THE CHINO-MONGOLIAN BORDER ZONE
IN INNER MONGOLIA-KANŞU AREA

—ONE METHOD OF DETERMINING THE AREA OF A BORDER REGION*—

ÔAKI SUGIMURA

As used here, "Inner Mongolia-Kansu Area" is meant to designate the area extending over the six provinces and one autonomous region as of the end of 1957, under the control of the present Communist Government of China: Heilungkiang, Liaoning, Hopeh, Shansi, Shensi and Kansu provinces, and Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. It stretches from the Great Wall in the south to the border with Outer Mongolia in the north, flanked on the east by the line connecting the Liao Ho with the Nun Kiang, and on the west by the Nan Shan. It includes, from east toward west, the Great Khingan Mountains (Ta Khingan Shan), the Jehol Mountains, the Mongolian Plateau, the Yinshan Range (Ta Tsin Shan), Suiyuan Plain, the Wu Tai Shan, the Ordos Desert, the Ho Lan Shan (the Alashan Mountains), the Alashan Desert, the Ho Li Shan (Pei Shan), and Etsin Gol. In the period of the Ch'ing or Manchus dynasty (1644-1911) this area, except the Wu Tai Shan district, had been occupied by twenty-six tribes of "Inner Mongols", and the Alashan Eleuts and the Etsin Durbets of Eleut Four Tribes which were commonly called "Western Mongols". The terms "Inner Mongols" and "Outer Mongols" have been used from the early period of the said-dynasty and had their origin from the location of these areas in reference to the Gobi Desert. After the fall of the dynasty, the "Inner Mongolian Four Provinces" of Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan, and Ningsia were established by the Republican Government in the Inner Mongols' area, excluding the western part of Manchuria, and including the eastern part of Western Mongolia. The Outer Mongols' area, occupied by the Khalkha Four Tribes, i.e. the present Mongolian People's Republic, is of course excluded from this "Innr Mongolia-Kansu Area".

The Inner Mongolia-Kansu Area, together with Manchuria and Sinkiang, has constituted the north-eastern and north-western frontiers of China. This area has been the border-land where two forces of culturally heterogeneous peoples, the Chinese agriculturists in the south and the Mongol nomads in the north, have interacted. The oscillation of these two forces has been repeated toward south or north from as early as the pre-Christian era. The Sino-Mongolian border region, therefore, will serve as a good laboratory for specific case study of the conceptions, functions and patterns of frontiers1) or border regions.

A number of studies have been made on the interaction of these forces in their border-land2). I have tried to analyse the human activities which have been manifested in this region from the following viewpoints: (1) Conflicts or Disputes of Political and Military Forces; (2) Antagonism and Interaction of Heterogeneous Cultures (3) Transitional and Buffer Characteristics, and Quasi-Neutrality in Their Raison d' Etre; (4) Intensification of Settlements by the Governments, and Their Function as Reservoir of Population; (5) Trade Routes and Merchants' Functions Therein; (6) Forces toward Stability or Instability. The purpose of the present paper is clarify the significant characteristics of the Sino-Mongolian

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ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF CHINA UNDER THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

INNER MONGOLIA-KANSU AREA

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- The Palisade Constructed by the Ch'ing Dynasty

NEW ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF NORTHERN OUTER CHINA UNDER THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT - as of the end of 1957 -
Border Region focusing on the first item of my study, and to suggest some method of determining the area of border regions that might be applicable for any frontier or border region study.

1. DISCREPANCY OF THE IDEA ON BOUNDARIES

The Great Wall has subsidiary branches and loops in distances up to 100 miles north and south of the main alignment. The Great Wall Proper can be traced as long as 2,150 miles from Shanhaikwan along the coast of the Gulf of Pohai in the east, and in the west to a point about 300 miles west of Kiayukwan of Kansu province. With its 1,780 miles of branches and loops the Great Wall totals 3,930 miles. It looks like three enormous festoons, the first in the mountains, the second in the loess, and the third in the desert; In the “Eastern Bifurcation” near Sihai, 40 miles north of Peking, the inner branch diverges from the main alignment of outer wall; At a point about 30 miles east of the Hwang Ho on the former Shansi and Suiyuan provincial boundary, the inner wall, which runs on the Pata Ling and the Wu Tai Shan adjacent to the North Plain of China, meets again with the outer wall which touches on Tushihkow, Chanchiakow (Kalgan) and Fengchen along the crest bounding the Mongolian Plateau and its marginal mountains. Along the left of the Hwang Ho the main line of the Great Wall continues 40 miles southward, crosses the river in the vicinity of Hoku, and passes the southern rim of Ordos Desert; from Ningsia (Yinchuan) on the left bank of Hwang Ho, where the main line of the Wall turns at an angle of almost ninety degrees and passes on southwest, it takes the course of the “Desert Loop”, the name given by W. E. Geil to the portion of the Wall from Ningsia to Liangchow (Wuwei), to the “Western Bifurcation” at Tatsing, from where along the “Kansu Loop” it continues to Kiayukwan and further west.

The Frontier Fence was constructed in the beginning of the Ming dynasty, connecting with the Great Wall at Womingkou north of Shanhaikwan, and extending into Manchuria. It crossed the Liao Ho, and reached to Antung near the mouth of the Yalu Kiang. The Ch’ing dynasty also built the “Frontier Willow Fence” on the border of Manchuria and Chino-Mongolia for a distance of at least 400 miles. These historical recorded Frontier Fences which are considered as the Manchurian extension of the Great Wall and are known as “Palisades” are almost completely destroyed and cannot be observed. In some places the Great Wall Proper is ruined, and its remnants are hardly recognizable. The Great Wall has lost its primary function of defense against northern nomadic peoples, and survives only to mark the former provincial boundaries between old provinces such as Hopeh, Shansi, Shensi and Kansu, and new provinces such as Jehol, Chaahar, Suiyan and Ningsia.

