Commemoration Reframed

Pages of the Sea: UK Case Study

Emma Hanna

Introduction

To mark the centenary of the signing of the armistice on 11 November, an 'informal nationwide gesture of remembrance' titled *Pages of the Sea* took place on 32 beaches around the United Kingdom. The design of the event was led by the film director Danny Boyle. It was part of the UK's official arts programme, 14-18 NOW, to mark the centenary of the First World War. A large-scale portrait of a casualty from the war was drawn into the sand at low tide at each location and washed away as the tide came in. Members of the public joined in by creating silhouettes of people in the sand, and in doing so it was intended that they would be remembering the millions of lives lost or affected by the conflict. This chapter will examine the impact of *Pages by the Sea* in the context of the wider work of the arts organization 14-18 NOW. It will explain how, despite earlier anxieties about 'triumphalism' and militaristic overtones in the pre-centenary period, the most impactful public commemorative events were not the state-led official ceremonies, or informed by leading historians, but those that re-framed commemorative practice by producing artistic works like *Pages of the Sea* to create a new form of performative public remembrance ritual. This chapter will draw on my own experiences of the event before, during and after, and of the people with whom I interacted on the day.

In British modern memory the Great War of 1914-18 has been widely accepted as a symbol for tragedy and suffering. This has had a profound effect on the ways in which the First World War has been remembered, and particularly since the 1960s, Britain's wartime experiences have been distilled into the written works of a handful of poets who served in the conflict such as Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon. Nevertheless, Britain's memory of the conflict has always been contentious and at times highly politicized. During the centenary period elements of the war were re-represented and re-remembered in a multiplicity of ways. In October 2012, Prime Minister David Cameron announced that a large amount of government money would be put towards the commemoration of the centenary of the Great War. Standing in the Imperial War Museum, London, in front of the Paul

Nash painting *The Menin Road* (1919), he said that 'for us today to fail to recognise the huge national and international significance of […] the First World War would be, frankly, a monumental mistake.' He stated that there is 'something about the First World War that makes it a fundamental part of our national consciousness. Put simply, this matters not just in our heads, but in our hearts; it has a very strong emotional connection. I feel it very deeply.' He underlined that the government's 'ambition' was 'a truly national commemoration, worth of this historic centenary.' Cameron said that he wanted 'a commemoration that captures our national spirit, in every corner of the country, from our schools to our workplaces, to our town halls and local communities. A commemoration that, like the Diamond Jubilee celebrated this year, says something about who we are as a people.' (Wintour, P. (2012), 'David Cameron Announces £50 million fund for First World War Commemorations', *The Guardian,* 11 October (available online: http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2012/oct/11/david-cameron-fund-world-war-one-commemorations (Accessed 23/01/2020)

Cameron was criticised for equating the centenary of the Great War with a national celebration. In March 2013, the House of Lords debated the centenary plans, saying that the war was 'divisive then and it is divisive now', and warned against triumphalism, underlining that the focus of the government's intentions to mark the centenary was on commemoration not celebration. Labour's culture spokesperson, Baroness Jones of Whitchurch, told peers that the centenary was 'about something much darker. We need to find a way to shine a light on the human judgments and failings without taking anything away from the bravery and the sacrifice of the million or more Britons that died.' (No author (2013),'Peers Look Ahead to WW1 Centenary Plans', Democracy Live, BBC News, 4 March, available online: http://www.bbc.co.uk/democracylive/house-of-lords-21661177 (accessed 23/01/2020) It was in this vein that anti-war activists and pacifists challenged the narrative of the official programme marking the centenary of the First World War. The 'No Glory' campaign was backed by a number of high-profile supporters, such as the actors Jude Law and Alan Rickman, the musician Billy Bragg, the poet laureate Carol Ann Duffy and the artist Anthony Gormley. The campaign's supporters reacted against the government's plans to spend so much public money on the centenary, and objected that Prime Minister Cameron had inappropriately compared it to the Diamond Jubilee 'celebrations'. They found that because 'they will be run at least in part by former generals and ex-defence secretaries reveals just how misconceived these plans are.' The No Glory campaign underlined that 'in a time of international tension we call on everyone […] to join with us to ensure that this anniversary is used to promote peace and international co-operation.' (Open

Letter, 'No Glory' campaign website, availbale online: http://noglory.org/index.php/open-letter/no-glory-in-war-open-letter (accessed 24/09/14)

