Luo Xianglin opened his book on <u>The Origin of Hakka Migrations</u> by noting the paper presented by George Campbell. The following is a translation from Chinese into English his remarks:

I remembered the first year of the Republic, that would be 1912, the English Presbyterians and American Baptists, met for a religious conference in Shantou, an English minister name George Campbell, because he had being conducting for many years, evangelism in a place whether there were many Hakka Chinese, he was able to verify what he saw and what he heard. He writes:

Hakka people are more brave compared with the residents inside the city, filled with independent spirit, and love for freedom ... when the Manchurians invaded China, the Hakkas were the last to surrender. Also they organized insurrections against the new regime. The first being the Taiping rebellion, and the second being the more recent revolution.

Luo Xianglin also made reference to the Yale graduate Ellsworth Hungtington's work <u>The Character of Race</u> which suggested that the history of Hakka is worthy of serious investigation. (Luo)

George Campbell published his report in an eleven-page phamphet entitled "Origin and Migration of the Hakkas." The narratives indicated the foresight of British missionaries, who understood Hakka history and their current conditions.

"Origin and Migrations of the Hakkas"

by George Campbell, of Kia-ying Chow, China Prepared by request to be read at a joint meeting of the English Presbyterian and American Baptist Missions held at Swatow in the Spring of 1912

(Transcription by Dr. Bayer Jack-Wah Lee from An eleven-page unnumbered phamphlet in Rare Document Collection, Burke Library, Columbia University, Fall 1995)

George Campbell opens with the following remarks:

The Hakkas are distinguished from other Chinese by their speech and some of their customs. Generally speaking, they inhabit the mountainous portions of the Provinces of Kwantung, Kwangsi, Kiangsi and Fuhkien (1912). Physically, they do not different noticeably from the Cantonese or the Hoklos.

Their custom of daily bathing makes them more cleanly in person, however, than most Chinese. Foot binding is unknown among them. The women are usually strong and erect, on account of the outdoor life their lead, made possible by their unbound feet. Excessive toil, begun too early, may account in part for their being undersized.

The mountain valleys, though less rich than the alluvial plains seldom suffer from drought. Those who till them also have abundant pasturage for their cattle and goats. The wild boars may eat their sweet potatoes, the foxes catch their fowls, and the

tigers get their calves and pigs occasionally, but if they can shoot a deer, now and then, or trap a tiger, things even up pretty well.

Fuel costs them nothing but labor, and they find a ready sale for their charcoal and fagots whenever they take them to market. It is a small stream that will not float their rafts of bamboo to market. It is a small stream that will not float their rafts and logs to the cities. More fearless and self-reliant than the town dwellers, they have all the love of liberty which characterizes mountaineers the world over. From the mountains of Hunan they followed the banner of Wang Chau into Fuhkien, drove the savages out of the hills and valleys of Ning-hua and made their own homes there. Later they found the Mongols, as long as the Sung forces kept the field. They filled the ranks of Hung-wu's armies, until the Mings were triumphant. They were among the last to surrender to the Manchus, and strove twice to throw off their yoke - first under the Taiping chief, and again in the recent revolution.

It is difficult to estimate the number of Hakkas. In Broomhall's recent work, entitled, "The Chinese Empire," it is stated that fifteen millions of Chinese speak the Hakka dialect. It is comparatively easy to delineate the region occupied by them in Kwangtung, but Kiangsi the "t'u t'an," which we readily identify with the Hakka at first, becomes less intelligible then the Mandarin, as we go northward, so we are at a lost how to classify the people linguistically.

Current misconceptions about the Hakkas abundantly justify an inquiry into the origin of these people. Many who speak with authority on Chinese subjects have made absurd mistake about their numerous, intelligent, and enterprising race. Boulger speaks of them as "a degraded race," whose numbers were held not to be eligible to compete in the literary examinations.

Wells Williams says: "Parties of tramps, called hakka, or 'guests,' roam over Kwantung province, squatting on vacant places along the shore, away from the villages, and forming small clannish communities; as soon as they increase, occupying more and more of the land, they begin to commit petty depredations upon the crops of the inhabitants, and demand money for the privileges of burying the unoccupied land around them." If we go for the information to the "Enclyopedia of Missions," we learn that Hakkas are a peculiar race or tribe, inhabiting the mountains near Canton and Swatow, who are of a lower social rank than the native Chinese. Their language is written with the Chinese characters.