Walls are prominent in North China. Every city, and even some villages, has usually been surrounded by walls or ramparts made of mud, brick or stone. Walls of settlements are pierced by gates which are usually closed at night-fall and opened at dawn; walls usually have watch towers and are often surrounded by moats. Walls have been used in China not only for settlements, but also to enclose temples, palaces and private houses. Their primary purpose has been defense against undesirable intruders. The rulers of ancient states in Northern
China constructed a series of massive stone, brick and earthen walls along their borders for defense against invaders from the northern steppe. About 220 B.C. parts of these separate defense walls were strengthened and extended by Shih Huang Ti, the First Emperor, who established the Ch'in dynasty by uniting into one empire his original territories of present Shensi and eastern Kansu with the feudal states taken by conquest. At this time the extention of the frontier wall was called by the Chinese "Wan Li Chang Ch'eng" which means "Ten Thousand Chinese Miles Long Wall", the Great Wall. Most of the extant structures date from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), especially from the Wan Li period (1573-1620) when the dynasty was staggering toward its fall.

Those defense boundaries of walls in China showed the political unities of bounding space-organisms, in which all peoples are subject to their own regulations and customs. The defensive wall boundaries of ancient feudal states in North China may be well considered as territorial boundaries accepted by all the Chinese.

Besides the Great Wall and the Palisade, the Chinese built up the frontier walls or ramparts to the lands farther north of the Great Wall—the Great Khingan Mountains, the Yinshan Range, the interior part of the Mongolian Plateau and the Ordos Desert. These can be seen by the evidence of remains of mud walls, or by records shown in the Chinese old books of regional geography of provinces and "hsien", or by local traditional folk-lores. The northern limit of these frontier walls is traced along the line from the Kuir-hoto about 50 miles north-west of Tsitsihar through a place about 90 miles north of the wall near the Argul Nor passing through the vicinity of near Pailingmiao about 100 miles north of Kweisui, etc., which line is approximately the present northern limit of the Chinese Agriculture. In the northern border of Shensi province, frontier walls are found more than 30 miles north of the present Wall. In Kansu Panhandle, where "a natural linear-shaped lowland" flanked by highlands on both north and south includes a string of oasis settlements at a piedmont, on the north-eastern side, the small fragments of frontier walls out of the main line of the Great Wall are evidently scarce, compared with those of Inner Mongolia, and the system of the Wall becomes almost linear, while in the south-western part of the Panhandle the Wall system is extended far and deep in the direction of Tibet.

Those "outwork" walls discovered ruined in the Northern Interior Asia are, compared with the Great Wall, temporary and less important in their functions. However, they show the furthest limits up to which the political or military forces of the old Chinese states such as the Han, T'ang and Ming reached.

The term "Inner Mongolian Walls Zone" may be applied in a sense to the area surrounded by the outer and inner branches of the Great Wall. Based on the assumption that the "frontier" is the farthest land to which the forces of states or space-organisms reach, the existence of the small "outwork" walls, although only fragments of the system of Frontier Walls, shows the depth of oscillation of forces of the Chinese people toward the north. The term "Inner Mongolia-Kansu Frontier Walls Zone", therefore, is well applied to the area, flanked by the "Palisade" on the east and by the Kansu Corridor on the west, surrounded by the inner branch of the Great Wall in the south and the small outwork walls in the north. This Zone is something like a tidal reach into which
during a long history have flowed alternately the Chinese from the south and the nomadic peoples from the north and beyond which sometimes the forces of one side have overflowed northward or southward.

The Mongols, on the contrary, are not people who built walls or structures to demarcate the spaces of their existence. They are originally movable people. In Interior Mongolia "obo", piles of stone or wood, have been used to designate the territorial boundaries of tribal units, and any idea of defense boundaries of walls as seen in the Chinese has not developed. The territorial boundaries among tribal units have been fixed rigorous since the time when the Mongols came under the control of the Ch'ing dynasty, and were divided into a number of hoshun or banners and chigulgan or leagues in accordance with the Manchu pattern of organization. Until the early days of the seventeenth century, the territorial boundaries among the tribal units had not been kept strictly by them. Many removal of nomadic tribes took place, which caused unceasing disputes among them. The genuine nomadic peoples of Mongol stock, even now when the territorial boundaries have been fixed, move from one grazing land to another within the territories of the banners. They are not so rigorous in demarcating the spaces of their existence as the Chinese.

Lease of lands was not known among the Mongols until the Chinese farmers came in and took land there on lease. This had its origin under Chinese influence, and was practiced with regard to foreigners only, chiefly the Chinese and partly the Russians. The Mongols themselves did not take lands on lease.

This fundamental difference of the ideas on boundaries and ownership of lands between the nomadic people and agricultural people has been based on the differences of their way of life. This discrepancy on land-ownership and boundaries has been one of the causes for the unceasing disputes or conflicts in their border-land.

2. INTERRELATIONS OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY FORCES

Northern borders of Hopeh and the Kansu Corridor formed the right and left wings of the defense line of the old Chinese empires against the enemies from the north. Ragged mountain-lands bordering on the Two Regions of the Chinese and the Mongols formed a natural defense barrier against both sides. From a strategic point of view, wings of defense line generally tend to be weak points against the attacking forces.