However, despite the part-military membership of the government's centenary committee in the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, only a handful of the principal British commemorations displayed what might be interpreted in any way 'militaristic'. The official British ceremonies to mark one hundred years since the start of the Battle of the Somme on 1 July 2016, and the Battle of Passchendaele in August 2017, for example, featured elements of traditional state-led remembrance rituals with the involvement of political, religious and military leaders. The majority of commemorative events, however, were predominantly artistic and performative. This was largely due to the work of 14-18 NOW, a five-year programme of arts experiences which sought 'to connect people with the First World War.' To do this 14-18 NOW commissioned new artworks from leading contemporary artists, musicians, designers and performers, whose work was inspired by the conflict. Over the course of the centenary period, the organisation commissioned over 325 artworks which were seen by more than 30 million people. They stated that 'the transformative power of the arts' brought the stories of the First World War to life, and that 'today's artists are opening up new perspectives on the present as well as the past.' (14-18 NOW website, n.d.)

Funded by the National Lottery through the Heritage Lottery Fund and Arts Council England, and by the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, 14-18 NOW also relied on additional funds that came from a range of sources including public funding, trusts and foundations, individuals and corporate supporters. This money was used to commission 'extraordinary new arts experiences.' The organisation worked with 213 artists from 35 countries, and projects took place in 160 locations across the UK. On 4 August 1914, 16.7 million people took part in *Lights Out,* a suggestion that householders turn off their lights between 10pm and 11pm on 4 August 2014 – leaving only a single light or candle for a symbolic act of reflection and hope to mark one hundred years since the British declaration of war. The ceramicist Paul Cummins' *Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red* – the installation of 888,236 ceramic poppies, one for each British casualty, was planted in the Tower of London's moat and seen by over 3.5 million people. To commemorate the first day of the Battle of the Somme in July 2016, Jeremy Deller's *We're here because we're here* was noticed by 63% of the British population. The programme of events set a new benchmark for the arts and heritage sectors in commemorating national moments both in the UK and internationally. By re-framing the

commemorative act, 14-18 NOW have asserted that their projects 'presented heritage on an individual, human scale and enabled artists, participants and audiences to connect emotionally and intellectually with the First World War; prompting people to be more curious about those who lived during it and inspiring them to find out more.' (14-18 NOW website, n.d.)

Pages of the Sea

Pages of the Sea was 14-18 NOW's national commemoration for Armistice Day, taking place on Sunday 11 November 2018. Members of the public were invited to assemble at thirty-two beaches where at each location a large-scale portrait of a local casualty from the Great War would be drawn into the sand during the morning's low tide. As the sand portraits of individuals who served in the Great War were washed away by the incoming tide, a poem *A Wound in Time* by the Poet Laureate Carol Ann Duffy, was read. Specially commissioned for the event, the poem ended with the lines:

> History might as well be water, chastising this shore;
> For we learn nothing from your endless sacrifice.
> Your faces drowning in the pages of the sea.
> (Duffy, C. (2019), https://www.pagesofthesea.org.uk/(accessed 4 June)

The plans for *Pages of the Sea* were kept secret until just before Armistice Day. This gave members of the public notice to locate their nearest event and to contemplate taking part in creating their own commemorative portraits in the sand. The main event took place in the port town of Folkestone in Kent. Owing to his writing of swimming in the sea before his death in action on the Western Front, the portrait of the war-poet Wilfred Owen was created on 'Sunny Sands' beach. Boyle chose this location because it was once a principal port during the Great War, a place through which the majority of servicemen who served on the Western Front would have passed. Many of the wounded were brought back through Folkestone, thousands of Belgian refugees disembarked there, and the town provided a number of services to the British armed forces; for example, the HQ of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps was located in the Metropole Hotel. Folkestone was also the scene of one of the deadliest bombing raids in which civilians were lost, when over 90 men, women and children were killed – and many more injured - on 25 May 1917. Boyle created the event as an 'informal nationwide gesture of remembrance'. The public were asked to join in by creating smaller

silhouettes of people in the sand, remembering the millions of lives lost or changed forever by the conflict. Boyle felt that beaches were the perfect places for a memorial because they are 'truly public spaces, where nobody rules other than the tide.' It was this sense of shared ownership that he believed beaches were 'the perfect place to gather and say a final goodbye and thank you to those whose lives were taken or forever changed by the First World War.' Boyle highlighted that he was 'inviting people to watch as the faces of the fallen are etched in the sand, and for communities to come together to remember the sacrifices that were made.'