The traditional antipathy of the Cantonese for the Hakkas has something to do with this widespread impression that Hakkas are a Mongrel race more civilized than the aboriginal but hardly entitled rank with the Chinese. These writers, who speak, who speak so slightly of Hakkas, probably got their information from Cantonese teachers and not from personal knowledge of the people in question.

Where whole districts are peopled by Hakkas, as in the prefecture of Kai-ying we find communities maintaining quite as high a level of education and culture as can be found in the province. It would not be easy to find an inland district where the people are as well housed as they are in Mei-chau (Kia-ying).

The manufacturers of Hing-ning enable it to support a denser population than other Hakka districts, but even in Mei-chau the average number of inhabitant to out at 333. The artisans of Hing-ning are as skillful as any in China. Being strictly an inland people they have developed such great merchants as are found

in Canton, Swatow, or Amoy, but there is no reason to think that they lack business capacity. The railroad between Chau-chau fu and Swatow was built by Hakka contractors, and is now owned and largely manned by Hakkas. The military genius of the race was not exhausted when it furnished the leaders of the Tai-ping rebellion. The political aptitude of the area of the Hakkas is unquestioned; they take to politic as naturally as do the Irish in America.

The Hakka themselves take much interest in establishing their descent from purely Chinese ancestors. About six years ago attempt was made by a Cantonese writer to put on them the stigma of mongrel descent. The attack really involved the Hoklos as much as the Hakkas, but did not appear to arouse the same resentment on the part of the former.

The author of a school history of Kwantung, one of a series textbooks authorized by the provincial authorities on education, affirmed that the Hakkas and Hoklos were not of Chinese stock, being quite distinct from the Cantonese, and generally believed, by those best informed, to be descended from the aboriginal tribes of Fuhkien. This attack was made more plausible by the character used for Hoklo, viz, the first syllable of Fuhkien, and that for Laos, thus conveying the meaning Loas from Fuhkien.

A circular was sent out by some Mei-chau scholars, containing an answered to the calumnious statement in the school history and also a call to all interested to attend a meeting in the Yamen to concert measures to secure its excision. The ground traversed in this answer is about the same as that taken by other Hakka champions of the pure Chinese origin of their race.

A unique etymology is given, however, for the term "Hoklo" which is of interest. The progenitors of Hoklos, it is stated, came from Kwangchaufu in Honan, and settled in Changchow, Tshanchu, Hing-hwa, and other cities. They were called by the native Yau tribes "Ho-lau," meaning - "People from Honan." Hakkas have corrupted this to "Hok-lau."

This etymology makes the term an argument for Chinese origin instead of implying descent from the Loas. Scholars, it is further stated, who have investigated this matter superficially have given "Hok" as the "Hok" as Hoklo pronunciation of the first syllable of Fuhkien and explain the expression as meaning simply - "people from Fuhkien."

Spring 1906, 10th day of the Third Moon; the called meeting was held. Mr. Yong, editor of a Swatow daily, was chairman. After due discussion, a "Society for Investigating the Origin of the Hakka People" was formed. A printed prospectus was issued, providing for the cooperation of every surname in the roster of Meichau clans. Each of the thirty-six townships into which the county is divided was to have a special committee to secure materials for the memorial to be prepared. The provincial

Collection of these facts before taking action. The offending statement was cut out, the investigation lagged, and its results were not published as intended. The affair reveals the jealous pride of the Hakkas in their racial purity and show, incidentally, that the race consciousness is strongest in Mei-chau. Other Hakkas doubtless felt the slight, but indignation flamed highest in Meichau, and her people felt that the race looked to them for vindication from calumny.

In tracing the stream of Hakkas immigration to its source, we tread a well-worn path. Lim T'ai-p'uk, of T'ai-pu, has written a book on the subject which I have not seen, but his conclusions

are embodied in the official history of Kia-ying by the late Wen Chung-ho, a Hanlin, and the foremost scholar of his generation in this par tof the province. This work was completed in 1898.

The late Huang Kung-tu, minister-elect to Germany, and afterward to Japan, author of the "History of Japan" so popular in China, intended to write a book on the subject, and had collected much material for it at the time of his death. His son loaned me a copy of the family register of the Hwang family, containing in the preface his account of the migration of the race.

This preface is dated 1902. Yang Kiung-fan has written a book to show that the Hakka colloquial is the old speech of Honan. It was published in 1905. Nine out of ten of the Hakkas of Eastern Kwangtung will tell you that their ancestors came from the county of Ning-hwa, and the township of Shak-piak, in Ting-chau-fu, Fuhkien.

