Martin Meyerson and Jaqueline Tyrwhitt and the Global Exchange of Planning Ideas

Journal of Planning History 9(2) 75-94
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DOI: 10.1177/1538513210370429
http://jph.sagepub.com



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Abstract

This article examines one facet of Martin Meyerson's internationalism, by tracing the work he did with the English town planner, educator, and editor Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. Their professional association began in 1948, when Meyerson was the editor of the journal TASK. They became collaborators while both were on the faculty of Harvard University's Graduate School of Design (GSD). They remained colleagues as participants in the ten annual international conferences—the Delos Symposia—hosted by Constantinos Doxiadis, beginning in1963. Consideration of their association spanning four decades illuminates the increasingly international dimension of Meyerson's work, which parallels the internationalization of urban planning and design as a discipline, within an increasingly internationalized university.

Keywords

Meyerson, Tyrwhitt, urban planning, urban design, ekistics, internationalism, transnational scholarly networks

On the occasion of naming the building of the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate School of Fine Arts (GSFA) Meyerson Hall in honor of Martin Meyerson (1922–2007), Paul Miller, then chairman of the board of trustees, stated "no one in the history of our institution has done so much to internationalize the University." Likewise, a history of the GSFA recognizes Meyerson as an exemplar of the "commitment by planning faculty and graduates to an international perspective." This article examines one facet of Meyerson's internationalism by tracing the work he did with the English town planner, educator, and editor Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (1905–1983). Consideration of their association spanning four decades illuminates the evolution of Meyerson's international perspective, which both reflected and contributed to the internationalization of urban planning and design as a discipline within an increasingly internationalized university.

At the heart of Meyerson and Tyrwhitt's productive professional relationship was a shared critical utopianism that evolved from the ecological ideas of Scottish biologist and pioneering town planner Patrick Geddes (1854–1932) and was clarified by the philosophy of zoologist Julian Huxley (1887–1975) for United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO):

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"scientific world humanism, global in extent and evolutionary in background," preserving variety in unity. Meyerson and Tyrwhitt championed the value of utopian thinking in the polarized postwar era precisely because, echoing their colleague, sociologist David Reisman, "it takes more courage to deal with what might be than with what is, and because it is more difficult to pose great alternatives than to choose among lesser evils." Meyerson and Tyrwhitt's critical utopianism incorporated a set of social and aesthetic ideals that implied a transformation of planning practice and reform of planning education. They worked together at Harvard University to achieve this through the development of an interdisciplinary *urban design* curriculum that embodied their notions of the type of professional training necessary; new programs to train planners in the rapidly urbanizing, developing world; and new research methods to guide action toward a desired urban future. Meyerson and Tyrwhitt remained colleagues in promoting their critical utopian approach as regular participants in the ten international conferences—the Delos Symposia—hosted by the Greek planner Constantinos Doxiados (1913–1975) over a decade beginning in 1963, which contributed to a worldwide consensus on the concept of sustainable development as well as a new understanding of the social role of the university in building a better world.

After presenting brief introductory profiles of Meyerson and Tyrwhitt, the article examines their participation in the Delos Symposia and the World Society of Ekistics (WSE), an organization formed to facilitate exchange among and action by the Delians. The article then traces the evolution of Meyerson's international perspective through the development of his working relationship with Tyrwhitt, culminating in their collaboration from 1957 to 1963 as members of the faculty of Harvard's Graduate School of Design (GSD). The article highlights how Tyrwhitt amplified the impact of their work at Harvard by connecting it to the several overlapping transnational networks of exchange she was at the center of, and by paving the way for Meyerson's participation in the Delos Symposia. The conclusion draws together the substantive ideas that they jointly developed.

Introductory Profiles

Meyerson and Tyrwhitt may have met for the first in Chicago in 1945. At that time, Meyerson, then 23, was working on racially integrated housing at the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA). Tyrwhitt met with CHA Executive secretary Elizabeth Wood and her staff in June 1945. Tyrwhitt, then 40, was already well known for her work in England as director of research for the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction (APRR), and for the correspondence course in town planning for members of the Allied forces she ran through APRR's sister organization, the School of Planning for Regional Redevelopment (SPRR). Tyrwhitt visited Chicago as part of an official lecture tour of North America, on behalf of the British Ministry of Information, to report on town planning for the postwar reconstruction of Britain. Jacob Crane, then Director of the U.S. National Housing Agency's International Office, knew Tyrwhitt through the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning (IFHTP); he arranged the U.S. portion of her tour. Tyrwhitt met many leaders of the nascent housing and town planning movement, along with émigré European architects and designers, who became long-time friends and colleagues when she later made the trans-Atlantic shift.⁶

In 1945, New York born Meyerson was just beginning his career. He graduated from Columbia University in 1942, where he studied the classics and natural sciences along with modern art and architecture.⁷ In 1945, he also became engaged to marry Margaret (Margy), whom he met while working in city planning in Chicago and Philadelphia. The couple traveled between Chicago and Philadelphia a lot then but neither had yet been abroad.⁸

Tyrwhitt, who was born in South Africa and raised in London, had already traveled widely by the time of her first trip to the United States in 1945. Like Meyerson, she studied the classics but her ambition to pursue a degree at Oxford was thwarted by financial constraints. She studied horticulture and spent a year at the Architectural Association to prepare for a career as a garden designer. She

was in her thirties when she became interested in town planning and a disciple of Patrick Geddes. Through her work at APRR, beginning in 1941, and as a member of the Modern Architectural Research Group (MARS) group, the British branch of Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), Tyrwhitt came into close contact with most of the key people planning England's postwar reconstruction, and, through new institutions such as the United Nations (UN) and UNESCO, those attempting to coordinate such efforts on a worldwide scale. By 1946, Tyrwhitt had formulated an influential synthesis of Geddessian and CIAM principles that prefigured and helped steer CIAM's general turn toward the social dimensions of urbanism by the group's eighth congress in 1951. However, in late 1947, Tyrwhitt found herself out of a job, and at age 43 and unmarried, both free and forced to join the tide of European intellectuals looking for new opportunities in North America.

