Penalties of Empire: Capital Trials in Colonial Hong Kong

'Dr Munn is a distinguished scholar in the legal history of Hong Kong. This impressive work focuses on the administration of justice in capital cases in the context of the conditions of the society at the time. His account of events and people is lively and masterly. His observations and insights are illuminating and perceptive. This outstanding book deserves to be widely read.'

—**The Honourable Andrew Li Kwok Nang**, First Chief Justice of the Hong Kong SAR (1997–2010)

'This book is an extraordinary attempt to approach European colonial culture from a fresh perspective by scrutinising the work that courts did. By excavating the judicial archives, Chris Munn gives us an entirely new account of how colonial justice both worked and failed to achieve its aims.'

—**Timothy Brook**, author of *The Price of Collapse: The Little Ice Age and the Fall of Ming China*

'In this richly detailed exploration of nine capital trials chosen from among the hundreds that took place in Hong Kong between 1844 and 1993, Chris Munn provides a stimulating exploration of British colonial rule. Authoritative and engagingly written, *Penalties of Empire* takes the reader into the heart of some of the most controversial episodes in Hong Kong's modern history.'

—**Robert Bickers**, University of Bristol

'We must have a procedure – if we are going to hang anyone – that is just,' said Chief Justice Sir Francis Piggott in 1909, on discovering that Chinese accused of murder were being denied interpretation in Hong Kong's courts. Due process, no matter how costly or inconvenient, was 'one of the penalties of empire,' he declared.

Penalties of Empire explores how judges, juries, and lawyers strove to deliver justice during the 150 years when the death penalty was in force in Hong Kong. Nine main chapters focus on key capital trials in the first century of British rule. Among the cases are piracies, assassinations, and crimes of passion and desperation. These chapters describe the proceedings in court and the participants involved. They also explore the debates surrounding each case and the exercise or denial of mercy by governors. Two final chapters discuss the decline of the death penalty after World War II, its suspension after 1966, and the controversies leading to its formal abolition in 1993. *Penalties of Empire* traces the evolution of criminal justice at its highest levels. It also offers a prism for understanding some of the broader forces at work in Hong Kong's history.

Penalties of Empire

Capital Trials in Colonial Hong Kong

Christopher Munn

HKU PRESS
香港大學出版社

Hong Kong University Press
The University of Hong Kong
Pok Fu Lam Road
Hong Kong
https://hkupress.hku.hk

ISBN 978-988-8876-88-4 (*Hardback*)

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed and bound by New Century Printing Industrial Limited, Hong Kong, China

Contents

Maps and Tables ix

Abbreviations, Conventions, and Caveats x

Chapter 1 1

Introduction

'Penalties of Empire'

Chapter 2 47

'A Diabolical Plot'

The Poisoning of the European Community, 1857

Chapter 3 75

'The Great Colonial Disgrace'

The *Carl* and *Caesar* Piracies, 1866

Chapter 4 106

'A Hanging Would Do Good to the Colony'

The Shek O Murder, 1878

Chapter 5 138

Death of a Reformer

The Assassination of Yeung Ku-wan, 1901

Chapter 6 167
By Sampan to Singapore
The Harbour Murders, 1904

Chapter 7 192
'I Will Smile Even When I Am Hanged'
The Victoria Gaol Murders, 1919

Chapter 8 221
'Running for Nothing'
The Praya Murder, 1922

Chapter 9 250
Money Versus Justice
The Village Road Murder, 1932

Chapter 10 282
'Race Fear'
The Nullah Murder, 1934

Chapter 11 312
The Death Penalty in Decline
Capital Crime and Justice, 1946–1966

Chapter 12 344
'A Thing of the Past'
The Road to Abolition, 1966–1993

Acknowledgements 379
A Note on Sources 381
A Note on Currencies, Prices, and Values 384
Index 386
About the Author 406

Maps and Tables

Map 1: The *Carl* and *Caesar* Piracies, 1866 86
Map 2: The Shek O Murder, 1878 109
Map 3: The Harbour Murders, 1904 173
Map 4: The Victoria Gaol Murders, 1919 195
Map 5: The Praya Murder, 1922 229
Map 6: The Village Road Murder, 1932 260
Map 7: The Nullah Murder, 1934 284
Table 1: Death Sentences by the British Hong Kong Civilian Courts, 1841–1966 5
Table 2: Legislation on Capital Punishment in England and Wales and Hong Kong, 1866–1993 8
Table 3: Development of the Jury System in Hong Kong, 1844–1960 20

1

Introduction

'Penalties of Empire'

On 22 October 1908 an altercation took place on the Peak Tram, the funicular railway linking urban Hong Kong to the Hill District reserved for Europeans and their servants. Koo Tung (a 'shop coolie') and a friend were on their way to collect a debt. A man in white livery sitting behind them stretched his legs and muddied Koo's clothes. Words were exchanged, and when the tram reached the Peak the man challenged Koo to a fight. Koo declined and he and his friend hurried on their way. Half a mile on, near the Peak Church, they joined some of Koo's clansmen and again encountered the man in white. He called out other men from houses nearby and they beat Koo to death with bamboo poles. Three of them, 'sedan chair coolies' employed by Europeans, were charged with his murder. They were tried a few weeks later by the Chief Justice, Sir Francis Piggott, and a jury of seven Europeans; a Japanese juror with poor English was excused. Two of the accused, Li Shek-pang and Hung Loi, were found guilty of the lesser offence of manslaughter. The third, Kwok Leung, was acquitted.[1]

The verdict was typical enough for a case the newspapers described as a 'clan fight', a 'tribal row', a 'coolie affray'. The accused were Hoklo from north-eastern Guangdong, reputedly a 'rougher, wilder set of men than the Cantonese' and speaking a different dialect.[2] The witnesses against them were Cantonese from nearby Xiangshan County. The jury struggled to make sense of confusing prosecution evidence but took only fourteen minutes to return verdicts of manslaughter. This avoided the risk of sending innocent men to their deaths and

1. *SCMP*, 30 October and 6, 18, 20, and 26 November 1908 and 6–8 January 1909; *HKT*, 23 October 1908; *HKWP*, 9 January 1909.
2. James Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese, or Notes Connected with China* (Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh Ltd, 1903), 346.

saved time on a case in which they probably had little interest. Murder carried the death penalty and required a unanimous verdict. Manslaughter needed only a majority, and the punishment could be anything from life imprisonment to a fine. It was now the judge's task to hand down sentences.

Just as Chief Justice Piggott was about to sentence Li and Hung, their counsel, Horace Calthrop, rose to apply for a point of law to be referred to the Full Court – a sitting of both judges of the Supreme Court. None of the evidence had been interpreted to the accused, he said. The Hoklo dialect was so different from Cantonese they could barely understand the Chinese witnesses, let alone those who testified in English. No one, said Calthrop, should be convicted without hearing the evidence. The prosecutor, the Attorney General, William Rees-Davies, interjected that in Cyprus (where he had recently served) the courts heard evidence in Greek and Turkish, and it was not interpreted to the accused if he was represented by counsel. A similar practice had taken root in Hong Kong, where those on trial for murder were assisted by a barrister at public expense. Providing an interpreter as well would, said Rees-Davies, be 'opening up a tremendous precedent'. If, for example, 'you have three prisoners all speaking different dialects the evidence of each witness would have to be interpreted into all three dialects'.

That, remarked Piggott, was 'one of the penalties of Empire'.

The Full Court – Piggott and Henry Gompertz, the Puisne (or ordinary) Judge – heard the point of law four weeks later. Calthrop argued that defendants must understand the evidence against them. Otherwise, they could not challenge it or assist counsel in cross-examination. He cited English cases in which judges had ordered the acquittal of deaf defendants unable to follow proceedings. Rees-Davies replied that it was a matter of practice, not law. He produced an affidavit by the interpreter, Li Hong-mi. 'I have read it,' said Piggott. 'Its effect is that in murder cases, the most serious cases, the rule of translation is to be the slightest.' The law required the accused to be present at trial, he said. But if they did not understand the evidence they might as well be absent. Rees-Davies again raised the practice in Cyprus.

> **Piggott** — If we decide against you in this case, I may say that the Courts in the other Colony will follow our practice.
>
> **Rees-Davies** — I doubt it.
>
> **Piggott** — If we have an empire of many nationalities we must have a procedure – if we are going to hang anyone – that is just.[3]

Piggott and Gompertz quashed the convictions. 'In the trial of human beings for crimes, the law of England requires the utmost consideration for the accused, and the most scrupulous exactness in the conduct of the proceedings,' said Piggott: 'time and money

3. *HKDP*, 4 February 1909.

are nothing compared with liberty and life'. The judgment, *R v Kwok Leung*, has since been cited around the world as an authority on the right of the accused to interpretation.[4] Even so, Piggott had to remind the interpreter to tell Li and Hung they were discharged and could leave the court. Against protests by Calthrop, Rees-Davies then announced that he would file fresh indictments for murder against them. They were rearrested on leaving the court and committed for trial the following week. The case was, however, abandoned because material witnesses were absent.[5]

By 'penalties of Empire' Chief Justice Piggott did not mean the punishments imposed by the courts but rather the duty to dispense justice to the millions of people who lived under British imperial rule, whatever inconveniences that might entail. It was part of what Rudyard Kipling described as the 'white man's burden'. Piggott thought he was carrying more than his fair share of that burden. He grumbled about his unbearable workload and the strain of Hong Kong's sultry climate: a day in court left him 'dripping with perspiration and absolutely exhausted'.[6] He upset European businessmen by finding for their Chinese counterparties. He received no thanks for championing the rights of the accused at a time when governors wanted tough justice. His strident criticisms of officials in open court, said one governor, were 'calculated to lower the dignity of the Government in the eyes of the Chinese who do not appreciate our ideas of the mutual relations between the judiciary and the Executive'. Piggott infuriated officials with his incessant complaints. 'The root fact is that the man is a cad and is unable to conceal his nature,' wrote Reginald Stubbs, then a Colonial Office clerk, later a Governor of Hong Kong.[7]

The last straw was Piggott's opposition to reforms to the Full Court intended to rectify the anomaly whereby the Chief Justice, who had a casting vote, effectively decided appeals from his own judgments. The government proposed adding a temporary third judge, the Judge of the British Supreme Court in Shanghai, who would visit Hong Kong twice a year to sit on the court when it heard appeals in civil cases. That, protested Piggott, would do

4. *SCMP*, 4 and 26 February 1909; *HKWP*, 1 March 1909; *R v Kwok Leung and Others* (1909) 4 HKLR 161. Anna Koo, 'Truth through Court Interpreters', *International Journal of Evidence and Proof* 13 (2009): 212–224. Celia Brown-Blake, 'Fair Trial, Language and the Right to Interpretation,' *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 13 (2006): 391–412.
5. Rees-Davies cited *R v Drury* (1849) 3 Car & K. 193, which held that, if a verdict was reversed because of a procedural error, the accused could not plead autrefois acquit (double jeopardy). Calthrop wrote to Members of Parliament and the Colonial Office objecting to the fresh indictment as 'absolutely illegal'. As a result of an accident in November 1909 Calthrop died near the site of the Peak Murder. After dinner at a friend's house, he set off on foot to his house on Conduit Road after missing the last Peak tram. He tripped into a water channel, falling to his death. He had arrived in Hong Kong in 1904 after practice in the Gold Coast, a British colony in West Africa. Calthrop to Cox, 28 February and 4 March 1909, CO 129/364, 171–178; Lugard to Secretary of State, 25 March 1909, TNA CO 129/355, 428–434; *SCMP*, 8 November 1909.
6. *SCMP*, 7 June 1907; Piggott to Lugard, 14 April 1908, CO 129/347, 167. See Peter Wesley-Smith, 'Sir Francis Piggott: Chief Justice in His Own Cause', *HKLJ*, Vol. 12 (1982): 260–292.
7. Lugard to Crewe, 15 July 1909, CO 129/357, 120–143.

nothing to relieve the Supreme Court's growing caseload, which required a *permanent* third judge. Worse still for him, the Shanghai judge, who had seniority over Piggott, would now preside over the expanded Full Court. Piggott publicly criticized the reforms. In response, the government enacted legislation in 1910 empowering the Governor to require a judge to retire after the age of sixty (Piggott was fifty-eight). When Piggott baulked at being 'discharged like a Chinese coolie' the Governor pulled out an order by the King stating that it was his pleasure that Piggott should cease to hold office on 30 April 1912.[8] Piggott was replaced by Rees-Davies, who proved to be a more compliant Chief Justice.

This book explores how the British authorities struggled to administer justice to the inhabitants of a small colony in a region of political turmoil, widespread poverty, and high crime rates – in short, how they tried to discharge, and occasionally evade, Piggott's 'penalties of Empire'. The book examines nine capital trials in early British Hong Kong, the first in 1857, and the last in 1934. After discussing the decline in capital punishment after World War II, it concludes with an account of the events leading to its abolition in the final years of British rule.

The death penalty in colonial Hong Kong

The death penalty was in force in Hong Kong from 1844 until its formal abolition in 1993. The last execution took place in 1966, a year after the suspension of the death penalty for murder in Great Britain. Some 750 capital cases involving an estimated 1,500 defendants were tried by the civilian courts in the 122 years while the death penalty was in use. During that time the courts pronounced sentence of death on 573.[9] Of these, 375 persons (373 men and 2 women) were executed by hanging: the cases are summarized in **Table 1**. Most of the remaining 198 had their sentences reduced by the Governor in Council to penalties ranging from probation to life imprisonment. In the early years of British rule a further 185 or so men were sentenced to 'death recorded', mostly for non-fatal piracies: this invariably

8. After a spell in Peking as constitutional adviser to Yuan Shikai, Piggott, short of money, returned to Hong Kong in 1913 to practise law: at this time there was no ban on former judges practising at the Bar. In May 1914 a coughing fit drove a blood clot to his brain. His doctor advised him to return to England. He was now so indebted that the government provided £50 out of a charitable fund for his passage. In 1922 he was adjudged bankrupt in England, with debts of £15,000. He died in 1925. Lugard to Harcourt, 4 October and 29 December 1911, CO 129/380, 221–232 and 381, 522–549; Piggott to Crown Agents, 23 March 1912, CO 129/394, 282; *HKH*, 15 April 1912; May to Harcourt, 15 June 1914, CO 129/411, 353–357; Official Receiver to Colonial Office, 3 August 1922, CO 129/478, 141–149.

