

Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: a founding mother of modern urban design

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Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (1905–83) was a town planner, editor and educator who was at the centre of a group of people who shaped the post-war Modern Movement. Tyrwhitt's great contribution, especially to the planning arm of the Modern Movement, the new field of urban design and the new science of ekistics, is under-recognized, largely because she worked willingly as the 'woman behind the man' – notably as a disciple of Patrick Geddes, translator and editor of Sigfried Giedion, and collaborator of Constantinos Doxiadis. In doing so she extended their influence greatly and shaped the work of many people. Histories of planning lose much by omitting the contribution of collaborative, catalytic actors such as Tyrwhitt, whose career serves as a touchstone for this era, considered to be a watershed in the history of planning as an intellectual and professional movement. This paper sheds light on Tyrwhitt's contribution through a chronological narrative, interweaving the biographical facts of her career with the larger themes her work engages in the broadest sense: the globalization of planning and urban design as an intellectual and professional movement as part of the larger civilizational transformation – the emergence of countervailing, 'postmodern' globalism, a humane, ecological world view very much like Geddes' Neo-Technic Era.

Introduction

Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (1905–83), a town planner, editor and educator was at the centre of a group of people who shaped the post-war Modern Movement. Tyrwhitt's great contribution, especially to the planning arm of the Modern Movement, the new field of urban design and the new science of ekistics, is under-recognized, largely because she 'constantly subordinated her own great energies to the service of others' – notably as a disciple of Patrick Geddes, translator and editor of Sigfried Giedion, and collaborator of Constantinos Doxiadis – observed planning scholar William Doebele [1], adding: 'In so doing she magnified the

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impact of great minds, multiplying many times the sphere of influence of their lives'. 'She came to think of herself as a "catalyst"' rather than a practitioner, recalled architect and planner Max Lock [2]. Histories of planning lose much by omitting the contribution of collaborative, catalytic actors (typically women) such as Tyrwhitt, whose career serves as a touchstone for this era – considered to be a watershed in the history of planning as an intellectual and professional movement. Luckily there is growing interest in recovering the untold stories of the contribution made to urbanism, urban planning and design by women in general and Tyrwhitt in particular [3]. This account of Tyrwhitt's contribution concentrates on the main phases and sites of her career.

Arguably, Tyrwhitt's genius was in her ability to extend the influence of foundational anarchist Utopian planning ideals in the further development of post-war modernism by recognizing patterns that connect their multifarious expression across time zones and cultures, and bringing them together into a single thread of 'ekistical thinking' – aligned with an emergent 'postmodern globalism'. As an outsider – a woman in a man's world and a 'roving scholar-planner' – she occupied an interstitial position and acted as an intermediary: observing, synthesizing, organizing, effecting, editing and networking. Her outsider status was conducive to the formulation of new cross-disciplinary knowledge and concepts such as urban design and ekistical thinking (that essentially involve making connections) as well as to the creation of trans-border channels for their wide dissemination. In this she perpetuated the legacy of female proto-planners, such as Lillian Wald, Mary Simkhovitch, Emily Balch, Jane Addams and untold other 'women as agents of social transformation', who, sociologist Elise Boulding [4] reported, not only imagine a better world but generate new 'action models ... to bring these futures into being'.

This paper sheds light on Tyrwhitt's contribution through a chronological narrative interweaving the biographical facts of her career (drawn mainly from the double volume of the journal *Ekistics* produced in her memory [5]) with the larger themes her work engages, in the broadest sense: the globalization of planning and urban design as an intellectual and professional movement as part of the larger civilizational transformation – the emergence of 'postmodern' globalism, an ecological, world view, envisioning co-operative, decentralized communities in harmony with nature, very much like Geddes' Neo-Technic Era (for a discussion of the concept of a countervailing, postmodern globalism see theorists such as Giddens and Falk *inter alia* [6]).

1920–39: Coming of age – roots

Jaqueline Tyrwhitt was born in 1905 in South Africa, where her father, an architect, was working on a two-year contract, designing schools as part of the post-Boer War reconstruction effort. Raised in England from the age of two, under the influence of her idealistic parents – her mother was a follower of Octavia Hill, the pioneering social reformer – young Jaqueline grew up exposed to the currents of Utopian socialism, the social gospel, progressive design reform and the new art of town planning (civic design) that then flourished there. The eldest of five children, Jaqueline was the first in many generations of women in her family to have to earn a living. After receiving the General Horticultural Diploma of the Royal Horticultural Society, at her father's suggestion Tyrwhitt enrolled for the first part of

the course at the Architectural Association (AA) (1924–5). She continued her studies at Worley Place under the famous gardener Ellen Willmott, and later practiced as a landscape architect. It was probably at the AA that she first became, as Maxwell Fry recalled, ‘greatly influenced by Patrick Geddes’ view of town planning as organic growth responding to the needs of society rather than as a pattern imposed for whatever reason’ [7, p. 416]. She even reportedly went to Edinburgh to study with Geddes, although it is hard to pin down when that may have actually happened [8].

