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**PLANNING NEW UC CAMPUSES IN THE 1960s:
A Background Paper for UC Merced on the Role of the
Universitywide Senate
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This brief is the second of a series of background papers for the planning of a new UC campus in the Central Valley of California authored by John Aubrey Douglass for the University of California Office of the President and the Universitywide Academic Senate.

This brief provides additional information on the role of the Academic Senate in new campus planning in the 1960s. A previous report, "The Role of the Academic Senate in Tenth Campus Planning," provided background information for the University of California Academic Council and the Assembly of the Academic Senate regarding the potential role of the Academic Senate in establishing UC Merced. (See <http://ishi.lib.berkeley.edu/cshe/jdouglass/tenth.html>). The Merced campus is scheduled to begin instruction in the fall of 2004. This report is intended to provide contextual information for the Academic Senate's UC Merced Task Force.

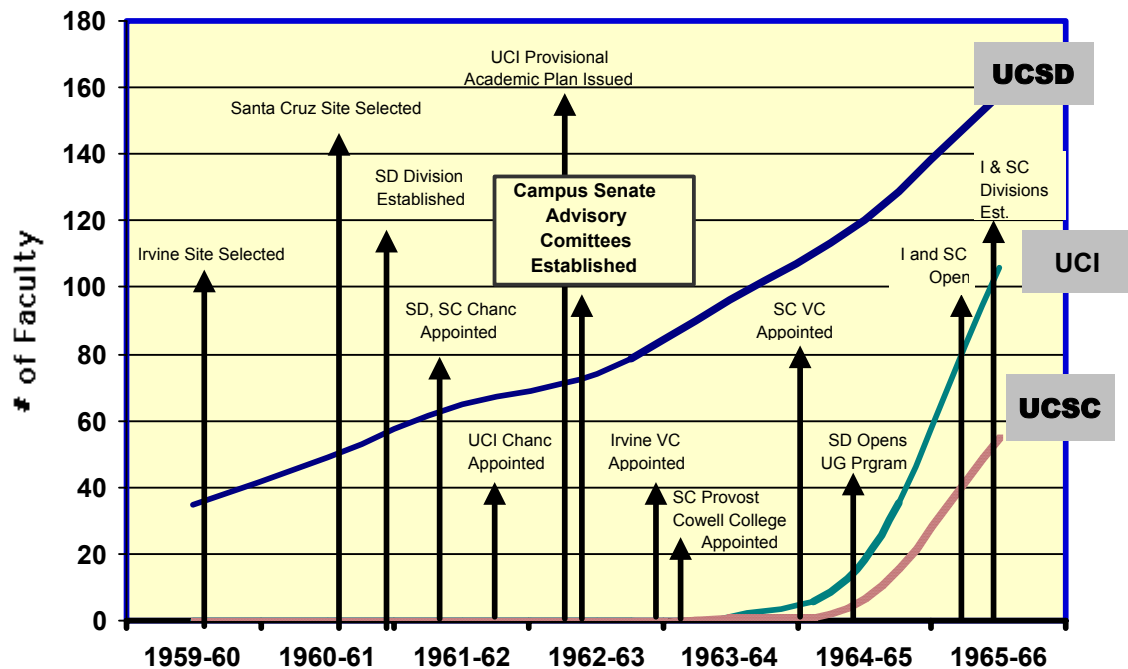
In early 1963, a Special Advisory Committee was established for each of the three new campuses at Irvine, San Diego, and Santa Cruz. The purpose was to create an official entity of the Academic Senate to:

- Engage in the process of new campus planning as an advisory committee to the President and the Chancellor.
- Help fulfill the obligations of the Senate in areas such as academic personnel and the approval of courses and curriculum, in concert with universitywide Senate committees.
- Guide the creation of a Division and ensure that the Academic Senate became a full partner in new campus development.

President Clark Kerr (1958-1967) was a particularly strong advocate for the establishment of these committees. "I was concerned from the very beginning," noted Kerr in a 1968 interview, "that there be faculty participation to give advice on the development of [each new] campus, to act as the local budget committee for helping to select the original personnel and help to put across the idea of faculty government and the idea of Senate participating from the beginning."¹

The Special Advisory Committees were also established in a period of significant reorganization within the University. A process of decentralization included empowering Chancellors and other campus administrators with greater discretionary authority in areas such as budgeting and administrative organization.