9. These figures exclude twenty-four men sentenced to death (twenty-one of whom were executed) in War Crimes trials held in Hong Kong in 1946–1949, and the unknown numbers executed during the Japanese occupation in 1941–1945.

Table 1: Death Sentences by the British Hong Kong Civilian Courts, 1841–1966

Years	Death sentences		Hanged	Remarks
	Murder	Other Crimes		
1844–1845	4	4	4	1 murder sentence by the Court of Justice with Criminal and Admiralty Jurisdiction; 1 shooting with intent to murder; 3 robbery with violence
1846–1850	10	30	22	30 aggravated piracy (13 hanged)
1851–1855	15	0	10	
1856–1860	20	4	11	3 aggravated piracy (1 hanged); 1 burglary with violence
1861–1865	52	5	45	5 aggravated piracy (4 hanged); 36 murders were piracies
1866–1870	14	17	21	17 aggravated piracy (11 hanged)
1871–1875	18	0	6	
1876–1880	10	0	7	
1881–1885	2	0	1	
1886–1890	2	0	0	
1891–1895	4	0	4	
1896–1900	16	0	12	
1901–1905	17	0	11	
1906–1910	22	0	9	
1911–1915	10	0	6	
1916–1920	27	0	22	
1921–1925	22	0	16	1 woman hanged (1923)
1926–1930	17	19	33	16 aggravated piracy (16 hanged); 6 murders were piracies
1931–1935	10	0	7	
1936–1940	41	1	24	1 aggravated piracy (1 hanged); 1 woman hanged (1940)
1941	15	0	4	
1946–1950	41	7	36	5 treason (5 hanged); 2 aggravated piracy; 2 (1 treason, 1 murder) convicted by the British Military Administration's General Military Court
1951–1955	34	2	31	2 unlawful use of firearms (2 hanged)
1956–1960	33	0	24	
1961–1965	26	0	8	
1966	2	0	1	
Totals	**484**	**89**	**375**	

Notes:

1. 'Death recorded' judgments (leading to automatic commutation) are not included.
2. Those not hanged fell into four categories: (1) sentence commuted (the majority); (2) free pardon; (3) the 3 men convicted of robbery with violence in 1845 who committed suicide in their cell.
3. The hangings for 1936–1940 exclude a probable hanging for 1 murder conviction in 1940, of Li Hung-fui for the murder of a European during the robbery of a jewellery shop, likely to have taken place in 1941 after an unsuccessful petition to the Privy Council; his hanging cannot be confirmed from sources.
4. The fate of 6 sentenced to death for murder in 1941, one of them a woman, cannot be verified from Executive Council minutes or official statistics, which are no longer extant. It is probable, from the mercy recommendations from juries reported in the press, and from the absence of the usual press reports of hangings, that at least 5 of the sentences, including that of the woman, were commuted.

Sources: ExCo Minutes; annual Supreme Court Statistics and Gaol Returns (*Hong Kong Blue Books*, *HKGG*); newspapers; notebook of capitally convicted prisoners, 1956–1971, HKPRO HKRS519-1.

resulted in commutation. From 1967 to 1993, judges handed down 264 death sentences: all of them were commuted to imprisonment.[10]

Hong Kong largely followed English law on capital crimes. Unlike some British colonies in Asia, including the Straits Settlements and Ceylon, Hong Kong did not adopt the Indian Penal Code of 1860, a simplified codification of English criminal law which differed from English law in its treatment of homicide.[11] Under local enactments, the law of England in effect on 5 April 1843 was in full force in Hong Kong except where 'inapplicable to the local circumstances of the said Colony, or of its inhabitants'.[12] This was the date on which Hong Kong obtained its own legislature. From then on, the Hong Kong government enacted its own laws, known as 'ordinances'. They were passed by a Legislative Council made up of appointed members, most of them officials, and consented to by the Governor. The imperial government could disallow ordinances or legislate for the colony, though it did so rarely.[13] The Governor took advice from an Executive Council, which, from 1896, had a minority of appointed unofficial members. The functions of the councils were set out in Letters Patent and Royal Instructions first issued by the Crown in 1843. These instruments defined the powers of the Governor and required him to review all capital convictions in consultation with his Executive Council ('the Governor in Council').

In the early nineteenth century England was in the process of dismantling the 'Bloody Code', which prescribed capital punishment for some 200 crimes, many of them offences against property. Under this regime, the landed elite maintained authority through a mixture of terror and mercy: more people were sentenced to death in England than in any other European country, but over half of them received pardons and a lesser punishment.[14]

---

10. Mark S. Gaylord and John F. Galliher, 'Death Penalty Politics and Symbolic Law in Hong Kong', *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, Vol. 22 (1994), Table 3; Commissioner of Correctional Services, *Annual Review* 1993, 14.
11. For example, the Indian Penal Code placed the burden on the prosecution to prove that the accused had intended to kill or inflict serious bodily harm in order for the offence to constitute murder, whereas English law assumed malice aforethought. The doctrine of felony murder, under which in England until 1957 (Hong Kong, 1963) a homicide accidentally committed during the commission of a felony was treated as murder, was not part of the code. The code also allowed a court to impose either death or life transportation (from 1955, life imprisonment) and a fine as a punishment for murder, an option not adopted in the Straits Settlements or Ceylon. Indian Penal Code 1860 s. 300–302. I am indebted to Mitra Sharafi for her guidance on these points.
12. Reformulated by the Application of English Law Ordinance 1966, which, while providing for the common law and the rules of equity to be in force in Hong Kong, 'so far as they may be applicable', specified which pre-1843 English statutes were in force. Ordinances Nos. 15 of 1844, 6 of 1845, 2 of 1846, 12 of 1873, and 2 of 1966.
13. See Norman Miners, 'Disallowance and the Administrative Review of Hong Kong Legislation by the Colonial Office, 1844–1947', *HKLJ*, Vol. 18 (1988): 218–248.
14. See Douglas Hay, 'Property, Authority and the Criminal Law', in Douglas Hay, Peter Linebaugh, John G. Rule, E. P. Thompson, and Cal Winslow, *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1977); Simon Devereaux, *Execution, State & Society in England, 1660–1900* (Cambridge University Press, 2023); Leon Radzinowicz, *A History of English Criminal Law and Its Administration from 1750*, Vol. 1, *The Movement for Reform* (London: Stevens & Sons, 1948); House of

By 1843, the number of capital offences had been reduced to about a dozen: murder; attempted murder causing injury; sodomy; bestiality; burglary with violence; robbery with cutting and wounding; piracy with endangering life; arson of houses with people therein or of ships with intent to murder; hanging false lights to cause shipwreck; setting fire to HM ships of war, arsenals, or dockyards; and high treason.[15] By the 1840s usually only murderers were hanged in England; the last hangings for piracy (the first since 1830) took place in 1864 and the last for attempted murder in 1861.

At first, the death penalty was applied widely in Hong Kong. The first three Chinese sentenced to death, in February 1845, were convicted of robbery with violence; they hanged themselves in their cell, to the dismay of some colonists who felt cheated of a chance to teach the Chinese population a 'salutary lesson.'[16] That lesson came three months later with the hanging in July 1845 of Chun Afoon, who was also convicted of a non-fatal crime: cutting and wounding in an attack on the premises of Jardine, Matheson & Co., the Scottish opium merchants. A dozen or so other men were hanged for non-fatal piracy with violence in the 1840s. Most persons convicted of non-fatal capital crimes, however, were spared execution through sentences of 'death recorded' or commutation. This was the outcome of the very first capital sentence imposed by the Hong Kong Supreme Court,[17] in October 1844 on an Irish soldier.[18]

Commons, *Report from the Select Committee on Capital Punishment* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1931), vii–xv; and Brian P. Block and John Hostettler, *Hanging in the Balance: A History of the Abolition of Capital Punishment in Britain* (Winchester: Waterside Press, 1997).

15. *Report of the Capital Punishment Commission* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1866), 660.
16. They left inscriptions on their cell wall recording their names and native places, and the hope that Triad Society brethren would avenge their deaths. *FOC*, 26 February 1845; *CM*, 6 March 1845; *HKR*, 4 March 1845.
17. But not the first capital sentence imposed by a British court in Hong Kong. On 4 March 1844 Salvador Lacrase, a seaman on a British ship, was convicted of murdering the ship's mate by the Court of Justice with Criminal and Admiralty Jurisdiction over British subjects in China. The trial was presided over by the Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, and Lieutenant-Governor, George D'Aguilar, with a twelve-man jury. Established in 1833 in Canton (though never in session there), the court was transferred to Hong Kong in January 1843. Lacrase's sentence was commuted to transportation. The court had earlier been convened on a ship in Hong Kong harbour in 1839 to try five British sailors for offences relating to the killing of a Tsim Sha Tsui villager, Lin Weixi: the alleged murderer was not tried because the grand jury did not find a true bill. Pottinger to Aberdeen, 27 March 1844, CO 129/8, 172–240; *FOC*, 5 and 9 March 1844; *HKR*, 5 March 1844; Elliot to Palmerston, 27 August 1839, in *Correspondence Relating to China* (London: Harrison, 1840), 433; *Chinese Repository* 8, no. 4 (1839–1840): 180–194; *Canton Press*, 17 August 1839.
18. 'The details are such as cannot appear in a public journal,' observed the *Hongkong Register*. John Brennan was convicted of 'bestiality with a bitch'. The jury recommended mercy and Chief Justice Hulme recorded sentence of death, adding that he had no doubt the Governor would commute it to life transportation. Brennan was sent to Van Diemen's Land with nine other convicts. *HKR*, 8 October 1844; ExCo Minutes, 25 October 1844, TNA CO 131/1, 69; Brennan, John, convict record, 1 April 1844–31 January 1846, Archives Office of Tasmania, CON37-1-2, 447.

From 1861, capital punishment in England was restricted to four offences: murder; high treason; piracy with violence; and arson of HM ships, arsenals, or dockyards. This was the last stage in the dismantling of the 'Bloody Code'. Hong Kong followed in 1865 with ordinances limiting the death penalty to the same four offences. The provisions were almost identical to those in the English acts of 1861, except they omitted the power to try murders by British subjects in foreign territories.[19] By coincidence, imperial legislation in 1865 ended Hong Kong's extraterritorial jurisdiction over British subjects in China and Japan by creating a British Supreme Court for China based in Shanghai.[20] Hong Kong's courts nevertheless retained jurisdiction over offences on British ships and piracies on the high seas.

Hong Kong largely continued to follow English reforms on capital punishment, usually with delays. In the troubled conditions of the late 1940s and 1950s the death penalty was also extended to offences against the armed forces under the British Military Administration (1945–1946), and to possession of explosives (1950–1956). The key changes are set out in **Table 2**.

Table 2: Legislation on Capital Punishment in England and Wales and Hong Kong, 1866–1993

Year	England and Wales	Hong Kong	References and Observations
1866		Governor in Council empowered, when commuting a death sentence, to order that the prisoner be publicly flogged.	Suppression of Piracy Ordinances Nos. 9 of 1866 and 1 of 1868: not used; repealed 1901. ***See Chapter 3.***
1868	Abolition of public executions: hangings to take place only within prisons.	From 1893 all hangings take place within Victoria Gaol or, from 1937, Stanley Prison.	Capital Punishment Amendment Act 1868. By administrative measures in Hong Kong until incorporated in the Prisons Ordinance, No. 17 of 1954. ***See Chapter 4.***
1908	Capital punishment of children under 16 years of age prohibited; children convicted of murder to be detained at HM's pleasure.	Adopted in 1909.	Children's Act 1908. Ordinance No. 6 of 1909.

(continued on p. 9)

19. Offences Against the Person Act 1861; Ordinances Nos. 3–10 of 1865.
20. Hong Kong retained extraterritorial jurisdiction over offences committed by British subjects in Macao and, from 1868, offences committed on land by British subjects within six miles of Hong Kong (other than on the mainland of China), extended in 1877 to ten miles. Orders in Council, 9 March 1865, 28 March 1868, and 23 October 1877, *HKGG*, 17 June 1865, 6 June 1868, and 29 December 1877.

Table 2 (continued)

Year	England and Wales	Hong Kong	References and Observations
1922	Infanticide of their new-born babies by mothers with disturbed minds punishable as manslaughter.	Adopted in 1934 on instructions from Secretary of State.	Infanticide Acts 1922, 1938. Ordinances Nos. 37 of 1934 and 2 of 1939.
1931	Capital punishment replaced by life penal servitude for pregnant women convicted of capital offences. (Formerly, sentence of death was arrested until delivery of child.)	Adopted in 1934 on instructions from Secretary of State.	Sentence of Death (Expectant Mothers) Act 1931. Ordinances Nos. 37 of 1934 and 2 of 1939.
1933	Capital punishment of persons under 18 years of age prohibited.	Adopted in 1952.	Children and Young Persons Act 1933. Ordinance No. 29 of 1952.
1947		Death penalty temporarily in force for all participants in armed robberies resulting in death, without the need to prove common intention.	Suppression of Robbery Ordinance, No. 13 of 1947 (not used, expired March 1948). ***See Chapter 11.***
1950		Death penalty for possession of explosives or using arms or explosives without lawful authority, whether or not resulting in death.	Regulation 116-A of the Emergency Regulations, revoked in 1956. ***See Chapter 11.***
1957	Death penalty only for murders in furtherance of theft; by shooting or explosion; to avoid arrest; of police or prison officers, or for repeated murders. New defences of diminished responsibility and loss of self-control under provocation, reducing murder to manslaughter. Killings in furtherance of other offences no longer murder. Suicide pacts reduced from murder to manslaughter.	Partly adopted in 1963, without the restrictions on the use of the death penalty.	Homicide Act 1957. Homicide Ordinance, No. 16 of 1963. ***See Chapter 11.***
1965	Death penalty for murder suspended for five years.		Murder (Abolition of Death Penalty) Act 1965.
1969	Death penalty for murder abolished.		Death penalty abolished in UK for arson in HM dockyards etc. in 1971; for treason and piracy with violence in 1998.
1993		Capital punishment for all offences abolished.	Crimes (Amendment) Ordinance, No. 24 of 1993. ***See Chapter 12.***

The capital trial in Hong Kong

The courts in Hong Kong similarly followed the practice of English courts in existence in 1843, except where inapplicable or modified by legislation.[21] Changing procedures in England were usually adopted in legislation or by reference to rulings by the higher English courts, as in the Peak Murder trial: this came naturally to Hong Kong's judges and lawyers, most of whom had been trained in London. The key legislation, the Criminal Procedure Ordinance 1899, drafted by Chief Justice Sir John Carrington, drew on English practice and the Indictable Offences (Procedure) Ordinance 1891 of British Guiana, which he had also drafted.[22] Hong Kong departed from English practice in some key areas, notably in the composition of juries, the provision of legal aid, and the system of criminal appeals. The courts also relied heavily on interpreters.