In citing Geddes as perhaps her most important formative influence [9], Tyrwhitt, at the beginning of her professional life (Fig. 1), undoubtedly was impressed not only by his synoptic vision but also his ‘advanced perspective on women ... as equal to men in social significance’ [10]. Determined and independent, in pursuing her career Tyrwhitt travelled frequently as work required, forsaking marriage and children. However, she warmly treated colleagues and students as her extended family and welcomed them into her home, most famously in Sparoza, Greece.

Although Geddes died in 1932, his theories remained a vital ingredient in British planning circles in the 1930s – a critical moment when planning was becoming established as a distinct social science, a socially important occupation and a function of government – ‘because of the personal dedication’ of his disciples, among them, E. A. A. Rowse [11]. In 1932 Rowse, with Geddes’ protégé Frank Mears, was instrumental in setting up Scotland’s first Department of Civic Design, at the Edinburgh College of Art. Rowse then moved to London where, in 1935, as principal of the AA, he established an ambitious planning course, based on Geddes’ theories. In 1939 Rowse moved the planning course out of the AA where it acquired its own site, in Gordon Square, and its own identity – the School of Planning and Research for Regional Development (SPRRD) – thereby elevating the status of Geddes’ theories from a pioneering approach to the framework for graduate-level professional education.

Concurrently, the ideas of European modernism began to influence British planning, because with the rise of the Nazis and the closing of the Bauhaus – the seminal modernist school of art and architecture – in 1933, émigré Bauhaus teachers and their students began to arrive in England [12]. Bauhaus founder, Walter Gropius, arrived in 1934, along with his colleagues Marcel Breuer, Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Serge Chermayeff and Sigfried Giedion. Modernist Utopian urbanism particularly resonated with those British planners inspired by Geddes – who had long admired German town planning, itself inspired by British housing and garden cities – and members of the MARS (Modern Architectural Research) group, the British section of CIAM (*Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne*).

It was in this fertile context that Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, searching for a more socially meaningful career path than garden design, became interested in planning. In 1935, she worked briefly at Dartington Hall, which Leonard Elmhirst modelled on Rabindranath Tagore’s experimental school, *Sriniketan*, an Institute of Rural Reconstruction, which he had helped establish near Calcutta in 1901 [13]. (Patrick Geddes and his son Arthur helped Tagore plan the campus for a related school project in 1916.) Tyrwhitt’s growing interest in town planning led her to Germany in 1937, where she spent nine months at the *Technische Hochschule* in Berlin – ‘partly to see what had happened to the earlier town-planning schemes under Hitler’ she recalled in 1954 [14]. (Ironically Constantinos Doxiadis was also studying at the *Technische Hochschule* at that time.) In Berlin she could see for herself the new social



Figure 1. Jaqueline Tyrwhitt's great contribution to the planning arm of the Modern Movement, the field of urban design and the science of ekistics is under-recognized largely because she willingly worked as the 'woman behind the man'. (Source: courtesy Ines Zalduendo, Archivist, Frances Loeb Library, Harvard Design School; photographer unknown.)

architecture which Lewis Mumford [15] described as ‘forms prophetic of a new civilization’, a concrete counter to the fascist threat. This experience appears to have deepened her interest in Geddes’ vision. Back in England Tyrwhitt enrolled in the SPRRD, graduating with honours in 1939. When the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe that year led Rowse to enlist for active duty, he asked Tyrwhitt to take over as the interim director of the school.

1940s: Planning for post-war reconstruction

As interim director of the SPRRD, Tyrwhitt came into her own as a keeper of Geddes’ legacy. Right away she set up a new applied research group within the school, the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction (APRR), to develop practical applications of Geddes’ principles, especially when the Town and Country Planning (‘Blitz and Blight’) Act of 1944 compelled nationwide urban redevelopment and reconstruction. In 1943 she famously codified these methods in the Correspondence Course (and follow-up completion course) in town planning she ran to prepare soldiers in the Allied Forces for the task of post-war reconstruction. As many of her ex-soldier students went on to become important professional planners and teachers of planning, both in England and its former colonies, in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, Tyrwhitt exerted significant influence on post-war reconstruction, ensuring that the spirit of Geddes infused their image of a better future – a vision of decentralized community, based on co-operation and in harmony with nature.

Moreover, in devising techniques for the analysis and presentation of survey data in map and report format, Tyrwhitt developed the first description in English of methods for using transparent thematic map overlays, which she presented explicitly for implementation of the New Towns Act of 1947 [16]. Thus, Tyrwhitt, in support of Geddes’ ecological philosophy, pioneered the methods popularized by Ian McHarg two decades later, and adapted in computerized Geographic Information Systems (GIS) [17].

Through the APRR Tyrwhitt also published numerous reports on various social and economic aspects of planning, and promoted the contemporary relevance of Geddes’ writings in her abridged version of *Cities in Evolution* (1949) and edited collection of essays *Patrick Geddes in India* (1947) – which Colin Ward described as ‘the best little book to show why he is important for modern planners’ [18] (Fig. 2). (Tyrwhitt also looked for a way the APRR could purchase Geddes’ City and Town Planning Exhibit, which his son Arthur was trying to sell. She did at least arrange a showing of selections from that exhibit at the International Housing and Town Planning Exhibition in London in 1948.)