The Kansu Corridor, "a somewhat precarious bottle neck" flanking Mongol and Tibetan areas on both sides north and south, was distant from the heart of the "Middle Kingdom", and acted for the Chinese central governments as a passageway projected into Central Asia and farther beyond to India and the Occident, and guarded by the Great Wall. The northern border of Hopeh, on the contrary, was situated close to the Plain of North China and its traditional enemies, the Mongols and the Manchurians. Therefore, Peking, rather than Nanking and the cities along the Wei Ho, was a preferable site as the capital of the Empires that controled not only China Proper but also the peripherous regions, although its location was not central for the control of China Proper. One of the reasons that the Emperor Yung Lo (reigned 1403-24) of the Ming dynasty removed his capital northward from Nanking to Peking in 1421 was
from this strategic urgency.

The policy of the Ming dynasty against the Mongols was very aggressive in the beginning. Not content with expelling the Mongols from the south of the Great Wall into the interior of the Mongolian Plateau, the Emperor of Hung Wu (reigned 1368–97) carried the war into their own territory. Twice during his reign, a Chinese army reached the ancient Mongol capital, Karakorum. Under the Emperor of Yung Lo’s reign, the Ming dynasty reached the apex of its power. He interfered actively in Mongolia, waging several campaigns there.

When the Mongols were driven by the Chinese under the Ming dynasty, they were broken in three tribal states; the Uliangha, Tartar and Oirat Mongols. The Ming dynasty established nine wei or military districts, on the northern frontier, which were Liaotung, Kihchow, Suanfu, Tatung, Shansi (Sankwan), Yulin, Ningsia, Kuyuan and Kansu. Provisions for the army on the border was a serious matter. The advance of Chinese military forces northward must be accompanied by the supply of food. Thence, the garrison troops on the border—land were composed of not only soldiers who occupied themselves with drills and maneuvers, but also farming soldiers who served the dual purpose of protecting the frontier and at the same time settling permanently and establishing a stable economy whereby armies could be fed and provisioned. The migrations of Chinese settlers into the lands laid waste in the wars were encouraged through the “Inner Mogolia–Kansu Frontier Walls Zone”. A system of land grants was adopted by the central governments to induce more soldiers to pioneer. Marriage, even with the Mongols, was also encouraged to those pionners.

The northern land beyond the Great Wall, however, was not so favorable for Chinese agriculture and dwelling as the inner land. Supplying provisions and arms to the garrisons in the Yinshan Range which forms the front mountain of the Mongolian Plateau, the northern border of Ningsia or Kansu, or the interior of the Mongolian Plateau was not an easy task. It was very easy for the Mongols to raid down from the plateau and subsequently to defend the edge of the plateau against counterattack. Besides their advantage in position against the Chinese, they had the advantage of mobility. It was very easy for them to harry the settled Chinese and hard for the settled Chinese to pursue them. They could easily shut out the Chinese in the front from their main body behind the Wall. Therefore, the southern escarpments of the Mongolian Plateau, the Alashan Mountains and Ho Li Shan were un–fortified natural defense lines for the Mongols against Chinese attack.

No noteworthy effort was made to extend the border–land by the successors of Yung Lo. Fighting with the Mongols was frequent, and the tide of the battle did not always flow in favor of the Chinese. About the middle of the fifteenth century a Mongol army defeated and captured the Ming Emperor, and in the ensuing peace the Chinese renounced all claims to intervention in Mongolian affairs. Thence, the Chinese forces retreated to the cordon of the Great Wall.

Some students explained the cause of the successive waves of movement of the Mongol nomads by the theories of “climatic change or fluctuation”. According to the theories, a dry period recently has raided over the interior of Asia, and the deserts therein have begun to spread. In the matter of water, the nomad tends to be more sensitive than the agriculturist. Years of especially low rainfall results in scanty pasturage and drinking water. This lack of water
causes severe losses of livestock. It is in times like these that the nomadic tribes are apt to invade lands belonging to other tribes and even to lands belonging to sedentary agriculturists. E. Huntington showed that the periods of great increase in the nomads of Asia and their inroads into their neighbours' territories coincided with periods of great rainfall. However, the theories of climatic change or fluctuation, in themselves, have been denied, opposed, agreed to in some extent, or doubted. Any way, the idea that the present retreat of the Mongols to the north, the area of more scanty rainfall, without moving to the south where more rainy pasturage is obtainable, owes only to the recent period of dryness is ridiculous. And the attitude of interpreting the cause of such a human phenomena without thinking of their psychological phases and other conditions is unreasonable.

A limited trade has been carried on from an ancient time between the nomadic people and the sedentary people. The Chinese farmers, merchants and craftmen came and went seasonally or temporarily to and from the Mongol lands outside of the Wall. They traded with the Mongols on barter or credit. Establishing fairs for trade with the Mongols and receiving tributes from them were traditional policies of the Chinese states. They thought that these were the best ways to appease and control the fierce Mongols. Yung Lo of the Ming dynasty established three military districts in the Uliangha area corresponding to the eastern part of Inner Mongolia and southern Manchuria, and opened three fairs for trade, known as horse fairs: at the north-eastern frontier forts along the Palisade, Kaiyuan and Kuangning (present Pehchen) for the Ulianghas, Fushun for the Manchurians. And then he expanded such traditional policies for trade over further western Mongols. The Ming dynasty, however, sometimes regarded these practices as benefiting only one side, the Mongols', and prohibited their tributes.