It is easy to find out, in the case of each clan, the time when the first ancestor left Ning-hwa and made his home in Kwangtung, for the family register begins with his name. The movement began and ended in the fourteenth century. The Hakkas came to Mei-chau from five to six hundred years ago. Some clans came from other parts of Kwangtung, e.g. the Lu clan came from Chao-chau-fu, the Lim from Tai-pu, the Tshi from Poklo.

When we have traced the Hakkas to Ning-hwa, our task is but just begun. Where did they live before they went to Ning-hwa? How did they happen to go? The family traditions, and the record of such families as can trace their lineage beyond Ning-hwa, indicate that they came originally from Honan, the cradle of the Chinese civilization. Each family has one or more "t'hong" names, handed down from the immemorial.

In most cases these are of places in Honan. E.g. the T'ong or hall names of the Liong clan are An-ting and Si-ho; of the Yap and Chang clans Nan-yang; of the Lim Yin-chon. Another argument for the Honan origin is drawn from the similarity of the marriage and burial customs. It is also stated that Hakkas who have visited Honan, say that the language of Kwang chau fu is like that of Mei-chau, and that of Kwang-shan hien is practically identical with in.

There appear to have been two periods of migration, one early in the fourth century, and one late in the ninth. The Emperor of the Tsin dynasty, Hwai Ti, was captured by the Hun leader, Liu-yen, and compelled to wait on him in a menial capacity, until it suited his fancy to put him to death. Strange to say, his successor, Ning Ti, was also captured by Liu-yen, and compelled to wait on him at the table, until he tired of seeing him around, and put him out of the way.

These insults and humiliations seem to have broken the spirit of the people. When the founder of the Eastern Tsin made Nanking his capital, many left their homes and took their families across "the Great River." This was to them a very serious step, comparable to the crossing of the Atlantic by the Pilgrim Fathers. So, in the time of the Sungs, it is plain that they regarded the Great River as their principal barrier against the Mongols.

Some of these emigrants settled in Kiangsi. Others went to Chehkiang and on into Fuhkien. Those who went on to the seacoast and settled there were perhaps the progenitors of the Hoklos. The families who settled in Kiangsi probably drifted southward and their descendants may be those we call the Hakkas of Kiangsi. I have no data, however, for tracing their migrations. Kiangsi was then occupied by the Lau or Laos, a

branch of the Shan people whom "held the Chinese in check and were not dislodged from their seats before the tenth century, when they were driven into Hunan, Kwangsi and Kweichow."

At the close of the Tang dynasty the country was in the utmost disorder. Boulger says: "The picture drawn of China at this period is a very distressing one. The country desolate, the towns ruined, the capital reduce to ashes. Not a province that had not been visited by the horrors of civil war, not a fortified place which had not undergone a siege, and which might be esteemed fortunate if it had escaped a sack. With confusion in the administration, and the absence of all public spirit, it was not surprising that each governor should strive to make himself independent and to fight for his own hand."

In such a times as these it was that a butcher by the name of Wang Si, gathered together a band of five hundred brigands and made himself master of his native city. His force increasing, he took Kwangchau. A deputy of the hien magistrate, by the of Wang Chau, now joined him with his two brothers, all natives of the place and men of capacity and reputation. Three years later a force was sent against Wang Si by the government and he left Honan at the head of five thousand men with whom he crossed the river. It is not recorded what route he took, but he reached Fuhkien and took in succession the cities of Ting-chau-fu and Changchow, though he was not able to hold them.

On one of his expeditions he gave orders that no weak or infirm person should be taken along, as the way was dangerous and provisos scarce. In spite of this, Wang Chau and his brothers took their mother along. Wang Si called him to account in these words: "All soldiers have rules, there are no soldiers without rules. You have disobeyed my command. If I do not punish you, discipline is broken."

Wang Chau returned his answer: "All men have mothers, there are no men without mothers. How can a general require men to cast away their mothers?" Wang Si commanded that the mother be beheaded. Wang Chau replied: "We brothers serve our mother as we serve our general. Having slain their mother, how can you use the sons? Please let us die first." The captains and soldiers interceded for the Wang brothers and the matter was dropped. Later on, at Wang Chau's instigation, Wang Si was ambushed and bound hand and foot, while Chau was made commander in his stead.