Development of Three New UC Campuses in the 1960s



At the same time, the Academic Senate developed its modern organization of distinct Divisions on each campus with authority over policy and decision making in areas historically reserved to the faculty.² Previously, the Senate included a Northern and Southern Section of the Senate, with Berkeley and UCLA dominating their respective sections and committees. Under this earlier structure, campuses such as Riverside needed to have faculty hires and curriculum decisions reviewed by the Senate committee at UCLA.

The new Division model provided the promise of greater local authority by faculty over the quality of academic programs; it also offered a countervailing force to the significant expansion of authority and power of the Chancellors. In the process of reorganizing the University in the midst of a significant era of enrollment and program growth, the Special Advisory Committees offered an interim entity of the Senate until there was a critical mass of Irvine, San Diego, or Santa Cruz faculty to form a Division committee structure.

Appointed in April 1963, each of the three Advisory Committees would be disbanded during the 1965-66 academic year. The chart shown previously provides a timeline for major events related to developing these three new campuses.

Yet, for reasons elaborated in the following, these three committees had varying levels of influence on the academic planning process, in the hiring of academic administrators and faculty, and in the review of curriculum and courses.

1. Senate Advisory Committee Membership

The Senate's Special Advisory Committee for each campus included five to seven members. Their establishment was the direct result of a recommendation formulated at the 1961 All-UC Faculty Conference -- prior to the Senate's reorganization of 1964.³ Reflecting a transitional period in the Senate's organization in which the President of the University engaged more directly in the affairs of the Senate, President Kerr made the appointments to the Advisory Committees in October of 1963. He did

this in consultation with the UC Academic Council and with the Committee on Committees on each of the campuses with established Divisions of the Senate: Berkeley, Los Angeles, Davis, Santa Barbara, Riverside and San Diego (which had established its Division in early 1961).

San Diego's Advisory Committee was composed of members of the Division and faculty from the other established campuses. Unlike Irvine and Santa Cruz, San Diego already had an established Academic Senate and academic program linked to the Scripps Institute of Oceanography and the School of Science and Engineering (created in 1958 as the Institute of Technology and Engineering). For Irvine and Santa Cruz, Advisory Committee members came from faculty at other existing UC campuses.

The following lists the membership of each committee established in April 1963 and disestablished in December 1965 at San Diego and Irvine and in Spring 1966 at Santa Cruz.

San Diego:

James Arnold – Chair	San Diego
Gustaf Arrhenius	San Diego
Gifford Ewing	San Diego
Martin Kamen	San Diego
Robert Nisbet	Riverside
Stephen Pepper	Berkeley
Lynn White	Los Angeles

Irvine:

John S. Galbraith – Chair (63-64)	Los Angeles
H. T. Swedenberg – Chair (64-65)	Los Angeles
Carl H. Eckart	San Diego (also Chair UCSD Div. 63-65)
James S. Gillies	Los Angeles
Robert F. Gleckner	Riverside
William F. Kennedy	Santa Barbara

Santa Cruz:

Gordon MacKinney – Chair	Berkeley
Leslie Bennett	San Francisco
Daniel J. Crowley	Davis
Malcolm Davisson	Berkeley
Siegfried Puknat	Davis

2. The Role of the Universitywide Senate in new Campus Planning

As noted, the role of the three Special Advisory Committees varied by campus, with the San Diego Committee having a much more limited role than the Irvine and Santa Cruz Committees. An important function, however, for all three was the creation of a Universitywide entity to help with personnel and other policy areas traditionally the purview of the Academic Senate. In the midst of a general process of decentralization in the University, these committees were to help form a bridge toward an effective Division on each of the new campuses to parallel the increased power and authority of the new Chancellors.

In this critical era of University reorganization, there was, in fact, a push by a number of Chancellors not only to gain new administrative powers but also to reduce the role of the Senate. A number of Chancellors approached UC President Clark Kerr and several Regents arguing that they should use the occasion to reduce the responsibilities of the Senate – advocacy for expanding their authority that they would not openly state to their campus communities.⁴ However, it was a position not shared by Kerr.