By the time of the fifteenth century, some amount of cereals, tea, tobacco and daily necessities were indispensable for the Mongols. Closing of the fairs for trade on the border by the Ming dynasty was nothing but economic pressure designed to bear on the Mongols. The invasion of Mongols beyond the Wall became violent from the middle of the sixteenth century. Essien, Shaowantzu, Chinao and Anta were the leaders of the Mongol tribes, who raided successively various areas of the border-land such as Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, Tatung and Liaotung, and even Peking, the capital of the state. Of course, regaining their lost land was the strong motive of the Mongols in these attacks. They also caused military disturbances on the border, because they were strongly in protest of the Chinese closing down the fair. In those days there was no strong political power in the border-land to maintain the orders and to guarantee the peaceful trade of the natives. Everything was carried on for strategic needs. Those fairs were often interrupted by raiding wars. The federal states of tribes were organized under the control of Altan Khan (Anta) in the area stretching from the Khingan Mountains through Ningsia and Kansu to Singkiang, Tsinhai, and further beyond to Tibet. Anta established in the Chia Ch'ing period (1522-66) of the Ming dynasty the eleven fairs for trade at fort-towns along the Great Wall. They were Chanchiakow in Suanfu district; Toshengkow, Shingping and Shoukow in Tatung district; Shuichuanying in Shansi district; Hungshansupo in Yensui district; Chinshuiying, Chungwei and Peiluya in Ningsia district; Hung-
shuipientokow and Kaokouchai in Kansu district\(^22\).

In 1571, Anta reconciled with the Ming dynasty, and in return he and his family were recognized as the legitimate princes of the Mongols, and were rewarded by the dynasty with the title of “Shun I Wang” or “Prince of Following the Right”. At the same time he was given the name of Kwezhua, meaning “Naturalization” or “Return to Civilization”, for the trading-town known as Khukhuhoto or “Blue Castle” among the Mongols, which he built and chose as his capital\(^23\). His most important demand from the Chinese was the privilege of holding fairs for trade. The inference is that without the revenue of these fairs he could not forgo the profits brought in by his raiding wars\(^24\). Thenceforward he made an effort to maintain order and peace in the borderlands, at least in the Ordos, the Alashan, and Koko Nor areas. The trade fairs increased in number. Trade was carried on, besides in the above mentioned eleven places, in a number of smaller centers\(^25\).

In the district of Yensui of northern border-land of Shensi province, Hungshansupao, Shênmu and Hwanghuchwan were three trade fair centers authorized by the Chinese Central Government in the Wan Li period (1573–1619). The first fair in the year was opened shortly after January fifteenth. The dates were set for three fairs to be held successively with a day intervening. The Chinese who could understand and speak Mongolian transported the commodities to the fair, and pitched a tent in the outskirts of the ramparts, and displayed their wares to the Mongols. The Chinese traded tea, clothes, forage for animals, salt, tobacco and smaller items of daily necessities to the Mongols, in return for wools of sheep, lamb fur, camel hair, fox fur, cattle, sheep, rabbits etc. In case of commodities that the Chinese traded, their clothes came from Kiangsu, tea from Hunan and Hupeh, salt from Shansi and Ningsia, and tobacco from North or Central China. The Chinese were prohibited from trading their millet and weapons with Mongols. On the Mongol side, horses could not be traded with the Chinese\(^26\).

From this instance we can see the general conditions of the trade fairs carried on the border between the Mongols and the Chinese. The Mongols living in the southern land of the edge of the Mongolian Plateau, except the south-western part of the Ordos Desert, and the Alashan Desert, were not near any salt deposit or the “nor” where natural salt is obtainable. Therefore, most of the Mongols had to trade with the Chinese, if only for their salt alone. Furthermore, tea was indispensable for all the Mongols in their diets. On the side of the Ming dynasty, horses were the most desired trading commodity from the Mongols, thence the dynasty already had opened the horse fairs with the Uliangha Mongols and the Manchurians in the frontier of Liaotung, as described previously. The regulation of prohibiting the trade of horses, millet and weapons in the district of Yensui cited above was naturally made from strategic needs. A regulation of this kind, however, was possibly hard to enforce in practice.

Besides these authorized fairs conducted or supervised by the Central Government centered in Peking, other fairs were carried on under the jurisdiction of the Pa Tun, who was in charge of the guard of the forts. A trading tax was imposed by these Chinese officials on each trader, that ranged from several cents to more than two dollars in terms of Chinese dollar tael. This levy, along with other minor taxes, was sent to the Pu,Chêng Shih, or the chief officer of
finance of the provincial government\textsuperscript{27}. The taxation on the trade in the border-
land was carried out under a very complicated system. The dues used to be
imposed at the same time by several officers belonging to the different
jurisdictional organs. Dispute on jurisdiction over the taxation system brought
on many conflicts within Chinese officialdoms. The taxation system on passing
and trading commodities on the border-land grew more and more complicated
from the end of the Ch'ing dynasty, keeping step with the development of
Chinese colonization in Inner Mongolia-Kansu Area, and with the development
of trade with the Occident states through that area. In any time, the income
from the dues on trading or passing commodities accounted for a large part of
the total income of local governments along the frontier\textsuperscript{28}).