Having been away from home for eight or nine months the men wanted to return. Perhaps they intended to present Wang Si as a peace offering, sparing him for this purpose. Wang Chau must have had visions of something higher than loot, for he strictly enjoined on his soldiers, or made it a condition of his leading them back, that they should make no depredations on the people on the route home. There is great difference between Wang Si, the butcher and brigand, who had outlaw himself and Wang Chau, the ex-official, who intended to secure a throne for himself. However, he got not farther than Sha hien (in Yenpingfu) on his way home. There he was overtaken by a deputation from Tshan-chu, who begged him to save him from the avarice and oppression of the ruler of that prefecture.

Chau led his men back to Tshan-chu, stormed it, and put the magistrate to death. The reports he heard of the power of the Governor of Foochow led him to send messengers offering allegiance to him. Thus he won the confidence and friendship of the Governor, who at once confirmed him in the sword, and left him free to consolidate his power. By his courage and wisdom

he restored confidence and brought the refugees back to their homes. He equalized the taxes, paid his soldiers, and made the people his willing subjects.

Eight years later, in the early summer of 893, the Governor died. When he felt his end approaching, he sent word to Wang Chau that he wished him to be his successor. However, someone else seized the power, proclaimed himself governor and sent a force against Wang Chau. As the result, Foochow was besieged for a whole year, by the brothers of Wang Chau, without success. Wang Chau finally sent word to them to this effect: "When the soldiers are gone, I'll send more soldiers, when the captains are used up, I'll send more captains, when both soldiers and captains are gone, I'll come myself." With this the besiegers redoubled exertions, the usurper was killed in attempting to escape, and Want Chau entered the city and proclaimed himself governor.

His first care was to perform the funeral rites of the late governor. He comforted the bereaved family, and gave his daughter in marriage to the son. Ting-chau-fu and Kien-chau promptly owned his authority. The bands of robbers were broken up, and Wang Chau was master of the great province of Fuhkien, with the exception of a district in the limits of what is now Ninghwa hien. There the remnants of the aboriginal tribes, known as the "Man," had their last stronghold called Vong-lien T'ung. It is simply recorded the attacked this and broke it up, and then there was peace throughout Fuhkien. Kang-hi's dictionary speaks of the five clans of "White" and five clans of "Black" Man. They were perhaps identical with the Yau, who lingered on in Mei-chau much later than this.

If so, they were of the Shan race, probably. It is a question of much interest whether he contented himself with scattering them, or sought to extirpate them. If the former, a military settlement or colony would be an effective way of securing the results of his conquest. In Mei-chau, at a later period than this, several such colonies were established to protect the people from the incursions of the savages. Fields were granted to them, on condition that they took up arms and repelled the savages whenever they made a raid.

Wang Chau was now confirmed in his office by Chau-tsung, next to the last emperor of the Tang dynasty. He devoted himself to the government of his kingdom, and sent commissioners to each prefecture and district encouraging the people to apply themselves to agriculture and sericulture, fixing the taxes, cultivating friendly relations with the neighboring provinces and attending to the defense of the frontiers. For five years he ruled Fuhkien, bring peace and prosperity where all had been disorder and misery. Seized with a mortal illness, he passed by his own son and named his brother Shim-chi as his successor. Previous to this, his brother had committed some grave fault for which Chau gave him a sound beating with a stick. He received this punishment without resentment and so showed him worthy of further employment in high office.

Wang Shim-chi faithfully carried out the traditions of his brother's reign. He dressed shabbily and allowed his own house to get out of repair, but his punishments were lenient and his taxes were light. Public and private affairs alike prospered and peace prevailed within the borders of Fuhkien. When Chautsung was murdered by Chu-vun it is likely that Shim-chi took an independent course. At all events, it was not until 909, two years after Chu-vun founded the Heu Liang dynasty, that he gave his

allegiance to the new emperor and was given the title "King of Fuhkien."

In the early part of Wang Chau's reign there was undoubtedly frequent communication between his followers and their relatives in Honan. Doubtless his armies were largely recruited in this way. The sufferings of the people in Honan, during the closing years of the Tang dynasty would dispose them to emigrate to the new kingdom, dominated by those of like blood and speech with themselves.

It was not until four hundred years the Hakkas emigrated from Ning-wha to Mei-chau. How is that they retained to such an extent the language and customs of Honan, when their follow emigrants soon blended with other elements to form the Fuhkienese of today?

We find that, at the time of Wang Chau's invasion, the district of Ninghwa was occupied by savages, in part at least. They may have taken the aggressive and harried the Chinese settlers within reach by their raids, for Wang Chau seemed to think it necessary for the peace and security of the country to break up their fortified stronghold and drive them away.

