⁴⁰⁵ "About Physical Review Journals," <http://publish.aps.org/about> (01 Mar 2009) and "Notice to Referees," <http://forms.aps.org/referee/rvwstndrds-pra.pdf> (01 Mar 2009); *Physical Review Letters* was established in the late 1950s as a forum for "short, important papers" which can be published quickly (and therefore establish scientific priority). *Physical Review Letters* publishes Letters of not more than four journal pages and Comments of not more than one journal page. The journal is published weekly with typically one referee per letter or comment. The referees are encouraged to render a decision within one week of receiving the manuscript.

Here, it seems reasonable to presume that this discrepancy is due, at least in part, to the circumstance that Princeton was able to attract a higher caliber of student than Texas. Hence, it should not be surprising that only three of Wheeler's colleagues at Texas had, within the 1976 – 1988 timeframe, mentored students who authored or co-authored at least one 'renowned' publication and only six of the eleven included in our survey mentored students with at least one 'very well-known' publication. On closer inspection however, we see that John Wheeler had a hand in mentoring one of the more talented physicists that trained at Texas.

Wojciech H. Zurek, the student of William Schieve who is credited with having authored or coauthored six 'renowned' publications, was also a post-doctoral fellow under Wheeler at Texas in the years 1979 - 1981. Indeed, one of Zurek's renowned publications, *Quantum Theory and Measurement* (co-authored with Wheeler), came out of Zurek's post-doctoral work with Wheeler. Moreover, Zurek maintains that, in addition to the book, at least ten separate publications (including two 'renowned' and one 'very well-known paper) were inspired by his post-doctoral work with Wheeler.⁴⁰⁶ Thus, it would appear that

⁴⁰⁶ John Archibald Wheeler and Wojciech Hubert Zurek, *Quantum Theory and Measurement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984). As per Google Scholar, this book has been cited more than 700 times; As per Wojciech Zurek (personal communication with the author), 25 Feb 2009, ten of his papers were conceived and-or inspired during Zurek's post-doctoral fellowship with John Wheeler. Of these, two ("Pointer Basis of Quantum Apparatus: Into What Mixture Does the Wavepacket Collapse?," *Physical Review D* 24, No 5 (15 Sep 1981), 1516-1525; "Environment-Induced

even in an environment that was not awash with the 'best and brightest' students from across the nation, John Wheeler had significant success as a mentor.

Section 4.6 Review

In this chapter, I have demonstrated the insights available through content analysis of the acknowledgements of dissertations and theses. Furthermore, I have shown that content analysis can also offer a sense of the degree to which a given mentor collaborates with his or her peers, or a particular department promotes a collaborative environment.

That said, the key element in this chapter is the innovation and development of quantitative means by which the outcomes of a given mentor, or group of mentors (e.g. a physics department faculty) can be objectively evaluated. Here, as noted above, I have profited immensely from a timely and insightful suggestion by Professor David I. Kaiser of MIT. This technique, which is predicated on publication records of a given mentor's former apprentices, enables a two-dimensional, complementary appraisal (i.e. scientific productivity and the significance of published research) of that mentor's proficiency.

Superselection Rules," *Physical Review D* 26, No. 8 (15 Oct 1982), 1862-1880) have been cited more than 500 times and one ([with W. K. Wootters] "Complementarity in the Double-Slit Experiment: Quantum Nonseparability and a Quantitative Statement of Bohr's Principle," *Physical Review D* 19, No. 2 (15 Jan 1979), 473-484) has been cited more than 100 times.

In the Master's thesis, which preceded and formed the foundation for this project, the evaluation of John Wheeler's skill as a mentor was entirely subjective in that it relied exclusively on the recollections of Wheeler's former students. The quantitative analysis here makes it possible to substantiate—or disprove—the inference of those memories which are so often clouded and colored by time.

Moreover, these same methods can be applied to the other mentors and or institutions to enable an “apples-to-apples” comparison of mentoring outcomes such that department chairs or university administrators can identify proficient mentors within their ranks, take steps to emulate the strategy and practices employed by those mentors, and establish an intellectual environment that is conducive to effective mentoring.

Chapter Five: John Archibald Wheeler Considered in the Context of Research School Scholarship and the Scholarship of Pedagogy in Science

Section 5.1 Overview

“Scientists are not born, they are made.” So asserts historian David Kaiser of MIT in his edited volume *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science*.⁴⁰⁷ The ‘making of scientists’ is, in fact, the focus for this dissertation. As a result of a preliminary investigation (i.e. the 2006 Master’s Thesis upon which this work is predicated) this project began with two objectives. One objective was to determine how best to situate the making of scientists, theoretical physicists in particular, in the existing problem set of scholarly literature. The second, and more significant objective was to develop a means by which it is possible to objectively assess the mentoring workmanship of those scientific craftsmen who preside over the final stage of this making in the mentorship of scientists. This second objective was born of an aspiration to identify the most proficient mentors and to evaluate their most effective practices?

Previous chapters have focused on an overview of the historical literature dealing with research schools; a biographical sketch of John Archibald Wheeler with an eye to his career as a physicist and mentor; an assessment of Wheeler's expertise as a mentor as seen through the remarks

⁴⁰⁷ David Kaiser, ed., *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science*, Inside Technology Series, ed. Wiebe E. Bijker, W. Bernard Carlson, and Trevor Pinch (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2005), 1.

of his former students; and a quantitative evaluation of Wheeler's mentoring outcomes as compared with the mentoring outcomes of his colleagues at Princeton and Texas.

In this chapter, I aim to synthesize what has been learned about the mentoring practices of John Wheeler with the generalized attributes of a successful research school and the emerging scholarship dealing with scientific pedagogy. I begin by revisiting the work of historian Gerald Geison, who established the comprehensive criteria that define a research school, and I then turn to recent work on pedagogy in physics, especially as developed by MIT historian David Kaiser. The ensuing sections of this chapter correlate specific aspects of the research school literature (e.g. charismatic leadership, ready access to publication, etc.) with the history of Wheeler's relationship with his students as well as evidence that Wheeler's former students have self-consciously incorporated a number of Wheeler's pedagogical methods into their own mentoring style. Finally, I conclude the chapter positing that John Wheeler is an exemplar of a Geison-Morrell research school, that mentors serve as instruments of pedagogy in theoretical physics, and that the study of scientific mentoring forms a link between those two areas of scholarly investigation.

Section 5.2 The Reference Frame of Research School Literature: John Archibald Wheeler as the ‘Charismatic Director’

There is a considerable body of historical scholarship directed at research schools of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴⁰⁸ With the notable exceptions of an article by S. T. Keith and Paul K. Hoch, as well as a chapter in *The Cambridge History of Science*, by David E. Rowe, these research schools were based in laboratories or observational science.⁴⁰⁹

Similarly, there is a plethora of literature regarding the role of mentors and the process of mentoring emerged. By and large, these studies are unfocused in that they are intended to be applicable to a wide range of audiences and environments, from businessmen to civil servants, to educators, to self-help gurus and beyond.⁴¹⁰ A small percentage of these studies are directed at mentoring in science, and some of those are specific to mentoring women or minorities who might be embarking on – or even

⁴⁰⁸ Op cite note 22, Chapter 1.

⁴⁰⁹ S. T. Keith and Paul K. Hoch, “The Formation of a Research School: Theoretical Solid State Physics at Bristol, 1930–54,” *British Journal for the History of Science* 19, Pt. 1, No. 6 (Mar 1986), 19–44; David E. Rowe, “Mathematical Schools, Communities and Networks,” in *The Modern Physical and Mathematical Sciences*, ed. Mary Jo Nye, Vol. 5 of *The Cambridge History of Science*, General eds. David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 113–132.

⁴¹⁰ Op cite note [56], Chapter 1.

considering – a career in science.⁴¹¹ As is the case with the research school literature however, virtually all the studies that deal with mentoring in science are focused on those disciplines that are practiced in a laboratory. And yet, in all this, nary a word is said about how to assess the efficacy of a mentor.

This lacuna in the scholarship is surprising because some of the earliest research school studies (i.e. Geison, 1981; Morrell, 1972) identified one of the defining characteristics of successful research schools as having a “charismatic” director.⁴¹² All historical scholarship indicates that the presence of such a charismatic director was a key factor in the success or failure of a given research school. There were, to be sure, other issues involved. For one thing, the presence or absence of institutional support – both financial and

⁴¹¹ Stephanie J. Bird, “Mentors, Advisors, and Supervisors: Their Role in Teaching Responsible Research Conduct,” in *Mentoring and the Responsible Conduct of Research*, ed. Stephanie J. Bird and Robert L. Sprague, Special Issue: *Science and Engineering Ethics* 7, no. 4 (Jul 2001), 455-468; Piper Fogg, Piper, “The Catalytic Mentor: An Award Winning Chemist at Rutgers University Takes Students under Her Wing” [The Faculty], *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 49, no. 47 (Aug 2003): A-10; <http://oasis.oregonstate.edu/search/tThe+Chronicle+of+Higher+Education/tchronicle+of+higher+education/1%2C2%2C5%2CE/c8561056116&FF=tchronicle+of+higher+education&2%2C%2C4%2C1%2C0> (22 Jan 06); Frederic Lawrence Holmes, *Investigative Pathways: Patterns and Stages in the Careers of Experimental Scientists* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2004); Robert Kanigel, *Apprentice to Genius: The Making of a Scientific Dynasty* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Donald Kennedy, *Academic Duty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); Association for Women in Science, *Mentoring Means Future Scientists: A Guide for Developing Mentoring Programs Based on the AWIS Mentoring Project*, 1993; Deborah C. Fort, ed., *A Hand Up: Women Mentoring Women in Science* (Washington DC: Association for Women in Science, 1995).

⁴¹² Geison, “Scientific Change,” 1981; Morrell, “The Chemist Breeders,” 1972.

political – was a key determinant in the viability, durability, and historical significance of a research school. Even with institutional support however, it seems that without a suitable leader (i.e. a charismatic director), research schools tended to founder or never form at all.

Still, none of the scholarship has gone beyond labeling the ideal director as “charismatic” and suggesting that it was desirable for this individual to have a solid scientific reputation and influence within the field. To the extent that the director’s interaction with students is discussed at all, the emphasis is typically on the tacit versus explicit transmission of artisanal competencies from master to apprentice. Usually, these studies make reference to the analyses of Ludwig Fleck and Michael Polanyi.⁴¹³ So, how does John Wheeler stack up as a ‘charismatic director’? This question will require some unpacking.

In 1981, building on J. B. Morrell's 1972 article, “The Chemist Breeders: The Research Schools of Justus Liebig and Thomas Thomson,” the historian of science Gerald L. Geison established the now (2009) standard definition of research schools: “[S]mall groups of mature scientists pursuing a reasonably

⁴¹³ H. M. Collins, “The TEA Set: Tacit Knowledge and Scientific Networks,” *Science Studies* 4 (1974), 165-186; Harry Collins, *The Shape of Actions: What Humans and Machines Can Do* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998); Ludwig Fleck, *Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact*, trans. Fred Bradley and Thaddeus J. Trenn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Kathryn M. Olesko, “Tacit Knowledge and School Formation,” in *Research Schools: Historical Reappraisals*, 16-29; Michael Polanyi, *Science, Faith, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964 [originally in 1945]); Michael Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* (New York: Doubleday, 1966).

coherent programme [sic] of research side-by-side with advanced students in the same institutional context and engaging in direct, continuous social and intellectual interaction.”⁴¹⁴ Note here that by inclusion of the phrase, “in the same institutional context,” Geison's definition of a research school is, at least inferentially, tied to a specific location.

Here, it is necessary to pause briefly and acknowledge the literature that articulates the distinction of research school from “research group.” The scholarship of historian Joseph Fruton overlaps that of Geison in the study of Justus von Liebig and his students. In contrast to Geison's term 'research school' Fruton suggests that Liebig and others were actually a “research group.” In Fruton's view, the term 'research group' preserves a focus on a single institution. He notes:

I prefer the latter term [research group] because *research school* has also been applied to a community of scientists, not necessarily located at a single institution, or even in the same country, who are united solely by a common interest in a particular direction of research.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁴ Geison, “Scientific Change,” 23; see also Geison, “Research Schools and New Directions in the Historiography of Science,” 227-228; Morrell, “The Chemist Breeders, 1-46; Morrell, “W. H. Perkin, Jr., at Manchester and Oxford”, 124-125.

⁴¹⁵ Joseph Fruton, *Contrasts in Scientific Style: Research Groups in the Chemical and Biochemical Sciences* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1990), footnote on 1-2; See also, Joseph Fruton, “The Liebig Research Group: A Reappraisal,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 132 (1988): 1-66, 4: Here, Fruton appears to use the terms “research group” and “research school” interchangeably.

For further explication, Fruton refers his readers to the Russian scholar V. L. Gasilov.⁴¹⁶

From the standpoint of the study of mentors, Fruton's point seems to be well taken. All things being equal, the institutional setting is irrelevant to the mentoring process. That said, there are consequences associated with institutional affiliation. If Wheeler had moved to another university that was among the elite graduate schools in physics, Fruton's definition of a research school ("a community of scientists, not necessarily located at a single institution") would be operative for our study. However, as we will see, there is and was a difference in the caliber of students who were admitted to Texas as opposed to those admitted to Princeton, and this circumstance appears to have consequences in the metrics I use to assess mentoring outcomes. Therefore, I have disaggregated the tabular data on Wheeler's mentoring outcomes into two tables that compare Wheelers mentoring outcomes with his colleagues at Princeton separately from those of his colleagues at Texas. To be clear, while I will employ the Geison's research school with its ties to location, ("in the same institutional context"), for our purposes, the operative aspect Gieson's model is its pedagogical imperative ("mature scientists ... side-by-side with advanced students"). With that stipulation in hand, the Geison-Morrell term 'research school,' as defined by Geison and Morrell

⁴¹⁶ Fruton cites V. L. Gasilov, *Voprosy Optimizatsii Nelineinykh Sistem Avtomaticheskogo Upravleniia* (Moscow: Biblioteka Akademii nauk SSSR, 1977).

(hereafter the Geison-Morrell model) is both adequate and apropos for the purposes of this dissertation.

In the Geison-Morrell model, there are fourteen separate qualities whose presence or absence determines the success of a given research school. These are: the presence of a charismatic leader; the presence of a leader with a research reputation; the presence of an informal setting and leadership style; the presence of a leader with institutional power; the presence of social cohesion, loyalty, and esprit de corps; the presence of a focused research program; the presence of simple and rapidly exploitable experimental techniques; the invasion into a new field of research; the presence of a pool of potential recruits; the presence of access to or control of publication outlets; the ability of students to publish early under their own names; the school's success in producing and placing a significant number of students; the institutionalization of the school in a university setting; the presence of adequate financial support.⁴¹⁷ In this section I will focus on John Wheeler's suitability for the designation of "charismatic leader."

One could certainly argue that in the 1938 – 1976 timeframe, the Princeton Physics Department was quite literally awash in 'charismatic directors.' As I have shown in the last chapter, even allowing for the high caliber of students that Princeton was able to attract, there was a great deal of mentoring proficiency in the Department of Physics. It may be recalled from

⁴¹⁷ Geison, "Scientific Change," (1981), 25.

Chapter One that the criterion of teaching effectiveness, particularly with graduate students, seemed to be a prominent factor in the 1938 hiring of John Wheeler. It is also worth note that in the 1938 – 1976 timeframe, there were only six chairs of the physics department at Princeton and four of them (H. D. Smyth, Chair of Physics 1937 – 1950; A. G. Shenstone, Chair of Physics 1950 – 1960; W. Bleakney, Chair of Physics 1960 – 1967; R. H. Dicke, Chair of Physics, 1967 – 1970) were Princeton Alumni.⁴¹⁸ It is therefore reasonable to presume that the hiring philosophy that placed a high priority on teaching effectiveness, particularly with graduate students, continued throughout John Wheeler’s tenure at Princeton, and all things being equal, Princeton would hire professors who seemed to be promising mentors. Even so, Wheeler’s Index of Student Impact (nearly 24% of former apprentices with “Renowned” publications and nearly 61% of former apprentices with “Very Well-Known” papers to their credit) suggests that even among the gifted mentors at Princeton, he stood out. But was Wheeler charismatic in the Geison-Morrell sense of the term?

⁴¹⁸ See Princeton University General Catalogues, 1937–1938 through 1977–1978, PRIN; see also Princeton University Graduate Alumni Index, 1839-1998, <http://www.princeton.edu/~mudd/databases/graduate.html> (02 Mar 2009) and Princeton University Undergraduate Alumni Index, 1921 - 1979, <http://www.princeton.edu/~mudd/databases/alumni2.html> (02 Mar 2009). The Princeton alumni who served as Physics Dept. Chairs were H. D. Smyth, Ph.D. 1918; A. G. Shenstone, Ph.D. 1923; W. Bleakney, Ph.D. 1932; R H. Dicke, A.B. 1939. Dicke earned his Ph.D from the University of Rochester; see also Princeton University Press Release, “Princeton Physicist Robert Dicke Dies,” 04 Mar 1997, <http://www.princeton.edu/pr/news/97/q1/0304dick.html> (02 Mar 2009).

At the outset of his 1981 article, Geison pays homage to J. B. Morrell, who first raised the issue of charisma in a research school director. Indeed, Morrell is downright effusive on the subject:

The creation, maintenance and growth of the school's loyalty, cohesion and confidence depended, too, on the director's charismatic powers, which at best reinforced his institutional power ... the term is useful if it conveys the idea of extraordinarily effective, indeed messianic, leadership. Such charisma which was most effectively exerted in informal pre-bureaucratic contexts, helped to draw students in sufficient numbers to make the school viable. It enforced the standards and styles of work adopted by the school. It exacted from the students an unflagging almost fanatical devotion to research, particularly at times of intellectual failure and disappointment, and on occasion it also imposed fervent specialization. It contributed strongly to the school's sense of its own novel and distinctive identity and importance. And it compelled unquestioning and unswerving loyalty to the master and his school. Though a research school existed primarily to advance knowledge, its atmosphere could be highly evangelical as the prophet broke through accepted conventions and led his devoted followers into unexplored and promising lands of enquiry ... Indeed the extent to which students wished to be known as the pupils of a certain director indicates the strength of his charisma.⁴¹⁹

On one hand, Morrell's statement, insofar as it is applied to modern research schools, seems to overstate the case. There is no evidence that John Wheeler or any of his colleagues considered themselves "messianic." Nor is there any indication that they required an "unquestioning and unswerving loyalty." Indeed, as was shown in the preceding chapters, Wheeler tended to see

⁴¹⁹ Morrell, "Chemist Breeders" (1972), 6-7.

himself more as a collaborator than a mentor. Witness his oft repeated aphorism, “Universities have students to teach the professors.”⁴²⁰

On the other hand, it is clear from the recollections in *Family Gathering* that Wheeler’s students saw him as the ‘bearer of a new physics,’ and virtually without exception, they wanted to be known as part of the ‘Wheeler family.’ This topic deserves further explication.

Charisma, according to German sociologist Max Weber (1864 – 1920), takes a number of forms. Among these is a type of charisma that is specific to a given context, or in Weber's language, “qualitatively particularized.” This type of charisma seems somewhat less ‘messianic’ and more appropriate to the modern research school than the form of charisma described by Morrell. Weber elucidated this contextual charisma as follows:

Charisma can be, and of course regularly is, qualitatively particularized. This is an internal rather than an external affair, and results in the qualitative barrier of the charisma holder’s mission and power. In meaning and in content the mission may be addressed to a group of men who are delimited locally, ethnically, socially, politically, occupationally, or in some other way. If the mission is thus addressed to a limited group of men, as is the rule, it finds its limits within their circle.

⁴²⁰ John Archibald Wheeler, “Wheeler, John Archibald, 1911 – ,” interview by Kenneth W. Ford (transcript) Princeton, NJ and Meadow Lakes, NJ, 06 Dec 1993 – 18 May 1995, American Institute of Physics. Oral History Interviews [OH5]; the sentiment ‘Universities have students to teach professors,’ is expressed on 1209, 1906, and 2318. These particular interviews were conducted 14 Feb 1994 – 10 Jan 1995; See also John Archibald Wheeler and Kenneth Ford. *Geons, Black Holes, and Quantum Foam: A Life in Physics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 150.

Of course, Weber continues, charisma is impermanent at best and fleeting at worst:

By its very nature, the existence of charismatic authority is specifically unstable. The holder may forego his charisma; he may feel 'forsaken by his God,' as Jesus did on the cross; he may prove to his followers that 'virtue is gone out of him.' ... The charismatic leader gains and maintains authority solely by proving his strength in life. If he wants to be a prophet, he must perform miracles; if he wants to be a war lord, he must perform heroic deeds. Above all, however, his divine mission must 'prove' itself in that those who faithfully surrender to him must fare well. If they do not fare well, he is obviously not the master sent by the gods.⁴²¹

Synthesizing these concepts, it appears that charismatic mentoring in science is evidenced by two criteria: a distinguished career and the production of successive generations of elite scientists. In Wheeler's case, using Morrell's and Weber's language, Wheeler continued throughout his career to prove his own strength as a pace-setting theorist, performing heroic deeds as he opened up one field of physics after another. His example and his collaboration with students, often in informal pre- or non-bureaucratic contexts, enforced his own standards and styles of works on his students, as later attested by them. Those who surrendered to his mentorship fared well. The sociologist Harriet Zuckerman makes this case in another context when she traces the intellectual lineage of Hans Krebs (1900 – 1981) through four generations of Nobel laureates and three generations of eminent chemists

⁴²¹ Max Weber, *From Max Weber, Essays in Sociology*, trans and ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (London: Oxford University Press, 1946; reprint New York: Galaxy, 1965), 247, 248-249.

(including Justus von Liebig) all the way to Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier (1743 – 1794).⁴²² So, how does Wheeler stack up?

There is no question of John Wheeler’s “research reputation.” This is a point that has been established earlier in this study. Wheeler’s accomplishments as a physicist are broad in scope and significant in impact. To recap a few highlights: Wheeler co-authored the first paper on the generalized mechanism of nuclear fission; he played a key role in the Manhattan Project (particularly the development of the reactors used for plutonium production); he made significant contributions to the field of quantum electrodynamics; he was an important member of the research team that developed the hydrogen bomb; and Wheeler and his students have made substantial progress in general relativity, especially in regard to astrophysics and cosmology.

Wheeler’s personal publication record is, in itself, ample testimony to his scientific productivity as well as the significance of his work. As we see from his personal bibliography (Appendix B, page 343), Wheeler has three patents and 396 publications to his credit. The impact of this oeuvre is evident in the citation counts that emerge from a Google Scholar search. John Wheeler is credited with four ‘Renowned’ publications (i.e. 500 plus citations); six ‘Famous’ publications (i.e. 250-499 citations); and twelve ‘Very Well-

⁴²² Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 150. For the full listing of Zuckerman’s master-apprentice chain, see note [7], Introduction.

Known' publications (i.e. 100-249 citations).⁴²³ Here it is also useful to recall

⁴²³ See Google Scholar, find a: "JA Wheeler," http://scholar.google.com/scholar?as_q=&num=10&btnG=Search+Scholar&as_epq=&as_oq=&as_eq=&as_occt=any&as_sauthors=%22JA+Wheeler%22&as_publication=&as_ylo=&as_yhi=&as_allsubj=all&hl=en&lr= (02 Mar 09), The 'Renowned' publications include: Niels Bohr and John Archibald Wheeler, "The Mechanism of Nuclear Fission," *Physical Review* 56, No. 5 (01 Sep 1939), 426-450; David Lawrence Hill and John Archibald Wheeler, "Nuclear Constitution and the Interpretation of Fission Phenomena," *Physical Review* 89, No. 5 (01 Mar 1953), 1102-1145; Tullio Regge and John Archibald Wheeler, "Stability of a Schwarzschild Singularity," *Physical Review* 108, No. 4 (15 Nov 1957) 1063-1069; Charles W. Misner, Kip S. Thorne, John Archibald Wheeler, *Gravitation* (New York: W. H. Freeman, 1973). The 'Famous' publications include: Richard Phillips Feynman and John Archibald Wheeler, "Interaction with the Absorber as the Mechanism of Radiation," *Reviews of Modern Physics* 17, No. 2-3 (01 Apr 1945), 157-181; John Archibald Wheeler and Richard Phillips Feynman, "Classical Electrodynamics in Terms of Direct Interparticle Action," *Reviews of Modern Physics* 21, No. 3 (01 Jul 1949), 425-433; Dieter R. Brill and John A. Wheeler, "Interaction of Neutrinos and Gravitational Fields," *Reviews of Modern Physics* 29, No. 3 (01 Jul 1957), 465-479; John Archibald Wheeler, *Geometrodynamics* (New York: Academic Press, 1962); Edwin F. Taylor and John Archibald Wheeler, *Spacetime Physics* (New York, W. H. Freeman, 1963); Ignazio Ciufolini and John Archibald Wheeler, *Gravitation and Inertia* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1995). The 'Very Well-Known' publications include: John Archibald Wheeler, "Molecular Viewpoints in Nuclear Structure," *Physical Review* 52, No. 11 (01 Dec 1937), 1083-1106; John Archibald Wheeler, "Polyelectrons," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 48, No. 3 (11 Oct 1946), 219-238; John Archibald Wheeler, "Geons," *Physical Review* 97, No. 2 (15 Jan 1955), 511-536; John A. Wheeler, "Assessment of Everett's "Relative State" Formulation of Quantum Theory," *Reviews of Modern Physics* 29, No. 3 (1 Jul 1957), 463-465; J. J. Griffin and J. A. Wheeler, "Collective Motions in Nuclei by the Method of Generator Coordinates," *Physical Review* 108, No. 2 (15 Oct 1957), 311-327; J. A. Wheeler, "On the Nature of Quantum Geometrodynamics," *Annals of Physics* 7, No. 6 (Dec 1957), 604-614; Kenneth W. Ford and John A. Wheeler, "Classical Electrodynamics in Terms of Direct Interparticle Action," *Annals of Physics* 7, No. 3 (Jul 1959), 259-286; R. F. Baierlein, D. H. Sharp, and J. A. Wheeler, "Three Dimensional Geometry as Carrier of Information about Time," *Physical Review* 126, No. 5 (01 Jun 1961), 1864-1865; Remo Ruffini and John Archibald Wheeler, "Introducing the Black Hole," *Physics Today*, 24, No. 1 (Jan 1971), 30-36, 39,

that even with the mysterious redundancy issues in Google Scholar, ‘Very Well-Known’ publications rank in the ninetieth percentile of citation count (and therefore in significance) of all published research in physics. In view of the foregoing, it is not surprising that, even in the absence of a Nobel Prize, the sociologist Harriet Zuckerman places Wheeler among the “ultra-elite” of physicists.⁴²⁴

The fate of Wheeler’s students, or what is called scientific reproduction (i.e. the production of successive generations of scientists), has been addressed at length earlier in this dissertation. Suffice it to say that quite an number of Wheeler's former apprentices (e.g. Nobel Laureate Richard Feynman, Dieter Brill, John Toll, Ken Ford, Charles Misner, Kip Thorne, Jacob Bekenstein, to name but a few) have gone on to distinguished careers. What is significant is how many of the contributors to *Family Gathering* discuss Wheeler's continuing influence on them, and through them, to their own

41; John Archibald Wheeler, “Superspace and the Nature of Quantum Geometrodynamics,” in *Quantum Cosmology*, ed L. Z. Fang and R. Ruffini (Teaneck, NJ, World Scientific Publishing, 1987), 27-92; John Archibald Wheeler, “Information, Physics, Quantum: The Search for Links,” in *Complexity, Entropy, and the Physics of Information, Proceedings of the Santa Fe Institute Workshop 29 May - 10 Jun 1989*, Santa Fe, NM, ed. Wojciech H. Zurek (Santa Fe, Westview Press, 1990), 3-28.

⁴²⁴ Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 104; See also, Kip S. Thorne, and Wojciech H. Zurek, “John Archibald Wheeler: A Few Highlights of His Contributions to Physics,” in *Between Quantum and Cosmos: Studies and Essays in Honor of John Archibald Wheeler*, ed. Wojciech Hubert Zurek, Alwyn van der Merwe, and Warner Allen Miller (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 1988): 3-13; John R. Klauder, “An Introduction,” *Magic Without Magic: John Archibald Wheeler: A Collection of Essays in Honor of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. John R. Klauder (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1972), 10-11.

students. The letter of John S. Toll is particularly striking. Toll, who is now (2009) President Emeritus of Washington College and Chancellor Emeritus of the University of Maryland, also served as Professor and Chair of the Department of Physics and Astronomy at the University of Maryland from 1953 to 1965. At the time of his *Family Gathering* letter to Wheeler (23 June 1977), Toll was president of SUNY at Stony Brook and making preparations to serve as president of the University of Maryland. In that letter, Toll described his own students as Wheeler's 'grandchildren' and their students as Wheeler's great-grandchildren. Moreover, since a number of Wheeler's students were among the faculty of the department of physics and astronomy at Maryland, Toll observed that Wheeler had, in effect, inspired the whole department. Toll even spoke of building SUNY in the "Wheeler spirit." Regarding Wheeler's charisma as a mentor, Toll wrote:

I remember your [Wheeler] speaking of the "charismatic chain" that was so essential to good scientific work—a sequence of apprenticeships in which the spirit of research was passed from one person to another. Certainly you have been a uniquely effective source of such a large charismatic chain.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁵ *Family Gathering*, John S. Toll, 66-72; For John Toll's career see, University of Maryland, "John Sampson Toll, Curriculum Vitae," available online: <http://www.physics.umd.edu/people/faculty/cv/TollCV.pdf> (21 Aug 2005) and Washington College, "Meet the Administration: John S. Toll," available online: http://faculty.washcoll.edu/admin_bios/toll.html (26 May 2006). See also *Family Gathering*, 34, 103, 125, 164, 429: In addition to Toll, the former Wheeler students at Maryland included Gilbert Plass, James J. Griffin, Dieter Brill, and Charles Misner. Also, at the time of Toll's letter, Bahram Mashoon had just completed a two year post-doc at Maryland.

Clearly, in the eyes of John Toll and others, Wheeler was very successful as a charismatic progenitor of 'successive generations of scientists. In light of the foregoing, and employing Max Weber's definition of particularized charisma, I adduce that John Wheeler satisfied the charismatic leader criterion that Geison and Morrell have established for a successful research school. But can we conflate research school leadership with mentoring?

Conceivably, it could be argued that a mentor's primary concern is the advancement of his or her apprentices while a research school leader concentrates on the production of knowledge. Therefore, the argument continues, directing a research school is a separate enterprise from mentoring. On the other hand, in order to survive, research schools are compelled to instruct their apprentices in the craft of doing science, including multiple ways to think about the science they are doing, as well as the professional standards of quality and production that will be expected of them once they have completed their apprenticeship.

The person responsible for this instruction, in the Geison-Morrell ideal research school, is a 'charismatic' director. That said, just as all scientists are not equally capable, so too all mentors are not equally skillful. Indeed, one reason for choosing John Wheeler as the subject for this dissertation was his perceived effectiveness in the role of mentor. Moreover, the production of knowledge and the professional socialization of scientific apprentices are not

mutually exclusive propositions. As Frederic L. Holmes, J. B. Morrell, and others have pointed out, even though Justus von Liebig moved away from the frontiers of organic chemistry to 'agricultural chemistry', he still continued to produce chemical knowledge *and* knowledgeable chemists at a prodigious rate.⁴²⁶ The case of John Wheeler, as detailed above, serves to reinforce the argument that the production of large amounts of knowledge and the professional socialization of large numbers of scientists are not mutually exclusive.

Of course, having a charismatic leader with a solid research reputation are only two requirements of the Geison-Morrell model. In the next section, I will address the question of how Wheeler and his students fit with the other criteria of the ideal research school.

Section 5.3 John Wheeler as a Geison-Morrell Exemplar

In his 1981 *History of Science* article, Gerald Geison developed a chart, which incorporated the features of J. B. Morrell's ideal research school and enabled a side-by-side comparison of various research schools with respect to the fourteen salient indicators of a given research school's long-term success.⁴²⁷ In the preceding section, I have addressed and confirmed

⁴²⁶ Fruton, "The Liebig Research Group: A Reappraisal," 2-5; Fruton, *Contrasts in Style*, 16-19; Holmes, F. L. "Justus von Liebig," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie (New York: Scribner and Sons, 1973), 344-347;

⁴²⁷ Geison, "Scientific Change" (1981), 24.

Wheeler's status as a charismatic leader with a solid reputation for research, thus satisfying the first two of the fourteen Geison-Morrell criteria. This section addresses Wheeler's congruence with the remaining twelve.

Among the eight schools chosen for Geison's comparison were three research schools that had shown sustained success (Justus von Liebig's school of Chemistry at the University of Giessen, Michael Foster's school of physiology at the University of Cambridge, and Arthur A. Noyes' school of physical chemistry at Caltech); two schools that had achieved temporary success (Pierre-Simon Laplace and Claude Louis Berthollet's "Arcueil School" of physics and chemistry (c. 1800-1813) and Enrico Fermi's school of nuclear physics at the University of Rome); and four schools that were partial or relative failures (Thomas Thomson's school of chemistry at the University of Glasgow, John Scott Burdon-Sanderson's schools of physiology at University College London and Oxford University, Ira Remsen's school of chemistry at John's Hopkins University, and Wilder D. Bancroft's school of physical chemistry at Cornell University).⁴²⁸

From Geison's original selections, I have chosen to compare Wheeler to a school which had sustained success (Justus von Liebig in Giessen), a school which had temporary success (Enrico Fermi in Rome), and a school which was a partial or relative failure (Ira Remsen at Johns Hopkins). This tabular comparison of Wheeler's work as a mentor with other research schools

⁴²⁸ Geison, "Scientific Change" (1981), 22.

illustrates the importance of a proficient mentor to the institution *and* the individuals they serve.

The Geison-Morrell ideal research school model calls for an “informal setting and leadership style.” Here again, this aspect of Wheeler's mentoring has been addressed above. To what has been said earlier, we can add a report from *Family Gathering*. In his undated letter, Fred K. Manasse recalled numerous Saturday “group advising” sessions:

The best general description of it I would now call a combination of apprenticeship with small group instruction. It was not a seminar, nor a lecture, nor the classical one-on-one advising. However, elements of each of these were present ... Although Johnny always made specific appointments, and for a precise time, our discussions were rarely just for the two of us. As a matter of fact, he deliberately arranged for several of us to be scheduled within 30-45 minutes of each other and thus there were almost always 4 or 5 people there at any one time. We sat around in his combination library-office in Palmer Hall discussing each other's problems, obtaining references from his shelves, getting advice from each other and from John and generally discussing physics, relativity, research approaches etc. Whatever he did as catalyst to each of us apparently worked, because we all got our unique thesis ideas and eventually our PhD's without really seeing Johnny alone more than half a dozen times during our three or four years at Princeton. I can still remember that familiar “Come In” at the appointed time, and in each instance being greeted by a different assortment of student colleagues all eagerly waiting to discuss their own problem while critiquing the current holder of the ear and/or chair nearest the “great man”. Perhaps this is the true and modern version of the Socratic system.

Manasse's report resonates with the recollections of former Princeton student and post-doctoral fellow, Paul Boynton.⁴²⁹ Of course, the recollections of Manasse and Boynton bring to mind others' recollections of discussion groups at Bohr's institute in Copenhagen, with students competing for the ear (and approval) of Bohr.⁴³⁰ That competition 'for the master's ear' however, was not part of the equation with Wheeler's Saturday seminars. As we saw in Chapter Three, Kip Thorne and Paul Boynton both recall that Wheeler's discussions featured a cooperative spirit and an unspoken code of conduct that sharply discouraged treading on the self-esteem of others.⁴³¹ In sum, Wheeler, as a mentor, has satisfied the Geison-Morrell criterion for an informal setting and leadership style.

The Geison-Morrell ideal model also calls for a "leader with institutional power." For our purposes, institutional power should be broadly defined. For example, John Wheeler never served as chair of the Department of Physics at Princeton, but he was hardly without institutional power. Although I suspect that he served on various departmental committees (i.e. admissions, hiring, promotion and tenure, etc.), I have found no archival evidence of such service. Wheeler did however, serve on a number of college wide committees including the Committee on Course of Study (1958 – 1959), the Advisory Committee on

⁴²⁹ *Family Gathering*, Fred K. Manasse, 258-259; Paul Boynton, personal communication with author, 07 Mar 2008, used by permission.

⁴³⁰ David C. Cassidy, *Uncertainty: The Life and Science of Werner Heisenberg* (New York: Freeman, 1993), 184-185.

⁴³¹ *Family Gathering*, Kip Thorne, 306-307.

Policy (1962 – 1963), and perhaps most significantly on the Committee on Scientific Research and Higgins Fund (1970 – 1976), which set departmental research priorities.⁴³² But that is only part of the story.

Beyond the Princeton campus, John Wheeler wielded considerable influence in physics community. He served as president of the American Physical Society in 1966 and in 1967 he chaired the American Institute of Physics Committee on Physics and Society (COMPAS).⁴³³ Additionally, Wheeler served as an advisor to several corporations (e.g. Dupont, Battelle, and Convair) and numerous government agencies (e.g. the General Scientific Advisory Board of the U.S. Air Force, the Advisory Committee of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, and the General Advisory Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament). Wheeler mitigated a recruiting problem for the H-Bomb project when he succeeded in creating Project Matterhorn (which involved two areas of thermo-nuclear research—weapons development and fusion reactor development) at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study. He created Project Jason as another avenue of recruitment to bring members of

⁴³² This suspicion is based on a passage from page 216 of *Geons*, in which Wheeler recalls that, "I was largely responsible for bringing Bohm to Princeton I had visited Berkeley and, at my department's request, interviewed Bohm. Upon my favorable recommendation, Princeton offered him a temporary appointment, and he joined the department in 1947." ; see also, Faculty File, "John Archibald Wheeler," PRIN-JAW; "Wheeler, John Archibald," Box 12, Folder 12, PRIN-PHY; Princeton University General Catalogues 1938 – 1978.

⁴³³ American Physical Society, "Officers of the Society, President," <http://www.aps.org/about/governance/upload/Historical%20Officers-2.pdf> (06 Mar 2009); "John Archibald Wheeler Archives, Princeton Files," Series B. W564, Boxes 2 – 3, "American Physical Society," APS-JAW.

the scientific community into defense related projects on a temporary basis without these scientists having to forego their academic research. Wheeler also came very close to establishing a national security laboratory at Princeton.⁴³⁴ Thus, it appears that Wheeler had considerable influence in the narrow sense of the individual institutions (i.e. Princeton and Texas), but also and perhaps more importantly, in the broader sense of the physics community. Clearly John Wheeler met the Geison-Morrell requirement for institutional power.

The Geison-Morrell model for a research school also lists the criterion of, “social cohesion, loyalty, and esprit de corps or discipleship.” This condition seems readily apparent in the case of Wheeler as a mentor. The title *Family Gathering* certainly suggests social cohesion, loyalty, and esprit de corps. Then too, both John Toll and Kip Thorne have (as noted above) commented

⁴³⁴ Wheeler interview with Ken Ford (14 Feb 1994 – 08 Nov 1994); For Wheeler's advisory committee work see 1201, 1407-1408, 1607-1608, 1705, 2003-2004, 2323; For Project Matterhorn see esp. 1407-1410; For Project Jason and the proposed national laboratory at Princeton see John Archibald Wheeler, “Wheeler, John Archibald 1911 –,” interview by Finn Aaserud, [transcript] Princeton, NJ, (04 May and 28 November 1988), American Institute of Physics, Oral History Interviews [OH30194], n.p. and Finn Aaserud, “Sputnik and the ‘Princeton Three.’ The National Security Laboratory that was not Meant to Be,” *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 25 no. 2 (1995): 185-240, esp. 236-239; See also David Kaiser, “Cold War Requisitions: Scientific Manpower and the Production of American Physicists after World War II,” *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 33, no. 1 (2002): 131-160, 138; Bringing physicists into defense related work was seen by many as a matter of national urgency. Kaiser cites Princeton physics department chair Henry DeWolf Smyth who characterized scientific manpower as a “war commodity,” a “tool of war,” and a “major war asset,” which therefore should be “stockpiled” and “rationed.”

favorably on the “Wheeler spirit” that they hoped to infuse in their students and/or institutions. In addition to *Family Gathering*, four other Wheeler festschrifts have been compiled and published.⁴³⁵ In each case these volumes consist almost entirely of essays by former Wheeler students, with occasional instances where two of Wheeler’s former apprentices collaborated on a chapter. Finally, an overview of the bibliographies of former Wheeler students reveals several instances in which Wheeler ‘family members’ of various and separate academic generations collaborated with each other. Most notable of these is the now (2009) canonical opus *Gravitation* by Charles Misner, Kip Thorne, and John Wheeler.⁴³⁶ In light of the foregoing, it seems clear that Wheeler, as a mentor, fulfills the Geison-Morrell condition of social cohesion and esprit de corps.

The Geison-Morrell model also calls for a “focused research program.” Wheeler, as a mentor, has met this criterion—at least twice. In *Geons*, John Wheeler talks about three stages of his professional life; “Everything is Particles,” “Everything is Fields,” and “Everything is Information.” Only two of these stages (“Everything is Particles” and “Everything is Fields”) correspond to Wheeler’s years at Princeton. In the ‘Everything is Particles’ stage Wheeler

⁴³⁵ A complete documentation of the Festschrifts can be found in note [44], Chapter 1.

⁴³⁶ See *Gravitation* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1973); This 1279 page opus, like the *Feynman Lectures*, remains in print, readily available, and continues to be a staple of physicists’ libraries; This is a ‘multi-generational’ effort in that Thorne earned his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1965; Misner earned his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1957.

believed that, “all basic entities - neutrons, protons, mesons, and so on – [could be constructed] out of the lightest, most fundamental particles – electrons and photons.” While he was at Hanford, Wheeler continued, “I submitted a paper on this subject. It won a prize and appeared later, in 1946, in *Proceedings* of the New York Academy under the title 'Polyelectrons.’”⁴³⁷ Indeed, particle work dominated Wheeler's career until the early 1950's. In addition to polyelectrons, other products of this particle fixation include Wheeler's well known Scattering Matrix and his QED work with Feynman.⁴³⁸

In 1952, Wheeler “fell in love with relativity” and came to see “a world made of fields, one in which the apparent particles are really manifestations of electric and magnetic fields, gravitational fields, and spacetime itself.” Later Wheeler observed that this attraction was more than a matter of aesthetic appreciation:

What I learned in teaching the course was that the riches of Einstein's theory had been far from fully mined. Hidden beneath the equations, simple in appearance, complex in application-was a lode waiting to be brought to the surface and exploited.⁴³⁹

Stated alternatively, Einstein's theory of general relativity offered Wheeler and his students a good deal of 'low-hanging [conceptual] fruit' that he and they

⁴³⁷ Wheeler with Ford, *Geons*, 63; Jacob Bekenstein, in 16 Sep 05 letter to the author reports that in 1981 Bell Labs produced a polyelectron atom. In 1988, Cheuk-Yin Wong (another former Wheeler student) submitted a paper to Oak Ridge, *Proceedings* suggesting that polyelectrons are a source of anomalous positron peaks in heavy ion reactions.

⁴³⁸ Wheeler with Ford, *Geons*, 63.

⁴³⁹ Wheeler with Ford, *Geons*, 63, 231.

could harvest for quite some time. Here again, with his sequential concentrations on particle physics and relativity, Wheeler (as a mentor) has satisfies a Geison-Morrell condition for a successful research school.

The Geison-Morrell model further requires “simple and rapidly exploitable experimental techniques.” At first glance, this criterion would not seem to apply to a theoretical school. On the other hand, theoretical breakthroughs often yield rapidly exploitable ancillary problems. Jacob Bekenstein recalls that Wheeler would seize on the really significant ideas and exploit their publication value while the topic was fresh.⁴⁴⁰ Bekenstein, in fact, encourages his own students to quickly build on important discoveries. David Goodstein, Vice-Provost at Caltech, has also suggested that “most people, if they have two real contributions to make, will carve them up and publish a number of Letters, etc. in addition to the two main papers.”⁴⁴¹ Indeed, as David Kaiser has pointed out, the Feynman diagrams were rapidly diffused and exploited, albeit along generational lines, and played a prominent role for decades in the pedagogy of physics.⁴⁴² Similarly, as we can see from the narratives and curricula vitae in *Family Gathering*, as well as in Wheeler’s own bibliography (Appendix B, p. 343), Wheeler has championed or collaborated on a number of theoretical breakthroughs that were exploited for bursts of

⁴⁴⁰ Jacob Bekenstein, email to the author, 16 Sep 2006.

⁴⁴¹ David Goodstein, email to the author 17 March 2006.

⁴⁴² David Kaiser, *Drawing Theories Apart: The Dispersion of Feynman Diagrams in Postwar Physics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

publication. It is clear, then, that the seventh Geison-Morrell criterion for Research School success applies to Wheeler and his students.

