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'I shall endeavour to serve with loyalty, respect and love'



The new monarch greets well-wishers at Buckingham Palace

Charlie Bibby/FT

◆ King Charles addresses the nation ◆ Tribute to mother's love and devotion ◆ Crowds greeted at Buckingham Palace

GEORGE PARKER, JIM PICKARD AND JASMINE CAMERON-CHILESHE

King Charles III addressed his nation for the first time yesterday, vowing to emulate his late mother Queen Elizabeth's "life-long service", as Britain began a 10-day period of national mourning.

The new monarch's words came at the end of a day of parliamentary tributes, gun salutes and raw emotion, as thousands gathered, some in tears, at the gates of Buckingham Palace to leave floral tributes to Elizabeth II.

"Queen Elizabeth was a life well lived, a promise with destiny kept and she is mourned most deeply in her passing," the King said in his first national address.

"Whatever may be your background or beliefs I shall endeavour to serve you with loyalty, respect and love."

The King said that he was bestowing the title of Prince of Wales on his son and

heir, William, and expressed his profound sense of loss following the death of his "darling mama" at Balmoral Castle in Scotland on Thursday.

"Thank you for your love and devotion to our family and to the family of nations you have served so diligently all these years," he said of his mother. "May 'flights of angels sing thee to thy rest'."

Charles III will be officially "proclaimed" King today at an Accession Council in London, a constitutional formality to recognise his sovereignty attended by members of the privy council, which includes senior politicians and clergy.

King Charles arrived in London from Balmoral in the early afternoon and ordered his car to stop outside Buckingham Palace. He shook hands and exchanged words with scores of his new subjects to cries of "God Save the King."

The new king, heir to the throne for 70

years, is now at the centre of a painstakingly choreographed series of events, encompassing 10 days of national mourning and the funeral for the Queen, widely expected in Whitehall to be held on September 19.

After arriving in London he held his first audience with Liz Truss, Britain's new prime minister, who arrived in black at Buckingham Palace.

Truss became Queen Elizabeth's 15th prime minister only three days ago, succeeding Boris Johnson; Charles had been monarch for less than 24 hours.

Parliament gathered at noon for MPs to pay their respects to the Queen while bells tolled at St Paul's Cathedral, at Windsor Castle and at Westminster Abbey.

Truss told MPs that the Queen was "one of the greatest leaders the world has ever known", while Sir Keir Starmer, Labour party opposition leader, said

that her death "robs our country of its stillest point, its greatest comfort". Truss's predecessor Boris Johnson said that the Queen was "as radiant, knowledgeable and fascinated by politics" as he could remember during their final meeting on Tuesday, when she "saw off her 14th prime minister and welcomed her 15th".

Later a service of prayer and reflection was held at St Paul's Cathedral in London where mourners delivered the first official rendition of God Save the King.

The new monarch said that he would now step back from the many charities and causes that he had supported as Prince of Wales, an acknowledgment that as King he will have to steer clear of politically contentious issues.

Elsewhere, plans were made for the new monarch's features to appear on the nation's coins, stamps and post boxes;

Queen's Counsel at the bar will now become King's Counsel.

Some sports events, including Premier League football matches and Test cricket, were cancelled as the period of national mourning began.

The next meeting of the Bank of England's monetary policy committee, which was set to be held next Thursday, has been postponed until the following week.

London retailers Selfridges and Liberty closed their doors, music was stopped in Wetherspoons-owned pubs, and corporate events were cancelled across Britain as businesses paid their respects to the life of Queen Elizabeth II.

On a day of tributes, Emmanuel Macron, France's president, captured a global sense of loss: "To you, she was your Queen. To us, she was The Queen. To us all, she will be with all of us forever."

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Simon Schama:
'It was the deep personal steadiness beneath the bright hats that fortified everyone else'

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Dignified and diverse, Britain remembers its strengths

Henry Mance
Jennifer Williams

Shortly before 12.30pm yesterday, a policeman announced to the crowd at Buckingham Palace that the gates were full, that all floral tributes should be laid elsewhere. But the queue silently

mood outside the palace was not distraught — there were few tears — it was dignified. The crowd was strikingly diverse. People arrived in black ties and in baseball caps, from all social classes, from Britain and from overseas.

"I don't think I was prepared for the quiet," said Bob, a former stock trader from north London. He had laid roses together with a note. "The head says it's futile, yet the heart wants to have its say." In truth, everything that could be said about Queen Elizabeth II had probably been said, but it still had to be felt and

In 1997 the monarchy underestimated public grief at the death of Diana, Princess of Wales. Last year the BBC overestimated it following the death of the Duke of Edinburgh when it received more than 100,000 complaints for interrupting its schedules with extended coverage.

Many of those paying their respects yesterday had not even predicted their own reaction to the Queen's death. They had not planned to come to central London, but had ended up there, swept along by their need to mark the moment,

subjects. "There have been times this week when I've had toothache and thought — I don't want to get up. Can you imagine the amount of times she felt 'I don't want to do that'?" Without fail, she showed up," said Jane Greig, a business analyst from Essex.

It was scarcely believable that, on the same spot 97 days earlier, crowds had been celebrating the Queen's Platinum jubilee with performances from Elton John and Diana Ross, and a charming video of the monarch and Paddington Bear.

postponed out of respect, mingled. The pictures that will endure are those of Charles greeting members of the public, as he has done hundreds if not thousands of times before, but never as King. "My mother would have been so touched," he told one well-wisher.

"Thanks for coming." He clearly felt as humbled as many in the crowd.

From abroad, Britain's relationship with monarchy can seem cringingly differential. Up close, it feels less cultish and more logical. The monarchy provides a link to the past and the future. It encaps-

Americans mourn passing of a much-loved matriarch

Held in aww ▶ PAGE 2

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ignored him. They moved on, clutching their roses, their sunflowers, their marigolds — some homegrown, some with the price tags recently peeled off.

They were determined to go home empty-handed and full-hearted.

These are the days that Britain does well, when the nation shakes off its self-doubt and pulls itself to attention. The

shared. People took selfies and posed for pictures. Was this the done thing? Who knew? The last time a monarch had died five of them were awake and camera-phones were decades away from being invented.

The events following the Queen's passing had been meticulously planned but the public's reaction could never be

to be reassured that others felt as they did. The written messages overwhelmingly expressed not so much sadness as thanks for Elizabeth II's service. "I was born in 1952, you had been there all my life," said one.

It was the Queen's steadfastness, continuing royal duties until the day before her death, that most resonated with her

By mid-afternoon, the mourning had turned to well-wishing, with the arrival of King Charles III's motorcade. At first, there were just a few shouts of "God Save the King". Then the palace lowered its Union flag at half mast, and raised a royal standard, indicating the monarch's presence. That won applause. England cricketers, their Test against South Africa

salutes show individuals come and go, but the collective remains.

Of course, this being 2022 and a moment of political and economic malaise in Britain, there was anxiety too. "It's the end of a chapter — an old-fashioned England that is ceasing to exist," said Charlie Barker, a tiler from

Continued on page 3

MOURNING THE QUEEN

Americans in mourning for monarch they held in awe

Tributes attest to enduring love of royals

JOSHUA CHAFFIN AND ORTEGA ALIAJ
NEW YORK
KIRAN STACEY — WASHINGTON

From the halls of Congress to the floor of the New York Stock Exchange and centre court at the US Open, Americans plunged into mourning for a British monarch whose family's rule they shrugged off 246 years ago.

The reaction to the death of Queen Elizabeth II on Thursday was sufficiently powerful to prompt a rare outbreak of bipartisanship in Washington, where Republican senator Mitch McConnell led lawmakers from both parties in prayer.

It brought a hush to Wall Street, where NYSE traders bowed their heads for a moment of silence just after 3pm. So, too, did spectators before the US Open women's semi-final tennis match.

At President Joe Biden's order, flags at all US government facilities will be flown at half-mast until the Queen is interred. Biden's predecessor, Donald Trump, issued his own statement expressing his and his wife's sorrow.

Tributes also poured in from former presidents Obama, Bush and Carter, as well as town mayors, state elected officials, British expats and ordinary Amer-

America's obsession with the royals 'may point to an enduring insecurity about some of the things we lost'

icans. Prominent and obscure, they all attested to America's enduring fondness for Britain and the patriarchy of its Hanoverian monarchy.

"She gave a lifetime of service," said Dan O'Brien, who was visiting Washington, DC, from his home in Portland, Oregon, explaining why he joined a steady stream of visitors paying their respects outside the British embassy, where bunches of flowers were piling up.

"Americans just don't understand that concept."

Also on hand was Tess Anderson, a student at Georgetown University, who recalled her mother waking her at 4am to watch Prince William marry Kate Middleton.

"I really like that sense of tradition," commented Anderson, who was raised in Miami but whose grandparents are British.

For a nation created in opposition to monarchy, Americans have time and again proven themselves besotted by the royal family. Consider the enormous viewing figures for the televised royal weddings, from Charles and Diana to Harry and Meghan, as well as the popularity of Netflix drama *The Crown* and *Downton Abbey*.

Roy Forey, a retired British diplomat, said he had been taken aback by the strength of feeling for the royal family when he first arrived in Washington in 1982.

"I was here in 1997 when Princess Diana died," he said. "At that time you couldn't even walk on this street, it was so full of flowers."

In 2015, President Obama expressed a similar sentiment to his guest, Prince Charles, as the Washington press warmed.

"I think it's fair to say that the American people are quite fond of the royal family," Obama whispered.

"They like them much better than they like their own politicians."

There has been a periodic burst of punditry seeking to explain just why. In 2013, Maya Jasanoff, a Harvard professor, speculated in a *New York Times* forum that America's obsession with the royal family "may point to an enduring insecurity about some of the things we lost", traditions that bind a nation and confer legitimacy.

Whatever the case, this particular Queen was inextricably bound to America. She may never have assumed the crown if the American divorcee, Wallis Simpson, had not caused her uncle, King Edward VIII, to abdicate in 1936 in order to marry her.

She visited America several times, as princess and then as Queen, meeting presidents from Truman to Biden. She rode horses with Ronald Reagan in 1982, during the Falklands war, when Britain was determined to solidify its alliance with America.

She charmed the Trumps in 2018, when Britain was again feeling unsteady about its place in the world due to Brexit, even as thousands of demonstrators mobbed central London to heckle the US president.

When she and Philip came to Philadelphia aboard the Royal Yacht Britannia in July 1976 to celebrate America's bicentennial, she won over the locals by suggesting in a speech that Britain should feel "sincere gratitude" for the lessons America's founding fathers had taught them.

"A tear came to my eye when I first heard the news," said Scott Robertson, owner of The Churchill, a British-themed pub in Manhattan.

People wanted to share experiences, said Robertson, a Brit who has lived in America for 25 years. In The Churchill, TV screens were tuned to news coverage of the event. At one point, a table of Brits silenced the pub with a rendition of the *anthem Jerusalem*.

Additional reporting by Mark Vandevelde in New York

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Simon Schama, see Life & Arts



Buckingham Palace: a woman places a flower on the railings of the royal residence as many flocked to London to pay their respects — Charlie Ebbage/FT

Edinburgh. Tributes Subdued Scots pay their respects in 'moment of frailty' for the union

Political parties unite in their praise of late Queen but her passing stirs uncertainty

LUKANYO NYNYANDA AND PETER FOSTER
EDINBURGH

Compared with the big crowds and banks of flowers outside Buckingham Palace in London, the tributes to Queen Elizabeth II in the Scottish capital of Edinburgh were noticeably more subdued.

At the Palace of Holyroodhouse, the Queen's official residence in the city, a few hundred well-wishers had gathered by lunchtime yesterday to lay flowers at the entrance to the Queen's Gallery.

James Kivlin, 38, who travelled from Dalgety Bay in Fife with his three-month-old son, said he was a supporter of an independent Scotland but that the death of the Queen after more than 70 years on the throne transcended politics.

But while Scotland's main political parties were united in their praise of the late monarch, constitutional experts said that the Queen's passing had created a "moment of frailty" for the political union to which she had devoted her life.

Nicola Sturgeon, Scotland's first minister and leader of the Scottish National party, which is demanding a fresh referendum on independence, praised the Queen's life of "extraordinary dedication and service".

Scottish Labour leader Anas Sarwar said the Queen had provided "hope and light in our darkest moments" from the Blitz to the pandemic. His Conservative

party counterpart Douglas Ross said the monarch was a "national treasure".

But while the SNP is careful to say that a vote for independence would not be a vote for a republic, political experts said that the Queen's death could influence sentiment around the independence debate at an almost subterranean level.

"There's no doubt she was an integral part of the glue, the cement, that held the nation together and it's gone. It isn't at all obvious or self-evident that it will be replaced with anything as strong, or solid," said Adam Tomkins, professor of public law at the University of Glasgow and a former Conservative member of the Scottish parliament. "My sense is this is a moment of frailty, risk and potentially of change for the union."

He added: "I don't think the death of the monarch is going to affect formal party politics. The independence question is much deeper than that... it is about feeling and sentiment and the death of the monarch affects that."

It is that sense of a faint political tremor that King Charles III will need to

quietly address when he visits Edinburgh this weekend, according to Michael Keating, emeritus professor of politics at Aberdeen University and a specialist on devolution.

The fact that the Queen died in Scotland and would lie in state in Edinburgh on her way to London would provide a unique stage for the new King as he began his reign, he added.

"It is possible to separate the personality of the Queen from the institution of the monarchy," he said, noting how the Queen's popularity had crossed political divides. "The new King will have to rebuild that personal support."

That formal process is expected to begin tomorrow when his mother's coffin arrives from Balmoral Castle and is led up Edinburgh's Royal Mile to the city's St Giles' Cathedral, where the Queen will publicly lie at rest.

According to previously announced plans, the new King will join the procession to St Giles' where there will be a service to mark the arrival of the coffin. Details have yet to be confirmed by

Buckingham Palace, but the King is also expected to hold an audience with Sturgeon and attend a reception at the Scottish Parliament.

King Charles, like his late mother, has very strong personal connections with Scotland, frequently appearing at public events in his kilt and spending significant amounts of time at his Scottish home of Birkhall, on the Balmoral estate in Deeside.

On the streets of Edinburgh there was little sense of the potentially momentous constitutional undercurrents stirred by the Queen's death, although electronic hoardings on bus stops and billboards had been switched to carry an image of the late monarch.

On Edinburgh's busy Princes Street retail district, buskers jammed on guitars as normal and few shops or cafes overtly marked the Queen's passing.

A local florist reported no uptick in custom from well-wishers wanting bouquets to lay at the Palace of Holyroodhouse.

Across the city at Harburn Hobbies, a family shop stuffed with model trains and planes, owner Gillian Baird had placed a picture of the Queen in the window. "It's not about independence, it's a tribute to a woman who worked until she was 96, that deserves to be marked," she said.

Many of those who had turned out to mourn at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, like Elizabeth McPherson, 64, who was with her young granddaughter, Sadie, agreed. She said the death of the Queen had stirred human, not political emotions. "I'm going to miss her smile and things like that," she added. "She's the only queen I've ever known."



Tribute: James Kivlin, who travelled from Fife with his baby son to pay his respects to the Queen in Edinburgh, said he supported independence but that the late monarch 'rose above' politics — Lukanyo Nyinyanda/FT

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Good Friday, Independence Day, Thanksgiving, the day after Thanksgiving, Christmas Day and the day after Christmas Day.

Constitution

Royal family's role in Australia reaches pivotal moment

NIC FILDES — SYDNEY

Australia's parliament was suspended for two weeks after the death of Queen Elizabeth II and the salls of Sydney Opera House will light up in tribute to a head of state whose death reignited the debate about the monarchy's role in the country.

Prime Minister Anthony Albanese and David Utney, the governor-general, from constitutional monarchy.

Adam Bandt, head of the Australian Green party, the country's third-largest political party, wrote condolences on Twitter before adding, "Now Australia must move forward. We need Treaty with First Nations people, and we need to become a republic."

Peter FitzSimons, chair of the Australian Republic Movement, which wants independence from the British monarch.

"Today's not a day for politics," he told state broadcaster ABC.

Queen Elizabeth II died after 70 years on the throne, making her Britain and Australia's longest-serving monarch.

Malcolm Turnbull, a former prime minister and a one-time leader of the republican movement, agreed it was too soon to debate whether Australia should become a republic, adding that

between Australia and the late monarch who oversaw the tenure of 16 of the country's prime ministers. He described her first visit to Australia as Queen in 1954 as "the biggest single event ever organised in Australia and it remains a defining moment in our nation's history".

She visited the country 16 times during her reign.

Paul Keating, the former Australian

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...who is the monarch's official representative in Australia, will travel to the UK to attend official proceedings before a national day of mourning. Albanese, who supports Australia becoming a republic, offered his condolences to the royal family after the Queen's death at the age of 96, describing it as the "end of an era" and the "close of the second Elizabethan age". "This time of mourning will pass but the deep respect and warm regard in which Australians always held Her Majesty will never fade," he said. The death of the Queen has long been seen as a pivotal moment for Australia's republican movement, with some supporters of a change in political system making immediate calls for a shift away

independence from the British monarchy, said: "During her reign, Australia has grown into a mature and independent nation. It is unlikely we will ever see a monarch as respected or admired by the Australian people again." Republicans have previously said that a change in the monarch would be an optimal time to hold a second referendum on whether Australia should become a republic. A plebiscite on the issue in 1999 was defeated, with 55 per cent of voters rejecting the idea of becoming a republic. Albanese's new centre-left Labor government appointed the country's first "minister for the republic" in May but has ruled out a fresh referendum on the issue for at least two years. The prime minister remained circumspect.

She 'attached herself to the public good against what she recognised as a tidal wave of private interest'

few could remember a time before Elizabeth II. "It's like knocking out a column of architectural memory," he said. "We may not all be monarchists but we're all Elizabethans," he said. "Those 70 years, which have now come to an end, is a bit like we've been on a long walk and we've got to the top of a ridge and we're now looking back. As to what lies ahead, it remains to be seen," he added. Albanese highlighted the strong links

prime minister who was criticised by the British media for touching the monarch on the back during a visit in 1992, highlighted her leadership skills. "In the 20th century, the self became privatised, while the public realm, the realm of the public good, was broadly neglected. Queen Elizabeth understood this and instinctively attached herself to the public good against what she recognised as a tidal wave of private interest and private reward." "And she did this for a lifetime. Never deviating," he said. The Reserve Bank of Australia expressed "heartfelt condolences" and said there would be "no immediate change" to the use of her image on the country's \$5 banknotes.

MOURNING THE QUEEN

A new era of leadership dawns for Britain

For the untested prime minister, death of the monarch has reshaped her premiership and thrust her on to the global stage

SEBASTIAN PAYNE — LONDON

Modern Britain has never experienced a constitutional upheaval like it. In just one week, the country has seen the monarch and prime minister change, marking a new era of political and national leadership. For Liz Truss, the death of Queen Elizabeth II within 48 hours of becoming prime minister has reshaped her nascent premiership, thrown policy priorities into flux, and thrust the new leader on to the international stage.

The Queen's death has already cast Truss in a historical context: she will bookend Sir Winston Churchill as the last of Elizabeth II's 15 prime ministers.

Inside Number 10, the events have added to the pressure on the new prime minister's small and relatively inexperienced team. "We were already completely stressed out about the economy, this upheaval has put everyone far more on edge," one senior government official said.

The monarch's death has also placed a spotlight on Truss's public speaking. The contrast with her predecessor, Boris Johnson, was highlighted in the House of Commons yesterday, where she delivered a solemn tribute to "one of the greatest leaders the world has known". But it was an eight minute speech by Johnson to "Elizabeth the Great" that went viral.

The prime minister's prominent constitutional role in the transition of the monarchy has forced Truss to pivot the focus of her first few days in office from the energy crisis.

'We will have 10 days that none of us will ever forget, the world looks a different place afterwards'

the change of monarch would take the country into a new era. "We will have 10 days that none of us will ever forget, the world looks a different place afterwards. We will reflect on ourselves in a more dramatic way than most of us have ever known."

He added, "the country will come together, so this moment is mostly helpful for a new government. So far, Liz has not put a foot wrong."

Another senior Tory party insider said: "Her first introduction to the nation as prime minister is in statesmanlike settings."

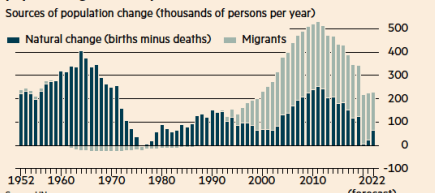
The Queen's funeral is widely expected at senior levels of Whitehall to be held on September 19, 11 days after her death and 10 days after 'Operation London Bridge' — the code name for the funeral plan — was activated. From September 9, all government and parliamentary business was suspended until a day or two after the official mourning period is finished. One senior civil servant said that September 22 was the current schedule for normal work to commence again.

But parliament was due to begin a recess from September 22 until October 17 to allow the Labour and Conservative parties to hold their annual conferences. Both events will be held after the mourning period but are expected to take a different tone.

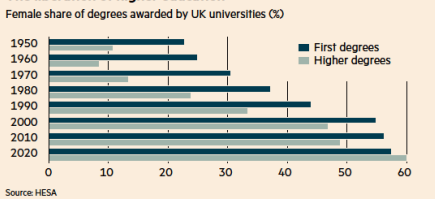
One senior Labour party figure confirmed that their annual gathering in Liverpool would take place but would "reflect recent events appropriately". A

How Britain changed under Elizabeth II

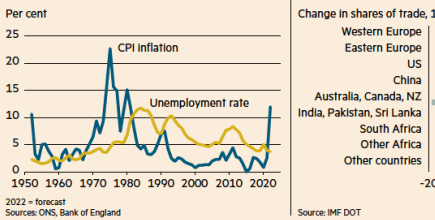
Migration became the dominant factor in UK population growth only after the millennium



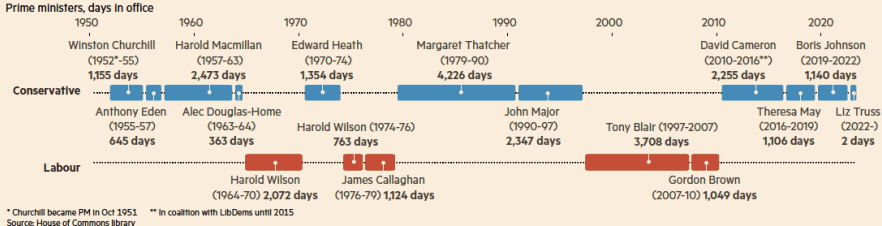
The liberation of higher education



The UK economy — 70 years of boom and bust



Queen Elizabeth's reign spanned 15 prime ministers



Cash featuring Queen will stay in circulation

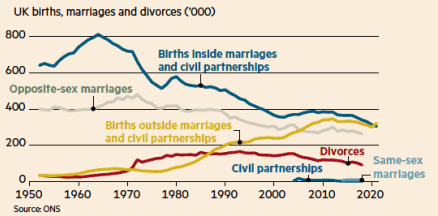
British coins and banknotes bearing the familiar image of the Queen may now suddenly seem out of date, but they will remain in circulation despite the monarch's death. The Royal Mint, the UK's official coin maker and oldest manufacturer, said yesterday that money featuring the late Queen's image would continue to be legal tender, including coins and notes that feature the Queen and historic figures such as Jane Austen and Winston Churchill. Coins with the Queen's image on them will be phased out and replaced

by ones picturing King Charles III, Britain's new monarch. A portrait of the King will be commissioned and new currency will be printed by the Royal Mint and distributed across the country. The Royal Mint worked with the Queen throughout her 70-year reign, detailing her journey from new monarch to respected head of state across numerous coin portraits, ensuring that each new coin received her personal seal of approval.

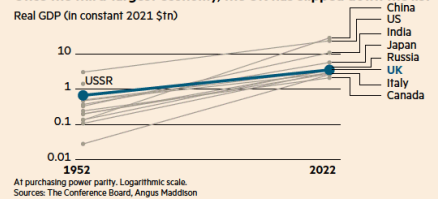


"The remarkable legacy of Britain's longest-serving monarch will live on for many years to come," said Anne Jessopp, chief executive of the Royal Mint.

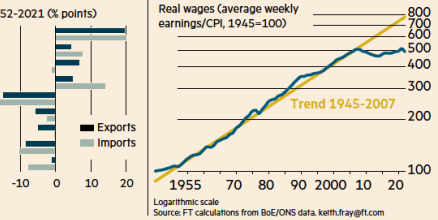
A changing family structure



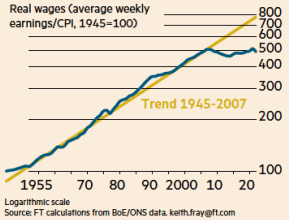
Once the third-largest economy, the UK has slipped down the list



Trade patterns have shifted from the remnants of empire to Europe, and increasingly China



Wages grew 2.6% per year above inflation for over 60 years before the financial crisis



senior Conservative party figure said that their conference would follow a similar path.

Although the details have yet to be finalised between the government and parliamentary authorities, the Houses of Commons and Lords are not expected to sit once the sessions paying tribute to the Queen have concluded on Saturday.

The most practical challenge of the mourning period is Truss's £150bn energy support package. The government's energy price guarantee for households will still be in place for October 1 as intended and will initially be implemented through private contracts with suppliers.

Legislation, however, will be required to deliver the support package to Northern Ireland. Government insiders said that they were examining "a fairly short" bill that could be passed quickly to ensure support was ready for October 1. But the business element of the support package is expected to be more complex. "It was already working on a slower timescale than the household support, so we don't think the delay will impact its implementation," one senior official said.

Downing Street is also examining whether legislation or written state-

'The country will come together, so this moment is mostly helpful for a new government'

ments are required to implement Truss' reversal of a ban on fracking, which was announced as part of the energy package.

The halt to government business has extended beyond Whitehall. The Bank of England's Monetary Policy Committee, which was widely expected to raise interest rates, was due to meet next Thursday. It was postponed to the following week.

Other parts of government business are expected to be paused. Theresa Coffey, deputy prime minister and health secretary, was due to set out a winter plan for the NHS next week, combined with a fresh push on clearing backlogs in the health service. This will now take place after the mourning period.

Truss will continue her first calls with world leaders — she has already spoken to President Volodymyr Zelenskyy and President Joe Biden. One senior Number 10 figure said they could continue with other leaders "albeit with a different tone".

Within Truss' inner circle, there is a realisation that the next fortnight could define her premiership.

One close ally of Truss said: "Everyone claimed the cost of living was going to define her premiership. [For now it has] been forgotten, this is one of the biggest moments of most of our lives. I have faith she can do it, but it won't be easy and she is going to have to be at the top of her game."

But other senior Tories said that the change of monarch will add to a sense of instability in the UK. "All the polling shows people are worried about the state of the world — they look at Ukraine and the economy and now the Queen has gone," the party insider said.

He added, "Liz has an opportunity to place herself in the public's mind as the nation's steward from the Queen to Charles. But those feelings of uncertainty aren't going away and will be probably made worse."

Reign and renewal Plans for period of mourning and transition

Below is a guide to what will unfold in the funeral of the Queen. King Charles at Westminster Abbey, with as many as called, including the second day of the

Britain remembers its strengths

other sports, including cricket, will resume. Two betting chains closed their shops. It is unclear whether this is what Her Majesty, a horseracing enthusiast, would have wanted. Across much of Britain, life simply

the coming days.

What will King Charles do first?

Charles has been king since the moment Queen Elizabeth died – but his accession will be formally acknowledged today...

After he has officially proclaimed the new sovereign, King Charles will hold his first privy council, a formal advisory body of mostly senior politicians...

The first public proclamation of Charles as King will be read at 11am from the balcony at St James's Palace by the Garter King of Arms...

How long is the mourning period? A 10-day period of national mourning began yesterday and will continue until...

has proclaimed that the Royal Family and its staff will observe a longer 17-day period of mourning.

Royal residences, including Balmoral, Sandringham, Hillsborough Castle and the Queen's Gallery and Royal Mews at Buckingham Palace will stay closed until after the funeral.

When is the Queen's funeral?

The Queen's coffin will be taken on Sunday from Balmoral in the Scottish highlands to the Palace of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh, and on Monday it will be carried by procession along the Royal Mile to St Giles' Cathedral...

The Queen's state funeral is expected to take place on Monday, September 19 on September 13, the coffin will be flown from Scotland to Buckingham Palace and then carried in a ceremonial procession to Westminster Hall in Parliament...

The Queen's state funeral is expected to take place on Monday, September 19

2,000 dignitaries attending. Her coffin will then be taken to St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle for a committal service, just yards from her final resting place in the King George VI memorial chapel, where her mother and father are buried.

What will close during the mourning period?

The British government will pause most announcements, press releases and visits until after the official mourning period, with some officials saying they expect normal work to commence on September 22.

The Bank of England has also postponed its rate setting monetary policy committee meeting by a week, to September 22.

The Department for Education has said schools and colleges should stay open during the mourning period. "While normal attendance is expected, headteachers continue to have the power to authorise leaves of absence for pupils in exceptional circumstances," it said.

Sporting events have also been can-

third cricket test match between England and South Africa and a number of football fixtures this weekend.

The Trades Union Congress has postponed its annual conference, and the RMT union has called off train strikes due to take place on September 15 and 17.

The PCS union has also postponed industrial action in courts, which had been planned for the middle of September.

When is the coronation?

The process of officially crowning the new monarch may take longer than many people expect, in part to allow time to mourn his mother.

No date has been set for the coronation of Charles III but precedent suggests there could be a delay of as long as a year.

There was a 16-month delay between the death of George VI on February 6, 1952, and the coronation of his daughter Elizabeth II on June 3, 1953.

Charles has let it be known that he wants a shorter, less expensive ceremony than his mother's coronation. Jim Pickard

Continued from page 1

Hertfordshire. "It's a me, me, me culture now... We're becoming a society where cheap will do."

Organisations, meanwhile, grappled with the meaning of national mourning. Strikes and climate protests were called off. The Met Office said it would pause "non-operational" content as a "mark of respect".

The Bank of England postponed its next interest rate decision. The Premier League and the English Football Association, whose president is Prince William, called off the weekend's football, down to grassroots level. That move raised some eyebrows, given that

continued as normal, punctuated by reminders. In Manchester, under a gemstone grey sky, midday shoppers and dog walkers dodged the downpours to the soundtrack of a muffled, hour-long bell toll. Protocol issued to churches had dictated exactly how and when the bells were allowed to ring, according to what time of day the sovereign had breathed her last.

Around every corner of the city centre the Queen's portrait, sometimes slightly stern, sometimes smiling, appeared. In Manchester cathedral books of condolence were filled with messages from local families, schools and tourists from Northern Ireland to New Zealand. "You've been the nation's glue for generations," wrote one well-wisher. "We will feel unstick without you."

A few hundred yards away in St Ann's Square, a group of police officers surveyed the bunches of sunflowers and roses placed at the foot of the statue to Richard Cobden, one of the city's most famed Victorian industrialists and statesmen. "She was the nation's granny," remarked a man standing with them, to which one replied: "Well, she's all we've ever known, in 't'sh."

INTERNATIONAL

OECD agreement

EU states vow to enforce corporate tax deal

Large member countries to adopt minimum 15% rate despite Hungary opposition

SAM FLEMING — PRAGUE

Some of the EU's biggest member states have vowed to implement a planned global minimum corporate tax despite opposition from Hungary, which has refused to back the bloc's proposals for implementing the levy.

In a joint statement yesterday, the finance ministers of Germany, France, Italy, Spain and the Netherlands pledged to introduce a minimum 15 per cent corporate tax rate in their countries "swiftly", adding that they wanted the new regime in place by 2025.

"We stand ready to implement the global minimum effective taxation in 2025 and by any possible legal means," they said at yesterday's finance ministers meeting in Prague.

The European Commission has proposed an EU directive implementing the minimum rate, which forms part of the landmark international OECD corporate tax agreement struck last year. The deal aims to stamp out the use of tax havens by multinationals.

But the rules have been blocked, initially by Warsaw and more recently by Budapest. Warsaw has since dropped its objections.

Changes to EU tax rules usually require unanimity among members, but some capitals have called for the tax plan to be implemented via a process

called "enhanced co-operation", meaning other states could press on without Hungary's approval or participation.

Bruno Le Maire, French finance minister, told reporters ahead of the meetings in Prague that enhanced co-opera-

'We stand ready to implement the global minimum effective taxation in 2025'

tion was one way of pushing forward, but that "national options" should also be on the table. Germany said earlier this week it was prepared to implement the measure unilaterally if an EU-wide agreement could not be found.

Christian Lindner, German finance minister, said yesterday while Berlin strongly backed a European approach, it would use domestic law to bring the tax regime into force if necessary.

The joint statement did not explicitly mention enhanced co-operation. Some EU capitals are wary of trying to use the complex process on a tax matter, scarred by a failed attempt to deploy it to ram through a levy on financial transactions a decade ago. Valdis Dombrovskis, commission executive vice-president, told reporters his preferred solution remained an EU-wide one.

The five ministers said introducing the minimum rate was an important step towards "tax justice", adding: "Should unanimity not be reached in the next weeks, our governments are

fully determined to follow through on our commitment."

Hungary has defended its 9 per cent corporate tax rate. Foreign minister Peter Szijjarto said earlier this year that given the current downturn, the minimum tax would be a lethal blow for the European economy and would expose Hungary to "extraordinary challenges".

However, many EU capitals see Hungary's move as an attempt to create leverage in other conflicts with Brussels. Budapest has been locked in dispute with the EU over the rule of law and has yet to strike a deal unlocking its share of the bloc's post-Covid-19 recovery fund. It was willing to agree to the minimum corporate tax this year until June.

Additional reporting by Marton Dunai in Budapest and Mary Mc Dougall in London

Lockdown Impact

Chinese park pleads for live chickens to stop tigers starving

EDWARD WHITE — SEOUL CHENG LENG — HONG KONG

Consumers and investors have been worried that China's return to strict Covid-19 lockdowns could hit the production of Apple's iPhones and Elon Musk's Teslas. But in a corner of southeast China, desperation has risen over how to feed endangered tigers.

The Guizhou Forest Wildlife Park this week issued an urgent plea for live chickens and fish, as well as steamed buns and frozen chins. The park is home to endangered Siberian, white Bengal and South China tigers, as well as pandas, crocodiles and zebras. "Almost 70 per cent of the animals kept in the park are protected species, but at present the park's feed stockpiles are far from enough," the park's owner said in a letter to local authorities.

The difficulty is the latest sign of the challenges caused by strict implementation of President Xi Jinping's zero-Covid policy. It also comes ahead of a critical Chinese Communist party meeting at which Xi is set to secure an unprecedented third term in power.

About 50 Chinese cities that are home to roughly 290mm, more than a fifth of the population, are under partial or full lockdowns or restrictions, according to Nomura. This number could grow in coming days as officials step up testing during a national autumn holiday.

In the province of Guizhou, several cities are under pandemic restrictions, affecting a combined population of nearly 10mm.

The wildlife park, 50km north of Guiyang, said its call for help, which also included a request for stocks of sweet potato, peppers and frozen shrimp tails, was swiftly handled by local authorities. Within 24 hours, several e-commerce groups, including Alibaba's Hema Fresh, JD.com and Walmart had offered future deliveries.

The park said it must keep at least 10 days of live food for some animals, as it was uncertain how long the lockdowns would last.

The shortages reflect deepening worries about food security and supply chain breakdowns returning across China as Covid restrictions are expanded. Panic buying, including in the city of Chengdu, which went into lockdown last week, was a stark reminder of the chaos that hit Shanghai, China's biggest and most affluent city in April.

Over the past week, the overall Covid situation deteriorated considerably in China," said Ting Lu, Nomura's chief China economist.

"What is becoming increasingly concerning is that Covid hotspots are continuing to shift from several remote regions and cities, with seemingly less economic significance to the country, to provinces that matter much more to China's national economy," he pointed out.

In the Yunyan district of Guiyang, officials had to caution residents to avoid a pack of macaques that had started roaming the city's streets looking for food, following the temporary

US. Extreme weather

California heatwave casts doubt on climate plan

Risk of blackout shows danger in reducing fossil fuel capacity too quickly, say critics

CHRISTOPHER GRIMES — LOS ANGELES JUSTIN JACOBS — HOUSTON

At the beginning of September, Jason Smith was optimistic about this autumn's wine-grape harvest at his vineyard in Monterey County, a fertile coastal region of California known for its abundant fruit and vegetable crops. "The year was going along wonderfully," he said.

But then came the brutal heatwave that has brought record-breaking temperatures across California since the end of August. Many of Smith's grapes dehydrated in the blazing sun.

He now expects a harvest that would typically continue until early November to end a month earlier and estimates that the intense burst of heat will cost him about \$5m.

"It's a big [financial] hit that literally evaporated," said Smith, president and chief executive of Valley Farm Management, his family-owned vineyard management company. He worries that California's wine-grape haul could fall to levels seen in 2020, when smoke from wildfires devastated the crop. "We're looking at less income and... all our expenses are higher, we have inflation and higher labour costs, so margins are going to get smaller."

The extreme heat has forced California on to an emergency footing as temperatures soared well above 100F (37.8C) for days on end. Sacramento, the state capital, set an all-time high of 116F on Tuesday while Death Valley exceeded 125F — nearly matching the 126F reached in Mecca, California, in 1950, the hottest-ever recorded September temperature anywhere on earth.

With temperatures at such dangerous levels, officials have rushed to provide services for the most vulnerable, particularly the homeless and elderly.

"We've never seen this kind of extreme heat for this extended period of time," said Gavin Newsom, California's governor, on Wednesday.

The heatwave has posed risks for Newsom, a politician believed to har-



Seeing red: residents watch as a plane drops fire retardant over homes in Hemet, California, to protect them from a nearby blaze on Tuesday. (Frederic J. Brown/AFIP/Getty Images)

by 2045. Last month, California's legislature approved a \$54bn package to combat climate change and the governor enacted rules that would phase out the sale of petrol-fuelled cars by 2035.

But any blackout as California's power grid struggles in the heat could cast doubt on the effectiveness of his aggressive push to increase the use of renewable energy.

As Californians cranked up their air conditioning to fend off rising temperatures this month, the grid began to show the strain. Newsom pleaded with the public to conserve energy during peak evening hours by turning up thermostats and avoiding the use of large appliances. On Tuesday, California-based energy utility Pacific Gas & Electric warned more than 500,000 customers to prepare for rolling power outages.

Newsom said that within half an hour of the text, power demand fell by 2.6GW. "It was a game changer," he said at a press conference. "People reduced their energy [use] and got us through."

But Newsom acknowledged the state could not count on texting residents to keep the lights on. "You overuse that and it begins to dilute itself," he said.

While outages have so far been averted, concern about the future of the grid remains. California has become a leader in renewable power, with a quarter of its electricity generated from solar and wind in 2021, compared with 12 per cent for the US as a whole.

But critics say the transition has left the state vulnerable, given the difficulty of storing wind and solar energy — particularly as droughts have started to take a toll on hydropower in recent years.

Carrie Bentley, chief executive of consultant Gridwell and former Caliso policy official, said the state was "behind the curve" in ensuring a reliable grid in

'We've never seen this kind of extreme heat for this extended period of time'

Gavin Newsom, governor

to be shut down without adequate renewable sources and large-scale back-up batteries, she said.

The recent near-miss was down to "effective grid management and a dose of luck", she added. Newsom recently acknowledged there was "unprecedented stress" on the state's energy system as he made a successful push last month to keep open California's last nuclear plant, Diablo Canyon.

For now, the immediate threat to California's grid appears to be lessening as temperatures dip, but the dramatic weather was expected to continue, with a tropical storm predicted to bring heavy wind and rain to southern California this weekend.

Smith now plans to spend the next few weeks harvesting and shipping as many grapes as possible.

The hit to his finances from the heatwave was "depressing", he said. But he added: "That's farming. You're at the beck and call of Mother Nature. You pull

bour national ambitions, as he seeks to turn California into a zero-carbon state

cally used for issues such as missing persons, asking residents to use less power.

the face of climate change. California had allowed too much fossil fuel capac-

up your boots and figure out how to make it work."

closure of nearby monkey parks this week.



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Populism

Sweden Democrats hope for 'seismic' election breakthrough

RICHARD MILNE — SÖLVESBORG

A glimpse of what could be the biggest political earthquake in Sweden for decades can be found in the unremarkable southern town of Sölvesborg.

After elections in 2018, the nationalist Sweden Democrats took control of the council in the seaside town of 17,000. With an eye-catching mix of policies such as a begging ban and hiring security guards to protect the town, Sölvesborg, the home town of party leader Jimmie Åkesson, has served as a "shop window" for the Sweden Democrats, according to Ann-Cathrine Jungar, senior lecturer at Södertörn University.

Like far-right groups in Germany, France and Belgium, the Sweden Democrats have long been ostracised at a national level because of their roots in the neo-Nazi movement. But the Sweden Democrats could be the big winners of tomorrow's national elections, with polls suggesting they might become the second-largest party and the biggest of the rightwing opposition.

Should the right win — polls put them level with the ruling centre-left bloc led by the Social Democrats — then the Swe-

den Democrats would probably gain influence, either as a support party in parliament or possibly in government.

"It would be both seismic and a natural progression of the past decade, when they have gone from being pariahs to in many ways a normal party," said a former centre-right minister.

What the Sweden Democrats have done in Sölvesborg has provoked attention. National media have reported on various controversies: thousands of library books and artworks were thrown away, the Pride flag no longer flew from municipal buildings and a councillor said the town would not buy any art about menstruation. Louise Erixon, Sweden Democrat mayor and Åkesson's former partner, said: "We could never have bought the attention we received. I'm super happy. Sölvesborg has become more attractive."

Sölvesborg is part of the Sweden Democrats' stronghold in the south, where the party's rise was powered by a message that immigrants were threatening the generous welfare system. They entered the national parliament in 2010 and took control of their first councils, including Sölvesborg, in 2018.

In other towns, controversy has dogged the party, with candidates having to resign for pro-Nazi or xenophobic comments. But in Sölvesborg, it has governed with the same centre-right parties it hopes to work with at national level, and it seems to be welcomed.

The town has risen in annual rankings that show how easy it is to do business in each municipality. "The Sweden Democrats have been good for companies," said a local Italian restaurant owner.

Erixon argued that Sölvesborg showed the Sweden Democrats were ready for power at a national level. "It shows

we're a party that's mature. It shows we have experience, knowledge of running things and a trust with voters," she said.

Other parties like the Social Democrats, who admit they may have become complacent after running the town for decades, have objected to a new private elderly care home and town security guards hired. Birgit Birgersson-Brorsson, the party's local leader, said there had been a change in rhetoric. "They make people insecure, afraid of things," she said. At the local party headquarters, an immigrant shop owner arrived to complain about recent racist abuse.

Nationally, the Sweden Democrats say they will only support a government that deports any foreigner convicted of a crime, a ban on begging and stop-and-search zones in suburbs hit hard by gang crime. An average of recent polls puts them on 20 per cent, ahead of the main centre-right opposition the Moderates on 18 per cent, but behind the Social Democrats on 29 per cent.

Jungar said this election would show that like other European nations, the mainstream right had accommodated the radical right. "The most important thing is that they have been accepted."



Louise Erixon: says Sölvesborg more attractive under Sweden Democrats



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INTERNATIONAL

Europe mobilises for energy war as Kremlin shuts key gas pipeline

Governments act to shield consumers and businesses from Putin's weaponisation of fossil fuels

BEN HALL AND VALENTINA ROMEI
LONDON
SAM FLEMING — PRAGUE

"We are at war," Emmanuel Macron said on Monday as he outlined emergency measures France was taking to shore up its energy supply and shelter its citizens and businesses from soaring costs.

For months following Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the French president aspired to act as intermediary and peacemaker between Kyiv and Moscow. This week, he and fellow European leaders became belligerents in a sharply escalating energy conflict between Russia and the west. It was time, Macron said, for a "general mobilisation".

The Kremlin's weaponisation of its fossil fuel has forced European governments to take drastic action, unthinkable only a few months ago, to blunt the Russian attack and shield energy markets and economies from the impact.

Sweden and Finland had to provide emergency liquidity assistance to their power producers that were facing surging demands for collateral for their hedging operations.

Finnish economy minister Mika Lintilä said the region could be on the verge of the energy sector's version of the Lehman Brothers bank collapse in 2008.

Germany unveiled a second support package for households and businesses, worth €65bn, bringing to some €350bn the amount earmarked so far by EU governments to offset rocketing prices and diversify supply. Only two days after taking office as the UK's new prime minister, Liz Truss announced a cap on energy bills for households and businesses that is expected to cost at least £150bn over two years.

G7 powers on September 2 also agreed to impose a global price cap on Russian crude oil, a bigger source of revenue for the Kremlin than gas, although it could be hard to implement and other big importers such as China, India and Turkey may refuse to take part.

European Commission president Ursula von der Leyen, who is to outline a package of emergency measures next week, said the price of Russian gas imports should also be capped — an idea first proposed by Italy's Mario Draghi and was yesterday discussed by EU energy ministers, amid fears it would provoke the Russian leader to turn off the taps completely.



Monopoly: the headquarters of state-owned Russian energy corporation Gazprom in St Petersburg. Putin is refusing to continue supply via the Nord Stream 1 gas pipeline until the west lifts sanctions

plete stop in gas flows has arrived sooner than many in Europe expected. Putin played up the threat at an economic forum in Vladivostok on Wednesday. "We will not supply anything at all if it is contrary to our interests. No gas, no oil, no coal, no fuel oil, nothing," he said. Moscow also received a show of support from other oil producers this week — three days after the G7's oil price cap — when the Opec Plus group of countries, which includes Russia, agreed to shave 100,000 bpd from output.

predict," he said. But some officials and analysts believe this may have been the week when Russia's pressure campaign began to lose its potency. An indefinite shutdown of Nord Stream 1 was supposed to be the Kremlin's big weapon that would send wholesale prices to new stratospheric levels. But by Wednesday, they fell below Monday's level. "If that's it, then that might mean the end of the show," said Simone Tagliapietra, senior fellow at the Bruegel think-tank in Brussels.

'Putin has not achieved his goals — our dependency on him has come down much more quickly than expected'

tract by 3-4 per cent in 2023 rather than 5-6 per cent, on higher than expected storage and reduced consumption. Still, EU leaders are also aware of the pain that will come with soaring energy bills this winter, and the escalating cost to EU governments of cushioning households from sky-high costs. With inflation expected to remain high, consumers are braced for the biggest hit to living standards in a generation. Consumer confidence fell to the lowest level since records began in 1974 in the UK and it plunged to a near record low in the eurozone.

Emergency measures

EU ministers back fuel price cap and levy on power companies

ALICE HANCOCK — BRUSSELS

Europe's energy ministers have signalled support for a temporary cap on the price of gas imports including those from Russia and a windfall levy on energy producers to address "astronomical" costs for businesses and consumers.

After a four-hour meeting in Brussels yesterday, ministers said they wanted the European Commission to propose the emergency interventions to address the energy crisis in the EU. Energy prices have soared after Moscow began cutting gas flows to the bloc in response to western support for Ukraine.

"Ministers agreed the current levels of electricity and gas prices put pressure on inflation and the EU economy, threatening the competitiveness of European companies and creating social tensions," said a statement published by the Czech Republic, which holds the rotating European Council presidency.

"There is a prevailing view of the countries that we need [a gas price cap] as an emergency measure," said Czech energy minister Jozef Sikela. But he warned that more work had to be done on the possible impact because "it is from the market point of view the most difficult case".

Ministers met to discuss nine proposals put forward by the Czech presidency. Other measures included reductions to electricity demand and expanding state aid rules to allow rapid interventions such as the bailout of energy producers. The European Commission had signalled a preference for a cap only on Russian gas prices but several EU diplomats said this was not supported by member states that still rely on Russia for a significant portion of their supplies and fear retaliation by Moscow in the form of further supply cuts.

Kadri Simson, the EU's energy commissioner, said an overall cap on gas prices could threaten supply. "There is very strong competition in the [liquefied natural gas] market and now it is very important we can replace the decreasing Russian volumes with alternative suppliers."

Another diplomat said while there was broad agreement among member states over a gas price cap, few had agreed on if it should be on piped gas, all

Russia has been noisier back gas supplies to European markets since September last year, sending wholesale prices 10 times higher, pushing inflation to 40-year highs and economies to the brink of recession. Moscow denied deliberately restricting gas flows, blaming technical issues — which Brussels and member states disputed.

This week, Russia dropped the price. On Monday, in what looked like retaliation for the oil and gas price cap proposals, the Kremlin said gas deliveries through the Nord Stream 1 pipeline, its main conduit to European markets, would resume only when the west dropped economic sanctions against Russia. “The last mask has fallen,” von der Leyen said.

Russia is still pumping gas through Ukraine and via the TurkStream pipeline — about a fifth of the total amount sent in June — but the prospect of a com-



Alexander Novak, Russia's top energy official, crowed about the “collapse” of Europe's energy markets. “Winter is coming, and many things are hard to

There is growing concern in European capitals that the continent can get through the winter without severe economic and social dislocation or energy rationing. Von der Leyen said the EU had “weakened the grip that Russia had on our economy and our continent”.

Gas storage at facilities in the EU is at 82 per cent, ahead of the 80 per cent target the bloc set for the end of October. Member states have diversified supplies, increasing pipeline imports from Norway, Algeria and Azerbaijan and LNG from the US and other producers.

Before its invasion of Ukraine, Russia accounted for 40 per cent of the EU's gas imports but now it was only 9 per cent, von der Leyen noted. One EU official said: “Putin has not achieved his goals — our dependency on him has come down much more quickly than expected.”

Economists at Deutsche bank now think Germany's economy would con-

low in the eurozone.

The latest S&P Global PMI, a monthly business survey, showed business activity contracting in August in the eurozone and the UK.

The UK economy started to contract in the second quarter and even the latest government aid has not dispelled a possible recession. The European Central Bank now expects the eurozone to stagnate in the last quarter of the year and the first three months of 2023, and to shrink altogether next year.

Angel Talavera, head of European Economics at Oxford Economics, said it was “inevitable” that governments would come up with larger support packages.

“For as long as we are in this terrible situation it makes sense to have extraordinary measures to protect citizens and companies,” said Roberto Cingolani, Italy's energy transition minister.

gas imports or on whose prices.

The pressure on governments to address high energy prices has intensified. Last year, the EU imported 155bn cubic metres of Russian gas, 40 per cent of its total supply. That has fallen to 9 per cent since Moscow “indefinitely” cut off supplies through the Nordstream 1 pipeline, claims the European Commission. Gas prices in Europe are now more than 10 times the average of what they have been over the past decade.

The commission this week recommended that governments impose a levy on revenues for energy companies that do not use gas to generate power. Non-gas producers have been enjoying huge profits because electricity prices are pegged to the price of gas.

The commission will present proposals to member states before President Ursula von der Leyen's annual State of the Union address on Wednesday.

Energy Infrastructure

Dutch terminal lowers EU reliance on Russia

HARRY DEMPSEY — LONDON

The Netherlands has taken its first delivery of liquefied natural gas at a new terminal, marking a key step forward in Europe's efforts to develop infrastructure that helps it cut its dependence on Russia gas.

As part of the bid to diversify away from Russian gas after President Vladimir Putin launched the full-scale invasion of Ukraine, European countries have been racing to secure floating storage and regasification units, or FSRUs — liquefied natural gas tankers with heat exchangers that use seawater to turn the supercooled fuel back into gas.

The EU has formed plans for as many as 19 new FSRU projects at an estimated expenditure of €9.5bn, according to calculations by Ember, an energy think-tank.

The terminal at Eemshaven, in the country's north, was officially opened late on Thursday with the first LNG shipment arriving from the US gulf, said Dutch gas grid operator Gasunie.

Until now, the Netherlands could only import LNG through Rotterdam but that has changed with two FSRUs, the Golar Igloo and Eemshaven LNG,

moored in Eemshaven. The Eemshaven project was completed in record time and the first gas will flow into the country's network from mid-September, according to Gasunie. The pair of floating ships will supply gas to Germany and the landlocked Czech Republic.

“The arrival of the new LNG terminal is an important step not only for the



Fuel source: the Eemshaven floating storage unit will supply gas to Germany and the Czech Republic

Netherlands, but for the whole of Europe to completely phase out the dependence on energy from Russia as quickly as possible,” said Rob Jetten, Dutch minister for climate and energy. FSRUs offer the quickest way for Europe to end its reliance on the pipelines that bring in large quantities of natural gas from Russia. Land-based LNG terminals cost more and take longer to build.

However, additional import infrastructure will do little to lower European gas prices, which are about 10

times higher than the average of the previous decade, unless there is a significant increase in supplies from LNG producers such as the US, Qatar and Australia.

Germany, which had no LNG import terminals and sourced more than half of its gas imports from Russia before the invasion of Ukraine, aims to charter at least seven FSRUs, three of which are planned to start this winter.

Another FSRU serving Estonia and Finland is expected to be ready by the end of the year, while other countries such as France, Greece and Italy have plans for floating terminals in the coming years.

Brussels also wants member states to improve pipeline connections between countries. A dispute between France and Spain, which has the biggest capacity to handle LNG imports in the EU, has been intensifying over efforts to reboot plans for the MidCat pipeline between the two countries.

French president Emmanuel Macron has questioned the need for the project that Paris estimates would cost at least €3bn, although he left the door open for further discussions with European partners.

Revenues

High gas prices ease Gazprom supply cuts pain

MAX SEDDON — MOSCOW
NASTASSIA ASTRASHEUSKAYA — RIGA

Russia's Gazprom has maintained steady revenues from gas sales as soaring prices have compensated for its decision to cut supplies to Europe.

The Kremlin this week said it would keep the Nord Stream 1 pipeline, which transports gas to Europe via the Baltic Sea, shut as long as the west maintained economic sanctions. This means Gazprom is now delivering about 84m cubic metres per day of gas to Europe via Ukraine and Turkey, from an average of 480m last year.

But the reduction in supplies is expected to push this year's prices up threefold on average compared with 2021, helping Gazprom increase total revenues by 85 per cent to €100bn, according to Ron Smith, oil and gas analyst at RCS Global Markets.

Last year, Gazprom exported its gas to Europe and Turkey at an average price of \$310 per cubic metre, resulting in gross export revenue of \$54bn. Smith estimates that over the whole of 2022, the company will supply 43 per cent fewer volumes but at an average price of \$1,000 per cubic metre.

“A relatively small volume decrease can cause a large increase in gas prices, which can cause revenues to go up for the producer that had its supply reduced. In other words, you can make a solid case that Gazprom will earn more from supplying less gas,” he said.

Sergey Vakulenko, an independent Russian energy analyst, estimates that

“You can make a solid case that Gazprom will earn more from supplying less gas”

at current prices and deliveries, Gazprom is making about €250m a day — the amount it would stand to lose if it were to stop all gas supplies to Europe. This compares with €290m a day on average in 2019, the last full year before the pandemic.

In the first half of 2022, the Russian gas supplier recorded \$41.75bn in net profit, from \$29bn in profit for all of last year, according to a company statement last week. It paid a \$20bn dividend to the state.

In 2019, before a coronavirus-related

drop in supplies in 2020 and a continued squeeze in flows to Europe the following year, Gazprom reported profit of \$16.3bn.

Some analysts say the price boost has prompted Gazprom to burn some of the gas it did not supply: the company has flared €8.5bn worth of the commodity in recent weeks, according to Wayne Bryan, an analyst at Refinitiv.

Russia is trying to turn to other markets as the EU is accelerating efforts to end its reliance on Russian energy. In the first seven months of this year, gas exports to China rose 61 per cent year on year, albeit from a low level, according to Gazprom's latest available data. Gazprom announced on Tuesday that Beijing would switch to paying for gas in renminbi and roubles instead of dollars.

But most of Russia's gas pipeline infrastructure points to Europe, and Moscow cannot easily redirect these sales to anywhere other than its domestic market. The gas pipeline to China that Russia opened in 2019 is fed by different gas fields than those supplying the bloc.

“In the long term Russia is losing forever its largest and most reliable export market,” said Greg Molnar, an analyst at the International Energy Agency.

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INTERNATIONAL

Kyiv builds momentum with Kharkiv offensive

Morale lifted as rapid military advance wins back territory and threatens key Russian supply lines in Donbas region

JOHN PAUL RATHBONE AND ROMAN OLEARCHYK — KYIV

On the morning of September 8, Vitaly Ganchev, a Russian-appointed administrator head of the Kharkiv region in occupied north-eastern Ukraine, boasted about how an attack by Ukrainian forces had been repulsed and taken heavy losses. The key city of Balakliia, he told Russian state television, was “under our control”.

By that afternoon, however, multiple videos posted on social media showed Ukrainian troops streaming across what Ganchev had earlier claimed was Russian-occupied territory.

One showed Ukrainian soldiers hoisting a flag above the town of Balakliia. Another showed delighted old-age pensioners welcoming in soldiers for pancakes.

That evening, Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelenskyy claimed that

Ukrainian forces had taken more than 1,000 square kilometres of territory.

“We are moving forward,” General Valeriy Zaluzhnyi, commander of Ukraine's armed forces, said yesterday. “We clearly know what we are fighting for and we will definitely win.”

The Kremlin declined to comment on the offensive, according to Reuters.

The rapid progress of Ukraine's latest attack has threatened key Russian supply lines in the eastern Donbas region and comes a week after Kyiv launched a separate offensive in the south, around the town of Kherson.

Both show Ukrainian forces, augmented with high-precision western weapons, taking the initiative after six months of being on the defensive.

“We see success in Kherson now, we see some success in Kharkiv and so that is very, very encouraging,” US defence secretary Lloyd Austin said in Prague.

Together, the attacks have boosted

morale, undermined Moscow's plans to annex newly occupied territory with sham referendums, rebuked military momentum before winter and served to show western allies that the vast amounts of military and economic aid showered on the country is worth it.

Presidential adviser Mykhailo Podolyak said the counter-offensive shows that Ukraine can take back occupied territory and “there will be no freezing of this conflict”, he tweeted, adding that Ukraine has provided “it can effectively use modern western weapons” and that “Russian troops have to get out and it will hurt”.

The latest offensive has been markedly faster and more successful than the southern attack around Kherson. Its aim, according to analysts, seems to be to sever Russian supply lines and trap Russian forces around Izyum, a strategic flashpoint in the Donbas.

One reason for the attack's success,

according to Michael Kofman, lead Russia analyst at the CNA think-tank, is that Russian forces were under-resourced after Russia “deployed most of its better troops to Kherson” in anticipation of the long-expected Ukrainian attack there.

“There will be no freezing of this conflict. [Ukraine] can effectively use modern western weapons [to win]”

When Ukraine struck, Russian forces were also “caught off guard, which resulted in an uncoordinated withdrawal”, said Konrad Muzyka of Rochan consulting, a military advisory service based in Poland.

Russian sources confirmed the onslaught in vivid accounts. According to Igor Girkin, a former Russian intelligence officer who led separatist forces in

the conflict Moscow fomented in eastern Ukraine in 2014, Ukrainian special forces made lightning raids behind enemy lines “causing panic... destroying rear checkpoints, intercepting roads and transport columns”.

Reliable communications also led to Ukrainian forces being supported “by precise missile strikes” while the Russian air force was unable to tell “friend from foe in the mess”, Girkin added.

A lot can still go wrong. The pace of advance has been so rapid that Ukrainian logistics may become overstretched, warned Muzyka. Russia may also launch a counter-offensive from military bases on its side of the border.

The Ukrainian economy is also struggling in the second quarter. It shrank by over a third, according to official statistics, and western voters' appetite to continue aid to Ukraine may shrivel because of high energy bills fuelled by the Kremlin's squeeze on gas supplies.

“Military progress in the short term is critical for the western coalition to hold together,” said US scholar Francis Fukuyama. “If Ukraine can regain military momentum before the end of 2022, it will be much easier for leaders of western democracies to argue that their people should tighten their belts over the coming winter,” he wrote.

Senior US officials also believe the tide may be turning. William Burns, director of the CIA, said on Thursday that while the last chapters of the war remain unwritten, Russian president Vladimir Putin's invasion looks to be “a failure”.

Ukraine's western allies have also promised to step up and sustain military assistance. The US announced another \$675m of military aid this week. The US defence secretary said: “Every day, we see the resolve of the allies and partners worldwide who are helping Ukraine resist Russia's illegal, imperial and indefensible war of conquest.”

Power facility. Radiation threat

Ukraine nuclear plant fears grow after inspection

Big risk is failure of water cooling systems, leading to Fukushima-style meltdown

JOHN PAUL RATHBONE AND ROMAN OLEARCHYK — KYIV

Rafael Grossi was strikingly blunt for a diplomat. “We're playing with fire,” the head of the International Atomic Energy Agency told the UN Security Council this week. “Something very, very catastrophic could take place.”

Four days earlier, Grossi had returned from the Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant in south-eastern Ukraine, the biggest atomic facility in Europe that has been continually fought over since it was captured by Russian forces in the early days of its Ukraine invasion.



broadly a fairly similar reactor to those at Zaporizhzhia, it didn't fully melt through the thick steel vessel,” he explained. The IAEA has since classified Three Mile Island as a “level five” case compared with the more serious seven at Chernobyl and Fukushima.

None of this minimises the chance of disaster, or the risk of human error by one of the Ukrainian technicians who operate the plant under the stress of Russian occupation.

“Weird things can happen at high

“Water can separate into oxygen and hydrogen, which can explode in a kind of dirty bomb scenario”

temperatures,” said University of

There he observed Russian military vehicles parked in the turbine halls, talked to the facility's harassed Ukrainian staff and documented damage to the plant, including to areas used to store fresh nuclear fuel and radioactive waste.

The huge Zaporizhzhia plant, which opened in 1985, a year before the meltdown at the Chernobyl nuclear facility north of Kyiv, is at the centre of a high-stakes battle that has become a symbol of the wider risks of Russia president Vladimir Putin's invasion, now into its seventh month.

It is the first time a war has been fought around an active nuclear plant and the first ever seized by force. Grossi in his briefing stressed the risk of a "very serious nuclear accident" and called for a military free zone to be established around the facility.

"It shouldn't blow," Paddy Regan, professor of nuclear physics at the University of Surrey, said of Zaporizhzhia. "But I wouldn't bet my life on it."

Both Russia and Ukraine blame each other for the constant mortar and artillery strikes at the plant, which has six nuclear reactors. Shelling this week cut power to the nearby Russian-controlled town of Enerгодar that houses many of



the plant's 11,000 workers. Russian missiles also struck Nikolop, a Ukrainian-controlled town on the other side of the Dnipro river.

Mykhailo Poperechnyuk, a businessman and politician in Nikolop, said he often saw Russian forces firing missiles from the plant. "It happens all the time."



The protective casing around each of Zaporizhzhia's 950 megawatt reactors, built from reinforced concrete and one-foot thick steel, are designed to withstand the impact of an aeroplane.

But Paul Norman, professor of nuclear physics at the University of Birmingham, said "nothing is completely indestructible", and that sustained and directed strikes would "most likely break through eventually". In a worst-case scenario, experts say a rupture of the pressurised water containers around a reactor could spew out radioactive material into the immediate area.

The containment structures, and the fact that Zaporizhzhia's reactors would shut down automatically in the event of failure, set them apart from Chernobyl, where a reactor explosion in 1986 scattered radioactive material - estimated to be equivalent to 400 times that released by the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs - over the Soviet Union

and parts of Europe. "Zaporizhzhia is not - nor could it be - another Chernobyl," said Mark Wenmann, senior lecturer in the Centre for Nuclear Materials at Imperial College London.

"The reactor designs are fundamentally different." The big risk is a breakdown of its water cooling systems, leading to a nuclear meltdown similar to the 2011 Fukushima incident in Japan. The head of Enerгодar, the Ukrainian operator of the facility, said this week that if this happened, the reactors would melt down in "about 90 minutes".

Even if this did come true, experts believe Zaporizhzhia could contain the incident. "At Fukushima there was a melt through, but its reactors were of a different type, with thinner vessels," said Norman, who believes a closer parallel is the 1979 incident at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania.

"At Three Mile Island, which has

Danger signs: IAEA chief Rafael Grossi, centre left, on the nuclear power station site last week. Left, the aftermath of shelling at nearby Enerгодar

Yuri Kochergin/ISA/IFA; Alexander Ermochenko/IFA/IFA

Surrey's Regan. "Water can separate into oxygen and hydrogen, which can then explode in a kind of dirty bomb scenario."

Ukraine needs the massive 5.7 gigawatt output of electricity generated at Zaporizhzhia, which is enough to power more than 4m homes. But Russia also wants it, partly to strangle Ukraine's economy and also because control of energy sources is central to its broad war effort against the west.

Russian attempts to divert the power towards Crimea, the peninsula it annexed from Ukraine in 2014, have been thwarted by Ukrainian missile strikes on the transformer substations. But shelling has also severed the facility from its own grid.

Enerгодar this week said it was powering down the sole reactor that is still in operation, reducing the chance of an accident but also the strategic value of the power output.

Many Ukrainians suspect Putin might deliberately seek to engineer a nuclear incident should the war swing decisively against him, especially as nuclear use forms part of Russian military doctrine. "The Russians know how to do it, they really could do it - and they would just blame Ukraine," said Valeri Korshunov, founder of the European Institute of Chernobyl.

Emergency funding

Kyiv appeals for \$17bn winter aid package

JONATHAN WHEATLEY - LONDON

Ukraine has appealed for foreign support to fund an emergency \$17bn infrastructure package as the country prepares for the onset of winter.

Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal yesterday called for help to cover a "first stage, rapid recovery" package, including \$3.4bn needed immediately, to shield citizens from the impact of colder weather.

Average temperatures in Ukraine typically fall from 20C in summer to minus 3C in winter, with an average of minus 7C in some regions, according to the Climatic Research Unit at the University of East Anglia.

Shmyhal said after a meeting yesterday with Ursula von der Leyen, president of the European Commission, in Brussels, that the situation required "the mobilisation of joint resources of the Ukrainian government and international partners".

The call follows the publication yesterday of a fresh economic assessment from Kyiv, produced with the World Bank and the commission, which put the cost of damage inflicted by Russia

between its invasion on February 24 and June 1 at \$97bn.

The cost of reconstruction and recovery from that damage is estimated at \$349bn.

A third of Ukraine's population has been displaced by the war, with 6.8m residents having left the country and a further 6.6m people internally displaced.

Arup Banerji, the World Bank's regional director for eastern Europe, said the bank was "terribly concerned" about the arrival of winter.

"The damage that Ukraine has suffered has been just staggering," Banerji said.

"Ukraine's winter season starts on October 15 and can be really harsh. This could be quite devastating given that many houses have windows and doors missing and there are so many internally displaced people."

Banerji praised the international community for providing about \$1.5bn a month to support Kyiv's budgetary needs but said commitments made to date ran only as far as the end of 2022.

Foreign support for Kyiv "has been

on and off from different actors at different times, although right now it is coming through strongly... But our attention has to turn now to 2023. Discussions have begun but right now no commitments have been made by any partners of Ukraine."

The EU promised Ukraine €9bn in budgetary support in May but only about €1bn has been disbursed. Kyiv is running budget deficits of about \$5bn a month and has cut all but essential spending in an effort to continue paying pensions and salaries to essential workers.

Von der Leyen said yesterday that €5bn was "in the pipeline" from the EU, on top of €10bn already mobilised in financial, humanitarian, emergency and military assistance.

"Ukraine is fighting for democracy and our common values," von der Leyen said.

"The EU cannot match the sacrifice Ukraine is enduring but we are mobilising all our instruments to address the most immediate needs, including for housing for internally displaced populations and to repair critical infrastructure."

Weapons pledge

N Korea proclaims first-strike atomic policy

CHRISTIAN DAVIES - SEOUL

North Korean leader Kim Jong Un has enshrined his country's status as a nuclear power in law and allowed the use of pre-emptive strikes, as the regime seeks to take advantage of mounting tensions between the US and Russia and China to shift policy.

State media reported yesterday that Kim had vowed to never enter into talks on giving up his nuclear weapons after the law was passed by the country's Supreme People's Assembly the previous day.

Analysts said North Korea's declared nuclear doctrine now allowed pre-emptive strikes in a wide range of scenarios, including when the country or the government was attacked by conventional forces.

The previous policy allowed for the use of nuclear weapons only in a second-strike scenario.

"There will never be any declaration of 'giving up our nukes' or 'denuclearisation', nor any kind of negotiations or bargaining to meet the other side's conditions," Kim said on Thursday.

"As long as nuclear weapons exist on

earth and imperialism remains... our road towards strengthening nuclear power won't stop."

North Korea's illicit ballistic missile programme has grown steadily in scale and sophistication in recent years despite comprehensive UN sanctions imposed following a nuclear test and

'As long as imperialism remains, our road towards strengthening nuclear power won't stop'

intercontinental ballistic missile launch in 2017.

The sanctions on North Korea were agreed by all five permanent members of the UN Security Council, including the US, Russia and China.

But Pyongyang and Moscow have become closer following Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

US officials confirmed this week that Russia has purchased rockets and artillery shells from North Korea as western sanctions begin to choke Moscow's supply of weapons. The Kim regime was

also one of just four countries - other than Russia - to oppose a UN General Assembly resolution condemning the invasion of Ukraine this year.

Moscow and Beijing are pushing for the restrictions on Pyongyang to be eased and vetoed the imposition of new sanctions for the first time in May.

A senior western diplomat said the Kim regime had become more confident as tensions between the west and Russia and China had increased.

"Pyongyang has clearly been emboldened by the deterioration in relations between Russia and China and the US," the diplomat said. "The worse it gets, the stronger they feel."

Analysts said the new nuclear policy was an attempt to entrench the country's position as a nuclear power.

"Kim Jong Un is trying to normalise North Korea's nuclear weapons with domestic laws and proclamations," said Leif-Eric Easley, a professor at Ewha Womans University in Seoul.

"With so many self-inflicted economic challenges, this is a matter of regime legitimacy. It is also an attempt to present North Korea's nuclear status as a fait accompli to the world."

FT BIG READ. ROYAL FINANCES

Queen Elizabeth II was a diligent steward of her family's financial and business affairs. She was not opposed to change but took a gradualist approach to management that ruled out radical innovation.

By Andrew Hill

Elizabeth II was one of the world's wealthiest individuals, with property holdings ranging from London prime real estate to farmland across the country, but her ability to profit from, let alone sell, many of the assets over which she presided was limited.

Her father, King George VI, nicknamed the royal family "the Firm" and one former adviser to the family described the Queen as "very much the non-executive chairman" when it came to business and financial affairs. But the Queen was unlike any chair of a conventional company, and her power to act like a normal company director, entrepreneur or investor was highly constrained by legislation and tradition.

She was the ultimate authority for important decisions about a royal household of more than 400 staff, from engineers to chefs, and oversaw the running and refurbishment of palaces that are among the most famous buildings in the world. Day to day, though, many of those decisions were taken by a network of courtiers.

The Queen's managerial style was unavoidably guided by the specific demands of constitutional monarchy and shaped by a gradualist approach to change that ruled out radical innovation. One of the key questions facing her successor, King Charles III, who as Prince of Wales was known for his hands-on approach and strong views on the environment and planning issues, is whether he will want to, or be able to, usher in a bold change to the way she conducted affairs.

What was often described, confus-



ingly, as "the Queen's fortune" was in fact divided into a number of highly regulated areas, most of which were effectively beyond her direct control and now pass to her successor.

Her largest land and property holdings were managed by the Crown Estate, which belongs to the reigning monarch "in right of the Crown". The £15.6bn property portfolio includes large chunks of central London, such as Regent Street and St James's, as well as retail parks and countryside outside the capital. It also owns the seabed up to 12 miles out from the coast, the value of which has surged since 2021, thanks to the lucrative lease of seabed rights to develop offshore wind projects.

The chair of the Crown Estate updates the monarch annually on the state of the portfolio but, since 1760, the monarch has allowed the Crown lands to be managed on his or her behalf. Surplus revenue goes to the Treasury, which in return makes fixed annual payment to the monarch, at first through what was known as the Civil List and, since 2012, via the "sovereign grant".

If the Queen had a mostly arm's length relationship with the Crown Estate, she was more directly concerned with the destination of the grant. In 2016, it was agreed the proportion of Crown Estate revenue distributed to the monarch should increase from 15 to 25 per cent, mainly to allow for a £369m, 10-year refurbishment of Buckingham Palace.

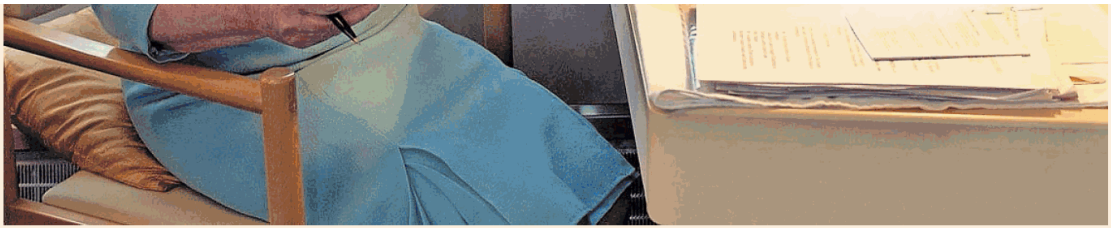
Key reforms

A more direct source of independent income came from the Duchy of Lancaster, a private estate that has belonged to the reigning monarch since 1399. Its holdings cover 18,248 hectares and the Duchy's net asset value is £653m. Those assets include farmland across Cheshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire and Yorkshire, commercial property — notably the Savoy estate in London — financial investments, farmhouses, homes, and mining and foreshore rights. The Queen's account, called the privy purse, benefited only from income from the estate, which in 2021-22 showed a net surplus of £24m.

It was this income that, in 1990, the Queen agreed should be used to pay for other members of the royal family. As part of a reform of the Civil List, only she, and, at the time, Prince Philip and the Queen Mother would receive money directly from the Treasury. In addition, she said she would pay income tax and capital gains tax on the Duchy of Lancaster and on other private investments, although the government agreed that "sovereign-to-sovereign bequests" would be exempt from inheritance tax. As a result, the Duchy of Lancaster passes to her successor untaxed.

Charles was an early advocate of the idea the royal family should live off Crown Estate income. As Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, though, he funded his public, charitable and private activities and those of his family from the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, a private estate set up by Edward III in 1337.

The Queen was closely involved in this critical phase of reform of the monarchy's finances. In 1986, a team led by Michael Peat of accountants Peat Marwick McLintock, the Queen's auditor,



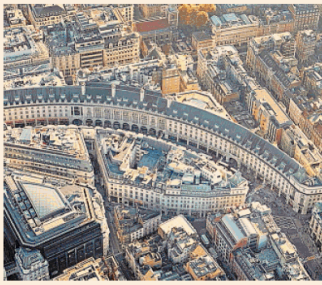
Chair of the 'Firm'

The Queen at work aboard the royal train in 2002, above; at Buckingham Palace with Prince Charles and Prince William in 2012, right — from Hansard / AFP/Getty Images, Andy Rann / EPA-EFE/Shutterstock

£15.6bn
Value of property portfolio managed by the Crown Estate that includes large chunks of central London, such as Regent Street (pictured below)

£1.05bn
Net assets of the Duchy of Cornwall. With the succession, management of the private estate passes from King Charles III to Prince William

£653m
Net assets of the Duchy of Lancaster, a private estate that has belonged to the reigning monarch since 1399



had reviewed the state of the royal household. Its report revolutionised royal finances.

The recommendations — 188 in total in a report running to more than 1,200 pages — improved efficiency and reduced costs. Ben Pimlott, in his biography *The Queen*, said the monarch's input was "small but notable" (she is said to have remarked "why have I got so many footmen?"). The changes stood her and the family in good stead when death, divorce, and scandal turned the public spotlight back on to how the monarchy was run in the 1990s.