It may be that the Chinese coveted the lands they occupied. Whether the settlement was primarily a military colony or not, the lands taken from the savages would be regarded as public property and at the entire disposal of Wang Chau. He would thus have it in his power to reward the fidelity of his followers by grants of land. These lands, in the nature of the case would be all in a body.

The progress of settlement in America shows what happened in Fuhkien. The early settlements among the savages of North America were simply transplanted European communities, as the names suggest: New York, New England, etc. The physical conditions modified them, but the savages failed to impart their customs, or even to change the language of the strangers settled among them. It is difficult to find any trace of Indian blood, language, customs, or institutions in the America of today.

In Mexico, however, the Aztec civilization made a lasting impression on the invaders and the Mexico of today shows the result. The Honan emigrants who settled in Ning-hwa would reproduce the conditions of the homeland, with few modifications, and we should expect a new Honan, with the language, customs and culture of the most civilized portions of China. The savages they dispossessed would have no more effect on them than the Indians did on the European settlements of America. Those, however, who settled along the seacoast would be indistinguishable from those around them in a few generations, because, in their case, the civilization of the newcomers presented no such disparity when contrasted with that of the older settlers.

The historical parallel between the tide of immigration of all nations which pours into America yearly and is absorbed so as to leave hardly a trace to the succeeding generations, and the Honan emigrants, in the train of Wang Chau, who were distributed among the cities and denser settlements of Fukien, is suggestive.

Contrast with this the handful of French colonists in Lower Canada who have become a great French community in the midst of an English land. The sturdy Honanese who settled on the lands of the Man savages were able to transmit to their descendents, with little impairment, the heritage of language, customs and institutions which they had brought from their native

province. One authority, in stating that the Honan emigrants first settled in Ning-hwa in he last years of the Tang dynasty, says they afterwards spread all through Ting-chau prefecture and into Kwang-tung and over Kanchau prefecture in Kiangsi, occupying the mountain lands and having little to do with other people, thus preserving their Honan ways and language.

During the Sung dynasty we hear little or nothing of the Ninghwa settlements. They were so far from the highways of travel that it is no wonder the Mongol armies either failed to find them, or did not think it worth while to do so. Tingchau was visited, but there was no bloodletting in Ninghwa. We may assume that the population had nearly reached the limit of the capacity of the land to support them, so that an outlet for emigration was much needed.

Toward the end of the Southern Sung, a scholar from Ninghwa by the name of Heu On-kwet, went up to the metropolitan examination and won the degree of "tsin sz." He eventually went to Mei-chau and opened a school there. One of his pupils was Ts'ai Mung-kit, who secured his metropolitan degree at the age of twelve.

This was the beginning of the literary renown of Mei-chau. On-kwet may not have been the first Hakka to reach Mei-chau but, from his time on, the two places were known to each other. The townsmen of On-kwet would be welcome in the town of which he had now become a citizen; the restless spirits of Ninghwa thought of Mei-chau as a place where they might make their fortunes.

An ancient book, speaking of Mei-chau in the Sung dynasty, says: "The country is extensive but the people are indolent and depend on tramps from Tingchua and Kanchau to till their soil, as few of the natives are willing to do farm work." (Substitute "women" for "tramps, etc.," and the characterization is not inapt today.) It is well to remember that, before the Southern Sung, the inhabitants of Mei-chau were few and the shifting inhabitants of Tingchau and Kanchau considerable.

In the first recorded census of Mei-chau, taken not earlier than 976 A.D., 1,800 families were enumerated, of whom 1,210 were Natives and 367 Hakkas. The terms used might be rendered: "Host" and "Guest" receptively, or: "Landlord: and "Tenant," or: "Master" and "Tramp." One hundred years later we find the relative proportion changed, for the Hakkas number 6,548 families although the natives have increased to 5,824 families.

There is a tradition that the population of Mei-chau became so dense toward the end of the Southern Sung, that no less than eighty ferry-boats were in use at the city, where now a much less number are quite sufficient. It is probable that the boats were smaller then for in the last twenty years the average size of the boats on the Mei River has increased noticeably.

The Mongol armies, in their resistless march southward, reached Meichau in 1,276 A.D. At this time of the Mung-kit was the leading citizen of the place, and filled with patriotic ardor and hatred of the Mongols. When the magistrate made haste to surrender the city, Mung-kit's indignation knew no bounds. Though held a prisoner, he was kindly treated by the invaders, who sought to seduce him from his allegiance. He reviled them so bitterly that they finally put him to death.