Meyerson and Tyrwhitt first worked together in 1948 when Meyerson, then a graduate student in city planning at Harvard (where he received a MCP degree in 1949) was the editor of the first postwar issue of the student journal *TASK*, and, as discussed below he invited Tyrwhitt, who was again visiting the United States on a lecture tour, to submit an article. Meyerson began his academic career that year, when he started to teach at the University of Chicago. In late 1951, he was invited to join the University of Pennsylvania's new City Planning faculty. At that time Tyrwhitt was frequently in North America, teaching as a visiting professor at Yale and the University of Toronto. In late 1954, Tyrwhitt was invited to become a member of the faculty of Harvard's GSD, where she was joined by Meyerson in 1957. At the GSD, as discussed below, they worked closely together setting up a new urban design program with Dean Jose Luis Sert; producing a book on urban design, *Face of the Metropolis* (1963) for American Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods (ACTION); and setting up a new planning school in Indonesia in partnership with the UN. Tyrwhitt also became increasingly involved during that time with Doxiadis, editing his journal *Ekistics*, which she cofounded in 1955.

Meyerson left Harvard to become the Dean of the College of Environmental Design at the University of California at Berkeley in September 1963. Subsequently, Meyerson moved to successively higher positions in university administration, becoming the President of the State University of New York (SUNY) at Buffalo in 1966 and President of the University of Pennsylvania in 1970. Meanwhile, Tyrwhitt began to phase out of her job at Harvard as she assumed more responsibility as Doxiadis' key collaborator in the Delos Symposia.

The Delos Symposia and the WSE

The Delos Symposia constituted "one of the most influential intellectual forums of the era." ¹⁰ Meyerson, often accompanied by Margy, attended five of the ten Delos Symposia, in 1964, 1967, 1968, 1969, and 1972. Doxiadis' Athens Technological Institute (ATI) organized the first symposium on board a ship cruising the Aegean, gathering 34 academicians, architects, businessmen, and government officials from 15 countries, "to give them an opportunity for a free and relaxed exchange of views on the problems facing urban settlements." ¹¹ (Doxiadis modeled the meeting on the ancient Greek symposium to emphasize the informal nature of the event, and avoided use of the Latin term "symposium," which he felt referred to a formal or official event.) That group concluded its discussions by signing a Declaration of Delos stating the urgency of those problems: "We are citizens of a worldwide city, threatened by its own torrential expansion and at this level our concern and commitment is for man himself." ¹² The Delians wanted to make the symposium an annual event. Doxiadis had the means to do that, thanks to a ten-year grant from the Ford Foundation to support development of his educational programs, which were based on his ideas for a "science" of human settlements that he named ekistics, a term derived from an ancient Greek adjective that referred to the foundation of a house, habitation, city, or colony.



Figure 1. Martin Meyerson on board the Delos 2 cruise, making a case for a World Association of Ekistics, as shown in the report on the symposium published in *Ekistics* (October 1964).

Meyerson participated in the second Delos Symposium in July 1964. Although he had known Doxiadis for many years, Tyrwhitt no doubt had something to do with Meyerson's invitation. Tyrwhitt served as the "secretary general" for the Delos Symposia and published the "official report" of the discussions in *Ekistics*. Significantly, in her official report on Delos 2, Tyrwhitt credits Meyerson with proposing the idea for a "World Association of Ekisticians," distilling from her voluminous notes carefully selected quotations from his remarks, "I hesitate to suggest a new association, but Associations provide a means of taking an idea and putting it into effect," Meyerson explained, observing that this particular idea—the "notion of a science of human settlements (but not the name of Ekistics) has had simultaneous origins in the United States, in Britain, in Sweden, and in Greece." (Figure 1)

Both Meyerson and Tyrwhitt had long been active in developing this line of thought, notably as it evolved from the thinking of Patrick Geddes. Doxiadis had found it useful to name his attempt to develop a body of knowledge via a method of comparative international analysis of settlements and the dynamics of urbanization; he needed to standardize concepts for investigation and clarify terminology. He developed a grid to organize this information and account for the interdependence of factors at various scales and over time. In other words, he was attempting to develop a method to take into account a whole web of interrelated features to understand their relationships.

Meyerson described this new science as "essentially ... concerned with the spatial and visual aspects of human behavior." As such, it would provide a rational basis for the applied field of environmental (and urban) design. Moreover, as a behavioral science, he situated ekistics at the nexus of the natural sciences and social sciences—the study of human settlements as living systems—that the Ford Foundation deemed a priority for support at that time. Meyerson argued, "Around the world there are many people holding the same views about the social and visual underpinning of environment, who would be greatly stimulated by relation with such an association through which they could exchange correspondence, information and experiences and which could conduct periodical meetings, distribute literature and act generally as a disseminating body for Ekistic matters." His comments signaled his support for Ford Foundation funding for the proposed World Association of Ekisticians, countering the opinion of his close friend and colleague, Paul Ylvisaker, then director of Public Affairs at the Ford Foundation, who strongly opposed further funding for Doxiadis and "his" science of ekistics.

Furthermore, in describing ekistics as a behavioral science, Meyerson is arguably aligning the proposed "World Association for Ekisticians" with other multidisciplinary research organizations the Ford Foundation had helped to establish: the Center for Advanced Study of Behavioral Science (CASBS) at Stanford University, the RAND corporation, and, not least, the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies, where he served as founding codirector. But in a radical departure from this model, Meyerson suggested, "perhaps the organization should not attempt to take on eternal life. Initially its life might be set at a period of ten years." The growing group of Delians endorsed Meyerson's proposal, and Doxiadis authorized his nonprofit educational organization, the Athens Center for Ekistics (ACE), to make available its services to the Secretariat. The WSE was established in 1965.

Formation of WSE reinforced the interlocking connections among the Delians while the infusion of money from new sources such as the Ford Foundation and the UN fueled the formation of these linkages. Through these channels a cluster of interacting individuals spurred the international dissemination and cross-fertilization of urban planning ideas, and set a direction for social, cultural, and urban development. 16 For example, following Delos 2, Meyerson spent about a month in what was then Yugoslavia, where he was the American member of a UN team, chaired by the Yugoslavian architect Ernest Weissmann. The team's charge was to plan the future of the Skopje, which had been destroyed by a major earthquake in 1963. The UN also commissioned Doxiadis' consulting firm to prepare a plan, in collaboration with the Skopje Institute of Town Planning and Architecture, "for repairing the immediate damage and redesign sections of the city that had the greatest need."¹⁷ In 1965, on the basis of this plan, and under the auspices of the UN, a team of Japanese architects led by Kenzo Tange, a leader of the modern movement in Japan, was selected to prepare the design for the redevelopment of the city center. Their plan combined elements of modern urbanism as promoted by CIAM with new ideas inspired by traditional Japanese forms. Tange became a close personal friend of Doxiadis and participated in Delos 4 in 1966.