The Advisory Committees, in the view of the President, provided a counterbalance to the increased management powers of the Chancellors. As Kerr reflected in 1968, the Advisory Committees were also intended to gain faculty participation in developing the new campuses and to ingrain into the culture of the new campuses “Senate participation from the beginning.”⁵ As noted, these committees also offered a strategic means to alter the control of Berkeley and UCLA in the academic program and personnel process.

UC Riverside provided one example where the provincial concerns of one campus (UCLA, which directed the academic personnel process) sometimes proved a hindrance to building the autonomy and programs of the developing and newer campuses. While Riverside had an established Division and committee structure, it needed the review and approval of the Southern Section of the Senate, dominated by UCLA faculty, to hire faculty and establish new programs. Intercampus rivalry over resources and programs hindered campus development at Riverside.

These same predilections, it was feared by Kerr, Dean McHenry and others, might stifle the development of the three new campuses. "There was, in the early times, a sense of jealousy [at] UCLA about Irvine, which may even continue to this day -- also, the same about San Diego," explained Clark Kerr shortly after leaving the Presidency of UC in 1968. "UCLA was concerned that Irvine and San Diego might take some of the play away from it in Southern California. And also, there was sensitivity, politically, particularly on the part of the Chancellor. He was very conscious of the political position of UCLA, and sort of doubtful whether he wanted the competition in Southern California"⁶

As the following discusses, the mandate for these Advisory Committees was not clearly stated. The Advisory Committees were to assume the role of a combination of the Academic Council, academic personnel committees, and rules and jurisdiction (e.g., assisting in the development of a Division structure and proposal). The process of new campus development was by its very nature entrepreneurial and uncharted. The effectiveness of each of the committees had much to do with the personal relationships and sense of collegiality, and perhaps less with a carefully defined process.

A. *San Diego*

In 1959, when the San Diego campus was designated to be a general campus of the University of California, the campus had 35 faculty (23 as full professors). Most were affiliated with the Scripps Institute of Oceanography; seven were in the new College of Science and Engineering. Similar to the process at Riverside prior to the establishment of a Division of the Academic Senate, faculty appointments were reviewed by an ad hoc committee with members from UCLA and Scripps. In 1961 the UCSD Division was established with approximately 65 faculty.⁷



UC San Diego had its origins in the marine research laboratory established in 1905, and here shown two years later in a new facility located on land adjacent to today's campus.

The Special Advisory Committee did not take the form of a formal academic personnel committee. Rather, because of the existence of the Division, this Advisory Committee played a more limited role: providing advice to Chancellor York (appointed in February 1961) on academic planning, and making recommendations on possible academic appointments (both administrative positions and new faculty hires) and ad hoc committee appointments.

With the bulk of existing faculty positions in the sciences and engineering, ad hoc committees included faculty from throughout the UC system and other institutions to help develop programs in the social sciences and humanities.⁸

**UC San Diego
Academic Personnel In 1960 and 1965**

	1960	1965
Professor	31	80
Associate Professor	10	31
Assistant Professor	8	44
Instructor	0	0
Lecturer	0	0
Total Academic Appointments	49	155



Scripps Institute of Oceanography and the new UCSD campus in the background, 1966.

B. Irvine and Santa Cruz

The Special Advisory Committees for UCI and UCSC had a larger role that included coordinating the academic personnel process (including establishing ad hoc committees), offering review and recommendations related to the creation of academic plans, and assisting in creating a campus Division. As in the case of UCSD, both Irvine and Santa Cruz had Chancellors before the establishment of the Advisory Committees in April 1963: Dean McHenry was appointed in 1961, and Daniel Aldrich, in 1962.



The new campuses at Irvine (left) and Santa Cruz opened to students in 1965 amid a building frenzy and projections of large scale enrollment growth. Here the two campuses are shown in 1968 with temporary trailers (background) shown on the Santa Cruz campus.

The Academic Personnel Process

In regard to the appointments of academic administrators and the initial faculty, the Special Advisory Committees for these two campuses provided a source for identifying appropriate candidates. They also appointed ad hoc committees consisting of faculty from the existing campuses – particularly at Irvine. Yet, it appears that the Advisory Committees themselves had a relatively modest input to the process of hiring faculty.

