# FAMILY LAW FOR THE HONG KONG SAR

ATHENA NGA CHEE LIU



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## **Contents**

Pr	eface	vii
Ta	ble of Cases	xi
Та	able of Legislation x	xxvii
Pa	art I: Marriage and Its Termination	1
1	Customary Marriage, Union of Concubinage and Modern Marriag	ge 3
2	Dissolution under the Marriage Reform Ordinance	55
3	Marriage under the Marriage Ordinance	73
4	Divorce under the Matrimonial Causes Ordinance	99
5	Nullity and Judicial Separation	141
Pa	art II: Children	177
6	Status	179
7	Parentage	193

vi		CONTENT
8	Parental Rights and Authority	211
9	Welfare of the Child	245
10	Children on Family Breakdown	275
11	Adoption	291
. 12	Wardship	321
13	International Child Abduction	333
Par	t III: Financial Provision for Family Members	349
14	Maintenance Obligations during Marriage	351
15	Money and Property on Divorce	363
16	Financial Provision for Children	413
17	Settlement, Consent Order and Variation	421
Par	t IV: Protection	437
18	Child Protection	439
19	Protection against Domestic Violence	459
Ind	lex	477

### **Table of Cases**

#### **Hong Kong Cases**

Adoption Application, Re [1958] HKLR 150 296–297 Agell v Agell, High Court, Action No 4 of 1977 (1977) 362 An Infant, Re [1962] HKLR 167 297 An Infant, Re, [1985] HKLY 512 300

Baillieu v Baillieu, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 149 of 1995 (1995) 381, 390, 399

Baring v Baring [1992] HKLY 526 461

Beynon v Beynon, District Court, Divorce Jurisdiction, Action No 614 of 1975 (1977) 382, 383

Boulter v Boulter [1977–1979] HKC 282 278, 279, 286

C (a minor) (wardship: medical treatment), Re [1994] 1 HKLR 60 224, 225, 328

C (a minor), Re [1989] 2 HKLR 652 331

C v C, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 44 of 1988 (1988) 252

CvC[1971] HKLR 56 158

C v C [1990] 2 HKLR 183 viii, 364, 380, 385, 402

C v C, [1977–1979] HKC 363 262, 383, 385, 402

CCCY v CWL [1980] HKC 522 158, 159

Chan Cheung-hing v Chan Tang-lan [1985] 2 HKC 316 370

Chan Chiu-lam v Yau Yee-ping [1998] HKLRD 716 vii, 31, 37

xii TABLE OF CASES

Chan Chuck-wai v Chan Chan Yin-kwan, District Court, Divorce Jurisdiction, Action No 245 of 1979 (1981) 382, 408

- Chan Chung-hing v Wong Kim-wah [1986] HKLR 715 7, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 21, 23, 67, 77
- Chan Chun-hon v Chan Lam Lai-bing, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 43 of 1994 (1994) 466, 467, 468
- Chan Heung (an infant), Re, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 349 of 1983 (1983) 251

Chan Kam-nga v Director of Immigration, 1997 AL No 104 (1998) viii

Chan Lee-kuen v Chan Sui-fai [1966] HKLR 796 12, 80

Chan Shin Sui-ping v Chan Din-tsang [1958] HKLR 283 79, 80

Chan Tse-shi, Re [1954] HKLR 9 291

Chan Wei-yin v Cheong Shun-chiu [1993] 2 HKLR 485 368

Chan Wing-ming v Chan Li-li [1957] HKLR 474 126

Chan Yu Wai-ming v Chan Cheak-wing, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 123 of 1985 (1986) 128

Chan Yue v Henry Leong Estate Ltd [1953] HKLR 66 291

Chau Ming-cheong v R [1983] HKLR 187 442

Cheung Lai-wah v The Director of Immigration [1997] 3 HKC 64 188

Cheung Wong Kim-ching v Cheung Chai-kong [1991] 1 HKLR 698 362, 370, 385, 386, 392, 395, 396, 404, 405

Cheung Yee-mong v So Kwok-yan [1996] 2 HKC 360 220

Cheung Yuk-lin v Hui Shiu-wing (No 4) [1970] HKLR 119 382, 396, 397

Chiu Kwai-fun v Lam Hing-keung, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 968 of 1985 (1985) 326, 333

Cho Fok Bo-ying v Cho Chi-biu [1990] 2 HKC 269 422

Chong Chui Yuk-ching v Chong Pui-cheong [1983] HKDCLR 1 22, 42, 77

Chow Cheung Suk-king v Chow Yan-piu, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 180 of 1984 (1984) 255, 256, 257, 259, 260

Choy Kin-choy v Choy Chan Kai-ngar, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 47 of 1993 (1993) 370, 371, 383, 409, 412

Chung Kai-fun v Lau Wai-king [1966] HKLR 881 79

D (an infant), Re [1962] HKLR 431 294, 295

Director of Social Welfare v Lam Kwok-wah [1988] 1 HKLR 206 224, 329

Director of Social Welfare v Tam [1987] HKLR 66 224, 328

Fei Tai-chung v Gloria Fei, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 170 of 1994 (1995) 380, 383, 398, 411

TABLE OF CASES xiii

Fong Pak-kai v Fong Chue Yiu-ling [1995] 2 HKC 518 153

Fung Ling Pui-sim v Fung Ning-sam, District Court, Divorce Jurisdiction, Action No 69 of 1981 (1982) 410

Gensburger v Gensburger [1968] HKLR 403 108 Griggs v Griggs [1971] HKLR 299 104

HvH[1981] HKLR 376 388

Hamlett v Hamlett [1996] 1 HKC 61 380, 382, 393, 405, 411, 470

Ho Har-chun v Yiu Hon-ming, District Court, Action No 2381 of 1970 12, 19, 22, 23

Ho Lee Kam-wan v Ho Man, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 78 of 1988 (1988) 269

Ho Tsz-tsun v Ho Au-shi (1915) 10 HKLR 69 30

Ho Yiu-chuen Fong v Ho Wei-yiu [1986] HKLR 99 417

Hon To Lai-chu v Hon Wing-chun [1985] HKLR 490 385

Horton v Horton, High Court, Divorce Jurisdiction, Action No 19 of 1983 (1984) 362

Hudson v Hudson, District Court, Divorce Jurisdiction, Action No 1223 of 1980 385

Huen Sook Jong Miller v Stephen Henry Miller, High Court, Divorce Jurisdiction, Action No 6 of 1985 (1985) 362

Hui I-mei v Cheng Yau-shing, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 157 of 1996 (1996) 369, 381, 383, 385, 395, 402, 408, 411

Hui Shiu-wing v Cheung Yuk-lin [1968] HKLR 501 121

Huthart (infants), Re, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 1037 of 1981 (1984) 247, 251, 253, 262, 267

Ives v Ives [1967] HKLR 423 83

Julie Ong, Re, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 1895 of 1988 (1989) 252, 260

K v W [1998] 1 HKLRD 402 363, 419

Kam Leung Kit-yee v Kam Ying-fai, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 194 of 1996 (1997) 368

Kao Yeung Lun-kuk v Kao Cho [1975] HKLR 449 83

Keiko Maruko v Yoshio Maruko, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 32 of 1995 (1995) 367

Kishen Das, Re (1933) 26 HKLR 42 5, 82

Kwan Bui-lock v Isabella Stamm Lock, District Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 106 of 1979 125 xiv TABLE OF CASES

Kwan Chui Kwok-ying v Tao Wai-chun [1995] 1 HKC 374 19, 22, 26, 36, 37

Kwan Kai-ming, Re, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 2996 of 1990 (1994) 199

Kwok Micah (a minor), Re, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 3040 of 1984 (1985) 251, 253, 326

L (an infant), Re [1989] 1 HKLR 614 299

L v C, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 4167 of 1993 (1994) 191, 198

LvL[1970] HKLR 556 251

Lai Kin-fung (an infant), Re, District Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 401 of 1979 (1980) 259, 262

Lai Lai-hing v Lai Kwai-ping [1995] 1 HKC 654 368, 380, 383, 411

Lau Chu v Lau Tang Su-ping [1989] 2 HKLR 470 131, 421

Lau Lap-che v Wong Sut-fan [1996] 1 HKC 165 411

Law Lo Shiu-chun v Law Wing-chee, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 130 of 1993 (1994) 388, 389

Law Shi-ying v Law Kam-tai, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 45 of 1994 (1994) 389

Lee Cheuh-wah (an infant), Re, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 2678 of 1983 (1984) 252, 255, 261, 262

Lee Ka-ming, Re, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action Nos 162 & 163 of 1990 (1991) 187

Lee Lan v Henry Ho, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 3441 of 1978 (1980) 19, 40, 42, 43

Lee Wai-chu v Lee Yim-chuen, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 2678 of 1983 (1984) 277, 326

Lee Yuen-sam v Lee Tang Hop-wo, High Court, Divorce Jurisdiction, Action No 14 of 1978 (1979) 111

Leung May-ling v Leung Sai-lun [1997] HKLRD 12 26

Leung Yuet-ming v Hui Hon-kit, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 63 of 1994 (1994) 361

Li Kao Feng-ning v Li Hung-lit, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 58 of 1983 (1983) 110

Li Wang-fat v R [1982] HKLR 133 441

Lily Li v Patrick Wu [1956] HKLR 363 106

Lindsay v Lindsay [1983] 2 HKC 302 109

Liu Lau Oi-yuk v Liu Chian-hsiong, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 126 of 1997 (1997) 255, 261, 263

Lo Chun Wing-yee v Lo Pong-hing [1985] 2 HKC 647 277, 278, 279

Lui Kit-chiu v Lui Kwok Hin-chau [1976] HKDCLR 51 42, 43

TABLE OF CASES XV

Lui Sik-kuen v Lee Suk-ling [1992] 2 HKLR 371 433 Lui Yuk-ping v Chow To [1962] HKLR 515 12, 28, 32, 245, 247, 262 LYC (an infant), Re [1961] HKLR 491 297

M, Re [1989] 2 HKLR 117 468

Mark Leung, Re, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 142 of 1985 (1985) 255, 259, 261, 327

Melwani v Melwani, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 39 of 1986 (1986) 288

Mok Po-sing v Lie Lie-khim [1996] 3 HKC 330 160, 172

Mong Ka-hung (a minor), High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 1908 of 1982 (1983) 253

Moss v Moss, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 145 of 1992 (1993) 382, 385, 393, 395

Mr and Mrs C v Mr D, Guardian ad litem [1993] 2 HKLR 385 299, 311–312 Murphy v Murphy, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 56 of 1992 (1992) 366, 367, 374, 381, 390

Ng Cheei-fai v Ng Han Lai-wah, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 28 of 1980 (1980) 257

Ng Kwok-hing, Re, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 2564 of 1994 (1996) vii, 22, 26

Ng Shum (No 2), Re [1990] 1 HKLR 67 12, 18, 19, 24, 31, 46, 47

Ng Ying-ho v Tam Suen-yu [1963] HKLR 923 13, 35

Ngai Wong Yun-ping v Ngai Yun-lung, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 50 of 1996 (1996) 368, 370, 371, 401, 410

Ngao Tang Yau-lin v Ngao Kai-suen [1984] HKLR 310 380

Nguyen Dang Vu v AG, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 4257 of 1993 (1994) 322, 323, 331

NTH (an infant), Re [1996] 1 HKC 93 296

Partridge v R [1977] HKLR 89 153

Phillips, Re, High Court Adoption Nos 2 & 3 of 1985 (1986) 308

R v Cheung King-po [1927] HKLR 104 291

R v Sze Tin-sin [1987] 3 HKC 333 153

R v Wong Tin Kau, 28 March 1996, South China Morning Post 220

Ryker (infants), Re, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 1184 of 1980 (1982) 258, 277

S v S, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 364 of 1998 (1998) 340, 341

xvi TABLE OF CASES

Savournin v Lau [1971] HKLR 180 104

Seghin v Seghin, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 274 of 1995 (1996) 258

Shu Wing-li v Yeung Siu-ling, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 42 of 1994 (1994) 161

Sit Woo-tung [1990] 2 HKLR 410 187

So Mei-chu v Wong Wai-anucha, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 3360 of 1990 (1991) 324

T.M.H. an infant, Re (No 2) [1962] HKLR 316 327

Ta Tran Thi Thanh v Ta Van Hung and other [1981] HKDCLR 37 104

Tang Lai Sau-kiu v Tang Loi [1987] HKLR 85 12, 79

Tang Lau Wai-chun v Tang Fung-fat [1986] HKLR 907 264, 265

Tang Yung Wai-han v Kwing Pui-yung, Civil Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 201 of 1985 (1986) 362

Tao Chen Pi-o v Tai Hsiuo-ming, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action Nos 37 and 38 of 1993 (1993) 388, 389

Thomson v Thomson, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 52 of 1991 (1991) 365, 380

Trance v Walli, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 905 of 1988 (1988) 260, 322, 327

V (infant), Re, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 477 of 1979 (1979) 326, 344

V v V, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 200 of 1980 (1981) 362

W (an infant), Re [1971] HKLR 219 307

W v W [1970] HKLR 4 106, 158

W v W [1981] HKC 466 258

Wong Che-wa v Wong Chung Yee-fong, High Court, Divorce Jurisdiction, Action No 64 of 1981 (1983) 362

Wong Chiu Ngar-chi v Wong Hon-wai [1987] HKLR 179 252, 277, 278, 324, 326

Wong Choi-ho, Re [1969] HKLR 391 10, 13, 14, 25, 31, 32

Wong Kam-ying v Man Chi-tai [1967] HKLR 201 6, 11, 13, 21, 33, 34, 37

Wong Leung-see v Wong Lo Lung-kwan [1985] 2 HKC 228 130

Wong Sin-yee v Cheung Si-yan, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 222 of 1996 (1997) 391–392, 395, 411

Wong Tai-hing v Wong Lau Yuk-ling, District Court, Divorce Jurisdiction, Action No 776 of 1983 (1984) 368

Wong Tat-lun v Wong Chan Siu-ping, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 111 of 1987 (1987) 133

TABLE OF CASES xvii

Wong Wong, Re, High Court, Probate Jurisdiction No 1797 of 1998 (1998) 26

Wong Yee-ling v Ng Tung-hoi [1970] HKLR 183 245, 247, 262

Wong Yip Yuk-ping v Wong Sze-sang, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 116 of 1985 (1985) 251, 256, 257

Wong Yiu-lan v Wong Yuen-ting [1995] 1 HKLR 411 389, 395, 397, 410

Y (minors), Re [1984] HKLR 204 257, 262, 321, 324, 325

Y v Y [1997] 3 HKC 43 viii

Y, Re [1946-1972] HKC 378 251

Yau Tin-sung v Yau Wan-loi [1983] 2 HKC 647 291

Yeung Chung-ping v Yeung Wan Yuet-kuen [1987] 1 HKC 206 202

Yeung Leung Yau-lin v Yeung Kam-wah [1977-1979] HKC 328 109

Yeung Yeu-kong v Yeung Fung Lai-mui [1971] HKLR 13 26, 30, 32

Yue Chen Kuei-mei v Yue Kwok-kee, Court of Appeal, Civil Appeal Action No 19 of 1993 (1993) 376

Yuen Yu-biu v Yuen Nip [1977–1979] HKC 453 114, 133

#### **Other Cases**

A (a minor) (abduction), Re [1988] 1 FLR 365 340

A (a minor) (adoption: access), Re (1991) Fam Law 360 315

A (a minor) (paternity: refusal of blood test), Re [1994] 2 FLR 463 204

A (minors) (wardship: children in care), Re [1980] 1 FLR 100 267

A (minors: disclosure of material), Re [1991] 2 FLR 473 325

A (section 8 order: grandparent application), Re [1995] 2 FLR 153 289

A v A (a minor: financial provision) [1994] 1 FLR 657 363, 366, 419

A v A (children: arrangements) [1979] 1 WLR 533 129

A v A (family: unborn child) [1974] 2 WLR 106 415

A v A (minors) (shared residence order) [1994] 1 FLR 669 279

A v DPP, (1996) The Times Law Report 18 April 219

A v J (nullity) (1989) Fam Law 63 160

A v Liverpool City Council [1982] AC 363 331

AB (adoption: joint residence), Re [1996] 1 FLR 27 295

Adeoso v Adeoso [1981] 1 All ER 107 117, 461

Adoption Application (non-patrial: breach of procedures), Re (1993) Fam Law 275 310

Adoption Application (payment for adoption), Re [1987] Fam 81 311

Adoption Application, Re [1992] 1 FLR 341 311

Agar-Ellis, Re (1878) 10 Ch. D 49; (1883) 24 Ch D 318 218

Ah Chuck v Needham [1931] NZLR 559 197

xviii TABLE OF CASES

Ainsbury v Millington [1986] 1 All ER 73 471, 472 Aldrich v AG [1968] P. 281 198, 199 Allsop v Allsop (1981) Fam Law 18 433 Amey v Amey [1992] 2 FLR 89 434 Ampthill Peerage Case, The [1977] AC 547 179, 194, 199 An infant, Re, [1963] 6 FLR 12 (Supreme Court of Victoria, Australia) 152 Ansah v Ansah [1977] 2 All ER 638 468 Archard v Archard (1972) The Times 20 April 108 Armstrong v Armstrong (1974) 118 SJ 579 406 Ash v Ash [1972] 1 All ER 582 Associated Provincial Picture Houses Ltd. Wednesbury Corporation [1948] 1 KB 223 444 Atkinson v Atkinson [1988] FLR 353 393 Attar v Attar (No 2) [1985] FLR 653 380, 382, 389, 398 AW (adoption application), Re [1993] 1 FLR 62 311 AZ (a minor) (abduction: acquiescence), Re [1993] 1 FLR 682 B (a minor) (abduction), Re [1994] 2 FLR 249 B (a minor) (access), Re [1984] FLR 648 287 B (a minor) (adoption: jurisdiction), Re [1975] 2 All ER 449 B (a minor) (adoption: parental agreement), Re [1990] 2 FLR 383 307 B (a minor) (disclosure of evidence), Re [1993] 1 FLR 191 270 B (a minor) (wardship: medical treatment), Re [1981] 1 WLR 1421 224 B (a minor) (wardship: sterilisation), Re [1987] 2 All ER 206 223 B (adoption: child's welfare), Re [1995] 1 FLR 895 B (JA) (an infant), Re [1965] Ch 1112 325 B (minors)(abduction) (No 2), Re [1993] 1 FLR 993 336, 337, 339 B (parentage), Re [1996] 2 FLR 15 207 B and G (minors) (custody), Re [1985] FLR 134 B and G (minors) (custody), Re [1985] FLR 493 B v AG (B and others intervening) [1966] 2 All ER 145 B v B (abduction) [1993] 1 FLR 238 B v B (consent order: variation) [1995] 1 FLR 9 424, 432 B v B (custody of children) [1985] FLR 166 254, 263 B v B (discovery: financial provision) [1990] 2 FLR 180 389 B v B (financial provision) [1982] 3 FLR 298 385, 391 B v B (financial provision) [1990] 1 FLR 20