Another condition that the Geison-Morrell model specifies for a successful research school is the “invasion of a new field of research.” In the case of Wheeler, as a mentor, this is less obvious in the particle work than it is in relativity. It is however, clear that Wheeler and his students made some important innovations in particle work (e.g. quantum electrodynamics and the collective nucleus model).⁴⁴³ Still the real 'invasion' was Wheeler's decision to pursue general relativity and to explore its relationships to cosmology and astronomy. Of John Wheeler's twenty-five most cited publications, seventeen originated in his 'Everything is Fields' period, while only eight stem from his 'Everything is Particles.' timeframe.⁴⁴⁴ Granted, one could argue that since Wheeler's field physics was more recent, it was likely to attract more attention. Still, a quantitative overview of the early work on general relativity shows that the Wheeler academic family (the term 'academic family' goes beyond

⁴⁴³ See Stanford University, Stanford Linear Accelerator Center. SPIRES High-Energy Physics Literature Database Available online: <<http://www-spires.slac.stanford.edu/spires/hep/>> (21 Aug 2005); Search terms: find “a Wheeler, J. A.” and “find a Hill, D. L. ; Wheeler's paper with Richard Feynman (“Interaction with the Absorber as the Mechanism of Radiation,” *Reviews of Modern Physics* 17 (1945): 157-181) has been cited more than 130 times; Wheeler's paper with David L. Hill (“Nuclear Constitution and the Interpretation of Fission Phenomena,” *Physical Review* 89 (1953): 1102-1145) has also been cited more than 130 times;

⁴⁴⁴ See Google Scholar; Search term: “find a Wheeler, J. A.,” available online: <<http://scholar.google.com/scholar?num=100&hl=en&lr=&safe=off&q=author%3A%22J+A+Wheeler%22&btnG=Search>> (20 Feb 06).

Wheeler's students to include Wheeler's students' students, and post-docs who studied with Wheeler) was responsible for a significant percentage of the most influential publications.⁴⁴⁵ While I am hesitant to employ the term "invasion," it seems clear that Wheeler, as a mentor, had a notable impact in the sudden expansion of general relativity work. Consequently, Wheeler, as a mentor, satisfies the Geison-Morrell 'invasion of a new field of research' condition for a successful research school.

The Geison-Morrell model of an ideal research school includes the requirement for a "pool of potential recruits." This criterion has obviously been met. Wheeler's reputation as a researcher has been well documented above. Moreover, since the days of Joseph Henry, Princeton's Department of Physics has remained among the United States' elite physics departments, and at no time before, during, or after Wheeler's tenure has Princeton suffered a lack of graduate students in physics. Plainly, the Geison-Morrell condition for an available pool of recruits is satisfied.

The ideal Geison-Morrell research school also features "access to, or control of, publication outlets" as a condition for a successful research school. Here too, is a circumstance that is readily demonstrable. Wheeler himself authored some 215 publications during his Princeton years (1938 – 1977), and

⁴⁴⁵ See Stanford University, Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, SPIRES High-Energy Physics Literature Database (28 May 2006); Between 1952 and 1972 some sixteen publications that included the keyword search phrase "general relativity" were cited 50 or more times; Wheeler family members were the authors of five of ten most cited publications returned by this search criteria.

fifty-four of these were co-authored by at least one Wheeler student, former student, or post-doc. In 1957 alone, Wheeler published ten papers, and seven of these were with students, former students, or post-docs. In fact, Wheeler and his students were the recipients of what Wheeler characterized as, “some good natured finger pointing” by colleagues who suggested that he and his students were attempting to 'take over' *Reviews of Modern Physics* by publishing eight papers in the July 1957 issue.⁴⁴⁶ This circumstance indicates how Wheeler often found a way to get articles into print—sometimes without the enthusiastic support of journal editors. In 1952, for example, Wheeler (with David Hill) struggled to complete an important paper that was originally slated to be published in the *Annual Review of Nuclear Science*. Unfortunately, the paper turned out to be too long and was submitted too late for publication. Despite the paper's length and the inclusion of numerous illustrations, Samuel Goudsmit, editor of *Physical Review*, accepted it for publication and the paper appeared in 1953.⁴⁴⁷ Six years later however (1959), Goudsmit was the recalcitrant editor. Wheeler reports:

Ken [Ford] and I turned out three papers on semi-classical scattering. For one of them, we brought in two other colleagues

⁴⁴⁶ See “Bibliography of John Archibald Wheeler;” a draft form of this unpublished document has been made available to the author by Kenneth W. Ford. See also Wheeler with Ford, *Geons*, 266-267.

⁴⁴⁷ Wheeler interview with Ken Ford (14 Feb 1994), 1208; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 224; The paper referenced is: David Lawrence Hill and John Archibald Wheeler, “Nuclear Constitution and the Interpretation of Fission Phenomena,” *Physical Review* 89, (1953): 1102-1145; as of 31 January 2006, this paper had been cited 510 times.

to help. One was David Hill, who had completed his Ph.D. work with me a decade earlier on the mechanics of nuclear fission. The other was Masami Wakano, then my graduate student, later my colleague and coauthor on numerous papers. When I submitted our three papers to *Physical Review* for publication, I got a cool reception—not for the first time—from that journal’s editor, Sam Goudsmit ... Goudsmit didn’t like wordiness and he didn’t like pedagogy. I probably published less in *Physical Review* than most American physicists did, because I liked to be discursive and I liked to teach. Many of my papers appeared in another journal of the American Physical Society, *Reviews of Modern Physics*. The papers on semi-classical scattering Goudsmit found to be both too long and too pedagogical. Instead of abbreviating them, as he suggested, I submitted them to *Annals of Physics*, whose editor, Phil Morse, had been receptive in the past. There they appeared, unedited, in 1959.⁴⁴⁸

It appears that Wheeler's predilection for teaching theoretical physics carried over into his peer-reviewed publications. More to the point, it also appears that Wheeler, as a mentor, meets the Geison-Morrell requirement for ready access to publication outlets.

Another criterion for a successful research school is for the students to publish early and under their own names. This certainly seems to have been the case with Wheeler's apprentices. As already noted, among the contributors to *Family Gathering*, Dieter Brill, Fred K. Manasse, and Kip Thorne all commented that Wheeler was quick to share credit for joint work. Thorne also remarked that he conscientiously tried to emulate and pass on the “Wheeler code of ethics” to his students. Among other stipulations, the 'Wheeler ethic' demanded that, “When working jointly with a student, put your name on the paper only if your contribution was very great; put the student’s

⁴⁴⁸ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 291.

on even if his was small.” In his *Family Gathering* letter of 27 August 1976, James York acknowledged Wheeler's assistance in promoting his [York's] work:

I have you to thank for the guidance, encouragement, and opportunity that I needed in that crucial phase of my efforts in research. Moreover, you went a step further, as you have always done for your students and colleagues, in making the work known to others through your writings, talks, letters, and seminars. Your efforts in this direction were instrumental in helping me obtain my present position at the University of North Carolina, where John Wheeler is especially admired and respected!⁴⁴⁹

Here, I should also note that Wheeler typically preferred to list the authors alphabetically so that on virtually every occasion where Wheeler published jointly with a student or post-doc, his [Wheeler's] name appeared last.⁴⁵⁰ This evidence, coupled with the joint authorship data above, seems to indicate that Wheeler's students were able to publish early with their own names prominently featured in the publication.

The Geison-Morrell model of an ideal research school also requires the production and placement of a “significant number of students.” John Wheeler has done very well by his students. Earlier in this dissertation, I have cited David Goodstein, Vice-Provost of Caltech, who has observed that, on average, a professor of physics at a research university will produce fifteen Ph.D.s over the course of his or her career. The context of Goodstein’s article

⁴⁴⁹ *Family Gathering*, Dieter Brill, 164; Fred K. Manasse, 258; Kip S. Thorne, 306; James W. York, 366.

⁴⁵⁰ See Google Scholar; Search term: “find a Wheeler, J. A.,” (20 Feb 06).

should be noted here. Goodstein was, in fact, lamenting the circumstance that U.S. graduate schools were producing too *many* physics Ph.D.s and as early as 1970, even prestigious institutions (e.g. Caltech) were having trouble placing their graduates. In contrast to Goodstein's lament, it appears that only one of the fifty-one individuals received their Ph.D. under the supervision of John Wheeler did not move on to a successful career in either academics, research, or industry. As detailed in his interview with Ken Ford, the memory of that failure clearly troubled Wheeler:

Between that senior thesis and his Ph.D. in physics a dozen years later, Peter [Putnam] followed a circuitous route-and an even more convoluted route later. First, following his mother's wishes, he enrolled in the Yale Law School. His only brother had been killed in action in World War II, and his father had died soon after. His mother, Mildred, active in business in Cleveland, Ohio, was wealthy and strong-willed. But Peter's heart wasn't in the law. He dropped out of law school and took a part-time job with an electronics firm in New Hampshire, leaving time for him to read physics and philosophy. Through letters and visits, Peter kept in touch with me. Under the influence of Sir Arthur Eddington's *The Nature of the Physical World*, he had come to believe that all the laws of nature can be deduced by pure reasoning. Try as I might, I couldn't seem to disabuse him of this belief ...

Finally, Peter followed my suggestion that he say good-bye to Eddington and get back to something timely and tractable in the world of physics. He enrolled as a graduate student in physics at Princeton, and asked to accompany me to Leiden. He audited my lectures and contributed some beautiful large drawings 'to illustrate ideas I was covering, but [Peter] didn't get seriously into research until he got back to Princeton. Then he finished a Ph.D. dissertation on the distribution of mass and energy in a star that is radiating at a prodigious rate ...

During a postdoctoral teaching stint at Columbia University, Peter offered a physics course so full of philosophy that it

attracted students from the nearby Union Theological Seminary. Before long, he obtained a teaching post at Union, where he was, as one fellow teacher there told me, the only person who could out-argue the great theologian Reinhold Niebuhr.

Whatever mechanism in Peter's head propelled him through this world, it produced a jagged path. When, around 1971, his appointment at Union Theological Seminary was not renewed - largely, I suspect, for lack of publications - he decided to cast his lot with the civil rights movement and moved to Houma, a town in the bayou country of Louisiana, where he offered legal services to blacks for little or no fee. To provide simple food and rent on a tiny house that he shared with a companion, he worked as a night janitor in a church. When Janette and I, on our way to Texas in 1976, stopped to visit Peter, one look told us that he was truly impoverished. His mother visited more than once but was unsuccessful in getting him to leave Houma or to accept money. One night in 1987, cycling between his residence and his janitorial job, Peter was struck by a drunk driver and killed ... Peter was not one of my better students, and made no lasting contributions to physics. His talents did not flower in publications. He was perhaps a bit mad. Yet he deeply affected a few people, me among them. In our long correspondence over many years and in our occasional long conversations, he always had a way of raising questions and challenging accepted explanations that helped me sharpen my thinking about physics and about the way we humans describe and understand the world around us.⁴⁵¹

At times, as I listened to the interview, Wheeler's regret seemed palpable:

Thinking back on it now, I realize I didn't do my duty by Peter. I should have realized that he had this shortcoming of not getting things written up. His senior thesis at Princeton was so impenetrable that neither I nor anybody else in the department could make head or tail of it. I recommended the policy we finally followed: that is to give him a grade on it that was the average of his grades in his courses. But I would have done better if I had sat on him sentence by sentence.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 254-256. Wheeler interview with Ford (04 Mar 1994) 1602; and later (24 Mar 1995-12 Apr 1995) 2406-2410.

⁴⁵² Wheeler interview with Ford (04 Mar 1994), 1602.

It is interesting to note that in Wheeler's interviews with Ken Ford and in the autobiography *Geons*, John Wheeler wrote (and spoke) about Peter Putnam at greater length and with more emotion than any other of his students. It is obvious from Wheeler's productivity as a physicist and from the discussion of Wheeler relationship with his mentors in Chapter 2, that physics was a passion in Wheeler's life. From the discussion above, it is equally clear that Wheeler had a passion for teaching. By accounts, Peter Putnam appears to the sole exception to Wheeler's success with placing his apprentices.

The Geison-Morrell model seems to emphasize the percentage of former students that have been placed. In my view however, this emphasis is misplaced on two counts. First of all the kinds of positions that Wheeler's former students have held, as well as the honors that they have earned, are more significant than the fact that they were merely placed. An adumbration of Wheeler's students' significant accomplishments follows: Richard Feynman won the Nobel prize in 1965; John S. Toll served as president of three academic institutions; Ken Ford served as Executive Director of the American Institute of Physics; Kip Thorne, Robert Wald, Jacob Bekenstein, and James York were all appointed to endowed professorships; Gilbert Plass, James Griffin, and Robert Wald have all served as chair of their physics departments; Brendan Godfrey became Director of the U.S. Air Force Office of Scientific Research; Clifford E. Rhoades Jr. served as Director of Mathematics and Space Science for U.S. Air Force Office of Scientific Research; Terrence

Sejnowski became Director of the Computational Neuroscience Laboratory at the Salk Institute. There are, to be clear, other noteworthy accomplishments among Wheeler's apprentices. Space and time however, preclude a complete listing.⁴⁵³

The most striking evidence however, is the publication data that this dissertation has brought to the fore. The two criteria that, according to the sociologist Harriet Zuckerman and others, set the scientific elite apart, are scientific productivity and a “scientific taste”, an aesthetic sense for significant

⁴⁵³ *Family Gathering*, Richard P. Feynman, 12; Gilbert N. Plass, 34; John S. Toll, 67; Kenneth W. Ford, 84; James J. Griffin, 103; Kip S. Thorne, 306; James W. York, Jr., 366; Brendan B. Godfrey, 391; Terrence Sejnowski, 420; Robert Wald, 422; Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 101 [Toll]; “Dr. Gilbert Plass” [Obituary], *The Bryan – College Station Eagle*, available online: <<http://www.theeagle.com/region/records/obituaries/march2004/030304obits.php>> (12 Sep 2005); John Sampson Toll, “John Sampson Toll, Curriculum Vitae,” available online: <http://www.physics.umd.edu/people/faculty/cv/TollCV.pdf> (21 Aug 2005); Washington College. “Meet the Administration: John S. Toll,” available online: <http://faculty.washcoll.edu/admin_bios/toll.html> (26 May 2006); Kenneth W. Ford, “Kenneth W. Ford -- Personal Web Page,” available: <<http://www.ianford.com/kenford/>> (21 Aug 2005); James J. Griffin, “James J. Griffin Curriculum Vitae,” available online: <<http://www.physics.umd.edu/people/faculty/cv/GriffinCV.pdf>> (21 Aug 2005); California Institute of Technology, “Kip S. Thorne, The Feynman Professor of Theoretical Physics” [Home Page], available online: <<http://www.its.caltech.edu/~kip/>> (26 May 2006); Cornell University, Department of Physics, “James W. York, Jr., Professor of Physics” [profpages], Available online: <<http://www.physics.cornell.edu/profpages/York.htm>> (25 May 2006); Air Force (U.S.), Office of Scientific Research. Biography: “Dr. Brendan B. Godfrey,” available online: <<http://www.afosr.af.mil/pages/godfrey.htm>> (16 Sep 2005); Salk Institute, “Terrence J. Sejnowski,” available online: <<http://www.salk.edu/faculty/faculty/details.php?id=48>> (21 Aug 2005); Robert M. Wald, “Robert M. Wald, Curriculum Vitae,” available online: <http://physics.uchicago.edu/t_rel.html#Wald> (21 Aug 2005).

problems that are coming ripe for solution.⁴⁵⁴ The former attribute can be straightforwardly determined by publication data as found in Google Scholar; the latter attribute, as I have shown, can be inferred from the citation count for individual publications.

It seems clear that these measures of scientific productivity and the perceived significance of individual research publications authored by Wheeler's former students, as opposed to the placement data emphasized in the Geison-Morrell model, is the most compelling indicator of mentoring proficiency. For example, a somewhat high percentage (31.4%) of John Wheeler's fifty-one Ph.D. students (i.e. the combined total of his Princeton and Texas years) exceeded the threshold for high scientific productivity. This compares to an average of 28.4% for Wheeler's Princeton colleagues and 20.9% for his colleagues at Texas. The Index of Students' Impact is similarly indicative of proficiency. Wheeler's combined Index (i.e. the Index of Impact for all his Ph.D. advisees – Princeton and Texas) is 54.9%, with 21.6% of his former apprentices being credited with "Renowned" publications. The Index of Students' Impact for Wheeler's Princeton colleagues was 37.0% (12.3% having published "Renowned" works), and his colleagues in Texas had an

⁴⁵⁴ For productivity of the scientific elite see, Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 145; Walter T. Scott, "Creativity in Chemistry," in Rutherford Aris, H. Ted Davis, and Roger Stuewer, eds., *Springs of Scientific Creativity: Essays on Founders of Modern Science* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 285, 298; Fruton, *Contrasts in Scientific Style*, 23, 36, 38; Morrell, "The Chemist Breeders, 27, 30; For the inculcation of 'scientific taste,' see Zuckerman, 127–129.

Index of Students' Impact of 11.8% (with 2.7% having published "Renowned" works). Here again, I am compelled to note that less than 10% of all published research meets or exceeds our "Very Well-Known" threshold level of 100 citations.

As noted in Chapter Four, there is of course, an argument to be made that these percentages say more about the difference between Princeton and Texas, especially with regard to the caliber of graduate student who is granted admission to each, than they do about a distinction between Wheeler and his colleagues at either institution. In response, I point to the Student Productivity Index and note that in the individual cases of Princeton and Texas, the percentage of John Wheeler's former students who exceeded the threshold of high scientific productivity (i.e. the attribute that Zuckerman sees as most indicative of "elite" status), exceeds the average for his colleagues at each institution. There is an old Danish proverb that says (approximately): 'Anyone can do more with more ... a craftsman can do more with less.'⁴⁵⁵ Even allowing for a difference in caliber of students admitted to the respective institutions, John Wheeler appears to have done more with less.

In sum, Wheeler has produced and placed significant numbers of students. More to the point, the quantitative analysis of publication data suggests that Wheeler's students did good scientific work—and lots of it. Since

⁴⁵⁵ I am indebted to my grandfather, the late Thorwald Christensen, for this and many other treasured insights.

Wheeler's mentoring took place within a university setting, it appears that Wheeler, as a mentor, has satisfied the thirteenth criterion for the Geison-Morrell model of a successful research school.

The fourteenth and final condition in the Geison-Morrell model of a successful research school is "adequate financial support." It is difficult to imagine a research setting in which additional funds could not be put to productive use. That said, Wheeler, through his extensive contacts in government and industry, seems to have kept his department and his students reasonably well-funded. The story of the Princeton cosmic ray laboratory is a useful example here. As World War II was winding down, high-energy particle physics became an important area of research. Wheeler, like many of his peers, believed that this area of research held great promise.⁴⁵⁶ In June of 1945, Wheeler suggested three goals for physics research in the post-war era.⁴⁵⁷ The goal nearest and dearest to his heart was cosmic ray investigation. As the historian Peter Galison notes, given the evidence of protons being

⁴⁵⁶ Wheeler interview with Ford (14 Feb 1994), 1206.

⁴⁵⁷ J. A. Wheeler, "Three Proposals for the Promotion of Ultranucleonic Research #6: H. D. S.," 15 June 1945, copy to Smyth, in Physics Departmental Records, Chairman 1934-35, 1945-46, no. 1, Princeton University Archives, cited by Peter Galison, "Physics Between War and Peace," in *Science, Technology, and the Military*. Vol. 12, part 1, of *Sociology of the Sciences*, ed. Everett Mendelsohn, Merritt Roe Smith, and Peter Weingart (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1988), 58.

transformed into mesons in the upper atmosphere, Wheeler had a hunch that “that matter could be directly transformed into energy.”⁴⁵⁸ He contended:

Discovery [of] how to release the untapped energy on a reasonable scale might completely alter our economy and the basis of our military security. For this reason we owe special attention to the branches of ultranucleonics—cosmic ray phenomena, meson physics, field theory, energy production in supernovae, and particle transformation physics—where a single development may produce such far-reaching changes.⁴⁵⁹

At first Wheeler believed that the research would be most expeditiously accomplished by having U.S. Air Force bombers carrying the experimental apparatus at an altitude of 40, 000 feet.⁴⁶⁰ When that idea failed to gain traction, Wheeler, who believed that a high-energy particle accelerator was not in Princeton's immediate future, opted for a cosmic ray laboratory that would be located on or near the Princeton campus. He needed money and some allocated space, and the contacts that Wheeler had developed in government and industry were most helpful:

Fortunately, an ancillary building at Princeton that Walker Bleakney had used for wartime shock-wave experiments was available. We established our cosmic-ray beachhead there. Most of the subsequent funding for the work of the laboratory came from the federal government. Some came also from the generous private contributions of many of my old Du Pont friends, including Crawford Greenewalt (who, as I noted before,

⁴⁵⁸ Galison, “Physics Between War and Peace,” (1988), 58.

⁴⁵⁹ J. A. Wheeler, “Three Proposals for the Promotion of Ultranucleonic Research #6: H. D. S.,” 15 June 1945, copy to Smyth, in Physics Departmental Records, Chairman 1934-35, 1945-46, no. 1, Princeton University Archives, cited by Galison, “Physics Between War and Peace” (1988), 58.

⁴⁶⁰ Galison, “Physics Between War and Peace” (1988), 58.

became Du Pont's president), Dale Babcock, Lombard Squires, Charles Wende, Hood Worthington, H. C. ("Ace") Vernon, and George Graves. They established a fund named the Friends of Elementary Particle Research, from which I was able to allocate expenditures, especially to support students. By drawing on it sparingly to meet special needs when other funds were not available, I made it last many years.⁴⁶¹

Thus, it appears that Wheeler and his cadre of apprentices satisfied the Geison-Morrell condition of adequate funding for a successful research school. Geison's 1981 essay also includes a chart developed by David Edge and Michael Mulkay.⁴⁶² The above documentation, which shows that the "Wheeler family" was in compliance with all but two of the Geison-Morrell criteria for a successful research school, is depicted on this chart.

In the section following Table 5.1, I correlate what has been learned of mentoring to the resonant themes in the emerging scholarship of scientific pedagogy.

⁴⁶¹ Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 170; Wheeler interview with Ford (14 Feb 1994), 1206.

⁴⁶² David O. Edge and Michael Mulkay, *Astronomy Transformed: The Emergence of Radio Astronomy in Britain* (New York: Wiley, 1976), 382 . This chart, which has been replicated by Geison (p.25), details conditions that lead to the development of a scientific specialty.

Table 5.1 Comparison of Factors Affecting the Success of Research Schools⁴⁶³

| School | Liebig | Wheeler | Fermi | Remsen |
|--|---------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| Charismatic Leader | yes | yes | yes | no |
| Leader with research reputation | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Informal setting and leadership style | yes | yes | yes | no |
| Institutional power | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Social Cohesion esprit de corps discipleship | yes | yes | yes | ? |
| Focused research program | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Simple and rapidly exploitable experimental techniques | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Invasion of new field of research | yes | yes | yes | no |

Legend: "yes" indicates that the feature appears to be present
 "no" indicates that the feature appears to be absent
 "?" indicates that the presence or absence is unclear

⁴⁶³ Adapted from Geison, "Scientific Change" (1981), 24.

Table 5.1 Comparison of Factors Affecting the Success of Research Schools (cont.)

| School | Liebig | Wheeler | Fermi | Remsen |
|---|---------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| Pool of potential recruits (graduate students) | Yes | yes | ? | yes |
| Access to or control of publication outlets | Yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Students publish early and under own name | Yes | yes | ? | ? |
| Produced and placed significant numbers of students | Yes | yes | ? | yes |
| Institutionalization in university setting | Yes | yes | ? | yes |
| Adequate financial support | Yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Total number of "yes" answers | 14 | 14 | 10 | 9 |

Legend: See above

Table 5.1 Comparison of Factors affecting the success or failure of a research school (adapted from Gerald L. Geison "Emerging Specialties and Research Schools"). Here, John Wheeler's 'school' is shown in comparison to a research school that Geison considers to be a sustained success (Justus von Liebig), a research school that Geison considers to have had temporary success (Enrico Fermi) and a research school that Geison considers to be a relative failure (Ira Remsen).

Section 5.4 Mentors as Instruments of Pedagogy

Over the past few years, David Kaiser, a historian of science at MIT, has produced a significant and promising body of scholarship that deals with the pedagogy of physics. Among other scholarship in this field is the work of Kathryn Olesko and Andrew Warwick.⁴⁶⁴ By and large, this work is concerned with the training of physicists (i.e. didactic instruction as opposed to mentoring) and how elements of that pedagogy have emerged, developed, and become dispersed over time.

Just as I have noted a lacuna in the scholarship on research schools with regard to the role of mentors, Kaiser has noted that since the 1970s historians of physics have been fascinated with the interactions and relationships of established scientists to the exclusion of research on how the

⁴⁶⁴ David Kaiser, "Cold War Requisitions: Scientific Manpower and the Production of American Physicists after World War II," *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 33, no. 1 (2002), 131-160; David Kaiser, "Nuclear Democracy: Political Engagement, Pedagogical Reform, and Particle Physics in Postwar America," *Isis* 93, 2 (Jun 2002), 229-268; David Kaiser, *Drawing Theories Apart: The Dispersion of Feynman Diagrams in Postwar Physics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); David Kaiser, ed. *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science* (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 2005); David Kaiser, "Whose Mass is it Anyway? Particle Cosmology and the Objects of Theory," *Social Studies of Science* 36, No. 4 (Aug 2006), 533-564; David Kaiser, "Training Quantum Mechanics: Enrollments and Epistemology in Modern Physics," excerpted from *American Physics and the Cold War Bubble* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming); See also, Kathryn M. Olesko, *Physics as a Calling: Discipline and Practice in the Konigsberg Seminar for Physics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Kathryn M. Olesko, "The Foundations of a Canon: Kohlrausch's Practical Physics," in *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science* ed. David Kaiser; and Andrew Warwick, *Masters of Theory: Cambridge and the Rise of Mathematical Physics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

education of these physicists guided those interactions within the scientific community.⁴⁶⁵ To be clear, Kaiser is not disparaging this body of work. Rather his point is that there is more to the story. In particular, Kaiser notes that, “Scientists and engineers do more than pass down skills and knowledge to younger generations; they also strive to inculcate norms, roles, and personae.”⁴⁶⁶ In essence, Kaiser is describing a key aspect of mentoring, which is identical to the process that Harriet Zuckerman calls “professional socialization.”⁴⁶⁷

The reader may recall from the introduction to this dissertation that Thomas Kuhn stressed the influence that the training of scientists had on the course of science. Because education in physics is textbook driven—indeed, problem driven—until the last year or two of Ph.D. work, scientists in training do not generally synthesize a world view that is cognizant of, let alone congruent with, the thinking of earlier scholars. Indeed, as Kuhn points out, the very training of scientists simultaneously instills a disregard for discarded hypotheses and a predilection to preserve and evaluate evidence in the light

⁴⁶⁵ Examples include, but are not limited to: Harry Collins, “The TEA set: Tacit Knowledge and Scientific Networks,” *Social Studies of Science* 4 (1974), 165-186; Peter Galison, *How Experiments End* (University of Chicago Press, 1987); Peter Galison, *Image and Logic: A Material Culture of Microphysics* (University of Chicago Press, 1997)

⁴⁶⁶ David Kaiser, “Introduction,” in *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science*, ed. David Kaiser, 1–10, 6.

⁴⁶⁷ Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 123.

of the theoretical construct in which they have been trained.⁴⁶⁸ Hence, Kaiser and others have chosen to examine certain elements and instruments of scientific pedagogy (e.g. textbooks, course syllabi, lecture notes, problem sets, Feynman diagrams) with specific focus on how these instruments have changed over time and thereby changed the manner in which physicists are trained.⁴⁶⁹

The point that Kaiser and others (e.g. Olesko and Warwick) are making is that the training of scientists has as much to do with the course of science as with the practices, interactions, and relationships of the nominal leaders of the scientific community. In the concluding chapter of Kaiser's edited volume, *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science*, Andrew Warwick and chapter co-author Kaiser observe, "It is also extremely important to recognize that scientific training, like science itself, has a history."⁴⁷⁰ To overlook that history is to bypass a historical vein that is rich in insight.

Here is a parallel with my study of mentoring. As noted in Chapter 1, there is an formidable body of scholarship that deals with research schools as

⁴⁶⁸ Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 167-169, 189; Thomas Kuhn, *The Essential Tension* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 305.

⁴⁶⁹ David Kaiser, "A Ψ is Just a Ψ ? Pedagogy, Practice, and the Reconstitution of General Relativity, 1942–1975," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Modern Physics* 29, No. 3 (Sep 1998), 321–338, 323; David Kaiser, *Drawing Theories Apart: The Dispersion of Feynman Diagrams in Postwar Physics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005)

⁴⁷⁰ Andrew Warwick and David Kaiser. "Conclusion: Kuhn, Foucault, and the Power of Pedagogy," in *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science*, ed. David Kaiser, 393–410, 397.

well as an abundance of literature addressing the subjects of mentors and mentoring practice.⁴⁷¹ Despite the centrality of a ‘charismatic leader’ to the success of a research school however, the extant research school literature (with the exception of previous studies by this author) does not address the practices, especially the mentoring practices of a research school’s “charismatic leader.” Similarly, although a small subset of the mentoring literature involves the practice of mentoring in a scientific setting, the focus is almost entirely on the transfer of artisanal skills in laboratory and field-based science.

Although the study of pedagogy in science would seem to be a suitable avenue of research for historians of education, there appears to be little interest in the topic from that group of historical scholars. Warwick and Kaiser note that historians of education have heretofore largely concerned themselves with institutional history, or the history of educational reform, or the teaching of notable individuals such that, of the plethora of scholarship concerning the history of education, “virtually none of it is concerned with the relationship between training and the production of scientific knowledge.”⁴⁷² That circumstance, coupled with what Kaiser describes as the “fascination” that contemporary scholars have with historical interactions of established

⁴⁷¹ For an extensive sampling of Research School scholarship, see note [22] in Chapter One; for a sampling of mentoring scholarship see note [56] in Chapter One.

⁴⁷² Warwick and Kaiser, 393; Kaiser, “Introduction,” *Pedagogy and Practice*, 1.

scientists, means that the promising study of scientific pedagogy, much like the study of mentoring, has fallen between the cracks of contemporary scholarship.

And yet, promising insights have been developed in this dissertation (e.g. the quantitative analysis of mentoring proficiency) as well as the scholarship of Kaiser and his like-minded colleagues. In view of this circumstance, it seems clear that a synergetic overlap exists between the study of scientific pedagogy and the study of scientific mentoring such that, I contend here that mentors may profitably be considered as instruments of scientific pedagogy. Moreover, I contend that the study of mentoring in science establishes a bridge between the long established scholarship of research schools and the emerging literature of scientific pedagogy.⁴⁷³

Section 5.5 Conclusion

In this dissertation I have shown that scientific mentoring is a fruitful avenue of research that connects the well-established scholarship on the role of research schools in the development of science and the emerging scholarship regarding scientific pedagogy. I have also demonstrated that the proficiency of mentors can be objectively quantified through analysis of the

⁴⁷³ I am pleased to report here that Professor Kaiser agrees with me on these two points and we have submitted application to the National Science Foundation with the aim of expanding this study with an eye towards its implications for the history of scientific pedagogy. Personal communication with author 12 Jan 08, 23 Jan 09.

work of their former apprentices with regard to scientific productivity and the significance of their published research as inferred from citation statistics.

While these metrics enable an ‘apples to apples’ comparison, numbers alone do not tell the whole story, however. Analysis of the content of dissertation acknowledgements can often provide meaningful insight into the mentoring relationship.

So, what can or does a mentor pass along to his or her protégés?

It has been well documented that mentors in laboratory and field settings pass along specialized and/or technical knowledge to their apprentices. Generally, there is some explicit instruction. In many cases however, the explicit didactic instruction is supplemented by the transfer of tacit knowledge. Laboratory techniques and observational practices are learned by imitation as much as instruction. Similarly, theoretical mentors pass the artisanal skills of calculation and conceptualization (i.e. formulating a problem so that it can be solved by standard and canonical means) on to their apprentices. But is that enough?

As Professor Kaiser has asserted, ‘Scientists are made, not born.’ It seems that the environment that mentors provide their apprentices is at least as important as the skills and attitudes that they inculcate. The theme that runs throughout the acknowledgements of dissertations and theses is gratitude to that student’s mentor for providing the simultaneously nurturing and challenging environment that seemed to be catalytic to professional development.

Certainly this seemed to be the case of John Wheeler. The content analysis of dissertation and thesis acknowledgements completed under his supervision, coupled with the reminiscences in *Family Gathering*, as well as personal communications with his former apprentices, reveals a cyclical, almost timeless process. Over time, Wheeler's apprentices learned to look at problems in depth; they learned to think about physical phenomena from multiple frames of reference; they developed an ability to see the non-visible in physics with what Immanuel Kant called an Anschaulich vision (e.g. seeing the forces that shape a trajectory before a ball moves through space). That artisanal development was predicated on Wheeler's ability to recognize and nurture talent in his apprentices; just as Karl Herzfeld, Gregory Breit, and Niels Bohr recognized and nurtured Wheeler's talent. Beyond merely cultivating talent however, Herzfeld, Breit, and Bohr inculcated Wheeler with distinctive philosophies of physics and its place in the world, all of which shaped Wheeler as a physicist and a mentor.

It may also be useful here to recall another passage from Harriet Zuckerman's *Scientific Elite*. To set the stage, at this point in Zuckerman's narrative a physicist is reconstructing the key elements of what he (a presumption based on the context below) had gained from his mentor:

I knew the techniques of research. I knew a lot of physics. I had the words, the libretto, but not quite the music. In other words, I had not been in contact with men who were deeply imbedded in the tradition of physics: men of high quality. This was my first

real contact with first-rate creative minds at the high point of their power.⁴⁷⁴

The “music” that Zuckerman’s physicist learned from his mentor is identical to the Anschaulich vision that was transmitted through John Wheeler to his apprentices.

The maturation of Anschaulich vision is a familiar pattern to me. When I first went to sea, I had a “lubber’s eye.” That is to say that when I looked at water, I saw water—and only water. As I progressed in my profession however, I began to see more than water. Indeed, as a vessel Master, I could look at the water in an anchorage and discern the stage of the tide, the strength and direction of the tidal current, the strength and direction of the wind, the likelihood of precipitation within the previous twenty-four hours, and the relative efficiency of the local sewage treatment facility—a very different picture than I had perceived as a novice sailor.⁴⁷⁵ That deeper vision—that anschaulich seeing of the non-visible—is part of what a skillful mentor will impart to his or her apprentices.

⁴⁷⁴ Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite*, 123.

⁴⁷⁵ The term “Master” when employed in a maritime sense, is often misconstrued by the non-seafarer. Rather than connoting absolute power, it should be noted that one qualifies to serve as the “Master” of a vessel by virtue of demonstrating one’s *mastery* of the seventeen separate subject areas (i.e. subject areas ranging from ship construction and stability to celestial navigation) which pertain to the safe navigation and operation of a ship at sea. Thus, the term “Master,” which is short for ‘Master Mariner’ actually connotes a level of craftsmanship, similar to the technical craftsmanship that Wheeler and his colleagues inculcated in their apprentices.

Science is a creative process, and just as art historians gain insight by studying the training of an artist, so too historians of science can profit from tracing the professional development of scientists in a given discipline. We have seen that Wheeler's influence has been self-consciously transmitted by his former students on to their students. It seems likely and sensible that "Wheelerisms" and/or the "Wheeler spirit" will continue (with minor modifications) to be passed along to ensuing generations of physicists and cosmologists.

There is one aspect of this transmitted "Wheeler spirit" that resonates with my personal experience. Wheeler's enthusiasm—not just for physics, but for learning in general—is a common theme that runs throughout the narratives found in *Family Gathering*; the tape recordings (and transcripts) of interviews of former Wheeler apprentices, and the anecdotal memories that have been shared with me by those who knew and-or studied under John Wheeler. On Tuesday, 25 March 2008, shortly before he died (on Sunday, 13 April), I had the opportunity to meet with John Wheeler in his retirement home at Meadow Lakes, NJ.

In recent years, Wheeler had slipped into something of an Alzheimer's twilight. In addition to a somewhat transient lucidity, his hearing had diminished such that it was necessary to speak into a palm-sized amplifier in order to be heard. In all candor, I am sure the residents who sat around our meeting area were amused at the sight of a man accompanied by a Guide

Dog trying to communicate with a man who was all but deaf. Nonetheless, we had a very pleasant meeting. While my visual impairment prevented me from seeing his facial expressions, Ken Ford (former student and co-author of Wheeler's autobiography), who arranged the meeting, remarked immediately afterward that it had been one of John Wheeler's better days; he had smiled and nodded at appropriate times as I shared the plan and main points of my work. More to the point about enthusiasm, whenever I made an assertion, or disclosed a finding that he [Wheeler] thought was significant (e.g. 'mentoring as an underdeveloped area of scholarship'), he would tap my arm and give me a 'thumbs-up' signal— or even a fist pump—as he did when I mentioned the multiplicative impact of mentor. At one point, I made a joke about not being able to be a professional mariner because the Coast Guard took a *dim* view of captains who could not see buoys or read a navigation chart. At that moment however, I failed to speak directly into the amplifier and upon seeing others laugh, Wheeler immediately turned to Ken Ford and inquired, "What did he say?" When I repeated the punch line, John Wheeler tapped my arm and leaned back in his chair as if we were old friends sharing a good laugh. It is a poignant memory that I shall always treasure.

Returning to the here and now, my point is that, even in the final days of his life, John Wheeler's enthusiasm for learning and sharing new ideas was palpable.

This robust enthusiasm for learning—robust enough to buoy his apprentices when problems seemed insoluble or the completion of a research project seemed in doubt—is perhaps the most important quality that a scientific craftsman can inculcate in an apprentice, and the material from which chains of wisdom are forged.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Timeline of John Archibald Wheeler's Life and Works⁴⁷⁶

| Year | Month, Day, Event(s) |
|------|---|
| 1911 | 09 Jul – John Archibald Wheeler born (Jacksonville, FL) |
| 1912 | Sep – Family Moves to Glendale CA |
| 1914 | 10 Aug – Brother Joseph Towne Wheeler born |
| 1915 | ca Feb-Father loses position in L.A. Library; (Apr) obtains position with American Library Association managing Library Exhibit at San Francisco World's Fair; later accepts position as director of Youngstown, OH library; Sept – family reunited in Youngstown by way of Washington DC; |
| 1917 | 16 Apr – Brother Robert Reid Wheeler born; Joseph Wheeler on leave from Youngstown Library for Library War Service position as Armed Forces Librarian 01 Sep – Move to DC to live with mother's parents |
| 1918 | Jun – Joseph Wheeler's war service ends; Wheeler family moves back to Youngstown 19 Nov – Sister Mary Bethel Wheeler born |
| 1921 | 04/01 – Joseph Wheeler takes sabbatical to recover from Scarlet Fever – Family moves to Benson, VT for 1.5 years; in that time span, John Wheeler completes grades 4 – 7 in a one-room Benson, VT schoolhouse. |
| 1922 | 15 Oct – End of Benson stay; JAW, now 11, works at 8 th grade level |

⁴⁷⁶ I am indebted to Kenneth Ford for sharing an early version of this timeline with me. This timeline also incorporates material from Kip S. Thorne and Wojciech H. Zurek, "John Archibald Wheeler: A Few Highlights of His Contributions to Physics," in *Between Quantum and Cosmos: Studies and Essays in Honor of John Archibald Wheeler*, ed. Wojciech Hubert Zurek, Alwyn van der Merwe, and Warner Allen Miller (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1988), 3-13. This timeline also incorporates archival source material from APS-JAW, PRIN, PRIN-PHY, UT-JAW, UT-PCL and *Family Gathering*. See also Wheeler and Ford, *Geons*, 65 – 84.

| Year | Month, Day, Event(s) |
|------|--|
| 1926 | 14 Feb – Grandfather Frederick William Archibald dies; Joseph Wheeler becomes Director of Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, MD; JAW does last year of HS there (Baltimore City College) |
| 1927 | JAW enters Johns Hopkins on scholarship as engineering major |
| 1928 | Summer in Mexico working for uncle repairing electric motors used in mining operation; engineering beginning to fade – physics seems more interesting |
| 1929 | [Hubble's law] ⁴⁷⁷ |
| 1931 | JAW has summer work with William Meggers at NBS; publishes first paper with Meggers (on spectroscopy) ⁴⁷⁸ |
| 1933 | Three papers; including, “Dispersion and Absorption in Helium” (1 st solo paper) ⁴⁷⁹ Ph.D. Johns Hopkins at age 21; JAW awarded Rockefeller post-doc; Sep – JAW to NYU to work with Gregory Breit |
| 1934 | Three papers; Engaged to Janette Hegner (after three dates) Sep – JAW to Copenhagen to work with Bohr |
| 1935 | Two papers; 10 Jun – John and Janette married in Baltimore Sept – JAW begins career at University of North Carolina |
| 1936 | Four papers; 30 Jul – daughter Letitia born 15 Dec – JAW on short leave (3 mos.) to Institute for Advanced Study |

⁴⁷⁷ Bracketed passages (e.g. [Hubble's Law]) are those events which, while not directly impacting John Wheeler, serve to contextualize the zeitgeist in which he worked.

⁴⁷⁸ See Appendix B, Item 1.