In these various endeavours – applied research, civic surveys, curriculum development, teaching, editing, publishing, exhibition design – Tyrwhitt employed and ‘shaped the work of many people, guiding and directing some and stimulating others, into dedicating their special expertise to a common purpose’, recounted Gerhard Rosenberg [19], who, as a refugee architect, was among them. ‘It was ... Rowse’s idea of the “composite mind”, coupled with the ... magnitude of the tasks of reconstruction ... which brought about the idea of collective leadership, replacing the ... “great man” myth of the earlier generation’, Rosenberg said, noting: ‘Jaqueline Tyrwhitt was ... the prototype of the collective leader’. However, Rowse’s idea of the ‘composite mind’ stemmed directly from Geddes’ thoughts,

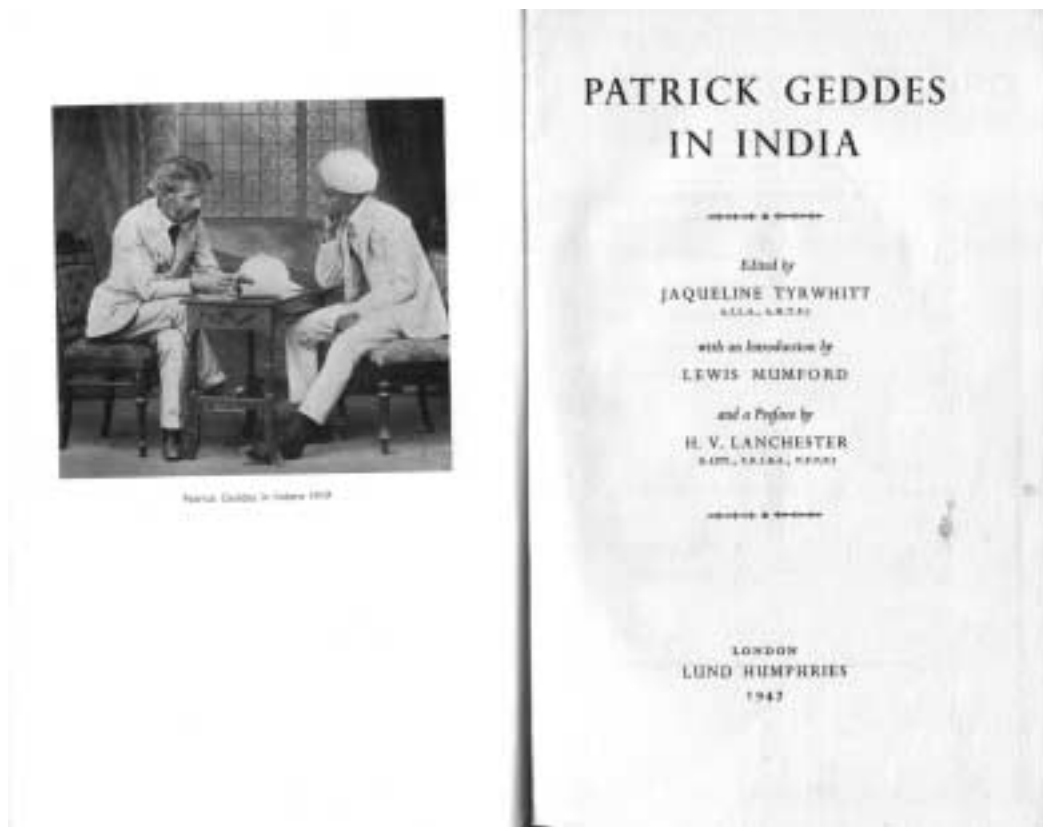


Figure 2. Through the APRR Tyrwhitt published an edited collection of essays *Patrick Geddes in India* (1947) – which Colin Ward described as ‘the best little book to show why he is important for modern planners’.

and Tyrwhitt provided her collective leadership at just that critical moment, when, as Mumford asserted in his ‘Introduction’ to *Geddes in India*: ‘The tasks that [Geddes] understood as a solitary thinker and planner have become the collective task of our generation. Over the terrain that he explored as a scout, a whole army is now moving into position’ [20].

Membership in CIAM

At this same time Tyrwhitt was becoming active in the MARS group, which she had joined in 1941. The MARS group became the centre of CIAM’s post-war activities and Tyrwhitt applied her ‘collective leadership’ in helping them organize the first post-war CIAM conference in 1947. This is where Tyrwhitt first met Siegfried Giedion, the Swiss historian and CIAM Secretary General, with whom she soon began a twenty-year collaborative association.

Through her work with Giedion Tyrwhitt quickly became part of the CIAM inner circle. Significantly, this was a time when CIAM members ‘faced with the problems of reconstruction and the development of new regions’ now recognized ‘that architecture and city planning were tied closer together than ever before’ [21]. Tyrwhitt served as secretary to the CIAM Council in 1948, Assistant Director to Maxwell Fry, the Director of MARS from 1949 and, later, as the Acting Secretary to CIAM from 1951 until its disbandment in 1964.