Boyle contacted the company Sand in Your Eye just seven weeks before Armistice Day. The lead artist Jamie Wardley said that he knew that *Pages of the Sea* was going to be 'one of the most complicated and ambitious projects we have ever embarked upon.' With six weeks to go Wardley 'met the whole team in Folkstone for a test run and got Danny raking in the sand.' He highlighted that while 'Folkstone is a lovely seaside town' he found that 'its history is chilling. Hundreds of thousands of people departed for the front from here. There is a railway like pier that they call the canteen and this is where soldiers would get their last cup of tea before departing and for many never to return.' Wardley recalled that it quickly became evident that 'there were a mountain of challenges facing us. Firstly we obviously could not be in 28 locations all at once to draw in the sand. This meant that we would have to train teams who had never made sand drawings or worked on a beach before to be able to make a 30 metre drawing to a professional standard. Furthermore, the tide times across the UK are totally different which means that some of these teams would have to start in the dark. In November the days are short and cold, the beaches do not drain so well, and on top of that each beach is unique and has its own challenges and unique logistics.' (Wardley, J. (2019), https://www.sandinyoureye.co.uk/pages-of-the-sea (accessed 7 June)

Wardley and his team trained forty individuals in how to draw in the sand, and then they taught a further team to create twenty-eight teams with over 160 people to draw in the sand on 11 November. They then designed the images for each location. Wardley underlined that the portraits 'were chosen by Danny and the Now14-18 team [*sic.*] as a representation of the people of the UK as well as local connections.' He found that 'It was haunting how some of the faces that we drew looked just like young boys and learning about each person's life and history. Young lives cut short before their time.' They also made 800 stencils that were to be distributed to each site 'for the public to use to make life sized silhouettes of service people on the beach so that they could connect

with people of the past and be part of the art work.' By 10 November the teams had their equipment, and they had practiced on their beaches. (Wardley, J. (2019), https://www.sandinyoureye.co.uk/pages-of-the-sea (accessed 7 June)

Folkestone, 11 November 2018

Armistice Day arrived in a storm of wind of rain. When my 3am alarm went off I peered into darkness and felt that nothing but the events of this morning would have got me out of the house in such conditions. I had promised to meet the BBC Five Live crew on the beach. As I made the short drive to Folkestone I listened to BBC Radio 4 giving a minute by minute account of the war's final hours. The tragedy and the drama of those hours never fail to move me. It heightened my feeling that it was important to engage with this assignment, and to participate in this act of remembrance. I was however anxious that my own voice would be on national radio very soon. I arrived in Folkestone harbour at 4am. It was pitch black, and I was glad that I knew the area well, being a place I normally visit for seaside walks and lunches with my family. I wondered what would have been happening there exactly 100 years ago. I had a sense of being close to history and the sense of space and place. I was glad I had brought a flask of hot coffee.

Wearing five layers of clothing and waterproofs I made my way in the dark to the beach to meet the BBC radio crew. Their outside broadcast vans provided the only light. The producer seemed very glad I had made it in good time and had not thought better of coming as they were already wet and cold. The artists from 'Sand in Your Eye' were already at work, having arrived at 3am. Their headlamps could be seen bobbing about in the dark. The portrait of Wilfred Owen began to be mapped out by Wardley and his team wearing high-visibility vests who worked to create largescale squares with pegs and string, guided by surveying equipment and small ground-level lights in red and green which gave the impression of an airport runway. Some members of the British media had already arrived, and more outside broadcast vans were being parked along the promenade. I could see the sound engineers through the windows, their faces lit up by the lights of their equipment and mixing desks. The BBC Radio 5 Live 'Sunday Breakfast' presenter Chris Warburton was on the sand with his portable radio equipment and an iPad on which he had his notes and was in frequent discussion with his two producers and the outside broadcast team. Given my expertise on the history and memory of the First World War I had been asked to advise the team in the weeks

leading up to the event and I was to be interviewed live on air three times as the portrait was being created. This meant that I was both an observer of the event and a participant who was being asked to add context to this most unusual act of remembrance. Despite the 40 mph winds and the heavy rain, the sand artists were focused on their task. Jamie Wardley recalled that they were 'each alone drawing our lines and with our own thoughts.' By 6am the rain had eased off. As the sun began to rise the rain had stopped and the wind had calmed. A beautiful sunrise appeared directly in front of the beach, over the French coast which was by now clearly visible. When I pointed this out to the BBC presenter, who was from Manchester, he was amazed that we could really see France. This felt particularly poignant on that morning. I noticed that we were no longer just a small scattering of people on the beach: by 7am thousands of people had emerged and there was now a thin outline of Wilfred Owen's face on the sand.