⁴⁷⁹ See Appendix B, Item 2. From this point forward, this appendix will only list those Wheeler publications that have met citation thresholds for significance. These will be noted with a boldface “R” for Renowned (i.e. more than 500 citations); a boldface “F” for Famous (i.e. from 250 – 499 citations); and a boldfaced “VWK” for Very Well-Known (i.e. from 100 – 249 citations).

| Year | Month, Day, Event(s) |
|------|--|
| 1937 | 4 papers; including, "Molecular Viewpoints in Nuclear Structure" (VWK) 15 Mar – Return from Institute for Advanced Study to UNC |
| 1938 | One paper; 05 May – son James English (Jamie) born [24 Dec – Frisch and Meitner "discover" fission] Katharine Way earns Ph.D. from University of North Carolina JAW hired for Spring Semester at Princeton JAW appointment at Princeton extended to three years |
| 1939 | Three papers; including, Bohr – Wheeler "Mechanism on Nuclear Fission" (R) 16 Jan – Bohr arrives in NY with Rosenfeld; met by JAW and Fermis at dock; Rosenfeld describes fission at Princeton Journal Club; ca 20 Jan – Bohr asks JAW to collaborate on nuclear fission paper. 26 Jan – Bohr announces fission at George Washington U in DC [16 Jul; 30 Jul – Szilard and Wigner visit Einstein on Long Island] [15 Aug – Einstein letter for Roosevelt sent to Sachs] 01 Sep – Bohr-Wheeler paper published in Phys Rev; same issue contains Oppenheimer-Snyder paper on Gravitational Collapse of Stars into singularity; [War in Europe begins]; JAW' first house on Battle Road (Princeton) finished [11 Oct – Sachs presents Einstein letter to Roosevelt] |
| 1940 | Two papers |
| 1941 | Four papers [25 Feb – Seaborg, Kennedy, Wahl discover plutonium] [Oct – Roosevelt approves full-scale effort on bomb] [12/07 – Pearl Harbor] |
| 1942 | Two papers [Jan – Lawrence secures microgram quantities of U ₂₃₅] Jan – JAW to Chicago to work with Fermi on reactor development Richard Feynman earns Ph.D. from Princeton. |

| Year | Month, Day, Event(s) |
|------|--|
| 1943 | Three papers Mar – JAW moves to Wilmington work with DuPont (Reactor Design) Apr – Construction starts on Hanford reactor Jun – Construction starts on gaseous diffusion facility at Oak Ridge Nov – micrograms of Plutonium-239 available from Berkeley Cyclotron Nov – Clinton Works TN (Oak Ridge) reactor goes critical |
| 1944 | Apr – grams of Pu ₂₃₉ available from Clinton Jun – Decision at Project Y to push implosion July – move to Richland Sept – first Hanford pile goes critical 25 Oct – Brother Joe killed in Italy ca Oct – Japanese fire balloons land at Hanford - reactor shuts down |
| 1945 | One paper; including Feynman, “Interaction with the Absorber as Mechanism of Radiation” (F) Jan – kilogram of Pu ₂₃₉ from Hanford 15 Jul – Trinity test [06 Aug – Hiroshima] 09 Aug – Nagasaki |
| 1946 | Five papers; Including, “Polyelectrons” (VWK) |
| 1947 | Five papers; Gilbert Plass earns Ph.D. |
| 1948 | Three papers 03 Mar – Granted AEC Q clearance No. 18867 15 Mar – small ONR contract 29 Mar – \$375,000 ONR contract to Princeton for cosmic-ray lab ca June – JAW appointed to Reactor Safeguards Committee 11 Aug – Cosmic ray lab up and running with 10 full time researchers |

| Year | Month, Day, Event(s) |
|------|--|
| 1949 | <p>Book: <i>Elementary Particle Physics</i> Ten papers; including, Wheeler Feynman, "Classical Electrodynamics in Terms of Direct Interparticle Action." (F)</p> <p>13 Jan – Guggenheim Fellowship award 13 Jun – Princeton grants 1-year leave at half pay 27 Jun – Reactor Safeguards Committee appointment renewed 04 Jul – Bohr acknowledges receipt of paper on model of nucleus from JAW with Bohr as coauthor 29 Jun – Wheeler family sail for Europe ca Jul – settle in St. Jean de Luz for summer [29 Aug – Joe 1, (Soviet nuclear weapon test)] 03 Sep – Truman announces Joe 1 03 Sep – JAW sends update material to Bohr for joint paper ca Sept or Oct – Reactor Safeguards Committee meets in England ca 15 Sep – JAW visits Copenhagen [30 Oct – GAC of AEC recommends against H-bomb crash program] ca Oct – Smythe and Teller invite JAW to Los Alamos 12 Dec – JAW writes to Bohr about explanation of large nuclear deformations, proposes January visit to Copenhagen 24 Dec – Bohr acknowledges importance of Wheeler idea and confirms invitation for January S. Fred Singer and Thomas Coor earn Ph.D.s</p> |

| Year | Month, Day, Event(s) |
|------|--|
| 1950 | <p>Two papers;</p> <p>31 Jan – Truman announces crash program for super (H-Bomb)</p> <p>25 Jan – JAW to Manchester to see cosmic-ray work</p> <p>27 Jan – JAW to Copenhagen for about a week</p> <p>Feb – JAW goes ahead to Los Alamos, family stays in France</p> <p>Feb – Ulam-Everett develop pessimistic calculation on super [02 Feb – Klaus Fuchs treason revealed]</p> <p>Apr – JAW and David Hill meet Bohr in Princeton</p> <p>Apr – "early 50" Family Committee formed with Teller as chair</p> <p>20 Apr – Princeton extends JAW leave of absence to 06/30/51 for work on Super</p> <p>12 Jun – Du Pont asked to build tritium producing reactor in South Carolina</p> <p>[25 Jun – Korean war begins]</p> <p>30 Jun – Greenhouse test planning begins</p> <p>10 Sep – GAC receives Teller-Wheeler report on state of bomb theory and negative results by Ulam-Fermi and Ulam-Everett</p> <p>Oct – Teller advocates new lab</p> <p>ca Oct or Nov – JAW begins to think about satellite lab in Princeton</p> <p>02 Dec – GAC report projects super a long way away</p> <p>Arthur S. Wightman earns Ph.D.</p> |
| 1951 | <p>One paper;</p> <p>ca Jan – Lyman Spitzer visits Los Alamos with idea for controlled thermonuclear reaction – fusion power</p> <p>Feb – Planning for Matterhorn; Bradbury (Los Alamos director) reportedly disapproves</p> <p>23 Feb – Ulam idea for Super; Teller modifies</p> <p>March – Teller-Ulam report</p> <p>01 Apr – "new super" drafted by Freddie de Hoffman for Teller</p> <p>ca 25 Apr – Greenhouse test successful</p> <p>Apr – Project Matterhorn organized</p> <p>Fall – Teller quits Los Alamos, goes to Chicago</p> <p>03 Oct – Joe 2 announced</p> <p>22 Oct – Joe 3 test</p> <p>13 Dec – GAC meeting, Teller makes case for new lab</p> <p>David Hill earns Ph.D.</p> |

| Year | Month, Day, Event(s) |
|------|---|
| 1952 | 29 Oct – JAW studies Oppenheimer-Volkoff and Oppenheimer-Snyder papers on gravitational collapse 14 Apr – Shenstone authorizes 1/4 time appt for 52-53 06 May – Physics chair Shenstone gives JAW "great news" that he can teach relativity course in the fall Sept – JAW spends 1 week in Los Alamos Sept – JAW inaugurates relativity course 32 Oct – [01 Nov on Enewetok] Successful Mike test – 10.4 MT John Toll earns Ph.D. |
| 1953 | Four papers; including, Hill – Wheeler, "Nuclear Constitution and the Interpretation of Fission Phenomena." (R) note w/o Bohr Ken Ford earns Ph.D. |
| 1954 | Four papers; |
| 1955 | Five papers; including, "Geons." (VWK) |
| 1956 | Eight papers; Jan-Sept – JAW receives Lorentz professorship in Leiden David Chase, Jim Griffin, and Arthur Komar earn Ph.D.s |
| 1957 | 12 papers (!); including, Griffin and Wheeler, "Collective Motions in Nuclei by the Method of Generator Coordinates" (VWK); JAW, "Assessment of Everett's 'Relative State' Formulation of Quantum Theory" (VWK); and JAW, "On the Nature of Quantum Geometrodynamics" (VWK) Oct-Dec – JAW begins push for national defense lab Charles Misner and Hugh Everett earn Ph.D.s |
| 1958 | Three papers; Summer Project 137 (forerunner of Project JASON) begins |
| 1959 | Four papers; including K. Ford – Wheeler "Semi-Classical Description of Scattering" (VWK) John R. Klauder, B. Kent Harrison, John Fletcher, Robert Euwema & Dieter Brill all earn Ph.D.s |
| 1960 | Three papers; Jan-Sept – visiting professorship at UC Berkeley First Jason study group, in Berkeley 20 Dec – Mother Mabel Archibald Wheeler dies Peter Putnam earns Ph.D. |

| Year | Month, Day, Event(s) |
|------|---|
| 1961 | Nine papers; including Baierlein, Sharp and Wheeler, "Three Dimensional Geometry as Carrier of Information about Time" (VWK) May – daughter Letitia marries Charles Ufford Robert Fuller, Masami Wakano, and Daniel Sperber earn Ph.D.s |
| 1962 | Book: <i>Geometrodynamics</i> (F) Twelve papers; Richard Lindquist and Fred Manasse earn Ph.D.s |
| 1963 | Book: <i>Spacetime Physics</i> with Taylor (F) Eleven papers; 02/07 – Congressional testimony on nuclear testing Joseph Ball earns Ph.D. |
| 1964 | Seven papers Hugh Dempster earns Ph.D. |
| 1965 | Book: <i>Gravitation Theory and Gravitational Collapse</i> , w/ Harrison, Thorne and Wakano Five papers; Larry Shepley and Kip Thorne earn Ph.D.s |
| 1966 | Six papers; JAW serves as president of American Physical Society 25 Jun – son Jamie marries Jenette (Gee) McGehee |
| 1967 | Book: <i>Gravitation Theory and Gravitational Collapse</i> published in USSR; Nine papers; JAW chairs American Institute of Physics Committee on Physics and Society (COMPAS) Published talk: The End of Time Robert Geroch earns Ph.D. |
| 1968 | Book: <i>Einsteins Vision</i> (in German) Six papers; JAW wins Fermi Award Ulrich Gerlach and J. Peter Vajk earn Ph.D.s |
| 1969 | Book: <i>Spacetime Physics</i> w/ Taylor published in USSR Five papers Robert Fischer, Arthur Gilman, and Frank Zerilli earn Ph.D.s |

| Year | Month, Day, Event(s) |
|------|---|
| 1970 | Book: <i>Spacetime Physics</i> w/ Taylor published in France Book: <i>Einstein's Vision</i> published in USSR Three papers Dec – Father Joseph Lewis Wheeler dies Brendan Godfrey earns Ph.D. |
| 1971 | Book: <i>Gravitation</i> with Misner and Thorne (prelim edn.) Nine papers; including Ruffini and Wheeler, “Introducing the Black Hole” (VWK) Demetrios Christodoulou, Clifford Rhoades, and William Unruh earn Ph.D.s |
| 1972 | Five papers; Jacob Bekenstein, Bei-Lok Hu, Bahram Mashoon and Robert Wald earn Ph.D.s |
| 1973 | Book: <i>Gravitation</i> with Misner and Thorne [final] (R) Three papers; Two reprints of earlier papers w/ Feynman |
| 1974 | Book: <i>Black Holes, Gravitational Waves, and Cosmology</i> , w/ Rees and Ruffini Book: <i>Spacetime Physics</i> w/ Taylor published in Hungary Three papers; Lawrence Ford earns Ph.D. |
| 1975 | Book: <i>Spacetime Physics</i> w/ Taylor published in Poland Six papers; George Kerlick earns Ph.D. |
| 1976 | Four papers; Sept. – Move to Texas |
| 1977 | Eleven papers; 31 Oct – Brother Rob dies at age 60 |
| 1978 | Four papers; Terrence Sejnowski (Princeton) earns Ph.D. |
| 1979 | Book: <i>Frontiers of Time</i> Thirty-six papers [Einstein centenary]; One reprint of Nuclear Fission paper w/ Bohr |
| 1980 | Nine papers |

| Year | Month, Day, Event(s) |
|------|---|
| 1981 | Book: <i>Spacetime Physics</i> w/ Taylor published in Japan Six papers; Jonathan Pfautsch (Texas) earns Ph.D. |
| 1982 | Book: <i>Physics and Austerity</i> published in China Four papers |
| 1983 | Book: <i>Quantum Theory and Measurement</i> w/ Zurek Ten papers; |
| 1984 | Nine papers; |
| 1985 | Fifteen papers [Bohr centenary] |
| 1986 | Ten papers; Jul – Retired from Texas but remained in Austin for half a year Arkady Kheyfets and Warner Miller earn Ph.D.s |
| 1987 | Five papers; including, “Superspace and the Nature of Quantum Geometrodynamics” (VWK) Late Feb/early March – returned to Princeton (Hightstown, NJ) |
| 1988 | Eleven papers |
| 1989 | Three papers |
| 1990 | Book: <i>Journey into Gravity and Spacetime</i> Five papers; including, “Information, Physics, Quantum: The Search for Links” (VWK) Benjamin Schumacher (Texas) earns Ph.D. |
| 1991 | Book: <i>Spacetime Physics</i> , with Taylor, second edition Nine papers; |
| 1992 | Two papers Daniel E. Holz (AB Princeton 1992) is JAW’s last advisee of record |
| 1993 | Three papers |
| 1994 | Book: <i>At Home in the Universe</i> |
| 1995 | Book: <i>Gravitation and Inertia</i> w/ Ciufolini (F) |
| 1998 | Book: <i>Geons</i> w/ Ken Ford |
| 1999 | One paper |

| Year | Month, Day, Event(s) |
|-------------|---|
| 2001 | Two papers |
| 2002 | One paper |
| 2008 | 13 Apr – John Archibald Wheeler dies (Hightstown, NJ) |

Appendix B: Bibliography of John Archibald Wheeler⁴⁸⁰

Patents:

Neutronic reactor. U.S. Patent 2,782,158. February 19, 1957.

Means for cooling reactors. U.S. Patent 2,812,304. November 5, 1957.

Neutronic reactor. U.S. Patent 2,976,227. March 21, 1961.

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⁴⁸⁰ I am indebted to former Wheeler students Ken Ford and Jim Hartle who each were willing to share versions of John Wheeler's bibliography with me. Even with our combined efforts however, it is likely that some of Wheeler's work, particularly those works published in foreign journals, have eluded detection to date.

⁴⁸¹ To the extent possible, I have included Wheeler's name as it was listed on the publication as well as the names of other authors in order to document the number of collaborative publications in Wheeler's career. I have also boldfaced the names of Wheeler's former students in order to highlight his collaborative endeavors with them.

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⁴⁸² John Wheeler was one of three advisors on the dissertation of Thomas James Bartlett Shanley's 1951 dissertation.

⁴⁸³ It should be noted that, despite the flurry of joint publications with John Wheeler, Jayme Tiomno's 1951 dissertation was supervised by Eugene Wigner.

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390. **Holz, Daniel E., Warner A. Miller, Masami Wakano**, and John Archibald Wheeler. "Coalescence of Primal Gravity Waves to Make Cosmological Mass without Matter." In *Directions in General Relativity: Proceedings of the 1993 International Symposium on Directions in General Relativity, University of Maryland, College Park, May 27-29, 1993, Vol. 2. Papers in honor of Dieter Brill*, edited by **B.L. Hu** and T.A. Jacobson. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 339 – 359.
391. Ciufolini, Ignazio⁴⁸⁸, and John Archibald Wheeler, *Gravitation and Inertia*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.
392. Wheeler, John Archibald and **Kenneth Ford**. *Geons, Black Holes, and Quantum Foam: A Life in Physics*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1998.
393. Wheeler, John A. "Wheeler's Rules of Writing." *American Journal of Physics* 67, No. 11 (Nov 1999): 945 – 946.
394. Tegmark, Max, and John Archibald Wheeler. "100 Years of Quantum Mysteries." *Scientific American* 284, No 2 (Feb 2001): 68 – 75.
395. Cirone, M. A., K. Rzażewski, W. P. Schliech, F. Straub, and J. A. Wheeler. "Quantum Anticentrifugal Force." *Physical Review A* 65 (21 Dec 2001): 022101-1 – 022101-6.

⁴⁸⁸ Ignazio Ciufolini received his Ph.D. from the University of Texas in 1984 under the supervision of Richard A. Matzner. Matzner received his Ph.D. from Maryland in 1967 under the supervision of Charles W. Misner. Misner received his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1957 under the supervision of John Wheeler. Ciufolini is therefore an intellectual 'great-grandchild' of John Wheeler.

396. **Holz, Daniel E.**, and John A. Wheeler. "Retro-MACHOs: π in the Sky?"

The Astrophysical Journal 578 No. 1 (10 Oct 2002): 330 – 334.

Appendix C: Supervision of Physics Dissertations at Princeton, 1938 – 1978

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|---------|-----------|------|--|--|
| Wheeler | John A | Feynman | Richard P | 1942 | The Principle of Least Action in Quantum Mechanics | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Plass | Gilbert N | 1947 | Black Hole Radiation in the Theory of Action at a Distance | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Singer | S Fred | 1949 | The Density Spectrum and Latitude Dependence of Extensive Cosmic Ray Air Showers | Van Allen, J A Tatel, H E Petersen, R F Fraser, L W [App Phys Lab, Johns Hopkins] also officers and men of USS Wyandot |
| Wheeler | John A | Coor | Thomas JR | 1949 | Ionization Chamber Bursts at High Altitudes | Sherr, R Reynolds, G T Snow, G A |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|----------|----------------|------|--|--|
| Wheeler | John A | Wightman | Arthur Strong | 1950 | The Moderation and Absorption of Negative Pi Mesons in Hydrogen | Marshak, R E Wigner, E P Bargmann, V Bohm, D |
| Wheeler | John A | Hill | David Lawrence | 1951 | Dynamical Analysis of Nuclear Fission | von Neuman, J Murray, F Tukey, J Goldstein, H H |
| Wheeler | John A | Toll | John Sampson | 1952 | The Dispersion Relation for Light and Its Application to Problems Involving Electron Pairs | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Ford | Kenneth W | 1953 | Applications of the Collective Model of the Nucleus | Feenberg E |
| Wheeler | John A | Chase | David M | 1956 | Nucleon-Nuclear Wall Interaction in Scattering Processes | Hill D L |
| Wheeler | John A | Griffin | James J | 1956 | Collective Motions in Atomic Nuclei by the Method of Generator Coordinates | none |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|---------|-------------|------|--|--|
| Wheeler | John A | Komar | Arthur B | 1956 | Some Consequences of Mach's Principle for the General Theory of Relativity | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Everett | Hugh III | 1957 | On the Foundations of Quantum Mechanics | Bohr, N Greenwald, H J Petersen, A Stern, A Rosenfeld, L |
| Wheeler | John A | Misner | Charles W | 1957 | Outline of Feynman Quantization of General Relativity: Derivation of Field Equations: Vanishing of the Hamiltonian | DeWitt, B DeWitt, C Anderson, J L Deser, S Laurent, B |
| Wheeler | John A | Brill | Dieter R | 1959 | Time-Symmetric Solutions of the Einstein Equations: Initial Value Problem and Positive Definite Mass | Bargmann, V Bondi, H Spencer, C P |
| Wheeler | John A | Euwema | Robert Noel | 1959 | Neutrinos and Their Interaction with Matter | Podolsky, B Werner, F G |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|----------|-------------|------|---|---|
| Wheeler | John A | Fletcher | John George | 1959 | Local Conservation Laws in Generally Covariant Theories: Their Relationships and Their Uses | Klauder, J R Bargmann, V |
| Wheeler | John A | Harrison | B Kent | 1959 | Exact Three-Variable Solutions of the Field Equations of General Relativity | Bargmann, V Misner, C Kundt, W Buchdahl, H Pirani, F Euwema, R N Lindquist, R W |
| Wheeler | John A | Klauder | John R | 1959 | The Action Option and a Feynman Quantization of Spinor Fields in Terms of Ordinary C- Numbers | R Haag |
| Wheeler | John A | Putnam | Peter A | 1960 | Photon Scattering by the Statistical Atom | none |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|------|---|--|
| Wheeler | John A | Fuller | Robert W | 1961 | Nonadiabatic Changes of Potential and Neutron Production in Fission | Swiatecki, W Newby, N Bowman, H Thompson, S [Berkeley] Rasmussen, J Perlman, I White, M G Sherr, R |
| Wheeler | John A | Sperber | Daniel | 1961 | Nuclear States with High Angular Momenta and their Stability | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Wakano | Masami | 1961 | Foundations for the Treatment of the Scattering of Light by the Hydrodynamical and Statistical Atom Model | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Lindquist | Richard W | 1962 | The Two Body Problem in Geometrodynamics | Misner, C W Bargmann, V Friedrichs, K O Brill, D Harrison, K Manasse, F |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|----------|------------|------|--|------------------------|
| Wheeler | John A | Manasse | Fred K | 1962 | Distortion in the Metric of A Small Center of Gravitational Attraction due to Its Proximity to a Very Large Mass | C W Misner |
| Wheeler | John A | Ball | Joseph A | 1963 | Some Applications of the Thomas-Fermi Atom with Hydrodynamic Oscillation ¹ | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Dempster | J R Hugh | 1964 | Feynman Quantization in Field Theory | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Shepley | Lawrence C | 1965 | SO (3, R) – Homogenous Cosmologies | Misner, C W (Maryland) |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|---------|----------|------|--|--|
| Wheeler | John A | Thorne | Kip S | 1965 | Geometrodynamics of Cylindrical Systems | Melvin, M A Bargmann, V Brill, D R Dicke, R H Harrison, B K Komar, A Lichnerowicz, A Papatrou, A Sachs, R K Shepley, L Stachel, J J Svetlichny, G |
| Wheeler | John A | Geroch | Robert P | 1967 | Singularities in the Spacetime of General Relativity: Their Definition, Existence, and Local Characteristics | Hawking, S W Staruszkiewicz A Brill, D Penrose, R Svetlichny, C Vajk, P |
| Wheeler | John A | Gerlach | Ulrich H | 1968 | A Third Family of Stable Equilibria? | Peebles, P J E |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|---------|---------------|------|--|---|
| Wheeler | John A | Ohanian | Hans C | 1968 | A Model for Photons and Gravitons based on Broken Symmetry | Svetlichny, G Christ, N |
| Wheeler | John A | Vajk | J Peter | 1968 | The Theory of Spherically Symmetric Spacetimes: A New Formulaton | Steenrod, N Geroch, R Svetlichny, G M |
| Wheeler | John A | Fischer | Arthur Elliot | 1969 | The Theory of Superspace I. Statics | Abraham, R Bredon, G Browder, W Michel, L Orlik, P Papakrylakopoul os, C Stashef, J Steenrod, N Paiais, R [grad students] Fefferman, C Graff, D Greenberg, R Greenspoon, A Pittie, H Quinn, F |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|---------|-----------------|------|--|--|
| Wheeler | John A | Gilman | Robert Campbell | 1969 | A Completely Covariant Integral Theory of Inertia and Gravitation and its Machian Implications | Gunn, J E Kruskal, M |
| Wheeler | John A | Zerilli | Frank J | 1969 | The Gravitational Field of a Particle Falling in a Schwarzschild Geometry Analyzed in Tensor Harmonics | Crean, P |
| Wheeler | John A | Godfrey | Brendan Berry | 1970 | A Survey of the Mathematical Properties of Static, Axisymmetric, Vacuum Spacetimes | York, J Kuchař, K Misner, C Carter, B Geroch, R Carlson, B Goldrich, F Orens, J Rhoades, C |

| | Advisor | Student | | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|---------------|-----------------|------|---|---|
| Wheeler | John A | Christodoulou | Demetrios | 1971 | Investigations in Gravitational Collapse and the Physics of Black Holes | Ruffini, R [collaborator] Papapetrou, A Samaras, D Michalopoulos S Wilkinson, D Partridge, B Wigner, E Fitch, V |
| Wheeler | John A | Rhoades | Clifford Edward | 1971 | Investigations in the Physics of Neutron Stars | Ruffini R Hopfeld, J J Dyson, F J [colleagues] Fulling, S F Weinstein, F C Unruh, W G |
| Wheeler | John A | Unruh | William Geogre | 1971 | Dirac Particles and Geometricaldynamic Charge in Curved Geometries | York, J Quale, A Almgren, C Geroch, R |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|------------|-------------|------|---|--|
| Wheeler | John A | Bekenstein | Jacob David | 1972 | Baryon Number, Entropy, and Black Hole Physics | Kuchař, K Tiomno, J York, J Misner, C Papapetrou, A [Maryland] [grad students] Christodoulou D Davis, M Mashoon, B O'Murchadha, N Smarr, L Unruh, W Wald, R |
| Wheeler | John A | Hu | Bei-Lok | 1972 | Scalar Waves and Tensor Perturbations in the Mixmaster Universe | Regge, T [collab, Chap IV] Ruffini, R Parker, L Fulling, S |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|---------|----------|------|---|--|
| Wheeler | John A | Mashoon | Bahram | 1972 | The Gravitational and Electromagnetic Interactions of a Black Hole | Ruffini, R Peebles, P J E York, J Kuchař, K Bekenstein, J Davis, M Hughston, L Miller, J G Stoner, W Teitelboim, C Wald, R |
| Wheeler | John A | Wald | Robert M | 1972 | Nonspherical Gravitational Collapse and Black Hole Uniqueness | Cohen, J [collab sec. §5.2] Bekenstein, J Carter, B Geroch, R Kuchař, K Mashoon, B Miller, J G Peebles, P J E Price, R York, J |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|---------|--------------|------|---|--|
| Wheeler | John A | Ford | Lawrence H | 1974 | Quantization of A Scalar Field in the Kerr Spacetime | Boyer, T Deruelle, N Fulling, S Geroch, R Kuchař, K Misner, C W Parker, L Ruffini, R Unruh, W G Wightman, A S |
| Wheeler | John A | Kerlich | George David | 1975 | Spin and Tension in General Relativity Foundations, and Implications for Astrophysics and Cosmology | [colleagues] van der Hyde, P Nester, J Geroch, R Ford, L Stewart, J Trautman, A Bargmann, V |

| Advisor | | Student | | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|--------|-----------|-----------------|------|--|---|
| Wheeler | John A | Sejnowski | Terrence Joseph | 1978 | A Stochastic Model of Nonlinearly Interacting Neurons | Bender, D Gelperin, A Gross, C Hopfield, J Knight, B , JR Lampert, M |
| Wheeler, J A [Multi advisors] Ladenburg, R | | MacPhail | Malcom Ross | 1940 | Anomalous Scattering of Fast Neutrons | Wigner, E P Harnwell, G P Giarratana, J |
| Wheeler, John A [Mult advisors] Reynolds, G T Sherr, R Rau, R R | | Cohen | Martin Joseph | 1951 | Cloud and Ion Chamber Observations of Energetic Cosmic Ray Interactions with Matter at Sea Level | Davis, D B |
| Wheeler, J A [Mult advisors] Reynolds, G T Rau, R R | | Shanley | Thomas J B | 1951 | Emission of Low Energy Gamma Radiation in Negative μ Meson Capture | none |
| Wheeler, J A [Mult advisors] Zamick, L | | Wong | Cheuk-Yin | 1966 | “Critical Cooking Time” for Superheavy Elements by Fast Neutron Capture According to the Shell Model | Wong, C W |

| | Advisor | | Student | | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|-----------|---------------|----------|-------------------|------|--|--|---------------------|
| Abarbanel | Henry | Auerbach | Steven P | 1970 | An Elastic Model of the Proton | none | |
| Adler | Steven Louis | Bergmann | Ernest E | 1969 | Tests for Isotensor Couplings in Electromagnetic Interactions | S B Treiman | |
| Adler | Steven Louis | Lee | Shih-Cheng | 1980 | Color Algebras in Algebraic Chromodynamics | none | |
| Alexander | Henry Richard | Stone | Jack L | 1953 | A Theoretical Analysis of Acoustic Wave Modes in Layered Liquids | none | |
| Ames | Oakes | Kossler | William J, Jr | 1964 | Nuclear Moments of C11 from the 3P2 and 3P1 Hyperfine Structure | Hamilton, D R | |
| Anderson | Philip W | Ma | Ki Bui | 1978 | Switching, I/f Noise and Two-Electron Centers | Palmer, R G | |
| Axtmann | Robert Clark | Hahn | Ottfried Johannes | 1964 | Measurement of Delayed Neutrons | Turner, L A [advisor pro-tem while Axtmann in Israel] Hunter, S | |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|-------------------------------|------------|-----------|------|--|--|
| Bargmann | Valentine | Carter | David S | 1953 | Analysis of Scattering Theory for Spherically Symmetric Potentials | Latta, G E |
| Bargmann | Valentine | Ehrman | Joachim B | 1954 | The Unitary Irreducible Representations of the Universal Covering Group of the Infinite Desitter Group | Bohnenblust, H F Mackey, G W Wightman, A S Wigner, E P |
| Bargmann | Valentine | Saletan | Eugene J | 1960 | Contraction of LIE Groups | Wigner, E P Sharp, W T |
| Bargmann | Valentine | Prugovečki | Eduard | 1965 | On the Empirical and Mathematical Foundatons of Quantum Mechanics | none |
| Bartlett | David Farnham (mentioned 2nd) | Friedberg | Carl E | 1969 | $n + p \rightarrow d + \gamma$ A Test of Time Reversal Invariance | Goulianos, D Hutchinson, D Hammerman, I Barsu, S |
| Bartlett | David Farnham (mentioned 2nd) | Hammerman | Ira Saul | 1969 | $N + P \rightarrow D + \pi^0$ A Test of Charge Independence from Threshold Through Resonance Peak | Goulianos, K Hutchinson, D Cheng, D Friedberg, C [colleague] |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|------|--|--|
| Bazin | Maurice Jacques | Zacher | A Richard | 1968 | A Search for the C-Violating Mode $e^+e^- \pi^0$ in the Decay of the ETA Meson | Blumenfeld, H Goshaw, A T Sun, C R Kitagaki, T Kounosu, S Colleraine, A P Nauenberg, U Smith, A J S Bearg, V |
| Bernstein | Ira Borah | Ahearne | John Francis | 1966 | On the Kinetic Theory of Plasmas | None |
| Bershader | Daniel | Allport | John J | 1956 | Shock Induced Flow in Narrow Ducts | Bleakney, W |
| Blankenbecler | Richard | Cocho-Gil | Germinal | 1962 | Resonance Model in Nucleon-Antinucleon Annihilation | none |
| Blankenbecler | Richard | Kreps | Rodney E | 1963 | Regge Poles in High Energy Photomeson Production | none |

| Advisor | | Student | | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------------|---------|------------|--------------------|------|---|---|
| Blankenbecler | Richard | Rubin | Morton Harold | 1964 | The Analytic Properties of the Scattering Matrix for Non-Relativistic Spin-Dependent Interactions | Tiktopoulos, G Bayman, B F Chalifour, J Sugar, R |
| Blankenbecler | Richard | Sugar | Robert L | 1964 | Variational Bounds for Multi-Channel Scattering | none |
| Blankenbecler | Richard | Abarbanel, | Henry Don Isaac | 1966 | Investigations in the Dispersion Theoretic Perturbation Series | Gilman, F Goldberger, M L |

| Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------------|---------|---------|------|--|---|
| Blankenbecler | Richard | Roy | 1966 | S-Matrix Approach to Strong-Interaction Symmetries | Coon, D D [substantial collab] Goldberger, M L Treiman, S B Abarbanel, H Jones, C E Mukunda, N [colleagues] Capri, A Z Clerk, A Madan, R N Noble, J V Shukla, A P |
| Blankenbecler | Richard | Madan | 1967 | Super Perturbation Theory and Bounds on Electron Hydrogen Scattering | Culler, G J (Cal) |

| Advisor | | Student | | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------------|---------|---------|-----------------|------|--|--|
| Blankenbecler | Richard | Coon | Darryl D | 1967 | Internal Symmetries in S-Matrix Theory | Sawyer, R F Mitter, P K Sheppard, H K Goldberger, M L Jones, C E Sugar, R L |
| Bleakney | Walker | Hipple | John Alfred, Jr | 1938 | A New Mass Spectrometer with Improved Focussing and Its Application to the Study of Ethane | None |
| Bleakney | Walker | Risser | J R | 1938 | The Long-Period Radioactivity of Cobalt Induced by Slow Neutrons | Turner, L A Ladenburg, R Ridenour, L N |
| Bleakney | Walker | Sampson | Milo Boatwick | 1938 | A Mass Spectrograph Measurement of the Isotopic Abundance in the Elements Ba, Sr, In, Ga, Li, Na, Mn, Ir, Pt, Pd, Rh, and CO | none |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|--|----------|-----------------------|------|---|--|
| Bleakney | Walker | Sherr | Rubby | 1938 | The Separation of Isotopes by Diffusion | Condon, E U Hipple, J A Smith, L G Trenner, N R |
| Bleakney | Walker (Princeton University Station) | Cummings | Charles Sumner, II | 1940 | Products of Ionization by Electron Impact in Methyl and Ethyl Alcohol | Osbourne, R Eyring, H Beach, J Guyer, W |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|--|----------|----------|------|---|---------------------------|
| Bleakney | Walker (Head Section 2 Structural Defense and Offense Nationa Defense Research Committee) | Reynolds | George T | 1943 | Studies in the Production, Propagation, and Interactions of Shock Waves I. Small Charge Air Blast Experiments [Armor and Ordinance Report NO A-191 II. A Preliminary Study of Plane Shock Waves Formed by Bursting Diaphragms in a Tube [Armor and Ordinance Report NO A-192] III Charge Orientation Tests [Armor and Ordinance Report NO A-193] | Taub, A H Lampson, C W |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|---------|----------|-----------|------|---|---|
| Bleakney | Walker | Emrich | Raymond J | 1946 | Spiral Chronograph for Measurement of Single Millisecond Time Intervals with Microsecond Accuracy | Lampson, C W [collaborators] Delsasso, L A Fletcher, C H Curtis, C W Schenk, J Darago, F J Shipman, L I |
| Bleakney | Walker | Stoner | Richard G | 1947 | An Investigation of the Decay of Spherical Shock Waves by Means of Velocity Measurements | Taub, A H |
| Bleakney | Walker | Fletcher | Charles H | 1950 | The Mach Reflection of Weak Shock Waves | Weimer, D (Shock Wave Laboratory) |
| Bleakney | Walker | White | Donald R | 1951 | An Experimental Survey of the Mach Reflection of Shock Waves | Griffith, W C Weimer, D K Christensen, L |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|---------|---------|---------------|------|--|---|
| Bleakney | Walker | Jahn | Robert G | 1955 | The Reflection of Shock Waves at a Gaseous Interface | Griffith, R W Howard, L N Bershader, D [grad students] Allport Blackman Christensen Mathews Smith |
| Bleakney | Walker | Smith | Wesley R | 1957 | The Mutual Reflection of Two Shock Waves of Arbitrary Strengths | Taub, A H Blackman, V Petschek, H |
| Bleakney | Walker | Kurzweg | Ulrich H | 1961 | Magnetohydrodynamic Stability of Curved Viscous Flows | Wheeler, J A |
| Bleakney | Walker | Rockman | Charles M | 1961 | Electromagnetic Shock Tube Measurements of the Approach to Ionization in Argon, Krypton, and Xenon | none |
| Bleakney | Walker | Haught | Alan Frederic | 1962 | Shock Tube Investigation of the Ionization of Cesium Vapor | none |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|----------|-------------|----------|------|--|--|
| Bohm | David J | Gross | Eugene P | 1949 | Theory of Plasma Oscillations | none |
| Bohm | David J | Pines | David | 1951 | The Role of Plasma Oscillations in Electron Interactions | none |
| Bohm | David J | Staver, Tor | Tor | 1952 | The Collective Treatment of Electron and Ion Vibrations | Wigner, E P Gross, E P Pines, D |
| Bohm | David J | Weinstein | Marvin A | 1954 | Relativistic Theory of Extended Charged Particles | Kouts, H |
| Bradley | Lee C | Wilets | Lawrence | 1952 | Isotope Shifts in Erbium | Shenstone, A G Russell, H N Meisner, K W (Purdue) Murakawa, K |
| Brown | Gerald E | Bertsch | George F | 1965 | Deformations in the Shell Modell with Application to Ca Spectroscopy | Zamick, L Bayman, B F Euwema, R N Elder, F |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|-------|----------|------------|------------|------|--|--|
| Brown | Gerald E | Chen | Min-Yi | 1968 | Nuclear Polarization in Muonic Atoms | Green, A M Kuo, T T S Rost, E |
| Brown | Gerald E | Mavromatis | H A | 1966 | Magnetic Moments and Realistic Forces | Zamick, L Kuo, T Wong, C W Stoyle, R J B Ames, O |
| Brown | Gerald E | Noble | Julian V | 1966 | Application of Multiparticle Collision Theory to the Study of Direct Nuclear Reactions | Rost, E Castillejo, L Fishbane, P M Rosner, J L Tiktopoulos, G Roy, S M |
| Brown | Gerald E | Roeder | John Louis | 1966 | Coupled Channels and Their Application to Resonances in the Scattering of Low-Energy Neutrons by Carbon 12 | Castillejo, L Rost, E Zamick, L Sherr, R |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|-----------|------------|----------|-----------------|------|--|--|
| Brown | Gerald E | Gerace | William J | 1967 | Deformations in the Calcium Region | Green, A M Kuo, T T S Bertsh, G F [grad students] Shukla, A Haight, R Jaffe, R L |
| Brown | Gerald E | Shukla | Agam Prakash | 1967 | Core Polarization Effects in Mass 15 and Mass 17 | Kuo, T T S Bertsch, G Green, A M Gerace, W |
| Brown | William F | Woodward | William M | 1943 | Magnetization and Reversible Susceptibility in Single Crystals of Nickel | Fowler, J L Feynman, R P Bargmann, V |
| Calaprice | Frank Paul | Mead | William Charles | 1974 | The Beta Assymetry of Argon-35 and the Deduced Value of the Vector Coupling Constant | Vantine, H Freedman, S Garvey, G Hichs, J |
| Calaprice | Frank Paul | Vantine | Harry C | 1974 | Second Class Currents in the Beta Decay of Neon – 19 | Freedman, S Head, W C |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------|---|--|
| Calaprice | Frank Paul | Baltrusaitis | Rose Mary | 1977 | New Test of Time-Reversal Invariance in ^{19}Ne Beta Decay | Freedman, S Varga, L Gibbs, B |
| Callan | Curtis Gove | Caswell | William E | 1975 | Calculation of Callan-Symanzik Equation Parameters Using Dimensional Regularization | [colleagues] Schrock, R Wilczek, F Zee, T |
| Callan | Curtis Gove | Mtingwa | Sekazi Kause | 1976 | Asymtotic Chiral Invariance and Its Consequences | Zee, A Wilczek, F Soper, D Surko, P Shoemaker, F Neal, H A [Indiana] |
| Callan | Curtis Gove, Jr | Trudon | Thomas N | 1976 | Quantum Solitons in Two Dimensional Field Theory | Caswell, W Monsay, E H Moshir, M |
| Callan | Curtis Gove, Jr | Moshir | Mehrdad | 1977 | Interaction of Leptons and Magnetic Monopoles | none |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|--------|-----------------|-------------|------------------|------|---|---|
| Callan | Curtis Gove, Jr | Crutchfield | William Yale, II | 1978 | A Modified Borel Summation | Zinn-Justin, J Sokal, A Collins, J Simon, B |
| Callan | Curtis Gove, Jr | de Carvalho | Carlos Aragão | 1980 | Instantons and Fermion Densitite | Bachas, C Baluni, V Besson, C Dashen, R Gross, D Pisarski, R Yaffe, L |
| Carver | Thomas Ripley | Pressley | Robert Joseph | 1962 | Interactions of Electrons and Nuclei in Lithium Metal | VanderVen, N S Berk, H Varnum, C Brault, J |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|--------|---------------|----------|--------------|------|---|--|
| Carver | Thomas Ripley | Gamblin | Roger Lotis | 1965 | Polarization and Relaxation Processes in Helium3 Gas | McIlrath, T Lewis, R Happer, W Sugar, R Firester, A Sachs, S Sutton, L Hegy, D |
| Carver | Thomas Ripley | Lewis | Richard Boyd | 1965 | Observation of Transmission Electron Spin Resonance in Metals | [grad students] McIlrath, T Gamblin, R Firester, A Ruff, G Berk, H Varga, B |
| Carver | Thomas Ripley | McIlrath | Thomas James | 1966 | Optical Pumping in Atomic Hydrogen | [grad students] Firester, A Gamblin, R Lewis, R Ruff, G Stoner, J Jaspersen, S Olsen, H |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|--------|------------------|--------------|----------|------|---|--|
| Carver | Thomas Ripley | Firester | Arthur H | 1967 | Intensity Modulation of Transmitted Light at the Ground State Hyperfine Frequency of K39 | McIlrath, T J Ruff, G |
| Carver | Thomas Ripley | Ruff | Geogre A | 1967 | Spin Exchange and Light Modulation in Optically Pumped Sodium | [grad students] Firester, A H McIlrath, T J Zanoni, C A |
| Carver | Thomas Ripley | Alexandrakis | George C | 1968 | Microwave Magnetic Resonance Transmission in Gadolinium | Rodgers, E M Fedders, P A Lewis, R B McCall, G H |
| Carver | Thomas Ripley | McCall | Gene H | 1968 | Discharge Polarization of He3 Gas | Firester, A H Feddaers, P A |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|--------|------------------|-------|-------------------|------|---|--|
| Carver | Thomas Ripley | Sari | Seppo O | 1971 | Landau Levels at a "Saddle-Point" in InSb | Schnatterly, S E Hopfield, J J Dow, J Palmer, R Callender, A Manikopoulos, D Miller, M Fields, J Gibbons, P |
| Carver | Thomas Ripley | Junck | Roger Nicholas | 1973 | Temperture and Pressure Dependent Equation of State for High Purity Polymethylmethacrylate | Schnatterly, S E (AFWL) Albuquerque] Jones, Col. D R (Ret.) Lamberson, Col. D L (USAF) Asay, J R Guenther, A H Benson, D A Ponton, D A |

| | Advisor | Student | | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
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| Yoshikawa | Shoichi | Young | Kenneth M | 1968 | Flucuations and Particle Loss in Ohmic Heated Discharges in the Model C Stellarator | Grove, D J Ornstein, L Pacher, H Langdon, B Stodiek, W Rutherford, P Johnson, J L Coppi, B Sheffield, G V Gottlieb, M Stix, T H Furth, H P |
| Yoshikawa | Shoichi | Pacher | Horst Dietrich | 1970 | Indentification and Stabilization of Resistive Drift Waves in the Spherator | Von Goeler, S Pacher, G W (brother) Perkins, F W Furth, H P Young, K M Freeman, R L Okabayashi, M |
| Zee | Anthony | Narayanaswami | Vasanti | 1976 | Weak Radiative Decays of Hyperons and Calculations in the Lattice | Witten, E Wilczek, F |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|-----|---------|------|-----------|------|---------------------------------------|---|
| | | | | | Guage Theory | |
| Zee | Anthony | Barr | Stephen M | 1978 | Natural Approximate Lepton Symmetries | Sherr, R Treiman, S Wilczek, F Delvicio, R Wandura, S |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|----------|------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| [Mult advisors] Wilson, Robert Rathbun Mack, Julian, Ellis | Gilvarry | John James | 1943 [Secret] | none |

| Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|---------|------------|------|--|--|
| [Mult Advisors] Jauch, Joseph [Princeton]; Pauli, Wolfgang (Inst Adv Study) | Blatt | John M | 1946 | On the Heavy Electron Pair Theory in the Strong Coupling Limit | none |
| [Mult Advisors] Jauch, Joseph Maria; Pauli, Wolfgang (Inst Adv Study) | Lopes | José Leite | 1946 | High Energy Neutron- Proton Scattering and the Meson Theory of Nuclear Forces with Strong Coupling | none |
| [Mult Advisors] Bleakney, W Symth, H D (in Bleakney's absence) | Mariner | Thomas | 1947 | Part I: A Large Mass Spectrometer Employing Crossed Electric and Magnetic Fields (Bleakney-Hipple Type) Part II: The Ionization and Dissociation of Formic Acid Monomer by Electron Impact | White, M G Cummings, C S Matheson, R Reynolds, G Sutton, R |
| [Mult Advisors] Sherr, Ruby Fulbright, H W | Britten | Roy | 1952 | The Scattering of 32 MEV Protons from Several Elements | Bohm, D Alvarez, L (Berkeley) |

| Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|--------|------------------|------|--|--|
| [Mult Advisors] Reynolds, G T Rau, R Ronald | Brown | Fielding | 1953 | Cosmic Ray Star Production in Neon, Argon, and Krypton | Iona, M (U of Denver) Gugelot, P C Treiman, S |
| [Mult Advisors] Reynolds, G T Salvini, G | Kim | Young Bae | 1954 | Energy Distribution of Neutral Mesons Produced in Cosmic Ray Stars | none |
| [Mult Advisors] Wigner, E P Herring, [William] Conyers | Schmid | Lawrence A | 1954 | Calculation of Cohesive Energy of Diamond | none |
| [Mult Advisors] Rau, R Ronald Reynolds, G T Ballam, Joseph Hodson, Albert L | Arnold | Wm Howard, Jr | 1955 | A Cloud Chamber Investigation of Charged ν Particles [and] Properties of the Charged Θ Meson | Strader, H Lee, H Schwartz, F Card, E Botos, P |
| [Mult Advisors] Reynolds, G T Keuffel, Jack W | Meyer | Albert J | 1955 | Nuclear Absorbtion of μ Mesons in Medium and Heavy Elements | [grad students] Dempster, J R H Motley, R |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|---------------------|------|---|---|
| [Mult Advisors] Herring, W Conyers Kohn, Walter Wigner, E P | Callaway Joseph | 1956 | Electronic Energy Bands in Iron with Application to Ferromagnetism | none |
| [Mult Advisors] Birchenall, C E Meussner, R A Bricker, C E | Eisen Fred H | 1956 | Self-Diffusion in Indium Antimonide and Gallium Antimonide | Christian, S M [RCA Labs] Rostowski, H J [Bell Labs] |
| [Mult Advisors] Reynolds, G T Bowen, T Ballam, J | Hardy Judson, Jr | 1958 | A Cloud Chamber Investigation of Neutral Strange Particles | Lindeberg, G K Moore, W Werbrouck, A Botos, P |
| [Mult Advisors] Sherr, R Gugelot, P C Shoemaker, F C | Peelle Robert W | 1958 | Differential Cross Sections for the Scattering of Medium Energy Protons on Carbon | White, M G Standing, K G Reynolds, J B Franzen, W A Dayton, I E Schrank, G White, M G Standing, K G Reynolds, J B Franzen, W A |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|-----------|----------|--|--|
| [Mult Advisors] Reynolds, G T Ballam, J | Lindeberg | George K | 1958 A Cloud Chamber Investitgation of Charged Curious Particles | O'Neil, G K Hodson, A L Rau, R R van LInt, V A J Strader, H E Lee, H E Schwartz, F |
| [Mult Advisors] Wigner, P Goldberger, M L | Wellner | Marcel | 1958 The Use of Functionals in Scattering Problems | none |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|--|----------------------------|------|--|---|
| [Mul advisors] Bleakney, W Griffith, W H | Matthews David LeSueur | 1959 | The Rate of Dissociation of Oxygen in the Shock Tube | Blackman, V Smith, W R Resler, E L [Cornell] Wigner, E P Hornig, D F |
| [Mult Advisors] Bowen, T Reynolds, G T | Werbrouck Albert Eugene | 1959 | Strange Particle Production in Complex Nuclei | Moore, W Tagliaferri, G Hardy, J Ballam, J Rau, R R |
| [Mult Advisors] Bernstein, I B Frieman, E A Kruskal, M | Bussard R W | 1961 | An Energy Principle for the Stability of Hydromagnetic Plasmas in Equilibrium Motion | Longmire, C L |
| [Mult Advisors] Sherr, Rubby Gerhart, Jim Schrank, Glen Shoemaker, F | Miller John H, III | 1961 | The Positron Spectra of V^{46} , Mn^{50} , Co^{54} , and Cu^{58} | Sutton, D |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|-----------------------|------|--|--|
| [Mult Advisors] Rabinowitz, I Vandenburg, H Ingebrand, R | Robinson Bruce B | 1961 | A Variational Description of Transport Phenomena | none |
| [Mult Advisors] Cronin, James Pondrom, Lee C McIlvain, L Bowen, T | Engels Eugene, Jr | 1962 | A Measurement of Spin Correlation in Proton- Proton Scattering at 400 and 450 MEV | Scheibner, M Vernon, D J |
| [Mult Advisors] Hamilton, D R McCullen, J D | Harris David L | 1962 | Nuclear Spins and Moments of Sc44 and Sc44m | Pinijian, J J [Oak Ridge] |
| [Multiple advisors] Reynolds, G T Waters, John R | Poultney Sherman K | 1962 | The Role of Focusing Čerenkov Counters in High Energy Physics | Zdanis, R Scarl, D P |
| [Mult Advisors] Reynolds, G T Swanson, R A | Scarl Donald B | 1962 | A Filament Scintillation Chamber Measurement of the for $\mu^- + C^{12} \rightarrow B^{12} +$ ν | [co-authors] Waters, J R Zdanis, R A Botos, P Siegel, R [Carnegie Inst] |

| Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|--|--------|----------------|------|---|---|
| [Mult Advisors] Sherr, Rubby Hill, Henry Allen | Sutton | David Chase | 1962 | Half-Lives of and Isomerism in V46, Mn50, Co54 and Cu58 | Gerhart, J B Bernstein, Aaron Legg, James C Miller, John H, III |
| [Mult Advisors] Motley, R W D'Angelo, N | Wong | Alfred Yiu-Fai | 1963 | Excitation, Propagation and Damping of Ion Acoustic Waves in Highly-Ionized Plasmas | Pines, D Stix, T |
| [Mult Advisors] Dicke, Robert H Reynolds, G T | Jordan | Lawrence M | 1964 | The Velocities of 4 BEV/C Pions, and 8 BEV/C Pions, Kaons and Protons | Poultney, S K Phillips, R |
| [Mult Advisors] Frieman, E A Green, J M | Kennel | Charles F | 1964 | Low Frequency Stability of Spatially Non-Uniform Plasmas | Rutherford, P H Lashinsky, H Stringer, T E Petschek, H E Spitzer, L Schwarzschild, M Field, G B |

| Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|----------|-----------------|------|--|--|
| [Mult Advisors] Goldberger, M L Sharp, David | Gilman | Frederick J | 1965 | Baryon Electromagnetic Mass Differences | Blankenbecler, R Dashen, R Kayser, B Abarbanel, H |
| [Mult Advisors] O'Neill, G K Salmon, Graeme | Gezelter | Joseph | 1967 | Charge Exchange Scattering of K ⁺ Mesons on Be ⁹ at .970 GEV/c | Murphy, F M Miller, E S Grismore, R |
| [Mult Advisors] Hamilton, D R Phillips, E A McCullen, J D (Arizona) Ames, Oakes (Stony Brook) | Jackson, | Andrew D | 1967 | The Spins and Moments of Sb ¹¹⁷ and Sb ^{118m} | Kuo, T Garrett, G J |
| [Mult Advisors] O'Neill, G K Salmon, Graeme | Murphy | Frederick V, Jr | 1967 | Elastic Scattering of K ⁺ Mesons by Be ⁹ at 950 MeV/c | Gezelter, J Fishman, H |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|---------|------|--|---|
| [Mult Advisors] Hamilton, D R Phillips, E A McCullen, J D (Arizona) Ames, Oakes (Stony Brook) | Garrett | 1968 | The Spins and Magnetic Dipole Moments of K45 and Sb120 | collaborator] Jackson, A D |
| [Mult Advisors] Hooke, W M Warfield, G Stix, T H | Uman | 1968 | An Experimental Study of Ion Cyclotron Waves in a Hot Plasma | Sinnis, J Rothman, M A Paladino, R A |
| [Mult Advisors] Hamilton, D R Phillips, E A | Rogers | 1969 | The Nuclear Spins and Moments of Sb119 and Sb115 | Ames, O (Stony Brook) McCullen, J D Jackson, A D Caserberg, B |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|---------|------|---|--|
| [Mult Advisors] Devlin, T J Mischke, R E | Shepard | 1969 | Neutron-Proton Charge-Exchange Scattering Between 600 MeV/c and 2000 MeV/c | Solomon, J Ryan, B Cecil, E Kanovsky, A Miller, D [Princeton-Penn Accelerator] White, M G Wales, W D Droge, T J Wright, K Metzger, J Bearg, V Fitch, V |
| [Mult Advisors] Blankenbeckler R Goldberger, M L Schwarz, John H | Chung | 1970 | Nonlinear Functional Analysis and Numerical Computations of the Strong Interaction S-Matrix: Applications to Pion-Pion Dispersion Relations | Wheeler, J A Warnock, R Tryon, E P Wigner, E P Gunning, R C Garabedian, P R |

| Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|---------|--------------------|------|--|---|
| [Mult Advisors] Goshaw, Alfred Bazin, Maurice Sun, Chi Ree | Oddone | Piermaria Jorge | 1970 | Deuteron – Deuteron Elastic Scattering at 2.20 GeV / c | Yang, C N Glauber, R Franco, V Harrington, D |
| [Mult Advisors] Kreisler, M N Mischke, R E | Buttram | Malcolm T | 1970 | A Measurement of the Neutral Branching Ratios of the ETA Meson | Cronin, J Bershback, A Wright, K Gibbs, B |
| [Mult Advisors] Hauser, M G Kreisler, M N Mischke, R E | Dakin | James T | 1971 | An Experimental Study of Omega Neutral Decays | Ritsko, J Webb, B Edwards, H Schwarz, F Bowers, M Candelori, A Quere, V Ringle, H Tipi, G Bearg, V Crean, P |

| Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|---------|---------------|------|--|---|
| [Mult Advisors] Bargmann, V Wightman, A S | Glass | Andrew Stuart | 1971 | Lorentz-Tensors and Relativistic Wave Equations | [U Br Columbia] Gogola, B Opehchowski, W Bluman, G |
| [Mult Advisors] Piroué, Pierre A Smith, A J S | Remmel | Ronald S | 1971 | An Experimental Study of the Tau Matrix Element | [collaborators] Ford, W T Souder, P A Lemonick, A [grad students] Ingalls, P Brill, P Subbarao, K Eppley, K Miller M Borso, C |
| [Mult Advisors] Cronin, J W Hoffman, C M | Shochet | Melvin Jay | 1972 | An Experimental Study of the Two-Photon Decays of the Neutral K Mesons | Banner, M Hoffman, C M Knapp, B C |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|--|------------------------|------|--|--|
| [Mult Advisors] Abarbanel, H Saunders, L M | SubbaRao Krishnappa | 1972 | I. Multiperipheral Theory of Massive Lepton Pair Production II. Corrections to the Equivalent Photon Approximation for Two-Photon Processes | none |
| [Mult Advisors] Adelberger, Eric, Garvey, G T | Ohanian Roy Sourene | 1973 | Two-Nucleon Pickup Reactions from Oxygen-18 | Comfort, J Del Vecchio, R McGrory, JB Bussoletti, J Ingalis, P Ayers, R |
| [Mult Advisors] Wilkinson, D T Groth, Edward J | Rudnick Lawrence | 1974 | Search for Short Time-Scale Radio Flucuations | none |
| [Mult Advisors] Callan, Curtis G Gross, D | Coote Nigel C T | 1975 | The Renormalisation Group and Scaling at High Energy in Yukawa Field Theory | none |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|--|----------------------|------|---|--|
| [Mult Advisors] Wilkinson, D T Hauser, M G | Hannah Eric Cabot | 1975 | Superconductivity in Small Metal Bridges | [colleague] Swanson, C |
| [Mult Advisors] Hoffman, C M Smith, A J S | Newman David E | 1975 | An Experimental Study of Sigma Beta Decay | Shoemaker, F Sanders, G Witherell, M Branson, J |
| [Mult Advisors] Adler, S L Bargmann, V Christ, N H Dashen, R F Goldberger, M L Peebles, P J E Tiktopoulos, G S Wightman, A S | Riml Harold O | 1975 | Unloc Theory | none |
| [Mult Advisors] Gibbons, P C Schnatterly, S E Ritsko, John J | Fields John R | 1976 | Inelastic Electron Scattering in Lithium Fluoride | [grad student] Payne, P |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|---------|------|--|--|
| [Mult Advisors] Corey, Brian E Davis, Marc Loh, Edwin-Din Meyer, S S Seldner, Michael Tremaine, S D Wilkinson, D T | Hoffman | 1976 | Television Photometry of Galaxies in Clusters | [grad students] Geller, M J Rudnick, L |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|---------|------|---|--|
| [Mult Advisors] Cecchi, Joseph Cohen, S A | Marmar | 1977 | Transport of Injected Impurities in the ATC Tokamak | Chu, T K Dimock, D Furth, H Goldston, R Hinnov, E Hirshman, S Johnson, L Mazzucato, E Rechester, A Rutherford, P Schnatterly, S Daughney, C Tolnas, E Corso, V Hand, S Shoemaker, B |

| Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|--|----------|----------|------|---|---|
| [Mult Advisors] Yamada, M Hendel, Hans | Seiler | Steven W | 1977 | Linear and Nonlinear Development of a Lower- Hybrid Wave Driven by a Perpendicular Ion Beam | Gereg, L Kaw, P K Stix, T H Perkins, F W Arunasalam, V Chu, T K Owens, D K Ikezi, H (Bell Labs) |
| [Mult Advisors] Coyne, Don Sadrozinski, H | Shinsky | Kirk A | 1978 | Inclusive Particle Distributions in the Psi and Psi Prime Decays | O'Neill, G K |
| [Mult Advisors] Dashen, Roger Yaffe, Larry | Laughton | David G | 1980 | The Physics of Meron Pairs I. Introduction, Motivation, and Formalism II. The Bare Activity | Wolfram, S [Caltech] Loh, E Kessler, D Levine, H |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|------|--|---|
| [No identifiable advisor] | Hofstadter Robert | 1939 | On the Infrared Absorption by Light and Heavy Formic and Acetic Acids, with Special Regard to the Problem of the Hydrogen Bond | Bonner, L G Herman, R C Brattain, Ross Prof. Taylor Prof. Menzies Prof. Eyring Dr. Turkevich (Chemistry) |
| [No identifiable advisor] | Sutton R B | 1943 | A Report on a Method for Obtaining the Relation Between the Range and the Energy of High Energy Protons | none |
| [No identifiable advisor] | Stipe J Gordon, Jr | 1944 | Penetration in Soil [Interim Memorandum NO 30 to the Chief of Engineers United States Army] | none |
| [No identifiable advisor] | Green Melville S | 1952 | Brownian Motion and the Theory of Irreversible Phenomena | none |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|--------------------|---|------------|
| [No identifiable advisor] | Kouts, | Herbert J C | 1952 | An Investigation into Certain Features of the Motion of Rigid Charge Distribution | none |
| [No identifiable advisor] | Berry | Richard E | 1958 | Electron Spin Resonance in Aluminum | none |
| [No identifiable advisor] | Mitler | Henri E | 1960 | A Shell Model Analysis of Calcium Isotopes | none |
| [No identifiable advisor] | Jasperson | Stephen Newell | 1968 | Optical Reflectance Studies of Silver Foils in the Range 3000 to 6000 Å | none |
| [No identifiable advisor] | Bower | Richard H J | 1970 | S-Matrix Theory of Low Energy Neutron-Deuteron Scattering | none |
| [No identifiable advisor] | King, | Rober A | 1976 | Multiplexed Fabray Perot Interferometers | none |
| [No identifiable Princeton advisor] | Shulman | Carl | 1957 | Quantum Effects in the Exchange of Energy Between Free Electrons and Radio Frequency Fields | North, D O |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|---|------------------|------|--|--|
| [No identifiable Princeton advisor] Geballe, T H (Stanford) | Lee, Kai Nien | 1971 | Low-Temperature Properties of the Light Rare-Earth Hexaborides | (Stanford) Bachmann, R Doniach, S White, R M Nickerson, J C Bell, B Fisher, M E (Cornell) (Princeton) Schnatterly, S E Garvey, G T Wightman, A S Hopfield, J J |

| Advisor | Student | Year | Dissertation Title | Others Acknowledged |
|--|----------------------|------|---|---|
| [No identifiable Princeton advisor] Bahcall, John N (IAS) | Sarazin, Craig Leigh | 1975 | The Role of Dust in H II Regions | Neugebauer, G O'Dell, C R Leibowitz, E Salpeter, E E Press, W (Astronomy) Morton, D Spitzer, L Jura, M Davidson, K Rees, M Purcell, E |
| [No identifiable Princeton advisor] Bers, A (MIT) | Reiman Allan H | 1977 | Space-Time Evolution of Nonlinear Three-Wave Interactions | Kaup, D (Clarkson College) Chambers, F Kearney, C |
| [No identifiable Princeton advisor] Drell, Sidney (SLAC) | Svetitsky Benjamin | 1980 | Dynamical Symmetry Breaking in Lattice Gauge Theories | [SLAC] Quinn H Weinstein, M |

Appendix D: Supervision of Physics Dissertations and Master's Theses at Texas

| Advisor | | Student | | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|-------------|---------|-----------|---------------|------|---|--------|---|
| Antoniewicz | Peter | Rodriguez | Robert | 1979 | Theory of Interfacial Phenomena in Binary Fluids | Ph.D. | Larry Shepley Lothar Frommhold Jack Swift Fritz DeWette Robert Little J. C. Thompson |
| Antoniewicz | Peter A | Lee | William W. L. | 1989 | Electron Bound States in the Vicinity of Two Orthogonal Surfaces | Ph.D. | |
| Antoniewicz | Peter R | Hollox | Desmond M. | 1989 | Quantum States by Iterative Discrete Spectral Analysis | Ph.D. | none |
| Antoniewicz | Peter R | Gata | Mário A. | 1990 | Vibrational Spectroscopy of Adsorbates in Scanning Tunneling Microscopy | Ph.D. | J Thompson A deLozanne F de Wette |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------|--|--------|--|
| Antoniewicz | Peter R. | Meixner | William C. | 1976 | The Effective Polarizabilities of Atoms Absorbed on Metal Surfaces | Ph.D. | W. D. McCormick J. P. Alldredge F. A. Matsen J. D. White |
| Antoniewicz | Peter R. | Ballester | Jorgé L. | 1989 | Electron States on Clusters and Microdrops | Ph.D. | R Smoluchowski (comm) A Campion, J C Thompson, W D McCormick N Dominguez |
| Baer | Helmut W. | Harvey | Carol J. | 1984 | The Elastic and Inelastic Scattering of π^+ and π^- from ^{34}C and ^{36}C Measured at $T_\pi = 164$ MeV | Ph.D. | C Fred Moore W J Braithwaite John Johnstone |
| Becker | M. F. | Jhee | Yoon Kyoo | 1984 | Charged Particle Emission from Silicon During Multiple-Pulse Picosecond Laser Induced Damage | Ph.D. | R M Walser R W Bene A A Dougal H L Marcus |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|------------|----------|------------|------|--|--------|--|
| Becker | Michael F | Jee | Yong | 1987 | Multiple Pulse Laser Induced Damage of Single Crystal Metal Surfaces Under 1.06 μ Pulsed Laser Radiation | Ph.D. | R M Walser L K Rabenberg R W Bene G A Hallock H L Marcus Y K Jhee M Bordelon J Mauger |
| Beil | Herbert L. | Saltzman | Barry J. | 1981 | The Feasibility of a Ring Stabilized Plasma Reactor in the Lee-Van Dam Limit | M. A. | none |
| Bené | R. W. | Schaffer | William J. | 1977 | Interfacial Silicide Formation on Nickel-Silicon Thin Film Couples | Ph.D. | none |
| Bengston | R. D. | Divatia | Alaka | 1978 | Conductivity Measurements of Low Temperature Plasma | M. A. | C W Wharton J C Thompson Chris Krohn Mike Sternberg |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|---------|--------|-------------|------|---|--------|---|
| Bengston | Roger | Pease | Dennis C. | 1978 | An Experimental Study of High Frequency Plasma Wave Effects in Hydrogen | M. A. | Billy Yant Jimmy Key Guy Caldwell Don Patterson Alan Macmahon Tim Pittman Daniel Blejer |
| Bengston | Roger D | Empson | Kevin L. | 1988 | Charge Exchange Measurements on the Texas Experimental Tokamak | M. A. | none |
| Bengston | Roger D | Lin | John Wei-ly | 1990 | The Investigation of the Toroidal Distribution of the Electron Cyclotron Resonant Heating Waves in the Texas Experimental Tokamak | M. A. | David Sing K Carter T Herman K Gentle C P Ritz T Rhodes H Lin J Jagger |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|---------|-----------|------------|------|---|--------|---|
| Bengston | Roger D | Eckstrand | Stephen A. | 1980 | An Investigation of Runaway Electrons in the PRETEXT Tokomak | Ph.D. | K W Gentle M E Oakes P E Phillips M Fink |
| Bengston | Roger D | Benesch | Jay F. | 1981 | Breakdown in the PRETEXT Tokomak | Ph.D. | J Keto, S Mahajan E Powers M Rosenbluth L Frommhold |
| Bengston | Roger D | Gandy | Rex F. | 1981 | An Investigation of Microwave Emission from the PRETEXT Tokomak | Ph.D. | K W Gentle M E Oakes P E Phillips F L Hinton J Benesch S Eckstrand S Eways T Kochanski |

| Advisor | | Student | | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|---------|------------|------------|------|--|--------|---|
| Bengston | Roger D | Synakowski | Edmund J. | 1988 | Light Impurity Studies on TEXT Using Charge-Exchange Recombination Spectroscopy | Ph.D. | K Gentle A Wooton P Valanju J Jagger D Terry D Booth H Ouroua |
| Bengston | Roger D | Ouroua | Abdelhamid | 1989 | Ion Thermal Diffusion in the Texas Experimental Tokamak | Ph.D. | A J Wooton R D Hazeltine E J Powers K W Gentle J Jagger |
| Bengston | Roger D | Thomas | Dan M. | 1983 | Investigation of Edge Neutral on the ISX-B Tokamak Using a Low Energy Charge Exchange Analyzer | Ph.D. | (ORNL) H Nielson R Phaneuf F Meyer J Hale D Gregory C F Barnett J Watkins J Joyce |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|----------|--------|------------|------|---|--------|---|
| Bengston | Roger D. | Wicks | David W. | 1982 | A Spectroscopic Method for Measuring the Electron Confinement Time in the PRETEXT Tokomak | M. A. | none |
| Bengston | Roger D. | Thomas | Dan M. | 1979 | Impurity Removal by Discharge Cleaning in the PRETEXT Tokomak | M. A. | Edward Kluth J Benesch S Eckstrand R Michie D Pease K Carter M Prouty J Joyce |
| Bengston | Roger D. | Cook | Richard W. | 1985 | Observation and Analysis of Current Carrying Plasmas in a Railgun | M. A. | Efraim Varzan Victor Alexander Michael Kreisler Eugene Golowich Ray Zowarka Dennis Peterson Jim Upshaw Damen Weeks |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|----------|---------|------------|------|--|--------|---|
| Bengston | Roger D. | Kaplan | David J. | 1976 | A Chemical-Physical Model of Plasma Formation in the Texas Turbulent Torus | Ph.D. | K W Gentle H D Campbell P Phillips N Wolf Regan Stinnett W L Rowan |
| Bengston | Roger D. | Marsh | Spencer J. | 1976 | Dynamics of Magnetic Field Penetration into a Weakly Ionized Plasma | Ph.D. | Melvin Oakes Dillion H McDaniel Miles C Clark James Collins Cleon Yates C A Kapetanacos William Rowan |
| Bengston | Roger D. | Sánchez | Alfredo | 1976 | Study of Helium Plasma Satellites from Suprathermal Wave Fields | Ph.D. | Melvin Oakes Hans R. Griem Marcos Ghiglione Perry Phillips |
| Bengston | Roger D. | Pease | Dennis C. | 1982 | An Experimental Study of Ion Dynamic Effects on Helium Line Profiles | Ph.D. | P E Philips M E Oakes L Frommhold J Keto K Gentle |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|----------|--------|-----------|------|---|--------|---|
| Bengston | Roger D. | Lin | Shiow-Hwa | 1982 | Alfvén Wave Studies on PRETEXT | Ph.D. | Melvin E Oakes David W Ross Swadesh M Mahajan Gwo-Liang Chen Kenneth W Gentle Edward J Powers Herbert H Woodson |
| Bengston | Roger D. | Rhodes | Terry L. | 1989 | Experiments on Turbulence and Transport in the Edge Plasma of the TEXT Tokamak | Ph.D. | K Carter T Herman L Hong D Booth H Ouroua E Solano |
| Bengston | Roger D. | Boedo | José A. | 1990 | Experimental Investigation of ECH Driven Suprathermal Populations on the TEXT Tokamak | Ph.D. | none |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|-----------|--------|---------|------|---|--------|--|
| Berk | Herbert L | Kwon | Oh Jin | 1989 | A Study of Runaway Electron Confinement and Theory of Neoclassical MHD Turbulence | Ph.D. | P H Diamond P N Rosenbluth D Baldwin A Wootton |
| Berk | Herbert L | Mattor | Nathan | 1989 | New Developments in the Theory of Ion-Temperature-Gradient Driven Turbulence in Tokomaks | Ph.D. | P H Diamond, M N Rosenbluth D E Baldwin R D Hazeltine E J Powers E T Vishniac |
| Berk | Herbert L | Gang | Fongyan | 1990 | Kinetic Theory of Trapped Turbulence in Sheared Magnetic Fields and Statistical Theory of Two-Field Drift Wave Turbulence | Ph.D. | M N Rosenbluth D E Baldwin R D Bengston E Vishniac |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|-----------|------------|--------------|--------------|------|--|--------|--|
| Berk | Herbert L. | Stotler | Darin P. | 1986 | The Effect of Energetic Particles on Mirror and Tokamak Plasmas | Ph.D. | M Rosenbluth Jim Van Dam Toshiki Tajima Richard Hazeltine Wendell Horton John Dollard Patrick H. Diamond |
| Bernstein | R. B. | Newton | Kenneth R. | 1977 | Nitrogen Atomic Beam Source and a CW Hydrogen Chloride Laser | M. A. | John Herrmann Robert Love Tom Mayer Harry Pang Konrad Wu Shigeo Hayashi Bob Bickes |
| Boggs | James E. | Schmeidekamp | Ann Marie B. | 1976 | Ab Initio Investigations of: A. Inversion Barriers of some Nitrogen and Phosphorus Compounds; B. Valence Shell Electron Pair Repulsion Model | Ph.D. | Steen Skaarup Péter Pulay D W Cruikshank |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
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| Bohm | Arno | Teese | Robert B. | 1977 | The Semileptonic Hyperon Decays in a Spectrum-Generating SU(3) Framework | Ph.D. | Augusto Garcia Josef Werle |
| Bohm | Arno | Moylan | Patrick J. | 1982 | Applications of the DeSitter Group in Quantum Mechanics | Ph.D. | |
| Bohm | Arno | Aldinger | Randolph R. | 1984 | The Quantum Relativistic Rotator and Correspondence to the Covariant Noncanonical Treatment of the Syracuse Version of the Quantum Relativistic String | Ph.D. | L C Biedenharn C B Chiu J E Gilbert Y Ne'eman P Kielanowski M Tarlini |
| Bohm | Arno | Magnollay | Pascal L. | 1986 | Quantum Relativistic Rotator and Oscillator Models and Their Applications in Hadron Physics | Ph.D. | P Kielanowski M Loewe |

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| Bohm | Arno | Loewe | Mark E. | 1989 | SO (3,2) as a Spectrum-Generating Group for Relativistic Quantum Mechanical Extended Objects | Ph.D. | A R Bohm J E Gilbert Y Ne'eman G Sudarshan C Teitelboim J A Wheeler |
| Bohm | Arno | Kmiecik | Micheal A | 1990 | The Spectrum Generating Group SO(3,2) Applied to the Radiative Decays of the Nucleon Resonance | Ph.D. | M Loewe L J Boya |
| Braithwaite | W. J. | Boyer | Kenneth G. | 1976 | A Spectrometer for Neutral Pions of Energies Through 200 MeV | M.A. | C F Moore |
| Braithwaite | Wilfred | Cottingame | William B. | 1985 | Inelastic Pion Scattering from ^{34}C | Ph.D. | G R Burleson |

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| Brock | J. R. | Tropp | Richard J. | 1979 | Studies in Aerosol Physics and Atmospheric Electricity | Ph.D. | A W Nolle M Fink J W Barlow; R W Miksad |
| Browne | J. C. | Struensee | Michael C. | 1984 | Uses of Dipole Oscillator Strength Sum Rules in Second Order Perturbation Theory | Ph.D. | E Shipsey |
| Buckman | A. Bruce | Richardson | Philip I. | 1978 | Optical Properties of Thin Amorphous WO ₃ Films | M. A. | W D McCormack |
| Candelas | Philip | Lynker | Monika | 1988 | Heterotic String Compactification on Conformal Field Theories | M. A. | F Gaus |
| Candelas | Philip | Howard | Kenneth W. | 1984 | Vacuum Stress in Schwarzschild Spacetime | Ph.D. | Bernard Whiting Bruce Jensen |

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| Candelas | Philip | Jensen | Bruce P. | 1985 | Vacuum Polarization on Black Hole Spacetimes | Ph.D. | Bernard Whiting Kenneth Howard Denis Sciama Brandon Carter |
| Candelas | Philip | Lütken | Carsten A. | 1986 | Vacuum Structure | Ph.D. | Finn Ravndal Cliff Burgess Bruce Allen Carlos Ordoñez Xenia de la Ossa |
| Candelas | Philip | Ordóñez Montenegro | Carlos R. | 1986 | Graviton Dominance in Quantum Kaluza-Klein Eleven-Dimensional Supergravity | Ph.D. | C DeWitt W Fischler J Polchinski S Weinberg |
| Candelas | Philip | Schimmrigk | Rolf | 1989 | Heterotic Vacuum Structure | Ph.D. | A Dale A Lütken M Lynker S de Alwis W Fischler J Polchinski M Eastwood |

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| Candelas | Philip | Lynker | Monika | 1990 | Heterotic String Compactification on Conformal Field Theories and Calabi-Yau Manifolds | Ph.D. | Rolf Schimmrigk F Gauss R Lang V Kaplunovsky A He E Derrick A Ishaq |
| Carmichael | Howard | Wolinsky | Murray | 1990 | The Positive P Approach to Nonlinear Problems in Quantum Optics | Ph.D. | J Kimble T Griffy A Gleeson C Chiu |
| Centrella | Joan | Clancy | Sean P. | 1985 | Percolation Theory and the Large Scale Structure of the Universe | M. A. | Eldon Richard Matzner Adrian Melott Roger Minich Minh Van-Duong Ethan Vishniac |
| Chiu | Charles | Tata | Xerxes R | 1981 | On the Composite Structure of Elementary Particles | Ph.D. | D Dicus |

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| Chiu | Charles | Eubank | Stephen G. | 1986 | A Re-Examination of the Migdal-Kadanoff Renormalization Group Equations and Construction of the First Order Martinelli-Parisi Correction for Lattice Gauge Theories | Ph.D. | A Font K Kallianpur C Ordonez U Yajnik |
| Chiu | Charles B | Wilson | Sanford L. | 1987 | QCD Sum Rules and the Static Properties of the $1/2^+$ Baryon Octet | Ph.D. | J Pasupathy |
| Chiu | Charles B. | Hossain | Monowar | 1978 | The Study of F-Pomeron Identity, T-min Effect, and Double Counting Problem in the Dual Topological Unitarization Approach to Hadron Physics | Ph.D. | Don M Tow A Bohm A Dicus W C Shieve E C G Sudarshan |

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| Coker | W. R. | Darkwi | Ali Y. | 1984 | The Antibound State of NTP S-Wave Interaction | M. A. | T Tamura J Kirtley |
| Coker | W. R. | Ray | Robert L. | 1977 | Microscopic Approaches to the Intermediate Energy Nucleon-Nucleus Optical Potential | Ph.D. | Taro Tamura Takeshi Udagawa. Gerald W Hoffman John W Negele(MIT) |
| Coker | W. R. | Lynch | James F. | 1978 | Proton and Pion Elastic Scattering from Nuclei as a Probe of Nucleon-Nucleon Correlations | Ph.D. | Lanny Ray (LASL) |
| Collins | R. L. | Moylan | Patrick J. | 1978 | Magnetic Susceptibility Measurements and ^{57}Fe Mössbauer Spectra of $\text{Fe}(\text{8-QS})_2\text{Cl} \cdot 1\frac{1}{2}\text{H}_2\text{O}$ and Related Compounds | M. A. | W E Millett A Böhm R Dickinson W A Baker R Worell |
| Collins | R. L. | Peterman | Keith R. | 1978 | Non-Classical Brownian Motion | M. A. | C W Horton G E Ellis (ARL) |

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| Collins | R. L. | Eakin | Richard T. | 1984 | The Effects of Temperature and Line Overlap in the Analysis of Multiple Line Mössbauer Spectra | Ph.D. | W E Millett W C Shieve H L Swinney P J Riley R P Wagner L O Morgan |
| Davids | Cary | Parks | Lewis A. | 1976 | A Study of the Decay of New Neutron Rich Isotope Titanium-53 using Fast Pneumatic Target Transfer Systems | Ph.D. | Richard Pardo |
| Davids | Cary N. | Pardo | Richard C. | 1976 | I. The Decay of Arsenic-68 and Excited States in Arsenic-68; II. The Decay of Manganese-59 | Ph.D. | S L. Tabor |
| de Wette | F W | Zhao | Jianai | 1990 | Phonon Spectrum and Interface Phonons GaAs-AIAs Superlattices | Ph.D. | none |

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| de Wette | F. W. | Ma | Simeon K-S. | 1976 | Surface Anharmonicity and Size Effects of Linear Chains and Surface Linear Expansion of Cubic Metal Crystal Slabs | Ph.D. | G P Alldredge |
| DeWitt | B. S. | Pacheco Bellet | Jorgé | 1978 | Numerical Simulation of Spherically Symmetric Matter in Relativity | Ph.D. | L Shepley T Criss Martin Duncan Kathie Barndett |
| DeWitt | Bryce | Guy | Richard W. | 1979 | Vacuum Polarization in Curved Spacetime | Ph.D. | LShepley Richard Matzner Stuaret Dowker Paul Chrzanowski Charles Hart Vern Sandberg Martin Brown Bruce Nelson |
| DeWitt | Bryce | Rowher | Richard J. | 1985 | The Guage Invariant Effective Action in Cosmology | Ph.D. | none |

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| DeWitt | Bryce | Rao | Ravindra N. | 1986 | Finiteness of Quantum Gravity | Ph.D. | Richard Woodward Philip Candelas R Boyer J Moore |
| DeWitt | Bryce | Anderson | Berton A. | 1986 | Non-Trivial Topology in Quantum Theory | Ph.D. | Steve Carlip Richard Jordan |
| DeWitt | Bryce | Jordan | Richard D. | 1986 | Expectation Values in Quantum Gravity | Ph.D. | Richard Woodard B Jensen K Holcomb |
| DeWitt | Bryce | Carlip | Steven J. | 1987 | Path Integrals for the Green-Schwarz Superstring | Ph.D. | J Polchinski G Gilbert W Fischler J Hughes J Liu H LaRoche |

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| DeWitt | Bryce S | Hart | Charles F. | 1981 | Theory and Application of a Gauge Invariant Effective Action to the Multi-Loop Renormalization of Non-Abelian Gauge Theories | Ph.D. | none |
| DeWitt | Bryce S | Manogue | Corinne A. | 1984 | The Vacuum in the Presence of Electromagnetic Fields and Rotating Boundaries | Ph.D. | D Brown |
| DeWitt | Bryce S | Foong | See Kit | 1989 | Foundations of the Lattice Quantization of Sigma Models | Ph.D. | J DeLyra T Gallivan C DeWitt-Morette J Polchinski |
| DeWitt | Bryce S | Gallivan | Timothy E. | 1989 | Numerical Insights into Renormalization: The $O(2,1)$ Sigma Model | Ph.D. | J L DeLyra S K Fong |

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| DeWitt (aka DeWitt- Morette) | Cecile | Zhang | 1985 | Path Integral Formulation of Scattering Theory with Application to Scattering by Black Holes | Ph.D. | Richard Matzner |
| DeWitte- Morette | Cecile | Park | 1989 | 2 + 1 Dimensional Quantum Field Theories in the 1/N Expansion | Ph.D. | L J Boya C Friedman J Polchinski B Rosenstein |
| DeWitt- Morette | Cecile | Jacobson | 1983 | Spinor Chain Path Integral for the Dirac Electron | Ph.D. | L S Schulman W K Wothers R Mauri D Finkelstein |

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| DeWitt-Morette | Cécile | Doering | Charles R. | 1985 | Functional Stochastic Differential Equations: Mathematical Theory of Nonlinear Parabolic Systems with Applications in Field Theory and Statistical Mechanics | Ph.D. | W Horsthemke K Bichteler B DeWitt D Dicus K Osterwalder S Weinberg |
| DeWitt-Morette | Cécile | Young | Alice M. | 1985 | Change of Variable in the Path Integral Using Stochastic Calculus | Ph.D. | L Schulman C Doering |
| DeWitt-Morette | Cécile | Low | Stephen G. | 1985 | Path Integration on Spacetimes with Symmetry | Ph.D. | L Schulman P Candelas A Lütken, B Jensen, C Doering |
| DeWitt-Morette | Cécile | La Roche López | Humberto J. | 1986 | Topics in Quantum Mechanics with Application to String Models | Ph.D. | C J Isham (Imperial College, London) M Henneaux M Awada |

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| DeWitt-Morette | Cécile | Trisnadi | 1989 | Compositions of Bosonic String Amplitudes with Cylinder Topology | Ph.D. | J Polchinski S Carlip S Della Pietra M Henneaux L Chang-Yeong M Rubin L Shepherd |
| DeWitt-Morette | Cécile | Sheeks | 1980 | Some Applications of Path Integration Using the Prodistribution Method | Ph.D. | B Nelson B S DeWitt W W Robertson W C Schieve L C Shepley |
| Diamond | Patrick H. | Chiueh | 1985 | Theoretical Studies of Magnetized Plasma Turbulence: Ion-Cyclotron Turbulence, and its Applications to Tokomak Edge Phenomena | Ph.D. | M N Rosenbluth P W Terry J N Leboeuf R H Berman |

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| Dicus | Duane A | Letaw | John R. | 1981 | Quantum Field Theory and Quantized Detectors in Stationary Coordinate Systems | Ph.D. | J Pfautsch P Candelas D Deutsch B DeWitt U Gehrlach D Sciama W Unruh J A Wheeler |
| Dicus | Duane A | Schreiner | Henry F. | 1982 | Pion Proton Bremsstrahlung and the Delta Magnetic Moment | Ph.D. | J Swift G W Hoffmann A Gleeson C Chiu |
| Dicus | Duane A | Kallianpur | Kalpana J. | 1986 | The Effects of Nonstandard Triple Gauge Interactions on Photoproduction and Pair-Production of W Bosons | Ph.D. | S Willenbrock X Tata U Yajnik E Dunn |
| Dicus | Duane A | Vega | Roberto | 1988 | WW Physics and the Higgs Boson at SSC Energies | Ph.D. | S Weinberg J Polchinski |

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| Dicus | Duane A | Nagao | Gregory G | 1989 | The Spontaneous Symmetry Breaking of Closed Strings into Open Strings | Ph.D. | S Hwang M Clements S Della Pietra T Imbo J Trisnadi S Blau R Schimmrigk |
| Dicus | Duane A | Kao | Chung | 1990 | Production of Gauge Bosons and Higgs Bosons from Gluon Fusion | Ph.D. | R Barrar C Chiu N Deshpande B DeWitt G Hamrick J Isenberg W-L Lin |
| Dicus | Duane A. | Kolb | Edward W., Jr. | 1978 | Astrophysical Limits to Weak Interaction Phenomenology | Ph.D. | David Tibbs David Schram Robert Wagoner Vigdor Teplitz E C G Sudarshan |
| Dicus | Duane A. | Down | David M. | 1985 | Results in Finite Temperature Quantum Electrodynamics | Ph.D. | |

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| Dicus | Duane A. | Imbo | Tom D. | 1988 | Topological Phases in Quantum Theory | Ph.D. | Bill Celmaster Gary Hamrick Chandni Shah Imbo George Sudarshan |
| Dollard | John | Bourgeois | Brian A. | 1979 | Quantum Mechanical Scattering Theory for Long-Range Oscillatory Potentials | Ph.D. | Charles Friedman Klaus Bichteler Gary Hamrick Charles Radin |
| Downer | M C | Focht | Glenn B. | 1990 | The Frequency Shifting of Femtosecond Laser Pulses | Ph.D. | P Antoniewicz M Fink M Becker L Frommhold |
| Downer | Mike | Reitze | David H. | 1990 | Femtosecond Dynamics of Phase Transitions in Carbon and Silicon | Ph.D. | P Antoniewicz Becker J Erskine J Thompson |

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| Drummond | William E. | Cornet | Edward P | 1976 | Growth of the Electron Cyclotron Mode in a Relativistic Electron Beam by Helical Linear Structures | Ph.D. | M L Sloan W W Rienstra J R Thompson G I Bourianoff H V Wong J R Uglum |
| Dulikravich | George S | Kennon | Stephen R. | 1987 | Numerical Solution of Weak Forms of Conservation Laws on Optimal Unstructured Triangular Grids | Ph.D. | G F Carey L J Hayes J T Oden D M Young |
| Dulikravich | Thomas A | Foreman | Terry L. | 1987 | A Frequency Dependent Ray Theory | Ph.D. | none |
| Ehlers | Jürgen | Hibler | David L. | 1976 | Construction and Some Properties of the Most General Homogenous Newtonian Cosmological Models | Ph.D. | Larry Shepley |

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|---------|------------------|---------|------------|------|---|--------|---|
| Ellis | G. E. Mitchell | | Stephen K. | 1976 | An Extension of Langer's Asymptotic Solution with Applications to Ocean Acoustics | Ph.D. | C M McKinney L D Hampton C L Wood C W Horton Sr. A C Kibblewhite A O Williams, Jr. |
| Erskine | James L Hadjarab | | Fawzi | 1984 | Imaging Properties of the Spherical Analyzer | M. A. | Manfred Fink Abdelkrim Sellidj R Strong A Donoho M Onellion |
| Erskine | James L Hsieh | | Tzu-Yen | 1988 | Epitaxial Growth and Magnetic Properties of Single-Crystal [sic] Thin Iron Films Grown on Silver(100) Surface | M. A. | J Aray-Poche C Ballentine B-S Fang M Thompson |

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| Erskine | James L | Jeong | Eue-Jin | 1989 | Observation of Odd Symmetry Surface Phonon Modes on Ni(100) and Ag(100) Surfaces Using the New Multi-Channel High Resolution Electron Energy Loss Spectrometer | Ph.D. | A K Sellidj J Yater J Chen |
| Erskine | James L | Ballentine | Craig A. | 1989 | Magneto-Optical Studies of Fe, Ni, V, and Pd Ultrathin Films on Ag(100), Ag(111), Cu(100), Cu(111) Single Crystal Substrates | Ph.D. | José Araya-Pochet Richard Fink Jian Chen Di-Jing Huang |
| Erskine | James L | Li | Ying | 1990 | High Resolution Electron Energy Loss Spectroscopy Studies of Clean and Hydrogen Covered Niobium Surfaces | Ph.D. | |

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| Erskine | James L. | Ovrebo | Gregory K. | 1981 | An Electron Spectrometer for Use with Synchrotron Radiation | M. A. | C. E. Kuyatt Annija Galejs (NBS) Manfred Fink Jabez McClelland |
| Erskine | James L. | Stevens | H. Adam | 1983 | Angle Resolved Photoemission Spectroscopy: A System for Routine Data Acquisition with Synchrotron Radiation | M. A. | Manfred Fink Gregory K. Ovrebo Arthur Turner Andrew Donoho |
| Erskine | James L. | Sellidj | Abdelkrim | 1984 | A Lens System for an EELS Electron Energy Analyzer | M. A. | Manfred Fink Fawzi Hadjarab |
| Erskine | James L. | Chang | Yu-Jeng | 1983 | Electronic Properties and Interface Microstructures of Nickel Silicides on Silicon Substrates | Ph.D. | T Tamura T Udagawa A M Turner R L Strong D M Bylander L Kleinman J C Thompson |

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| Erskine | James L. | Turner | Arthur M. | 1983 | Bulk and Surface Electronic Structure of Iron Determined by Angle-Resolved Photoemission | Ph.D. | none |
| Erskine | James L. | Thompson | Matthew A. | 1988 | Electronic and Magnetic Properties of Ultra-Thin Crystalline Films | Ph.D. | M F Onellion A W Donoho J P Woods L |
| Erskine | James L. | Araya Pochet | José A. | 1988 | Magneto-Optical Studies of Fe, Ni, and V Epitaxial Ultra Thin Films on Ag(100) and Ag(111) Substrates | Ph.D. | Craig A Ballentine |
| Erskine | James L. | Sellidj | Abdelkrim | 1989 | Study of Clean and Nitrogen Covered W(100) Surface at Low Temperatures Using EELS, LEED, and UPS | Ph.D. | D Lowe L Deavers J Martinez H Williamson H Murphy M Ghaleb |

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| Erskine | Jamee L. | Woods | Joseph P. | 1986 | High Resolution Electron Energy Loss Spectroscopy Studies of Clean and Hydrogen Covered Tungsten | Ph.D. | L Deavers G Lucas J Reed D Lowe J Martinez H Williamson; M Thompson A Kulkarni |
| Erskine | James L. | Breaux | Louis H. | 1985 | Optical Design Optimization of a Six-Meter Toroidal Grating Monochromometer | M. A. | none |
| Erskine | J. L. | Strong | Roger L. | 1984 | Adsorbate Structure Determination Using High-Resolution Electron Energy Loss Spectroscopy and Lattice Dynamical Calculations | Ph.D. | J Erskine Frits de Wette Brook Firey Leonard Kleinman, Marty Bylander Arthur Turner |

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| Fair | James R | Prado | Miguel | 1986 | The Bubble-to-Spray Transition on Sieve Trays: Mechanisms of the Phase Inversion | Ph.D. | A R Paffen |
| Fink | Manfred | Kelley | Michael H. | 1976 | Determination of the Quadrapole Moment of N ₂ from High Precision Electron Diffraction Data | M.A. | none |
| Fink | Manfred | Miller | Bruce R. | 1978 | Effect of Finite Scattering Geometry on Measures Electron Differential Cross-Sections | M. A. | none |
| Fink | Manfred | McClelland | Jabez J. | 1980 | Measurements of the Anomalouss Energy Broadening of a Low-Energy Electron Beam | M. A. | Martin Ratliff |

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| Fink | Manfred | Mawhorter | Richard J. | 1981 | An Experimental Determination of Vibrationally-Averaged, Temperature Dependent Structure of CO ₂ | M. A. | Denis Kohl Suhas Ketkar Jabez McClelland Steve Bliven Martin Ratliff Donald Griswold Branch Archer |
| Fink | Manfred | Smith | Larry K. | 1988 | A Proposal for a New Experiment to Measure the Mass of the Neutrino | M. A. | J Hartley A Mihill A Ross |
| Fink | Manfred | Multari | Rosalie A. | 1989 | The Design and Construction of a Microwave Ion Source to be Used in the the Duplication of Orbital Altitude Atmospheric Conditions | M. A. | J Keto D Kohl B Hyde J Measles |

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| Fink | Manfred | Buell | Walter F | 1990 | Extension of Electron Diffraction to Biological Molecules | M. A. | H Wellenstein Y Zhang A Ross A Mihill R Multari S Cook J Robinson L Thuesen |
| Fink | Manfred | Coffman | John D. | 1984 | Electron-Atom Shadow Scattering: Does It Exist or Not | M. A. | Herman Wellenstein Jabez McClelland |
| Fink | Manfred | White | Cheryl J. | 1986 | A High-Resolution, High Current Density Telefocus Electron Gun for Electron Beam Lithography | M. A. | J Hartley A Ross T Koonce |
| Fink | Manfred | Mihill | Arthur G. | 1988 | Recent Studies in Spontaneous Raman Spectroscopy of Low Density Gases | M. A. | J Hartley J Castro Z Li |