Meyerson first met Tange in 1951, when—at Tyrwhitt's invitation¹⁸— he attended the eighth CIAM congress in Hoddesdon, England, where Tange made his debut on the world architecture stage. CIAM 8—Tyrwhitt played a central role in organizing the conference—was where Meyerson also would have met Weissmann, then director of the UN's Housing and Town and Country Planning Section. Weissmann later recruited Meyerson to serve on his first UN mission on urbanization and industrialization in Japan (1958–1962). Tange taught at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1959–1960, where he joined the discourse on the further development of CIAM ideas in the context of the Urban Design conferences being held at Harvard's GSD led by Dean José Luis Sert—formerly CIAM president—with significant help from Tyrwhitt and Meyerson's involvement.

Ford Foundation support magnified the ripple effects of ideas that emanated from the Delos Symposia and were broadcast by the journal *Ekistics*, enabling Doxiadis to institute the Athens Ekistic Month (AEM) beginning in July 1966. This was an extended program of activities organized by ACE to allow more people to benefit from the presence of the Delians in Athens, and take part in the discussions. The program included an International Seminar on Ekistics (ISE), a meeting on Ekistics and Education, a meeting of the *Ekistics* editorial advisory board, discussions of Ekistic research projects underway, and the annual General Assembly of WSE, which was open to all members even if they had not been invited to go on the cruise.

Margy Meyerson termed the cruise "the boatload of knowledge." She observed that after a military junta took power in Greece in 1967, the expanded AEM programs acquired a new significance; they fostered the open exchange of ideas as the Colonels "were clamping down on expression." Doxiadis now wanted "outside eyes and ears to be keeping watch. People came from all over who were well known in their countries and the Colonels could not deny them entrance nor deny them from taking information out." ¹⁹

East—West Exchange

At Delos 5 in July 1967, under the shadow of the Greek military dictatorship, Meyerson, then President of SUNY Buffalo, reiterated the transformative and *educational* aim of WSE, which then had members from 20 countries and 27 disciplines, "Unlike many organizations ... WSE provides for its own termination in ten years, setting itself the task of completing its mission in this period.... Few settings are more difficult than the task we have set ourselves—to invent the future—and possibly our greatest challenge is to help a new generation to proceed beyond us." Meyerson thought that Greece was the ideal "missionary" center for this utopian undertaking, as it was "a small developing country, located between east and west but fully accepted in the European community of nations."²⁰

Meyerson was referring to both the geopolitical and cultural advantages of Greece as a center for disciples of internationalism who were concerned about urban development in the midst of Cold War polarization. The critical utopian realism that inspired Meyerson, Tyrwhitt, Doxiadis, and Tange, notably via the writings of Geddes, had its origins in Athens in the fifth century BCE, and was sparked by cross-cultural interchange between East and West.²¹ It was the creative dialogue between East and West, triggered by the opening of Japan to the West in 1865, that gave rise to the modern movement in Europe early in the twentieth century, and the utopian realism of CIAM modernist urbanism. In addition, it was the reactivation of intensive East—West interchange following the second world war that sparked the utopian realism of Scientific Humanism, notably as expressed in Julian Huxley's vision for UNESCO (discussed below). That vision inspired further evolution of CIAM modernism beyond functionalism to a new humanism in the field of urban design, as well as calls for a science of human settlements. Doxiadis explicitly connected the Delos Symposia to the CIAM congresses.²² He aimed to create a collaborative environment for a comprehensive comparative urban analysis, and (like CIAM and Geddes) used a grid as a heuristic tool to visualize and synthesize complex sets of information. Like CIAM, the Delos Symposia provided a collective learning experience.

The Delos Symposia, WSE, AEM, and *Ekistics* extended networks for East—West exchange, sustaining the evolving utopian realism of the pre-war modern movement. Japan continued to play a prominent role in these exchanges, due to the quality of Japanese design and what Delian Richard Meier (an associate of Meyerson and Tyrwhitt at the Harvard MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies) described as "the dynamic chaos of Japanese cities." The work of Tange and his generation of Japanese architects inspired Sigfried Giedion, who had been CIAM secretary general and attended Delos 1 and 3—at Tyrwhitt's instigation—to declare, "the civilization that is in the making may lead to a cross fertilization of West and East." At that time Giedion, a colleague of Meyerson and Tyrwhitt, was a visiting professor at the GSD.

Participation in the Delos Symposia and WSE certainly contributed to Meyerson's interest in Japan, and sustained his decades' long and mutually influential friendship with the pioneering Japanese sociologist Eiichi Isomura, which, in turn, facilitated Meyerson's work in Japan. Meyerson first met Isomura when he went to Japan in 1958, as a member of the UN delegation; Isomura represented the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG). Meyerson invited Isomura to spend the following year in residence at the new Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies. Isomura attended five of the ten Delos Symposia, including the first, in his capacity as professor of Tokyo Metropolitan University, and he founded the Japan Society of Ekistics. Meyerson saw Isomura in Japan when he traveled there as consultant to the TMG and many universities²⁵; an introduction from Isomura was culturally invaluable, if not essential. In the early 1980s, they started a study group in Kitakyushu, which in 1988 transformed into the International Center for the Study of East Asia, a joint enterprise with the University of Pennsylvania.

Reform of Higher Education and the Internationalization of the University

At the sixth Delos Symposium in July 1968, a time of great student unrest worldwide, Meyerson led a discussion on the state of higher educational institutions in different countries. Isomura, then

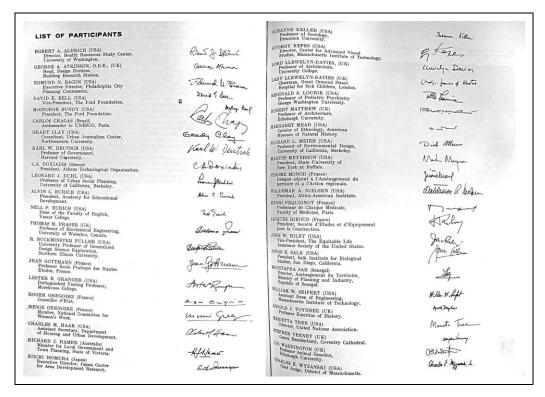


Figure 2. Signers of the Declaration of Delos 6, July 1968, as shown in the report on the symposium published in Ekistics (October 1968). After the military junta in Greece, the Delos Symposia acquired a new significance; they were one of the few places where the dictatorship allowed the open exchange of ideas.

executive director of the Japan Center for Area Development Research, spoke on conditions in Japan, and Carlos Chagas, Brazilian Ambassador to UNESCO, spoke on conditions in Latin America (Figure 2). Education was always a central topic of discussion at the Delos Symposia. The participants in Delos 1 had declared, "In the universities, the application of the basic sciences to human welfare has been fragmented. They have dealt with parts of man—his health, his nutrition, his education—not with the whole man, not with man in community." Over the years the Delians broadened their focus from the health of human settlements to the health of the planet, the human habitat. This ecological worldview clarified the interdependence of local and global processes and illuminated some of the concerns that were motivating student activism. In this context, the Delian discussion of higher education reflected not only the broadening international concerns of American institutions—fueled by the Ford Foundation among others promoting East—West exchange—but also the recognition of the inter-dependence of the global educational system, an awareness spurred largely by UNESCO to foster international cooperation.