B (otherwise S) v B [1958] 1 WLR 619 159

252, 268

B v C (enforcement: arrears) [1995] 1 FLR 467 366

B v B (minors) (interviews and listing arrangements) [1994] 2 FLR 489

B v K (child abduction) (1993) Fam Law 17 341

TABLE OF CASES xix

B v Miller & Co [1996] 2 FLR 23 Baby M 109 NI 396; 537 A 2d 1227 (1988) 206 Banbury Peerage Case, The (1811) 1 Sim. & St. 153 Bannister v Bannister (1980) 10 Fam Law 240 109 Barder v Barder (Caluori Intervening) [1987] 2 FLR 480 Barnado v McHugh [1891] AC 388 229 Barrett v Barrett [1988] 2 FLR 516 Baxter v Baxter [1948] AC 274 BC (a minor) (access), Re [1985] FLR 639 Beach v Beach [1995] 2 FLR 160 424 Beeken v Beeken [1948] P. 302 Bennett v Bennett [1969] 1 All ER 539 Bennett v Bennett (1979) 9 Fam Law 19 Benson v Benson (deceased) [1996] 1 FLR 692 434 Bernstein v Bernstein [1892] P. 375 356 Birchall, Re (1880) 16 Ch D 41 222 Blower v Blower (1986) 16 Fam Law 56 Bolsom v Bolsom [1983] 4 FLR 21 266, 382 Bowman v Bowman [1949] P. 353 Boylan v Boylan [1988] 1 FLR 282 382 Bradley v Bradley [1973] 1 WLR 1291 Bradshaw v Bradshaw [1956] P. 274 82 Brickell v Brickell [1974] Fam 31 134 Brockwell v Brockwell (1976) 6 Fam Law 46 423 Brooks v Brooks [1995] 2 FLR 13 Brown v Brown [1959] P. 86 Brown v Brown [1994] 1 FLR 233 468 Brown v Matthews [1990] 2 All ER 155 266, 267 Browning v Browning [1911] P. 161 353 BT v BT (divorce: procedure) [1990] 2 FLR 1 Buchler v Buchler [1947] 1 All ER 319 121 Buckland v Buckland [1968] P. 296 Buffery v Buffery [1988] 2 FLR 365 105 Burbury v Jackson [1917] 1 KB 16 191 Burgess v Burgess [1996] 2 FLR 34 385, 402 Burke v Burke [1987] 2 FLR 71 468 Burnett v George [1992] 1 FLR 525 474 Burris v Azadani [1996] 1 FLR 266 473 Burton v Burton [1986] 2 FLR 419 370

C (a minor) (abduction), Re [1989] 1 FLR 403 340 C (a minor) (adoption application), Re [1993] 1 FLR 87 311 XX TABLE OF CASES

- C (a minor) (adoption order: conditions), Re [1989] AC 1 314
- C (a minor) (adoption: parental agreement: contact), Re [1993] 2 FLR 260 302, 306
- C (a minor) (irregularity of practice), Re [1991] 2 FLR 438 270
- C (a minor) (wardship: medical treatment), Re [1989] 3 WLR 240 224, 328
- C (a minor) (wardship: surrogacy), Re (1985) 15 Fam Law 191 330
- C (a minor), Re (1979) Fam Law 50 266
- C (an infant), Re (1956) Times, 14 December 323
- C (minors) (wardship: adoption), Re [1989] 1 FLR 222 296
- C (minors) (wardship: jurisdiction) [1977] 3 WLR 561 326, 344
- C (minors) (parental rights) [1992] 1 FLR 1 233
- C v C (1981) 11 Fam Law 147 268
- C v C (divorce: exceptional hardship) [1980] Fam 23 125, 126
- C v C (financial provision: non-disclosure) [1994] 2 FLR 272 433
- C v C (financial provision: personal damages) [1995] 2 FLR 171 391
- C v C (financial relief: short marriage) [1997] 2 FLR 26 366, 383, 399
- C v C (minors: custody) [1988] 2 FLR 291 257
- C v C [1942] NZLR 356 165, 166
- C v K (inherent powers: exclusion order) [1996] 2 FLR 506 472
- C, Re (financial provision: leave to appeal) [1993] 2 FLR 799 433
- C, Re [1978] Fam 105 237
- Cackett v Cackett [1950] P. 233 158
- Cadman v Cadman [1982] 3 FLR 275 264, 266
- Calderbank v Calderbank [1976] Fam 93 364, 385, 396, 397
- Camm v Camm [1983] 4 FLR 577 416, 424
- Campbell v Campbell [1977] 1 All ER 1 400
- Campbell v Tameside Metropolitan BC [1982] 2 All ER 791 266
- Carpenter v Carpenter [988] 1 FLR 121 469
- Carr v Carr [1974] 1 WLR 1534 107
- Carson v Carson [1983] 1 All ER 478 429
- Cassidy v Cassidy [1959] 3 All ER 187 353
- CB (a minor)(blood tests) [1994] 2 FLR 762 203
- CH (contact: parentage), Re [1996] 1 FLR 569 289
- Chamberlain v Chamberlain [1974] 1 All ER 33 417
- Chard v Chard [1956] P. 259 83
- Chatterton v Gerson [1981] 1 Q.B. 432 222
- Chaudhuri v Chaudhuri [1992] 2 FLR 73 434
- Cheang Thye Phin v Tan Ah Loy [1920] AC 369 35
- Choo Eng-neo v Neo Chan-neo (1908) 12 SSLR 120 29
- Churchman v Churchman [1945] P. 44 356
- Clark v Clark (1970) 114 SJ 318 266.

TABLE OF CASES xxi

Clarke-Hunt v Newcombe [1983] 4 FLR 482 268

Cleary v Cleary [1974] 1 All ER 498 106, 107

Clutton v Clutton [1991] 1 FLR 242 382

Coleman v Coleman [1972] 3 All ER 886 366

Collett v Collett [1968] P. 482 76

Cook v Cook [1988] 1 FLR 521 434

Cooper v Crane [1891] P. 369 162

Corbett v Corbett [1971] P. 83 155, 156, 158

Cornick v Cornick [1994] 2 FLR 530 434

Cossey v UK (1990) 13 EHRR 622 157

Council of Civil Service Unions v Minister of the Civil Service [1985] AC 374 444

Court v Court [1982] 3 WLR 199 124

Crabtree v Crabtree [1953] 2 All ER 56 119

Crowther v Crowther [1951] AC 723 1

Crozier v Crozier [1994] 1 FLR 126 434

Cumbers v Cumbers [1975] 1 All ER 1 131, 383

D (a minor) (abduction), Re [1989] 1 FLR 403 335

D (a minor) (adoption: freeing order), Re [1991] 1 FLR 48 301, 306

D (a minor) (contact: mother's hostility), Re [1993] 2 FLR 1 287

D (a minor) (wardship: sterilisation), Re [1976] 1 All ER 326 223, 322, 324, 325

D (a minor), Re [1987] 1 AC 317 449, 450, 451

D (adoption reports: confidentiality), Re [1995] 1 FLR 631 313

D (adoption: parents consent), Re [1977] AC 602 308

D (minors) (adoption by step-parent), Re [1981] 2 FLR 102 307, 308

D (minors) (conciliation: privilege), Re [1993] 1 FLR 932 265

D (minors) (wardship: jurisdiction), Re [1973] 2 All ER 993 247, 282

D v A (1845) 1 Rob Eccl 279 158

D v D (custody of child) [1981] 2 FLR 74 267

D v D (nullity) [1979] 3 All ER 337 144

D v D [1979] 3 WLR 185 170

D v Hereford and Worcester County Council [1991] 1 FLR 205 233

D v National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children [1978] AC 171 266, 442

D v Registrar General [1996] 1 FLR 707 317

D.J.M.S. (a minor), Re [1977] 3 All ER 582 219

Dart v Dart [1996] 2 FLR 286 389, 395

Daubney v Daubney [1976] 2 All ER 453 391

Davis v Johnson [1979] AC 264 459, 461, 462, 464

De Lasala v De Lasala [1980] AC 546 423, 433, 435

De Reneville v De Reneville [1948] P. 100 142

Deacock v Deacock [1958] P. 230 153

Dean v Dean [1923] P. 172 397

Dennis v Dennis (1955) P. 153 106

Dennis v Dennis (1976) 6 Fam Law 54 391

Des Salles d'Epinoix v Des Salles d'Epinoix [1967] 1 WLR 553 470

Dickson v Dickson (1983) 13 Fam Law 174 268

Dicocco v Milne [1983] 4 FLR 247 254

Dinch v Dinch [1987] 2 FLR 162 429

Dipper v Dipper [1980] 2 All ER 722 277, 278

Dodds v AG (1880) The Law Times 22 May 198

Dorin v Dorin (1875) LR 7 188

Douglas v Douglas [1951] P. 85 357

Drew v Drew (1888) 13 PD 97 118

Dunford v Dunford [1980] 1 All ER 122 410

Dunn v Dunn [1965] 1 All ER 1043 119, 121

Durham v Durham (1885) 10 PD 80 166

Duxbury v Duxbury [1987] 1 FLR 7 387, 394

E (a minor) (child support: blood test), Re [1994] 2 FLR 548 203

E (a minor) (wardship: court's duty), Re [1984] 1 WLR 156 325

Edgar v Edgar [1980] 3 All ER 887 423, 424, 427, 432

Edmonds v Edmonds [1990] 2 FLR 202 434

Edwards v Edwards [1986] 1 FLR 187 265

EH and MH (step-parent adoption), Re (1993) Fam Law 187 307, 308

Elder v Elder [1986] 1 FLR 610 267

EL-G (minors) (wardship and adoption), Re [1983] 4 FLR 421 301, 305

Essex County Council v R [1993] 2 FLR 826 271

Essex County Council v T.L.R. and K.B.R. (1979) 9 Fam Law 15 451

Ette v Ette [1964] 1 WLR 1433 389

Ettenfield v Ettenfield [1940] P. 96 195

Eve, Re [1909] 1 Ch. 796 188

Ewart v Ewart [1959] P. 23 425

F (a minor), Re [1989] 1 All ER 1155 331

F (an infant), Re [1969] 2 Ch. 238 251

F (an infant), Re [1970] 1 QB 385 300

F (an infant), Re [1988] 2 Ch. 238 263

F (child abduction: risk if returned), Re [1995] 2 FLR 31 335, 340

F (in utero), Re [1988] 2 All ER 193 332, 451

F (minor: paternity tests), Re [1993] 1 FLR 225 203

F (minors) (police investigation), Re [1989] Fam 18 266

TABLE OF CASES xxiii

F v AG (1980) Fam Law 60 182

F v F (Duxbury calculation: rate of return) [1996] 1 FLR 833 387

F v F (Maintenance Pending Suit) (1982) Fam Law 16 362

F v F (protection from violence: continuing cohabitation) [1989] 2 FLR 451 462, 463

F v F [1902] 1 Ch. 688 240

F v Metropolitan Borough of Wirral District Council [1991] 2 FLR 114 216

F v S (adoption: ward) [1973] Fam 203 324

F v Suffolk County Council [1981] 2 FLR 208 450

F v West Berkshire Health Authority [1989] 2 All ER 545 222

Fay v Fay [1982] AC 835 125

Fisher v Fisher [1948] P. 263 125

Foley v Foley [1981] Fam 160 400

Ford v Ford (1987) Fam Law 232 160

Fowke v Fowke [1983] 1 Ch. 774 144

Fowler v Fowler [1963] P. 311 269

Francis v Francis [1960] P. 17 197

Freeman-Thomas v Freeman-Thomas [1963] 1 All ER 17 430

Fuller v Fuller [1973] 1 WLR 730 113, 114

Furniss v Furniss [1982] 3 FLR 46 385

Fynn, Re (1848) 2 De G & SM 457 248

G (a minor) (abduction), Re [1989] 2 FLR 475 340

G (adoption: freeing order), Re [1997] 2 FLR 202 305

G (minors) (welfare report: disclosure), Re [1993] 2 FLR 293 265

G (parentage: blood sample), Re [1997] 1 FLR 360 205

G v G (1871) LR 2 P & D 287 159

G v G (minors) (abduction) [1991] 2 FLR 506 343

G v G (minors: custody appeal) [1985] FLR 894 268

G v G [1924] AC 349 159

G v J (ouster order) [1993] 1 FLR 1008 465, 466, 467, 468

Galan v Galan [1985] FLR 905 464, 468

Gallagher v Gallagher [1965] 1 WLR 1110 119, 120

Gardner v Gardner (1877) 4 R. (HL) 56 184, 196

Garner v Garner [1992] 1 FLR 573 432

Gaskin v Liverpool City Council [1980] 1 WLR 1549 266

Gengler v Gengler [1976] 2 All ER 81 398

George v George [1986] 2 FLR 347 462

Gereis v Yagoub [1997] 1 FLR 854 152

Gillick v West Norfolk and Wisbech Area Health Authority [1985] 3 All ER 402 216, 218, 226

Gipps v Gipps (1864) 11 HL Cas 1 356, 357

xxiv TABLE OF CASES

Godfrey v Godfrey [1965] AC 444 357

Goertz v Gordon unreported, (May 2, 1996) (Supreme Court of Canada) 278

Gojkovic v Gojkovic [1990] 1 FLR 140 383, 387, 403

Gollins v Gollins [1963] 2 All ER 966 121

Goodfield v Goodfield (1975) 5 Fam Law 197 409

Goodrich v Goodrich [1971] 1 WLR 1142 107

Gorman v Gorman [1964] 3 All ER 739 427

Gorst v Gorst [1952] P. 94 356

Goshawk v Goshawk (1965) 109 SJ 290 106

Griffiths v Griffiths (1944) 1R 35 164

Griffiths v Griffiths [1974] 1 All ER 932 385

Griffiths v Griffiths [1984] 2 All ER 626 417

Grigson v Grigson [1974] 1 All ER 478 131

H (a minor) (contact), Re [1994] 2 FLR 776 289

H (a minor) (parental responsibility), Re [1993] 1 FLR 484 234, 287, 288

H (abduction: acquiescence), Re [1997] 1 FLR 872 335, 337, 339

H (abduction: custody rights) [1991] 2 FLR 262 335, 338

H (adoption: disclosure of information), Re [1995] 1 FLR 236 317

H (an infant), Re [1959] 3 All ER 746 238

H (conciliation: welfare reports), Re [1986] 1 FLR 476 265

H (illegitimate children: father: parental rights (No 2)), Re [1991] 1 FLR 214 231, 233

H (infants) (adoption: parental consent), Re [1977] 1 WLR 471 301

H (minors) (access), Re [1992] 1 FLR 148 286

H (minors) (sexual abuse: standard of proof), Re [1996] 2 WLR 8 106, 449, 451

H (orse. D) v H [1953] 2 All ER 1229 161, 164

H (paternity: blood test), Re [1996] 2 FLR 65 203

H v H (child abuse: access) [1989] 1 FLR 212 288

H v H (child: judicial interview) [1974] 1 All ER 1145 267

H v H (financial provision: conduct) [1994] 2 FLR 801 407

H v H (financial provision: remarriage) [1975] 1 All ER 367 375, 394, 401

H v H (financial provision: short marriage) [1981] 2 FLR 392 399

H v H (Kent County Council intervening) (child abuse: evidence) [1989] 3 All ER 740 449, 450, 452

H v H (minors) (forum conveniens) [1993] 1 FLR 958 345

H v H (residence order: leave to remove from jurisdiction) [1995] 1 FLR 529 250

H v H [1969] 1 All ER 262 256

H v H (1982) The Times Law Report 1 April 269

TABLE OF CASES XXV

H's Settlement, Re [1909] 2 Ch. 260 324, 328 Haines v Jeffreys (1696) 92 ER 929 148 Hale v Hale [1975] 2 All ER 1090 367, 368 Hall v Hall (1749) 3 Atk. 719 Hall v Hall [1960] 1 WLR 52 Hall v Hollander (1825) 4 B & C 660 215 Hanlon v Hanlon [1978] 2 All ER 889 410 Hanlon v Law Society [1981] AC 124 372 Harnett v Harnett [1973] 3 WLR 1 373, 406 Haroutunian v Jennings [1980] 1 FLR 62 Harris v Manahan [1997] 1 FLR 205 424, 435 Harrison v Lewis [1988] 2 FLR 339 461, 462 Hartford v Morris (1776) 2 Hag Con 423 Harthan v Harthan [1948] 2 All ER 639 160 Harvey v Harvey [1982] 1 All ER 693 Hawkins v AG [1966] 1 All ER 392 183 HB (abduction: children's objections), Re [1997] 1 FLR 392 339, 340,

Healey v Healey [1984] 3 All ER 1040 Heath, Re [1945] 1 Ch. 417 Hennie v Hennie [1993] 2 FLR 351 Hepworth, Re [1936] 1 Ch. 750 184 Hewer v Bryant [1970] 1 QB 357 212, 213, 217, 279 Hewitson v Hewitson [1995] 1 FLR 241 Hill v Hill [1997] 1 FLR 730 366, 400, 432, 435 Hillier v Hillier [1958] P. 186 Hirani v Hirani [1983] 4 FLR 232 161, 163 Hitchcock v WB [1952] 2 All ER 119 Hopes v Hopes [1948] 2 All ER 920 113, 117 Hope-Smith v Hope-Smith [1989] 2 FLR 56 Horner v Horner [1982] 2 WLR 914 462, 469 Horton v Horton [1947] 2 All ER 871 159 Hunt v Hunt (1884) 28 Ch. D 606 Hunter v Canary Wharf Ltd [1997] 2 All ER 426 473 Hyde v Hyde (1866) LR 1 P & D 130 73, 154 Hyman v Hyman [1929] AC 601 421

341

In the Goods of Lao Leong An [1893] 1 SSLR 1 29 In the marriage of C and D [1979] 35 FLR 304 156 Inglis v Inglis [1967] 2 All ER 71 356 Inze v Republic of Austria (1987) 10 EHRR 394 180 Iredell v Iredell (1885) 1 TLR 260 326 xxvi TABLE OF CASES

```
[ (a minor) (abduction), Re [1990] 1 FLR 276
I (a minor) (abduction: custody rights), Re [1990] 2 AC 562 335, 336, 337
J (a minor) (interim custody: appeal), Re [1989] 2 FLR 304
                                                           255
J (a minor) (wardship), Re [1988] 1 FLR 65 203
J (a minor) (wardship: medical treatment), Re [1990] 3 All ER 930
I (adoption order: conditions), Re [1973] Fam 106 315
J (H.D.) v J (A.M.) [1980] 1 WLR 124 430
[v C [1969] 1 All ER 788 246, 259
J v J (C interventing) [1989] 1 FLR 453
J v S-T (formerly J) (transsexual-ancillary relief) [1997] 1 FLR 402
                                                                  154
J.-P.C. v J.-A.F. [1955] P. 215
                               390
Jackson v Jackson [1964] P. 25 196
Jackson v Jackson [1973] Fam 99
James & Son Ltd v Smee [1955] 1 QB 78
                                          76, 152
James v McLennan 1971 SLT 162
Jane v Jane [1983] 4 FLR 712 277, 279
Janvier v Sweeney [1919] 2 KB 316
Jenkins v Hargood [1978] 3 All ER 1001
                                         396
Jessel v Jessel [1979] 3 All ER 645
Jodla v Jodla [1960] 1 WLR 236 159
Johnson v Calvert (1993) 5 Cal. 4th 84
                                       193, 206
Johnson v Johnson (1981) 12 Fam Law 116
Johnson v Walton [1990] 1 FLR 350
Jones v Jones [1971] 2 All ER 737
Jones v Jones [1975] 2 All ER 12
Jones v Jones [1976] Fam 8
IS (a minor) (declaration of paternity), Re [1981] 2 FLR 146 198, 199, 203
Julian v Julian (1972) 116 SJ 763
                                 132
Jussa v Jussa [1972] 2 All ER 600
                                  280
K (a minor) (wardship: adoption), Re [1991] 1 FLR 57
                                                       260
K (abduction: child's objections), Re [1995] 1 FLR 977
                                                       341
K (abduction: consent: forum conveniens), Re [1995] 2 FLR 211
K (minors) (children: care and control), Re [1977] Fam 179
K v K (financial relief: widow's pension) [1997] 1 FLR 35
                                                          133, 404
K v K (minors: property transfer) [1992] 2 FLR 220 418
K v K [1961] 2 All ER 266
KD (a minor) (access: principle), Re [1988] 2 FLR 139
                                                       260, 285
Kaczmarz v Kaczmarz [1967] 1 WLR 317
                                           119
Kane v Littlefair [1985] FLR 859
Kaur v Singh [1972] 1 WLR 105
```

469

Kendricks v Kendricks [1990] 2 FLR 107

TABLE OF CASES xxvii

Khoo Hooi Leong v Khoo Hean Kwee [1926] AC 529 35 Khorasandjian v Bush [1993] 3 All ER 669 473 Kinnear v DHSS (1989) 19 Fam Law 146 222 Knowles v Knowles [1962] P. 161 196 Kokosinski v Kokosinski [1980] 1 All ER 1106 400, 406 Krystman v Krystman [1973] 1 WLR 927 400 Kyte v Kyte [1987] 3 All ER 1041 407