In less than a year the Sung patriot and statesman Wen T'ien-siong re-took Mei-chau. His first care was to perform the funeral rites of Mung-kit with every mark of honor. The men of Mei-chau flocked to the standard of Wen T'ien-sion and followed him into southern Kiang-si. Few of them ever saw their homes again. It is recorded that a man by the name of Tsok raised a regiment of nearly a thousand men among the people his own clan, and only one of them survived the wars. There were ten thousands men who left Mei-chau at one time to fight the Mongols. Such a draft on their male population must have left them crippled in their defense against the Mongols when they came to Mei-chau the second time - only a few months later. Mei-chau suffered terribly for its patriotic support of the Sungs.

The country became a wilderness. A native writer of that period, in speaking of deserted houses and fields, ask if the people have all turned into foxes and birds. The Yau savages were emboldened to come down from the recesses of the mountains and attack the remnant of the people. They were only driven back after pitched battle near the city.

Once the country was thoroughly pacified and the new government functioning properly, immigrants began coming from Shak-piak in Ninghwa and from Shang-hang hien, in Tingchau. The ancestors of the great clans of Hwang, Chang, Ch'in, Li, Liang, Ts'ia, Siau, Yeh, and others came to Mei-chau before the close of the Mongol dynasty. They now count from 17 to 25 generations in Mei-chau, or an average of 20 generations, indicating a period of 600 years. They found thinly settled that they practically built up a new Ninghwa, as their forefathers had reproduced in Fuhkien the civilization of Honan.

It is not likely that the immigration was very large, for we find, by a census taken near the close of the reign of Hung-wu, the founder of the Ming dynasty, that there were in all Mei-chau only 1,686 families containing 6,989 persons. That shows a loss in families, of over 86 per cent in 300 years. It is recorded that Hung-wu recruited men in Tingchau to fight the Mongols and the reconquer Kwangtung. Modern Mei-chau dates from the establishment of the Mings, practically. At the close of Hung-wu's reign there were but 7,000 persons in Mei-chau.

In 1848 a census showed 268,193 inhabitants in Mei-chau, though P'in-yen, (and perhaps other counties), had been carved out of its territory in the meantime. This forty-fold increase was in spite of the loss of immense numbers who had gone from Meichau to other parts of Kwangtung, to Kiangsi and other places. The Hakkas were loyal to the Mings and many went to Kwangsi, while that province held out for the last prince of the house. I believe that the thousands of Kwangsi soldiers recruited in that province for the support of the recent Revolution were almost all Hakkas, descendents of the Hakkas who went to Kwangsi some ten generations ago. Among these same Kwangsi Hakkas it was that the Taiping King found his first fighting adherents.

Of late years the Hakkas have gone abroad in vast numbers. Next to the Cantonese they are the most widely scattered of any of the Chinese. In the Dutch East Indies, Borneo, the Strait's Settlement, the Malay Peninsula, Siam and Burma, the Hakkas are especially numerous. In some Hakka districts it would be easier to find a family where every male was abroad than to find one entire under-represented in foreign parts. Of the older migrations there are traces in Formosa, where there are said to be half a million Hakkas, and in Hainan, where there is also a large resident population of Hakkas.

It seems fairly plain that the Hakkas originated in Honan, probably in Kwangchau, and came to Kwangtung by way of Fuhkien. The earliest emigrants seem to have been absorbed by

the people among whom they settled, with the possible exception of those who drifted southward through Kiangsi. This was also the case with the movement into Fuhkien in the time of Wang Chau, with the exception of the movement into Fuhkein and those who from there straggled over into Kiangsi

Almost all the Hakks clans, perhaps all the large ones, come by direct descent from Ninghwa ancestors. The Hakkas of Kwangtung trace their lineage back to Ninghwa, or through Meichau, to a remoter origin, as a rule. The few who claim a Kiangsi origin often trace back to a Fuhkien ancestor.

I believe these conclusions will not be seriously modified by more thorough investigation. The history of Ninghwa would be of a greatest interest and value in this connection, as would be firsthand information as to the language now spoken in Kwangchau. I have not taken up at all the line of argument on which the native scholars rely so much, viz: the resemblance between modern Hakka and the ancient Chinese, as recovered from the poems and rhythms of antiquity.

The Hakkas are certainly a very distinct and virile strain of the Chinese race. The circumstances of their origin and migrations go far to account for their pride of race and martial spirit. It is save to predict that the Hakkas will pay an increasingly important part in the progress en elevation of the Chinese people.

Prepared by request to be read at a joint meeting of the English Presbyterian and American Baptist Mission held at Swatow in the Spring of 1912.