Meyerson clearly valued the opportunity to use the seventh Delos Symposium in 1969 as a sounding board for ideas on university reform. He was about to begin his year long leave of absence from the presidency of SUNY Buffalo to chair the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (AAAS) Assembly on University Goals and Governance, "an examination of directions higher education was taking and how colleges and universities might best be governed," funded by the Ford Foundation. Meyerson joined fellow internationally minded University presidents Harlan Hatcher of the University of Michigan, and James Perkins, who had just resigned from Cornell, on a panel on Modern Universities²⁸; they addressed the social role of universities in a globalized world. Like Perkins, who

was about to establish the International Council for Educational Development, Meyerson was in a phase in his career where he, too, would be "serving the whole commonwealth of learning." ²⁹

Most of the 230 participants in the AEM that summer were from academia. As Tyrwhitt reported, the "professors from many disciplines and many universities" attending the Fourth Meeting on Education and Ekistics discussed "the technique of operating interdisciplinary training so that students acquire an ability to synthesize what they learn, rather than accumulate a patchwork of information It was generally agreed that one of the first needs was a common language (ideologically uncontaminated) and that this could probably be built up through a close collaboration of anthropology and general system theory." Margaret Mead, who had pioneered this approach, was elected president of WSE at its General Assembly, where the main topic was a Conference on Education in Ekistics in 1970.

In December 1971, then President of the University of Pennsylvania, Meyerson drew a direct connection between the ideas developed at Delos, the Assembly on University Goals and Governance, and local concerns when he hosted a Symposium on Science and the Cities in concert with the 138th annual AAAS meeting. Margaret Mead, among many other Delians, were among national and international authorities who participated in the week of meetings, and Doxiadis delivered the opening address, about drawing from knowledge of the past to guide action for the urban future, which "thousands of scientists, education specialists and interested citizens from all over the world" gathered to hear. Seven symposia recounted the University of Pennsylvania's role in Philadelphia's implementation of "socio-scientific thinking"—fostering "interaction among spokesmen representing urban health care, urban ecology, urban physical redevelopment, urban education in the schools, and universities and urban race relations." ³¹

Think Globally Act Locally

Meyerson joined 84 scientists, scholars, and intellectuals who attended the tenth Delos Symposium in July 1972, a grand finale to the decade long series. As a sign of their blend of idealism and pragmatism, Delians now agreed that ekistics was an approach, not a new discipline. As Rene Dubos said at the ceremony marking the signing of the Delos Declaration, the concluding statement, the spirit of ekistics "lies in its broad scientific approach to problems. The only way to become a living force and not an academic activity is to become involved in a living problem for then one is forced to learn what particular disciplines are necessary for its analysis and its solution." For the first time Tyrwhitt emerged from her cloak of invisibility as "general secretary" to join the "official" participants in signing the Delos Declaration. She also joined Meyerson and other Delians in signing a pledge to donate ten weeks of time over the next five years to an "Ekistics Skills Exchange" to respond to "requests from those who would be unable to purchase them." They made this promise "in recognition that each separate effort for the future of human settlement should be related to the vision of the whole which we have sought at Delos." As Catherine Bateson said, such an exchange "provides a way to channel into action the intellectual capital developed through the ten years of Delos and gives a wider currency to the ideas developed at Delos."32 Essentially, the Delians sought to become "a living force."

In 1972, WSE counted 149 members in 22 countries. In its capacity as an international nongovernmental organization, WSE participated in the UN Conference on the Human Environment held that year in Stockholm, Sweden—the first in a series that led to the UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat 1976). This signals the influence of the Delos Symposia and WSE on the line of development leading from concern with human settlements and urbanization to concern with the human habitat and global sustainability.³³

Evolution of an International Perspective

In a memorial tribute to Tyrwhitt, William Doebele wrote, "My intellectual construct of Jacky is of a person who instantly subordinated her own great energies to the service of others: Martin Meyerson, Sert, Doxiadis, and indirectly, Patrick Geddes. In so doing, she magnified the impact of great minds, multiplying many times the sphere of influence of their lives." Meyerson recruited Doebele from the University of Pennsylvania in late 1957 to join the Harvard faculty as the first staff member of the Center of Urban Studies. Doebele worked with Meyerson and Tyrwhitt both in developing the GSD's new urban design program, and, as advisers to the UN, in setting up a new planning school in Indonesia. He witnessed first hand Tyrwhitt's productive collaboration with Meyerson from 1957 to 1963, and how she amplified the impact of their work by connecting it to the web of transnational networks to which she belonged.

One reason Meyerson and Tyrwhitt were able to work so well together at Harvard—aside from his openness to working with female colleagues—is because by then they had known each other for more than a decade, and had many mutual friends, notably famed "housers" Catherine Bauer and Charles Abrams, and the inventor Buckminster Fuller. Also, despite obvious differences in their backgrounds, experiences, and beliefs, Meyerson and Tyrwhitt shared some remarkably similar views of the world. In part this was due to their shared interest in the classics, natural sciences, and modern art and architecture, which Meyerson had studied under Meyer Schapiro at Columbia University, and which Tyrwhitt was exposed to as a member of the MARS group. Both Meyerson and Tyrwhitt were strongly influenced by the Hungarian born former Bauhaus teacher Laslo Moholy-Nagy, whom both met in Chicago, where he was the director of the Institute of Design (formerly the New Bauhaus). Tyrwhitt recalled that Moholy-Nagy opened her eyes to the importance of aesthetics—urban *design*—in planning, whereas she had previously been concerned only with social and economic considerations. Meyerson sought out Moholy-Nagy to be tutored by him in the evenings. "We would explore the planning of new communities, or we would speculate about a postwar Europe," he recalled. Meyerson sought out me would speculate about a postwar Europe, he recalled.