L (an infant), Re [1968] P. 119 285

L (child abduction) (psychological harm), Re [1993] 2 FLR 401 340

L (minors) (wardship: jurisdiction), Re [1974] 1 WLR 250 255, 326, 342, 344

L (police investigation: privileged), Re [1996] 1 FLR 731 457

L v L (child abuse: access) [1989] 2 FLR 16 258, 288

LvL[1962] P. 101 379

Lang v Lang [1955] AC 402 121

Le Marchant v Le Marchant [1977] 1 WLR 559 132, 404

Leadbeater v Leadbeater [1985] FLR 789 382, 398, 406

Lee Gee-chong (deceased) (1965) 31 MLJ 102 35, 68

Lee v Lau [1967] P. 14 61, 81

Lee v Lee (1975) 5 Fam Law 48 133

Lee v Lee [1984] FLR 243 467

Lewis (AH) v Lewis (RWF) [1978] 1 All ER 729 469

Lewis v Lewis [1977] 3 All ER 992 432

Lilford (Lord) v Glynn [1979] 1 WLR 78 417

Livesey v Jenkins [1985] 1 All ER 106 422, 435

Livingstone-Stallard v Livingstone-Stallard [1974] 2 All ER 766 108, 109

London Borough of Sutton v Davis [1994] 1 FLR 737 220

Lort-Williams v Lort-Williams [1951] P. 395 370

Loseby v Newman [1995] 2 FLR 754 468

Lough v Ward [1945] 2 All ER 338 215

Lucas v Lucas [1992] 2 F.L.R 53 471

M (a minor) (care order: threshold conditions), Re [1994] 3 All ER 298 453

M (a minor: custody appeal) [1990] 1 FLR 291 306

M (child support act: parentage), Re [1997] 2 FLR 90 206

M (contact: welfare test), Re [1995] 1 FLR 274 284, 286, 288

M v M (child of the family) [1981] 2 FLR 39 415

M v M (child: access) [1973] 2 All ER 81 285, 286

M v M (custody application) [1988] 1 FLR 225 472

M v M (financial provision) [1987] 2 FLR 1 381

M v M (sale of property) [1988] FLR 389 409

xxviii TABLE OF CASES

180

Macey v Macey [1982] 3 FLR 7 MacLennan v MacLennan [1958] SC 105 106 Mahadervan v Mahadervan [1964] P. 233 81, 82 Manser v Manser [1940] P. 224 153 Marckx v Kingdom of Belgium [1979–1980] 2 EHRR 330 Marsden v Marsden [1967] 3 WLR 230 120, 121 Marsden v Marsden [1973] 2 All ER 851 Martin (BH) v Martin (D) [1978] Fam 12 374, 375, 395 Martin v Martin [1976] 3 All ER 625 407, 408 Mary Ng v Ooi Gim-teong [1972] 2 MLJ 18 Mason v Mason [1972] 3 WLR 405 Mathias v Mathias [1972] 3 WLR 201 McEwan v McEwan [1972] 1 WLR 1217 McGill v Robson [1972] 1 WLR 237

McGrath (infants), Re [1893] 1 Ch. 143 Mckee v Mckee [1951] 1 All ER 942 344

McLean v Nugent [1980] FLR 26

McVeigh v Beattie [1988] 2 All ER 500 191, 204

Mehta v Mehta [1945] 2 All ER 690 166

Mesher v Mesher [1980] 1 All ER 126 395, 411

Messina v Smith [1971] P. 322 165, 166

Michael v Michael [1986] 2 FLR 389

Militante v Ogunwomoju (1994) Fam Law 17

Milligan v Milligan [1941] 2 All ER 62

Milne v Milne [1981] 2 FLR 286

Minton v Minton [1979] 1 All ER 79 379, 421

Moge v Moge [1992] 2 SCR 813

Montgomery v Montgomery [1964] 2 All ER 22 470, 471

Mordaunt v Mordaunt (1870) LR 2 P & D 109

Morgan v Morgan [1959] 1 All ER 539

Morgan v Morgan [1977] 2 All ER 515

Moss v Moss [1897] P. 263 165, 166

Mouncer v Mouncer [1972] 1 All ER 289 113, 114

M.T. v J.T. 355 A. 2d 204 (1976) 155

MT v MT (financial provision: lump sum) [1992] 1 FLR 362 392

Mullard v Mullard [1983] 2 FLR 330 370

Mummery v Mummery [1942] P. 107

MW (adoption: surrogacy), Re [1995] 2 FLR 759 304, 311

N (minors) (abduction), Re, [1991] 1 F.LR. 413 N (minors) (parental rights-acquisition.), Re [1974] Fam 93 239 N v N (abduction: article 13 defence) [1995] 1 FLR 107 340

TABLE OF CASES xxix

N v N (consent order: variation) [1993] 2 FLR 868 Naylor v Naylor [1961] 2 WLR 751 Newham London Borough Council v AG [1993] 1 FLR 281 451 Nicholas v Nicholas [1984] FLR 285 369 Norman v Norman [1983] 1 All ER 486 Nota v Nota [1984] FLR 573 Nutley v Nutley [1970] 1 WLR 217 NW (a minor) (medical reports), Re [1993] 2 FLR 591 O (a minor) (abduction: habitual residence), Re [1993] 2 FLR 594 336 O (a minor) (custody: adoption), Re [1992] 1 FLR 77 O (abduction: consent and acquiescence), Re [1997] 1 FLR 924 339 O (contact: imposition of conditions), Re [1995] 2 FLR 124 284, 285, 286, 287, 288 O'Donnell v O'Donnell [1975] 2 All ER 993 383 O'Neill v O'Neill [1975] 3 All ER 289 109 O'Neill v Williams [1984] FLR 1 461-462 Official Solicitor v K [1965] AC 201 270, 325 Overbury, Re [1955] 1 Ch. 122 Oxfordshire County Council v P [1995] 1 FLR 552 271, 456 P (a minor) (parental responsibility order), Re [1994] 1 FLR 578 P (abduction: non-convention country), Re [1997] 1 FLR 780 P (GE) (an infant), Re [1965] Ch. 568 322, 323 P (infants), Re [1967] 2 All ER 229 P v P (financial provision: lump sum) [1978] 3 All ER 70 P v P (ouster) (1993) Fam Law 283 471, 472 P v P (ouster: decree nisi of nullity) [1994] 2 FLR 400 Page v Page [1981] 2 FLR 198 382, 385, 395, 408 Pardy v Pardy [1939] 3 All ER 779 118 Park Estate, Re [1954] P. 112 Parker v Parker [1972] Fam 116 Parkinson v Parkinson [1939] P. 346 153 Parojcic v Parojcic [1959] 1 All ER 1 Patel v Patel [1988] 2 FLR 179 460, 472 Paton v British Pregnancy Advisory Service Trustees [1979] QB 276 Payne v Payne [1968] 1 WLR 390 389, 432 Peete, Re [1952] 2 All ER 599 83 Pelech v Pelech [1987] 1 SCR 801 (Supreme Court of Canada) 431 Penrose v Penrose [1994] 2 FLR 621 Perry v Perry [1963] 3 All ER 766

103, 108

Pheasant v Pheasant [1972] 1 All ER 587

XXX TABLE OF CASES

Pidduck v Molloy [1992] 2 FLR 202 460, 474

Piers v Piers (1849) 2 HL Cas 331 82

Piper v Piper (1978) 8 Fam Law 243 114

Potter v Potter (1975) 5 Fam Law 161 160

Pound v Pound [1994] 1 FLR 775 422, 424

Practice Direction (injunction: domestic violence) [1978] 1 WLR 1123 464

Practice Direction [1984] 1 All ER 187 266

Pratt v Pratt [1939] AC 417 122

Preston v Preston [1982] Fam 17 366, 367, 375, 395, 397, 402

Preston-Jones v Preston-Jones [1951] AC 391 197

Priest v Priest [1979] 9 FLR 252 391

Pritchard v Cobden [1987] 2 FLR 56 391

Prow v Brown [1983] 4 FLR 352 436

Pulford v Pulford [1923] P. 18 117

Puttick v AG [1980] Fam 1 76, 152, 165

Q (parental order), Re [1996] 1 FLR 369 207, 208, 209

Quinn v Quinn [1983] FLR 394 472

Quoraishi v Quoraishi [1985] FLR 780 121

R (a minor) (child abuse: access), Re [1988] 1 FLR 206 258, 288

R (a minor) (wardship: medical treatment), Re [1991] 4 All ER 177 227

R (a minor: abduction), Re [1992] 1 FLR 105 340

R (adoption), Re [1967] 1 WLR 34 300

R (child abduction: acquiescence), Re [1995] 1 FLR 716 341

R (minors: child abduction), Re, (1994) The Times Law Report December 5 338

Re R (minors) (wardship: jurisdiction) [1981] 2 FLR 416 343

R (MJ) (an infant) (proceedings transcript: publication), Re [1975] 2 All ER 749 266

R (wardship: child abduction), Re [1992] 2 FLR 481 335, 337

R v Ahluwalia [1992] 4 All ER 889 460

R v Brighton Inhabitants (1861) 1 B & S 447 148

R v D [1984] 1 AC 778 218, 333

R v Derriviere (1969) 53 Cr App R 637 219

R v Devon County Council, ex parte L [1991] 2 FLR 541 443, 444

R v Gyngall (1893) 2 QB 232 325

R v Hatton [1925] 2 KB 322 448

R v Holmes [1979] Crim LR 52 449

R v Hopley (1860) 2 F & F 202 219

R v Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority ex parte Blood [1997] 2 All ER 687 208

TABLE OF CASES xxxi

R v Ireland [1997] 1 All ER 112 473

R v Jenkins [1949] VLR 277 194

R v Lewisham London Borough Council ex parte P [1991] 2 FLR 185 444

R v London Borough of Harrow ex parte Deal (1990) Fam Law 18 443

R v Nash (1883) 10 QBD 454 228

R v Norfolk County Council ex parte X [1989] 2 FLR 120 444

R v R (rape: marital exemption) [1991] 2 All ER 257 460

R v Registrar-General, ex parte Smith [1990] 2 QB 253 316

R v Rushmoor Borough Council ex parte Barrett [1988] 2 FLR 252 370

R v Senior [1899] 1 QB 283 76, 152

R v Sheppard [1981] AC 394 441, 448, 449

R v Tan [1983] 2 All ER 12 155

R v Thornton [1992] 1 All ER 306 460

Radziej v Radziej [1967] 1 All ER 944 369

Ratcliffe v Ratcliffe [1962] 3 All ER 993 426, 427

Re Roberts (deceased) [1978] 3 All ER 225 144

Redpath v Redpath [1950] 1 All ER 600 106

Rees v United Kingdom, The [1987] 2 FLR 111 156

Reiterbund v Reiterbund [1975] Fam 99 132

Richards v Richards [1972] 3 All ER 695 111

Richards v Richards [1983] 2 All ER 807 465, 467, 470

Richardson v Richardson (No 2) [1996] 2 FLR 617 431

Rigby v Rigby [1944] P. 33 353

Ritchie v Ritchie [1996] 1 FLR 898 434

Roberts v Roberts [1970] P. 1 396

Roberts v Roberts [1986] 2 All ER 483 391, 393

Roberts v Roberts [1991] 1 FLR 294 469

Robinson v Robinson (disclosure) [1983] 4 FLR 102 433

Robinson v Robinson [1965] P. 39 470, 471

Robinson v Robinson [1983] 1 All ER 391 406

Rogers v Rogers (1830) 162 ER 1079 357

Rukat v Rukat [1975] 1 All ER 343 133

Rumbelow v Rumbelow [1965] P. 207 356

Russell v AG [1949] P. 391 81

Rutherford v Richardson [1923] AC 1 73

S (a minor) (adoption or custodianship), Re [1987] 2 FLR 331 309, 315

S (a minor) (adoption order: access), Re [1976] Fam 1 315

S (a minor) (blood transfusion: adoption order condition), Re [1994] 2 FLR 416 314

S (a minor) (custody), Re [1991] 2 FLR 388 257

S (contact: grandparents), Re [1996] 1 FLR 158 286

xxxii TABLE OF CASES

S (infants), Re [1967] 1 All ER 202 252, 324 S (minors) (access: religious upbringing), Re [1992] 2 FLR 313 252, 288 S (parental responsibility), Re [1995] 2 FLR 648 S v H (abduction: access rights) [1997] 1 FLR 971 336 S v McC [1972] AC 24 197, 200, 202, 203, 204, 210 S v S (child abduction) (child's view) [1992] 2 FLR 492 338, 340, 341 S v S (child abuse: access) [1988] 1 FLR 213 258, 288 S v S (financial provision) (post divorce cohabitation) [1994] 2 FLR 228 435 S v S [1961] 1 WLR 445 S v S [1976] Fam 18 396 S v S [1977] 1 All ER 56 399 S.Y. v S.Y. (orse. W) [1962] P. 37 155, 158 Sandford v Sandford [1986] 1 FLR 412 Samson v Samson [1982] 1 WLR 252 467 Santos v Santos [1972] 2 All ER 246 113, 115 Savage v Savage [1982] 3 WLR 199 Schuller v Schuller [1990] 2 FLR 193 Scott v Scott [1959] 1 All ER 531 Scott v Scott [1992] 1 FLR 529 465, 468 Scott v Sebright (1886) 12 PD 21 Serio v Serio [1983] 4 FLR 756 106, 198 Sheward v AG [1964] 2 All ER 324 Silver v Silver [1955] 2 All ER 614 164 Sim Siew-guan Deceased, Re (1932) MLJ 95 Simister v Simister [1987] 1 All ER 233 427 Singh v Singh [1971] 2 WLR 963 159, 161, 163 Slater v Slater [1982] 3 FLR 364 385, 386, 393 Slawson v Slawson [1942] 2 All ER 527 122 SM (a minor) (natural father: access), Re [1991] 2 FLR 333 287 Smith v McInerney [1994] 2 FLR 1077 424 Smith v Smith [1991] 2 All ER 306 403, 434 SN v ST (maintenance order: enforcement) [1995] 1 FLR 868 Spence, Re [1990] 1 Ch. 652 Spencer v Camacho [1983] 4 FLR 662 462, 464 Spindlow v Spindlow [1978] 3 WLR 777 Starkowski v AG [1954] AC 155 41 Stephenson v Stephenson [1985] F.L.R 1140 266 Stockford v Stockford [1982] 3 FLR 58 385, 386 Stringfellow v Stringfellow [1976] 2 All ER 539 110 Sullivan v Sullivan 2 Hag Con 237 76, 152 Surtees v Kingston-upon-Thames BC [1991] 2 FLR 559

Suter v Suter [1987] 2 All ER 336 382, 393

TABLE OF CASES xxxiii

SW (a minor) (wardship: jurisdiction), Re (1985) 15 Fam Law 322 328 SY v SY [1963] P. 37 158 Sydall v Castings Ltd [1967] 1 QB 302 188 Szechter v Szechter [1970] 3 All ER 905 161, 162

T (a minor) (parental responsibility: contact), Re [1993] 2 FLR 450 233 T (a minor), Re (welfare report recommendation) [1980] 1 FLR 59 266 T (adoption: contact), Re [1995] 2 FLR 251 T (infants), Re [1968] Ch. 704 344 T (wardship: medical treatment), Re [1997] 1 FLR 502 225, 329 T v S (financial provision for children) [1994] 2 FLR 883 T v T (consent order: procedure to set aside) [1996] 2 FLR 640 436 Talbot v Talbot (1967) 111 SJ 213 154 Talbot v Talbot (1971) 115 SJ 870 132 Talvor v Talvor [1967] P. 25 Taylor v Taylor (1974) 119 SJ 30 Taylor, Re [1961] 1 All ER 55 81 Taylor's Application, Re [1972] 2 OB 769 Thain, Re [1926] Ch. 676 248, 254 Thomas v Thomas [1948] 2 KB 294 Thompson v Thompson [1985] FLR 863 370, 429 Thompson v Thompson [1986] 1 FLR 212 265, 266 Thompson v Thompson [1991] 2 FLR 530 434 Thurlow v Thurlow [1975] 2 All ER 979 111, 112

Thwaite v Thwaite [1982] Fam 1 435 Thyssen-Bornemisza v Thyssen-Bornemisza (No 2) [1985] FLR 1069 375, 389

Tinsley v Milligan [1993] 2 FLR 963 154
Tommey v Tommey [1982] 3 All ER 385 422
Townson v Mahon [1984] FLR 690 255
Tremain's case (1721) 1 Strange 168 218
Trippas v Trippas [1973] Fam 134 394
Tuck v Nicholls [1989] 1 FLR 283 462
Turner v Blunden [1986] 2 All ER 75 191
Tweney v Tweney [1946] P. 180 83

Ulrich v Ulrich [1968] 1 All ER 67 369

V (a minor) (adoption: dispensing with agreement), Re [1987] 2 FLR 89 303 Van G v Van G (financial provision: millionaire's defence) [1995] 1 FLR 328 389 Vaughan v Vaughan [1973] 3 All ER 449 462 Vervaeke v Smith [1982] 2 All ER 144 165 Vicary v Vicary [1992] 2 FLR 272 408 V-P v V-P (access to child) [1980] FLR 336 286

W (a minor) (adoption by grandparents), Re [1981] 2 FLR 161 310

W (a minor) (adoption: custodianship), Re (1992) Fam Law 64 310

W (a minor) (adoption: custodianship: access), Re [1988] 1 FLR 175 310

W (a minor) (contact), Re [1994] 2 FLR 441 286, 287

W (a minor) (custody), Re [1983] 4 FLR 492 256, 265

W (a minor) (medical treatment), Re [1992] 4 All ER 627 227, 228

W (a minor) (residence order), Re [1992] 2 FLR 332 254, 256

W (a minor) (residence order), Re [1993] 2 FLR 625 260

W (adoption: homosexual adopter), Re [1997] 2 FLR 406 294, 305

W (an infant), Re [1971] AC 682 300

W (infants), Re [1965] 3 All ER 231 248

W (otherwise K) v W [1967] 3 All ER 178 158

W v D [1980] 1 FLR 393 255

W v Ealing London Borough Council [1993] 2 FLR 788 233

W(C) v W (R) [1968] 3 All ER 608 281

W (otherwise K) v W [1967] 3 All ER 178 158

Wachtel v Wachtel [1973] Fam 72 372, 373, 384, 385, 386, 391, 394, 401, 405, 406

Wagstaff v Wagstaff [1992] 1 FLR 333 391

Ward v Secretary of State for Social Services [1990] 1 FLR 119 144

Warden v Warden [1981] 3 WLR 435 428

Waterman v Waterman [1989] 1 FLR 380 383

Watson v Watson [1954] P. 48 197

Way v Way [1950] P. 71 166

Webb v Webb [1986] 1 FLR 541 471

Wells v Wells [1954] 3 All ER 491 356

Wells v Wells [1992] 2 FLR 66 434

West v West [1978] Fam 1 406

Westminister City Council v Croyalgrange Ltd [1986] 2 All ER 353 76, 152

Whiston v Whiston [1995] 2 FLR 268 153, 154

White v British Sugar Corporation [1977] IRLR 121 155

White v White [1983] 4 FLR 696 461, 469

Whitfield v Whitfield [1985] FLR 955 429

Whiting v Whiting [1988] 1 WLR 565 374

Wilde v Wilde [1988] 2 FLR 83 471

Wilkinson v Downton [1897] 2 QB 57 474

Willett v Wells [1985] FLR 514 190

TABLE OF CASES XXXV

Williams v Williams [1939] P. 365 Williams v Williams [1963] 2 All ER 994 Wilson v Wilson [1973] 2 All ER 17 Wiseman v Simpson [1988] 1 FLR 490 465, 468 Woodbury v Woodbury [1949] P. 154 356 Woolf v Pemberton (1877) 6 Ch D 19 222 Wooton v Wooton [1984] FLR 871 463, 464 Worlock v Worlock [1994] 2 FLR 689 434 Wright v Wright [1960] P. 85 Wright v Wright [1970] 3 All ER 209 423