Tyrwhitt’s membership in CIAM served her well as the end of war also ended wartime opportunities for women in the workforce. When Rowse returned to the School of Planning in 1948, Tyrwhitt found new opportunities – and a new perspective on planning – in North America, where she was warmly welcomed by CIAM émigrés. In Moholy-Nagy, then living in Chicago, Tyrwhitt found a friend, who ‘opened her eyes to modernist aesthetics, whereas she had been primarily concerned with the social and economic basis of physical planning’ [22]. So inspired, Tyrwhitt organized a CIAM summer school session in London, in 1949, that focused on how town planning could ‘provide an adequate framework for collaboration’ between artists and architects, essentially, an early investigation of the collaborative practice of urban design [23]. In this regard she became even more closely aligned with Geddes’ holistic view of the interdependence of science and the arts (promoted through his short-lived journal *Evergreen*).

Tyrwhitt now found herself in transition – ‘neither here nor there’ – which proved to be an ideal position for her to facilitate exchange among the far-flung transplanted European modernists. On a return visit to the USA she met Walter Gropius, then teaching at Harvard, and began working with him, with CIAM president Jose Luis Sert, then teaching in New York, with Le Corbusier in Europe and with Giedion on both continents, on CIAM affairs. Preparations for the post-war CIAM congresses in these days before fax and e-mail could not have taken place without such a trusted, interpersonal transatlantic connection. This highlights the role played by semi-autonomous and well-connected elites, such as Tyrwhitt, in the reconstruction of channels for communication that had been disrupted by the war.

1950s: Mediating post-war modernism: humanistic regionalism

Tyrwhitt continued her collective leadership role in CIAM VIII, in England in 1951, hosted by the MARS group on the theme ‘the need for the core’ defined as ‘the elements that makes a community a community and not merely an aggregate of individuals’ [24]. CIAM VIII illustrates how Tyrwhitt shaped the MARS group’s mixture of Geddes’ historical, contextual specific perspective with Bauhaus urbanism. Tyrwhitt framed the debate, planned the agenda, recorded the proceedings and co-edited its publication in 1952 as *CIAM: Heart of the City* (Fig. 3). To facilitate comparison Tyrwhitt asked participants to present examples of the core from their various countries and projects, which were displayed in a grid. This framework captured the competing landscapes of modernism and visions of modernity being produced in distant regions, under extremely different local circumstances. The format also highlighted the new notion of ‘humanistic regionalism’ – in which the structure of the old town could guide the design of the new ‘Cores’ needed within the polycentric ‘urban constellation’.

In contrast to Sert and Giedion’s more formalistic view of the ‘core’ as a piazza, Tyrwhitt [25] articulated a more Geddesian, populist perspective:



Figure 3. Tyrwhitt shown talking with Cadbury Brown and a student at CIAM VIII in 1951. For this conference Tyrwhitt framed the debate, planned the agenda, recorded the proceedings and co-edited their publication in 1952 as *CIAM: Heart of the City* (from which this photo is taken).

The Core is not the seat of civic dignity: the Core is the gathering place of the people ... The task of the architect and planner is to appreciate the attributes of each Core and enable these to be developed so that the people of that community can derive the greatest benefit from coming together ... at each 'scale-level' of community.

Thus, one can see Tyrwhitt as among the first to introduce the theme of urban design as a mechanism to enhance and sustain democratic social interaction in post-war modernist debate. This theme is subsequently taken up by Giedion and young members of the MARS group (who had fervently adopted Geddesian principles), using the language of Martin Buber, whose existential, communitarian philosophy had begun to influence the MARS group since publication of *I and Thou* in London in 1936 [26]. In his foreword to *Community and Environment* by E. A. Gutkind (a German émigré who had found employment at the APRR), Buber spoke directly to architects in English: 'The architects must be given the task to build for human contact, to build an environment which invites human meetings and centers which give these meetings meaning and render them productive' [27].

CIAM President Jose Luis Sert introduced the CIAM discourse on 'the need for the Core' into Harvard's architecture and planning program when he succeeded Gropius as Dean of the Graduate School of Design in 1954. Tyrwhitt was one of the first people Sert hired to join the faculty, to help him set up his new programme. Before assuming this position, however, Tyrwhitt went to New Delhi, as Director of the first UN Seminar on Housing and Community Planning, held in January 1954, and UN Technical Assistance Advisor to the Indian Government, for a concurrent exhibition on low-cost housing. She organized this exhibition around a Village Centre based on her Geddesian version of the CIAM 'core' – 'essentially an open space enclosed by community buildings' and surrounded by experimental low-cost housing, 'the intention being to show that the two are inseparable' [28].

Tyrwhitt was clearly embedding the truly radical – and spiritual – quality of Geddes' message in the Village Centre, which was aimed at promoting the movement championed by

Tagore and Gandhi for a revival of the self-governing traditions of Indian villages. She explained that all of the buildings

could be built by self-help methods instigated by the Panchayat [village council] itself, or by a ... village cooperative ... for the interest of this Village Centre lies not in the construction method employed but in the general disposition of the buildings, their plan and their function.

And elaborated:

The integration of mind and body, hands and the good earth is shown by the careful siting and design of a multiple purpose basic school building; a small health clinic planned in relation to environmental sanitation needs; a crafts center where production is centered on housing; and a seed store and manure producing plant, linked to the cultivation of a vegetable garden which, by being itself linked to the basic school, restarts the cycle of life.

In the estimation of Eric Carlson, then UN Chief of Housing: ‘This project was a substantial success, and its lessons should have been applied in the context of the UN Habitat Conference exercise some 22 years later’ [29].