Postwar Revival of Transatlantic Exchange and TASK

Tyrwhitt returned to the United States in the spring of 1948. In search of new employment opportunities, she set up a series of lectures on English Town Planning at the New School. There she worked with her friend Charles Abrams—later a Delian and member of WSE—to develop a diploma course in planning that would be modeled on a new APRR diploma course. Along with Abrams, she was invited to lecture at Harvard, which was where she encountered Meyerson, then a graduate student. As editor of *TASK* number 7/8 (1948)—Margy was the associate editor—he invited Tyrwhitt to contribute an article on reconstruction initiatives in Great Britain.

TASK was launched in 1940 as "the organ of architectural student opinion centered at Cambridge, Massachusetts." TASK's editorial viewpoint reflected the progressive internationalism of Walter Gropius, founder of the Bauhaus School, who had directed the Architecture Department at Harvard's GSD since 1937. An editorial explained, "TASK MAGAZINE . . . corresponds to the growing body of architectural opinion in many parts of the world, which recognizes the political and sociological content of architecture and the allied arts." The editors urged the formation of architectural discussion groups elsewhere, modeled on their group in Cambridge, which they hoped would be the nucleus of an international organization of architects. With the entry of the United States into the war, TASK's focus turned to planning. In 1942, the editors of TASK 3 urged planners "not only to evolve a scientific basis for their work but to take a united stand for the encouragement of planning ideas, in government and in the life of the people." By 1944, the editors of TASK 5, an issue dedicated to National Planning and Housing, saw planning as their own central concern, "As we



Figure 3. Jaqueline Tyrwhitt in the 1940s, when she first met Martin and Margy Meyerson.

enter the final stages of a [global] war which has changed our lives and thinking, the issues for all of us have suddenly narrowed down to one: the issue of planning."³⁹ In *TASK* 5, Meyerson reported on a survey of postwar plans in the United States and argued, "The people must rouse themselves to demand a better environment, to enact enabling legislation, to train planning technicians (in addition to architects, engineers, and social scientists), to make good and effective plans. Let there be no Cassandras!"⁴⁰

The Meyersons dedicated *TASK* 7/8 to planning for reconstruction worldwide. They gathered material from "European countries devastated by the war; Latin America on the threshold of industrialization; two colonial outposts in Africa; and nations as fundamentally different in economic structure as Britain, the USA, and the USSR," and included statements from two international organizations and an historic perspective on planning in Japan. The new masthead underscored the broad international outlook: the Hungarian born Gyorgy Kepes, a protégé of Moholy-Nagy, was Art Adviser; and the Editorial Council included Catherine Bauer, then teaching at Harvard; Spanish born Sert, elected president of CIAM at the group's first postwar congress; and African American economist Robert Weaver, who had recently traveled to the Soviet Union as a member of a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRAA) mission (Figure 3).

Catherine Bauer—who Margy credits as serving as a guide for her and Martin⁴²—introduced the unifying internationalist theme of *TASK 7/8*: "Diverse though it is, the major interest of this material lies in the fact that the problems and issues, the questions posed and even some of the answers are so similar."⁴³ Transnational organizations such as IFHTP, UN and UNESCO, and CIAM were instigating the postwar "revival and intensification" of "broad-based international fellowship and crossfertilization in this field," Bauer observed. To suggest the larger "significance of this interplay," Bauer cites Julian Huxley's vision for UNESCO, "The unifying of traditions in a single common pool of experience, awareness and purpose is the necessary prerequisite for further major progress in human evolution." Echoing Geddes, Bauer encouraged architects and planners to act as agents of such a cultural alliance, "Architecture, housing and city-planning are pre-eminently arts of peace. Through them there is, unmistakably a drive toward a 'single pool of scientific knowledge' for

maximum human benefit, and toward a world culture, richly varied in detail, but nevertheless expressing the basic unity of mankind."⁴⁴

Transnational Community of Planners

Bauer probably influenced the Meyersons' decison to invite Tyrwhitt to contribute to *TASK 7/8*. Bauer and Tyrwhitt had been friends since 1945, and she had hosted a party in honor of Tyrwhitt's visit to Cambridge with Charles and Judy Abrams, which doubtless included the Meyersons and Lloyd Rodwin, a former student of Abrams teaching at MIT. "It was a very, very small universe," Margy Meyerson, recalled. "Through one way or another almost everybody knew each other or of each other." The Meyersons saw Tyrwhitt again in New York in October 1948 at the annual American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO) conference, as well as in Chicago in November. Tyrwhitt was back in New York then to give a course on "Town & Country Planning in Britain and the US," and develop the proposed new planning course with Abrams, Lewis Mumford, and Albert Mayer.

At that time Tyrwhitt had recently published her edited collection *Geddes in India* (1947), which highlighted the relevance of Geddes's concept of "bio-regionalism." That is "what makes this book particularly apt and timely for the days ahead," Mumford declared, in his introduction. "In short, one cannot appreciate Geddes's bioregionalism, unless one also appreciates his internationalism, his universalism." She was also in the midst of producing an abridged edition of Geddes's *Cities in Evolution*, which had been out of print for more than a generation. In her version (published in London in 1949 and in New York in 1950), Tyrwhitt underscored the currency of Geddes's views on civic education, and the need for permanent centers—such as his Outlook Tower in Edinburgh—"in each city, where the inter-relation of the past, present and future of that locality, and the interaction of world events and local life an be refreshed and made manifest to the ordinary citizen, as the very basis of citizen participation in town planning."

Tyrwhitt introduced these ideas into international discourse at the ASPO conference, at a session on Training the Planner (at which "the growing pains and adolescent confusion of the new and rapidly growing profession" were evident. ⁴⁸) The Proceedings report that Tyrwhitt "stated that training for town and country planning in her country [for] many years ... had not been geared to 'what exists' but to 'what might be...'" Tyrwhitt also specifically "referred to the 'museum' and the 'outlook tower' in the proposals of Patrick Geddes, which could stand much more thoughtful exploration in meeting today's needs and wants." Tyrwhitt's words apparently had an immediate effect on Meyerson, who in 1949 "recommended to public officials in Chicago that a 'a museum of the future' might highlight the civic possibilities; both leaders and citizens could be encouraged to participate in Utopian thinking."