Peat, who went on to become keeper of the privy purse — the equivalent of the Firm's finance director — was also an invaluable source of advice on her personal portfolio. Another former member of the household recalled how she asked him some probing questions about her investments in start-ups at the time of the dotcom bust in 2000.

Her private holdings also included the palaces of Balmoral, in Aberdeenshire, and Sandringham, in Norfolk, the royal stamp collection (excluding Commonwealth stamps that she received and held on behalf of the nation), and her racehorses, in which she took a close personal interest, both for their performance on the racetrack and for their value as breeding stock.

Those who worked with the Queen were unanimous about her work ethic and efficiency. "The Queen's very businesslike. You send a memorandum and it's back the next day, or certainly within 24 hours," one ex-courtier told Andrew

Marr for his 2012 book *The Real Elizabeth*. "She didn't micromanage, but she did take the decision in principle," another former adviser told the FT.

Decisions were carefully prepared by senior courtiers, who provided recommendations for her approval. "It isn't like any conventional organisation, where orders flow from above down," said one former adviser to the royal family, who described it as "decision-making by osmosis".

Lord Robin Janvrin, private secretary to the Queen from 1999 to 2007, said: "I would characterise her approach on every item as 'relentless common sense'. Of course she accepted a lot of the advice she got but if it wasn't sensible you jolly well knew it."

Prudent interventions

Although the Queen would always decide which events she should attend, she was well aware of the power of her office and the need to calibrate any other interventions carefully, particularly in business and financial matters.

Often, a mere inquiry from Buckingham Palace was enough to affect a decision. According to a court official, when the Crown Estate wanted to sell a block of affordable housing in London in the 2000s, worried tenants complained to the Queen. Two carefully worded questions from the monarch nudged the estate to sell at a discount to an appropriate owner. On another occasion, she made clear her unwillingness to let the Duchy of Lancaster offload agricultural land it had owned since the 14th century. "If it was good enough for John of Gaunt [Duke of Lancaster from 1362]," she said, "it's good enough for me."

As Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, her son Charles demonstrated a more hands-on approach. He personally chaired the Prince's Council, or board of directors, of the Duchy of Cornwall, which recorded net assets of £1.05bn and a surplus of £25m in its 2022 report.

He was also an active manager of the estate, used to meet all its main tenants in person, and earned the affectionate nickname "the boss" from staff, according to a 2019 ITV documentary. One Duchy employee described a work ethic similar to that of his mother, with Charles returning documents with his handwritten comments within days.



"It's the personal involvement and the personal touch and the understanding of people's families and their lives which is what matters so much in terms of management," Charles told the programme.

The Duchy of Cornwall now passes to his heir Prince William. Charles groomed his son to take over as steward of the 52,450-hectare estate, including land and property, mainly in south-west England, in contrast to what he described as a "baptism of fire" when he took over the Duchy in 1969, aged 21.

Challenges for the King

Transferring a more active management style to his new role will be harder. As "the boss" of the Firm, the King faces more constraints on his interventionist instincts, as he has acknowledged. In 2018, Charles told the BBC that as sovereign he would have to "operate within the constitutional parameters". Asked if he would continue public campaigning as King, he replied "I'm not that stupid, I do realise that it is a separate exercise being sovereign."

The Queen also exercised her leadership as head of the family, another role that Charles has now inherited. During gatherings at Balmoral in the summer, or Sandringham at Christmas, she helped set the broad tone of discussion.

At a critical point in her reign, she oversaw attempts to take a more formal, strategic view of the future, guided and assisted by her husband, who played an active part in family affairs until his death in 2021. After the "annus horribilis" of 1992 — marked by the marital troubles of three of her four children and a fire at Windsor Castle — the Queen was encouraged to set up what became known as the "Way Ahead Group", consisting of the core members of the family and senior officials. The group met regularly until about 2005, tackling longer-range issues, from the size of the official royal family to the Queen's role as head of the Church of England. As she grew older, she also made way for Charles, William and the younger members of the family to take up some of her public duties, in an example of sensible succession planning.

As head of state during a period when British business modernised its management and marketing, the Queen was conscious of the need to adjust and burnish the royal family's "brand".

That brand again came under pressure at the end of her reign as the spirit of renewal heralded by the 2018 marriage of Meghan Markle and Prince Harry disintegrated into acrimony. The successful platinum jubilee celebrations of 2022 underlined how much of the family's reputation depended on her personal dedication and sense of duty.

Former courtiers have described the evolution of the monarchy's image under the Queen as a "Marmite jar" strategy, a reference to the imperceptible change in the design of the spread container, carried out so slowly that fans did not realise it had occurred. "She would never do anything that was for quick, short-term benefit," said Sir Alan Reid, keeper of the privy purse from 2002-17 and now chair of the Duchy of Lancaster's council. Yet she was not opposed to change that made sense and often disproved courtiers who assumed she would resist reforms.

Referring to one of the most famous political rebrandings of her era, one person who worked closely with the Queen said she was conscious of the need to change, "but we didn't want [to create] 'New Monarchy' like 'New Labour'." According to this official, her approach to conserving the Firm was like that of "the Prince", in Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa's novel *The Leopard*, who remarked: "If we want things to stay as they are, things will have to change." It now falls to a new generation, under Charles III, to deal with growing calls to accelerate that transformation.

I would characterise her approach as "relentless common sense". Of course she accepted a lot of the advice she got, but if it wasn't sensible you jolly well knew it'



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The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES
"Without fear and without favour"

Britain in mourning enters the new Carolean era

King Charles III inherits a kingdom feeling less united than it has for some years

God save the King. It is an exhortation Britons will get used to saying, even if after 70 years of a Queen it sounds strange on the lips. The daily reminders of the face of the sovereign, on stamps or banknotes, will begin to change, intensifying the sense of disorientation that Queen Elizabeth II's passing has brought to a nation already facing profound challenges. It is a nation that started the week with Boris Johnson as prime minister of Her Majesty's government, and ends it with Liz Truss serving at the pleasure of His Majesty.

A vital role of monarchy is to provide a guardrail through the turmoil of change; to provide certainty that, no matter the head that wears the crown, the institution it symbolises endures. The mantle now passes to King Charles

III. Just as his mother had to be the figurehead of a nation adapting to loss of empire, Charles inherits a kingdom feeling less united than it has for years.

No monarch has ever waited so long to ascend the throne. Charles's outspokenness, in the interim, on cherished causes sometimes raised doubts over how easily he might submit to the constraints of monarchy. Yet his extended apprenticeship has given him a depth of preparation his mother never had as he attempts to emulate her as a source of strength and stability for the nation.

One question he will confront is the manner in which he will perform his role, and carry on the gradual modernisation of his institution. Charles has signalled he favours a slimmed-down monarchy. The King, his Queen Consort, Camilla, and the heir to the throne William with his own wife Kate could form a restricted core of "working royals". More minor family members ought to be permitted to live as something closer to private citizens.

Charles has rightly indicated, too, that he intends to observe the convention of refraining from political interference. Yet on climate change and sustainability, his years of advocacy on issues that transcend party or national politics give him, if used with discretion, real moral authority. The King also has a chance to lead, like some royal European counterparts, by example.

The new King will be closely watched for the role he might play in strengthening the union, and the 56-nation Commonwealth. Polling has shown support for the monarchy waning in Scotland, and ties with Scotland and Northern Ireland have been strained by Britain's departure from the EU. In Northern Ireland, the Queen's passing will add to the sense of loss and dispossession for unionists created by post-Brexit trade barriers. But as her historic 2012 handshake with the onetime IRA commander Martin McGuinness demonstrated, used well, visits and gestures by the monarch can have a powerful impact.

His years of advocacy on issues that transcend party or national politics give him, if used with discretion, real moral authority

In the Commonwealth, a period of mourning for the Queen may damp any groundswell in republican sentiment. But her passing may ultimately hasten the transformation of some of the 14 Commonwealth realms where the UK monarch remains head of state into republics, as Belize and Jamaica have indicated they will become. That does not have to affect Commonwealth membership: India, and more recently Barbados, have jettisoned the monarchy while remaining in the club. It falls to Charles, as its new head, to persuade nations that ties to this unique global association of 2.5bn people are worth retaining.

The last Charles to take the throne restored the monarchy after the country's only flirtation with a republic. The new King Charles takes over from the longest-serving monarch in British history. He can hardly hope to match her achievements. If he can merely maintain and build upon them, however, the new Carolean era will be judged a success.

Opinion Monarchy

The Queen's constancy never went out of style

Rory Griffin/FT/Getty Images



It's a strange Britain that discovers the one person to whom the nation looks in time of crisis is no longer here to reassure us...

She wore her brightly florid costume like an armour, an instant symbol with or without her crown

Queen became an almost talismanic symbol: from remote princess to grinning grandmother, her death makes raw all sorts of memories and reignites a multitude of griefs.

purse-lipped demeanour was all the public was allowed. "I simply ache from smiling," she is reported to have said in 1985.

But as with her general manner, her style of business and her public personality, Elizabeth II won our affection precisely because she remained so resistant to the winds of cultural change.

Letters

Oil crisis of 1973 teaches us a lot about energy saving today

Philip Coggan's Long View column understates the impact of the 1973 oil price increases ("Investors must make a call on how energy pledges will pan out", August 27).

While overall energy consumption over the same period has actually dropped. Some of these efficiency improvements were undoubtedly prompted by increases in energy prices.

15.2 per cent and, particularly important at present, consumption of natural gas was cut by almost a third.

options available to the new prime minister to combat the enormous rise in gas and electricity prices. He cites energy conservation, because "lower consumption could bring the annual bill in below estimates based on a typical household's usage".

You can rezone Cornwall, just don't tell the cows

The article "Is owing a second home unethical?" (House & Home, September 3) contrasts "good" land supply in Scandinavia with the "densely populated" south of the UK.

The northern coastline of Zealand in Denmark is almost entirely zoned for summerhouses, which by law may not be occupied all year round.

Between the Remington typewriter and the ink well

With the news that Whitehall will be using carbon paper in the event of energy blackouts ("UK officials get hands dirty as energy fears spark tests of blackout scenarios", Report, September 3), one supposes that it has also already built up the strategic reserve of Remingtons, Smiths, coronas and IBM Selectrics that will be necessary.

Bishop's palace is fitting address for your columnist

Having long looked to Lucy Kellaway as the very incarnation of British common sense and decency, I find it altogether fitting and proper that she should now inhabit a bishop's palace ("Leaving London", House & Home, September 3).

Was choice of photo a security precaution too?

I was amused to see security expert Mikko Hypponen, in the photograph accompanying the review of his book 'It's Smart, It's Vulnerable' (Life & Arts, FT Weekend, August 13), working on what is a dated VDT computer terminal.

Memo to self: avoid food in Moscow university canteen

While eating my lunch I stopped in mid-mouthful reading Orlando Figes's Weekend Essay when he describes his first meal at Moscow State University in 1984.

Desperate grandmother's climate crisis cri de coeur

In her review of Gaia Vince's book 'Nomad Century: How to Survive the Climate Uproar' (Life & Arts, August 27), Anjana Ahuja writes that the book should serve both as the obituary of a simpler, cooler world in which our ancestors lived and the birth notice of the warmer world we have foolishly made for ourselves.

Dear God, can we not have the greater ambition to turn the clock back and stop it happening? Do we have to slide into the nightmare she portrays? Where are the leaders we need? Speaking as a desperate grandma, I ask: "Will someone get a grip?"

Correction

Gertrude Stein wrote of her hometown Oakland: "There is no there there." Due to an editing error, this was incorrectly rendered in a letter on September 5. We apologise for the error.

Palantir, protests and shedding light on 'spy tech'

When the American entrepreneur Alex Karp and the PayPal billionaire Peter Thiel co-founded a data analytics company 18 years ago, they decided to call it Palantir.



Palantir is currently bidding for a \$360m contract to manage more NHS data. It seems likely to win given that the Covid platform worked well.

Palantir has already poached senior NHS officials. But part of what is sparking protests is that Palantir was initially funded by the CIA, and, Karp tells me, about 50 per cent of its revenues still come from security groups such as the FBI, Nato, the British military and forces in Ukraine.

GPS were born in military circles. And one reason why companies such as Palantir move from military into civilian work is that government contracts can be capricious.

Opinion

Elizabeth II was Global Britain personified



The death of Elizabeth II is an event that has resonated far beyond the shores of Britain. All flags at US government buildings will be

This international outpouring demonstrates the Queen's success in transcending politics and easing international tensions. Relations between governments and nations go through good and bad patches.

political fray, the way she conducted herself had a vital impact on domestic and international politics. It fell to her to be the monarch who oversaw Britain's final transition from an empire to a post-imperial power.

It fell to her to oversee the country's final transition and its former colonies. As a political grouping of 56 countries, with members on every continent and even new members with no historical connections to empire, the Commonwealth still places Britain at the centre of a global network.

But the legacy of the British empire has not been completely erased. King Charles has come to the throne at a time of heightened global awareness of racial hierarchies and injustices.

towards a republic - following the example of Barbados last year. The recently elected prime minister of Australia, Anthony Albanese, is a longtime republican, who has appointed a minister for the republic in his new government.

flown at half mast until the Queen's funeral. The EU has also lowered flags at its buildings. Even distant Brazil has declared three days of national mourning in response to her death.

Just a few days ago, Liz Truss, Britain's new prime minister, was unable to say if President Macron of France is a friend or foe. But Macron responded to the Queen's death with a heartfelt tribute, saying that she had embodied the "warm, sincere and loyal partnership" between the UK and France.

reach and status. But Elizabeth II's personal qualities were also crucial. She demonstrated that duty, dignity and service were not empty words. Just two days before her death, Elizabeth was photographed performing her official duties, as she invited Truss to form the new government. The global reaction to the Queen's death suggests that – at a time when inspiring political leadership is in short supply all over the world – those values have universal appeal.

While the Queen stayed above the

mass. When she dedicated herself to a life of service – in remarks delivered in South Africa on her 21st birthday – she spoke of "our great imperial family".

She heard the news of the death of her father and her own accession to the throne in Kenya in 1952, when the country was still part of the empire. The Mau Mau rebellion against British imperial rule in Kenya was just getting under way. Over the following decade, it was repressed with considerable brutality and bloodshed, until Kenya finally

from an empire to a post-imperial power

Ghana and danced with President Kwame Nkrumah – who had been one of the most prominent anti-colonial leaders in Africa and was briefly imprisoned by the British.

The Queen's enthusiastic embrace of the Commonwealth – the organisation that succeeded the empire – helped to transform relations between Britain

wealth will come into question.

The British monarch is the head of state not just of Britain but also of 14 other countries – including Australia, Canada, New Zealand and eight Caribbean nations. A poll taken in Canada earlier this year found that 55 per cent of the public supported Canada remaining a constitutional monarchy while the Queen was on the throne. But this had dropped to 34 per cent support for her successor. Jamaica is another country that is actively considering moving

the perceived threat from China grows. Elizabeth II, however, always knew that much of the monarchy's power flows from its ability to connect the present to the past. Charles III will have his coronation in Westminster Abbey, like every monarch since William the Conqueror in 1066. It will be a reminder that even the British empire and the union with Scotland are just episodes, in the much longer history of England.

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The new monarch may no longer be as outspoken on the subjects he has previously championed, writes Henry Mance

Never in British history has a monarch had so long to prepare for the role, seven decades after he became heir to the throne aged three. King Charles III assumed the title following the death of his mother, Queen Elizabeth II, on Thursday.

Nor has a monarch arrived having previously revealed so much of his opinions and emotional life. This pensive man, once demonised after his separation from the late Diana, Princess of Wales, now replaces the longest-serving and arguably most perfectly cast sovereign that the country has ever had.

His reign will test him. It may also test whether the constitutional monarchy is compatible with a less neutral incumbent. Jonathan Dimbleby, Charles's authorised biographer, once predicted he would "go well beyond what any previous constitutional monarch has ever essayed".

Charles's life-long search for relevance may now inform the kind of monarch he will become. His decades as next in line meant he had to define the waiting role. "To be just a presence would be fatal," he writes in his diary in 1970, after talking with Richard Nixon at the White House. Restless and haunted by duty, Charles opted to champion causes that included inner-city revival, sustainable agriculture and interfaith understanding.

Far more outspoken than his mother, he justified his interventions partly by claiming to have a more long-term perspective than politicians and businesspeople. In a candid radio message in December 2016, he appeared to criticise Donald Trump, lamenting the rise of "many populist groups across the world that are increasingly aggressive towards those who adhere to a minority faith. All of this has deeply disturbing echoes of the dark days of the 1930s".

Such frankness has alarmed some close to the monarchy. Charles's activity levels also raise eyebrows. "He works till midnight," said one courtier. "He works too hard, frankly."

Aged 73, Charles is also the oldest person to assume the throne, surpassing William IV, who became king aged 64 in 1830. His life has tracked the evolution of the monarchy itself. Charles has never been linked to the age of Britain's global pre-eminence as Elizabeth II was. Although he dislikes modern architecture, he has welcomed a slimmed-down, modern monarchy. This would likely mean that royal duties are performed largely by him, his wife, his children and grandchildren, thereby reducing costs.

Unlike his mother, who barely gave an interview, he has extensively explained many of his ideas – without managing to shed his aloof image. In the most notable outlet, a 1994 interview with Dimbleby, he suggested he could rule as Defender of Faith, rather than Defender of the Faith, an inclusive message to other religions. He later clarified that this would not affect his formal title.

"Down the ages, monarchs do things differently," said one person who has worked with the royal family. "He will make some adjustments while maintaining the central architecture." Charles has named George III, who reigned at the time of American independence yet



Joe Cummings

Person in the News | King Charles III

A life-long apprenticeship steps into the spotlight

became a symbol of British renewal, as the monarch he most respects.

Charles's childhood, together with that of his three siblings, was marked by distant parents. "I like the Prince. I feel sorry for the child he once was," concluded Catherine Mayer, author of a 2015 biography. The Duke of Edinburgh in particular sought to toughen him up. For years, Charles relied instead on the guidance of his great uncle Lord Mountbatten, who he said "combined grandfather, great uncle, father, brother and friend" until his murder in 1979 by an IRA bomb.

After his private schooling, Charles's trajectory was initially determined by a committee that included the prime minister and the Archbishop of Canterbury. It decided he should go to university. He ended up at Trinity College, Cambridge, choosing to study archaeology and anthropology and then history. He had gained admission despite middling A-level grades (a B in history, a C in French). Distracted by royal duties, he graduated with a lower second. The committee had also dictated a spell in the

services: Charles served in the RAF and Royal Navy, with pluck if not prowess.

In 1976 Charles set up the Prince's Trust – partly, as often reported, with £7,400 from his navy severance, but also with the proceeds from royal events and donations from wealthy individuals. The organisation gave grants to young people, gaining momentum in

Unlike his mother, who barely gave an interview, he has extensively explained many of his ideas

the Thatcher years. It was the start of a sprawling philanthropic network, which grew to include initiatives for businesses to prioritise sustainability.

Charles's work was soon eclipsed by his personal life. He met the then 16-year-old Diana Spencer in 1977 and the two married at St Paul's Cathedral four years later. The dream quickly unrav-

elled in private: Diana suffered from bulimia, Charles, 12 years her senior, struggled to help her. After their public estrangement in the early 1990s, the media shone a cold light on Charles and his relationship with Camilla Parker-Bowles, a previous girlfriend. "There were three of us in this marriage, so it was a bit crowded," Diana said in a BBC interview in 1995. In his own, earlier TV interview, he insisted he had not been unfaithful until the marriage had "irretrievably broken down".

Neither his mother nor he might ever have taken the throne had it not been for Edward VIII's decision to abdicate and marry the American divorcee Wallis Simpson, Charles's own divorce from Diana in 1996 was the end of a national fairytale. It also briefly led to questions over whether he could constitutionally serve as head of the Church of England.

After Diana's death, Charles's team at Clarence House found itself fending off calls for the succession to skip a generation. In one poll, two-thirds of people said Charles should not be king if he married

Camilla. His advisers worked tirelessly to change his image. He and Camilla officially appeared as a couple from 1999 and married in 2005 in what has offered a less tempestuous relationship.

Despite the PR blitz, Charles has been overshadowed at each stage of his life – by his mother, by Diana and, most recently, by his sons, William and Harry. Those who know him describe a man who enjoys conversation, history and the solace of nature. His musical interests range from Wagner to Leonard Cohen to jazz. A polo player and huntsman, he is not known to enjoy watching mainstream sport. Despite his interest in ecology and social justice, he has acquired a reputation for lavish entertaining and travel.

The media has often poked fun at the prince. His claim that he talked to plants and "they respond" was widely mocked. His array of good causes has baffled some observers, leading them to nickname him Britain's worrier-in-chief. When a series of Charles's private notes to ministers – nicknamed the "black

spider" memos because of his handwriting – were released under the Freedom of Information Act in 2015, few saw much scandal. Yet rightwingers remain suspicious of his causes, and leftwingers of his authority. As of May, only 15 per cent of Britons said he would do a "very good job" as king, compared to 44 per cent for Prince William.

Faced with criticism, Charles has assumed a slight defensiveness. "Perhaps I should not have been surprised that so many people failed to fathom what I was doing," he wrote in his 2010 book *Harmony*. He has argued it would be "criminally negligent" for him to ignore social needs.

At the same time, he has felt vindicated by the importance now paid to climate change and rainforest protection. His interest in the environment dates back to the late 1960s, long before the cause was fashionable. He set up the organic food brand Duchy Originals in 1990 as part of his questioning of modern farming methods.

His views on modern architecture – in 1984, he attacked a proposed extension to the National Gallery as a "monstrous carbuncle" – led him to foster Poundbury, a new town in Dorset built on part of the Duchy of Cornwall's estate. Critics have taken aim at its pastiche of styles but Charles has insisted that his instincts chime with the public.

The same could not always be said of his charity dealings. In 2021 the Sunday Times revealed that a Saudi donor to the Prince's Foundation had been granted an honorary CBE, normally bestowed in recognition of services to the nation.

Amid an investigation into whether an improper deal had been struck, the charity's chief executive resigned while denying knowledge of any "roque activity". The prince was also revealed to have accepted €3mm in cash, in Fortnum & Mason bags and other carriers, from the former prime minister of Qatar between 2011 and 2015. Clarence House insisted the donations, which went to his charities, were properly handled. Yet the margin for error will be smaller now that Charles is sovereign. In a televised address on Friday, he said his charities would "go on in the trusted hands of others".

Family troubles have also never been far away. Charles distanced himself from his brother, Prince Andrew, after the latter faced questions over his friendship with the late sex offender Jeffrey Epstein. Meanwhile, his son Harry criticised him for his parenting style and for not taking his phone calls after he and his wife Meghan gave up their roles as working royals.

Charles's aides insisted that he did not cut Harry and Meghan off financially, but paid "a substantial sum" in 2020 to ease their path. Yet the couple's acrimonious move to the US damaged the monarchy's global image, and set back Charles's attempt to position himself as a genial, relaxed grandfather. On Friday he said he wanted to "express my love for Harry and Meghan as they continue to build their lives overseas".

In an interview with the FT in 2014, Charles said: "If you stick to your guns, sometimes 35 years later, whatever it is, you suddenly find that some of these things are starting to appeal to people." As king, he cannot hope to achieve the longevity of reign or the adoration that his mother did. But he can take comfort from the fact that he has withstood tragedies and missteps. Such endurance is what the institution demands.

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Companies & Markets

FINANCIAL TIMES



Mad money Advertising agencies spend lavishly in battle to secure talent — COMPANIES

Days of volatility Don't pin your hopes on a turnaround, markets face more stress — THE LONG VIEW

Europe's power producers face potential €1tn of margin calls

• Hedging costs increase • Funds for trading needed • State backing sought



Power producers are benefiting from higher prices, but the increases require them to post additional collateral for hedging activity — Jeff Pachoud/AFP/Getty Images

TOM WILSON AND GILL PLIMMER
LONDON

European power producers are facing margin calls that could total €1tn but will be in a strong position to repay state-backed loans if governments help them through the liquidity squeeze, according to energy experts at consultants Baringa.

The soaring price of power this year has pushed up the margin requirements on electricity generators that hedge their sales in the futures market to unprecedented levels, leading to widespread calls for government intervention to prevent the European market from collapsing.

Nick Tallantyre, global head of energy and commodities trading at Baringa, said governments should feel confident to provide market participants with the additional liquidity they needed.

"A lot of the strain that we're seeing are companies that need financing for trading but aren't facing insolvency because actually, if they're on the producing side of the market, they're benefiting from high prices in the physical

market," he said. Once the power was delivered and the hedges unwound, most companies would have ample cash to repay any state-backed credit. "It's a short-term cash pinch and governments should issue loans, but they should feel confident they will be repaid."

EU ministers yesterday asked the European Commission to design emergency measures to help power companies access funds. The UK on Thursday said the Treasury and the Bank of England would put in place a scheme to provide £40bn in short-term liquidity to wholesale energy producers, while Denmark said it planned to provide \$13.5bn of loan guarantees to utilities.

Electricity generators like to reduce the risk of their sales to households and businesses by taking short positions in futures markets before selling the physical electricity. Such trades require the generator to post additional collateral — margin — to the exchange's clearing house if the value of the underlying asset rises, resulting in soaring requirements as power prices have jumped.

Estimating the size of the margin

Bailout plea to Berlin Second German gas supplier calls for aid

A second German gas supplier has said that it will request a bailout from Berlin.

VNG, one of Germany's biggest importers of natural gas, said yesterday that "quantities affected by Russian supply disruptions, in some cases at agreed fixed prices, now have to be procured at massively higher prices on the gas markets".

VNG, which is majority-owned by utility ENBW, said the costs could not be fully passed on to customers and that it had already borne the cost of a 35-terawatt-hour contract directly with Gazprom that would cost it €1tn this year.

VNG's appeal comes weeks after Uniper, Europe's largest buyer of Russian gas, was rescued by the German government.

requirements across the European gas and power market was challenging but was highly likely to be in the order of €1tn, Tallantyre said.

Europe consumes almost 3,000 terawatt hours of power a year but not all electricity is sold through wholesale markets — integrated companies can sell straight to consumers.

The annual volume of gas and power traded, however, is about five times demand, according to Baringa. Roughly 70 per cent of those 15,000TWh are traded in over-the-counter transactions between counterparties that make their own credit arrangements, many of them not collateralised. The rest is traded on exchanges, which require the parties on each side of it to make margin payments.

In total, €1tn "is probably not a foolish estimate," Tallantyre said.

Countries where a higher proportion of power is traded on exchanges, such as Germany, were likely to be more affected, Tallantyre said. The EEX in Leipzig is Europe's most liquid power market and the main trading venue for Germany and central Europe.

New Delhi curbs exports of several rice varieties

JOHN REED AND JYOTSNA SINGH
NEW DELHI

India has imposed controls on exports of several varieties of rice in a move likely to affect the market for one of the most common staples.

The country — the leading exporter of rice, accounting for about 40 per cent of the trade — imposed a 20 per cent duty on unmilled white rice, husked brown rice and semi-milled or wholly-milled rice.

The restrictions do not apply to basmati, India's best-known variety.

The finance ministry announced the move late on Thursday, saying that "circumstances exist which render it necessary to take immediate action".

Narendra Modi's government has taken steps to shore up food security and constrain inflation caused by the supply disruptions of the pandemic and the Ukraine war.

Ashok Gulati, a professor at the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations, said the curbs would "help tame the domestic inflation in cereals".

He said: "India has been exporting almost 40 per cent of the global trade, and that brought down global prices. Part of this competitiveness comes from huge subsidies on fertiliser and power, and this is an effort to recover part of those subsidies."

India's monsoon rains have been une-

ven this year, raising concerns about a drop in rice production and higher food prices at a time when the costs of imported foodstuffs are rising.

Inflation is running at about 7 per cent, above the 4-6 per cent target band set by the Reserve Bank of India, which has increased lending rates three times this year in an effort to contain prices.

India imposed restrictions on exports of wheat and sugar this year, but had held off doing the same for rice, for which prices have not risen as quickly.



India imposed export curbs on rice in an effort to tackle rising prices and to ease supply disruptions

India exported \$8.8bn worth of rice in the 2020-21 financial year, the latest full year for which statistics are available.

Its biggest markets for non-basmati rice included Nepal and Bangladesh, the United Arab Emirates, Iraq, Malaysia and west Africa.

Vietnam and Thailand are the next largest exporters of rice and are expected to step up their own exports.

Bangkok mooted the idea of developing a cartel with Vietnam and other south-east Asian producers this year that would have boosted pricing power, but the plan has not materialised.

Automobiles

Porsche and Red Bull scrap Formula 1 partnership talks

SAMUEL AGINI — LONDON

Porsche has abandoned talks to partner with the Red Bull Formula 1 team, forcing the sports-car brand to search for new routes into the racing series.

The collapse of talks with Red Bull, which is dominating F1 this season, is a blow to the Volkswagen brand ahead of its planned initial public offering this year.

Red Bull and Porsche failed to agree on the structure of the proposed partnership, according to people briefed on the talks. One person with knowledge of the discussions said Porsche had wanted to buy 50 per cent of the race team and 50 per cent of Powertrains, Red Bull's new power-unit manufacturer.

However, Red Bull's investors were unwilling to stake in the race team.

A person close to Red Bull said that it was a shareholder decision — "they felt it was not the best investment for the F1 team at this stage".

Porsche said that the racing series remained "an attractive environment" that it would continue to monitor.

"The premise was always that a part-

nership would be based on an equal footing, which would include not only an engine partnership but also the team," said Porsche. "This could not be achieved."

There are still avenues for Porsche to enter the sport, with interest from other teams, but the failure to agree a Red Bull deal highlights the difficulty of joining a competition with the only 10 teams.

Porsche and the other VW-owned carmaker, Audi, are looking to join the sport in 2026, when teams will start to race with new engines.

New power-unit regulations will introduce next-generation engines powered by a mixture of batteries and biofuels. Audi has already confirmed that it will join F1 as an engine provider that year but is yet to confirm its partner.

Most F1 teams run on engines provided by Ferrari and Mercedes, though Renault's Alpine runs on its own power.

Red Bull has launched a Powertrains division to build its own engine to end its reliance on rival manufacturers. It uses engines provided by Honda, although the Japanese provider announced its departure from the sport in 2020.

Food & beverage. Sustainability

Bean-free chocolate and coffee makers hope for big brand success

Start-ups woo consumers with green claims but supply chains present a challenge for some

MIKO TERAZONO — LONDON

First it was dairy-free milk, then meat-free burgers. Now entrepreneurs and investors are hoping to create a market for bean-free chocolate and coffee.

Like alternative dairy and meat, the new products aspire to be better for the planet while addressing social problems related to industries that affect some of the world's poorest communities.

Cocoa and coffee cultivation are linked to deforestation, with the clearance of wooded land reducing the planet's stock of trees and its ability to absorb carbon dioxide. The chocolate industry has long been dogged by the use of child labour in cocoa farming, mainly in Africa, while many coffee growers struggle to make ends meet.

"You realise that a lot of our favourite foods, whether it's beef burgers or a cult of coffee or a chocolate bar, there's so much damage," said Johnny Drain, chief technology officer of WNNW Food Labs,

a London-based maker of cocoa-free chocolate.

Co-founded by Drain and Ahrum Pak, a financier turned foodtech entrepreneur, WNNW's key ingredients for its chocolate are fermented barley and carob, whose powdered pods are used as an alternative to cocoa powder in southern Europe.

Drain, who has a doctorate in material sciences, has worked with European chefs creating taste profiles of foods using fermentation technology.

Other start-ups embarking on bean-free chocolate include US businesses Voyage Foods and California Cultured, whose chocolate is made from lab-grown cocoa.

In Munich, sibling scientists Maximilian and Sara Marquart have developed a cocoa-free chocolate using fermented oats and sugar beet.

"Our main objective is to [cut] CO₂ [emissions]," said Maximilian, co-founder and chief executive of their company, Planet A.

Marquart said Planet A was looking to become an ingredients company supplying foodmakers, and is offering tastings of its no-cocoa chocolate ice cream in Europe. However, while he said the

start-up was making headway developing chocolate bar products, he acknowledged its products were not yet "at the level" of Godiva or Lindt.

Bean-free coffee is also on the menu for start-ups including Atomo, based in Seattle, and San Francisco's Compound Foods, which is recreating coffee using synthetic biology and fermentation.

Andy Kleitsch, Atomo co-founder and chief executive, said he had decided on his product after talking to entrepreneurs and scientists as he looked for the

best idea for the planet. Atomo uses date seeds, chicory root and grape skin, along with caffeine from green tea, to create its canned "cold brew coffee".

As climate change hits areas where coffee has traditionally been cultivated, growers have moved up the mountain sides in pursuit of cooler climes. "Coffee has a huge deforestation footprint," said Kleitsch, a former software engineer.

Launched in 2018, the start-up raised \$40m in June, helping its push into the consumer markets as well as new prod-

uct development, and increasing its manufacturing capacity. Online reviews have ranged from those who cannot tell the difference from ordinary cold brew coffee to others who have described the product as "syrupy" and "cloying".

"We want to give consumers a choice," said Kleitsch, who added that although they had been worried that "the coffee industry would hate us or that the baristas might hate us, the reception has been positive".

Assessments from CarbonCloud, a climate change research group, show that Planet A's chocolate has 10 per cent of the emissions impact of the conventional product, while the figure for Atomo's coffee is just 7 per cent. WNNW's score is 20 per cent, on a self-assessed basis.

Some investors are cautiously optimistic. Both cocoa and coffee are grown in countries vulnerable to climate change, and food manufacturers facing supply chain shortages may drive demand for the products, according to Niccolo Manzoni at food and agritech venture capital firm Five Seasons.

However, this will depend on what sort of ingredients are needed. "Often it's a mix of multiple ingredients

through a fermentation process, so they actually make the supply chain longer instead of shorter," he warned.

There are others who are sceptical about demand. "They're putting a new brand on something that people have been doing for decades. They're putting the sustainability label on essentially processed foods. That doesn't work for me," said Arlin Wasserman of food strategy consultancy Changing Tastes.

"Producing food is the largest source of employment in the world and is the basis for culture," he added. "I'm not convinced if environmental concerns can be a purchase driver."

WNNW's Drain agrees that consumers are reacting negatively to highly processed alternative proteins including faux meat and dairy products, as well as "underwhelming" taste and texture of many products. He said his start-up was taking a holistic approach, using whole ingredients and traditional techniques to make fermented products such as cheese, bread and beer.

"We're not saying what we're doing is the only solution," he said. "It's just one additional way of trying to change an industry that is built on inequity and slave labour."



Tackling 'inequity and slave labour': WNNW Food Labs' cocoa-free chocolate

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Deep Morgan... Before he was made UK business | plundering of state entities, presided | justice, wants action in the US, where | Andri | otherwise the risk is the whole thing

Rees-Mogg's dalliance on Bain highlights gaps in regulation

The Top Line

Caroline Binham



secretary this week, Jacob Rees-Mogg's Cabinet Office job was to identify the opportunities of Brexit and improve government efficiency, which he identified as a chance to leave notes on the empty desks of civil servants he felt should not be working from home. But one of the final decisions he made in his old job, which also included running government procurement, was one of the most interesting. And it had nothing to do with the UK leaving the EU.

Counterintuitively, Rees-Mogg — the red-tape-slashing, true-blue, small-state Tory — decided to blackball Bain & Company, the US management consultancy that won £40m of contracts from the Cabinet Office for Brexit-related work. Bain found itself in hot water recently over the South African "state capture" scandal; the systematic

over by Jacob Zuma but facilitated by some of the world's best-known companies. Two South African commissions have found Bain helped hobble the country's revenue service. Rees-Mogg barred Bain from UK government contracts for three years on the basis that it was "guilty of grave professional misconduct which renders its integrity questionable". Last week, Bain duly filed a legal challenge, arguing that his decision was based on a flawed process.

It was certainly a punchy decision by Rees-Mogg that should be worrying for companies caught up in scandals, anywhere in the world. In banning Bain, the UK has gone further even than South Africa, where there have been understandable calls to follow suit. Peter Hain, the Labour peer who has pushed for companies implicated in state capture to face

Bain earns the bulk of its revenues, although not from public contracts. For its part, Bain has argued that the commission's findings mischaracterised its work and it did not willfully support state capture, although it has previously admitted failings and repaid fees from its revenue-service contract. Several questions follow Bain's legal challenge: did Rees-Mogg exceed his powers? In barring Bain, Rees-Mogg cited his discretionary powers under 2015 public contract regulations. These are wide, even if it is rare to ban a company on the basis of another jurisdiction's findings.

"The question will be: has he acted fairly? Has he given Bain a right to respond? Has he considered all the underlying evidence?" said barrister Jonathan Fisher KC. "He needs to have acted in a quasi-judicial fashion,

could come crashing down." Another question is whether Bain will follow through: will it really want another detailed exposition of a sorry chapter of its history, this time in open court? Neither is it a great look for a consultancy to sue a former client. A bigger issue that may come to haunt Rees-Mogg is the sparse regulation of consultants. Audit regulation has been overhauled in the UK, though the process is slow. But for consulting, conflicts of interest can go unchecked

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Richemont's 'streetfighter' easily wins bout with activist

Spotlight

Johann Rupert
Chair,
Richemont



The atmosphere at Richemont's annual meeting in Geneva was tense as Johann Rupert presided over a shareholder vote. Activist Bluebell had accused him of acting as a "padre padrone", a godfather-like figure, and submitted resolutions to shake up the Swiss luxury group.

"I hope this meeting will not turn into a football match," the Richemont chair said after a heated exchange with Bluebell's representative.

It lightened the mood and offered a glimpse of the character of the South African, described by a friend as a "resourceful and thick skinned... streetfighter".

People who know him say that, while he can appear heavy-handed, he values propriety. "Johann is very straight and very loyal," said Patrick Thomas, the former chief executive of Hermès who joined the board of Richemont last year. "He won't deal with people he doesn't trust."

An investor said: "You see this bullish, bombastic old-style chair, but there's another side to him... straightforward and honourable."

The Bluebell episode propelled Rupert and his family company into the spotlight at a time when they are grappling with the question of succession and a looming downturn that may damp demand for Richemont brands such as Cartier and Van Cleef & Arpels. Richemont's shares have lagged behind those of rivals Hermès, LVMH and Kering over the past five years.

Rupert easily saw off the challenge from Bluebell. Shareholders overwhelmingly rejected its three resolutions to reconfigure the board, a sign they trusted Rupert to lead

Hedge fund Bluebell had accused the magnate of conducting himself like a 'padre padrone'

despite the fund's critique that he uses the dual-class structure to ignore minority shareholders. His family holding group only owns a 9.1 per cent stake, but its B shares hold 50 per cent of the voting rights.

Investors rejected Bluebell's nomination of former Bulgari executive Francesco Trepiani as a director. Richemont argued that he was too closely associated with LVMH. Richemont's structure is a legacy of decisions Rupert, a university dropout and sporting enthusiast who started in finance, made in the 1980s when he established his headquarters in Switzerland and listed his shares. It allowed the Rupert family to diversify outside South Africa where Anton Rupert, Johann's father, had founded a business from a £10 investment in cigarette-making in the 1940s. A child of the depression, the elder Rupert realised people would keep

buying tobacco and alcohol through any downturn, and amassed investments in industry, banking and luxury that were later housed in the Rembrandt Group.

Richemont was founded when the younger Rupert spun off Rembrandt's international assets in 1988. Rupert's upbringing and family history have instilled a caution manifested in Richemont's fortress-like balance sheet. Dubbed "Rupert the Bear" in 2006 for predicting an economic crisis, he is seen as more risk-averse than rival Bernard Arnault. The Frenchman used acquisitions to build LVMH into the world's largest luxury group, with a market cap five times that of Richemont.

In contrast, Rupert has done fewer major deals, preferring to invest to expand the brands Richemont already has. One of his biggest bets proved value-destructive: the group booked a

€2.7bn non-cash writedown last month after selling a majority stake in its unprofitable e-commerce operation Yoox Net-a-Porter.

Rupert has cultivated a network of billionaires, financiers and sporting stars from whom he seeks insight and advice. "He's the only person I've met who listens by talking the whole time," said the investor. "He talks, dominates and takes it all in."

He has three children with his wife Gaynor, one of whom is on Richemont's board, and splits his time between London, Geneva and the family farm in the Stellenbosch region. He has never lost touch with his roots in South Africa.

"The family was a big critic of apartheid, especially Johann," recalled Lord Robin Renwick, a former Richemont board member. "Not many other senior businessmen were prepared to stand up and criticise apartheid at that time."

Renwick, who was then a British diplomat, said Rupert helped with the campaign to get Nelson Mandela out of prison. After his release the pair became friends, Renwick said.

"In South Africa, Johann is like a Warren Buffett figure" known for his philanthropy, conservation and job creation, said Renwick.

He faces greater challenges than Bluebell. An economic slowdown risks hurting luxury demand. Arnault has long coveted Cartier, and Richemont rejected an unspecified tie-up approach from Kering a few years ago.

Eventually he will have to hand over the reins to a new leader, while seeking to preserve Richemont's independence. The company said it has a succession plan, but has not shared it. The investor put it bluntly: "He's got a succession issue." Harriet Agnew and Leila Abboud

BUSINESS WEEK IN REVIEW

EY chiefs back split

EY's bosses approved a plan to split the Big Four firm into audit and advisory businesses, with the radical break-up proposal now proceeding to a vote of 15,000 partners.

Reality TV star Kim Kardashian, pictured, is to launch a private equity firm, SKKY Partners, to acquire stakes in fast-growing media and consumer companies, aiming to convert her influence with 329m Instagram followers into earnings.



The new US owners of Chelsea Football Club, US financier Todd Boehly and private equity group Clearlake Capital, sacked head coach Thomas Tuchel following a poor start to the season, just over a year after the German guided the club to a Champions League triumph.

Evergrande's \$1.2bn Hong Kong headquarters, a 26-floor tower near the city centre of Hong Kong island, were seized by a lender after the Chinese developer defaulted on a loan and twice failed to sell the building.

Elon Musk suggested delaying his \$44bn takeover of social media site Twitter on the grounds that "it won't make sense to buy Twitter if we're heading into world war three", according to texts between the billionaire entrepreneur and his bankers revealed in a court hearing.

'It won't make sense to buy Twitter if we're heading into world war three' was Tesla boss Musk's message to bankers

Shares in Darktrace fell more than 50 per cent after US private equity group Thoma Bravo announced that it would not make an offer for the British cyber security group, earlier valued at £2.67bn.

The liquidator of China Medical Technologies, which collapsed in 2012, accused KPMG of "appalling" audit work that allowed the US-listed Chinese biotech to carry out a "brazen" \$400m fraud. KPMG, which is being sued in Hong Kong's high court, denies the allegations.

Lloyd's of London said it was braced for a £1.25bn hit from the grounded planes, stranded cargoes and bad debts caused by Russia's war in Ukraine, as the specialist insurance market starts to feel the losses caused by the conflict.

Revolut revoked job offers to graduates with just days of warning as part of a cost-cutting review at the payments group codenamed "Project Prism".

\$1.2bn Value of Evergrande's HK building, which a lender has seized

\$59.3bn Deloitte revenues last year amid boom in tech consulting

Deloitte lifted its global revenues by almost a fifth to a record \$59.3bn last year, as a boom in tech consulting and corporate dealmaking helped cement its position as the largest of the Big Four professional services firms. About \$16bn came from selling services as part of alliances with tech groups.

Microsoft was revealed to have been the first US-based investor in Uber to have backed CloudKitchens, the "dark kitchen" start-up run by the ride-hailing company's co-founder Travis Kalanick.

Citigroup is close to signing a €100m deal to buy a new 500,000 sq ft office site in Dublin in a significant boost to the scale of its European headquarters as banks beef up their presence across the EU following Brexit.

Technology. Republican alert

Apple warned on using Yangtze chips in new iPhone

Group told it will be 'playing with fire' if it buys data storage parts from Chinese supplier

DEMETRI SEVASTOPOULOU — WASHINGTON
PATRICK MCCOY — SAN FRANCISCO

Republican lawmakers have warned Apple that it will face intense scrutiny from Congress if the California company procures memory chips from a controversial Chinese semiconductor manufacturer for the new iPhone 14. Marco Rubio, Republican vice-chair of the Senate intelligence committee, and Michael McCaul, the top Republican on the House foreign affairs committee, said they were alarmed following a media report that Apple would add Yangtze Memory Technologies Co to its list of suppliers for NAND flash memory chips that are used to store data on smartphones.

"Apple is playing with fire," Rubio told the Financial Times. "It knows the security risks posed by YMTC. If it moves forward, it will be subject to scrutiny like it has never seen from the federal government. We cannot allow Chinese companies beholden to the Communist party into our telecommunications networks and millions of Americans' iPhones."

Asked about the congressional concerns, Apple told the FT it did not use YMTC chips in any products but said it was "evaluating sourcing from YMTC

for NAND chips to be used in some iPhones sold in China".

Apple said it was not considering using YMTC chips in phones for sale outside China. It added that all user data stored on NAND chips used by the company were "fully encrypted".

The FT reported in April that the White House and commerce department were investigating claims that YMTC was violating US export control rules by supplying chips to Huawei, the Chinese telecoms equipment group. "YMTC has extensive ties to the Chinese Communist party and military. There is credible evidence that YMTC is breaking export control laws by selling goods to Huawei," McCaul told the FT. "Apple will effectively be transferring knowledge and knowhow to YMTC that will supercharge its capabilities and help the CCP achieve its national goals."

Chuck Schumer, the Democratic Senate majority leader, has also privately raised concerns with commerce secretary Gina Raimondo about YMTC, according to a person familiar with the situation.

YMTC did not respond to a request for comment about its relationship with Apple.

In July, a bipartisan group of senators — including Schumer and Mark Warner, the Democratic chair of the Senate intelligence committee — urged the Biden administration to put YMTC on a commerce department blacklist that would in effect bar US companies from providing technology to the Chinese group.



Contentious call: Apple says it is 'evaluating' the potential use of YMTC chips in iPhone 14 devices sold inside China

The senators, who included James Risch, the top Republican on the foreign relations committee, said YMTC should be put on the "entity list" as it was violating export control rules by selling memory chips to Huawei.

The lawmakers also accused Beijing of subsidising YMTC in ways that would help put the "national champion" on track to dominate the sector by selling chips below cost, as China has done in other areas such as the solar industry. "YMTC is an immediate threat," they wrote to Raimondo.

One person familiar with the commerce department's stance said it was aware of the concerns and was preparing a response to the senators.

A spokesperson said the department's Bureau of Industry and Security was conducting a review of China-related policies that would "potentially seek to employ a variety of legal, regulatory, and, when relevant, enforcement tools to keep advanced technologies out of the wrong hands".

McCaul, who is set to become head of the House foreign affairs committee if the Republicans win control of the lower chamber of Congress in November's midterm elections, said the Chinese subsidies to YMTC posed a threat.

"Massive CCP subsidies to YMTC mean the company will undercut the market. This could very likely devastate the memory chip market and give China even more control of this critical national security technology," he said. "How can the world's data be secure if

it's stored on a chip made by a CCP national champion?"

Several people familiar with the situation said lawmakers had asked Apple in recent months about YMTC-related speculation but got no response. Apple did not comment on the congressional inquiries.

The criticism of Apple comes as the Biden administration steps up efforts to make it harder for China to secure cutting-edge technology. US officials recently told Nvidia and Advanced Micro Devices — two US chipmakers that they would have to obtain special licences to sell advanced processors used for artificial intelligence applications to Chinese companies.

Congress passed legislation in July that would provide US semiconductor manufacturers with a pool of \$52bn to support development of the domestic chip industry and reduce reliance on foreign companies.

Underscoring the importance of YMTC for China, President Xi Jinping visited the company in 2018 after Washington slapped tough restrictions on Huawei and ZTE, another Chinese telecoms equipment maker.

"It's pretty shocking that Apple is partnering with a Chinese technology company... which is in exactly the same industry as the other banned companies and has the direct support of the top CCP leadership," said Zach Edwards, an independent technology expert. Additional reporting by Eleanor Olcott in Hong Kong

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Adland splashes the cash in fight for talent

Staff costs jump as Silicon Valley and other sectors increasingly promise similar lifestyles but with higher salaries

ALISTAIR GRAY — LONDON

Marketing mastermind Jacques Séguéla raised a chuckle with the title of his 1979 book *Don't tell my mother I'm in advertising*. . . *She thinks I play the piano in a brothel*. But more than four decades on, the difficulty advertising groups face in attracting and retaining staff is no laughing matter.

In one of the tightest labour markets in modern history, advertising is yet another industry struggling with recruitment.

Helen Kimber, managing director at The Longhouse, a London headhunter, said that employers in the sector had been asking: "Where are all the people?" The "best encapsulation of it" was "extraordinary".

Recent results from several large ad groups show how competition for talent has weighed on bottom lines. Although different companies have different ways of measuring it, the trend for higher salary bills is clear.

Personnel expenses reached €5.89bn in the first half of 2022 at Publicis, the France-based parent of Saatchi & Saatchi and Starcom, a year-on-year rise of 14 per cent assuming currencies were constant.

Staff costs were £5.95bn at WPP, the London-listed owner of Wunderman Thompson and Ogilvy, a rise of 9 per cent on the same forex-adjusted basis.

At Interpublic, the US conglomerate behind McCann and MullenLowe, salaries and related expenses rose 10 per cent in the period to \$5.15bn.

Sir Martin Sorrell's digitally focused ad company, S4 Capital, issued a profit warning in July, citing hiring and staff costs.

"The good — and the bad — news is our people are very talented, which means they're always in demand outside [the company]", said WPP chief executive Mark Read.

Payroll expenses have increased in part because of the additional freelancers and staff that agencies have hired to capitalise on a resurgence in client demand for advertising since the depths of the pandemic.

Despite mounting concerns about a recession, they kept recruiting over the summer. In New York, according to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics, the number of people the industry employed in July surpassed a pre-pandemic high to hit a record 85,700 on a seasonally adjusted basis.

New recruits have been kept busy — higher revenues have accompanied the bigger headcounts. But at several groups, labour costs have outpaced sales.

At Publicis, they rose from 64.4 per cent of revenues in the first six months of 2021 to 66.2 per cent this year. About two-thirds of employees received at least one salary increase last year, and 35 per cent had several. Since the beginning of 2022, 35,000 have received a bonus and 43 per cent of the workforce another base pay rise.

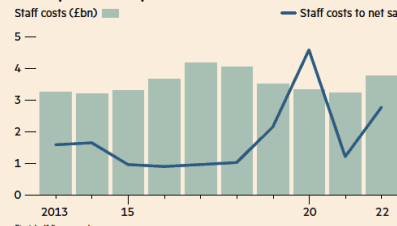
Salary inflation had been notable recently in the US, the UK and India, said chief financial officer Michel-Alain Proch.

Double-digit percentage annual pay rises have not been unusual for some ad workers in recent months.

Yet recruiters said agencies still lacked the creative talent needed to brainstorm and execute ideas, the account managers to keep clients happy, and the tech staff to track results and run digital campaigns.

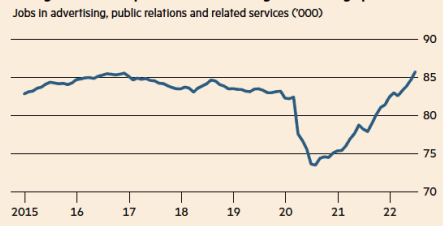


WPP's personnel expenses



First-half figures only
Sources: WPP, US Bureau of Labor Statistics; Federal Reserve Bank of St Louis

NY agencies make pandemic cuts then go on a hiring spree



Vanishing act: some old hands say advertising has lost its allure, being much more performance-based and tactical than it was previously. *Photo: iStockphoto.com/Danorot*

Many of the recent recruitment challenges in advertising will be familiar to other white-collar employers. Some workers have needed time off to recover from Covid, while those seeking lifestyle changes have retired early or reduced working hours.

Turnover has long been high in a sector reliant on young employees with a few years' experience. Yet since the start of the pandemic, such workers have been hard to come by. In London, which vies with New York to be the pre-eminent advertising hub, visa complications arising from Brexit have added to the strain.

"There's no doubt that Brexit has made it more difficult, though not just for our industry," said Sorrell, whose S4 has only a small minority of its staff in the UK. "As we look for talent in London, it has been difficult."

However, in an interview last week, he said: "The economic problems that the UK has are so severe . . . that that's about to change."

The worst of the staffing shortages have eased in several markets in recent weeks, according to executives and on-the-ground workers.

Zoe Ellaby, an Edinburgh university graduate who works for London-based agency Mother, said she was receiving about one message from a recruiter on social media each week, about half as many as a few months ago.

Sorrell said that while pressure on recruitment was "still there" in digital advertising, it was "not as intense" as a few months ago as employers had grown cautious about the economy.

Some analysts said that despite shortages, ad companies might need to join tech groups and shed workers — as they did swiftly at the onset of the pandemic — if a slowdown took hold.

Social media group Snap last month set out plans to cut a fifth of its workforce, in large part due to a digital ad slowdown. Facebook and other tech employers have scaled back hiring plans.

Whatever the short-term trends, some in advertising said disruption wrought by the pandemic had exacerbated deeper employment challenges for agencies.

Old faultlines between advertising and other industries have blurred as technology has displaced traditional

media, giving staff more options to work elsewhere beyond rival agencies or client marketing departments.

Silicon Valley is not the only source of competition for workers. Consultancy Accenture has been building data-led marketing services, for instance.

"So many skillsets in our industry now are transferable," said Victoria Livingstone, chief people officer for Europe, the Middle East and Africa at Japan-based Dentsu, the fifth-largest advertising group.

"In the past, if you were losing employees, you were losing them to direct competitors. Replacing people was not the challenge it is now."

She added, however, that this also meant that ad agencies had a bigger talent pool to draw from.

Advertising has never paid as well as investment banking, consulting or commercial law, yet it has long appealed to graduates who wish to work in a creative environment.

Increasingly, though, other careers promise similar lifestyles, together with larger salaries.

At the same time, according to some old hands, advertising has become less

glamorous than in its 20th-century heyday. Ad workers of today are more likely to churn out video clips for sites such as YouTube — whose viewers tend to regard them as a nuisance — or targeted emails that aim to generate immediate sales, than to dream up big-budget, brand-building commercials seen by a large chunk of the population.

"It's not an especially enjoyable job for people who do it now," said Bruce Daisley, a former Twitter executive and writer on workplace culture.

"It's become far more tactical, performance-based. Advertisers are obsessed with showing that a particular ad works [by generating sales] rather than necessarily evoking a sense of the brand."

"The heyday of great advertising creativity, where there were iconic TV ads that everybody would talk about that has gone."

Industry leaders dispute this characterisation.

While linear broadcasting and other traditional media had indeed "lost traction", Sorrell said, the notion that digital, in particular, lacked appeal was "nonsense". To claim that advertising was less fun than it used to be was to "look at the past through rose-tinted spectacles", he said, maintaining that digital advertising was a "sexy" career option.

Still, in a sector where workloads can be gruelling, the shift online has brought pressure for measurable results.

"The industry relies on a lot of 'hope labour': younger people coming in accept working crazy hours, not speaking up about certain things like bullying or whatever," said Sammi Ferhaoui, an account manager at the agency Havas.

Many entry-level staff salaries were barely equivalent to the living wage, especially after recent inflation, said Ferhaoui, speaking in his capacity as co-founder of the Creative Communications Workers, a union for the sector.

Ad workers have other gripes. Managers report that they are increasingly likely to frown on certain types of work, such as for clients in oil and gas.

About two-thirds of industry respondents to a survey by the World Federation of Advertisers and MediaSense agreed with the proposition that young people leaving advertising found greater "purpose" in other sectors.

A lack of training and career structure was also among the factors behind people quitting, said the study published in July.

"There was industry complacency around talent attraction, as people wanted to come and work in advertising because it was perceived as cool," said Livingstone. "Therefore, there was less focus on offering a structured career development proposition."

As well as improving pay, agencies are doing their best to address such concerns. Together with initiatives to improve diversity, they are offering more flexible working, generous parental leave and workplace perks. WPP gave its 109,000 staff a company-wide holiday in July from the evening of Thursday 7 to the morning of Tuesday 12.

For all its recent recruitment challenges, advertising's place at the heart of consumer capitalism helps give it enduring appeal as a career.

"Advertising gives you the chance to react to anything that's going on in culture, in a way that other industries do not," said Ellaby.

'The heyday of great creativity, where there were TV ads that everybody would talk about: that has gone'



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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Equities. Stock connect

Europe beats US on Chinese listings for the first time



London and Zurich benefited from \$2.1bn in fundraising this year amid geopolitical tension

HUDSON LOCKETT AND TABBY KINDER
HONG KONG

Chinese companies have raised more than five times as much money through share sales in Europe than the US this year as exchanges in London and Zurich benefit from fraying geopolitical ties between the superpowers.

The fundraising haul marks the first time that Chinese corporate dealmaking in Europe has exceeded that in New York.

It underscores the high stakes of a landmark audit inspection agreement between Beijing and Washington, which will be tested this month as the fate of about 200 Chinese companies' listings on Wall Street hangs in the balance.

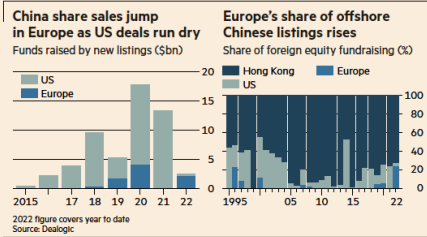
Five Chinese companies have raised more than \$2.1bn on stock exchanges in Zurich and London this year, according to data from Dealogic.

By comparison, less than \$400mn in total has been raised from listings in New York.

Zurich, in particular, has benefited from a new "stock connect" scheme with mainland Chinese exchanges and its less demanding requirements over the transparency of company audits.

Chinese listings on Wall Street, which raised \$12.4bn in the first half of last year, were effectively shuttered in July 2021 when regulators in Beijing targeted ride-hailing app Didi Chuxing over cyber security breaches just days after its \$4.4bn initial public offering.

By the time it delisted from the New



York Stock Exchange 11 months later, Didi's market value had fallen by about 80 per cent.

The incident further soured a long-running dispute over US regulators' access to Chinese audit files, which could lead to Washington banning trading in all Chinese groups in 2024.

Beijing has launched an overhaul of rules for Chinese companies listing overseas and cracked down on sectors from technology to education, adding to bearish sentiment among global investors.

The regulatory escalation has also damped Chinese corporate fundraising in Hong Kong. IPOs in the Chinese territory are at their lowest level in two decades with hundreds of companies given the green light to list in the city delaying or abandoning their plans.

But Hong Kong was still China's largest offshore market with IPO fundraising totalling \$6.6bn this year, which is about 80 per cent lower than a year ago. The rush of deals on European stock exchanges is a result of Chinese

regulators saying the US dialogue is ongoing, the Hong Kong market is small, so let's look at the European market - London, Switzerland and Germany," said a partner at an international law firm in China that had worked on Chinese IPOs in Europe this year.

In July, exchanges in Shanghai and Shenzhen signed a deal for Chinese companies to carry out secondary listings on the SIX Swiss exchange via a "stock connect" scheme.

Four Chinese companies have raised \$1.5bn since the scheme was launched. Chinese financial groups have also been expanding their footprint in Europe's financial centres.

In June, the UK arm of CICC, a state-run investment bank, became the first Chinese member of the Swiss exchange and, last month, the chief executive of Huatai Securities, China's second-largest broker, said the company planned to obtain licences to run equity deals in Zurich and Frankfurt.

There has been one new Chinese listing in London this year. The UK

Step change: the Chinese corporate world is favouring new overseas venues for listings as rivals with the US intensify VCG/Getty

capital has a similar "connect" scheme with Shanghai and hosted a secondary share sale for Ming Yang Smart Energy in July that raised almost \$660mn.

Qingdao Haier, the electronics manufacturer, raised about \$350mn in Frankfurt in 2018.

"Listings in Zurich and Frankfurt show Chinese issuers' growing ability to access continental investors more directly," said Jason Elder, partner at law firm Mayer Brown in Hong Kong.

However, he cautioned that the European share sales were unlikely to rival the flow of dealmaking by Chinese groups in New York, which raised more than \$100bn from share sales on Wall Street over the past two decades.

"I don't see the stock connect deals in Europe as being in the same vein as what you get in the US," said Elder.

A person involved in setting up the stock connect scheme between China and Switzerland said the arrangement was attractive to Beijing because it did not force Chinese companies to make their audit files available to Swiss regulators, in contrast to regulatory standards in the US.

Officials from the Public Company Accounting Oversight Board, the US accounting regulator, will travel to Hong Kong in mid-September to examine the audit working files of several Chinese companies listed in New York, including Jack Ma's Alibaba and Yum China, which owns the KFC and Pizza Hut brands in China.

The PCAOB will determine at the end of the year whether China is compliant with US audit disclosure legislation.

Chinese companies will be delisted from the US in 2024 if they are ruled non-compliant this and next year.

Asset management

Vanguard closes in on BlackRock in \$6.6tn US ETF sector

BROOKE MASTERS - NEW YORK
CHRIS FLOOD - LONDON

Vanguard is closing in on industry leader BlackRock in US exchange traded funds, a \$6.6tn competitive battleground for the world's two largest asset managers.

US ETF assets under Vanguard's management totalled \$1.84tn at the end of August compared with the \$2.21tn run by BlackRock's iShares ETF unit, according to newly released data.

Vanguard led the pack in attracting money into US ETFs in 2021 and is ahead again this year, in August receiving four times as much as BlackRock.

BlackRock has been at the top of the ETF industry since its 2009 purchase of iShares from Barclays but its rival is fast catching up.

While BlackRock's US ETFs still have 20 per cent more assets than Vanguard's, they were 50 per cent larger in 2019.

As they jostle for dominance, the two groups have left other investment houses behind.

BlackRock and Vanguard control more than 60 per cent of a US ETF market that has increased almost fivefold to \$6.6tn from \$1.35tn a decade ago.

The single largest ETF by assets is State Street's SPDR S&P 500 Index

"We are playing a different game. We want to lead but it is also about expanding ETF usage across all clients"

tracker but BlackRock and Vanguard offer 15 of the next 16.

They also run the two biggest bond ETFs, which position them to take advantage of what analysts expect to be a boom in debt products.

Industry experts predict a long contest for dominance as both groups seek out new investors in turbulent markets.

Other asset managers including Invesco, JPMorgan Chase, Fidelity and Charles Schwab are also trying to tap investor interest in ETFs.

"The race in the US ETF market will be far from over even if the leadership baton does pass from BlackRock to Vanguard," said Todd Rosenbluth, head of research at VettaFi. "Both managers are winning a disproportionately large share of an [ETF] pie that is continuing to grow."

Vanguard and BlackRock are pursuing different strategies and customers.

While Vanguard focuses on a relatively small suite of low-cost products aimed at retail investors and their financial advisers, BlackRock's iShares business offers a broader set of funds and also courts institutions.

"We are playing a different game," said Armando Senra, who heads BlackRock's Americas ETF business. "We want to lead but it is also about expanding ETF usage across all client types. That's more important."

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Crypto

Bankman-Fried's FTX Ventures agrees to buy 30% stake in SkyBridge Capital

ORTENCA ALIAJZ - NEW YORK
JOSHUA OLIVER - LONDON

FTX Ventures, the investment firm led by billionaire Sam Bankman-Fried, will buy a 30 per cent stake in the fund of ex-Trump aide Anthony Scaramucci, as he continues his mission to try to bolster the struggling cryptocurrency market.

The financial terms of the deal have not

cryptocurrency prices to sink, has affected SkyBridge's performance and prompted the firm to suspend redemptions in one of its funds. However, Scaramucci has remained optimistic about crypto's prospects and encouraged investors to "stay disciplined" in an interview with CNBC.

News of the deal comes days ahead of Scaramucci's annual Salt conference in New York City, for which Bankman-

co-hosted Crypto Bahamas, a digital assets conference.

Bankman-Fried's largest business, the FTX exchange, derives much of its revenue from trading fees and depends heavily on the health of the crypto market.

The crash in token prices, which have fallen about 70 per cent from their peak last autumn, has provided dealmaking opportunities for stronger companies.

Commodities

Solar power generation hits EU record during summer squeeze on gas supplies

SHOTARO TANI

Solar power generation reached a new record in the EU over the summer months as supplies from oil, gas, hydropower and nuclear were all squeezed during the energy crisis.

Sunny weather across the continent and a boost in solar installations contributed to the record generation, which was 28 per cent higher than the previous

"The fact that we... can already generate above 10 per cent of EU electricity from solar gives hope" for a transition to cleaner energy and better energy security, said Pawel Czyzak, senior analyst at Ember and one of the authors of the report.

The share of solar power in electricity generation was highest in the Netherlands at 25 per cent and Germany at 19 per cent.

"The capacity expands every year by about 15 per cent," he said. "So that gives you at least a 15 per cent gain, maybe a little bit more because the efficiency of the latest panel's higher."

Solar power's share of overall energy generation in Europe was also affected by droughts, which curbed hydropower and nuclear output from countries such as France.

Even so, the intermittent nature of

been discussed but Scaramucci's Sky-Bridge Capital said that it would use \$40m of the proceeds to buy cryptocurrencies, which it has agreed to hold as a long-term investment.

With the deal, Bankman-Fried will again step in as a financial backstop for companies afflicted by the crash in crypto markets.

SkyBridge has historically invested in hedge funds but Scaramucci, who briefly served as White House communications director under Donald Trump and later became a critic of the former president, has pivoted its business towards cryptocurrencies.

Recent upheaval in the crypto market, which included several businesses filing for bankruptcy and caused

Fried is a sponsor and speaker. The two men earlier this year also founded and



Billionaire Sam Bankman-Fried is set to support the crypto market again

FTX extended a bailout to crypto lender BlockFi in July after the company suffered losses on its exposure to bankrupt crypto hedge fund Three Arrows Capital. FTX also offered a \$400m credit facility to BlockFi in the deal, which included an option to buy the company for up to \$240m.

Bankman-Fried has also offered bailout loans to lender Voyager Digital, which later went bankrupt after the 30-year-old billionaire declined to provide additional support.

Earlier this week, FTX announced a partnership with video-game retailer Gamestop to help the company, which was at the centre of the meme-stock trading frenzy last year, with its push into the digital asset business.

summer, according to research from Ember, the UK environmental think-tank.

Solar power generated 99.4 terawatt hours of electricity between May and August. It accounted for 12 per cent of power generation, up from 9 per cent the previous summer, although the rise in proportion was in part due to the fall in supply of most other energy sources.

The record solar generation came as Europe also experienced record heatwaves.

That led to increased energy demand for cooling purposes at a time when countries were trying to conserve the use of gas due to soaring prices as a result of Russia's war on Ukraine affecting supplies.

Solar power generation saved the EU

'The fact that we can already generate above 10 per cent of EU electricity from solar gives hope'

20bn cubic metres' worth of gas imports during the four months, Ember estimated, assuming that all solar was replacing gas.

Dolf Gielen, director of technology and innovation at the International Renewable Energy Agency, said the main reason for record solar power generation was the installation of more farms across Europe.

solar power means it has to be complemented with other power sources that can generate electricity at night, such as gas or coal-fired power plants.

European countries are seeking to boost their capacity to store energy to cope with the growth in renewables.

European gas prices have soared on the back of restricted gas supplies from Russia, with contracts linked to TTF, the wholesale European gas price, trading more than 300 per cent higher than they were a year ago, straining households as well as utility companies.

The EU agreed in July to reduce gas use in the region by 15 per cent until next spring and the European Commission is preparing price caps on Russian gas to tackle the energy crisis.

COMPANIES & MARKETS

On Wall Street

Countries do not control their own currencies



Brendan Greeley



Boston University and Jens Van't Klooster from the University of Amsterdam, believe that the dominant definition of monetary sovereignty is Westphalian—nation states create and control their own money.

But like Carlo Cipolla's medieval rulers, governments now actually issue very little currency on their own. They have some influence over the rest of the system. But it is limited, even in a more closed financial system like China.

The paper divides currency into three categories. Public money sits on the balance sheet of central banks as paper notes or reserves. Public-private money consists of deposits at commercial banks, created every time a bank makes a loan. A deposit is a private decision by a

Even mighty America does not seem to be completely sovereign over its almighty dollar

private actor but the state can regulate the bank or discourage new loans by raising interest rates.

Traditional theories of money present central banks as the creators of currency but they're really more like currency shepherds, nudging banks back and forth. And the last category—true private money—sits either on the balance sheets of highly regulated shadow banks or completely offshore, beyond the control of the state.

Murau and Van't Klooster use these categories to present a more useful way to think about sovereignty: What is a country attempting to do with currency policy? And does it work? If we apply this rubric to the dollar, we first have to nail down exactly which dollars we're talking about—as the authors point out, there is no such thing as a dollar, just dollar-denominated credit assets. Then we ask

what the US wants to accomplish with those dollars, and whether it's working.

Start with true private money and we find eurodollars—dollar-denominated deposits at offshore banks, outside of US regulatory control. But as the political economist Eric Helleiner has pointed out, the de facto US policy in a financial crisis is to offer currency swaps to foreign central banks, lending them dollars that they can in turn lend to their own commercial banks. If the goal is to support offshore private dollar creation by acting as a global dollar lender of last resort, then it's working.

With public-private money, the dollars held as deposits at regulated, US-based commercial banks, the policy goal is clear: full employment and low inflation. But the US Federal Reserve and the Treasury do not together have a working theory of what kinds of bank loans create jobs or how to effectively encourage them. And they can't reach every American with bank money even when they hand it out—access to bank accounts is not treated as an important policy goal.

This leaves public money, the notes and reserves on the Fed's balance sheet. Here, the US has, under the traditional definition, unquestionable sovereignty. The Fed's cash office runs a system of warehouses that can swap federal reserve notes for deposits, anywhere in the country, on demand. Cash works. With reserve creation, however, what's the goal? The Fed can trade Treasuries for reserves and quantitatively ease or tighten. But it argues, even internally, over whether and how this works.

If we define monetary sovereignty as effectiveness, then even mighty America does not seem to be completely sovereign over its almighty dollar. We are better off than kings and dogs, nudging the mints with laws and incentives, trying imperfectly to make money work.

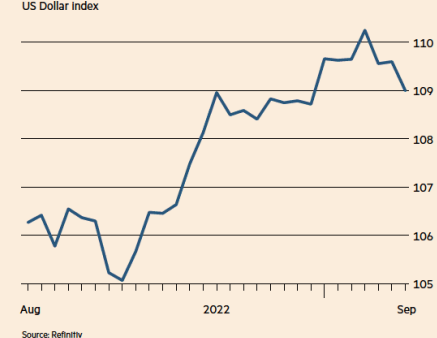
Brendan Greeley is an FT contributing editor

The day in the markets

What you need to know

- Stocks gain and dollar falls as investors weigh policy outlook
- Euro and pound rise against greenback a day after ECB lifts interest rates
- German government bonds trade steadily following sharp sell-off

US currency loses steam after march higher



Global shares rose yesterday while the euro and the pound advanced against a softer dollar as investors assessed how far major central banks would tighten monetary policy to curb inflation.

A FTSE gauge of worldwide equities added 1.6 per cent with Wall Street's S&P 500 up 1.2 per cent by the late morning in New York and the technology-heavy Nasdaq Composite up 1.1 per cent.

The pan-regional Stoxx Europe 600 gauge closed 1.5 per cent higher and Hong Kong's Hang Seng jumped 2.7 per cent, snapping six days of losses.

"It does appear to be a global risk-on rally amid lower rates and a weaker dollar," analysts at JP Morgan wrote earlier yesterday. "The market remains focused on next week's [consumer price index] print."

US inflation data are due out on Tuesday with economists polled by Reuters expecting a reading of 8.1 per cent on year for August, down from 8.5 per cent in July.

Yesterday's moves came a day after the European Central Bank raised interest rates by 0.75 percentage points to 0.75 per cent, having lifted borrowing costs for the first time in more than a decade in July.

In currencies, the euro bounced 0.5 per cent to trade just above parity with the dollar, trimming a sharper rally earlier in

the day. The common currency has fallen more than 11 per cent this year, as economic uncertainty and inflationary pressures—stoked by Russia's invasion of Ukraine and a squeeze on gas supplies—have driven people towards the perceived safety of the dollar.

The pound gained 0.8 per cent to \$1.159, having earlier this week slipped to its lowest level since 1985.

Japan's yen rose as much as 1.8 per cent to ¥141.49 after on Wednesday touching ¥144.98—its weakest level against the dollar in 24 years.

Those gains were set against a softer

dollar, which lost 0.5 per cent yesterday against a basket of six peers.

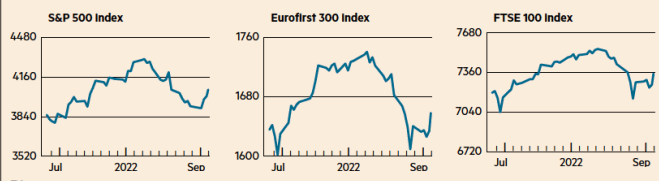
Meanwhile, the ECB's hawkish rhetoric this week has led some analysts to expect another large increase at its meeting in October with Deutsche Bank anticipating another three-quarter point rise.

German bonds sold off sharply following the ECB decision and press conference on Thursday with the two-year Bund yield surging to its highest level since 2011 as its price fell. Activity was steadier yesterday with the same yield broadly flat at 1.31 per cent. Ian Johnston and Harriet Clarlett

Markets update

	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
Stocks	S&P 500	Eurofirst 300	Nikkei 225	FTSE100	Shanghai Comp	Bovespa
Level	4058.34	1658.36	28214.75	7351.07	3262.05	112356.24
% change on day	1.30	1.48	0.53	1.23	0.82	2.22
Currency	\$ index (DXY)	\$ per €	Yen per \$	\$ per £	Rmb per \$	Real per \$
Level	109.043	1.004	142.450	1.158	6.919	5.149
% change on day	-0.405	0.003	-1.059	0.783	-0.649	-1.375
Govt. bonds	10-year Treasury	10-year Bund	10-year JGB	10-year Gilt	10-year bond	10-year bond
Yield	3.293	1.693	0.246	3.091	2.643	12.347
Basis point change on day	0.510	-2.100	-0.080	-5.200	1100	-11.000
World Index, Commods	FTSE All-World	Oil - Brent	Oil - WTI	Gold	Silver	Metals (LME)
Level	4100.01	91.63	85.98	1709.35	18.63	3664.70
% change on day	1.59	2.89	2.91	0.39	2.50	1.81

Main equity markets



Biggest movers

	US	Eurozone	UK	
Ups	Dish Network	6.54	Intesa Sanpaolo	5.33
	Kroger Co (the)	5.50	Grifols	5.05
	Take-two Interactive Software	5.50	Tenaris	4.98
	Baker Hughes	5.11	Bbva	4.91
	Regeneron Pharmaceuticals	4.18	B. Sabadell	4.05
	Centrica			4.98
Downs	Copart	-0.92	Volkswagen	-1.89
	Mckesson	-0.83	Thales	-1.56
	Eme	-0.76	Colruyt	-1.15
	Yum! Brands	-0.72	Edp	-0.71
	Progressive	-0.67	Akzo Nobel	-0.68
	Avast			-0.50

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Wall Street

Electric-car maker Tesla rallied after a filing with the Texas Comptroller's Office disclosed that it was considering setting up a battery-grade lithium hydroxide

Europe

France's Rubis, which specialises in storing and distributing petroleum, jumped after its board declared an "excellent operational performance" in the

London

IT services group Computacenter sank after confirming lower profitability for the first half of 2022 compared with the same period a year earlier



half-year update. Operating profit hit €244mm, which was 30 per cent higher than the same period last year and exceeded 2019's "record" pre-Covid level.

An endorsement by Berenberg helped lift Germany's Synlab.

The provider of diagnostics and laboratory services was undervalued, said the broker, which noted that the stock was trading "at a sizeable discount to peers, mainly due to concerns about the outlook for its Covid-19 testing business."