Investigations and arrests

If a victim in a capital case was killed and the body found, a post-mortem examination was carried out by a government medical officer, who sent a report to the Coroner. The Coroner, usually a magistrate,[23] decided whether to order an autopsy. If the death was sudden, violent, or suspicious, he had the option of conducting an inquest or 'death enquiry',[24] with or without a jury of three, to find out how the deceased died. If the verdict was death by murder or manslaughter and the suspect was known, the Coroner would issue an arrest warrant; usually, however, such verdicts referred to 'a person or persons unknown'. Where bodies were dumped in the streets or the harbour, the identity of the victim was often also a mystery.

Many culprits escaped justice. Up to the 1950s, people could move freely in and out of Hong Kong by land or sea. The treaties between the UK and China did not provide for the extradition of Chinese fugitives to face trial in Hong Kong.[25] The government got around this by offering rewards or sending gunboats to capture suspects, particularly if the victims were European. In some other cases suspects were tried by Chinese courts for crimes committed in Hong Kong. Within Hong Kong, suspects in domestic homicides or deaths

21. Ordinances Nos. 15 of 1844 s.3, 6 of 1845 s.4, 2 of 1846 s.3, 12 of 1873 s.8, 13 of 1899 s. 10.
22. The British Guiana legislation incorporated existing English statute law and some of the procedural clauses in the Criminal Code (Indictable Offences) Bill in England, which, among other provisions, codified and clarified common law. The bill was not enacted. Report on Ordinance No. 13 of 1899, CO 129/292, 331–336.
23. The separate position of Coroner was abolished in 1888 and restored in 1967. Ordinances Nos. 17 of 1888 and 57 of 1967.
24. The term used for inquests in Hong Kong from 1888 to 1997.
25. The Supplementary Treaty or Treaty of the Bogue 1843, article 9, provided for the rendition of Chinese fugitives from Hong Kong to China, and of British fugitives from China to Hong Kong. Its successor, the Treaty of Tientsin 1858, article 21, provided for the former but was silent on the latter.

In the light of the Chai Wan case, Pottinger proposed assimilating justice for Chinese in Hong Kong to that of China: a magistrate or judge would dispense summary justice; sentences above a certain level would be confirmed by the Governor.[176] 'The utter inapplicability of any form resembling "Trial by Jury" to Her Majesty's Chinese Subjects' was, in his view, 'too obvious to require any comment'. Trial by jury was, however, established in Hong Kong and used widely in the early years. Officials soon came to regret this. 'The unfitness of our criminal procedure to the circumstances of this Colony has long since passed almost into a proverb,' remarked a commission of enquiry in 1872.[177] With 'its myths allied to the jury system', British justice 'is seen by the untutored masses as essentially a gamble, with the cards dealt in favour of the most persuasive liar and/or the cleverest attorney or advocate', wrote a senior official a hundred years later.[178] The history of criminal justice in Hong Kong is in part a series of attempts to shift trials away from juries into the summary courts. This process did not, however, affect capital offences, all of which were tried by juries or, in 1945–1946, by a panel of judges. Combined with the protections given to defendants and scrupulous observance of procedural rules, reliance on juries reflected the 'considerable anxiety' that such cases gave to judges and prosecutors.[179] For this reason, capital trials tended to be recorded and discussed in detail in official reports and the press. They therefore offer opportunities to examine the workings of justice at the highest levels.

The organization and themes of this book

The next nine chapters of this book examine capital cases from the first hundred years of British rule. Two final chapters trace the events leading to the suspension of the death penalty in 1966 and its formal abolition in 1993. Each of the main chapters presents one key trial, or a cluster of related trials, setting it in historical context and explaining its significance in the development of criminal justice. Other comparable cases are briefly described. The cases are mostly murders but also include a mass poisoning and several piracies. The murders arose variously from jealousy, revenge, political acts, and killings incidental to other offences. The discussion highlights the colonial relationship, ranging from attempts to accommodate Chinese custom to outright confrontations between government and people. Particular attention is given to proceedings after trial, where governors and their

57–63, and Timothy Brook, Jérôme Bourgon, and Gregory Blue, *Death by a Thousand Cuts* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008), Chapters 1 and 2. Some bodies in Hong Kong may not have been left intact: a report in 1868 refers to a collection of heads from executed bodies kept at the Civil Hospital, probably for craniological research: *HKDP*, 3 November 1868.

176. Pottinger briefly implemented a system along these lines: see Christopher Munn, '"Scratching with a Rattan": William Caine and the Hong Kong Magistracy, 1841–1844', *HKLJ*, Vol. 25 (1995): 213–238.

177. Report of the Police Commission, 27 June 1872, CO 129/158, 302.

178. A.T. Clark to Secretary for Home Affairs, 22 December 1971, HKPRO HKRS260-1-22, encl. 25.

179. Goodman, *Reminiscences*, 168.

councils determined the fate of those convicted, often amid public controversy. The cases have been chosen partly for the availability of sources able to throw light from different perspectives. Some also illustrate turning points in the administration of justice, such as the provision of legal aid in murder trials or the creation of the Court of Criminal Appeal. They are therefore not a scientific sample. Nor are they representative of the majority of capital trials in colonial Hong Kong: if they were, the book would consist mainly of murders resulting from robberies or quarrels over resources. Few of the cases here set legal precedents or raised difficult questions of law. They are nevertheless important for what they say about relations between courts, people, and government in Hong Kong's history.

Chapter 2 explores Hong Kong's most famous early case: the mass poisoning of colonists by agents of the Qing government in 1857, shortly after the outbreak of the Second Opium War. The ten men were tried by an all-British jury at a time when many colonists, including the Attorney General, were demanding their summary execution.

Chapter 3 examines piracy trials, taking as examples three connected trials resulting in no fewer than eleven executions in 1866. Piracy trials presented special difficulties with evidence, giving rise both to miscarriages of justice and to suspicions that well-resourced defendants were evading justice by manipulating witnesses. The chapter examines attempts to reduce reliance on the Supreme Court in such cases by more summary forms of justice and by channelling cases to the Chinese courts, where punishment was harsher and more certain.

Chapter 4 describes the part played by a murder in 1878 in the movement to provide lawyers at public expense for defendants in murder trials. The case brings into focus the approaches to justice by two progressive yet controversial figures in nineteenth-century Hong Kong: the Governor, Sir John Hennessy, and the Chief Justice, Sir John Smale. An examination of other murder cases from the late nineteenth century suggests that the introduction of legal aid markedly improved chances of acquittal. At the same time, the dearth of capital convictions prompted concerns that murderers were not being brought to justice.

Chapter 5 deals with the cross-border legal consequences of the assassination in Hong Kong of the revolutionary Yeung Ku-wan by agents of the Qing government in 1900, after attempts to have him extradited for trial in China proved unsuccessful. The chapter focuses on attempts by the Governor, Sir Henry Blake, to secure justice. It also examines the evolution of extradition policy and Hong Kong's precarious role as a refuge and base for revolutionaries.

Chapter 6 discusses the murder in 1903 of a boatwoman and her daughter by three unemployed European sailors in a reckless plan to sail to Singapore in search of work. This highly charged case was a rare instance of Europeans tried for the murder of Chinese, and an illustration of how social status was sometimes as important as ethnicity in the treatment of offenders. The case prompted new policies to deal with the growing number of

destitute Europeans, who were a practical problem and an embarrassment to the colonial community.

Chapter 7 recounts the murder of two warders during an escape from Victoria Gaol by four prisoners in 1919. All four were captured and brought to trial. Two of them used their trials to raise grievances about the treatment of prisoners, which then became the subject of an official enquiry. The chapter discusses the evolution of penal policies in the light of this case and other confrontations in Victoria Gaol during the early twentieth century.

Chapter 8 focuses on the assassination of the manager of a firm bringing in blackleg crews from northern ports during the seamen's strike of 1922, one of a series of disputes between workers and employers that prompted draconian responses from the government. The trial of the alleged assassin, conducted in an atmosphere of extreme animosity between people and government, raises questions about the quality of justice in political cases.

Chapter 9 recounts the sensational trial in 1932 of a son of one of Hong Kong's wealthiest families for the murder of a rival in love. The trial broke all records in Hong Kong for its length and for the enormous resources devoted to the defence. After conviction, the family launched an intensive campaign for mercy. The chapter explores male jealousy as a motive for murder, and as a justification for leniency in the context of Qing law and Chinese custom.

Chapter 10 explores the trial and retrial of an unemployed Chinese man convicted of murdering a European child in 1934, allegedly for political motives. The case led to the first murder appeal heard in Hong Kong. It also raised concerns about racial prejudice in the administration of justice and fed into an emerging debate on the death penalty. This case gave rise to another large-scale campaign for mercy.

Chapter 11 examines the surge in capital crimes and capital punishment in the decade after World War II and the decline in capital convictions and hangings in the early 1960s. The decline, the chapter suggests, was attributable to declining crime rates, more effective policing and detection, changes in the law, and a growing disinclination among juries to convict capitally.

Chapter 12 discusses the debates and controversies leading to de facto abolition of capital punishment in Hong Kong in 1975 and its formal abolition in 1993.

The trials in this book underline themes and patterns uncovered by research into criminal justice in other colonies: the sudden, large-scale imposition of laws, legal institutions and legal culture by one society on another; the emphasis on control and protection of trade and property; the reliance on violent punishments; the difficulties with trial by jury in a mixed population; and the privileging of respectable Europeans and persons of

wealth and high status.[180] They illustrate the uses, and sometimes abuses, of the courts by what might loosely be described as the colonized population – loosely, because for the first hundred years of British rule Hong Kong was a city mainly of sojourners whose roots and allegiances lay elsewhere. The narratives and controversies described here also highlight the tensions between those – mostly judges and lawyers – who insisted on equality before the law and due process and those – mostly officials – who advocated different treatment for Chinese, particularly in Hong Kong's early decades.

Five connected themes stand out in the special case of Hong Kong. The **first** is the crucial importance of language, the essence of any legal system but particularly of the common law practised in Hong Kong. The gulf in understanding between those who controlled the courts and the majority who appeared before them took many decades to bridge. The **second** is the rapidly growing, yet largely mobile, population, which deepened this gulf. The **third** is the continual pattern of war, rebellion, and banditry in the neighbouring region, which brought weapons and violence into Hong Kong. Connected with these is a **fourth** theme: the complex question of cross-border justice, involving the handling of demands for extradition by the Chinese authorities, the trial of some suspects by Chinese courts for crimes committed within Hong Kong's jurisdiction, and the seizure in Chinese territory of Chinese suspects wanted by the Hong Kong authorities in the absence of a reciprocal extradition agreement. A **fifth** theme is the role of public opinion in shaping criminal justice through petitions and other direct action, or mediated through the press, politics, and religion: at first, this reflected mainly the views of colonists and to a lesser extent the Chinese elite; over the years it became more broadly based and could not be ignored by governors.

Above all, the trials highlight the variety of legal processes and outcomes within the British Empire, where every jurisdiction had its own unique set of circumstances and responded in different ways.[181] Hong Kong adopted some changes in English law, borrowed selectively from other colonies, and developed its own practices and traditions. The complex configuration of judges, juries, lawyers, witnesses, and defendants in any given trial often produced unexpected outcomes, even for crimes that struck at the very heart of British rule. Perhaps no trial anywhere in the British Empire demonstrates this more strongly than the first case in this book: the attempt to extirpate the British presence in Hong Kong by poisoning the colonists' breakfast.

180. See Sally Engle Merry's seminal essay 'Law and Colonialism', *Law and Society Review* Vol. 25, No. 4 (1991): 889–922.

181. See Martin J. Wiener, *An Empire on Trial: Race, Murder, and Justice under British Rule, 1870–1935* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 230.

Acknowledgements

Many friends and colleagues have made the writing of this book enjoyable and productive by sharing research, discussing ideas, commenting on draft extracts, and giving advice and encouragement. Among these are Amelia Alsop, Neil Andrews, David Bellis, Robert Bickers, Timothy Brook, John Brennan, John Carroll, Chen Xinyu, Kelvin Chan, Anita Chung, David Clayton, Christopher Corns, Peter Cunich, Stephen Davies, David Hall, David Hodson, Jenny Huangfu Day, Vaudine England, the late Christopher Homfray, Lucy Humbert, Peter Jordan, Douglas Kerr, the late Ralph Kiggell, Vivian Kong, Kwong Chi-man, Ivan Lee, Cathy Lilburne, Lim Tay Her, Alastair McClure, John Massey, Fionnuala McHugh, Simon Miles, Michael Ng, Kirsty Norman, Patricia O'Sullivan, Christopher Roberts, Jeremy Salkeld, Kim Salkeld, Mitra Sharafi, Elizabeth Sinn, Marco Wan, and John D. Wong.