X (a minor) (wardship: injunction), Re [1984] 1 WLR 1422 325, 330 X (a minor) (wardship: jurisdiction), Re [1975] Fam 47 322, 330, 332 X (minors) v Bedfordshire County Council [1995] 2 FLR 276 442 X, Y, Z (wardship: disclosure of materials), Re (1991) Fam Law 318 266

Y (minors) (adoption: jurisdiction), Re (1986) 16 Fam Law 26 296 Young v Young [1962] 3 All ER 120 121 Young v Young (1973) 117 SJ 204 425

ZHH (adoption application), Re [1993] 1 FLR 83 311

### **Table of Legislation**

#### **Hong Kong Legislation** s5(6)296 s5(7)297 Adaptation of Laws (Courts and s5(7)(a)(aa)297 Tribunals) Ordinance 1998 297 s5(7)(b) s5(8)297 Adoption Ordinance (No 22 of s5A 304 1956) 217, 247, 291, 318, s5A(1)304 s2 294, 296, 298 s5A(3)305 s4 294 s5A(4)305 s4(1) 292, 294 s6(1) 300 293, 295 s4(2)s6(2) 295 294, 295 298 s4(3) s7(3)s4A(1) 292 s8(1)298 293 s4A(2)s8(1)(b) 305, 307 295 s8(1)(c)310 s5 s5(3)294 s8(1A) 315 s5(4)295 s8(2) 314 298 310 s5(5)a s12 s5(5)b 295 s12(3) 312 298 s5(5A)s13(1) 185, 313 s5(5B) 299 148, 313 s13(3)s5(5C) 299 s15 313 s5(5D) 299 s18(1)316 s5(5F) 299, 311 s18(4)316

s19(3) 316 s19(4) 316 s22 310	Crimes Ordinance (Cap 200) ss47–51 150, 441
s25 291	Detention Centres Ordinance (Cap 239) 220
Adoption Rules	
Form 4 298	District Court Ordinance (Cap 336)
Form 4a 298	s48(1) 470
r6 316	
r9 311	Divorce Ordinance No 35 of
r13 313	1932 99
r14 313	
Second Schedule 313	Divorce (Amendment) Ordinance (No 44 of 1956) 99
Age of Majority (Related	
Provisions) Ordinance (Cap 410)	Domestic Violence Ordinance (Cap
226	189) 247, 463, 470, 474
s6 282	s2(2) 461
n ' r	s3 461, 468
Basic Law	s3(1) 460, 462
Article 8 vii	s3(2) 464, 467
Article 24 187	s4 460, 461
Article 24(3) viii, 188	s5(1) 469
Discher of Devile Devices	s5(2) 469
Births and Deaths Registration	s5(3) 469
Ordinance (Cap 174) s7 191	s6(1) 464
	s6(3) 461 s7 464
s12 191, 196, 197 s12B 199	57 404
s24(2) 196	Domestic Violence Rules
321(2) 170	r5 469
Child Abduction and Custody	r6 469
Ordinance (No 49 of 1997) ix,	10 10)
327, 334, 342	Education Ordinance (Cap 297)
s3 334	s74 219
s4 334, 346	s74(2A) 219
s4(2)(b) 335	s74(2B) 219
s5 335	s78 219
s6 335	s87(3A) 219
Corporal Punishment (Repeal)	Education Regulations
Ordinance (No 72 of 1990) 220	r58 220
( ) ===================================	•

Evidence (Amendment) Ordinance (No 70 of 1995) 440  Fatal Accidents Ordinance (Cap 22) 185  Guardianship of Minors Ordinance (Cap 13) 191, 192, 211, 213, 215,	s18(1) 235 s18(2) 240 s20 420 s21 189, 234, 236 High Court Ordinance (Cap 4) s21L(1) 470 s26 324
241, 413 Part III 236 Part VI 213 s2 236, 282 s3 211, 264, 275, 282, 285 s3(1) 216, 220, 245, 247, 251 s3(1)(a) 230	Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance (Cap 383) Article 14 157 Article 19 157 Article 20 180 Article 22 180
s3(1)(b) 229 s3(1)(c) 190, 230 s3(1)(d) 232, 298 s3(a)(ii) 229 s3(2) 233	Hong Kong Reunification Ordinance (No 110 of 1997) s8 293 s24(2) 321
s4(1) 235 s4(2) 229, 235 s5 236, 237, 238	Housing Ordinance (Cap 283) Schedule 368
s5(b) 238 s6(1) 237	Immigration Ordinance (Cap 115) s19(1)(b) 331
s6(2) 237 s6(3) 238 s7 239 s8 239	Immigration (Amendment) (No 2) Ordinance (No 122 of 1997) viii s5 187
s9 240 s10 236, 284, 326 s10(1) 247, 282 s10(2) 283, 418	Infants Custody Ordinance (No 48 of 1935) s2(1) 245
s11 238 s12(a) 238, 240 s13(1)(a) 283 s13(1)(b) 283 s13(2) 284 s14(1) 283	Inheritance (Provision for Family and Dependants) Ordinance (Cap 481) 48 s2 186 s4 428, 433
s15(1) 284 s17 265, 284 s17(1) 284	Inland Revenue Ordinance (Cap 112) s8(2)(i) 386

XI TABLE OF LEGISLATION

Intestates' Estates Ordinance (Cap 73) s2 186 s3A 186 s4A(1) 174 s4A(2) 354 s13 48 s13(2) 37 Schedule 1 48	s11(1) 182 s11(3) 182 s11(4) 182 s11(5) 182 s12 143, 183 s14 181, 352 s14(2) 37, 181 s14(3) 181
Juvenile Offenders Ordinance (Cap 226)	Mandatory Provident Fund Schemes Ordinance (Cap 485) 405
s10 219	Marriage and Children (Miscellaneous Amendments)
Law Amendment and Reform (Consolidation) Ordinance (Cap 23) s20B 215	Ordinance (No 69 of 1997) 352, 358, 370, 417, 463 s4 283 s11 354
Law Reform (Miscellaneous Provisions and Minor Amendments) Ordinance (No 80 of 1997) 75, 217	s20 280 s25 358 s26 276 s30 366
s26 296	
s28 151, 192	Marriage Ordinance (Cap 181) 3,
s31 151	4, 7, 16, 33, 181, 217, 352
s78 191	s6 74
s79 191	s7 74
	s9 75
Legal Practitioner Ordinance	s11 76
(Cap 159) 310	s12 75
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	s13 75, 151
Legitimacy Ordinance (Cap 184)	s14 151, 192
Schedule 1 184	s15 151
s2 183	s16(1) 151
s3(1) 184	s18A 151
s4(1) 184, 185	s19 75
s4(4) 185	s21 75, 152
s5 185	s24 77
s6 185	s27(1) 147
ss4–9 184	s27(2) 76
s10 186	s39 76
s11 143, 183, 184	s40 74

TABLE OF LEGISLATION xli

Marriage Reform (Amendment) Ordinance (No 62 of 1979) 67	s11 103, 136 s11A 103, 105
,	s11A(1) 101
Marriage Reform Ordinance (Cap	s11A(2) 105, 119, 123, 124, 173
178) 3, 15, 35, 55, 62, 64, 139, 181,	s11A(2)(c) 136, 137
184, 352	s11A(2)(e) 110
Part V 65, 67	s11A(3) 113
s2 17, 40, 69	s11B 135
s4 16, 74	s11B(2) 105
s5(2)(b) 36	s11C 136
s6 47	s11C(1) 113
s7 25, 106	s12 124
s7(1) 17	s12(1) 124
s7(2) 17, 18, 19, 23, 24	s13(1) 123
s7(2)(a) 19	s14 108
s7(2)(b) 19	s15 105
s8 40, 41, 43	s15(1) 144
s9 26, 41, 45	s15A 173
s9(3) 45	s15A(1) 128
s9(5) 44	s15A(3)(a) 107
s9(7) 44	s15A(3)(b) 107, 123
s10 44	s15A(4) 113
s11 26, 45	s15A(5) 123, 136
s14 62, 68	s15B 132, 133, 173, 404
s15 64, 67, 68	s15C(1) 115, 173
s16(1) 65	s15C(2) 137
s16(2) 65	s17(2) 123, 137
s17(1) 65	s17A 137, 173
s18 65	s17A(2) 130
s19(1) 65	s17A(3) 130, 131
s20 65	s17A(3)(b) 131
s22A 63	s17A(4) 131, 132
	s18A 355
Matrimonial Causes Ordinance	s18(B)(b) 127
(Cap 179) 26, 64, 68, 99, 172	s20(1) 145
s2 26, 45, 78, 106, 145	s20(1)(a)(iii) 152
s3 103	s20(B) 143
s5 173	s20(d) 168
s6(1) 153	s20(2) 157
s7A(1) 66	s20(2)(c) 167
s7A(2) 66	s20(2)(d) 167
s9 26, 45, 67, 104, 145	s20(3) 169

s20(3)(b) 170 s20(4) 170 s20(5) 170	r107 166, 167 r108 325
s20(6) 170	Matrimonial Proceedings and
s22 144	Property Ordinance (Cap 192)
s24 77, 173	131, 173, 275, 351, 352, 355, 358,
s24(1A) 173	363, 375, 380, 435
s24(2) 174	s2 124, 213, 276, 414, 419
s24(3) 174	s3 174, 351, 361
s26 153	s4 365, 370, 371
s32(2) 174	s4(2)(b) 367
s38 26	s5 351, 361, 370, 415
s48A(1) 280, 281	s5(1) 413, 414
s48A(2) 280	s5(2) 413
s48A(3) 280	s5(3) 414
s48A(4) 280	s5(4) 414
· /	s5(5) 414
Matrimonial Causes (Amendment)	s6 365, 370, 371, 391, 414, 415,
(No 2) Ordinance (No 33 of	430
1972) 100, 101	s6(1)(a)–(b) 408
	s6A 365, 408, 409
Matrimonial Causes (Amendment)	s6A(1) 370
Ordinance (No 29 of 1995) ix,	s6A(2) 370
102, 107, 119, 124, 138	s7 376
s7 104	s7(1) 361, 371, 373, 374, 387,
s14 174	388, 389, 391, 405, 412, 422,
	430
Matrimonial Causes Rules	s7(1)(a)–(g) 405
Form 2C 136	s7(1)(g) 404
Form 2E 137	s7(1)(h) 370
r5 125	s7(2) 416, 417, 419, 428
r13 108	s7(2)(a) 416
r15A 115	s7(3) 359, 415, 416, 426, 427
r33 134	s8 351, 358, 396, 413, 414, 418
r33(2B) 137	s8(1) 358, 359
r40(1) 77	s8(2) 358
r47A 135	s8(5) 360
r47(1A) 137	s8(6) 359
r73(2) 387, 388, 389	s8(7)(a) 359
rr86–91 366	s8(7)(b) 360
r95(1) 264	s9(1)(2) 366
r95(2) 264	s9(4) 396

TABLE OF LEGISLATION xliii

s10 360, 417	s43 218
s10(2) 419	s45 153
s10(2)(b)–(c) 420	Official Callinian O 1: (C
s10(3) 360	Official Solicitor Ordinance (Cap
s11 380, 423, 425, 428	416) 325
s11(1) 430	P
s11(2) 429	Parent and Child Ordinance (Cap
s11(4) 429	429) 180, 230
s11(5) 430	Part III 194
s11(6) 432, 433	Part IV 192
s11(7) 430	Part V 206
s12A 420	s2 201
s14 424, 425	s3 188
s14(1)(b) 425	s3(1) 189
s14(2) 425	s3(2) 189
s15 423	s5(1) 194
s15(1) 426	s5(1)(b) 196, 199
s15(2) 425, 426, 427	s5(2) 197
s16(1) 428	s5(3) 196
s16(2) 428	s6 191
s18 134, 173	s6(1) 198
s18(1) 128, 129	s6(1)(a) 199
s18(1)(b) 129	s6(1)(b) 199
s18(1)(c) 129	s6(2) 198
s18(2) 129	s6(3) 199
s18(3) 129	s6(4) 199
s18(6) 128	s6(5) 199
s19 276	s6(6) 199
s19(1) 281	s6(7) 199
s19(7) 281	s6(8) 199
s20 428, 433	s7 199
s26 409	s9(1) 206, 208
s28 360	s10 207
s28A 360	s10(2) 208
	s10(3) 207, 208
Mental Health Ordinance (Cap	s10(4) 208
136) 157, 201	s10(5) 207
s2 167	s10(6) 208
	s10(6)(b) 208
Offences Against the Person	s12 208, 247, 310
Ordinance (Cap 212)	s12(5) 209
s27 218, 441, 448	s12(6) 209

xliv TABLE OF LEGISLATION

s12(9) 209 s13 204, 247 s13(1) 201 s14(1) 201 s14(2) 201 s14(3) 201 s14(4) 201 s15(1) 204	s45A(8) 446 s45A(9) 446 Reformatory Schools Ordinance (Cap 225) 220 Royal Hong Kong Auxiliary Police Force Ordinance (Cap 233) 186
Pensions Benefits Ordinance (Cap 99) 185–186  Pensions Benefits Ordinance (Judicial Officers) (Cap 401) 186  Pensions Regulations 186  Protection of Children and Juvenile Ordinance (Cap 213) ix s2 446 s8 446 s26 218 s34 220 s34(1) 247, 447, 448 s34(1)(d) 455 s34(1AA) 455 s34(2) 445, 448, 449, 451, 454 s34(4)(a) 454 s34(5) 454 s34(6) 447 s3	
s45A 447 s45A(1) 445, 446 s45A(1)(a) 447 s45A(2) 446 s45A(5) 446 s45A(6) 446	Surviving Spouses' and Children's Pensions Ordinance (Cap 79) 185 Training Centre Ordinance (Cap 280) 220

TABLE OF LEGISLATION xlv

Widows and Orphans Ordinance (Cap 94) 186

Ontario Family Law Act 1986 s5(1) 372

#### **Australian Legislation**

Adoption Act 1984 (Vic) 316

Adoption Act 1988 (SA) 316

Adoption Act 1988 (Tas) 316

Adoption Act 1991 (ACT) 316

Adoption Information Act 1990 (NSW) 316

Adoption Legislation Amendment Act 1991 (Old) 316

Adoption of Children Act 1986-1991 (WA) 316

Adoption of Children Amendment Act 1990 (NT) 316

Children (Equality of Status) Act 1976 (NSW) 195

Family Law Act 1975 100, 272-273

Marriage Act 1961 (Commonwealth of Australia) 150

#### **Canadian Legislation**

Divorce Act 1985

Marriage (Prohibited Degrees) Act 1990 150

#### Chinese/PRC Legislation

Ta Tsing Leu Lee 7-10, 30, 31, 47, 57

Article 90 25

Article 101 8

Article 102 33

Article 103 27

Article 105 26

Article 116 34, 58, 59, 60, 61, 68

Chinese Civil Code 1930 5, 40, 56,

68, 78, 79, 80

Article 972 38, 43

Article 980 39, 49–53

Article 982 39, 49–53

Article 983 39, 49-53

Article 985 38, 40, 49-53

Article 986 39, 49–53

39, 49-53 Article 988

Article 993 39, 49-53

Article 997 43

Article 1049–1058 71-72

Book IV 14, 38

Marriage Law of 1950 78, 79, 83, 85-91

Article 1 80

Article 6 79

Marriage Law of 1980 78, 81, 91–

98, 100, 180

Article 2 80

Article 3 80

Article 5 80

Article 6 80, 150

Article 7 81

TABLE OF LEGISLATION

Marriage Registration Regulations (1 February 1994) 80	s50(9) 187
,	Children Act 1975 214, 309
New Zealand Legislation	Children Act 1989 s1 247
Family Proceedings Act 1980 100, 171 s31 150 s64(1) 372	s1(3) 249 s2(4) 242 s2(9) 241 s3(1) 214
Marriage Act 1955 s15 150	s3(2) 221 s3(2)(3) 242 s3(3) 221 s4 232
Matrimonial Property Act 1976 372	s5(5) 242 s5(6) 242 s5(7) 243
Status of Children Act 1969 180	s5(7)(a) 243 s5(8) 243
Singaporean Legislation	s5(9) 243 s6(5) 243 s8(1) 284
Maintenance of Parents Ordinance 396	s11(7) 284 s44 447 s85 214
UK Legislation	s86 281 s88 317 Schedule 10 317
Abduction and Custody Act 1985 334	Children (Scotland) Act 1995 231
Adoption Act 1976 30, 318 s6 305 s16 318	s1(1) 214 s2(1) 214
s47(1) s50(1) 317 s51 316	Custody of Infants Act 1839 (Talfourd's Act) 228
s51A 317	Deceased Brother's Widow's Marriage Act 1921 147
British Nationality Act 1981 s15 186 s16 187	Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act 1907 147

TABLE OF LEGISLATION xivii

Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Marriage Act 1949 Act 1857 142 s78(1) Divorce Reform Act 1969 101, 172 Matrimonial Act 1983 s1(3) 467 Domestic Proceedings and Magistrates' Courts Act 1976 Matrimonial Family and s2 469 Proceedings Act 1984 372, 375, 379, 407 Domestic Proceedings and Magistrates' Courts Act 1978 Matrimonial Causes Act 1973 354 s23(6) 367 s25 372, 374, 375, 407 Domestic Violence and Matrimonial s33A(1) 422 Proceedings Act 1976 Pension Act 1995 405 Family Law Act 1996 138, 460 Summary Jurisdiction (Married Women) Act 1895 352 Family Law Reform Act 1969 s8 226 International Conventions Family Law Reform Act 1987 180 s1(1) 179 s4 232 European Convention on Human Rights Article 8 156 Family Law Reform Act 1996 (period of notice) 100 Article 12 156–157 The Hague Convention on Civil Guardianship of Minors Act 1971 Aspects of International Child s5(1) 239 Abduction 1980 334, 337, 344 Law Reform (Parent and Child) Article 3 335 Article 4 335 (Scotland) Act 1986 Article 12 337, 338, 341 Marriage (Enabling) Act 1960 Article 13 338 148 UN Convention on the Rights of

Marriage (Prohibited Degrees of the Child 216, 305
Relationship) Act 1931 147
Article 2 180
Article 3(1) 455
Marriage (Prohibited Degrees of Article 9 439
Relationship) Act 1986 148
Article 9(2) 251

xlviii TABLE OF LEGISLATION

Article 9(3) 285

Article 12(1) 251, 455

Article 12(2) 456

Article 19(1) 439

Article 21

# **Customary Marriage, Union of Concubinage and Modern Marriage**

#### INTRODUCTION

7 October 1971 was a watershed date for Hong Kong marriage law. This was because prior to that date there was in operation a dual marriage system. One of the marriage systems was peculiarly 'Chinese', and it consisted of 'customary marriages', 'unions of concubinage' and 'modern marriages'. The other system was 'Western' or Christian in nature and origin. It was and is commonly referred to as 'marriage under the Marriage Ordinance' or 'registry marriage'.

As from 7 October 1971, the Chinese system was abolished by the Marriage Reform Ordinance (MRO), and since then only marriage under the Marriage Ordinance has been recognised. This institution will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 3. Suffice to say here that one of the distinguishing features of a marriage under the Marriage Ordinance is monogamy, that is, the voluntary union of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others.

This chapter is concerned with the Chinese marriage system. The need to study this system, abolished almost three decades ago, is not, as some may assume, merely a matter of historical interest. As can be seen from Table 1.1, there are 2518 Chinese marriages registered under the MRO. This system of registration was introduced on 7 October 1971 and one of the consequences of registration is that evidence of a marriage is provided. However, outside this system of registration, there are no statistics indicating how many customary marriages, unions of concubinage and modern

Table 1.1 'Chinese' marriages registered under the Marriage Reform Ordinance (figures extracted from Hong Kong: Yearbook, Hong Kong Government Press, an annual publication, from the period 1973–97)

	Customary	Modern	
1972	181	21	
1973	45	8	
1974	25	4	
1975	52	19	
1976	124	39	
1977	80	27	
1978	66	25	
1979	44	20	
1980	43	21	
1981	53	17	
1982	54	20	
1983	71	26	
1984	72	15	
1985	97	19	
1986	98	27	
1987	85	34	
1988	53	60	
1989	136*	140*	
1990	78	136	
1991	49	113	
1992	17	60	
1993	25	42	
1994	24	32	
1995	23	22	
1996	15	25	
sub-total	1610	972	
Total		2582	

<sup>\*</sup> This sharp increase in numbers was probably because of Tiananmen Square and registration for immigration purposes.

marriages still exist today even though the status of parties who have entered into these marriages, and of children born as a result, hinges on their validity. Often, the issue of validity, unquestioned during the lifetime of the parties concerned, arises only when one of them dies and succession is at stake. With the passing of time, all these marriages will become extinct. To that extent, the Chinese system of marriage is of transitional interest only since marriage under the Marriage Ordinance will eventually become the sole marriage system relevant in Hong Kong family law.