The places of fairs for trade became the nuclei of the local areas where the
economic unities of the Chinese and Mongols were formed. Every border city
developed on fair site. The benefits of those local economic unities, however,
did not always coincide with those of the central governments. The Mongols
could get a certain amount of cereals such as millet and maize by forcing the
serfs taken prisoners in their wars to cultivate what little land they put under
the hoe. The Chinese farmers and merchants also wanted to obtain a profit by
trading with the Mongols, and in some cases, they leased land from the Mongols
for cultivation. From the ancient times, Shansi Merchants have acted as
middlemen not only along the trade routes between the southern land and the
northern land of the Great Wall, but also in the eastern part of the trade
routes which were connected with the oasis areas of Central Asia and further
beyond with the Occident and India through northwestern passageways. They
were constructing a "Kingdom of Shansi Merchants"\textsuperscript{29}). Officers of local
governments desired to squeeze the traders\textsuperscript{30}). While a considerable number of
Mongols were employed as soldiers by the northern feudal states of China in
the war between southern states, the Chinese opposed to the central governments
or exiled from the areas of China Proper tended to associate with the Mongols
in the bounding territories outside of the Wall\textsuperscript{31}). At some places in the Peking-
Paotow Railway Zone there are distributed small and compact communities of
Moslems with mosques as their nuclei, segregated from the Chinese communities.
Those Moslems have their origins chiefly in the immigration from North China,
which took place abreast of the great tide of Chinese immigrants at the end of
the Ch'ing dynasty, and partly in immigration from North-Western China such
as Ningsia and Kansu\textsuperscript{32}). Although they constituted a minority in this zone, they
have been closely connected with the Moslems in the North-Western Frontier
of China where they have had powerful influence among the natives and formed
a majority group in some districts. Those factors noted above functioned as
"centrifugal forces"\textsuperscript{33}) which tended to separate the area from moving toward
centralization under the central governments. It was, therefore, difficult for the
Chinese central governments to control trade and maintain permanent powers
in their northern frontier. An exception which changed these centrifugal forces
to "centripetal forces"\textsuperscript{34}) was the time when the central government was
unusually strong.

The Kweihua Tumet Mongols were originally genuine nomadic people. They
occupied, in the period of the Ming dynasty, the land stretching from the Suiyuan
Plain to the Ulanchap district in the Mongolian Plateau further north of the
Yinshan Range. They used to move seasonally in their land, northward in early summer, and southward in early winter. Anta, the chieftain of the said-tribe, leased his tribe's pasture to the Chinese refugees, and made them carry on agriculture for him. Many Mongols settled and carried on agriculture. In the vicinity of Kweihua, we can now find the place name called "Pan-shen". These places are settling places of the Chinese and the Mongols who were under the control of Anta. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Tumets' land in Ulanchap was occupied by the Khalkha Right wing Banner who were moved from Outer Mongolia as a result of quarrels between their own princes. Thence, the Tumets' northern marginal pasturage was shrank back to the line of the lamasary temple of Shiretu Jo (Chao Ho). The tumets have suffered heavily from Chinese colonization, which began to affect the Suiyuan Steppe Lowland in the eighteenth century. By the beginning of the twentieth century, almost all of the Tumets had been swept out from their land. There are now only a few thousand of the Tumets, most of whom live on irrigated land at the foot of Yinshan Range. They live partly in separate village and partly in mixed villages composed of Chinese and Tumets. For the most part they have lost their language and live like the Chinese. A few hundred of them who yet retain the Mongol language are still scattered through mountains between the Suiyuan Plain and the Mongolian Plateau and carry on a semi-nomadic life. The Kharacin tribe which was in the south-eastern part of Jehol near Manchuria and Hopeh is another example in which the Mongols' assimilation to Chinese culture began early, and their societies were almost completely metamorphosed into Chinese societies. Changing of Mongol nomadic societies into Chinese agricultural societies, as a consequence of transformation of their pasturages into Chinese farm lands, is one factor of centrifugal forces acting against the unity of the Mongols.

The rulers of the Mongols whose powers reached to the line of the Wall tried to obtain a revenue from the trade fairs, and at the same time, they made attempts to gather up the farm rents from the Chinese. In the Monogol tribes, a gap in the unity between the two groups, the ruling class of nobility and the class of common people, came about when the former leased their pasture lands to the Chinese. The former got a profit exclusively by it; the common people became poor by the shrinkage and devastation of pasture. The band of tribal unity against the Chinese gradually became weak. The cleavage between the nobility and tribesmen grew much larger from the latter period of the Ch'ing dynasty. This cleavage within the tribe functioned as a centrifugal force against the unity of the Mongols.

The Mongols were sometimes organized into the federated states of tribes with considerably strong military power. They tried to intrude into the inner land of the Wall, but, they were unable to maintain this kind of situation for any length of time in the inner land of the Wall, except the Empire of Yuan dynasty. In the inner land of the Wall the Chinese could defeat the Mongols on their own ground. The Chinese were in a position to bring to bear on the Mongol attackers stronger armaments, more man power, and more agriculture supplies to back up their armies. On the other hand, the unifying band of federated states of the tribes was not strong enough to maintain a permanent cohesion. In accordance with fixation of their pasturages, the various tribes
came to find something more intense in connecting bands with the adjacent
non-nomadic peoples with whom they had formed economic unities, and tended
to develop different feelings about a *raison d'etre*. Such a kind of separatism
among the Mongol tribes was another centrifugal force against the unity of the
Mongols.