It was in New Delhi at the UN seminar that Tyrwhitt first met the famous Greek planner Constantinos Doxiadis. Soon afterward, she agreed to produce a monthly newsletter for his staff, stationed throughout the Middle East, as well as UN planning experts in other developing countries. This newsletter, originally consisting of reprints of articles that Tyrwhitt came across at Harvard, grew in popularity and eventually became the journal *Ekistics* – Doxiadis’ name for the new science of human settlements [30]. Tyrwhitt was associated with *Ekistics* as editor, co-editor, or consulting editor, from the first issue in October 1955 until her death in 1983. The 52nd volume of the magazine, a double issue, was dedicated to her in memoriam (Fig. 4)

So, by the mid-1950s, Tyrwhitt occupied a pivotal position in the complex web of relationships that formed the globalizing scholarly community of those concerned with human settlements, the shape of the urban future and the need to create a humane, ecological, life-affirming future: as the editor of *Ekistics*, in the CIAM inner circle, as an Assistant Professor of City Planning at Harvard and as a consultant to the UN. So situated, she exerted considerable, cross-fertilizing influence and ‘collective leadership’ in the further development of the Geddesian branch of the Modern Movement beyond functionalism, to a ‘new humanism’. Her voice was often heard indirectly, however, both echoing and channelled through the words of Giedion, whom she helped frame and research his 1957 Mellon lectures, published as *The Eternal Present: The Beginnings of Architecture*. ‘Giedion credited Tyrwhitt for “shouldering the heavy burden of putting this book on its feet” and for help in the translation of his other books, including the third and fifth editions of *Space Time and Architecture*’, attested Gwen Bell [31]. Tyrwhitt, Giedion, Sert and their colleagues at Harvard rehearsed the language of the new humanistic modernism in launching the new field of urban design in the late 1950s.

Humanistic modernism and urban design

At a 1954 meeting to prepare for what would be the tenth and last CIAM conference in Dubrovnik in 1956, Giedion [32] made a plea for a ‘new humanism’, invoking Buber’s