It is also important to note significant differences in the context, requirements, and rigor of new faculty hires between the 1960s and today. For one, the pool of Ph.D.s (particularly from elite research universities) was much smaller in comparison with the demand – although this was not the case in all fields. California was not the only state in which academic programs were expanding. The two decades after World War II included the establishment of numerous new institutions of higher education, transforming educational opportunity. This made recruitment more dependent on both pay and a process of personal interaction to attract high quality candidates.

At the senior level appointments, the University purposely offered salaries above those of competing institutions and relied heavily on a process of identifying productive scholars and personnel networking to expand the ranks of academic personnel and build programs. Chancellors, vice chancellors, deans and department chairs had a high level of freedom to recruit talent both on the new campuses and on those rapidly expanding. One reason was the sheer volume of recruitment. Irvine, for example, recruited 106 academic positions between 1963 and 1965 when the campus opened. Other campuses such as Santa Barbara were also hiring 100 or more faculty during an academic year throughout the mid-1960s.



Fred Spiess (director of Scripps Institute of Oceanography with Jack Clotworthy, 1964) and Roger Revelle (right and in 1959) provided leadership in hiring top-quality faculty well in advance of UCSD's opening in 1964 to undergraduates.

Today, while there is always a perceived limited supply of talent and differences among the disciplines, the pool of Ph.D.s compared with demand is much larger and more diverse in training and experience. The process of faculty recruitment is also much more complicated. Federal laws regarding equal opportunity and internal policies of the university have significantly changed the recruiting process, in part to make it more open, and also in an attempt to expand the pool of potential candidates.

At Irvine in 1964, former Chancellor Aldrich and former Vice Chancellor Jack Peltason noted that they had tremendous flexibility with the Advisory Committee in faculty recruitment.⁹ Engaged in a dramatic expansion in enrollment, programs, and new campuses, the University community had a strong sense that those directly engaged in the process of developing the new campuses (e.g., the Chancellor, deans and department chairs) needed broad authority to create academic programs and hire faculty.¹⁰

In an October 1963 memo to President Kerr, the Chair of the Senate's Advisory Committee for Santa Cruz, Gordon MacKinney, discussed the possible appointment of a dean for Cowell College (who turned out to be John Galbraith, the Chair of the Irvine Advisory Committee). MacKinney stated that:

I may be pre-judging the issue, but our view has been that if the candidate seems to be adequate, and the Chancellor wants him, we will not say, "Is there no better one available?" In other words, we would not be obstructionists unless the candidate was obviously out of line.¹¹

Yet, there was significant tension at Santa Cruz between the Chancellor and the Senate's Advisory Committee in the areas of both personnel decision making and academic planning. Unlike San Diego and Irvine, where the Advisory Committees provided nominations for potential faculty and established the ad hoc review committees, the Advisory Committee at Santa Cruz protested that it was not being consulted in a number of major policy areas.

At a meeting of the Academic Council in February 1965, a member of the Advisory Committee who also served on the Council forwarded the following motion, which was approved:

The council advises President Kerr that all faculty appointments be reviewed by ad hoc committees nominated by the Santa Cruz Advisory Committee and report to the Chancellor through the Advisory Committee.¹²

Seven months later, the process of faculty hiring was still a problem between the campus administration and the Academic Senate. The Advisory Committee and the new Universitywide Committee on Rules and Jurisdiction stated to the Academic Council that the campus administration was "using new titles for certain faculty members which are not in the [Standing Orders] of the Regents for Senate membership."¹³

At both Irvine and Santa Cruz, initial faculty were hired within a one and a half year period leading up to the opening of both campuses in 1965 and the establishment of both Divisions in December 1965 – after the start of classes in September of that year.¹⁴

**UC Irvine and Santa Cruz
Academic Personnel Recruited By 1965**

	Irvine	Santa Cruz
Professor	20	11
Associate Professor	15	6
Assistant Professor	56	33
Instructor	2	0
Lecturer	13	5
Total Academic Appointments	106	55

Academic Planning

Interactions related to academic planning appear to have gone smoothly at Irvine, with the Advisory Committee chaired by John Galbraith an important influence on the final academic plan approved by the Regents. Galbraith would be appointed in July 1964 to Vice Chancellor at San Diego and, by 1965, Chancellor. His career path within the University reflected a general trend of Senate activists moving toward important administrative positions in an era of tremendous program expansion (e.g., Vernon Cheadle, Dean McHenry, and Clark Kerr).