The marriages which are of transitional interest are:

- (1) Customary marriage: this refers to a marriage contracted in accordance with 'Chinese law and custom'. The parties to such a marriage are a husband and wife. The wife is sometimes called the principal wife or *t'sai* (妻). In addition, Chinese law and custom permitted a husband to take secondary wives. These secondary wives are sometimes referred to as concubines or *t'sip* (妾). The union between a husband and a secondary wife being referred to as a union of concubinage.
- (2) Modern Marriage: this refers to a marriage contracted in accordance with certain requirements of the Chinese Civil Code of the Republic of China, 1930.

We will first consider customary marriage and this will be followed by an examination of unions of concubinage which are an integral part of customary marriages. Both customary marriages and unions of concubinage are steeped in Chinese legal and social history. Modern marriages, however, are of more recent origin and will be examined in the latter part of this chapter.

#### **CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE**

Prior to 1843, and before Hong Kong became a British colony, it was the practice of the Chinese inhabitants to marry in accordance with 'Chinese law and custom'. This type of marriage is sometimes referred to as 'Chinese customary marriage'. Consistent with the terminology of the MRO, the term 'customary marriage' (舊式婚姻) will be adopted. There is no real difference between the two; customary marriage in Hong Kong refers only to Chinese custom, and to no other.¹

The legal basis for customary marriages has been the subject of much debate<sup>2</sup> and it can be traced back to s5 of the Supreme Court Ordinance which stated that:

Such of the laws of England as existed when the Colony obtained a local legislature, that is to say, on the 5th day of April, 1843, shall be in force

See *Re Kishen Das* (1933) 26 HKLR 42.

Greenfield, 'Marriage by Chinese Law and Custom in Hongkong', 7 ICLQ (1958) 437 (hereafter referred to as Greenfield); Haydon, 'The Choice of Chinese Customary Law in Hong Kong' 11 ICLQ (1962) 231 (hereafter referred to as Haydon); D Lewis, 'A Requiem for Chinese Customary Law in Hong Kong' 32 ICLQ (1983) 347.

within the Colony ... except so far as the said laws shall be inapplicable to the local circumstances of the Colony or of its inhabitants.<sup>3</sup>

This was almost universally interpreted<sup>4</sup> as the legal basis for the preservation of customary marriages, as practised in 1843, up to 7 October 1971.<sup>5</sup>

#### **Nature**

Customary marriage in dynastic Qing China was a product of centuries of development and evolution from earlier customs and practices.<sup>6</sup> Chu Tungtsu,<sup>7</sup> a well respected scholar on Qing law and customs, described customary marriage as follows:

The ceremony of "marriage is a bond of affection between two surnames. It serves the ancestral temple on the one hand and continues the family line on the other," says the Hun-i (The meaning of marriage), a chapter in the Li Chi. From this ancient and most authoritative definition, it can be seen that it was the family that was the greatest concern, not the individual. Perpetuation of the family and ancestor worship were closely linked, and the latter seems to be the more decisive. It may be said that the family had to be maintained so that the ancestors could be sacrificed to. Ancestor worship was then the first and the last purpose of marriage. It is therefore not difficult to understand why a bachelor or a married man without a son was considered unfilial. Says Mencius, "There are three unfilial acts, the most serious of which is to be without descendants." Without a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ordinance No 3 of 1873.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See n. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See for example Wong Kam-ying v Man Chi-tai [1967] HKLR 201.

<sup>6</sup> Vermier Chiu, Marriage Laws and Customs of China, Chinese University Press, Hong Kong, 1966, p. 1 (hereafter referred to as Vermier Chiu). See also J Dull, 'Marriages and Divorce in Han China: A Glimpse at "Pre-Confucian" Society' in Chinese Family Law and Social Changes, ed by D Buxbaum, University of Washington Press, Hong Kong, 1978 (hereafter referred to as J Dull); 陳顧遠《中國婚姻史》商務印書館,上海,1936 (Chen Ku-yuan, A History of Marriage in China, hereafter referred to as Chen Ku-yuan); 趙鳳喈《中國婦女在法律上之地位》食貨月刊社,台北, (Chao Feng-chieh, The Legal Status of Women in China, hereafter referred to as Zhao Fung-Zia); A Wolf & Chieh Shan-huang, Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845–1945, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1980; 馬之驌《中國的婚俗》經世書局,台北,1981. (Ma Chih-su, Chinese Marriage Customs).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 瞿同祖《中國法律與中國社會》商務, 1947 (中華書局 1996 年第二次印刷) translated into English, Chu Tung-tsu, 'Law and Society in Traditional China', Westport, Connecticut, Hyperion Press, reprinted edition, 1980 (hereafter referred to as Chu Tung-tsu).

descendant, the ancestors would become unworshipped ghosts. Many ancient peoples believed that ghosts must have sacrifices.8

Unlike a marriage contracted under the Marriage Ordinance<sup>9</sup> with which we are familiar today, customary marriage was a union between two families as opposed to a union of two individuals. The purpose of such a union was not the pursuit of individual happiness, rather it was the procreation of male descendants.<sup>10</sup> The consent of the prospective groom and bride to their union was therefore unnecessary, nor was there a requirement for a minimum age of marriage.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the contract of marriage was made between the heads of two families, usually the father or an agnatic senior of the family of the prospective groom and bride.<sup>12</sup> The head of the prospective groom's family selected a prospective bride, engaged a go-between<sup>13</sup> to negotiate a betrothal contract, and the heads of the families concluded the nuptial agreement.<sup>14</sup>

Customary marriage, important as it undoubtedly was to the family, was based on traditional customs and rites. According to the *Li Chi* or the Book of Rites (禮記), the ceremonials for a valid customary marriage consisted of what was known as the 'Three Covenants and Six Rites' (三書六禮). Their observance was crucial to the validity of a customary marriage. <sup>15</sup> On the other hand, Qing Law or the *Ta Tsing Leu Lee* (大清律例), <sup>16</sup> penal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Chu Tung-tsu, p. 91; see n. 7.

<sup>9</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>10</sup> Vermier Chiu, p. 4; see n. 6.

See Chan Chung-hing v Wong Kim-wah [1986] HKLR 715; cf. Chao Feng-chieh p. 39; see n. 6.

For the parties who might contract a marriage for a family member, see G Jamieson, Chinese Family and Commercial Law, Vetch & Lee Ltd., Hong Kong, 1970 (original edition by Kelly & Walsh Ltd., Shanghai, 1921, hereafter referred to as Jamieson) p. 46. The order of the ranking of these parties were: (1) parents and paternal grandparents; (2) paternal uncles and their wives; (3) paternal aunts; (4) elder brothers and elder sisters; (5) maternal grandparents. See also Vermier Chiu, p. 99; n. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Such a person was also called a marriage broker, messenger, match-maker, introducer, chieh shao jen (介紹人) or mei jen (媒人); see also Chen Ku-yuan; n. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> For detailed rules governing who the Master of Matrimony or chu hun (主婚) was, see Vermier Chiu, p. 15; n. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Vermier Chiu, p. 4; n. 6.

The entire body of traditional Qing law was the product of over two thousand years of development in the work of codification. This was embodied in the *Ta Tsing Leu Lee*. Its first edition was promulgated by Emperor Yung Chen in 1728. The final edition was promulgated in 1908. Reference here to the *Ta Tsing Leu Lee* is that translated by George Thomas Staunton, Cheng Wen Publishing Co., Taipei, 1966 (hereafter referred to as Staunton). The *Ta Tsing Leu Lee* consists of seven parts. The first is called 'Names and General Rules', the other parts are named to correspond to the six departments or ministries of the central government. They were: 'Personnel/Civil Service', 'Revenue/Hu Pu', 'Rites',

in nature, did not prescribe the forms and procedures to be followed to contract a valid customary marriage.<sup>17</sup> The relationship between Qing law on one side and custom on the other was not always an easy one, and what impact this had on customary marriages in Hong Kong will be considered later.

## Early Formalities: The Three Covenants and Six Rites

The Six Rites, according to Vermier Chiu, an authority on customary marriage, consisted of the following, and it is useful to quote him here:<sup>18</sup>

- 1. Na T'sai (納采) the procedure of sending a messenger, usually a gobetween . . . to offer a present to the girl-elect in an attempt to find out whether or not she is marriageable. If she is not already betrothed or married and if the offer of marriage is acceptable, the girl's family will accept the present . . .
- 2. Wen Ming (問名) the procedure of enquiring as to the name and date of birth of the girl-elect. After the girl's family has accepted the present which represents an offer of marriage, the same messenger is sent by the boy's family with a formal letter asking for the full name and date of birth of the girl-elect. In reply thereto the girl's family writes back, also formally, giving the year, month, date and hour of her birth besides her full name.
- 3. Na Chi (納吉) the procedure of finding out whether or not the match would be suitable or felicitous. This is done by matching the girl's horoscope . . . with that of the boy. If they harmonise with one another, the match will be deemed favourable . . . the eight characters of nativity of the intended bride are written on a piece of red paper and placed underneath the incense burner in front of the ancestral tablets for three days. If during that period nothing infelicitous has happened, such as quarrelling in the family, breaking of earthenware or glassware, burning of the rice pan, etc., then the match will be deemed suitable and a messenger will be sent to the intended bride's family notifying her paterfamilias that the match is hereby approved . . .

<sup>&#</sup>x27;War', 'Punishments' and 'Works'. Hu Pu referred to 'family' or 'household'. The department was equivalent to revenue as taxes in China were levied on the family. The section on Hu Pu thus contained laws pertaining to family relations such as marriages, succession and inheritance. For further details on the *Ta Tsing Leu Lee*, see Tsao Wenyen, 'The Chinese Family Law from Customary Law to Positive Law', [1966] 17 Hastings Law Journal 727 (hereafter referred to as Tsao Wen-yen); *The Great Qing Code*, (William C Jones tr) Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994 (hereafter referred to as William Jones).

Except Article 101 of the Ta Tsing Leu Lee which dealt with betrothal, Staunton; see n. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Vermier Chiu, p. 5; see n. 6; see also J Dull; Chen Ku-yuan; n. 6.

- 4. Na Cheng (納徵) the procedure of paying money in settlement of the marriage. This is done by sending a messenger to the intended bride's family with the sum of money previously agreed upon. This is the final step in the betrothal.
- 5. Ch'ing Ch'i (請期) the procedure of requesting the fixing of the date of the wedding. The literal meaning of these characters is: request made by the intended bridegroom's family to the intended bride's family for a day to be fixed for the wedding; but in actual practice the fixing of the wedding day rests with the intended bridegroom's family. The procedure generally adopted is this: the paterfamilias of the boy's family selects a lucky day, then he writes a formal letter to the paterfamilias of the girl's family informing him that the day of the wedding has been decided on, and finally he sends a messenger to deliver the letter to the paterfamilias of the girl's family who invariably declares in his reply thereto that such and such a day . . . shall be the wedding day . . . In this way, the letter and spirit of 'ching chi' are harmonized.
- 6. Ch'in Ying (親迎) the procedure of the bride being welcomed by the bridegroom at his home. A commoner needed not welcome his bride to his home in person, but a person of position, especially in the days of yore, must proceed in person to the bride's home usually on horseback to escort her to his home.

The Six Rites are sometimes summarised as follows:19

- (1) Initiating the proposal;
- (2) Asking the name of the girl;
- (3) Reporting the results of the divination before the shrine in the groom's ancestral temple;
- (4) Such divination being propitious, the presenting of the betrothal gift;
- (5) Asking for the wedding date, and
- (6) Welcoming the bride.

Two additional rites were also performed by the bride, one called 'rites for becoming a wife', the other, 'rites for becoming a woman'.

The former is consummated by sexual intercourse on the night of the wedding... The latter is completed by paying respects to the bridegroom's parents by kowtowing and serving tea to them on the day after the wedding... the latter is more important than the former because consummation of the marriage by sexual intercourse is a matter concerning only the parties to the marriage, whilst completion of the latter is indispensable to becoming

<sup>20</sup> Vermier Chiu, p. 6; see n. 6.

See Leonard Pegg, Family Law in Hong Kong, 3rd edition, Butterworths Asia, Hong Kong, 1994, p. 6 (hereafter referred to as Pegg).

a member of the husband's clan — a matter of no small concern for both the parties to the marriage and the whole clan.<sup>20</sup>

In the course of these Six Rites three documents might be exchanged, comprising the so-called 'Three Covenants'. The first document (聘書) which formed part of the betrothal and emanated from the prospective groom's family contained the prospective groom's pedigree. This would be reciprocated by the prospective bride's family, returning details of her pedigree. The second document (禮書), also forming part of the betrothal, consisted of a list of gifts presented to the girl's family.<sup>21</sup> The final document was the marriage document (迎書), written by the bride's family on the day of the wedding.<sup>22</sup>

#### **Evolving customs: From 1843-1971**

By the very nature of human society, the customs of 1843 had to adapt to suit changing times and circumstances, and Hong Kong society in the 1950s and 1960s was vastly different from Hong Kong in 1843, not least in terms of demographics. In 1843, Hong Kong had a population of 5000, and by the 1950s, it was nearly three million. Thus, Haydon wrote in 1962:

Prima facie it is remarkable that many of the Chinese in Hong Kong at the present day, who comprise some of the most cultured people to be found in the Far East, should be at law subject in their domestic affairs, matters which are all important in Chinese eyes, to theoretical concepts of the customs of a riff-raff living in this same region of Kwangtung Province a hundred and twenty years ago.<sup>23</sup>

Fortunately, the courts did not consider customs ossified as of 1843. Thus, in 1969, in the case of *Re Wong Choi-ho* (which concerned the position of a concubine), Briggs J said that the correct law to apply was:

... the Ch'ing law and custom as it existed in 1843 with such modifications in custom and in the interpretation of the law as have taken place in Hong Kong since that period.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Sometimes also called 'the Passing of the Big Gift' (過大禮).

Vermier Chiu, p. 76; see n. 6; see Local Traditional Chinese Weddings, Hong Kong Urban Council, Hong Kong, 1987, pp. 17 and 48, where this was described as a deed for the delivery of the bride, registering permission to take the bride.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See Haydon; n. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> [1969] HKLR 391 at 394.

The courts recognised that Chinese law and custom had evolved and developed to meet new circumstances. It was for the courts to decide how, and to what extent, it had developed.<sup>25</sup> Thus, Huggins J said that the applicable customary law was to be derived from a process which he described as follows:

... one merely looks to 1843 to ascertain the applicability of the customary law and the basic rules as they then existed and thereafter one applies those rules subject to such developments as may have taken place since that date.<sup>26</sup>

Customary law, then, was seen by the courts as a 'living and developing organ' and it was not static.<sup>27</sup> Writing in the 1960s, Vermier Chiu was of the view that the Six Rites had been reduced to three essentials, even as early as the Sung Dynasty (960–1279 AD).

na ts'ai and wen ming were combined and the new combination was called ts'ai tse (采擇) or select. Na chi, na cheng and ch'ing ch'i were amalgamated and became na pi (納幣) or payment of money. Only ch'in ying was left intact.<sup>28</sup>

Similarly, Leonard Pegg takes the view that the Six Rites had three dominant features:<sup>29</sup> betrothal through the go-between;<sup>30</sup> transfer of the bride to the bridegroom's home; reception of the bride into the bridegroom's family and giving her the status of daughter-in-law who then became responsible for the ancestral worship. The nature of these three dominant features for constituting a valid customary marriage will be considered later.

#### The roles of expert witnesses and authoritative writings

Although customs evolved in line with social change, how were these modifications to customs to be ascertained? The problem became acute with the mass influx of immigrants from different parts of China in the 1950s and 1960s. It was exacerbated by the fact that Chinese customs varied among the inhabitants of different districts and clans; the customs of the boat people differed from those of shore dwellers and among different

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Wong Kam-ying v Man Chi-tai [1967] HKLR 201 at p. 211.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Thid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> See also Saied J in Chan Chung-hing v Wong Kim-wah [1986] HKLR 715 at p. 724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Vermier Chiu, see p. 7; n. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Pegg, p. 6; see n. 19; see also Jameison, p. 45; n. 6.

<sup>30</sup> See also Chen Ku-yuan; n. 6.

linguistic and regional groups such as the Cantonese, Hakka, Chiu Chow, Fukienese, Shanghainese or Pekinese.<sup>31</sup>

By the 1950s, extensive efforts had been made by the government to study the institution of customary marriage in Hong Kong. The Strickland Report,<sup>32</sup> in 1948, was followed by the White Paper on Chinese Marriages in Hong Kong in 1960.<sup>33</sup> Further studies were published in the McDouall-Heenan Report in 1965<sup>34</sup> and then in the White Paper on Chinese Marriages in Hong Kong in 1967.<sup>35</sup>

It thus became clear that there could be no single authoritative account of the relevant customs in 1843 and the modifications to them which had occurred; yet important matters concerning the status of the parties to the marriage, the legitimacy of children, succession, <sup>36</sup> and the jurisdiction of the courts to entertain matrimonial applications, <sup>37</sup> all hinged on establishing the validity of a marriage.

The difficulty in ascertaining what constituted a valid customary marriage was daunting and this finally surfaced in 1962 in the Court of Appeal case of *Lui Yuk-ping v Chow To*, 38 where Macfee J observed that the practice of using expert witnesses to assist the court in ascertaining what constituted a valid customary marriage was effectively treating Chinese law and custom as foreign law. He remarked that:

If Chinese law and custom is to be accepted as part of the law of Hong Kong then surely its existence is a matter of which judicial notice is to be taken, and if the court should require any assistance on points of this, or any other law of this Colony, then surely the proper procedure is to consult written authorities on the subject, if necessary with the assistance of learned counsel and translators?

<sup>31</sup> Chinese Marriages in Hong Kong, Hong Kong Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1965 (hereafter referred to as the McDouall-Heenan Report 1965), para 15.

Also called the Report on Chinese Law and Customs in Hong Kong (chaired by the then Solicitor General, Mr G Strickland), Hong Kong Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1948 (hereafter referred to as the Strickland Report 1948).

White Paper on Chinese Marriages in Hong Kong, Hong Kong Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1960 (hereafter referred to as White Paper 1960).

Ohinese Marriages in Hong Kong, Hong Kong Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1965 (hereafter referred to as the McDouall-Heenan Report 1965).

<sup>35</sup> The 1967 White Paper on Chinese Marriages in Hong Kong, Hong Kong Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1967 (hereinafter referred to as the White Paper 1967).

<sup>36</sup> Chan Chung-hing v Wong Kim-wah [1986] HKLR 715; Re Ng Shum (No 2) [1990] 1 HKLR 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Tang Lai Sau-kiu v Tang Loi [1987] HKLR 85; Chan Lee-kuen v Chan Sui-fai [1966] HKLR 796; Ho Har-chun v Yiu Hon-ming, District Court, Action No 2381 of 1970 (judgment date unknown).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> [1962] HKLR 515.