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| Fink | Manfred Gregory | Donald C. | | 1976 | Experimental Determination of the Densities of the Bond-Forming Electrons in Nitrogen and Carbon Monoxide | Ph.D. | Denis Kohl Peter Moore Carl Schmiedekamp John Arnold G R Wittig John England |
| Fink | Manfred Schmeidekamp | Carl W. | | 1976 | Experimental Determination by Electron Diffraction of Relativistic, Correlation, and Binding Effects on the Charge Density of Krypton and Carbon Dioxide | Ph.D. | Peter Moore Denis Kohl Don Gregory Mike Kelley |

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| Fink | Manfred | Kelley | Michael H. | 1979 | Determination of the Molecular Structure of Dimolybdenum Tetracetate, An Investigation of the Temperature Dependence of the Molecular Structure of Sulfur Hexafluoride by Gas Phase Electron Diffraction | Ph.D. | Denis Kohl John Keto Peter Moore Don Gregory Bruce Miller Jabez McClelland Suhas Ketkar Martin Ratcliff Clinton Holder |
| Fink | Manfred | Miller | Bruce R. | 1983 | On the Accuracy of Molecular Structures Determined from Precise Electron Diffraction Data | Ph.D. | Denis A Kohn L S Bartell Peter Moore Carl Schmeidekamp Don Gregory Mike Kelly Suhas Ketkar Jabez McClelland |

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| Fink | Manfred | Ketkar | Suhas N. | 1984 | The Scope and Limitations of High Energy Electron Scattering in Obtaining Relevant Structural Information about Atoms and Molecules | Ph.D. | John Keto Jeff Kimble Bruce Miller Jabez McClelland Richard Mawhorter Dan Coffman |
| Fink | Manfred | McClelland | Jabez J. | 1984 | Precise High Energy Electron Scattering: A Tool for the Investigation of Atomic and Molecular Wave Functions | Ph.D. | H F Wellenstein S Ketkar B Miller R Mawhorter D Coffman S Blivan W Miller A Ross |

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| Fink | Manfred | Mawhorter | Richard J. | 1985 | Electron Scattering Studies of Gas Phase Molecular Structure at High Temperature | Ph.D. | Mark Andeson Norbert Böwering Ken Howard Max Howard Ed Jacobsen Rich Rohwer John Scherbak Rob Snapp |
| Fink | Manfred | Hartley | John G. | 1988 | The Structure and Thermodynamics of Alkali Halide Vapors | Ph.D. | D Rankin (Edinburgh) H Schmoranzer (U Kaiserlautern) R Mawhorter |
| Fink | Manfred | Zhang | Yuheng | 1989 | Charge Density Correlation Study of Atoms and Molecules by High Energy Electron Scattering | Ph.D. | J Keto R Bonham (Indiana) D Coffman L Thuesen R Multari S Cook R Zhang A Ross |

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| Fink | Manfred | Bliven | Steven M. | 1985 | Comparison of the Line Charge Model with Computer Simulation and Empirical Results for the Mollenstedt Velocity Analyzer | M. A. | None |
| Fischler | Willy | De la Ossa Osaqueda | Xenia C | 1990 | Quantum Calabi-Yau Manifolds and Mirror Symmetry | Ph.D. | P S Green L Parkes P Candelas G Hamrick J Polchinski S Weinberg A Font A He |
| Fischler | Willy | Dyksta | Hans M. | 1990 | Topics in String Theory and CP Violation | Ph.D. | T Banks J Dai D A Dicus M Dine R Leigh S Paban J Polchinski |

| Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged S Weinberg |
|-----------|----------|---------|------|---|--------|---|
| Frommhold | Lothar | Borysow | 1985 | Collision Induced Absorption in the Far Infrared Titan's Upper Atmosphere | Ph.D. | V Kunde D Jennings (NASA) Ian Dagg G Birnbaum H Sutter P Codastefano P Dore L Nencini; |
| Frommhold | Lothar W | Brown | 1989 | Binary Collision Induced Light Scattering in Molecular Hydrogen | Ph.D. | A Borysow M Moraldi G Birnbaum M Fink R Taylor |
| Gavenda | David | Kost | 1983 | The Generation of Secondary Ultrasonic Wave Packets by Conduction Electrons in Copper | Ph.D. | Les Deavers Harold Williamson Joe McGuire John England Phil Coose Gene Smith |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
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| Gavenda | J. D. | Theis | William M. | 1977 | The Role of Deformation Potential in a Self-Consistent Calculation of Ultrasonic Attenuation in Copper | Ph.D. | P R Antoniewicz Carroll M Casteel; Brian Mulvaney D M Gray J K McGuire John England |
| Gavenda | J. D. | Casteel | Carroll M. | 1978 | Open-Orbit Electrons and Ultrasonic Dispersion in Copper | Ph.D. | Bill Theis Joe McGuire Harold Williamson John England |
| Gavenda | J D | Bailey | Dane C. | 1987 | The Magnetoacoustic Effect in Copper Using Ultrasonic Surface Waves | M. A. | J C Thompson |
| Gavenda | John David | Borden | Brett | 1986 | Electromagnetic Inverse Scattering and Statistical Estimation Based on Phase Gradient Aspect-Limited Data | Ph.D. | R J Dinger G H Winkler |

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| Gentle | Kenneth W | Rabe | Paul A. | 1983 | Temperature Profiles in the Texas Experimental Tokomak by Thomson Scattering | M. A. | R Bengston K Gentle S McCool D Blejer |
| Gentle | Kenneth W | Leifeste | Gordon T. | 1979 | An Experimental Study of Strong Current Driven Plasma Turbulence | Ph.D. | R D Bengston M E Oakes J C Wiley W M Miner J Lohr D Patterson A B Machmanon G Caldwell |
| Gentle | Kenneth W | Kochanski | Thaddeus P. | 1981 | Characteristics of Low Frequency MHD Flucuations in the PRETEXT Tokomak | Ph.D. | R D Bengston J Jancarik E J Porwers P E Phillips P Wildi W L Rowan S C McCool R F Gandy |

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| Gentle | Kenneth W | Klepper | Conrad C. | 1985 | An Investigation of Particle Transport through the Measurement of the Electron Source in the Texas Experimental Tokamak | Ph.D. | W L Rowan W J Connally N Mattor B Richards P E Phillips D M Patterson R D Bengston C H Ritz |
| Gentle | Kenneth W | Snipes | Joseph A. | 1985 | The Dynamics of Sawtooth Phenomena in the Texas Experimental Tokamak | Ph.D. | A J Wooton R C Isler T P Kochanski P E Phillips W L Rowan T Boyd C Doss D Patterson |

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| Gentle | Kenneth W. | Richardson | Rex D. | 1978 | An Experimental Determination of Current Driven Turbulence in a Low Density Torus | Ph.D. | Gordon T Leifeste John Lohr Perry E Phillips S S Medley Per Nielsen Roger Bengston Wendell Horton, Jr. Dr. Duk-In Choi |
| Gentle | Kenneth W. | Kim | Yong Jin | 1989 | General Description of Magnetic Flucuations in TEXT | Ph.D. | A J Wooton C P Ritz R D Bengston S C McCool R D Hazeltine G A Hallock T K Herman S B Kim |
| Gentle | Kenneth W. | Snowden | Paul T. | 1977 | Electron Temperature and Density Measurements by X-ray Analysis for the Texas Turbulent Torus | M. A. | none |

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| Gentle | Kenneth W. | Blejer | Daniel | 1981 | Design Considerations of a Thomson Scattering Systems | M. A. | Per Nielsen Perry Phillips |
| Gibbs | William | Giebink | David R. | 1980 | Relativistic Off-Mass-Shell and Off-Energy-Shell Scattering Theories: An Application of the Rotation and Lorentz Groups | Ph.D. | Mikkel Johnson James Louch (LASL) Frank Cverna Doug Weiss |
| Gleeson | A. M. | Pedigo | Robert D. | 1977 | A Model of Superdense Matter and Its Application to Neutron Stars | Ph.D. | R L Bowers |
| Gleeson | Austin | Newton | Michael J. | 1988 | A Study of the Effects of Superconductivity on the Elastic Neutrino-Electron and Neutrino-Quark Scattering Process | M. A. | D Dicus R Matzner D Morgan |

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| Gleeson | Austin | Wheeler | James W. | 1982 | Finite Temperature Neutron Star Matter | Ph.D. | A Gleeson R Bowers D Pedigo |
| Gleeson | Austin | Font Villarroel | Anamaria | 1987 | Four-Dimensional Supergravity Theories Arising from Superstrings | Ph.D. | C Burgess M Quiros F Quevedo W Fischler J Polchinski S Carlip X de la Ossa |
| Gleeson | Austin M | Raha | Sibaji | 1980 | Hydrodynamic and Thermodynamic Phenomena in Superdense Matter: Theory and Applications | Ph.D. | none |

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| Goetzmann | William | Davies | 1985 | American Physicists Abroad: Copenhagen, 1920-1940 | Ph.D. | H Levi F Aaserud (Bohr Inst) M Messinger J Aubrey T Lowe (NBL-AIP) K Marquis (MIT Archive) M Miller (Denkman Memorial Library, Augustana College) NOTE this appears to be a History Dissertation |
| Griffy | T. A. | Yoon | 1983 | Parametric Acoustic Conversion in Ocean Sediments | Ph.D. | C W Horton, Sr. D T Blackstock T.J Muir J D Gavenda J A TenCate Shigemi Saito R H Wallace H G Frey |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
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| Griffy | Thomas | Knobles | David P. | 1983 | An Investigation of Acoustic Interaction with the Ocean Bottom from Experimental Time Series Generated by Explosive Sources | M. A. | Paul Vidmar |
| Griffy | Thomas A | Pada | Jose M. | 1990 | Interaction of Electromagnetic Signals with Particulate Clouds | M. A. | R Roberts |
| Griffy | Thomas A | Miller | Elizabeth L. | 1990 | Propagation of Longitudinal and Sheared Waves Through Ice | M. A. | none |
| Griffy | Thomas A. | Dixon | Daniel N. | 1984 | Underwater Acoustic Propagation Across a Shallow Range Varying Environment | M. A. | Stephen K Mitchell Loyd Hampton Glen Ells |

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| Griffy | Thomas A. | Byrd | Charles B. | 1985 | Numerical Investigation of Normal Mode Coupling | M. A. | none |
| Griffy | Thomas G. | Sample | John D. | 1988 | Nearfield Response of a Parametric Receiving Array | Ph.D. | (ARL) N Chotiros R Culbertson J Huckabay G Barnard R. Rolleigh M F Hamilton J N Tjøtta S. Tjøtta |
| Guy | William T | Gajewski | Jane B. | 1986 | A Certain Problem in the Conduction of Heat | M. A. | Ralph W Cain |

| Advisor | | Student | | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
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| Hazeltine | Richard | Waelbroeck | François | 1988 | The Quasi-Interchange Mode as a Mechanism for Fast Sawtooth Crashes | Ph.D. | W D Drummond A Addemir P J Morrison K W Gentle D Ross A A Ware J Meiss W Miner |
| Hazeltine | Richard D. | Chang | Choon-Seock | 1979 | Variational Calculation of Electron Response in Plasma Waves, and Impurity Transport in the Collisional Regime with Large Poloidal Electrostatic Variation | Ph.D. | David Ross Alan A Ware |
| Hinton | F. L. | Pandey | Shashi R. | 1978 | Poloidal Mode Structure of Trapped Partice (i.e. Particle) Mode | M. A. | David W Ross M Oakes |
| Hinton | F. L. | Moore | Travis B. | 1976 | Transport Properties of a Tokomak Plasma with Impuriites | Ph.D. | R D Hazeltine J C Wiley |

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| Hinton | Fred L. | Santarius | John F. | 1979 | Numerical Solution of the Drift Kinetic Equation | Ph.D. | Paul H Gleichauf Jr. Robert B Mitchie Don E Speray |
| Hinton | Frederick | Scott | Jay G. | 1983 | The Effect of Ripple on Alpha Particle Orbits in Tokomaks | M. A. | Alan Wolf Paul Terry Wendell Horton, Jr. |
| Hinton | Frederick L | Chen | Gwo-Liang | 1981 | Kinetic Theory of Alfvén Wave Heating in Tokomaks | Ph.D. | S M Mahajan R D Bengston F L Hinton M E Oakes W Shieve J Benesch C Bolton G Craddock |
| Hoffman | G. W. | Blanpied | Gary S. | 1977 | Scattering of 0.8 GeV Protons from Lead-208, Carbon-12, and Carbon 13 | Ph.D. | H A Thiessen L Ray W R Coker |

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| Hoffman | Gerald W. | Liljestrand | Roger P. | 1978 | Elastic Scattering Survey Using Polarized Protons at 800 MeV | Ph.D. | H A Thiessen W R Coker L Ray Gary S Blanpied |
| Hoffmann | Gerald W | McGill | John A. | 1981 | Inclusive Proton Spectra and Total Reaction Cross Sections for Proton-Nucleus Scattering at 800 MeV | Ph.D. | J Amann (LAMPF) R Ferguson C Milner G Burleson M Bartlett |
| Hoffmann | Gerry | Barlett | Martin L. | 1980 | Forward Angle Quasi-Free Proton-Neutron Analyzing Powers at 0.8 GeV | Ph.D. | John McGill Gerry Hoffmann Bill Bonner Bo Hoistad Gary Blanpied Lanny Ray |
| Hoffmann | Gerry | Marshall | Jill A. | 1984 | A Measurement of the Wolfenstein Parameters of Proton-Proton and Proton-Neutron Scattering at 500 MeV | Ph.D. | M Bartlett L Ray K Jones J McClelland |

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| Hoffmann | Gerry | Ferguson | Raymond W. | 1985 | The Spin Rotation Parameter Q for Elastic Scattering of 800 Million Electron-Volt Protons from Oxygen-16, Calcium-40, and Lead-208 | Ph.D. | Lanny Ray John McClelland Bill Bonner M Bartlett J McGill J Amann E Millner J Marshall |
| Hoffmann | Gerry | Ciskowski | Douglas E. | 1989 | Cross Sections and Analyzing Powers of ${}_{37}\text{N}(p,n){}_{37}\text{O}$ at 200 MeV and 494 MeV | Ph.D. | none |
| Horsthemke | Werner | Hannon | Eugene L. | 1985 | The Effects of Small Inhomogeneities on Nonequilibrium Chemical Reactions in Stirred Flow Reactors | Ph.D. | Harry Swinney Bill McCormach Jean-Clause Roux (U Bourdeau) Ilya Prigogine |

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| Horsthemke | Werner | Schumaker | Mark F. | 1987 | Bifurcations in Stochastic Systems and Applications to Superfluid Turbulence | Ph.D. | Ilya Prigogine William McCormick Jack Swift Harry Swinney Leon Glass Alain Arneodo Dwight Barkley Kerry Coffman |
| Horsthemke | Werner | Sigeti | David E. | 1988 | Universal Results for the Effects of Noise on Dynamical Systems | Ph.D. | J Pearson M Schumaker D. Barkley A Pearson B Roth G Nelson B Jensen S Eubank |

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| Horsthemke | Werner | Pearson | John E. | 1988 | Chemical Pattern Formation in Far From Equilibrium Systems | Ph.D. | H L Swinney B McCormick J Vastano W Tam M Golubitsky J Ringland D Sigeti |
| Horton | C W, Sr | Pitre | Richard | 1984 | On the Application of Horizontal Ray Theory to Acoustic Propagation in the Ocean Waveguide | Ph.D. | T Foreman P Vidmar B Koch K Hawker S Houser J Lindberg D Oakley |
| Horton | C Wendell, Jr. | Liu | Jixing | 1985 | The Linear Instability and Nonlinear Motion of Rotating Plasma | Ph.D. | J Meiss E Powers J Swift H Swinner J Sedlak H Berk S Mahajan |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
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| Horton | C Wendell, Jr. | Doxas | Isidoros | 1988 | Two Case Studies of Stochastic Transport: Anomalous Transport in Two Drift Waves, and Collisionless Reconnection | Ph.D. | S Riyopoulos B Scott H Biglari P Lyster |
| Horton | C. W., Jr. | Miner | Willaim H. | 1978 | Two-Dimensional Structure of the Trapped Electron Mode | Ph.D. | D W Ross J C Wiley |
| Horton | C. W., Jr. | Brock | David W. | 1981 | Simulations of Nonlinear Problems in Plasma Physics | Ph.D. | Duk-In Choi Andy White Dieter Biskamp Tom O'Niel Dan Barnes Toshiki Tajima |
| Horton | Claude W, Jr | Terry | Paul W. | 1981 | Theoretical Aspects of the Nonlinear Interaction of Drift-Type Instabilities in a Plasma | Ph.D. | D-I Choi W Anderson L Leonard |

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| Horton | Claude W., Sr. | Grant | 1986 | On the Spatial Structure of the Acoustic Signal Field Near the Deep Ocean Bottom Due to a Near-Surface CW Source | Ph.D. | (ARL) C S Penrod N R Bedford T E DeMary J A Shooter T L Foreman |
| Horton | W. Jr. | Mai | 1976 | Microinstability Theory of the Two-Energy Component Fusion Plasma System | Ph.D. | Roquemore |
| Horton | Wendell | Cozzani | 1985 | Local Effect of Equilibrium Current on Tearing Mode Stability | Ph.D. | Swadesh Mahajan Richard Hazeltine Marshall Rosenbluth Herb Berk Charlss Radin |

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| Horton | Wendell | Robertson | James A. | 1986 | Stochastic Electron Dynamics due to Drift Waves in a Sheared Magnetic Field and Other Drift Motion Problems | Ph.D. | C S Liu D K Choi T Jensen H Ikesi W Schieve C S Liu G S Lee; J Greene |
| Horton | Wendell, Jr. | Kwak | Ho-Young | 1977 | Electrostatic Plasma Modes in Cylindrical Geometry, and Normal Mode Equations for Drift Wave | M. A. | Duk-In Choi M E Oakes D W Ross Young Chang Kim |
| Horton | Wendell, Jr. | Koch | Robert A. | 1976 | Theoretical Studies of Ion Acoustic Turbulence and its Macroscopic Effects on Plasma Behavior | Ph.D. | Duk-In Choi |

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| Horton | Wendell, Jr. | Brecht | Stephen H. | 1977j | Parametric Dependence of Ion Cyclotron Instabilities Driven by Neutral Beam Injection | Ph.D. | Daniel Hithcock M E Oakes D G Lominadze |
| Horton | Wendell, Jr. | Craddock | Gerald G. | 1987 | Theoretical Microtearing Turbulence and Related Computational Studies of Constrained Turbulent Relaxation | Ph.D. | W Horton Jr, H Berk M Rosenbluth A Aydemir D Thayer R Hazeltine S Mahajan D Ross |
| Ivash | E. V. | Kulkarni | Ramachandra J. | 1976 | D State and Finite Range Effects in DWBA Theory for (d,p) Stripping Reactions | Ph.D. | C W Horton, Sr. E Hudspeth W R Coker S A A Zaidi E C G Sudarshan S Sen David Wright S H Suk |

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| Keto | John | Kuo | Chen-Yu | 1981 | Kinetics of Electron Beam and Laser Excited Rare Gasses | Ph.D. | none |
| Keto | John | Bowring | Norbert R. | 1985 | A Study of Collisional Deactivation of Two-Photon Laser Excited Xenon Atoms | Ph.D. | H H Langhoff Roland Sauerbrey T D Raymond Mike Bruce Manfred Fink |
| Keto | John | Bruce | Michael R. | 1990 | A Study of Reactive Quenching of Xeon by Chlorides Using Two Photon Laser Excitation | Ph.D. | W Layne A Whitehead J Borysow L Frommhold E Meyer N Böwering M Fink |
| Keto | John | Howard | Maxine M. | 1984 | Construction of a Supersonic Beam Apparatus | M. A. | Manfred Fink Norbert Böwering |
| Keto | John | Raymond | Thomas D. | 1983 | Two Photon Spectroscopy of the 6p Manifold of Xenon | Ph.D. | M Fink |

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| Keto | John W | Veney | David W. | 1989 | Design and Development of a Long Pulse XeCl Excimer Laser | M. A. | B Hyde D Loewe |
| Keto | John W. | Borysow | Jacek | 1986 | Coherent Raman Spectroscopy | Ph.D. | Lothar Frommhold Manfred Fink John England |
| Keto | John | Hart | Charles F. | 1977 | A Spectral Study of the Emission of $O(^1S_0)$ in Mixtures of O_2 , in Argon Excited by an Electron Beam | M. A. | Shawn Walsh Kirk Allbright |
| Kimble | H Jeff | Wolinsky | Murray A. | 1987 | Squeezing in the Degenerate Parametric Oscillator Via the Positive P Representation | M. A. | T Griffy G Wilson |
| Kimble | H Jeff | Boyd | Timothy L. | 1987 | Dye Laser Frequency Stabilization Using an External Cavity Transducer | M. A. | J Hall (JILA) |

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| Kimble | H Jeff | Wu | Ling-An | 1987 | Squeezed States of Light from an Optical Parametric Oscillator | Ph.D. | M Fink |
| Kimble | H Jeff | Xiao | Min | 1988 | Quantum Fluctuations in Nonlinear Optics | Ph.D. | H J Carmichael P D Drummond J L Hall |
| Kimble | H Jeff | Raizen | Mark G. | 1989 | Squeezing and Spectroscopy of Atoms in a Cavity | Ph.D. | L Frommhold M Fink L Orozco |
| Kimble | H Jeff | Brecha | Robert J. | 1990 | Nonclassical Photon Correlations from Two-Level Atoms in an Optical Cavity | Ph.D. | M Fink H Carmichael; |
| Kimble | H. Jeff | Orozco | Luis A. | 1987 | Optical Bistability with Two-Level Atoms | Ph.D. | Walter E. Millett Manfred Fink John A Wheeler Harry L Swinney; Ling-An Wu Al T Rosenberger Tim L Boyd; Anamaria Font |

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| Kimble | Jeff | Grant | David E. | 1983 | Absorptive Optical Bistability with Two-Level Atoms | M. A. | Les Deavers |
| Kimble | H. Jeff | Wu | Ling-An | 1983 | The Role of Phase in Second Harmonic Generation within an Optical Cavity | M. A. | none |
| Kleinman | L | Makowitz | Henry | 1988 | A Theory of Quasi-Channeling Phenomena and Radiation in Systems of Macroscopic Extent | Ph.D. | P Antoniewicz W D McCormick M N Rosenbluth L Kleinman W H Woodruff (LANL) C Pellegrini (BNL) D R Collins (Illinois) J Broadhurst (MN) |
| Kleinman | Leonard | Dempsey | Don G. | 1976 | Energy Bands and Electronic Structure of Ferromagnetic Iron Thin Films | Ph.D. | Mangit Singh |

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| Kleinman | Leonard | Sohn | Ki-Soo | 1976 | Energy Bands and Electronic Structure of Copper Thin Films | Ph.D. | D G Dempsey E B Caruthers |
| Kleinman | Leonard | Grise | Willaim R. | 1980 | Surface and Interface Electronic Structure of Transition Metals | Ph.D. | D G Dempsey K Mednick |
| Kleinman | Leonard | Euceda | Amando | 1983 | Self-Consistent Electronic Structure of Copper Thin Films | Ph.D. | J C Thompson P Antoniewicz J Erskine A Glesson |
| Kleinman | Leonard | Zhu | Ming Jun | 1990 | Electronic and Magnetic Structure Calculations Using Norm-Conserving Pseudopotentials | Ph.D. | D M Bylander P R Antoniewicz J D Gavenda J C Thompson R M Walser |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
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| Leboeuf | Jean Noel | Han | Jung Hoon | 1990 | Particle Simulation of Finite [symbol for phase constant] Interchange Modes in a Sheared Magnetic Field | Ph.D. | M Rosenbluth H Berk P Diamond W Horton J Van Dam E Vishniac G S Lee N Dominguez |
| Leboeuf | Jean-Noel | Sydora | Richard D. | 1985 | Particle Simulation of Low Frequency Flucuations in a Sheared Magnetic Field | Ph.D. | P H Diamond Toshiki Tajima Marshall Rosenbluth Nicholas Dominguez Tzihong Chiueh; Gyung Su Lee G Craddock Y M Li |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
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| Lesso | William G. | Kopecki | Denis S. | 1979 | The Physics of Growth of Vanadium Gallide and Niobium Stannide Superconducting Phases by the Bronze Technique | Ph.D. | Morland Benningfield John Somerville Bill Bruton John Pedracine John Spurgeon Michael Schmerling Howard Webb Norman Williams |
| Little | Robert N. | Khan | Muhammad B. | 1977 | The Critical Radius of a Homogenous Nuclear Reactor with an Infinite Graphite Reflector from a Simple Leakage Calculation | M. A. | E Linn Draper Addison E Lee Montaigne John Paul Huntsberger R N Little Paulter Crawley |
| Little | Robert N. | Sánchez | Carmen E. | 1977 | On Teaching a Guided Discovery Laboratory Course in Physical Science | M. A. | Melvin Oakes |

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| Little | Robert N. | Rusnak | Amalia R. S. de | 1983 | Analysis of Some Factors Affecting the Success of the Guided Discovery Approach in Physics | M. A. | Frank E Crawley Gilda Luisa Sanchez |
| Little | Robert N. | Valente | Maria Odete T. A. T. | 1976 | A Study of the Ausubel Advance Organizer in an Inquiry Physical Science Course | Ph.D. | Addison E Lee Roland Bartholomew Earl Montague Carl Hereford Earl Jennings |
| Little | Robert N. | Cise | John P. | 1978 | Locus of Control Shift, Cognitive Achievement, and Completion Rate for Self-Paced PSI vs. Instructor Paced Instruction in Introductory Physics at a Community College | Ph.D. | Oscar Mink Brian Hansen Terri Campbell; |

| | Advisor | Student | | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|--------|-----------|----------------|------------|------|--|--------|---|
| Little | Robert N. | Jiménez Farías | Rosendo D. | 1978 | An Analysis of the Structural Components, and their Relationship to Students' Achievements and Attitudes in a Physics Course at the Open Preparatory in Mexico | Ph.D. | R B Bartholomew Addison E Lee Frank Crawley Melvin E Oakes |
| Little | R N | Luengo Castro | Jorgé A. | 1986 | Novel Spontaneous Raman Spectroscopy at Low Gas Densities | M.A. | A Ross L Orozco M Bruce C White T Koonce L Zhuhuai L Smith J Hartley |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
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| Little | Robert N. | Becker | Dean B., III | 1980 | The Effects of a Cosmology Oriented Astronomy on Attitudes of Community College Students Toward Support of Research in Pure Science: A Pilot Study | M. A. | none |
| Marshek | Kurt M | Chen | Hsien-Heng | 1984 | Numerical Solution for Contact Pressure and Wear Distributions of Unlubricated, Misaligned, Closely Conforming, Multiply Connected Surfaces | Ph.D. | L F Kreisle C A Rotz H G Rylander K Sepehrnoori |
| Matsen | F. A. | Yurke | Bernard | 1976 | Particle Hole Symmetry within the Unitary Group Formulation of the Many-Body Problem | M.A. | D J Klein T L Welsher B L Bartlett M A Garcia-Bach |

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| Matsen | F. A. | Nelin | Constance J. | 1979 | Unitary Group Formulation of Hartree Fock and Random Phase Theories | Ph.D. | T Welsher |
| Matsen | F. A. | Alexander | Steven A. | 1982 | Ab Initio Dissociations of Water | Ph.D. | P Pulay |
| Matsen | F. A. | Tang | Dun-Sang | 1982 | On Quartic Interaction Hamiltonians and Symmetry Breaking | Ph.D. | A M Gleeson A R Bohm W C Shieve J B Swift; |
| Matsen | Frederick Albert | Stoller | Lincoln | 1985 | Extending Quantum Spin Wave Theory to Critical Temperatures | Ph.D. | none |
| Matzner | R. A. | Handler | Francis A. | 1977 | On the Non-eclipse Optical Determination of the Gravitational Deflection of Light by the Sun | M. A. | H J Smith D S Evans B F Jones R A Abbott |

| Advisor | | Student | | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|---------------|------------|------|--|--------|---|
| Matzner | Richard | Pickrel | Stephen J. | 1977 | Einstein-Maxwell Fields of the Kerr-Schild and Generalized Kerr-Schild Class | Ph.D. | Peter Hogan Bruce Nelson Yavuz Nutku Nelson Zamorano Rich Guy Larry Shepley Vern Sandberg Paul Chrzanowski |
| Matzner | Richard | Zamarano Hole | Nelson A. | 1979 | Interior Reissner-Nordstrom Black Holes | Ph.D. | Philip Candelas Paul Chrzanowski Bryce DeWitt Martin Duncan Frank Handler Bruce Nelson Vern Sandberg Sergio Waller |
| Matzner | Richard | Rothman | Anthony R. | 1981 | Microphysics and the Evolution of the Early Universe | Ph.D. | Nigel Sharp Pieter Dykema |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|------------|--------------|------|---|--------|---|
| Matzner | Richard | Evans | Charles R. | 1984 | A Method for Numerical Relativity: Simulation of Axisymmetric Gravitational Collapse and Gravitational Radiation Generation | Ph.D. | Pieter Dykema Larry Smarr Jim Wilson Joan Centrella Jim Leblanc Jim York Anil Kulkarni Richard Isaacson |
| Matzner | Richard | Holcomb | Katherine A. | 1986 | A Numerical Study of some Spherically-Symmetric and Axisymmetric Cosmological Models | Ph.D. | Joan Centrella Jim Wilson Hannu Kurki-Suonio, Anthony Mezzacappa Keith Thompson Charles Evans |
| Matzner | Richard | Waelbroeck | Henri | 1990 | 2 + 1 Gravity: A New Approach | Ph.D. | Claudio Teitelboim Bryce DeWitt Steven Weinberg J Polchinsky V Kaplunovdky W Fischler P Candelas L Shepley |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|-----------|-----------|------------|------|--|--------|---|
| Matzner | Richard A | Kurtz | Russell C. | 1981 | Effects on the Spectrum of the Cosmic Microwave Background Due to Intergalactic Dust | Ph.D. | J A Hardt-Futterman " |
| Matzner | Richard A | Futterman | John A. H. | 1981 | The Scattering of Massless Plane Waves by Rotating Black Holes | Ph.D. | L C Shepley N A Sharp K Howard C Manogue |
| Matzner | Richard A | Tolman | Brian W. | 1982 | The Polarizaion and Anisotropy on Large Angular Scales of the Microwave Background Radiation in Homogenous Cosmologies | Ph.D. | none |
| Matzner | Richard A | Richter | Gary W. | 1983 | Light Deflection and Time Delay in the Solar Gravitational Field | Ph.D. | none |

| Advisor | | Student | | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
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| Matzner | Richard A | Kurki-Suonio | Hannu A. | 1986 | Inflation and Numerical Relativity | Ph.D. | A Albrecht J Centrella K Holcomb K Kajantie P Laguna T Mezzcappa S Park B Tolman |
| Matzner | Richard A | Laguna-Castillo | Pablo | 1987 | Cosmological Applications of Singular Hypersurfaces in General Relativity | Ph.D. | G Ellis A Albrecht H Kurki-Suonio A Mezzacappa G Ponce E Vishniac A Berkin N Lafave |

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| Matzner | Richard A | Mezzacappa | Anthony | 1988 | Computer Simulation of Time-Dependent Spherically Symmetric Spacetimes Containing Radiating Fluids | Ph.D. | C Evans K Holcomb R Harkness J Centrella J York P Amsterdamski S Bludman H Kurki-Suonio |

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| Matzner | Richard A | LaFave | Norman J. | 1989 | Simplicial Lattices in Classical and Quantum Gravity: Mathematical Structure and Applications | Ph.D. | A Kheyfets P Laguna M Loewe D H King A Mezzacappa R Woodard J A Wheeler J York |
| Matzner | Richard A. | Handler | Francis A. | 1979 | Vacuum Black Hole-Gravitational Wave Cross Sections | Ph.D. | J A Wheeler N Zamorano Yvonne Buonamici |
| Matzner | Richard A. | Ciufolini | Ignazio | 1984 | Theory and Experiments in General Relativity and Other Metric Theories of Gravity | Ph.D. | none |

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| Matzner | Richard S. | Wilson | Kenneth E. | 1985 | Guage Invariant Perturbation Theory Prediction of the Sensitivity Required for Experimental Measurement of Quadrapole and Higher Moments of the Cosmic Microwave Background Radiation | Ph.D. | M Demianski |
| Matzner | Richard A. | Valanju | Alaka P. | 1979 | Isotropy of the Universe and Nucleosynthesis | M. A. | none |
| McCormick | W. D. | Givens | Fenton L. | 1976 | Molecular Motion in Solid Ethane: A Proton Magnetic Resonance Study | Ph.D. | none |
| McCormick | William | Dykstra | Dewey I., Jr. | 1978 | Phase Transitions in Potassium Hexachlorostannate (IV) by AC Calorimetry | Ph.D. | Basil Swanson Truett Majors Robert Rodriguez Diane Jacobs |

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| McCormick | William | Majors | Truett J. | 1980 | The Specific Heat of Calcium Hexamine, 5K to 150K | Ph.D. | Kim Darden John England Jay Campbell Les Deavers Jim Thompson Ken Mednick Uzi Even |
| McCormick | William | Jacobs | Diane A. H. | 1984 | The Specific Heat of Strontium Hexamine, 1.8K to 140K | Ph.D. | J C Thompson Truett Majors Jay Campbell Joe McGuire Les Deavers Alan Wolf |
| McCormick | William D | Lee | Kyung-Geun | 1988 | A Comparison of the Experimental Results a Chemical Model in a Belousov-Zhabotinskii Reaction | M. A. | N Kreisberg D Lindbergh W-Y Tam |
| McCormick | William D. | Bujanos | Norman | 1985 | The Ballast Resistor: A Far From Equilibrium System | M. A. | none |

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| McCormick | William D. | Coffman | Cary G. | 1986 | Complex Dynamics in the Belousov-Zhabotinskii Reaction | Ph.D. | Swinney Les Deavers Billy Kilgore John Vastano Anke Brandstater Eric Kostelich Gayle Weber Vuong Ngo Jason Tran |
| McCormick | William D. | Kilgore | Mark H. | 1986 | Survey of Dynamical Behavior in the Open-Flow Belousov-Zhabotinskii Reaction | Ph.D. | K Coffman D Lindberg J Ringland D Barkley Z Noszticzius E Kostelich G King M Haye |

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| Millett | Walter | Kluth | Edward O. | 1980 | The Detection of Microwave Photons from the Ground State Splitting of Positronium with a Josephson Junction | Ph.D. | none |
| Moore | B. Fred | Bolger | Joseph E. | 1977 | Measurement of the Differential Cross Sections and Excitation Functions for the Nuclear Absorption Reactions of Negative Pions Incident upon Helium-3 and Helium-4 | Ph.D. | Arch Thiessen Jan Kallne Chris Norris Jim Amann George Burleson Steve Verbeck Mike Devereau Irwin Lieb |
| Moore | C Fred | Snell | Michael P. | 1989 | Large-Angle Elastic and Inelastic Scattering of π^- and π^+ from $_{49}\text{Si}$ and $_{62}\text{Ca}$ | M. A. | K Dhuga J Ritchie A Williams C Morris |

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| Moore | C Fred | Kahrimanis | Georgios P. | 1990 | Measurement of the Angular Cross Sections of the Charged 400 MeV Pions off the Nuclei of ^{34}C , ^{62}Ca , ^{92}Zr , and ^{42}PB | M. A. | C Morris E R Gibson D Boudrie M Oothoudt L Attencio J Amann F Moore B Kielhorn |
| Moore | C Fred | McDonald | Joseph W. | 1990 | Autoionization of Be-like Ions Following Double Electron Capture in C_{6-} , O_{8-} , and Ne_{9-} Ions | M. A. | D Schneider (LBNL) G W Hoffmann M Prior (LBNL); R Bauer (LBNL) |
| Moore | C Fred | Holtkamp | David Bruce | 1979 | Elastic and Inelastic Scattering of Pions from Oxygen-16 | Ph.D. | W J Braithwaite C Morris W Cottingame D Denhard S J Greene R J Joseph J Piffaretti H A Thiessen |

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| Moore | C Fred | Greene | Steven J. | 1981 | The Positive-Pion Double-Charge-Exchange Reaction: Experiments on the Isotopic Pair Oxygen-16,18 and Magnesium-24, 26 | Ph.D. | H A Thiessen C L Morris R L Boudrie J F Amann N Takanaka J Kosty L Atencio K Chellis |
| Moore | C Fred | Oakley | David S. | 1987 | Pion Elastic and Inelastic Scattering Near N=28 | Ph.D. | Ron Gilman Peter Seidl |
| Moore | C Fred | Yoo | Sung Hoon | 1989 | [π^+ or π^-], [π^+ or π^-] reactions on ^{34}C and ^{42}Pb near the giant resonance region | Ph.D. | Chris Morris S Mordechai M Jones A Williams D Oakley S Sterbenz A Fazely R Gibson |

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| Moore | C. Fred | Oakley | David S. | 1985 | A Search for Neutrino Oscillations | M. A. | |
| Moore | C. Fred | Hodge | William L., Jr. | 1976 | Multielectron Transitions following Heavy Ion Excitation: A Comparison of Self-Consistent Field Calculations with Experiment | Ph.D. | Patrick Richard Dieter Scheider Taro Tamura Wil Braithwaite David Burch Forest Hopkins Brandt Johnson, John White |
| Moore | C. Fred | Joseph | Richard J. | 1979 | Analyzing Power and Differential Cross Section for Pion-Deuteron Production by 0.8 GeV Polarized Protons by Hydrogen | Ph.D. | Bill Bonner Frank Cverna Chester Hwang Nicholas King Eric Winkleman Mike McNaughton Harvey Willard Ron Ransome |

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| Moore | C. Fred | Boyer | Kenneth G. | 1983 | Pion Elastic and Inelastic Scattering from ^{40, 42, 44, 48} Ca and ⁵⁴ Fe | Ph.D. | G F Burleson (N M State U) C L Morris H A Thiessen (LANL) W Cottingame C Cottingame D Holtkamp I Holtkamp Steve Greene |
| Moore | C. Fred | Kaziah | Rex R. | 1984 | Pion Inelastic Scattering for the First Three Excited States of Lithium-6 | Ph.D. | W B Cottingame Mark Brown Carol Harvey David Oakley David Saunders, Peter Seidl Robert Garnett Steven Greene |

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| Moore | C. Fred | Seidl | Peter A. | 1984 | The Measurement of Pion Double Charge Exchange on Carbon-13, Carbon-14, Magnesium-26, and Iron-56 (3 vols) | Ph.D. | Ron Gilman Rex Kiziah Mark Brown C Fred Moore, Helmut Baer Chris Morris George Burleson Bill Cottingame |
| Morgan | L. O. | White | John R. | 1976 | I. Optical Transition Measurements from Heavy-Ion-Nitrogen Collisions; II. Fission and Internal Conversion Studies | Ph.D. | Forrest F Hopkins Deiter Schneider |

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| Morrison | Philip J | Kook | 1989 | Chaotic Transport in Hamiltonian Dynamical Systems with Several Degrees of Freedom | Ph.D. | P Morrison R Broucke R Hazeltine W Horton H Swinney R MacKay D Kim K-C Lee |
| Morrison | Philip J | Chen | 1989 | Resonances, the Devils Staircase and Transport in Area-Preserving Maps | Ph.D. | Ian Percival (Queen Mary College) W Horton H Swinney R Wyatt R MacKay F Argoul A Arnéodo D Barkley |
| Multiple Advisors Griffy Thomas A Holly Arthur C | | Maxwell | 1987 | A Theoretical Investigation of a Rectangular Corprine Waveguide Driven by a Planar Array | M. A. | none |

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| Multiple Advisors Hazeltine, Richard D Morrison, Philip J | Hsu Chi-Tien | 1986 | Reduced Fluid Descriptions of Toroidally Confined Plasma with Finite Ion Temperature Effects | Ph.D. | S M Mahajan M N Rosenbluth W Horton J Dollard J Van Dam P H Diamond T Tajima M LeBurn |
| Multiple Advisors Howell, John R Varghese, Philip L | Chen Yih-Kang | 1987 | Self Shielding of Surfaces Irradiated by Plasma Pulses | Ph.D. | none |
| Multiple Advisors Van Dam, James W Berk, Herbert L | Domínguez Vergara Nicolás | 1986 | Stability of Ballooning Modes in Tokomaks with Energetic Particles | Ph.D. | M N Rosenbluth J N Leboeuf S T Tsai P H Diamond |

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| Multiple Advisors Berk, H L Mahajan, S M | Chen Changye | 1988 | Trapped Particle Instability and the Flute Instability in Tandem Mirrors: Scale Separation Closure in Alfvén Wave Turbulence | Ph.D. | M Rosenbluth R Hazeltine W Horton J Dollard P Diamond V Wong J Van Dam Y-Z Zhang |
| Multiple Advisors Frommhold, Lothar W. Keto, John W. | Taylor Roger H. | 1989 | The Development of the Raman-Induced Kerr Effect as a Sensitive Spectroscopic Probe | Ph.D. | J Borysow A Borysow L Deavers D Lowe J Martinez H Williamson F Gallagher J Kerrigan |

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| Multiple Advisors Kimble, H Jeff Fink, Manfred | Lee | 1990 | Willaim D. Linewidth Reduction and Frequency Stabilization of Semiconductor Diode Lasers | M. A. | L Hollberg J C Campbell Robert Brecha A J Seltzer S Periera A Byers T O'Brien P K Rutledge |
| Multiple Advisors Vishniac, Ethan Matzner, Richard | Lewis | 1990 | Caroline M. Peculiar Cosmological Velociities | Ph.D. | R Jacob E Shepherd W Fischler L Ford J-C Hwang |
| Multiple Advisors Ross, David W Mahajan, Swadesh M | Li | 1989 | Wann-Quan Kinetic Effects in Alfvén and Ion Cyclotron Wave Propagation: Surface Eigenmodes and Impurity Effects | Ph.D. | |

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| Multiple Advisors Vishniac, Ethan T DeWitt, Cécile | Harleston López Espino | 1990 | Weakly-Interacting Particles in General Relativity: A Numerical Study of the General-Relativistic Boltzmann Equation | Ph.D. | R Matzner A Gleeson B Dewitt K Holcomb S J Park A Mezzacappa |
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| Multiple Advisors Hazeltine, R. D. Mahajan, S. M. | Lee | 1980 | Ion Dynamics and the Unified Tearing Mode | Ph.D. | D W Ross C W Horton, Jr. F L Hinton |

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| Multiple Advisors Griffy, T. Hawker, K. Horton C., Sr. | Penland Mary Cecile | 1984 | The Effect of Internal Waves on Acoustic Normal Modes | Ph.D. | W Horsthemke Y Desaubies |
| Multiple Advisors Hinton, F. L. Horton, C. W., Jr. | Teschan Paul E. | 1983 | Ionization, Recombination, and Neoclassical Impurity Transport | M. A. | J C Wiley W L Rowan R D Hazeltine A A Ware |
| Multiple Advisors Ross, David Mahajan, Swadesh | Li Yan Ming | 1984 | Alfvén Waves in the Presence of Alpha Particles: Stability, Heating and Current Drive | Ph.D. | Roger Bengston Marshall Rosenbluth Herbert Berk Melvin Oakes |

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| Multiple Advisors Horton, Claude W. Massell, Wulf | | Bell | 1979 | Sheer Wave Propagation in Unconsolidated Fluid Saturated Porous Media | Ph.D. | Don Shirley Craig Ingram Dodd Decamp Jens Hovem |
| Ne'eman | Yuval | Lee | 1990 | Renormalization of Gravity Model with Local $GL(4,R)$ Symmetry: Connections Between Bosonic and Superstrings | Ph.D. | C DeWitt G Hamrick J Polchinski S Weinberg R Bruno R S Schimmrigk J Trisnadi A Ukekawa |

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| Nolle | A. W. | Wilson | Gary R. | 1981 | Covariance Functions and Related Statistical Properties Acoustic Backscattering from a Randomly Rough Air-Water Interface | Ph.D. | Marshall Frazer Claude Horton, Sr. Joseph Willman Davle Evertson Brent Anderson Paul Covey Robert Hernandez Harvey Hehman |
| Nolle | A. Wilson | Lin | Tien-Sheng | 1985 | Dynamic Compressibility of High Polymers | Ph.D. | Peter Antoniewicz Charles B Chiu Jack Swift Peter Munk (Chem) Leslie Deavers John England |
| Nolle | Alfred W. | Anzola-Quinto | Francisco A. | 1977 | Electron Spin Resonance of Glassy As ₂ S ₃ Containing Chromium | M. A. | J C Thompson José E Arnó |