I am especially grateful to the following friends, teachers, and experts: to the Hon. Andrew Li Kwok-nang for first suggesting that I write a book of this kind; to John Davison, Clive Grossman, Graham Hutchings, Victor Joffe, and Robin McLeish for their intensive reading of the manuscript; to Garfield Lam, Head of Archives and Special Collections, The University of Hong Kong Libraries, for recommending and making available sources, particularly during the years of COVID when access was restricted; to Bernard Hui and staff of the Hong Kong Public Records Office for their assistance over many years; to the late Nanna Man for helping me understand the Chinese sources and for saving me from many mistakes; to Ada Au-Yeung for drawing the maps; to Jason Beerman for his careful editing of the text and for his helpful advice; to the three anonymous readers of the manuscript; and to the Publishers and staff at Hong Kong University Press, in particular,

Peter Daniell for commissioning this work and for his advice in the early stages of the project, and Michael Duckworth and Kenneth Yung for bringing the book to fruition.

As always, my partner Nick Lee Guan Ling has given me constant support throughout this challenging project by advising on aspects of Chinese culture, organizing visits to crime scenes, and patiently putting up with endless discussions on Hong Kong's legal history.

This book is dedicated to the memory of my father, Patrick Munn. As a detective for most of his career in the Lincolnshire Police he investigated many murders and other serious crimes. For a few years in the 1970s he was also police prosecutor in the Horncastle Magistrates' Court: watching him at work from the public gallery during school holidays first sparked my interest in criminal justice. Although he did not live to see this book in print, his advice in its early stages – and in all my endeavours – was a great help and encouragement. I will always be grateful to him and my mother, Lucy, for nurturing my early interest in history and making it possible for me to pursue it at university and beyond.

Christopher Munn
Hong Kong
March 2025

Index

accomplice evidence, 29, 33, 88, 123, 130n, 269n, 275, 294
Admiralty Court. *See* Vice-Admiralty Court
adultery, 36, 134–137, 279–281, 320
affirmations. *See* oaths and affirmations
Agabeg, A.G. (witness, 1857), 60, 61
Ahmed (witness, 1866), 92, 96, 98, 99
Ahmet (witness, 1866), 92
Ahmet (defendant, 1873), 129
Ahmud (witness, 1866), 92
Alabaster, Chaloner Grenville (barrister), 226, 286; as Attorney General (1930–1945), 266, 299n, 301n
Alcock, Sir Rutherford (British Minister in Peking), 163
Alfred, Prince, Duke of Edinburgh, 123
allocutus, 17–18, 209, 211–212, 215–216
Amritsar Massacre (1919), 224
Anglican Church, 95, 280, 304–305, 356
Anstey, Thomas Chisholm (Attorney General, 1856–1858), 50–59, 61–53, 65–66, 67n, 68–70, 73, 106n
appellate remedies, 67. *See also* Court of Criminal Appeal, Executive Council
Application of English Law Ordinance (No. 2 of 1966), 6n, 33n
Archbutt, Geoffrey (juror, 1932), 266, 277
Arculli, Ronald (barrister), 337
Arnold, John (juror, 1922), 227
Arrow affair, 48–50
arson, 7, 8, 9, 126, 312–313, 366
Asprey, Alistair (Secretary for Security), 376
Attorney General, 12, 13n, 20, 127, 178n, 261–262, 269n, 286, 295, 351, 356, 357, 359, 372n; and private practice, 54; as grand jury, 14; as prosecutor, 15, 257. *See also under individual names*
attorneys. *See* solicitors
Au, Annie, 251, 252
Au, Bessie, 251
Au Keng (defendant, 1954), 326
Azevedo, F.H. (juror, 1866), 84, 98

Badeley, Francis (Captain-Superintendent of Police), 174
Bader, H.E., 281, 307
Bahamas, 204, 347n
Bail, 11, 256
Baird, Archibald (defendant, 1878), 107, 135
Balcony Murder (1931), 291
Balean, Alan (juror, 1920), 204
Ball, Henry (judge), 19, 89, 90–91, 92–94, 96, 97, 99, 126
Ballantine, William, 50

Banbury, Thomas, 170
Banishment. *See* deportation
Baptista, Duarte Cezar (juror, 1920), 204
Barbados, 115
Barnard, Frederick (barrister), 97, 98, 99
Barr, James (MP), 293
barristers, 16, 17, 20, 54, 177, 300–301, 349, 361; as defence counsel, 2, 24, 28, 29, 30, 34, 66, 69, 117, 118, 128–129, 151, 264, 345; as prosecutors, 15, 257, 330; attitudes towards, 16, 91, 92, 134, 232; training of, 130, 261, 263–264. *See also under individual names*
beachcombers, 168–170, 180–181, 182, 185, 187, 190. *See also* destitutes, vagrants
Beckett, Thomas (Archbishop of Canterbury), 275
Belilios, Emanuel Raphael (merchant), 193
Belilios, Raphael Emanuel (barrister), 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 215
Belilios Reformatory, 193
Belize, 347n, 367
Bell, John (surgeon), 147, 153
Bennett, Harold Sidney (juror, 1922), 227
Berkeley, Sir Henry (Attorney General, 1902–1906), 17, 19, 152, 164; as Acting Chief Justice, 151–152, 153, 157–158, 176, 177, 179, 182, 187, 189n
Bernacchi, Brook (barrister), 325, 326n, 336, 337
Besa, Joseph (defendant, 1933), 301
bestiality, 7
Bewley, Edward de Beauvoir (judge), 377
Bird, Herbert William (juror, 1922), 227, 235, 236, 241
black cap, 14, 33, 90, 94, 111, 158, 183, 274, 338
Black, Sir Robert Brown (Governor 1958–1964), 188n, 331, 332n
Blackall, Sir Henry (Chief Justice 1946–1948), 63, 316, 321, 324n, 333–334
Blackmore, Ernest (juror, 1934), 291
Blair-Kerr, William Alexander (Sir Alistair) (judge), 90n, 332; as Crown counsel, 321
Blake, Sir Henry (Governor, 1898–1903), 44, 140, 141, 145, 146, 148, 150, 158–159, 160, 161, 163–164
'Bloody Code' (in England), 8
Bloxham, Captain Hugh, 222–223, 224
bomb offences, 8, 9, 138–139, 320, 321, 324–325, 328, 329, 340, 344, 347–348, 349, 355
Bombay, 73, 125, 221
Bowles, Sidney, 283
Bowley, Francis (Crown Solicitor), 151, 158, 177, 285n
Bowra, William (juror, 1857), 56, 59, 65
Bowring, Maria, Lady, 48
Bowring, Sir John (Governor, 1854–1859), 35, 47, 48–49, 51–52, 53, 54, 56, 64, 65, 67–68, 69, 70, 73, 82, 188–189
Boxer Rebellion, 138, 139, 140, 164
boycotts, 165, 166, 190–191, 217, 224, 247–249
Bracegirdle, Mark, 247n
Braga, José Pedro (newspaper editor and Legislative Councillor), 183, 298n
Brereton, William (solicitor), 127, 129
Brewer, Robert Instone (barrister), 299n
Bridges, William Thomas (barrister), 54–55, 58, 61–62, 64, 65, 68, 188n; as Acting Colonial Secretary, 72–73
Bridie, Reverend William, 184
Brimmicombe-Wood, Richard (prison officer), 39n
British Guiana, 10, 272n
British Military Administration, 315; courts under, 5, 12–13, 315; offences under, 8, 321
British Supreme Court for China (Shanghai), 3, 8, 130, 152n, 190n, 246, 300
Bromley, Fay, 283, 288, 296
Brutton, George Hall (solicitor), 225, 226, 231, 232, 237–238, 239, 256–259, 261, 264, 266, 272, 279n
Buildings and Nuisances Ordinance (No. 8 of 1856), 49–50, 51
Butterfield & Swire, 183n, 186n, 189, 222, 225, 228, 233

cadet officers, 18, 95; as judges, 261–263; as magistrates, 257; legal training of, 257, 262
Caesar piracy (1866), 75, 85–88, 92–94, 97–100, 104
Caine, William (Lieutenant-Governor, 1856–1859), 50, 52, 70
Caldwell, Daniel Richard, 102, 146n; as interpreter, 27, 31, 57; as police officer, 76, 78, 80; as

Registrar General and Protector of Chinese, 31, 70; alleged corruption of, 73
Caldwell, Henry (solicitor), 107
Caldwell and Brereton (solicitors), 129
Callaghan, James, 367
Calthrop, Horace (barrister), 2–3, 177, 181
Campbell, C.W. (Acting British Consul-General), 162
Canton, 76, 77, 88, 104, 149, 155, 161–162, 167, 183n, 224, 311; and anti-Qing activities, 138–139, 160; in Second Opium War, 48–50, 64
Canton government, 142–143, 147, 149–150, 153, 154, 159, 166, 223, 249
Canton-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott (1925–1926), 165, 178, 217, 247–249
Canton Uprising (1895), 144, 149
Caohejing Model Prison (Shanghai), 214
Cape Collinson Training Centre Murder (1959), 292n, 336, 337
Cape D'Aguilar Lighthouse, 107
capital offences: from 1843, 7; from 1865, 8–9; under Emergency Regulations (1950), 323–327; reductions in 1963, 329; under the British Military Administration, 321; under Suppression of Robbery Ordinance (1947), 321–322
capital punishment, 4–10; abolition of, in UK, 326, 327–329, 339, 347, 352, 355, in Hong Kong, 359, 361, 365–366, 369–377; attitudes towards, 322, 336, 344–347, 348, 362–364; decline of, 319; debates on, 40, 113, 115–116, 292–294, 326–327, 336–339, 349, 363, 369–376; demands for its resumption, 349, 356, 362–364, 368, 370, 374–376; discontinuance of, 346–349, 359; in other jurisdictions, 24, 277, 292–294, 347, 363; legislation on, 8–9; minimum age for, 8, 9, 327, 328n; significance of, 40–42
Carl piracy, 75, 84–87, 88, 89–91, 101, 104
Carrington, Sir John (Chief Justice 1896–1901), 10, 272n
Castle Peak, 172, 287
cat-o'nine-tails. *See* corporal punishment
Catholic Cemetery, 115, 196
Catholic priests, 37, 80, 91, 94–95, 96, 100, 115, 142, 196, 276, 305, 356
caution, statements under: by magistrates, 12, 174, 203, 261; by police, 30, 120, 175, 264, 341
Cen Chunxuan (Viceroy of Liangguang, 1903–1906), 159, 162
censorship. *See* newspapers
Central Police Station, 172, 174, 225, 256, 257, 259
Ceylon, 6, 20, 21n, 36, 55, 127, 265n, 292
Chai Wan Murder (1843), 41–43
chain gangs, 202
Challinor, Sybil (victim, 1938), 309–310
Chamberlain, Joseph, 144–145, 162, 204
Chan Amo (witness, 1878), 108, 110
Chan Amui (witness, 1878), 107–111, 114, 117
Chan Chak, Admiral, 254
Chan Chun (victim, 1893), 131
Chan Fat-sang (victim, 1966), 341, 342
Chan Hon-tong (defendant, 1973), 367
Chan Kiu-heung (defendant, 1952), 330
Chan Lam-tsai (alleged assassin, 1901), 149, 150, 155, 157, 158
Chan Ngau-mui (victim, 1878), 107–110, 111
Chan Pak (defendant), 39, 245n
Chan Sang (defendant, 1952), 325
Chan Wan (witness, 1903), 155, 158
Chan Yee (victim, 1904), 168, 171–172, 175, 179, 180, 181
Chartered Bank Robbery-Murder (1974), 368–369, 370
Chau Ping (juror), 127
Cheang Ayik (defendant, 1866), 92
Cheang Thye Gan (litigant, 1921–1923), 226
Cheang Tsat-tai (defendant, 1866), 87, 89, 96–100
Chen Guiji, 70, 72
Cheng Kwok-on, 278
Cheng Kwok-yau (defendant, 1932), 250–261, 266–279, 280, 281
Cheong Afoo (witness, 1857), 61
Cheong Alum (Cheong Pui-lam) (defendant, 1857), 47, 52–63, 64, 66, 68–69, 71–74
Cheong Assow, 54, 61, 71
Cheong Sing-fat (defendant, 1866), 88, 89–91
Cheong Wye-kong (defendant, 1857; father of Cheong Alum), 53, 54
Cheung Ashiu (defendant, 1878), 107–108, 110–114, 115, 134
Cheung Chau, 172, 287, 291, 315n, 353, 355
Cheung Cho-ting (defendant, 1903), 161–163, 176n