[Insert photograph of BBC Radio host watching sand artists on beach]

Barry Gibson, BBC Radio5 Live producer was in charge of the outside broadcast at Folkestone, from 6am to 9am. He described how it was crucial for them to 'be in a place where there would be people to talk to.' As the *Pages of the Sea* events got underway early, this allowed them 'to talk live to the organisers and members of the public.' Gibson stated that of the many *Pages of the Sea* locations, they chose Folkestone 'because of its strong First World War connections.' He underlined that 'Everyone in Folkestone […] was helpful beforehand and I was confident that we had enough of a structure in place.' As the morning progressed, Gibson and his team said they were 'pleasantly surprised at the size of the turnout despite the bad weather.' However, the sand portrait was difficult to see taking shape: he said that 'from our vantage point just above the sand it seemed that the artwork wasn't coming together, but it looked much better from a higher position.' By 9am the 14-18 NOW team had arrived, along with several television camera crews, and a drone was being flown above the beach to help film the progress of the portrait. There was a sense of relief that the event seemed to be progressing as planned, and that people were coming to observe and participate. I was worried that some local people might try and access their space as normal. There were no barriers to prevent the general public getting to the beach, but people refrained from going down on to the sands while the artists were working. While I was still not entirely sure about some elements of *Pages of the Sea* I was relieved that this event about remembrance appeared to be afforded a level of reverence and respect.

As a larger crowd gathered, it could be observed that several people were wearing their forebears' war medals, and others had brought wartime photographs of their relatives. One of these individuals was interviewed by Warburton live on air. The gentleman had brought with him a photograph of his grandfather, about whom he had very little information but was eager to know more. He had come to the event because he 'got a flyer through the front door but I knew it was happening because I happen to work for the Arts Council England and I am across a lot of cultural events like this.' The man was a Folkestone resident, but he felt 'the biggest issue was getting up so early and braving the dreadful weather. I spoke to a guy who had travelled up from Wales just to be there though so obviously it had pulling power.' The fact that so many people had come out to observe the event in such bad weather conditions added weight to the feeling that people were being drawn to participate through a sense of obligation and respect for the day and all that it means. In Britain, whether or not you have a personal connection to the conflict of 1914-18, remembrance rituals are generally unquestioned.

The light and relative warmth of the sunrise over France was soon ended by the arrival of dark clouds that brought curtains of heavy rain and strong gusts of wind. Despite my waterproof clothing I was soaked to the skin and extremely cold, and many people were shivering. Sheltering under BBC umbrellas, a group of children were interviewed live on air by the BBC Five Live team about their impressions of the event, and of what they knew about the Great War in general. Producer Barry Gibson noted that one of their main aims was 'to increase knowledge of Folkestone's role in the First World War' but that 'the children we spoke to seemed to have been learning about this in school' and appeared relatively well informed. However, many interviews were cut short by 'a number of technical issues which made the OB more stressful than it should have been.' Driving wind and heavy rain coupled with a low temperature meant that many people went to find shelter as we watched the sea being driven back on to the beach and threatening to wash away the sand portrait before it was even halfway done. I began to wonder if the whole thing was going to be ruined, and that I would not see the finished portrait. I was anxious that I had to leave for my next Armistice Day booking at a local church and I felt like I was deserting *Pages of the Sea* just as it was being beaten by the conditions. This was disheartening. Jamie Wardley recalled that

> It rained so much that the beach flooded, and the surface water ran to the sea. When sand gets hyper saturated the marks that you make on it dissolve. This is a bit like when you walk on wet sand and your footprints disappear behind you. We stood there as our drawing that we had painstakingly been making since 3am vanished in a few seconds before our very eyes as thousands of people looked on. We stood agog looking down on the sand for any trace. Luckily, there remained the faintest of lines, so faint that if I had not drawn it I would not have believed they were there. But there was Wilfred Owens eye. Rapidly we raked the image back in. The rain abated, only for another storm to come in and erase the image once more, no sooner had we redrawn everything when it happened again for a third time! (Wardley, J. (2019), https://www.sandinyoureye.co.uk/pages-of-the-sea (accessed 7 June)