This prompted Berenberg to give Synlab a "buy" recommendation as analysts expected it to benefit from a diagnostics market that needed to service an ageing population.

Germany's Bayer added to Thursday's rise that followed promising clinical trials for Eylea, an eye treatment.

Reports of a discounted share sale pushed France's Carmila sharply lower.

SCI's momentum was supported by liquidity for the world's second-largest cinema chain to meet its "ongoing obligations" such as paying vendors, suppliers and employee wages, it said.

Ray Douglas

The performance did not surprise Jefferies, which noted that "after two exceptional years, that were always going to create tough comparisons", this half-year felt "more muted".

A cut to its outlook weighed on Gear4Music, the online retailer that benefited from an uptick in home music-making during the pandemic.

Trading during July and August had been "impacted by the widely reported cost of living crisis and unusually hot weather across Europe," said the group, which trimmed its revenue forecast for its financial 2023 year to €155mm, down from an earlier expectation of €163.9mm.

CineWorld jumped more than 20 per cent, only to turn sharply lower during a choppy session in which the leisure group revealed that it had been granted access to up to 5785mm from a \$194bn financing facility.

This, together with its cash reserves, was expected to support the company's liquidity for the world's second-largest cinema chain to meet its "ongoing obligations" such as paying vendors, suppliers and employee wages, it said.

Ray Douglas

10 September/11 September 2022

FT Weekend

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MARKET DATA

WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE

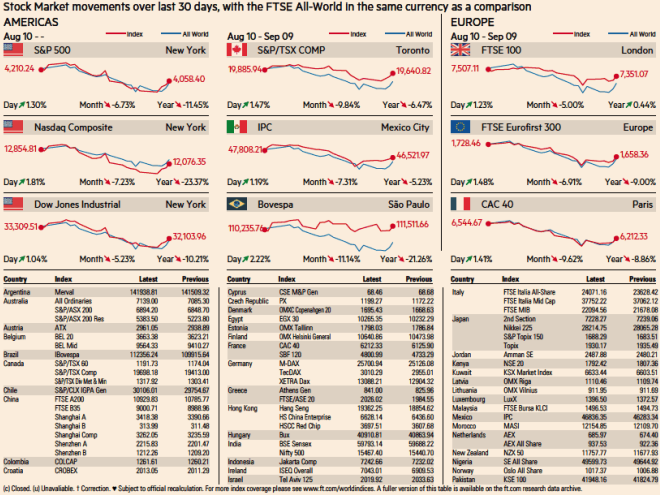
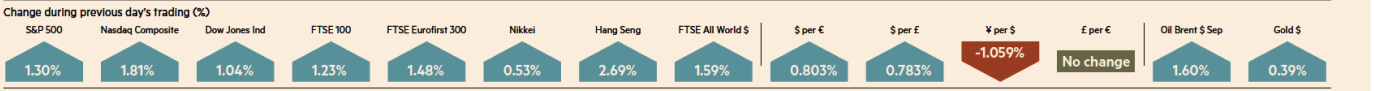


Table with columns for Country, Index, Latest, Previous, % Change, and % Change YTD. Includes data for Americas, Europe, and Asia.

STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table listing top gainers and losers in the S&P 500, including companies like Tesla, Amazon, and Microsoft.

UK MARKET WINNERS AND LOSERS

Table listing top gainers and losers in the FTSE 100, including companies like AstraZeneca, AstraZeneca, and AstraZeneca.

CURRENCIES

Table showing exchange rates for various currencies against the US Dollar, including the Euro, Pound, and Yen.

FT 30 INDEX

Table showing FT 30 index components and their performance, including AstraZeneca, AstraZeneca, and AstraZeneca.

FTSE SECTORS LEADERS & LAGGARDS

Table showing performance of various sectors like Health Care, Financials, and Technology.

FTSE 100 SUMMARY

Table providing a summary of FTSE 100 components and their performance.

FTSE ACTIVITY SHARE INDICES

Table showing activity share indices for various companies and sectors.

FT WILSHIRE 5000 INDEX SERIES

Table showing the Wilshire 5000 Index series and its performance over time.

FTSE GLOBAL EQUITY INDEX SERIES

Table showing global equity index series and their performance.

FTSE ACTIVITY SHARE INDICES

Table showing activity share indices for various companies and sectors.

Table with multiple columns listing various financial instruments, their prices, and market data. Includes sections for US STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA and UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA.

FTSE 100: 7300.50, DAX: 16148.40, Nikkei 225: 26020.10, Hang Seng: 23120.00, ASX 200: 7027.50, Nikkei 225: 26020.10, Hang Seng: 23120.00, ASX 200: 7027.50

FTSE 100: 7300.50, DAX: 16148.40, Nikkei 225: 26020.10, Hang Seng: 23120.00, ASX 200: 7027.50, Nikkei 225: 26020.10, Hang Seng: 23120.00, ASX 200: 7027.50

UK FIRMS RESULTS table with columns for Company, Turnover, Profit, and EPS. Lists companies like BP, Shell, and AstraZeneca.

Figures in £m. Exchange rates shown in right hand column for corresponding period. All figures are preliminary unless indicated otherwise.

UK RECENT ISSUES table with columns for Issue Name, Issue Size, Issue Date, and Yield. Lists various government and corporate bonds.

MARKET DATA table with columns for Market Index, Price, Change, and Volume. Includes FTSE 100, DAX, Nikkei 225, etc.

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES table with columns for Company, Market Cap, and Sector. Lists major global corporations.

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Table with columns: Company, Price, % Change, 52 Week High, 52 Week Low, Volume. Includes entries for Shell, BP, and other energy stocks.

Table with columns: Company, Price, % Change, 52 Week High, 52 Week Low, Volume. Includes entries for various international and domestic stocks.

Table with columns: Country, Index, % Change, 52 Week High, 52 Week Low, Volume. Lists major global indices like S&P 500, Nikkei, etc.

Table with columns: Index, % Change, 52 Week High, 52 Week Low, Volume. Lists various market indices and commodity prices.

COMMODITIES

Table of commodity prices including oil, natural gas, metals, and agricultural products.

BONDS: INDEX-Linked

Table of bond index-linked products with columns for price, yield, and duration.

BONDS: TEN YEAR GOV SPREADS

Table of ten-year government bond spreads for various countries.

INDEX LINKED

Table of index-linked products with columns for price, yield, and duration.

Source: FT Commodity, FT Bond, FT Index, FT Energy, FT Metals, FT Agriculture, FT Precious Metals, FT Real Estate, FT REITs, FT Infrastructure, FT Healthcare, FT Technology, FT Consumer Goods, FT Financials, FT Industrials, FT Utilities, FT Energy Services, FT Real Estate Services, FT Healthcare Services, FT Technology Services, FT Consumer Goods Services, FT Financials Services, FT Industrials Services, FT Utilities Services, FT Energy Services, FT Real Estate Services, FT Healthcare Services, FT Technology Services, FT Consumer Goods Services, FT Financials Services, FT Industrials Services, FT Utilities Services.

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Main Market

Main Market section containing multiple tables for various sectors: Aerospace & Defense, Automobiles & Parts, Banks, Chemicals, Consumer Goods, Energy, Financial, Food & Beverages, Healthcare, Industrials, Infrastructure, IT, Life Sciences, Media, Metals & Mining, Oil & Gas, Pharmaceuticals, Retail, Technology, Telecom, Utilities, and Real Estate.

AIM

AIM section containing multiple tables for various sectors: Aerospace & Defense, Banks, Chemicals, Consumer Goods, Energy, Financial, Food & Beverages, Healthcare, Industrials, Infrastructure, IT, Life Sciences, Media, Metals & Mining, Oil & Gas, Pharmaceuticals, Retail, Technology, Telecom, Utilities, and Real Estate.

Investment Companies

Investment Companies section containing multiple tables for various sectors: Conventional (UK Private Equity), Conventional (US Private Equity), Conventional (Global Private Equity), Conventional (Public Equity), Conventional (Real Estate), Conventional (Hedge Funds), Conventional (Commodities), Conventional (Art Collection), Conventional (Cryptocurrency), Conventional (Digital Assets), Conventional (ESG), Conventional (Impact), Conventional (Micro-Cap), Conventional (Multi-Sector), Conventional (Sector-Specific), Conventional (Special Situations), Conventional (Structured Products), Conventional (Structured Securities), Conventional (Structured Solutions), Conventional (Structured Strategies), Conventional (Structured Themes), Conventional (Structured Values), Conventional (Structured Views), Conventional (Structured Warrants), Conventional (Structured Warrants), Conventional (Structured Warrants), Conventional (Structured Warrants).

BoE/FTM	571.00	17.00	1026.8	523.00	1.70	596.0	-4.2
BoE/FTM	582.00	18.00	1044.8	532.00	1.80	612.0	-3.5
Bramer	802.00	10.00	1125	820.14	2.03	1145.0	-13.4
Carolina Bay	3005	10.00	406	3101.00	1.74	4024.3	-20.4
Carfax-CA	32.50	1.04	45.40	30.00	2.38	47.4	-31.2
City of	460.00	5.00	427.00	462.00	4.72	382.9	13.3
CO2/FTM	188.00	1.00	232.00	133.00	2.98	225.9	-16.7
CTM/FT	238.00	-	300.00	232.00	-	235.9	0.9

FT Weekend

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EY break-up: China down

As markets have fractured, so too have EY's plans to create a global consulting and advisory specialist. This week, bosses at the Big Four accountancy partnership approved plans to create a separate advisory unit.

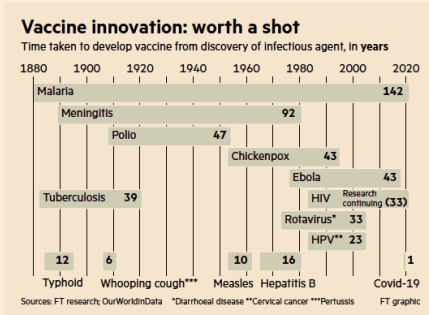
Yet EY's Greater China consultants will stay put with auditors. Beijing has not approved the restructuring. EY's 13,000 partners will decide later this year how much this added wrinkle matters when they vote on an already complicated restructuring.

The importance of this loss is moot, partly because of a lack of publicly available data. EY has said that it has 29 offices in mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan employed 22,000 last year. That makes up 37 per cent of EY's Asia-Pacific workforce, including the audit side. Although public figures for its China business are not available, Asia-Pacific produced \$6.6bn of revenues last year, hinting at a \$2bn plus business.

The question is how much China's exclusion matters to EY's other partners. Carmine Di Sibio, EY's global chair and chief executive, has ranked it among the partnership's top 15 markets. Although Hong Kong's hot IPO market has slowed, the mainland markets have shown resilience. Indeed, in the first half of 2022, mainland IPOs rose 7 per cent year on year to \$35bn, more than double the value in the US.

Lex has estimated an enterprise value for the global advisory unit at \$80bn. That is based on an assumed \$26bn of revenues for its consulting and advisory unit and similar operating margins and multiples to peers such as Accenture and Capgemini. Assume half of EY's China revenues sit outside audit. Removing its greater China business shrinks the valuation by perhaps \$2bn. Not so much, but EY wants to list the global consulting unit late next year.

EY touts its global expertise with clients. Maintaining that image would be harder without affecting the broader



Malaria exacts a horrific toll. The mosquito-borne disease kills a child nearly every minute. But scientists have now made big advances in developing vaccines capable of controlling the disease.

UK pharma giant GSK has been developing a vaccine since 1984. This week, its pioneering Mosquirix jab crossed a critical milestone when the World Health Organization endorsed its safety and efficacy with "prequalification" status. That paves the way for United Nations agencies to roll it out.

Separately, Oxford university researchers this week published encouraging trial data on its novel malaria vaccine in a study involving over 400 west African children.

The malaria parasite was found in 1880. An unusually long time has elapsed between the discovery of the infectious agent and the development of the vaccine. On average, it takes several decades, though some vaccines remain work in progress.

All records were broken when Covid-19 vaccines were developed in less than a year. The advances that underpinned that achievement might help in the development of other vaccines.

In particular, mRNA technology — which uses lab-created molecules to instruct cells how to make a protein — offers intriguing possibilities.

Germany's BioNTech hopes it can follow up its success in pioneering Covid-19 vaccines with the world's first mRNA vaccines against malaria and tuberculosis.

In the war against deadly diseases, key battles are being won.

per cent in the second quarter compared with total growth, excluding fuel sales, of 5.8 per cent. Despite being sold at a lower price point, private label products tend to yield fatter margins. This is reflected in the 14 per cent jump in Kroger's quarterly operating profit.

None of this has been lost on investors. Kroger shares are up 12 per cent since the start of the year.

More sober outlook weighs on investors as volatility here to stay

Katie Martin
The Long View



Autumn has set in and investors are looking back at a period of summer exuberance in markets through a notably more sober lens.

The focus is the curious moment in July when some fund managers abruptly convinced themselves, after a dreadful start to the year, that the US Federal Reserve would decide to be merciful. Stocks shot higher on the hope it might hold fire on some of the more aggressive options for taming inflation.

It was no fleeting fad. At the extreme, from mid-July to mid-August, the S&P 500 benchmark index of US listed stocks gained some 16 per cent.

The MSCI World index rose by a similar degree. But anyone who timed this summer reprieve perfectly is in a minority. Now, investors are hunkering down for a grim winter after the Fed made it very clear it did not intend to budge.

"The narrative of the summer rally in financial markets that central banks might slow or even reverse rate hikes soon is now clearly out of the window," said Michael Strobeck, chief investment officer at Credit Suisse. "Markets had factored in too much hope and not enough economic realities."

To some, the summer rally was a grim omen. GMO's Jeremy Grantham told readers that such fleeting periods of optimism are "perfectly" in keeping with a "superbubble" on the brink of popping. "Prepare for an epic finale," he warned.

True to form, the cheery vibes have almost entirely fizzled out — that rally has almost entirely evaporated. Now the rest of the year will be about the earnings that underpin valuations and managing expectations.

"I don't think you should get too

He acknowledged that market conditions are "painful", in sharp contrast to the runaway rallies that fired up Baillie Gifford's portfolios last year.

The real clash of views now is whether fund managers can avoid stepping on any more rakes.

Michael Wilson, an equity strategist at Morgan Stanley in New York, suspects not. So far, he wrote, interest rate expectations and bond market ructions have inflicted the real damage on investors in 2022. In other words, if you like, you can blame the Fed for the poor performance of your investments in the first half of this year.

Now, though, that excuse is wearing a little thin. Instead, what Wilson called the "fire" of adjusting to a new monetary environment is giving way to the "ice" of economic stress weighing on company earnings.

He said the S&P 500, now hovering around 4,000, was still in for a shock. "While acknowledging the poor performance in equities [so far this year], we do not think the bear market is over if our earnings forecasts are correct," he said. "We think the lows for this bear market will probably arrive in the fourth quarter, with 3,400 the minimum downside and 3,000 the low if a recession arrives." Just the fact that stocks had already fallen hard and that few have been spared the suffering was "not a sufficient reason to be bullish".

But this bear market, he says, is far from bottom. The fact that earnings are going to fall is not a surprise to anybody. He's quietly confident that stocks will wrap up the year in relatively serene style.

If he's wrong, one source of success may be the very same bond market that led the stocks rout in the first place. Of those two major asset classes, it has had an even more horrible run.

"Global bonds have entered the first bear market in a generation," said UBS Wealth Management's Mark Haeffel, after government and high-quality corporate bonds dropped by more than 20 per cent from their 2021 peak, according to the snappily named Bloomberg Global Aggregate Total Return Index.

Yes, 20 per cent is an arbitrary number. Nonetheless, this is the worst period in this market, the bedrock of global asset prices, since at least 1990.

UBS also noted that August was the worst month for European government bonds ever while the US market had dropped 12.5 per cent from its highs — more than double the scale of any peak-to-trough pullback since the 1970s.

That meant anyone hoping bonds would fulfil their usual function and provide a counterbalance to crumbling stock prices has been having a dreadful year. The good news is that such periods of simultaneous pullbacks in bonds and equities are rare and since 1930, they have given way to bond rallies "100 per cent of the time", UBS said.

Barring a break with precedent, that means the safety net is back.

Stocks are down but not out. A jump earlier this week suggests that the "epic finale" hypothesis is still in the minority.

But stress and volatility in every major asset class are here to stay. Forget the chance of a proper recovery.

DEBATED WITHOUT ORDERING THE INSIGHTS from its China consulting teams.

Toyota: slow lane

Japan's three biggest carmakers rank the lowest among global peers in decarbonisation efforts, according to campaign group Greenpeace. All three have pledged to speed up the shift to electric. But Toyota's early struggles suggest that catching up will be much harder than expected. It scored the lowest among top 10 carmakers for the second straight year. It has yet to give up on its dedication to hydrogen-fuel-cell and hybrid cars. Zero-emission vehicles made up just a smidgen of Toyota's total sales last year. This compares with more than 8 per cent for US peer General Motors. Even so, Toyota's shares, which have rallied since March lows, trade at 9 times forward earnings, a hefty premium to its greener peer GM. Hybrids, a market for which Toyota has the top share globally, are cleaner than cars powered solely by fossil fuels. It has pledged to aim for carbon neutrality by 2050 and to invest heavily in electric-car battery production. Yet early attempts to close the gap with global peers with its first

untested earnings. Regulations in California, the biggest car market in the US, will require 35 per cent of new sales to be of zero-emission vehicles by the 2026 model year. That is a problem for Toyota. North America accounts for about a third of its total sales and is its biggest market outside home. Toyota and Lexus accounted for more than half the hybrids sold in the US last quarter. Toyota sold 2,4mm cars in north America in the year to March. Given that California accounts for about 12 per cent of US sales, meeting the state's target in under four years looks tough.

Kroger: retail god

Lockdown "pantry-loading" has come to an end. But for US supermarket chains, inflation is proving just as good for business. With US inflation still hovering at around 40-year highs, consumers are cutting discretionary spending to focus on essentials. Many are eating out less and cooking more at home, which is boosting US grocers. At Kroger, shoppers are changing what they buy, too. Penny-pinching has encouraged a switch to the company's cheaper private label brands. Like-for-like sales of own store brands rose 10.2

cent this year compared with a decline of 15 per cent for the wider S&P 500. The grocer's market value has swelled to \$36bn. Management thinks it can continue its winning streak. It raised its full-year sales and profit guidance for the second time in six months. Even so, Kroger, the country's largest standalone grocer with nearly 2,800 stores, is currently only trading at 12 times forward earnings. Sprouts Farmers Market, a much smaller rival, is on 13 times while big box store operators Walmart and Costco carry much headier multiples of 22 times and 38 times, respectively. Competition is fierce when it comes to selling food and household essentials. Dollar stores, Walmart, Target, Costco have been chasing the frugal end of the market. Amazon, through its 2017 acquisition of Whole Foods, has bagged the well-heeled customers. But Kroger has shown that it can hold its own. The stock's 2 per cent dividend yield is higher than Walmart's and more than double Costco's. High inflation is not going away anytime soon. This should mean more upside for Kroger at least through next year.

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I DON'T THINK WE SHOULD SAY TO CLIENTS that we think [markets] will rip back up," said Nick Thomas, a partner at Bailie Gifford, one of the UK's highest-profile investors in high-growth stocks.

BUT THIS KEY POINT, ON EARNINGS AND the damage they could inflict, is where the arguments set in. "Everybody already knows all the bad news," said Thomas. "Sentiment is already at rock

anything better than a further 5 per cent drop by the end of the year would probably count as a win. katie.martin@ft.com

NIKKEI Asia The voice of the Asian century

Heatwave pushes California's electricity demand to record highs

California's power grid hit record levels of demand as an intense extended heatwave sent demand for air conditioning soaring, heightening pressure on the world's fifth-biggest economy to cope with extreme climate events. Temperatures rose above 110F, or 43.3C, in multiple areas across the western US state, and several cities broke previous records over an unusually prolonged September heatwave.

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Life & Arts

SUPPLEMENT OF THE YEAR

'My whole life, whether it be long or short, shall be devoted to your service'

In a reign spanning seven decades, Britain's longest-serving monarch was so much more than a head of state. By *Simon Schama*



The message due to go out from the Queen's private secretary was "London Bridge is down": code for the death of Elizabeth II. In February 1952, when her father George VI died, the code had been "Hyde Park Corner". But the choice this time was more than an arbitrary pick from Lon-

decline was, moreover, punctuated by acute short-term crises: the Suez fiasco in 1956; the seven-week miners' strike of 1972; the regularly unnerving collapse of sterling. There was too the relentless drumbeat of terrorist atrocities: 21 murdered in Birmingham in 1974; 52 in London in 2005; 22 in Manchester in 2017; an IRA

don topography; rather, words denoting profound collapse.

The nursery-rhyme prompt seems apt, since the nation now feels itself orphaned. It matters not how long anticipated the death of a mother figure might be; the time can never be right for her actual passing. In this case the shock of reality is especially acute, because Elizabeth II seemed to embody in her personal longevity the reassuring continuity of British history; of the four-nation United Kingdom and, beyond, of the Commonwealth.

She was, to us and to much of the rest of the world, quintessential Britain; not all of it, of course, but more than the head of state – the heart of the matter, the personification of a common, idealised identity. The sustaining myth of the monarchy is that while kings and queens are mortal, the institution is not – the Queen is dead, long live the King.

But at this particular moment of

Queen Elizabeth lived by her conviction that you 'have to be seen to be believed'

mourning, for this particular sovereign, the magnitude of the loss overwhelms the truism of continuity. People are sorrowing as much for themselves as for the royal family and for the country.

For most of the British population, the Queen has been the only monarch they have known. It would be natural, then, to take for granted that the balancing act required of a monarch in a constitutional democracy – between remoteness and familiarity, the extraordinary and the ordinary, between a guarded mystique and the common touch, the magical and the mundane – is no more than the expected delivery of a singular if exacting job description: decent value for taxpayers' money.

In 1867, Walter Bagehot's *The English Constitution* defined the value of monarchy as being intelligible to ordinary people, as well as the conductor of august ceremony and the embodiment of an ideal family, to which the entirety of its subjects could then feel, to some degree, related. But even Queen Victoria had challenges in all those departments. The personal conduct of her eldest son fell notoriously short of the virtues expected of a Prince of Wales, and the long years of Victoria's seclusion following Prince Albert's death (shortly after upbraiding his son for yet another scandal) removed her from the public gaze. Queen Elizabeth, on the other hand, lived, over the seven decades of her reign, by her conviction that you "have to be seen to be believed".

Twice, though, at moments of stunning calamity, she withheld, for just a few days, that visible presence – in 1966, when 116 children and 28 adults died in the coal slurry collapse at Aberfan, and in 1984 when Diana, Princess of Wales was killed in the Paris car crash. Soon enough the Queen came to Aberfan to mourn and comfort, as best she could, the bereft mining community; and soon enough she made a live televised broadcast eulogising the



Clockwise from above: Queen Elizabeth II in her first official portrait, taken 20 days after ascending to the throne in 1952; dancing with President Kwame Nkrumah during a state visit to Ghana in 1961; the young Princess Elizabeth playing tag on board HMS Vanguard in 1947 – Dorothy Wilding/Corbis Press (in BerniMagnun Photos, Bettmann Archive)



dead princess, and walked unguarded along a line of keening crowds, as the flowers piled up at the gates of Kensington Palace.

Other than those fateful moments, the Queen's instinct for public mood seldom failed her or the country. This was just as well, since her time was marked by challenges not faced by any of the comparably long-reigning monarchs who preceded her. Elizabeth II (45 years on the throne), George III (almost 60 years) and Victoria (almost 64 years) all presided over periods of national and imperial expansion.

It's true that, in the first instance, the cult of England's Gloriana, in imagery and writing, was mobilised to give the country confidence when it was still fighting, within and without, the religious civil war triggered by the Reformation. Likewise, the endearing image of Farmer George, plain-speaking and

homely in manner, helped Britain overcome the shock of losing the American colonies and prevail in the long wars against Bonaparte's France.

But at the end of each of those reigns, notwithstanding economic crises and hardships unequally borne, Britain was measurably more powerful, more prosperous and more expansively vigorous than it had been when they first occupied the throne.

This was not destined to be the case for Elizabeth II. For all the talk, during the Festival of Britain in 1951, of "new Elizabethans", her reign will be remembered (Beatles, World Cup and Cool Britannia notwithstanding) as a time of national contraction marked by the loss of empire, perennial falling around for some act of national reinvention (first European and then anti-European); retreats into historical nostalgia; questions raised about the integrity of the union itself. The slow, inexorable

bomb that took the life of her husband's uncle, Lord Mountbatten, in 1979 and, in 1984, another that came close to assassinating Margaret Thatcher; incendiary riots in the heart of British cities; the horrifying deaths of 72 people in the Grenfell tower fire.

In the face of all those traumas, it was well nigh impossible for Britain to keep Calm, much less Carry On. But the Queen almost always did. It was not so much the sedative effect of her imperceptible annual round – investitures, Trooping the Colour, the openings and the launchings, the palace garden parties, the Christmas message – as the deep personal steadiness of the Queen, the humane sympathy beneath the bright hats, that provided comfort and fortitude in everyone else.

Through thick and thin, bitter division and unpredictable turmoil, and for all the rarefied social class from which she came and the palace formalities, rit-

It was the deep personal steadiness beneath the bright hats that provided fortitude in everyone else

uals and arid conventions that encircled her, Elizabeth II managed, when it counted most, to be the idealised personification of the nation, immune to hysteria but open to social empathy. It only takes a glance around at the parade of authoritarians who, from one end of the world to the other, make militarised xenophobia the measure of national self-esteem to be grateful that the Queen supplied a more benign focus of national allegiance.

None of this means that, on her accession 70 years ago, the Queen took up this most testing of public roles defensively or fatalistically. At 25, bright, beautiful and – for a royal – easily outgoing, there could be no sense that her reign would be consolation, much less compensation, for all the vanishings that would befall Britain: colonies, marriages, industries. But from the outset, even before she became Queen, in what she later called her "salad days" when she was "green in judgment", Elizabeth was strikingly touched by the gravity of her vocation.

On her 21st birthday on April 21 1947, while touring South Africa with her mother and father, the "heiress presumptive" took the opportunity to broadcast to the Commonwealth and empire her own redefinition of the calling of monarchy. It was nothing that had occurred to Bagehot. It was, as Elizabeth herself said, quite simple, although she invoked the ancient oaths of knighthood, as well as the sacrifices made by an older generation through years of economic depression and terrifying war. "Now that we are coming to manhood and womanhood it is surely a great joy to us all to think we shall be able to take some of the shoulders of the shoulders of our elders who have fought and worked and suffered to protect our childhood."

Then came the solemn climax of the

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Life

The Queen

Continued from page 1

speech: "I declare before you all that my whole life, whether it be long or short, shall be devoted to your service and the service of our great imperial family to which we all belong. But I shall not have the strength to carry out this resolution alone unless you join in it with me as I now invite you to do."

It was a kind of self-crowning before the actual act of the coronation six years later, both weighty and noble, suggesting a reign that would bond together crown and people. There is no reason to suppose that on every future occasion when the Queen reiterated that statement of dedication, it was not, as she often implied, the whole point of her life.

This precocious certainty about the path to follow was all the more remarkable given that Elizabeth was still in her childhood when both her uncle and her father made it clear, in their different ways, that the throne was an unwelcome burden.

For Edward VIII, choosing marriage to the divorcee Wallis Simpson, a royal vocation took second place to the consummation of personal happiness. For George VI, distressed almost to the point of social paralysis at having to succeed his older brother, fearful of public occasions that would expose his stam-



much higher. Striking a note of tragic candour, the evening before her visit to Amritsar the Queen said, while referring directly to the massacre, that "history cannot be rewritten, however much we might sometimes wish otherwise". But conscious, as always, of the symbolism of appearance, she dressed for the wreath-laying in saffron, the colour sacred to both Sikhs and Hindus. Thus attired, she was wrapped in one of the hues of India's national flag. That eloquent gesture, however, did not preclude an intruder, discovered in the Windsor Castle grounds on Christmas Day 2021 armed with a crossbow, declaring he wished to take revenge on the Queen for the catastrophe at Amritsar.

There have been times when the beckoning of history descended into set dressing, never more so than in the elaborate investiture of the 20-year-old Prince of Wales at Caernarfon Castle in July 1969. When his mother had voiced her solemn dedication to public service on her 21st birthday, that declaration seemed wholly natural and touching. But the oath sworn by her son, on his knees before the sovereign, to be her "liege man of life and limb and of earthly worship, and faith and truth I will bear unto thee to live and die against all manner of folks", seemed, to many, so much cod-medieval chivalry.

After centuries of abeyance, the ceremony had been reinvented largely by the fiendishly opportunistic Welsh prime minister David Lloyd George, in a time of brutal postwar economic hardship, to cash in politically on the then Prince of Wales's popularity. The modern 1969 event followed a programme of

What better antidote to the bleak austerity of rationed Britain than the wedding of Philip and Elizabeth?

mer and his shyness, becoming king was sacrificial torment. His smoking became heavier, his life shorter. When the imminent change of address from the relative cosiness of the Duke and Duchess of York's residence at 145 Piccadilly to Buckingham Palace became clear, the 10-year-old Elizabeth's reaction was "What... you mean for ever?"

But the shift from the charismatic vanity embodied in Edward VIII to the (relatively) plain domestic idyll of George VI, Queen Elizabeth and their two daughters, from dandy tailoring and French perfume to the whiff of damp dogs and sweating horses, came at the right time for Britain's efforts to keep its collective chin up during the stern trials of the war. It was family happiness as national service.

That image could also be helpfully exportable when Britain desperately needed allies. In October 1940, the 14-year-old Elizabeth made the American radio broadcast to evacuated British children in Canada, the US and elsewhere. "Thousands of you... have had to leave your homes and be separated from your fathers and mothers. My sister Margaret Rose and I feel so much for you as we know from experience what it means to be away from those we love most of all..."

That family romance continued after VE Day. Nineteen-forty-seven saw the coldest winter in living memory. What better antidote, then, to the bitter freeze and the bleak austerity of rationed Britain than the wedding of Philip and Elizabeth? A grateful popular press gorged on details of the multi-tier cake and silk wedding dress. When it was suggested that the dress was made from French "Lyons silk" — unpatriotic as well as staggeringly expensive — the Palace replied that though it might have been silk originating in China (not France), the yarn had been woven in Scotland and Kent.

The public hardly begrudged the extravagance. On the contrary, they ate it up. Wedding gifts from around the world, more than 2,000 of them, were put on display at St James's Palace; entry tickets a shilling a head. The day itself was filmed.

It did no harm that the couple were an advertisement not just for the monarchy but for the fable of the perfect conjugal fit: the no-nonsense, impossibly handsome, stateless and penniless prince wed to the smiling heiress presumptive. Other states in the raw post-war world had parades of tanks and artillery; Britain had a royal wedding and a coronation. The ceremony, had massed, synchronised gymnastics, human automata and roars of loyalty; Britain had knees-up and Lambeth Walks, street parties awash with beer and bright with bunting.

The three-way wiring between media,



ingly practical. In 1957, against the tide of uniformed alarm and apprehensiveness over the safety of the salk polio vaccine, the Queen led it to know that Prince Charles and Princess Anne, eight and six respectively, had been inoculated. She thus aligned herself with 200,000 British mothers who had accepted medical and scientific advice to vaccinate their children — the age group most at risk from contracting the terrible, life-long disabling disease.

In those years following the coronation — a final effluence of nostalgic imperial grandeur — the Queen was already looking not just forward but outward, beyond her immediate realm. For a while, the Commonwealth (founded in 1931) seemed to be a psychological salvage operation for the loss of empire, a wishfully imagined fantasy of comity, when the reality of empire's end in colonies like Kenya was that of war, torture and terror. But Elizabeth (somewhat like the surprisingly easy adjustment made by George III following the loss of America) genuinely believed in that "family of nations" and one, moreover, which went well beyond a chummy club of white dominions.

At the heart of the Queen's belief was the optimistic notion that, whatever misfortunes, misdeeds and catastrophes had happened in the days of empire, there was in fact some sort of surviving residual affinity, flowing from shared history (even when that history might be one of brutal exploitation) between the former rulers and the ruled. Accepting, even welcoming, the independence of former colonies, not grudgingly but enthusiastically, meant that when Elizabeth spoke of a Britain that might be the enabler and mentor of a multiracial and democratic global community, she was not called out by those who had led the battle for independence as a shameless hypocrite.

The Queen's genuine passion for Commonwealth equity more than once put her on the side of racial justice, sometimes to the discomfort of British governments. It was one thing for her to go along with Harold Wilson's insistence that white Rhodesian resistance to independence with democracy was in effect an act of disloyalty not just to Her Majesty's government but to Her Majesty. But when she seemed to be as warm in her support for sanctions against apartheid South Africa as Thatcher was cool, the Queen was held by some to be un-

ceptably breaking the accepted boundaries of the royal prerogative.

When, even more startlingly, the Queen used her Christmas broadcast in 1983 to insist that the great affliction of the modern world was the shocking inequity between developed and undeveloped economies, Enoch Powell criticised her for appearing to have "the affairs and interests in other continents as much, or more, at heart than those of her own people".

But it was the Queen's forthright willingness to decentre the Commonwealth which made possible moments of genuine and profound reconciliation such as the warm meeting with Nelson Mandela in 1991, and which saw many former colonies that had exited the organisation in alienation return to membership. All this had implications of course for an increasingly multiracial United Kingdom. There is another side to the story, of course: take the refusal of courtiers to contemplate more diverse appointments in the 1950s and 1960s. But if the country ever manages to get over its post-imperial hangover and become an unapologetic, unresentful plural society, the Queen's own example will have had much to do with that welcome metamorphosis.

For a monarch whose childhood tutors were determined she should never be confused with an intellectual — something they assumed was unbecoming in a queen — she has thought much about history and has spoken sensitively about it. Steeped in history, deriving her position from its prescription, Elizabeth II was never its prisoner. Some of the most affecting moments of her reign involved dramatic gestures of remembrance and expressions of tragic regret.

In October 1971, during a visit to India, the Queen bowed her head — as she had done at the funeral of Princess Diana barely a month earlier — and laid a wreath at the memorial site of one of the most horrific atrocities in imperial history: the Jallianwala Bagh site in Amritsar where, in 1919, General Reginald Dyer had 50 soldiers shoot directly into a crowd of peaceful protesters and people celebrating the Sikh festival of Vaisakhi. For the continuous 10-minute slaughter, at least 379 lay dead and more than 1,000 wounded. Some estimates put the number of casualties



Clockwise from top: the Queen in Pakistan in 1963; the coronation in 1953, a spectacular drama watched by millions on television; the young princess at Glamis Castle, Scotland, in 1931, five years before her father reluctantly assumed the throne; the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and Philip Mountbatten in 1947; with her father George VI in 1942; at the Royal Windsor Horse Show in 1968

studiously intensive Welshification for Prince Charles, including a term at the University of Aberystwyth, where he acquired an acceptable smattering of the admittedly challenging language.

While the spectacle was watched by millions on television, there were mixed feelings in the principality itself (not least because it seemed to evoke memories of the conquest of Wales by the English king Edward I, also the builder of a chain of castles). On the evening before the investiture, a bomb that two nationalists had meant to plant at Abergele exploded prematurely, killing both of them.

But when the Queen opened her speech at the state banquet in Dublin Castle in May 2011 in Irish, a *Uachtarán agna a chárde*, the effect was exactly the opposite of what had happened in Wales: a moment of conciliation, coloured with a kind of brave humility on

If the country ever gets over its post-imperial hangover, her own example will have had much to do with that

the part of the Queen and deeply stained with the marks of inescapable historical truths. The opening had been the idea of the Irish president Mary McAleese, who had issued the invitation, only, of course, for it to be instantly vetoed by the Palace guardians. So it was extraordinary when they were overruled by the Queen herself. Disarming though the rhetorical gesture was, and favourably taken back as Irish opinion was, when earlier she had bowed her head at Dublin's Garden of Remembrance honouring "all those who gave their lives in the cause of Irish freedom", nothing could quite have prepared Ireland — or Britain — for a speech that was the most eloquently thoughtful of her entire reign.

That the Queen of the United Kingdom delivered it was a healing astonishment, the capstone on the Good Friday Agreement. And only she could have done so in good faith precisely because her dignity and authority were free from any suspicion of political advantage.

Referring to the visit to the Garden of Remembrance and in an inspired formulation possibly suggested by the press secretary, Alisa Anderson, with whom she wrote the speech, the Queen spoke of "the complexity of our history... of being able to bow to the past, but not be bound by it". She went on to give full measure to the dark side of Anglo-Irish history. "It is a sad and regrettable reality that through history our islands have experienced more than their fair share of heartache, turbulence and loss."

When she said "these events have touched us all, many of us personally, and are a painful legacy", everyone who knew she was remembering Prince Philip's uncle Dickie Mountbatten, murdered by a Provisional IRA bomb on a fishing trip off the Irish coast in the summer of 1979. But the Queen made a connection with everyone else in Ireland, north and south, who had been similarly stricken. "We can never forget those who have died or been injured, and their families. To all those who have suffered as a consequence of our troubled past I extend my sincere thoughts and deep sympathy. With the benefit of historical hindsight we can all see things which we would wish had been done differently or not at all."

It was not exactly an apology. But it was certainly a reckoning. And being the

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The Queen

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Queen, and wanting to celebrate the miracle of the Good Friday Agreement, she then spoke warmly and positively. "It is also true that no one who looked to the future over the past centuries could have imagined the strength of the bonds that are now in place between the governments and the people of our two nations... What were once only hopes for the future have now come to pass: it is almost exactly 13 years since the overwhelming majority of people in Ireland and Northern Ireland voted in favour of the agreement signed on Good Friday 1998."

The power of the Dublin speech was a reminder, perhaps, of Lord Altrincham by John Grigg, who as Lord Altrincham (and therefore all the more scandalous for the popular and conservative press) had, in the 1950s, been one of the sharp-critics of her hidebound horse-and-



bound world and the narrowness of her education, witheringly comparing the Queen to the captain of a school hockey team. In 1977, the year of her silver jubilee, Grigg sounded an entirely different note: "Her bearing is both simple and majestic — no actress could possibly match it . . . These outward graces reflect the exceptionally steady character which is her most important quality . . . She behaves decently because she is decent, and it is almost impossible to imagine her causing pain to anyone close to her for the sake of gratifying a selfish impulse."

But 20 years later, at the nadir of the reign, there were many who thought the Queen had, however unintentionally, caused pain: to the memory of her dead daughter-in-law, perhaps to her grandchildren, and by the withholding of her presence, and the failure to fly a half-mast flag at the palace immediately afterwards, to the great wash of grieving Britons.

It was at that moment that the original vision of the royals acting as an exemplary first family, the image projected in Richard Cawston's 1969 BBC observational documentary, was all but buried under an avalanche of marital scandals and collapses. The damage was done not just by the disastrous mismatch of Charles and Diana. The marriages of three of the four children of the Queen and Prince Philip had foundered and had become, as she probably felt, the indecent matter of public sensation.

It was in some ways, a Faustian payoff for the fateful but inevitable decision to wire together press, public and crown. The Cawston *Royal Family* film seemed to demonstrate the active engagement was possible without compromising the Firm and its brand. But in the end it led to overconfidence that the Palace and the Queen could manage the outward face of the monarchy — especially Diana's very photogenic persona — rather than risk the tabloid

With any other monarch, the mishandling of Diana's death might have finished off the institution

media running away with whatever sold papers or drew audiences. Royal weddings, above all that royal wedding in 1981, seemed proof positive of the wisdom of that engagement.

What could possibly go wrong? The wedding at St Paul's with the princess clad in a vast, frothy meringue of a dress, and the wedding rituals, at once commonplace and magnificently arcane, must all have seemed a throwback to the marriage of Elizabeth and Philip 34 years earlier, the event that had launched the glamorisation of the British monarchy. That, too, had been food and drink in a lean and hungry time, and the docile press of the period was duly grateful for any rationed titbits graciously thrown its way: an off-coupon-book treat.

But Margaret Thatcher's country was very different from Clement Attlee's. In the combative, punk-pierced, snarling Britain of the 1980s, deference was over, and as Diana emerged from the Sloane chrysalis to become the sensual superstar with the popular touch, everything that had looked charmingly useful for the royal brand seemed to have escaped from its allotted billing. The shy look from beneath the fringe, the endless finishing-school legs, the enormous doe eyes, morphed from gauche and winning simplicity into flashlight fodder. Faced with a runaway mass cult, the rest of the royals blinked, balked or sulked.

For its part, the press scented something faintly amiss. There was definitely something odd about Charles declaring to television cameras that yes, he was in love, "whatever in love means". At that point, the comment seemed jarringly gnomish, though it was put down to royal aversion to gush. But it took not very much time for it to become apparent,



Clockwise from main: smiling in the rain in Manchester in 1968; at the investiture of the then Prince of Wales at Caernarfon Castle in 1969; the 1981 wedding of Charles to Diana Spencer; the Queen in February, at the start of her platinum jubilee year; surrounded by crowds in the Midlands in 1968; filming Richard Cawston's 1969 'Royal Family'

even before the rumours and the gossip rose on an incoming surf of toxic foam, that the Wales marriage might go dramatically off-script. It occurred to resourceful editors that the film noir beginning to play might pay even more dividends than the fairy tale. Thus began the fateful hounding.

For a while, the arrival of Princes William and Harry, along with winning pictures of the growing boys, postponed the disintegration of the royal family idyll. But Andrew Morton's *Diana: Her True Story*, published in 1992 and written from conversations with the princess, along with sources she had told to co-operate with the author — the grim epic of adultery, bulimia, self-harm, a lost soul

grappling with her husband's affair, wandering the halls of Kensington Palace, unsupported, as she believed, by the royal family — detonated whatever was left of the myth. Duelling television interviews, a disastrous one given by Prince Charles to Jonathan Dimbleby, and Martin Bashir's startling conversation with Diana, finished off the remains. A blazing fire at Windsor Castle and the publication of photographs of a topless Duchess of York with an American businessman piled the calamities sky high. But the Charles-Diana debacle also brought to the fore the Queen's hard-headed side, pressing for a divorce that would at least clarify, somewhat, the terms on which princes and princesses could be separated without destroying the whole institution.

That exercise in damage limitation, seemingly successful when Diana withdrew from public engagements, was undone by the catastrophe of her death on the last day of August 1997. Immured in their Balmoral summer, the Queen — and especially Prince Philip — made the mistake of thinking that William and Harry would be best protected from trauma by isolating them from the tidal wave of grief that was drowning the country.

It took a week, and co-operation between Charles and the new prime minister Tony Blair, to bring the royal family back to London, display the half-mast flag of mourning, and for the Queen to address the nation "as your Queen and as a grandmother" from the balcony of Buckingham Palace beneath which huge crowds were still lost to deep distress. Diana was, the Queen said, "an exceptional and gifted human being".



When she added that "there are lessons to be drawn from her life and from the extraordinary and moving reaction to her death", most of the country, despite the vagueness of what those lessons might be, was prepared to give the Queen the benefit of the doubt.

In any other country, with any other monarch, the mishandling of the aftermath of Diana's death, including the brutally poignant spectacle of the two boys walking behind their mother's coffin, might have finished off the institution. But when, in his funeral eulogy in Westminster Abbey, Diana's brother Charles pointedly contrasted the monarchy with his sister's authentic nobility, the polemic hit a national nerve, and not in a good way. Monarch and monarchy recovered their footing; Prince Charles



made official the relationship with the person who had made his marriage to Diana "crowded", as she put it, by marrying Camilla Parker Bowles in Windsor Guildhall.

But the Diana tragedy has cast long shadows, not least in Prince Harry's replay of some of the chapters in his mother's life: separating himself, along with his wife Meghan Markle, from the royal vocation and public service and being willing to use the glare of public media to voice grievance at the stony indifference of the Palace Brand.

But the Queen went on, fulfilling to the very end the promise she made in South Africa in 1947, sustaining the combination of majesty and personal human sympathy that made her reign durable against all the odds. The shocking scandal of Prince Andrew's association with a convicted sex offender only seemed to throw her fundamental goodness into sharper relief. If anything, in old age, the temper of her speeches became warmer and more informal. On Christmas Day 2021 she spoke to the country for the first time as a widow, not clothed in the dark weeds of inconsolable sorrow as Queen Victoria had been,

The Queen went on, fulfilling to the very end the promise she made in South Africa in 1947

but with a smile of remembrance, sweetly conjuring up the "mischievous twinkle" in the eyes that she'd seen when the first encountered Philip and which never left him. As usual the Queen managed to personalise the moment. In a time of pandemic isolations and family separations she reflected — as she had, aged 14 when broadcasting to evacuated children — on Christmas as, above all, a time of childhood wonder. Thus the old Queen closed the arc with the young princess, the "heir presumptive" of 145 Piccadilly.

What is it that a nation wants from its royal personification? Expectations that its symbolic head of state can both somehow rise above the abrasions and aggravations of contemporary life and yet instinctively understand and connect with the common lot? A person who emerges from the flow of the past, but who extends a guiding hand to the future? Perhaps someone who, amid the drift and drone of the digital world, represents anchorage and substance; someone impervious to hustle, embodying integrity; sticking selflessly, come what may, to promises long made, to the job at hand?

I saw that person on a rain-lashed day in June 2012, aboard the royal barge as crowds lined the banks of the Thames, determined, in a deeply British way, to celebrate the diamond jubilee, the biting cold and the drenching notwithstanding. Hundreds of boats, small craft, barges and launches, rowers and scullers, crowding the river as they would have done in the time of the first Elizabeth. And multitudes waving and shouting, singing and clapping as the foul weather got fouler.

There she stood beside Prince Philip, ostensibly sheltered by a canopy. But by mid-afternoon the rain was sweeping in almost horizontally, forming puddles on the throne-like chairs meant to give the couple a reprieve. So they stood and stood in the bone-cutting downpour, waving and for the most part smiling. The next day Philip was in hospital while another huge and ecstatic crowd gathered for a show in front of the palace. And at some point during the relentless drizzling, beneath the leaden London sky, I asked myself, "Why does she do it?", before answering right away, "because she said she would, and because, really, what would Britain be, without her?"

Simon Schama is an FT contributing editor

Life

Lunch with the FT William MacAskill

'If you asked for my top 20 list of changes,



probably bigger in Scandinavia than anywhere else (on an absolute basis, San Francisco's Bay Area and London are the biggest areas of support). He thinks this is because EA embraces both government and private-sector actors as an engine of reform, and recognises that the latter must be involved when tackling large-scale problems.

his leads us to his book. When the EA movement emerged a decade ago, its adherents worried primarily about immediate real-world problems, such as

Overthrowing capitalism isn't one of them'

The Oxford philosopher's unsentimental approach to altruism has won him legions of followers – including Elon Musk. Over seitan skewers in New York, he talks to Gillian Tett about giving away his earnings, why he fears bioweapons more than nukes, and how we can save the world – one small act at a time

In normal times, it would seem bizarre to sit at lunch in midtown Manhattan calculating the precise probability of nuclear destruction with a philosopher. But these are not normal times. Russian television pundits are pontificating about launching nuclear weapons against Britain. Fighting continues around the Zaporizhzhia nuclear plant in Ukraine. China has been conducting military exercises around Taiwan. And my companion, William MacAskill, is not the usual academic: a gap-toothed Glaswegian, he became associate professor in philosophy at Oxford at the tender age of 28, and seven years later is now an intellectual celebrity – partly because Silicon Valley titans such as Elon Musk have tweeted their support. "The world is a darker place than it was just five years ago," MacAskill tells me. "I think the risk of nuclear war now is one in three in my lifetime... but I am even more worried about engineered bioweapons. And I think there is a 50-50 chance of a pandemic in the next decade which kills more than 10m."

But what is even more striking than these dark probabilities is that MacAskill seems calm, if not cheerful. He argues we should not stand passive in the face of these threats; instead he implores us to take practical action to improve the world, for both current and future generations, using hard-headed, rational analysis to work out the most effective steps. Moreover, he is convinced that technological breakthroughs mean that today is the right moment to get started. It is a message that has earned support not just from the likes of Musk, but also from 30-year-old crypto tycoon Sam Bankman-Fried, Facebook co-founder Dustin Moskowitz and – most importantly – from the 7400 (mostly youngish) community members who have signed up to embrace his "Effective Altruism" pledge to donate time and money to pursue a moral path. But is this just a feel-good cult? Can it really give a new generation hope – and drive change? I arrive at a budget Asian diner on First Avenue to find out. It is a spartan place, with bare wooden walls, basic tables, a laminated menu and background muzak played on an endless loop. It seems to suit MacAskill well; he sports a simple T-shirt, shorts, trainers and a haircut that vaguely reminds me of Harry Potter. If I didn't know better, I might think that he was one of the students in his movement, not its professor – not least because he peppers his



speech with "like", "yeah" and "um". Why did he pick the restaurant? He explains that he is vegetarian and is currently staying around the corner with his "crew" – publicists for his new book, *What We Owe the Future*, and others supporting the EA venture and the research behind the book's idea of "long-termism". "Is he vegan?" "Um, I was for a year, but stopped after I gave a talk for the Oxford Vegan Society and quantified the impact of cutting out animal products." That seems odd; I know from my own teenagers that kids with a strong moral conscience usually become more, not less, unhappy about eating animal products after meeting vegans. What went wrong? The answer lies in MacAskill's pragmatic approach to "morality", which is all about cost-benefit analysis and opportunity costs. Before talking to the vegans, he studied the impact of consuming animal products and concluded that cutting out items such as milk has only a negligible impact on carbon emissions or animal welfare – at least compared with other potential actions, such as making donations to clean energy charities or animal welfare groups. The key phrase here, however, is "compared with". MacAskill is ruthlessly focused on efficacy and the moral return on his investment of time and money. To him, "moral" is not a vaguely fuzzy idea, but something that should be debated with the type of precision more normally associated with a Power-Point-wielding McKinsey consultant. "If you think about carbon emissions, and whether you fly or eat meat, the impacts of our consumption decisions are very small compared to making targeted donations to charities [fighting climate change]," he says. "The average British person produces, like, seven to 10 tonnes of CO₂ a year, and even if that were zero, it does 100 times more good to donate £1,000 a year to the task force for clean air. The reason is that my life is not optimised for carbon emissions but the Clean Air Task Force is optimised to reduce them."

So what will he have for lunch? A waitress hands him a laminated menu, where all the dishes are vegan and under \$20. He looks nervous. "I am so used to being in restaurants where I only have one option, so with these choices it's, um, like, um, yeah." Eventually he selects a seitan skewer and vegan pad thai. I order the latter too, and a Vietnamese summer roll. There is no alcohol, we instead choose New York's finest tap water (for him) and an iced coffee with soy milk (for me). Would he prefer us to buy a sandwich – and ask the FT to donate the difference to charity, I ask. Would that be a more effective way to be moral? He laughs. "When I was younger, gratuitous

luxury spending and meat consumption would really get to me, and it does still sometimes. But the question for me now is, is this emotional reaction useful or not?" I conclude cheap pad thai is moral. The starters arrive. The summer roll is delicately delicious and MacAskill declares that his seitan skewer "is, like, really great!". He has always had simple tastes. The child of two middle-class professional parents, he grew up in a comfortable but modest household in Glasgow and decided at a young age that he desperately wanted to commit his life, and formidable intellect, to helping others. Why didn't he do this by, say, trying to cure cancer, I ask. Ambitious, bright kids in his circle often wanted to be doctors. MacAskill shrugs. "Cancer is one of the most heavily funded and resourced areas of medical research and the benefits of curing cancer are smaller than one might think – if we eradicated all cancers today, global life expectancy would increase by two years," he says, sounding like a walking Wikipedia. "For me, I think a better use of my time is to focus on more neglected areas and [champion] the application of good philosophical ideas on the world." He shares these ideas with students and other admirers via lectures, books and the Centre for Effective Altruism. It can be a lucrative business in an age when top-ranked public intellectuals are in hot demand. But MacAskill has decided he will spend only £26,000 a year on himself, "after tax and including savings". He gives everything else to charity, after carefully analysing where his money can have the most transformational impact. This is normally found in widely neglected, underfunded areas rather than more fashionable causes. "I have luxuries, too," he says. "I bought an electronic keyboard and speaker during Covid-19... and went on a surfing holiday in Newquay [Cornwall]. But I want to use my money for donations."

His philosophy does not demand quite so much austerity from others. People who sign the main EA pledge are asked to give at least 10 per cent of their own income to charity – akin to the "tithing" principle championed by the Christian church (and found, in various forms, in other religions). They are also expected to pursue "moral" career paths; a key theme of EA is that the typical career involves 80,000 hours of work and so we need to work out how to "invest" this wisely, be that through activism, government work, research or anything else. But EA also embraces the concept of "earn to give" – taking high-paying jobs to generate more money for donations. MacAskill's friend Bankman-Fried is one poster child for this. He has apparently always cared deeply about animal rights and so, a few years ago, "Sam asked charities if they would rather he worked for them as an employee or work for donations," MacAskill recalls. "They said donate!" So Bankman-Fried created a foundation, with MacAskill's help. Doesn't this approach have big moral risks? Is it not justifying extreme wealth – or giving graduates a moral licence to choose high-earning careers? After all, leftwing writers such as Anand Giridharadas have slammed America's focus on philanthropy, arguing that it is used as a way to avoid more radical reform of an unequal system. And in countries such as Sweden, people usually expect the government to improve society using taxpayers' funds – not philanthropists who get tax breaks for their donations. "I never said everyone should earn to give – it probably only applies to 10 per cent of people perhaps," MacAskill hastily explains. "Others should work as researchers or in government or as activists. There is an enormous amount I hate around the current system. But if you asked me for my top-20 list of changes I want to see in the world, then overthrowing capitalism is not one of them. There are much bigger issues."

'We have just lived through 70 years of peace [without nuclear war] but that was kind of lucky'

But how do graduates know what careers deserve 80,000 hours of their time, and when it is "moral" to earn to give? MacAskill says that the case for "deliberately earning to give is high in the field of global health and development since there are huge overhangs in terms of things we know work really well but don't have the money for, like, [handing out mosquito] bed nets". He would love to see lots of Bill Gates, say. But in the field of artificial intelligence, "that is an idea bottleneck, not a money bottleneck" – so the real priority is for people to take jobs in government regulation or laboratories, to pursue change through practical action. The key message, then, is that there are many ways to be "moral" – even if you are a former Facebook founder or crypto gazillionaire. Which, of course, boosts EA's appeal. Our starters vanish and two plates of pad thai arrive. The food is as unpretentious as the prices, but tasty. MacAskill prods a noodle and tells me that, on a per capita basis, the EA movement is



What clothes are worth investing in?

As a new autumn season approaches, what are the clothes worth investing more money in? And where I can save? Tailoring is the area where I recommend spending the most you can afford because good cut, design and fabric are essential for it to last. Fabric needs to be properly fitted, seams strengthened and lined. A good suit requires quality fabric that

I own a couple of Arket suits – the jackets are fairly well cut but I don't wear the trousers without the jackets; the fit simply isn't good enough. Again, the hopsack suit is a great choice (£149, arket.com). Next, coats. Coats matter, as they are often the first thing people see. Save up for a good-quality or designer-level brand, or use Depop, Vestiaire Collective or H&M for a preloved gem. If you choose classic shapes such as

I truly believe it's worth buying jeans from the jeans specialists – the designer denim brands. Yes, they are expensive but they spend all their time honing their fits, pocket shapes, fabrications and so on. I rate Mother, Citizens of Humanity, Agolde and Slvrlake. This straight-leg model from Slvrlake (right) is a year-round shape. Knits are also worth nurturing



separated by hand. Look at Aethel, Alabaste, Lisa Yang and Le Kasha. I rarely buy cashmere full price but it's worth it for Margaret Howell – I have owned some pieces of hers for more than 10 years. What not to splash out on? Don't waste cash on white T-shirts or shirts, just go to Cos, Uniqlo, Colourful Standard, Arket or Jigsaw for white tops and shirts. The issue, and anomalies for this is

Style



Anna Berkeley

Ask a stylist

a good suit requires quality fabric... doesn't bag at the seat (aka bum) or knees instantly... it has to have some spring and a suppleness to it. A case in point is Paul Smith suiting. I have a purple suit I've worn multiple times for styling (which is a little like an olympic sport - lots of reaching, carrying, bending, stretching, kneeling and running around) and it genuinely does not crease. I'd recommend Paul Smith's wool hopsack - a brilliant weave that is light, breathable and anti-wrinkle. The label's punchy pink suit with slim trouser (£235, paulsmith.com) can be worn separately and works well with burgundy, navy, charcoal or white (blazer is £440, paulsmith.com). There is a wide-leg trouser suit in lilac if you're curvier. If your budget allows, then go bespoke - The Deck on Savile Row is amazing (prices from £2,550). For off the peg, I recommend Joseph, Theory, Stella McCartney, Victoria Beckham, Cefin and, on the high street, Arket.

Textural coats can easily double up as evening coats, adding interest and fun. I own a Stan Studio style in fake shearling. It feels light but it still kept me toasty in New York in December - no mean feat (£624, shopbop.com).

cashmere is worth the money (but always freeze new additions - whether they are from a store or second-hand - for a couple of days in a plastic bag to kill off any moths). The softer knits are the most expensive, as you get only a small amount of the silkiest hair under the chin per goat and it tends to be



Clockwise: Max Mara coat, £2,155, gb.maxmara.com; Nanushka coat, £650, brownsfashion.com; Navy Grey Jumper, £260, navygrey.co; SlvrLake + Net Sustain jeans, £505, net-a-porter.com

unsavoury, is that a white top doesn't wear well. Until someone works out how not to ruin the underarms, seriously, don't bother. I love a sock and a sandal but I have had little longevity from expensive socks. They feel nicer, they look good but they always go at the heel and the toe. Let's end with shoes. Controversially, it seems to me that although designer shoes are undoubtedly more beautiful, they are not necessarily more wearable than a cheaper option. But if you do want to splash out, a good way to test the soundness of your investment is to wear new shoes on the carpet for at least two hours once home to see if they really are comfortable. Anna Berkeley is a London-based personal stylist and style columnist for FT Weekend. Have a question for Anna? Email her at anna.berkeley@ft.com

The art of dress

Costume Performance artists have long used garments to transform their bodies into protagonists. By Helen Barrett



Carolee Schneemann in 1962. Photograph: Len Chapiro/Carolee Schneemann Foundation/DACS

Carolee Schneemann was a deeply uninhibited performance artist. Often, she did not bother to wear clothes at all. But the costumes she did design, make and wear allowed her to explore serious ideas about sexual liberation and consent with ingenuity and joy. Schneemann, who died in 2019 at the age of 79, is the focus of one of two new exhibitions exploring the work of leading female performance artists of the 20th century. Together, they show how some of the genre's most radical practitioners used costumes to turn their bodies into protagonists.

costume was less playful and overtly sexual than Schneemann's. But she was just as concerned with emancipation. In the 1970s, Bucher began clothing herself in "architectural body skimmings" - costumes made from the negative latex impressions of buildings with significance: her parents' home, a Swiss psychiatric hospital. She covered walls with gauze and liquid latex, let it dry, then peeled it off and turned it into costumes that could be worn like wings and shed as skin. In part, she intended to confront what she saw as the patriarchal structures embedded in those buildings. The latex-peeling process demanded enormous effort, as film footage of the artist at work shows. "It's a very strong and highly physically driven process," says Jana Baumann, the exhibition's curator. "This peeling is a gesture of liberation. It reflected how women were treated in society, and she's focused on absence and presence." Bucher's "Body Shells", made in 1972, are even more ambitious: oversized, wearable abstract sculptures with glittering surfaces. In the accompanying video, they dance, sway and turn on Venice Beach. Bucher's archive is fragile - some costumes have decayed beyond repair. "I'm not sure if this exhibition could happen again in 40 years," says Baumann. Performance art lives on - most obviously in Lady Gaga's public appearances. The singer's 16-minute choreographed entrance to the 2019 Met Gala, involving three costume changes down



Heidi Bucher and her sons with 'Body shells', 1972 - The Estate of Heidi Bucher

to a sparkling bikini, for example, owed something to Schneemann. Schneemann and Bucher's legacy is also evident among today's female artists, for example in American sculptor Hannah Levy's work with latex, and in costumed performances by Mariechen Danz, the German-Irish multidisciplinary artist. Danz, who was born in 1980, often makes work dealing with bodily distortions. She has designed, sewn and hand-dyed many of her own costumes - recently surreal, foamy, oversized suits. Costumes, she says, "allow me to take a position, to communicate and carry me... I'm not performing as me." Schneemann, Bucher and a previous generation of performance artists, she believes, would have been similarly liberated by costumes. Both artists were "vital, vital engagements" to Danz's practice. "They were dealing so inherently with the body." Some argue that the point of performance art is that it happened in a moment without documentation, but the costumes both Schneemann and Bucher left behind are tangible evidence that the events happened. They remind us that performance art could not only be deadly serious, but also transgressive and full of joy.



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Travel

the place I visited most fre-

quently during the first Covid lockdown – in my head, that is – was the Costa Brava. The year before the pandemic, my family and I spent a fortnight just outside Cadaqués, a whitewashed seaside town backed by a wild national park on the easternmost point of mainland Spain, where Salvador Dalí had a home. As our local parks turned to dust that pandemic summer, I longed for Cadaqués's saturated Mediterranean blues, vivid pine greens, and the bright whites of its 17th-century buildings, which turned pink as the sun dipped. Whenever I stirred pesto into pasta or put yet another chicken pie in the oven, I thought of the fresh anchovies and marbled shards of *jamon ibérico* we'd eaten there.

The Catalan coast is where Spain's package holiday industry was born, an attempt, under Franco, to pull the country out of its postwar economic turmoil; Brits flew to Perpignan in France and were bussed over the border from the 1950s. But while you'll find plenty of high-rises in places like Lloret de Mar, the bays to the north remain unspoilt.

I heard about Begur, a medieval hill-top town south of Cadaqués, from a friend one lockdown afternoon in the playground. Her grandparents had bought a villa between the town and Sa Riera beach in the mid-seventies when – as a faded photo she showed me later



attested – the hillside and coast were completely devoid of development, and she'd been coming since she was a child. With its cluster of pebbly beaches and ample opportunities for teenage high jinks (we'd be travelling with our 17-year-old, as well as our seven- and six-year-olds), Begur sounded like a great alternative to Cadaqués. We decided to crash my friend's August holiday and book into El Convent, a hotel in a former convent close enough to her villa for our sons – primary school friends – to shout to each other across the hillside.

Our first stop in Begur, a five-minute drive from our hotel, was the castle that tops the town, accessed via narrow streets so steep that their inhabitants offered the feudal lords a refreshing glass of water whenever they passed. Originally built in the 11th century, sold to the town in 1607, and sacked by the English during the Napoleonic wars, its hefty crenellations are all that remain, but the views of medieval terracotta roofs and stone watchtowers, Playa Sa Riera and the inky Mediterranean beyond, made it well worth a visit.

Like Cadaqués, Begur has links with Cuba: local émigrés made their fortunes exporting tobacco, flour and cork, and built grand, stucco-adorned houses with wrought-iron balconies and cloistered gardens on their return. Now, the streets are lined with boutiques selling waffly cotton dresses and silver jewellery, townhouse hotels and a range of fine dining and family-friendly restaurants.

After dinner at La Pizzetta, a vast courtyard spot turning out regional classics such as confit duck with pears as well as tasty pizzas, we made our way to the town square, where a brass band was tuning up for the Saturday *sardana* dancing session. I was expecting costumes, but it was a low-key affair: townspeople, some wearing backpacks, gathered into ring-o-roses, raising linked hands above their heads, and shuffling neatly back and forth. It reminded me of a sedate Scottish reel, and I was tempted to join in, but my son, predicting, probably justifiably, that I'd make a spectacle of myself, barricaded my route to the dance floor. I hung back with my salted caramel ice cream and tapped my foot instead.

We were charmed by Begur and returned several times that week, as well as driving inland to the fortified medieval villages of Palau-Satjà and Peratlada, built from the stone that was dug to make its moat. But it was the area's coastline we'd come for. Playa Sa Riera is



Spain | With a medieval centre and surrounded by unspoilt coast, the hilltop town of Begur is an ideal location for a late escape, writes *Kate Maxwell*



a 15-minute walk from El Convent hotel, which, with its tranquil atmosphere, small pool, pretty terrace restaurant and excellent breakfast buffet (I was soon copying the Spanish with my *DIY pan con tomate*, toasting bread rolls and spreading them with olive oil and squashed tomato), suited our party perfectly.

You pass two new developments on the walk – Talaia Plaza Ecoresort, a collection of densely packed cabins whose eco credentials seemed, when I toured it, scant at best, and between it and a dilapidated villa where Franco is rumoured to have stayed, a sprawling apartment complex, unfinished due to persistent objections by the local community. Fortunately, the only recent addition to Sa Riera beach – a generous sweep of sand with sparkling water and waves just high enough to excite the six- and seven-year-olds – is La Gandula bar. Its Baleric beats allowed us to rem-

inisce about pre-children summers past, while keeping one eye on our offspring as they buried each other up to their necks in the sand. The hillside behind Sa Riera is now speckled with Grand Designs, glass-and-steel boxes and curvaceous stone two-storeys, many of which are owned by Barcelonian weekenders, and a path winds around the craggy yellow rocks to the left and right of the beach. One morning, I set my alarm for seven and joined a couple of other early risers for a swim at a tiny cove. Afterwards, I followed the path, shaded by pine trees, north. As I gazed at the intense greens of

The beaches are empty in September and early October, when the weather and water are still warm

the trees and the turquoises of the sea and sky beyond, I realised I'd found the colours I'd craved during lockdown.

As far as beaches go, you're spoiled for choice in this part of the Costa Brava, and none we visited was more than a 20-minute drive from El Convent. Many are small and were busy in August but, I was told, are empty in September and early October when the weather and water are still warm, and most hotels and restaurants continue to open. If I had to pick favourites, I'd choose the small port of Sa Tuna, a gravelly cove wrapped by a jumble of houses with green shutters, for aesthetics, and white-sand Aiguà Blava for food. It was here, at a rainbow-striped table on the terrace of Toc al Mar, that we had the best meal of the trip: creamy gazpacho in chilled glasses, a sophisticated take on *patatas bravas* – hasselback potatoes dotted with spicy aioli and squid ink sauce – and *fideuà*, a type of paella made with short noodles, plus clams, mussels and cuttlefish, which had a flavour and texture far deeper than its cousin's.

That evening, my husband and I sneaked off for another memorable meal, at Hostal Sa Rascassa, which also overlooks the sea. The owner, Oscar Górriz, left his career in advertising in

Clockwise from top: Hostal Sa Rascassa overlooks a rocky cove; tomato salad at the restaurant; Begur's grand houses have cloistered gardens; diners at Hostal Sa Rascassa; a view of El Convent hotel; the steep streets up to the castle; swimming at Cala de l'illa Roja. Photographed for the FT by Anna Huix

Barcelona to open the five-bedroom hotel and restaurant 20 years ago, and serves "local food treated in a respectful way – the kind people want to eat on holiday". In our case, this included broad beans with squid, steamed clams, and a strasciatella and tomato salad, simple dishes that went perfectly with the crisp bottle of Empordà white wine Górriz recommended and the laidback vibe of the restaurant's leafy courtyard, a white umbrella shading each table and dogs snoozing underneath.

Having stuck – apart from a couple of kayak and paddle-board forays – to



land all week, I was keen to see the area's rugged coast from a distance and arranged a boat trip for our last day. The jagged, golden rocks, topped with patchy pine forests, looked even more dramatic from our 40-foot yacht. As we sailed south, our captain, Xavier Crosas, one of those rare souls that radiates so much joy and equanimity you want to hug him, pointed out the cliff-top eeries of Barcelonian business leaders and caves cleft deep into the hillside. He dropped anchor a wavy swim from some jumping rocks, and my stepson climbed and then dive-bombed from them while we shuddered on the jetty below.

As we returned to Port Fornells, munching anchovy-stuffed olives and drinking cans of Estrella on the way, Xavi and I chatted about his meditation practice. Whatever he was doing, and his fingers, it seemed, were in many pies, his *modus operandi* was "in the moment". Never allow your mind to drift elsewhere, he cautioned: "When you're making the tortilla, you should be making the tortilla." It became the catchphrase of the holiday. Still, as I took another look at those Costa Brava colours and contemplated a last long lunch, it occurred to me that something other than daily meditation might account for the profound sense of contentment Xavi exuded, and that, once again, it had left its mark on me.

Kate Maxwell is the author of *Hush* (Little, Brown)

DETAILS

Where to stay
El Convent Hotel (elconventbegur.com; doubles from €330) has 28 simple rooms, including four adjoining chalet rooms in the grounds for families, a restaurant serving Catalan classics and a small pool. Just above Port Fornells, Hotel Aiguà Blava (hotelaguablava.com; doubles from about €170) has a slightly more formal atmosphere, a large pool, tennis court and a terrace restaurant.

Where to eat
For beachside dining, Toc al Mar (tocalmar.cat) is hard to beat – it serves only wild local fish and grills them over oak, as well as Catalan specialties. Just 100m from a swimming cove, Hostal Sa Rascassa (hostalsarascassa.com) is a delightful restaurant with five rooms that share a terrace.

Watersports
Paddle-boards and kayaks can be rented at most beaches. Kate Maxwell's boat trip was hosted by Aiguà Blava Experience (aguablavaexperience.com; half-day motor and sailing trips, with a skipper, cost from €900).

More Mediterranean escapes for autumn

Sicily Southeastern Sicily has glorious baroque towns, long unspoilt beaches and very hot summers. In August, Syracuse recorded a provisional European record of 48.8C. By October the heat should finally have subsided though the sea remains warm and the evenings balmy enough to stroll through Noto's early 18th-century streets eating a mulberry and almond *granita*. Newly opened this year, Il San Corrado di Noto (il sancorradodivnoto.com) is a former

masseria (farmhouse) surrounded by citrus and olive groves, now converted into a peaceful retreat of 26 suites (from €90 per night) and six villas. Just outside Noto, I Lentischì, a stylish villa for seven with a 14-metre pool, costs from £3,696 per week in October with The Thinking Traveller (thethinkingtraveller.com).

Corsica Its enduring popularity among tourists from mainland France makes



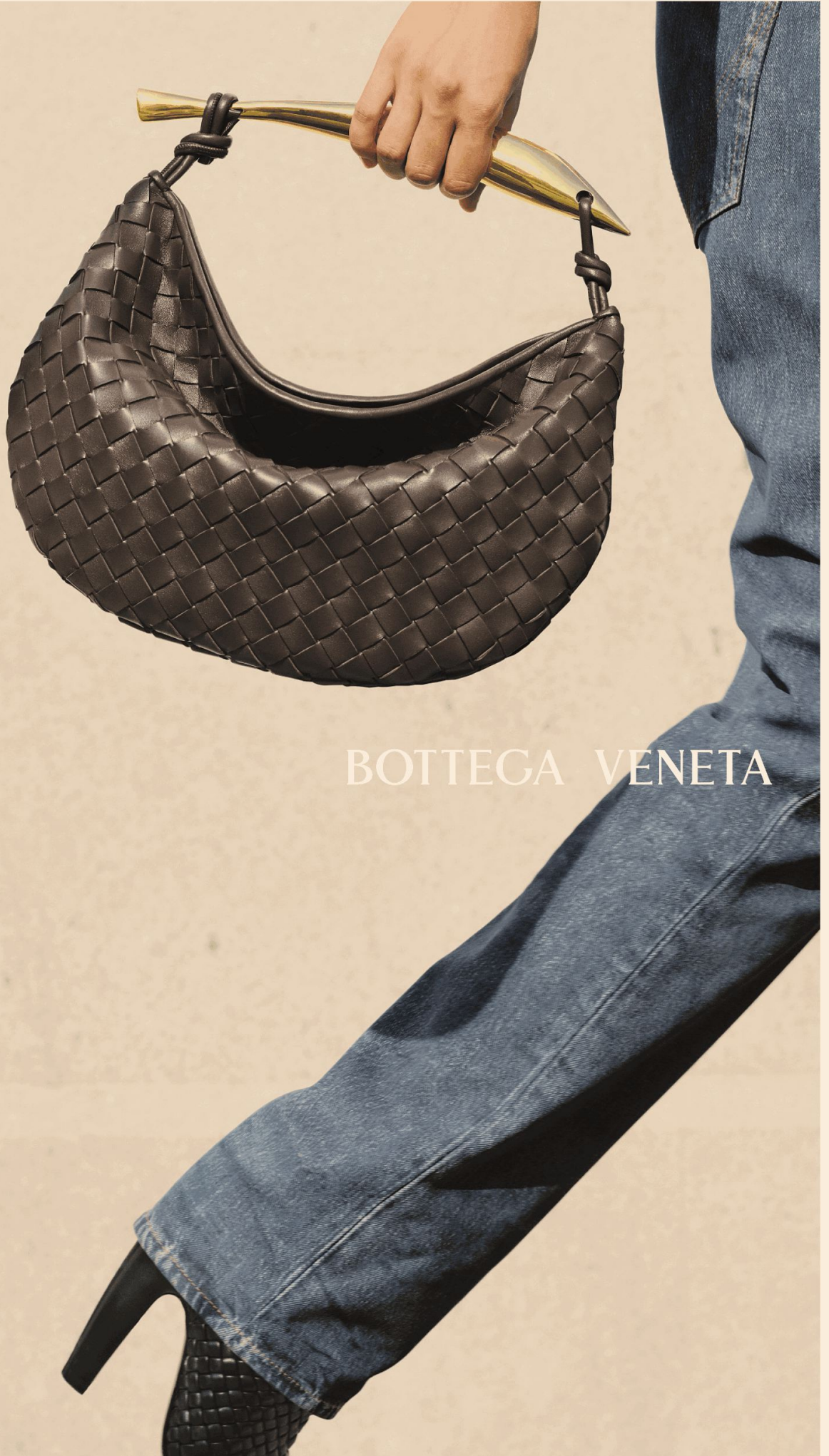
Santorini Naf, one of the island's finest private villas

Corsica hugely seasonal – when August is over and the French return home, the island feels transformed. Temperatures are also better for hiking the interior, including the celebrated GR20. Scattered through the maquis beside the southern coast, the Domaine de Murtoll (murtoll.com) is a dreamy collection of 20 shepherd's houses and villas from the 17th century (most with private pools), plus a hotel and three restaurants. Prices are dramatically

lower in autumn – A Tiria, for example, a house for two, costs €1,620 per night in August but €560 in October.

Santorini With perhaps the most dramatic scenery of any Greek island, famous sunsets and its own international airport, Santorini can get uncomfortably crowded in summer. Autumn, however, is ideal – the holidays have gone but the restaurants remain open and the sunshine lasts well into

November. Prices drop too – suites at the Nobu Hotel (nobuhotels.com), typically more than €1,000 per night in August, start at €595 in October; the Aressana Spa Hotel (garesanagra.com) has 26 suites, sleeping 10 and looking out over the edge of the caldera, one of the island's finest private villas (known as Santorini Naf by its agents Five Star Greece; fivestargreece.com) is available from €35,000 per week in October rather than the usual €63,000.



BOTTEGA VENETA

Travel



Germany | Built by the Nazis and abandoned for decades, can the 'Colossus of Prora' be reinvented as a 21st-century beach retreat? By *Andrew Eames*

There's a beast of a building with a long, dark history on Germany's Baltic coast. A building on the holiday island of Rügen which for the past 80 odd years has mostly been shunned, bombed, rated as top secret and then left to fall apart.



Conceived and built by the Nazi party as the longest building in the world – at 4.5km – the Colossus of Prora was intended to usher in a new era of tourism for the masses. It was to be an all-inclusive resort on an unprecedented scale, until the outbreak of the second world war stopped it in its tracks.