Cheung Po-tsai (pirate leader), 76–77
Cheung Sha, 172
Cheung Yuk-ching (victim, 1937), 310
Chiang Kai-shek, 166, 248
chief justices, 4, 18, 19, 51, 54, 89, 103, 105, 126, 137, 144, 151, 204, 249, 262, 300–301, 316, 385; membership of the Legislative Council, 120n. *See also* judges *and under individual names*
children: and age of criminal responsibility, 182n; and capital punishment, 8, 327; and oaths, 287, 296–297; trafficking in, 120; as victims, 134, 173–175, 245n, 282–285, 289–290, 306, 309, 312, 320, 347, 349; as witnesses, 264n, 287–288, 296
Chim Pui, 135
China Mail (newspaper), 68n, 76, 90, 91n, 92, 94, 99, 113, 118n, 122, 140, 148, 151, 170, 187, 210, 242; on capital punishment, 94, 131–132, 294; on juries, 24, 79, 334
Chinese: jurors, 22–23, 112, 127, 308n, 332, 333; witnesses, 12, 26–29, 31, 41, 57, 66, 125, 132, 142, 143, 179, 226, 232, 240, 244, 245, 335
Chinese attitudes to criminal justice in Hong Kong, 25, 26, 29, 42, 43, 50, 63, 67–68, 77, 107, 114–115, 124, 133–134, 192–193, 211, 224, 238, 277, 305–306, 308–309, 338–339, 344–346, 349, 351, 355–356, 359, 360–363, 364, 369, 370, 372, 373
Chinese Burials Ordinance (No. 12 of 1856), 50
Chinese Communist Party, 248
Chinese courts, 10, 28, 142, 159, 162; piracy trials in, 42, 80–83, 104
Chinese Criminal Code (1928), 259, 278
Chinese Extradition Ordinance (No. 26 of 1889), 144–145, 146, 158, 165n
Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service, 34n, 101, 190, 264n
Chinese law and justice, 41–42, 63, 80–83, 135, 138–139, 161–164, 168n, 258–259, 278–279, 280
Chinese Marriage Preservation Ordinance (No. 42 of 1912), 137
Chinese Navy, 101, 104
Chinese Seamen's Union, 221, 223
Chiu Chow Native Place Association, 304, 305, 307
Chiu Hoi-kwok (defendant, 1973), 353
Chiu Yuk-fai (defendant, 1937), 4n, 310–311
Choi Akow (defendant, 1889), 127
Chow Dart-tong (juror), 127
Chow Fat (witness, 1904), 172
Christie, Sidney (witness, 1932), 253–255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 267–269, 271, 272, 273, 274, 276
Chui Apo (pirate leader), 76
Chui Sui-chung (prisoner), 217
Chui Yung-sham (witness, 1932), 258, 259, 266, 269–271, 272, 274
Chun Aching (witness, 1866), 88
Chun Ah-cheen (defendant, 1857), 70, 71
Chun Ayee (defendant, 1866), 92, 93
Chun Ayew (victim, 1878), 114
Chung Chi-cheung Privy Council appeal (1938), 34n, 264n
Chung Keng Quee, 250
Chung Sui-yeung (alleged Triad leader), 145
Chung Sze-yuan (Sir S.Y. Chung) (Executive and Legislative Councillor), 370
Civil Hospital, 43n, 108, 147, 196, 285
Clementi, Sir Cecil (Governor 1925–1930), 35, 145, 166, 248, 249, 286
Clementi Smith, Cecil (Colonial Treasurer and Registrar General), 112
Club Lusitano, 196, 203
Cock, Edward (juror, 1934), 295
Coffee Plantation (burial ground), 40, 247, 308
Colonial Cemetery, 147, 163
Colonial Chaplain, 95
Colonial Office, 51, 55, 68, 116, 119, 121, 151, 160, 219, 224, 226, 262, 272n, 281, 300, 307, 323, 357n. *See also* Secretary of State
common design, 9, 15, 153, 158, 176, 181–182, 205, 209, 215, 287, 322, 328
common law, 6, 10n, 46, 174n, 312, 328, 332, 352
Commission of Enquiry into Police and Crime (1872), 43, 124
Commissioners of the Supreme Court, 351, 354, 356n
committal proceedings, 11–12, 16, 17, 28, 29, 66, 107, 345; in Cheng Kwok-yau's case, 256–261, 267, 270; in Cheong Alum's case, 53, 61; in Cheung Ashiu's case, 110; legal aid in, 129; in Leung Wo's case, 225, 231; in Lui Chiu's case, 150–151; in

Ng Loi's case, 285–286, 293; in Smith, Hogmann and Nason's case, 174–175, 176; in Wong Kwong's case, 203
Communist Revolution (1949), 316, 323
communists, 218, 315, 324; purges of, 166, 249
commutation of death sentences. *See* mercy, exercise of
compradors, 52, 64, 71
condemned prisoners, 34, 37, 80, 94–95, 194, 197, 206, 211, 217, 304; behaviour of at executions, 37, 39–40, 91, 96, 184; burial of bodies of, 40
confessions, 129, 175, 207, 287, 366; alleged to be bogus, fabricated or coerced, 11, 30, 181, 211, 246, 264, 322n, 340, 341, 342, 354; following sentence, 37; in Chinese courts, 28, 83, 139, 142, 146, 163; judicial attitudes towards, 30, 174
conditional pardons, 36, 78, 88, 91, 102, 115, 148, 259, 269, 270, 272, 273, 360
constructive malice. *See* felony murder
Contagious Diseases Ordinance (No. 10 of 1867), 134, 137
contempt of court, 59, 119, 129; by jurors, 25; by editors of newspapers, 12, 310, 340
conviction rates, 30, 66, 69, 78, 129–130, 131, 132, 261, 263–265, 318, 336
Cooke, George (journalist), 28, 189
'coolie' migrant labourers, 19, 104, 120, 121–123; mutinies and uprisings by, 69, 79, 81
Coombe, Ronald (victim, 1972), 359n
Corcyra murder (1852), 80–81
coroners, 10, 24n, 39–40, 199, 223–224
corporal punishment, 8, 40, 42, 48, 50, 53, 89, 102, 103, 112–113, 119, 134, 192, 202, 218, 318, 323, 343, 350, 352, 370, 374
corruption, 11, 17n, 29, 30, 73, 102, 120, 319, 363, 364n
counsel. *See* barristers
Court of Criminal Appeal (Hong Kong), 18, 34, 44, 276, 298–304, 319
Court of Criminal Appeal (England), 288, 299, 300, 302
Court of Justice with Criminal and Admiralty Jurisdiction over British subjects in China, 5, 7n
Craig, Robert (Assistant Superintendent, Victoria Gaol), 202–203
Crapnell, Albert Edward (juror, 1922), 227
Creech Jones, Arthur, 357
Creech Jones formula, 357, 363, 371
Cressall, Paul (judge), 316n
crime rates, 35, 319, 349, 350, 369, 370. *See also* homicide and murder rates
criminal procedure, 2, 10–14, 15, 118, 125; alleged unsuitability of to Hong Kong, 43, 124; changes to, 79, 216; technical errors in, 15, 57, 78, 79n, 130, 264
Criminal Procedure Ordinance (No. 13 of 1899), 10, 15n, 241n, 269, 272n, 322n, 343
criminal sessions, 13, 126
cross-border crime and justice, 30, 46, 80–83, 104–105, 135, 143, 147–148, 150, 160–163, 258–259, 278, 317, 318, 373. *See also* extradition, deportation
Crown counsel, 12
Crown Solicitor, 12, 55n, 151, 158, 165n, 223, 227, 243
Cunliffe-Lister, Sir Philip, 307
Cunningham, Alfred (newspaper editor), 163
curfews, 50, 53, 70, 116, 317
'Customs Blockade', 101
Cyprus, 2, 204

da Silva, Inspector (police officer), 92
da Silva, Marcus (solicitor), 315
D'Aguilar Peninsula, 106, 107
D'Almada e Castro, Francisco Xavier (solicitor), 225
D'Almada e Castro, Joaquim Telles (juror, 1920), 204
D'Almada e Castro, Leo (barrister), 26, 263–264; as judge, 315
D'Almeida, Pio (witness, 1878), 108, 110, 117
Daly, Dennis (police inspector), 96, 99, 123
Davidson, Edgar (solicitor), 254
Davies, Eric (witness, 1934), 296, 297
Davies, Henry Tudor (Chief Magistrate 1856–1859), 53, 61, 73
Davis, Sir John Francis (Governor 1844–1848), 40, 41, 51, 168n
Day, John (barrister), 54, 70
de Basto, Gerald (barrister), 349, 352n
Deacons (solicitors), 275
Deane, Walter (Captain-Superintendent of Police), 29

death enquiries. *See* inquests
death penalty. *See* capital punishment
death-qualified juries, 291–292
'death recorded' sentences, 4, 5, 7, 33, 69, 70, 71, 80, 84
death sentences: wording of, 14, 329
Deen, Emin (hangman), 132
Defence of the Realm Act (UK, 1914), 248
defendants, 15–18; examination of, 124–125; right to give sworn testimony, 17, 177n, 232, 244; rights and protections of, 2–3, 12, 17–18, 29, 43, 120, 272, 303; social origins of, 15, 71, 335. *See also* allocutus, confessions, legal aid, statements, *and under individual names*
Dempster, John Carroll (witness, 1857), 55, 57, 65
Dennys, Henry (solicitor), 117, 129
Dennys, Nicholas Belfield (newspaper editor), 91n
Department of Law, University of Hong Kong, 351–352
deportation, 11, 53, 72, 126n, 131, 134, 141, 158, 163, 166, 169, 176, 192, 202, 225, 256, 264, 270, 314, 317; and tattooing, 102, 112
depositions, 12, 174, 231; allowed as evidence if witness absent, 29, 79n; discrepancies with evidence at trial, 12, 28, 29, 79n, 92, 93, 155, 267, 273, 288, 296; in extradition cases, 143, 144, 146
Des Voeux, Sir George William (Governor, 1887–1891), 31n, 42, 115, 131, 143–144
destitutes, 38, 169–170, 185–187. *See also* vagrants
detection rates, 11, 30, 243, 318–319, 350, 354, 369, 377
dialects. *See* languages and dialects
diminished responsibility, 9, 37n, 313, 328
disturbances (1967), 11, 323, 344–345, 347–348, 354n
Dixson, Andrew (witness, 1857), 58, 62
dock briefs, 16n
Dodd, John (interpreter), 32
Donovan, Major-General Edward (Officer in Command of the Troops), 112
Double-Tenth Riots (1956), 11, 317–318, 338n
Douglas, Francis (Gaol Superintendent), 88, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 99, 124
Douglas-Home, Sir Alec (MP), 357, 358, 359, 360, 365n
Dow, Peter (juror, 1903), 152
Drinker, Sandwith (witness, 1857), 48n, 58, 60
drug offences, 37n, 35n, 320, 327, 350n
Drummond, William (barrister), 127, 128, 130, 151n, 152
Duddell, George (witness, 1857), 58, 71, 72
Duncanson, Edward (juror, 1857), 56, 72
Dunn, Lydia (Baroness Dunn) (Executive and Legislative Councillor), 373
Dyer Ball, James (interpreter), 32, 130–131, 167, 178, 189, 190
dying declarations, 128, 147, 153
dying depositions, 29, 218, 245n

Eagle piracy (1862), 79n
East Point robbery-murder (1856), 67–68
Edward, Prince of Wales, 221, 224, 247
Edwards, Graham (defendant, 1972), 359n
Eitel, Ernest John (missionary, interpreter, official, and historian), 118, 131, 137
Elizabeth II, Queen, 360
Elliott, Elsie (Elsie Tu), 338
Ellis, Felix (juror, 1934), 295
Ellis, Frederick (juror, 1920), 304–205
Elma, J. (hangman), 38n
embezzlements, 107n, 118, 201, 206
Emergency (Capital Punishment) Regulations 1950 (draft), 323
Emergency Powers Act 1920 (UK), 249
Emergency (Principal) Regulation 116-A, 9, 318, 321, 323–326, 348
Emergency Regulations Ordinance (No. 5 of 1922) and Regulations, 222, 248, 249, 257n, 323, 325, 345n, 348n
English law and practice: application to Hong Kong, 6–8, 10, 13, 15, 30, 33, 34, 79, 120, 125, 135, 176, 177n, 193, 265, 274, 280, 288, 302–303, 322n, 323; departures from, 11, 14–15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 115–116, 125, 126, 182n, 249, 262, 292n, 300, 329, 331, 332, 334, 337–338, 339, 363, 377; reforms adopted in Hong Kong, 8–9, 17, 20–21, 34n, 46, 297, 329–332, 333
escapes by suspects, 10, 11, 76–77, 135, 204, 363. *See also* prisoners
European Court of Human Rights, 376

evidence, 2, 11, 12, 18, 32, 124, 233–234, 345; circumstantial, 56–57, 288, 297, 309, 367; European views on Chinese, 27–28, 90, 125, 132, 133n, 224, 226, 238–243, 245; discrepancies in, 15, 28–29, 33, 54, 78, 111, 263–264, 288–289; in extradition cases, 142–144. *See also* accomplice evidence, defendants, depositions
executions, 4, 34, 37–40, 42; apparatus for, 37, 39, 116, 219; in China, 42, 82–83, 139, 150, 159, 166, 168n, 374; descriptions of, 37–40, 71, 91, 96, 99–100, 115, 184, 188–189, 209, 246–247, 308; in England, 42, 326; location of, 8, 37–38, 69, 71, 91, 115, 116, 132, 219; method, 14, 37, 116; in private, 39, 116; in public, 37–38; statistics, 4–5, 41, 78, 84, 100, 103, 104, 124, 131, 245, 313, 314, 319, 336, 339
Executive Council, 6, 24, 35, 36, 52, 115–117, 347, 359, 362, 365–369; as de facto court of appeal, 36, 67–68, 84n; composition of, 112, 307n; and jury lists, 19n; trial reports to, 34, 111–112, 231, 342, 354, 364. *See also* mercy, exercise of
extradition, 10, 24n, 46, 76, 82, 83, 99, 121, 139, 141–146, 150, 158–159, 161, 165, 210, 214, 215, 259, 301n, 363; attendance by British officials at trials of persons extradited to China, 163–166; complaints of Chinese officials, 104, 143, 144; treaties provisions for, 10n, 82n, 104n, 158, 163

Fairburn, Kathleen (witness, 1934), 288, 289, 290, 296, 297, 302, 303
false accusations, 15, 28, 36, 67–68, 78, 123–124, 132, 142
Fan Hing (defendant, 1933), 305, 308
Fanling, 312
felony murder, 6n, 15, 176, 181–182, 312, 328
Feng Xiawei, 191
Ferrers, Norman (barrister), 177, 179, 180, 181
Fight Violent Crime campaigns, 319, 351–352, 355–356, 360, 361, 362
fights, 1, 11, 34n, 36, 108, 127, 133, 172, 189, 313, 320, 321, 350, 353, 356n, 368
Fiji, 19, 148n, 151
fingerprints, 264
firearms offences, 316, 320, 325, 326, 354n, 355, 369
Fitzroy, Henry Somerset (barrister), 257, 365
Fleming, John (juror, 1934), 295
Fleming, John (prison officer), 38n
flogging. *See* corporal punishment
Flood, Tony, 283, 288, 296
Fok Akwan (defendant, 1866), 92, 94
France, Reverend John, 184, 187
Francis, John Joseph (barrister), 107, 114, 117, 118n, 121, 122, 125n, 130, 134, 135, 136, 149; as solicitor, 97
Franks, John (Assistant Superintendent, Victoria Gaol), 196, 199, 200, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 213; as Superintendent of Prisons, 214, 218, 219, 238
Fraser, John (Assistant Attorney General), 289, 296–297, 302–304, 316n
Fraser-Smith, Robert (newspaper editor), 132
freemasonry, 54, 73, 179, 194, 221
Friend of China (newspaper), 23, 42, 58, 69, 70, 72, 95
Full Court, 17n, 30n, 129, 232n, 246, 355; 1912 reforms, 3–4, 126, 300–301; composition of, 3–4, 300; legal points referred to, 2, 118, 130, 165n, 234, 241, 245n, 263n, 269, 274, 325, 331; power to order retrial, 241n, 300. *See also* Supreme Court, Court of Criminal Appeal
Fung Chat-sing (witness, 1904), 172
Fung Chi (witness, 1922), 231, 240
fung shui, 216
Fung Tak-him, George (victim, 1932), 251, 252, 255, 256, 257, 271, 278
Fung Tim (defendant, 1918), 216
Fung Wa-chuen, 251
Furen Wenshe, 139

gallows: state of. *See* executions, apparatus for
gambling, 28, 29, 32n, 120, 133–134, 147n, 251, 254, 318n, 340, 353
gang robberies, 15, 36, 216
gaol. *See* prison, Victoria Gaol
Gaskell, William (solicitor), 97, 128
German jurors, 23, 110, 122n, 127, 178n, 205, 287
Gibbons, Henry (Registrar, Supreme Court), 119
Gibbons, Robert (defendant, 1859), 188
Godber, Peter, 359n, 363
Goggin, William (juror, 1934), 295
Gold Coast Colony, 3n, 177, 299, 316n, 357