The “Inner Mongolia-Kansu Frontier Walls Zone”, as noted previously, was
a frontier where the “razor’s edge” of Two Peoples’ forces had been joined
together, and which showed the fluctuating breadth of their forces. This
Chino-Mongolian Conflict Zone was a transitional zone where the human activities
had been directed in two ways, one to the Chinese origin, another to the Mongol
origin. The forces of this transitional zone showed in its character a quasi-
neutrality, not a true neutrality independent from the Two Core Area, which
tended to take part with one side or another, or with neither side, and to affect
the forces of those core areas. Such forces of Chino-Mongolian Border Region
affected in some degree the fluctuation southward or northward of their powers.

3. **Legally Settled Boundaries and Reasonable Boundaries**

The “Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region” was established on May 1, 1947,
in the area constitutes the north-eastern part of the “Inner Mongolia-Kansu Area”
which I have designated. Up to July 30, 1955, the Autonomous Region had been
composed of two “administrative areas” of the Chinese and the Mongols (Ping-
tichüang and Hotao), seven leagues with forty-eight banners of the Mongols
(the Hulunbeil, Cherim and Chaouda which had belonged to the former Man-
choukuo; Silinghol, Ulanchap and Chahar which had constituted the former
“Autonomous Government of the United Mongols” in Inner Mongolia sponsored
and backed up by Japan; and Ikhchao), and two cities under the direct control
of the Government of the Autonomous Region (Khukhuhoto[former Kveisui]and Paotow), with its capital at Khukhuhoto. Within the area of those seven leagues,
four cities, two towns, twenty-four “hsien” and one mining district of the Chinese
are included. The population of the Autonomous Region was estimated at
6,100,000, of which the Mongols constituted fifteen percent, 900,000. This number
of the Mongols accounted for two thirds of the population of the Mongols in
the “Inner Mongolia-Kansu Area”. On the other hand, the number of the Chinese
amounted to 5,000,000, which accounted for more than eighty percent of the total
population of the Autonomous Region. The Mongols of the areas other than this
Autonomous Region, such as the Ongniots, Aokhan, Kharacin and Khalkha in
the Jehol Mountains, the Alashan Mongols and the Etsin Mongols in Kansu, were
nominally included in the administrative areas of Chinese provincial governments,
such as Jehol or Kansu province. On July 30, 1955, the province of Jehol was
divided into three parts which were respectively added to the administrative
areas of Hopeh, Liaooning provinces, and Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region,
and abolished. By 1957 When ten years had passed from the establishment of
the Autonomous Region, the population of the Region amounted to 8,700,000 in
the area of 1,400,000 square kilometers, including the Payennaoor League composed
of the Alashan Eleuts and Etsin Durbets. There, now exist the administrative
boundaries of the Mongol tribes under the jurisdiction of the Chinese Communist
Government according to the system of banners and leagues under the Ch'ing
dynasty. However, there do not exist the territorial boundaries legally accepted by the Two Peoples as settled in the period of the Ch'ing dynasty between the Chinese and the Mongols.

The Mongols occupied the land outside the Wall by the latter half of the sixteenth century. They devastated large areas of the cultivated lands. The Chinese, leaving some of their people behind, were forced to retreat again to the inner land of the Wall. Anta accepted, in his peace treaty with China, the "Outer Wall" of the Great Wall in Inner Mongolia as the territorial boundary between Chinese State and the Trival States. In that time, man-marked landscapes,
population, language, religion and folk-lore—such cultural boundaries between Mongolia and China converged closely. They were almost in accordance with the main line of the Great Wall, which means the Outer Wall in Inner Mongolia.

When the Manchus held the sovereignty in 1644, the main line of the Great Wall was almost in accordance with the geographic boundary. The concept of geographic boundary is used here to mean a reasonable boundary to identify the two heterogeneous regions with their core areas respectively. Based on such an actual status as well as old usage, the Manchus dynasty settled legally the main line of the Great Wall as the territorial boundary between the Chinese and the Mongols.

Under the control of the Manchus dynasty, the twenty-four tribes of the "Inner Mongols" were divided into six leagues of forty-nine banners; the Khalkha Four Tribes of the "Outer Mongols" into four leagues of eighty-six banners; the Eleut Four Tribes of the "Western Mongols" into the same system with the Inner and Outer Mongols. In addition to those banners the Manchus, from strategic viewpoint, organised the south marginal Mongols, the Chahar and Kweihua Tumet tribes under a different administrative system from other Mongols. The Chahars, round about Kalgan, who had lost their tribal government through revolt, and had been divided into right and left wings with four banners each, and the Tumets near Kweisui did not belong any league, and were under the direct jurisdiction of the resident military governors in Mongolia appointed by the Li Fan Yuan, or Colonial Office, the Chahar Tu T'ung and Suiyuan Chiang Ch'iu, respectively. Four banners of them were not ordinary military banners, and were in charge of horses, cows, sheeps and camels for the Manchus Government41).

The Manchus dynasty, in the beginning of its reign, took the policy of protecting the Mongol pastoral lands. Regulations prohibiting the Chinese from cultivating the Mongol pastures were enforced. The Manchus were very afraid that the balance of powers between the Mongols and Chinese might be broken by the disputes caused by such trifling civil affairs42).

The Great Wall diminished in its important function as a defense barrier against northern nomadic peoples. It became more important as a defense barrier against the Chinese penetration into Mongolia. In the gates on the Great Wall, inquiries and examinations of the passing men and commodities were regourously carried on. The Great Wall acted as a fiscal barrier for the prevention of smuggling and the levying of dues and as a police barrier for the examination of passports and the arrest of criminals or suspects. Shiefenkow, Kupehkow, Tushikhkow, Chanchiaikow (Kalgan) in the northern border of Chihli, and Shahukow in the northern border of Shansi were situated strategically as "Five Big Gates" entering into Mongolia43).