At Santa Cruz, however, the experimental college plan advocated by both Kerr and McHenry provided a source of disagreement not only with the Advisory Committee chaired by MacKinney, but also with the Universitywide Committee on Educational Policy (UCEP).

With a "Provisional Academic Plan" developed by Chancellor McHenry and his new cast of academic administrators, and after several meetings with the Chancellor, MacKinney wrote to President Kerr:

Despite [the] intensity of dedication and singleness of purpose, the committee is uneasy about the success of the Santa Cruz dream. Although convinced that some form of collegiate, education-oriented system can function within the fiscal and policy limitations of the University of California, the committee does not believe that a sufficiently explicit statement yet exists of how this is to be achieved at Santa Cruz The lack of more detailed planning by the present staff at Santa Cruz makes it impossible to describe to prospective faculty members what will be expected of them and how their activities must be organized. Most of them will be so unfamiliar with an undertaking of this magnitude that they will not recognize this lack of understanding until they are plunged into it. Here the committee differs sharply with the expressed philosophy of Provost Page Smith and the others now at Santa Cruz who believe that almost all planning should be held in abeyance until the faculty has been accumulated.¹⁵



Dean McHenry (center, shown at his inaugural in May 1966, nearly five years after being named Chancellor at UCSC and with Charles Page to his right, the first Provost of Crown College), and in 1962 on the future site of UC Santa Cruz.

The consternation of MacKinney's committee prompted Kerr to request that Robert Tschirgi, University Dean of Academic Planning within his office, head an effort to develop the plan. Seven months later, and after consultation with the Advisory Committee, UCEP Chair Abraham Robinson wrote to Kerr:

The Committee supports the idea that there should be, within the University of California, a campus which puts particular emphasis on the education of undergraduates within the framework of a College system There is, however, a major point of educational policy on which the Committee cannot accept the general tenor and detailed proposals of the Santa Cruz Plan. This concerns the role of the individual disciplines in the life of a University. The leaders of Santa Cruz are aware of the importance of specialized branches of knowledge. But whenever they are faced with the apparent conflict between the ideals of an integrated education and the demands of the specialized disciplines, they have chosen to place the emphasis on the former We conclude that, simultaneously with the organization of the colleges, there should be at Santa Cruz an organization by disciplines, whose units would have a voice in appointments and promotions, in course of programs, and in the allocation of funds for research.¹⁶

While each of the new campuses, San Diego, Irvine and Santa Cruz, provided relatively new approaches toward interdisciplinary programs based around a college model, Santa Cruz was by far the most radical. The vision and energy of Chancellor McHenry provided a powerful force for a new approach to undergraduate education within a large research university. The protests and concerns of the Advisory Committee and UCEP were not heeded, and in the flurry of not only the drive to create three new campuses but also the Free Speech Movement, there was no formal attempt to derail the Santa Cruz Plan.

Establishing Divisions

The Advisory Committees for Irvine and Santa Cruz helped to guide the proposal for the establishment of a Division, working with the Academic Council and the Universitywide Committee on Rules and Jurisdiction.¹⁷ In the case of Irvine, the new Division came into existence with a complete set of Senate officers and a standing committee structure. It immediately took over all functions delegated to the Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee ceased operation after the establishment of the Division on December 1, 1965.

In the case of Santa Cruz, however, there was a longer period of transition, in part because the novelty of the academic programs and the college structure raised questions regarding the appropriate structure of the Division. The Advisory Committee conducted the election of the first chairperson, Glenn F. M. Willson (1966-67). In two inaugural meetings of the Senate, the first on November 23 before formal establishment of the Division, and the second on December 14, the Advisory Committee "turned over most of its functions to the fledgling divisional structure," explained Russell H. Fitzgibbon in his 1968 book on the development of the Academic Senate.¹⁸ The Advisory Committee continued to assist with the organization of the Divisional structure and with the academic personnel process into the spring of 1966.