Gollan, Sir Henry (Chief Justice, 1924–1930), 249, 262n, 263, 265
Gompertz, Henry (Puisne Judge), 2, 32, 210, 211, 212, 215, 234; as magistrate, 169, 174–175, 185n
Goodman, Sir William: as Attorney General (1889–1902), 133; as Chief Justice (1902–1905), 151, 152, 165, 170, 171, 177; on Chinese witnesses, 132
Gordon, General Alexander (Gaol Superintendent), 202
Gould, Trevor Jack (judge), 325
Governor in Council. *See* Executive Council
governors. *See* mercy, exercise of, *and under individual names*
grand juries: in England, 14, 20; in Hong Kong, 7n, 15, 78
Grandpré, Alexander (police officer), 57
Grantham, Maurine, Lady, 335
Grantham, Sir Alexander William George Herder (Governor 1947–1957), 35, 317, 324, 326, 330
Green, Harold (witness, 1922), 230, 231, 239, 240, 243
Green Island, 107n, 172
Gresson Street Murder (1918), 201, 243
Griffin, Denis (defendant, 1857), 189
Griffin, Herbert (juror, 1920), 204–205
Griffin, John (Attorney General, 1946–1952), 324
Griffiths, David Knox (juror), 132
Grimmet, Geoffrey (Crown counsel), 312
Grindlay, Robert, 106
Guangzhou. *See* Canton
Gubbay, Aaron Sassoon (juror, 1922), 227
guilds, 223, 225, 230, 232, 236, 242, 265
guilty pleas, 127, 175, 265, 326
Gulnare rising (1857), 69, 112
gunfights, 201, 325, 368, 373
Gutierrez, Lourenço (juror, 1866), 92

habeas corpus, 72, 121, 122, 142, 144, 151, 165
Hall, J.M., 286
Hall, Ronald (Bishop of Victoria 1932–1951; of Hong Kong 1951–1966), 293, 294, 304, 306–307, 339
Hallifax, Edwin (cadet officer), 162
Hamilton, Eric William (magistrate), 217n, 285–286
Handley, Alfred (barrister), 126n, 129, 133n
hangmen, 38–39, 91, 96, 104, 132
hangings. *See* executions
Hanson, John (police officer), 147, 148, 175, 179
Happy Valley, 147, 196, 251, 255, 259, 282
Harbour and Coasts Ordinance (No. 6 of 1866), 102
Harcourt, Rear-Admiral Cecil (head of government, 1945–1946), 315
Harcourt, Sir William, 204
Harland, Aurelius (witness, 1857), 57
Hasenberg, Captain (victim, 1866), 85, 90, 96
Hasenberg, H. (witness, 1866), 90
Hastings, Dennys and Bowley (solicitors), 254
Hau Hang (police officer), 147, 153
Hayden, James (Official Receiver, appeal judge), 301–302, 304
Hayllar, Thomas Child (barrister), 110–111, 118, 120, 123, 124–125, 127, 137, 188n
Hazeland, Francis (magistrate), 150–151, 158
head money. *See* rewards
Heard, Augustine, 63–64
Heath, Edward (MP), 348n, 355, 358, 364, 366
Hennessy, Lady, 137
Hennessy, Sir John Pope (Governor, 1877–1882), 35, 112, 132, 142, 200n; dispute with Hayllar, 137; penal reforms, 112–113, 116, 126n, 198; on capital punishment, 111–117; on juries, 112; on legal aid, 116–119
Henry II, King, 275
Her/His Majesty's pleasure, detention at, 8, 14, 37n, 128, 263n, 265n, 305n, 313, 327, 346n
Herald Murder (1852), 80, 81, 128, 188
Heung Yee Kuk, 130n
high treason. *See* treason
High Court for the Suppression of Piracy, 103
Ho Achai (witness, 1857), 61
Ho Apo (defendant, 1857), 70, 71
Ho Cheuk-kui (defendant, 1948), 322n
Ho Chi Minh, 166, 258, 266
Ho Fat (defendant, 1922), 39
Ho Fook, 183n, 212
Ho Kai (barrister and Legislative Councillor), 140, 217n; as defence counsel, 33, 125n, 130, 177–180, 202n
Ho Sai-chuen, Dr (witness, 1932), 255
Ho Sam-mui (defendant, 1957), 330

Ho Zhangqing (Admiral), 161, 162, 163
Hogan, Sir Michael (Chief Justice, 1955–1970), 343, 345n
Hogmann, Erik (defendant, 1904), 168, 171–172, 175, 176–180, 183, 184, 187
Hok Tsui, 106, 107
Home Affairs Department, 338, 346, 364
homicide and murder rates, 318n, 369, 373, 377
Homicide Act 1957 (UK), 9, 327, 328–331, 336, 339
Homicide Ordinance (No. 16 of 1963), 9, 14n, 312, 313n, 329–330, 332, 339
Homicides: motives behind, 36, 57, 110, 131, 153, 179, 180, 257, 267, 269, 289, 309, 320, 324, 347, 350
Hongkong Daily Press (newspaper), 137, 163, 183, 243, 285n; on capital punishment, 91, 113, 277; on juries, 23, 152, 294–295; on witnesses, 70, 90
Hongkong Register (newspaper), 28, 63, 69, 73, 77, 82
Hongkong Telegraph (newspaper), 140, 147, 152, 183, 204, 212, 257n, 267
Hongkong Weekly Press (newspaper), 246
Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, 139, 146, 225, 227, 228, 230, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 241, 244
Hong Kong Bar Association, 26n, 349, 351, 358n
Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance (No. 59 of 1991), 374
Hong Kong Council of Women, 334–335, 338
Hong Kong Law Journal, 352, 372
Hong Kong Mint, 84, 93
Hongkong Benevolent Society, 170, 174n, 187
Horck, Dr Alexander von der (witness, 1878), 110
Hou Wing-hong (witness, 1934), 283, 287
House of Commons. *See* Parliament
House of Detention, 168, 169, 170, 185, 186, 187
Howe, Sir Gerard (Chief Justice 1951–1955), 330
Howes, Benjamin (victim, 1866), 100
Hu Hung-lick, Henry (barrister), 331–332
Huangzhuqi 'massacre' (1847), 167–168
Huffam, Frederick (Deputy Registrar, Supreme Court), 118
Hui Kwong (defendant, 1953), 325–326
Huizhou Uprising (1900), 138, 139, 148, 149, 160, 161
Hulme, John Walter Hulme (Chief Justice, 1844–1860), 7n, 19, 23, 26–27, 59, 62–63, 68, 77n, 78n; quarrels with Anstey, 51, 56; quarrel with Bonham, 80–81; quarrel with Davis, 51
hung juries. *See* juries
Hung Tsun-fuk (revolutionary), 160–163, 176n
Hutchison, Robert, 212
Hynes, Thomas (defendant, 1904), 189

Ibrahim case (1912–1914), 34, 246, 274n
identification, 78, 90, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 99, 131, 148, 179, 180, 232, 233, 238, 239, 262n, 264
identity parades, 30, 88, 90, 92, 93, 94, 99, 238, 239, 264, 288, 292n, 297, 326
Independent Commission Against Corruption, 363
Indian Code of Criminal Procedure, 125
Indian Penal Code, 6, 190
indictments, 15, 18, 20, 55, 65, 77, 79n, 266
infanticide, 9, 36, 135
informers, 17n, 29, 71, 73, 78, 102, 123, 133, 148, 149, 155, 203, 294n
inquests, for executed prisoners, 39–40, 209, 215; for victims, 10, 58, 108, 110, 197–200, 203, 223–224
insanity defence, 14, 33, 36, 37n, 114, 128, 130n, 188n, 208, 209, 210, 226, 253, 263, 265, 305n, 318n, 320, 328, 347n. *See also* diminished responsibility, verdicts
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), 374, 376
interpretation, 25, 28, 31–32, 67, 78, 98–99, 117, 132, 154, 179, 185, 257, 308n; withdrawn for defendants represented by barristers, 2–3, 16
interpreters, 31–32, 38, 55, 57, 73, 89, 95, 118, 119n, 130–131, 175, 178, 179, 225, 264, 275
intoxication defence, 33, 117, 254, 285, 287, 289, 290, 297, 298, 326, 347
Irene piracy (1927), 104, 262n

Jack A Tai & Co., 222
Jacks, Philip (judge), 301, 302, 304
Jamieson, James (British Consul-General, Canton), 247
Japanese occupation, 278, 279, 314–316, 318n, 321
Jaun, Mogul ('Moggle-john') (hangman), 38
Jenkin, Francis Charles John Cragoe (barrister), 16, 166, 210–211, 215, 279, 301; in Praya Murder

trial (1922), 226–227, 230–242, 244–246; in Village Road Murder trial (1932), 253, 264–271, 274, 275
Jennings, Brendan Joseph (judge), 342
Johnson, Andrew (hangman), 91
Joint Declaration by the People's Republic of China and the UK (1984), 373
joint enterprise. *See* common design
Jones, Edward (defendant, 1872), 127–128
Jones, John (defendant, 1859), 188
Jones, William (police officer), 99
Jowitt, Sir William (barrister), 275
judges: and capital punishment, 43, 124, 291–292, 296, 324, 345, 376; careers of, 3–4, 51, 89, 119–120, 126, 151, 174n, 199n, 204, 205, 249, 262–263, 272n, 286, 302–303, 316, 342n, 354; and extradition, 144, 165; functions and powers of, 13–14, 17, 18–19, 20–21, 32–33, 34, 37; numbers of, 3–4, 124, 126, 300–301, 351; security of tenure of, 19. *See also* cadet officers *and under individual names*
Judicial Committee of Privy Council. *See* Privy Council
juries, 19–26; capital trials without, 299, 315, 318n; in civil trials, 67n, 72, 226; composition and size of, 20, 21–22, 56, 89, 92, 97–98, 110, 152, 178, 204–205, 210, 215, 227, 266, 295–296, 332, 333–335; in coroners' inquests, 10, 39–40, 199–200, 223–224; *de medietate linguae*, 22–23; in England, 20–21, 22; functions of, 13–14, 18, 332; hung, 12n, 14, 59n, 246n, 287, 291, 294, 322n, 325; recommendations to mercy by, 7n, 14, 36, 84, 94, 115, 120n, 133n, 135, 136, 182, 183, 216n, 298, 304, 305, 306, 307, 310, 330, 331n, 332n; reluctance to convict capitally, 1–2, 22, 32, 127, 133, 292, 313, 319, 320, 327, 336, 344–346, 375; sequestration of, 59, 93, 152, 180, 228, 294–295; in Singapore, 22n, 346n. *See also* special juries
jurors: alleged prejudices of, 12, 25, 29, 65, 132, 294; Chinese, 22–23, 112, 127, 205; conscientious objections to capital punishment, 246n, 291, 292, 294, 305; disagreements among, 26, 84; discussions out of court by, 59, 65, 79, 120n, 238–239; and English language, 1, 20, 23–24, 25, 26, 127, 133, 215, 295, 308n; exemption from service, 19, 20–21, 25, 126–127, 205n, 210, 227, 274, 291, 292n, 298, 333n, 334; nationalities of, 22–25, 41, 117, 127, 152, 291, 295, 332, 333; peremptory challenges of, 20, 178n, 294; qualifications of, 19–22; reluctance to serve of, 22, 25, 93, 210; tampering with, 52, 59, 227; women, 277, 333–335
jury lists: compilation of, 19, 20–21; composition of, 22, 23–24, 112, 127, 205, 295, 333–335
jury trials: official attitudes towards, 22, 43, 52, 55, 103, 112, 124, 127, 352; absence of right to, 125
justices of the peace, 11, 14, 20, 51, 53, 56, 276, 335n; as jurors, 72, 266; as prison visitors, 203, 206, 207, 213
juvenile courts, 298, 299n
juvenile offenders, 220, 320, 323n, 327n, 335n, 343n

Kai Tak Aerodrome, 217
Kai Tak Land Investment Company, 216
kaifong associations, 351, 356, 362, 368, 370, 372n
Kan Tong-po (juror, 1932), 277
Kan Yuet-keung (Sir Y.K. Kan), 347, 348, 350, 362, 368
Kang Youwei, 141
Kemble, Theodore (solicitor), 296, 298, 307, 308
Kemp, Sir Joseph Horsford, 205; as Attorney General (1915–1930), 19, 205–208, 210, 216, 227–228, 231, 233–235, 237–239, 241, 243–244, 246n, 248, 249; as Chief Justice (1930–1934), 12n, 19, 261–262, 263n, 265n, 268–275, 300
Kennedy, Sir Arthur (Governor, 1872–1877), 40n, 104, 128, 136
Kenya, 286, 302
Keung Tsz-pan (defendant, 1934), 15n, 279–281, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308
Keung Wai-lan (victim, 1934), 279–281
Kew, Herbert Whiteley (juror, 1904), 178, 182
Khan, Ayub (witness, 1920), 194, 195–196, 197, 199, 205, 207, 211
kidnappings, 35, 121, 135, 197, 329, 339
Kijabe Murder (Kenya), 286
King, Thomas (police officer), 222–223, 224
Kingsmill, Henry (barrister), 129, 188n
Knowles, R v (Ashanti, 1928), 299