The Meyersons had many opportunities to meet with Tyrwhitt when she visited Chicago in November 1948, at the invitation of ASPO director Walter Blucher and Herbert Emmerich, director of the Public Administration Clearing House (PACH). Margy worked for ASPO and Martin was teaching at the University of Chicago, both in the undergraduate Social Sciences division and in Rexford Tugwell's new graduate program in planning. Tugwell hosted a party for Tyrwhitt to meet his staff, invited her to speak at the University, and arranged conferences with her and members of the Social Sciences Division about planning. Both Blucher and Herbert Emmerich also hosted gatherings at their homes. ⁵⁰

Meyerson and Tyrwhitt had further opportunities to exchange ideas in the spring of 1951, when she was a visiting professor at Yale and taught a seminar on the "Origins and Development of Certain Planning Concepts." The Meyersons hosted Tyrwhitt when she was invited to speak at the University of Chicago in March, and again in May, when she was invited to speak at the annual convention of the American Institute of Architecture (AIA). Tyrwhitt introduced her concept of the "urban constellation" to describe the dynamic relationship of cities, villages, and towns, organized

around "a vital city center," at that time. She developed that concept at the eighth CIAM congress held that July in Hoddeson, England, which "heralded the final period of CIAM, in which it would concentrate more and more on social aspects of urban planning." As noted above, the Meyersons attended CIAM 8 on their first trip abroad—"a seven month grand tour" that included London, Germany, Italy, and Yugoslavia. They had joined the transnational networks through which CIAM discourse on utopian urbanism—a critical re-valuation of modernism—circulated, and in which Tyrwhitt occupied a central position as Acting Secretary to the CIAM Council.

It was during this trip, in late 1951, that Meyerson was invited to join the University of Pennsylvania's new planning program. Clearly inspired by his international experience and exposure to the CIAM method, at Penn Meyerson taught a course on comparative urbanization and planning, and with Mumford a course on the historical development of cities in various countries. Meyerson now had the opportunity to help shape a curriculum for city planning, blending a comparative historical perspective with physical, social, and policy analysis, similar to the approach Tyrwhitt had recently pioneered in England, and embodied in her *Town and Country Planning Textbook* (Architectural Press, London 1950)—the first book of its kind in Britain. Planning historian Michael Hebbert claims that Tyrwhitt's contributions to this text best captured "the bracing sense of what could be achieved by scientific regional planning which tackled land use and social and economic problems ... holistically as elements of a single community design."

Meanwhile Tyrwhitt continued to pursue an international career path. In September, she began another temporary job as a visiting professor at the University of Toronto, to lay the ground work for a new graduate program in town and regional planning. By then, she was recognized as a member of "a select group of planners" with foreign experience, who were contacted by Weissmann's staff to gather input for a UN Project on Neighborhood Units. Tyrwhitt maintained regular contact with Weissmann at that time about UN and CIAM affairs. In 1953, he secured for her the position of Project Director for the Technical Assistance Administration (TAA) to advise the Government of India in connection with an International Exhibition on Low-Cost Housing for South East Asia to be staged in New Delhi in January 1954. She also organized a Regional Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement, staged concurrently, on the problems of building and planning in tropical countries, and she coordinated the seminar with IFHTP's first regional meeting in Asia.

One of Tyrwhitt's qualifications for this job was that she was European. The American delegation to the seminar, which included Charles Abrams, then Meyerson's colleague on the Penn faculty, Jacob Crane, and Frederick Adams, head of planning at MIT, nearly did not arrive in time due to delays in obtaining "clearance" to represent the U.S. abroad. Tyrwhitt first met Doxiadis at this seminar; he had just established his consulting firm. In his closing remarks Weissmann reported, "The Seminar has shown that the less developed countries are evolving new and more rational approaches and methods of their own more suited to their circumstances and needs." Tyrwhitt brought this awareness to her future work at Harvard and with Doxiadis.

Converging Networks: Domestic and International Interests at Harvard

The various networks and interests that connected Meyerson and Tyrwhitt converged when they became colleagues at Harvard in 1957. Shortly after Sert became chair of the Department of Architecture and Dean of the GSD, he invited Tyrwhitt to join the faculty. As assistant professor of City Planning, one of Tyrwhitt's primary responsibilities was to help Sert organize an annual series of conferences on urban design to help build support for the new degree program he hoped to launch—continuing the CIAM discourse on utopian urbanism in the context of American urban redevelopment. Sert also had begun discussions with the Ford Foundation about the idea of establishing a multidisciplinary center for research on urban and regional problems. Meyerson participated in those talks when he joined the Harvard faculty in the fall of 1957 as Williams Professor

of City Planning and Urban Research, and director of the newly established Center for Urban Studies, which focused on design and physical planning. "Martin Meyerson is a great asset as a personality," Tyrwhitt wrote. "I ... feel sure things will gradually improve a lot both in the planning department and in the inter-connection of planning and architecture." Meyerson helped Sert overcome the resistance among some members of the planning faculty to teaching joint studios beyond the one-term introductory Environmental Design Studio that all first-year GSD students took. 57

When Meyerson arrived at Harvard, Tyrwhitt and Sert were in the midst of working on a project funded by the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education, which was closely aligned with the aims of the Ford Foundation-funded ACTION, where Meyerson had been the executive director since 1955. Their project, "The Shape of Our Cities: A Series of Experimental Study-Discussion Programs on Urbanism," was one of the experiments the Fund for Adult Education conducted to develop and test new materials and techniques for use by civic groups. The purpose of the "The Shape of Our Cities" discussion series was to make participants aware of changes underway affecting the look, feel, and form of cities at multiple spatial scales, home, neighborhood, and region, and what choices they have to plan their environment—to go "From Utopia to Reality." The organization and content of this program clearly informed the curricula for the new urban design courses that Tyrwhitt helped Sert develop and teach.

"The Shape of Our Cities" workbook material appears to have had an influence on Meyerson, who had a chance to study it in Tokyo in August 1958, at the UN-TAA Asian Seminar on Regional Planning. Meyerson attended that seminar as a member of his first UN mission, on Urbanization and Industrialization in Japan. Weissman led the mission which included Bauer, Abrams, and Ylvisaker, and continued as a study group until 1962. Weissmann had commissioned Tyrwhitt to prepare an exhibit of material from "The Shape of Our Cities" for display at the Tokyo seminar; the Fund for Public Education paid for the shipping costs. Tyrwhitt and Sert also co-authored a paper on this project for discussion at the seminar, which they hoped would "bring to light some aspects of the shaping of man's urban environment which are common to all cultures."