It was then garrisoned by Soviet troops, who blew up bits of it. Later it was occupied by the East German army and members of the Stasi, the secret police, which is why it didn't appear on any maps. Its location was given away only by the presence of two railway stations that were apparently needlessly placed in the middle of a long strip of trees, plus brutal barbed wire blocking off the beach. All of which might explain why its rehabilitation has taken so long.

From top: the five remaining blocks of the 'Colossus of Prora', once the world's longest building; a split-level room at the Solitaire; a path through trees to the beach; the pier at Sellin, a few miles to the south, on Rügen's eastern side

But recently this sleeping giant has been slipping off its dark cloak. In the course of the past decade, the five blocks still standing of the original eight – that's 2.5km of building – have been reborn as a mix of hotel, youth hostel and luxury apartments. Finally, Prora is doing what it was originally conceived to do, bringing holidaymakers to one of the finest sandy beaches in Europe.

Despite its long dark history, my first impressions arriving at Prora are of a building that seems new and freshly painted. From the front – only 125 metres from the beach – serrated rows of glass balconies glint in the sun, each six-storey block slightly different to its neighbour. At the back, where there is road access and car parks, are newly planted saplings and an endless repeti-

tion of protruding stairwells every 50 metres. Walking here, I feel like one of those tiny plastic figures in a giant architect's model.

In Block II, I check in to a bright and spacious loft apartment in a section that's become a spa hotel, the Solitaire, with hints of Scandi design and a bathroom almost as big as a squash court. The apartment is split-level, several times the size of the rooms that were originally planned, with a kitchenette replete with designer gadgetry. Outside, there's a balcony on each of its levels, overlooking an outdoor swimming pool backed by a thin curtain of fir trees, through which a sandy track leads to a surprisingly under-frequented and pristine slice of beach. The rest of Prora extends on either side as far as the eye can see.

The Solitaire was one of the first bits of the reconstituted building to open, in 2016, while its neighbour and the only other hotel in the complex, the Dorners, followed in 2018. Both have a similar blueprint, offering a selection of self-catering suites, some of them very elaborate, with their own hot tubs but with shared spa, gym and indoor and outdoor swimming pools. The prices (from €698 per week for a two-person studio in the Solitaire) are as good value, though overall, with a layout that



encourages guests to come and go through individual stairwells rather than the foyer, it feels more like a block of apartments than a hotel.

Prora was intended to have been the first of five mega-resorts, each one with 200,000 beds, created by the Nazis' *Kraft durch Freude* (Strength through Joy) organisation. "He [Hitler] wanted to make propaganda out of concrete," says historian and curator Marco Esseling, when I meet him at Prora's documentation centre, where the exhibition *MACHTURlaub* ("make holidays") fills in the historical detail. The resort was built, says Esseling, both to impress and to make people feel grateful towards their leaders.

The location was chosen for obvious reasons, as the beach here must be among the best in northern Europe. Some 10km of silky white sand, with a sea so clear, calm and shallow it can barely summon up the energy for a wave. Back in the early 20th century, it was already attracting holidaymakers – Rügen is only 200km north of Berlin – but these were the Prussian elite, who built themselves handsome villas in the fashionable spa settlement of Binz, at the beach's south-eastern end.

Prora, on the other hand, was to be for the workers, says Esseling, with the proposed pricing affordable at 20 Reichsmarks for a week, including all meals and activities. That was about a quarter of the average monthly wage at the time.

The project was announced in 1955, Nazi party architect Clemens Klotz was appointed, and work started in 1956. As well as the eight linked blocks (long and

thin so that almost every bedroom could have a sea view), there were to be two big swimming halls complete with artificial waves, two theatres, giant restaurants every 500 metres, a staff of 5,000 and a massive central *Festhalle* for rallies and celebrations.

Esseling walks me round the uncompleted central area, to the pillared hall that was to be the reception, and explains that the original design was such that some of the guests would have had to check in here, then walk as far as 2.2km through the interconnected buildings, carrying their luggage, to reach their rooms, a chore that would be unthinkable today.

But then this was not going to be a place of holidays as we know them. The resort's daily programme would have included parades and communal games. "But then war broke out, and nobody ever made their holidays here," says Esseling.

After lunch at Kantine Prora (where a picture of Erich Honecker, a former leader of the GDR, hangs on the wall), I meet Rolf Hoffmeister from Binzprora, an investment company that was one of the earliest to buy into Prora back in 2005. He tells me that Binzprora bought the whole 500-metre Block III for a pitance at €350,000, but it was to be another 12 years before the company actually started renovations, thanks to problems with planning and difficulties with Prora's listed status. By contrast, the structure itself, despite its mistreatment and abandonment, was very sound.

Binzprora had wanted to include a marina in its development, but that was vetoed, and some of its plans for further new buildings in the historical central area, including a large sports hotel, are still under discussion. But all the company's 250 apartments that fill Block III are due to be finished this year, and have long since been snapped up by purchasers. "In fact, I have had people who already have one, asking if they can buy more," says Hoffmeister.

Do his customers have a clear idea of the history they are buying into? The developer looks doubtful. "I don't think they are interested, they come here

because of the beach. This place is for younger people, for whom the past is in the past. And we don't see a conflict with Binz, it's a different market."

Binz is for more elderly holidaymakers, he suggests. For those who may have longer memories.

Meetings done. I amle 3km down the beach, past lavish new lifeguard posts and regular signboards announcing *textfrei* (nudist) stretches, which turn out to be under-frequented. In GDR times FKK, or *Freikörperkultur* ("free body culture"), was a big deal for people who wanted to experience some sense of freedom in the face of an unduly repressive state. Those days are gone.

Binz itself turns out to be a period piece, though its clientele has changed considerably since the elite first came here. The sand is demarcated with neat ranks of *Strandkörbe*, wicker beach chairs, which can be rotated like sunflowers to face the sun while turning their backs to the wind. There's a pier, a bandstand outside the grand Kurhaus, and a shaded shoredside promenade that is lined with stalls selling trinkets and *Milchreis*, rice pudding with fruit puree.

Inland, villas of distinctive *Bäder* architecture, a mix of Art Nouveau and Long Island clapperboard, line its streets behind white picket fences, with ornate wooden balconies, rooftop gables, octagons, lanterns and domes.

I have a half day left of being a tourist here, so I contemplate taking the steamer from the end of Binz pier to the chalk cliffs of the *Königsstuhl*, or King's



Chair, which were memorably painted by Caspar David Friedrich, the 19th-century Romantic landscape painter whose work has played a big part in making Rügen popular.

But we've got chalk cliffs in England, and besides, I'm a bit of a closet trainpotter, so instead I board Rasender Roland ("Raging Roland"), a steam train that weaves its way along the coast to the subsidiary resorts of Sellin, Baabe and Göhren.

It's a very pleasant ride, chugging past allotments and through thin forests of oak and beech, dappled with sunlight and laced with footpaths. I sit in an open carriage, listen to the murmur of conversation and admire the way the pillars of steam climb into the canopy of leaves.

Despite its name, this Raging Roland doesn't really rage at all. In fact, it doesn't seem even a little bit cross as it trundles along, tooting amiably at hikers and bikers.

In this, it's a bit like Prora, which may have been designed to impress and intimidate but whose present manifestation has become something far more approachable. This is just a place for making holidays, after all.

i / DETAILS

Andrew Eames was a guest of the German Tourist Office (Germany Travel) and stayed at the Prora Solitaire Apartments and Spa (prora-solitaire.de; studios for two from €698 per week). The Dorners Strandhotel Rügen (dorners.de) has doubles from about €140 per night

My 100km race around Mont Blanc

Adventure | The FT's Tom Wilson is a keen runner – but was entering a celebrated ultra-marathon in Chamonix a step too far?

There is, in my opinion, no mountain location more inspiring than the French town of Chamonix, which perhaps explains why, a year after following the world's best ultra-runners around the Alps' highest peak as a spectator, I found myself back at the Ultra-Trail du Mont-Blanc for my own 100km race.



Interest in ultra-running – typically defined as any foot race longer than 50km – has boomed in the past decade

Switzerland and finally Chamonix in France. Locals describe the CCC as a "half-turn" around the famous mountain. The fastest runner, a 28-year-old, Red Bull-sponsored Swede called Petter Engdahl, would complete the course in a record-breaking nine hours and 53 minutes. For most it would take more than double that.

Classical music filled the air as the organisers counted us down. Then we were off: a rabble of runners from 83 countries winding through the narrow

climbs, through stunning Swiss villages and into the night, the moments of euphoria became rarer and the suffering set in.

I made mental notes as I ran to remember the highs: the taste of cool spring water in a tiny hamlet on the descent from the 2,537-metre Grand Col Ferret; the sight of a majestic wooden cross in a hillside clearing; the French family who cheered me into the penultimate aid station around midnight. The lows were easier to recall: a grael-

putting one foot in front of the other.

They say ultra-running is as much an eating challenge as a running one as you try to replace the calories you have burnt. At each aid station – seven in total – I refilled my water bottles and plundered the platters of salami, cheese, fruit and chocolate laid out by volunteers. The plain penne pasta tasted heavenly.

When the light failed and the head torches came on, I had been running for 12 hours and the race entered its most

like people, trees morphed into animals.

On the final climb, rising 600 metres up yet another series of switchbacks to a plateau north of the finish, I saw little other than the square metre in front of my feet. Then suddenly, there it was: the bright lights of Chamonix stretched out on the valley floor.

I was still more than an hour from the end but I now felt lighter as I raced across the rocks under a starry sky. The first metres of the descent on battered legs were excruciating, but as I got closer

and the UTMB has become the de facto world championships. Founded in 2005, initially as a 171km race around Mont Blanc, the event has expanded into a week-long festival that attracts some 10,000 runners to eight different races, now broadcast to millions of fans around the world.

Ultra-running, by any definition, is a strange endeavour and the mountain variety can seem particularly cruel. My race, the CCC, is equivalent to almost two and half marathons and includes 6,100 metres of lung-busting ascent over perilous Alpine passes. Participants must complete gruelling qualifying races then enter a draw for one of the coveted places. The result this year, at



Tom Wilson feels the strain

9am on the last Friday in August, was a sea of almost 2,000 skinny runners in the latest ultra-trail fashion — psychedelic caps, skin-tight race packs and futuristic shoes — squeezed on to a tree-lined avenue in the picturesque Italian ski-town of Courmayeur.

The name of the race comes from the three mountain towns it connects — Courmayeur in Italy, then Champex in

streets like a herd of wild horses.

As to why people would choose to run through the mountains for a hundred kilometres only to emerge at the finish, almost a day later, hungry and broken, I still can't be sure. Leaving Courmayeur at the front of my wave of runners, I felt euphoric. The town's pretty streets turned into a stony track and then a series of narrow switchbacks, climbing more than 1,000 metres over a handful of kilometres to the first pass, the Tête de La Tronche, at around 2,500 metres above sea level.

At the top I looked back to see a trail of runners zigzagging up the mountain, united in their mad goal. As the race wore on though, over another five major

ling 700-metre ascent to the Switzerland-France border after 70km when we had already climbed over 4,000 metres; the grit that embedded in my elbow after I clipped my feet on broken ground and fell for the first time; the guttural sound of an exhausted runner groaning in the darkness.

In the first half of the race I checked my watch regularly and quietly celebrated if I passed another runner. In the second half, kilometres and position faded into irrelevance and I focused only on the hypnotic rhythm of

surreal phase. Descending in darkness to the Swiss town of Trient, the forest seemed to come alive: shadows moved



One of the climbs on the course — Thomas Becker

the pain of 100km ebbed away and before long I was flying through the town. I crossed the line at around 5am after 17 hours and 45 minutes, 476th out of 1,727 runners.

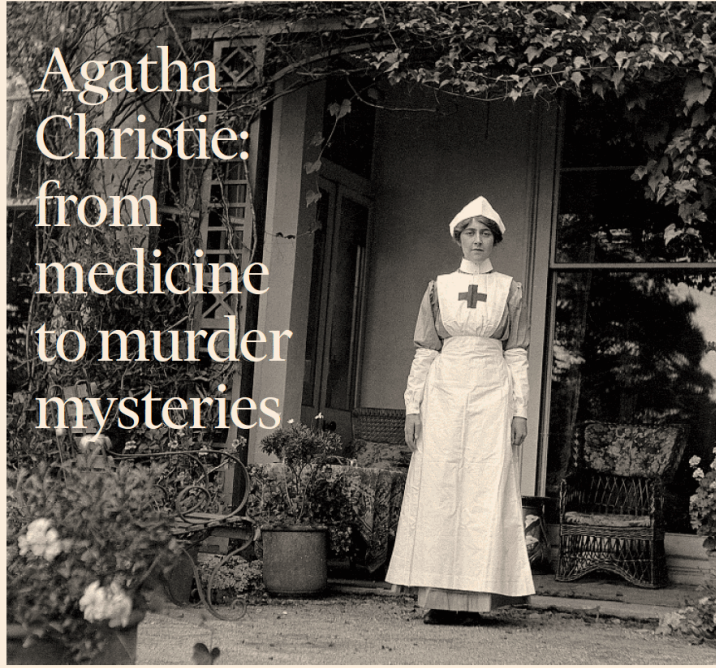
Did I enjoy it? That is difficult to answer. Would I do it again? Definitely.

Tom Wilson is the FT's acting senior energy correspondent

Entry to the CCC (utmbmontblanc.com) costs €189; the writer was a guest of the UTMB Group. To enter the draw for a place, runners have to complete at least one 50km or longer UTMB World Series race and register by December 31

Books

Life&Arts



Agatha Christie: from medicine to murder mysteries

What does the name Agatha Christie call to mind? Sunday night telly and airport reading? Her publishers estimate that more than 2bn books of hers have been printed: more — as the cliché goes — than any others save Shakespeare and the Bible.

But her vast commercial success also means that people haven't realised what a subversive writer she could be. Over more than five decades, as she set the standard for detective fiction, Christie was also capturing the history of a turbulent 20th century.

The first world war, it seemed to me as I researched my new biography, was the vital experience that made her a detective novelist to begin with. Christie's first novel *The Mysterious Affair at Styles*, published in 1920, was written back in 1916. It features a young lady who works, as its author did, in a wartime hospital. In Christie's case, it was the field hospital hurriedly set up in the town hall of her birthplace, Torquay.

Agatha was born in 1890 into a wealthy family, the Millers, and her destiny should have been marriage. Styles Court, the titular setting of her first novel, represented a world she knew well: the country house. She'd visited many similar establishments during her time as a debutante, and there had been no fewer than nine different men who proposed marriage.

The upstairs characters were like people she knew well, living off unearned income and taking tea on the lawn. Off-stage, however, the war is very much in progress. The book's narrator, Hastings, is home from the front to recover from a wound. And practically all the suspects have a dark secret. Whether it's debt, adultery or fortune-hunting, they all have wounds to the soul.

On one level, it's vastly entertaining, with Hercule Poirot, a Belgian war refugee, making his first appearance to give us the ingenious solution. On another level, all these characters provide a commentary on the rotten nature of upper-crust society.

When war broke out in 1914, Agatha had an on-off engagement with an officer in the Royal Flying Corps. Archie Christie — whose photographs reveal that he was incredibly hot — is often described as a glamorous pilot, one of the "knights of the air" of the first world war. In fact, by August 1914, he had been grounded. He wasn't a brilliant flyer, and the nascent RAF was desperately short of planes. Instead, Archie travelled to France as the person responsible for his squadron's transport and spare parts.

But that's not to belittle how traumatic the war was for Archie. When Archie came home at Christmas 1914, having been mentioned in despatches for enduring "great strain... almost every hour of the day and night", he suddenly and decisively decreed that he must marry Agatha. All doubts were overcome, and his wife was wed.

Now 24, Agatha had been brought up as the Millers' late and much-loved child in a luxurious villa called Ashfield, in what was then the elegant seaside resort of Torquay. Of course there had been no question of her working. She describes her girlhood as time spent simply "waiting for The Man". Archie wasn't spectacularly well-off. But even so, in normal

Essay | The wartime horrors of her experience as a nurse

inspired the 'queen of crime' to expose the dark side of the upper-crust society she knew so well, writes *Lucy Worsley*

times, Agatha would have spent her twenties as a wife and mother.

Instead, with her husband back in France, she remained at home, with her now-widowed mother. War placed Agatha, like so many others, in a state of suspended animation.

Wanting to play her part, she made the fateful decision to join the Voluntary Aid Detachment. As a VAD, Agatha provided an amateur, barely trained extra pair of hands to the professional nurses in the hospital near Ashfield, which had accepted its first patients in October 1914. She began at the bottom, cleaning floors, but soon progressed to more responsible duties. As surges of the wounded came in from Flanders via hospital ship, she became expected to do things quite outside her previous experience. The first time she assisted at an operation, she nearly fainted. She had to take an amputated leg down to the furnace to burn it. After three days of her personal care, one of her patients died.

Historian Christine Hallett has argued that the role of the nurses of the first world war was twofold. First, it was to provide practical care. But second, it was to witness the horror of war — to see the naked, wounded, soiled bodies of



young men — and not to tell. Nice young ladies like Agatha had to go home to their mamas, and not let on about the shocking things they'd seen. Otherwise, society might fall apart.

This was hard. There's a name for the mental trauma of witnessing war suffered by male combatants: shell shock. It's not generally realised that nurses experienced it too. But shell shock was assumed to happen only to men, and female nurses didn't even have a name

for their pain. Pretending that everything was all right: what a terrific training for a writer who specialised in the masks people wear, the defences they erect between themselves and reality. In each of Agatha Christie's books, there's always someone who's the opposite of what they seem. A likeable, respectable person who has the capacity to kill.

The professional nurses of Torquay's field hospital had little time for girls like Agatha. She'd been to plenty of balls, but she'd hardly been to school. She was unused to being told what to do. But over time, she began to fit in. She experienced new sensations: competence and camaraderie. Had she remained a nurse, she said, she would have "been very good at it".

She even, in due course, began to earn wages. It was the war that put her into the otherwise unthinkable position of becoming a working woman.

Still, she could not stomach the rudeness of the doctors who, in other circumstances, might have been her dance partners. Being ordered to hold their linen, a "human towel-rail", was dehumanising. "I do sympathise with servants now," says a nurse, drawn from life in one of Agatha's novels, "here we are getting just the same." Agatha began to doubt the authority of the men who were in charge. In her writing career, doctors would be her most homicidal profession.

A redeeming feature of hospital work was the friendship she formed with other capable, clever women. She eventually moved to work in the dispensary, mixing medicines, even taking exams to qualify as an assistant. This was responsible work. A tiny slip could turn a medi-

cine from life-saving to poisonous.

In her memoirs, Agatha described how, during her time sitting with the drugs and poisons, her thoughts turned towards a detective story. And that first novel, *Styles*, contains another young lady dispenser, Cynthia Murdoch.

But it's less well known that she'd dabbled in fictional death even earlier. Agatha and her hospital friends lived up their workplace with a jokey handmade hospital magazine. They also came up with a name for their sisterhood. Understanding just how much they were going against their parents' expectations, Agatha and her friends called themselves "the Queer Women".

For the magazine, Agatha produced a satirical news item, a fictional report from the Torquay coroner. He was investigating a mysterious death in the hospital — was the patient poisoned by

Bad things happen, yes — but the detective catches the murderer, and the rift in the social fabric heals

his medicine? The coroner questioned the doctors, the nurses, the "lady dispensers", but they all had a different story. The closed cast of characters, the alibis, even the light and satirical tone that Agatha would later adopt in her novel: the ingredients were all there.

The real point of the piece — and of detective fiction more generally — was to take violent death, to put it in a box, and to make it safe. In the crime genre, bad things happen, yes, but the detective catches the murderer, the wound in the social fabric heals and everyone moves on. Detective stories were also perfect, undemanding reading for people recovering from physical wounds in bed. Critic Alison Light has cleverly named detective fiction as the "literature of convalescence".

Agatha's article "Coroner's Inquest at Torquay", humorous and disposable though it was, meant something important to her. She kept it carefully until her death, aged 85, in 1976. And, that name for her group of friends — "the Queer Women" — seems important too. They were a little bit odd, a little bit off.

As a professional crime writer, Agatha would retain something of this outsider status for the rest of her life. Her books may be full of beautiful socialites, vicars and big-game hunters, but she undermines the society she seems to glamourise. She always points out, quietly but brutally, how even the most respectable people may be anything but.

When Archie finally came home from France, four years into the Christie marriage, he and Agatha lived together for the first time. Like so many other families, they struggled to settle down to peacetime life. Their relationship survived for less than a decade of cohabitation. As a divorced single parent, as she was from 1928, Agatha would rely on her writing to support herself and her daughter. This was light years away from that early life of ease and luxury. The day Agatha walked into the hospital was the day she stepped into a much more extraordinary life.

'Agatha Christie: A Very Elusive Woman' by Lucy Worsley is published by Hodder & Stoughton

Main picture: Agatha Christie as a field hospital nurse during the first world war — Courtesy of the Christie Archive Trust

Right: Christie in 1919 with her then husband Archie — Christie Collection/Alamy

The man who made the British media

Robert Shrimley enjoys a pacy account of a towering newspaper pioneer by historian Andrew Roberts

close attention to production processes and invested in pioneering technology. Even as a press baron, he was an active journalist, regularly heading near to the front in the first world war. He had been early to see the threat posed by the rise of Germany. While he directed content, his brother and co-founder Harold — who became Lord Rothermere — was the business brain and inherited on Alfred's



The Chief: The Life of Lord Northcliffe, Britain's Greatest Press Baron by Andrew Roberts. Simon & Schuster. £25, 560 pages

Roberts is keen to dispel myths of megalomania, until Harmsworth's final short illness destroys his mind — although a life-long fascination with Napoleon has always seemed a bit of a giveaway. While mostly friendly, the author is critical at times and unsparing about Harmsworth's zealous anti-Semitism. It's a pacy and enjoyable read, though it drags a bit towards the end



The 2022 Booker Prize shortlist, announced this week, includes the oldest author ever to have been shortlisted. Alan Garner — whose novella *Treacle Walker*, which explores themes of folklore and time, has made it to the final six — will turn 88 on the day of the prize ceremony on October 17. Also on the list are Neelofur Bulawayo's *Glory*, a satire based around the fall of Robert Mugabe; Claire Keegan's *Small Things Like These*, which explores the Magdalene Laundry abuses in 1980s Ireland; and Percival Everett's *The Trees*, which evokes the real-life lynching of Emmett Till in Mississippi in 1955. *Oh William!*, the third novel in Elizabeth Strout's Lucy Barton series, and Shehan Karunatilaka's *The Seven Moons of Maali Almeida*, set during the Sri Lankan civil war, complete the list. To read reviews of these books, go to FT.com/books

greatest UK press baron, the man who created the Daily Mail and Daily Mirror, as well as owning The Times and The Observer, wielded political power that even today's magnate would envy. He changed the course of a war and helped bring down a prime minister, while another gave him a government job abroad just to get him out of the country.

His achievements were all the more remarkable for being self-made. Starting out as a freelance journalist, Dublin-born Harmsworth rose from modest beginnings to become Lord Northcliffe and founded a media dynasty that still controls the Daily Mail group.

More importantly, the man who styled himself "the Chief" set a tone for popular newspapers that still prevails today — online as well as on paper. The mores of the Mail, still arguably Britain's most influential newspaper, remain remarkably consistent with the founding attitudes of 125 years ago.

As proprietor, Harmsworth ran the strategy for news and content, bombarding his editors with detailed criticism of each day's edition. He also paid

deans. (Harrold's great-grandson is the group's current owner.)

Alfred is now the subject of *The Chief*, a friendly though not uncritical new biography by historian Andrew Roberts, a Mail contributor who was granted access to Harmsworth's private archive.

The guiding principle and genius of his approach was an understanding that education and political reform had created a new class of aspirational readers, people who were interested in the news but did not buy the more portentous morning papers. He brought a middle-class newsman's eye to his publications, serving up news that was interesting and sharply presented as well as important. Though a tough boss, he loved journalists, instituting the continuing Mail practice of paying them above the industry norm.

His newspapers were pithy. There were no columns of routine political debate or overlong editorials. The values were very much those of today, jingoism (or imperialism), middle-class values and features on health, money and sex. But above all the value was in news. He had a keen eye for new markets. As

today, the Mail took trouble to attract female readers (although it also coined the term "suffragette" as a term of abuse). The Mirror too was originally conceived as a paper for women.

As his papers' influence grew, so did his political power. Often it was used for good, notably in his wartime campaigns against inadequate munitions and in defying efforts to suppress details of the military disaster in the Dardanelles. He was unsparing in these assaults, concluding that Herbert Asquith was not up to being a wartime leader and playing a leading role in conspiring for his replacement with David Lloyd George. The new prime minister was significantly wary of Harmsworth to give him a job in America to get him out of the way.

But his calls were at times badly wrong and damaging, not least since he deemed himself the best judge of how to conduct the war. Among his greatest misjudgments was his unwavering support for Earl Haig, commander of the forces on the western front, despite his strategy proving an ineffective waste of life.

when details of Harmsworth's last world tour serve only to demonstrate the author's access to the archive.

What cannot be disputed is the man's status as a media titan. He built his empire and shaped the British media in the process. His influence is all too visible today and those who lament the Mail's often malignant role in society should at least know that it remains eerily true to its founder's ideals.

There is a postscript to Harmsworth's legacy in the story of how "the Chief" played a role in creating today's greatest media mogul. Rupert Murdoch's father Keith became an admirer and disciple of Harmsworth. The two bonded over the Dardanelles campaign, which the young Australian covered as a reporter, and Murdoch soaped his mentor's style that on his return home, he earned the nickname "Lord Southcliffe". When Murdoch senior started buying newspapers, Harmsworth invested £5,000 in the new business — the one that would ultimately be inherited by Rupert.

Robert Shrimley is the FT's UK chief political commentator

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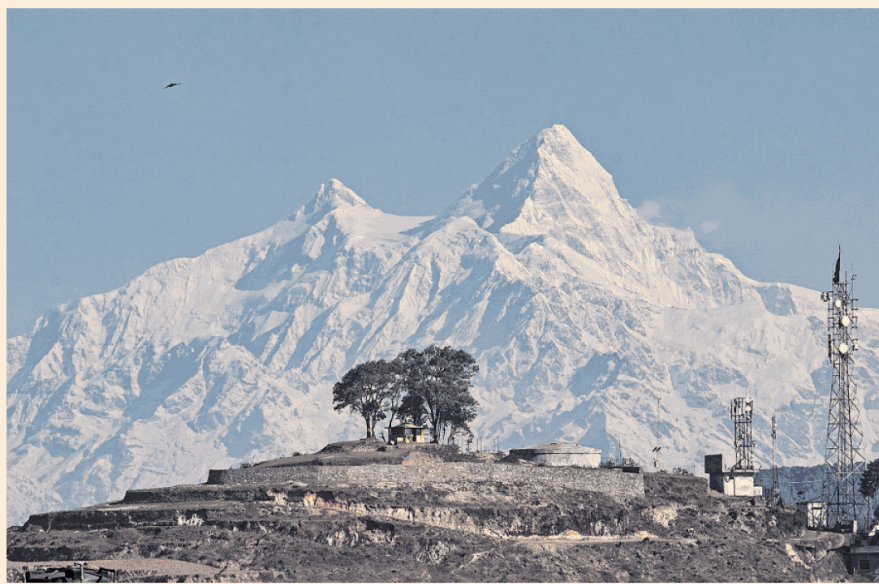
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Books



Mount Manaslu in Nepal, seen from Chandragiri in the Kathmandu district — Zuma Proskovskaya

Battle in the garden of the gods

Two new books shine a fascinating and well-timed light on the Himalayas and the bitter rivalries that shape this beautiful but fragile region. By Amy Kazmin

Early in her odyssey across the Himalayas, Erika Fatland stops at a café in the beautiful but isolated Hunza Valley, where the owner has an impressively large Italian coffee machine — but no electricity to operate it.

The valley — controlled by Pakistan but also claimed by India — was a key location in the "Great Game", the 19th-century rivalry between Britain and Russia in central Asia and the high Himalayas. It was in Hunza that Britain's Captain Francis Younghusband had a convivial dinner with his Russian counterpart before surreptitiously arranging for the Russian to be directed to "a treacherous and impossible route which led to nowhere" in a bid — unsuccessful — to eliminate him. Bitter geopolitical rivalries in the Himalayas continue today. "The Great Game hasn't finished, you see," the café owner tells Fatland in *High*. "[O]nly the players have changed. We now have the Americans instead of the British, and the Chinese have taken over from the Russians."

Remote and ecologically fragile, the Himalayas are one of the planet's youngest mountain ranges and one of its most fiercely contested and heavily militarised regions. In inhospitable terrain, Beijing and New Delhi, and their strategic partners, are jostling for advantage in a largely hidden conflict that erupted most recently in May 2020 in a vicious high-altitude skirmish that left both Indian and Chinese soldiers dead. Neighbouring Nepal, Pakistan and Bhutan — all part of the Himalayas — are also all caught up in this bitter rivalry.

High: A Journey Across the Himalayas Through Pakistan, India, Bhutan, Nepal and China
by Erika Fatland
MacLachose Press £30, 592 pages

Himalaya: Exploring the Roof of the World
by John Keay
Bloomsbury Circus £30, 432 pages

this inaccessible region. Though they aren't focused specifically on geopolitics, they offer fascinating context about the battleground — one looking at its history, the other offering a snapshot of its isolated but resilient residents.

John Keay's *Himalaya* is a compendium of centuries of outsiders' quests for scientific understanding of every aspect of the Himalayas — from its geology, topography and natural history to questions of anthropology and social history. No potential angle is left unexplored — including how Tibetans evolved to be able to survive the low oxygen levels at such high altitudes.

Keay's book is peopled by a multinational cast of adventurers, surveyors, botanists, colonial officials, soldiers, savants, spiritual seekers and mountaineers who have all been drawn to the region. As well as predictable geopolitical meddlers and explorer types, there are characters such as Alexandra David-Neel, the French diva of the Hanoi Opera who in 1924, dressed in the rags of a Tibetan beggar, became the first European woman to enter Lhasa.

Yet the true protagonist of this

Himalaya itself — the "Garden of the Gods", as many local residents see it. With its elusive flora and fauna, unique local cultures and life-giving glaciers, the Himalayas are seen as "fair game in a world of jostling nations, much disputed over and more environmentally endangered than anywhere". Today the region is threatened by China's plans for colossal dams, global warming, its own geologic instability and detritus from mass mountain climbing.

High, on the other hand, is an engaging snapshot of the current residents of this high-altitude battleground. Unlike earlier explorers, Fatland is unable to follow the natural logic of the difficult Himalayan terrain in her wanderings. Instead, she is forced to observe the logic of man-made maps and the heavily policed boundaries between nations in dispute.

"While it is constantly said that the world is getting smaller and there are fewer and fewer boundaries, never before have borders been more rigid than they are now," she writes, embarking on a long detour to reach one of two border crossings between India and Pakistan.

High above the treelines, the Himalayas' disputed boundaries are "fiercely guarded on the ground by cameras, motion sensors, armed guards and

barbed wire, fences and walls". These restrictions have a huge impact on local communities, now cut off from relatives, and other traditional spiritual and commercial sites.

Fatland is a lovely writer with a sympathetic eye for the absurd, who draws affectionate pen portraits of the people she meets. Particularly memorable is the Muslim man with a wife and eight children in a remote valley who dreams of taking a second, foreign bride so that he can go abroad to work — and is flummoxed by a European tourist reacting so angrily to his dream. She also paints a vivid picture of the region's ecological fragility, and the landscapes which are a constant unpredictable danger that can upend travel plans, and cost lives.

But the book is uneven and superficial in those areas of acute interest. A section on Kashmir — which India has put off limits to foreign journalists — fails to capture the depth of the paths of living under one of the world's most heavy military presences and the deep scars left on the local population by years of conflict. Instead, Fatland recounts an incident in which her guide gets a commission for shawls she purchases as gifts for her family.

Likewise, in Indian-administered Ladakh, where access to journalists is strictly controlled, she draws a picture of a Buddhist "Disneyland" without ever getting below the surface of the intense, sometimes violent rivalry between New Delhi and Beijing now quietly playing out there on many levels.

Despite these shortcomings, *High* is an entertaining introduction to the main high points on the Himalayan circuit, and certainly a handy guide for potential travellers to the region. Together, the two books offer new perspectives on a remote and oft-forgotten but precarious region that typically only hits the headlines when things go wrong.

Amy Kazmin is the FT's Rome correspondent and former South Asia

Generation internet

Chris Stokel-Walker on a study of the web's formative years and the people whose lives it changed

We tend to divide time into neat, discrete packages: pre- and post-pandemic; pre- and post-decimalisation; pre- and postwar. We treat the internet the same way. Seen through the lens of history, there are two grand epochs. First, the pre-internet age, where teenagers gossiped over long phone conversations, umbilically attached to a kitchen wall. There were library loans and reference books; there was boredom. Then there's the post-internet age, where our eyelids are pinned back and content comes hurtling at us at a rate that ruins our childhood, stunts our attention span, and turns us all into masturbating, ultraviolet monsters living solely for Instagram, TikTok or YouTube.

Those who were fully conscious of the pre-internet era — generally, people aged 40 or older — look back longingly at the innocence of life. Those who live in the post-internet age — teenagers and Gen Zers — live in ignorance of what life once was. But cleaving time into two is a reductive way to present things. There's a messy middle generation, usually in their early thirties, who remember the pre-internet era and yet would still consider themselves digital natives.

Marie Le Conte is one of them. In *Escape*, she tells the story of her upbringing and introduction to the internet, and how it shaped her. Through that personal story, she tries to tackle the broader account of how being online in the internet's formative years changed

However, she rarely uses that same power to contextualise her insights into life online. She summarises the rampant, rule-free early days of the internet and how its spikier edges were worn off by Big Tech's moderation and monolithic power but doesn't explain fully how and why this happened.

Le Conte is at her strongest when highlighting how our generation was lucky — compared with those just younger than us — to avoid fatal mistakes that could haunt our lives and careers. There are likely to be millennial MPs sitting in parliament who said stupider things in public than 27-year-old Scottish National party representative Ishaqi Black, whose foul-mouthed teenage tweets were exposed after



Escape: How a Generation Shaped, Destroyed and Survived the Internet
by Marie Le Conte
Blink £16.99, 304 pages

she arrived in Westminster, but avoided public shaming because they grew up in the anonymous or pseudonymous early internet. These lucky few are the children of the anarchic internet, yet here they're glossed over.

At one point, the author suggests there is a profound problem with how we live digitally: we can't ever escape each other, meaning we're stuck presenting the same identity to everyone. It's a striking thought. It's also one the academic field of internet studies has spent years investigating, but this isn't referenced, even when some of the academically minded friends she interviews try to lead her there.

It's not just internet studies academics who are shunned. Le Conte starts one section of the book by saying she believes most children and teens are "little sociopaths", emboldened by the early internet. "I have no idea if the field of psychology would back me up on this and I have no interest in finding out," she writes. "If they don't agree with me, they must be wrong — I was young once, I remember it well."

It's a shame, because this is an enjoyable book that hits on an interesting question: how did today's politicians and business leaders shape the internet, and how did sites such as GeoCities, eBaum's World, MySpace and GoSpace shape them (don't Google the latter, whatever you do)? But it only ever gets 90 per cent of the way to answering that question — just like the crawling progress bar of an MP3 download on a temperamental internet connection that

Those who live in the post-internet age live in ignorance of what life once was

not only subsequent generations but the internet itself.

Divided into four sections — "Who Am I?", "Who Are You?", "Where Are We?" and "Where Are We Going?" — the book develops individual anecdotes into broader ruminations on gender, identity, friendship and fame.

Le Conte is two-and-a-half years younger than I am but we share many of the same formative memories of first getting online, speaking to strangers with reckless abandon and hiding behind online personas. Her story — and those of her friends, some of whom she appears to have interviewed via email, pasting their responses into the book — is recognisable to many. As Le Conte writes: "The internet is good at tricking you into believing that every experience you have on it is both entirely unique and entirely universal."

Escape is a book that will hit home to that middle generation. But it also has its flaws. Le Conte claims to Google anyone she ever meets, despite the elephantine

Two well-timed books shine a light on

the life of the protagonist of an exhaustive book is the magnificent

historical, political, and social, and often also by physical barriers such as

language barriers, and the

memory of the internet for details.

members to halt, then disappears.

The oligarch who fell foul of Putin

Mikhail Khodorkovsky's account of his rise and fall weaves in an insider's take on Putin's rule. By Neil Buckley

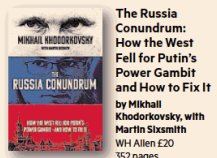
In summer 1992, a few FT journalists gathered at a London PR firm for lunch with a moustachioed young Russian businessman with thick glasses who was rising fast in the capitalist free-for-all unleashed by Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika and the subsequent collapse of Soviet communism. Intense and self-assured, his name was Mikhail Khodorkovsky. Little did those of us who met him imagine what he would become. A decade later, he was Russia's richest man.

A few years later still, after Khodorkovsky fell out with President Vladimir Putin, he was the country's most famous political prisoner. While he languished in a prison camp, his Yukos oil company was sold piecemeal to a state rival headed by Putin's crony. Today, he is in exile in London, pardoned by the president in 2013. However, working as a

pro-democracy campaigner, he is all too aware — as he writes in his book *The Russia Conundrum* — that at any moment his door handle might be smeared with the lethal nerve agent novichok.

It is a dramatic story, one that might make an enthralling autobiography. This is not, quite, the book that he has written. Instead, with co-author Martin Sixsmith, Khodorkovsky weaves together a pared-back account of his life with an astute dissection of the Putin system. It is part polemic, part self-justification, and part manifesto for a different, post-Putin, Russia. It is an intriguing mix, if at times an unsatisfying one.

If we intended as a warning to the west against underestimating the Putin threat, the book is robbed of some impact by the fact that Russian tanks rolled into Ukraine while it was still being completed. Yet *The Russia Conundrum* offers a useful and readable primer on the vengeful, nationalistic greed of the Putin circle. It is the story of a takeover of state power by Putin, his cronies, and the security services in the shape of the FSB, which emerged from the post-Soviet remnants of its predecessor, the much-feared KGB.



Others have told this tale before, but Khodorkovsky does so from the vantage point of an insider who, in the early years, frequently sat across the table from Putin, then felt at first hand the president's wrath. If his account of more recent events is, by necessity, written from a distance, it is informed by a network of contacts inside the country.

Stage one in the resurrection came as the Russian government struggled to deal with an explosion of organised crime in the 1990s. It turned to the FSB, which essentially cut a deal with the crime barons: they could get on with their racketeering and drug-trafficking in return for taking violence off the

streets and sharing some proceeds with the authorities.

After an undistinguished KGB career, Putin also got his break in this period. As deputy mayor of St Petersburg, writes Khodorkovsky, Putin was charged with liaising with his former secret police colleagues to “co-opt organised crime bosses”. The role seemed to suit him. Transferred to the Kremlin administration, then head of the FSB, and finally the presidency, Putin quickly packed top jobs with ex-secret police colleagues. They were out to restore prestige to themselves by becoming rich, as they had watched Russia's original oligarchs do in the turbulent 1990s; to the security services that had shaped them; and to their country which, they felt, the west had taken advantage of during its post-Soviet weakness.

The crushing of Khodorkovsky, after he publicly accused Putin of corruption, was the key turning point. Liberal elements lost out to hardliners in a Kremlin power struggle; the experiment with free-market democracy was snuffed out. The historic pendulum had swung back in Russia's centuries-old struggle between “westernisers” who believe in

openness, and “Slavophiles” who glorify “Russian nationalism, isolationism and quasi-feudal authoritarianism”.

Putin and his secret policemen also tapped into a late-1990s “Weimar syndrome” among Russians who had seen their living standards slump and their country humbled. Indeed, while Khodorkovsky notes that Russia fits the description of a “third world kleptocracy”, there is more to it. Putin mourns the loss of the Soviet motherland, and Russia's historic empire. His determination to return Ukraine forcibly to the fold is merely a first step. “If we do not stop Putin in Ukraine,” the author warns darkly, “he will inevitably lead us into global war.”

Yet though Khodorkovsky writes confidently on how to secure democracy and freedom in a post-Putin Russia, he falls short of a cover line promise to “provide an answer to the West on how it must challenge the Kremlin”. Beyond advocating that western sanctions should be more carefully targeted not at Russia's people but at “those who profit from the corruption and lawlessness” of the regime, he says little — probably because of when the book was com-

pleted — on how Putin might be defeated in Ukraine.

His account of how he amassed his fortunes is also distinctly selective. The ex-Yukos chief complains of “sharp practice” by unscrupulous early western investors. He glosses over the sometimes dubious methods he was accused of using in his rise from student-businessman importing foreign computers then buying up armfuls of shares in post-Soviet “voucher” privatisations, to oil company boss squeezing out minority shareholders in Yukos subsidiaries.

Meanwhile, his brief depiction of life in the camp of Russia's modern-day gulag, largely confined to a single chapter, left this reader wanting more. Perhaps one day Khodorkovsky will tell the full, warts-and-all tale — worthy of a Russian novel — of how he built a business empire, lost it all, then found a form of redemption in the camps of Siberia and in exile. That may need to wait until the moment the fallen oligarch fervently hopes for — when Putin is no longer in power.

Neil Buckley is the FT's chief leader writer and former Moscow bureau chief

Novels telling the story of one whole life have a natural appeal, because they mimic subjective experience. Such fiction struggles with the same conundrums an individual does collectively, what does this one existence mean? What about its most matters? Is it coherent? (Chances are, no.) Is it purposeful or arbitrary? (Probably both.) At what junctures might the plot have gone very differently?

Ian McEwan's engaging new novel *Lessons* may most tangle with that last question, while leaving his protagonist as much in the dark about the roads not taken as the rest of us. Although realistically episodic, the tale of Roland Baines is organised around a pivot point: his relationship with his British boarding school piano teacher, Miriam Cornell, then in her mid-twenties, whom he both feared and desired from the age of 11.

At 14, during the Cuba missile crisis, Roland feels he has nothing to lose if the world is about to end and rocks up at Miriam's door. Astonishingly, the infatuation is mutual. She leads him upstairs. Unlike most fantasies that

McEwan's prose always goes down like a cool drink, and its content is often trenchant



Harry Jones

come true, the sex is every bit as marvelous as the boy had imagined.

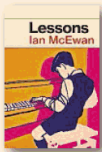
The affair lasts two years. Having tested as highly intelligent, Roland neglects his studies and his grades suffer. All that matters is Miriam and when they'll next be reunited in erotic bliss. But when she scrapes by with an invitation to continue a concert pianist, Miriam gets ominously possessive, imprisoning the 16-year-old in her house in his pyjamas while she's out teaching.

In fleeing her suffocating embrace, Roland also flees the boarding school, forging the sixth form and likewise the university education that will facilitate the prosperous futures of his peers. Throwing himself into manual labour, he turns his back on classical piano, though Roland (McEwan plants multiple objective correlatives confirming as much) is an extraordinary talent, worthy of becoming a concert pianist. McEwan is not excessively neat about this fork in the road, seeming to leave open the possibility that a pervasive aimlessness to Roland's life might have afflicted him even without the formative affair with his piano teacher. He joins a rock band. He takes repeated trips to East Germany. He becomes a tennis coach. He becomes a poet. He plays lounge music in a restaurant. He marries, and when their son is still an infant his wife abruptly abandons the family. When she fails to return, Roland is repeatedly grilled by the police, who believe that most wives who disappear have been murdered by their husbands.

It's formally impressive that after the charged encounter between Miriam and Roland in late adulthood (a wonderful scene), McEwan maintains narrative momentum for another 150 pages. Most novelists would have reserved the resolution of such a central relationship for the finale. Crucial questions are left dangling, as they should be. Did being

The music of life

Ian McEwan's 17th novel hinges on a boy's relationship with his piano teacher and its repercussions through the decades. By Lionel Shriver



Lessons by Ian McEwan Jonathan Cape £20 496 pages

seduced as a child by an older woman leave Roland irreparably damaged? Did that relationship explain his sexual restlessness for decades thereafter? Has any other woman ever felt that good?

Were the sexes reversed, no moral ambiguity would be likely to muddy the fictional waters in this way: “His life had been altered, some would say ruined. But was it really? She had given him joy. He was the stooge of current orthodoxies. No, that wasn't it either!” In McEwan's 2007 novel *On Chesil Beach*, the lives of McEwan's characters are upended by failed, ignorant sex; *Lessons*, Roland's life is rocked by sex that was too splendid.

Most of all, this back-story, which Roland keeps largely to himself, belongs to him, even on the cusp of old age: “When he asked himself if he wished none of it had happened he did not have a ready answer. That was the nature of the harm. Almost 72 and not quite cured. The experience remained with him and he could not part with it.”

Roland's personal narrative is interwoven with historical events. Like McEwan, Roland was born in 1948. Fellow boomers will be reminded how much the generation has lived through: Suez, Cuba, Profumo, Thatcher, Chernobyl, the fall of the Wall, Blair, Iraq, 9/11, 7/7, Brexit, Covid. That sequence

gives you the horrible feeling there's more to come.

McEwan's prose always goes down like a cool drink, and its content is often trenchant. Of sex with Miriam: “It was either hilarious or it was tragic, that people should go about their daily business in the conventional way when they knew there was this. Even the headmaster, who had a son and daughter, must know. Even the Queen. Every adult knew. What a facade. What a pretence.” He captures smaller revelations equally well, such as the exhilaration of putting on badly needed glasses for the first time.

McEwan doubtless shares Roland's disapproval that “literary editors commissioned novelists rather than critics to review each other's works”. But he's stuck with me. I've read a dozen of McEwan's 17 novels, and the single one I didn't care for was *The Cuckooch* (dashed-off Remainiac propaganda during an era that made us all crazy). That's a high batting average. I'm delighted to have added this thoughtful, touching and historically grounded novel to my bookshelf.

Lionel Shriver's nonfiction collection, *Abominations: Selected Essays from a Career of Courting Self-destruction* is published this month (Borough Press)

India through the eyes of its young women

Nilanjana Roy

Reading the world



The past decade has brought a number of big books about India — about the promise of its economy, and on the challenges and threats to its democracy. But in recent years, I've found disturbing truths — and some hope — by tracking India's story through a clutch of fascinating non-fiction works that follow the struggles and dreams of its women.

Women in India total close to 670m, higher than the entire population of the EU (447m by World Bank estimates) and, because of a skewed gender ratio, women make up 48 per cent of India's population. Yet reports about the lives and experiences of Indian women rarely avoid the trap of presenting this incredibly diverse, determined population — a small continent in its own right — solely as victims of sexual violence, entrenched patriarchy and growing social conservatism.

For an antidote, and a more complex picture of the dreams and compromises of women, I recommend two books in particular: the 2021 bestseller *Desperately Seeking Shah Rukh: India's Lonely Young Women and the Search for Intimacy and Independence* by Shrayana Bhattacharya, and Dubai-based writer and reporter Mansi Choksi's recent *The Newweds: Rearranging Marriage*. These books both shed light on the search of Indian women for agency and more authentic selves — and inspired me to write to both authors to continue the conversation with them directly.

I loved the fact that Bhattacharya, an economist who works with the World Bank, chose to explore the hidden longings and loneliness of women (often within marriage) and the supposedly intimate structure of the Indian joint family, and women's quest for romantic as well as economic freedom. The book was in part inspired by Bhattacharya's research back in 2006, when she used conversations about favourite film stars as an ice-breaker for her surveys, and this line of inquiry has provided a common thread for her research over the past 15 years.

“In imagining Shah Rukh [Khan, a Bollywood superstar], [they] tried to imagine an alienness of women to the male worlds they occupied. They forged, out of the gossamer fabric of their hopes and dreams, a man who would support freedom and choice for women whether to rest, work or watch movies.” This fantasy of the sensitive, attentive male that Shah Rukh Khan presents in many of his movies appeared to cut across class, caste and religion. What young women wanted was elusive — romance with supportive and caring men, yes, but they yearned for good jobs too.

As Bhattacharya explained to me via email: “In one of the most masculine economies in the world, where elite upper-caste discourse tends to insist that most Indian women do not want to work outside the home as they prefer to nurture families at home, I realised that the quest for financial independence unites a diverse swath of young women.”

In *The Newweds*, Choksi unpacks the challenges and aspirations of three couples who fall in love, breaking rigid inter-caste, inter-faith and gender norms. Monika and Arif cross Hindu-Muslim barriers. Reshma and Freshi pretend to be sisters in order to live together, while Dawinder and Neeti, from different castes, run away to escape the displeasure and reprisals of their families.

As Choksi writes in her book, these personal choices are often taken as affronts to the established social order. “We derive our identities from the groups we belong to; our daily lives and our politics are arranged around them. When young people choose their own partners, we threaten order with chaos.” I found *The Newweds* compelling, and sometimes heart-breaking, because Choksi followed the couples' stories beyond happy endings. In a country where two out of every three people are under the age of 35, and where marriage is presented as an inescapable familial duty for young women, the simple act of choosing to fall in love has radical repercussions for the four women who opened up to her over six years.

Given the high prevalence of sexual violence, honour killings, trafficking and other threats that Indian women face, it's easy to see why these subjects often dominate media attention. But Bhattacharya and Choksi's books, as well as others on the horizon — such as Neha Dixit's forthcoming *An Unknown Indian*, a study of the past 30 years in India through the eyes of an urban poor Muslim migrant woman — point to the importance of intimate histories. The power of these books, which often involve years of research by writers whose stories are shaped by a close collaboration with their subjects, lies in their belief that “small-scale” improvements to the lives of Indian women can have big impacts.

For all the frustrations and tiring battles, Bhattacharya and Choksi represent the optimism of a young generation of women journalists. “Far away from social media and policy debates, there is hope in the everyday battles women are fighting at home and at the workplace,” Bhattacharya remarked in our conversation. “The future is full of struggle and sisterhood.”

Academic revolutionaries

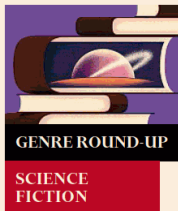
RF Kuang follows up her *Poppy War* trilogy, a fantasy reimagining of the opium wars, with a hefty standalone novel that again addresses 19th-century imperialism. In *Babel* (Harper-Voyager, £16.99, 560 pages), Cantonese orphan Robin is taken from his homeland to Oxford, where he joins the academics at the Royal Institute of Translation.

This building, a lofty bastion of study and learning, also serves as a repository of magical power derived from the disparity in meaning between words in different languages – “the stuff that gets lost when we move between one language and another”, as one character puts it – which is harvested and stored in bars of silver.

Allegory alert: Britain relies on this culturally exploitative resource to maintain its grip on its dominions. So, naturally, when Robin falls in with a group of misfits and comes to understand how he is helping prop up colonialism, he turns revolutionary – and empires have never looked kindly on insurrections.

Kuang tells Robin's story with the impassioned sweep of a Dickensian tale, and if her tone veers towards the donnish (explanatory footnotes abound) this feels appropriate in a book that is a love letter to scholarship.

Christopher Priest's *Expect Me Tomorrow* (Gollancz, £22, 336 pages) is also set partly in the 1800s. One of its parallel sto-



By James Lovegrove

rylines features Norwegian-born twins, climatologist Adler Beck and his brother Adolf. The latter was the focus of a criminal trial in the UK, one of the Victorian era's great miscarriages of justice.

The other storyline takes place in 2050 and revolves around a fictional set of twins, Charles and Greg Ramsey, descendants of the Becks. The plot device that unites these two narrative strands is a chip implanted in Charles's head, a kind of WiFi that enables him to travel back in time and inhabit the minds of his forebears.

Twins are a recurring theme in Priest's work, central to novels such as *The Prestige* (1995) and *The Separation* (2002), but here the greater emphasis is on the climate crisis. The strongest sections of the novel show vividly the inexorable unfolding of global eco-cataclysm, which the author depicts with a weary, detached

fatalism. The joins between the two storylines are far from seamless and, other than lamenting humankind's irresponsible ways, it's not really clear what this book is about.

Much further into the future, we find a ravaged, post-apocalyptic world where storms rage, monsters roam and fragments of the old prelapsarian technology survive. Leech (Tor, £16.99, 336 pages), a splendidly bizarre and unrelentingly dark debut from Hiron Ennes, is narrated by a doctor who is in fact a centuries-old symbiotic parasite, using humans as vessels through which to practise medicine. In a remote snow-bound chateau, the character confronts another parasite that appears anything but benign.

Ennes revels in the squirmy, squelchy disgustingness of flesh and viscera, combining imagery reminiscent of the shape-shifting alien of John Carpenter's 1982 film *The Thing* with the detached, analytical tone of a David Cronenberg body horror film. There is something uniquely compelling, too, in the novel's quasi-Victorian prose and use of an attenuated French dialect throughout, courtliness being one of the few things to endure after civilisation ends.

If, in our Anthropocene era, rampant capitalism is responsible for the doomed state of the planet, should we shed a tear when a hard-nosed, polluting plutocrat is brutally killed? The victim in Guy Morpuss's *Black Lake*

Manor (Viper, £14.99, 400 pages) is a tech billionaire and a Steve Jobs fan, who is discovered in his office with his heart cut out.

A perfectly serviceable premise for a gory murder mystery, but this novel has other ideas. As with his debut offering last year, the excellent *Five Minds*, Morpuss overlays sci-fi concepts on the conventions of crime fiction.

The setting is a storm-lashed cliff-top mansion in Canada, there are plenty of suspects, and the scene of the murder is a locked room. But the year is 2045, and Shan has succeeded in creating autonomous hard light replicas of human beings, dubbed “ghost dancers”, which might as well be called red herrings. In a further tweak to the formula, Morpuss introduces characters who can rewind time by six hours, a hereditary gift shared by members of a First Nation tribe, although it can only be used once per lifetime.

All of the foregoing greatly complicates the investigation of protagonist Ella Manning, former naval officer and now Royal Canadian Mounted Police constable. The fact that she used to be Shan's fiancée doesn't help, either.

Alongside its main narrative, the book interweaves two backstories, and you could be forgiven for thinking Morpuss has bitten off more than he can chew. But he marshals everything with a firm hand and, although the journey is long and sometimes tortuous, it arrives at a satisfying destination.

Tokyo stories

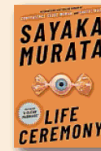
'Normal' is just another type of madness in these quietly subversive tales, writes Louise Lucas

Sayaka Murata writes about the life more ordinary. Her previous book, 2016's *Convenience Store Woman*, was an idiosyncratic novel that peeled back the layers on that most hum-drum of jobs – adding a desultory relationship and familial ties for good measure. And while *Life Ceremony*, her collection of short stories, is set in Tokyo, these narratives take place in a range of universally familiar settings: a hospital ward, a restaurant of lunching women, a classroom.

But ordinary is a shape-shifting concept. Normal, as one of her characters puts it, “is a type of madness... I think it's just that the only madness society allows is called normal”.

In Murata's world, societal conventions are turned on their head, leaving the reader with the disconcerting sense of being out of sync. The underage sex enjoyed by Shioh in “Body Magic” would scandalise adults, the narrator concedes, “but I thought she was just being true to her own body”. Some push discomfort further.

In the opening story, “A First-rate Material”, Nana's soon-to-be husband is considered unmissable for his abhorrence of furniture



Life Ceremony by Sayaka Murata; translated by Ginny Tapley Takemori Granta £12.99 272 pages

and clothes made from dead humans. Not for him the coveted bone rings and human teeth furniture. Nana's friends struggle to understand this fable, and sympathise when she must accept a platinum engagement ring.

This subversion of “normal” behaviour reaches its epitome in the title piece, in which the dead

The dead are cooked up into delicious dishes, consumed by funeral guests, who then hook up

are cooked up into delicious dishes, consumed by their funeral guests, who then hook up in a bid to reproduce. “Life Ceremony” asks: is it better to mourn passed loved ones with keening and curled sandwiches? Or is there a case to be made for a splendid meal before stripping off for sex?

Murata's prose, translated by Ginny Tapley Takemori, is both spare and dreamlike. On the funeral orgy, she writes: “It was

like a scene from antiquity, ancient life forms coming out of the sea on land...”. But she can also take delight in describing stomach-turning scenarios. Sanae, tending to her drunken colleague over a toilet bowl in “Puzzle”, savours “being enveloped in the odor of bodily fluids permeated with the smell of viscera”. The world, Murata seems to say, is not the polite, masked and civilised one we strive to create.

Characters pop in and out of stories, same names, different circumstances. In “A Summer Night's Kiss” – a lyrical, fabular tale – Yoshiko lives with her husband until he dies; in the next story, “Two's Family”, her living arrangements are a platonic ménage with a friend and their combined children.

“A Clean Marriage” is just that: a couple who live like careful siblings, husbanding financial and other resources while carving out sex for other partners. When they opt for children via a mechanised Heath Robinson-style contraption, the experience leaves the man feeling violated.

A ridiculous scenario? Or is it the idea of setting up home, with all the quotidian minutiae that entails, with the object of your passion that is more ridiculous? Murata's skill is in turning round the world so that the abnormal, uncivil or savage paths appear – if momentarily – to make sense.

Louise Lucas is an FT Lex writer

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Arts

Life & Arts

From red carpet to red-flag issues

Venice Film Festival | Cannibalism, obesity, opioids – *Raphael Abraham* reviews this year's daring highlights



Main picture: *Timothée Chalamet* at the premiere of *'Bones and All'* in *Hannover, Eyewire*

Left: *Penelope Cruz* in *Emanuele Crialesa's 'L'immensità'*

Right: *Nan Goldin* in *'All the Beauty and the Bloodshed'*, which tells the photographer's life story and tackles the opioid crisis

Right: *Harry Styles* and



thought-provoking and even touching.

Outshining some of the other female-led films in the competition strand – Penelope Cruz as an unhappily married mother in Italy's *L'immensità* and Virginie Efira as a happily childless teacher in *Other People's Children* from France – was Andrea Palaoro's slow-burner *Monica*. Trans actor Trace Lysette smoulders quietly in this close-up portrait of a woman returning to her boyhood home to help care for the dying mother (Patricia Clarkson) who once rejected her. Does mom even realise who this new carer is? We wait for the big reveal and the even bigger confrontation, but they never come; the film is made of more delicate stuff than that – and all the better for it.

Things got real with Laura Poitras's ferociously powerful *All the Beauty and the Bloodshed*. While some documentar-ies go macro, and others keep a tight focus, Poitras (*Citizenfour*) does both here, her film an intensely personal portrait of photographer Nan Goldin as well

tor and heart pains. The remedy is an unexpected one: hearing the opening lines of an essay on *Moby-Dick*, the film making its title's double meaning loudly apparent. Distinctly nautical sounds can occasionally be heard on the over-insistent soundtrack.

The fact that the film takes place mostly in this one room reflects both its origins as a play and that Charlie has become unable to haul himself any further. There on his straining sofa he subsists on a strict regime of pizzas (never less than two), meatball subs and lies (24-hour TV politics, “diet” soda). Tiny tasks are like mountains to climb, even the act of laughing bringing pain. The only visits come from his straight-talking carer Liz (Hong Chau) and a persistent young missionary (Ty Simpkins), until Charlie's daughter (Sadie Sink) re-enters the picture, having matured into a ginger ball of teenage rage. We learn of his failings as a father but the film's compassion comes to the fore. There's a pathos in seeing Fraser, once

even as Giorgia Meloni of the far-right Brothers of Italy party looks set to take power. Yet Meloni's backward-looking views on immigration and homosexuality could not be further from what we have seen on screen, where the marginalised and the stigmatised dominated the spotlight.

One day brought three such stories in a variety of forms. It began in freakish form with Luca Guadagnino's cannibal road movie *Bones and All*, which arrived under a cloud of allegations surrounding the director's *Call Me By Your Name* collaborator Arnie Hammer. The actor faces renewed accusations of sexual misconduct involving a cannibalism fetish (all of which he denies). Under the circumstances, it's no small feat that the film is good enough to banish temporarily any thoughts of Hammer.

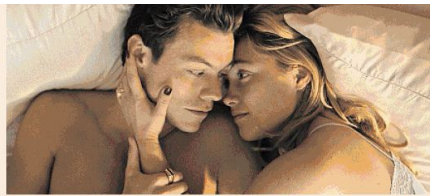
The meat of the story concerns Maren (Taylor Russell), an 18-year-old living with her father (André Holland) in 1980s Virginia until, during a nail-painting party, she shows her true colours by chewing off one of the other girls' fingers. Maren is forced to hit the road, try-

Guadagnino confirms his gift for working with young actors, drawing a terrific performance from Russell

ing to come to terms with her growing tendencies and to find her estranged mother. Along the way, she meets more "eaters", including the grungy drifter Lee (Timothée Chalamet), with whom she forms a bloody bond.

Guadagnino confirms his gift for working with young actors, drawing a terrific performance from Russell and putting Chalamet's doleful dynamo energy to excellent use. (Ecstatic – rather than blood-curdling – screams accompanied the young heart-throb's arrival by boat at the Venice Lido.) The possible metaphors are myriad: take your pick from drug addiction, poverty, mental illness or illicit sexuality. What fascinates most are the moral questions facing the characters, who have not chosen this way of life. Their wrestling with this shameful imperative recalls Peter Lorre's heartbreaking child-killer in Fritz Lang's *M* ("Kann nicht, muss"). It's a queasy watch, but also unexpectedly

Florence Pugh in the darkly dystopian *Don't Worry Darling*



Right: Brendan Fraser stars as a morbidly obese father in Darren Aronofsky's *'The Whale'*



Below: Taylor Russell and Timothée Chalamet play fine young cannibals in Luca Guadagnino's *'Bones and All'*



as an indictment of the role of certain members of the billionaire Sackler family in the opioid epidemic that has claimed 500,000 American lives and is counting. Connecting the two are Goldin's own experience of addiction, her

Harry Styles reminds us of his talents – as a singer – in the non-singing role of a Stepfordish husband

unsparingly honest art and her campaign to get the Sackler name removed from prominent galleries and museums.

It comes as an invaluable gift to Poiras that Goldin has been documenting her life since her teens – and what a life it's been. Given up by her parents to foster care at 14, she was initially struck dumb by trauma until rediscovering her voice through photography. Finding her real home in a 1970s underground arts scene fuelled by drugs and fluid sexuality, Goldin spent time as a go-go dancer and a sex worker to buy the materials for her practice. When she presented her first series of intimate work to a New York gallery, she was told, "Nobody photographs their own life" – the concept being as radical then as that statement seems absurd now.

Goldin's celebrated 1985 exhibition *The Ballad of Sexual Dependency* kick-started her career but also marked a low point, documenting her being beaten by a boyfriend who left her needing reconstructive facial surgery and addicted to opioids. And so the film's strands dovetail skilfully. Goldin narrowly avoided death; we see testimonies from the parents of those less fortunate. The heartbreak etched into their faces as they share accounts of watching their children die is unforgettable; the stony faces of the three Sacklers forced by court order to listen – seemingly unmoved – is unforgettable.

Another medical crisis is at the centre of Darren Aronofsky's *The Whale*, which chronicles the long, slow suicide of a morbidly obese man with merciless candour but also with an abundance of empathy. It opens on a crass note: Charlie (returning star Brendan Fraser) is pleasuring himself to porn in his squalid apartment, the moment of wheezing climax interrupted by an unexpected visi-

lean leading man, now encased in a grotesque fat-suit, especially since in reality he has been battling weight gain and depression. It's a credit to his undimmed abilities that he enters so effectively through the layers of prosthetics, his eyes alone conveying bottomless depths of vulnerability, self-loathing and hope. Noteworthy too is Chau, who wrings authenticity from every word (often four-lettered), recognising the humanity in Charlie long before we do.

Other heavyweight films were still to be unveiled at press time, not least the hotly anticipated Marilyn Monroe biopic *Blonde*, with Ana de Armas the unlikely lead, and Florian Zeller's *The Son*, his follow-up to *The Father*.

Even in a strong year, however, there have been notable disappointments. Alejandro G Iñárritu's *Bardo* is an overblown and self-regarding epic in which the Oscar-winning director of *Birdman* and *The Revenant* returns home to put the "Me" in Mexico. The three hours of stream-of-consciousness, soon to stream on Netflix, weren't short on visual dazzle but eventually had most of us longing for the edit button.

Paul Schrader's *Master Gardener*, meanwhile, is his umpteenth portrait of a broody loner seeking redemption – this time a former neo-Nazi reborn through horticulture. It's hard to believe the writer of *Taxi Driver* is capable of such tinned dialogue, involving eye-rollingly awful gardening analogies ("the seeds of love grow like the seeds of hate"), not to mention the most awkward love scene in living memory.

There was better sex in Olivia Wilde's flashy *Don't Worry Darling* but not a better movie. Harry Styles reminds us of his talents – as a singer – in the non-singing role of a Stepfordish English husband who gaslights his American wife (Florence Pugh) to hysteria in 1950s California. Pugh's perfect picket-fence life becomes an increasingly bad dream before the film takes a long delayed and unconvincing left turn into dystopian sci-fi. It's most likely to delight those enjoying the tabloid feeding-frenzy around alleged bad blood between Wilde, Pugh and Styles. In other words, the eaters will be licking their chops.

Further coverage at ft.com/film Festival ends September 10, labiennale.org

Arts

An audio guide to the planet

Chris Watson | The sound artist has woven field recordings of the natural world into a visual and orchestral extravaganza. Hannah Nepilova reports

Chris Watson has long been aware of the link between sound and memory. "I can play back a recording I made last year or 10 years ago and within seconds I know where it is, what I was doing, how I felt, what the equipment was like and what the weather was like," he tells me.

But in his five-decade career, the 68-year-old sound artist has rarely taken a more extensive trip down memory lane than in his upcoming multimedia project with the Manchester Collective. That project is *Weather*, which – in addition to film footage and a performance of a post-minimalist orchestral composition by American composer Michael Gordon – will include decades' worth of Watson's field recordings. We'll hear sounds from the Amber Mountain rainforest in Madagascar, from the Namib desert in southern Africa, from the Vatnajökull glacier in Iceland, which Watson has been visiting for 20 years.

We'll even hear the sounds of a place that no longer exists: the medieval city of Dunwich – once a major port on the Suffolk coast that was hit by storms in

Chris Watson with his recording equipment on Blyth Beach, Northumberland. Photographed for the FT by Owen Richards

them sound like they were coming from the ocean floor."

The purpose of *Weather*, which premieres at Manchester's Royal Northern College of Music and London's Southbank Centre this month, is to profile the extent of climate change through an immersive presentation of endangered habitats and lost places. But with so many constituent elements, will it all hang together? Watson assures me that Carlos Casas's film, featuring visual footage of the habitats we hear, will work in tandem with his soundscapes. As will Gordon's composition *Weather*, which gives the whole project its name.

"I like the ambient sounds in Gordon's piece – sirens and thunder. They convey a sense of warning. And like all good music," says Watson, "this score leaves spaces to listen to other sounds, so my recordings can become part of the composition, but also something new, something different."

As someone who has witnessed the effects of climate change at first hand – "in the time I've been visiting the Icelandic glacier, I've seen it retreat by 200 metres" – Watson is better qualified

if you listen with underwater microphones, you can hear the ice melting and the air inside it popping out. This is air that has been trapped for 10,000 years being re-released back into our atmosphere. It sounds like a tiny xylophone, with all these very musical, percussive elements. I thought it was a magical process."

Taking pleasure in sound for sound's sake is something of a sacred principle for Watson, who has many times expressed his desire to "put his audience where his microphones are". And it's a principle that has taken him a long way. He has worked all over the globe on projects ranging from Hilidur Guðnadóttir's score for the hit HBO TV series *Chernobyl* to Sir David Attenborough's wildlife programmes.

A typical day in his life might include coming face to face with alligators, eavesdropping on spider monkeys or recording the mating call of the blue whale in surround-sound. He has spent so much time on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts that he is convinced he can tell them apart by sound: "Everywhere I've been in the Pacific has this soft deep harmonic pull of currents, while the Atlantic tends to sound harder." Yet Watson's journey into the world of sound art started on his own doorstep: in the Derbyshire countryside.

He was 12 when he first ventured out to record the sounds of "skylarks and golden plovers, the wind over the rocks and the rain". From the outset, he saw the creative potential of his tape recorder "not just as a device for documenting sounds, but in a wider sense because [sound] is so tactile; you can sculpt it, you can pick it up, you can play it backwards, you can cut and splice it and cut it into chunks." In his late teens, when he discovered *musique concrète* ("grown-ups making music with tape recorders like I had"), he saw the potential of turning his passion into a profession.

Five decades on, he remains convinced that location sound "unlocks a sense of time and place. That, he says, is because "sound is visceral. It takes you back instantly. It strikes directly into our hearts and imagination." Would he put it on a par with a piece of composed music? Yes, he says, though the sounds of the world around us can be even more personal to the listener: "I've still got the first sound my daughter made when she was born. I've got the sound of my parents, who are long since deceased, talking, which I find really... in fact I just can't listen to it. It's very powerful."

He credits evolution with giving him this particularly heightened sensitivity to sound ("The people who didn't hear predators in their sleep

40,000 years ago would have come to an evolutionary dead end very quickly"). Yet, he says, it's a gift that many of us have forgotten how to use. "We often ignore the [sound of our environment] because we're surrounded by so much noise pollution."

Watson practises listening to everyday sounds as well as unusual ones, to the point where he finds it hard to switch off. "I'll be out on a walk with Maggie, my wife, saying 'black cap, willow warbler, chiffchaff'. It's like some form of Tourette's, where I have to name the sound that I'm listening to." He also encourages his grandson to make up stories based on sounds recorded on walks around his local area.

Is there a lesson there for us all? Watson seems to think so. "You don't have to go to the other side of the planet to hear the most extraordinary wildlife sounds. You can just go into your garden or your local park or simply put your head out of your bedroom window."

"Even though we hear everything, we don't tend to listen. But if you open your ears, you will get so much information about the simplest places. And you will get enormous pleasure from it."

Manchester, September 23, mcm.ac.uk; London, September 24, southbankcentre.co.uk

the 13th century and is now largely below the sea. Speaking to me over Zoom, Watson shares an anecdote from his visit to the surrounding area: "This fisherman told me that [according to local legend], you can tell when the weather is changing because the bells of Dunwich [churches] start tolling from the deep. That really caught my imagination and I decided to use that sound. But of course I had to cheat: I recorded the bells of York Minster, and made

'You can hear the glacier melting and the air inside it popping out – air that has been trapped for 10,000 years. It sounds like a tiny xylophone'

than many to share his feelings about it. But he has no desire to preach to the choir. "I think we're all made sufficiently aware of what's happening [with the environment]," he tells me. "And in any case, this project isn't a lecture, it's a piece of theatre. I've chosen these places because they're sonically rich." He has gone so far as to include in the work some sounds that would remain inaudible without specialist equipment. "There's a point in the glacier's journey,

LIFE OF A SONG
RUSSIANS

As Vladimir Putin's war against Ukraine grinds on, the death of Mikhail Gorbachev last week reminds us of a more hopeful time for our relations with Moscow. Back in the mid-late 1980s, the cold war was thawing and treaties were being signed to reduce nuclear arms. It was in this climate that Sting released his 1985 hit single "Russians".

Seen from 2022, Sting's opening lyrics have taken on a chilling resonance. "In Europe and America," he sings, "there's a growing feeling of hysteria." Until February 24, when Putin's troop build-up turned into full-scale invasion, that "hysteria" line could almost have come from the Kremlin's propaganda machine. The west, it insisted, was getting hysterical; there are plans to invade. Six months into the war, those denials ring more hollow than ever.

in the White House when the song was released. Still, the song was zeitgeisty enough to stay in the UK singles chart until 1986, peaking at number 12. The lead-in to "Russians" samples a snatch of a Soviet newsreader referring to Gorbachev. The quality is crackly, but the words "negotiations with the delegation led by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev..." can just be made out. The broadcast is attributed to Gorbachev's late 1984 meeting (before he became Soviet leader) with Margaret Thatcher, who memorably described him as a man with whom "we can do business".

Today's war in Ukraine shows Putin to be a man we can't do business with. But the backdrop to the song was Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* ("openness"), which facilitated disarmament talks and paved the way for the signing of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty in 1991. Such details were not the song's concern. Its message – hard to argue with in the face of nuclear cataclysm – was simply: "There's no such thing as a winnable war."

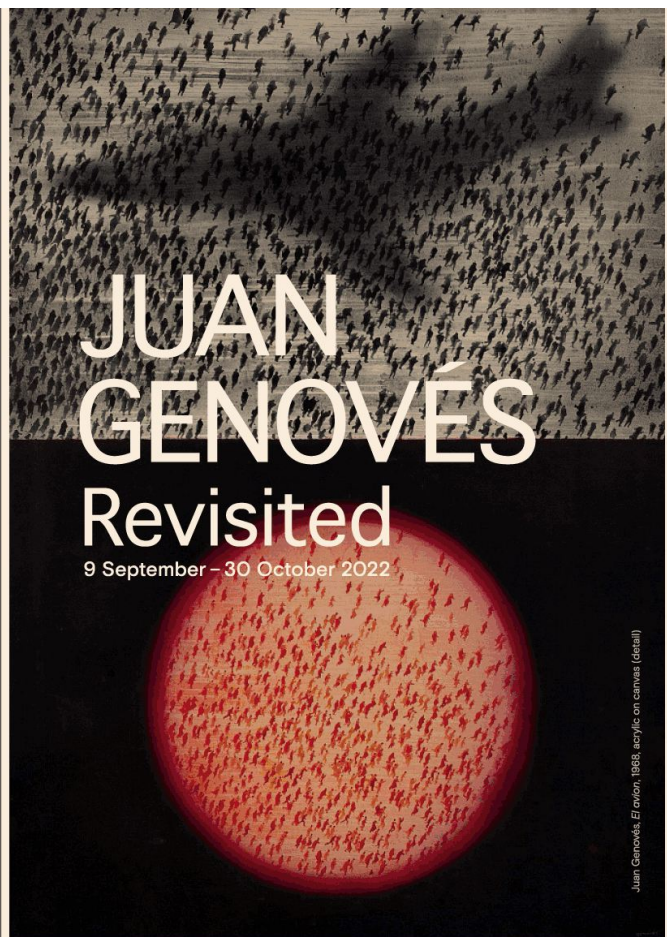


Sting in 1985, the year of the song's release – Clayton Call/Getty Images

For all its resonance, cover versions have been thin on the ground. A tiny, overwrought rendition was unleashed on the world in 1988 by Italy's Ciccolina; a 1994 thrash-metal version followed by German band Gigantor. Australian singer Katie Noonan covered the song on her 2020 album *The Sweetest Taboo*. And in March 2022 Sting released a new, minimalist version in a YouTube video that featured just himself and cellist Ramiro Belgard. In his intro to the video, Sting says he never thought the song "would be relevant again. But in the light of one man's bloody and woefully misguided decision to invade a peaceful, unthreatening neighbour, the song is once again a plea for our common humanity."

"Russians" also sits within a trend for popular music to mine the work of the Soviet composer Sergei Prokofiev. BBC TV's *The Apprentice* takes its theme tune from Prokofiev's ballet *Romeo and Juliet*, while the sleigh bells of Greg Lake's 1975 hit "I Believe in Father Christmas" jingle along to the "Troika" passage in Prokofiev's orchestral suite *Lieutenant Kijé* (1934). *Kijé* is also the source of the ominous theme that pounds away in the background of "Russians", evocative of missile launchers rumbling across Red Square.

Although released in more hopeful times, the tone of the song is moody and dark. It ends with an appeal that is ever more urgent today: "But what might save us, me and you, is if the Russians love their children too." Paul Gould
More in the series at ft.com/life-of-a-song



JUAN GENOVÉS
Revisited

9 September – 30 October 2022

Juan Genovés, *El avión*, 1968, acrylic on canvas (detail)

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Arts | Collecting

The dark gleam of Issy Wood

Visual art | The painter of unsettling, unlikely still lifes aims to confound viewers – and has also released her first album. By *Caroline Roux*

Not everyone likes Issy Wood's paintings. Her brother, says the 29-year-old artist, recently asked her not to give him any more work. "He said he'd rather have a computer game," she tells me, when we meet at her London studio. The space is large and top-lit, filled with shelves of shiny tchotchkes and stacked with copious completed canvases; there is a small jungle of plants and a couple of sofas. I find a spot on one of these, while Wood opts to sit at a significant social distance opposite me, on an office chair in the middle of the room, rolling an occasional skinny cigarette.