Kong Mei-lin (defendant, 1955), 330
Kong Ngau-ying (witness, 1903), 148, 149, 150, 155, 158, 159
Korean War (1950–1953), 316
Kowloon City, 104, 107, 114, 143n
Kung Fat (defendant, 1965), 340
Kung Sheung Daily News (newspaper), 248, 256, 276, 277, 305, 308, 334, 356, 361, 370, 372
Kung Sheung Evening News (newspaper), 306, 309, 349
Kuomintang, 248, 292, 315n, 317, 323, 324
Kwan Cho-yiu (solicitor), 257
Kwarteng, Kwasi, 69
Kwok Asing case (1870–1873), 79n, 121–122, 144
Kwok, Frank Hingsum (solicitor), 265
Kwok Nui, 171, 172
Kwok Sheung-chong (witness, 1973), 353
Kwok So (witness, 1904), 171, 172
Kwok Tai-chan (witness, 1904), 171, 179, 180, 182
Kwok Tit (victim, 1904), 168, 171, 172, 175
Kwong Hoi Kee, 250, 255, 273, 276

Labuan, 69, 71, 73, 80
Lachmi (victim, 1882), 131
LaCrase, Salvador (defendant, 1844), 7n
Lai Chi Kok Prison, 217, 219n
Lai Chun-hing (defendant, 1964), 337–339
Lai Ming-fai (witness, 1932), 250–252, 255, 256–257, 259, 267, 271, 273, 276, 278–279
Lam Bun (victim, 1967), 347, 349
Lam Chi-sat, 305
Lam Chun (defendant, 1938), 310
Lam Po (defendant, 1971, 1973), 366–367
Lam San-yau (witness, 1903), 153
languages and dialects, 1–2, 16, 31, 32, 46, 68, 117, 118, 130, 131, 167, 174n, 366; Cantonese, 1–2, 29, 150, 167, 178, 190, 200, 257; Chiu Chow, 353; English, 1–2, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 31, 85, 112n, 127, 130, 133, 178, 200, 215n, 295, 333n, 335, 337, 346; Hakka, 89; Hindustani, 89, 117n; Hoklo, 1–2; Italian, 117; Malay, 89, 92, 98–99; pidgin English, 171; Portuguese, 23, 32, 117; Shanghainese, 257; Spanish, 32, 117n, 185n; Swedish, 168, 175, 179. *See also* interpretation
Lantau Island, 172, 173, 174, 177, 194n
Larkins, Douglas Molyneux (witness, 1922), 234–235, 241, 243
Lau Chi-ming (victim, 1966), 312
Lau Hing (alleged conspirator, 1932), 259, 261, 266, 267, 271, 273
Lau Hoi (defendant, 1948), 322n
Lau Kam-fat (witness, 1922), 223
Lau Mo-kwong (witness, 1932), 255, 273
Lau Pui (defendant, 1965), 340, 347
Lau So (witness, 1932), 252, 267, 271
Lau Wai-ming (victim, 1966), 312
Lavender, Dennis (police officer), 202
Lee Akow (defendant, 1866), 92, 93, 94
Lee Alai (defendant, 1872), 128
Lee Chu-ming, Martin (barrister, Legislative Councillor), 375–376
Lee Kau-yan, Reverend, 280, 305
Lee On (victim, 1967), 345n
Lee Sa-moon (witness, 1866), 93
Lee Wai (defendant, 1962), 339
legal aid, 10, 16, 117–118, 127–130, 294n, 335, 344n, 357, 366
legal profession, 16, 130, 263–264; proposed fusion of, 128n, 244; size of. *See also* barristers and solicitors
Legge, Hannah, 95
Legge, James (missionary), 67, 71, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 100, 101, 124n
Legislative Council, 6, 19, 20, 23, 193, 222, 249, 298–299, 354; and capital punishment, 280, 321–323, 338–339, 371, 373–377; and extradition, 144; composition of, 6, 373–374; elections to, 335, 373–374, 376
Lemon, John (juror, 1857), 56, 59, 65
Leong Aking (defendant, 1866), 92
Leong Sun-kit (defendant, 1866), 100
Letters Patent and Royal Instructions, 6, 19, 34–35, 269n, 372, 374
Leung Ping-fat (defendant, 1973), 367
Leung Wing-sang (defendant, 1974), 364, 368n
Leung Wo (defendant, 1922), 29, 222, 225–242, 243–246, 262, 275
Leung Yuk-tong (victim, 1922), 222, 224, 228, 240, 242, 245
Lewis, Daniel (solicitor), 225

Li Ayau (defendant, 1893), 131, 132
Li Chi-tang, 160
Li Chung-chun (defendant, 1948), 322
Li, Ellen (Legislative Councillor), 335n, 349
Li Hoi-shing (defendant, 1920), 198, 207, 211, 214–215
Li Hoi-tung, 275
Li Hon-hung (defendant, 1912), 148n
Li Hong-mi (interpreter), 2, 28, 32, 154, 225
Li Hongzhang (Viceroy of Liangguang, 1900), 140
Li Jinhua, 250, 251
Li Ka-cheuk (Commander, Canton City Guard), 149, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159
Li Kam (witness, 1922), 236, 237
Li Kwai-fan. *See* Lui Chiu
Li Ngai-man (witness, 1903), 153
Li Shek-pang (defendant, 1909), 1, 3
Li Shek-yeung (witness, 1922), 236, 237, 238
Li Sui-lan, 330
Li Tak-cheong (merchant), 123
licensed gaming houses. *See* gambling
life imprisonment: on commutation of death sentences, 4, 36, 114n, 131–132, 278; for manslaughter, 2, 14, 32–33; review of, 36–37, 134; substitution for capital punishment (1975), 371–373, (1993), 375–377
'light and pass' system. *See* curfews
Lim Ah Chan, 250, 266, 274
Lim, Richard Chuan Ho (barrister), 266, 275, 286, 287–289, 296–298, 302–303, 307, 308
Lindblom, Robert (interpreter), 175, 178, 179–180
Lindsell, Roger Edward (cadet officer), 279n, 295, 307n: as magistrate, 225, 299n; as prosecutor, 257–259, 266–268; as judge, 263n, 294n, 301
lingchi (punishment), 42, 82, 83, 142, 164n
Litton, Henry (barrister), 352, 356n, 372n
Liu Chu (defendant, 1973), 367–368
Lo Hin-shing (barrister), 263n, 264, 279
Lo Man-kam (solicitor), 299n, 309n
Lo Man-wai (solicitor), 253
Lo Ping-kiu, 107
Lo Shui-yan (defendant, 1968), 344n
Lo Soon Kim Teo (barrister), 266
Lo Wun-chik (defendant, 1866), 89–91
Logan, James (defendant, 1883), 142–143, 190, 202
Low Ayee (defendant, 1866), 89–91
Lu Xun, 251
Lubra piracy (1866), 100
Lugard, Sir Frederick (Governor 1907–1912), 33n, 36n, 193, 261, 263, 300
Lui Chiu (Li Kwai-fan) (defendant, 1903), 150–158
Lum Asing (defendant, 1866), 92–96
Lum Sui-wan (victim, 1872), 128
Lum Tiu-tuk (defendant, 1866), 89–91
Luo Fenglu, 140, 145
Lyall, George (juror, 1857), 56, 65, 72
lynch law, 52, 68, 242

Ma Tau Wai, 135–136
Ma Tsan (defendant, 1962), 339–340
Ma Tsui-chiu, 331
Ma Wai-fun (defendant, 1961), 331–332, 333
Maas, Martin (juror, 1920), 210
Macao, 8n, 23, 24n, 47, 60, 61, 71, 73, 84, 88, 89, 97, 99, 118, 121–123, 139, 164, 352
MacDonnell, Sir Richard Graves (Governor, 1866–1872), 75, 84–85, 88, 91, 96, 115, 116n, 134; disputes with Smale, 120–124; measures against crime, 100–103
MacGregor, Alasdair Duncan Atholl (Chief Justice, 1934–1945), 286–291, 291–292, 296–298, 301, 302, 305, 308, 310, 316
Mackay, Mrs (victim, 1927), 309
MacLehose, Sir Murray (Governor, 1971–1982), 35, 350–352, 355–363, 365–369, 370–371
MacLeod, Malcolm (juror, 1857), 56, 65
magistrates: in committal proceedings, 11–12, 13, 150–151, 174–176, 203, 225, 256–261, 285–286; as coroners, 10, 39, 223–224; in extradition cases, 141–145; in fire enquiries, 312; jurisdiction of, 18, 125–126, 249, 323, 348n, 351; legal qualifications of, 11, 125, 150, 262; in vagrancy cases, 168–169, 186
maiden sessions, 105, 176
Mak Yow-ping (defendant, 1866), 92–93
Malaya, 226, 276, 277
'Malayan Emergency' (1948–1960), 324
Manila, 168, 186, 187, 301n
manslaughter, 1–2, 9, 14, 32–33, 35–36, 127, 129, 133, 181, 189, 190, 254, 312–313, 318, 319, 320, 327,

336, 344–345, 346, 350n; provocation, 9, 33, 36, 111, 114, 135, 177n, 280, 328, 331–332, 347, 367; sentences, 32–33. *See also* homicides
Margaret, Princess, 312
Markwick Murder (1857), 70, 71
martial law, 52, 53
May, Charles: as Magistrate, 11n, 53, 104, 134; as Superintendent of Police, 57
May, Francis Henry (Sir Henry) (Governor, 1912–1918), 148, 163, 178n, 189, 203n; as Captain-Superintendent of Police, 28, 133, 147n, 148, 155
May 30th Incident (1925), 248, 249
Mayne, Desmond Francis O'Reilly (barrister), 331–332
McCarthy, Thomas, (witness, 1934), 283
McLeod, James (prison warder), 207
Mercer, William: as Acting Governor, 83, 84n, 88, 91n; as Colonial Secretary, 52, 53, 61, 72
mercy, exercise of, 34–37, 81, 84, 113, 245, 281, 300, 319, 327, 330, 332n, 339, 349, 358, 359, 367, 368–369, 370–371, 372n, 374, 377; against advice of Executive Council, 69, 112, 131, 277–278, 280–281, 331, 356, 365, 366, 368; contingency plan (1973), 365–367; factors considered in, 18, 35–36, 332n, 346–347; intervention by ministers in, 34n, 81, 357–360, 362, 366, 371; sentences as a result of, 6, 36–37, 131–132, 330; refusal of ministers to intervene in, 68, 116, 307
Merivale, Herman, 65, 68, 78n
Michael, Solomon Jacob (juror, 1904), 178
military contribution, 84, 370
Mills-Owens, Richard (judge), 331
Ming Pao (newspaper), 356, 361, 372
Mirs Bay, 67, 70, 85
missionaries, 27, 28, 67, 90, 91, 95, 102, 114–115, 142, 167
Mitchell, William Henry (Assistant Magistrate and Sheriff 1850–1862), 51, 68n
Mitchell-Innes, N.G., 194n, 200n
Mok Sing (defendant, 1920), 197, 198, 210–212, 213
Mok Yuk-yee (victim, 1964), 337
Molesworth, Sir William (Secretary of State 1855), 50
Montgomery Martin, Robert, 16, 22
Morgan, David (witness, 1922), 228–232, 234, 236, 239, 240, 241, 243, 245
Morley-John, Michael (judge), 354
mui tsai, 135
murder, 2, 4–9, 13–15, 15–16, 33, 34, 43–44, 133, 134, 277, 319–320, 328–332, 336, 344–346, 349, 377. *See also* homicide and murder rates
Murison, William (witness, 1920), 210–211

Namoa piracy (1890), 104–105
Nason, William (defendant, 1904), 168, 171–172, 175–184, 187
Nathan, Sir Matthew (Governor, 1904–1907), 160, 183, 185, 186–187, 261–262
New Territories, 144, 168, 172, 186, 286–287, 312; British lease of, 137, 140; rebellion, 140, 145, 149
Newman, Charles (defendant, 1878), 188
newspapers, 43, 46, 66, 80, 91n, 113, 239, 242, 255, 267, 276, 305, 332n, 345, 348–349, 360–361, 370; censorship of, 201, 218, 249, 256, 257n, 277, 308, 309, 310n; prosecutions of, 218, 309n, 310, 340; reporting restrictions on, 12. *See also under individual newspapers*
Ng Ashu (defendant, 1866), 92–93
Ng Chak-wing (interpreter), 32, 266, 308
Ng Choy (Wu Tingfang) (barrister), 112, 130, 164, 224
Ng Kam-shiu (witness, 1922), 236, 237
Ng King-seang (defendant), 69, 70
Ng Loi-yim, 282, 308
Ng Loi-yuen (defendant, 1934), 282–291, 295–298, 301–308, 309, 357n
Ng Luk (victim, 1903), 161–162
Ng Ping-u (interpreter), 24n
Ng Sui-shang, 148, 149, 150, 155, 158–159
Ng Sung-por (victim, 1973), 354–355, 358
Ng Sz (witness, 1922), 231
Ngai Chuk-wan (witness, 1922), 237, 238
Ngai Ping-kin (defendant, 1962), 339–340
Ngai Piu (witness, 1922), 238
Ngau Chi Wan, 216, 217, 219
Nigeria, 37
Nolan, Annie, 197

Nolan, Nicholas (interpreter), 32, 185n
Norman, Cuthbert James (Commissioner of Prisons), 336, 343
Norton-Kyshe, James William, 69, 119, 152–153

oaths and affirmations, 12, 13, 17, 26–27, 57, 59, 68, 125, 162, 163, 174n, 182, 232, 369; burning of paper, 26–27; and children, 287–288, 296, 297; cutting of cock's head, 26, 268
Offences Against the Person Ordinance (No. 4 of 1865), 19n, 40n
O'Kelly, William (witness, 1934), 285
opium, 39, 55, 73, 85, 87, 100, 101, 193, 212, 251, 253, 254
opium trade, 78, 167
Opium Wars, 48–50
ordinances. *See under individual ordinances*
Ordinances for better securing the Peace of the Colony (Nos. 2 and 9 of 1857), 52n, 53
Oriental Daily (newspaper), 372
Overbury case (1616), 56
Ozorio, João (defendant, 1898), 24, 188n