The Manchus dynasty came in contact with the power of Russia on the northern border of Manchuria and Outer Mongolia in 1660's. It had to pay attention to the Russian power which was gradually increasing on her northern border, and prepare a defense against it. It was necessary to force the Chinese to migrate into thinly populated Mongolia in order to prevent a Russian invasion from the north, and to maintain the frontier securely. Thence, the policy of controlling the Chinese immigration into Mongol lands through regulations was rather hard to enforce. These regulations remained as the articles in the codes for a long time after the period when they were not enforced. The military
headquarters in Shansi province was removed to Suiyuan-chêng outside of the Great Wall from Yüyu just inside the border of the Great Wall\(^4\).

Approval of Chinese immigration by the ruling class of the Mongol tribes plus overpopulation in China Proper caused the gradual increase of the Chinese in the lands outside of the Great Wall. Keeping step with the development of Chinese colonization, the administrative organs of Chinese immigrants in Mongol banners were established one after the other, overlapping on the jurisdiction areas of Mongol tribes. At last in 1928, four provinces of Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan and Ningsia were established in the Inner Mongols' area under the same administrative system with the Old Chinese provincial organs within the Great Wall\(^5\).

The Mongol tribes had independent relations with each other. They recognized the sovereignty of the Manchus, but did not even a bit recognize the Chinese sovereignty. They were not the dependencies of the Chinese. The Manchus maintained until its collapse the attitude that the Great Wall is the legally settled boundary between the Chinese and the Mongols. Since the fall of the Manchus dynasty, the Central Governments of China have thought that they inherited the sovereignty of the Manchus over the Mongols. Since the death of Anta, there has been no leader powerful enough to consolidate these tribal unities. The Mongols were too weak to protest strongly against such a practice of the Chinese. Humanly marked landscapes in the “Inner Mongolia–Kansu Area” were tremendously changed from those of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, when the legally settled boundary had coincided with the geographic boundary, and had been a reasonable one for the demarcation of Two Region. The culture of the marginal Mongols was considerably metamorphosed by the influences of the Chinese. In the present Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the genuine Mongols\(^6\) who are mainly engaging in stock raising account for less than 300,000. This figure constitutes one third of the population of the Mongols, and ninety-seven percent of the total stock-raisers involving the Chinese in that area; Most of the Mongols are now carrying on stock raising and farming combined.

The geographic boundary of the Two Regions became largely unconformable to the boundary legally settled by the Manchus, the main line of the Great Wall. The width of this discrepancy grew so large that most of people probably have forgotten that the Great Wall was the legally settled boundary between the Two Regions. Moreover, the eagerness for territorial allocation from the Chinese has been underlined in the recent autonomous movement in Inner Mongolia which started from the Mongols of Silinghol and Ulanchap. The establishment of the national autonomous region under the Chinese Communist Government seems to show a slight sign of revival of the function of the Great Wall as a legal boundary between the Chinese and the Mongols in the south-western border of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region with Inner China.

4. **The Area of Border Region**

The bounding states or regions respectively have their own core areas which form in character the most intensive part in those states or regions. And border regions are the lands where the political, economic, cultural or military forces
of states or space-occupied organisms interact antagonistically in their marginal edges. Thence, the boundaries of man-marked landscapes, language, religion, or folk-lore between two regions are always dynamically changing, keeping step with the change of forces of two regions. Geographic boundaries are "kulturell" ones, and at the same time, they are and must be "reasonable" ones to distinguish the two regions, even if it is very difficult to designate the actual spaces.

In the "Inner Mongolia-Kasnsu Area", the following two important humanly marked boundaries are recognized. They are (1) the northern boundary of sedentary agriculture, and (2) the southern boundary of genuine nomads. The latter boundary almost coincides with the northern boundary of shifting cultivation and fallow system. This boundary runs on, from north-east toward south-west, almost along the line connecting Hulun(Hailar), Solunshan, Shilinghol, Pailingmiao, Tzehu and Mowu, almost along the outwork walls line in the Mongolian Plateau. The former boundary passes on, from north-east toward south-west, nearly along the crest line of the Great Khingan Mountains, the southern edge of Yinshan Range, the eastern edge of the Alashan Mountains and the southern edge of the Holan Shan, nearly along the line connecting Nungkiang, Chalantun, Solunshan, Linsi, Tolun, Wuchwan, Wuyan, Ningsia, Chungwei, Wuwei and Kiayukwan. In some places south of this boundary line, shifting cultivation, fallow system, and semi-nomads are observed.

The area between both boundaries, where the shifting cultivation and fallow system are dominant in the Chinese agriculture, and the semi-nomads are prominent in the Mongol tribes, forms the transitional zone between the semi-arid sedentary agriculture region and the arid pastoral nomadic region. The crest of the Great Khingan Mountains separates the "South-East Mongols" from the "Mongols of Chahar-Suiyuan Area". The Mongols of Chahar-Suiyuan Area have been most closely contacted with the Chinese of Shansi, and Hopeh. The South-East Monhols, on the other hand, have had a close relation with the Hopeh and Shantung area. The Mongols west of the Alashan Mountains have been connected with the bounding agricultural area where the Moslems have constituted the majority group. In Chahar-Suiyuan Area, the transitional zone described above, in the period from the fifteenth century to the present time, advanced northward from the area lying between the Outer Branch of the Great Wall and the Yingshan Range to the area stretching from the southern edge of the Yingshan Range to the line approximate to the forty-two degree parallel north. The area enclosed by the "Outer Wall" and the "Inner Wall" of the Great wall was in some period in the times prior to the fifteenth century such a transitional zone. The Ordos district has formed "island" in transitional zone. Anyway, this transitional region is sandwiched in between the Two Regions. The relations between this Inter-Region and the Two Bounding Regions are always dynamic. This Inter-Region is regarded as the frontier of the Agricultural Region and the Nomadic Region.

