

THE INNER MONGOLIAN RESPONSE TO THE CHINESE REPUBLIC, 1911-1917*

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After the outbreak of the Opium War, and especially during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the political environment of continental East Asia changed considerably. The power of the Western imperialists and Tsarist Russia expanded to both China and Mongolia. The Manchu defeat in that war created hardships for Chinese peasants, and the Ch'ing dynasty replaced its ban on Chinese migration into Mongolian pasture lands with a positive policy of encouraging such migration in order to fortify against the Russian threat and ease the situation inside China. In doing so, however, the Ch'ing violated the Mongolian people's right to a livelihood in their own homeland. The dynasty placed the better grazing areas under Chinese occupation while undermining the Mongolian "feudalistic" league and banner organizations through establishing Chinese-style local governments under the pretext of administering the affairs of the Chinese settlers. The ensuing resentment and growing sense of instability gave rise to anti-Manchu movements among the Mongol nobility. A Mongolian volunteer force under Prince Senggerinchin did assist the Manchus against the T'aip'ing rebellion (1850-1864), but thereafter Mongolian rebels, recorded in Chinese materials as "Mongolian bandits," became a continuous phenomenon.

Also during this period, the Ch'ing court witnessed a gradual but steady decline in the number and frequency of visits by Mongolian nobles coming to render personal homage to the Manchu emperor. This was especially marked after the Boxer Rebellion in 1900.

The Ch'ing's "self-strengthening movement" to modernize the country generally had little influence on the Mongol nobility. Yet it did serve as a stimulus to some ambitious leaders, such as Prince Gungsangnorbu of Kharachin, who sought knowledge and assistance outside Mongolia. In 1903 he visited Japan to observe the effects of the Meiji Restoration, and after his return he established his own modern schools for both boys and girls and a military academy. He also advocated changes in the Manchu administration in Mongolia, but his proposals were rejected by the court. On the contrary, court policy toward Mongolia changed for the worse, increasing Manchu-Chinese domination of decision-making as to Mongolian affairs which, of course, only fueled Mongolian ire against the Manchus. For example, even in Prince Gungsangnorbu's Kharachin Right Banner several leaders had already left for Urga where they joined the independence movement within a short time.

In 1911, the independence movement was about to be inaugurated in Outer Mongolia, while in China the revolution headed by Sun Yat-sen began to make some

*This paper is a draft of research in progress, a collaborative work of the author with Paul Hyer, Brigham Young University. Accordingly, revision and documentation is yet to be finished.

progress. During this period, the Ch'ing court was nominally ruled by a three-year-old emperor, P'u-yi, and the Empress Dowager Lung-yü who had neither political experience nor ambition. The real power was I-k'uang, or Prince Ch'ing, but he gradually transferred power to the shrewd Chinese minister Yüan Shih-k'ai who eventually betrayed his Manchu lords and made himself the first president of the Republic of China in 1912.

The slogan of the Chinese national revolution was "expel the barbarians, restore China, build the republic, and divide the farm lands equally." Because Chinese revolutionary proclamations lumped the Mongol Yüan and the Manchu Ch'ing dynasties together, Mongols who were literate in Chinese realized that the revolution portended disaster for the Mongols as well as for the Manchus. In addition, the word "revolution," which in Chinese is *ko-ming* and which should have been translated into Mongolian as *khubisghal*, was transliterated into *ghaming* or *geming* in Mongolian. These latter terms are defined as a group of people unlawfully attempting to overthrow proper institutions, to implement an illegitimate rule, and to destroy all established values and morality, aiming especially at the destruction of the orthodox religion, Buddhism. A fear of revolutionary Chinese attacks on their lifestyle and religion generated among the Mongols fear and hatred of the so-called *ghaming* movement. Even during the 1930s, after the rise of the Inner Mongolian autonomous movement, the herdsmen of Inner Mongolia were still fearful of the pernicious influence of *ghaming* and of Chinese penetration into Inner Mongolian pastures. Many publications in the present-day Mongolian People's Republic continue to use the word *ghaming* or *geming* to represent the Chinese warlords and their followers who imposed heavy burdens on the Mongols in 1919 and 1920.