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| Nolle | Wilson | Oakley | 1982 | Acoustic Reflection from Anisotropic Sediments | M. A. | Paul Vidmar Mark Daniels Cecile Penland Richard Pitre Robert Koch |
| not legible | | Nahm | 1978 | Symmetry, Supersymmetry, and the Contraction of the Orthosymplectic Group | M. A. | none |
| not legible | | Whiting | 1979 | Density Expansion of the Self-Diffusion Coefficient for a Non-Degenerate Quantum Fluid | M. A. | none listed |
| not legible | | Kwong | 1980 | Low Energy Electron Scattering from Adsorbate | M. A. | none |
| not legible | | Burns | 1980 | Optical Bistability in a Sodium Beam | M. A. | none |

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| not legible | Cremans | 1983 | Donna J. A Measurement of the Spin Depolarization Parameters for Proton-Proton Elastic Scattering at 699 MeV | M. A. | none |
| not legible | Brown | 1985 | Michael S. Dimer Contributions to the Collision-Induced Light Scattering Spectra of Molecular Hydrogen | M. A. | |
| not legible | Pollot | 1987 | Michael Manifest Covariance in Phase Space | M. A. | none |
| not legible | Rodrigo | 1986 | Enrico A. Canonical Quantum Gravity and Compactification | Ph.D. | |

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| not legible | Dykema | 1980 | Pieter G. The Numerical Simulation of Axially Symmetric Gravitational Collapse | Ph.D. | R Matzner J Centrella L Cook M Norman L Smarr R Bowers A Gleeson James R Wilson |
| not legible | Culbreth | 1978 | John M. Aristotles Account of Change and the Philosophical Problems Concerning Change | Ph.D. | none |
| not legible | Devlin | 1979 | James P. Aristotles Conception of Time: A Study of Physics IV, 10-14 | Ph.D. | A Mourelatos Irwin C Lieb Charles Hartshorne |

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| Novak | Gordon S, Jr. | Kook | Hyung Joon | 1989 | A Model-Based Representational Framework for Expert Physics Problem Solving | Ph.D. | B Kuipers B Porter C Chiu J Werth V Kumar B Bulko X-S Lee J H-T See; |
| Novak | Gordon S, Jr. | Bulko | William C. | 1989 | Understanding Coreference in a System for Solving Physics Word Problems | Ph.D. | H J Kook X-S Lee H-T See M Purvis S Lovci N & S LaFave M Loewe R Preston |
| Oakes | M. E. | Clark | Miles C. | 1976 | Radio Frequency Absorbption in a Turbulently Heated Plasma Near the Lower Hybrid Frequency | Ph.D. | Robert Michie D H McDaniel Barry Moore Spencer J Marsh |

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| Oakes | M. E. | Copeland | James E. | 1976 | Propogation of Waves Near the Lower Hybrid Resonance in a Barium Q-machine | Ph.D. | Larry Coble Barry Moore G R Wittig Les Deavers John England Erl Rohde Phil Coose Cleo Yates |
| Oakes | M. E. | Booth | William D. | 1988 | Experimantal Investigation of Driven Alfvén Wave Resonances on the PRETEXT Tokomak | Ph.D. | R D Bengston S M Mahajan E J Powers D W Ross P M Valanju Alan MacMahon Don Patterson Keith Carter |
| Oakes | M. E. L. | Eways | Saad E. | 1988 | Free and Driven Alfén Waves in a Cold Cylindrical Plasma | Ph.D. | P R Antoniewicz R D Bengston D W Ross T Tajima |

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| Oakes | Melvin E | Woodward | Niel W. | 1988 | A Technique for the Measurement of Rotation Velocity on the TEXT Tokomak | M. A. | H Childs J W Bryan A Meigs R Collins R Durst M Moe A Chen J C Thompson |
| Oakes | Melvin E. | Watkins | Jonathan G. | 1982 | RF Current Generation Near the Ion Cyclotron Frequency | Ph.D. | Bob Michie S-H Lin Saad Eways E J Powers Roger Bengston Ken Gentle Perry Phillips |
| Oakes | Melvin E. | Michie | Robert B. | 1983 | Alfvén Wave Experiments in the PRETEXT Tokomak | Ph.D. | Todd Evans Shiow-Hwa Lin Prashant Valanju Jonathan Watkins Edward J Powers Manfred Fink |

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| Oakes | Mel E | Ordonez | Carlos A. | 1990 | Numerical Investigation of Plasma-Surface Interactions in a Fusion Ignition Experiment | Ph.D. | R Carrera W D Booth E Montalvo H Howe P Varghese D Ross J Howell R Bengston |
| Oakes | Melvin E | Schultz | John W. | 1990 | An Experimental Investigation of the Power Deposition During Eletron Cyclotron Resonance Heating in the Texas Experimental Tokomak | M. A. | T Herman V Filippas D Sing |
| Oakes | Melvin E. | Hamilton | Jeffrey L. | 1977 | Electronic Modeling of the Mode Coversion Process | M. A. | Robert Michie. Dennis Kamenitsa William D McCormick Edward Powers |

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| Phillips | Perry | Stinnett | Regan W. | 1977 | An Experimental Study of the Texas Turbulent Torus | Ph.D. | Roger Bengston Ken Gentle |
| Phillips | Perry | Pittman | Timothy L. | 1978 | A Study of the Foot Structure of Perpendicular MHD Collisionless Shock Waves | Ph.D. | Per Nielsen Roger Bengston Ken Gentle Alan MacMahon |
| Phillips | Perry | McCool | Steven C. | 1982 | Thomson Scattering on the PRETEXT Tokamak | Ph.D. | Roger Bengston Kenneth Gentle E Powers F Hinton W Rowan R Gandy J Joyce D Pease |

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| Phillips | Perry | Porter | John L. | 1985 | Thomson Scattering on the Texas Experimental Tokomak | Ph.D. | R Bravenec K Gentle S Kim S McCool B Richards C Ritz D Ross J Snipes |
| Polchinski | Joseph | Dai | Jin | 1989 | Topics and Particle Physics and String Theory | Ph.D. | W Fischler S Weinberg D Dicus Z Yang R Xu Y Cai J Liu J Hughes |
| Polchinski | Joseph C | Kim | Doseok | 1990 | Q Shells | M. A. | L C Shepley |

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| Polchinski | Joseph C | Cai | Yun-Hai | 1988 | Superstring Amplitudes and Effective Action | Ph.D. | C A Núñez A He W Fischler P Candelas S Weinberg |
| Polchinski | Joseph C | Hughes | James L. | 1988 | Three Applications of the Renormalization Group | Ph.D. | W Fischler S Weinberg S deAlwis L Mezincescu B McClain B Warr J Liu J Pearson |
| Powers | Edward | Joyce | Gerald R. | 1984 | The Modulation of the Intensity of Suprathermal Electron Cyclotron Second Harmonic Radiation by Magnetic Islands in a Tokamak | Ph.D. | Roger Bengston Jan Benesch Steve Eckstrand Steve McCool Rex Gandy S. H. Lin Sung Bae Kim Ted Kochanski |

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| Powers | Edward J. Hong | Jae Y. | 1982 | Nonlinear System Transfer Functions with Applications to Nonlinear Electronic Scatterers | Ph.D. | Gary L Wise Milo M Backus Arwin A Dougal William C Duesterhoeft Yong C Kim John M Beall James P Goose |
| Powers | E J Gautam | Sulaksh R. | 1980 | Three Wave Non-Linear Interactions in Dispersive Media | Ph.D. | M F Becker C C Chiang X Tata Y C Kim R Koch |
| Prigogine | I. Rigney | David R. | 1978 | Stochastic Problems in Biophysical Cytology | Ph.D. | W C Schieve G Nicolis J Richelle J Hiernaux J S Turner A Nazarea A Bulsara R Gragg |

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| Prigogine | Ilya | Kondepudi | Dilip K. | 1980 | On the Influence of External Fields on Non-Equilibrium Chemical Systems | Ph.D. | G Nicolis T Erneaux (Solvay Insti) B Wooters W Zurek |
| Prigogine | Ilya | Lockhart | Clayton M. | 1981 | Time Operators in Classical and Quantum Systems | Ph.D. | none |
| Prigogine | Ilya | Chen | Ping | 1987 | Nonlinear Dynamics and Business Cycles | Ph.D. | William A Barnett Walt W Rostow Robert Herman Werner Horsthemke Jack S Turner W M Zheng Y Yamaguchi W Schieve |
| Prigogine | Ilya | Nelson | George W. | 1990 | Sensitivity of Time-Dependent Bifurcation Processes and the Origin of Biomolecular Chirality | Ph.D. | Dilip Kondepudi |

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| Radin | Charles | Borden | Brett H. | 1980 | The Structure of Rare Gas Crystals | M. A. | Alan Wolf |
| Ray | Robert L (Lanny) | Lumpe | Jerry D. | 1986 | Correlation Effects in the Relativistic Impulse Approximation Treatment of Proton-Nucleus Elastic Scattering | Ph.D. | G W Hoffmann |
| Reichl | Linda | Wooters | William K. | 1980 | The Acquisition of Information from Quantum Measurements | Ph.D. | J A Wheeler Dilip Kondepudi Wojciech Zurek Robert McAdory; Bruce Nelson |
| Reichl | Linda | De Fainchtein | Rosalinda K. | 1984 | Field Induced Resonances in the Toda Lattice | Ph.D. | Tomio Petrosky Wei Mu Zheng Jim Thompson |
| Reichl | Linda | Mayer | Thomas J. | 1987 | A Quantum Many-Body Model for the Electrical Properties of Chain Molecules | Ph.D. | none |

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| Reichl | Linda E | Tran | Phuoc Xuan | 1986 | Electron Self-Localization in a One-Dimensional Lattice of Finite Length | M. A. | none |
| Reichl | Linda E | Lin | Wen-Chein A. | 1986 | External Field Induced Chaos in Classical and Quantum Hamiltonian Systems | Ph.D. | none |
| Reichl | Linda E | Sparling | Lynn C. | 1987 | Studies in Interfacial Dynamics | Ph.D. | R Schechter D Kondepudi J Sedlak |
| Riechl | Linda E | Schnieder | Ronald R. | 1987 | Calculating the Form of the Angular Velocity Autocorrelation for a Rotating Spherical Brownian Particle inside a Spherical Fluid Volume | M. A. | M Oakes |

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| Riley | Peter | Rodebaugh | Raymond F. | 1984 | Measurement of the Spin Transfer Parameters D_{LL} , D_{SL} , K_{LL} , and K_{SL} for pp Elastic Scattering at 800 MeV | M. A. | Donna Cremens Steve Turpin |
| Riley | Peter | Newsom | Charles R. | 1980 | The Free Neutron-Proton Analyzing Power at Medium Energies | Ph.D. | Jim Simmons Bill Bonner Mike McNaughton Charles Hollas John Jarmer Lee Northcliffe Terlochan Bhattia Jack Hiebert |

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| Riley | Peter J | Zu | Shen-Wu | 1988 | Wolfenstein polarization observables for the reactions $P \rightarrow P \rightarrow P$ $P \rightarrow P$ $P \rightarrow P$ [Greek character pi]_N and $P \rightarrow P \rightarrow P$ $P \rightarrow P$ $P \rightarrow P$ [Greek character pi] at 800MeV and 650MeV beam energies | Ph.D. | B E Bonner M McMaughton C L Hollas Louis Rosen |

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| Riley | Peter J. | Ransome | Ronald D. | 1981 | Measurement of the Free Neutron-Proton Analyzing Power and Spin Transfer Parameters in the Charge Exchange Region at 790 MeV | Ph.D. | Jan Novak Norman Hoffman Frank Humphry Robert Davis Archibald Thiessen James Amann Jan Boissevain Olin van Dyck |
| Ritchie | Jack | Dearborn | Michael E. | 1989 | Rate Effects of Photomultiplier Tubes | M. A. | none |
| Robertson | W W | Jamieson | Georges E. | 1979 | Measurements of the Total Elastic Scattering Cross-Section for Argon on Argon at Collision Energies Below Four Millivolts | Ph.D. | L Frommhold M Fink G Wittig L Deavers F Collins |

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| Rosenbluth | Marshall N | Xu | Xue-Qiao | 1990 | The Effect of Trapped Ions and Current Drive on Tokamak Microinstabilities | Ph.D. | P H Diamond H L Berk D E Baldwin R D Hazeltine J W Van Dam E T Vishniac K H Burrell M C Zarnstropp |
| Rowan | William | Leung (aka Liang in PCL catalogue listing) | Wai Kwong (aka Weiguang in PCL catalogue listing) | 1984 | Investigation of Impurity Transport in Texas Experimental Tokamak | Ph.D. | Kenneth Gentle Perry Phillips James Wiley A A Ware Austin Gleeson Roger Bengston Ron Bravenec Kevin Empson |
| Rowan | William | Durst | Roger D. | 1988 | An Experimental Investigation of the Dynamics of Pellet Ablation on the Texas Experimental Tokamak | Ph.D. | D Shuresko M Gouge (ORNL) T E Evans (General Atomic) |

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| Scalo | John | Gilden | David L. | 1982 | Dynamical Evolution of Substructure in Molecular Clouds (2v) | Ph.D. | J Boris D Book J Tohline S Green C Struck-Marcell F Bash C Wheeler N Evans II |
| Scherr | Charles W. | Hendrickson | Wayne C. | 1984 | Microscopic Study of Fluid Flow | Ph.D. | John J Berlin Richard Matzner William McCormich William Schieve |
| Schieve | William C | Snapp | Robert R. | 1987 | A Stability Analysis of a Nonlinear Optical Ring Cavity | Ph.D. | H J Kimble L A Lugiato L M Narducci H J Carmichael J C Englund L A Orozco |

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| Schieve | William C | Bailey | Thomas K. | 1979 | The Unstable State and Its Representation in Quantum Decay Theory | Ph.D. | Ilya Prigogine L P Horowitz A P Grecos V Gorini F Mayne M Theodosopulu F Henin |
| Schieve | William C | McAdory | Robert T. | 1984 | Deterministic Studies of an Irradiated Free Running Josephson Tunnel Junction Model | Ph.D. | I Prigogine Floyd Ledlow Vardaman Smith Ted Sigrest Clyde Carlson Ron Dickman Jimmy Hughes |
| Schieve | William C | Carlson | Lee D. | 1989 | A Qualitative Study of Noise and Quantum Fluctuations in Classical Chaotic Systems | Ph.D. | none |

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| Schieve | William C | Gray | Mark G. | 1990 | Computer Simulation of Depolarized Light Scattered From Clusters | Ph.D. | L Frommhold R Dickman E Lewis D Munton R Roberts R Svensson |
| Schieve | William C. | Canestaro | Christopher L. | 1983 | Clustering in Isothermal Molecular Dynamics: A Comparison to Chemical Kinetics Model | M. A. | I Prigogine David Lippmann Jack S Turner Ron Dickman Mark Gray Chris Frink Pam Pape Martha Vogel |

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| Schieve | William C. Zurek | | Wojciech H. | 1979 | Homogeneous Nucleation and Clustering in Vapor-Liquid Phase Transition as an Example of Stochastic Bistability | Ph.D. | I Prigogine J A Wheeler Herman Harrison Dilip Kondepudi Bill Wooters Robert McAdory Nicolas G. Van Kampen Linda Reichl |
| Schieve | William C. Gragg | | Robert F. | 1981 | Stochastic Switching in Absorptive Optical Bistability | Ph.D. | Adi R Bulsara John C Englund Wojciech H Zurek Howard J Carmichael |
| Schieve | William C. Dickman | | Ronald | 1984 | Equilibrium Clustering in Lattice Gasses | Ph.D. | Tere de Selva Chris Canestaro Mark Gray David Lippman Charles Radin William Wooters Wojciech Zurek R Smoluchowski |

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| Schieve | William C. | Bulsara | Adi R. | 1978 | Entropy, Stability, and Flucuations in Lasing Systems | Ph.D. | Ilya Prigogine Leon Brenig (U Libre de Bruxelles) Dan Walls (U Waikato, N Z) N. van Kampen (U Utrecht) Linda Reichl John Keto |
| Schieve | William C | Middleton | John W. | 1977 | On Some Approximations Arising from the Generalized Master Equationdescription of Discrete Open Systems Models | Ph.D. | I Prigogine A Bohm L Reichl T Tamura S Webber |
| Schieve | William C | Englund | John C. | 1985 | Theory of Tricritical Lasers (2 vols) | Ph.D. | |

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| Sciama | Dennis W | Melott | Adrian L. | 1981 | Massive Neutrinos as Galactic Halo Material: Radiative Decay Constraints and Gravitational Clustering | Ph.D. | Nigel Sharp S Weinberg S R Deans P Shapiro B Langdon |
| Seestrom-Morris | Susan J. | Saunders | David P. | 1984 | Experimental Results from 164 MeV Pion Scattering from Nitrogen 15 | M. A. | none |
| Shepley | Larry | Nelson | Bruce L. | 1978 | Relativity, Topology, and Path Intergration | Ph.D. | Alfred Schild Cécile DeWitt Paul Olum Klaus Bichteler Duane Dicus |
| Shepley | Larry | Konkowski | Deborah A. | 1983 | The Nature and Stability of Spacetimes with Quasiregular Singularities | Ph.D. | Tom Helliwell Bill Hiscock Ken Howard |

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| Shepley | Larry | Kulkarni | Anil D. | 1984 | Initial Data for N Black Holes | Ph.D. | J Bowen M Cantor J W York Jr. |
| Shepley | Larry C. | Rotenberry | James M. | 1981 | Numerical Study of Cylindrical Gravitational Radiation | M. A. | J R Wilson; F B Estabrook J D Anderson |
| Shepley | Larry C. | Plassman | Paul E. | 1981 | The Initial Value Problem for Guage Theories | M. A. | none |
| Shepley | Lawence C. | Waller Mejia | Sergio | 1983 | Electromagnetic Universes | Ph.D. | P Candelas A Gleeson R Matzner M P Ryan M Rosenbaum |

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| Shepley | Lawrence C | Sammelmann | Gary S. | 1984 | The Geometry of Guage Fields | Ph.D. | D Elworthy A Diaz P Glichauf C Hart G Kennedy C Pope A Rothman N Sharp |
| Shepley | Lawrence C | Pardo Orive | Francisco | 1987 | Equivalent Lagrangians and the Inverse Problem in Classical Mechanics | Ph.D. | Sergio Hojman M Rosenbaum; A Font J A Nieto H Harleston G Ponce |
| Shepley | Lawrence C | Berkin | Andrew L. | 1989 | Aniostropic Inflation | Ph.D. | B Warr R Matzner P Laguna P Amsterdamski M L Bartlett P Gilkey |

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| Shepley | Lawrence C. | Macartney-Filgate | Nancy C. | 1980 | Transformations Related to Second Order Killing Tensors in the Context of Einsteins Gravitational Theory | M. A. | none |
| Shepley | Lawrence C. | Nieto Garcia | Juan A. | 1986 | Classical Test Particles and (4+N)-Dimensional Theories of Space-Time | Ph.D. | C Teitleboim |
| Shepley | Lawrence C. | Darke | Richard M. | 1982 | Electromagnetic Test Fields in Bianchi Type I Cosmologies | M. A. | none |
| Shipsey | E. J. | Hansen | Craig W. | 1984 | Wavefunctions and Spin-Orbit Calculations for the Lowest $^2\Delta$, $^2\Sigma^+$, and $^4\Pi$ States of CH | M. A. | J C Browne |

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| Simmons | Robert F. | Novak | Gordon S. | 1976 | Computer Understanding of Physics Problems Stated in Natural Language | Ph.D. | John Loehlin Woody Bledsoe Norman Marting Michael Smith Mabry Tyson Robert Amsler John Roach Joe Dreussi |
| Sudarshan | E. C. G. | Tang | Dun-Sang | 1979 | Classifications of the Unitary Irreducible Representations of the Groups $SO(7)$ and $SO(6,1)$ | M. A. | F. A. Matsen |
| Sudarshan | E. C. G. | Khalil | M. Aslam Khan | 1976 | Relativistic Wave Equations | Ph.D. | W J Hurley E Ugaz S R Gautam M Seetharaman A M Gleeson |

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| Sudarshan | E. C. G. | Mac | Enrique | 1977 | A Renormalizable Massive Charged Vector-Boson Theory without Spontaneous Symmetry Breakdown. | Ph.D. | J P Hsu |
| Sudarshan | E. C. G. | Underwood | John A. | 1977 | Unitarity, Renormalization, and Applications of a Non-Abelian Gauge Theory | Ph.D. | Jong Ping Hsu |
| Sudarshan | E. C. G. | Kagali | Basavaraj A. | 1980 | A Study of Radiative Transfer | Ph.D. | A Bohm L W Fromhold T Udagawa John A Wheeler Austin M. Gleeson C C Chang S R Gautam S Mahajan |
| Sudarshan | E. C. G. | Al-Hendi | Hamad A. | 1982 | Gauge Hierarchy Problem in Grand Unified Theories | Ph.D. | C C Hiang S Nandi P Morely |

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| Sudarshan | E. C. G. | Schimert | Thomas | 1985 | Lepton Distributions from the Decay of Wino and Scalar-Lepton Pairs at Electron-Positron Colliders; and, Heavy-Mass Power-Counting Theorem and Decoupling | Ph.D. | C C Chiang Richard Woodard Jan Govaerts Cliff Burgess |
| Sudarshan | George | Yajnik | Urjit | 1986 | Guage Theory Vortices and Their Role in Cosmology | Ph.D. | C Chiu S Weinberg M Clements S Blau G Rajasekharan A Kulkarni |
| Sudarshan | E C G | Valanju | Prashant M. | 1980 | Zeno Effect in Nuclear Matter | Ph.D. | A M Gleeson C B Chiu E Tagasugi C C Chang S Mahajan |

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| Sullivan | Francis | Barkley | Dwight E. | 1984 | Numerical Studies of a Josephson Junction Circuit Used for Noise Thermometry | M. A. | Howland A Fowler Robert Soulen, Jr. |
| Swift | Jack | Leitner | Pilla A. | 1978 | A Theoretical Study of the Nematic-Smectic C Liquid Crystal Phase Transition | Ph.D. | Lothar Koschmieder Bill McCormick Bill Schieve Claude Horton |
| Swift | Jack | Hossain | Khurshid A. | 1979 | Dynamics Near the Phase Transitions in Liquid Crystals | Ph.D. | P R Antoniewicz J L Erskine W D McCormick W C Shieve |
| Swift | Jack | Mulvaney | Brian J. | 1980 | Liquid Crystal Phase Transitions | Ph.D. | W D McCormick W C Schieve P R Aontoniewicz J L Erskine Pilla Lietner Kurshid Hossain Charles Wade P Martinoty |

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| Swift | Jack B | Wolf | Alan N. | 1980 | Chaotic Power Spectra for Quadratic Mappings | M. A. | W McCormick H Swinney J Turner E Jacobsen B Andereck B Borden |
| Swift | Jack B | Arbeitman | Kenneth J. | 1989 | Numerical Modeling of Pattern Competition Near the Rayleigh-Bénard Convective Threshold | M. A. | none |

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| Swift | Jack B | Wolf | Alan N. | 1983 | Chaos in Few Dimensions | Ph.D. | H Swinney D Farmer W McCormick J Turner J-C Roux W Schieve W Horsthemke |
| Swift | Jack B. | Cajas | Carlos A. | 1984 | Uniaxial to Biaxial Phase Transition in Nematic Liquid Crystals | Ph.D. | J C Thompson W D McCormick P Candelas H L Swinney |
| Swift | Jack B. | Sun | Yu-feng | 1985 | Phase Transitions and Critical Phenomena in Columnar Liquid Crystals | Ph.D. | P Antoniewicz R A Freisner J C Thompson T Udagawa S X Zhou R B Tao |

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| Swift | Jack B | Cosenza | Mario G. | 1990 | Multifractal Analysis of One Dimensional Systems | Ph.D. | W D McCormick H L Swinney W Jefferys J Turner H Bai-Lin E Kostelich D P Lathrop |
| Swinney | Harry L | Skinner | Gordon S. | 1989 | Studies of Spiral Wave Dynamics in Belousov-Zhabotinskii Reagent | M. A. | none |
| Swinney | Harry L | Hirst | Donald A. | 1987 | The Aspect Ration Dependence of the Attractor Dimension in Taylor-Couette Flow | Ph.D. | R Tagg E Kostelich A Fraser L Deavers |
| Swinney | Harry L | McCarty | Peter E. | 1989 | Modeling of Spatially Extended Open Chemical Systems | Ph.D. | Werner Horsthemke E Kostelich N Kreisberg J Pearson J Vastano |

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| Swinney | Harry L | Meyers | Steven D. | 1990 | Laboratory Studies of Coherent Structures in Quasi-Geostrophic Flows | Ph.D. | Joel Sommeria Bob Behringer Phil Marcus D del Castillo-Negrete P Morrison |
| Swinney | Harry L. | Reith | Leslie A. | 1981 | Transitions to Turbulence in a Circular Couette Flow System | Ph.D. | Michael Gorman R Fenstermacher Greg King David Andereck R Quinlan T Groover M Biggerstaff S Milam |
| Swinney | Harry L. | King | Gregory P. | 1983 | Limits of Stability and Irregular Flow Patterns in Wavy Vortex Flow | Ph.D. | Lothar Koschmieder Michael Gorman David Andereck Leslie R. Rieth Liu Shu-Sheng Lin-Hua Zhang Robert Shaw Claude Roux |

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| Swinney | Harry Leonard | Vastano | John A. | 1988 | Bifurcations in Spatiotemporal Systems | Ph.D. | John Pearson Werner Horsthemke Harry L Swinney Harry L Swinney |
| Swinney | Harry Louis | Fraser | Andrew M. | 1988 | Information and Entropy in Strange Attractors | Ph.D. | none |
| Tajima | Toshi | Lee | Keeyong | 1988 | MHD Simulation of Magnetic Reconnection in the Earth's Polar Cusp | M. A. | Chin S Lin R F Steinolfson J L Erskine P Riley K Wong J Koga |
| Tajima | Toshiki | Koga | James | 1985 | Numerical Simulation of a Plasma Entering Curved and Transverse Magnetic Fields | M. A. | Jim Geary Norman Rostoker |

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| Tajima | Toshiki | Fujinami | Toru | 1986 | Numerical Simulation of Plasma Entering Transverse Magnetic Fields | M. A. | J Geary J Koga |
| Tajima | Toshiki | Geary | James L. | 1986 | Computer Simulation of Driven Alfvén Waves | Ph.D. | Jean-Noel Leboeuf Roger Bengston William Drummond; James Erskine David Ross Swadesh Mahajan Dr. Todd Evans Yan-Ming Li |
| Tajima | Toshiki | Zaidman | Ernest G. | 1986 | Kinetic Simulation of Nonlinear Kink Stabilities | Ph.D. | W Horton D Barnes S Majahan C Wilson J Geary M Sternberg J Dibble |

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| Tajima | Toshiki | Kurki-Suonio | Taina K. | 1989 | Non-Linear Self-Focusing of Optical Beams in Plasmas | Ph.D. | W Horton Jr P Morrison M Lebrun D Booth N Woodward H Ouroua S Eways B Palka (Math) |
| Tajima | Toshiki | Lebrun | Maurice J., III | 1988 | Drift Wave Simulation in Toriodal Geometry | Ph.D. | Jean Noel Lebouef D Barnes A Aydemir D Ross J Van Dam R Sydora E Zaidman J Geary J Sedlak |

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| Tamura | Taro | Weeks | Kenneth J. | 1978 | Application of Boson Expansion for the Description of Collective Motion in Even-Even Nuclei | Ph.D. | W R Coker K K Kan Jim Lynch Dan Price T Takamura Kathy Wood T Udagawa T Kishimoto (T A&M) |
| Tamura | Taro | Pedrocchi | Valento G. | 1982 | Investigations of Some Formal Aspects of the Boson Expansion Technique in Nuclear Theory | Ph.D. | T Udagawa W R Coker H Amakawa H Lenske Y Kondo D R Price Y Tzeng K S Low |

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| Tamura | Taro | Benhamou | Mohamed | 1984 | DWBA Calculations of Continuum Spectra of Nuclear Reactions Induced by Light Ions | Ph.D. | William R Coker Peter Riley Gerry Hoffman Linda E. Reichl Yiharn Tzeng K S Low Valento Pedrocchi Marti Bartlett |
| Tamura | Taro | Jamaluddin | Muzhar bin | 1986 | Application of a Boson Expansion Formalism Based on the Ransom-Phase Approximation to Samarium Isotopes | Ph.D. | Udagawa |
| Tamura | Taro | Kim | Hyoung-Bae | 1987 | The Boson Expansion Theory as the Nuclear Structure Theory for the Heavy Nuclei | Ph.D. | T Udagawa V Pedrocchi S-W Hong S Stotts Y-J Lee R Mastroleo D Knobles J Penica-Cruz |

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| Tamura | Taro | Tran | Phuoc Xuan | 1987 | Dynamics and Statics of Electron Self-Trapping in Discrete Lattices | Ph.D. | none |
| Tamura | Taro | Stotts | Steven A. | 1988 | Boson Expansion Theory Predictions of Anharmonic Gamma Vibrations in Well Deformed Nuclei | Ph.D. | T Udagawa V Pedrocchi M Jamaluddin H-B Kim S-W Hong Y-J Lee R Maestroleo D Knobles |
| Teitelboim | Claudio | Diaz | Alvaro H. | 1985 | The Hamiltonian Formulation of Supergravity in Eleven Dimensions | Ph.D. | J & D Feo A & S Sivaramakrishnan P & S Houlahan R Znajack G Miller |
| Teitleboim | Claudio | Brown | John D. | 1985 | Lower Dimensional Gravity | Ph.D. | Marc Henneaux |

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| Thiessen | Arch | Milner | Edward C. | 1986 | Observation of λ -Hypernuclei in the Reaction ${}_{34}\text{C}(\pi^-, k^-)$ $\lambda_{34}\text{C}$ | Ph.D. | Arch Thiessen |
| Thompson | James | Davis | Randall B. | 1978 | An Optical System for the Measurement of Binary Alloys | M. A. | Don Trotter, Jr. Chris Krohn Uzi Even |
| Thompson | James C | González Hernández | Eduardo | 1987 | Roughness Effects on the Coupling of Polarized Radiation to Surface Plasmons as Reflected in Photoemission | M. A. | Uzi Even D Hampton D Plotkin H-T Chou J Villagran C-W Kim G Webber |
| Thompson | James C | Weber | Gayle K. | 1987 | Time Signature of Photo Current in Liquid Ammonia | M. A. | H-T Chou D Hampton T Koschmieder |

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| Thompson | James C | Plotkin | Douglas I. | 1988 | Attenuated Total Reflection Spectroscopy of Surface Plasmons at the Copper-Potassium Chloride Interface | M. A. | none |
| Thompson | James C | Koschmeider | Thomas H. | 1988 | Dispersion Relation Check by Plasmon Shifts Using Three Wavelengths of Light | M. A. | L Frommhold J Villagran H-T Chou C-W Kim A Overman G Weber J Kerrigan D White |
| Thompson | James C | Knebel | Dorothy V. K. | 1990 | An ATR Study of Silver Film Growth on Warm Glass Substrates | M. A. | T Koschmieder H-T Chou J C Villagrán |

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| Thompson | James C | Villagran de Leon | Juan C. | 1987 | Attenuated Total Reflection Spectroscopy of Surface Plasmons | Ph.D. | Peter Antoniewicz Uzi Even |
| Thompson | James C | Kim | Chi-Woo | 1989 | Photoemission Study of Thin Films with Polar Molecular Adsorbates | Ph.D. | U Even P Antoniewicz A Campion T Koschmieder C Villagran H T Chou D Hampton S R Shin |
| Thompson | James C | Chou | Huseh-Tao | 1990 | Enhanced Photoemission by Excitations of Surface Plasmons | Ph.D. | Peter R Atoniewicz Uzi Even K Knebel D Hampton G Weber C W Kim S R Shin A Overman |

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| Thompson | James C. | Johnston | David L. | 1977 | An Electrodeless Technique for Resistivity Measurement of Liquid Sodium-Cesium Alloys | M. A. | Dr. Uzi Even; |
| Thompson | James C. | Villagran | Juan C. | 1985 | Optical Properties of the Alkalai Metals | M. A. | Raul Fainchtein |
| Thompson | James C. | Swenumson | Richard D. | 1977 | Electrodeless and Four-Probe Double AC Hall Effect Measurements on Alkali Metal-Ammonia Solutions | Ph.D. | Jennifer Swift Cleon Yates Jay Campbell |
| Thompson | James C. | Trotter | Don M., Jr. | 1977 | The Reflectance of Liquid Gallium-, Indium, and Thallium-Tellurium Alloys | Ph.D. | Shelie Granstaff Chris Krohn Don Dempsey Shirley Hurt Jay Campbell Cleon Yates |

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| Thompson | James C. | Krohn | Christine E. P. | 1978 | Photo-Assisted Electron Injection at a Semi-Conductor Ammonia-Interface | Ph.D. | Uzi Even Al Bard Paul Kohl Rommel Nonfi Cleon Yates Les Devors [sic] |
| Thompson | James C. | Blanks | Daniel K. | 1982 | The Mobility of Electrons in Ammonia, Methylamine, and Water Vapors | Ph.D. | Uzi Even David Hasse (N C State) Phil Coose Gene Smith Dave Stewart Les Deavers |
| Thompson | James C. | Anderson | Victor M. | 1983 | Topics in Field Effect Capacitance Measurements | Ph.D. | Uzi J Even John C. Dahm (Motorola, Austin); Joe Clement (Sandia Labs) Les Deavers Joe McGuire Harold Williams John England |

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| Thompson | James C. | Bennett | Glenn T. | 1984 | The Photoinjection of Electrons into Liquid Ammonia | Ph.D. | Rebecca Coffman Peter R Antoniewicz Andrew Donoho Juan C. Villagran Dan K Blanks Mark C Anderson Raul Fainchtein |
| Thompson | James C. | Coffman | Rebecca B. | 1986 | Studies of Photoemission into Liquid Ammonia | Ph.D. | Peter R Antoniewicz Glenn T Bennett Juan C Villagran Donald Hampton Gayle Weber |

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| Turner | Jack | Garcia | Alex L. | 1984 | Thermal Flucuations in Nonequilibrium Systems | Ph.D. | Robert Edwards |
| Turner | Jack S | Lindberg | David M. | 1988 | A Model Study of Complex Behavior in the Belousov-Zhabotinskii Reaction | Ph.D. | W D McCormick H L Swinney J B Swift L E Koschmieder D Barkley J Ringland K Coffman |

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| Turner | Jack S | Ringland | 1986 | Numerical Techniques for the Investigation of Nonlinear Equations of Chemical Dynamics: And Their Application to a Model of the Belousov-Zhabotinskii Reaction | Ph.D. | none |
| Turner | Jack S. | Barkley | 1988 | Studies of the Complex Dynamics of the Belousov-Zhabotinskii Reaction | Ph.D. | none |
| Udagawa | Takeshi | Price | 1978 | Semi-Classical Approximation of Heavy-Ion Scattering | M. A. | Bill Theis Joe McGuire Harold Williamson John England |

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| Udagawa | Takeshi | Kim | Byung-taik | 1977 | Coupled-Channel Analysis for Heavy-Ion Induced Scattering and Transfer Reactions | Ph.D. | Taro Tamura William Rory Coker J Lynch L Ray K Weeks K Woods |
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| Udagawa | Takeshi | Lee | Young Jae | 1987 | Breakup-Fusion Analysis of Light Ion Induced Stripping Reactions to Both Bound and Unbound Regions | Ph.D. | Taro Tamura W Rory Coker Gerald W Hoffmann Klaus Bichteler Jerry Lumpe Steve Stotts Mick Purcell David Knoble |

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| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|----------|-----------|------------|------|---|--------|---|
| Van Dam | James W. | Fu | Guo-Yong | 1988 | Topics in Stability and Transport Tolomaks: Dynamic Transition to Second Stabiliy with Auxiliary Heating: Stability of Global Alfvén Waves in an Ignited Plasma | Ph.D. | M Rosenbluth P Diamond R Hazeltine W Horton E Powers D Ross H Berk S Mahajan |
| Vanston | John H. | Wilkinson | Michael L. | 1977 | An Examination of the Supporting Technologies Necessary for the U. S. Fusion Program, Using the Partitive Analytical Forecasting (PAF) Method | M. A. | none |
| Vishniac | Ethan | Bust | Gary S. | 1989 | Magnetic Field Generation in Astrophysics | Ph.D. | none |

| | Advisor | | Student | | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|------------|-------------------|----------------|------|---|---------------------------|--|---------------------|
| Wade | William H. | De Rouffignac | Eric P. | 1979 | The Theoretical and Experimental Study of the Thermal Properties Xenon Adsorbed on Graphite | Ph.D. | Gerald T Alldredge F W de Wette | |
| Ware | Alan | Bolton | Curtis W., III | 1981 | The Ion Thermal Conductivity for a Pure Tokomak Plasma | Ph.D. | F Hinton | |
| Weinberg | Steven | Burgess | Clifford P. | 1985 | Supersymmetry Breaking in Anti-de Sitter Space | Ph.D. | Philip Candelas Bryce DeWitt Willy Fischler | |
| Weinberg | Steven | Gilbert | Gerald N. | 1986 | Radiative Corrections in Higher-Dimensional Physics | Ph.D. | W Fischler T Schimert R Woodward B McClain M Rubin | |
| Weinberg | Steven | Quevedo Rodriguez | Fernando | 1986 | Topics in Supergravity and Superstring Phenomenology | Ph.D. | Cliff Burgess, Anamaria Font Joe Lykken | |

| Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|----------|--------|-------------|------|---|--------|--|
| Weinberg | Steven | Rothman | 1987 | Quantum and Thermal Effects in Higher Dimension | Ph.D. | Philip Candelas Willy Fischler Joseph Polchinski Paul Shapiro Mark A Rubinm Bruce McClain Mark A Hausman Donald W Olson |
| Weinberg | Steven | Liu | 1988 | Topics in String Theory | Ph.D. | J Polchinski W Fischler J Hughes A Bohm J C Wheeler)C Burgess Y Cai S Carlip |
| Weinberg | Steven | Willenbrock | 1986 | Production of Heavy Leptons and Quarks in High Energy Hadron Collisions | Ph.D. | Duane Dicus J Polchinski S Nandi |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|---------|--------|------------|------|---|--------|--|
| Wheeler | J Craig | Trice | Michael D. | 1976 | Dynamical Collapse of Evolved, Very Massive Stars | M.A. | T J Mazurek C W Horton Sr. D L Meier A J Martin |
| Wheeler | J Craig | Swartz | Douglas A. | 1989 | Modeling Late-Time Atmospheres of Supernovae | Ph.D. | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Juhl | Cory F. | 1987 | An Evaluation of Three Alternative Interpretations of Quantum Mechanics | M. A. | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Jones | Thomas O. | 1983 | Stimulated Emission and Black Holes | M. A. | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Bishop | Robert C. | 1986 | The One-Dimensional Two-Body Problem in Action-at-a-Distance Electrodynamics and Corporate Degress of Freedom | M. A. | D Barnes R Matzner |

| Advisor | | Student | | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|--------|------------|-------------|------|---|--------|--|
| Wheeler | John A | Gleichauf | Paul H. | 1982 | The Existence and Approximation of the Feynman Sum over Histories | M. A. | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Dean | William E. | 1984 | Effect of Gravitational Radiation Reaction on a Three Body System | M. A. | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Thompson | Steven R. | 1983 | A Pure Radiation Universe | M. A. | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Schumacher | Benjamin W. | 1990 | Communication, Correlation, and Complimentarity | Ph.D. | William K Wooters Eric Joos Annette Prieur Jacob Bekenstein Charles Bennett David Deutsch Fredrick Kronz Wojciech Zurek |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|---------|--------|----------|-------------|------|---|--------|---|
| Wheeler | John A | Pfautsch | Jonothan D. | 1981 | Quantum Field Theory in Stationary Coordinate Systems | Ph.D. | none |
| Wheeler | John A | Miller | Warner A. | 1986 | Foundations of Null-Strut Geometrodynamics | Ph.D. | Arkady Kheyfets James York T Dombeck R Mennella M Razar |
| Wheeler | John A | Kheyfets | Arkady | 1986 | Austerity and Geometric Structure of Field Theories | Ph.D. | S Bleiler D Deutsch C McCarter R Matzner W Miller W S Schleich L Shepley C Teeitelboim |

| Advisor | | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|-------------------|-----------|---------|---|------|---|--------|--|
| Multiple Advisors | King | | David H. | 1990 | Mach's Principle and Rotating Universes | Ph.D. | I Ciufolini G Ellis L Grishchuk Larry Shepley Jim York H Waeibroeck E Martinez A Prieur |
| | | | Matzner, Richard A Wheeler, John A | | | | |
| Wyatt | Robert E | D'Mello | Michael G. | 1990 | Variational Quantum Reactive Scattering in Three Dimensions | Ph.D. | J Bentley T-G Wei A Maynard L Thomas B Ramachandran J Wright M Menou C-M Huang |
| Wyatt | Robert E. | Latham | Susan L. | 1977 | Transition Probability Resonances in the Colinear Reactive Scattering of F + H ₂ | M. A. | Michael J Redmon Joe McNutt |

| | Advisor | | Student | Year | Dissertation/Thesis Title | Degree | Others Acknowledged |
|-------|-----------|-----------|------------|------|--|--------|---------------------|
| Wyatt | Robert E. | Miller | Donald L. | 1986 | Quantum Mechanics of Molecular Collisions | Ph.D. | Roman F Nalewjaski |
| Wyatt | Robert E | Marston | Carling C. | 1984 | Semi-Classical Prediction of Resonances in 3D Chemical Reactions | M. A. | none |
| Wyatt | Robert E | Shoemaker | Curtis L. | 1981 | Internal Excitation Resonances in Symmetric Atom-Diatom Reactions | Ph.D. | none |
| Wyatt | Robert E | Marston | Carling C. | 1986 | Semi-Classical Formalism as Applied to the Computation of Resonant Energies and Associated Stationary State Wave Functions of the Fluorine Atom with the Hydrogen Molecule | Ph.D. | none |