The "Inner Mongolia-Kansu Frontier Walls Zone" involves more large areas, compared with the "Shifting Cultivation and Semi-Nomads Zone". In the present time, there is not seen everywhere throughout the whole area of the "Frontier Walls Zone", the acute antagonism of nomadism and agriculture. This zone, however, has been involved in a certain amount of instability even now,
Fig 3-1
INNER MONGOLIA-KANSU FRONTIER WALLS ZONE

- The Great Wall

The predominant economic activities in the Inner Mongolian Aoton are:

- Agriculture
- Grazing
- Semi-nomad
- Forestry
- Hunting
- Shifting Cultivation and Fallow System

Based on Ching-Chih Sun, Mengku Tzu.

PREDOMINANT ECONO INNER MONGOLIAN AOTON
Based on Ching-Chih Sun, Mengku Tzu
in terms of economic, political and social conditions. The “Shifting Cultivation and Semi-Nomads Zone” has fluctuated, as an Inter-Region between Two Regions, within the “Frontier Walls Zone” southward or northward. And the stability or instability of the “Shifting Cultivation and Semi-Nomads Zone” is connected deeply with the conditions of the “Frontier Walls Zone”. Therefore, in determining the north-south and east-west length of the border region of the Two Regions of the Chinese and the Mongols, these two zones must be kept in mind.

Border regions are, as noted previously, the zones where the razor’s edge of the two bounding regions dynamically interact and are transitional and quasi-neutral in their nature. From the standpoint of political geography, it is necessary to cover a wider area, as its object of study of frontiers or border regions, than the area which might be determined from the actual distribution of phenomenon. (1958. 8. 29)

**Notes**

* The original manuscript of the present paper was submitted to Professor Richard Hartshorne under the heading of “The Conflict Zone between the Chinese and Mongols in Inner Mongolia—One Method of Determining the Area of a Border Land—”, during my working period as a research assistant of Professor Glenn T. Trewartha for the 1951-52 academic year in the Department of Geography, the University of Wisconsin, U. S. A..

1) The term of frontiers is used herein in the meaning of “political or international frontiers”, not in the meaning of “pioneer fringes” or “frontiers settlement”. See, A. E. Moodie, *Geography behind Politics*, Hutchinson’s University Library, London, 1947, pp. 72-3.


4) Iwakichi Inaba, Mindai Ryoto no Henshō (The Frontier Fence in Riaotung Area in the Ming dynasty), Manshu Rekishi Chiri (Geographical History of Manchuria), vol. 2, Maruzen Co., Tokyo, 1940, pp. 460-546; Manshu Hattatsushi (History of Manchuria), Nippon Hyoron Sha, Tokyo, 1943, pp. 141-68, 322-25 (in Japanese).


7) Shanshi Tungchih (General Geography of Shanshi), Kweisui Hsien Chih (Geography of Kweisui Hsien) etc.


9) Some of “obos” are looked upon by the Mongols as the dwelling places of spirits.


11) Trewartha, op. cit., p. 45.


14) Geil, op. cit., p. 96.


17) Lattourette, op. cit., p. 289.

18) The students who insist on climatic change or fluctuation are E. Huntington, L. H. D. Buxton, A. de C. Sowerby, Shu Ming Wang, C. P. Berkey, F. K. Morris, V. K. Ting, etc. See, Mutsumi Hoyanagi, Hokushi Moko no Chiri (Geography of North China and Mongolia), Kokon Shoin, Tokyo, 1943, pp. 159-252 (in Japanese).


20) Ming Shih (History of the Ming dynasty), (in Chinese).

21) Ming Hui Tien (in Chinese), See, Komei Imamura, Mokyo Chi-iki ni okeru Toshi no Seiritsu ni tsuite (Growth of Cities in Inner Mongolia), Nairiku Ajia (Interior Asia), vol. 1, p. 175 (in Japanese).

26) *Yensu Hsien Chih* (Regional Geography of Yensu Hsien), (in Chinese).
30) Sugimura, op. cit. (28).
31) The refugees of Ch’in dynasty (249 B.C.-207 B.C.) in the period of Han dynasty (206 B.C.-219 A.D.), and the refugees of “Pai Lien Chao” or an Associaton of Buddhists in the Ming dynasty are good examples.
42) *Mengku Yumu Chi*, op. cit
43) Yano, op. cit., pp. 98–188.
44) Chang, op. cit.
46) Ōaki Sugimura, Nai Moko Yuno Chitai ni tsuite (Shifting Cultivation Region in Inner Mongolia), *Tanaka Keiji Sensei Kinen, Otsuka Chiri Gakkai Ronbun Shu* (Collection of Geographical Articles in Honor of Prof. Keiji Tanaka’s

46) Sun, op. cit., p. 12.


48) Sugimura, op. cit. (45); Sun, op. cit., pp. 16–76.