#### Macfee J doubted the propriety of using expert witnesses:

Here in Hong Kong, or anywhere else, there is obviously nobody now living who has had any practical experience of the Chinese law of 1843, and there must be comparatively few who have had practical experience of it immediately prior to the Revolution of 1911, yet the practice prevails in our courts of calling as witnesses learned "experts" in such law; it may well be that such practice originated in by-gone days when lawyers experienced in Chinese law of 1843 were available, at all events it obviously has not stopped when, in the course of time, they ceased to become available . . . . For my part I have doubted as to the propriety in any witness coming forward and, in effect, saying to a court "I have studied such and such a branch of the law of this Colony and I now tell you on oath that the answer to the legal problem now propounded is so and so." 39

Despite this, the practice of calling expert evidence continued. Thus, one year later, in 1963, in the case of Ng Ying-ho v Tam Suen-yu (which concerned the position of a concubine), Huggins J allowed expert evidence to be given by a solicitor of the Supreme Court, whom he was satisfied was 'well-qualified' to speak as to Chinese law on the basis that 'there are no books of Chinese law' to which he (the judge) might refer. However, in 1967, in Wong Kam-ying v Man Chi-tai (a case again concerning a concubine), there was no expert witness before Huggins J and he had to rely for guidance upon 'such writings as are available'. I Yet, in 1969, in Re Wong Choi-ho, Briggs J allowed expert evidence to be tendered. Since then, and up until today, expert evidence has been accepted by the courts. However, the evidence of an expert is not conclusive, the final decision resting with the court, which is not bound to accept such evidence.

# 'Chinese law and custom' not modified by events outside Hong Kong

Although the 'Chinese law and custom' preserved in Hong Kong was the Qing law and custom, the marriage law in China had undergone fundamental changes since 1843. Most notably, early twentieth-century China had

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., at pp. 531–2. Italic original. It is worth noting that in Re Wong Choi-ho [1969] HKLR 391 which was lengthy litigation, two expert witnesses died before the litigation concluded.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> [1963] HKLR 923.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> [1967] HKLR 201 at p. 212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> [1969] HKLR 391.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Saied Deputy High Court Judge in Chan Chung-hing v Wong Kim-wah [1986] HKLR 715 at p. 728.

witnessed much effort at modernisation, and, concerning marriage, there had been a move away from customary marriage rituals towards a more simplified form. In furtherance of this trend, after the Qing Dynasty had been overthrown by the Republican Revolution in 1911 and the Nationalist government established in 1928, in 1930 the Nationalists promulgated Book IV (entitled 'Family') of the Chinese Civil Code. The Chinese Civil Code 1930 adopted a simpler form of marriage which was modelled on Japanese, German and Swiss law. It recognised, *inter alia*, an individual's freedom to contract a marriage without the consent of the head of the family (thus freeing the prospective bride and groom from the control of their families) and removed the need to follow ceremonials of customary practice for contracting a valid marriage. As will be seen later in the section on modern marriages, all that was required in terms of formalities was that a marriage be celebrated in an 'open' ceremony in the presence of two witnesses. Head of the prospective brides are required in terms of formalities was that a marriage be celebrated in an 'open' ceremony in the presence of two witnesses.

Many of the inhabitants in Hong Kong embraced this simplified form for marriage. <sup>47</sup> Arguably, it could be considered as an evolved form of customary marriage, <sup>48</sup> a product of changing times and social circumstances. This view, if accepted, would mean that customary marriage had simply evolved to become the kind of marriage characterised in the Chinese Civil Code. This view, however, was not accepted by the courts, which took the view that modifications to customs were relevant only if they had developed in Hong Kong. Thus, it was held in *Re Wong Choi-ho*, in 1969, that such changes in the customs and in the law made in 'another country' were irrelevant. They could not be regarded as a part of the evolution of customary marriages in Hong Kong. Evolution relevant to customary marriages meant evolution that had taken place in Hong Kong alone and therefore modifications of Chinese custom in Chinese communities in other jurisdictions, such as Singapore and Malaysia, were also irrelevant. As Briggs J said:

We must . . . keep our eyes in the boat; and the boat is Hong Kong. What happened outside Hong Kong must be ignored. 49

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> For a history of law reform, see Van der Valk, An Outline of Modern Chinese Family Law, Henri Vetch, Peking, 1939 (hereafter referred to as Van der Valk).

<sup>45</sup> See Annex I of this chapter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> See pp. 37–43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> See the McDouall-Heenan Report 1965; n. 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> See also Greenfield at p. 449; n. 2, where it was remarked that the 'modern' form of marriage was neither a simplified version nor a development of customary marriage; Leonard Pegg, 'Chinese Marriage and Divorce under British Colonial Law: The Hong Kong Experience' (1974; M Phil. Thesis; HKU Library).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> [1969] HKLR 391 at p. 395.

#### From 1971 Onwards: The Marriage Reform Ordinance

As mentioned earlier, customs change in step with a changing society and Hong Kong society was changing at a rapid pace. Apart from local variations, the practices of different clans, and the difficulty in ascertaining the relevant customs, the reality was that by the late 1960s and early 1970s, customary marriages were considered distinctly feudal and anachronistic. Some of the characteristics of a customary marriage, for instance, a husband's prerogative to unilaterally repudiate the marriage,<sup>50</sup> and his freedom to take concubines,<sup>51</sup> were clearly incompatible with women's role in society.

So far as United Nations standards are concerned, Chinese customary marriages leave a good deal to be desired, in that they are not registered or registrable, they are not celebrated before an official, they are not monogamous. Furthermore since such marriages can be unilaterally dissolved by the husband they are not consistent with Article 16 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights which proclaimed that men and women are entitled to equal rights to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.<sup>52</sup>

This provided the final impetus for reform, the main aim of which was the abolition of customary marriages prospectively. Abolition served the function of capping the numbers of customary marriages and the epoch within which they have to be assessed as to their validity. Law reform was effected by the MRO.<sup>53</sup>

#### Abolition of customary marriage

During the second reading of the Marriage Reform Bill on 3 June 1970, abolition of customary marriage was regarded as long overdue. Mr P C Woo said:

... the main provisions of this bill are based on the recommendations of the Committee on Chinese Law and Custom in Hong Kong made in February 1953 but it took 17 years before this matter comes to this Council for debate, and during these 17 years as the mover of the bill rightly pointed out, "that public attitudes and preferences and practice have been undergoing changes", which behoves us to review the antiquated Chinese

<sup>50</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> See pp. 27–37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> White Paper 1967, para 15; see n. 35.

For some of the debates for and against law reform prior to the introduction of the MRO, see Ming Pao, 9 April 1958, 20 October 1958, South China Morning Post, 7 October 1962, 27 November 1964, 14 July 1967, Sing Pao, 23 August 1968.

law of marriages and to reform the same so as to suit the present condition in Hong Kong.<sup>54</sup>

The passage of the Bill was uncontroversial; four legislators spoke, three of whom were in favour and only one against. Mr Oswald Cheung made a last appeal to save customary marriages. He remarked that customary marriage, together with the institution of concubinage, was not an inferior institution to that of monogamy. Consequently, the law should not deprive a man of his right to contract a customary marriage. He argued as follows:

... is monogamy so manifestly a superior institution to the traditional Chinese institution of marriage that we should completely deny the right to people to opt out of it if they so wish? Are we right to force this institution upon the people who do not believe in it and who do not want it?

I regret I am completely unable to draw the conclusion from the historical or the present day evidence which is available to me that monogamy is so successful, so obviously superior and so more conducive to the public good and to the individual happiness of men and women, that I am prepared to say that this — and this only — shall be the way men and women shall regulate their lives. Let me next observe that the institution of monogamy, which is in force in Hong kong... is at best a compromise between polygamy and the teachings of the Christian church. The Church decrees that a man shall have only one wife in his life. Our system of monogamy says a man shall have one wife at one time. It does permit him to have different wives at different times. Equally the Chinese customary marriage is a compromise.<sup>55</sup>

The main aim of the MRO was to abolish, inter alia, customary marriages prospectively. As Mr Holmes, the then Secretary for Home Affairs, who moved the second reading of the Marriage Reform Bill, stated:

all the connected matters fell into place more or less as transitional provisions . . . [and] as time goes on fewer and fewer [customary marriages] will exist and in due course the provisions I have described will become entirely spent.<sup>56</sup>

S4 of the MRO thus provides that marriages contracted in Hong Kong on or after the 7 October 1971 shall imply the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others, and may be contracted only in accordance with the Marriage Ordinance. This thereby abolished customary marriage as of 7 October 1971.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> HK Hansard, 3 June 1970, p. 728.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Ibid., pp. 735–6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Ibid., pp. 677–8.

#### Customary marriage defined

The prospective abolition of customary marriage as of 7 October 1971 did not deal with the questions of validity of those which had already been contracted prior to that date. To remedy the lack of a definition as to what constituted a valid customary marriage, the MRO defined it as:

a marriage celebrated in Hong Kong in accordance with section 7.57

#### S7(1) of the MRO provides that:

For the purposes of this Ordinance, a marriage shall constitute a customary marriage if it was or is celebrated in Hong Kong before the [7 October 1971] in accordance with Chinese law and custom.

'Chinese law and custom' means:

such of the laws and customs of China as would immediately prior to 5 April 1843 have been applicable to Chinese inhabitants of the Colony<sup>58</sup>

S7(2) further provides that a marriage 'shall be deemed' to accord with Chinese law and custom if it was celebrated in accordance with the

- ... traditional Chinese customs accepted at the time of the marriage as appropriate for the celebration of marriage either
- (a) in the part of Hong Kong where the marriage took place; or
- (b) in the place recognised by the family of either party to the marriage as their family place of origin.

#### Customs of when

S7(2) of the MRO focuses on 'traditional Chinese customs' for the celebration of a marriage, not those of 1843, but those at the time of the marriage. Its intention is to avoid disputes concerning what the customs were in 1843. For example, if a customary marriage was alleged to have taken place in 1940, all the court has to ask is: 'was the ceremony accepted as appropriate for the celebration of a customary marriage in 1940?' This is consistent with the notion that customary law is a living creature, evolving with changing social conditions. As has been mentioned earlier, this, indeed, has been the approach of the courts. What appears to be new, however, is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> S2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> S2.

that the customs adopted need not be the local (or Hong Kong) customs, but could be those imported from other parts of China, being the customs of the place of origin of either party to the marriage.<sup>59</sup>

#### Customs of where

The relevant customs could be those 'in that part of Hong Kong where the marriage took place'. For example, a customary marriage involving two families, one from Shandong, Guangdong (山東, 廣東) and one from Changsha, Hunan (長沙, 湖南), and celebrated in Kowloon Walled City, would be valid if the parties adopted the customs of Kowloon Walled City, as opposed to say the customs of a Hakka Village in the New Territories.

The customs could be that of the 'place recognised by the family of either party to the marriage as their family place of origin'. This envisages inter-marriage between families which have adopted different customs and rites. Again, using the above example, it would suffice if the ceremony was in accordance with either the customs of Shandong or Changsha. But if the parties adopted a mixture of both Shandong and Changsha customs, the marriage would not be a valid customary marriage. It is also worth mentioning that as the customs of the place of origin of either party to the marriage could be used, there would be a valid customary marriage even if the customs of the wife's family, as opposed to that of the husband's family were adopted. This appears to recognise an element of equality between the families as to whose customs were to be adopted for the celebration of the marriage.

## Customs accepted by whom

S7(2) of the MRO is silent on this. If the parties adopted the customs of the place of origin of the husband's family, it would be difficult to envisage that, after many years of marriage, its validity would be questioned either by the wife, an interested relative, a guest who had attended the wedding ceremony, or even by a local inhabitant of the place where the marriage took place. The McDouall-Heenan Report 1965 suggested that acceptance by the parties to the marriage was the relevant test:

<sup>59</sup> See Greenfield; n. 2; Re Ng Shum (No 2) [1990] 1 HKLR 67; Chan Chung-hing v Wong Kim-wah [1986] HKLR 715.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> C Osgood, The Chinese: A Study of a Hong Kong Community, University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1975.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> See Greenfield; n. 2; Re Ng Shum (No 2) [1990] 1 HKLR 67; see also G MacCormack, The Spirit of Traditional Chinese Law, University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1996, Ch. 5.

All genuine customary marriages have at least one identifiable factor in common: they must be celebrated according to the accepted rites and ceremonies of the parties' families, in conformity with traditions which go back beyond their living memory.<sup>62</sup>

This must be correct as it is consistent with the approach hitherto taken by the courts. Although sections S7(2)(a) and (b) of the MRO refer to the practices of a certain area, and arguably this relates to the customs practised by the people of a particular locality,<sup>63</sup> however, in *Chan Chunghing v Wong Kim-wah*,<sup>64</sup> Judge Saied took the view that the appropriateness of the traditional Chinese custom was not to be judged from ascertaining from 'each resident what that traditional custom' might be. He was of the view that it had to be judged only by those who were actually present at the wedding ceremony. However, this view would seem to carry the unfortunate consequence that the more people who attended, the more likely it would be that disagreements could arise.

#### The role of expert witnesses

S7(2) does not set out in concrete terms the requirements of a valid customary marriage. It is therefore left to the court to ascertain whether a custom adopted in a particular case was capable of constituting such a marriage. Expert evidence, however, may continue to assist the court.<sup>65</sup>

#### Judicial interpretation

For nearly three decades, the courts have entertained a large degree of laxity in interpreting the customs required for a valid customary marriage. The cardinal rules are: that each case is to be considered in the light of its own facts; the ceremonies must be viewed as a whole, taking into account changing social circumstances in Hong Kong, and; strict adherence to formality is not as important as the intention of the parties to proceed in accordance with customary rites.

Thus, it has been held that the first two of the Six Rites were obsolete by the 1970s. 66 It has also been held, in Kwan Chui Kwok-ying v Tao Wai-

<sup>62</sup> McDouall-Heenan Report 1965, para 16; see n. 31.

<sup>63</sup> See Pegg, p. 10; n. 19.

<sup>64 [1986]</sup> HKLR 715.

<sup>65</sup> See Lee Lan v Henry Ho, High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 3441 of 1978 (1980); Chan Chung-hing v Wong Kim-wah [1986] HKLR 715, Re Ng Shum (No 2) [1990] 1 HKLR 67, Kwan Chui Kwok-ying v Tao Wai-chun [1995] 1 HKC 374.

<sup>66</sup> Ho Har-chun v Yiu Hon-ming, District Court, Action No 2381 of 1970 (judgment date unknown).

chun,<sup>67</sup> (concerning a marriage which took place in 1960), that documentary evidence of the 'three covenants' was not necessary, nor was it necessary that the bridegroom fetch the bride on the wedding day personally, nor would it be fatal if the marriage took place on an inauspicious day or that it was within one year of mourning the death of a parent.

As was said earlier, of the Six Rites, there remained three which were crucial. They were: betrothal through a go-between, transfer of the bride to the bridegroom's home, and accepting the bride into the family as the daughter-in-law. As will be seen from cases decided since 1971, the role parents played in betrothal has been much reduced. The courts have been inclined to consider customary marriages as affaires de coeur as opposed to contracts between parents. However, the betrothal gift cementing the union could not be omitted. Finally, the rites for accepting the bride into the groom's family need not be exact and the parents welcoming of the bride some months after the marriage has been accepted as sufficient, either because it was taken as a form of ex post facto acceptance (and therefore still crucial) or because it was regarded as largely symbolic.

#### Affaires de coeur

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, customary marriages were no longer 'arranged marriages' but affaires de coeur, the role which heads of the families played having been seriously eroded, particularly when circumstances rendered it difficult, if not impossible, for them to participate. In Ho Har-chun v Yiu Hon-ming, 68 the marriage took place in 1970. The husband was a seaman, and through the medium of friends, he exchanged photographs and corresponded with the wife. Their first meeting was arranged by a go-between who acted on behalf of the wife's family and other members of the wife's family also attended. After a short period of courtship, the wife accepted the husband's suggestion of marriage. He fixed the wedding by agreement with his own family and communicated the arrangement to his prospective wife. Gifts were then exchanged. On the wedding day, the wife was fetched from her mother's home by the husband and was conducted to the husband's home. Photographs were taken. An evening dinner of 18 tables was provided in a restaurant, at which the parties served tea to their mothers and the two go-betweens. There was also 'some form of worshipping of the gods'.

A fundamental challenge to the validity of the marriage was that the betrothal was at the instance of the parties themselves; it was not concluded

<sup>67 [1995] 1</sup> HKC 374.

<sup>68</sup> District Court, Action No 2381 of 1970 (date of judgment unknown).

between the heads of the families and so was contrary to the spirit of a customary marriage. However, Cons J in the District Court held that tradition was by no means inflexible, particularly in circumstances where it was difficult, if not impossible, for the heads of the family to participate. In this case, the husband's father was in mainland China, and 'there was no mention in the evidence of any senior male member of the wife's family'. Nevertheless, betrothal was clearly with the consent of 'the close members of the respective families' and was 'cemented by the exchange of gifts'. It was a valid customary marriage.

Indeed, in 1967, Huggins J said (obiter) in Wong Kam-ying v Man Chi-tai, that customary marriages

... are now usually affaires de coeur rather than contracts between parents<sup>69</sup>

In other words, so long as a customary marriage was concluded with the consent (explicit or implicit) of close members of the respective families and was cemented by the exchange of gifts, it was a valid customary marriage.

This view of the diminished role which parents (or agnatic seniors of the families) played in a customary marriage was also accepted in the case of a marriage which took place during the Japanese Occupation, reflecting the circumstances of those whose families had been displaced by the social and political upheaval of the time. Thus, in Chan Chung-hing v Wong Kim-wah, 70 it was alleged (in a probate action) that a valid customary marriage was contracted between the plaintiff-woman and the deceased. The plaintiff and her widowed mother had come to Hong Kong from Chiu Chow in 1936 and they had no relatives in Hong Kong. The deceased also had no relatives in Hong Kong, although he had an elder brother and a mother in his native village in China. It was argued that a betrothal was not an agreement between the prospective bridegroom and the mother of the prospective bride. The court, accepting without much difficulty that a widowed mother had the exclusive right to consent to the marriage of her daughter, focused on the question of the capacity of a 'solo' man in Hong Kong to contract his own customary marriage. Deputy High Court Judge Saied was unwilling to deny to such a man 'his right to procreate' and be condemned to 'a life of bachelorhood'. He remarked:

I doubt very much that in a situation where ethnic communities leave the shores of their native countries and settle in foreign lands, it could ever be said that a young person, living alone without his parents or another senior male relative, would be denied the natural rights of procreation

<sup>70</sup> [1986] HKLR 715.

<sup>69 [1967]</sup> HKLR 201 at p. 213, italics original.

through the sanctity of marriage on the argument of lack of the requisite consent to marry. Such rigidity would surely condemn such a person to the status of permanent bachelorhood or spinsterhood which cannot be in accord with the traditional customs with which we are concerned.<sup>71</sup>

He held that Chinese customary law permitted a junior member of the family, such as the deceased, living away from home and earning his own livelihood, if his betrothal had not already been arranged by his senior relatives, to arrange his own marriage without reference to them.<sup>72</sup>

#### Betrothal gift

There is no customary marriage unless there has been a betrothal, signified by the passing of the 'Big Gift' or betrothal gift. So far, the courts have not considered the nature and value of the gift to be important.<sup>73</sup> For example, in Chan Chung-hing v Wong Kim-wah,74 the gift of '4 silver coins of mainland China' was considered to be sufficient. In Ho Har-chun v Yiu Hon-ming, it was said that 'gifts were exchanged' and 'jewellery, wine and food were conveyed to the wife and her family'.75 In Chong Chui Yukching v Chong Pui-cheong, 'cash and 200 catties of wedding cakes' were involved.76 However, the lack of any betrothal gift was fatal. Thus, in the recent case of Re Ng Kwok-hing, 77 the parties met, fell in love, and they decided to marry with the approval of their families. As it was during the Japanese occupation, they held a small dinner at the home of the parents of the 'husband', followed by the 'wife' serving tea to the parents-in-law. It was held, however, that a crucial element to a customary marriage betrothal gift signifying the union between the two families — was missing. It was not a valid customary marriage.

## Accepting the bride into the groom's family

The customs and rites signifying acceptance of the bride into the bridegroom's family were not exact. Indeed, cases suggest that these might consist of the couple 'serving tea to the parents' and 'kowtowing to them',

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ibid., at p. 725, cf. Pegg's commentary on the case in 17 (1987) HKLJ 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> See also Kwan Chui Kwok-ying v Tao Wai-chun [1995] 1 HKC 374.

