DIFFICULT economic times stimulated further waves of emigration to both America and the dominions and this was allied to an outward-looking ethos at home. Expatriates often settled in the same localities, like all emigrants, and retained links with the homeland through Welsh societies and periodicals. As well as holding their own eisteddfodau, many participated in events in Wales.

In 1926 the Shanghai Welsh Society sponsored the chair for the National held in Swansea. It was made in teak by Chinese craftsmen and was dismantled for safe transport and re-assembled on arrival (167). The victor was Gwenallt (David James Jones), who won again at Bangor in 1931. The son of a tinplate worker in the Swansea Valley, he became a lecturer and poet of national significance.

Efforts to improve the splendour of the proceedings continued. In 1918 a Spanish visitor at Neath observed in *The Welsh Outlook* that ‘Here is Church pageantry in the Park. For what is the Archdruid but a Pope; what are the Druids but his Cardinals, and what is the Gorsedd but a High Mass?’ He had been unimpressed by the costumes and ceremony. However, the Swansea proclamation ceremony and procession of 1925 was apparently more dignified. It featured the Herald Bard on horseback and columns of Gorsedd members in attire designed by ‘Mam o Nedd’ (Winifred Coombe Tennant), the Mistress of the Robes, who marched in front of the banner. She was part of the Liberal establishment and very attracted to Roman Catholic rites, recalling in an essay that ‘I had watched the great religious and civic ceremonies in Italy, France and Spain. I knew how moving pageantry which expressed a tradition and a spiritual ideal could be.’