On October 10, 1911 the Chinese declared an end to the Ch'ing dynasty and a restoration of Chinese rule in the city of Wu-ch'ang. Shortly thereafter, the Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutughtu, the Living Buddha of Urga, supported by Outer Mongolian nobles and people, declared Mongolian independence. Sun Yat-sen, just returned from abroad, was elected provisional president on January 1, 1912 and on that same day in Nanking he declared the founding of the Republic of China. In the midst of these drastic changes, the empress-dowager Lung-yü appointed Yüan Shih-k'ai to negotiate peace with Sun Yat-sen and his revolutionary government. Delegates of the two sides met at Shanghai in mid-December 1911 to consider terms. The talks focused of course on the terms for abdication and treatment of the Manchu imperial household after the establishment of the republic. The delegates from the South demanded that Mongolia be made the equivalent of a province, but this was vetoed by the Northern delegates. After a period of discussion they finally concluded that all Manchus, Mongols, Moslems, and Tibetans should be treated as equal to the Chinese so as to protect their private property and preserve ranks among the nobility.

The independence movement in Outer Mongolia and the anti-Chinese movement in Tibet drew the attention of the newly established provisional government in Nanking to the problems created by early revolutionary declarations and persuaded it to consider some concessions. In Sun Yat-sen's declaration at his inauguration as provisional president, he proclaimed that "to unify China, Manchuria, Mongolia, Moslem lands, and Tibet into one nation and to unify the Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Moslems, and Tibetans as one man, this should be regarded as true unification of the nation."

In Inner Mongolia, the independence movement in Urga had great influence on the people and their leaders, especially since it had the prestigious personal support of the Eighth Jebtsundamba, who had been proclaimed the Boghoda Khan (Holy Emperor) of Mongolia. After the downfall of the Ch'ing dynasty, many Inner Mongols looked to the North. At the same time, Mongolian nobles in Peking organized the *Meng-ku wang-kung lien-ho-hui* (Association of Mongolian Princes and Dukes) in an attempt to influence the Shanghai talks. Prince Nayantu, who was originally from Outer Mongolia, acted as spokesman for the twenty-four Banners (eight Manchu banners, eight Mongolian banners and eight Chinese banners) by conveying their collective decision to support the Manchu emperor. This same sort of anti-republicanism characterized the attitudes of Mongolian leaders in Peking, which also influenced the talks in Shanghai. These factors eventually prompted the southern delegates to explain that the revolution was not limited to achieving narrowly defined Han-Chinese aims; rather, its purpose was to establish a commonwealth of Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Moslems, and Tibetans. They also made it clear that the newly established Chinese government would honor the ranks and positions of the Mongolian nobility.

At the same time a group of Mongolian princes in Peking allied itself with the Manchu Prince Su (Shan-ch'i) and others in an attempt to sustain the court by force of arms. But, soon realizing that the dynasty was doomed, they turned to the Japanese for assistance.

On January 17, 1912 a conference was held in the presence of the empress dowager and Manchu and Mongolian princes and nobles, such as Prince Nayantu of Khalkha, Prince Gungsangnorbu of Kharachin, Prince Palta of Torghud, Prince Ghonchungsurung of Bintu, and Duke Bodisu of Khorchin. At that time, the Mongolian nobles all voiced their strong opposition to the abdication.

On January 28, Sun Yat-sen, as provisional president of the newly-established republic, sent a telegram to the Mongolian nobles in Peking explaining the value of the commonwealth of the five peoples, pointing out the importance of a common defense against Russia, and inviting the Mongols to send a delegate to Nanking to participate in the newly established government. On February 3 the empress dowager had the young emperor P'u-yi declare his abdication which took place on the 12th. On February 5 the Senate in Nanking passed a measure, advocated by Sun Yat-sen, which (1) placed the Chinese and all other nationalities on an equal basis, (2) allowed for succession of rank and title among the princes and dukes, and (3) provided for maintenance of religious prerogatives among the Manchus, Mongols, Moslems, and Tibetans. On February 11 Sun Yat-sen as president promulgated the provisional constitution of China. Article 3 declared that "the territory of the Republic of China includes twenty-two provinces, Inner and Outer Mongolia, Tibet and Kokonor (Ch'inghai)." On February 13 Sun Yat-sen resigned as provisional president, and the Senate elected Yüan Shih-k'ai as his successor. In his oath of office Yüan used the words "the five great peoples (Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Moslems and Tibetans) all enjoy happiness and privilege."