Appendix E: Senior Thesis Supervision at Princeton, 1938 – 1976, 1988 – 1994

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|----------|------------------|-------------|--|----------------|----------|
| Karr | Thomas J. | 1971 | Li^7 (He^3 , d) and the Rotational States of Be^8 | Adelberger | E. J. |
| Crawford | John D. | 1977 | The Role and Implications of Quadratic Lagrangians in General Relativity | Adler | S. |
| Ward | Benjamin G. | 1993 | Squeezed Light | Aizenman | M. |
| Landau | David P. | 1963 | A Low Resolution Spectrometer for Detecting Nuclear Magnetic Resonance of Spin 1/2 Nuclei in Liquids | Ames | O. |
| Lamont | Lawrence T., Jr. | 1962 | A Determination of the Charge Residing on the Gamma Ray as Measured with the Mössbauer Effect in Iron-57 | Ames | O. |
| Futhey | John H. | 1960 | An Attempt to Measure the Nuclear Spins of ${}_{19}\text{K}^{38}$ and ${}_{37}\text{Rb}^{84}$ | Ames & Brennan | O. M. |
| Kukala | James H. | 1977 | Defects in Nematic and Cholesteric Liquid Crystals | Anderson | P. |
| Sokol | Glenn | 1978 | Through the Looking Glass: An Overview of the Spin Glass Problem | Anderson | P. W. |
| Glance | Natalie | 1989 | Protein Folding by Simulated Annealing | Anderson | P. W. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|---------|----------------|-------------|---|--------------------|-------------|
| Wong | Albert J. | 1991 | The Emergence of Biological Wholes: An Ensemble Interacting Hopfield Model | Anderson | P. W. |
| Pande | Vijay S. | 1992 | Application of the Physics of Disordered Systems to the Evolutionary Dynamics of Primitive Forms of Life: Analytic and Computational Models of the Self-organization and Development of Autocatalytic RNA and Viruses | Anderson | P. |
| Allen | Theodore T. | 1991 | Spin Density Wave Mean Field Theory and the Hubbard Model with Less Than Half Filling | Anderson & Georges | P. W. A. |
| Atalay | Michael K. | 1988 | The Effects of Water Removal on Globular Proteins | Austin | R. |
| Kinnell | Maud N. | 1988 | Solitons in Acetanilide | Austin | R |
| Passner | Jonathan M. | 1989 | A Study of the Dynamics of Several Short DNA Sequences using the Triplet Polarization Anisotropy Decay Technique | Austin | R. H. |
| Ivker | Mark | 1991 | Direct Observation of Reptation in Artificial Gel Environments | Austin | R. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------|-------|
| Gray | Cameron | 1992 | Experimental Studies into the Effects of Myoglobin Encapsulation within Rigid Polyacrylamide Gels on Temperature-Induced Denaturation | Austin | R. H. |
| Collier | Wayne B. | 1994 | Photoannealing, Photovoltaic, Photoresistive Effects in $\text{YBa}_2\text{Cu}_3\text{O}_{7-8}$ | Austin | R. H. |
| Strick | Terrence | 1994 | DNA Electrophoresis in Microlithographically Constructed Sparse Arrays | Austin | R. H. |
| Tirschwell | Joel I. | 1959 | Group Methods to Study the Symmetry Aspect of Quantum System | Bargmann | V. |
| Hanle | Paul A. | 1969 | A Search for an Excited State of the Neutron in the Reaction $n + p \rightarrow n + p + \gamma$ | Bartlett | D. |
| Cohen | Kenneth J. | 1964 | (d, Li^6) Reaction in the Nuclear $1f_{7/2}$ Shell | Bayman | B. F. |
| Smith | W. Richard | 1964 | Shell Model Analysis of the A^{39} Level Structure and the $A^{40} \rightarrow (\rho, d) A^{39}$ Reaction | Bayman | B. F. |
| Salkeld | Robert J. | 1954 | The Theory of Skin Friction for Pipe Flow and its Direct Measurement with a Pendulum Balance | Bershader | D. |
| Kleyna | Jan | 1992 | A Comparison of the Hodgkins-Huxley Neuron with a Filtered Threshold-Crossing Model | Bialek | W. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|----------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|-------|
| Carrillo | Jose | 1991 | Photoproduction of Strange Mesons in the Reaction $\gamma + \rho \rightarrow \rho + K^+ + K^- + \pi^+ + \pi^-$ at 20 GeV | Bingham | H. |
| Klodner | Paul R. | 1975 | An Introduction to High Frequency Scattering Theory: With a Thorough but not Unpleasant Guided Tour of Necessary Results from Asymtotic Analysis and Special Function Theory | Blaer | A. B. |
| Perez | Jose | 1977 | Calculation of Coulomb Corrections in Beta Decay | Blaer | A. |
| Fong | Douglas G. | 1961 | The Maxwell-Boltmann Equation | Blankenbecler | R. |
| Sculli | John | 1962 | The Isospin Formalism and its Applications in the Strong Interaction | Blankenbecler | R. |
| Panofsky | Wolfgang K. H. | 1938 | The Construction of a High Pressure Ionisation Chamber | Bleakney | W. |
| Dahms | Oscar A., Jr. | 1947 | Determination of Response as a Function of Pressure for Tourmaline Gauges and Relation of Impulse to Distance for Blast Waves in Air. | Bleakney | W. |
| Linhart | Peter | 1948 | Reflection of Plane Shocks in Air from a Cylindrical Obstacle | Bleakney | W |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|--|---------------------|-------------|
| Goins | Neal R. | 1973 | Interpretations of Gravity Anomalies of the Western Approaches to the Strait of Gibraltar | Bonini (Civ Eng) | W. |
| Holt | Robert | 1973 | The Origins of Multicellularity | Bonner | J. |
| Binkerhoff | Richard Fowler | 1941 | Positive Philosophy in Modern Science | Bowers (Philosophy) | |
| Henkel | Joel E. | 1952 | A Hollow Cathode Lamp for Small Samples | Bradley | L. |
| Hartle | James B. | 1960 | The Gravitational Geon | Brill | D. |
| Hallet | John D. | 1941 | Ultra-High Frequency Generation with Emphasis on the Klystron | Brown | W. F. |
| Primack | Joel R. | 1966 | Unified Model Calculations in Fission Theory | Brown | G. E. |
| Grimes | Mikal K. | 1989 | Investigation of the 21.4 MeV Level in ^{13}C via the $^{10}\text{B}(^9\text{Be}, ^6\text{He})^{13}\text{N}$ Reaction | Brown | J. D. |
| Saltzberg | David P. | 1989 | Gamma Ray Spectroscopy as a Diagnostic of Accelerated Particles in Solar Flares: Theory and Experiment | Brown | J. D. |
| Mateos | Arthur | 1991 | A Search for Light Exotic Nuclei in the Reaction $^7\text{Li} + ^{11}\text{B}$ | Brown | J. D. |
| Hamilton | John D. | 1966 | A Photographic Assay for the Phototactic Circadian Rhythm inm Euglena | Bruce & Devlin | V. G. T. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|---|--------------------|-------|
| Hixon | Todd L. | 1972 | Near-Ultraviolet Spetroscopic Studies of a Quasi-Steady Magnetoplasmadynamic Arc | Bruckner (Mech) | A. |
| Cuddy | Stephen R. | 1975 | Enzyme Substrate Binding in Subtilisin BPN' | Bush {Biochem} | B. |
| Chupp | Timothy E. | 1977 | The $O^+ \rightarrow O^+$ Pair Transformation in ^{16}O | Calaprice | F. |
| Fraser | Andrew M. | 1977 | A Measurement of the ^{28}Al Beta Spectrum | Calaprice | F. |
| Prosnitz | Eric W. | 1977 | A Measurement of the ^{20}F Beta Spectrum | Calaprice | F. |
| Vitale | Thomas M. | 1977 | A New Measurement of the Half-Life of ^{19}Ne | Calaprice | F. P. |
| Bunn | Emory F., II | 1989 | Frequency Shifts in the Magnetic Resonance Spectra of Argon-37 and Krypton-85 Due to the Presence of Polarized Potassium Vapor | Calaprice | F. |
| McGucken | Elliot | 1991 | A Proposal for a New Test of Time Revesal Invariance, and a Test of a New Micron Silicon Detector (A Dialogue between Curiosity and Perseverance) | Calaprice | F. P. |
| Grogin | Norman | 1992 | An Experiment to Detect Heavy Nutrino Emission in Nuclear Beta Decay Spectra | Calaprice | F. |
| Prochaska | Jason X. | 1993 | The Design and Fabrication of Optimal Light Collectors for the CTF Upgrade | Calaprice | F. P. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|---|--------------------------|----------|
| Krieger | David A. | 1994 | Spin-Exchange Optical Pumping of ^{36}K : Produced via $^{36}\text{Ar}(p,n)^{36}\text{K}$ | Calaprice | F. |
| Levada | Andrew J. | 1972 | A New Measurement of the ^{35}Ar Branching Ratios and a Calculation of the Vector Coupling Constant | Calaprice | F. |
| Hecht | Michael H. | 1974 | An Investigation of Gamma-Ray Decay from Preferentially Populated $(f7 2-)^2 J=7^+$ Levels, From the Reactions $^{36}\text{Ar}(a,d)^{38}\text{K}$ and $^{40}\text{Ar}(a,d)^{42}\text{K}$ | Calaprice | F. |
| Chu | James K. | 1978 | Branching Ratio Measurment of the 7.11 MeV $1^- \rightarrow 0^+$ Pair Decay in O^{16} | Calaprice | F. |
| Kahn | Ronald N. | 1978 | An Experimental Test of CVC: The ^{20}F Beta Decay Spectrum | Calaprice | F. |
| Kleppinger | William E. | 1978 | The Beta Assymetry of Polarized ^{19}Ne : New Experimental Evidence for Second Class Currents | Calaprice | F. |
| Loughnane | Paul | 1989 | A Search for Resonances in Bhabha Scattering at MeV Energies | Calaprice & Hallin | F. A. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|----------|----------------|-------------|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Berger | Bruce | 1992 | A Search for Evidence of a 17 keV Neutrino in the β -Decay Spectrum of Cesium 137 | Calaprice Hallin & Smith | F. A. A.J.S. |
| Grossman | Bernard S. | 1976 | Guage Theories of the Weak Interaction with Right Handed Couplings | Callan | C. |
| Bradley | Lee C., III | 1947 | An Experiment in Brownian Motion | Campbell | E. C. |
| Margolin | Myron | 1958 | The Resonance Radiation in the Region 7800Å of Rb87 Excited by Light of Natural Rubidium | Carver | T. R. |
| Silber | Howard A. | 1959 | Some Low Temperature Experiments | Carver | T. R. |
| Kinsey | James H. | 1960 | Some Experimental Observations of the Resonance Radiation from K and Rb Lamps | Carver | T. R. |
| Ramsey | Alan, T. | 1960 | The Detection of Optical Pumping by Back-Scattered Light | Carver | T. R. |
| Burnham | David P. | 1961 | Nuclear Magnetic Resonance in Small Magnetic Fields | Carver | T. R. |
| Lewis | Frank R., Jr. | 1961 | A Practical Filter for Improving D ₁ :D ₂ Sodium Light Intensity Ratios and its Application to Optical Pumping | Carver | T. R. |
| Carolan | James, Jr. | 1962 | Electron Spin Resonance in Calcium and Strontium | Carver | T. R. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------|-------|
| Partridge | R. B | 1962 | A Possible Approach to the Optical Pumping of Hydrogen | Carver | T. R. |
| Smith | Richard C. | 1962 | A Filter Which Reduces the Intensity of the Sodium D ₂ Line and its Effect on Optical Pumping | Carver | T. R. |
| Donner | George R., Jr. | 1963 | Double Quantum Transitions Involving Two Distinct Frequencies: Production and Detection in Rubidium ⁸⁷ | Carver | T. R. |
| Kirkpatrick | E. Scott | 1963 | Optical Pumping in Sodium-Ammonia Solutions | Carver | T. R. |
| Matlack | Richard W. | 1963 | Laser Induced Multiple Quantum Phenomena | Carver | T. R. |
| Hocker | Lon, III | 1964 | The Design and Construction of a Wideband High Gain Laser Cavity | Carver | T. R. |
| Fehl | John F. | 1966 | A Treatise on the Mechanisms of Laser Operations and the Construction of an Infrared Gaseous Laser | Carver | T. R. |
| Wyeth | N. Converse | 1967 | The Construction of a Getter Sputtering Apparatus | Carver | T. R. |
| Farber | Robert E. | 1970 | The Superconducting Mixed State of the Gyromagnetic Ratio | Carver | T. R. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------------------|----------------|
| Irby | John | 1971 | The Mechano-Chemical Collagen Engine: Theory and Practice | Carver | T. R. |
| Tien | Julia J-W | 1976 | An Investigation of Parallel Field Magnetic Transmission in GD | Carver | T. R. |
| Riedesel | Mark | 1977 | An Apparatus for Measuring Low Field Magnetic Susceptibilities | Carver | T. R. |
| Coderre | Harold T. | 1978 | The Design and Construction of a Superconducting LC Resonator | Carver | T. R. |
| Gondicas | Dimitri H. | 1978 | Energy Supply - Demand Analysis for Greece | Carver | T. S. |
| Thornbury | Craig E. | 1967 | Spin Exchange in the Optical Pumping of Sodium and Rubidium Mixtures | Carver & Partridge | T. R. R. B. |
| Hudgin | Richard H. | 1967 | Tunneling: The Barrier and the Electric Field Penetration Depth | Carver & Schnatterly | T. R. S. |
| Meneely | Clinton T. | 1963 | Preliminary Investigation of a Sodium-Mercury Gaseous Laser Mixture | Carver & Shenstone | T. R. A. G. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|-------|
| Lopez | David | 1988 | Florescence Monitoring of Rb $D_2:5^2S_{1/2} - 5^2P_{3/2}$ Hyperfine Transitions with $Al_xGa_{1-x}As$ Diode Laser of High-Precision Wavelength Tunability | Cates | G. D. |
| Fitzgerald | Richard J. | 1989 | Alkali-Glass Surface Interactions and Their Contributions to Noble Gas Spin Relaxation | Cates | G. |
| Katine | Jordan A. | 1991 | The Temperature Dependence of the Relaxation Rate in Polarized ^{129}Xe Cells | Cates | G. |
| Mabuchi | Hideo | 1992 | Wall-Relaxation Mechanisms for Polarized Noble Gasses | Cates | G. |
| Ullom | J. | 1993 | The Production of Long-Lived Transversely Polarized States of 3He | Cates | G. |
| Chubb | Scott | 1975 | Aluminum Diffusion in Tokomaks | Cecchi | J. |
| Lee | Ernest | 1994 | Magnetization Studies on the Organic Superconductor $(TMTSF)_2ClO_4$ | Chaiken | P. |
| Gelfand | Boris Y. | 1989 | Nonlinear Conductivity in the Field Induced Spin Density Wave State of $(TMTSF)_2ClO_4$ Organic Metal | Chaikin | P. |
| Johnson | Paul R. | 1991 | Magnetoresistance Effects in $TMTSF_2ClO_4$ | Chaikin | P. |
| Young | Sang Lee | 1993 | Diffusing Wave Spectroscopy on a Colloidal Crystal | Chaikin | P. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|-----------------|-------------|---|----------------------------------|----------------|
| Cella | Charles | 1988 | A Measurement of the $^{27}\text{Al}(\rho, \alpha)^{24}\text{Mg}$ Reaction Rate | Champagne | A. |
| Blue | Linda J. | 1991 | High Current Breakdown of the Dissipationless Quantum Hall Effect | Chang (Bell Labs) & Austin | A. M. R. H. |
| Stuart | James G. | 1970 | The Integral Momentum Spectrum of Cosmic Ray Muons | Chen & Sober | K. W. D. I. |
| Von Lintig | Richard | 1970 | The Positive Excess of Cosmic Ray Muons | Chen & Sober | K. W. D. I. |
| Kantsiper | Brian | 1992 | Linear Wave Theory Model for Space-Based CIV Experiments | Choueiri | E. |
| Koch | Thomas L. | 1977 | Self-Generation of Magnetic Fields in Laser-Produced Plasmas and Their Effects on Laser Absorption in the Single Particle Picture | Chu | T. K. |
| Kaplan | Steven B. | 1971 | Application of the Plasma Chromatograph to Trace Analysis of Air Pollution | Cohen | M |
| Kober | Michael | 1964 | A New Method for the Determination of the Spin and Parity of Certain Resonances | Cook | L. F. |
| Beggs | George E. , Jr. | 1938 | Accoustics of the Princeton Playhouse | Cooke | L. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------|--|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| Luhman | Gary | 1960 | The Application of the Fermi Statistical Model to Proton, Antiproton, Annihilation | Cooke | L. F. |
| Michaelides | Paul A. | 1987 | Phase-Locking Effects in a Critically Perturbed Dissipative Standard Map | Coppersmith | S. N. |
| Rahm | Liz | 1975 | A Look at Some of the Properties of French Horn Mouthpieces | Coyne | D. R. |
| Ogden | Peter M. | 1974 | H β Search for Intergalactic Hydrogen | Crane | P. |
| Green | James M. | 1975 | Measurements of Color Gradients of Galaxies | Crane | P. |
| Chubb | Charles T., Jr. | 1941 | Characteristics of Argon-Alcohol Counter Tubes | Creutz | E. C. |
| Kriesler | Micheal N. | 1962 | A Measurement of the Δ^0 Lifetime Using Spark Chambers | Cronin | J. W. |
| Nicholson | Robert H. | 1963 | Lifetime Measurement and Spark Chamber Observation of Muon Decay | Cronin | J. W. |
| Bowman | Bruce E. | 1967 | The Quadratic Coefficient of the Matrix Element in Kaon Decay to Three Neutral Pions | Cronin | J. |
| Eriksen | Donald | 1964 | Measurement of the Lifetime of the K_1^0 Meson | Cronin Christensen & Vernon | J. J. W. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|--|------------------------|----------------|
| Pulver | Simone | 1991 | PcP-P Differential Travel Times and Lateral Heterogeneity in the Lower Mantle | Dahlen | T. |
| Alexander | Martin | 1963 | The Elastic Constants of Cubic Crystals | Daniels | W. B. |
| Hardy | William H., II | 1969 | Experimental Determination of the P-T Melting Curve of Argon | Daniels | W. B. |
| Lewis | William F., II | 1971 | The Isochoric Measurement of the Equation of State of Solid Argon and Solid Methane at High Pressure | Daniels | W. B. |
| Chesnutt | James H. | 1964 | A Theoretical Equation of State for Solid Argon and Experimental Attempts to Verify It | Daniels & Smith (Mec) | W. B. P. A. |
| Skoultchi | Arthur, I. | 1962 | Optical Observations of the High-Pressure Polymorphic Transformation of RbI | Daniels & Smoluchowski | W. B. R. |
| Bar-Gadda | Uzi | 1971 | The Role of Time Delay, Cross-Section, and Action in a Classical Interactive Dilute Gas | Dashen | R. |
| Weiner | Joseph S. | 1977 | Electrical Discharge in Helium Gas Below 4.2°K | DeConde | K. |
| Farber | Allan S. | 1978 | The Perpendicular Motion of Surface Electrons on Thin Films of Liquid Helium | DeConde | K. |
| Whitlock | James P., Jr. | 1964 | $\pi^+ \rightarrow \rho$ Total Cross Section at 890MeV/C | Devlin | T. J. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|--|----------------------|-------------|--|----------------|--------|
| Martin | Charles F., II | 1966 | A Measurement of the Total Cross Sections of Neutrons on Protons in the Energy Region 50MeV to 250 MeV Using Time-of-Flight Analysis | Devlin | T. J. |
| Pond, T. Alexander & Cannon Walter F. | | 1947 | On Power Broadening in the Ammonia Inversion Spectrum | Dicke | R. H. |
| Elgin | James M., Jr. | 1949 | Focusing of X Radiation by Curved Crystals | Dicke | R. H. |
| Powsner | Henry Joel | 1950 | A Study of Techniques Involved in the Construction of Evaporated Metal Bolometers | Dicke | R. H. |
| Griffiths | Robert Buddington | 1957 | Coherent Emission Atomic Beam Light Source | Dicke | R. H. |
| Hess | George B. | 1958 | The Annual Variation of the Length of the Day as Evidence Relating to a Theory of Gravity | Dicke | R. H. |
| Murphy | Charles T. | 1959 | The Effect of a Varying Gravitational Constant on Heat Flow from the Earth | Dicke | R. H. |
| Beron | Bruce L. | 1964 | A Solar Rotational Mode | Dicke | R. H. |
| Cathles | Lawrence M., III | 1965 | The Physics of Glacial Uplift | Dicke | R. H. |
| Burek | Anthony | 1968 | Conservation Laws for the Scalar-Tensor Theory and Scalar Gravitational Radiation | Dicke | R. H. |
| Nass | Michael J. | 1977 | A Dielectric Theory of Gravity | Dicke | R. H., |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|--|------------------------------|-------------|
| Berkovitz, | Dan M. | 1978 | Implications of Brans-Dicke Cosmology on the Temperature History of the Earth | Dicke | R. H. |
| Wolanin | Peter | 1994 | Electron Spin Resonance of Photosystem II at 34 GHz | Dismukes & Eisenberger | C. P. |
| Petrescu | Iuliana | 1991 | Low Energy Scattering of CP ¹ Lumps in (2+1) Dimensions | Distler | J. |
| Moores | Geneva F. | 1988 | Seven-Fold Symmetric Quasicrystals: Symmetries, Diffraction Patterns, and Elasticity Properties | Dixon | L. |
| Newman | Steven A. | 1969 | Exciton Effects: The Optical Absorbtion Coefficient of a Semiconductor in a Uniform Applied Electric Field | Dow | J. |
| Arentsen | Carl E. | 1972 | Liquid Crystals: A Study Focused on the Effects of Electric Fields on the Cholesteric Mesophase | Dow & Carver | J. T. R. |
| Leheny | Robert | 1989 | The Application of Schwarzschild's Solution to Off-Axis Feed Systems | Dragovan | M. |
| Loring | Gregory M. | 1990 | A Land Based Measurement of Solar and Lunar Surface Temperatures | Dragovan | M. |
| Richman | Sam | 1990 | The Beam Pattern of a Schwarzschild Solution Telescope in the Microwave Range | Dragovan | M. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|--|-----------------------------|--------------|
| Rostker | David J. | 1993 | A Computational Ray-Tracing Model of Physical Optics based on Huygens' Principle | Dragovan | M. |
| Quintana | Benjamin L. | 1994 | Atmospheric Opacity of the South Pole Measured at the 80-600 GHz Range with a Fourier Transform Spectrometer | Dragovan | M. |
| Giovannone | John J. | 1972 | Proportional Counters: Modern Design Considerations | Duray | J. |
| Found | George H. | 1940 | An Experimental Investigation of the Internal Friction in Metals | Dushman (G.E. Labs) | S. |
| Putnam | Peter | 1948 | Considerations Concerning Nature | Eddington | A. |
| Berry | Brendan, C. | 1991 | Multilayer Thin Film Optics | Eisenberger | P. |
| Liang | Haifan | 1992 | On the Switching Times of the Twisted Smectic C Ferroelectric Liquid Crystal Electro-optic Modulator | Eisenberger | P. |
| Jackson | Andrew W. | 1994 | Structure Determination of a Quasi-Epitaxial Organic Thin Film | Eisenberger | P. |
| Barat | Samiran | 1992 | An Investigation into the Variation Under Rotation of the Coupling Efficiency of Single Mode Optical Fibers | Eisenberger & Littman | P. M. |
| Boetcher | David A. | 1966 | Josephson Currents in Superconductors with Paramagnetic Impurities | Engelsberg | S. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|---------------------|-------------|--|----------------------|-----------------|
| Moo-Young | George A. | 1965 | The Determination of the Number Density of Unexcited Hydrogen Atoms in Plasma Discharge | Eubank | H. P. |
| Hayes | Andrew W. | 1988 | A Study of the Propagation of Gaussian Laser Pulses in Absorbing Media | Fauchet | P. |
| Tucci | Angela T. | 1988 | Characterization of Femtosecond Optical Pulses by Interferometric Autocorrelation Techniques | Fauchet | P. |
| Maysonett | James A. | 1994 | An Analysis of the Viability of the Detection of Covert Nuclear Fuel Reprocessing Through ^{85}Kr Emissions | Feiveson | H. |
| Elser | Alfred Uihlein, Jr. | 1956 | Scintillation in Čerenkov Counters | Fitch | V. L. |
| Adams | Cyrus | 1961 | Scintillation Quenching in Polystyrene | Fitch | V. L. |
| Kirk | Paul N. | 1963 | A Measurement of the Density Effect in NaI (T1) and Pilot B PlasticFitch | Fitch | V. L. |
| Wood | David M. | 1974 | Seeding Effects of Aircraft Condensation Trails | Fitch | V. L. |
| Snow | Gregory R. | 1976 | The Two-Photon Spectrum from ρ^-p and π^-p Interactions | Fitch | V. L. |
| Troutman | Charles R., III | 1956 | μ -Mesonic X-Ray Spectrum of Iron | Fitch & Gursky | V. L. H. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------------------------|----------------|
| Fox | John D. | 1952 | An Investigation of a Proportional Counter | Franzen | W. |
| Alyea | E. D., Jr. | 1953 | An Experimental Study of the Distribution in Energy Loss for Heavy Charged Particles Passing Through Thin Absorbers | Franzen | W. |
| Kadin | Alan M. | 1974 | An Experimental Test of the Bohm-Bub Hidden Variable Theory | Freedman | S. J. |
| Greenhalgh | John F. | 1976 | Experimental Study of the Beta-Alpha Angular Correlation in ^{20}Na | Freedman & Garvey | S. J. G. T. |
| Mon | John Kin-Keung | 1973 | Ensemble-Averaged Eigenvalue Distribution for k-Body Interaction in Many-Particle System | French | J. B. |
| Silman | Eric J. | 1962 | Microwave Determination of Electron Density Profiles in Fusion Plasma | Frieman Gorman & Motley | E. J. R. |
| McDonald | John | 1975 | Scattering Representations and the Infrared Divergence | Fröhlich | J. |
| Lipkin | Daniel Morris | 1949 | A New Type of Electronic Counting Unit Containing a Basic Charge-Stabilizing Device | Fulbright | H. W. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|---|-------------------|-------------|
| McCutchen | C. W. | 1950 | Electron Drift Velocity in Argon Filled Ion Chambers | Fulbright | H. W. |
| Weinstock | Eugene V. | 1950 | A Non-Belt Type Electrostatic tactic Generator | Fulbright | H.W. |
| Kutner | Marc L. | 1968 | The Longitudinal Polarization of Beta Particles from the Decay of Co ⁶⁰ | Garvey | G. T. |
| Miller | Randolph A. | 1971 | A Sub-Nanosecond Accuracy Cyclotron Beam Timing Pickoff Unit: A Feasibility Study | Garvey | G. T. |
| Bussoletti | John | 1972 | Isospin Purity of the 5.607 MeV and 5.674 MeV States in ¹⁸ F [†] | Garvey | G. T. |
| Hoyle | C. David | 1973 | Cyclotron Beam Flucuations in Relation to Accidental Coincidences | Garvey | G. T. |
| Cousins, | Robert D. | 1976 | Beta-Alpha Angular Correlations in ⁸ Li, Using a Helium Jet Recoil Transport System | Garvey & Freedman | G. T. S. J. |
| Jaffe | Robert L. | 1968 | Form Factors for Two Nucleon Transfer Reactions | Gerace | W. |
| Sparrow | David A. | 1969 | The Effect of Short Range Correleations Calculated using Realistic Wavefunctions on Nuclear Charge Form Factors | Gerace | W. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|--|---------------------|----------------|
| Moog | Thomas H. | 1975 | L _{2,3} X-Ray Absorption Edge in Aluminum | Gibbons | P. |
| Greene | Erich J. | 1991 | Preparation of a ¹⁷⁸ Hf Source for Time Reversal Asymmetry Experiments | Girit | C. |
| Fitch | Michael J. | 1992 | Preliminary Studies Toward Parity Experiment in ^{178m} Hf | Girit | C. |
| Andalkar | Amar | 1994 | A Study of Parity Violation in ²⁰⁷ Pb through Low-Temperature Nuclear Orientation | Girit | C. |
| Everett | Allen E. | 1955 | On the Decay Scheme of 2.3 Year Cs134 | Glaubman | M. J. |
| Kayser | Boris | 1960 | Classical Description of Scattering of Particles with Magnetic Moments | Goldberger | M. L. |
| Van Goldman | Martin | 1960 | Integral Transform Analysis of Dispersion in Linear Systems with Special Reference to Dielectric and Superconductor Theory | Goldberger | M. L. |
| Henkin | Charles J. | 1964 | Time Delay in some Simple Scattering Systems | Goldberger | M. F. |
| Young | Patrick S. | 1972 | Scaling, Light-Cone Current Commutators, and the Inclusive Reaction $e^+ + e^- \rightarrow \mu^+ + \mu^- + X$ | Goldberger | M. L. |
| Haydock | Roger | 1968 | Approximation of Distribution Functions for Thermodynamic Equilibrium | Goldberger & Wigner | M. L. E. P. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|----------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------|------------|
| Knight | James B. | 1991 | Applications of Gradient Percolation to Mercury Injection in Porous Media | Golden | K. |
| Rubin | Ron S. | 1992 | Geometric Connections in Vortex Dynamics and Integrable Nonlinear Pde's | Goldstein | R. |
| Lubensky | David K. | 1994 | Curve Motion in Two-Dimensional Creeping Flow | Goldstein | R. |
| Craig | David A. | 1988 | Techniques for Investigating the Topology of Large-Scale Structures in the Universe | Gott | J. R., III |
| Headrick | Matthew P. | 1994 | 2+1 Dimensional Spacetimes Containing Closed Timelike Curves | Gott | J. R., III |
| Bingham | Harry H., Jr. | 1952 | An Experimental Check of Transonic Similarity Theory for a Circular Cylinder | Griffith | W. C. |
| Hannum | William H. | 1954 | Intermittency of a Two Dimensional Jet as Investigated with a Hot-Wire Anemometer | Griffith | W. C. |
| Weeks | Richard F. | 1954 | A Small Spark Acutated Shock Tube for Luminosity Studies in Argon | Griffith | W. |
| Longcor | Steven W. | 1973 | Autocorrelation Analysis of Double Star Scintillation | Groth | E. J. |
| Cohen | Douglas | 1974 | Equilibrium Star Densities around Large Black Holes | Groth | E. J. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|---------|----------------|-------------|---|--------------------------|----------------|
| Resnick | Mitchel | 1978 | Some Implications of the Theory of Density Fluctuations in the Universe | Groth | E. |
| O'Brien | John P. | 1989 | A New Method of Mapping the Temperature-Water Chemical Potential Phase Diagram of Phospholipids | Gruner | S. |
| Zerger | Linda M. | 1989 | The Study of the L α - HII Phase Transition Using Monodomain | Gruner | S. M. |
| Ijiri | Yumi | 1991 | Studies on Charged Phospholipid-Water Phase Behavior | Gruner | S. |
| Polcyn | Adam D. | 1992 | A Study of the Effect of Negative Pressure on the H $_{II}$ Phase of the DOPE/Water System | Gruner | S. |
| McGehee | Micheal D. | 1994 | Self-Assembling Mesoscopic Surfactant/Silicate Materials | Gruner | S. |
| Feiner | Frank | 1950 | Proton and Neutron Spectra | Gugelot | P.C. |
| Brill | Dieter R. | 1954 | On the Delay Scheme of Titanium ⁴⁵ | Gugelot | P.C. |
| Jones | Keith W. | 1950 | An Attempt to Use the Ferroelectric Crystal NaCbO ₃ as an Alpha Particle Counter | Gugelot | P.C. |
| Dittman | R. P. | 1950 | Measurement of Neutron Spectra from (p,n) Reactions in the Heavy Elements | Gugelot & Wightman | P. C. A. S. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|-----------------|-------------|--|-----------------|-------|
| Birmingham | John T. | 1989 | Anisotropic Resistivity in Single Crystal Bi ₂ Sr ₂ CuO, High T _c Superconductors | Hagen | S. J. |
| Strauss | Jay | 1989 | The Design of a Separated Isotope Beamline | Hallin | A. |
| Grant | John M. | 1950 | Nerve Models | Hamilton | D. R. |
| Waddell | John Henry, III | 1950 | Hydrodynamic Field Analogies to Electric Fields: Solutions to Grid Ionization Chamber Problems Utilizing the Analogy | Hamilton | D. R. |
| Simon | Ralph E. | 1952 | The Theory and Design of an Electron Microscope | Hamilton | D. R. |
| Hasson | K. C. | 1989 | Freezing of a Spin Polarized Gas | Happer | W |
| Stoller | Scott | 1990 | A Numerical Investigation of the Eigenvalues and Eigenfunctions of the Operator $D \frac{d^2}{dz^2} + ibz$ | Happer | W. |
| Fox | David | 1991 | Relaxation of Polarized ¹²⁹ Xe by a Spin Rotation Interaction | Happer | W. |
| Liu | Pak Wai | 1971 | Economic Growth and Educational Profile International Development: A Quantitative Approach | Harbison (ECON) | F. |
| Butz | A. Nelson | 1938 | A Study of the 6L6 and 59 as Negative Resistance Devices | Harnwell | G. P. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|--------------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------|-------|
| Butz | Donald B. | 1938 | A Direct Current Voltage Multiplication Circuit | Harnwell | G. P. |
| Stahl | N. M. | 1938 | Current Regulation Through Magnetic Saturation | Harnwell | G. P. |
| Hill | David A. | 1951 | Liquid Scintillating Solutions | Harrison | F. B. |
| Borthwick | David | 1988 | Magnetic Monopoles and Kaluza-Klein Theories | Harvey | J. |
| Gnanadesikan | Anand | 1988 | Aspects of Geostrophic Turbulence: A Report on Senior Independent Work | Held | I. |
| Blau | Lawrence M. | 1959 | The Determination of the Spins and Parity of the Excited Levels in Hafnium 178 | Hill | H. A. |
| Lanza | Richard C. | 1959 | The Reaction Cross-Section for $F^{19}(\rho,n)Ne^{19}$ and $F^{19}(\rho,n\alpha)O^{15}$ | Hill | H. A. |
| Sperling | S. Martin | 1960 | The Angular Distribution of Deuterons from the Reaction $Ni^{60}(\rho,d)Ni^{59}$ | Hill | H. A. |
| Petzinger | Kenneth G. | 1963 | The Compton Effect | Hill | H. |
| DeWolf | J. B. | 1964 | Measurement of the Size of Stellar Images During the Day | Hill | H. A. |
| Linwood | L. Lee | 1950 | The Geiger-Müller Tube as a PhotoElectric Quantum Counter | Hofstadter | R. |
| Giovanielli | Damon V. | 1965 | Helicon Wave Propagation in Indium | Hooke | W. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|---------|----------------|-------------|--|------------------------|----------|
| | | | Antimonide | | |
| Cherlow | Joel | 1966 | Raman Scattering in Gallium Phosphide | Hopfield | J. J. |
| Andrich | Mary | 1974 | Biophysical Applications of Light Beat Spectroscopy | Hopfield | J. J. |
| Bergey | Philip D. | 1974 | Possible Explanation of Reversal in Magnetic Circular Dichroism in Hemoglobin | Hopfield | J. J. |
| Nelson | Alfred T., Jr. | 1975 | Laser Light Scattering Investigations of Muscle | Hopfield | J. J. |
| Webb | Tom | 1975 | Cytochrome c Electron Transfer: A Flash Photolysis Study | Hopfield | J. J. |
| Marcus | Aaron | 1965 | Determination of the (1, 0, 0) Electronic Effective Mass in a Gallium Phosphide Semiconductor by means of Raman Scattering | Hopfield | J. J. |
| Stephan | Craig H. | 1965 | Anomalous Conductance Effects in Magnesium Tunnel Junctions | Hopfield | J. J. |
| Parunak | Henry V. | 1969 | Raman Scattering in Ammonium Chloride | Hopfield & Schnatterly | J. J. S. |
| Tillier | Clemens E. | 1994 | Pointing of a Balloon-borne Instrument Platform | Jarosik | N. C. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|--------------|----------------|-------------|---|------------------------|--------|
| Brillson | Leonard J. | 1967 | Tunneling Effects at Thin Superconducting Junctions | Jasperson | S. |
| Gross | Eugene P. | 1946 | Charge Independence | Jauch | J. M. |
| Rangarajan | Raghavan | 1988 | Localization of Light in Dielectric Lattices | John | S. |
| Georgakis | Kyprianos | 1989 | Classical Waves in Dielectric Lattices | John | S. |
| Weber | Stephen V. | 1973 | Turbulent Photogalaxies | Jones | B.J.T. |
| Dasannayake | Ujjitha M. | 1992 | A Study of the CuBr (110) Surface | Kahn | A. |
| Edwards | Jonathan D. | 1991 | Two-Dimensional Quantum Gravity and the $c = -2$ Matrix Model | Kelbanov | I. |
| Gubser | Steven S. | 1994 | Geodesic Distance in Two-dimensional Quantum Gravity | Kelbanov | I. |
| Caldo | Giuliano | 1991 | An Improved Numerical Study of MPD Thruster Physics | Kelly | A. J. |
| Kittleberger | James E. | 1951 | The Use of the Parallel Plate Counter as a Means of Studying High Energy Particle Paths | Keuffel | J. W. |
| Muller | John Hubert | 1949 | A Proton Magnetic Field Control | Knight (Brookhaven) | W. |
| Lee | Edward V. | 1966 | A Theoretical and Experimental Study of Light Scattering in a Latex Colloid | Kostin | M. D. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|---|--------------------|-------|
| Yau | Lawrence K-W | 1971 | Some Theoretical Aspects of Biological Transport | Kostin (Ch-eng) | M. |
| Ali | Syed N. | 1988 | Efficiency Measurements and Background Reduction in Germanium Gamma-Ray Detectors | Kouzes | R. T. |
| Chen | Christine | 1989 | Electron Velocities Through Xenon Germane Mixtures | Kouzes | R. |
| Herold | Lori K. | 1990 | Gamma Ray Production Cross-Sections Relevant to the Study of Solar Flares: $^{12}\text{C}(\alpha, \alpha'\gamma_{4.439})^{12}\text{C}$ | Kouzes | R. T. |
| Stock | Robert D., | 1990 | Monte Carlo Modeling of the Sudbury Neutrino Observatory | Kouzes | R. T. |
| Sivak | Gary | 1972 | The Korteweg-deVries Equation: A Study of the Numerical Approaches to the Solution of Nonlinear Physical Systems | Kruskal | M. |
| Boris | Jay P. | 1964 | Magnetohydrodynamic Thermal Convection in an Infinite Rectangular Channel | Kulsrud | R. |
| Pachunder | Harald G. | 1972 | Mathematical Preliminaries for Charged Particle Dynamics in Plasma | Kulsrud | R. M. |
| Larson | J. | 1942 | Absolute Concentration of Slow Neutrons | Ladenburg | R. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------------------|-------------|
| Nickerson | Bruce G. | 1972 | An X-Ray Diffraction Search for Conformational Searches in DNA at Dishwater Temperatures | Langridge (Biochem) | R. |
| Zellicoff | Alan P. | 1975 | Application of Model Building and Energy Minimization Techniques to Intercalative Binding Mechanisms in DNA | Langridge (Biochem) | R. |
| Blau | Frederick P. | 1962 | An Investigaton of the Optical Properities of Magnets | Lemonick | A. |
| Pollack | James B. | 1960 | Investigations into Shell Models of the Nucleus | Levinson | C. |
| McComas | J. Glenn | 1960 | Some Aspects of the (d,p) Reaction | Levinson & Warburton | C. E. K. |
| Betterton | Meredith | 1994 | Microtubules and Vesicles | Libchaber | A. |
| Keat | Justin | 1994 | Order and Disorder in a Gas | Libchaber | A. |
| Adam | Ian | 1990 | Monotonicity of the Born-Oppenheimer Electronic Ground State Energy in the Nuclear Coordinates | Lieb. | E. |
| Freedman | Daniel | 1993 | Time Evolution of Cellular Aggregates: A Theoretical Study of Soap Froth in Two and Three Dimensions | Liebler | S. |
| Shapiro | Harris | 1994 | Random Walks in Biophysics | Liebler | S. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------|-------|
| Cherry | Michael L. | 1971 | A Two-Dimensional Numerical Simulation of Penetrative Convection | Lipps | F. B. |
| Cameron | Seth A. | 1989 | Quantum Amplitude Fluctuations in a Single Mode Pulsed Laser | Littman | E. R. |
| Rayman | Marc D. | 1978 | A Study of the Polarization of the Light from the Filamentary Structure of M82: Evidence for an Intergalactic Dust Cloud | Loh | E. |
| Mohr | Christopher R. | 1988 | Development of a Cryogenic Bolometer as an X-Ray Spectrometer | Lowry | M. M. |
| Damodarin | Kumaran K. | 1994 | Simplified Equations for the Nonlinear Interaction of Vortex Filaments in 3D | Majda | A. J. |
| Williams | Gareth | 1972 | Some Aspects of Chemisorption on CdS and Techniques for Studying Them | Mark | P. |
| Wallmark | John T. | 1974 | Photovoltaic Measurements on an Insulating CdS Crystal Correlated with Photoconductive Data | Mark (EEng) | P. |
| Letts | James R. | 1988 | A Cosmic Ray Measurement of the Muon Magnetic Moment: A Consequence of Parity Violation in the Decays $\pi^+ \rightarrow \mu^+ \nu_\mu$ and $\mu^+ \rightarrow e^+ \nu_e \bar{\nu}_\mu$ | Marlow | D. |
| Bjorkholm | Paul J. | 1964 | Sc ⁴⁵ , Ti ⁴⁶ , Ti ⁴⁷ , and V ⁵¹ Reactions Induced by 17.5 MeV Protons | McCullen | J.D. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|---------------|----------------|-------------|--|------------------------------|----------|
| Dunn | Eric | 1992 | Secondary Electron Emission from Low-Density Films and its Implications for Particle Detection | McDonald | K. |
| Hosoi | Anette | 1992 | Knotted Solutions to Partial Differential Equations | McLaughlin & Goldstein | D. R. |
| Ogden | Dana P., Jr. | 1949 | Current Control and Trajectories for Helical Focusing Thin Lens Beta Ray Spectrometer | Meuther (grad student) | H. |
| Rakitzis | Byron | 1990 | Parallel Computation, Geometry and an N-Body Problem | Migdal & Agishtein | A. M. |
| Falcone | Roger W. | 1974 | A Measurement of the Lifetime of the First Excited State in Nitrogen | Miles (Aer) | R. |
| Dubman | Morton R. | 1957 | Geometric Representation of Ideal Mass Particles in the General Theory of Relativity | Misner | C. W. |
| Hershendorfer | Alan M. | 1958 | The Effect of Mercury's Quadrupole Moment on the Precession of its Perihelion | Misner | C. W. |
| Korenman | Victor | 1958 | The Null Case in an Already Unified Field Theory | Misner | C. W. |
| Snyder | Ralph B. | 1959 | Misner's "Cautious" Coordinates for General Relativity | Misner | C. W. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|-------|
| Mills | Allen P., Jr. | 1962 | The Appearance of Spherically Symmetric Objects with Radius Comparable to $2mG/c^2$ | Misner | C. W. |
| Peasley | David Chase | 1943 | Cv and Frequency Spectrum of a Body-Centered Crystal: Born-voná | Montroll | E. W. |
| Bell | David M. | 1973 | Light-Beat Spectroscopy on the Crayfish Ventral Nerve Cord | Moore | W. |
| Dinescu | Liviu, E. | 1977 | (ρ, τ) Spectroscopy of the ^{203}Pb Nucleus | Mueller | D. |
| Lombardi | James C. | 1993 | Pulsar Evolution Models | Narayan | R. |
| Smith | David H. | 1965 | The Experimental Determination of the Elastic Scattering Cross Section of Proton - Proton Interaction in the Hydrogen Bubble Chamber | Nauenberg | U. |
| Dohan | F. Curtis, Jr. | 1957 | An Investigation of Some Neutron Deficient Tantalum Isotopes the Identification of Ta^{175} | Naumann | R. A. |
| Murphy | Peter W. | 1958 | Theory of Geiger Counter Operation | Naumann | R. A. |
| Vroombout | Leo O. | 1962 | Observation of the K-Capture Decay of Terbium-157 | Naumann | R. A. |
| Schmidt | P. | 1965 | Levels in Rh^{103} Populated by the Decay of Pd^{103} | Naumann | R. A. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|-------|
| Thun | R. P. | 1965 | Experimental Investigation of the Gamma-Ray Transitions in Tantalum-182 which result from the Beta-Decay of Hafnium-182 | Naumann | R. A. |
| Lightman | Alan | 1970 | Design and Construction of a Gas Scintillation Detector Capable of Time-of-Flight Measurements of Fission Isomer Decays | Naumann | R. A. |
| Derbes | David R. | 1974 | Determination of the Magnitudes of Electric Field Gradients in Metallic Crystallin Lattices by Perturbed Angular Correlation Methods | Naumann | R. A. |
| Lampert | Mary E. | 1988 | Thermodynamic Study of the $\text{YBa}_2\text{Cu}^3\text{O}_x$ System | Navrotsky | A. |
| Lysne | Joann A. | 1993 | In Situ High Temperature Calorimetric Study of Order-Disorder in NiAl_2O_4 Spinel | Navrotsky | A. |
| Moore | David L. | 1975 | Harmonic Oscillator in a Heat Bath | Nelson | M. |
| Steidley | Adam L. | 1993 | An Experimental Measurement of the Casimir Force | Nguyen | H. |
| Brinkster | John Francis | 1943 | A Resonant Cavity Magnetron | Nichols | M. H. |
| Chubb | Nicholas C. | 1943 | Twin-T Impedence Measuring Circuit | Nichols | M. C. |
| Hamilton | Gordon R. | 1943 | Diaelectric Measurement at 3000 MC | Nichols | M. H. |