She is still post-pandemic. "I didn't feel anyone's breath, or touch, for months. I hope I'm not permanently damaged," she says. Even if her brother isn't keen, Wood's work has been rapturously received elsewhere. Her paintings, from small and pocketable to a mighty two-metre-high and made on velvet, are unsettling and sometimes unfathomable. Accretions of objects – dinner services, shoes, china rabbits, false nails – elide with close-ups of puffa jackets, art-historical nudes, medieval armour, ancient statuary. The colours are muted, dark and drained. "Not everything has to be brightly coloured to work," says Wood. "Goya taught me how to use black properly. Courbet taught me about flesh, and clothing."

Images are gleaned from the internet or auction catalogues or painted from



'Mother's maiden name' (2022) by Issy Wood, courtesy Michael Werner Gallery and Carlos/OhKawa

out for me," says Wood. "The women rule in my family on both sides – through sheer force on my paternal side and soft power on my mother's. The subtle eoroll."

Wood's ascent, under Carlos's careful stewardship, has been remarkably fast. Last year, a two-metre trompe l'oeil of a glossy black and soft green puffa jacket made in 2018, called "Over Armour"

LinnDrum. "No one had heard my stuff and he made me feel good about making it," she says. She signed to his label Zelig in November 2019, but in January 2020 the two parted company. Wood, who refuses to record anywhere other than her kitchen, saw Ronson add extra instruments into her work and cut the occasional verse. "It turned it from a hobby into something else, and it wasn't

IN AUSTRIAN CATALOGUES OF PAINTED THINGS still life (those tchotchkes) and together build the world, both real and imaginary, that Wood inhabits. The paintings are not a diary (that occurs in her blogs) but an evocation of her contemporary female life, with its layers of pain and realms of influences, that often hovers around the surreal.

Shortly after our meeting, Wood will head to New York for a show of new work at the Michael Werner gallery on the Upper East Side. Larry Gagosian had made a bid to represent her in the US and, according to her blog, Queen Baby, ranted at her when she turned him down. Werner, she says, "seemed like an uncool move", though one that would place her alongside a panoply of painters. The gallery, now under the direction of Gordon Veneklasen, specialises in painting – Peter Doig, Per Kirkeby – though rarely in women artists.

Around 28 canvases have already been dispatched to Manhattan. One shows a car seat, a frequent subject that seems to suggest a sinister, un-grown-up aspect of masculinity. "It's a Porsche interior. It looks like it was designed by Bridget Riley," says Wood of its Op-art

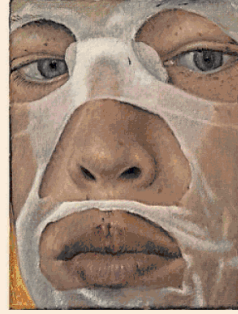
style in 2019, when she sold at Christie's in New York for \$479,000, and her record was set at Sotheby's with "Study for goes both ways", showing those car seats again, for \$504,000.

Wood tells me she believes in the 10,000-hour rule of prolonged practice, and her increasing aptitude is right there in her work. She is not just a painter, but a musician and a sharp and fluent writer. "A triple threat," says Sarah McCrory, the director of the Centre of Contemporary Arts at Goldsmith's, who put on a Wood exhibition in 2019. "She's inexhaustible, incredibly prolific. When we took all the paintings out of her studio for the show, I felt like her immediate drive was to fill it up again."

Painting apart, Wood says writing and transcendental meditation "are what keep me afloat". She meditates every day before breakfast, then works herself to the bone in the studio, particularly when she paints on richly coloured velvet, which is a tough thing to do. "I started that at the RA, when I was going through one of those insecure phases, worrying that painting on canvas was



Clockwise from above: 'Sore awards 1' (2022) by Issy Wood; the album cover for 'My Body Your Choice'; 'Self-Portrait' by the artist (2022) Michael Werner Gallery; Carlos Islanave; Photo: Damian Griffin



just boring," she says. Now – however difficult – it defines her practice. "You can't use anything wet, or any solvent, so I ruin brushes and it hurts my arm."

The results are moody and dense – there is no reflection on the surface – and possibly with some conservation issues going forwards. "The ones who are most horny for my velvet paintings are the more mercenary types," she notes. "The ones most likely to put them back into auction. So let's see how that ends up."

In the evenings she makes music at her kitchen table. The latest output, an album called *My Body Your Choice*, came out in August, following three EPs and a couple of singles. The music has an intentionally underpowered quality: tracks include "I just called to say I hate you". In 2019, she started working with producer Mark Ronson – he lent her a Roland synthesiser and gave her a

right move," she says now.

This year, Lena Dunham directed a video for Wood's single "Both", with the actress Hari Nef standing in for Wood. "It's hard to hand over control," says Wood, "but I'd trust Lena's eye on anything." She had been a huge fan of Dunham's TV series *Girls* – "I loved the characters, all deeply flawed and all horrible." The video, like the music, is spare and minimal. Wood went to Dunham's wedding in September 2021 in London, where she was praised for her painting by Taylor Swift. "I didn't dare tell her I make music too."

It's not hard to imagine Wood, with her trendy mullet hair and long-limbed insouciance, taking to the stage. And yet she refuses to be photographed for this article, another legacy of her dysmorphia. What if someone takes her picture? "I'll be performing," she says. "I'll be doing something. I won't be posing." Indeed not. She will be fulfilling a challenge she has set herself.

'Time Sensitive' runs to November 12, michaelwerner.com. 'My Body, Your Choice' is available with Music Unlimited

Sotheby's takes on galleries with new primary-market channel

The Art Market All the buzz from Frieze Seoul; UK fair organiser urges new government to undo Brexit hurdles. By Melanie Gerlis

Sotheby's starts the art market season with a new sales channel for artists and their galleries. Called Artist's Choice, the move into the primary market – territory normally guarded by galleries – will ruffle some feathers but has been welcomed by the likes of Casey Kaplan and Jeffrey Deitch. Their respective artists Kevin Beasley and Kennedy Yanko are among the seven included in Sotheby's New York auction on September 30.

The launch comes on the back of a similar project debuted this summer by the auctioneer Simon de Pury and meets two distinct needs, says Noah Horowitz, Sotheby's head of gallery and private dealer services.

"With the right work, at the right time, artists and galleries can directly capture the upside at auction, which for the most part has not been the case. It is also a useful way for some to set a

[public] price for their work, which is helpful to new buyers," Horowitz says. Artist's Choice has a philanthropic bent, with 15 per cent of a work's hammer price, jointly paid by the artist/gallery and Sotheby's, going to a charity of the artist's choosing – something that Horowitz says has helped encourage artist support for the new channel. The other participants this month are Alexandre Lenoir, Vaughn Spann (both Almine Rech gallery), Assulini Kaga (mother's tankation), Katherina Olschbaur (Nicodim Gallery) and Todd Gray (David Lewis), with presale estimates ranging from \$15,000 to \$120,000.

The highly anticipated first edition of the Frieze art fair in Seoul (September 2-5) seems to have paid off, generating heightened cultural activity in the Korean capital and vigorous sales reported from its 110 international exhibitors. Event appearances from the likes of K-pop phenom RM (Kim Nam-joon of BTS) and stars from *Squid Game* added to the buzz. Frieze's decision to piggyback on the longstanding local K1af Seoul fair – which fielded 164 exhibitors on the ground floor of the same Coex conference building – unsurprisingly took some of the commercial activity away from the older fair but overall served both fairly well, attendees say. "There were more overseas visitors than usual at K1af and many more overseas galleries," notes Heejin No, an art adviser and curator based in London and Seoul. Only three of the 37 new exhibitors at K1af were from South Korea, with

Clockwise from right: 'Early Morning, Sainte-Maxime' (1969) by David Hockney; 'Man with Tulips' (2022) by Hangama Amiri; Frieze Seoul's first edition; 'The Red Banana Tree (Forstall)' (2022) by Kevin Beasley – Hangama Amiri/Union Pacific Gallery; Beasley/Casey Kaplan



others from places as far-flung as Los Angeles and the Philippines, including Galleria Continua, Cristea Roberts Gallery and Rachel Offner Gallery – plus Axel Vervoordt, who showed at both fairs.

While many of the western exhibitors are keen to diversify their presence in Asia, it will take time for Seoul to match Hong Kong as a market hub. But the presence of the continent's serious collecting community – from Taiwan, Hong Kong and the Philippines as well as South Korea itself – already marks the fair as significant within Asia, according to No. The only fly in the ointment, she says, was that "sales would have been even faster if the US dollar wasn't so strong."

Christie's used the Seoul scene of occasion for the first showing of its latest consignment, David Hockney's

Christie's confirms. The auction house could have a bumper season, having announced last month the consignment of 150 works from the late Microsoft co-founder Paul Allen. The potential total haul is touted at more than \$1bn, which would make it the biggest single-owner sale ever. All proceeds will go towards philanthropic causes.

The UK's new prime minister, Liz Truss, has an unenviable inbox; ditto new international trade secretary Kemi Badenoch and culture secretary Michelle Donelan – the seventh person in this role in just six years. The latter pair can expect a letter from Hugo Barclay, director of the UK's Affordable Art Fairs. In a call for meaningful dialogue to reverse the cumbersome barriers to the art trade brought on by Brexit, Barclay writes that he has witnessed a 30 per cent drop in international galleries coming to his UK events.

In a draft of the letter seen by the Financial Times, Barclay says that Ireland-based exhibitors are switching from UK fairs to those in the EU, which are now logistically easier and cheaper. He quotes Yann Bombard, director of Evie d'Art gallery in Paris, saying: "I've spent years doing business in the UK and am now having to re-evaluate whether I should continue to prioritise [it] over other countries."

The Afghan-Canadian artist Hangama Amiri has recreated the story of her family's separation as refugees from Afghanistan – now on show in

London's Union Pacific gallery. For nine years from 1999, when Amiri was 10, her father moved to Scandinavia while her mother lived in refugee housing in Tajikistan with Amiri and her three siblings.

For the exhibition, Amiri has made fabric wall pieces based on 10 of the photographs that her parents sent each other during the time. Images from her father are on the gallery's ground floor, while her mother's are in the room below, with carpet and wallpaper to recreate their relative domesticity. Added features, such as extra fabric, ink-jet prints and mirrors, are dotted throughout, as well as one original photograph – of Amiri and her mother taken in a studio.

"Amiri is not just creating beautiful fabric pastiches of her parents' photographs... [We are looking at] how a child remembered a couple and how she is looking at them anew through older eyes," writes the curator Sarah Burney.

Reminiscences runs until September 24, with works priced between £14,000 and £26,000.



"Early Morning, Sainte-Maxime" (1969), on offer in October for £7m-£10m. The striking purple-hued painting, based on photographs taken on a trip to the French Riviera with Hockney's great love, Peter Schlesinger, previously sold at auction in 1988 for \$352,000. Its buyer then has not been named, but the work comes by descent from a UK collection,

Arts

Bowled over by Pinter and Beckett

Theatre | Shomit Dutta invokes two playwrights with a passion for cricket. By Sarah Hemming

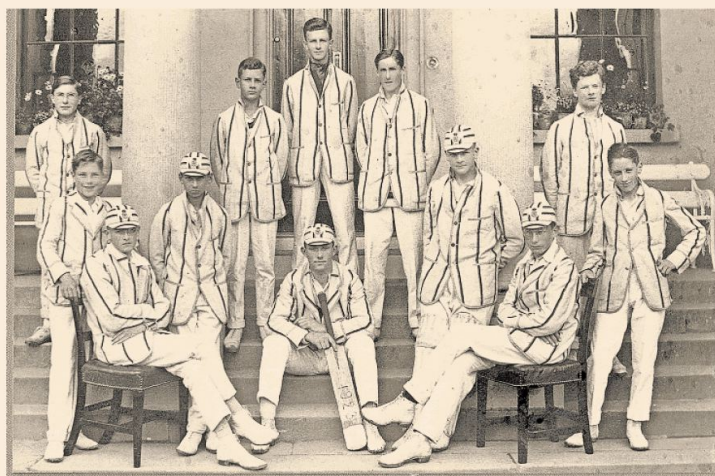
When the actor John Alderton appeared in Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* in 1987, the playwright allegedly advised him to think of Vladimir and Estragon as two batsmen padded up and waiting to go on to the cricket pitch. Meanwhile, dramatist Harold Pinter once described cricket as "the greatest thing that God created on Earth".

Both those nuggets now inform a playful new drama by Shomit Dutta. *Stumped*, to be streamed live from Lord's Cricket Ground in London, imagines the two playwrights, decked out in their cricket whites, whiling away time at the edge of the pitch, grumbling and reminiscing as the game unfolds off-stage and they wait for their cue.

This dramatic innings has its roots in truth. Both writers were cricket devo-

Dutta was inspired by Aristophanes's ancient Greek comedy *The Frogs*, which pitches two great writers – Aeschylus and Euripides – against each other. But *Stumped* also takes its character from the playwrights it depicts. Dutta mischievously weaves in many references to both dramatists' work, most obviously *Waiting for Godot* and *The Dumb Waiter* (in both plays two men hang around). Dutta's characters even echo Vladimir and Estragon's refrain – "I'll go." "You can't." "Why not?" "You're doing the scorebook."

Indeed, an unkind person might observe that one critic's description of *Godot* as a play in which "nothing happens, twice" could also apply to certain test matches, in which long periods of waiting around are punctuated by moments of agony, triumph and despair. Dutta laughs at the suggestion



Left: the Portora Royal School 1st XI featuring Samuel Beckett (seated from right) in 1925; below: Andrew Lancel, playing Harold Pinter, and Stephen Tompkinson as Samuel Beckett at a rehearsal for 'Stumped' (Ennais/Allen Royal Grammar School, Tom Cruise)



the symmetry between the five-day test-match and the five-act play but, within that elegant formal structure, the subtle texture of the game mirrors the nature of life: the rituals, the subplots, the weather, the gladiatorial contests between batsman and bowler or batsman and fielder, the potential for sudden glory or ignominy.

"Cricket is a very powerful metaphor for life," Dutta says. "I wrote the play during the first lockdown when, for all

very candid about his failures. He made a speech to our club and the first thing he did was describe a game that he spectacularly lost."

The possibility of failure is important in *Stumped*, says Dutta. While it's a light-hearted play, coursing through it is something much darker: "Beckett is so often about failure. And fear of failure is something I certainly saw in Pinter, even though he was obviously such a towering figure in the theatre."

tees: Beckett, a brilliant cricketer in his youth, is the only Nobel Prize-winning author to feature as a first-class player in the cricketing bible Wisden; Pinter was passionate about the sport and spent four decades with his beloved Galettes cricket club, a "wandering" team founded in 1937, and still active with members from the performing arts, literature, film and music. Pinter took over the captaincy in 1972 and was chair until his death in 2008.

Dutta has also captained the team. That Pinter and Beckett, although friends, never played together is part of the fun: Dutta is able to create an alternate reality in the way both playwrights did in their own writing.

"There are lots of elements that tally factually," says Dutta, a classicist and writer, whose earlier play *The Changing of the Guard* focused on the Trojan war.

"The play is a bit like a dream in the way that some things are correct and some are not. It has its own logic."

but adds that crossovers between the game and the two writers' styles — the pauses, the subtext, the pairings, the duels — were part of the attraction.

"My working title was *Yes . . . No . . . Wait*, based on the three possible calls a batsman can make, but also on the fact that waiting is in the titles of *Waiting for Godot* and *Dumb Waiter*. There's something about the game of cricket that involves rhythms of stopping, starting, waiting that seemed to me very in keeping with the work of Beckett. At the same time the big dynamic in cricket is that there are moments of direct confrontation and aggression, which is very Pinter-like."

The distinctions between the two men are also key. "Pinter was a working man of the theatre, whereas Beckett always had the air of an academic. In the play Pinter is often trying to act and Beckett is trying to think. Pinter is a bit like a boxer or a rugby player — he's very pugilistic — whereas Beckett is refined



Harold Pinter practising batting in Wandsworth, London, in 1961 — Getty Images

and much more ethereal as a character. I said to the actors, 'Beckett has a foil and Pinter has a sabre.'"

Pinter and Beckett were far from the only playwrights to be bowled over by cricket: Tom Stoppard, Alan Ayckbourn, Terence Rattigan and David Hare are among the legions of literary cricket fans who could make up a fantasy XI. But why the attraction? Football and rugby are swift, end-to-end contests, over in less than two hours and ripe for dramatic metaphor. Long-form cricket, with its uncertain pace and bewildering terminology, seems like a stickier wicket.

Not so, says Dutta. It's partly the unpredictability that appeals. There's

of us, waiting had become our condition, our shared condition."

It's not necessary, he adds, for *Stumped* audiences to know their silly mid-on from their silly mid-off or to be steeped in the dramatic canon. For those who do know the playwrights' work, however, there is an added pleasure in spotting the references, while the rhythms of the play owe much to both writers.

He adds that it helped to have known Pinter through the Galettes cricket club. Which impels the question: what was he like? "He could be irascible," Dutta recalls, laughing. "The first time I mentioned theatre to him didn't go down particularly well. He came to a game in early summer, and he was wearing a trenchcoat. I said that he reminded me of Davies [the homeless man in *The Caretaker*]. 'Beckett was clearly the far better player. Harold got out for naught in his first game [for the Galettes]; his highest score was 39. He was

There's also the shadow of mortality. Dutta recalls that Pinter's favourite lines about cricket were from the elegiac poem "At Lords" by Francis Thompson that he quoted at the end of every season: "For the field is full of shades as I near the shadowy coast/And a ghostly batsman plays to the bowling of a ghost."

Cricket, Dutta suggests, lends itself to reflection about the brevity of our innings here on earth: the light fades as the game unfolds; dismissal can be sudden, mistakes calamitous. In *Stumped*, the two characters are suspended between the action and the shadowy pavilion. "I think death always lurks in cricket. Cricket is about ends, mortality . . . There is, for the batsman, the ever-present threat of demise, in the midst of his endeavours."

Streamed live on September 10 and on demand from September 27, originaltheatreonline.com

Diversions

CHESS LEONARD BARDEN

Magnus Carlsen, the world champion, shocked chess on Monday when he withdrew from the prestige Sinquefeld Cup in St Louis following his third round loss to the new US star Hans Niemann, 19.

It was the first withdrawal of the Norwegian's entire career, and the only explanation in his tweet was a cryptic video clip of the football manager José Mourinho commenting: "If I speak I am in big trouble",

during one of his press conferences about match refereeing.

St Louis officials reacted by delaying the broadcasts for round four by 15 minutes, a measure generally applied to prevent cheating, and by intensifying the metal detector checks on players at the start of the round. Results were negative.

Niemann's 57-move victory with the black pieces, which gave him the



tournament lead and took his world rating to above 2700, had proved a triumph of anticipation. He had prepared that

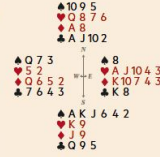
morning for Carlsen's unlikely opening choice of 4.g5 against the Nimzo-Indian 1 d4 Nf6 2 c4 e6 3 Nc3 Bb4. Carlsen had used the same variation by transposition at Kolkata 2019.

2485 White mates in two moves, against any black defence (by Fritz Giegold, Die Zeit 1972). Cue: White has several tempting checks, but none of them work.

Solution, back page

BRIDGE PAUL MENDELSON

At Rubberbridge, interesting hands come and go, often without any realization that superior options abound. East's bid was an Unusual No-Trump Overall, showing 5-5 in hearts and diamonds. West led 5♥. East won immediately with A♥ and returned a heart. Playing for 5♥ to be a singleton is foolhardy since, if this is the layout, declarer would hold ♠K92 and two heart tricks might belong to East naturally. As it was, declarer



won K♥, laid down ♠AK and crossed to dummy's A♠ to play ♣♥, on which he discarded J♠. Whether West ruffed with ♣8 reveals the correct play: East started with five hearts and five diamonds, one spade and therefore only two clubs. This means that West holds four. Declarer can win A♠, play all his clubs, and pitch his diamond loser from hand on the final one.

Dealer: South		N/S Game	
North	East	South	West
—	—	18	NB
3C	2NT	3S	NB
4S	—	—	—

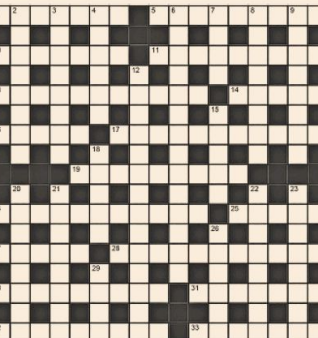
difference: declarer has made his diamond loser vanish. What might happen if, at trick 1, East puts in 10♥? Declarer wins K♥ and lays down A♠. Now, what should he do? He should establish dummy's long suit. The club finesse is taken and lost, and East switches to a diamond. Now the bidding

reveals the correct play: East started with five hearts and five diamonds, one spade and therefore only two clubs. This means that West holds four. Declarer can win A♠, play all his clubs, and pitch his diamond loser from hand on the final one. The defence can do better, of course, if West starts with 2♥ — now, nothing can prevent them scoring four tricks, but players love doubleton leads, even though often — as here — they are a gift to declarer.

POLYMATH 1,195 SET BY HAMILTON

- ACROSS
- 1 Actor and comedian who hosted the Oscars ceremony a record 19 times (3,4)
- 5 Sport in which Mick McManus was a leading exponent (9)
- 10 A book of Psalms (7)
- 11 Either of two passes across the Alps, the Great or the Little (2,7)
- 13 North American phrase meaning very common and low in value (1,4,1,5)
- 14 David, US director who wrote the story for the film *The Fugitive* (1993) (5)
- 16 1944 film noir with Gene Tierney in the title role (5)
- 17 Particularly agile felons? (3,8)
- 19 City, also the title of songs by David Bowie (1982) and Coldplay (2002) (9)
- 20 One employed to recognise and recruit people with a particular aptitude (6,5)
- 25 Castle in Kent, for a time home to the Boleyn family (5)
- 27 Manchester-based symphony orchestra founded in 1858 (5)
- 28 Story said to be the oldest to have been turned into a pantomime (6,5)
- 30 A cocktail made with gin, fresh lemon juice and honey (4,5)
- 31 Empire whose first Sultan was Osman I (c1299-c1326) (7)
- 32 A word spelt the same as another but with a different sound and meaning (9)
- 33 Dame Hilda ———, stage name of Patrick Fyfe (7)

- DOWN
- 2 A naturally occurring volcanic glass (8)
- 3 A symbol of purity stamped on gold, silver or platinum (8)
- 4 Type of building appearing in large numbers to ease the 1940s housing shortage (6)
- 6 UK constituencies abolished by the 1832 Reform Act (6,8)
- 7 The hard white fat on the loins and kidneys of cattle and sheep (4)
- 8 A criminal or terrorist that works on his or her own (4,4)
- 9 London Underground line whose extension to Battersea Power Station opened in 2021 (8)
- 12 Film genre particularly associated with screenwriter Richard Curtis (8,6)
- 15 In Greek mythology, a tree nymph taking the form of a young woman (5)
- 18 The most common surname in the UK and North America (5)
- 20 Engaged in a headlong rush to do something (8)
- 21 Having fallen in social status (8)
- 22 Geological era comprising the Triassic, Jurassic and Cretaceous periods (8)
- 23 Idaho's nickname (3,5)
- 26 A monastery dining room or refectory (6)
- 29 An ornamental box worn suspended from a girdle in traditional Japanese dress (4)



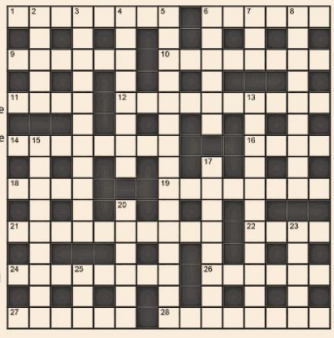
Solution Polymath 1193



CROSSWORD 17,196 SET BY ARTELEN

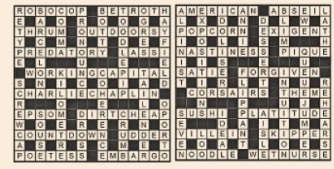
- ACROSS
- 1 Disney film lad brought back for children (8)
- 6 Desire to replace contents of sweet bag (6)
- 9 Overturned bedpan by bed? Fantastic! (6)
- 10 Sluggishness of one caught invading country (8)
- 11 Old French town from which Italy's withdrawn in the past (6)
- 12 Command revolutionary soldiers aboard metal boat (10)
- 14 Fruit rot treated with aspic (8)
- 16 Keen songstress gets rejected (6)
- 18 Antelope switching sides to get comfy (4)
- 19 A Greek character always successful type (8)
- 21 Worked out grill attached to sides of extended household appliance (6,4)
- 22 Go wild striking north from hills? (4)
- 24 Elegant parrot eating soft legume (8)
- 26 Learner in the past playing pool (6)
- 27 Free traitor imprisoned by US soldiers (6)
- 28 Using river, vessel entering outskirts of Reading (8)

- DOWN
- 2 Foreign goalie nearly saves (5)
- 3 Flattering European in the end on phone (9,2)
- 4 General staff about to support an uprising (8)
- 5 Circuitous flight from Alsace airstrip's rerouted (6,9)
- 6 Sailors viewed netting in the morning (6)
- 7 What hacker does is not totally clever (3)
- 8 Make sexy twich in naughty soiree (9)
- 13 Player's nerves level following remedy (5,6)
- 15 Office worker's vigour after taking in new attendant (9)
- 17 Fabric layer poorly installed in church (8)
- 20 Converts area before erecting stone home (6)
- 23 Cultivated king wearing robe (5)
- 25 Queen perhaps beginning to address court guards (3)



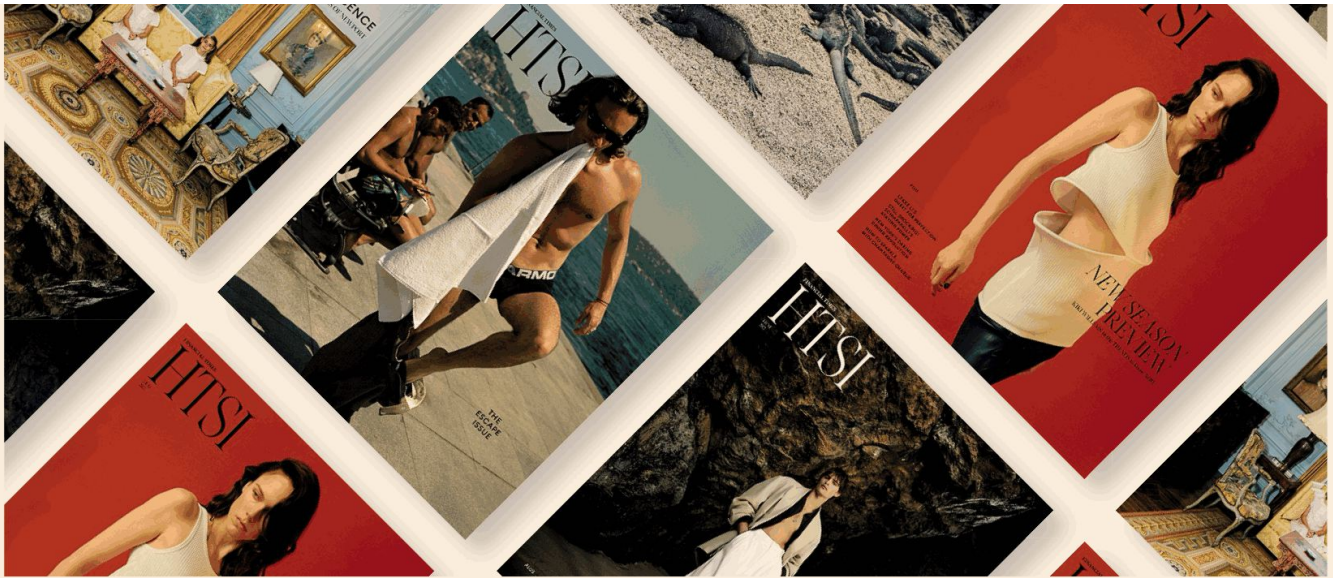
Solution 17195

Solution 17184



Jotter pad





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LONG READS | INTERVIEWS | IDEAS

A burgeoning technology using the muon particle promises to give humans the power to see through almost any substance on Earth. If researchers are right, it could help save millions of lives. By *Geoff Manaugh*



supports contain an estimated 100,000 tonnes of rock. Parts of the dome’s inner shell are nearly two metres thick. One of the illusions of architecture is that buildings are immobile. In fact, they are dynamic systems, always on the move. Almost immediately upon construction, cracks appeared – some large, none well-explained – in the walls of the nave. The cupola, made of countless individual blocks of stone, is constantly responding to gravitational settling, seasonal temperature change, earthquakes and the effects of rain and snow.

Ernst Niederleithinger stands at the edge of an industrial laboratory in the southwestern suburbs of Berlin. It is nearing sunset, a week before the summer solstice. The room is illuminated from above by angled skylights reminiscent of a 19th-century painter's studio.

Around him in the gloom stand more than two dozen concrete monoliths, many half a metre thick, some close to two metres tall. A few weigh as much as 700kg. Drawn across their smooth, grey surfaces in pencil and ink are precisely measured grids, often grids within grids, at different scales. These inscriptions give the objects an archaeological feel, like exotic obelisks waiting to be interpreted.

Gazing at the monoliths, Niederleithinger knows he can do the impossible: he can peer inside solid concrete, examining the depths of even the densest material. Although the massive shapes lurking inside are nothing more than oversized blocks, Niederleithinger cautions against any notion of simplicity. "Concrete," he says, "is very complicated."

For the past 21 years, Niederleithinger has worked at Germany's Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung, the Federal Institute for Materials Research and Testing, or BAM as it is known. BAM was founded in Berlin in 1871, tasked with assessing the "strength of iron and steel". Its remit has since broadened considerably. Today, with 1,600 employees, the institute helps to set rigorous national safety standards by testing different materials – concrete, but also composites, nano materials, microplastics, lithium-ion batteries, even nuclear waste containers – before they are adopted by German industry. "Sicherheit macht Märkte" is BAM's motto: safety creates markets.

Concrete is one of the most widely used materials on Earth. Every year, more than 10bn tonnes of it are produced; 70 per cent of humanity lives in a structure made from reinforced concrete, and, by 2050, global concrete industry revenues will reach nearly \$1tn, according to an Allied Market Research estimate.

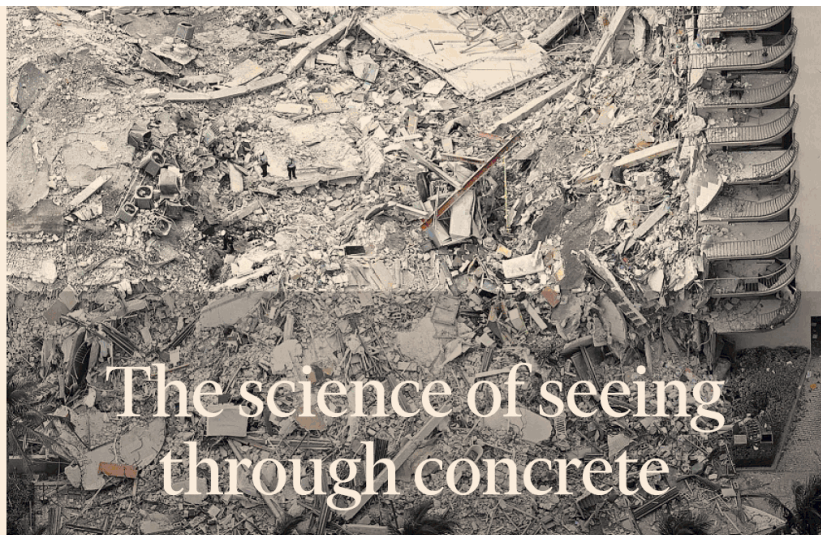
Concrete has become both a technical and moral fixation for Niederleithinger. Over time, concrete can crack and decay. Cables and metal embedded in the material can corrode or snap, leading to failure. Bad concrete puts entire buildings and transportation systems, not to mention countless lives, at risk. Drilling test holes in every bridge span, foundation wall, auditorium roof and dam to determine the health of those structures, however, is not only economically impossible; it could damage the very things engineers want to study.

When a residential high-rise collapsed in Surfside, Florida, in June 2021, killing nearly 100 people, structural experts pored over the ruins. Close examination suggested that some of the building's concrete pillars, which shattered in the collapse, appeared to contain insufficient rebar, the steel used inside as skeletal support. If construction crews had skimmed on this vital reinforcement, that might help explain why the structure collapsed: it had been overloaded for decades.

But it also might suggest that other buildings, not just in Florida but around the world, face a similar risk. Had there been a way to see inside the concrete to inspect the pillars without damaging them, perhaps catastrophe could have been avoided.

As Niederleithinger walks from one monolith to the next, he pauses over particularly interesting pieces, like a curator inspecting a Brutalist sculpture garden. "Our mission is to find methods to look into concrete," he says, "to be sure that everything is as planned, that all the metal rebar and whatever else that is supposed to be there is in the right place." At one point, he grabs an ultrasound machine and presses it up against the surface of a concrete mass. A cluster of red and green shapes appears on the device's screen. Rebar.

Through non-destructive means, including X-rays, ultrasound and radar, BAM's engineers have a wide range of technical options at their disposal to peer into objects made of concrete, but also steel, wood or stone, in the hunt for signs of fatigue, rust and other forms of corrosion.



The science of seeing through concrete

But each of those tools has its limitations. Radar cannot penetrate deeper than about two metres, meaning that thick walls or pipelines and other structures buried below a certain depth cannot be imaged. Ultrasound can be noisy, prone to echoes and self-interference with dense materials, producing incoherent images.

X-rays are almost ideal, offering crisply detailed images, produced quickly, but they have one obvious flaw: they are a form of radiation and pose immediate health risks to anyone exposed to them. X-raying a large structure or piece of infrastructure in the middle of a city can require evacuating the entire area, not to mention copious amounts of paperwork as researchers apply for the necessary safety permits.

Niederleithinger pauses by a wall of heavy shelves holding multiple slabs of concrete. In one of them, ductwork coming out of the side was visible. "If you could have some kind of detecting system that doesn't use X-rays but uses natural cosmic rays, which are here anyway," he says, "that, of course, would be great." Which is exactly what Niederleithinger and his colleagues at BAM have their eyes set on: a new imaging technology that can safely and cheaply see through almost any structure on Earth using particles from space.

This cosmic tool promises to revolutionise construction technology, accelerate everyday building maintenance and potentially save millions of lives. If Niederleithinger is right, the moon revolution is only two or three years away.

The power flickers on and off in Raffaello D'Alessandro's office, shutting down his computers and air-conditioning. It is early summer in Italy and a heatwave is passing through.

D'Alessandro teaches physics at the University of Florence. He performed the bulk of his postgraduate research at Cern in Switzerland, including experiments with the facility's Large Hadron Collider, a 27km-long underground particle accelerator straddling the border with France. Next to his desk, tucked away near the window as if to keep it cool, is a muon detector called Muon Imaging for Mining and Archaeology, or MIMA.

Above: the condominium in Surfside, Florida, that collapsed in June 2021; below: the MIMA muon detector; bottom: Florence Cathedral, with dome engineered by Filippo Brunelleschi

Getty Images; MIMA muon detector illustration created by Lorenzo Bonetti and Olimpia Bonetti; Dom Michelangelo; Utestein Bild/Getty Images

Using complicated mathematics and modelling software, physicists can then calculate – and thus visualise – what those muons have passed through. In other words, muons can be used to make images. It is called muography: one part comic book superpower, one part cosmic photography.



Muons are shortlived, highly energetic particles generated in the Earth's upper atmosphere by collisions with cosmic rays. Though they exist for mere microseconds, muons travel at nearly the speed of light and are able to penetrate deep into the Earth's surface. They pass through cathedrals and dams, motorways and hospitals, through steel, stone and concrete.

Proof of their existence was first demonstrated in the 1950s by a series of experiments that showed this previously unknown particle – roughly 200 times heavier than an electron – was one of the universe's fundamental ingredients, cousin to the better-known quarks and neutrinos. Today, we know that an estimated 600 muons pass through our bodies every minute of every day and night.

Although muons penetrate matter with ease, their ability to pass through an object or structure decreases with a material's density. Muons en route through a large building or mountain will be subtly but measurably filtered out by thick masonry or heavy ore, with the effect that more muons will travel through zones of emptiness – the first clue that a room, cave or magma chamber must exist somewhere inside.

Similarly, muons passing through a material such as concrete will be blocked or scattered just enough by the steel rebar, which can be seven times denser than concrete, to indicate that something – an object or anomaly – must lurk within.

Using complicated mathematics and modelling software, physicists can then calculate – and thus visualise – what those muons have passed through. In other words, muons can be used to make images. It is called muography: one part comic book superpower, one part cosmic photography.

MIMA is a ruggedised metal box, a cube of roughly 50cm, mounted on a stand. Although its three trays house sensitive muon-detecting electronics – specifically, scintillators and photon detectors borrowed from the nuclear industry – the device could easily be mistaken for an office microwave.

For a machine that can see the invisible, it uses surprisingly little power, about the same as a standard lightbulb. This means the device can be run for several days from a single battery pack and can even be solar-powered. Producing muographic images is also deceptively simple: just turn on the detector, go back to your office and wait as the data trickle in.

"The problem," D'Alessandro says, "is waiting for enough muons to arrive." Developing muon imagery takes time. If, on average, only one muon per minute passes through an area the size of your palm, then it can take many days, even weeks, to develop a coherent, large-scale image of a building. Unfortunately, this aspect of muography cannot be sped up or improved. "That's a physics limitation," he explains, "not a technology limitation."

The resulting images look a bit like high-contrast photocopies, their ghostly grey tones resembling old daguerotypes, the precursor to modern photography, but when used at the scale of buildings, muography has centimetre-scale resolution, which means that pieces of rebar, as well as signs of corrosion or damage, are easily visible.

As the "archaeology" in its name implies, MIMA has been used successfully in an array of cases that go well beyond imaging concrete. D'Alessandro has used MIMA to measure ore bodies in underground mines, to help archaeologists survey previously unmappped Etruscan tombs and to keep tabs on the internal structure of Italy's notorious Mount Vesuvius. By detecting changes in the volcano's magma chambers, indicating an imminent eruption, muography could function as an early-warning system, saving millions of lives.

Muon detectors have, in fact, been used for architectural imaging since the 1960s. Muography's big break came at

"The problem is waiting for enough muons to arrive. That's a physics limitation, not a technology limitation"

the end of that decade, when University of California physicist Luis W Alvarez installed a muon detector beneath the Pyramid of Khafre in Egypt. Alvarez's goal was to locate a hypothetical unknown chamber believed to exist somewhere deep inside the structure. Although Alvarez's work showed that no such room existed, muography was again put to use, in 2017, when researchers discovered an unexplained void – possibly a royal burial chamber – hidden in the nearby Pyramid of Khufu.

Because muons are especially good at revealing voids, muography has also been used in the Yucatan rainforest of Mexico. There, physicists from the Maya Muon Tomography Group at the University of Texas at Austin scanned remote, overgrown landforms, revealing that what appeared to be hills were, in fact, buildings – ancient Mayan temples with unexplored rooms and chambers inside.

MIMA might yet find its most consequential use, however, helping to analyse, and thus preserve, one of the world's most celebrated works of architecture. In the centre of Florence, looming over the restaurants, boutiques and narrow streets around it, is a cathedral. Its surface is a spectacular patchwork of contrasting marble. Marine greens and rose pinks share space with paperwhite stone blocks; ornate statues and geometric patterns adorn every few feet.

Atop the otherworldly extravagance of the cathedral walls is a cupola, or dome, designed by architect Filippo Brunelleschi in the 15th century. A religious and gravitational marvel, Brunelleschi's dome and its related structural

These endless adjustments have been compared to plate tectonics: rock masses jostling against one another in a centuries-long sway.

All of this motion may or may not pose an existential threat to the cathedral. No one is sure what the long-term effects will be. Some engineers have suggested that the cracks function more like expansion joints, as measurements have revealed that they open and close with the seasons. Rather than suggesting the imminent collapse of the cupola, in other words, the cracks might be acting as pressure-release valves, helping to regulate long-term settling of the building.

Yet a definitive explanation of what caused the cracks in the first place remains elusive. For nearly 400 years, architects, mathematicians and engineers have studied them. Hypotheses have ranged from long-term water damage related to an underground stream to "localised horizontal tensile stresses exceeding the strength of the masonry", as the authors Giovanni Fanelli and Michele Fanelli write in their history of the dome, *Brunelleschi's Cupola*.

No matter what the cause, 21st-century engineers hoping to reinforce the cupola and protect it from future collapse face a frustrating problem. Part of what gives the dome its enduring mystery is that Brunelleschi left behind no construction documents.

What engineers and historians do know is that the cracks have been growing wider at a rate of 7mm per century. To keep tabs on them, sensors known as "deformeters" have been installed, measuring the cracks' growth to within an error of a few micrometres. Humidity gauges and level-checking instruments dot the church interior. So many technical studies were under way by the 1980s that 'The New York Times suggested the dome had "a solid claim as the world's most carefully monitored structure".

D'Alessandro is not the first to have spotted the potential of muography to save the cupola. Elena Guardinacci has a PhD from the University of Genoa.

That city was the site of another infamous infrastructural collapse in August 2018, when a 1,200-metre bridge failed, killing 43 people and destroying much of the neighbourhood below.

Guardinacci works at the Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL) in New Mexico. During a conference at LANL in 2013, one of her colleagues, Cas Milner, wondered aloud whether muons could be used to image Florence's cathedral, helping with efforts at its long-term preservation. Guardinacci's initial view of muons, she said, not without irony, was that they were a distraction from her real research. At the time, she was studying neutrons, subatomic particles that can be mistaken for muons (and vice versa). Muons made her already complicated work much harder. But eventually she came to see their potential, and she fabricated a mock-up of the cupola's masonry shell in her New Mexico lab.

She began performing proof-of-concept muographic surveys on it, showing that the same particles she once found so annoying could be used for architectural imaging. When funding for this particular project was discontinued, the door was left open for D'Alessandro and his colleagues to pursue their research.

Armed with MIMA, D'Alessandro and his team have one specific goal, a target that will reveal whether the church already has internal reinforcements inside the masonry. During the dome's construction, Brunelleschi ordered and received a shipment of iron believed to have been used to fashion a titanic chain that was then strung inside the dome's shell, holding it in place like a necklace. Yet no such chain has ever been found. It is probably in there somewhere, but to verify it requires more than a hammer and a chisel.

Part of the appeal of using MIMA inside the church is that it will be so unobtrusive: a small metal box operating in near-silence, emitting no light, reverently awaiting particles from above. From that, images will emerge, pulling cosmic shadows into focus, including, they hope, evidence for or against the existence of a chain deep inside the rock.

The use of a tool originally intended for mining and volcanology seems

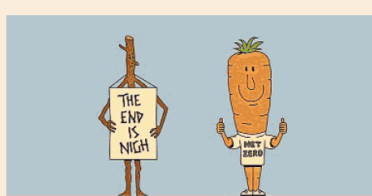
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Spectrum

The road to climate action suddenly seems smoother

There's an old joke about a driver stopping to ask a villager for directions. "Well," says the villager, "if that's where you're going, I wouldn't start from here." That describes our current status for saving the planet. Ideally, we wouldn't start from here: ice sheets doomed, climate damage under way and barely any plausible path to achieving global net zero emissions by 2050.

always cast as a problem of the future – is here. Rolling climate disasters, most recently this summer's transcontinental droughts, have shown people that this is about us, not our dimly imagined descendants. That creates a sense of urgency. Governments now feel emboldened to act on emissions, even in two major countries that until this year were objectively pro-climate change. In recent weeks, both the US and Australia (the world's third largest



The other reason to hope: as climate change becomes a "now" problem, cities and countries have begun acting to protect themselves. After all, even the most short-sighted government will want to benefit people today (and their pricey homes) by building seawalls or urban cooling centres. Google Trends, which has tracked worldwide Google searches since 2004, is the closest we have to a window on to the collective consciousness. Global searches for "climate adaptation" but



Simon Kuper

World View

But usually there's some good news. After decades in which we've essentially been driving a gas-guzzler around in circles, the next stretch of our journey to net zero looks more straightforward. We are entering a hopeful new era for climate action. People and green alternatives are readier, policymakers are moving from stick to carrot and good ideas will spread fast.

In the era of the stick, the hope was that we would sacrifice our way to lower emissions. Through carbon taxes and moral awakenings, people would fly less, forgo meat and install solar panels. Going green was meant to hurt. But the stick didn't work. True, we used more renewables, but we burnt more fossil fuels too. Global emissions kept rising. The "stick" era was a mass experiment in human willingness to make sacrifices for future generations. The outcome was sobering.

Today, suddenly, things look different. First, climate change –

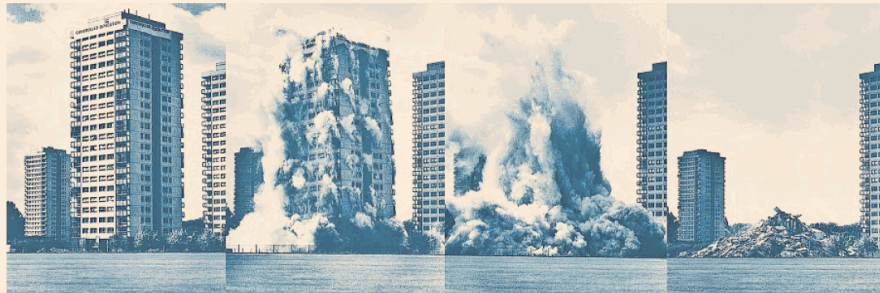
AMERICA (THE WORLD'S LARGEST fossil-fuel exporter) passed the most serious climate legislation in their histories (admittedly a low bar). Large majorities of Americans now back climate action, according to pollsters Gallup. Next month, a third domino should fall: Brazil's president Jair Bolsonaro, who oversaw the Amazon's degeneration from carbon sink to carbon emitter, is expected to lose the election.

The US bill also showed the way to cut emissions. The old idea of taxing carbon was economically correct but politically wrong. People wouldn't vote to consume less. Consequently, carbon taxes were always set too low to reduce consumption much. Now the US has switched from stick to carrot, offering tax credits for renewables, electric vehicles and so on. That works partly because these technologies have come along so fast: the price of solar, for instance, dropped 89 per cent in a decade. E-cars (not to mention e-bikes,

e-mopeds and e-rickshaws) are now so affordable that they account for a quarter of new car sales in China. Even before the war in Ukraine turbocharged gas prices, the world was switching to renewables largely out of grubby self-interest. "In 2020, 82 per cent of new electricity capacity globally was wind or solar," write Eric Loneragan and Corinne Sawers in Supercharge Me: Net Zero Faster.

Renewables industries are emerging with their own grinning lobbyists and backchannels to politicians – the kind that fossil-fuel companies always had. That means green is starting to work with capitalism rather than against it. High gas prices have also weakened the quasi-religious taboo on nuclear energy: Germany, Japan, California and the UK are pivoting towards extending the lifespans of existing nuclear plants.

RECENTS OF CLIMATE ADAPTATION JUST hit an all-time high. Even some poor places are finding ways to adapt: mountain slopes around San Salvador are being reforested to stop landslides, while Ghana's cocoa farmers plant trees to shade crops from the sun. Effective action on climate creates virtuous circles. As the whole world tries to tackle the same problem at the same time, a scheme or technology that works in one place can quickly go global, point out Loneragan and Sawers. Doomsmongers argue that the rising global population will boost emissions. But that's wrong: almost all the additional people will be born in sub-Saharan Africa and south Asia, where emissions per capita are very low. Though we're starting in the wrong place, we now have a credible road map to reach net zero, perhaps by 2070 – a potentially manageable 20 years late. *simon.kuper@ft.com; @KuperSimon* More columns at ft.com/kuper



A controlled demolition. Concrete structures globally might experience cracks amid climate change, giving muography's uptake more urgency — Getty Images

Seeing through concrete

Continued from page 17

strangely appropriate when one climbs through the vast interior of the cathedral. A series of tight corridors, dimly lit ramps and steep stairways gradually bring visitors up into Brunelleschi's dome. The sweltering heat could also be felt through the walls of the cathedral. Heatwaves like the one that was roasting Florence this summer will only become more common with climate change. This will considerably worsen each season's thermal effect on Brunelleschi's dome. Concrete and masonry structures all over the world might find themselves experiencing cracks and fracturing in the coming decades, giving muography's pending uptake unfortunate marketplace. But also an expanding market place.

The entirety of BAM's Division 8.2 traces much of its current mission to an architectural tragedy that could probably have been avoided using muography. At the time of its construction in the late 1950s, Berlin's Kongresshalle was a rare example of a prestressed concrete shell. A gift to West Germany from the US, the hall took the form of a hyperbolic paraboloid – picture a Pringles crisp. Part of the building's structural flair was that its roof was supported by long steel cables strung through the concrete itself, allowing the roof to cantilever, even with its enormous weight, over the open lobby below.

For 23 years, the hall stood without incident. Then, in May 1980, its concrete roof partially collapsed, killing a journalist and injuring several visitors. Although later explanations for why the roof failed included many root causes, one detail stands out: the installation of a reflecting pond outside the hall was more fateful than anyone could have realised. Humidity from the pond penetrated deep into the concrete on that side of the building, corroding and then snapping the steel cables one by one. Because the cables were inside the concrete, however, no one could see that they had broken.

A full-colour photograph of the hall now hangs on a wall inside Division 8.2, a constant reminder to BAM employees of what they're really working for. (Subsequently reinforced, the Kongresshalle still stands, since renamed as the Haus der Kulturen der Welt, an arts and performance venue.)

Niederleithinger and his colleagues at BAM are working on testing and certifying muography so that it can be approved for commercial use. In

essence, their challenge is to help turn a high-energy physics experiment into a product. Without a muon detector of their own, however, BAM has been sending its concrete monoliths to the University of Glasgow in Scotland. Because of their extreme weight, the blocks are transported by truck and ship. They are then imaged in Glasgow and, using the grids marked on their surfaces, any intrusions, foreign objects or flaws inside the block are noted.

Before muography can become more common, Niederleithinger admits, it must be proven irrefutably to be both accurate and dependable. He estimates it will take another two or three years for the evidence to accumulate and for standards to be drafted and applied.

Early next year, Niederleithinger will be relocating to Glasgow for three months to work on muon testing and certification. He will be joining one of his key collaborators, David Mahon, a research fellow in the school of physics and astronomy at the University of Glasgow and business development manager of a private muographic-imaging company called Lynkeos Technology. Named after one of the Argonauts from Greek myth, a guide who could see through objects, including the surface of the Earth, Lynkeos is based in Glasgow's West End. For now, its biggest contracts are with the UK nuclear industry, which has hired Lynkeos to scan radioactive waste containers at the Sellafield decommissioned reactor site using muons.

For Mahon, muography presents a classic case of the challenges in bringing an unfamiliar technology to market. "Muography can play a significant role in improving lots of different industries," he says. "But the issue is adoption, getting industry to take a chance on this space-age technology."

It takes longer than an X-ray, he agrees, but it doesn't require the lengthy permitting process and thus might save

time in the end. It uses almost no electricity. And, he argues, the beauty of muography lies in its hands-off nature: you just securely install the device and walk away. "With the nuclear industry in the UK," he says, "we might sell one or two systems every few years, but it's not a business model that people want to invest in." The result is that detectors are expensive: even a small one such as MIMA, which would normally cost at least €50,000, has doubled in price in recent months to €100,000, as a result of the global chip shortage and because some components are from companies affected by sanctions following Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

"It's a bit chicken-and-egg," Mahon concedes. "You need the market to be big, so that the components are cheap, but you don't get the volume in the market if you've got really expensive systems."

Muography can play a significant role in improving lots of different industries'

What's more, current muon detectors lack flexibility. What muography needs, Mahon says, is not just investors but designers: people who can design flexible, modular frames and structures to ensure the equipment can fit in irregular spaces. It's one thing to put a clunky detector such as MIMA on the floor of a mine and start collecting cosmic particles, it is another entirely to squeeze a functioning muon detector into the cramped vaults of a cathedral, an underground rail tunnel or a congested crawl space beneath a bridge.

To this end, Mahon is working to develop 3D-printed armatures, inside of which muon-detecting sensors can be woven. Rather than purchase new components for each detector, these sensitive electronics can be reused in different forms. This means that even the most complicated, unique architectural spaces can be catered for, with bespoke 3D-printed shells for infinite future detector geometries.

"It doesn't reduce the cost of individual components, but it means we don't need to keep a massive stockpile of expensive parts for single-use imaging campaigns," Mahon explains. Like Niederleithinger, Mahon is bullish about muography's future markets. Muons are already used for border-security inspections, he points out, including by a San Diego-based company called Decision Sciences, which uses a larger version of the muon detector system developed at LANL as part of a vehicle inspection station.

Trucks entering the US from Mexico can be selected for additional scanning. Drivers are asked to pull up into a

machine that looks vaguely like a car wash, with a muon-detecting canopy and muon-detecting floor plate. Muons raining down through the truck can be imaged to reveal the presence of ultra-dense metals, such as uranium or plutonium, that could be smuggled into the country to build a dirty bomb. Similar muon inspection infrastructure is operational in a handful of global shipping ports, including Singapore, Boston and the Bahamas.

Muon detectors have also been proposed as a potential method of detecting illegal tunnels under the US-Mexico border. By excavating a sequence of deep boreholes along the border and placing a muon detector in each one, law-enforcement agencies might be able to capture the gradual excavation of an empty space from the ground above. With BAM, Niederleithinger has begun working with Germany's autobahn authorities to image bridges, looking for damage or corrosion, in the process demonstrating that muography will work outside the controlled environment of a laboratory.

Where Mahon and Niederleithinger also agree is that muography can show architects and engineers better ways to design structures in the first place. "The more data we have, the better we can make things in the future," Mahon explains, citing the examples of better grouting and seals for rebar and prestressed concrete. For Niederleithinger, muography could also improve maintenance of existing structures, cutting down on the use of concrete and thus the greenhouse gas emissions associated with its production.

"What's the benefit for our economy?" he asks. In his Berlin lab, his colleagues have long since gone home, leaving him alone amid the gridded slabs and inscribed obelisks of BAM. "Don't dismantle the old bridges, but inspect them, strengthen them, repair them, so that we can use them for another couple of decades," he says. "The best thing to do is to take care of existing structures so that they don't have to be replaced. This will save a lot of money for the taxpayer."

Muography may be the future, but it can appear less than futuristic. "I have to warn you," Mahon says, "a muon inspection is not an exciting thing. Nothing happens. There are no flashing lights. It's just black boxes with something in the middle."

But if black boxes installed around cities, beneath bridges, inside basements, even under pyramids and cathedrals, can help protect us from structural failure, then being boring seems an acceptable price to pay.

Geoff Manaugh is a US-based architecture and technology writer. Research for this article was generously supported by a grant from the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts

NOTES FROM THE CUTTING EDGE BY ELAINE MOORE

How to retrain your TikTok algorithm

Instead of jokes, the app is serving me protein powder endorsements and gory videos

TikTok is the only good social media app. At least, it used to be. From 2019 until 2021, the algorithm was magic. It had a way of sending videos that you didn't know you were interested in until you saw them. For me, that meant synchronised dances, vegan recipes and elaborate songs created from internet drama. Then came the Amber Heard and Johnny Depp defamation trial.

For weeks on end this summer, my TikTok feed was hijacked by weird videos valorising Depp and offering violently hateful commentary about his ex-wife. It didn't matter how many times I clicked "not interested" or swiped past without watching, more would appear. Whether it came from real fans, opportunists or bots, the pro-Depp content was relentless.

When the case ended, so did the videos. But my algorithm has never fully recovered. Instead of jokes, I've landed on a side of TikTok that's full of protein powder recommendations and gory surgery videos. It's like a 1990s lads' mag come to life.

Clinging to memories of the good times, I've spent the past few weeks trying to retrain my algorithm. This, it turns out, is not easy. It's not just a matter of clicking "like" on the videos that interest you. You have to speed past the ones you don't like and save the ones that you do.

TikTok's algorithm is supposed to be particularly insightful because the app harvests so much data. The company, which is owned by China's ByteDance, looks closely at the length of time a user spends watching a video. It adds that to information it collects about their location, age, gender and search history. There is a lot of content to scrutinise too. Videos

can be shot on smartphones and uploaded easily. The fact that all this data is being collected by a Chinese-owned company is something that has raised frequent security concerns in the US.

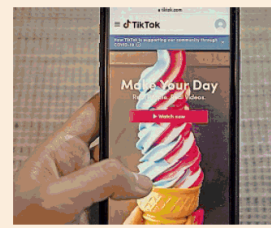
Yet what keeps more than a billion users like me hooked is that TikTok also drops in random videos now and again instead of boring users by showing the same sort of content. In the US, TikTok is watched for longer than YouTube, according to data taken from Android phone users by analytics company App Annie. Rival social media companies have given, dances, vegan recipes and elaborate songs created from internet drama. Then came the Amber Heard and Johnny Depp defamation trial.

As I found out, however, that randomness can also be the source of problems. Unlike Twitter or Instagram, which focus attention on content from people you choose to follow, TikTok serves up strangers. That can leave feeds open to unpleasant videos. Last year, the company said that it would try to improve this and stop users being taken down rabbit holes of upsetting content. But I suspect plenty of creators have become more adept at working the algorithm and pushing certain content forward.

The final step I took to improve my TikTok algorithm was to block creators whose videos I was being shown repeatedly and to filter out certain words. It's labour intensive but it seems to have worked. The gross-out videos have been replaced with remixes of a kid talking about how much he likes sweetcorn.

Still, the TikTok glory days of endless jokes and cleverly inventive videos seem to be coming to an end – on my feed at least. Once celebrities and advertisers moved in, the quality of videos on the app came down. Even after undertaking an algorithm repair job, I may need to find a new way to waste my own time.

Elaine Moore is the FT's deputy Lex editor



In the US, TikTok is watched for longer than YouTube — Van Cong/ Bloomberg

partner is now PM. Here's my advice to her



Tim Harford

Undercover Economist

What cause us to stop and reflect. The death of a parent; a child finishing school; one's former tutorial partner becoming the prime minister. Your humble Undercover Economist is having to deal with all three in the space of a few months.

I don't remember much about Liz Truss from studying mathematical logic alongside her at Oxford. I was too busy wrestling with Peano's axioms; I suspect that she felt the same. And I doubt she trembled to read the recent revelation in *The Economist* that while the Conservative grassroots venerate her, the Liberal Democrats are targeting "the Tim Harford voter". Truly, the narrative arc of my life story has taken a disturbing twist.

But what on earth does the Tim Harford voter actually want? After a few weeks of chewing it over, I've realised that if anyone is in a position to speculate, it must be me.

Perhaps the best I can come up with is that the Tim Harford voter is worried that the very foundations of British policymaking seem to be shallow and prone to crack. The bad policies are just the clumsy fondant icing; it's the cake itself that is rotting away.

Consider Brexit. It's a foolish policy, to be sure, but much more than that. It was enabled by a vaguely worded referendum that was introduced by a prime minister who crossed his fingers and forbade preparation for the

parliament, Jo Cox, was murdered during the campaign. Three of the prime ministers leading the project — Cameron, May and Truss — voted against it, and the other, Johnson, was notoriously ambivalent. Ever since the vote, the process has been mired in vitriol, contempt and denial.

One does not have to be a diehard Remainer to look at the entire decision-making process and fear that the British polity is not really up to the grown-up job of running a country.

What does the Tim Harford voter want when they look at this? First, a trivial-seeming thing: calm. We live in an age of outrage, sometimes justified and sometimes manufactured. But nobody ever thought more clearly because they were angry. Nor is outrage the only way to succeed at the political game. Proven winners from Blair to Merkel to Obama have thrived while trying to set a constructive tone.

Truss has been trying to provoke outrage, but judging from her infamous rant about how cheese imports are a disgrace, she is not very good at it. Perhaps she will decide that calm problem-solving suits her better.

Secondly, British institutions need buttressing rather than undermining. The Leave campaign scorned the UK Statistics Authority. Boris Johnson's administration — if that is not an oxymoron — was at pains to define itself against parliament, the civil service and the Supreme Court. Truss



Gallien Casasio

has taken aim at the Bank of England, the Treasury and the untrammelled power of, um, the Financial Times. Meanwhile, the NHS is never criticised, but it is being allowed to fall apart under the strain of the pandemic.

The UK has had a Conservative prime minister for 12 years, so it is easy to see why Truss wants to suggest that the rot starts not in Downing Street but Threadneedle Street or Whitehall. Perhaps she can still blame Brussels? The voters may swallow this story, although I wonder. But the country would be in a much better place if institutions from the Bank of England to the Office for National Statistics were treated as essential parts of the policymaking state, rather than as seething pits of incompetence and treachery.

A third demand from the Tim Harford factor is that facts should matter more than "vibes". The UK has not — yet — succumbed to the

arguments take place in a fact-free environment. Take the cost of living crisis. Truss's team has attacked the Bank of England for not being tough enough on inflation. But as a matter of simple arithmetic, when wholesale gas prices rise tenfold, average price rises cannot plausibly be kept at two per cent. (My colleague Martin Sandhu observes that if energy prices triple, all other prices would have to fall by an average of about 20 per cent to keep overall prices stable. Good luck with that.)

It is surprising how often political arguments in the UK, over taxes, crime, immigration or the pandemic, take place without any reference to whether the numbers are small or large, rising or falling. It might seem dull and grey to request policymaking with a sense of proportion and direction. So be it. Dull and grey it is.

I don't envy Truss her new job. But I hope she doesn't forget the Peano arithmetic we studied together. For too long, British political discourse has been based on intuition, inconsistency and hand-waving bluster. Peano arithmetic is the opposite: an attempt to set logical thought on the most solid of foundations. Politics is a different game, of course, but solid foundations would still be useful. Sometimes the plodding basics matter more than anything.

Tim Harford's new book is *How to Make the World Add Up!*

It is easy to see why Truss wants to suggest that the rot starts not in Downing Street but Threadneedle Street or Whitehall

Orkney's undersea wreckage

A fish-eye view of the Scottish archipelago highlights the threat from dredging. By Cal Flynn

The islands looked entirely different from the water. I was accustomed to their gently curving slopes, the smooth-skinned landscape of grass and thatch and heath, but from sea level I could see how I had forgotten the most notable feature of the Orkney coast — the way it juts from the waves like the prow of a ship. Its cliffs and crags, its sharp edges. From the deck of a ship, I could appreciate its vertical character in a way I couldn't from the platform of the land.

I was standing on the Sea Beaver, a research vessel that has been circumnavigating the British Isles surveying the environmental health of its coastal waters, part of a joint venture between Greenpeace and the Scottish environmental charity Open Seas. I joined the crew for a day this summer, thinking it might offer me some new perspective on the place I've called home for the past three years. I hadn't realised how literal that would be.

The researchers on board, marine biologists Rohan Holt and Theo Bennison, had spent the past few days recording some of the Orkney archipelago's natural jewels. Using a remote-controlled submersible device, they'd mapped a seagrass meadow off the shores of the island of Papa Westray and explored beds of maerl — a type of calcified seaweed that serves a similar ecological role to coral reefs. We watched their recordings together on Bennison's laptop as we waited to sail: the turquoise of the water, the rich raspberry of the maerl, the soft tanned leather of the kelp all coming together in a gloriously psychedelic vision of underwater utopia. Small crabs wearing a garze of vegetative growth skittered over the loose surface. Anemones thrust their starburst fronds towards the light.

Beneath the surface, all kinds of sea life find safety in the gaps between the coralline fragments. Urchins, worms, small fish and young scallops shelter in the maerl beds, which have a texture, Holt told me, "like All-Bran". Beds like these take centuries to grow, each little nodule of maerl growing only perhaps half a millimetre a year, but they play an invaluable role in the marine ecosystem and store huge amounts of carbon.

Or they would do, if they were left alone. On the day I came on board the Sea Beaver, we were on a different mis-

sion. Local scallop divers had reported an ominous development: dredging on the seabed and those that live on it, one recent study estimated that the worldwide practice of bottom-trawling and dredging releases around a gigatonne of carbon from sediments every year — as much as the entire aviation industry. Sustainable fishing, such as that practised by scallop divers, also

Using vessels with bottom-towed gear — that is, dredging or bottom-trawling — is considered the most destructive form of fishing. Nevertheless, it's very common, and is still permitted in most of the UK's "marine protected areas", regions recognised for their rich sea life. As well as the considerable damage wreaked upon the seabed and those that live on it, one recent study estimated that the worldwide practice of bottom-trawling and dredging releases around a gigatonne of carbon from sediments every year — as much as the entire aviation industry. Sustainable fishing, such as that practised by scallop divers, also

So often, at the coastline, our attention ends at the water's edge. The sea skins over the rest

becomes very difficult in the wake of the industrial behemoths, who trash the sea floor unthinkingly then move on.

A ship dredging for scallops works by dragging heavy metal nets over the floor of the seabed. It's a violent, indiscriminate process, scraping up all in its path for the fishermen to sort and, if necessary, discard. If a seabed is dredged frequently, fragile habitats such as maerl beds or flame shell beds simply disappear. "Two or three passes of a scallop dredge cause irreversible damage," explained Holt.

Dredging is legal; and what few controls we have, the campaign groups allege, are routinely flouted. The damage this causes almost invariably goes unseen and unrecorded. Too often, what happens at sea stays at sea. The Sea Beaver's crew were hoping to find evidence of what this dredger had been up to, the wreckage it had left in its wake — although they warned me it was a "needle in a haystack" operation. As time passes, the tell-tale raked appearance of a dredged seabed will settle, leaving it bare and flat and featureless.



Clockwise from above: the South Ronaldsay coastline; a fishing trawler returns with its morning catch; hermit crabs in a lost lobster pot off the Orkney Islands — *Alamy*

But we had intel. We chugged to an area where the dredger had been reported working recently. To get there, we had to circumnavigate the coast of Orkney. We passed Gairsay and Rousay, their voluptuous curves rising like limbs from a bath. Eynhallow, its name meaning the holy island, sitting low in the water. The cliffs of Birsay and the ragged coast at Yesnaby were dark, forbidding, streaked with guano. Rafts of gullenots and razorbills drifted on a sun-spangled sea; gannets sliced like javelins into the water all around.

The landforms I could recognise and name. Bodies of water, less so. But seafarers, I found, have their own signage. Cardinal buoys loomed, dressed in yellow and black, warning of dangers to the north, the south, the east. Beacons flashed eternal caution to the winds.

At the edge of the Scaja Flow, the huge natural harbour at the heart of the archipelago, we stopped at a pre-determined co-ordinate to drop our livid orange submersible in the water. It zipped away into the deep, trailing its Kevlar tail, as we watched the live feed from its camera on a handheld controller.

On the first pass, it found nothing of note: the seabed there a pic'nix of pebble, maerl, shells and rocks. The maerl gave it a rosy, healthy counte-



nance. Fat urchins sat like gems amid the sediment. Not much to cause alarm. But after we hauled it back up and dropped it down again, not far from those same co-ordinates, we stumbled across a very different scene. At first the submersible was zooming happily along the bottom — cobbles, crabs, wispy hydroids waving tiny arms — when suddenly it jetted over an invisible border into a new landscape. Here, the seabed was pale and bare, as neatly raked as a Japanese garden. During the dredging, much of the top layer had been scraped loose and sieved through metal chains. Shattered shells lay all around, and sand had billowed up and over everything. Small white particles drifted through the water, like snow.

"This is very, very clear," said Holt. He pointed to a pattern on the seafloor where it looked like two combs had been dragged in parallel, leaving a thin undisturbed margin in between. It was the trail of the boat, whose chain-bearing arms jut from either side.

The only movement from below was the hermit crabs. If the dredge tracks were like a ploughed field, these were the seagulls, picking over the remains. The area was huge, the size of a football field.

I looked up from the screen. Through the window of the boat I could see the rolling countenance of Orkney in its fresh-grown greens. The emerald lime of pastureland patched here and there with the buff and taupe of heather. Low grey

farm buildings huddled into the hillscape. Close by was the island of Fara, uninhabited since the 1960s. Today it looks peaceful, but from above, you can still see the old fields, clearly delineated, an enduring souvenir of its human history. Dredge tracks of the kind the submersible was recording on the sea floor will persist in a similar way; the previous ecosystem ground to dust and only recovering over centuries, if at all.

As I returned my attention to the screen — the scene of industrial devastation unfolding beneath me — I found yet another perspective of these islands I call home, one I had been missing until now. So often, at the coastline, our attention ends at the water's edge. The sea skins over the rest.

Open Seas plans to present the underwater footage to the Scottish government as part of a growing dossier of evidence of the problems with fisheries management, demonstrating the damaging footprint of scallop dredging and the necessity for regulators to take stronger action to control the practice.

We still don't know the extent of the damage to the seabed caused by dredgers such as this one, or by human activity at large. There's a huge imbalance, Holt told me, in our understanding of marine environments versus our knowledge of the land. Largely that's down to the difficulties of observation. A submersible such as this, even a cheap one, costs thousands of pounds. The citizen scientists who have filled in so many of the blanks in other areas of ecology are less able to help here. "If birdwatching requires wellies and binoculars, diving is like going to the moon."

But just because we cannot see it, does not mean it's not there. Even the briefest insight into what's going on beneath the waves felt like a door opening in my mind. Through it I glimpsed the importance of preserving our coasts, our seas, our unrecorded wildernesses, both above and below the waterline.

Cal Flynn is the author of *Islands of Abandonment: Life in the Post-Human Landscape* (William Collins)

Food & drink



Aaron Graubart

Cold comfort

Cookery | Ravinder Bhogal shares her version of ab dough khair, a revitalising, nutritious Iranian soup

There will be a change of appetite and weather in the coming weeks, but I am intent on enjoying light, cold soups until the last beams of warm sunlight fade away. This recipe is my version of ab dough khair, a revitalising Iranian yoghurt and cucumber soup that is generously seasoned and packed full of nutritious nuggets of sweet dried fruit, nuts and mineral rich herbs. It's like a breeze in a bowl. It

became my go-to over the dog days of August because it's just as easy to make for one as for a crowd. Along with the more traditional herbs like parsley, mint and dill, I have added sorrel, which belongs to the rhubarb family and shares its mouth-puckering, exhilarating astringency. Buttermilk too, mixed in with the yoghurt, gives it a tang and a creamy, light texture. All in all, it's a cocktail of good things that will make you feel like you are luxuriating in

something nourishing and refreshing ahead of the carbfest of autumn and winter. I serve it alongside some good bread, a few crisp salad leaves or thickly sliced, salted avocado with a glug of extra virgin olive oil.

Much like gazpacho, another favourite cold soup, it mainly comes together in a blender. The dairy is whizzed with water until frothy, then cucumber, radishes and herbs are chopped and stirred in along with golden raisins and walnuts. If you want to chug it rather than eat it with a spoon, you can leave out the fruit and nuts and just blend the whole thing together.

Ravinder Bhogal is chef-patron of Jtkoni. Follow Ravinder on Instagram @cookinboots and Twitter @cookinboots

Chilled Persian yoghurt and cucumber soup

Serves four

Ingredients

- 500g buttermilk
- 150g Greek yoghurt
- 4 Persian cucumbers, peeled and finely chopped
- 10 small radishes, finely chopped
- 60g golden raisins
- 40g walnuts, finely chopped
- Handful of dill, finely chopped
- Handful of chives, finely chopped
- Handful of sorrel, very finely chopped
- 1 tbs tarragon, finely chopped

To serve

- 1 tbs dried mint
- Sea salt and freshly ground black pepper
- Sumac
- Fresh mint leaves, torn
- Ice cubes

Method

1. Chop half of the rose petals very finely
2. In a blender, combine the buttermilk, yoghurt and 200ml of water until you have a thin, frothy mixture. Pour into a bowl and add the cucumbers, raisins, walnuts, chopped fresh herbs, dried mint, crushed rose petals and seasoning. Refrigerate for at least four hours or overnight
3. Stir the soup well just before you serve it and add ice cubes. It should have a thin pouring consistency. Pour into bowls and garnish with sumac, dried mint, torn mint leaves and the remaining rose petals

A 14-course tasting menu? Don't. Just don't

Restaurants | What this boils down to in the end is the opposite of hospitality, writes Tim Hayward

I have made a little deal with myself over the past couple of years. It goes like this. Because I get to choose the places I eat, and I'm pretty good at it, there shouldn't be any reason I'd review an absolute minger – well, other than for the sheer entertainment value of shooting fish in a barrel. A few times I've left a restaurant thinking, "You know what, that was lousy. But they're trying hard and I don't want to give them a shoeing." If I don't write it up, I can't claim expenses, so I quietly tear up the receipt and forget it.

There's one kind of place, though, for which I've torn up too many receipts – four so far in the past two plague years. Four places, three with stars, all offering a tasting menu. This remains, for many, the *ne plus ultra* of "fine dining". Let me tell you about the most recent one. It doesn't matter what it's called, because

bright-eyed and idealistic front-of-house crew and about a tenth of its seats filled. Which is funny, given that when you book they say they're full until they "reopen the bookings list" three months out. But no. Turns out it's just me, and half a dozen local retirees in blazers, looking at the menu with bewilderment.

Back in the day, when French, or more likely Catalan, chefs were experimenting with the *menu de dégustation*, there might have been a combination of craft and ingenuity that actually delivered 14 novel sensations, a dozen of which you'd enjoy and some of which would be truly memorable. Now it's just an exhausting to-do list of knackered clichés. Three sub-courses of pre-starters used to be an opportunity for *jeux d'esprit*, twinking creativity and exploration. Now they're bar snacks; one a daringly saucy macaron, one usually an oyster and the third

your mum's and churn their own butter. There will also be at least two courses that, the staff will dutifully explain, come from carefully husbanded kitchen waste, sometimes fermented, often reduced to a "broth" for the inevitable tableside "pourover".

These fashionably austere courses, what we professionals have come to call "the bin food", are intriguing because the menu will go on to feature – as well as that preliminary oyster – lobster/langoustine, foie, veal, game (in sea-

There are maybe half a dozen chefs in the country who can do it well – and I wish they'd stop



R. Frenson

Blind tasting: wine's most fiendish mix of sport, torture and guesswork

Jancis Robinson

Wine



If proof were needed that wine is a subjective business, you need only take a look at that curious activity, blind tasting.

Currently, a total of 180 people all over the world are anxiously awaiting the results of exams partly dependent on their skills as a blind wine taster. Both the Stage 1 and the final Master of Wine exams involve assessing and identifying wine in, respectively, 12 and 36 scarily anonymous glasses.

I took the exams in 1984, when things were simpler. Australian wines really did look Australian (the whites had a distinctive greenish tinge thanks to the prevailing fashion for starving them of any contact with oxygen). This was also before barrel-fermented Chardonnay tended to taste the same wherever in the world it was made. The range of grape varieties and countries likely to feature in the Master of Wine exam was also much more limited than it is today. This year's MW candidates were presented with wines made from, inter alia, Carricante, Torrontés, Albariño, Marsanne, Roussanne and Zinfandel grapes (twice).

The MW examiners are keen to insist that quality assessment and reasoning are just as, or even more, important than strict identification. Still, this will be little comfort to those who have already checked the list of this year's wines posted on the MW website and seen that their guesses – and a heck of a lot of guesswork is involved in blind tasting – were wildly adrift.

Most of us wine professionals who taste regularly are pretty good at assessing quality, but tasting blind for identification purposes is just like a sport; you have to practise and be in peak condition to do it well.