As these events unfolded in Peking and Nanking, Prince Gungsangnorbu returned to his own banner, Kharachin, and soon gathered the leaders of the three eastern leagues of Inner Mongolia, Jerim, Juu-uda, and Josuto, at Ulaan-khada (Ch'ih-feng), where he tried to persuade them to organize an independence movement in Inner Mongolia. Before this conference, Prince Gungsangnorbu had contacted the Japanese

and had already received a positive response from the Japanese military authorities. His own banner, however, was located too close to Peking for it to act, and after the two and one-half centuries of enforced fragmentation under the Manchu, it proved too difficult to organize the other banners into an effective alliance. Nevertheless, the prince himself still wanted to pursue his plans for independence. He sent envoys to Dairen to obtain weapons with which to equip his own troops and simultaneously dispatched his delegate, Lobsangchoijur (the author's father), to visit Urga and contact leaders there to learn whether Inner and Outer Mongolia could really be unified. Meanwhile, the group sent to Dairen for equipment was attacked at Cheng-chia-tun and the weapons were confiscated by the Chinese army. Before his delegate to Urga could return, Prince Gungsangnorbu was convinced or forced by Yüan Shih-k'ai to proceed to Peking, and his independence movement came to an end.

At about the same time the Manchu noble Shan-ch'i, or Prince Su, also escaped from Peking under Japanese protection and arrived in Dairen where he established the Tsung-she tang, the Loyalist Party, in an attempt to restore the Ch'ing dynasty. The movement enjoyed support from conservative Mongols in Inner Mongolia as well as from conservative Manchus and Chinese. Among Mongol supporters was the famous "Mongolian bandit" Babujab. Although Gungsangnorbu was related by marriage to the Manchu prince he did not, at least not openly, participate in this loyalist movement. His own movement was aimed at securing independence for Inner Mongolia or for a Greater Mongolia including the Outer Mongols. Prince Ghonchungsurung of Bintu was also well known for his progressive policies, particularly his establishment of schools but, convinced that the cause of Inner Mongolian independence was hopeless, he left his own banner for Outer Mongolia.

This was a very frustrating and crucial period in Inner Mongolian history. Those who had tired of Manchu domination and possessed no faith in the Chinese revolutionaries all looked northward, and some of them journeyed to Urga to join the great movement. This group included the Prince of Khauchid of Shilinghol League, the anti-Chinese guerrilla leader Toghto Taiji of Jerim League, Khaisan of Kharachin and others. In addition, the entire Hulun-buir district of northeast Inner Mongolia declared independence and joined the Urga government. The nobles of Ulanhab League under the leadership of Prince Lhawangnorbu of Dörbed were also antagonized by the *ghaming* and showed strong interest in membership in the Urga movement.

In Peking, Yüan Shih-k'ai invested his resources shrewdly in the Mongolian situation and, of course, used Mongolian nobles as political capital. Being forced to deal with the problem of Outer Mongolian independence, he moderated his attitude toward the Inner Mongols in order to draw Outer Mongolia into his camp. It was for this reason that he regularly instructed the delegate from the Ch'ing court to discuss better future treatment of Mongolian nobles in talks with the delegate of the revolutionary government. At the same time he used proclamations by the Association of Mongolian Princes and Dukes in Peking to illustrate their trust in him and their demands for special treatment. In this way he was able to win over several Mongol leaders in Peking such as Prince Nayantu, who was originally very hostile toward Yüan and strongly opposed to abdication, Prince Amurlingghui, the grandson of Senggerinchin of the Jerim League, and other minor Mongol nobles. These shifts caused the Association of Mongolian Princes and Dukes to issue a public telegram on February 10 to