Face of the Metropolis, Ekistics, and Urban Design at Harvard

From her perch at Harvard, Tyrwhitt had a unique perspective on the ramifications of such linkages between Harvard, ACTION, the UN, and the Ford Foundation's international and domestic programs. In an editorial in *Ekistics* (June 1959) she observed, "Almost as though it were following the lead of the recent United Nations Seminar on Regional Planning in Tokyo, ACTION ... recently decided to expand its activities from neighborhood improvement to the problems of metropolitan areas." It was ACTION's expanded agenda, which led Meyerson to hire Tyrwhitt to work with him in the summer of 1959 on an urban design study published by ACTION as *Face of the Metropolis* (1963). Whether Meyerson acknowledged "The Shape of Our Cities" as an inspiration for this urban design study, its influence is evident. At this same time, Tyrwhitt and Sert were considering revising "The Shape of Our Cities" for publication under the auspices of CIAM, which ceased to exist that summer, as a version of a Habitat Charter for the United States. Sert lost interest in the CIAM publication, though; it is likely that Tyrwhitt recycled some of the material in her work with Meyerson on *Face of the Metropolis*.

Meyerson acknowledged in the text, if not on the cover, that Tyrwhitt shared with him "the responsibility for organizing the book." ⁶³ In terms that echo the aims of "The Shape of the City," Meyerson explained, "With this book, my colleagues and I hope to stimulate a wider and more sophisticated public interest in urban design and architecture.... We try to suggest to the reader and see-er (for graphic materials are as important as the text) the physical changes that are taking place in the urban community, some of the reasons for these changes, and some of their aesthetic

implications ... to help the reader become a more informed critic and thus create more articulate demands on architects, landscape architects and urban designers."⁶⁴

Meyerson's urban design study for ACTION evolved in the context of the series of Urban Design (UD) Conferences that Tyrwhitt helped Sert organize and for which she served as raporteur. Meyerson took part in the third UD conference in April 1959, which aimed "to arrive at certain principles which can guide the design of large scale residential developments." In her report of the conference proceedings, Tyrwhitt (p. 129) noted that Meyerson "summed up the views of many when he said: 'There are many things that we just haven't done in urban design because, in the new technology of our century urban design is almost a phenomenon of the post war years. With many of my colleagues here I fully expect that the great advances in urban design will come from those who are now students and that the examples we have seen at this Congress will look very primitive as the years go on." ⁶⁵

Tyrwhitt used Meyerson's comment to connect the discourse on urban design underway at Harvard and the emergent ekistics movement. Tyrwhitt published her report on that UD conference in an issue of *Ekistics* which focused on "technology"—deemed "the modern international frontier." In her editorial introduction to the journal, she presented the conference as one example of education in new techniques that contributes to "the advancement of the technology concerned with the science of ekistics." ⁶⁶ From her editorial office "located just off the Harvard campus," she thus established a path for the interactive development of these related lines of thought, which converged at the Delos Symposia, which was attended by many people, such as Meyerson, who were also regular participants in the UD conferences.

In the summer of 1960, Tyrwhitt was working with Doxiadis at ATI—she and Meyerson had both advised him on the establishment of this school and research center⁶⁷—when Meyerson wrote to her with good news, "You will be very pleased to know that Random House currently wants to follow your suggestion and put out the urban design guide as a paperback I suggest ... you and I might spend some time together on the book before school starts." At the same time he sent a memo to Random House that confirms Tyrwhitt's coauthorship of the book. ⁶⁹ It is unclear why she is not credited as a coauthor in the final publication.

Meyerson addressed the role of transnational scholarly networks, gathered in urban institutions, in the cross-fertilization and dissemination of innovations in the realm of urban design in his opening address at the fifth UD conference in April 1961 on "The Institution As A Generator of Urban Form:"

What is done here wafts its way both eastward and westward across the Atlantic and the Pacific to set the style of life in much of the world today ... I think it gives a very special significance to the kinds of examples we will discuss if what is done in Detroit is of significance, not only for Cleveland and Chicago and Los Angeles, but also for Hamburg and Osaka and Calcutta and Nairobi. ... I think ... one of the great ethical responsibilities of the planners, the architects, the landscape architects today is the ambassadorial one, in that we are all proselytizers for an intellectual and a visual way of life. I don't mean this so much in a political sense but in the sense of providing new bonds, new bases, for world culture. To

A New Planning School in Indonesia

Meyerson and Tyrwhitt also devoted a significant amount of time in the academic year 1958–1959 developing plans for a new school of Regional and City Planning within the Institute of Technology in Bandung, Indonesia. The UN regarded the new school—the first of its kind in Southeast Asia—as a pilot for similar schools in other parts of the world.⁷¹ The Government of Indonesia and the UN selected Harvard GSD as the sponsoring institution to set up the new planning and research program.

The challenge was "to attack head-on the question of education for a kind of planning that does not yet actually exist." Doebele and his wife, Mary, accompanied Meyerson, who served as senior advisor to the project, to Bandung in December 1958; Meyerson stayed there for a month while the Doebeles stayed on for the first year. Sert and Tyrwhitt were to go the following year. Sert would take a sabbatical and Tyrwhitt agreed to stay for a term. Tyrwhitt was uniquely qualified for this assignment, as she had visited Bandung for her job directing the UN seminar in New Delhi in 1954, when the idea for a planning school in a developing country was first suggested. He knew many of the key players and understood their needs.

Doebele encountered serious logistical difficulties during his stay and warned Meyerson and Tyrwhitt in June 1959, "everything which could go wrong has done so, and the legendary chaos of Indonesia affairs has finally caught up with me." He worried that "in spite of the most careful planning and double checking, the simplest procedures have not been carried out, not only by the Indonesians, but the other agencies ... with which we have been dealing.... (Some of the situations are quite incredible and would be amusing if our time limits were not getting so tight.)⁷⁵

Tyrwhitt arrived in Bandung in late December 1959 and, unlike Doebele, found living in Bandung "peaceful and without cares." She essentially got the program up and running. By March, she advised Sert, who had postponed his sabbatical, "As far as I know this is the most efficient, and realistic and economic assistance that has yet been given in setting up a department which should be able to run (at a high level) under its own power within 5-7 years from the start." Before leaving in mid-July 1960, Tyrwhitt reported on the work that had been accomplished and outlined the plan for the next phase. 78 The Foundation Period (1959–1961) covered enrollment and facilities, as well as curriculum—Geddesian in its integrated approach to physical development with the region as the planning unit and use of surveys—and selection of faculty. The Advanced Training Period (1961–1963) covered the research program—the investigation of new and better ways to foster development, which itself has many unanswered questions—enrollment of advanced students and building space requirements. To celebrate the final phase, opening the Advanced Course to Graduate Students from South East Asia and opening of the Research Center, Tyrwhitt proposed a UN Seminar on Planning, Training and Research in South East Asia to be held in Spring of 1964. Meyerson wrote to her in July, "The UN is very pleased with all that you have done and are only astonished, as we all are, at your energy."⁷⁹

Meyerson's fruitful collaboration with Tyrwhitt carried the Bandung project forward significantly. Meyerson worked closely with Tyrwhitt and Doebele, meeting with UN staff to identify suitable candidates for future faculty—a great deal of thought was given to "the selection of talents who would draw up the detailed curriculum later" and supervising their course of study. They also made decisions about the program together, collectively sending instructions to Harvard faculty advisers in Bandung, first William Alonso (1960–1961), and then William Nash (1961–1962). Meanwhile, on Tyrwhitt's recommendation, the UN sponsored a three-day conference at Harvard in May 1961 for all Indonesian faculty members then studying in North America. Her aim was to strengthen personal relationships among the future faculty, so that they could work closely as an interdisciplinary team. At the same time, she was helping Sert organize the GSD urban design program, a similar effort at collaborative professional education.