Today, I hardly ever have to identify wines blind. It's not that I refuse to do so, but people rarely present wines blind to me. There was a blessed period when the Bordeaux in northern California tasted their *en primeur* releases blind, but they stopped doing this from the 2016 vintage onwards (perhaps because they didn't like the results; too many poor wines underrated?). Virtually the only exceptions are around two or three very familiar dinner tables where we all make utter fools of ourselves far too often. And I get another chance every February when I help judge the Oxbridge wine tasting competition. Here, it seems only fair to log what we judges make of the wines before marking the competitors' papers.

On two interesting occasions recently, I was invited to dinners that attempted to recreate what was arguably the most famous

blind tasting of all, the Judgment of Paris tasting in 1976, when France's top tasters were asked to compare their own finest wines with some California upstarts. They ended up, much to their consternation, preferring the American wines to the likes of Ch Haut-brion 1970 and Bâtard-Montrachet, a Grand Cru white burgundy.

All the wines in this notorious blind tasting were either Chardonnays or Cabernets of some sort, these being by far the most common California wines. So when I sat down to a replay at The Vineyard restaurant near Newbury in April this year, it simply never occurred to me that the first pair of wines, clearly white, would be anything other than Chardonnay.

Our host was someone equally familiar with California wine, Silicon Valley Bank's in-house wine professional Greg Gregory, who had paid handsomely for a lot including this dinner for six in a 2019 auction in aid of the Sonoma County Vintners Foundation. As the only wine professionals at the table, Gregory and I sipped the first two glasses of white and indulged in a

volunteered some of his best bottles for the event and, in recognition of the size of the bid, Marie Curie stumped up for a couple of even more glamorous bottles.

I was asked to host the tasting and organise the blind bit of it. I know how confused people can get between glasses, so I lent Germond some coloured plastic clips to go on one of each pair of glasses rather than risk the confusion of talking about "the glass on the left/right". Guests were asked to raise their hands for which wine they thought was from California.

I found it easy to tell the (extremely good) 2017 Kitch Sonoma Coast Chardonnay from the earlier 2017 Rapet Cordon-Charlemagne. I also distinguished the beautiful Littoral, The Haven Pinot Noir 2013, another Sonoma Coast wine, from the lighter Stéphane Magnien, Premier Cru Faconnières 2011 Morey-St-Denis.

The next pair were the two most expensive wines by quite a stretch. Both mainly Cabernet, both 2008 and both absolutely irreplaceable. I was convinced that the Bordeaux first growth Ch Latour 2008, a



Ra Leon Editor

famously slow developer, would be much more tannic and youthful than its California counterpart, Ridge Monte Bello 2008 from high above Silicon Valley. This last has proved over the years to be my favourite California Cabernet. It has hugely impressive longevity (the 1975 tasted in 2018 was still going strong) and

just as much subtlety as a Bordeaux first growth. As indeed was proven by this blind tasting when I confused the two wines. Those who are competitive about blind tasting seek out every possible cue: bottle shape, remnants of the foil around the bottle neck, colour of glass. The shameless will even seek out any opportunity for a glimpse behind the scenes. As the late New York wine writer Alex Bespaloff used to say, "a five-second peek is worth 10 years of experience". My most regular torturer in this respect routinely decants his mystery wines into completely, often absurdly, unrelated empty bottles. And one wine trade host solemnly sat through long arguments between his guests, all experienced blind tasters, about the identity of the second wine he served in a decanter before revealing that it was the other half of the magnum that we had previously tasted. No one got that one either.

As I say, objectivity takes a holiday during any blind tasting.

Tasting notes on Purple Pages of JancisRobinson.com. More stockists from Wine-searcher.com

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and a French-accented sommelier. There's no rule that says you can't bring out great food on a trolley, but as the trend aged, the meat cart ceased to be a vehicle for creativity, quite the opposite. It was the widely accepted signifier of solid bourgeois mediocrity.

Ninety-nine per cent of the time, today's tasting menu doesn't showcase a chef's imagination; it masks its absence. Think about it. You want to display art and craft in food. Why adopt a structure that effectively prescribes the number of courses, the list of luxury ingredients and the techniques with which they are worried into shape on the plate? As long as wooden butter knives, compressed watermelon and serving tongs on an unhygienic-looking pile of raw grain are sufficiently ubiquitous to satirise, there's nothing creative about a tasting menu.

We know why, of course. Because the tasting menu stopped being about delighting customers a while back. It's aimed at restaurant inspectors now, and other chefs, in an unending, highly codified pissing contest. The diners are merely the collateral table-fillers.

What this boils down to in the end is we realised quite how stupid it was. The tasting menu today is about as appropriate. It's certainly no less totally tin-eared in a way on the lip of recession.

A tasting menu can work. There are maybe half a dozen chefs in the country who can do it well – and I wish they'd stop, because it's still a daft idea for most of the reasons above. It also perpetuates an utterly pointless aspiration for young chefs in a struggling industry. Every time I dutifully hand over the £15 cheese surcharge, I have the overpowering urge to yell at the open kitchen, "Honestly, mate, you don't have to do this."

I'm not going to pronounce the tasting menu dead. I think it's done a great job of killing itself. But with the very best will, I've had four solid goes at them, predisposed to be open-minded and generous, and four times I've walked out feeling poorer, somehow taken for an idiot and usually ready to throw up in the car park on the excess.

If you still think you might enjoy a tasting menu, I wish you luck, but you're on your own now. I believe tasting menus are tired, inappropriate and bad for us as an industry. And I no longer

frankly, neither you nor I could have told it apart from the others.

It was out in the countryside, somewhere that had once probably been a decent pub, now zhuzhed to tasteful anonymity, with a heartbreakingly

liquid. They're supposed to amuse your palate. They don't.

There'll be a "bread course" in there, somewhere around #4 or #5, through which the kitchen will prove they can make a sourdough nearly as good as

son), caviar, scallop, sweetbread, the exotic and arcane cheeses and truffle. Exactly the same bloody shopping list of high-status ingredients that's been impressing conspicuous consumers since ancient Rome.



the opposite of hospitality. Banquets used to be served *à la française*, with dozens of disjointed courses on the table simultaneously, in a big, stupid display of wealth and excess. We stopped doing that in the early 19th century because

think I'll be doing you or me any kind of disservice if I never try another one.

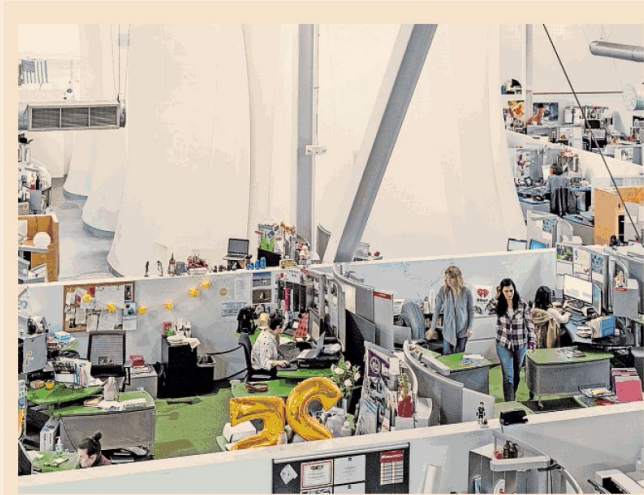
Tim Hayward is the winner of best food writer at the Fortnum & Mason Food & Drink Awards 2022

10 September/11 September 2022

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Life & Arts

FTWeekend



SNAPSHOT

'TBWA\Chiat\Day, Los Angeles' by Iwan Baan

In *The Office of Good Intentions*, architects and authors Florian Idenburg and LeeAnn Suen examine the "spatial typologies and global phenomena that have defined the office in the last half-century", and how the evolution of offices changes us, the people who work in them.

Dutch photographer Iwan Baan provides the images; this picture takes us inside the headquarters of global ad agency TBWA\Chiat\Day in Los Angeles, California. The project, designed by Clive Wilkinson

Architects, became known as "Advertising City" thanks to the expanse of the 120,000 sq ft interior, which includes a "Main Street", a "Central Park" and work stations known as "nests". The design fused inner openness and playfulness with formal structure, a duality the staff within would surely recognise.

Dylan Neri

'The Office of Good Intentions' is published by Taschen

Britain's mid-Atlantic way on race

Janan Ganesh
Citizen of nowhere



A tweet from the Brussels bureau chief of the Economist reaches me. Here, he notes, are the first names of the last four finance ministers in France: Bruno, Michel, Pierre, Francois. In Germany: Christian, Olaf, Peter, Wolfgang. In Italy: Daniele, Roberto, Giovanni, Pier Carlo. In Britain? Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. Sorry. I meant: Kwasi, Nadhim, Rishi, Sajid.

This is to say nothing of Kemi and Ranil, of Alok and Suella. And this is a (very) Conservative cabinet we are talking about. Nor should you assume that Britain's racial openness is a London thing. It is as a devout European, a bitter Remainer, that I say this: I'd rather grow up as a visible minority in Manchester or Birmingham than in some continental capitals.

The psychological mid-Atlanticism of the UK is so often a drag. The nation wants American taxes and a European state. And so it has neither. It is more influenced by laws made in Brussels but more engrossed with elections in Iowa. And so its politics are dire.

In one respect, though, splitting the difference has paid off. We are better at diversity than much of Europe. But we are not as fixed on the subject as the US. "Effortlessly diverse", was Malcolm Gladwell's phrase about London, on one of his periodic visits, and I'm not sure I can do better.

compromise is not to idealise it. The place is trending American in its identity politics. And tolerance was late to come. I am old enough to remember the National Front graffiti in bits of south London that will now do you a superlative cortado. The artist had invariably held the spray can a beat too long on the extremities of the "F", leaving an impotent droop there where there should have been a fearsomely sharp, swastika-like edge. It was fearsome anyway. Looking back, I realise that I gravitated to Arsenal because there were clubs of whom that was less true. This is one of those things you have to persuade the disbelieving young of, like the far-right scene that clung to Venice Beach as recently as the 1990s.

We are better at diversity than much of Europe but less gripped by it than America

British progressives underrate their own nation vis-à-vis Europe on race. But conservatives make a worse error in their Atlanticism. The weirdest feature of the British right is hatred of woke mixed with adoration of the country that is most in thrall to it. If you want a western fortress, a culture that is too old and anchored to fall for each passing undergraduate fad, the US isn't it. Embrace Italy and France. Embrace Europe. To be anti-woke and pro-Brexit isn't an impossible position. But it requires the untangling of contradictions of which the right seem barely aware.

To cite Britain as a mid-Atlantic

I don't romanticise Britain, then. I just invite you to put on the Rawlsian veil of ignorance. Imagine that you are about to be born, not knowing your race. Where would you choose to make your life? Where will give you a fair crack, without boxing you into round-the-clock consciousness of matters of blood and soil? I can see the case for urban Canada. The Netherlands is undersung. So, if you are a well-paid graduate, are the expat Edens of Dubai and Singapore. But there isn't a long list of countries above Britain. It is hard to know what is more impressive: the diversity of the cabinet, or the fact that it is only celebrated in passing. I feel unBritish, perfectly vulgar in fact, for mentioning it.

Email Janan at janan.ganesh@ft.com

All froth and no moral

Jan Dalley
Trending



The world is full of things that don't interest me. The rules of American football. Whether there are aliens. Anything to do with Kardashians. I don't need to know about them, and I never will.

It's a wonderful relief. I was an awkward child, so curious I was continually in trouble for dismantling the kettle and cutting earthworms in bits and being afraid of the stars, then a young woman perpetually in a lather of anxiety about not knowing enough, ever. It's so calming, now, to realise that there's just loads of stuff I simply don't need to add to the brain bank. My cupboards are a mess but I have a Marie Kondo approach to the mind.

I have social media to thank for this realisation. As the incoming payload mounts hour by hour, it's a luxury to tick off the wads of trivia I never need to care about. The stormy teacups brimming over, which you know will be broken crockery by tomorrow. Warring Wags making their lawyers rich; Johnny Depp's divorce? I'd rather hear about other people's nematodes on *Gardeners' Question Time*.

So I thought this week's little brouhaha over the makers of the movie *Don't Worry Darling*, and their behaviour at the Venice Film festival – otherwise known as SpitGate, as Harry Styles (wearing one of the silliest shirts ever designed) apparently spat on his co-star at the film's premiere – would be one I could safely wipe. Since everyone else would also have forgotten it in about 48 hours.

But it proved to have strange staying power. And I found myself getting interested, not in the daft he-said-she-said story itself, barely average-grade title-tattle, but in people's almost obsessive interest in it.

Leading actor leaves, or was he sacked? Director hops into bed with celeb replacement. Female lead falls out with director. Everyone snarls at everyone else. There is a car crash of a press conference. And of course "sources deny" that any spitting took place.

So far, so forgettable. And dispiriting, given the clear undertow of misogyny/schadenfreude towards a female-led film. Yet there's something about this dull little drama that has hooks. It goes beyond the obvious lure of glimpsing behind-the-scenes ego-tangles. Perhaps it's more about control – in this case, lack of it. The profiles of those we

Don't get me wrong: I'm not against gossip. I think stories about other people are a basic human need

elevate to celebrity status are usually so carefully ordered, we love it when the wheels come off the perfection machine.

Decades ago, the Hollywood star-makers were famous for control, creating godlike beings with gleaming teeth and silky-smooth home lives. There were plenty of cracks in the lacquer, of course, but often the fairytale narratives held – the task was vastly easier without the internet and social media.

We laugh at the Hollywood dream factory of the 1950s, and at a public so gullible it believed Marilyn was blonde and Rock Hudson was a ladies' man and the rest of the la la land fantasy. But aren't we equally controlled, equally credulous? We live in an even more contrived world. A giant public

and wants; influencers and TikTokers who don't do anything at all have huge sway. Able to infiltrate our lives at so many points, and by so many subtle means, the power of this thought-control is even greater. What makes it so strong is precisely that it isn't top-down, it's self-generating. We can all have our say, through social media, so there's an illusion of freedom and power, of our potential to tell it like we see it, to shape the story. So it's us who are in control, right?

Wrong, surely, as well as dangerous. It's our lack of power we should look at. The fuss about *Don't Worry Darling* is a kind of crowd hysteria, harmless enough in this case, perhaps, but indicative of an affect that can be deeply noxious. The whipping-up of a social mood by sheer force of numbers: we're more likely to be controlled by that than being the independent drivers we imagine ourselves to be. Sometimes it's easy to spot – in the likes of "internet personality" Andrew Tate, for instance, for whom preaching violent misogyny is a career choice. But mostly it is much more insidious. It's telling us what to do, to think, to buy. What to care about.

Don't get me wrong: I'm not against gossip. I think stories about other people are a basic human need, as well as a pleasure. Reports of the goings-on in the next-door cave probably helped our ancestors survive; Greek myths (their glamorous unruly gods the equivalents of our celebs) were preliterate teaching tools and instruments of social order; stories were formalised into literature and theatre and much that I love. But I thought every story, however trivial, had a meaning if not quite a moral. This one, though, doesn't seem to have either. It's just froth on the daydream.

True, those involved have been drip-feeding the story for some while.

relations industry works around the clock to shape our beliefs and views

Jan Dalley is the FT's arts editor



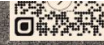
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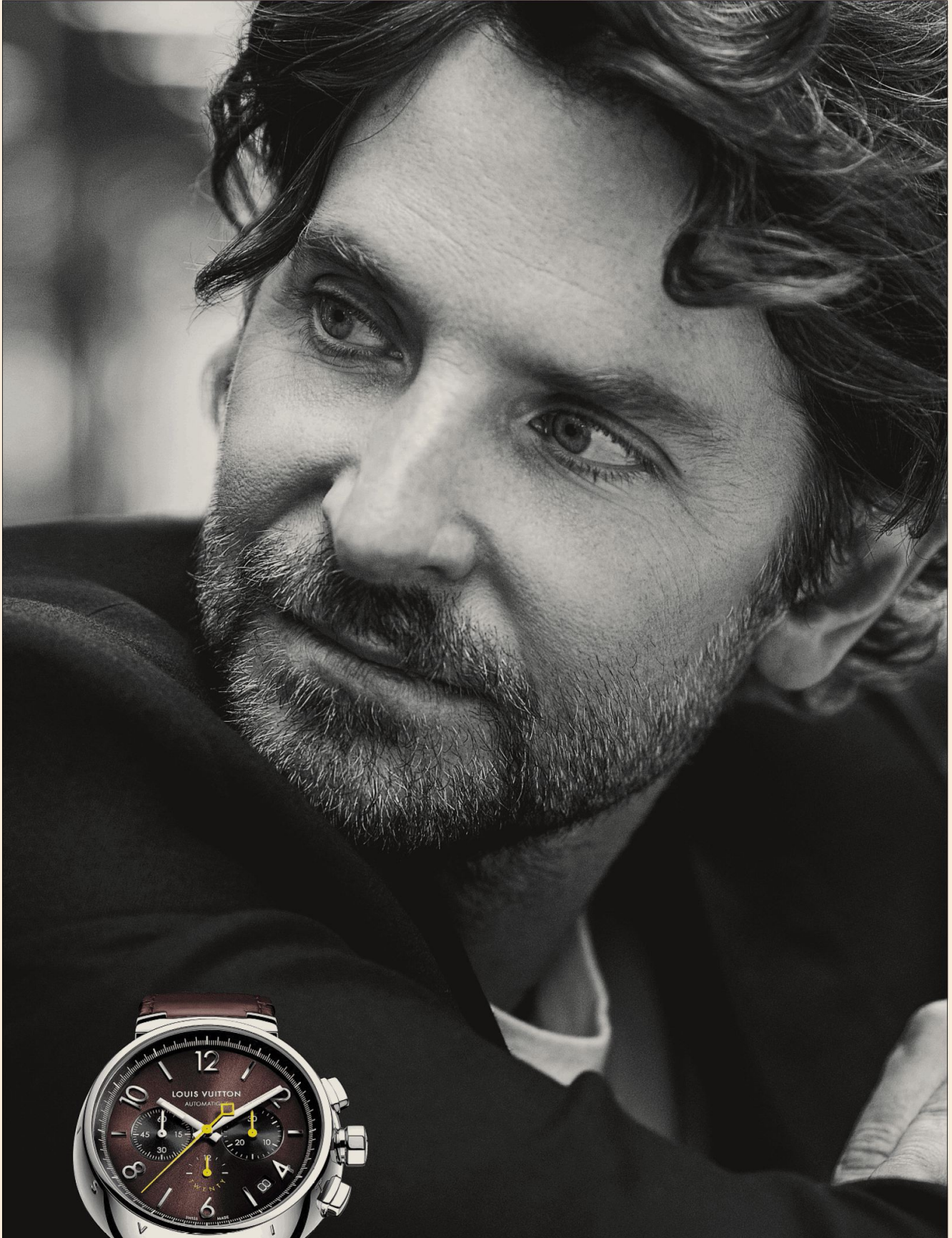


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Retrofit radicals

The recent heatwave and rapidly rising bills give extra impetus to make our homes energy efficient. Robert Wright meets the architects pioneering low-carbon solutions with bold aesthetics

At first glance, John Christophers' house in Balsall Heath, Birmingham, resembles the kind of statement home that many architects design for themselves. A bedroom extension in bold, contemporary style extends out over the street, while the roof of a top-floor extension is angled to ensure an array of solar panels catches the sun.

But, looked at from closer up, it becomes clear why this house – which Christophers calls the UK's first zero-carbon house – has become a flagship example of how an approach known as "deep retrofit" can transform the energy efficiency and aesthetics of the UK's built environment. Parts of the building's front continue the red brick walls of neighbouring properties. The neoclassical window frame reflects the terraced houses' early Victorian construction. Meanwhile, the walls' thick layer of cellulose insulation, known as Warmcel 500, illustrates how the house's energy efficiency has been upgraded to exacting contemporary standards.

The bold and sharply contrasting styles have helped to make the Balsall Heath house a landmark. Although work was completed in 2009, it remains an inspiration for many architects and campaigners seeking to reduce the tendency of UK homes – some of Europe's oldest and least energy-efficient – to leak heat and carbon dioxide.

Imandeep Kaur, founder of Civic Square, which calls itself a "neighbourhood economics lab" for Balsall Heath, says the house has shown the potential for retrofit to renew the whole feel of an area. "Examples like John's start to tell a story that retrofit can be beautiful, can be brilliant," Kaur says.

As well as the climate crisis that originated the need for retrofit, the house

Minister Liz Truss will cap the rise at around 27 per cent from current levels. According to Justin Bere, a London-based architect specialising in energy-efficient retrofitting, the recent price rises have pushed up the number of calls he has been receiving – which had already been at a high level for some time. "We're inundated with inquiries," he says.

In March, the UK's independent Climate Change Committee, which issues advice on environmental measures, said that improving the energy efficiency of homes was "one of the easiest and most



cost-effective steps to reduce the impact of high bills in the near term[...]. Recent events have shifted the calculus on this even further in favour of taking decisive action now," it added.

Kaur says that in Balsall Heath some householders face serious financial problems thanks to their homes' current poor insulation.



the Code for Sustainable Homes, introduced under the last Labour government as a voluntary standard in 2007. The standard was withdrawn in 2015 and has never had an official, government-set replacement. He insists, nevertheless, that his project makes a philosophical and aesthetic point as well as a practical one.

(Above and left) The Zero Carbon House in Birmingham designed by John Christophers (above left) Martine Hamilton Knight/arcadisc.uk; James Bolton

through the lens of the carbon footprint of these things, can it really be beautiful if it's unsustainable?" Christophers asks. "I think a high-carbon product has to become abhorrent to us."

But although there is no suggestion that they will produce the huge energy-efficiency improvements of projects such as the zero-carbon house, there are some more incremental steps that householders can take to improve their homes' fuel efficiency.

Martina Pardo, founder and director of Designer at Heart, an interior design consultancy based in Finsbury Park, north London, suggests people should rethink how they manage their homes. She points as a model to the approach to energy conservation of her relatives in her native Sicily. To reduce reliance on air conditioning in the hot climate, they

'Can it really be beautiful if it's unsustainable? I think a high-carbon product has to become abhorrent to us'

keep rooms shaded from the sun as it moves during the day, while opening windows on the side that has cooler air.

In the UK, Pardo suggests, it might be appropriate to use thick, warm rugs in dark colours on floors in winter, then switch to lightweight alternatives in summer. "You think of the house almost like needing clothing," she says. "You need to dress it for the season."

The work to extend Christophers' house drew on similar thinking. The new extension to the original 1850s terraced house, into what was once the house's garden and a vacant space, features a kitchen and dining area with a floor-to-ceiling glass wall. The glass was positioned, according to Christophers, at a 15-degree angle to the old structure's walls to catch the rising sun an hour and a half earlier each morning than if they had been aligned.

The change has contributed to the sharp decline in the new, larger house's use of energy for heating to just 7.5 kilowatt hours (kWh) per sq m annually, compared with 160 kWh per sq m per year in the old, smaller property.

"This glass is providing about a third of the heat we need [for the house]," Christophers says.

The need to transform UK buildings' energy efficiency has been clear since long before this year's European heatwave and vertiginous energy price rises. The Committee on Climate Change estimated in 2006 that 15 per cent of the UK's greenhouse gas emissions come from energy use in homes – a figure that, in 2020, hit 16 per cent because more people stayed at home.

It has said that their energy use needs to drop 24 per cent by 2030 as part of a gradual process of meeting targets to reduce the UK's net carbon emissions to zero – a state where carbon emissions are balanced out by carbon absorption.

many inspire christophers, the need to retrofit has been given impetus by this year's jump in UK energy prices. In August, Ofgem, the industry regulator, announced it would allow typical household bills to rise a further 80 per cent in October from levels already well above the recent average. There is still likely to be a substantial rise despite expectations that new Prime

A real retrofit is one of the biggest challenges of our time," she says. Yet Christophers' house remains a relatively rare example of a radically refitted, energy-efficient older house because recent UK governments have shown only limited enthusiasm for stemming buildings' leaks. Christophers designed his retrofit to meet the highest, "true zero carbon" level of



"I'm trying to show a mammoth architecturally — that we can still have a great quality of life with a microscopic carbon footprint," Christophers says. "The same is true of energy use — we've throttled down energy use by 95 per cent in the whole big house in comparison with the old, smaller house." Christophers says efficiency and beauty are linked. "If we're looking

whether the 2050 target nor the 2050 target currently looks likely to be met. The challenge is particularly urgent, according to James Rixon, a London-based architect and co-ordinator of the Architects' Climate Action Network, a campaign group, because around 80 per cent of current buildings will still be

Continued on page 2

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House&Home

Why go to the club when it can come to you?



Joy Lo Dico
Perspectives

I had no intention of joining the Meghan Markle pile-on but then it happened. I was reading the recent interview with the Duchess of Sussex in the magazine *The Cut*. It takes place in her home in Montecito, California, and while the interview is proceeding with Markle in a cosy chair, "an invisible hand has lit a Soho House-branded rosewater candle".

It was at this point, I thought: I am against this. There's nothing wrong with the candle (a large one was available from the club's Soho Home store for a mere £80 — before they sold out). But just as Amazon persuaded many of us to buy an Alexa to park itself in our kitchens, now Soho Home is moving its linens and knick-knacks into our interiors. Where does the boundary lie?

Perhaps it's an old-fashioned view but I think of a club as an "other" place — a destination but also an escape from home and office. There's a sanctity about a club. But Soho House founder Nick Jones, a longstanding friend of the Duchess, she points out in the interview, has blurred the lines.

It was at this point, I thought: I am against this. There's nothing wrong with the candle (a large one was available from the club's Soho Home store for a mere £80 — before they sold out). But just as Amazon persuaded many of us to buy an Alexa to park itself in our kitchens, now Soho Home is moving its linens and knick-knacks into our interiors. Where does the boundary lie?



Its jet-set members shuttling around the globe can find themselves in their familiar style territory wherever they go: something between mid-century Danish furniture, an English country drawing room and a 1950s poster of the French Riviera. Arguably, you might as well not have got on the plane as you are landing in the same room.

After those conquests, the next is of your home. Soho Home launched as a brand in 2016, offering up its interiors to the wider public after, they say, guests kept asking to buy their stuff. Now available to all and sundry: marble coffee tables, ottomans, dinner sets, cushions. Why go to the club when it can come to you?

Then again, some of my disdain may stem from loyalty to another. I am a member of the rival establishment, the Groucho, that has so far failed at going global. Its New York plans have never

made it to fruition and it has struggled to maintain its place as the hippest thing in town.

The Groucho was born in the analogue era of 1985, founded by a group of publishers thumbing their noses at the traditional gentlemen's clubs of London — all polished wood, leather armchairs and portraits of dusty old men on their walls. And for a decade or two it ruled

London. Its members, from the literary and entertainment worlds, would find many creative uses for the pool table. The press pack outside ticked off the hours waiting for celebrities to fall out of its front doors. Since the rise of Soho House, the Groucho, though still humming, has gone through a continual identity crisis. It has just been sold for the third time in 20 years, to Ivan Wirth, of Hauser & Wirth gallery, and his wife Manuela — together they run hospitality business Art Farm. Its older members pine for the old hedonistic days. Its younger members wonder if this is where it's at. But it is a singular space that belongs to people in a singular way.

Few would want to replicate its decor — bright walls, multicoloured velvet sofas and leather banquettes — in their own home. They belong in a place of

Soho House is moving its linens and knick-knacks into our interiors. Where does the boundary lie?



'The Pickwick Club', by Cecil Aldin; a Groucho Club ashtray — AF Photograph/ Bridgeman Images/ Science Museum

indulgence, behind the portered doors of 45 Dean Street, a contrast to the rigours of your real life. It's familiar but not like home.

Soho House, though, invites a slight level of discomfort, even at the door, where I've never witnessed a receptionist know a guest by sight. You enter, as though into the home of your grandest friend, never quite happy to let your guard down — for who knows when you are going to make a faux-pas.

And that too goes with its homewares, shown off in a palatial Montecito home. They say: I am part of "the club": are you?

What does one want from a club? A home from home, a place for laptoping, networking, socialising? Or one that comes to define you, from where you travel to your bathroom towels? Does the brand own you, rather than you owning the brand?

The Groucho doesn't have anything for sale. But that doesn't mean it didn't have iconic wares too: its glass ashtrays embossed with the club's duck logo. It used to be a game to slip one into your pocket or handbag to take pride of place in your home. The Wellcome Collection has a picture in its library of the last one left in the building in 2007, the day the smoking ban came in. Every other one was stolen. That's an honour in itself.

Follow Joy @joy_lo_dico
Luke Edward Hall returns next week

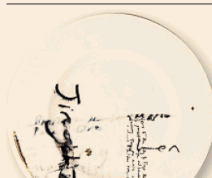
Inside



Happy valleys
Five homes for sale in Tyrol, from a spa town in Italy to a ski resort in Austria
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Britain's house divide
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Retrofit radicals

Continued from page 1

standing in 2050. "[That] means that our existing building stock needs to be upgraded to net zero [standards] by that point," Rixon says. "The likelihood is that the house you're living in now will need to have something done to it to improve its energy efficiency."

One starting point, according to Pardo, can be to repaint surfaces a colour that will improve their ability to absorb heat, reducing the need for heating in winter.

"Darker colours trap more heat," Pardo says. "You can look at the surfaces that are directly affected by the sun in that room and paint them darker colours, trap more heat and retain more heat. Sometimes just painting the ceiling in a darker colour can help."

A house part way down Lena Gardens, a quiet side street in Brook Green, west London, demonstrates how energy-efficiency and aesthetic upgrades can be accomplished even when there is less appetite or scope for the kind of wholesale facelift that Christophers has undertaken.

Bere, whose firm planned and oversaw a comprehensive refit of the house, which was completed in February 2020, points out some subtle aesthetic improvements that set it apart from superficially similar neighbours in its three-storey Victorian terrace. Modern mortar was removed from between the bricks and replaced with an alternative more similar to that used originally, according to Bere. The bricks' surface was rubbed, to give what Bere calls a "diestive biscuit" texture.



heating and hot water has fallen to around 32 kWh per sq m per year. The figure compares with typical usage of 150 kWh to 250 kWh annually per sq m for a similar, unimproved house.

Calculations by Roberto show that rising energy costs pushed the house's energy bills to £1,896 for the year to August, up £695 on the year before. He calculates that for a similar-sized house heated to a similar temperature with more normal insulation, the annual bill would have risen by £3,250, to £8,890.

Bere says it is "really pleasing" to hear of such improvements.

(From top) The House-Within-a-House, an award-winning retrofit project in Brockley, south London by Alma-nac; Lena Gardens retrofit, west London, by Justin Bere

Jack Hobhouse; Tim Crocker

involved the fitting of a highly energy-efficient shell round an energy-inefficient 1950s building.

Tristan Wigfall, a partner at Alma-nac who was involved in the project, says that since completion of the project in 2019, the new, larger building annually emits about half the 76 tonnes of carbon that the smaller, older building did.

"We effectively put a warm coat around the top of it," Wigfall says. "That's what I would call a deep retrofit."

The transformation of the building's appearance was permitted because the existing building was built hurriedly to replace one destroyed by second world war bombing and of poor architectural quality. The new shell echoes the lines of the large, neighbouring Victorian villas, while being unapologetically contemporary.

"For that project, because it was such a nondescript box, effectively anything we did was improving it visually," Wigfall says. "The constraints on changing older buildings are a brake on the UK's

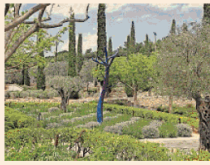
'You think of the house almost like needing clothing. You need to dress it for the season'

ability to improve the energy efficiency of its 29m homes in time for 2050, according to Bere. External insulation can often be fitted more quickly, easily and cheaply.

"If it's considered by planners to have heritage value then so far we've not been allowed to do external insulation," Bere says, adding that there is currently no sign of a relaxation of such stances. "There certainly ought to be a trial, an attempt by someone like us, with agreement of the planners, to do, for example, a beautiful, externally insulated 19th-century building."

China in his hands

Edmund de Waal on the set of porcelain plates he has created for the V&A
Page 10



Second nature

The sculptures created in dialogue with their surrounding landscape
Pages 12 & 13



Cruel summer

Some trees can survive the drought – others may need your help
Page 14

House & Home Unlocked

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"I think that's a beautiful-looking house externally," he says.

For insulation, the Lena Gardens building's external walls were fitted on the inside with 20cm of wood-fibre insulation, to retain heat in winter and keep cool in summer. Loss of internal space is a disadvantage of such insulation. But Bere says he and the client agreed the reduction was barely noticeable.

The new surface inside the house was also a marked improvement, according to Bere. The client, who wanted to minimise the use of materials that would exacerbate his children's asthma, asked for traditional, clay-based plaster rather than a more modern, chemically based alternative. The plaster was applied on top of the insulation.

"It has a wonderful, natural aura and smell," Bere says of the plaster. "There's a slight softness to the surface visually."

The client has fitted external, electrically operated blinds above the front windows – which are triple-glazed but in wooden frames indistinguishable from the original sash windows. The



blinds – barely visible when rolled up – can be lowered in warm weather to prevent solar warming of the building's interior.

Bere proudly shows a graph that his client produced showing the house's internal temperature remained around 22C on July 19 this year, the UK's hottest-ever day, when the heat outside reached 38C. The house remained cool without use of any air conditioning.

According to figures compiled by the client, who asks to be identified only as Roberto, energy use in the house for

Rixon says retrofitting projects in the UK capital often have to take the approach that Bere did at Lena Gardens. "On a typical London house, you're going to keep the facade," Rixon says. "Everyone loves brick."

Christophers agrees on the value of retaining some traditional elements during updates, saying the appearance of Victorian-era streets is "intrinsic" to many British cities' atmospheres. The eye-catching contemporary section of his house was added to the building's rear and side. Planners are generally far more ready to allow changes to the rears of Victorian buildings, which were typically built to lower standards.

"We can keep our Victorian heritage but also reimagine it," Christophers says. "I think we can make something which is really exciting as well from it."

Nevertheless, the House-Within-a-House, an award-winning retrofit project in Brockley, south London, shows the possibilities of working outside such constraints. The project, by London-based Alma-nac architects,

Pardo insists that there remain small steps that homeowners not ready for a full refit can take to marry lower energy consumption and superior style. She suggests that cork tiles can be an elegant way to improve a building's energy efficiency if applied to the inside of an exterior wall. "There are some things that people can do," she says. "It's a matter of being a bit clever."

For more radical retrofitting, meanwhile, Kaur says the task is so huge that it should be seen as an opportunity to reshape the national fabric. "There's an opportunity to see retrofit as a moment of real renewal in the country," she says.

Bere says the key is for all architects to make a more concerted attempt to marry environmental and aesthetic aspects. "So often you're either an environmental designer or you're an architectural designer." He acknowledges that it will take harder work for the profession to balance the two disciplines. But he adds: "There should be no reason why you cannot be both."

50 OBJECTS

FROM AROUND THE WORLD

#45: the pressure cooker

A kettle whistles. A pot bubbles. A pressure cooker... explodes? Anyone who grew up with the malevolent hiss of an 1960s-era pressure cooker knows the particular anxiety it can induce. My own mother's was topped by a shiny metal pressure-regulating weight, in shape somewhere between a Russian doll and a hand grenade. It

wobbled alarmingly, threatening to shoot like a bullet to the ceiling.

The term "pressure-cooker atmosphere" has come to stand for domestic tension. And, in recent decades, the pressure cooker itself has been weaponised, adapted to increase the thermobaric reaction of crude yet horribly effective bombs from Mumbai to Boston.

Moroccan artist Batoul S'limi's customised pressure cooker, part of a sculpture series at the Wellcome Collection — "World Under Pressure" — that also includes gas canisters and meat cleavers, exploits this alarming reputation. The Eurocentric world map she has gouged out from the

pot's outer wall renders it unfit for purpose and neutralises the danger of it exploding.

Where did it all go wrong for the pressure cooker's reputation? After all, by expelling air and trapping steam it cooks food at higher temperatures, saving up to a third on fuel, water and time. It even solves the problem of cooking food at high altitude, as encountered by Charles Darwin during his travels and recounted in *The Voyage of the Beagle*.

"At the place where we slept water necessarily boiled, from the

diminished pressure of the atmosphere, at a lower temperature than it does in a less lofty country... Hence the potatoes, after remaining for some hours in the boiling water, were nearly as hard as ever."

Pressure cookers evolved following the invention of the first steam release valve, itself invented by French physicist Denis Papin after repeated explosions of his high-pressure steam digester, designed in 1679 to make bone meal. But explosions due to excess pressure remained all too common until safety features such as Prestige's



gasket release system were introduced in the 1970s. Today digital temperature control has done away with the scary sound of the steam vent altogether.

For a generation, the pressure cooker has been a fixture in south Asian households, producing creamy dal in a fraction of the stovetop time. Those who have grown up with fonder memories than mine find the safety valve's gentle whistle as soothing as a lullaby. And on leaving home, are wont to pack their own pressure cooker, along with handwritten recipes and homemade pickles.

Kate Worsley
wellcomecollection.org

UK property | With prices a third less than nearby Cambridge, the small city is drawing commuters and businesses. By *Liz Rowlinson*

Planning consultant Claire Shannon moved with her partner, a science researcher, from Cambridge to the tiny city of Ely during the early stages of the pandemic. The 15-minute train ride meant an easy commute and a bigger home for their budget. "We'd come for day trips to Ely and loved the river, the easier access to open space and independent shops," says Shannon, in her early thirties. "With a budget of £350,000, we couldn't get much in Cambridge. In Ely we got a three-bedroom house with a garden."

Cambridge's research and life sciences sectors might make it one of the UK's fastest-growing employment hubs, but sky-high property prices mean those priced out have been looking to Ely, with its historical centre and the Great Ouse running through it. In the Ely area, the average price for a property hit about £326,000, a third lower

"We have a good school within walking distance, all sorts of sports and weekends are very social"

than Cambridge's £511,000.

But the city, with its magnificent medieval cathedral, is more than a poor relation to Cambridge, says Mark Peck, director at Cheffins, an estate agent. "Like many small cities, it appeals because it's compact enough for people to feel connected, and everything is within walking distance," he says. High-frequency trains to Cambridge (about 70 per day) help hybrid workers like Claire, and there's also a proposal by Network Rail – under consultation – to double the trains from Ely to London to two an hour. Part of a scheme to improve Ely's rail connectivity, it's received £22m of funding so far.

Good connectivity to London and the Midlands was one of the reasons Mike O'Toole moved from Northern Ireland to expand his door-making business, Deanta.



Ely does it

"I came here for work but it's been a great move for the family," says O'Toole, who has children of five and nine. "We've a good school within walking distance, all sorts of sports plus horseriding and weekends are

very social. Lots of families from London have moved here."

O'Toole's company is located at Lancaster Way Business Park, home to more than 85 companies – and 2,000 workers – according to its development

director Harvey Bibby. It's one of five locations in the Cambridge Compass Enterprise Zone that aims to spread economic wealth around East Cambridgeshire. "Among new businesses joining us are Cambridge Medical Robotics, who will provide 250 jobs after upstizing their operations," he says. "Land value and rents are lower than in Cambridge, and their staff can get on the housing ladder more easily."

Buyers from London or Cambridge tend to spend around £500,000, says Owen Newton, manager of estate agent Tucker Gardner. A four-bedroom home on Henley Way at £525,000 had 20 viewings in May and, after three offers from Londoners, sold for £545,000. "Buyers all ask for a house with a big garden and a driveway, close to the station – but they won't get the big garden in the city centre so there's a compromise," he says.

(Above) Ely has a historic centre with a medieval cathedral; (left) a four-bedroom house in Stretham, south of Ely, £750,000
Michael Brocke/Harry



House&Home

i / BUYING GUIDE

House prices in Ely (postcodes CB6 and CB7) have grown 61 per cent in the past 10 years, but less than 1 per cent in the past year.

In Ely, nearly two-thirds of all properties currently listed on the market are under offer or sold subject to contract – in 2019, the average was 36 per cent.

What you can buy for...

£675,000 A detached, five-bedroom house in Ely. Available through Tucker Gardner.

£750,000 A detached four-bedroom house in Stretham, 4 miles south of Ely. Through Fine and Country.

£1.5m Seven-bedroom former vicarage in Little Ouse, near Ely. Available through Fine and Country.

The highest value sale he's had this year is £795,000 – for a house near King's Ely, an independent school that attracts families from outside the area; Waterside is another favoured spot. "But sales in Ely over £1m are very rare." In 2022, there have been none logged by the Land Registry yet.

The market has slowed down since May, with interest rates and the cost of living rising. Still, Peck says, modern two and three-bedroom starter homes on developments on the north side of the city, which cost around £300,000, are "selling within days".

Plenty more are being built. In Orchards Green there are 1,200 new homes and a new school from Hopkins Homes; while Linden Homes is building 258 properties at Willow Woods and 250 in the village of Sutton, about 6 miles to the west.

Of villages to the south of Ely, Wicken is the prettiest, with the Wicken Fen Nature Reserve, says Peck, while Hadenham and Soham offer the most facilities. Jennifer Millard chose Little Downham, only a couple of miles into Ely via footpath, where she has more than an acre of land with her four-bedroom home.

"We lived in Cambridge for a while but being a non-grad [from there] made it feel a bit impenetrable," says the mother of two children, who runs her own consultancy business. "Here is rural but not too remote, less than an hour to the North Norfolk coast and I just love the fact that Ely is a really small city."

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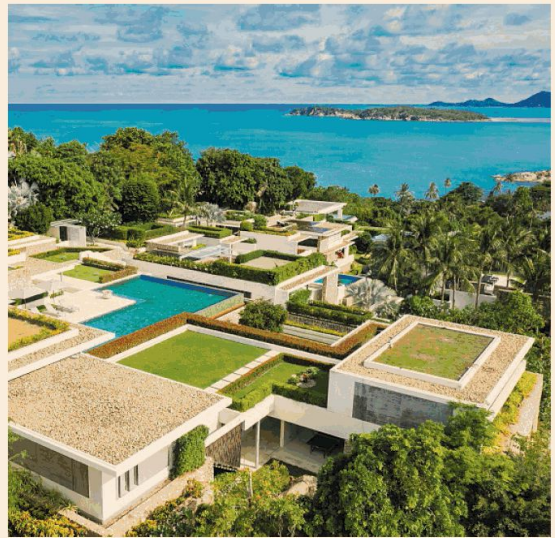
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House&Home

Hot property Tyrol

By Maria Crawford



Penthouse, South Tyrol, Italy, €890,000

Where In the centre of Merano in northern Italy, surrounded by historic arcades, promenades and pastel-coloured buildings.
What A fifth-floor penthouse with two bedrooms, fitted with

a smart home system and underfloor heating fuelled by a heat pump. The apartment is offered partially furnished.
Why The decked rooftop terrace has 360-degree views across the pretty spa town towards the surrounding mountains.
Who Engel & Völkers

Apartment, Merano, South Tyrol, Italy, €2.64m

Where In Merano, a spa town in northern Italy. Bolzano International airport is about half an hour away by car.
What A two-bedroom, two-bathroom apartment occupying a full floor of a villa that was built in 1898 and converted into eight apartments in 2018. It has wooden floors and high ceilings throughout.
Why While the exterior of the Belle Époque-era building has been preserved, the interiors have been updated to include contemporary bathrooms, custom-built kitchens, LED lighting, lifts and security systems.
Who Christie's International Real Estate/Benedetti



Garden apartment, Kitzbühel, Tyrol, Austria, €5.1m

Where In Reith bei Kitzbühel, within 10 minutes' drive of Lake Schwarzsee and the Schwarzssee Golf Course. The nearest airports are Innsbruck (96km, about 1 hour 20 minutes' drive) and Salzburg (74km, 1 hour 15 minutes).
What A three-bedroom, two-

bathroom apartment with 246 sq m of living space including a sunroom and a library. It shares a gym, sauna and laundry room with the three other residences in the building. There is also indoor and outdoor parking.
Why The property has a well-maintained garden with views of the Kitzbüheler Horn.
Who Savills



Farm, Vinschgau, South Tyrol, Italy, €2.5m

Where Near Tomberg in the Vinschgau Valley, in the western part of South Tyrol. Innsbruck airport is 2 hours 20 minutes' drive.
What A farm with 15.5 hectares of land, a two-bedroom, timber-framed house built in 2005, a mill, stable, barn and farm buildings.
Why The property sits about 1,300m above sea level and has views across the Schnals Valley below. Its land is about half forest, plus 16ha of apricot trees and more than 5ha of meadows.
Who Christie's International Real Estate / Benedetti



Chalet, Kitzbühel, Tyrol, Austria, €5.25m

Where In the village of Reith bei Kitzbühel, less than 5km north of Kitzbühel town and ski resort, which is well served by long-distance trains.
What A three-storey chalet with 468 sq m of living space. There are six bedrooms, four bathrooms, floor-to-ceiling windows and several balconies. The property also has a self-contained annexe, a three-car garage and a sauna.
Why Alpine pistes are within a five-minute drive, along with hiking and biking trails in summer.
Who Alpine Property Finders



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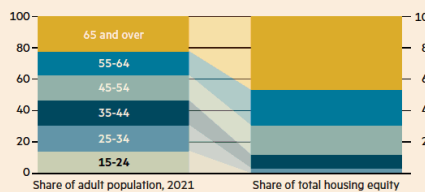
The great British housing wealth divide



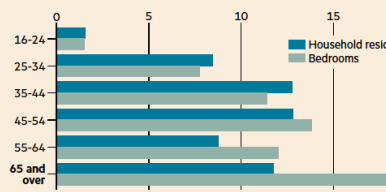
Neal Hudson
Perspectives

Homeowners aged over-65 hold 47 per cent of housing equity and 7.4mn 'extra' bedrooms. They've been reluctant to liberate them

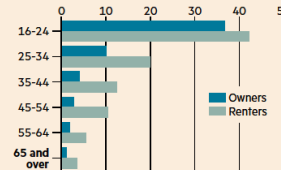
1 Older people own the lion's share of England's housing wealth
By age group (%)



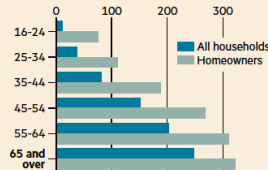
2 Older people have the most 'extra' bedrooms
Number of people and bedrooms in occupied dwellings, England, 2019 (mn)



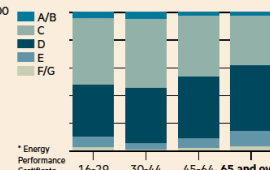
3 Over 65s are least likely to move home
Proportion of households moving in tax year 2020-21, by age (%)



4 Homeowners over 65 have an average of £322,000 in household equity
Average equity by age of householder (£'000)



5 Older people are more likely to live in leakier homes
Proportion of households in EPC* bands, by age (%)



low rating (D grade or below) on their Energy Performance Certificate, according to the latest English Housing Survey. Homes built between the wars — another 15 per cent of total dwellings — are not much better, with nearly three-quarters having a low rating.

It's not just older homes that are associated with lower energy efficiency, but older households. Some 48 per cent of those headed by someone aged between 16 and 29 had an energy efficiency rating of D or lower; for the over-65s, the proportion rose to 62 per cent. While low income and younger households might be most exposed to the cost of living crisis given less budget capacity to cut back on essentials, older households are far from immune given the poor energy efficiency of their housing.

Though energy price rises are set to be frozen this autumn, those in homes with the worst energy efficiency ratings will still have to pay the most. Next month, the average monthly gas bill in homes with a D-rating will be 28 per cent more expensive than an average C-rated home, according to analysis by the Resolution Foundation — a nice period home with original features and spare bedrooms could easily become a real burden to equity-rich, income-poor retirees. Whether it is enough to trigger a flood of downsizing is unclear but, even if government support eases the pressure, the challenges faced by households irrespective of income, wealth, or age might just be big enough to change people's behaviour.

One of the challenges with modernising and improving the energy efficiency of UK homes is the investment required. More analysis in the English Housing Survey shows the majority (95 per cent) of D-rated

What is the total value for all the homes in the UK? Estimates can vary by the odd trillion or so, depending on who is doing the calculations, but this summer property portal Zoopla put the figure at a whopping £10tn. It's my guess that thanks to rising interest rates and the deepening cost of living crisis, this will turn out to be a record high — at least when adjusted for inflation. But forgetting the latest headline figure — which assumes all homes find

fore since the pandemic hit. At an aggregate level, there are enough bedrooms for every resident in England to have one to themselves with nearly 10mn spare — and that's before we include the 1.1mn vacant homes. The vast majority of these "extra" bedrooms are in homes occupied by older households (over-65s have 7.4mn of them). Many will be the bedrooms of children who have now left home, though in some cases they may be transformed into home offices or some other use that appeals to those in retirement — probably more so than

A nice period home with original features and spare bedrooms could become a burden to equity-rich retirees

incentivising people to move out of their family home is fraught with difficulties and that's before any potential inheritance beneficiaries — or children, if you prefer — get involved in the discussion. The economics of downsizing are also challenging. While older people hold the vast bulk of housing wealth, this partly reflects the size of their generation. Most older people actually live in average-priced homes. Despite owning nearly half the total housing equity, the average figure among older homeowners is £322,000 a household

but the cost of living crisis may change that

... which assumes an investor like a buyer at current prices in what is a very illiquid market — what is more telling is that housing wealth is not distributed equally. Using English Housing Survey data — which posits a much lower total amount and removes all outstanding mortgage lending — some colleagues and I calculate that homeowners aged over 65 collectively own 47 per cent of total housing equity. The under-45s own just 12 per cent. No wonder the Bank of Mum and Dad has been so popular. Property wealth might be one of the most eye-catching of the generational inequalities in housing, but it's not the only one: housing space has risen to the

... probably more by the model railways these days. It has been regularly suggested that all these extra bedrooms could be used to ease the housing crisis — and the country would definitely benefit from a more liquid housing market with homes that are better distributed. But this is a morally and politically difficult challenge to solve. Older people are understandably less willing and less likely to move home than younger cohorts — as chart 3 shows. And this trend is true even for renters. More than a third of over-65 households have lived in their current residence for 30 or more years, irrespective of tenure. Even

this winter



... With an average flat selling for £295,000 in 2021 and a bungalow for £337,000, there has been little financial incentive for people to downsize — even before accounting for moving costs. However, that may be about to change, thanks to the cost of living crisis. The country's ageing housing stock and a lack of investment has left the UK underprepared for soaring energy prices. Around one in five dwellings in England was built more than 100 years ago, and period homes typically have much lower energy-efficiency ratings than newer homes. More than 80 per cent of homes built prior to 1919 had a

... homes lived in by older people could be improved to a C rating. However, the average cost to improve their home to this standard is estimated at £8,332. And that's just the average: 22 per cent of households would need to spend between £10,000 and £15,000, while a further 12 per cent would need to spend £15,000 or more. Given the costs involved, perhaps it's time to use some of that housing equity that older households have been lucky enough to accrue and reinvest it back into their homes. Neal Hudson is a housing market analyst and founder of the consultancy BuiltPlace



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House&Home

London Design Festival | The 20th edition kicks off with more than 300 events, writes Francesca Perry

This year is the 20th edition of the London Design Festival (LDF), the annual event which showcases the best of contemporary design across more than 300 exhibitions, installations, talks and events. The nine-day festival (September 17-25) is focused around "design districts" across the city, from Greenwich to Park Royal, bringing together eminent designers, artists and craftspeople



such as Tom Dixon, Sabine Marcelis and Chila Kumari Burman. When the festival began in 2005, things were different. "We didn't feel the design community was getting the hearing it deserved," says LDF co-founder Ben Evans. "London already had a fashion week and a film festival. It was time for something similar in design – a coming together moment in which we could collectively make our voices louder." Evans estimates that there were just 35 events at the beginning. As the



(Clockwise from above) A selection from 'Material Matters'; tapestry vase by Mariadela Araujo; 'Chair with Shoes' by James Shaw from 'Two Kettles, No Sofa'; '113' by Omer Arbel



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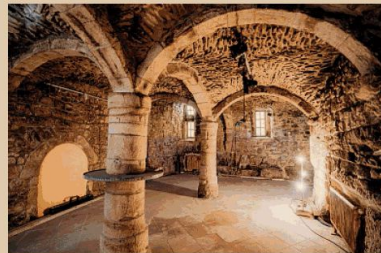
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festival has grown, its organisers aim to position London as the design capital of the world – in 2019, pre-pandemic, more than a third of LDF's 600,000 visitors came from overseas. "I think we've been through a golden age in terms of design and creativity in London," says Evans. "We've got the biggest creative community of any global city."

What's more, he adds, the importance of design becomes only more apparent with each year. "One role design can play, as a problem solver, is absolutely critical to some of the bigger issues we are all facing – be it wellbeing or our climate." Here are some key things to see at the festival. londonfestival.com

Omer Arbel's 'Material Experiments'
At the festival hub, the Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington, there will be a range of activities, but a highlight is a nine-day, live glass-blowing performance from Canadian artist and designer Omer Arbel. Using the museum's John Madejski Garden as a glass-blowing studio, Arbel will add to an evolving experimental sculpture titled "113".

His unique process for this work involves melting down copper and glass antiques collected from flea markets to create new vessel-like objects. As glass form is blown, molten copper alloy is poured into it; the glass then shatters off during the cooling process, leaving behind iridescent "metallic shadows" on the copper. The resultant objects resemble ephemeral burnt relics. vam.ac.uk

'Unfamiliar Forms: Where Art Meets Design'
Fifteen emerging artists, designers and craftspeople are brought together for this exhibition at SET Studios in Kensington. The featured works are playful and subversive, toying the line between art and design through objects ranging from furniture and textiles to pottery. Exhibitors include Mariadela Araujo, whose colourful textiles are shaped like vases and sculptures, and Anouska Samms, who integrates human hair into ceramic vessels. The show is curated by designer Kristina Kazantseva, whose sumptuous abstract rugs will also be exhibited. unfamiliar-forms.com

'Two Kettles, No Sofa'
Taking as its inspiration the joys and strangeness of moving in with a partner, this installation is crafted by a cohabiting couple, designer-maker James Shaw and writer Lou Stoppard (an occasional FT contributor). It features Shaw's surreal furniture amid other design objects in a "fictive environment", telling the story of a couple's conflicting tastes as they build a home together. The display has been influenced by a short story written by Stoppard, which was itself inspired by Shaw's work. seedslondon.com

Material Matters design fair
This new event, hosted at Oxo Tower Wharf, will focus on the future of materials in design, covering issues such as circularity and biophilia. Alkesh Parmar launches a range of lighting made from orange peel; HagenHinderdael and Fab. Pub shows Swivel, a stool and planter made from 3D-printed fermented sugar and wood fibre. Majeda Clarke's textile work combines influences from Bangladesh to Bauhaus and aims to connect to traditional weaving threatened by mass production. materialmatters.design



'Permanent Temporary'
Taking place in a renovated bottle factory in Southwark, this event celebrates the diverse creativity of locals in and around Old Kent Road. Design will mix with art and music, creating a community subject to the pressures of rapid regeneration, unaffordable housing and a lack of spaces for making. The event makes the case for local voices to be heard in the future of the area. liveseyexchange.com

'Huguet x Pentagram'
An abundance of bold colour and pattern comes in this collaboration between Italian graphic designer Astrid Stavro, design company Pentagram and Mallorcan tile, cement and terrazzo manufacturer Huguet. Stavro invited creatives from Pentagram – spanning information, industrial, sound and graphic design – to make objects using Huguet's materials. Sound designer Yuri Suzuki has created a modular series of terrazzo shapes that together form joyful abstract sculptures. Graphic designer Matt Willey has made a coffee table with a customisable top, as well as a pink cement desk. Jody Hudson-Powell, also a graphic designer, has developed glow-in-the-dark terrazzo tiles. huguetxpentagram.com

Kasama potters
In the 18th century, Kasama – a city in eastern Japan – became a centre for potters, whose work gained fame as "Kasama ware". Although its style has evolved and diversified, the city remains a hub for ceramicists and is home to a museum of ceramic arts. An exhibition at Islington Square unites 32 potters from Kasama to celebrate the heritage and future of the craft. Limited-edition pieces will be for sale. kasamapotters.com



"Totem" by Yuri Suzuki, "Huguet x Pentagram" — Andrés Fraga

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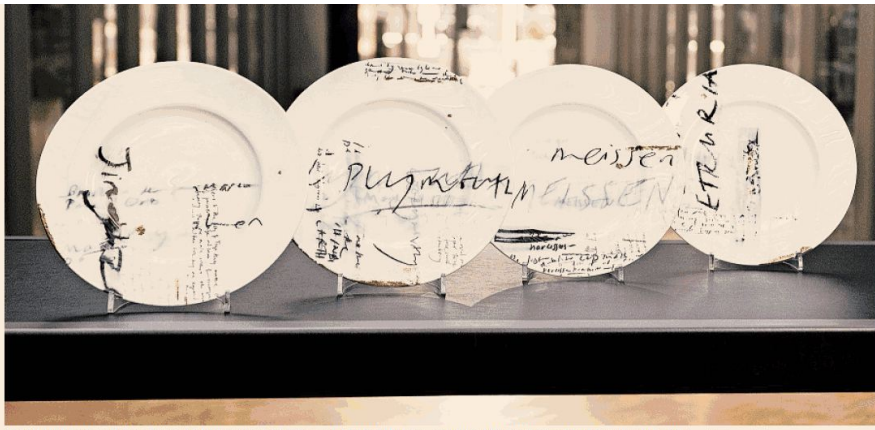
It's a glorious, luminous moment," says Edmund de Waal. The British ceramicist and writer is sitting in a glass-walled room in the ceramics galleries at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, looking at rows of glass cabinets packed with decorative vessels from across centuries, continents and cultures.

"I think one of the things people connect to with pots is this extraordinary thing of it being a bit of a struggle. It takes a while. You learn to get your eye in and you learn to get your hand in, but then things go wrong in the kiln or in glazing. It's a real grounding, beautiful art because you're always having to begin again."

De Waal's large-scale installations of porcelain vessels — including the V&A's site-specific "Signs & Wonders", 425 glazed porcelain pots positioned within the dome of Gallery 141, just a few steps

'They are four stories about objects and a sort of crossover between me as a potter and me as a writer'

from where we are sitting — are presented with such quiet confidence they belie the years of attempting and failing that every potter goes through. The challenges presented by clay as a material and artists' persistent attempts to master it is a topic of continual fascination to de Waal, one he explored in his 2015 book on porcelain, *The White Road: A Journey into Obsession*, and which now informs a new project with the museum. "On the White Road", a limited edition of 150 sets of four porcelain plates created by de Waal and made by Wedgwood, launches at the V&A this month, priced at £1,000 per set. It celebrates the museum's relationship with the 260-year-old company. In 2014, a collection of more than 165,000 Wedgwood works was bought and donated to the V&A after public appeal by the Art Fund. It is the first time de Waal has collaborated on a commercial project with industry or an institution, and he says it is unlikely to happen again. "I've got through to my late fifties having turned down everything over decades. People say, why don't you do an edition of this or that? And I've said,



'On the White Road', four limited edition plates by Edmund de Waal (below), produced by Wedgwood and on sale at the V&A — Carlos Jimenez/V&A

A potter with a lot on his plate

Artisans | Edmund de Waal's new limited-edition collection celebrates Wedgwood, the V&A and the history of porcelain. By *Kate Finnigan*



absolutely not. And then the V&A and Wedgwood ask and I say, well, yes! I mean, why wouldn't I? I've been a trustee [of the V&A] and so many of my works are here." He gestures around. "This is my second home." Each plate references an object from the Wedgwood or V&A archive that de Waal has chosen to represent a moment in the history of porcelain as documented in his book. The original pieces, three of which are ceremoniously rolled into our room on a trolley, include a Chinese blue and white porcelain ewer with silver mounts from the 17th century. The piece from de Waal the moment Marco Polo arrived in the city of Jingdezhen and saw porcelain for the first time. The second piece is a Meissen covered cup with double handles, from the early 18th century, when the first European white porcelain was fired. Third is a slightly haphazard tankard from Plymouth, the first true porcelain made in England. The fourth piece, not present for our visit but in the archive in Staffordshire, is *The First Day's Vase* made by Josiah Wedgwood in 1769 on the opening day of his factory at Etruria.



A Jingdezhen Wan Li porcelain painted over with plate — Carlos Jimenez/V&A

The front of the plates commemorates these moments in an abstract way, featuring layers of de Waal's inky black handwriting, some of it legible, some not, and smudges and blots of gold. They're reminiscent of unearthed letters or manuscripts.

"This is the closest I'll get, I think, to the walls I did for my *Library of Exile* [a 2020-21 exhibition at the British Museum]," de Waal says, holding the Jingdezhen piece and thinking it with his fingernail. "One text written on top of another, a layer of porcelain and then dot. This is the closest I've got to holding all those ideas in one place. They're four short stories about objects in the collection and a sort of crossover between me as a potter and me as a writer."

On the back of each plate is de Waal's printed signature, alongside gold emblems depicting the original object, with a date stamp and the mark of the V&A.

"Edmund is perhaps the potter — and writer — most intimately associated with the iconic material of porcelain," says Alun Graves, the V&A's senior curator of ceramics and glass, 1900 to present day. "His work is underpinned by a deep knowledge and understanding of porcelain's history and cultural significance and this collection extends the story further."


De Waal hopes that as well as raising money for the museum, the collection will encourage people to rediscover the ceramics archives of the V&A and Wedgwood. "You know you can get lost in these galleries, but if you think about people, these individuals who I feel a deep kinship with, you tune in much more to the material," he says. "So we're not just saying, look at these vast arrays of ceramics. We're saying, think about the people who made them. Which is sort of what I always care about."

'On the White Road' plates will be available from September 19 at the V&A; vam.ac.uk

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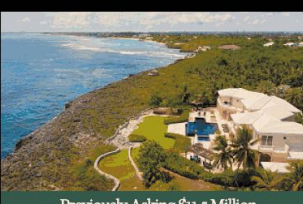
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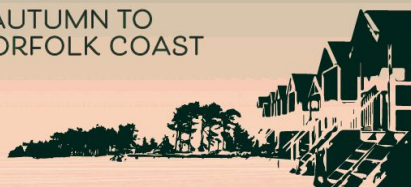
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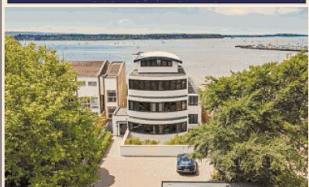


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House&Home

'I talk to the client about their passions'

Gardens | How designers, artists and homeowners work together to create sculptures that are in dialogue with nature and the surrounding landscape. By Mark C O'Flaherty

At this year's Royal Ascot, towering above the constantly moving architectural millinery, one of the most visually dramatic fixed points was a giant bronze ram's head opposite the Garrick Club pavilion. As its sculptor David Williams-Ellis stretched on a ladder to brush wax on its horns 3 metres from the ground, he explained that the beast was actually a miniature of sorts.

"This is really a maquette," he says. A 7.5 metre x 4.5 metre version is destined for a garden in Oxfordshire, "the biggest thing I've ever worked on".

"The garden designer wanted something that would have a lot of impact in a broad landscape, focusing the eye and then drawing your attention out," says Williams-Ellis. A limited series of "The Ram", smaller but still imposing, will end up in the gardens of other collectors.

Williams-Ellis is one of the sculptors that landscape designers turn to when they have the budget to add an accent to a project. Some of the most striking sculptures in the UK sit in private gardens, positioned to create a dialogue with the landscape around them.

Nic Fiddian-Green is best known for his sculptures of horse heads. An 8-metre-high piece he created for the Bamford family estate — home of Carole Bamford, the founder of Daylesford Organic Farm, and her husband Lord Bamford, the chair of JCB — in Gloucestershire in 2009 has become a benchmark for modern garden sculpture.

"It turns my heart over every time I see it," says Carole Bamford. "It gives me such pleasure seeing it in all the different lights." Fiddian-Green made another similarly sized equine piece for garden designer Mat Reese, commissioned by the von Opel family for their Malverleys estate.

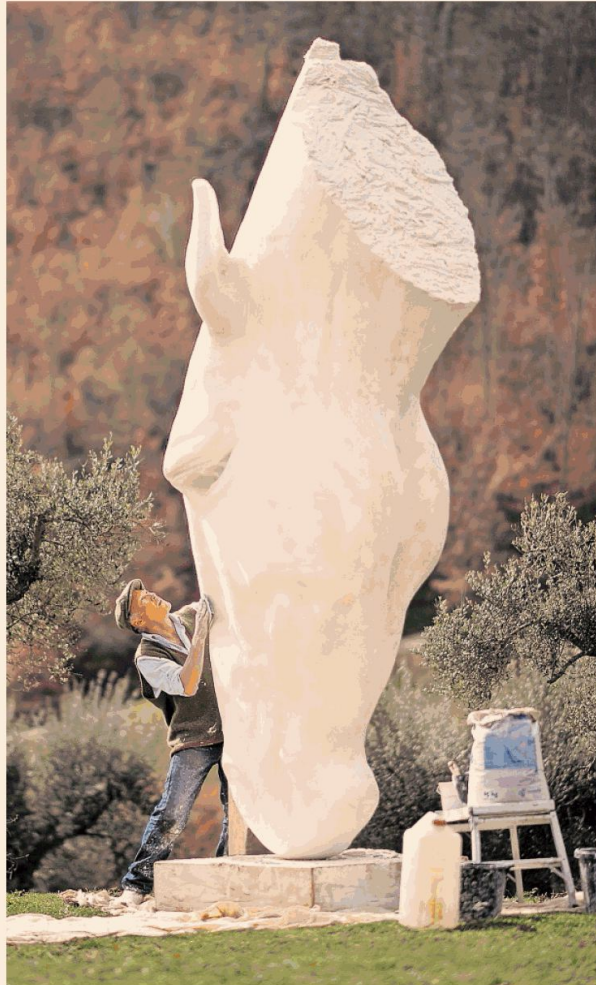
"I felt compelled to work on site for that project," says Fiddian-Green. "I completed it as a direct reaction to the English landscape surrounding me." He describes the image of a horse as "the most prime example of man's relationship with the natural world — something we have relied on for centu-

'It's placed on the east side to align with the precise point on the horizon to see the sun rise through it'

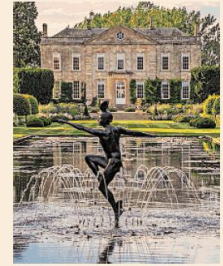
ries for travel, work and warfare. I want my work to create a sense of wonder, nostalgia and urgency in a landscape."

The very existence of garden designers underscores that many gardens are contrived, as wild as they may appear.

"There was a misconception in the past, when sculpture was classical in nature, right through the era of Capability Brown, that gardens were somehow entirely natural," says sculptor David Worthington. He also lectures about his chosen medium, focusing on different aspects, from working with 18th-century French ha-ha in an



(From left) Nic Fiddian-Green and his 'Trojan Head'; David Williams-Ellis's 'Mercury'



extravagant garden to science fiction. "You can look at something like Hadrian's Villa [in Tivoli], which I think of as the site of the first garden sculpture, and it's clearly a private space," says Worthington. "With Brancusi, Henry Moore and other sculptors in the 20th century, we started to see a shift to people being conscious of nature and the environment. There was abstraction, inspired by nature, and it was about opening up landscapes, private or otherwise."

Context is an essential part of the work, he adds. "If it sits on an empty plane of green, it sticks out like a sore thumb. I recently had some work on show at the Glastonbury festival, and I loved to see people physically engage with it."

One of Williams-Ellis's earlier projects placed a balletic figure of the Roman god Mercury in a long stretch of water, in the middle of a fountain, at the front of a grand house in Oxfordshire. It was a collaboration with the garden designer Angela Collins.

"That was a difficult assignment," says Collins. "The figure is a long way from the home, so it needed to have a presence, but the scale was a delicate issue — when you walk the length of the lily pool, you get a perfect reflection of the house behind, and we didn't want to disrupt that. David's figure is perfect, it is elegant and has the right density," Williams-Ellis was amused on discovering, coincidentally, that the owner of the house used to have an airline called Mercury.

A piece has to interact physically and be visually and thematically harmonious with its environment to find a permanent home. It's a tangible entity,

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not just a concept. In her own garden, Collins has a reflective obelisk by David Harber, which brings something sleek and futuristic, but also classical, into the space. By reflecting the foliage in the garden, it becomes invisible in a way, yet is still obviously present.

Harber has been creating sculptures since the early 1990s, initially selling directly to clients. Now, he says, more of the work comes from garden designers and art consultants. "Designers have the best interests of the client at heart, so they introduce us to them because they don't want to see them choose an onyx dolphin. They want us to show them something original."

Harber appreciates it when there is a strong three-way relationship between each party — sculptor, designer and client. "I like to talk to the client about their passions, because that usually shapes the project," he says. There is, he adds, a heightened interest in the development of garden spaces right

'I like to talk to the client about their passions, because that usually shapes the project'



vertically, with a highly reflective surface. But then Harber investigated aspects of the landscape into which the sculpture was to be installed, and how his client was going to engage with it.

"He created a kind of paradise on his own island," says Harber. "He has a home that's like a giant log cabin on steroids. I asked him what happens on the island, and he said he likes to have a lot of people come over for dinner, drink too much and wander around the grounds."

With that in mind, Harber wanted to create a destination for visitors with his two-tonne sculpture, but also a dialogue with the island's plant life. A storm had recently blown down a forest of trees, so he envisaged "thousands of trees all tangled together" and produced

"Ortus", a circular eye-like design in which a mess of metal branches cross over one another within its iris. The sculpture can be rotated by hand and is embellished with a compass.

"It's placed purposely on the east side of the grounds," says Harber, "so you can align it with the precise point on the horizon to see the sun rise through it in the morning."

As with many of the most notable contemporary garden sculptures, it is engaged in a perpetual, captivating dialogue with the landscape it sits in. It is a design that only achieves its potential outside, accentuating what is already beautiful. It makes the onlooker think about where they are.

now, partly because of enforced reflection during the pandemic.

"There has been a powerful reawakening in people's feelings about nature, and they want to embellish their spaces with art, because it brings more authority to it. It is an investment, financially and emotionally."

There is nothing gnome-like about the price attached to serious garden sculpture, and the price of raw materials, along with the difficulty of finding a foundry with a free schedule, is fuelling inflation. The nine editions of "The Ram" by David Williams-Ellis are priced at £178,000 each. But not every garden is a rambling estate, and not every sculpture is on a grand scale.

One of David Worthington's works is in a relatively small, fenced garden in North Devon, designed by Paul Thompson and inspired by the houses of mid-century West Coast developer Joseph Eichler. A long cedar boardwalk runs along a selection of subtropical plants, with Worthington's "Fountain - Axe", based on the shape of a Palaeolithic stone tool, set into a grouping of them. "I don't think a sculpture would work if it was underneath a tree," says

Worthington, "but it has to work next to the plants the designer has chosen."

Art consultants can help forge a direct relationship between a client and a sculptor when a garden is already long completed. The way that conversation goes will help steer the client to something they want but might not have been able to imagine by themselves.

"We worked with a collector who has a home in Greece and had a sculpture garden already," says David Knowles, founder and creative director of Arterlier. "She wanted something unexpected and colourful for a spot where there used to be a tree, so we developed something with one of our artists that is a 5-metre stainless steel version of what was there before, in bright blue." When the sharp light of the Mediterranean sun hits it, casting long shadows, it's a strong visual statement that bridges nature and modernity. It inspires a broad smile.

The more remote a garden is, the more powerful a sculpture tends to be. For example, last summer, a bright yellow polka dot pumpkin by Yayoi Kusama on the shore of Naoshima in Japan was washed into the sea by a typhoon. Now, Benesse Art Site — the

company responsible for the art on the island — is preparing to reinstall it. Considering the omnipresence of the pop pumpkin on Instagram alone, it seems one of the most photographed, as well as remote, site-specific pieces of art in the world. If it was inside a gallery, it wouldn't hold a fraction of the fascination.

When David Harber was approached to create a piece for a private island off the south coast of England, at first he proposed developing one of his "Torus" designs — a circular piece that stands



(Clockwise from main) Arterlier's blue trees; David Worthington's sculpture at Glastonbury; David Williams-Ellis and his 'Ram'; obelisk by David Harber. Joe Strummer Foundation; Alan Calender; Clive Nichols; Garden Pictures



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The paulownia, or empress tree, is one that can survive drought and hosepipe bans. Others may need your help

As soon as the British drought began to unwind, gardeners were hit with a ban on hosepipes. Why is there not a ban on watering golf courses? Golf is said to have begun in Scotland as a game played on a sandy beach. If the climate is intensifying, should we stop watering greens and fairways and return the game to its dry roots in history? One well-watered golf course equates to hundreds of watered beds of plants. To give my hose-banned garden a better chance, I have resorted to strategies learnt from hard experience. Just before the ban, I ran a bath, my first for a while. I left the water plugged in, washed off my earthy accretions and, as in the dry 1970s, transferred the water bucket by bucket to plants at risk in the garden. A big bucket, carefully poured round the roots, gives a tree a better chance of surviving until rains return. Little and often is a bad way to water. I now have buckets in the washbasins and the kitchen sink, waiting to treat trees to a top dressing of soap, scraps and toothpaste.

Yet again, my longest living companions are at risk. In 1987, I planted a line of four Sorbus hupehensis, still one of my top choices as a specimen tree for gardens. In a less torrid year this Chinese rowan tree has pinnate blue-grey leaves and, in autumn, a fine show of pink berries. Since I planted mine, the favoured variety is hupehensis Pink Pagoda, a selected form whose berries are a richer shade of pink. I like my old friends, whose berries are a paler pink turning even paler if the birds do not strip them first. After 35 years they are about 20ft high and scarcely 10ft wide, an excellent choice for a mini-avenue. They show a pretty length of bare trunk before the branches begin.

After bucketing, I am rereading *The Dry Garden* by Beth Chatto, first



(From left) Paulownia fargesii; Sorbus hupehensis; Ligustrum lucidum — GAP Photos/Emile James; GAP Photos/Marcus Harpur; GAP Photos/Novo Photo Graphix

Empress of the sun

published in 1978, two years after a fearsome British drought. She describes how she planted several Sorbus hupehensis when she first devised her dry long border. They "have looked quite distressed at times", she remarks, in three dry summers since. She mulched them heavily in early spring and found "they stood the 1976 dry summer quite well". She then expresses an interest in seeing how they will carry on when they get their roots well down.

Forty-four years later, I can tell her, mine are now deep rooted but their leaves have scorched and dropped nonetheless. They have had to be encouraged by the bath-to-bucket treatment. Even so, their leafless stems are a living green when scratched. Once again they will survive, so I still rate them highly for gardeners. If they are too big for your space, I also value



Robin Lane Fox

On gardens

Sorbus vilmorinii, another excellent tree which reaches only about 10-12ft. Despite the ban, I have spared another fine tree a bucketing. The Paulownia may well be the tree of the future. It grows very fast and has big green leaves which open late in spring. It has been flowering more profusely in Britain now that winters are milder. In late May and early June there is every chance of seeing its lavender-purple flowers in southern England. They look like stumpy foxgloves and are one of the late spring glories of the fine garden at Ninfa, near Rome, where big paulownia trees grow on the far side of the main stretch of water.

Paulownias grow so quickly to about 40ft that in Britain their trunk and branches are prone to splitting in a winter gale. They also have the disadvantage of coming late into leaf, as late as a mulberry tree in early June.

An artful way of treating a paulownia in a smaller space is to cut it yearly down within a few inches of its base each spring and leave it to send up a new stem about 6-8ft high on which the leaves are much bigger, like large green dishcloths.

They make a bold feature in a mixed planting, bringing an exotic look without the risk of being destroyed by winter frost. The great garden planter, Lanning Roper, used to grow boldly pruned paulownias in this way in his London garden, a haven of ingenuity and beauty in the 1960s.