Chinese authorities in both Nanking and Peking recommending Yüan Shih-k'ai for president. On April 4 Yüan Shih-k'ai appointed Amurlinghui director of the Office of Mongolian Affairs. On the tenth of that month the Association of the Alliance of the Five Great Peoples was established in Nanking, and three days later Yüan issued his statement accepting and promoting intermarriage of the five great peoples. On February 22 he declared that the republic would treat all citizens equally, tolerating no distinctions between the Chinese and the so-called subordinates. Accordingly, the Li-fan Yüan was formally abolished. On May 13 the Peking Government declared the creation of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Bureau to function under the prime minister's office. By July 24 Yüan Shih-k'ai again declared that this bureau should report to the prime minister directly, and Yüan soon appointed Yao Hsi-kuang deputy director to oversee the affairs of the bureau. At the end of the Ch'ing dynasty Yao had been involved in Mongolian matters, but he was decidedly chauvinistic. He had sought cultivation of Mongolian lands and Chinese migration into those lands and to weaken and replace the Mongolian feudalistic-autonomous administrations by placing Mongolia directly under the Manchu-Chinese administration, similar to other provinces and prefectures. As a consequence, the Mongols hated him. Unfortunately, his doctrines have served as the blueprint for China's Mongolia policy up to the present time.

On August 10 the Peking government promulgated the Organization Law of the Parliament of the Republic of China which provided for twenty-seven Mongolian members in the senate and the same number in the lower house. Candidates could, however, qualify for membership only if they were at least twenty-five years old and could speak Chinese, which eliminated most Mongols from membership in the Chinese parliament. It was not long before Yüan Shih-k'ai realized that these provisions, coupled with his appointment of Yao Hsi-kuang, would not be welcomed by the Mongols. At the same time, though, he realized that the situation in Outer Mongolia was subversive to Chinese interests, so he ordered his foreign ministry to declare that Mongolia, Manchuria and Tibet were integral parts of China and would not be permitted to conclude treaties or borrow money from any foreign countries. This pronouncement set forth not only a defensive policy against the subversive influence of Urga but was aimed as well at preventing future potentially subversive contacts between Inner Mongolian leaders and foreign nations, such as those between Gungsangnorbu and Japan earlier. In addition, on August 19 Yüan Shih-k'ai promulgated the Regulations for the Treatment of Mongols, which recognized the governing power of the Mongolian princes over the political administration of their banners, as had been the case for over two centuries, and furthermore recognized the ranks, titles and special privileges of the Mongolian nobility.

It was about this time or earlier that Prince Gungsangnorbu of Kharachin arrived in Peking and was soon involved with the officialdom of the new republic. On August 24 Sun Yat-sen, the former provisional president of the Nanking government, arrived in Peking. The next day the party headed by Sun Yat-sen, the Tung-meng-hui, joined several other parties in a special conference and reorganized as the Kuomintang. Gungsangnorbu attended this political gathering and was elected a member of the executive board, along with Sun Yat-sen, Huang Hsing, Sung Chiao-jen, Wang Ch'ung-hui, and several others. On November 3 Gungsangnorbu, Huang Hsing, Sung Chiao-jen, Wang Ch'ung-hui and others composed a letter to Sun Yat-sen formally electing him chairman of this newly organized party. The intimacy of the relationship between this progressive Mongolian noble and the leader

of the Chinese revolution of course prodded the politically astute Yüan Shih-k'ai into action. On September 10 Yüan appointed Gungsangnorbu director of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Bureau in order to draw him away from Sun and to attract the support of the Mongolian nobility.

Prince Utai of Khorchin Right Flank Front Banner of Jerim League was a rebellious pro-Russian Mongolian leader even before the end of the Ch'ing dynasty. After the republic was established, his suspicion of any new revolution and government caused him to organize militant independence activities directed against the Chinese. He joined with Duke Rashiminjur of the Khorchin Right Flank Rear Banner to "evacuate" all the Chinese settlers who migrated into these two banners under pressure from the viceroy of Manchuria at the end of Ch'ing. They then attacked two Chinese prefectures, Tao-nan and K'ai-lu, that had been organized in the lands of the Mongolian leagues and banners. They occupied the towns and destroyed them but were soon engaged in battles with Manchu-Chinese forces from Mukden, Kirin, and Heilungchiang provinces at whose hands they were defeated. Both Utai and Rashiminjur escaped to Urga to join the Outer Mongolian government. During the same time, the two Chinese cities Hu-lun and Lupin in the Hulun-buir area were also attacked and occupied by the Mongols. Later, on October 7, demonstrating the Chinese government's intransigence in refusing to compromise with anti-republican Mongol movements, Yüan Shih-k'ai stripped Utai of all ranks and titles and appointed another noble as head of the banner. On October 28 Yüan Shih-k'ai, to placate angry Mongols, removed Yao Hsi-kuang from the deputy director's position in the Mongolian-Tibetan Bureau. He also appointed Prince Amurlinghui to proceed to the Jerim League to discuss problems in that region, persuade Mongolian leaders to support the Peking government, and in particular to encourage them to accept the new five-color national flag (five peoples) and obey the new republic's law forbidding Mongols to buy weapons from other countries.