Meyerson returned to Indonesia in the summer of 1962, intending to help Nash and his successor, Richard Meier—then a visiting faculty at the Joint Center—with the orientation of new Indonesian faculty. Meier's principle task would be to spell out the Institute's research program and to supervise its early stages. This did not work out, however, and Meier spent the summer of 1962 working with Doxiadis on his City of the Future research project—"Utopias that allow for growth and change"—at ATI. Tyrwhitt was distressed to discover this when she arrived in Athens in July 1962, to help Doxiadis plan the first Delos Symposium. She wrote to Meyerson, "Of course it is excellent for ATI—but I am more concerned with Indonesia.... purely out of curiosity as alas I can do nothing about it." 82

It was because of such dedication to the new school in Bandung that Meyerson entrusted the investment he had made in this project—and his reputation—to Tyrwhitt, who, along with Doebele, replaced him as UN Senior Advisors to it when he left Harvard to become Dean of the College of Environmental Design at University of California (UC), Berkeley, in September 1963. However, Tyrwhitt intended to resign from Harvard in June 1964 and concentrate on working with Doxiadis on the Delos Symposia in Greece and with the UN. As she explained to Sert after Delos 1, "Of course it's only a beginning, but—as you know—I have always been interested in international action at a professional (not political) level, and Doxiadis has offered me a prominent position in working with this group." By then she had paved the way for Meyerson to participate in the second Delos Symposia and propose the formation of WSE, which is where they continued their association. After 1965, Tyrwhitt spent one semester a year at the GSD and the rest of the time principally with ACE, until she retired from Harvard in 1969.

Conclusion

The internationalism of Martin Meyerson was intrinsically linked to the notion of critical utopianism that he and Jaqueline Tyrwhitt evolved together premised on the value of utopian formulations as a force for social change. Their critical utopianism was inspired by the philosophy of scientific humanism: global in extent and evolutionary in perspective. Their ideas were grounded in an ecological conception of human settlements as living systems—the human habitat. As editor of *Ekistics* Tyrwhitt featured this view in the November 1972 issue, dedicated to urban design, in which Delian Rene Dubos—who coined the slogan "act locally and think globally"—writes:

In all living systems, whether they are embryos, landscapes, or cultures, organization limits the possibilities of reorganization. Normal development is thus a self-directing process in which form and function emerge and evolve together, to a large extent along patterns derived from the past. Because the system as a whole tends to shape itself, its arrangement can rarely be imposed from the outside. Instead of imposing our will on nature for the sake of exploitation, we should attempt to discover the qualities inherent in each particular place so as to foster their development.⁸⁴

In 1950, Tyrwhitt cited a similar passage from Geddes (ca. 1911) to explain why this ecological conception required that those who would improve the environment must begin by loving that particular place in its *existing* condition:

Each place has a true personality; ... which it is the task of the planner, as master-artist, to awaken. And only he can do this who is in love and at home with his subject... the love in which his intuition supplements knowledge and arouses his own fullest intensity of expression to call forth the latent but not less vital possibilities before him.⁸⁵

It was as citizens of a worldwide city, threatened by its own expansion, that Meyerson, Tyrwhitt, and fellow Delians felt compelled to invent a preferable future. Empirical research provided the means to understand existing trends and conditions in particular places as well as to investigate alternative futures and how to achieve them. However, given the ecological complexity of human settlements, they understood that the use of scientific knowledge must be tempered by common sense and humility. Based on their humanist philosophy and social-aesthetic ideals, Meyerson, Tyrwhitt, and the Delians shaped an image of a preferred future that moved toward a possibility of a sustainable relationship between humans and nature. Critical utopianism implied a faith in the possibility of this future, in the sense of hopefulness, not naive optimism. ⁸⁶

Those ideas informed Meyerson and Tyrwhitt's work together from their first project, *TASK* 7/8, which was dedicated to building a better postwar world beginning with housing. It also informed their work on the Harvard faculty developing a new urban design curriculum to revitalize cities in decline and prepare for an urban future and their support of programs to train planners in

developing countries to guide growth compatible with regional cultures and institutions. Their work with Doxiadis and WSE created the global vision to inspire and guide "each separate effort for the future of human settlement." Their willingness to take on the challenge to invent the future—and help the next generation go beyond them—in the face of skepticism, as reflected in Meyerson's ringing "Let there be no Cassandras!" is available to us as an inspiration.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no conflicts of interest with respect to the authorship and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research and/or authorship of this article.

Notes

- 1. Martin Meyerson, "Martin Meyerson," in *The Book of the School: 100 Years: The Graduate School of Fine Arts of the University of Pennsylvania*, ed. Ann L. Strong and George E. Thomas, 166 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, ca. 1990).
- 2. Ann L. Strong, "Planning Abroad," in ibid., 167.
- 3. This article forms part of a larger project, an intellectual biography of Tyrwhitt, and builds on my previous work on this topic. See Ellen Shoshkes, "Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: A Founding Mother Of Urban Design," *Planning Perspectives* 21, no. 2 (April 2006): 179-97; and Ellen Shoshkes, "Jaqueline Tyrwhitt and Transnational Discourse on Modern Urban Planning and Design, 1941–1951," *Urban History* 36, no. 2 (2009): 262-83. I am grateful to the Beverly Willis Architectural Foundation for the research support that made this article possible. Daniel Huws generously made his personal collection of Tyrwhitt papers available for my research. I would also like to thank the editor of this journal and anonymous readers for their very helpful comments. And I especially thank Sy Adler for his attentive editorial review of earlier versions of this paper.
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- 12. "The Declaration of Delos," Ekistics 16, no. 93 (August 1963): n.p.
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Bio

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