In Japan, the paulownia is also a tree of the past. It has a most distinguished literary ancestry. The Paulownia court is the setting for the first chapter in that inexhaustible fiction, *The Tale of Genji*, a masterpiece of the 11th century. Genji's mother is the lady of the Paulownia court in the emperor's

palace. She is not well born, but her son is exceptionally beautiful and is therefore the emperor's favourite, exposing her to the spite of his other concubines. Paulownias became known as empress trees as a result: their hard wood was used to make musical instruments but also chests for clothes. When a daughter was born, parents sometimes planted a paulownia tree so that its wood would make a chest for her kimonos when she married and left home.

If a paulownia is so evocative, why not water it? It has an invaluable, but underemphasised, quality. It thrusts a big tap root down into the soil which acts like a water pump, drawing water not only into itself and the leaves above but also into the surrounding soil. I learnt this useful fact from a fine collection of hydrangeas in Normandy whose owner visited Japan and realised that he could plant happy

The paulownia's big tap root draws water not only into itself but also into the surrounding soil

hydrangeas very close to the trunks of water-pumping paulownias. They flourished there even in hot summers and, in imitation, I planted evergreen abelias around a big paulownia in my own garden. They are all doing well in this dry year.

So are particular privets. Gardeners are wary of them as they associate them with rather boring hedged round suburban front gardens, but those oval-leaved hedging varieties are only one corner of a much larger family. As a big shrub or small tree, I much like the shiny-leaved evergreen Chinese privet, *Ligustrum lucidum*, which reaches about 12ft in 10 years. It has white flowers and makes an emphatically rounded feature, each branch growing out so that the leaves can reach the light.

Ligustrum lucidum is totally hardy and never in need of bucket-watering. There is an excellent avenue of it in Gloucester Gardens at Cockfosters, an end point of London's Piccadilly Underground line. In the drought of summer 2005 I took a round ticket to inspect it. The sight of a shiny green tree, neither wilting nor dropping leaves, is most heartening.





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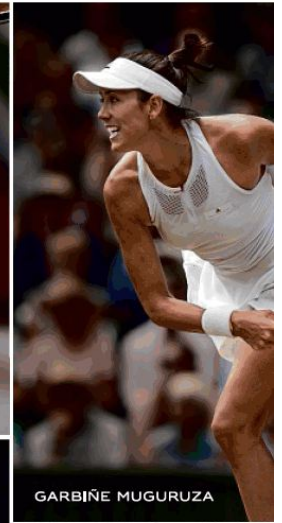




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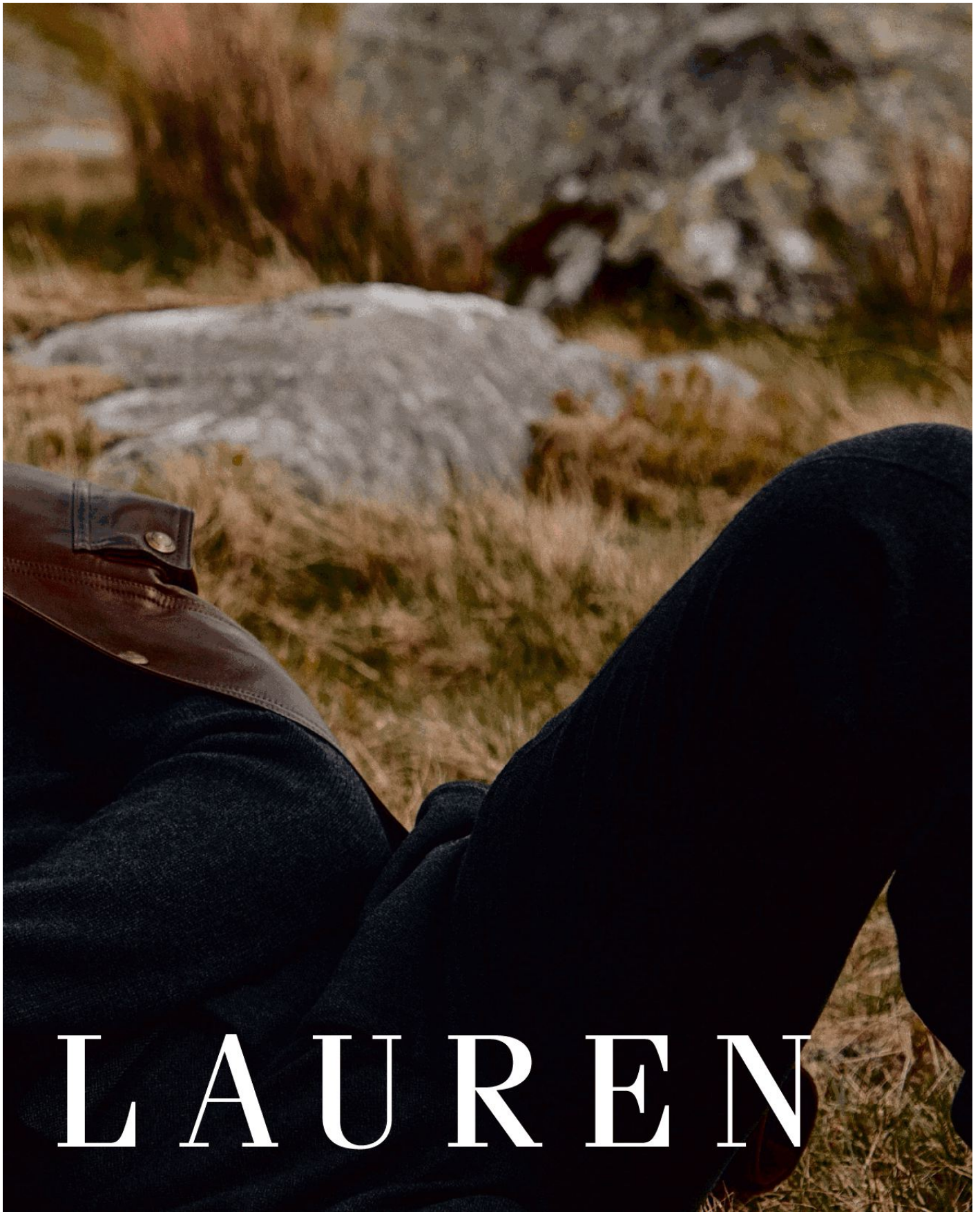
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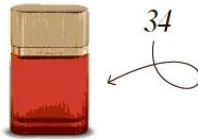
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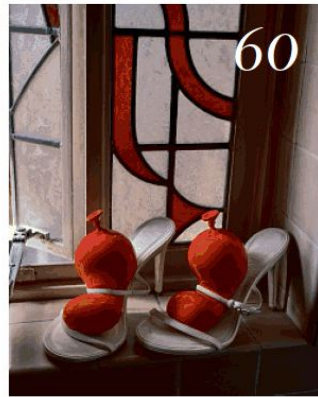
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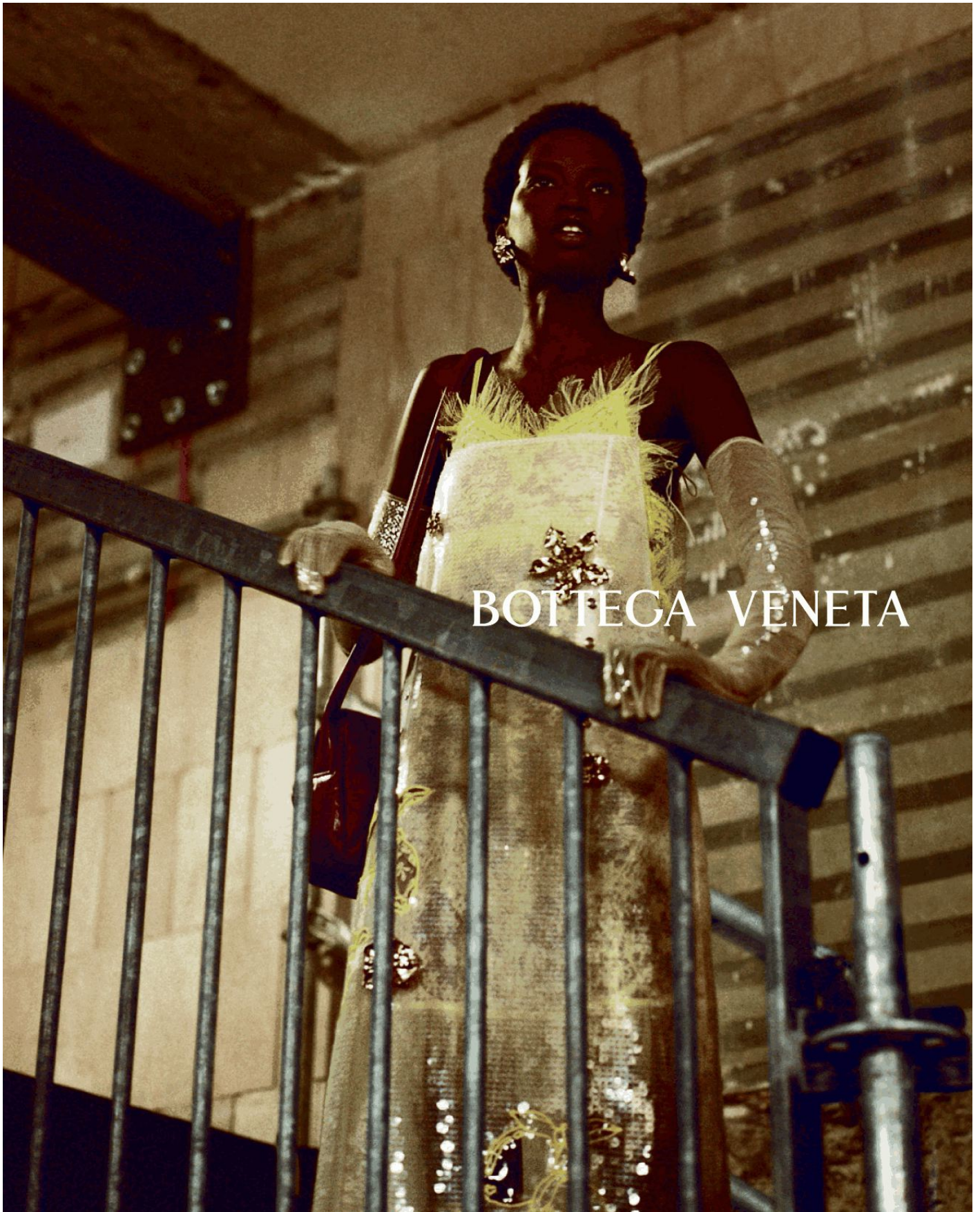


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A lot of chatter has been dedicated to size inclusivity within the fashion industry. As part of a wider conversation surrounding representation, and the efforts to reflect a greater range of shapes on the catwalk, there has emerged a new generation of models, among whom is Devyn Garcia, our fashion issue cover star. A Cuban Miami-native, Devyn debuted for Jacquemus in 2021, aged 20, and has walked at Chloé, Valentino and Alexander McQueen. As a model who is bigger than the customary size zero, she is often described as being plus-sized. But rather than stick a label on her appearance, Devyn prefers to think of herself as being part of a new wave of faces helping shift the status quo.

On the surface, it seems like everything is moving in the right direction but, in preparing for this shoot, it was made apparent how far we still have to go. While sending a couple of larger girls down a catwalk might signal a general enthusiasm for size inclusivity, it's true that the majority of clothes sent to magazines for shooting still typically come in sizes more suitable for tiny frames.

The size debate in fashion continues to rumble, like a model's stomach before a fitting. For as many great initiatives towards size reconciliation as there are, the subject is more challenging than it might seem: it's going to take more than expecting brands to make size-inclusive samples, or for us to use the odd plus-sized model in our magazines. That sizeism is still endemic is clear when talking to the models we work with: while models such as Garcia or Paloma Elsesser have raised the visibility of "bigger" figures, others are still expected to maintain a specific, slim physique. It's good to hear new voices contributing to a discussion that one hopes will one day see the whole business becoming more holistically diverse. In the meantime, I hope you love these pictures by Sonia Szóstak and style director Isabelle Kountoure (page 44) as much as I do. That Devyn is exceptional regardless is a fact of which there can surely be no debate.

What goes into the making of an It dress? Ever since its launch in 2014, the world has gone mad for the Falconetti by The Vampire's Wife. This piece of gothic Victoriana, with its three-quarter sleeves and modest neckline, has been worn by everyone from Zawe Ashton to Dakota Johnson by way of Jennifer Aniston and Princess Beatrice. As revealed in June, it was the dress in which the Duchess of Cambridge chose to be immortalised in her first joint portrait with Prince William, the same one she wore in 2020 on a royal tour of Ireland. Beatrice Hodgkin asks what the dress says about the times we live in and how it reflects attitudes to occasion clothes (page 25). Do our It dresses reveal deeper truths about society? Or are they just extremely flattering



CHANEL VINTAGE GREY-BALL EARRINGS, TO RENT FOR £50 FOR FOUR DAYS (PAGE 30)



DO OUR IT DRESSES REVEAL DEEPER TRUTHS ABOUT SOCIETY?

to wear? It also prompts a tour of dresses of past decades: of course it features Mary Quant's fabled mini as well as that supreme 2000s banger, the Galaxy by Roland Mouret.

Lastly, we're introducing a new monthly columnist, the facialist and aesthetician Adeela Crown (page

36). In a world of the TikTok beautician and DIY home demo, and where the market is saturated with new product, Ask Adeela is our attempt to filter out the noise. From adult breakouts to rosacea, from Botox to facial massage, Adeela will be answering your concerns about skincare based on treatment observations in her clinic and her study of the cosmetic science of products in the lab. We're kicking off her debut column with the question she gets asked the most: what are her favourite anti-ageing products, and can anything help turn back the clock? ■HTSI

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CONTRIBUTORS



ADEELA CROWN

Along with a clinic in London, the facialist holds residencies at hotels such as The Beverly Hills Hotel in LA, and works on-set for films including the Marvel movies. This week sees the start of her new beauty column Ask Adeela, which kicks off with her top five anti-ageing ingredients.



DEVYN GARCIA

Inspired by her mother's modelling career, the 21-year-old Cuban Miami-native has walked for Valentino, worked with Tiffany & Co and been featured in American and British Vogue. For this week's fashion shoot she showcases this season's masculine and feminine side with silk dresses and tailored coats.



JESSE GOUVEIA

The American photographer has shot Dua Lipa and Frank Ocean for HTSI, and has been exploring artistic forms including sculpture and furniture. For The Aesthete he shot the Scottish designer Jonathan Saunders. "His energy was a complement to his home, which was full of colour and a kind of linear collage."



[loropiana.com](https://www.loropiana.com)



materials I had. I was washing out my screens in my shower, there was paint everywhere and it was extremely messy and destructive, but it was just wonderful to make things with my hands again.

Jonathan Saunders

The Scottish designer loves Reebok Classics, Khruangbin and Kurt Cobain's cardigan

INTERVIEW BY JESSICA BERESFORD
PHOTOGRAPHY BY JESSE GOUVEIA

MY PERSONAL STYLE SIGNIFIER is a pair of white Reebok classic sneakers, which have been a constant for me for the past 20-odd years. It's very Glaswegian of me. They cross the line between art student and raver, so they have been a good staple. I also always wear a necklace by Australian jewellery designer Jordan Askill. It's got a pendant in the shape of a head, and inside there's a moonstone, which is something that a close friend of mine, [the late designer] Richard Nicoll, used to wear, so it's very personal to our group of friends.

THE FIRST PIECE OF CLOTHING I EVER BOUGHT MYSELF was a T-shirt with Garfield on it that said, "Why not?" in a speech bubble on the front. I got it from a car-boot sale, for 20 pence, and I thought I was the coolest kid in Glasgow.

I'VE RECENTLY REDISCOVERED screen printing, which is something I specialised in during my degree at The Glasgow School of Art, but it had been a long time since I physically printed fabrics myself. In 2020, I turned my dining table into a screen-printing table and made do with the

THE BEST BOOK I'VE READ IN THE PAST YEAR is *Shuggie Bain*. It's a Glaswegian story and it's in a colloquial style, so it took me back to my hometown. As well as being a really interesting story, it brought back a lot of memories for me.

MY EARLIEST FASHION MEMORY is watching Kurt Cobain perform on *MTV Unplugged* in 1993 – I remember obsessing over his cardigan when I was a kid, searching thrift stores for something similar.

WHEN I NEED TO FEEL INSPIRED, I go dancing. Often, like a lot of designers, I get stuck in my head about which direction to go in. But I've found that when I'm out with my friends dancing, it's a good way to relax and let the ideas come through. There's a club night in New York run by a musical duo called The Carry Nation that attracts a group of cool kids and misfits, who probably think I'm way too old to be there, but I don't care. It's super-expressive, the music is incredible and I find the people inspiring. It reminds me of when I discovered dance music in the '90s, when I worked for a nightclub called the Sub Club in Glasgow.

THE LAST THINGS I BOUGHT AND LOVED were two books, one on '90s New York flyers and the other on London rave flyers, from Donlon Books on Broadway Market in London. The shop is owned by Conor Donlon, who was at Central Saint Martins

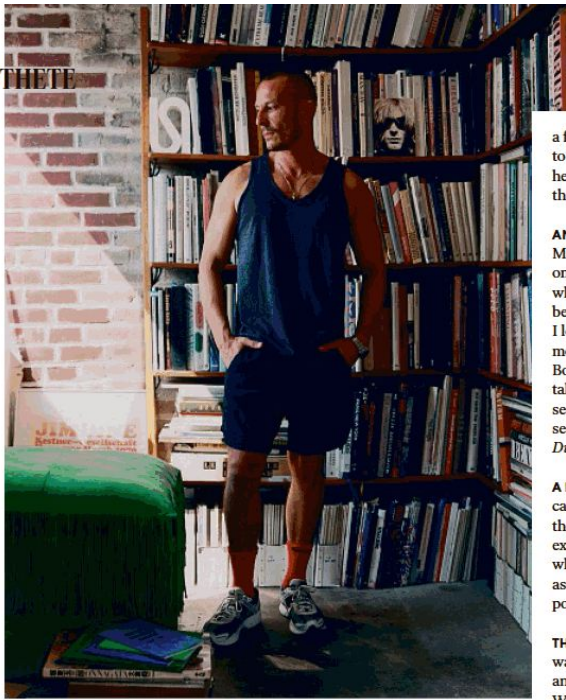
HIS FAVOURITE RECENT READ



Top: Jonathan Saunders at home in Brooklyn, New York. Left: a Saunders Mac bench. Below: his rave flyers from Donlon Books on Broadway Market



THE AESTHETE



LACROIX SPARKLING WATER, HIS FRIDGE STAPLE



a few years ahead of me. Every time I come to London, it's my first port of call because he has a lot of first editions and books that he's sourced from Japan.

AND ON MY WISHLIST is bedding from the Magniberg collaboration I've been working on. I really wanted to use print as a medium, which is something that's true to my heart because I started my career with textiles. I looked at music for inspiration, and that moment in time of Peter Saville, Pet Shop Boys and New Wave artwork. The designs take very traditional bedlinen, working with semi-kitsch, Victorian-style florals, but seeing them through an acid-house lens. *Duvets, from €226 for a single, magniberg.com*

A RECENT "FIND" is a bookshop in London called Marcus Campbell Art Books beside the Tate Modern. It has catalogues from exhibitions from 1900 to the present day, which are from as little as £1 each, as well as rare books and lithograph-printed posters. I could spend hours there.

THE LAST MEAL THAT TRULY IMPRESSED ME was at The Four Horsemen, a restaurant and wine bar in my neighbourhood in Williamsburg and part-owned by James Murphy from LCD Soundsystem. It has the most wonderful food. It's loosely Italian, but it's simple but creative cooking – particularly the razor clams in green garlic butter.

THE TECH I COULDN'T DO WITHOUT is Google Maps, because I have the worst sense of direction. There is something wrong with my internal navigation.

MY STYLE ICON is Grace Jones. What sticks in my mind is when Keith Haring painted her body, and she was just naked with white scrawlings all over. She has such longevity – even now, at 74, for her to feel current and powerful, it's just mind-blowing.

THE BEST GIFT I'VE RECEIVED recently was a signet ring, from Rebus in Hatton Garden, which has my initials on it. It's from my best friend, who I met when I was 15. I bought her one like it for one of her significant birthdays.

THE LAST MUSIC I DOWNLOADED was by Khruangbin, a band from Texas. I was very envious of not being at Glastonbury, so I was watching some of it live, and this band looked and sounded incredible – masters of the guitar. Towards the end of their performance they started to play riffs on '90s house tracks, done through the eyes of this alternative rock band, which I loved.

IN MY FRIDGE YOU'LL ALWAYS FIND leftovers, because I tend to overcook. Even when I'm on my own, I cook for six, so there's usually dishes from several meals on the go. I've also always got curry leaves, and two cases of LaCroix Pamplemousse water, which I'm obsessed with. And raw dog food, for my rescue pitbull, who is named after Basil from Fawlty Towers.

THE BEST SOUVENIR I'VE BROUGHT HOME is spices from a market in Rajasthan. I love to

cook, especially Indian and Sri Lankan food, because I've always had a passion for the culinary styles there. The flavours and fragrances of the cardamom pods and spices were completely different to what I'd been able to get in London or New York.

THE LAST ITEMS OF CLOTHING I ADDED TO MY WARDROBE are a sweatshirt and tracksuit bottoms from Aries. It's a London-based skate brand started by some friends. I love what they do. *ariesarise.com*

THE ONE ARTIST WHOSE WORK I WOULD COLLECT IF I COULD is Basquiat, because of how personal his work is – you get so close to how he was thinking. Because I'm used to working in a graphic, linear way, I find his use of colours and the expressive feeling in his work fascinating, because it's a language that I wouldn't naturally fall into. Also Keith Haring, because his work was so democratic – it was about the public and the culture of people he was around. He opened up art to everyone – from the chalk drawings on the Subway to his murals.

THE GROOMING STAPLE I'M NEVER WITHOUT is CeraVe, the one in the tub. It's not expensive, but it's the best moisturiser – I use it every day. *CeraVe Moisturising Cream Pot with Ceramides for Dry to Very Dry Skin, £15 for 454g*

MY FAVOURITE ROOM IN MY HOUSE is a toss-up. The kitchen is where I spend the most time; it's a social layout and having people around for food is important for me – it's how I bond with my friends and show generosity. But I also love my bedroom – my apartment occupies the corner of a 100-year-old converted factory, and from there you can see all four bridges from Brooklyn to Manhattan.

THE DESIGN MOMENT THAT CHANGED EVERYTHING was Bauhaus, both personally in terms of inspiration and as a movement; the bringing together of creatives, artists and designers from different fields, and the cross-fertilisation of ideas. There was so much questioning of what was beautiful, they prioritised function over form and it's still influential today. My favourite was the Hungarian artist László Moholy-Nagy because of his work across mediums – painting, sculpture and photography.

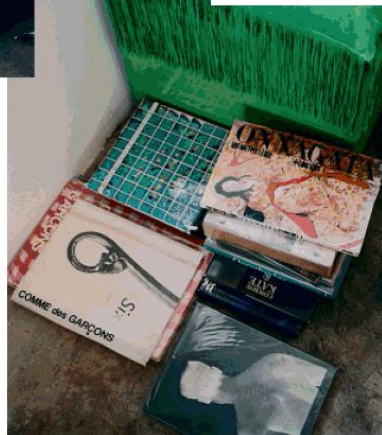
MY FAVOURITE WEBSITE is Salon 94, which is a gallery; I love the curation and the artists that they represent. I enjoy looking at things that are way too expensive for me.

THE BEST ADVICE I'VE EVER BEEN GIVEN is that it doesn't matter what you do, but do it to the nth degree. That was from Louise Wilson, who was my tutor at Central Saint Martins when I did my master's in fashion design. I always felt out of place there because I didn't come from the fashion people around me. She said if you're going to be a textile designer, do 25 screen prints and push what you know that you can physically do well. She influenced so many people and I feel very lucky to be one of them. ■HTSI



Above: Saunders in his library. Far left: Saunders x Magniberg bedding. Left: spices from Rajasthan

IT DOESN'T MATTER WHAT YOU DO, BUT DO IT TO THE NTH DEGREE



Below: Saunders in his bedroom, from where all four bridges from Brooklyn to Manhattan are visible

Above right: some of Saunders' collection of first-edition art books. Right: Saunders' designs including a Renfrew table, Fara and Square cushions and Mac stool



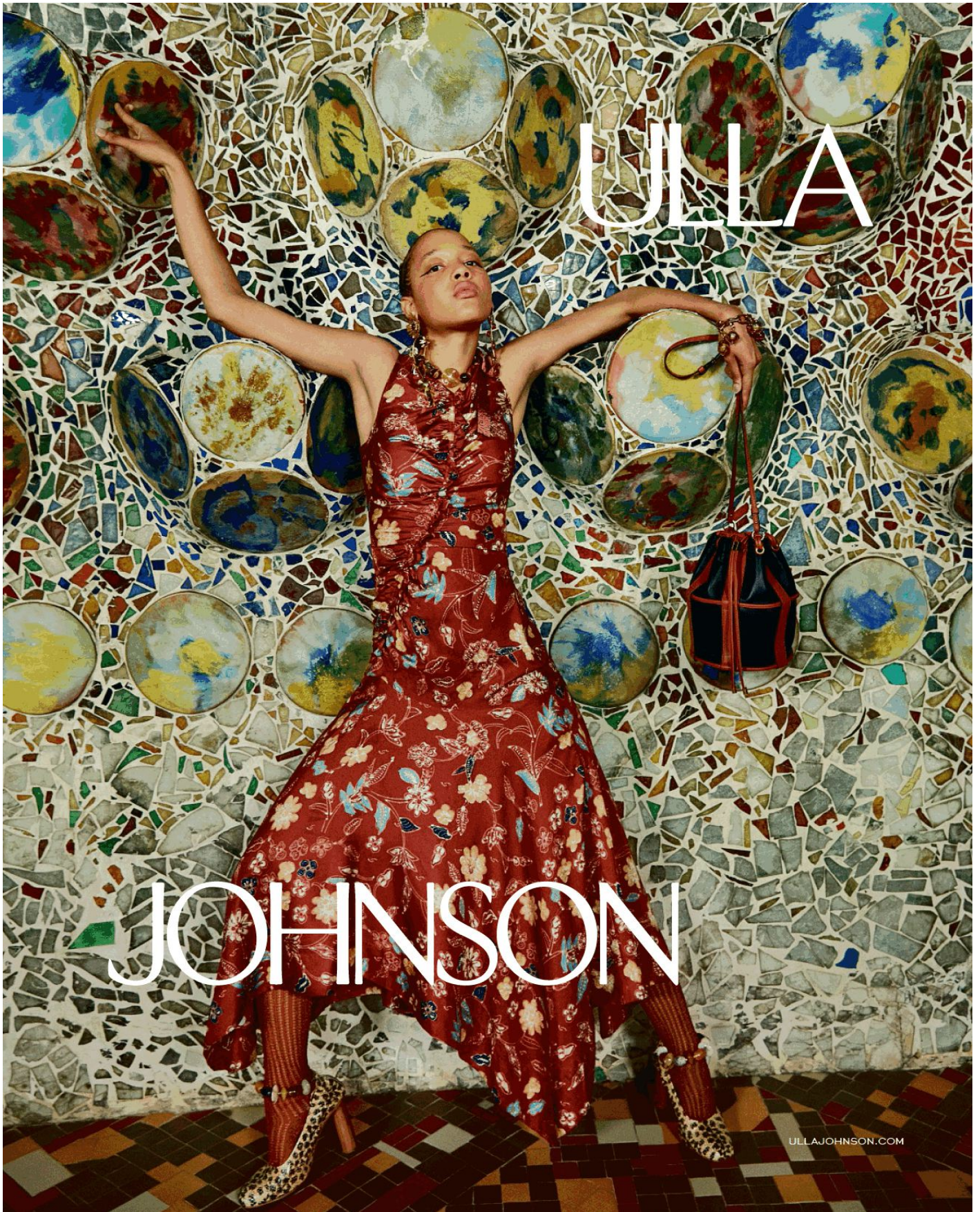
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THE FIX

TREND

RED ALERT

The colour that sums up danger, good luck, power and sex is making a full-blooded return, says *Rosanna Dodds*

PHOTOGRAPHY BY **SPELA KASAL**
STYLING BY **BENJAMIN CANARES**
MODEL **BINGBING LIU**



HERMÈS technical poplin shirt, £850, and leather 2002 bag, £6,970. JOSEPH cotton-mix Tafari trousers, £305. AEYDE palladium and brass Alice medium earrings, £175. KALDA leather boots, £350

Throughout: 886 THE ROYAL MINT silver choker, £1,495

THE FIX

It was the early signs of autumn that first hinted at it: russet leaves, fairytale toadstools and a hedgerow bursting with garnet-coloured blackberries. Then came a flash of Ruby Woo lipstick, the swish of a scarlet Dior dress and the clack of Versace's crimson platform heels. Red, an age-old signifier of the changing seasons, has returned – as much in our wardrobes as out in the natural world.

The shade has always been ubiquitous, but its prevalence on the AW22 catwalks points to a new era of sartorial authority. According to fashion search engine Tagwalk, the number of “total red” looks has increased by 90 per cent compared with last year, while searches for the colour are up by 88 per cent. Clare Coulson, colour strategist at WGSN, traces the current fixation to a “craving for a new sense of happiness”. “Bright red in particular can induce a feeling of excitement by raising our heart rate,” she says.

“BRIGHT RED CAN INDUCE EXCITEMENT BY RAISING HEART RATES”

In Milan, Dolce & Gabbana took red to the future, offering a virtual landscape of neon lights, towering skyscrapers and spidery avatars. Using cues from video games – who hasn't been tickled by Fortnite's collaborations with Balenciaga or Moncler? – they added oomph to sharp-shouldered silhouettes with carmine latex and textured red leather. Even the invitation arrived in a glossy red box with a suspender belt and stockings.

After all, red's oldest connotation? Sex. As Valerie Steele, director of the Museum



Left: **BALENCIAGA** draped Spandex dress, £2,390, and Spandex Knife boots, £1,450. Vintage Givenchy '90s silver chain necklace, £200, omneque.com

Above: **CHRISTIAN DIOR** silk gauze dress, £6,500, net-knit bra, £900, and leather and metal belt, £890



Elegance is an attitude

Kate Winslet
Kate Winslet

LONGINES




THE LONGINES
MASTER COLLECTION

THE FIX



at FIT and author of *The Red Dress*, points out, such symbolism is a double-edged sword. "You've got a multiplicity of negative ideas about red in connection with female sexuality," she says. "Passion [is] something desirable yet dangerous."

The decision to embrace this "danger" can be liberating – see Versace's vampish collection of candy-apple corset dresses with sheer panels and sexy ruching, part of a wider effort to embody "new-generation attitude". But it also can be vilifying: in Alexander McQueen's seminal 1998 Joan collection – all blood-red sequins, tailoring and lace – the designer presented his final look inside a blazing ring of fire, a nod to the execution of Joan of Arc. (In western culture, red was once synonymous with sin, witchcraft and heresy.) You could see McQueen's influence in the latest show by

Italian brand Act No 1, where a model emerged in head-to-toe red paint. Founders Luca Lin and Galib Gassanoff described the look as a "birth of a new race".

Other places that you can admire red: in the Rothko-esque paintings of Reginald Sylvester II, currently on show at the Harvey B Gantt Centre for African-American Arts + Culture; on the headband of Chloe Kelly, who scored England's winner in the Women's Euro 2022 final; and in the prairie-style dress of Pearl, the axe-wielding heroine of Ti West's new slasher of the same name. Worn by actress Mia Goth, it isn't dissimilar to the ruffled crimson styles by Molly Goddard, who closed her show with a pair of vermilion lace-up boots.

Max Mara creative director Ian Griffiths also looked to the art world, this time to the palette of Swiss artist Sophie Taeuber-Arp.



Closely affiliated with Dadaism, which began during the first world war, Taeuber-Arp used red to accentuate the lines of her geometric compositions where logic and order worked as a protest against the absurdity of war. Griffiths matched the artist with sleek, wearable shapes and colours punctuated with three total-red looks, including a floor-length knit dress and balaclava. "Red is pure, absolute and authoritative," he says.

The master of red, of course, is Valentino Garavani, who became enthralled with it after seeing the scarlet costumes of the opera *Carmen* in Barcelona. "It's my good-luck charm," he once said, alluding to the treatment of red in China, where the colour has symbolised luck and prosperity for centuries. Valentino took red and created a new uniform for women around the world, a legacy that current creative director Pierpaolo Piccioli has continued. In his autumn couture collection – 102 looks dedicated to the maison's history – a defining motif was a giant taffeta rose, which adorned everything from dresses to shirts. As a symbol it offers beauty, passion – and a little bit of danger. It's red all over. ■HTSI

Above left: DOLCE & GABBANA vinyl coat, £3,650. KALDA leather boots, £350. Vintage Givenchy necklace, £200, omneque.com

Above: EMPORIO ARMANI silk dress, £590. AEYDE leather boots, £475

Model, BingBing Liu at IMG. Casting, Keva Legault. Hair, Maki Tanaka using Sisley. Make-up, Victoria Martin using Chanel. Photographer's assistant, Robert Palmer. Stylist's assistant, Ady Huq. Special thanks to Stanley at Accoutrement

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STYLE

WHAT MAKES AN IT DRESS?

Only six years old, The Vampire's Wife Falconetti is already becoming an icon. Beatrice Hodgkin asks why

Every era has that dress, the one that captures not only the imagination, but the prevailing mood of a moment. It unites women across style tribes, and often comes to signify something more than just a trend. Just think of girls in Mary Quant minidresses strutting a path through the revolutions of the 1960s, or women in the '70s heading off to work in a Diane von Furstenberg wrap dress. The dress of now? The Vampire's Wife Falconetti. Demurely sexy, "it has a special quality that has come to define a new movement... It's quite literally the dress for punks to princesses," says Selfridges head of buying womenswear, Jeannie Lee.

This is by no means hot news. There is no better profile-raiser for a dress than cool-girl endorsement, and in 2018, *Vogue* called the Falconetti the "Dress of the Year" after famous faces including Tilda Swinton, Maggie Gyllenhaal, Florence Welch, Jennifer Aniston, Sienna Miller and Alexa Chung were seen wearing it. But unlike most trends, this one stayed – despite a worldwide party hiatus. In 2020, *Vogue* upgraded it to being the Dress of the Decade. Now, following its recent immortalisation in the first official painted portrait of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, by Jamie Coreth, it is still being talked about, worn, coveted – and bought. "The dress is constantly on reorder as we know it will sell out," says Selfridges' Lee. Add to that The Vampire's Wife's partnerships with style rental

platforms, and diffusion capsule collaborations with high street chains such as H&M, and the Falconetti has permeated the deepest veins of the fashion world.

Co-founders Susie Cave and Alex Adamson only launched The Vampire's Wife in 2014. The name is a knowing wink: Susie is the wife of the Australian goth-rock star Nick Cave and the brand signature channels a darkly prairie, Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic. The Falconetti is its north star. Coming in fashion history after the overt, figure-hugging sexiness of the bodycon dress, the Falconetti is almost Amish in comparison, with its high neck, three-quarter-length sleeves, and top that skims the torso, nips in at the waist, then falls to the calf. Most often seen in an iridescent emerald silk chiffon, but also available in cord and a floral

"IT'S QUITE LITERALLY THE DRESS FOR PUNKS TO PRINCESSES"

pattern, "It's modest, but it's also very flattering...The material is not a knit jersey, so it's not tight and constricting, but it glides over the figure in a very flattering way," says Sonnet Stanfill, senior curator at the V&A.

For a dress to become an icon it absolutely has to be "ubiquitous, affordable, and, above all, flatter many figures", Stanfill continues. And the Falconetti takes its cues from well-established codes of glamour: "It's similar in dynamic to the 1970s when fashion brands like Biba and Ozzie Clarke were interested in fashions of the 1930s – the kind you might call Hollywood goddess

gowns: full-length, figure-hugging, silk satin column dresses that were harking back to a more glamorous, simpler time."

Its coy-meets-vamp, twilight sexiness is the kind that designer Cave herself, a former model, exudes – and lends to the wearer through her designs. "Susie has a mystical style, there is a quiet magic to it that is unexpected and modern, but also nostalgic," says actress and poet Greta Bellamacina. And "honestly, what woman doesn't want a little bit of Susie Cave's cool to rub off on them?" adds Lucy Bishop, specialist and auctioneer at Kerry Taylor Auctions. Actress and director Zawe Ashton says that she has "been in situations at events where another person is wearing the Falconetti and it's never awkward", and instead describes a "sisterhood that naturally clicks in when you see each other. You nod and smile in acknowledgment and head fabulously off into the night."

IN THE CURRENT FASHION CLIMATE, there is a significant cachet in high-profile figures being seen in the same dress repeatedly – demonstrably celebrating their eco credentials through investment pieces they wear more than once. The Duchess of Cambridge first wore her emerald Falconetti to Ireland in 2020, and several times again before the royal portrait was unveiled at the Fitzwilliam Museum.

In a similarly sustainable vein is the rental revolution, which has helped to cement the Falconetti's popularity among a wider



Celebrity fans of the Falconetti include, clockwise from top left: Keira Knightley, Emma Willis, Hannah Arterton, Jennifer Aniston, Maggie Gyllenhaal, Ruth Negga, Kirsten Dunst, Chloë Grace Moretz, the Duchess of Cambridge, Sienna Miller (with the dress's designer Susie Cave, left), Emma Roberts, Greta Bellamacina and Elisabeth Moss

PHOTOGRAPHS: DAVID M BENNETT/GETTY IMAGES; AL FREDERICK/GETTY IMAGES; GREGG DEGUIRE/WIREIMAGE.COM; GREGG DEGUIRE/WIREIMAGE.COM; RANDY HOLMES/GENEAL ENTERTAINMENT CONTENT VIA GETTY IMAGES; RICH POLK/GETTY IMAGES; WALTER MICRID/GETTY IMAGES; TANG WIREIMAGE.COM; JAMES WHITING/WIREIMAGE.COM; JESSE GRANT/GETTY IMAGES; JESSE GRANT/GETTY IMAGES; WALTER MICRID/GETTY IMAGES; KARVAI

THE FIX



Far left: Jamie Corth's portrait of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge. Left: Charlotte Riley in 2018. Above: Karen Elson in 2017

demographic. At £1,595, one might think the price of the Falconetti makes it exclusive. And yet, from £117, the dress is available to hire. "It's really interesting to see the ability that rental has in translating a piece's hype from what might be considered quite a niche community to a much larger audience," says Victoria Prew, founder of rental platform Hurr. "The rental market has allowed for trends to grow at a quicker pace as it allows people to be more experimental," adds Eshita Kabra-Davies, founder of UK peer-to-peer site By Rotation, which launched in 2019, has over 40,000 listings and is valued at more than £15m. "The Falconetti dress is popular because it's the perfect combination of

statement and elegance, and there's a design for every season – it's a great wedding-guest dress as well as a striking Christmas party outfit. It's rented all year round." "One of my close friends chose a lilac floral version to wear for her 30th birthday, and another chose a metallic gold for her wedding dress. They both looked stunning," agrees Bishop. "And this is what has contributed to its icon status. Women are choosing the Falconetti [for very significant occasions] because it has just the right amount of 'trendy'. A Falconetti-wearing bride will look back and think: 'Yes I was cool and, wow, didn't I look gorgeous in that dress? I still have it in my wardrobe.'"

A fashion historian, Bishop also sees the dress as an indication of our preoccupations today. "Austerity equals modesty. As the economy drops, so do hemlines. The Falconetti's mid-calf-length, elbow-length sleeves and simply cut round, modest neckline reflect the times we are living in. But the confidently pointed shoulders, frills and refreshing choice of metallic fabrics add an all-important sprinkle of fun and optimism."

Professor of psychology at Fashion Institute of Technology Dawnn Karen adds: "In times of catastrophe we can lean on dresses for support.

THE BEST DRESSES ACT 'LIKE A SORT OF SHIELD'

We need a dress to help us feel beautiful, sexy or even ladylike. And certain dresses emerge that really do this." The best of these, she says, act "like a sort of shield". She also notes the Falconetti's metallic sheen: "It metaphorically protects you from things. For a moment you feel shielded from the emotions of the world. Dresses like these enhance your mood and a dress that becomes a phenomenon has to give you that dopamine high."

ROLAND MOURET, CREATOR OF the Galaxy dress, which exploded in 2005 and was worn by everyone from Cameron Diaz to Victoria Beckham, agrees that psychology is key to creating a fashion icon. "What's important is that the Galaxy made you feel like an icon, but it didn't change you. Women are multidimensional – they are the businesswoman, the wife, the mother – but most of the time, they can't be an icon. But when she finds a dress that gives life to the icon that she is inside, and she recognises herself as that, that's the dress that works. And I think that was the beauty of the Galaxy," he says. "It becomes bigger than life, bigger than you."

Diane von Furstenberg says the secret to an iconic dress is designing it less for a

particular body type than for a type of woman. In the case of her wrap dress, versions of which are now held in the Smithsonian and The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, it was designed for the "woman in charge". "I design to make women feel confident," she says. "That's what I sell. That's what this dress represents. Confidence." As a result, "it became a symbol of women's liberation." Not only that, but "it has this long legacy", says the V&A's Stanfill. More than 100,000 full-price wrap dresses (from £289) were sold in each of the past two years. Its longevity, says Stanfill, comes down to its versatility. "It's ubiquitous, it's affordable and it flatters many figures," she adds.

It all sounds so easy. But the creation of an icon is much harder than it seems. "It is actually very rare for a specific piece to gain true, authentic 'icon' status," concludes Bishop. "We are living in a consumption-driven, fleeting, 'influencer' culture after all." Historically speaking, she says, "it is usually an influential person's style that is emulated by the masses." She cites Diana, Princess of Wales, whose engagement portrait taken by Lord Snowdon that featured in the February 1981 issue of British *Vogue* caused a fashion frenzy, with women rushing out to purchase a lookalike oyster-pink "pie-crust" blouse by Elizabeth Emanuel. "To be given the 'royal seal of approval' marks the end of its journey as an edgy, cool-girl 'must-have', but at the same time bequeaths it a much higher honour by granting it a place in the history books as an iconic design. When the Duchess [of Cambridge] again selected the dress to wear for her official painted portrait, it cemented the Falconetti as a British fashion classic. Daughters will be asking to borrow their mother's Falconettis in the future, and I think that is just so special." ■ HTSI

1950s



HORROCKSES' COTTON SUMMER FROCK

"This was the dress, summer after summer," says the V&A's Sonnet Stanfill of the cinched-waist, full-skirt dresses. Priced from £4 to £7, then a week's wage for an office worker, the dress was an aspirational choice. "You would have had to have saved up for the dress," adds Stanfill. "But I think that probably heightened the sense of desire."

1960s



MARY QUANT MINIDRESS

"The Ginger Group's knitted Jersey Mini epitomised the fashion revolution," says Stanfill. "It suited the fashionable boyish figure and took advantage of things that were happening in the marketplace and manufacturing."

Dresses that defined an era

1970s



DVF WRAP DRESS

"In the 1970s women were entering the workforce en masse – and they were probably wearing a wrap dress by Diane von Furstenberg," says Lucy Bishop, specialist and auctioneer at Kerry Taylor Auctions. "You could throw on a DVF dress and instantly look professional, with just the right amount of sexy."

1980s



LACROIX PUFFBALL DRESS

"Lacroix defined the '80s flashy, splashy, look-at-me style," says HTSI contributor Alexander Fury. "His clothes were lavish and loud, and a little ludicrous – as a mid-thigh ballgown in a riot of chintz and with a bustle in front can be."

1990s



JOHN GALLIANO SLIP DRESS

Diana, Princess of Wales, wore this navy-and-black slip dress to the 1996 Met Gala, shortly after she divorced Prince Charles, in a coup for Galliano. It cemented the status of the bias-cut slip as the dress of choice for the flirty thirtysomething and was later immortalised by Carrie Bradshaw in *Sex in the City*.

2000s-2010s



2000s

HERVÉ LÉGER'S BANDAGE DRESS

This bodycon dress made waves in the '90s, but after the brand was acquired by Max Azria, a mid-2000s capsule collection saw a resurgence of interest.

GALAXY DRESS

A feat of internal structural engineering that exemplified a woman's curves, Roland Mouret's "bombshell" creation was adopted by everyone from Halle Berry to Kate Winslet following its launch in 2005. "When the woman, the dress and the moment works together, that's when it becomes an icon," says the designer.



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leather Abu shoes, £645

LORO PIANA
cashmere
Mellbreak
turtleneck,
£1,536

TOTÔME acetate
The Classics sunglasses, \$350

GUCCI
Brume
De Beauté
Beauty
Mist, £47

ALTUZARRA
cotton-mix
Rudy trousers,
£885, net-a-
porter.com

**LOUIS
VUITTON**
wool-mix
sleeveless
wrap blazer,
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leather slingback
pumps, £750

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herringbone coat,
£3,278, farfetch.com

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SHOPPING

**HOT
DESKING**

Sharpen your pencils – and your
look – for autumn. By *Aylin Bayhan*

The mood: Gucci
advertisement, 1996

PHOTOGRAPH: RETRO ADARCHE/KE/ALAMY



From top: Paloma Elsesser in a vintage Galliano pearl choker, Maude Apatow wearing a vintage Cartier brooch (in hair) and Kate Moss in an A La Vieille Russie set at this year's Met Gala

ACCESSORIES

HIRE POWER

Vintage jewellery dealers are moving into rental. *Rosanna Dodds* finds out why borrowed diamonds are a girl's best friend

Monika Wojtal's jewellery collection began with an aquamarine ring, an heirloom from her grandmother, who lived between postwar Paris and Warsaw and instilled in Wojtal a deep appreciation for classic jewels. To her, the ring was indicative of opulence, luxury and splendour; to wear it was to discover "the power of accessories".

Today, Wojtal presides over a growing vault of more than 500 vintage gems – many of them one of a kind – whose opulence she is sharing through her rental platform, 4element. The average item in her collection is worth £1,000; Wojtal loans each piece from around £30 for four days. "Great fashion belongs to all," says the former journalist, who began lending her collection to friends before the idea snowballed into a business in 2019.

"I just want people to enjoy jewellery." Wojtal's most popular items include Dior chandelier earrings, an early 2000s Miu Miu choker and clip-on Chanel pearls. Most recently she's launched a drop of Balenciaga pieces, including a colossal crystal necklace with teardrop-shaped gems. "Vintage jewellery lovers are very adventurous," says Wojtal.

The success of 4element – which has seen revenues increase by 560 per cent year on year – reflects a change in consumers' willingness to rent luxury goods. According to market researchers Altiant, just under a quarter of high-net-worth individuals in the US (compared to 31 per cent in China and 19 per cent in the UK) are now interested in renting jewellery and watches. While it hasn't yet reached the heights of the resale market – which is predicted to double to \$77bn by 2025 – the rental apparel market is flourishing; it's currently valued at \$5.87bn and is expected to expand by more than a quarter by 2026.

Vintage jewellery dealer Susan Caplan has also honed in on rental. In 2021, she began stocking her wares on fashion rental site HURR; revenue has increased 30 per cent year on year.

Her items start at £22 for four days, with the most expensive piece, a Chanel logo necklace worth £2,500, available for £207. Like Wojtal, Caplan wants to make vintage jewellery accessible to everyone. "We realised rental was a good option for people who couldn't afford the luxury," she says.

But what about those who can? If, as Euromonitor reports, the global fine jewellery sector is currently worth \$251bn (and projected to increase a further 8.6 per cent this year), why choose to rent instead of investing in a growing market? For Cynthia Morrow, founder of shared-ownership jewellery service Covett, renting is simply an alternative means of distributing capital. "If you're not going to wear it every day, why would you buy it?" she retorts. "You could take that money and invest it in stocks or go on a vacation – versus spending £12,000 and letting it sit in the safe."

Morrow, whose small but growing selection of vintage jewellery includes a £14,750 Charles Kruppell diamond and sapphire bracelet, allows clients to split ownership of the pieces five ways. Covett retains the fifth share to cover insurance, and the remaining four owners can borrow the product for at least five days a month. What's more, she says, is that should a piece of jewellery appreciate in value, clients can reap that percentage increase if and when they decide to sell their share.

Similar incentive is given by New York-based subscription service Vivrelle, where clients can apply a portion of their monthly membership fee (from \$39), plus a member's discount, to purchase pieces they've grown attached to. Meanwhile, Switch, another US subscription site, offers members a credit each month that they can put towards buying a product at a reduced price. "They value the opportunity to try something out before committing," says co-founder Adriel Darvish. Both platforms stock a number of vintage pieces, from Chanel 31 Rue Cambon medallions to Cartier Love bracelets.

Practically speaking, jewellery is a fairly easy commodity to rent. There's no issue of storage or size tags, and wear and tear is generally

"IF YOU'RE NOT GOING TO WEAR IT EVERY DAY, WHY BUY IT?"

minimal – especially if the pieces are vintage.

London jeweller Susannah Lovis says the joy of the vintage tiaras, rings and brooches she rents out is in their craftsmanship. "Diamonds these days are cut with lasers to perfect proportions," she adds, "whereas in the old days, pieces were hand-cut specifically to sparkle in candlelight."

And sparkle they do – take a look at the vintage jewels flashed at this year's Met Gala, including Maude Apatow's Cartier brooch, Paloma Elsesser's Galliano pearl choker and the A La Vieille Russie set worn by Kate Moss. "It's about preserving history," concludes Wojtal, whose collection includes pieces first seen on 1980s *Vogue* covers. Think of it as a way to travel through time, she says. Just remember to return your treasure in the morning. ■HTSI

STYLE

The cool of Kallmeyer

Thessaly La Force unpicks the New York-based designer's cult appeal



SUSAN CAPLAN 1970s crystal necklace, from £21 for four days, hurrcollective.com



GIVENCHY vintage crystal stone earrings and gold necklace, £125 for four days, 4element.co.uk



CHANEL vintage grey-ball earrings, £60 for four days, 4element.co.uk



DIOR vintage crystal earrings, £55 for four days, 4element.co.uk



Art deco aquamarine and diamond tiara necklace, £650 a day, susannahloviss.com



CHRISTIAN DIOR BY JOHN GALLIANO vintage haute couture poured-glass necklace, £135 for four days, 4element.co.uk



YVES SAINT LAURENT vintage haute couture crystal necklace, £135 for four days, 4element.co.uk

More than a decade ago, the fashion designer Daniella Kallmeyer (above) was in search of a wardrobe that reflected what she wanted to wear. The only problem was, she couldn't find anything she liked. Kallmeyer – who was born in South Africa, studied at the London College of Fashion and is queer – had worked for brands such as Alexander McQueen, Proenza Schouler and Luca Luca. At the time, the industry was slightly more segregated in its thinking: the idea that a designer might offer a fluid wardrobe wasn't as commonplace as it is now.

Kallmeyer, then 25, decided to launch her own line. But even today, she still sits somewhat outside traditional fashion circles. She's hosted only one runway show, and has never participated in the CFDA, the US fashion industry's organising body. Much of her business is from one-on-one shopping appointments from her newly renovated Orchard Street boutique in New York (below), in the manner of a mid-20th-century fashion designer. This month, she opens a new showroom around the corner on Grand Street, which will be the growing brand's office space, as well as a place to host events.

Despite her slightly unorthodox approach, or perhaps because of it, her line has developed a cult following with women interested in dressing just for themselves. There are no restrictive waistlines, nothing outrageously uncomfortable. "I don't design for the male gaze," says Kallmeyer. "The other day, a couple walked into the store. One of them identified as non-binary and told me, 'I would never walk into a woman's clothing store, and yet here I am buying four pieces from you.'" Her clothes – including billowy trousers made out of Mikado silk, slouchy indigo overalls over all of Mikado silk, and a three-piece white linen suit – have been worn by the sculptor Simone Bodmer-Turner, the film director Janicza Bravo and actors such as Cynthia Erivo and Zosia Mamet.

"I think about the shapes our bodies make when we feel good or when we're on a mission," she says. "I was thinking about a woman speed-walking, the way she might move if she was in a new city or on vacation. How does the fabric and the tailoring change how she stands in it?" Community is important to her, too. "My work has always come from a very personal place," she says. "If I don't believe what I'm doing, I'd rather not do it at all. I don't need to create clothing for the sake of it." ■HTSI



PHOTOGRAPHER: ANGELA WEISS/AP/VA GETTY IMAGES; DIMITRIOS KAMBOURIS/GETTY IMAGES; FORTHEMETMUSEUM/VOSSUE; KATE OSWEN/21; SEAN ZANNI/PATRICK PICHILLON/VIA GETTY IMAGES; SUSANNAH LOVIS JEWELLERS

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THE FIX

Above: LOUIS VUITTON cotton and silk monogram scarf shirt, £1,450. KENZO cotton skirt, £380. Below: GUCCI leather and canvas Horsebit 1955 bag, £2,220. Far left: Bella Hadid backstage at the Coperni AW22 show



Above: Vivienne Westwood AW22 collection. Bottom: LEGRES leather Derby shoes, £470, matches fashion.com

MICHAEL KORS COLLECTION PLAID FLANNEL BLAZER, £1,330



FT.COM/HTSI

a military school where the uniform was mandatory, which had an important impact on me," adds Meyer. "I would always enjoy twisting the uniform – the way the collar was turned up or the length of the hem. Everything was in the detail."

Fashion historian Emma McClendon, who curated the 2016 *Uniformity* show at The Museum at FIT, says designers have been referencing school uniforms for decades – she points to Rudi Gernreich's 1967 autumn collection as an early example of a designer subverting the signature elements. Today's interpretations, however, have a contemporary feel, inspired by modern teen dramas such as *Euphoria* and *Sex Education*, and the resurgence of Y2K fashion. "When I first saw that super-cropped khaki Miu Miu skirt with the pocket bags coming out the bottom of the skirt, it made me think of these incredibly short, pleated miniskirts that Abercrombie & Fitch put out in the early 2000s, and shows like *The OC*," says McClendon. "There's this new riff on that look coming out of the general interest in the era, particularly from Gen Z."

"Cropped cut-and-sew tops for the youth market have really blown up since the '90s and Y2K trends have boomed," adds WGSN's senior womenswear strategist Laura Yiannakou, "and the Miu Miu polo-shirt style definitely offers a new sartorial spin within this category." If wearing a cropped polo shirt and belt-like micro skirt feels too risqué, there are plenty of other ways to tap into the trend. "What's great about this new take is that it feels fresh and modern through layering, silhouette and colour, but when you take the look apart – the blazer, the shirt, the pinafore – they're all timeless, sartorial classics that will transcend micro trends and last beyond a single season," says Yiannakou.

"THE SCHOOL CORRIDOR REPRESENTS ONE'S FIRST RUNWAY"

New York designer Thom Browne has built a blockbuster brand based on reinterpreting and subverting dress codes – from school uniforms to suiting. "It's the idea of uniformity, and the uniform representing a group as opposed to an individual," says Browne, whose AW22 show offered a childlike take on his trademark tailoring, with gold-buttoned schoolboy jackets, brightly striped repp ties and checked pleated skirts. Browne, whose personal uniform consists of his signature "shrunken" grey suit, also requires his employees to wear a Thom Browne uniform. "I think it shows a real sense of confidence, people who adopt a uniform for themselves, and a real sense of their own style," says Browne, "and you see so much more of the true individual in a uniform than I think people realise." ■ HTSI

Whether repressively frumpy or a canvas ripe for customisation, school uniforms are indelibly etched in our earliest sartorial memories. Now those dress codes are appearing in this season's collections, from checked blazers to pleated skirts and shirts with ties.

Miu Miu has given its thigh-skimming mini, which became an internet sensation last season, a sporty update for AW22, paired with polo shirts, thick school socks and ballet flats. Louis Vuitton's collection was also a lesson in scholastic style, with floral and striped silk ties, pinafores and oversized rugby shirts, while Vivienne Westwood served up preppy grey blazers, club ties and suiting festooned with scribbly, hand-drawn faces – designs taken directly from end-of-year school tea towels.

For Parisian label Coperni's founders Sébastien Meyer and Arnaud Vaillant, their AW22 show, in which models strode down a catwalk flanked by metal lockers, was a "tribute to the school corridor – and the fact this place represents one's first runway in life", explains creative director Meyer. "We all went through this. It's a place filled with judgement, pride and insecurities that help build our personality." Drawing on late 1990s cult teen films such as *The Virgin Suicides* and *Cruel Intentions* – as well as Meyer's own experience – the collection runs the gamut of student style, from school blazers rebelliously twisted to reveal a flash of midriff to a bubblegum-pink latex dress fit for prom night. "I grew up attending

TREND

SWOT UP

Blazers at the ready. Fashion's going back to school, says Sara Semic



THOM BROWNE

CHANEL

MIU MIU

PHOTOGRAPHS: WAYNE HANSON, ZOE JOUBERT

BEAUTY



Musk-have SCENTS

Civet's kinky barnyard odour has beguiled us since the 12th century. *Mark C O'Flaherty* follows the trail

PHOTOGRAPHY BY BREA SOUDERS

Asking a perfumier about their favourite olfactory note is a difficult question. When pushed, Roja Dove talks most colourfully about the weirdness and wonders of civet – both for the alchemy it creates and its extraordinary backstory, which traces back to African tradition and folklore. Around 99 per cent of people who smell unadulterated civet would recoil. It is a weird and complex hit of butter, barnyard and something intangibly kinky. But as a tiny component in the mix of Guerlain's Shalimar, Chanel No 5 and Tom Ford's Noir, it elevates a fragrance in a way few other ingredients can.

"Our attraction to it can be explained by something quite obvious," says Dove. "It smells of the anus. So, when we get a whiff of it, our brain knows what's nearby. It's a trigger." Dove has a well-rounded Patrick Süskind perspective on civet, believing our perception of scents is culturally specific, and that Europeans have a paranoia about germs and over-sanitise everything. Like whisky or blue cheese, appreciating civet is a refined art, and the 99 per cent of people who recoil simply lack taste: "In Ethiopia, it was traditional to put it in your bathwater if you were a woman getting married, and the groom would have it as a paste in his hair."

Dove has a favourite party trick, where he hands a sample of civet around to gauge people's reactions to the smell, and then layers a more accessible fragrance

over it on his skin. The result is a kind of sorcery, adding depth and opening it up. "It's extraordinary how it changes. An ordinary perfume becomes extraordinary. And people adore it."

The perfumier and author Mandy Aftel has her own museum – the Aftel Archive of Curious Scents – close to her home in Berkeley, California, which includes hundreds of natural essences, including an antique jar of civet. "It has the perfect yin and yang – there's nothing else like it," she says. "It's the original faecal floral. It's not just how it smells – it's how it affects everything else. It's like cooking with salt – if you cook well, you don't get salty food, you get a more vibrant taste."

For decades organic civet was a key component in Chanel No 5, Jean Patou Joy, Schiaparelli's Shocking and Cartier's Le Must de Cartier, among many others. So overwhelming was the odour that there were "civet rooms" at the HQs of luxury brands with extra-thick doors to prevent it seeping out and polluting the rest of the building. But sourcing organic civet is deeply problematic: it is excreted from a gland near the anus of the civet, used as a way to mark territory in the wild. The farming of civets goes back to the 12th century, but the beauty industry unanimously abandoned the use of the natural musk as part of its cruelty-free ethics awakening in the 1990s. The major brands made the manufacture of a convincing synthetic civetone a priority, and they

From left: CALVIN KLEIN Obsession, £74 for 100ml EDP. CHANEL No 5, £126 for 100ml EDP. GUERLAIN Shalimar Eau de Toilette, £72 for 50ml EDT

had the budget, spurred on by public pressure, to do it. Today, all mass-produced fragrances – no matter their price point – use synthetic civetone that is indistinguishable from the “real thing”.

“We have not used any animal-derived animalic notes in our fragrances for a long time,” says Dr Shimei Fan, chief scientific officer of Coty, the company that produces Calvin Klein fragrances. “In CK Obsession we use a synthetic civetone – in combination with different balsamic and musky notes – that serves to enhance and extend the soft sensual facets, ensuring the scent lingers in the air. Animalic notes have historically been used in perfumery to impart sensuality, depth and richness to fragrance composition. The sourcing of these ingredients changed many years ago, as scientists were able to identify the key molecules driving the olfactory signature and produce them synthetically, removing the need to source them from animals.”

NEVERTHELESS, FARMING CONTINUES with very little regulation. It’s still a touchy subject for many. Chanel declined to participate in this story, even though it hasn’t used natural civet since 1998. Much of what’s now farmed ends up in China, for medicinal use, but a small percentage still makes its way into the fragrance market.

And there are those who believe that civet farming might yet be made legitimate again. As Dan Riegler of the Apothecary’s Garden blog and shop based in Hamilton, Canada says: “Families in Ethiopia have been farming them for hundreds of years. In the past at least, farmers would feed their civets high-protein foods such as eggs and meat even if their families had to eat much simpler food.” Farmers in Africa have created ritual around what they do, customarily using an ox horn cup to collect the excretion, and the vessels are handed down from father to son. There’s also a belief that strangers can’t look at a farmer’s civet, or bad luck will befall it. Riegler visits Africa regularly and is actively involved in trying to take the oxymoron out of ethical civet farming. “I am travelling to Kenya soon to work with a farmer there,” he tells me. “I am looking at harvesting civet paste from rocks after it has been naturally secreted, so there are no cages used.”

One of the very few perfumers who will admit using contemporaneously farmed civet is the man known as Russian Adam, based in Jakarta, founder of the niche fragrance brand Areej Le Doré. “I never believed ethical civet was possible, and never used it because of the cruelty involved,” he says. “But then I came across a farmer in Ethiopia whose civets have the run of his garden and are only brought to a cage three times a month to have paste collected. I watched

the process and was reassured enough by his treatment of the animals to collaborate with him. We recently distilled natural civet from the farm with rare Indian sandalwood into a rose water. This result is mindblowing – extremely rich and animalic. I think it is the first time ever that civet has been distilled.”

Currently, Russian Adam uses an antique civet for his Civet de Nuit fragrance, a one-batch scent that will never be made again. Civet de Nuit is actually soft on civet notes, with more pronounced tones of tobacco and sandalwood. What Russian

Adam comes up with next in conjunction with his farmer could create an argument by certain perfumers for the use of an ingredient that has been organically derived. But it’s unlikely that anyone would notice a difference if Civet de Nuit was made with synthetics.

Ethics in civet farming are rare because the more animals a farmer has, the more civet they harvest, so the more profit is generated. “PETA Asia has investigated and revealed the filthy and cramped conditions the civets are confined in,” says PETA co-founder Ingrid Newkirk. “Male civets have their glands scraped every eight to 10 days, a process so traumatic and painful it causes many animals to withdraw into shock and starve to death.” Russian Adam’s description of his Ethiopian farmer suggests his contact is an outlier. And if Dan Riegler manages to find a way to make foraged civet achievable, it will be ruinously expensive. Niche perfumers who want to work with all-natural ingredients are likely to buy it, but that’s a tiny market. And it’s unlikely to change the nature of farming as a whole. Helping the civet farmers that PETA has investigated create alternative ways of making a living is essential. And options are limited.

Besides, such is the quality of synthetic civetone these days that the need for farms seems obsolete. Bal à Versailles, originally produced in the 1960s by Jean Desprez, then brought back to market – using synthetics – by a Florida-based businessman a few years ago, is one such example. Whenever Roja Dove can get his hands on stock, he buys it in bulk to sell alongside his own fragrances online. “Bal à Versailles is so good,” he says of its appeal. “They almost never produce it, and it’s amazing. It is an opulent reinterpretation of a very old accord called a l’Origan, which was first created by Coty in a perfume bearing the same name. It was developed into an amber style, with an important element of carnation and a warm clove-like note – a creation that defined a fragrance genre.” At Roullier White in south-east London, a store that specialises in rare fragrances, it has been out of stock for more than a year.

Look at many of the most distinctive fragrances of modern times, and you’ll frequently find a whiff of civetone, including Veilleur de Nuit by Serge Lutens and La Botte from Byredo. There’s a louche, sexy accent to them. Go back further, and it was even more common. When Elsa Schiaparelli worked with her nose Jean Carles to create Shocking in the 1930s, civet was a key component. Heavy rose notes were in the mix too, as Schiaparelli wanted to create the olfactory equivalent of her trademark pink. But the science behind it was raunchier: “Her perfumier used beeswax, and worked the civet around the rose note, so it smelt honeyed,” says Dove. “It was in homage to what was once called ‘odor di femina’.” Likewise, when a tiger went on a killing spree in Pandharkawada back in 2018, hunters lured the cat in by spraying civetone-infused Obsession by Calvin Klein on their camera traps.

Pheromones aren’t a trend that comes and goes, they are our essential scent, so it makes sense that perfumers would want to play with the ideas around it. When Mandy Aftel set out to create a fragrance to commemorate “someone she had loved and lost”, she reached for a century-old bottle of civet paste. “I wanted it to be a sad perfume,” she explains. “It’s about being close to a certain human’s body, and being familiar with their smell, but knowing they are gone and you’ll never experience it again.” The result was Memento Mori. “The body aromas in the fragrance make it really precious,” she says.

Whether synthetic, antique or foraged, civet transports you, even if you don’t realise what it is you’re smelling, or where it’s taking you. It’s a profound pleasure, both a common and uncommon scent. It’s weird, primal and magical. It’s human. Breathe it in, but have respect for the civets to enjoy it too. ■HTSI



From top: Must de Cartier, £158 for 50ml parfum. Memento Mori, \$210 for 8ml EDP. ofateller.com. Civet de Nuit, \$400 for 48ml EDP. areejele.com. Jean Desprez Bal à Versailles, £83 for 100ml EDP. roullierwhite.com. Serge Lutens Musc Koublai Khan, €290 for 50ml EDP

WHEN A TIGER WENT ON A KILLING SPREE, HUNTERS LURED IT WITH CIVETONE-INFUSED OBSESSION

BEAUTY



Above: RODIAL Vit C Papaya Enzyme Scrub, £38. Below: ORVEDA The Healing Sap, £125. Below right: SISLEY Exfoliating Enzyme Mask, £90

Left: CHANTECAILLE Hibiscus Smoothing Mask, £77. Below: GLOW RECIPE Papaya Sorbet Enzyme Cleansing Balm, £29, cut beauty.co.uk



Get the juice

Rosanna Dodds explores the benefits of papaya in skincare

When the papaya fell to the shores of Central America, its coral-coloured juices proved so soothing that the Mayans deemed it sacred. Legend holds that when Christopher Columbus went to the region in the 15th century, papaya was used to treat his indigestion; he called it “the fruit of the angels”. More recently papaya leaves have been tested against the latest strains of Covid-19.

These credentials have made papaya a valuable asset in skincare. Vegan brand Orveda uses the fruit in its Healing Sap, which combines prebiotics and hyaluronic acid for a serum that helps fight signs of fatigue. Similarly, in Chantecaille’s Hibiscus Smoothing Mask, papaya is bolstered by antioxidants and emollients. In need of a quick fix? Wishful’s Yo Glow brightens in a single rinse.

Papaya’s healing potential is thanks to an enzyme called papain, which helps break down proteins. Sisley settled on it while researching its latest launch, an exfoliating mask that grants luminous skin in under a minute. Enzyme exfoliators work to dissolve the keratin that binds dead or dull skin cells; as the brand’s active ingredients manager Caroline Bertrand says, the complexion appears “even and fresh” without dryness or irritation.

Look out for products that are activated by liquid. Both Sisley and Japanese brand Tatcha believe the best way to administer papain is as a powder, which is then combined with water to create a paste. The latter’s Rice Polish delivers a gentle exfoliation with a cloud-like foam, a formula so successful that 100 per cent of its trial participants saw improvement in skin smoothness, texture and pores. ■HTSI



Above left: TATCHA The Rice Polish Classic, £60. Above: WISHFUL Yo Glow Facial Enzyme Scrub, £18, hudabeauty.com. Left: ERE PEREZ Papaya SOS Marmalade, £28.20

BEAUTY



ASK ADEELA
How do I get superhero skin?

For her debut beauty column, celebrity facialist Adeela Crown nominates her anti-ageing all stars

PHOTOGRAPHY BY KASIA BOBULA

Superhero movies, with their battles of good versus evil, can often be mirrored behind the scenes. As the facialist working on the *Marvel* film sets, I have also had to vanquish bad skin issues with good intelligent skin solutions. In my kit, I don't carry a single jar of a wonder elixir. Instead I have a curated collection of remedies, each possessing a different superpower and which – like the Avengers – work together as a team. Away from set, I'm seeing a similar shift in focus from one miracle cream towards a combination of several active ingredient-driven products. For my inner nerdy cosmetic scientist-turned-facialist, this appreciation of science as the cornerstone of beauty products and treatments is a cause for celebration. Here are some of my tried-and-tested heroes that super-power skin.

First up are skin-identical substances. These naturally occurring ingredients mimic the composition of the skin; it is already programmed to be compatible with them and knows how best to use them. Long used in professional treatments, these ingredients are now taking centre stage in many on-the-shelf products. Look for two things to add to your regime: the protein collagen and the humectant (moisture-retaining) hyaluronic acid are the bricks and mortar of the skin...

WORKING ON MARVEL FILM SETS, I HAVE HAD TO VANQUISH BAD SKIN ISSUES



ASK ADEELA
Do you need advice on spot solutions, pigmentation or any other skin emergency? Send your questions to askadeela@ft.com and she will address your concerns in an upcoming column

Top: Adeela Crown at her Privée Skin Suite in London. Above: products on the shelves in her clinic

Superhero Collagen
Superpower Superglue for skin cell layers

Collagen comes from the Greek "kolla", for glue, and the French "gène", for kind. Think of it as the glue that holds your skin barrier together. This protein molecule doesn't penetrate deep, instead it works its magic on the surface. But hydrolysed (broken-down) collagen peptides induce the deeper dermal layers to signal cellular repair, which moisturises the skin and fills lines. To drive collagen deeper into the skin, I work with freeze-dried peptides and pulsed-pressure oxygen "injections"; at home, I suggest a nightly serum to give the skin bounce, suppleness and smoothness. *La Mer The Regenerating Serum*, £310 for 30ml. *Elemis Pro-Collagen Super Serum Elixir*, £55 for 15ml



ELEMIS Pro-Collagen Super Serum Elixir, £55 for 15ml

Superhero Hyaluronic acid
Superpower Hydration magnet for the skin

The body produces hyaluronic acid (HA) to hydrate the muscles, joints, eyes and skin; it can hold up to 1,000 times its weight in water. HA gradually declines over the years, and as the skin becomes less hydrated it starts to sag, becomes less supple and more prone to wrinkles. HA serums can help boost these levels. My tip is to apply the serum on slightly damp skin so it can bind to the surrounding humidity, then seal it with a moisturiser to avoid epidermal water loss. *Medik8 Hydr8 B5 Intense*, £57 for 30ml. *The Ordinary Hyaluronic Acid 2 per cent +B5*, £6.40 for 30ml



LA MER The Regenerating Serum, £310 for 30ml



THE ORDINARY Hyaluronic Acid 2 per cent +B5, £6.40 for 30ml

Superhero EGF (epidermal growth factors)
Superpower A time machine for skin cells

Hailed as a skin "time machine", epidermal growth factors (EGFs) are naturally occurring proteins that bring about cellular renewal and healing. But just to call EGFs healing agents is an understatement: scientists were awarded a Nobel Prize in 1986 for discovering their cell-regenerative powers. Sadly, EGFs decline as we age. I depend on EGFs not only to help repair scar tissue but to deter deep-set wrinkles. EGFs bind to cells and signal them to grow, repair, and thrive. Dr Gregory Bays Brown, the reconstructive plastic surgeon who founded RéVive and was one of the first to introduce EGFs into mainstream skincare, argues that although "visible signs of ageing begin to surface in our late 20s... introducing EGFs into your routine from the early 30s will stimulate cell turnover and overall skin rejuvenation". My tip is to combine EGFs with retinol to boost the skin's cellular engine. Retinol increases EGF receptors, so applying a retinol serum in combination with EGFs will create a fertile environment to turn back the cellular clock. *RéVive Perfectif Night Even Skin Tone Cream*, £235 for 50g. *Biologique Recherche Crème Iso-Placenta*, £80 for 30ml



MEDIK8 Hydr8 B5 Intense, £57 for 30ml



BIOLOGIQUE RECHERCHE Crème Iso-Placenta, £80 for 30ml

Superhero LED light therapy
Superpower Battery charger for skin's engine

LED (Light-emitting diode) therapy uses light energy to improve cellular health by stimulating ATP (adenosine triphosphate). ATP is a high-energy molecule that stores energy in our cells, allowing them to repair themselves. I use a combination of lights to treat different issues: red light to stimulate the production of skin proteins such as collagen and elastin; blue light to neutralise *P. acnes* bacteria and help prevent breakouts; and infra-red light to boost blood circulation and cellular oxygenation, which help reduce inflammation. There's no discomfort, inflammation or downtime with LED light therapy: it's no pain, all gain. At-home devices may be a fraction of the strength of professional treatments, but if they are used a couple of times a week, incremental benefits can supercharge your skin. *Celluma Light Therapy Celluma Skin*, £1,795. *Dr Dennis Gross DRx SpectraLite FaceWare Pro*, £430 ■ HTSI



CELLUMA Light Therapy Celluma Skin, £1,795

MAKE-UP BY KATE LINDSEY

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EDITED BY CLARA BALDOCK
PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRIS BROOKS

RE-COMB recycled-
plastic marbled-effect
hair accessories.
Clockwise from top left:
pick in Yellow Fish, comb
in Crimson and hair dice
in Python, Budgie and
Kingfisher, from E18





BVLGARI
ROMA

HIGH JEWELRY

THE CAUSE

Right: Es Devlin in her London studio. Bottom: a drawing of the spotted flycatcher, one of 243 species most at risk of extinction in London



Es Devlin GOES WILD

The set designer behind U2 and Kanye's stadium concerts is building an installation to highlight 243 endangered species. She tells *Tim Auld* about her latest work of ark

PHOTOGRAPHY BY BENJAMIN McMAHON



Networks, systems, patterns, connections – these are the constant concerns of Es Devlin, whether she's designing a stage set for *Hamlet* with Benedict Cumberbatch, a stadium spectacular for Kanye West, Adele, U2 or Beyoncé, or the closing ceremony of the London 2012 Olympics. The writer Andrew O'Hagan has described her as “the Jung of set design”; her regular theatre collaborator, director Lyndsey Turner, has it thus: “She designs the ideas, the thought structures, the systems in which characters operate.”

It's not a surprise, therefore, that when she lets me into her Victorian home in Dulwich, which also doubles as her design studio, the first thing she does is take me on a tour through the rooms. Here, I find members of her team sitting in front of laptops or 3D-printing cute little chairs for a model of the stage set for a new production of *The Crucible* at the National Theatre. A vast open-plan living room/dining room/work room/kitchen gapes onto an oasis of a garden – at one point during our interview her young son ambles through and out to a trampoline. Devlin loves the fact that her two children (she is married to costume designer Jack Galloway) are growing up seeing no division between their mother's work and home life. “The membrane between work and life is very porous,” she says. “I really like the fact that they know what I do.”