Although this sort of proselytizing might have somewhat expanded the Peking government's influence among the Mongols, its general thrust was still negative. On November 17 Ghombujab, the *tusalaghehi* (the head official under the prince) of Jarud Left Banner of Juu-uda League, joined officials and people of the Jarud Right Banner in killing the prince and his followers who were for the republic and protective of the Chinese settlers. They occupied Chinese centers, including the city of K'ai-lu, and destroyed them, but within a short time a Chinese army arrived from Jehol and routed the Mongols who escaped to Outer Mongolia.

As a former imperial official, Yüan Shih-k'ai was thoroughly familiar with the Ch'ing court's Mongol policies and thus able to adopt and implement the same shrewd ploys. His first move was to promote in rank and title all Mongol nobles who supported him, while his second maneuver was to take full advantage of the Mongols' devotion to Buddhism. Near the end of September he invited two Mongolian high lamas, Jangjia Khutugtu and Kanjurwa Khutugtu, to come to Peking where he treated them with great respect in order to pacify recalcitrant Mongols. The problem, however, was that these two revered lamas held differing opinions. At that time Jangjia Khutugtu was still quite young and strongly influenced by his pro-Chinese disciples. On the other hand, Kanjurwa Khutugtu was possessed of strongly nationalistic feelings and was decidedly pro-Urga. Until his death, Jangjia Khutugtu acted as a loyal instrument for the Chinese in their attempts to mollify the Mongols, while Kanjurwa Khutugtu was eventually assassinated because of his pro-Outer Mongolian attitude.

In western Inner Mongolia the leaders of Ulanchar League sided quite clearly with Urga. When on orders from the Peking government the Chinese general of Suiyuan, Chang Shao-tseng, contacted the Ulanchar leaders, they openly informed him of their belief that the new *ghaming* republic would destroy Mongolian traditions and their pastoral lifestyle and force them to abandon Buddhism. In response, the Peking government again promulgated the new principles for the treatment of Mongols, giving special emphasis to the government's willingness to honor the Mongols' devotion to Buddhism. Finally, by the end of 1912, princes of the Ulanchar League became convinced of the hopelessness of unifying Inner and Outer Mongolia and reluctantly turned to the Chinese. Greatly encouraged by this, Yüan Shih-k'ai promptly elevated all nobles in rank. As a special gesture designed to encourage Mongol acceptance of the new government, Yüan appointed most of the Mongolian leaders in Peking to the position of *Yü-wei shih*, or officers in the president's special guards. Even this was a restoration or continuation of the old Manchu policy of assigning Mongolian princes to positions of imperial service before the emperor himself. By the end of the year, Yüan Shih-k'ai had authorized special promotions for Prince Nayantu and Prince Gung-sangnorbu to reward their help in establishing the republic.

On November 3, 1912 the Russo-Mongolian Treaty was signed in Urga, evidence of the fact not only that the Russians wished to reinforce the Outer Mongolian separation from China, but also that they refused to allow the Outer Mongolian government to make further moves toward merger or unification with Inner Mongolia. This treaty represented a turning point for the Inner Mongols who had been looking toward Urga with increasing anxiety. It may also have been the reason why the Ulanchar leaders abandoned their pro-Urga attitude in favor of a compromise with Peking.

1913, known in the lunar calendar as "the year of black ox," was another very crucial year for the Inner Mongols. It saw numerous skirmishes and intrusions by both Chinese forces into remote districts of Inner Mongolia and by forces from Outer Mongolia. Among Mongols that chaotic period became known as "the turmoil of the year of the ox." The area first disturbed was in Shilin-ghol League. As mentioned earlier, after independence was declared in Urga many Shilin-ghol leaders joined the movement; some even migrated to Urga in 1911, and the influence of the independence movement persisted in the area through 1912. In 1913 the head of the league, Prince Yangsangjab of Abagha Left Banner, was arrested by Outer Mongolian forces because of his anti-Urga attitude. Yangsangjab was a conservative individual always loyal to the Manchu emperor. Even after the abdication he was convinced that the Peking regime would govern the Middle Kingdom of which Mongolia was a part, and he refused to join the Outer Mongolian government. Moreover, he was convinced that there was no hope for the unification of Inner and Outer Mongolia. He reasoned, therefore, that it would be better for Shilin-ghol to remain neutral or somewhat pro-Peking. After he was taken to Urga he was questioned and imprisoned although, of course, the Urga government later freed him. At the same time Outer Mongolian troops passed through the eastern part of the league from Üjümüchin to the Dolonor area, which was located between the Shilin-ghol League and the Chakhar *aimagh*. Besides being an economic center, Dolonor was also the Holy Land of Mongolian Buddhism where the Kanjurwa Khutughtu and his temple were located.