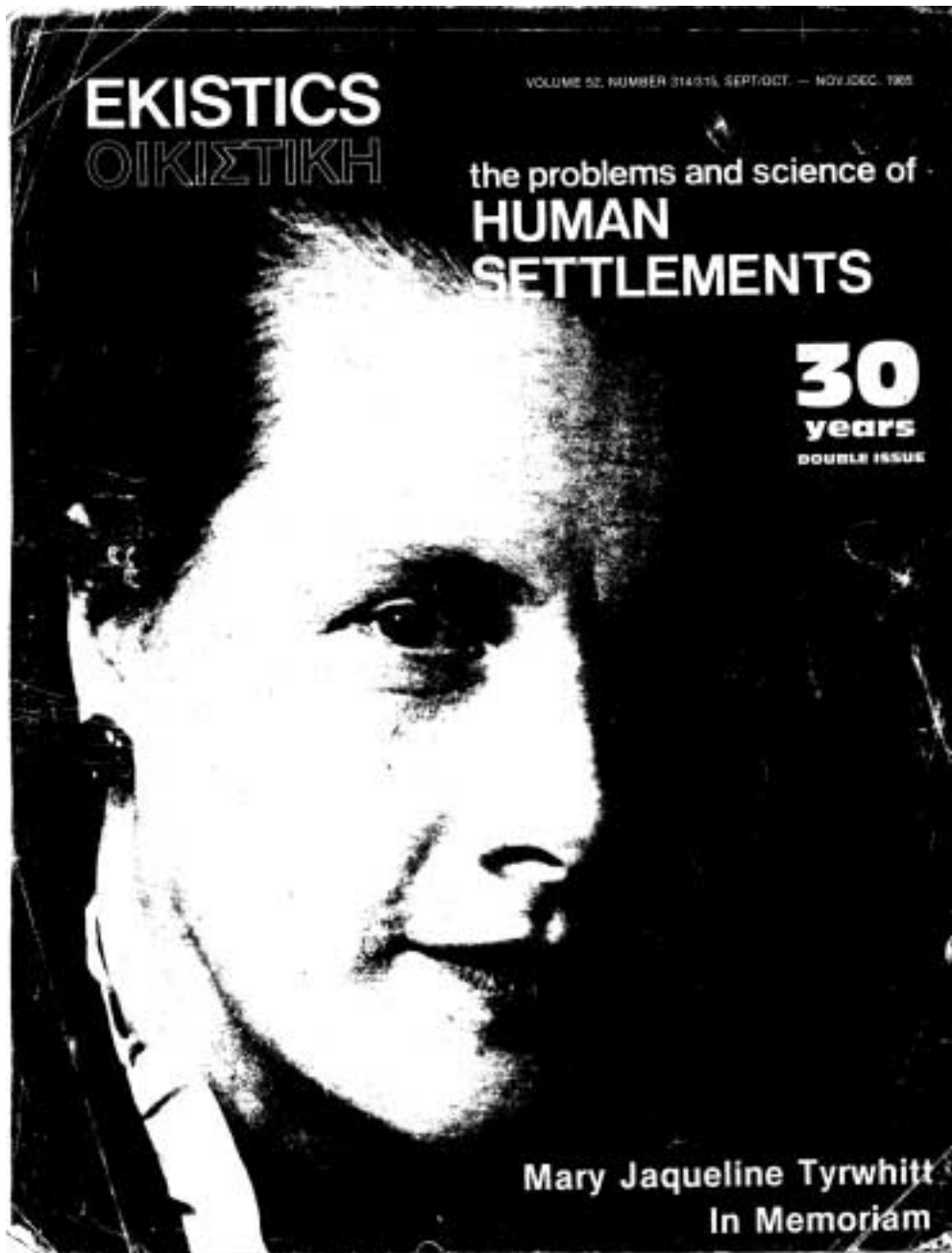


Figure 4. Tyrwhitt co-founded the journal *Ekistics* with Constantinos Doxiados, and was associated with it from the first issue in October 1955 until her death in 1983. The 52nd volume of the magazine, a double issue, was dedicated to her, in memoriam, in 1985.

dialogic theme: ‘The demand for the re-establishment of the relation between “you” and “me” leads to radical changes in the structure of the city’. This theme reverberated with the sentiments of the young Geddes-inspired members of the MARS group who formed Team Ten to pick up where CIAM left off. After CIAM X, Tyrwhitt joined Giedion and Sert in carrying this conversation back to Harvard where, in the autumn, they launched the lecture series ‘Ten Discussions on the Shape of Our Cities’. Later known as the Urban Design conferences, these lectures reframed the CIAM discourse on a ‘new humanism’ in the context of urban renewal and the redevelopment of American cities. Professor Doebele, then a student, describes Tyrwhitt’s important mediating role in these conferences:

The ten conferences that ensued, although they bore the stamp of the vision of ... Sert, were organizationally the work of Jacky. The well-remembered final sessions, at which 70 or more diverse designers, planners, administrators, and academicians would attempt to hammer out a common language of resolutions to establish the basic principles of the new field, were a remarkable tribute to Jacky’s unfailing perseverance and tact in bringing order out of Babel ... After five years of UD conferences, enough common ground had been laid out for Dean Sert to open Harvard’s doors for a formal program, an enterprise in which Jacky naturally had an indispensable ... role [33].

In synthesizing the new ‘common language’ of urban design, Tyrwhitt, now Associate Professor of Urban Design, drew on the principles put forth by Team Ten and their ‘Buberian’ terminology, thereby reinforcing their continuity with the post-war direction of CIAM as formulated by the MARS group. In the Team Ten meeting in the summer of 1959 in Otterloo, the Netherlands, Aldo Van Eyck signalled this alignment by citing Buber’s phrase *das Gestalt Gewordene Zwischen* in calling on architects to design ‘defined in-between places which induce simultaneous awareness of what is significant on either side ... [and provide] the common ground where conflicting polarities can again become twin phenomena’ [34].

Tyrwhitt, who attended the meeting in Otterloo, along with Sert and several Team Ten members of the Harvard Faculty, also used Buber’s language to introduce this theme of the *social* basis for urban design – the reconciliation of the individual and the collective, privacy and community – into the curriculum for the new Urban Design graduate programme:

[A] sense of well-being, – of optimistic purposefulness ... is one aspect – and one aim – of urban design, but there is another. This is related to social responsibility, to a feeling of mutual responsiveness and mutual interest in the environment ... For such a feeling of social responsibility to arise there must be a very clear distinction between privacy and communality; between *meum and tuum* [35].

Tyrwhitt’s use of Buber’s terminology also signals how influential his ideas were among Utopian architects and planners in the Boston area at that time. Boston-based Beacon Press published two of his classic works, *I and Thou* and *Paths in Utopia* in paperback in 1958 to commemorate his eightieth birthday and mark the occasion of his visit to Brandeis University [36]. Buber’s concept of an ‘organic’ commonwealth ‘determined to the greatest possible extent by the ... principle of inner cohesion, collaboration and mutual stimulation’ [37] resonated not only with humanistic modernists but with critics such as Jane Jacobs, the first speaker at the Urban Design Conferences, and students such as Christopher Alexander, then a PhD candidate [38]. Alexander, the son of Austrian émigré scholars who had been raised

in England, worked alongside Tyrwhitt in 1959 when they both had offices at the Harvard–MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies, which Professor Martin Meyerson had just co-founded with Professor Lloyd Rodwin of MIT, himself the son of immigrants. The Joint Center adopted a multi-disciplinary approach to urban and regional planning – which clearly is in line with Rowse’s idea of the composite mind and the SPRRD as an educational programme – as a consultant to the UN and other international organizations. This confluence signals how Harvard became a major institutional base for the further evolution of Geddesian regionalism within the humanistic and ecological arm of the post-war Modern Movement. In this new era of world-wide urbanization, a creative dialogue between East and West would continue to serve as a catalyst for the formation of the new, ‘post-modern’ social-aesthetic ideal, just as it had for the pioneers of the Modern Movement and Buber himself in the early twentieth century [39].