<sup>73</sup> Chen Ku-yuan; see n. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> [1986] HKLR 715; see also Pegg's commentary in (1987) 17 HKLJ 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> District Court, Action No 2381 of 1970 (unreported, date of judgment unknown).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> [1983] HKDCLR 1.

<sup>77</sup> High Court, Miscellaneous Proceedings No 2564 of 1994 (1996), judgment in Chinese only.

'worshipping heaven and earth' or the 'ancestral tablets' if they were available. For instance, in *Ho Har-chun v Yiu Hon-ming*, the couple offered tea 'to their mothers' and there was also 'some form of worshipping of the gods'. The Chan Chung-hing v Wong Kim-wah, the husband did not have his ancestors' shrine so the couple worshipped 'heaven and earth'.

Furthermore, if the prospective groom was living in the same premises as the prospective bride, conveyance of the bride to the bridegroom's house would be unnecessary, and the rites for the acceptance of the bride could be condensed into one place with the bride being 'accepted' in her own home. Thus, in Chan Chung-hing v Wong Kim-wah (above), the deceased lived with the plaintiff and her mother. He occupied a canvas bed just outside the room which the mother and daughter occupied in a premises in Second Street, Sai Ying Pun, Hong Kong. The ceremony took place at the premises following Chiu Chow customs. On the wedding day, the plaintiff wore a wedding gown and another tenant of the premises acted as a gobetween, escorting her into the room of the deceased where he received her. They 'worshipped heaven and earth' in the sitting room.

Where the father or an agnatic senior of the family of the groom could not be involved in the betrothal or the marriage ceremony, acceptance of the bride subsequently (i.e. after the marriage) has been recognised by the court as sufficient acceptance of the daughter-in-law into the groom's family. Thus, in Chan Chung-hing v Wong Kim-wah (above), the defendant took the plaintiff back to his native village to visit his mother after the marriage. The plaintiff 'served tea to her' and received a laisee packet. The High Court held that the marriage ceremony was to be considered as a whole in order to decide if traditional customs had been complied with. There was evidence that the defendant received her in his room (which was probably so designated on that occasion), they later worshipped heaven and earth, and the deceased took her to meet his mother after the wedding. There had accordingly been sufficient compliance with the traditional customs.

#### Chinese 'law' prevails over 'custom'

So far, we have focused on s7(2) — the customs required to contract a valid customary marriage. However, compliance with customs alone has not been accepted by the courts as satisfying the statutory requirement that customary marriage was a marriage in accordance with 'Chinese law and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid

<sup>80</sup> Probably so designated on that occasion.

custom'. Indeed, conflicts between Chinese 'law' and 'custom' were noted by McAleavy in 1963 when he observed that:

In the Chinese law and custom of 1843... there are a number of these topics, where the statute law, applied by the Chinese courts, laid down one rule, and custom, followed by the great mass of the people, persisted in another. Which of the two, custom or statute, ought to be recognised by the Hong Kong courts?<sup>81</sup>

This conflict has now been resolved in favour of Chinese law in the case of Re Ng Shum (No 2),<sup>82</sup> where Benjamin Liu J held in the High Court that although s7(2) provided that a marriage be deemed to accord with 'Chinese law and custom' if it was celebrated in conformity with s7 (2), such compliance created only a rebuttable presumption that a marriage was in compliance with custom, and hence a presumption that there was a valid customary marriage.<sup>83</sup> A party disputing the marriage may rebut such a presumption by showing that the alleged marriage was contrary to Chinese law.

In Re Ng Shum (No 2),84 the deceased died intestate. The plaintiff was the deceased's lawful tin fong (填房) wife.85 Problems arose when the first defendant also claimed to be a wife of equal standing to the plaintiff or ping t'sai (平妻).86 The plaintiff had married the deceased in 1942 in accordance with traditional customs and rites. In 1944, the deceased went through a form of marriage ceremony with the first defendant and the marriage ceremony followed the same rites as those befitting a wife. Indeed, the ceremony followed the same rites as those performed by the deceased and the plaintiff, and furthermore, both ceremonies were conducted by the same person, Mr Lai Chow-kwong, an old friend of the deceased. Betrothal was completed with the passing of the 'Big Gift' (過大禮), and on the wedding day, the first defendant wore a red wedding gown and was conveyed by a horse-drawn carriage to the deceased's home. The deceased and the first defendant worshipped ancestors and the gods and tea was offered to the father-in-law and other relatives. After the marriage, the deceased regarded both the plaintiff and the first defendant as his equal wives, and they were treated as such on both formal and informal occasions.

McAleavy, 'Chinese Law in Hong Kong: The Choice of Sources' in Anderson (ed), Changing Law in Developing Countries, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1963 (hereafter referred to as McAleavy).

<sup>82 [1990] 1</sup> HKLR 67.

<sup>83</sup> Compare the deeming provision in s8.

<sup>84</sup> Thid

<sup>85</sup> See below on tin fong, p. 31.

See below on kim tiu, pp. 46–7.

Benjamin Liu J held that the defendant's ceremonials had been shown to be in conformity with Chinese customs, which allowed equal wives or ping t'sai. However, compliance with customs only raised a rebuttable presumption that there was a valid customary marriage. In this case, the presumption was rebutted by the plaintiff proving that the marriage was contrary to the Ta Tsing Leu Lee (大清律例), which prohibited the taking of two wives:

Whoever, having a first wife living, enters into marriage with another female as a first wife, shall likewise be punished with 90 blows, and the marriage being considered null and void, the parties shall be separated, and the woman returned to her parents.<sup>87</sup>

A marriage which contravened the Qing law was not a customary marriage under s7 of the MRO. Consequently, the first defendant was not a wife. It appeared that she was not a concubine either because she had 'categorically denied ever offering tea or kow-towing to the plaintiff as a sign of obeisance', 88 and according to Benjamin Liu J, '[t]here was nothing to even remotely suggest a union with a "Tsip". 89

This was a case where the woman was caught between Chinese 'law' and 'custom'. Benjamin Liu J noted this unfortunate outcome and he offered to address it thus:

... I derive much comfort from the thought that there can be little doubt of the first defendant continuing to be respected by members of her family and in society as the widowed "Ping Tsai" of the deceased. That is the understanding of Mr Lai Chow-kwong, the elderly scholar, and there is every reason to believe that no right-thinking members of our community would wish to take issue with that common sense notion.<sup>90</sup>

However, in the eyes of the law, the first defendant was not a wife, nor was she a concubine. She was a mistress, albeit not a clandestine one. <sup>91</sup> The decision has the effect of rendering any customary marriage invalid should it be found to be in contravention of the Qing law.

Interestingly, non-compliance with the Qing law was also raised as an issue in *Re Wong Choi-ho*, where the question was whether a son or grandson who assaulted a parent or grandparent was to be disinherited.<sup>92</sup> It

<sup>87</sup> See Article 90 of Staunton, Ta Tsing Leu Lee; n. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> [1990] 1 HKLR 67 at p. 75, see later on concubinage.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., at p. 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Ibid., at p. 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> See below, pp. 27–37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> [1969] HKLR 391.

was argued that under the Qing law, it was a crime which attracted the death penalty. However, Briggs J said (obiter) that contravention of the Qing law could not affect the status of a person.

In my view the relevant provision in Ching [Qing] law is of a penal nature pure and simple. I do not think that the correct inference to draw is that if a man commits an offence and renders himself liable to punishment his status is thereby altered.<sup>93</sup>

Similarly, it was held in *Re Ng Kwok-hing* that the fact that a marriage was held within one year of mourning the death of the woman's father (although it was contrary to the Qing law),<sup>94</sup> it did not render the marriage invalid.

#### Post-Registration

A customary marriage contracted prior to 7 October 1971 was not registrable but s9 of the MRO provides for their post-registration. SAS mentioned earlier, registration and the certificate issued provide evidence of the marriage. Further, registration provides the court with matrimonial jurisdiction under the Matrimonial Causes Ordinance (MCO). Another means whereby the court would have matrimonial jurisdiction under the Matrimonial Causes Ordinance is where the parties to a monogamous customary marriage contract a marriage with each other in accordance with s38 of the Matrimonial Causes Ordinance. Such marriage has the effect of superseding the original, potentially polygamous union by a monogamous union, thus giving the court jurisdiction to dissolve the marriage. The procedure for post-registration will be considered later.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Ibid., at p. 402.

<sup>94</sup> See Article 105 of Staunton, Ta Tsing Leu Lee; n. 16; see also William Jones; n. 16 and Vermier Chiu; n. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> See below, pp. 43–5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> S11 MRO.

<sup>97</sup> S9 MCO; s2 MCO. S2 of the MCO defines a 'monogamous marriage' being one celebrated in Hong Kong (i) in accordance with the MO; (ii) being a validated marriage registered under the MRO or (iii) if it took place outside Hong Kong a marriage in accordance with the law of the lex loci celebrationis and recognised by that law as a monogamous marriage.

<sup>98</sup> That is, where there is no concubine.

Yeung Yeu-kong v Yeung Fung Lai-mui [1971] HKLR 13; Kwan Chui Kwok-ying v Tao Wai-chun [1995] 1 HKC 374; Leung May-ling v Leung Sai-lun [1997] HKLRD 12. However, a monogamous marriage could not be converted to a potentially polygamous one, see In the estate of Wong Wong, High Court, Probate Jurisdiction No 1797 of 1998 (1998).

## Index

#### abduction, see child abduction

#### access

defined 276–277 denial to parent 286 direct 284 grandparents, by 288-289 indirect 284, 287–288 meaning 211-213, 276-277 natural mother following adoption, by 314-315 non-parent, by 288-289 presumption in favour of 284-289 right of the child 285 right of the parent 285 sexual abuse cases, in 288 staying 276-277 unmarried father, by 288-289 welfare of the child 287–289 wishes of the child 288

#### adoption

access by natural mother as condition of 314–315 access to birth records, and 315–317 age of adopted persons 296

age of adopters 295–318 Chinese customary law, under 291 condition imposed in 304, 314–315 consent unreasonably withheld 300-304 discrimination against male applicant 294, 318 dispensing with consent 297, 299-304, 318-319 effect of 291, 313-314 foster care, distinguished 291 freeing for 304–305 future development 318-319 general consent, to 298–299 grandparents, by 309, 315 guardian ad litem, and 311–313 guardian, consent by 298 homosexual adopters illegitimate children, of 294, 313 information to court, and 312-313 joint applicants 294–295 jurisdiction of the court 292 marital status of adopters 295 meaning 291 natural parents, disclosure of identity of 315-317 notice of intention, to 297

overseas 326–327	relaxation of prohibited degrees
parents, consent by 298	147–148
payment, for 310-311	
private arrangements, and 292	age
property rights on 313	marriage-
relative, by 304–310	judicial consent, of 151
residence provisions 296-297	parental consent required, for
revocation of consent, to 299	151
secrecy, and 308-9, 315-316	void 151
sole applicant 294–295	
specific consent, to 298	arrest, power of
statistics, of 292, 293	effect of 468–469
stepchildren, of 295, 307–301, 319	nature of 468-469
step-parent, by 295, 307–301, 319	
succession of adopted child 313-	assault, see domestic violence and child
314	abuse
total transplant view of 291, 306,	2000
309, 313–314,	assisted human reproduction
tracing adopted person by natural	donor insemination 205–210
relatives, in 315–317	egg and embryo donation 205–210
tracing natural relatives, in 315–317	in vitro fertilisation 205–210
welfare of child 298, 299–304, 305–	meaning 205–210
307	parents, identifying 205–210
wishes of the child 307	status of child 205–210
wishes of the cilia 307	surrogacy,
adultery	meaning 205–210
condonation 355–357	surrogate born child 205–210
conduct not amounting to 355–357	treated as child of the marriage
continuo anounting to 333–337	205–210
consensual sexual intercourse, as	203–210
105–106	attachment of parnings 357 350
	attachment of earnings 357–358, 360–361
continuing cohabitation, effect of 107	360-361
	hattany and domestic violence and
co-respondent, adulterer as 108 damages for 107	battery, see domestic violence and child abuse
defences to 104–105, 355–357	Cilità abuse
	hahariaaa
intolerability of living with	behaviour
respondent, and 106	unreasonable, see unreasonable
irretrievable breakdown of marriage,	behaviour
proof of 105–107	Lia
meaning 105–106	bigamy
standard of proof 106	concubine, see concubinage
officity and also appropriate	kim tiu marriage, see customary
affinity, see also consanguinity	marriage
meaning 145	nullity, and 153–154
prohibited degrees 148–149	Ta Tsing Leu Lee, see customary
reforming the law of 150	marriage

birth	rights of, see Gillick case
access to birth records by adopted child 315–317	welfare, see welfare of child
illegitimate, see legitimacy and legitimation registration and presumption of parentage 196–197 registration of illegitimate child 191–192	child abduction abduction amongst Hague Convention countries 334–342 abduction into Hong Kong from a non-Hague Convention country 342–345
blood tests, see also parentage power to order 201 refusal to consent to 204–205 to determine parentage- child's right 203–205 consent to 201 discretion of the court, to order 201–205 husband's right 203–205 unmarried father's right 203– 205 welfare of the child, and 201–204	access right 336 Central Authority, and 334 Contracting States 334, 346–348 criminal sanction 333 habitual residence, meaning 336–337 jurisdiction of the court 335 mandatory return 337–338 preventing 333–334 refusal to return 338–342 rights of custody 335–336 stay of proceedings 344–345 wardship proceedings, see wardship wishes of the child 340–341
care and control, see also custody of child	wrongful removal or retention 335-336, 337-338
custody distinguished from 211– 213, 278–279	child abuse assault 448
care or protection proceedings, see child abuse	care committed to non-parent 454 care or protection proceedings- child's view to be heard 455-456
child	court orders 454–455
agreement to give up rights to 235 child of the family, see child of the family consent to marriage, of 192, 234	criterion for discharge from care 454 custody proceedings, and 450 grounds, for 448
divorce, arrangements for, see divorce	legal representation 455–456 welfare of the child 455
financial provision, for, see financial provision and maintenance during marriage	case conferences 442–444 child assessment procedure 445– 446
guardian, see guardian legitimacy, see also illegitimacy	child protection registry 445 compulsory reporting laws 442
parental rights and authority, see parent	co-ordination of authorities and agencies 456–457
property adjustment, for, see	criminal law, and 441–442 definition 440–441

developmental abuse 450–453 Director of Social Welfare as guardian 454 disclosure, and privilege information 456-457 drug-taking by expectant mother 450-453 emergency protection order 446emotional abuse 450-453 future risk 451-453 grounds for interference by the Director of Social Welfare 445-454 ill-treatment 448-449 in need of care or protection 445– 454 institutional care 454 investigation, of 442–445, 456–457 need for intervention, time of assessment 453 neglect 449 parents' self-incrimination 457 place of refuge 446–447 psychological abuse 450-453 recalcitrant teenagers 454 sexual abuse 449 standard of proof 449-450 statistics 440-441 supervision order 455

## child assessment procedure, see child abuse

Chinese customary marriage, see customary marriage

## Chinese modern marriage, see modern marriage

#### clean break

application to children, and 414 big money cases 402–403 deferred 379 immediate 379 low-income family 380 periodical payment orders, and 379

power of the court to direct 379 power to impose 379–380 re-opening settlements 433–436 short marriage, after 380 unreliable husband 382–383 wife's earning capacity, and 381–

#### concubinage

abolition of 27, 35–37 bigamy 28–31 customary marriage, in 27–37 dissolution of 48 judicial attitudes 32–33 monogamy 28–31, 46–47 polygamy 28–31, 46–47 statistics, of 28 statutory definition 36–37 union of, see also concubine

#### concubine

child, legitimacy of 36, 181 fu ching 32 husband's family, not member of husband's right to take 5, 27–28 meaning 5, 27 mistress, distinguished 27 modern marriage, added to 40, 48 no principal wife, where 37 principal wife, promotion to status of 32 promotion, of 32 requirements for the taking ofacceptance by the wife 34–37 ceremony, yap kung 34-37 holding out 34–37 intention of the parties 34–37 introduction of the husband's family 34–37 permanence of union 34–37 public recognition 34–37 rights of children of 35-36, 48 rights of 29, 33-34, 48 second wife, as 26 statistics 28 Ta Tsing Leu Lee 33–35, 46–47

evolving customs 10

bar, to 282

expert evidence and authoritative	statutory definition, of 17–19
writings 11–12, 19	statutory provisions for dissolution
extinction, of 16, 46–48	64–65
formal requirements of 12	Ta Tsing Leu Lee 7, 25–26, 47
grounds for dissolution-	three convenants and six rites 7-10
at wife's suit 60	tin fong wife 31
breaking of the bond 60-61	validity of dissolution 65–66
Ching law, continuation of 67	women's position, in 15, 33-34,
concubine, of 68-69	56–58
husband's unilateral repudiation	
56, 58–60	declaratory judgments
mutual consent, by 60	power to make 141
formalities 61	•
Marriage Reform Ordinance,	desertion
under 64–66	abolition, proposed 116
Matrimonial Causes Ordinance,	consensual separation 119–120
under 67	consent, absence of 118, 119-120
judicial interpretation of 19-26	constructive 121
kim tiu 46–47	elements of 117
kit fat wife 31	enforced separation 118
legal basis of 5-6	fact of 117-118
legitimacy of children 181	intention to live apart permanently
maintenance agreements, and 66	118–119
meaning 5	involuntary separation 118
minimum age of marriage 7	just or reasonable cause, lack of 120
modern marriage, distinguished from	meaning 117, see also separation
14	period of 119, 122-123
monogamy 16, 28–31	resumption of cohabitation, effect of
nature of 6–7	123
origin 6–7	termination of 122
parties to betrothal contract 7-9,	unreasonable behaviour, as 122
20–22	
ping tsai 25, 46–47	discrimination
polygamy 16, 28–31, 46–47	father affecting 189–192
post-registration of-	illegitimate child, affecting 189-192
application for 43-45	single men adopting female child
provision for 26, 43–45	294, 318
powers to grant ancillary relief, and	
66	divorce
preservation of 15–26	clean break, see clean break
prohibition of taking two wives 27	custody of child, see custody of
purpose of 6–7	child
rebuttable presumption of 25–26	customary marriage, see also
registry marriage after 26	customary marriage
seven ousts and three non-ousts	decree absolute 123-124, 130-134,
58–59	137
statistics 3–4,	decree nisi 123–124, 130–134, 137

defences 130–134 exceptional hardship or depravity 124–127 facts, inquiry into 99–103, 105 fault, importance of 99–103 fault-based facts 99–103, 135–137 finance and property after, see financial provision and property adjustment financial provision, adequacy of 130–131 grave financial or other hardship 132–134 grounds for petitioning- adultery, see adultery desertion, see desertion facts, proof of 103–104 irretrievable breakdown of marriage 100–103, 105 separation, see separation	children, protection of 460, 469 cohabitation, meaning 461 cohabitees, and 460–462 ex parte injunction 460 family members, and 461, 470, 474 harassment, and 472–475 law reform 474–475 molestation- meaning 461–463 precondition to granting order 462–463 nature and extent, of 459–460, 474 non-molestation orders, see non- molestation order ouster orders, see ouster order power of arrest, see arrest, power of private nuisance 473 stalking 472–475
unreasonable behaviour, see unreasonable behaviour	domicile women's independent 104
history 99–103 joint application, by 103, 135–137 jurisdiction of the court 104 marriages celebrated in China, and 63–64 modern marriage, see modern marriage mutual consent, by 137 no-fault facts 100–103 notice of intention of 135–137	duress fear, threat causing 161–164 life, limb or liberty, threat to 161– 164 marriage, vitiating 161–164 party's responsibility for 161–164 reasonably entertained fear 161– 164
notice of intention of 135–137 nullity, distinguished, see nullity objectives of the law 104 one-year discretionary bar 124–126 reconciliation, see reconciliation special procedure 107, 134–135 statistics 102, 116 undefended 107, 134–135 welfare of children, arrangements for 128–130 wrong in the circumstances 134	emergency protection orders, see also child abuse child assessment procedure, see child abuse supervision order, see child abuse emigration children born in mainland China 186–188 illegitimate child, and 186–188
DNA test, see blood test	exclusion orders, see domestic violence