Exactly how porous is made clear by Devlin's current project, sheet after sheet of beautiful, detailed pencil drawings of mammals, birds, fish, insects, spiders and plants that occupy the whole surface of her refectory-like

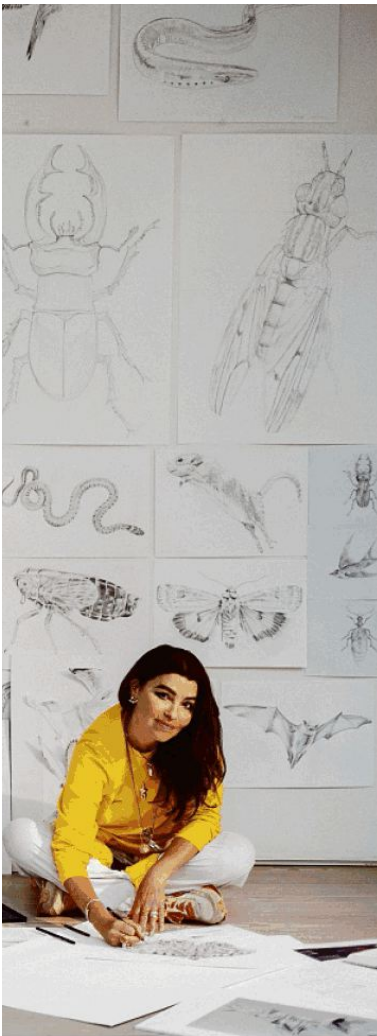
dining tables, and spill over onto the living room walls. In all there are 243 drawings representing the species that the London Wildlife Trust thinks “are most at risk of extinction. So what I've been doing for the past year is drawing these 243 species – painstaking, careful, late-night drawing for many months, because they take ages. And because my kids have seen me doing them, they've now started texting me pictures of moths. I mean, that's a result.”

In person, Devlin is relaxed, dressed casually in a black cotton top, soft white joggers, her long black hair pulled up in a bun fixed with a pencil, and two gobstopper-sized rings on the middle fingers of her right hand. Within, she's bursting with energy, weaving off on conversational tangents, with a hunger for knowledge. While much of Devlin's career has been spent finding ways to interpret

“LEARN THEIR NAMES. THE NAME CHANGES EVERYTHING”

other artists' texts, whether by playwrights such as Shakespeare and Pinter or pop and rock stars, she has in recent years begun to create a significant body of self-authored work, including films, immersive installations and interactive sculptures. A concern for the planet

and the threat of extinction runs through many of them, whether in her film *I Saw the World End* (2020) about the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, her installation called *Memory Palace* (2019), which told the story of world history through a mini 3D map (its payoff: “Remember the low-lying deltas where rising seas are being first felt”), or the 197 trees she installed at COP26 to witness the decisions 197 countries would make about our future.



Above right: an artist's impression of the installation outside Tate Modern. Below right: Es Devlin at work in the studio

This latest project is a collaboration with Cartier about London's endangered species. It is called *Come Home Again* (16-25 September), taking its title from a line in the 1991 book *World as Lover, World as Self* by the 93-year-old climate activist Joanna Macy. Macy's "Great Turning" initiative has focused on making the shift from a society driven by industrial growth to a more sustainable civilisation. "Now it can dawn on us: we are the world knowing itself. As we relinquish our isolation, we come home again... We come home to our mutual belonging," she wrote. Macy's call for us to reach a deeper understanding of our interconnectedness with nature resonated with Devlin, whose 2021 installation *The Forest of Us*, still showing in Miami, is all about the way our internal body structures are mirrored in the natural world.

"I was interested in the correlation between the geometry of what's inside us and the geometry of what's outside us," says Devlin. "Look at your lungs, look at a tree, understand the connection. I wanted people to have this feeling that the edges of yourself need to be considered in a much more expansive way, to take in the whole network that you're part of. I thought, 'If there's one thing that I could do that might be helpful, one little acupuncture point that I might help to press in a small way, it might just be that consideration of, "Where does yourself end?"' Then I thought, 'Where do I start? London: let's think about London.' It's estimated that nearly 70 per cent of us are going to be living in cities by 2060. Nature can't be outside the city. This whole process that I'm talking about, extension of the edges, has to be what city dwellers do. So I went to the London Wildlife Trust and looked up all its

data. And I found the list of 243 species at risk and thought, 'I can pay attention in detail to 243. I can draw them off.' So that's what *Come Home Again* is."

In fact, the drawings are just the beginning, as each depiction is being blown up in size and printed onto a sustainably sourced 2m board, which will hang, illuminated and projected on, around a sliced-open, scaled-down model of the dome of St Paul's Cathedral in front of Tate Modern. Inside the dome will be choir stalls where, during the day, visitors can sit listening to a soundscape of Devlin saying, and a choir singing, each of the 243 species' names. In place of hymn books there will be QR codes giving access to information about all of the species mentioned. Every evening a London choir will sing evensong live from within the dome.

Devlin hopes the simple act of giving voice to the endangered species will be transformative. There are well-known names such as the swift and the house martin, but most of us are less likely to be intimately acquainted with the olive earthtongue, the depressed river mussel or the German hairy snail. "There's a book, *Rewild Yourself*, by Simon Barnes, and he says, 'Learn their names. The name changes everything. You'll no longer be listening to a vague thing or bird song. You'll be listening to music you know and love.' So it seems to me that the most useful thing I can do is invite people to learn the names of the animals closest to them. I want them to think, 'Actually, this network of animals in my city is completely continuous with the network that I'm part of. Any harm I do to it or any manner in which I ignore it is actually doing harm to myself.' That's the shift we all need to, rather quickly, make in our brains."

Piled up around us is a library of books that Devlin has drawn on for her research. She quotes Rebecca Solnit, Richard Powers' Pulitzer-prize winning *The Overstory*, and regales me with the tale behind Robert Hooke creating his *Micrographia*. It's a leap from all this to the massive cubes showing projections of sharks and tigers Devlin created for Kanye West and Jay-Z's Watch the Throne tour in 2011; but surfing between "high" and pop culture is one of Devlin's superpowers. How different does she find working on a solo project like *Come Home Again* and staging a mega-concert? "D'you know what? Those great artists that I've been ridiculously fortunate to have collaborated closely with, many over a long period now... they are lightning rods, I think, they're conductors. Their music resonates, a bit like the choirs that will perform in *Come Home Again*; it finds a vibration in all of us and that's why everyone wants to tune into it."

The opera director Keith Warner has described Devlin as "the most driven person I've ever met in my life." So it's no surprise that *Come Home Again* is just one of the



"LOOK AT YOUR LUNGS, LOOK AT A TREE, UNDERSTAND THE CONNECTION"

many projects she's been pinballing between: in February she designed the half-time show for the Superbowl; she's just created a monolithic ring for Saint Laurent's SS23 menswear show in the Moroccan desert; then there's *The Crucible* in September and a collaboration with Sam Mendes and Jack Thorne, also for the National, on a new play *The Motive and the Cue*; she's also contributing to COP27 in Egypt in November.

But one thing she won't be working on is Adele's rescheduled performances in Vegas. Devlin was the designer for the original shows that were cancelled back in January and there were rumours that it may in part have been due to disagreements over the set. Was there any truth in them? "The reason I haven't said anything is there's nothing to say," she says. "If there was more of a story, I would honestly be thrilled to tell you it, but there's nothing. She was a delight to work with throughout. She's a friend."

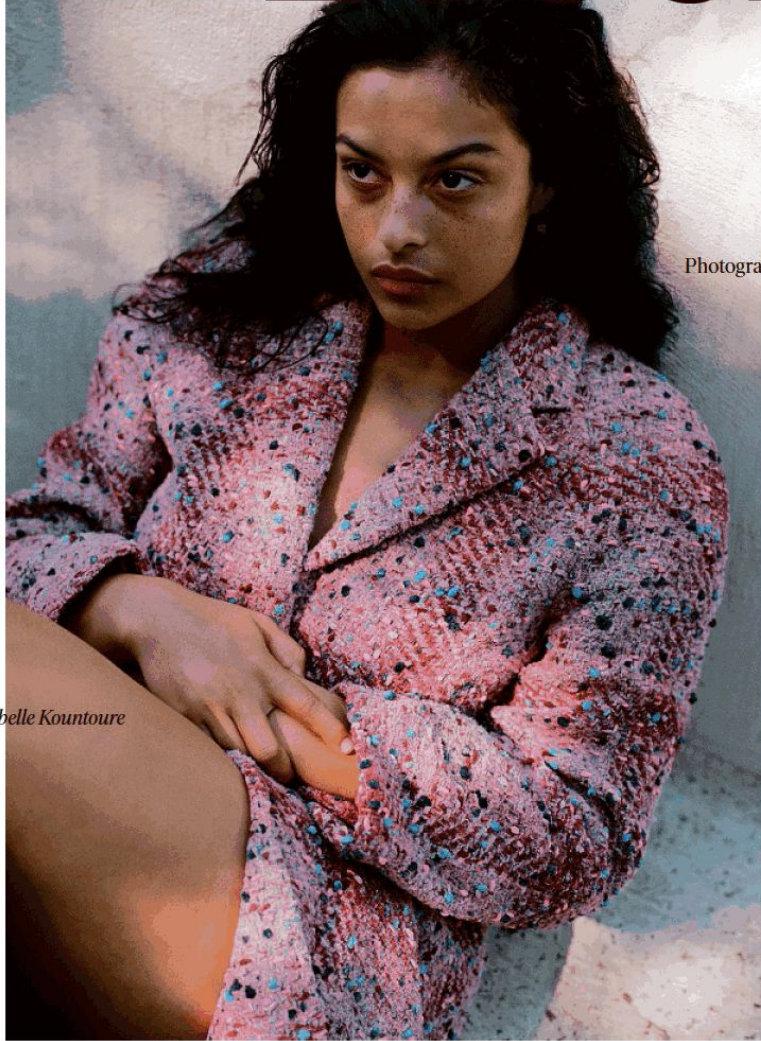
As to the future, she's aware that as a designer creating monumental global installations and yet talking about the importance of averting climate change, she leaves herself open to accusations of hypocrisy. She nods and quotes a line from a U2 song, "I must be an acrobat, to talk like this and act like that." But, "On the positive side, it's my direct experience that every Zoom I'm in on, every room I walk into, I feel far more greatly emboldened to open my mouth and say, 'How are we auditing the carbon emissions on this project?' That wasn't a question that would have been routinely brought up, even two years ago. Now you can open your mouth, and any talk I give I encourage everybody to do the same."

She's hoping that *Come Home Again* might have a life beyond its September tenure outside Tate Modern, but if it doesn't, nothing will go into landfill: "All of its particles will go back into circulation." More importantly, Londoners and visitors from beyond will know that little bit more about those 243 species, from the swift that flies the equivalent of seven times to the moon and back in its lifetime, to the 450 million-year-old sea lamprey ("When I was Googling it to find a picture of it, you find it, more often than not, pictured on toast, which is really unfortunate") and the streaked bombardier beetle that's clinging on to its existence in the UK by a thread in Tower Hamlets. ■HTSI comehomeagain.cartier.com



CUTTING LOUCHE

Tease the boundaries between masculine and feminine this autumn with slip dresses and strong tailoring



Photography by *Sonia Szóstak*

Styling by *Isabelle Kountoure*

Model *Devyn Garcia*



This page: CHLOÉ leather corseted dress, £4,650. HUSBANDS wool/camel-hair twill coat, from €1,500

Opposite page: CHANEL tweed coat, £12,470. CHLOÉ brass, quartz and amethyst earrings, £430





This page: MICHAEL KORS COLLECTION knitted shagging coat, £3,660, and merino-wool dress, £615. MOLSUM gold-plated brass, silver and pearl Twisted Curve single earring, €120

Opposite page: FENDI silk dress, £1,890. HÉLÈNE ZUBELDIA crystal fringe earring, €200 for pair





DOLCE & GABBANA stretch tulle draped dress, £1,550. MOLISM gold-plated brass, silver and pearl Twisted Curve single earring, €120

T.COM/HTSI



Above: GUCCI wool coat, £2,900, flannel jacket, £2,270, and matching trousers, £860. Loewe leather sandals, £725
Right: MIU MIU wool coat, £2,950, and embroidered tulle dress, £8,900. CHLOÉ leather Nellie boots, £1,100

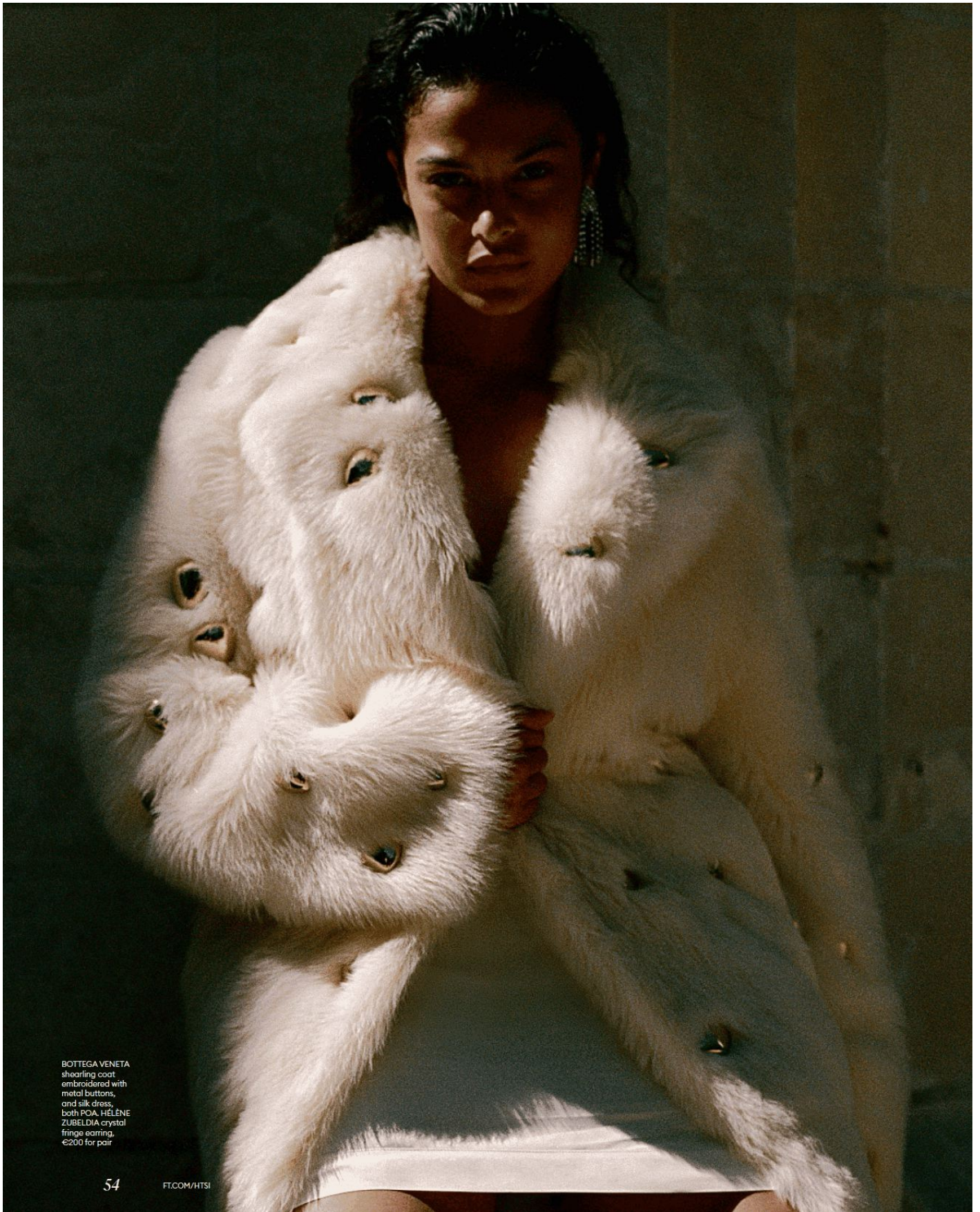




PRADA leather coat, £6,100, cotton top, £690, and muslin and wool skirt, £1,250. HÉLENE ZUBELDIA crystal fringe earring, €200 for pair



SAINT LAURENT
BY ANTHONY
VACCARELLO
silk satin
dress, £3,490



BOTTEGA VENETA
shearling coat
embroidered with
metal buttons,
and silk dress,
both POA. HÉLÈNE
ZUBELDIA crystal
fringe earring,
€200 for pair



ISABEL MARANT silk velvet dress, £860.
HÉLÈNE ZUBELDIA crystal twisted hoop earrings, €195

Model, Devyn Garcia at DNA. Casting, Ben Grimes at Ben Grimes Casting.
Hair and make-up, Michal Bielecki at Bryant using Wolla Professionals. Digital
operator, Esther Balibar. Stylist's assistants, Aylin Bayhan and Sabine Groza.
Production, Anna Rybus at Prospero

First impressions can be deceptive. When Miuccia Prada initially encountered Theaster Gates at the jazz club Ronnie Scott's in London, Gates was performing on stage with his band The Black Monks. "I thought, my God! He looks so intimidating and unreachable," says the co-chief executive officer and co-creative director of Italian fashion house Prada, who is also the creative director of Miu Miu. Gates, a multidisciplinary artist whose oeuvre spans sculpture, performance, installation, space theory and land development, laughs at the memory: "We had been rehearsing so much I had lost my voice. I was concentrating on making sure the notes that came out were good."

That was in 2012, and Gates had just opened his first European solo show at The Arts Club. The exhibition included works from his *In the Event of a Race Riot* series – where decommissioned fire hoses act as symbols of the 1968 civil rights demonstrations in Chicago, when hoses were used for crowd control.

Ten years later, Prada and Gates are the best of friends and collaborators – in the summer they celebrated the first European gathering for Dorchester Industries Experimental Design Lab: a Prada Group-funded initiative with Gates's

Rebuild Foundation. The Lab is a three-year programme that aims to support and amplify the work of artists and designers of colour, investing in their development and exposing them to organisations interested in working with diverse talent, including the Prada brand itself.

Both wearing Prada's signature Celeste Blue, seated in Ristorante Torre at the Fondazione Prada in Milan with sweeping views over the city, the pair converse intensely about the role of art in society, the joy of hard work and their quest to combat social injustice and racism. "There are moments that made us say: maybe we could do more," says Gates, who in 2019 was invited by Prada to co-chair the Prada Group's newly formed Diversity & Inclusion Advisory Council. Prada nods her head in agreement. "Money and scholarship are not enough. I said, why don't we do something that offers more possibilities? That offers more opportunities to black people, to women, and to do something useful – and so Theaster invented the Experimental Design Lab," she says.

Together they are working hard to create a platform that puts real meat on the bones of Prada Group's inclusivity initiative. "I would prefer to do nothing than merely offer a declaration to show that we are 'good'," Prada says passionately. Gates agrees. "It's not just dealing with racism but understanding that beautiful things – intelligence, savvy, skill and talent – can come from all over the world," he adds. To this end, those joining the Experimental Design Lab will benefit from

the fashion icon's and artist's professional, industrial and creative networks. In turn, the Prada Group will benefit from being opened up to different expertise and diverse points of view.

There are 14 designers and artists in the first cohort, who were invited to Milan on a two-day retreat full of presentations, activities and meetings. For many, it was their first trip to Italy and their first encounter with Miuccia. One of the highlights was being offered front-row seats at the menswear catwalk show where Prada and Raf Simons pushed the boundaries of fashion in a collection that examined the archetypes of menswear – from cowboy boots to trenchcoats and jeans – watched by actors such as Jeff Goldblum, Damson Idris and Rami Malek.

The group (the majority of whom live in the US) were selected from 200 candidates nominated by a panel that included the late Virgil Abloh, writer and filmmaker Ava DuVernay and architect David Adjaye. The collective spans a huge variety of disciplines and ages: from product designer Norman Teague and hydroponics expert Yemi Amu to the architect Maya Bird-Murphy, the dancer/choreographer Kyle Abraham, and Kenturah Davis, a visual artist. In the fashion camp, Tolu Coker, Catherine Sarr and shoe designer Kendall Reynolds all head up their own brands.

"Miuccia was not only concerned about diversity around fashion," says Gates. "She said, 'I don't care what the form or the artistic intervention is as long as it is about thinking.' I tried to shape a programme that is aware and created a cohort that would benefit from the resources, the platform and from knowing each other – it's from there that good things can happen."

"There are few people like Theaster. He's a great artist but he also cares about people in everything he does," says Prada of Gates's talent and sense of civic commitment. He is equally in awe of Prada as a figure who has fundamentally changed the way we think about dress and the art of fashion.

"My interest in art is founded in my interest in politics, as I come from a political background [Prada has a PhD in political science from the University of Milan]. So when I find a person that supports this, I am happy. An institution can display beautiful art, but I try to do something more. Art is always political," says Prada, who

“ART IS ALWAYS POLITICAL”

In their Experimental Design Lab, Miuccia Prada and Theaster Gates are on a mission to amplify the work of artists and designers of colour.
By *Harriet Quick*

Photography by *Lea Anouchinsky*

Opposite page:
Miuccia Prada and
Theaster Gates
photographed at
Ristorante Torre
at the Fondazione
Prada, Milan



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"We try to keep it raw, to keep learning." Theaster Gates and Miuccia Prada at the Fondazione Prada

is chief curator and co-president of the Fondazione Prada with her husband Patrizio Bertelli. "Theaster creates art that pushes other points of view, raises issues and promotes understanding of what is happening at this moment in time – and I'm fixated on this."

The double act has formed a strong bond over the past decade, which was ignited when the Fondazione Prada invited Gates to create the exhibition *True Value*, an exploration of economies of labour using reclaimed material. Gates, now 49, the son of a roofer who lived on Chicago's West Side, is a firm believer in the integrity of labour and making. To help galvanise Gates's show, Prada introduced him to an octogenarian female hardware store owner in Milan who had served rations from the shop in the postwar period.

"For me, an artist can choose to solve any number of problems. Your problem could be the choice of the colour red, but there are other problems you could solve, such as 'I wish more people had housing in my neighbourhood'. I am trying to give voice to things I care about and that make the world political. I'm invested in beautiful forms but not beautiful forms without purpose," adds Gates, who designed the Serpentine Pavilion 2022 as the monumental *Black Chapel*. The Black Monks band will perform at this space in October. Gates is also preparing for a solo show opening at the New Museum of Contemporary Art in New York titled *Young Lords and Their Traces* in honour of the radical thinkers who have shaped his home city of Chicago – and America as a whole.

The Experimental Design Lab grew out of a mission to place inclusivity at the heart of creativity. "Race and inclusion are my primary job but I am also committed to the bigger picture. For example, how do you then make diversity important but also think about the issues of water and our food? I'm starting at equity and inclusion, and I hope to connect that to environmental thoughtfulness. I also think black artists – designers of colour – should not only know black art; we should know all art, design and fashion," explains Gates.

While Prada honed her skills in fashion working for her family's luggage brand and carving out a unique vision, Gates's ambition and aptitude were cemented while working as the senior transit arts planner for the Chicago Transit Authority. There, he was responsible for a project that involved commissioning and curating \$70mn worth of artworks across the urban network. What connects him and Prada is a sense of civic duty and a belief in the power of creative synergy to shape culture.

On setting up as an artist, Gates also began investing in the restoration of dilapidated and dormant buildings in Chicago's South Side – currently numbering 36. "The hope, ultimately, is to create a cultural neighbourhood – a hub," says Gates of the properties, some of which he runs as the ReBuild Foundation. The enterprise is funded by his own money, private donations and public fundraising. "What I learnt from being an artist is to not be too slick – to learn in public. Let people see it happen over time so they recognise how much hard work it is. We try to keep it raw, to keep learning. I am not a professional developer and the architecture is homemade, but this has its own charm," he explains. In a similar way, the experimental nature of

"THE HOPE IS TO CREATE A CULTURAL NEIGHBOURHOOD – A HUB"

the Fondazione Prada opens a window on the brand and its ethos at a time when luxury houses can appear to operate behind closed doors. "We do not have donors," Prada says, smiling. "I always say we should be happy that I make money with bags so we can continue to be independent – in that sense we are privileged."

In the midsummer light, sipping on margaritas, the duo share a complicity that goes beyond language. They are thrilled to be in each other's company again. "I want to shadow you in the office and see what happens in a day," says Gates, beaming. Prada lets him down

gently. "I think you will be surprised. I do nothing that designers typically do – like sketching or working on a mannequin – I sit and think!"

The pair keep in touch regularly. "I feel like Miuccia is one of a few people who I can call. She is someone who works harder than me – and I need her input. She helps me to set a bar that is high," says Gates, remarking on the dedication it takes to run a company. But the Experimental Design Lab is not a project the pair have to do; rather they are compelled to act and help others. "We are the son of a roofer, the daughter of a luggage maker. Work is built into us – and the beautiful thing about work is that if something is not working, you work to make it work," says Gates. Prada smiles in agreement. "Lucky are the ones that love their job. It is my instrument, and I want to use it the best way I can." ■HTSI



RUFFLE A FEW FEATHERS

From near right: ROGER VIVIER hand-sewn feather Choc Love Vivier pumps, €35,000. MALONE SOULIERS feather and satin Rima heels, £575

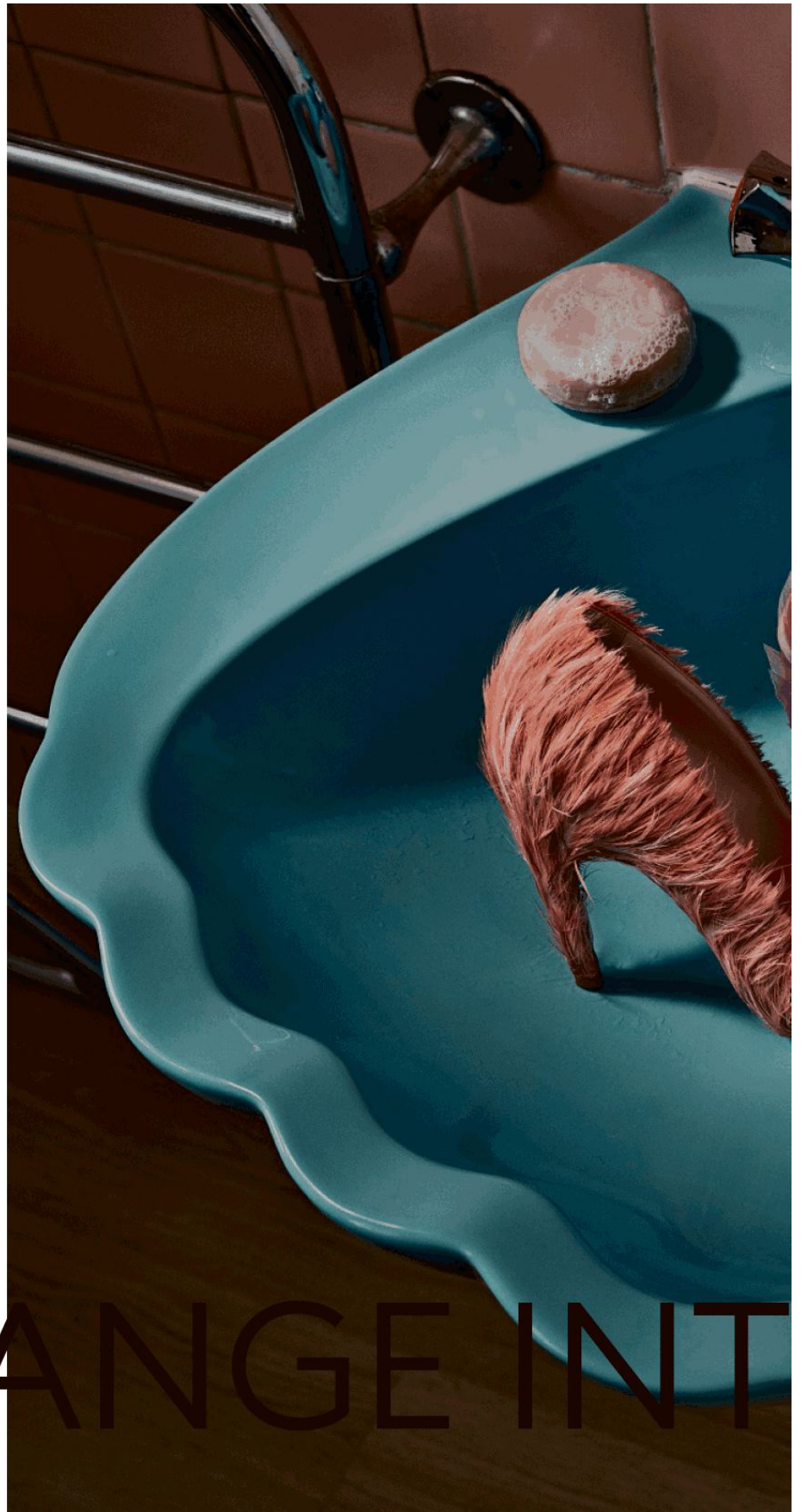
Photography by *Chris Brooks*
Styling by *Aylin Bayhan*

THIS AUTUMN'S ACCESSORIES ARE A LITTLE SURREAL

STRANGE INT

60

FT.COM/HTSI







ANGLE POISE

Clockwise from top right: LORO PIANA leather Sesia Microbag, £2,525. FENDI leather First Small bag, £2,150. LOUIS VUITTON taunillon leather Capucines MM bag, £5,150



KNOW YOUR HERITAGE

CHANEL wool tweed coat, £6,815, and rubber boots, £1,885



STRIPETEASE

HERMES leather Cadenas bag, £4,830, gold-plated Large Olympe single ear cuff, £245, enamel Kelly bracelet, £520, and lacquered wood Epopee boxes, from £420



HYPERINFLATION

LOEWE leather Balloon sandals, £895

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COLLAR-FULL DETAILS

Dior embroidered brocade J'Adior pumps, £870, and gold-plated metal and pearl D-Renaissance collar necklace, £13,000

QUILTY PLEASURES

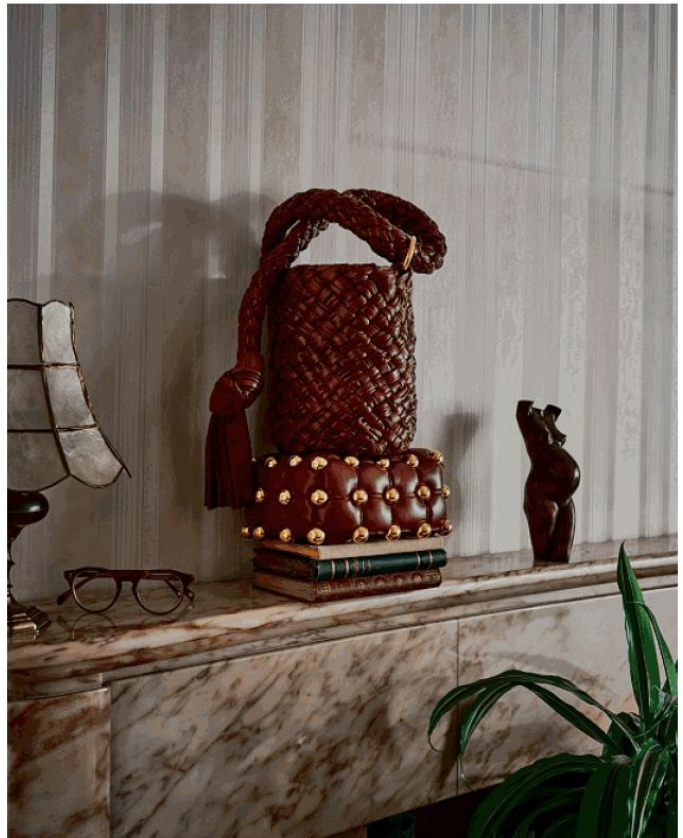
BOTTEGA VENETA woven leather Cestino box bag, and small leather and brass intreccio Kalimero bucket bag, both POA. Vintage glasses, house owner's



DELUXE SWEET

EMPORIO ARMANI Plexiglas necklace, £380, and panne velvet shirt, £350

Set design, Ciara Reddy. Photographer's assistant, Ibbly Azab. Stylist's assistant, Ady Razor Hug. Production, Julia Lessere at Tristan Godfrey and Phoebe Asker at The Curated



LARA STONE

The Dutch supermodel takes us inside the Hampstead haven she shares with her husband David Grievson.
By *Jackie Daly*

Photography by *Michael Sinclair*



Dutch model Lara Stone is chopping vegetables in the kitchen of her Hampstead home. The French doors to her lavender-fringed garden are open, flooding the room with sunlight as the sounds of jazz fill the air. Fresh-faced, she's dressed casually in stone-washed jeans and a shirt, her hair pulled into a ponytail – it's a rare glimpse behind the supermodel persona formed on the catwalk she first walked for Givenchy couture in 2006, or the major magazine covers she has been gracing since 2007. She flashes her famed gap-toothed smile as her 41-year-old property developer husband David Grievson serves coffee at the kitchen table.

The couple bought their Victorian home in the leafy London enclave in 2020. They spent time stripping it to its bones and revising the layout, before moving in with Stone's nine-year-old son Alfred (from a previous marriage to David Walliams) and their two cats in 2021 – they married the same year, having met in 2018.

Their neighbourhood circles the Heath, a green lung interlaced with woodlands, hills and natural bathing ponds that distil a quiet air of repose among the surrounding streets. The family have already thrown themselves into local life. Stone and her son now share a new pastime: wild swimming. "It's such an addiction," she says of the sense of exhilaration she derives from her bathing ritual in the famous ponds.

Home is their happy place, and a billboard for Grievson's property design company, Coburn. He's been designing upscale spaces for 20 years, honing his skills at developer Londonewcastle, and now offers a service from design to construction and, if their client so wishes, from furnishings to art. "Lara and Alf were my clients here," says the designer, as he spreads a set of floor plans across the kitchen table and recounts the many hours spent poring over the drawings. The four floors of the house had been split into self-contained flats by the former owners, so the development had to be unfolded

AT HOME



The kitchen table, salvaged from an accountant's office; an artwork by Alfred Stone and a Brigitte Bardot print by Terry O'Neill hang on the wall behind. Left: Lara Stone and David Grievson in their Hampstead home

FTCOM/HTSI



into a series of airy spaces layered with vintage finds, collectables and bursts of colour.

"Lara has had a lot of input," says Grievson, pointing to the orange kettle on the stove – one of the 38-year-old model's "homages" to her Dutch roots. "We also have a big orange sofa – and an orange car."

We are seated at a large wooden table salvaged by Grievson from an accountant's office – it is beautifully patinated by age, suggesting a piece rescued from a slowly decaying farmhouse rather than a slick urban hub. Brigitte Bardot watches proceedings from one side of the table, her image immortalised in a black-and-white photograph ("most people think it's Lara," Grievson remarks of the actress whose extraordinary likeness has been compared to Stone's since the start of her career) and on the other side is a George III mahogany apothecary cabinet, sourced from Cloverleaf Home Interiors, which is filled with the couple's copper and glassware. "I've always loved brown furniture – I think it's making a comeback," Grievson smiles.

Old and new are juxtaposed effortlessly. Grievson's second-hand hauls complement a modern kitchen with its quartz-topped island and wall of storage. "It shouldn't work, but it does. I guess that comes from years of dressing show homes," says Grievson, who laughs out loud at the mention of two metal robots sitting atop a cabinet. His numerous vintage pilgrimages indulge a sense of humour – and childhood memories. "There's a silver and cream one from Sunbury Antiques Market – they're remote control, from the '70s. I want to find more!" Stone is not convinced. "Yes, they look cute up there but they were in our bedroom in our old house, which was creepy," she jokes, her Dutch accent still discernible despite her having been based in London since 2009.

"I must show you this piece – it's by a very interesting up-and-coming artist," Grievson continues, pointing out a framed vinyl record splattered with colour in the mode of Damien Hirst's spin paintings. "It's by Alfred Stone, an early work." Stone's son is an artist in the making. "We have lots of framed pieces by Alf," she says proudly.

A larger artwork hangs above the orange sofa in the living room; it's by Grievson's old friend the contemporary landscape artist Lucy Kent. "It's an early one – her work has evolved so much since, but we love it," he says. The colours pop against the muted backdrop – a calming



"I'VE ALWAYS LOVED BROWN FURNITURE – I THINK IT'S MAKING A COMEBACK"

decanters gathered on one wall shelf are evidence of another collecting rabbit hole Grievson has got lost in over the years.

palette that was orchestrated by Stone. "I like relaxing," she says of her neutral scheme. "I asked a Farrow & Ball paint consultant to come to the house. We went through all the rooms together and she brought large samples, which we stuck on the wall to help us decide. It took all the fear away and, by the end, I became really good at colour selection – apparently I'm drawn to green, which is why we've used a very pale shade in the room."

Grievson's contribution ramps up the eclecticism: a row of vintage cinema chairs, which he bought for £240 more than 10 years ago, lines one wall. "I was determined to find a place for them in here, as well as the old wireless in the corner, another Sudbury find," he says. Glass

"And I do love a globe," he says, as we scale the stairs to the TV room, where another orange sofa is sited below a Michael Angel artwork, and a globe-shaped drinks trolley peeks out between the foliage of pot plants. The scatterings of Jonathan Adler *objets* turn out to be another minor obsession. "I once went to the greatest sample sale of all time, at a place off Portobello. I succumbed."

The floral rug, thrown across the oak floor, injects flourishes of brighter hues. Stone discovered it in a small antiques shop in Wales. "I managed to get it into the car on my own and then had to roll it up two flights of stairs. I kept telling myself, I can do this, I don't need no man. Two weeks later I saw my rug in Ikea. I



thought, oh shit, I've been conned," she laughs. "Thankfully, it wasn't the same as my antique."

Throughout the house are lots of personal specifications. Also on the first floor is a utility room ("Much needed with a nine-year-old") and "grown-up airing cupboard", as well as an en-suite bedroom "created to lure our parents to come and stay". Grievson's ethos "to use every inch of the house" meant stripping back to the brickwork and starting much of the design from scratch. "My site manager once refused Lara access because she was wearing Birkenstocks." Stone erupts with laughter. "I love my Birkenstocks. I have so many, even the fluffy ones."

Stone now has a dedicated area for her beloved sandals in her walk-in wardrobe – a sartorial sanctuary in the couple's second-floor bedroom suite that would stop Carrie Bradshaw in her tracks. Her wedding veil hangs in full view on the mirror – her dress, made by Grievson's sister, the designer Chessie Grievson of Tephi (Pippa Middleton is a fan), is tucked away safely within the racks. A number of the shelves display designer bags, others heels, including several pairs of eye-catching orange stilettos.

Alfred has his own place of escape – a secret space within his bedroom – there is also a not-so-secret secret cupboard beside the stairwell with steps behind a trapdoor leading to the cellar plant room. Meanwhile, Grievson's retreat is his home office, which has two notable aspects: one, the view of the garden, the other Stone's iconic magazine covers framed above his desk. He is ousted to the garden house, however, when he wants to gaze upon another shrine: his collection of Tottenham Hotspur memorabilia.

Other pieces around the house speak of shared memories. The bedspread in the couple's bedroom was bought on their first ever holiday to Sri Lanka. "Despite the heat, I snuggled under it every day in the car while David had the air con on," Stone recalls. The painting above their bed is from Bay Gallery Home, a specialist in Australian Aboriginal art based in the Cotswolds, picked up at Hampstead's Affordable Art Fair. "It's a 'water dreaming' painting made up of individual dots of paint by the artist Louise Nangala Egan," Stone says.

One of the first pieces of art they bought together hangs in the first-floor hallway: Junwon Lee's acrylic and paint abstract entitled *Inner Dance*, 2022, also found at the Affordable Art Fair. "It was great to buy art so close to home, but it's not so affordable," Stone whispers in jest. "David and I have such similar tastes." Grievson raises an eyebrow. "In everything apart from wallpaper," he says. To which Stone rebuts. "David has terrible taste in wallpaper." I ask who wins. "Me!" Stone laughs.

Grievson's favourite piece, another by Lucy Kent, is a vision of a cornfield. "It's a commission. I saw this picture of a cornfield with a bright-blue sky and asked her to use it as inspiration. She came back with this wonderful artwork," he says of the Wiltshire-based artist. "I commissioned six of her paintings in my first house, and we have three of them in this house. My mum and dad have the others."

One of the most useful spots in the house is the boot room – they are well prepared for days out on the Heath. For Stone, it's a far cry from her other life as a model stomping down the runway – but one she embraces. "I don't believe there is a day that goes by when we don't say, 'I can't believe we live here,'" she says. ■HTSI
coburnproperty.com



Far left: framed covers featuring Stone decorate the office. Left: the TV room. Below left: the globe drinks cabinet, surrounded by planters from Borna. Above: Nigapo Jukurpa (*Water Dreaming*) - *Mikanji*, by Louise Nangala Egan, hangs above the couple's bed. Right: Stone's dressing room with a Lucy Kent print and a rug bought by Grievson while on holiday in Jaipur. Below: the garden with bespoke furniture designed by Coburn



The farm that Carole built

Lady Bamford turned JCB billions into a pioneering farming business. As her Daylesford empire celebrates 20 years, she talks to *Ajesh Patalay* about sustainability, spirituality and shampoo

Photography by *Max Michowski*

It's a sunny day at Daylesford Organic Farm in Gloucestershire and founder Carole Bamford is surveying the perennials with Jez Taylor, head of the market garden. Bounding between them are her dogs – two blond Labradors, Cassie and Olive, and a pair of Shih Tzus, Tequila and Margarita. "I had a few die recently," she says of what used to be a septet of Shih Tzus. "Mimosa and Cosmopolitan died in 2021. Bellini, who I had for 17 years, passed away in March. Those are his granddaughters. Spice died in June." Absent today and rounding off the list is Sugar. "They've all got their own [foibles]."

Now 76, Bamford is wearing the latest pieces from her eponymous clothing line: a white organic-cotton shirt and a waterproof khaki organic-cotton skirt. "So I can sit on a log in the middle of winter and not get my bottom wet," she says of something she does quite often while walking the estate where she has lived for 30 years.

Her official title is Lady Bamford. Or Baroness Bamford, after her husband Anthony Bamford, the chairman of JCB, was made a life peer in 2013 (having already been knighted) and took the formal title of Baron Bamford of Daylesford in the County of Gloucestershire and Wootton in the County of Staffordshire (their other farm estate). To staff at Daylesford, whose farm shop and café turns 20 this year, she is known as "Lady B". But don't call her Lady Bamford in print, she pleads. It isn't

the only honorific she resists. Shy by her own admission, she speaks softly and shrugs off big titles or big claims that might draw too much attention. With its requisite focus on her, this interview to mark the 20th anniversary of Daylesford often makes her squirm. Settled in the Chelsea Garden Room with a fortifying glass of sparkling rosé, she points to a stack of bracelets on her wrist. "I believe in the power of crystals," she says. "I buy these in India. They bring calm. Today, I thought, I want to be calm."

Since the farm shop and café opened in 2002, the Daylesford flagship location has grown to include a cookery school, wellness spa, Michelin Green-starred restaurant, bakery and patisserie, creamery, smokehouse and fermentery. Other properties include the nearby pubs The Wild Rabbit and The Fox, a string of rental cottages and four more farm shops with cafés in London. A new website just launched to meet the demand for Daylesford produce, which soared during the pandemic. Among Daylesford devotees is Boris Johnson, who reportedly had about £12,500 worth of Daylesford food delivered to Downing Street during the pandemic and this July hosted his wedding bash at Daylesford House (Lord Bamford is a Tory donor). In addition to Daylesford, Carole Bamford also founded her own clothing line (launched in 2007), which uses natural fibres, and bath, body and homeware collections that promote wellbeing. They are sold at Bamford stores in Mayfair, Bicester, Brompton Cross, Seoul and Tokyo and more than 75 other global stockists. All of which underpin Daylesford's philosophy of "looking after the bigger picture of the world and the smaller picture of ourselves".

Given the size of the operations – Daylesford employs 795 staff across the business with an annual turnover to March 2022 of £49.5mn – you would think words like "entrepreneur" or "businesswoman" would be fitting titles for Bamford. At Daylesford she basically originated the concept of luxury organic retail and the Bamford brand has been pioneering in sustainable fashion and organic beauty; Bamford herself has even been called the "British Ralph Lauren". And yet: "I'm not a businessperson," she counters. "I don't identify as that. And when [people] talk about a brand, I never wanted a brand." Her preferred title is organic farmer. "I identify with having a belief," she says. "If you believe in something, things happen."

The farm shop was originally conceived to keep her occupied. "I was at the stage when my children [Alice, now 46, Jo, 44, and George, 41] were leaving home. Anthony was working hard. I thought, what am I going to do, apart from farming? I've got to be busy." She asked her husband if she could turn a barn on the estate into



Top: Jez Taylor, head of the market garden, picks an artichoke. Above: a former silage clamp under renovation. Far left: Carole Bamford in 1977, with baby Alice



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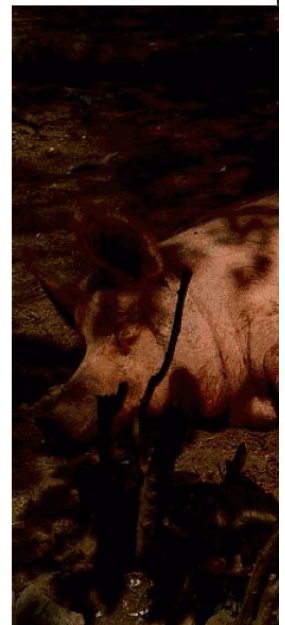
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DAYLESFORD Cotswold blue leghorn eggs, £2.99



DAYLESFORD estate honey, £50 for 800g





Above: Carole Bamford in the market garden at Daylesford Organic Farm. Above edge of page: tomatoes growing in the poly tunnel. Left: Fresh produce from the market garden. Far left: the farm's Tamworth pigs



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DREWEATTS

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Right: Bamford with Taylor and her dogs. Far right: fresh berries from Daylesford farm. Below right: some of the farm's herd of Old Gloucester cattle



a shop. Then she panicked: "[I was convinced] no one would come. I always have an idea. Then a wobble." People came in busloads, and they never stopped.

The story of Daylesford farm goes back even further. As Bamford tells it, it was 1976, she was in the garden at Wootton with baby Alice and her roses were wilting. It turned out to be from pesticides being sprayed on a neighbouring farm. Visiting the Royal Agricultural Show shortly afterwards, she got talking to a farmer who convinced her organic was the future. When she suggested that Wootton convert, her husband called her "barmy". Others laughed at her. "They thought I was a rich girl," she says. "Even the farm manager at Staffordshire said it wasn't commercially viable. But I'm pretty determined." For her it boils down to the soil: "If the soil is healthy, the animals and vegetables are healthy. We eat them both. We are healthy."

It took seven years for the farm at Wootton to become organic. The farm at Daylesford, purchased in 1988, took another three years. Now Daylesford is among the most innovative in the country, a leader in everything from its rare-breed cattle programme to its agroforestry and wetlands projects. The push to even greater sustainability continues across the business.

"Fashion is the biggest polluter of the soil ever – we have to address that," says Bamford, talking about her latest clothing collection, merino knitwear that uses wool grown, sheared, spun and knitted in the UK. From sheep to shop, the wool travels 639 miles. "This has the lowest carbon footprint of any garment," she says. "It made no money but I am so proud of it: it is setting boundaries. In 10 years' time, [more] people will be doing this."

Her other preoccupations at Daylesford include attaining B Corp status, while everything from dog snacks to vertical farming with hydroponics is in the pipeline. At one point she describes her role at Daylesford as "the visionary", though she later baulks at this term and suggests instead, "I push people." She says: "I go around and think, God, did I do all this? Until I talk to someone like you, I don't take it in. I don't have time. I'm on to the next thing. I'm a driven person. I always have been." Where that drive came from she won't say ("that's personal") but she notes how driven people are often shaped by childhood events: "They've either lost a parent [or] had to rely on themselves at a very early age. At 16 I thought, it's up to me."

Of Bamford's years before she married in 1974, little is known except that she was a grammar-school girl from Nottingham

"WHAT I DO IS BETTER THAN DOING NOTHING. LOTS OF PEOPLE THAT LIVE MY LIFE DO NOTHING"

who became a flight attendant. "[When] you haven't got anyone to lean on, it makes you self-reliant. That's funny me saying that because people see me as a very lucky girl. And I am. I've got the support of my husband. Still, I didn't need to do anything. But I did."

At 20, she went to India on the trail of Swami Veda. She got into meditation. It had a profound effect. Now she begins each day – after reading the *Racing Post* ("I love horses") – with an hour of breathwork, yoga and meditation. India, she says, is her spiritual home: "There are three things that are important in my life. One is family. Two is hard work. Three is spirituality. Indian people have all of those things." In 2019, she launched Nila House in Jaipur, a centre that aims to preserve traditional Indian crafts such as indigo dyeing through collections of clothing and homeware.

It's not hard to draw parallels between her approach at Daylesford and her spiritual outlook. "I am always searching for something more," she says. "I believe in universal energy, I believe in instinct. What's your first impression? You can be bogged down by data, clever people. What do you really feel? What moves you?" If the success of Daylesford proves anything, it's that her instincts have largely been right. What was ahead of the curve when Daylesford started – organic food, wellbeing, holistic living – is now mainstream.

Taylor calls Daylesford a "blueprint" for farms to become food hubs with shops, restaurants and cottages that support and feed off the farm and make organic farming possible. "I often refer to [Lady Bamford] as a patron," he says. "Creating this farm costs money. It needs somebody with money to get it going. She comes from a business-minded family. They know if you invest you



DAYLESFORD organic heritage tomato and chilli jam, £8.49



DAYLESFORD organic parmesan biscuits, £7.99



BAMFORD X MARTHA WARD organic-cotton tuxedo shirt, £250



BAMFORD Geranium hand and body wash and lotion, £48



BAMFORD Kiln tea set, £65

will get a return eventually. Daylesford has so many elements, it's become what we talk about in organic farming: multiple crops, more resilience. This is a resilient business." When the pandemic forced much of Daylesford to close, food and web sales kept the business going.

Bamford is heartened that the conversation around organic food has moved on in the past 20 years. At the beginning, she downplayed the organic side of the business because organic was considered overpriced. On the question of cost now, she is clear-sighted: "Our chickens are £15 to £18 each. At the supermarket you can buy a chicken for £4 or £5. [But better to] pay the real price for food now than pay it later in the doctor's surgery. We have to eat less meat and eat better." The important thing is "getting people on the road. If people say, 'How do we start eating organically?', I say with just one [product]. Milk. Eat locally if you can't eat organic. Buy in season. Be a conscious shopper."

"Nobody's perfect," she adds. And that includes her. Asked how she reconciles a jet-setting lifestyle with efforts to be sustainable, she concedes: "There is no answer to that. I'm guilty. I fly in a helicopter. I fly around the world. Journalists will chop my head off. But [what I do is] better than doing nothing. Lots of people that live my life do nothing. I used to feel guilty. I don't any more." What changed? "I grew a thicker skin."

Time is up. I ask what the past 20 years of Daylesford have meant. "A lot of hard work," she says. "But I work harder now. There is always more to do. Always more to learn." And with that, she's off, on to the next thing. ■HTSI Daylesford celebrates its 20th anniversary with a two-day Harvest Festival on 17-18 Sept



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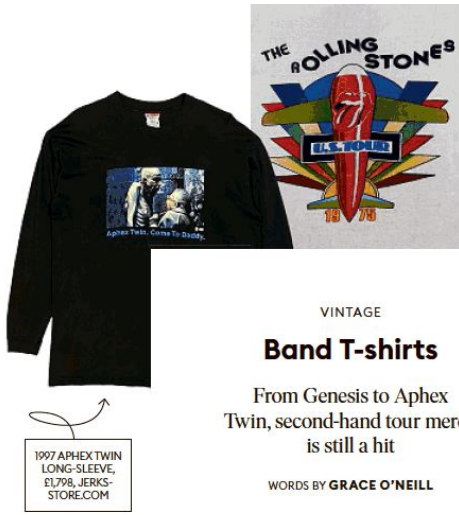


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COLLECTING



VINTAGE Band T-shirts

From Genesis to Aphex Twin, second-hand tour merch is still a hit

WORDS BY GRACE O'NEILL

1997 APHEX TWIN LONG-SLEEVE, £1,798, JERKS-STORE.COM



"NIRVANA T-SHIRTS I SOLD FOR \$10 ARE NOW WORTH BETWEEN \$1,000 AND \$5,000"

Top left: 1975 Rolling Stones T-shirt, \$595, filthmartla.com. Left: Winona Ryder wears a Tom Waits T-shirt in 1991. Above: 1991 Nirvana T-shirt, £448, jerks-store.com

1988 AC/DC "BLOW UP YOUR VIDEO" T-SHIRT, £60, BURNEDOUT.CO.UK



Above from centre: 1974 David Bowie T-shirt, sold for \$750, and 1976 Elton John T-shirt, \$300, both filthmartla.com. Below: The Lox T-shirt from Deeps Samra's collection. Bottom: 1977 Sex Pistols T-shirt, \$800, deadunion.com



PHOTOGRAPHS: GETTY IMAGES, SPLASH NEWS



The fashion item currently most coveted by off-duty supermodels, world-famous rappers and other style leaders isn't found in boutiques on the Place Vendôme. It's sitting at the bottom of an industrial-sized tub in a rag house – large-scale units in North America that become vast holding bays for second-hand clothes. These spots are a mecca for vintage T-shirt collectors and, increasingly, sellers at a time when old-school tees are enjoying an unprecedented boom.

With brands such as Givenchy, Coach and Vetements showing vintage-style T-shirts on the runway, the original articles are gaining huge interest once again. The hashtag "vintagetshirt" has more than 20mn views on TikTok, and in September 2020 a promotional T-shirt for the Disney film Aladdin caused a stir when it sold on the Los Angeles-based seller Chris Fernandez's website for \$6,000. The sale sparked conversations about a vintage T-shirt bubble, but as increasing numbers of Gen-Z consumers enter the market the second-hand rag trade has shown no signs of bursting or slowing down.

"I can think of Nirvana shirts that I sold 15 years ago for \$10 that are now worth anywhere between \$1,000 and \$5,000," says Kirby Fisher, founder of the Vancouver-based store Dead Union, who says the bulk of his income comes from vintage tees. "I recently used a single Sub Pop-era Nirvana T-shirt to pay for a holiday my wife and I took to Sri Lanka." For south London-based Matt Sloane, founder of the vintage concept store Jerks, there's been a palpable change in demand in the past few years. "When I first started about 10 years ago, there was a real focus on pieces from the '70s and '80s, like Black Sabbath and Iron Maiden. In the past couple of years there's a new generation of buyers who want pieces from the '90s." Sloane agrees that music T-shirts are where collectors are paying big money. "It would, for example, be hard to find an original Aphex Twin T-shirt for under £800. For original My Bloody Valentine tees, you're looking at between £800 and £1,000."

"Vintage T-shirts tap into nostalgia," says 34-year-old Deeps Samra, who collects rare hip-hop and R&B T-shirts. "I have N.E.R.D tees that immediately take me back to the summer of 2005: good, carefree times in my life," he says. "When you stumble on those pieces there's this sense of, 'I'll pay whatever they're asking.'" Samra, who has more than 100 shirts, counts original merch from the '90s hip-hop collective Dipset and the east coast crew The Lox among his most treasured pieces: "I'll take them to the grave with me."

Kirby Fisher's collection spans more than 200 pieces, although he says it is perpetually "growing and dwindling". "Growing up on the Gold Coast in Australia, I was obsessed with not wanting to fit in," he says. "Hunting down rare vintage T-shirts was the easiest way to

identify myself as being nothing like my environment." Fisher remembers his first big purchase, a Genesis T-shirt that he found on eBay and for which he paid \$250. "I was so excited that I didn't even look at the size. When it arrived it was way too small." Today his collection is predominantly filled with the merch of Australian punk bands from the '70s to the 2000s, as well as gay and leather daddy T-shirts ("to keep the homophobes on their toes"). Twenty pieces from Fisher's collection are so valuable he stores them in a fireproof box.

Nostalgia and status-signalling are undoubtedly at play here, but anyone who has worn a genuine vintage tee can testify that there's something about the fit, cut and fabrication that often feels better on the body. "The shirts back then were mostly tubular," says Mike Sportes, who owns Los Angeles-based Filth Mart with his wife Maggie Fox, referencing a style of T-shirt construction that doesn't use side seams.

"By today's standards this can cause problems with twisting, torquing, and knotting at the bottom of the shirt... but that slight imperfection is what we like."

Stella McCartney and Liv Tyler sourced the "Rock Royalty" T-shirts they wore to the 1999 Met Gala from Sportes and Fox. The couple advise against collecting with the sole intention of doubling your money. "There are some things that were extremely popular a few years ago that mellowed out," Sportes says. "Ultimately you need to make decisions based on what you're drawn to." With Filth Mart selling '70s-era David Bowie tees for upwards of \$750 each, you'd better be a genuine fan of the Thin White Duke before forking out. ■HTSI

WHERE TO BUY
Burned Out UK, burnedout.co.uk
Catalogue London UK, cataloguelondon.com
Dead Union Canada, deadunion.com
Filth Mart USA, filthmartla.com
Jerks UK, jerks-store.com
Procell USA, instagram.com/procell

WHAT TO READ
Ripped: T-Shirts From The Underground ed. by Cesar Padilla (Universe, \$9.98)
The Art of the Band T-Shirt by Amber Easby and Henry Oliver (Pocket Books, £5.99)



Above and right: 1994 Sonic Youth T-shirt, £398, and 1993 Björk T-shirt, £548, both jerks-store.com. Below: Rihanna wears her own 2016 T-shirt



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EATING

Top tables

With the departure of Corbin and King from the restaurant scene, *Ajesh Patalay* asks London's luminaries where they dine now

When London restaurateurs Jeremy King and Chris Corbin – founders of The Wolseley, The Delaunay, Brasserie Zédel, Colbert, Fischer's, Bellanger and Soutine – lost control of the company that bears their name earlier this year, it prompted calls for a boycott. Regulars feared these cherished establishments would – and could – never be the same without Corbin and King at the helm. Such was the level of affection and esteem for a pair who made their names at Le Caprice and The Ivy before launching The Wolseley in 2003 and changing the London dining scene forever. If every restaurant is an expression of its owners, theirs were elegant and egalitarian places run from the floor not the boardroom, where everyone was made to feel special whoever they were. And though the food was never entirely the point, you knew whatever you ordered, from the Wiener schnitzel to the chopped chicken salad (two Wolseley staples), you wouldn't be disappointed.

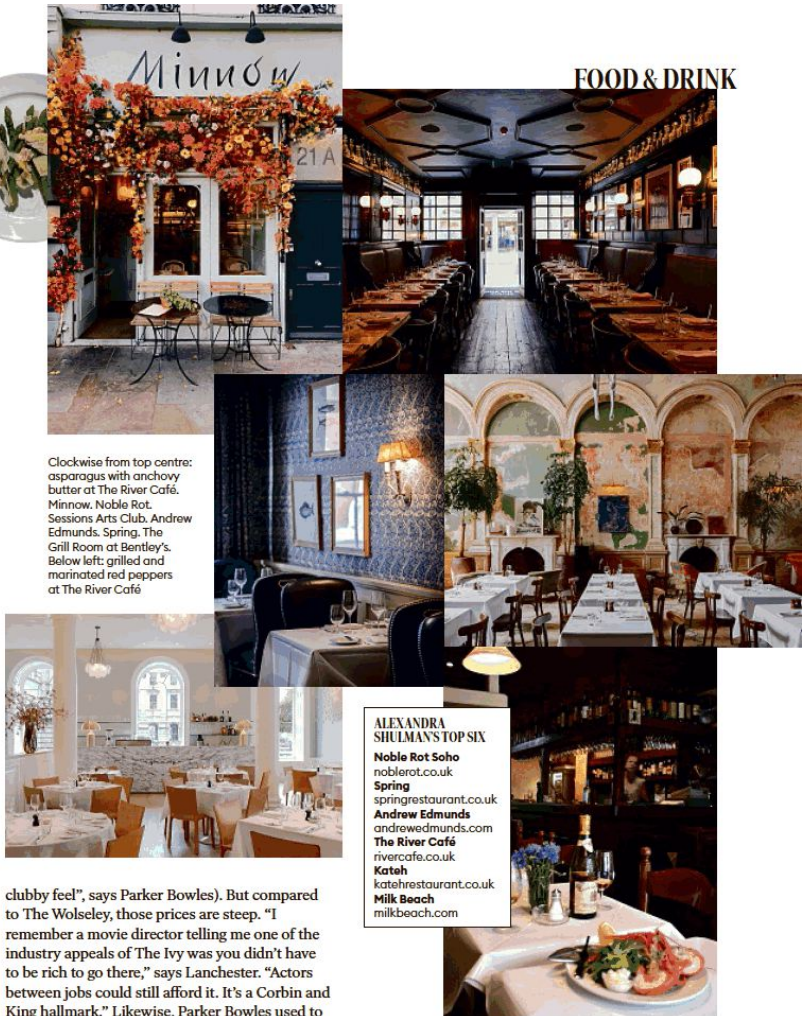
The dust may have settled on Corbin and King's departure, but questions remain. Principally, "Where are we going to go now?" says former British *Vogue* editor Alexandra Shulman. "And is it OK to go [back]?"

Some have returned out of loyalty to the staff. "The week after [Corbin and King] lost control," says milliner Stephen Jones, "I went into The Delaunay [and] was so happy to see the staff and reassure them that a whole section of London appreciates what they have done over the years." Others have simply moved up the street. Food writer Tom Parker Bowles, who went to The Wolseley at least once a week, is among those making the exodus to 45 Jermyn St and Maison François in St James's. Esquire editor Alex Bilmes compares the efficiency of a work lunch at 45 Jermyn St with the gleaming professionalism he came to expect at The Wolseley. "The food never got in the way of why you were there," he says. "You didn't have to learn everything about where the fish came from. You could be in and out in 45 minutes." And to be spoiled now: "I always say yes to Scott's," he says "And Gymkhana."

Since writer John Lanchester is no longer booking what he calls RFKACAK ("Restaurants Formerly Known As Corbin And King"), he's been enjoying new arrivals like JKS's Arcade Food Hall in London's Centre Point building. "It couldn't be further from Jeremy and Chris's aesthetic," he says, "but it's an amazing idea – a food court, taken seriously, from some of the best kitchens in town."

Quo Vadis gets the thumbs-up from Ravinder Bhogal among others, not only for chef Jeremy Lee's exuberant cooking but also as a convivial place, says Bilmes, where you bump into "clever, interesting people" from fashion, media and entertainment.

For special occasions, everyone agrees on Claridge's ("for glam", says jewellery designer Solange Azagury-Partridge), Spring ("for delicious food", says Shulman) or The River Café (for "that



Clockwise from top centre: asparagus with anchovy butter at The River Café. Minnow. Noble Rot. Sessions Arts Club. Andrew Edmunds. Spring. The Grill Room at Bentley's. Below left: grilled and marinated red peppers at The River Café

ALEXANDRA SHULMAN'S TOP SIX
Noble Rot Soho
 noblerot.co.uk
Spring
 springrestaurant.co.uk
Andrew Edmunds
 andrewedmunds.com
The River Café
 rivercafe.co.uk
Kateh
 katehrestaurant.co.uk
Milk Beach
 milkbeach.com

clubby feel", says Parker Bowles). But compared to The Wolseley, those prices are steep. "I remember a movie director telling me one of the industry appeals of The Ivy was you didn't have to be rich to go there," says Lanchester. "Actors between jobs could still afford it. It's a Corbin and King hallmark." Likewise, Parker Bowles used to take his kids on jaunts to The Wolseley. "But I'm

"IN LINE WITH CHANGING WORK HABITS, MANY ARE GOING LOCAL"

not taking them regularly to The River Café," he says. "I'd be bankrupt." For that, he prefers Sam's Riverside in Hammersmith. And for lunches with his mother, the Duchess of Cornwall (another Wolseley devotee), it's now Wiltons, Cafe Murano or Locanda Locatelli. Edward Enninfu, another River Café habitué, revealed to the *FT* that his more affordable everyday go-to is Pizza East Portobello.

Perhaps in line with changing work habits, many are staying local. Azagury-Partridge raves about Hereford Road in Notting Hill, a converted Victorian butcher's shop. Lanchester favours The Canton Arms in Stockwell and Clapham haunts Trinity and Minnow. Plenty are also flocking to a new wave of scene-y destinations such as Café Cecilia in Hackney and Sessions Arts Club in Clerkenwell. But unlike The Wolseley, where tables were traditionally kept back for walk-ins and regulars were squeezed in without a reservation, tables at those places are often booked up for weeks. "I don't mind booking a week in advance," says Shulman, "but I don't want to be committed two months ahead."

It's enough to convince you to stay home, which is what The River Café's Ruth Rogers is doing. "I just have people come to my house. We have a nice terrace, we sit outside." Inevitably, most are already pining for a Corbin and King comeback. Virginia Bates ran into Corbin recently at Peter Blake's 90th-birthday party: "I said to him, 'Do something. Make it happen. Have I got to learn to cook again?'"

Apparently, he just smiled. ■HTSI
 @ajesh34

Clockwise from below: jambon noir de Bigorre at Maison François. Rochelle Canteen. The Oyster Bar at Bentley's

ANVA HINDMARCH'S TOP SIX
Oswald's
 oswaldsclub.com
The River Café
 rivercafe.co.uk
Rochelle Canteen
 arnoldandhenderson.com
Anya Cafe (of course!)
 anyahindmarch.com
Maison Estelle
 maisonestelle.com
Olive restaurants
 olivorestaurants.com

TOM PARKER BOWLES' TOP SIX
 45 Jermyn St
 45jermynst.com
Maison François
 maisonfrancois.london
Cafe Murano
 cafemurano.co.uk
Wiltons
 wiltons.co.uk
Bentley's
 bentleys.org
Locanda Locatelli
 locandalocatelli.com

PHOTOGRAPHS: GEMMA LEVINE/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. JUANTRULLO ANDRADES. MATTHEW DONALDSON/ISTOCK. STEVEN JOYCE



Above: Jeremy King (left) and Chris Corbin, c1995

HOW TO SPEND IT IN...



Left: Golovanoff at Le Voltaire on quai Voltaire. Right: Jardin Catherine-Labouré. Below: Julie de Libran's boutique



PIERRE HARDY SLIDER PLUS SNEAKERS, €450



PARIS

Alexandra Golovanoff, founder of the eponymous fashion label, discusses life on the Left Bank

INTERVIEW BY ALICE CAVANAGH
PHOTOGRAPHY BY ARNAU BACH

I was born in Paris, but my family lived between there and Moscow in my early childhood. I remember the buildings and avenues in Moscow seemed very large, so I always preferred the size of Paris. We eventually settled in the 16th arrondissement on the Right Bank. It's very chic, very green. We used to play in the Ranelagh Gardens, where there is a merry-go-round with wooden horses and lots of trees to climb. There are small gardens everywhere in Paris but my favourite is the Jardin Catherine-Labouré, behind the Bon Marché in the 7th arrondissement.

I have spent my adult life so far living on the Left Bank, in the 6th and 7th arrondissements. I've been all around Place Saint-Sulpice in St-Germain-des-Prés – Rue Bonaparte, Rue du Four, Rue Madame – so I have a thorough knowledge of a micro-neighbourhood. Because it's packed with stores, restaurants, bookshops and galleries there are lots of tourists but, contrary to what people think, it is a village full of locals where people know each other and say hello. If friends are visiting, I recommend they stay in Hôtel Duc de Saint-Simon, a small and charming hotel in this area with a lovely courtyard and garden.



Above: Hôtel Duc de Saint-Simon. Below: Golovanoff in her Left Bank neighbourhood



I'M A REGULAR AT CAFÉ DE FLORE – ALTHOUGH LOCALS SIT INSIDE, NOT ON THE TERRACE

Today I live on the quais de la Seine, in the antique dealers' district – there are blocks of galleries along Rue de la Seine and Rue des Saints-Pères. My parents were antique dealers, and I came here a lot when I was younger. I have loved shopping for antiques all my life and am always on the lookout for something. There is also the famous

Paul Bert Serpette market in Saint-Ouen to the north of the city – recently, I found a Willy Rizzo love lamp there, a match to another I found 10 years ago, and I had just been waiting to find a second one. But there are flea markets all over Paris on the weekends, and I like to take the opportunity to go for a walk in different neighbourhoods.

Most days, I work from home and go out for my appointments or to do shoots for my fashion label. I usually take my bike. If I have a meeting, I like to go to a café called Noir on Rue de Luynes in the 7th arrondissement, where they roast their coffee themselves.

There are so many new places to eat, but I am faithful to my habits. I regularly have soba noodles – hot in winter and cold in summer – at Yen, a Japanese restaurant on Rue Saint-Benoît. I am a regular at Café de Flore, and although it is touristy, it is still very Parisian – though we locals like to sit inside, not on the terrace. They have had the same staff for 25 years and they all greet me by name. I like Le Voltaire too for that reason. Thierry, one of the waiters, always calls out, "Bonsoir, chérie!" The food is simple and French. I never eat fries, except at Voltaire! And I love the ambience at Café Basile on Rue St-Guillaume, which has original midcentury decor. It's next to the Sciences Po university so there are lots of young people there. On the weekends, we will have dinner and lunch with friends, very often at my place or theirs – I go shopping for food at the markets in Alma-Marceau on Saturday morning.

For clothes shopping, designer Julie de Libran's boutique, which is by appointment, is feminine without the fuss. I love her jackets, coats and the double cashmere knits. For shoes, Pierre Hardy's boutique is worth a visit. I choose at least two pairs every season as they give my outfits such personality, and while I don't usually wear many sneakers, I like his white leather ones. Then for something else entirely, there is Doursoux in the 15th, a military surplus store I have been going to since I was a teenager. I love it for its khakis, trousers and overalls – I like collecting the styles from different eras and countries.

In my own cashmere designs, I'm inspired by the colours of the city – the stone, the zinc roofs, the skies, all these shades in half-tone. Then there is the sunset when the Louvre turns pink – it's magical. You can see it from the terrace of restaurant Loulou in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, which is the best view of Paris, I think. Every time I leave and come back, I am struck by the beauty of this city; it changes and evolves but does not age. ■HTSI

HOTELS

Hôtel Duc de Saint-Simon
hotelducdesaintsimon.com

PARKS & GARDENS

Jardin Catherine-Labouré
29 Rue de Babylone,
Impasse Oudinot, 75007
Jardin du Ranelagh
1 Avenue Prud'homme, 75016

CAFES AND RESTAURANTS

Le Voltaire restaurant
levoltaire.com
Loulou loulou-paris.com
Noir Coffee Shop 9 Rue de
Luynes, noircoffee.com
Yen yen-paris.fr

MUSEUMS, GALLERIES & SHOPS

Doursoux doursoux.com
Julie de Libran
juliedelibran.com
Paul Bert Serpette
paulbert-serpette.com
Pierre Hardy
pierrehardy.com



A pair of platinum and diamond-set chandelier earrings. English, c.1920. £25,000



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A carved Peking glass pendant surmounted by an amber-set chrysanthemum, by Carlo and Arthur Giuliano. London, c.1900. £18,000



A gold locket decorated with cloisonné enamel on its four faces by Alexis Falize. Paris, c.1869. £85,000



A platinum mounted diamond-set brooch convertible to clips by Chaumet. Paris, 1950. £57,500



A pair of gold and diamond-set flower head earrings by Cartier. Paris, c.1960. £18,000



A gold ring set with an agate cameo of a theatrical mask. c.1870. £20,000



A gold ring set with a cameo of Paris by Giovanni Pichler. Rome, c.1780. £29,000



A gold brooch composed as a hand holding a turquoise forget-me-not flower. French, c.1960. £2,250



A pair of citrine and diamond-set earclips in the form of owls. Italian, c.1970. £7,200



A diamond, hessonite garnet, blue and yellow sapphire clover brooch. English, c.1890. £8,900



A gold mounted bracelet set with agate panels. c.1970. £19,200



A ring set with white and yellow diamonds by Van Cleef and Arpels. Paris, 1989. POA



A diamond-set four leaf clover brooch. French, c.1930. £12,000



A gold and platinum ring set with a peridot and diamonds. French, c.1910. £12,000



A gold bracelet after an ancient example found in Herculaneum, by Robert Phillips. London, c.1875. £23,000



A pair of gold-mounted cufflinks set with cabochon peridots and aquamarines. £3,600



A pig pendant carved from obsidian by Carl Fabergé. St. Petersburg, c.1905. £33,000



An 'Apple of my Eye' ring set with diamonds and centred with red jasper. £6,000



A sapphire and diamond propeller plane stick pin. French, c.1925. £6,000



A diamond-set pelican brooch. English, c.1920. £4,800



A pair of platinum and diamond set cufflinks by Chaumet. Paris, c.1925. £14,400

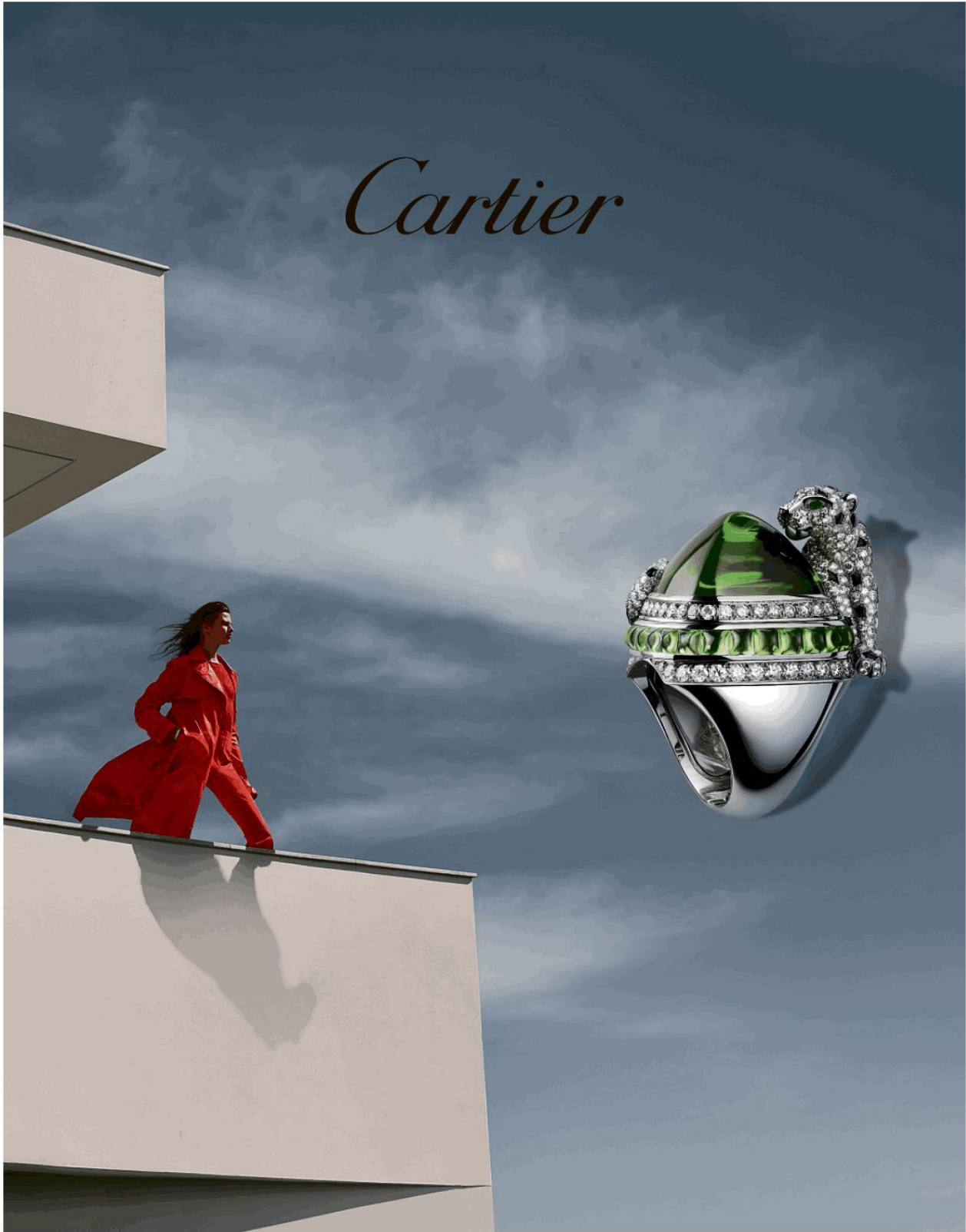
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All shown life size



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