1960–76: Turning East

The technical assistance programmes launched by the UN and its affiliated agencies and others by the 1950s reinforced and extended the transnational networks of progressive planners, designers, activists and social reformers, which had been growing since the mid-nineteenth century, and which had fostered East–West interchange, and which now began to coalesce as a global scholarly community in which, as noted, Tyrwhitt occupied a central position. Tyrwhitt, whose father had worked in China, and who herself travelled to Shanghai in 1934, was particularly receptive to lessons to be learned from Eastern culture, even as she helped export Western models of planning education. In the summer of 1960 she began a six-month stint as the second advisor to the UN Technical Assistance Board from Harvard to help set up a School of Regional and City Planning at Bandung Institute of Technology in Indonesia. The idea for starting such a school in a developing country had been first proposed at the UN Seminar in New Delhi in 1954 [40]. Fittingly, Tyrwhitt set up a course in physical planning, in which students surveyed local villages as the basis for a site plan for new residential areas, based on the assumption ‘that the construction of all houses will be undertaken by the people themselves’, within a framework established by local traditions of self-governance, co-operative work, and building materials and methods [41].

Tyrwhitt continued to explore such ‘glocalization’ – global spread and local adaptation of community design techniques – in the urban design studio she co-taught from 1962 to 1965 with Fumihiko Maki, who was interested in similarly exploring the links between Western modernism and traditional Japanese forms. Maki was one of the founders of the Metabolist group of young Japanese architects and designers, who had presented a manifesto clarifying their own ideas about the future of modern architecture and urbanism at the World Design Conference in Tokyo in May 1960. Essentially, the Metabolist group envisaged society – and urban design – as an evolutionary process, similar to Geddes’ idea of urban evolution (which they saw represented in the Valley Section) stating: ‘The reason why we use the biological word metabolism is that we ... are trying to encourage the active metabolic development of our society through our proposals’ [42]. Reacting to the uncontrolled urban growth which most Japanese accepted as a necessary sacrifice for their nation’s post-war recovery, their proposals for mega-structures ‘expressed a deep urge for a new kind of

collective form ... a new holistic image, or shape, for the city', wrote urban designer Alex Krieger, noting that Maki used the studio he taught with Tyrwhitt to sharpen his interest in 'group form' [43].

Maki perceived that Tyrwhitt's 'international background was particularly valuable' to undertake such a studio, since a majority of the students in Harvard's Urban Design program came from outside the USA [44]. One of Maki and Tyrwhitt's students, Klaus Herdeg, former Professor of Architecture at Columbia University recalled:

She was a great believer in the method of comparative study, particularly across cultures. Hence we spent quite some time comparing the character and virtues of ... a new steel mill town in Poland with a British new town with a proposed Tokyo suburban township. While one was a contrast to the other, Jacky's method also brought out the great common issues of Urban Design: privacy vs. community, total plan vs. a development strategy which allows for yet unknown events to occur So the whole year at Harvard turned out to be a search for alternatives to the 'Master Plan' idea with Maki implying a differentiated spectrum of design interventions [which] was also Jacky's conviction [45].

Delos Symposia, global citizens

While teaching full time at Harvard, Tyrwhitt began to become more involved in the ekistics movement. She had been spending her summers in Greece working with Doxiadis since 1956 and, in the summer of 1962, she helped him plan the first Delos Symposium, a colloquium of distinguished thinkers from various fields interested in 'the urban challenge'. 'Her many years of experience in organizing and running international conferences must have been invaluable', observed Panayis Psomopoulos, a long-time colleague of Doxiadis, past president of the Athens Center of Ekistics (ACE) and editor of *Ekistics*. 'She ... [was] able to introduce to Doxiadis ... key people from her London, CIAM, Toronto, Harvard and UN years' [46]. Tyrwhitt was also a key participant in the Symposia. Psomopoulos reports that initially, as per Doxiadis' wish for an informal meeting, 'modeled on an ancient Greek "Symposion"', there were to be no formal minutes or records, except those notes taken by Tyrwhitt 'in order to record the spirit of the discussions and not a detailed account of what everyone said'.

As Tyrwhitt duly noted, the participants at that first symposium signed the Declaration of Delos affirming: 'We are citizens of a worldwide city, threatened by its own torrential expansion and that at this level our concern and commitment is for man himself' [47]. Clearly, the Declaration of Delos One – the final text which Tyrwhitt essentially wrote, with Barbara Ward [48] – endorsed the holistic, communitarian ideal of Geddes and Buber:

The aim must be to produce settlements, which satisfy man not only as parent and worker but also as learner and artist and citizen. His active participation is essential in framing his own environment. ... Planning itself must ensure that such possibilities are not excluded by a static view of human settlements.

That Tyrwhitt remained true to her Geddesian beliefs even as her thinking had evolved by this stage in her career, and her subsequent work with Giedion and Doxiadis, is made clear in a letter she sent to Gerhard Rosenberg:

I have rather given up thinking of ‘town planning’ as a profession. I can find a place for architecture and for urban design and for urban sociology, urban geography and public administration, urban economics etc – all of which did not exist in the days when town planning was coming into being. But now that they do exist I think the future is with Rowse’s ‘composite mind’ operating between people from the various fields, rather than specifically (and shallowly) trained ‘town planners.’ In other words, I am for a fairly strict discipline, and for joint work in the field ... I consider ekistics as part of the composite mind technique, and I think the only valid ‘theory’ apart from theories of how to collect and to analyze material – is how to relate information, how to assess priorities in a given situation, and how to come to conclusions that can be justified ... Doxiadis’ work helps a bit, but only a bit – in this field [49].