The weather conditions also made interviewing people - on air or otherwise - rather challenging. At least one of my four interview segments were cut short. Some people were however determined to brave the weather as an act of remembrance in itself. Nevertheless, the purpose of the event appeared to remain at the forefront of observers' minds. When asked what he thought about the concept of *Pages of the Sea* one male observer replied that 'I thought it worked very well. It was very simple and small, and initially I thought it was too simple. But actually, the simplicity worked really well.' Asked how he felt during the event he replied that 'I thought it was moving - especially when the 11.00 silence arrived. The busy crowd fell silent and the only sound was the sea.' He described the atmosphere as that 'there was a very interesting energy about it all, everyone listening to the sea. In fact, the minute's silence lasted for at least ten minutes, people seemed completely absorbed in the moment and reluctant to let it go - quite remarkable.' He felt that as Folkestone has a close connection to the Great War 'the place played a part in the impact.'

Wardley and his team of sand artists experienced this in a similar way. He recalled that after 9am when people gathered on the beach to read the poem by Carol Ann Duffy,

> members of the public rushed down onto the beach to take part and make their own tribute by etching figures of soldiers, munitions workers and nurses in the sand using templates provided by our team and everyone gathered for reflection. Although there were thousands

> of people looking over the sea it was only the quiet chatter of contemplation rolling over the waves that you heard. People were connecting with the people of the past and each other to remember and learn. The 11th hour of the 11th day came and there was absolute silence as at that moment the flooding tide passed over the face of Wilfred Owen, to erase what had been a giant image from the beach, never to return. (Wardley, J. (2019), https://www.sandinyoureye.co.uk/pages-of-the-sea (accessed 7 June)

The BBC Radio Five Live team were generally satisfied that they had covered the event as well as they could have done in the circumstances. The producer said that the 'weather and technical problems were a pain but generally we were happy – lots of different voices on-air and stories most people won't have been aware of – like Walter Tull' whose portrait was etched into the sands on a beach in Scotland. Gibson later stated that 'our editor was happy with how it went.' (Interview with author, 12 November 2018)

[Insert photo of beach portrait taken from above]

Pages of the Sea appeared to have had a marked impact on those who observed the event at Folkestone. As well as encouraging discussion between people during the process, one male who attended said that he had got into conversation about it 'with several people who I know locally - they also felt it had been very moving and a good mix of the fun (which was the sand drawing) and the commemoration.' He also noted that 'there were some people from Brighton that I spoke to as well. We all ended up in a cafe on Tontine Street and discussed what our grandfathers had done during the war.' However, it was not generally observed that the event had any impact on the way people thought about the Great War. One observer said he still thought the conflict was 'a miserable mess made by politicians in which millions of ordinary men and women had to suffer.' He believed that 'this was why ordinary "modern" people were so keen to commemorate it, to remember their grandparents and their great grandparents who had been swallowed by a misery they had no control over.' He went on to say that 'no doubt in the future, as memories fade, we will look back on it in a more detached, historical context in much the same way I imagine that people of 1914-18 did on the

Napoleonic Wars, which were 100 years behind them. But I was struck by one thing - unlike the Napoleonic Wars we have photographic and film images of how ghastly it was.'

Those who attended the *Pages of the Sea* event were also quick to contextualise the act of commemoration with reference to other cultural outputs which were released at the same time. One was Peter Jackson's film *They Shall Not Grow Old* which was screened by the BBC on the evening of 11 November. The film was described by someone who also witnessed *Pages of the Sea* as 'one of the most remarkable things I have seen on TV - what really works in that film is that the young men look and behave exactly like we do now.' Overall he had 'no great interest in military memorials and parades but I thought the whole 14-18 cultural project worked extremely well in finding a human connection across the century. I would say the same about the *We're Here Because We're Here* event that Jeremy Deller directed again presenting "ordinary lads" in uniform.' The wider context of emotion around the centenary of Armistice Day was well summed up by Jamie Wardley after his experiences of working on the project:

> This was not the war to end all wars as it was unfortunately followed by others. […] I am in my late 30's and cannot conceive of Britain going to war with another European county. It seems evident that if we engage with other nations politically and socially in relationships then the conditions for war are much lessened. […] What concerns me is that we are now in an age of emerging nationalism where countries are seeking to become more isolated. With isolation there is room for jealousy, misunderstandings, relentless greed and ultimately hostility. The conditions for war become more fertile. Let's hope that we can learn from the pages of the sea. (Wardley, J. (2019), https://www.sandinyoureye.co.uk/pages-of-the-sea (accessed 7 June)

It was intended that *Pages of the Sea* would leave no physical trace at each of the beach locations. The lead sand artists commented that their drawings 'only last for the time of the tides. The beach is a beautiful place and we cannot improve it. Our drawings only visit it as we do this earth. We try and live the best lives we can until it is our time. Life is precious and for some so short.' (Wardley, J.

(2019), https://www.sandinyoureye.co.uk/pages-of-the-sea (accessed 7 June) The legacy of the project is now a digital archive of photographs and time-lapse footage, mostly shot by remote controlled drones, which are housed on the 14-18 NOW website. The organization has also created an online learning resource for children in primary schools. The *Pages of the Sea* Twitter feed was also filled with images taken by members of the public, where the hashtag #PagesOfTheSea was trending for some time over the Remembrance week period. On Armistice Day itself the project's Twitter account urged people to 'join Danny Boyle and thousands of others to say thank you and goodbye to the millions who left their shores. Be part of this unique moment, as communities gather on beaches to mark 100 years since Armistice and the end of the First World War.' This 'unique moment' was seen by the majority to be 'breathtaking' and 'beautiful.' (14-18NOW, n.d.)

Conclusions

I left the beach while the weather was raging, and the artists were battling to save and repair their portrait of Wilfred Owen. I was cold and wet. I listened as I drove home to the radio news reporting that *Pages of the Sea* was taking place in 31 other UK locations and hoped that they were having better weather. I was glad that people were taking an active interest in Armistice Day, but I had mixed feelings about the ending of the centenary. I finally admitted to myself that I dislike 11 November. As a professional historian specializing in the history and memory of the two world wars, virtually every day is Remembrance Day. All our work is about death, injury, conflict and loss, grief, pain and adversity. In the period leading up to Armistice Day, so many public engagement events and media attention adopt war and remembrance as a seasonal theme. This heightened but temporary concentration on the war is exhausting and frustrating when so little consideration is given to the wartime generations for 51 weeks of the year. In the autumn of 2018, it was especially disheartening. It became clear that our efforts to increase the British public's knowledge of the conflict of 1914-18 had not made a significant impact. As historians we had hoped that the centenary would provide opportunities to enrich the public's understanding of the wider complexities of the history and memory of the First World War. So many of us have worked to explain that Britain's experience of the First World War cannot be distilled into the voices of just a handful of poets. Yet despite wanting to commemorate the experiences and sacrifices of millions of people during and after the conflict of 1914-18, after four years of centenary activities, I stood at Folkestone at 4am in the rain and watched as the face of Wilfred Owen was drawn into the sand, to be washed away by the sea as a poem was read which said that nothing mattered anyway. I considered that *Pages of the Sea* had

achieved its objective in showing that humans are ultimately powerless against both time and tide, and that First World War historians had been just as ineffective getting past the poets. I wondered rather ruefully what the wartime generations would have made of this, and of us taking part in this spectacle.

There were few public criticisms of the event. Some members of the military history establishment had already accepted that at the beginning of the centenary artistic outputs would be seen by many more people than the number who would read their published works. (Sheffield, G. (2014), 'The Centenary of the First World War: An Unpopular View', The Historical Association available online: https://www.history.org.uk/student/resource/7590/the-centenary-of-the-first-world-war-an-unpopular (accessed 2 December 2019) It was an entirely accurate prediction. The artistic works organized and funded by 14-18 NOW have over the course of the centenary such a marked impact on the British public it would have been futile to have voiced dissent. In Britain, 11 November remains a sacred day for honouring and remembering our war dead. The thousands of people who attended the 32 locations of *Pages of the Sea,* as well as the British media, perceived this and other performative events as part of the nation's mourning rituals. Events such as *Pages of the Sea* have shown that in Britain, commemoration has not changed, but it has been re-framed.