family assets

adjustment after divorce, see finance

domestic violence, see also child abuse battered wife 459

statement of principle 379 provision and property adjustment supervening events, effect of matrimonial home, see matrimonial 433-436 home termination offinancial obligations, duty to consider father, see also parentage 379 assisted human reproduction, in use of 380-381 205-210 wealthy parties, in case of 380 genetic 194-205 discretion of court, exercise of 371legal 194-205 non-genetic 205-210 age of parties 398-400 children's welfare, consideration presumptionsfrom birth registration 196–197 of 363–364 from marriage 194-196 conduct, relevant 405-408 rebuttal of 197-198 consideration of all circumstances financial provision contributions of parties 401-404 applicants 364–365 duration of marriage 398-400 attachment of earnings 357-358, earning capacity, as to 387-395 360-361 disclosure by parties 387child of the family, for 414-415, see maintenance during fully exploited, where marriage age limits 417, 420 new partner, of 393-395 attachment of earnings 420 potential as to 390 discretion, guidelines for exercise reality, considering 389-390 of 415–416, 419–420 loss of pension, etc. rights 404duration of orders 417, 420 orders available 413-414, 418 needs of parties 395–396 obligations and responsibilities of property adjustment orders 414, parties 396-397 spouse not child's parent, against physical or mental disability of parties 401 spouses, interrelation of orders principles governing 374–376 for 363-364 standard of living 397-398 clean break 367-384 statutory guidelines for 371 third party's means, evidence of appropriate 382-383 393-395 deferred 379, 383–384 earning capacity, potential duxbury calculation 386-387 increase in 381 housing needs, dominance of 408immediate 379 409, see also matrimonial home inappropriate 376-379 housing orders, factors influencing meaning 379 408-412, see also matrimonial options available 379 power to impose 379-380 minimal loss principle 374-376 net effect approach 386 specified term, periodical

payments order for 380

one-third rule 384-385

order,	treatment without parental consent
capital 366–370	216, 226–228
categories of 365-370	
children, for 413-420	grandparents
income 365–366	access to minors by 288-289
lump sum, see lump sum order	adoption by 307–310
maintenance pending suit 460–	
461	guardian
periodical payments, see property	adoption, consent to 298
adjustment order	appointment-
sale of property, for 370	court, by 235, 238, 239–240
settlement of property, see	deed or will, by 235, 237-238
property adjustment order	revocation of 237–238
powers of court 365–367	common law, at 211-213
principles, flexibility of 371–384	disputes between 240
third parties, powers not affecting	illegitimate child, of 189
365, 393–395	law reform 240-243
variation of orders 428-432	meaning 211-213, 236-237
discretion of the court 430-	minor having no parent, as 239
32	non-parent, as 237–240
lump sum 429	parent, as 211–213, 235, 237
periodical payments 429	replacement of 239–240
property adjustment 429	termination of guardianship 237-
FFy,	238
formalities of marriage	testamentary 189, 213, 237–238
celebrated in the Peoples' Republic	the estate, of 235
of China 77–81	the person, of 235
celebration by an unauthorised	
person 152	guardian ad litem 311, 325
celebration in an unauthorised place	500100000 00000 00000
152	hardship
celebration under a false name 152	defence to divorce, as 132–134
colobiation didect a laise fiame 132	grave financial, or other hardship
fraud '	132–134
maintenance agreement 423–424	132 131
mistake, and 165–166	homosexuality
inistake, and 105 100	adoption 298
gender	marriage 154–157
determining, criteria for 154–157	mainage 151-157
gender reassignment operation	Housing Authority
154–157	tenancies, orders relating to 367–369
137-13/	tenancies, orders relating to 307–307
Gillick case	husband and wife, see also parent
CAMMOIL CHOC	indopulsa alla wite, oce also parelle

divorced, hardship suffered by wife 132–134, 376–378 domestic labour, division of 371–

374, 401-404

Gillick competent minors 226-228,

parental rights 216, 226–228 retreat from 227–228

domestic violence, see domestic	rule of construction 188–189
violence	subsequent marriage of parents
dual worker families 393–395, 401–	183–185
404	surrogate births 206-207
equal partners, as 372-374	unmarried father, rights of 189-
interest in money and property, see	192
financial provision and property	void marriage, and 182-183
adjustment	3 ,
matrimonial home, see matrimonial	incest
home	child abuse 449
mutual obligation to support 352, 353–354	criminal law 150
enforcement of 357–358, 360–	injunction, see ouster order and non-
361	molestation order
301	molestation order
illegitimacy, see also father	intestate succession
access by unmarried father, see	adoption, effect of 313–314
access	decree of judicial separation, effect
adoption of illegitimate child 185	of 174
affiliation proceedings 190	separation order, effect of 354
artificial insemination, child born	separation order, effect of 331
by 206–207	judicial separation
birth registration 187, 191–192	effect of 172–174
child's right of succession 186–189	grounds for 173
common law, at 198	history 172
consent to marriage 192	jurisdiction of the court 173
declaration of parentage 198–199	obligation to cohabited terminated
defined 181	172–173
discrimination, and-	rescission of decree 174
affecting child 189–192	rescission of decree 1/4
	kindred and affinity, see
affecting unmarried father 189– 192	•
	consanguinity and affinity
extramarital conceptions 181–184	level anatody, and anotody, of abild
fatal accidents claim 185–186	legal custody, see custody of child
financial provision, see financial provision	lacitima av accalacillacitima av
	legitimacy, see also illegitimacy
guardianship, and 189 in vitro fertilisation 206–207	artificial insemination by donor
	child 206–207
intestate succession, and 186	blood tests, see blood tests
legitimacy, distinguished 181	concubines, children of 181
parental rights and authority, and	declarations of 198–199
190	defined 181
pension claim, and 185–186	illegitimacy, distinguished 180
permanent residence, and 186–188	law reform, effect of 182–192
proving paternity, see father	lawful unions, children of 181
provision from deceased's estates	presumptions arising from-
186	parents' marriage 194–196

rebuttal on balance of	non-material disclosure, effect of
probabilities 197–198	423–424
registration of birth 196–197	public policy considerations 421
registration birth 191	setting aside 433–436
_	appeal out of time 433-434
legitimation	change of circumstances 433-
date of 184	436
declaration of 198–199	new events 433–436
effect of 184–185	statutory provision 425–428
legal custody, see custody of child	variation of-
parents subsequent marriage, by	after death of payer 428
183–184	application of provisions 425–426
lump sum order	child, maintenance of 426
action to set aside 433–436	court, powers of 426
appeal against 433–436	during parties joint lives 426–
child, for 345, 414, 418	428
instalment 366	financial arrangements, meaning 425
interest on 367 power order 366	
secured 367	periodical payments order 425– 428
unsecured 367	720
variation of 433–436	maintenance during marriage
Variation of 155 150	
	attachment of earnings 257-258
maintenance agreement	attachment of earnings 257–258,
maintenance agreement binding contract, as 423–424	360–361
binding contract, as 423-424	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360
binding contract, as 423–424 Chinese modern or customary	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for-
binding contract, as 423-424	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360
binding contract, as 423–424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360
binding contract, as 423-424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421-	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353
binding contract, as 423-424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421- 424	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353
binding contract, as 423-424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421-424 legal policy 421-422 powers conferred by law, within 422	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353 desertion 353
binding contract, as 423-424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421- 424 legal policy 421-422 powers conferred by law, within 422 role of court 421-423	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353 desertion 353 drug addiction 353
binding contract, as 423-424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421-424 legal policy 421-422 powers conferred by law, within 422 role of court 421-423 variation of-	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353 desertion 353 drug addiction 353 failure to provide reasonable
binding contract, as 423-424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421-424 legal policy 421-422 powers conferred by law, within 422 role of court 421-423 variation of- after death of payer 432-	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353 desertion 353 drug addiction 353 failure to provide reasonable maintenance 353, 358
binding contract, as 423-424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421- 424 legal policy 421-422 powers conferred by law, within 422 role of court 421-423 variation of- after death of payer 432- 433	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353 desertion 353 drug addiction 353 failure to provide reasonable maintenance 353, 358 persistent cruelty 353
binding contract, as 423-424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421- 424 legal policy 421-422 powers conferred by law, within 422 role of court 421-423 variation of- after death of payer 432- 433 capital order 429, 433	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353 desertion 353 drug addiction 353 failure to provide reasonable maintenance 353, 358 persistent cruelty 353 prostitution 353
binding contract, as 423-424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421- 424 legal policy 421-422 powers conferred by law, within 422 role of court 421-423 variation of- after death of payer 432- 433 capital order 429, 433 discretion of the court 430-	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353 desertion 353 drug addiction 353 failure to provide reasonable maintenance 353, 358 persistent cruelty 353 prostitution 353 venereal disease 353
binding contract, as 423-424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421- 424 legal policy 421-422 powers conferred by law, within 422 role of court 421-423 variation of- after death of payer 432- 433 capital order 429, 433 discretion of the court 430- 432	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353 desertion 353 drug addiction 353 failure to provide reasonable maintenance 353, 358 persistent cruelty 353 prostitution 353 venereal disease 353 jurisdiction of the court 258–259
binding contract, as 423-424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421- 424 legal policy 421-422 powers conferred by law, within 422 role of court 421-423 variation of- after death of payer 432- 433 capital order 429, 433 discretion of the court 430- 432 income order 429, 433	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353 desertion 353 drug addiction 353 failure to provide reasonable maintenance 353, 358 persistent cruelty 353 prostitution 353 venereal disease 353 jurisdiction of the court 258–259 maintenance pending suit-
binding contract, as 423–424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421–424 legal policy 421–422 powers conferred by law, within 422 role of court 421–423 variation of- after death of payer 432–433 capital order 429, 433 discretion of the court 430–432 income order 429, 433 power of the court 429–430	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353 desertion 353 drug addiction 353 failure to provide reasonable maintenance 353, 358 persistent cruelty 353 prostitution 353 venereal disease 353 jurisdiction of the court 258–259 maintenance pending suit- discretion of the court 361–
binding contract, as 423–424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421– 424 legal policy 421–422 powers conferred by law, within 422 role of court 421–423 variation of- after death of payer 432– 433 capital order 429, 433 discretion of the court 430– 432 income order 429, 433 power of the court 429–430 court's jurisdiction, not ousting	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353 desertion 353 drug addiction 353 failure to provide reasonable maintenance 353, 358 persistent cruelty 353 prostitution 353 venereal disease 353 jurisdiction of the court 258–259 maintenance pending suit- discretion of the court 361– 362
binding contract, as 423–424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421– 424 legal policy 421–422 powers conferred by law, within 422 role of court 421–423 variation of- after death of payer 432– 433 capital order 429, 433 discretion of the court 430– 432 income order 429, 433 power of the court 429–430 court's jurisdiction, not ousting 421	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, forduration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353 desertion 353 drug addiction 353 failure to provide reasonable maintenance 353, 358 persistent cruelty 353 prostitution 353 venereal disease 353 jurisdiction of the court 258–259 maintenance pending suit- discretion of the court 361– 362 duration 361
binding contract, as 423–424 Chinese modern or customary marriages, in relation to 66 court order, implemented by 421– 424 legal policy 421–422 powers conferred by law, within 422 role of court 421–423 variation of- after death of payer 432– 433 capital order 429, 433 discretion of the court 430– 432 income order 429, 433 power of the court 429–430 court's jurisdiction, not ousting	360–361 bar to relief 355–357, 360 child, for- duration 355, 360 interim order 360 cohabitation, effect of 357 grounds for application 353 assault 353 desertion 353 drug addiction 353 failure to provide reasonable maintenance 353, 358 persistent cruelty 353 prostitution 353 venereal disease 353 jurisdiction of the court 258–259 maintenance pending suit- discretion of the court 361– 362

marriage	charging order on 411–412
age at 77, see also nullity	home ownership scheme 367–368
arranged marriages 77-79, see also	ouster order, see ouster order
customary marriage	postponing sale 411–412
Chinese Civil Code, under 78–79	public rental housing 376-378
Chinese customary, see customary	sale of 409
marriage	transfer of 409-410
Christian view of 73–74	undertakings 371
compulsory civil preliminaries, need for 74–76	valuation 367–368
contract, as 73	matrimonial property
definition 73–74	divorce, after, see financial provision
duress or lack of consent to 73, see	and property adjustment
also nullity	matrimonial home, see matrimonial
dying person, of 75	home
equal partnership, as 372-374	
formalities, failure to observe 74,	mediation
76–77, see also formalities of	information concerning the
marriage	availability of 127, 139
modern, see modern marriage	introduction of 127, 139
monogamous, meaning 73–74	
non-consummation of, see also	modern marriage
nullity	Chinese Civil Code, requirements
Peoples' Republic of China law,	of 38–39
under 79–81	concubines, in 40, 48
presumptions of-	customary marriage, distinguished
essential validity 82–84	from 14
formal validity 71–82	declaration of subsistence 44-45
prohibited degrees 77, see also	dissolution-
nullity	Chinese Civil Code, under 62-
reconciliation, see reconciliation	64
registry-	Marriage Reform Ordinance,
celebration, place of 75	under 64–67
certificate as evidence of 77	Matrimonial Causes Ordinance,
notice of intention 74-75	under 67
sexual identity of spouse 77, see	mutual consent, by 62–64
also void marriage	validation of 63–64
special licence, by 75–76	validity of 62–64
statutory provisions 74–77	Hong Kong version of 39–40
valid consent, lack of 77, see also	intention, expression of 42-43
voidable marriage	man ming kit fan 37
void 75, 77, see void marriage	monogamy 41
voidable, see voidable marriage	open ceremony-
	definition 41–43, 46
matrimonial home	requirement of 40-43
adjustment after divorce 367–370,	origin 37–38
409–412	parties consent to 38–43

parties, contract between 39–43
post registrationapplication for 44–45
effect of 44–45
provision for 44–45
powers to grant ancillary relief 66
retrospective validation 39–40
statutory definition, of 40–41
validated marriage 43
witnesses to 40–41

## monogamy, see marriage and customary marriage

#### mother

assisted human reproduction, in 205–210 biological 193 gestational 193–194, 205–210 legal 193 natural conception 194–205 social 193 surrogate 193–194, 205–210

## non-molestation order, see also domestic violence

bars to 463
decree absolute, after 471
jurisdiction of the court 470
legal or equitable right, supporting
470
matrimonial proceedings, in 471

#### nullity

bars to 169–170
canon law of 142
duty of the court 144
grounds for, see void marriage and
voidable marriage
jurisdiction of the court 144–145
meaning 141
reforming the law of 170–172
void and voidable marriages,
distinguished 142–144

#### official solicitor

wardship proceedings, role in 325

## ouster order, see also domestic violence

actual violence not required 466 applicant for 468 children's needs 464 conduct 464–466 decree absolute, after 471 discretion of the court 464–469 draconian 468 duration of 464 financial needs 466–467 matrimonial home, from 462 property rights 464 welfare of the child 471–472

#### parent

absent 233-235 adjustment after divorce 275–289 child abuse by, see child abuse children's rights 216-217, 226contraception for child 216-217 custody of child, see custody of declaration of parentage 198–199 foster 291 hostility towards access 287 mature minor, and 216-217, 226meaning, see father and mother rightschildren's rights and 215-217 concept of 214-215 rights and authorityagreement to transfer 235 diminishing nature of 215-217 Gillick case, and 215-217 married father, of 229 meaning, of 213-215, 217 resolving disputes between 229termination, of 216–217 unilateral exercise of 229 unmarried father, of 229-235 unmarried mother, of 229-235 welfare of the child, and 215-

217, 222-225

wishes of the child, and 216-217, 222-228 step-parents adoption by 307–310

#### parentage

blood tests, use of, see blood tests declaration 198-199 donor inseminated child 205-210 posthumous child 208 presumptions arising frombirth registration 196–197 parents' marriage 194-196 rebutting 197-198 surrogate born child 205-210

#### pension

loss of on divorce, adjustment for 132-134, 404-405

#### periodical payments order

appropriate in case of 381-382 clean break, and 379 maintenance pending suit 361-362 nominal 379 secured 366 unsecured 365

polygamy, see also customary marriage

#### property adjustment order

action to set aside 433-436 appeal against 433-436 discretion of the court, see financial provision duxbury calculation 386-387 matrimonial home, see matrimonial

home net effect approach 386 one-third rule 384-385 power of the court 367–371 public rental housing, in respect of 367-368 sale of property 370 settlement of property 369 transfer of property 367–369

home ownership scheme 367-368 public rental housing 367-368 variation of 429 variation of settlements 369-370

#### reconciliation

certificate of 127 divorce proceeding, in 105 mediation distinguished 127 relevance of 126-128

consent to decree 115

#### separation

grave financial hardship, wife suffering 132–134 innocent wife, protection of 130living apart, meaning 113 living under one roof, and 113 maintenance, provision of 351-362 marital intercourse, and 113 mental element 115 one year, for 113–115, 123, 135–137 physical separation, insufficient 115 resumption of cohabitation, effect of 123 two years, for 116, 123 wrong to dissolve marriage, where

#### separation order

adultery by applicant, effect of 355 adultery, condoned 355-357 custody or maintenance of children, orders for 354 District Court, jurisdiction of 354 grounds for 354 husband, application by 352–353 intestate succession, effect on 354 married woman, application by 352-353 persistent cruelty 353 provisions of 354 resumption of cohabitation, effect of 354 statutory provisions 352-354

sexual abuse, see child abuse kindred and affinity, see consanguinity and affinity lack of consent 161-167 status, see legitimacy and illegitimacy male and female, parties not 154step-parent, see parent 157 party already married 153-154 succession sham marriage 164-165 adopted child 313-314 statutory provisions 145 illegitimacy, effect on 186-189 voidable marriage distinguished 142-144 surrogacy, see assisted human reproduction voidable marriage AIDS 168 bars to 169-170 tenancy Housing Authority, property children of 143 adjustment orders relating to duress 161-164 367-368 grounds for 157-169 hepatitis B 168 unreasonable behaviour impotence 158-159 incapacity to consummate bitterness and hostility, due to lack of consent 161-167 allegation of 112 mental disorder 167-168 causation 109-110 continuing cohabitation, effect of mistake 165-166 112-113 pregnancy per alium 168-169 desertion as 110 statutory provisions 157 excessive reaction to 110 unsoundness of mind 167-168 venereal disease 168 incompatibility in personality void marriage distinguished 142isolated acts as 110 meaning, of 108 wilful refusal to consummate mental or physical illness of respondent, due to 110-112 moral blameworthiness, and 108, wardship alternative jurisdiction, as an 327 111 negative behaviour 109 effect of 324 objective test 108 guardian ad litem, see guardian ad petitioner, impact on 108-112 positive behaviour 109 jurisdiction of the court 321–323, reconciliation after 112-113 326, 330-332 kidnapping 326, 333 nature of 324-325 variation, see maintenance agreement overseas adoption 326-327 parens patriae 321 void marriage children of 143 penalising an abductor 344 procedures of 324 consent obtained by force or fraud 161-165 recovery of kidnapped child 342grounds for 145-157 344

use, of 326–330, 332 welfare of the child 325, 326–330, see also welfare of child

#### welfare officer

custody cases, role in 264-267, 284

#### welfare of child

application 247, 326-330, 342-344

first and paramount consideration, meaning of 215-217, 223-225, 245-247, 247

hearsay in social welfare report 266 long term views 256–258, 253–254, 287

not of paramount consideration 305-307

relevant factors- 250
age of the child 255–258
appeal against decision 268–269
Chinese tradition 262–263
educational needs of child 253–
254

evolving concept 247–249

grandparents' role 259–261 harm or risk of harm to child 258–259 interviewing the child 267 material well-being 260–261 maternal preference 255–258 natural parents, wishes of 260 parents, conduct of 262–263 physical and emotional needs of the child 253–254

presumption in favour of parents 260

presumption in favour of primary carer 255–258, 263–264 quality time 261–262 sex of the child 255–258

social welfare report, recommendation in 264–267, 284

status quo, preserving 254–255 wishes of child 215–217, 226– 228, 251–253, 305, 307 working parents 259, 261–262

working parents 259, 261–262 short term view 253–254, 256–258, 287