The group of people at Delos One wanted ‘to make it an annual event; increase the number of people who could benefit from it ... keep a more complete record of the debates ... and publish an extended report in a special issue of *Ekistics*’, Psomopoulos reported, noting that ‘was one more reason for making Jacky’s presence a sine-qua-non for the Delos Symposia’ [50] (Fig. 5). When the Ford Foundation supported the growth of the Ekistics movement with a ten-year grant in 1963, Doxiadis offered Tyrwhitt a full-time position. Speaking like a true global citizen, and once more in the mould of Geddes, she explained in a letter to Sert why she found this proposal extremely attractive: ‘I have always been interested in international action at a professional (not a political) level’ [51]. Tyrwhitt gradually took on more responsibility for the Delos Symposia and the journal *Ekistics* until 1969, when she retired from Harvard and moved to Greece to assume these responsibilities full time (while cultivating her own, highly influential, garden, which she wrote about in the posthumously published *Making A Garden on a Greek Hillside* [52]; Fig. 6).

Tyrwhitt was the only person, aside from Doxiadis, his wife and Buckminster Fuller, who attended all ten Delos Symposia. How can we assess her contribution to ‘one of the most influential intellectual forums of its era’ [53]? Psomopoulos explained: ‘Her role was very delicate due to the ... special character that Doxiadis wanted to give “his Symposium”’ [54]. No mere amanuensis, Tyrwhitt tactfully conducted her editorial responsibilities ‘like a search light ... piercing through ambiguities, repetition, and follies to some insight, some summary, some just-right idea that would otherwise never have come into sight’ added Delian and past president of the World Society of Ekistics Earl Murphy [55]. ‘In order to render this service she had to grasp the whole purpose of the conference, its potential larger significance. What she selected ... had to be parts in an integrated entirety’. ‘It is clear’, submitted Psomopoulos,

that if Jacky with her team ... had not undertaken the extraordinarily demanding and grueling task of wading through the material again, organizing it, editing, correcting it and finally producing the special issues of *EKISTICS* on Delos ... the real substance of the extraordinary and unrepeatably discussions would have been for ever lost.

Yet, as Murphy reiterated, ‘her time was spent as editor helping others preserve their ideas rather than spent to memorialize her own experiences, ideas and self’. ‘Doxiadis relied on her’, architect and Delian Barry Rae related. ‘She served as a sounding board, he could not have done it without her’. Collective leadership is invisible, as is the authorship of the collective mind, or so it seems in this case.



Figure 5. Tyrwhitt and Margaret Mead conversing during one of the Delos Symposia, ‘one of the most influential intellectual forums of its era’. Tyrwhitt served as the sole raconteur for each of the ten Delos Symposia, ‘in order to record the spirit of the discussions and not a detailed account of what everyone said’, which she edited as a special issue of the journal *Ekistics*.



Figure 6. Tyrwhitt gradually took on more responsibility for the Delos Symposia and the journal *Ekistics* until 1969, when she retired from Harvard and moved to Greece to assume these responsibilities full time while cultivating her own, highly influential, garden, which she wrote about in the posthumously published *Making A Garden on a Greek Hillside*.

Conclusions

There is much more that could be said about Tyrwhitt's contribution in the late 1960s, when, as editor of *Ekistics* she framed a globalizing conversation around the social-ecological themes engaged by the Delos Symposia. Significantly, under her leadership *Ekistics* introduced Western readers to new planning knowledge from Asia, at a time when the chaotic growth of Asian cities created significant room for urban innovation, and during a period of intense theorization in the field, in which a dialogue between East and West was central. Notably, Tyrwhitt underscored how 'the wisdom of the East' encouraged a focus on *process* and frameworks that allow for citizen participation, for example through John Friedmann's piece (December, 1969) that began by citing Lao Tzu – 'All things will go through their own transformations' – and argued: 'Innovative planners must learn to practice ... the Tao of Planning'. She also continued to be an active participant in this East-West dialogue, through her consulting work in Japan and Singapore (often in collaboration with her niece and

nephew-in-law, Catharine and Koichi Nagashima) and her representation of ACE and the World Society of Ekistics (WSE) at international conferences.

However, to sum up, it is useful to consider Tyrwhitt's estimation that:

without the CIAM congresses, it is very doubtful if the more humane approaches to urban planning would have been developed so early: ... Without the Delos Symposia, it is doubtful that the United Nations would have got world support for its conferences on the environment and human settlements [56].

It is doubtful that either the post-war CIAM or the Delos Symposia could have achieved such far-reaching results without Jaqueline Tyrwhitt's catalytic and collective leadership, which perpetuated a long line of ecological, communitarian thought within both of these seminal gatherings, otherwise characterized by more technocratic overtones. However, perhaps an even greater contribution was the personal influence Tyrwhitt exerted on her students and colleagues – her circle of friends – empowering and inspiring them to imagine, design, create and inhabit a better future for themselves and others. Whether acting as an intermediary agent through networks, organizations and publications, or directly as a teacher, mentor and friend, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt played a foundational role in modern planning and urban design and, in doing so, helped shape the post-war 'collective mind' – Utopian, yet realistic, globalism.

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