3. A Brief Conclusion

The events related to the development of Santa Cruz, in particular, reflect a number of tensions in developing a new University of California campus:

- The need to identify a general concept of what a new campus should offer prior to hiring the campus leadership, yet the desire and perhaps need to provide significant latitude for a new Chancellor and academic administrators to provide a focus for academic program development and the hiring of faculty.

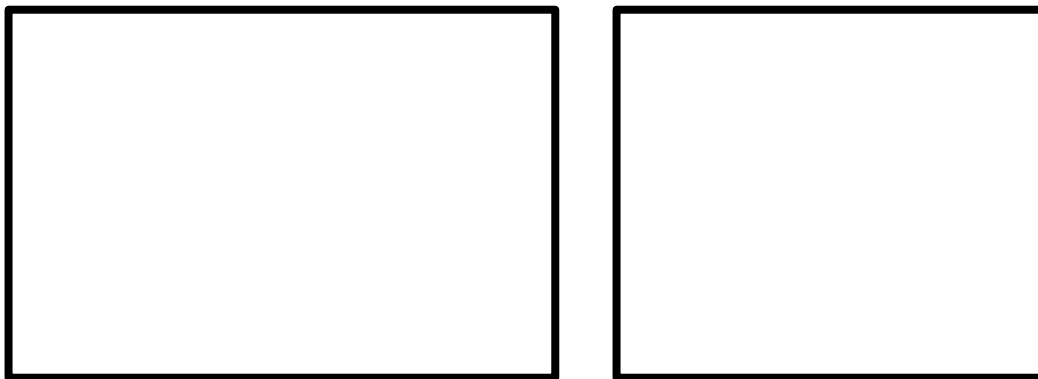
- The acknowledgment that the organization of a campus is, in the first instance, the responsibility of the administration, yet the fact that the organization of a new campus is also the direct concern of the Academic Senate because of its profound influence on the educational quality and excellence of a campus – new or established.
- The desire to create innovative academic programs and organizational structures within a new campus of the university, yet the conservative predilections of a research university, and the constraints of a one-university system that has proven remarkably effective in producing high quality and internationally recognized campuses.

Planning the tenth UC campus at Merced has already shown signs of these types of tensions. Creating a new UC campus, whether it be in the 1960s or the first part of the twenty-first century, is a difficult endeavor. Creating a campus in UC Merced offers significant challenges: for instance, the general remoteness of the campus from population centers which may pose initial and perhaps long-term difficulties in hiring and retaining faculty and in recruiting students; and the uncertainty regarding the funding base for both capital construction and operational costs.

This brief historical analysis provides context for marshaling the intellectual and organizational powers of the University necessary for creating UC Merced – a campus that, at least in accord with current thinking, will need to quickly become an equal partner within a vast and mature state university system. A further perusal of the historical record would expose not only the important decisions that led to new campus development in the past but also the debate over academic planning issues relevant for planning UC Merced.

Yet, it is also clear that the successes and failures of the 1960s do not provide an instant roadmap for planning the new campus. The model of UC San Diego, for instance, is not immediately transferable. The logistics of creating Merced may follow historical patterns, but the effort will be unique and perhaps more difficult than any previous endeavor.

Creating an environment and methods for quickly building each new member of the UC system into a high quality enterprise has been one of the key components in the overall success of the University of California. While the prowess of individual campuses is an important achievement, it is the overall quality of the University that makes it the greatest and most influential institution of higher education in the world and the focus of international attention.