In Chakhar Jodbajab, the *amban* of the Mingghan and the Darighanghai pastures, the latter now known as the Süke-baator *aimagh* of the Mongolian People's Republic,

shared Yangsangjab's conservative bent. When at the beginning of the independence movement Darighanghai leaned toward Urga, Jodbajab made attempts to restore it to his own administration by marching into Darighanghai, where he was captured by Outer Mongolian authorities and imprisoned in Urga. Later he, too, was set free, and in appreciation of his efforts the Peking government promoted him to lieutenant-general. The efforts of those leaders who opposed Outer Mongolian independence generally failed to alter the pro-Urga sympathies of the Inner Mongolian people who found the turmoil generated by the *ghaming* particularly disgusting.

In Peking the situation was somewhat different. The government had been recognized by many world powers and smaller nations because of the creation of an elected parliament. Yet several of Yüan's appointees among the Mongolian senators and representatives were not even Mongols. Yüan naturally found it beneficial to have his own people occupy parliamentary seats, but the conspiracy angered the Mongols and damaged their confidence in the new government.

Gungsangnorbu, with the support of Mongolian senators and delegates, introduced and engineered the passage of a resolution creating the Mongolian-Tibetan Academy in Peking, his great dream since his return from Japan in 1903. He considered education for Mongols to be of primary importance and believed that the alternative would condemn them to backwardness and inferiority in the modern world. While this first step toward modernization signaled progress for Inner Mongolia, it became a personal stumbling block in his political life. Most conservative Mongol leaders considered this a substantial step toward a revolution that would damage or destroy the prerogatives of the Mongolian feudalistic and religious hierarchy, and they were openly hostile to this farsighted prince. Students at the academy were gradually introduced to democratic ideas and institutions, and their new awareness encouraged them to struggle for the elimination of Mongolian feudalistic institutions. They began to doubt whether this enlightened prince, Gungsangnorbu, would actually be willing to join them in their struggle. As a result, a wedge was driven between Mongolian liberals and conservatives with Gungsangnorbu in between, and the gap continued to grow.

The Peking government promulgated and rendered lip service to the Regulations for the Treatment of Mongols and proclaimed its intent to protect traditional Mongolian administrative institutions and power. However, it soon organized Jehol, Chakhar and Suiyüan into three special administrative districts and strengthened its administrative apparatus in those areas. The governors-general of these three areas were generally personal supporters of Yüan Shih-k'ai, and they enjoyed a free hand in bringing more Chinese settlers and in widening the reach of their Chinese administrations. Eastern Inner Mongolia fell under the shadow of the three eastern provinces of Manchuria and their non-Mongolian administrative power and suffered even more. While the governors of the three new special administrative districts were military or civilian holdovers from the Ch'ing period, the leaders of the three Manchurian provinces were newly emerged "heroes" who had been Chinese bandits whose attitudes toward the Mongols were exceedingly harsh.

Because of this harshness a well-known "Mongolian bandit," Babujab, joined the Tsung-she-tang, the Manchu loyalist party of Prince Su. He received Japanese weapons and carried out a guerrilla campaign in eastern Inner Mongolia (eastern Chakhar, northeastern Jehol, and parts of Kirin and Mukden provinces) and became

one of the most outstanding "Mongolian bandits" during the early republican period. Along with him there appeared many so-called Mongolian bandits in Manchuria and eastern Inner Mongolia who, though known as Mongols, were generally Chinese. Babujab soon became famous throughout eastern Inner Mongolia. Those who were suspicious of the republic or the infamous *ghaming* and those who were angered by Chinese settlement in Inner Mongolia rebelled around him. His political goals were never clear. It is still not known whether he fought for the restoration of the Ch'ing dynasty or against the Chinese settlers, or whether he planned to join Outer Mongolia. But his supporters grew in number in the wake of his successful guerrilla engagements in the above-mentioned districts. Finally, in 1916, as he approached the walls of the city of Lin-hsi, a stronghold of the Chinese army and administration in northern Jehol, he was unexpectedly killed. After his death his followers gradually dissolved until only a group headed by his oldest son went to Outer Mongolia.