| Student | | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|------|--|---------|-------|
| Mayer, Henry C. & Griffin, J. Tyler | | 1944 | Theory and Construction of a Crystal-Controlled Oscillator | Nichols | M. H. |
| Bate | George L. | 1945 | Generation of 2.6 cm. Waves by a Resonant Plate-Cavity Magnetron | Nichols | M. H. |
| Lindenbaum | Seymour J. | 1945 | Dielectrical Measurements in the Anomalous Dispersion Region of Water with 3.14 cm Waves | Nichols | M. C. |
| Riggi | Charles G. | 1966 | Form Factors for (ρ, α) Reactions Using Woods-Saxon Wave Functions for the Picked Up Nucleus | Nolen | J. A. |
| Weiss | Jeffrey M. | 1966 | Energy Levels of Rh^{101} Observed in Pd^{104} (P,A) Rh^{101} at 17.5 MeV | Nolen | J. |
| Geller | Alan S. | 1978 | A New Cosmological Solution to the Einstein Field Equation | Nutku | Y. |
| Ure | James M. | 1977 | A Simple Approach to Three-Thrust Out-of-Plane Transfer Orbits and its Applications | O'Leary | B. |
| Rowntree | David C. | 1988 | High T_c Superconducting Tunnelin | Ong | N. P. |
| Qureshi | Naser | 1994 | A Sensitive R-F Technique for Measuring the Complex Conductivity of Superconducting Crystals | Ong | N-P |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------|-------|
| Wagner | Wolfgang | 1994 | A Novel Technique for Measuring the Temperature Dependence of the Hall Signal in High T_c Superconductors | Ong | N-P |
| Kevles | Daniel J. | 1960 | A Portable Transistorized Radiation Counter | O'Neill | G. K. |
| Heyn | Maarten P. | 1961 | Design and Properties of a Neon Filled Spark Chamber in a Magnetic Field | O'Neill | G. K. |
| Wong | Jacob Y. M. | 1962 | Theory and Methods of Magnet Systems Design | O'Neill | G. K. |
| Witschey | Walter R. T. | 1963 | Pressure Dependence of Spark Scatter, Spark Width, and Efficiency in a Spark Chamber | O'Neill | G. K. |
| Stuart | Erik A. | 1994 | An Investigation of the Jet Charge Assymetry in Z Decays | O'Neill | T. |
| Gardner | John | 1976 | Size and Formation of Galaxies: Hot, Radiating, Spinning Spheroid Model | Ostriker | J. P. |
| Diener | Edward M. | 1961 | The Application of Nuclear Emulsion to the $F^{19}(\rho,\alpha)O^{16}$ Reaction | Overseth | O. |
| Daugherty | Debra Anne | 1990 | Numerical Analysis of Stellar Accretion | Paczynski | B. |
| Lem | Tomasz | 1993 | On the Interpretation of the Dipole Moment of the Cosmic Microwave Background Radiation | Paczynski | B. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|--|-----------------------------|----------------|
| Kahn | Jennifer | 1993 | Analysis of the South Pole Atmosphere and Sky at Four Far-Infrared Frequencies | Page | L. |
| Tompkins | William F. | 1993 | The Design Construction and Testing of a Fourier Transform Spectrometer | Page | L. |
| Lalama | Salvatore J. | 1975 | Crystalline Ordering Among Latex Spheres in Aqueous Solution | Palmer | R. G. |
| Blau | Robert B. | 1967 | Operation and Performance of the CO ₂ Gas Laser | Partridge | R. B. |
| Zarechnak | Alex | 1968 | Atmospheric Temperature due to Water Vapor | Partridge | R. B. |
| Smith | Michael G. | 1969 | Discrete Sources and the Cosmic Microwave Background and the Optical Depth of the Universe | Partridge | R. B. |
| Brown | James L. | 1969 | Investigations of the Local Motion and the Hubble Diagram | Partridge | R. B. |
| Goll | Jeffrey H. | 1969 | Gravitaional Instability in Protogobular Gas Clouds | Partridge & Ruffini | R. B. R. |
| Bougha | Stephen P. | 1969 | The Isotropy of Cosmic Background Radiation at 8.6 mm | Partridge & Wilkinson | R. B. D. T. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|--|-----------------------|---------------|
| Palmer | Kirk M. | 1989 | A Cellular Automata Model for the Evolution of Large-Scale Structure in the Universe | Peebles | P.J.E. |
| Zeilik | Michael, II | 1968 | The Formation of the First Bound Systems from the Primeval Fireball | Peebles | P.J.E. |
| Fram | David R. | 1968 | Ionization-Recombination Coupling between Matter and Radiation in an Expanding Universe | Peebles & Chiu (NASA) | P.J.E. H-Y |
| Hensel | Russell S. | 1967 | Thermal Decoupling of Radiation and Hydrogen in Big-Bang Cosmology | Peebles. | P.J.E. |
| Ingersoll | Vernon | 1967 | Fraunhofer Diffraction Patterns from N Random Appertures | Peebles. | P.J.E. |
| Geldon | Fred M. | 1968 | High Frequency Perturbations of the Background Radiation Spectrum | Peebles. | P.J.E. |
| Felber | Franklin S. | 1972 | Towards a Mass-Variable Scalar Tensor Theory of Gravitation and Inertia | Peebles. | P.J.E. |
| Dennin | Michael | 1988 | A New Infationary Scenario | Peebles. | P.J.E. |
| Sachs | Elise R. | 1988 | Brown Dwarfs: Plausible Candidates in the Search for Dark Matter | Peebles. | P.J.E. |
| Sawyer | Jeffrey Y. | 1994 | The Galactic Peculiar Velocity Field vs. The IRAS Density Survey: A Numerical Comparison | Peebles. | P.J.E. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|--------------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|-------|
| Perlman | David M. | 1967 | A Study of Low-Lying Energy Levels in Sc ⁴⁵ by Inelastic Scattering of 17.5 MeV Protons | Peterson | R. J. |
| Protopopescu | Serban | 1968 | A Study of the Ground State of Mn ⁵⁵ Through the Mn ⁵⁵ (ρ,τ) Mn ⁵³ Reaction | Peterson | R. J. |
| Falk | Toby | 1988 | Interference of Quasar Light Gravitationally Split by Cold, Dark Matter | Peterson | J. |
| Schnee | Richard W. | 1989 | Interference and Gravitational Lensing of Quasar Light by Cold, Dark Matter | Peterson | J. |
| Reynolds | Doug | 1990 | Far Infrared Fourier Transform Spectrometer | Peterson | J. |
| Bower | Geoffrey | 1991 | A One-Dimensional Model for the Evolution of Large-Scale Structure | Peterson | J. |
| Griffin | Greg | 1992 | Galactic Emission at 90 GHz: Observations from the South Pole | Peterson | J. |
| Starke | Charles L. | 1968 | The Radioactivity of Cadmium 105 and Indium 106 | Phillips | E. A. |
| Redi | William L. | 1970 | Theory of the Magnetotelluric Method and Synthesis of Field Data | Phinney | R. A. |
| Yost | George P. | 1963 | A Proposal for a Beam Survey of the Princeton-Pennsylvania Proton Synchrotron | Piroué | P. A. |
| Plauser | P. J. | 1965 | Inelastic Proton Scattering from Ne ²² and Ti ⁴⁸ | Pollack | R. E. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|---------------|----------------|-------------|--|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| Tang | Kwok-K | 1976 | Numerical Methods for the Gravitational N-Body Problem | Press | W. |
| Fox | Derek W. | 1993 | Charmed Meson Lifetimes and $D^0 - \bar{D}^0$ Mixing | Purohit | M. |
| Maffenbeier | Jack B. | 1953 | A Cloud Chamber Triggered by Internal Proportional Counters | Rau Reynolds & Hodson | R. G. T. A. L. |
| Burns | Ronald E. | 1966 | The Design and Operating Characteristics of a Gamma Detector | Reading | D. R. |
| Layne | Clyde B. | 1969 | Measurement of the Nuclear Spin of Co^{55} by the Atomic Beam Method | Redi | O. |
| Kramer | Peter R. | 1993 | Invariant Tori of a Nearly Integreable Hamiltonian System | Reiman | A. |
| Taylor | Eugene Shaw | 1948 | A Cosmic Ray Experiment | Reynolds | G. T. |
| White | Lowell D. | 1949 | An Experiment on the Relative Intensity and the Nature of the Penetrating Component of Extensive Showers | Reynolds | G. T. |
| O'Connor | Robert B. | 1950 | The Integral Spectrum of Low Energy Mesons | Reynolds | G. T. |
| van den Bergh | Sidney | 1950 | An Experiment on the Second Maximum of the Rossi Transition Curve | Reynolds | G. T. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------|-------|
| Sidel | Victor W. | 1953 | A Multiplier Phototube Study of Luminous Bacteria: An Experiment in Low Intensity Light Measurement | Reynolds | G. T. |
| Stauss | George H. | 1953 | Some Studies in Problems of Organic Liquid Scintillator Response | Reynolds | G. T. |
| Little | Roger E. | 1959 | A Gas Čerenkov Counter Designed to Study High Energy μ -Mesons | Reynolds | G. T. |
| Sprigg | Carroll | 1960 | An Investigation of the Velocity Dependence of Cerenkov Radiation | Reynolds | G. T. |
| Greenwood | Lee S., II | 1961 | High Energy Particle Selection and Velocity Measurement | Reynolds | G. T. |
| Gershman | Lewis C. | 1962 | Emission Spectrum and Quantum Yield of Cypridina Luciferin Luminescence | Reynolds | G. T. |
| Griffiths | Hugh M. | 1963 | A Low Intensity Light Diffraction Pattern | Reynolds | G. T. |
| Miller | Jeffrey L. | 1966 | A Physical Technique for Biological Research | Reynolds | G. T. |
| Davis | L. I., Jr. | 1967 | A Low Intensity Light Interference Experiment | Reynolds | G. T. |
| Strunk | Brian L. | 1967 | Scintilloscopic Observation of Radioactivity in Schistosoma Mansoni Using Image Intensification | Reynolds | G. T. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------|---|-----------------|----------------|
| Aurbach | Richard L. | 1969 | On the Existence of a Rate Dependent Term in the Hanbury-Brown and Twiss Effect | Reynolds | G. T. |
| Rosenberger | David M. | 1972 | Atmospheric Ozone and its Detection A Chemiluminescent Ozone - Ethylene Detector | Reynolds | G. T. |
| Eisen | Andrew | 1976 | An Image Intensifier Search for Free Ca ⁺⁺ in Amoeba | Reynolds | G. T. |
| Hardy | Christopher, J. | 1977 | Modifications of a Spectrograph-Image Intensifier System and its Application to the Bioluminescent Dinoflagellate <i>Pryrocystis Fusiformis</i> | Reynolds | G. T. |
| Heinz | Don C., Jr. | 1960 | Loaded Scintillator Measurements of the Half-Life and Cross-Section of N ¹³ | Reynolds & Hill | G. T. H. |
| Jackson | Harold E. | 1954 | Particle Counting with a Directional Cerenkov Counter | Reynolds & Rau | G. T. R. R. |
| Focht | William L. | 1963 | The Design, Construction, and Testing of a Sonic Spark Locater in a Two-Plate Sparck Chamber | Roberson | R. |
| Downing | Arthur C. | 1947 | An Introduction to the N-Dimensional Vector Spaces in Theoretical Physics | Robertson | H. P. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|----------|----------------|-------------|---|------------------|----------------|
| Giesecke | Karsten P. | 1972 | Electromagnetic Operators for Short Wavelengths | Robson | D. |
| Keh | Tsu-Koon | 1970 | Development and Science Education: A Preliminary Study of the Problems and Needs of Secondary Science Education in the General Context of Social and Economic Development in Malaysia | Rogers | E. M. |
| Komar | Arthur B. | 1952 | On the Classical Electron | Rohrlich | F. |
| Warner | Charles, III | 1953 | Energy Straggling of Electrons | Rohrlich | F. |
| Missell | Frank P. | 1965 | The Design and Construction of a Continuous-wave Helium-Neon Laser | Roll & Wilkinson | P. G. D. T. |
| Damsky | Ben Lee | 1964 | The Role of Dislocations in the Formation of Alkali Halide Color Centers by X-Rays | Royce | B. S. |
| Romney | Gordon W. | 1965 | Theromluminescence of KI at Low Temperature | Royce | B. |
| Forster | Frederic J. | 1966 | Elementary Photoconductivity Theory and its Application to the Special Response Analysis of Thin-Film Cadmium Sulfide Solar Cells | Royce | B. |
| Hanni | Richard S. | 1973 | Electromagnetic Fields in Relativistic Regimes | Ruffini | R. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|-----------------|-------------|--|----------------|---------|
| McGuire | Paul M. | 1973 | Some Two Body Solutions to the Maxwell-Einstein Field Equations | Ruffini | R. |
| Jantzen | Robert T. | 1974 | A Pedestrian's Guide to the Mathematics of Spatially Homogeneous Cosmology (Or: One, Two, Three Cosmology) | Ruffini | R. |
| Johnston | Mark D. | 1974 | Spin Coefficients and Electromagnetism in Reisner-Nordstrøm Spacetime | Ruffini | R. |
| Leach | Robert W. | 1974 | The Accretion of a Plasma onto a Gravitationally Collapsed Object in the Presence of a Magnetic Field | Ruffini | R. |
| Weinstein | Joseph | 1975 | Forced Perturbations of the Reissner-Nordstrøm Geometry | Ruffini | R. |
| Freese | Katherine | 1977 | Monte Carlo Analysis of Heavy Leptons | Sadrozinski | H. F-W. |
| Yao | Tsu | 1957 | The Production of Δ° in Nuclei | Sartori | L. |
| Sapp | William W., Jr. | 1960 | The Filament Scintillator Complex | Scarl | D. |
| Spartalian | Kevork | 1968 | A Low Intensity Interference Experiment | Scarl | D. |
| Risley | W. | 1968 | Electron Tunneling in Alkali Metals | Schnatterly | S. |
| Shand | Micheal L. | 1968 | Optical Reflectance Studies of Silver Foils in the Wavelength Range 3300Å to 4000Å | Schnatterly | S. |
| Silver | Bruce R. | 1970 | Infrared Absorption in Dilute Alloys | Schnatterly | S. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|----------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|-------|
| Rogers | Alfred M. IV | 1972 | The Frank-Hertz Experiment in the Introductory Physics Laboratory | Schnatterly | S. |
| Sorensen | L. B. | 1972 | An Introduction to Soft X-Ray Appearance Potential Spectroscopy | Schnatterly | S. |
| Brown | James C. | 1974 | Two Tunneling Experiments: The Reidel Peak and Phonon-Assisted Single Particle Tunneling | Schnatterly | S. |
| Chabal | Yves | 1974 | Study of the Far U.V. Spectrum of Sodium Fluoride and Sodium Chloride by Electron Spectroscopy | Schnatterly | S. |
| Schadel | Harry M., III | 1974 | An Investigation of Magnetic Domain Structure in the Metamagnet FeCl ₂ | Schnatterly | S. |
| Diana | Leonard P. | 1975 | Silicon and Inelastic Electron Scattering | Schnatterly | S. E. |
| Anderson | Robert L. | 1977 | Sample Preparation for Inelastic Electron Scattering Experiments | Schnatterly | S. E. |
| Belmont | Andrew | 1977 | Conductivity of M ₂ P - TCNQ | Schnatterly | S. E. |
| Gural | Kenneth | 1977 | Atomic Plasma Oscillations in Hydrodynamic Quantum Mechanics | Schnatterly | S. E. |
| Rost | Ernest | 1956 | The Elastic Scattering of Protons by Mg and Al | Schrank | G. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------|--|----------------|-------|
| Wrenn | McDonald E. | 1956 | Magnetohydrodynamic Oscillations of a Cylindrical Plasma | Schrank | G. |
| Davis | Joel | 1957 | The Scattering of Protons on Argon 40 | Schrank | G. |
| Martin | Fred W. | 1957 | Cross Sections of the Nuclear Reactions $Mg^{24}(p, \alpha)Na^{21}$, $S^{32}(p, \alpha)P^{29}$, $Ca^{40}(p, \alpha)K^{37}$ | Schrank | G. |
| Thornbury | Thomas | 1957 | Focussing Effect of a Solenoidal Magnetic Field of an Ionized Gas | Schrank | G. |
| Murphey | William M. | 1958 | The Absolute Reaction Cross Section of the Reaction $Cl^{35}(p, n)A^{35}$ | Schrank | G. E. |
| Orville | Richard Edmonds | 1958 | An Investigation of Whistling Atmosphericics | Schrank | G. |
| Rosenblatt | Martin G. | 1958 | The Excitation Function of $F^{19}(p, n)Ne^{19}$ | Schrank | G. |
| Brauer | Lee David | 1959 | The Relative Reaction Cross Sections of the Reactions $F^{19}(p, n)Ne^{19}$ and $F^{19}(p, \alpha)O^{15}$ | Schrank | G. |
| Huber | David | 1959 | Theoretical Determination of the Magnetic Moment of Na^{21} | Schrank | G. |
| van der Hoeven | Bernard J. C., Jr. | 1959 | A Natural and a Hydromagnetic Hydraulic Jump | Schrank | G. |
| Nelson | Erik J. | 1993 | Muon Identification in Fermilab Experiment 791 | Schwarz | A. |
| Baugh | William N. | 1977 | Anti-Sway Bars and Their Effects on Over- and Understeer | Seckel | E. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|-------|
| Hirschfeld | Peter | 1978 | Guage Fixing Ambiguities in Yang-Mills Theories | Seiler | E. |
| Lee | Lily N. | 1989 | Modeling Pressure Differences across House Walls Underground | Sextro | R. |
| Emerick | Raymond J. | 1938 | The Electric Arc and a Description of the Arcs in Nitrogen at Atmospheric Pressure | Shenstone | A. G. |
| Haskins | R., Jr. | 1939 | An Extension of the Arc Spectrum in Silver | Shenstone | A. G. |
| Pittenger | John T. | 1940 | An Investigation of Cadmium Spectra in the Ultra-Violet | Shenstone | A. G. |
| Stoner | Richard G | 1941 | A Wavelength Table for the Gold Spectrum | Shenstone | A. G. |
| Carter | Robert S. | 1948 | Determination of Ultraviolet Standards in the Schumann Region | Shenstone | A. G. |
| Evans | Richard H. | 1955 | The Arc Spectrum of Germanium | Shenstone | A. G. |
| Hastings | John R. | 1955 | A Measurement of the He I Spectrum | Shenstone | A. G. |
| Blatt | S. Leslie | 1957 | The $3s^2 3p^2 \ ^2P^\circ - 3s 3p^2 \ ^4P$ Intercombination in Singly Ionized Silicon | Shenstone | A. G. |
| Johnson | Keith H. | 1958 | The Atomic Spectra of Doubly Ionized Silicon and Triply Ionized Silicon | Shenstone | A. G. |
| Boer | F. P. | 1961 | The Arc Spectrum of Selenium | Shenstone | A. G. |
| Monnig | George | 1948 | Phosphorescence in Zinc Sulphide Caused By Uranium Fission Fragments | Sherr | R. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|--------------|----------------|-------------|---|---------------------|-----------------|
| Pine | Jerome | 1949 | Scintillation Counter Response to Gamma Radiation | Sherr | R. |
| Allen | William W. | 1951 | A Method of Analysing the Trajectories of Charged Particles in Magnetic Fields and its Application to Beam Focusing Systems | Sherr | R. |
| Bell | William W. | 1951 | Photographic Determination of Radioactive Emission Spectra | Sherr | R. |
| Miller | Roger H. | 1953 | Measurement of K-Capture in Sodium ²² | Sherr | R. |
| Goldstein | Rubin | 1955 | Nuclear Reactions Produced by Proton Bombardment of Nickel | Sherr | R. |
| Rapp | William E. | 1957 | A Gas Scintillation Counter | Sherr | R. |
| Garrell | Martin H. | 1960 | Thick Foil Technique for Scattering Protons | Sherr | R. |
| Wood | Robert M. | 1960 | The Energy Dependence of the Elastic Scattering of Protons by Carbon from 14 to 18 MeV | Sherr | R. |
| Lichtenstein | C. A. | 1963 | Excited States of Fe ⁵⁶ from Co ⁵⁹ (p,α) Fe ⁵⁶ and Fe ⁵⁶ (p, p') Fe ⁵⁶ | Sherr | R. |
| Price | Robert | 1950 | Use of the R. F. Bridge in a Low-Noise Ionization Detector | Sherr & Dicke | R. R. H. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------|--|--|-----------------|
| Stiles | John Callender | 1950 | The Scintillation Spectrometer | Sherr & Hofstadter | R. R. |
| de Zafra | Robert L. | 1954 | An Experiment in the Construction of an Ion Resonance Mass-Spectrometer | Shoemaker | F. C. |
| Richards | Susan | 1975 | The Design and Construction of a Spark Chamber for Display Purposes | Shoemaker | F. C. |
| Schlossberg | Mark J. | 1975 | The Planning and Development of a Low Energy Cyclotron | Shoemaker | F. C. |
| Seward | Frederick D. | 1953 | The Difference in Energy Loss Between Positrons and Electrons in Thin Foils as Measured with a Helical Focusing Beta-Spetrometer | Shoemaker | F. C. |
| Albares | Donald J. | 1954 | Construction and Operation of a Diffusion Cloud Chamber | Shoemaker & Franzen | F. C. W. |
| Gordon | George Stennent | 1948 | The Effect of Cavitation on the Formation and Dispersion of Graphite in Cast Iron | Shuh & Boyles [U.S. Pipe & Steel Resarch Dept.] | |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------|--------|
| Černe | John A. | 1990 | High Pressure Studies Using a Diamond Anvil | Shyamsunder | E. |
| Chan | Ho Bun | 1993 | Magnetic Tweezers | Shyamsunder | E. |
| Jun | Yong-Nam | 1994 | Magnetophoresis | Shyamsunder | E. |
| Jensen | Roderick V. | 1976 | An Investigation of the Behavior of N-Body Wavefunctions Near Coincidence Singularities | Simon | B. |
| Hildreth | Michael D. | 1988 | Weak Neutral Currents: A Search for the Rare Decay $K^+ \rightarrow \pi^+ \mu^+ \mu^-$ | Smith | A.J.S. |
| Wood | Darwin L. | 1942 | The Infrared Absorption Spectra of Some Derivatives of Acrylic Acid | Smith | L.G. |
| Eisenberger | Peter | 1963 | The Abnormal F Band Shape in KC1 | Smoluchowski | R. |
| Oseroff | Allan R. | 1964 | A Calculation of the Perfect Lattice Polarization Energies of Alkali Halides | Smoluchowski | R. |
| Pandoulas | Demetris G. | 1964 | Certain Theoretical Considerations Regarding Irradiation of KC1 Crystals with X-Ray Energies Just Above and Just Below the C1 K-Absorption Edge | Smoluchowski | R. |
| Condit | Ralph H. | 1951 | A Study of Electrons | Smythe | C. P. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------------|-------------|
| Keuffel | J. Warren | 1941 | Preliminary Measurements of Neutron Resonance Widths in Silver from the Temperature Dependence of the Absorbtion Coefficient for Self-Indication | Snyder | T. M. |
| Escarce | José J. | 1975 | A High Temperature Expansion for the Density Matrix in Statistical Mechanics Through the Method of Path Integrals | Soper | D. |
| Eisenstein | Daniel | 1992 | Observational Predictions for High-Redshift Galaxies in the CDM Texture Model | Spergel | D. |
| Stewart | John W. | 1949 | The Theory of Dimensions and Its Application to the Cataloguing of Physical Quantities | Stewart & Bohm | J. Q. D. |
| Yamamoto | Joshua S. | 1988 | Pulsar Microstructure | Stinebring | D. |
| Hu | Wayne | 1990 | Intestellar Scattering and Galactic Rotation: The Effects of Motion on Precision Pulsar Timing | Stinebring | D. R. |
| Butz | Andrew | 1966 | Propagation of Ion-Cyclotron Wave in an Infinite Cylindrical Plasma | Stix | T. H. |
| Reboul | T. Mark | 1977 | Invariant Tensors and Spinor Methods | Tabensky | R. |
| Hibschman | Johann A. | 1994 | The Structure and Radiative Properties of Pulsar Termination Shocks in the Interstellar Medium | Tavani | M. |

| Student | | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|---------------|------------|------|---|------------------|-------|
| Swierzbinski | Joseph E. | 1975 | A Many-Time Formulation of Gravity for Spherically Symmetric Spacetimes | Teitelboim | C. |
| Haber | Jonathan | 1977 | The Classical Mechanics of Superspace | Teitelboim | C. |
| Bachas | Constantin | 1978 | Constrained Hamiltonian Systems and Supersymmetry | Teitelboim | C. |
| Swartztrauber | Sayre | 1977 | Diamagnetic Levitation | Testardi | L. |
| Havener | William N. | 1966 | Equations of Motion for an Infinite Fluid Cylinder | Thorne | K. |
| Wilkinson | Harry E. | 1952 | Beta-Ray Spectroscopy - An Analysis of Niobium 90 | Tomlinson | E. P. |
| Blume | Martin | 1954 | Galactic R-F Radiation and Cosmic Ray Electrons | Treiman | S. B. |
| Lindner | Clyde N. | 1955 | Energy Levels of K-Mesonic Atoms | Treiman | S. B. |
| Pytte | Erling | 1959 | One-Dimensional Scattering Theory | Treiman | S. B. |
| Chu | Gilbert | 1967 | A Study of the Possibility of Time Reversal Non-Invariance with Application to the Decay $\Sigma^+ \rightarrow p + e^+ + e^-$ | Treiman | S. B. |
| Young | Richard D | 1946 | An Investigation of Activated Alumina by X-Ray Diffraction | Turkevich (Chem) | J. |
| Leitch | Erik M. | 1992 | The Detection of Microlensing in Quasar Light | Turner | E. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|----------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------------------|----------|
| Clark | P. | 1989 | Global Strings and Axion Radiation | Turok | N. |
| Skrainka | Benjamin S. | 1989 | The Wavefunction of the Universe: The Problem of Negative Probability | Turok | N. |
| Gawiser | Eric J. | 1994 | Cosmic Strings in an Open Universe | Turok | N. |
| Lehoczký | Sandor, G. | 1994 | A Simple Computational Approach to the Skyrme Model | Turok | N. |
| Collins | Hael | 1991 | Models for the Formation and the Evolution of Textures in the Early Universe | Turok & Spergel | N. D. |
| Collins | George W., III | 1959 | Polarization of Light Resulting from Thomson Scattering in the Binary System T. T. Aurigae | Van Wijk | U. |
| Hertwich | Edgar G. | 1993 | Solar Energy Conversion: A Comparison Between Photovoltaics and Photosynthesis | Wagner & Eisenberger | S. P. |
| Beall | David S. | 1961 | Cross Section for $C^{12}(\rho,d)C^{11}$ from Threshold to 19.8 MeV | Warburton | E. K. |
| Lysy | Dusan G. | 1970 | Photon Bunching Through Stimulated Emission | Warrington | D. M. |
| Howe | Nicholas R. | 1993 | A Statistical Measure of Phase Correlation in Large Scale Structure | Weinberg | D. H. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|------------------|-------------|---|----------------|-------|
| Roop | R. W. | 1939 | The Relation Between the Impedence of an Absorbing Surface and the Reverbation Chamber Absorbtion Coefficient | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Edmonds | Frank N, Jr. | 1941 | A Theoretical Discussion of Negative Ion Production for Electron Capture by Diabtomic Molecules | Wheeler | J.A. |
| Hart | Stephen C. | 1942 | Intensity of Absorption of Energy as a Function of Frequency of Incident Radiation | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Kane | Evan O. | 1946 | Theory of the Allowed Cone of Cosmic Radiation | Wheeler | J.A. |
| Drell | Sidney | 1947 | Radiating Electrons | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Hardin | William D. | 1948 | An Experiment to Determine the Penetrating Ability of Extensive Showers | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Dwight | Kirby, Jr. | 1949 | Solar Magnetic Moment and Diurnal Variation of Cosmic Ray Intensity | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Ernst | Frederick J, Jr. | 1955 | Spherical, Linear and Toroidal Geons | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Willey | Raymond | 1957 | Relativity and Observational Cosmology | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Adams | Barclay | 1958 | Investigations for a Covariant Transport Equation fro Non-Interacting Particles | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Klauder | Louis T. | 1958 | Cosmology in 1958 | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Christakis | Alexander, N. | 1959 | Intrinsic Curveture for the Harrison Metrics | Wheeler | J. A. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|----------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|-------|
| Marzke | Robert F. | 1959 | Theory of Measurement in General Relativity | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Sharp | David | 1960 | One and Two-Surface Formulations of the Boundary Value Problem for Einstein-Maxwell Theory and "Already Unified" Theory | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Sherwood | Arnold I. | 1960 | Comparison of Field Measurements in Two Classical Theories | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Chaio | Raymond | 1961 | The Two-Surface Formulation of the Boundary Value Problem for the Simple Harmonic Oscillator and the Electromagnetic Field | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Wong | Cheuk-Yin | 1961 | Regge's Method of Simplectic Triangulation in General Relativity | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Redish | Edward F. | 1963 | Electromagnetic Field Surfaces in Spacetime | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Cooper | Duncan L. | 1965 | Variational Properties of Chern's Invariant Differential Forms (Math Dept.) | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Kellogg | Alan T. | 1965 | Lifetimes of Near-Critical Masses Against Spontaneous Gravitational Collapse | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Meltzer | David W. | 1965 | On the Stability of Neutron Stars | Wheeler | J.A. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|-------|
| Nash | Thomas | 1965 | Gravitational Multipoles: Geometrodynamical Perturbations on the Hamiltonian of Isolated Systems and Bodies | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Ritter | James G. | 1965 | The Cauchy Problem for the Klein-Gordon and DeWitt Equations | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Stephenson | Robert S. | 1965 | A Regge Model of the Taub Universe at a Moment of Time-Symmetry | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Belasco | Elliot P. | 1967 | Notes on a Formulation of the Problem of Initial Conditions in the Cauchy Problem of General Relativity | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Godine | John E. | 1967 | Approximate Imploding Wave Solutions to the Equations of Acoustics, Electromagnetism, and General Relativity | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Stern | Michael D. | 1967 | Investigations of the Topology of Superspace | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Stevason | John | 1967 | An Investigation of a Non-Machian, Closed Universe within the Framework of General Relativity | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Cohen | Richard S. | 1968 | Theory of the Measurement of the Curvature Tensor | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Shamos | Michael I. | 1968 | Gravitational Radiation Reaction | Wheeler | J. A. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|----------|----------------|----------------|---|----------------|-------|
| Kegeles | Lawrence S. | 1969 | Gravitational Radiation in the Friedman Universe | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Melosh | Henry J., IV | 1969 | Toward a Consistent Quantum Electrodynamics | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Okerson | David J. | 1969 | The Mixmaster Universe and Particle Formation | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Philips | Thomas O. | 1969 | Some Insights into the Incompatability of Poles and Charges | Wheeler | J.A. |
| Grief | Jeffrey M. | 1970 | Infinite Red Shift Surfaces, Horizons and Causality Violations in the Kerr Solution | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Law | Graham D. | 1970 | The Machian Implications of a Radiative Interpretation of Inertia | Wheeler | J.A. |
| Patton | Charles | 1972 | The Logical Microstructure of Physical Systems (Math Dept) | Wheeler | J.A. |
| Isenberg | James | 1973 | Mach's Principle Made Practicle | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Horowitz | Gary T. | 1976 | The Breakdown of General Relativity: Catastrophic or Inconsequential | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Kandrup | Henry E. | 1976 | Accretion onto a Compact Stellar Object | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Jeffries | Paul C. | 1990 | Information-Theoretic Measures in Physics | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Plecs | J. J. | 1992 (April | Energy without Energy: The Energetics of Gravity Waves | Wheeler | J. A. |

| Student | | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|----------|------------|---------------|---|--|----------------------------|
| Holz | Daniel | 1992 (May) | Primal Chaos Black Holes | Wheeler | J. A. |
| Graves | John C. | 1960 | Singularities in Solutions of the Field Equations for General Relativity | Wheeler & Brill | J. A. D |
| Pagels | Heinz R. | 1960 | One Surface Formulation of the Initial Value Problem for the Einstein-Maxwell Equations | Wheeler & Brill | J. A. D |
| Di Sessa | Andrea A. | 1969 | Symmetry Groups, Representation Theory, and Perturbations of a Relativistic Universe | Wheeler & Bargmann | J. A. V |
| Alvarez | Orlando | 1974 | The Initial Value Problem and the Hamiltonian Formulation of the Einstein-Cartan-Sciama-Kibble Theory | Wheeler & Blaer | J. A. A. S. |
| Davis | Lincoln R. | 1975 | Pair Production and Radiation in Kerr-Newman Geometries | Wheeler Davis Ruffini & Wightman | J. A. T. R. A. S. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------|-------|
| Chung | Tai Q. | 1975 | Some General Theories of Parametric Instabilities in Unmagnetized Plasmas | White | R. B. |
| Wolfe | Bertram | 1950 | Cosmic Rays and the Acceleration of Dust Grains in Space by Supernova Radiation | Wightman | A. S. |
| MacCallum | Crawford J. | 1951 | On the Assumption of a Universal Fermi Interaction Between Spin 1/2 Particles | Wightman | A. S. |
| Pytte | Agnar | 1953 | A Classical Theory of Bremsstrahlung | Wightman | A. S. |
| Greenburg | William | 1963 | Some Model Quantum Field Theories | Wightman | A. S. |
| Menke | Michael M. | 1963 | A Study of the Unitary Gauge Group in Free Quantum Electrodynamics | Wightman | A. S. |
| Zee | Anthony | 1966 | On the Algebra of Currents in a Certain Two Dimensional Model of Quantum Field Theory | Wightman | A. S. |
| Kweh | Daniel S. W. | 1970 | Higher Spin Equations with a General Mass Spectrum | Wightman | A. S. |
| Crutchfield | William Y., II | 1973 | A Statistical Mechanical Approach to Non-Relativistic Quantum Mechanics | Wightman | A. S. |
| Preskill | John P. | 1975 | Broken Symmetry of the Pseudoscalar Yukawa Theory | Wightman | A. S. |
| Perry | Peter A. | 1977 | Renormalized Integral Equations for Euclidean Quantum Electrodynamics Using the Method of Legendre Transforms | Wightman | A. S. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|-------|
| Roos | Alice M. | 1977 | A Structural Investigation of the Significance of the Imaginary Unit in Quantum Mechanics | Wightman | A. S. |
| Apgar | Brian A. | 1976 | New Leptons and the Weak Interaction | Wilczek | F. |
| Slivka | Timothy | 1990 | On the Kinematics of Deformable Bodies | Wilczek | F. |
| Callen | William R. Jr. | 1965 | Predictions of the Occultations of Stars by the Echo Satellites | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Elkin | Edward L. | 1965 | An Investigation of the $F = 1$ Ground-State Transition in and Optically Oriented Sodium Vapor | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Kleckner | Edward W. | 1965 | A Photon Counting System for Variable Star Measurements | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Shostak | Seth | 1965 | The Occultation of Stars by Earth Satellites | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Caldwell | John H. | 1966 | Holography | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Gabel | Conger W. | 1967 | Holography | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Mondell | Alfred | 1967 | A Measurement of Cosmic Background Radiation at 3.2 cm | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Illing | Rainer M. E. | 1968 | Observations of Seyfert Galaxies | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Baron | William F. | 1969 | Polarization of the Cosmic Black Body Radiation | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Cunningham | William N. | 1970 | Polarization of the Cosmic Background Radiation Incident from the North Celestial | Wilkinson | D. T. |

| Student | | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|-----------|-----------|------|--|--------------------|----------|
| McCarthy | Donald W. | 1970 | Linear Polarization of the Blackbody Radiation at 3.2 cm Pole | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Payne | David M. | 1970 | A Search for a Pulsed Gamma Ray Flux from NP0532 | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Torbert | R. B. | 1971 | Construction of a Microwave Radiometer | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Brasunas | John C. | 1974 | A Search for Dispersed, Extragalactic Radio Pulses | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Black | Bernard | 1975 | The Hanbury-Brown Twiss Effect | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Beck | Sara C. | 1976 | Near Infrared Observations of the H11 Region W3 (cont) with a Charge Coupled Device | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Bernstein | Rebecca | 1992 | A Model for the Synchrotron Spectral Index and Galactic Emission at Cobe DMR Frequencies | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Jones | Brian | 1993 | Direct Observation of the Massive Dark Halo | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Csatorday | P. | 1994 | Measurement of Galactic H α Radiation | Wilkinson | D. T. |
| Steptoe | Philip P. | 1973 | A Wiggly Wire Seeing Monitor | Wilkinson & Wickes | D. T. B. |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|---------------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------------|---------------|
| Zachos | Cosmas K. | 1974 | Landau Ginsburg Formalism for Anisotropic Superfluids | Witten | T. A. |
| Chubb | Talbot A. | 1944 | The Construction of a Resonant-Cavity Transit-Time Magnetron | Wood | M. B. |
| Schonfield | Robert E. | 1944 | The Design of a New α -Particle Ionisation Chamber | Wu & Rosenblum | C-S S |
| Davidson | Douglas | 1988 | Sphalerons in the Weinberg-Salam Theory | Yaffe | L. |
| O'Neill | Christopher M. | 1988 | Fermion Soliton Stars: A Second Look | Yaffe | L. |
| Ke | Malcolm K-W | 1971 | A Geometrical Analysis of the Initial Value Equations & the Sandwich Conjecture | York | J. W., Jr. |
| Sethian | John D. | 1972 | Plasma Flucuation and Instabilities in the FM-1 | Yoshikawa | S. |
| Davisson | James W. | 1938 | The Diffraction of X-rays and Electrons in Crystals | [not listed] | |
| Satterthwaite | Franklin B. | 1938 | Some Thunderstorm Theories | [not listed] | |
| Adams | William A. | 1939 | The Study of A Cathode Ray Tube with a Circular Time Base | [not listed] | |
| Dicke | Robert H. | 1939 | A Logical Development of Quantum Mechanics and the Raman Effect in the Atom | [not listed] | |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------|
| Hopkinson | O. W., Jr. | 1939 | Experimental Investigation of a 30,000-Line Grating, Received by the Physics Department of Princeton University in 1939 | [not listed] |
| Waterman | Alan T., Jr. | 1939 | A Criticism of the Use of Operations in Defining Physical Concepts | [not listed] |
| MacNichol | Edward F. | 1941 | A Study of High Vacuum Systems | [not listed] |
| Beagdon | Edwin W. | 1943 | The Formation of Fog | [not listed] |
| Laine | Thomas C. | 1945 | An Ultra-High Frequency Negative-Grid Oscillator | [not listed] |
| Church | Eugen L. | 1946 | Nuclear Moments | [not listed] |
| Johnson | Haynes N. | 1946 | A Study of the Infrared Transmission Spectra of the Xylenes and Ethyl Benzene | [not listed] |
| Burk | E. H., Jr | 1947 | The Propagation of Supersonics Through Gases, Liquids, and Solids | [not listed] |
| Gray | George W. | 1947 | Interference of Microwaves | [not listed] |
| Beckhart | Gordon H. | 1948 | The Vortex Tube | [not listed] |
| Soto | M. F., Jr. | 1948 | The Liquid Drop Model and Quantum Hydrodynamics | [not listed] |
| Hayes | Stuart | 1950 | The Diffraction Pattern of a Straight-Edge | [not listed] |
| Mertz | Lawrence | 1951 | Lippmann Photography | [not listed] |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor |
|---------|----------------|-------------|---|----------------|
| Pike | John Nazarian | 1951 | On the Reflection of Light from Dielectric Surfaces | [not listed] |
| Sykes | Langthorne | 1951 | A New Method for Measuring the Sensitive Time of Cloud Chambers | [not listed] |
| Eyck | P. H. Ten | 1953 | The Spetra of Tin in the Ultraviolet | [not listed] |
| Kratzer | Roland Harry | 1953 | The Effect of Circuit Parameters on the Production of Sparks | [not listed] |
| Kraus | David E. | 1956 | An Optical Sustum for a Bubble Chamber: Operation Conditions for a Propane Bubble Chamber | [not listed] |
| Barach | John Paul | 1957 | An Analogue Computer Treatment of the Simple Regenerator and Jump Target Beam Ejectors | [not listed] |
| Levy | M. E. | 1957 | Characteristics of a Spark Discharge Shock Tube | [not listed] |
| Graham | Robert H. | 1959 | Contributions to the Theory of Helium II | [not listed] |
| Jacob | Richard F. | 1960 | The Clock Paradox in Relativity Theory | [not listed] |
| Gersten | Stephen M. | 1961 | Analytic Completion and the Four Point Function in Quantum Field Theory | [not listed] |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor |
|------------|-----------------|-------------|--|----------------|
| Goodfellow | Gordon P. | 1961 | The Determination of the Differential Cross Section of the Nuclear Reaction $\text{Co}^{59}(\text{p},\alpha)\text{Fe}^{56}$ for Various Angles Using the Photographic Method | [not listed] |
| Marberger | J. H., III | 1962 | On the Formal Structure of the Helicity Representation | [not listed] |
| Scoltock | Hugh L. | 1963 | High Energy Potential Scattering | [not listed] |
| Storm | Derek W. | 1963 | The Search for an Isomeic State in Sc^{48} | [not listed] |
| Garland | James C. | 1964 | Electron Tunneling in Superconducting Thin Films | [not listed] |
| Hogan | C. Micheal | 1964 | Non-Equilibrium Statistical Mechanics of a Two-Dimensional Gas | [not listed] |
| Brown | Robert A. | 1965 | Mechanical Measurement of the Nuclear Paramagnetism of Water | [not listed] |
| Metzger | John K. | 1965 | The (p,n) and (p,2n) Reactions in Fe^{56} | [not listed] |
| Baraff | David R. | 1966 | Electron Tunneling Experiments in Noble Metals with Magnetic Impurities | [not listed] |
| Berger | Richard L. | 1966 | Nuclear Magnetic Resonance and Relaxation | [not listed] |
| Hirsh | Leonard F., Jr. | 1966 | The Sources of Contrast in Two Types of Polarizing Interference Microscopes | [not listed] |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|
| Lupton | John | 1966 | Sound Propagation in He II | [not listed] |
| Schleh | John E. | 1966 | Experimental Determination of the Melting Curve of Argon | [not listed] |
| Stella | Paul M. | 1966 | Star Scintillation | [not listed] |
| Timbie | James P. | 1966 | A Study of K^{41} and K^{45} by (P, A) Reactions of Ca^{44} and Ca^{48} | [not listed] |
| Buchner | Stephen | 1968 | Cosmic Background Radiation | [not listed] |
| Stocke | John T. | 1968 | Magnetic Phase Transitions in Chromium and Gadolinium | [not listed] |
| Van Voorhis | David | 1968 | The 146° Phase Transition of Silver Iodide | [not listed] |
| Johnson | Eric T. | 1969 | Calculation of the Absorption Coefficient for the Franz-Keldysh Effect | [not listed] |
| Myerson | Robert J. | 1969 | The Association of Earthquakes with the Excitation of the Chandler Wobble | [not listed] |
| Naill | Roger F. | 1969 | A New Positron Sensitive Proportional Counter for Use in a Magnetic Spectrometer | [not listed] |
| Pickrel | Steven J. | 1972 | Trapped Surfaces and the Initial Value Problem in Geometrodynamics | [not listed] |
| Rogosa | David | 1972 | Experimental Considerations in the Decay $\Delta \rightarrow p e \nu$ | [not listed] |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor | |
|--|----------------|-------------|---------------------|--|--------------|
| | Ceuturié | Stephen H. | 1973 | Concerning Wave Transformations in a Solid State Plasma | [not listed] |
| | Faroe | Jed J. | 1973 | Beam Pulse Charge Fluctuations of the Princeton University Cyclotron | [not listed] |
| | Green | Bruce | 1973 | Determinism, Quantum Mechanics and Logic | [not listed] |
| | Burrows | Adam S. | 1975 | Particle Creation in Homogenous Cosmologies | [not listed] |
| | Stege | George | 1975 | Design, Construction, and Testing of and Intelligent Terminal System Using Micro-Computer Technology | [not listed] |
| | Redfield | Andrew C. | 1976 | Quantum Limitations on the Availability of Spacetime Curvature | [not listed] |
| | Stoeckenius | Jan | 1976 | Some Results of the Classical Limit of Boson Partition Functions | [not listed] |
| | Kruk | Jeffrey | 1977 | The Effects of a Varying Gravitational Constant on the Temperature of the Earth | [not listed] |
| | Spector | Carl | 1977 | The Study of Time and Transformation of Units | [not listed] |
| | Goldsmith | David B. | 1978 | Virtual Photoproduction of the Heavy Lepton τ | [not listed] |
| | Salkind | Louis | 1978 | Calculation of Beta Decay Observables | [not listed] |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor |
|------------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|
| Ecklund | Karl M. | 1989 | Observation of Internal Bremsstrahlung Electron Capture from the L Shell in Terbium-157 | [not listed] |
| Kennel | Matt B. | 1989 | Nonlinear Dynamical Systems Prediction with Neural Networks: Results and Applications | [not listed] |
| Bies | William E. | 1990 | Dynamics of Interstellar Gas in the Milky Way Galaxy | [not listed] |
| Gordon | Andrew | 1990 | Analysis of the Resonant Sub-Structure of $D^{\circ} \rightarrow \kappa^{-}\pi^{+}\pi^{\circ}$ | [not listed] |
| Tanaka | Stacy | 1990 | Initial Calculation for the Production and Detection of Rydberg Atoms | [not listed] |
| Elias | George S. | 1991 | Eigenvalues of the τ -J Hamiltonian for High T_c Superconductivity | [not listed] |
| Gibbon | David M. | 1991 | Preliminary Analysis for a Cross Section for the Hadroproduction of Charm at Fermilab E-791 | [not listed] |
| McLaughlin | Gail C. | 1991 | The El Nino Phenomena: A Model of Coupled Ocean-Atmosphere Interaction | [not listed] |
| Stevens | Daniel | 1991 | Observational Properties of Small Universes | [not listed] |

| | Student | Year | Thesis Title | Advisor |
|---------|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|
| Metcalf | R. Benton | 1993 | The Small Scale Effects of a Small Mass Scalar Field | [not listed] |
| Ryu | William S. | 1994 | Directional Pattern Formation at the Three-Phase Contact Line in a Langmuir-Blodgett Transfer Connection | [not listed] |