A site map and a picture of the open terrain that will become UC Merced

The establishment of the Special Advisory Committees helped mark a transition within the University community. In some general sense, faculty at existing campuses crossed the bridge from a reluctance to a broad consensus and desire to create a new member of the University. It is a process of embracing a new endeavor that needs to be replicated in the case of UC Merced.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Clark Kerr, July 12, 1968, interview with Samuel McCulloch, Center for Studies in Higher Education Archive.
- ² For a description of major trends in the organization of the University of California, see John Douglass, "A Brief on the Historical Development of the UC Academic Senate and the Universitywide Administration," Task Force on Governance, Panel 2, August 18, 1997.
- ³ *All-UC Faculty Conference, "The University in a Period of Growth,"* UC Davis, March 27-29, 1961. It was at this conference that reorganization of the Academic Senate was proposed, with each campus developing its own Divisional structure with equal responsibilities, and a Universitywide Senate structure with representation from each Division and an Academic Assembly. Within this context, a Senate report outlined a three-step process for establishing a Division on a new campus.
- Step 1 Once the Regents establish a new campus, a Chancellor or Chief Campus Administrator should be appointed from a panel of names submitted by an *ad hoc* committee of the Academic Senate – an *ad hoc* committee chosen by the President from names submitted by the Universitywide Committee on Committees.
- Step 2 The Universitywide Academic Senate Budget Committee (what is today the University Committee on Academic Personnel), in consultation with the President and the new Chancellor, "should appoint at least five members of the Academic Senate to serve the new campus as a Staffing Committee. This Committee would serve as a local Budget and Interdepartmental Committee, and in this capacity would review and make recommendations on all proposed academic appointments. It would also serve as a Committee on Committees and at the earliest opportunity should appoint such committees as Educational Policy, Courses, and Library."
- Step 3 The Staffing Committee should be disbanded only when the number of new faculty is large enough to fill the "essential Senate committees with tenured personnel." After formal approval by the Academic Assembly, and then Regental approval, "The establishment of [a Division of] the Academic Senate would begin with the election of a Committee on Committees," the election of officers and the approval of Divisional Bylaws and Regulations by the Academic Assembly.
- ⁴ Kerr has noted that "There were a number of occasions when the chancellors, particularly led by the Chancellor at UCLA, wanted to go on an all-out attack against the senate – all-power-to-the-chancellors type of thing the Chancellor at UCLA was really organizing all of the chancellors on the ground of 'We've got to make a major drive.' Of course, they wanted me to undertake it, which I wouldn't do. They didn't want to get their own necks stuck out."
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ Clark Kerr, July 12, 1968, interview with Samuel McCulloch, Center for Studies in Higher Education Archive.
- ⁷ The Division was approved on May 23, 1961 by a vote of the Southern Section of the Academic Senate. See Russell H. Fitzgibbon, *The Academic Senate of the University of California*, Office of the President, University of California, 1968, p. 45. Fitzgibbon writes: "The application for divisional status was referred to the Academic Council, which decided that it was a matter for the Southern Section action In a fourteen-minute meeting on May 26, the San Diego Faculty formally so constituted itself." For a discussion of the reorganization of the Senate, see also Angus Taylor, *The Academic Senate of the University of California: Its Role in the Shared Governance and Operation of the University of California* (Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, 1998), pp. 53-58.
- ⁸ James Arnold, interview with John Douglass, October 16, 1998; see also Nancy Scott Anderson, *An Improbable Venture: A History of the University of California, San Diego* (La Jolla: UCSD Press 1993), p.72.
- ⁹ "Notes from Visits with Founding Fathers at UCI and UCSD," September 22, 1989, Center for Studies in Higher Education.
- ¹⁰ New campus planning was significantly linked with the interests and vision of individual Chancellors, all of whom had held senior faculty positions at UC and were familiar with the University's tradition of shared governance: Herbert York at San Diego was a former faculty member at Berkeley; Dean McHenry at Santa Cruz was a long-time faculty member at UCLA; and Daniel Aldrich at Irvine had held positions at Riverside, Berkeley, and Davis.

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- 11 Gordon MacKinney to President Clark Kerr, October 31, 1963.
12 Academic Council Minutes, UC Santa Barbara, February 17, 1965.
13 Academic Council Minutes, UC Davis, October 20, 1965.
14 See Samuel Clyde McCulloch, *Instant University: The History of the University of California, Irvine 1957-93* (Irvine: UCI Alumni Association, 1996).
15 Gordon MacKinney to President Clark Kerr, March 23, 1964.
16 Abraham Robinson (Chair, Universitywide Committee on Educational Policy) to President Clark Kerr, November 9, 1964.
17 The Academic Council passed a motion on November 18, 1964 for the development of the appropriate amendments to the Universitywide Bylaws and Regulations working with the Advisory Committee, UCR&J and the new faculty at Irvine. The Academic Council passed a similar motion for Santa Cruz on January 20, 1965.
18 Fitzgibbon, p. 46.