After the Year of the Ox, 1913, both Shilin-ghol and Chakhar became the site of skirmishes between Chinese and Outer Mongolian troops. However, these engagements never gave rise to any events of great political significance. In 1917 in the Mingghan pasture of Chakhar a young official, Mukdenbu, unexpectedly gathered several thousand Chakhar youths and declared independence. His group soon took action and attacked Chinese forces in Kalgan, but this movement was seemingly an isolated incident with little impact on Mongolian leaders in other areas. The group was soon overwhelmed by superior Chinese forces from Kalgan, and Mukdenbu was executed. This was the last ripple of the anti-republican military movements that had swept through Inner Mongolia.

Just prior to this event, in Peking Yüan Shih-k'ai had defeated his major political opponent, Sun Yat-sen, and had begun to establish himself as emperor of the Middle Kingdom. Before taking any action, however, he had instructed his supporters to generate public opinion favorable to him throughout Peking and North China, and the Association of the Mongolian Princes and Dukes in Peking became one of his prime tools. Through this association he encouraged many Mongol leaders to express their desire for a restoration of the monarchy with Yüan Shih-k'ai as emperor. Prince Nayantu, the leader of the group, became the movement's leading proponent. Prince Gungsangnorbu, however, was hesitant to become active in the campaign. His reluctance to participate enthusiastically may have been due either to his personal association with Sun Yat-sen or to his relatively liberal view of matters in general. Although he concealed any forceful opposition he may have felt, neither did he actively support the movement.

Aware of Yüan Shih-k'ai's ambition, the Japanese government issued an ultimatum to the Peking government known as the Twenty-One Demands. In accordance with its secret treaty with Tsarist Russia, Japan forced China to recognize eastern Inner Mongolia and southern Manchuria as special spheres of Japanese privilege. This new diplomatic ingredient won the support of many Mongols, who hoped to see greater Japanese intervention in eastern Inner Mongolia as a counterweight to Chinese power. Of course, this expectation also met with disappointment.

On December 12, 1915 Yüan Shih-k'ai proclaimed that he would accept the people's request and ascend the throne, but revolt soon erupted in southern China, and most governors and military leaders in other provinces responded to

the revolutionary party. Yüan Shih-k'ai was forced to abdicate, and he died on June 5, 1916. During this short restoration of Chinese monarchism, Yüan again manipulated Mongolian conservatives in Peking and tried to retain their loyalty by promoting them, but his reign was so short that nothing of political significance occurred in Inner Mongolia during that period.

After the death of Yüan Shih-k'ai China entered a new era, an era of warlordism. Until 1928 China had no unified government. In North China warlords appeared one after another. The warlord in Manchuria, Chang Tso-lin, was especially anxious to cultivate more Mongolian land for Chinese settlers and his own followers, and the situation among the Mongols worsened considerably. Chinese warlords ignored Gungsangnorbu and his ideas, though he was retained as a figurehead in Peking. The outbreak of World War I in Europe and the fall of Tsarist Russia forced the Urga government to alter its policies. The agreement between China, Russia and Mongolia, signed in Khyakhta on June 7, 1915, forced the Urga government to renounce independence, but it was recognized by both China and Russia as an autonomous territory under Chinese suzerainty. These changes also forced the Inner Mongols to acknowledge Chinese domination of Mongol affairs. The implications of this new political alignment and increasing oppression by Chinese warlords were the major factors that stimulated organization of the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, also known as the Inner Mongolian Kuomintang. It tried to forge an alliance with the Outer Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party to achieve full independence for Inner Mongolia with the assistance of the Outer Mongolian party and government, the Comintern and the Kuomintang under Sun Yat-sen's leadership. All of these organizations and events were influential to various degrees in the rise of the autonomy movement of Inner Mongolia in 1933.