Palmerston, Henry Temple, 3rd Viscount, 48–49, 50, 66, 82
pardons (free), 5, 6, 33, 34, 36, 67–68, 75, 123, 129, 136, 140n, 278, 299n, 326n, 330. *See also* conditional pardons
Parkes, Harry, 48
Parliament, 49, 50, 53, 83, 112, 122, 141; and capital punishment, 48, 115, 277, 292–293, 337, 348, 352, 355–360, 364, 368, 371, 372, 373
Parsis, 22, 47, 72; as jurors, 92, 178n
Passmore, Alfred (prison warder), 206, 207
Pauncefote, Julian (Attorney General, 1866–1873), 17n, 89, 90, 92–94, 96, 97, 101, 122; as Acting Chief Justice, 123, 127–128; appointment as Puisne Judge, 126
Peace, Charles, 180
Peace Preservation Ordinances (Nos. 22 of 1884 and 15 of 1886), 141, 249
Peak, The (district), 1, 3n, 137, 228, 251, 265, 310
Peak Murder (1908), 1–3, 10, 16, 28, 31
Peak Residents' Association, 224
Pedro Blanco, 85, 86, 100, 263n
Peel, Sir William (Governor 1930–1935), 35, 166, 276, 277, 278, 280–281, 299n, 301, 305–306, 307, 308n
penal servitude, 9, 103, 125, 126, 131
Penang, 26, 80, 107, 139
Penang Millionaire Will Suit (1921–1923), 226, 244, 250, 266
Pereira, Cornelius (victim, 1888), 202
Pereira, Francis (witness, 1922), 222, 228, 239
perjury, 26, 66, 67n, 104n, 123, 125, 126, 132, 244, 299
Persey, Costa (defendant, 1844), 37
Pestonjee, Jeliangee (juror, 1866), 92
petitions, 24n, 25–26n, 50, 67, 94, 123, 131, 134, 184, 190n, 265n, 299n, 364, 371; on capital punishment (1974), 368, 370; for Cheng Kwok-yau (1932), 275–278; in Cheong Alum's case (1857), 72; for Chiu Yuk-fai (1937), 310; for Keung Tsz-pan (1934), 280–281; for Lai Chun-hing (1964), 338–339; for Ng Loi-yuen (1934), 304–306, 308; on the Tank Lane murder (1888), 133–134; for Tsoi Kwok-cheong (1973), 356, 357–359, 360–361. *See also* signature campaigns
Piggott, Sir Francis (Chief Justice 1905–1912), 1–3, 33, 36, 129, 151, 165, 169n, 193, 204, 298; disputes with governors, 3–4, 19, 36n, 261, 300
Philippines, The, 165, 168, 185n, 187n
Phillippo, Sir George: as Attorney General (1876–1879), 110, 112, 115; as Chief Justice (1882–1888), 132
Phillips, Thomas (barrister), 152–157
Pine, Doris (witness, 1934), 296
Pine, Mary (witness, 1934), 283, 287–288, 289, 296–297, 302–303
Pine, Michael (victim, 1934), 283, 285, 288, 290, 309
Ping Shan, 172, 173
piracy, 5, 75–76, 121–123; and capital punishment, 7–8, 9, 69, 75, 79, 376, 377; decline of, 100–103; definition of, 79, 262–263; Hong Kong as base for, 76; measures against, 76, 101–103; resurgence of, 103–105; suppression by Royal Navy, 76–77
pirates: trials by Chinese courts, 80–83; trials by Hong Kong courts, 77–82, 84, 89–100, 129, 177, 262–263, 318

placards, 52, 67, 96, 114n
plague, 181, 193
Plumb, Bert (prison warder and hangman), 104, 217–218
Po Leung Kuk, 135
poison, 47–49, 54–63, 65, 66, 69, 245n, 253–254, 257, 258, 268, 273, 323n, 329
police: and capital punishment, 346, 362, 369; composition of, 29, 170, 243, 351; corruption of, 29, 102, 123–124, 147n, 319, 345, 363, 364, 370; detective capabilities of, 11, 30, 88, 102, 148, 243, 264–265, 318, 319, 350, 354, 369–370, 373, 377; handling of evidence by, 94; incompetence of, 11, 19, 29–30, 50, 88, 94, 124, 130, 243; interrogation of suspects by, 120, 124, 174–175, 180, 326, 340, 341; powers of, 11, 102, 249, 264, 351; as victims, 35, 309, 325, 354, 368; as witnesses, 30, 227, 223–224, 243, 264, 271, 291
police supervision, 36n, 134
police whistles, 11, 147, 351
Pollard, Edward (barrister), 84n, 120n; dispute with Smale, 119
Pollock, Henry (barrister), 189n, 212, 226n, 307n; as Acting Attorney General, 149
Pollock Committee (1920), 212–214, 219
population figures and increases, 18, 22, 41, 47, 126n, 248, 311, 314, 316, 336, 343, 363
Portuguese, 84, 95, 121, 315; and capital punishment, 24–25, 133, 293–294; as jurors, 22–25, 117, 127, 205n, 264, 295, 333, 334; proposed exclusion from juries in capital trials, 25, 293
post-mortem examinations, 10
Potter, Eldon (barrister), 235n, 266, 269, 271, 272–273, 275, 279n, 301
Pottinger, Sir Henry (Administrator, 1841–1843, Governor, 1843–1844), 7n, 42–43
Poulo Condore Prison (French Indochina), 214
poverty and overcrowding, 75, 79, 135, 210, 277, 281, 313, 320, 350
preliminary hearings. *See* committal proceedings
press. *See* newspapers
Prevention of Crime Ordinance (No. 11 of 1887), 134
Price, John, 112
prison: population, 84, 102–103, 113, 220, 278; proposals for new, 84, 113, 192, 216–217, 219; reforms, 112–113, 343. *See also* Victoria Gaol, Stanley Prison
prison warders, officers, and guards, 38, 39, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200–201, 206–214, 218, 219n, 366; attacks on, 195–196, 202–203, 206, 214, 217, 265, 292n, 336, 366
prisoners, 34, 37, 51, 68n, 80, 82, 95, 192–194, 370; classification of, 278; clothing of; deportation of, 102–103, 112–113, 126n; diet of, 194, 200, 206, 209, 211, 212, 213; escapes and attempted escapes by, 84, 192–197, 198, 199, 202, 203, 206, 215, 216, 217, 285, 290, 320, 328, 350n; health of, 192n, 200, 206; mutinies and protests by, 202, 214, 217–218
Privy Council, 19, 263, 360; appeals to, 28n, 34n, 79n, 119, 122, 166, 225, 246, 264n, 299, 359n; petitions to, 34, 72, 242–243, 245, 274, 275, 307, 331, 340, 358
procedure. *See* criminal procedure
prosecutors, 12, 13, 19, 43, 189
provocation. *See* manslaughter
public opinion, 23, 52, 63, 66, 164, 232, 238–239; and capital punishment, 292, 349, 352, 359, 362; influence on exercise of mercy, 35, 46, 275–278, 306, 332n; surveys, 361, 363–364, 372, 373, 375, 376
Pustau, William (witness, 1857), 61, 62

Qing government, 42, 49, 75–77, 101, 138–139, 141–146, 148, 149, 153, 159n, 161–163, 164–165
Qing, Prince, 162
Queensland, 292
Quin, William, 88, 90, 93

Racecourse fire (1918), 199
Raimondi, Bishop John, 142
Ram, Tika (defendant, 1882), 38, 39, 131
Rangoon Gaol, 214
rape, 54, 107, 135, 329, 350n, 377
Rear, John, 344–345, 346, 347, 352, 361
Rees-Davies, William, 204, 244, 247; as Attorney General (1907–1912), 2–3, 36, 130n; as Chief

Justice (1912–1924), 4, 19, 197, 209, 230–238, 241–242, 246n; on Chinese witnesses, 226, 240, 244; on European witnesses, 240
referendum, 364
Reform Club of Hong Kong, 336
Registrar, Supreme Court, 19, 20, 21, 55, 118–119, 152–153, 176, 295n, 333
reporting restrictions. *See* newspapers
rendition. *See* extradition
Rendition Ordinance (No. 13 of 1865), 83
Rennie, W.H. (Colonial Secretary), 95, 96
resettlement estates, 317, 337, 338, 364
Revive China Society, 138, 139, 155
rewards: by the Hong Kong government, 10, 11, 29, 64, 70, 102, 123, 124, 203, 215, 264, 309; by private parties, 100, 202; by the Qing government, 49, 57, 60, 62, 140, 141, 143, 148, 149, 153, 154, 155, 161; for the killing or capture of pirates, 77
Reynolds, A.N. (police officer), 259, 265
Reynolds, James (judge), 321
Ribeiro, Roberto, 361
Rigby, Sir Ivo Charles Clayton (judge, Chief Justice 1970–1973), 30, 340, 345n, 349, 350, 351, 359
riots, 11, 152, 177, 190, 200, 214, 221, 224, 277, 291, 314, 317, 338n, 343, 344
robberies, 5, 7, 9, 33, 35, 36, 44, 67, 70, 89n, 96, 130n, 131, 176n, 50n, 198, 204, 216, 308, 316, 320, 322, 324, 325, 326, 340–342, 349–350, 353–354, 367, 368, 369, 373, 376
Roberts, Sir Denys Emil Tudor: as Attorney General (1966–1973), 347, 356, 357, 359; as Chief Justice (1979–1988), 372; as Chief Secretary (1973–1978), 370–371
Robertson, William (prison warder), 211
Robinet, William (witness, 1857), 47, 58, 60, 62, 74
Robinson, Sir Hercules (Governor, 1859–1865), 35, 83, 84, 88
Robinson, Sir William (Governor, 1891–1898), 131, 141, 144
Rosino, Paul (witness, 1866), 85, 94
Ross, Ronald (victim, 1948), 322n
Royal Commission on Capital Punishment (UK, 1864–1866), 115
Royal Commission on Capital Punishment (UK, 1949–1953), 326, 328, 329, 336
Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedure (UK, 1929), 175, 297n
Royal Instructions. *See* Letters Patent and Royal Instructions
Royal Navy, 48, 76, 77, 78n, 79, 82, 101, 263n
Royal prerogative of mercy. *See* mercy, exercise of
Royle, Anthony (MP), 348n, 356, 358, 359
Rozario, Rafael Arcanjo (interpreter), 31, 89, 90, 98, 107, 117, 119n, 131, 135
Russell, James (Chief Justice, 1888–1892): as magistrate, 110; as judge, 134n

Sai Kung, 330
Sailors' Home, 170, 171, 184, 187
St Louis World Fair, 185
St Lucia, 115
Samshu, 170
Satow, Sir Ernest, 160, 162, 164
Schacht, Johan (witness, 1866), 85, 89, 90
Schnedil, John (witness, 1866), 90
Scholes, Alwyn Denton (judge), 202n, 337, 338
Schück, Hermann (witness, 1866), 85, 87, 88, 89, 92, 94, 97, 98, 99
Schück, Minna, (witness, 1866), 85, 87, 97, 98
Scott, Benjamin, 145, 146
Scott, James, 161
Seamen's Strike (1922), 165, 221–223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 233, 240, 242, 243, 245, 247
Select Committee on Capital Punishment (UK, 1930), 292–293
Sellars, Edward (witness, 1934), 285
sexual assault, 30n, 177, 179, 206, 207
Shah, Sher (witness, 1920), 196, 197, 207
Sham Shui Kok, 172
Sham Shui Po, 279, 291, 321, 340
Shanghai, 16, 152, 159n, 166, 191, 214, 218, 219, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 257, 258, 259, 264, 267, 278, 315, 333. *See also* British Supreme Court for China
Shap-ng-tsai, 76, 77
Sharp, Ernest (barrister), 130, 151, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 226
Shatswell, Henry (defendant, 1868), 120n

Shau Kei Wan, 107, 108, 110
Shau Kei Wan murder (1869), 123, 124, 309
Shek Aluk (defendant, 1869), 123
Shek O, 106, 107, 108, 109
Shek Tong Tsui, 206, 251, 252, 254, 255, 277
Sheldon, Harold (barrister), 262n, 266, 269–271, 279n
Shenton, William (solicitor), 223–224, 307n
Shepherd, Lord (Malcolm Shepherd, 2nd Baron Shepherd of Spalding), 348, 349
Sheriff, 19, 20, 21n, 23–24, 37, 67, 68n, 91, 100
Shi Jianru, 138, 145, 146
signature campaigns, 65, 184, 277, 305, 361, 362, 364. *See also* petitions, public opinion
Sikh Temple, 196, 201n
Simmons, Philip (witness, 1934), 283
Sinclair, Walter (juror, 1922), 227, 234–235
Sing Tao (newspaper), 361
Singapore, 22n, 44, 58, 80, 81, 141, 161, 171, 172, 179, 180, 201n, 251, 282, 304, 324, 334n, 346, 351n. *See also* Straits Settlements
Singapore Criminal Prison, 192n, 214, 218, 219
Singh, Harnam (victim, 1919), 194, 195, 196, 197, 198–199, 200
Single Island (Qingzhou), 85
Sino-French War (1884–1885), 141, 190
Sino-Japanese War (First, 1894–1895), 139
Sino-Japanese War (Second, 1937–1945), 220, 256, 257n, 264, 278, 311, 314–316, 318n, 324
Sinnett, Alfred (newspaper editor), 91
Sit Ho-yin, Kingsley, 374–376
Sit Kwai-ying (victim, 1966), 341
Siu Ming (defendant, 1951), 325
Slade, Marcus (barrister), 130
Smale, Sir John: as Attorney General (1860–1866); as Chief Justice (1866–1882), 19, 93n, 101, 119–121, 123–124, 126n, 136; disputes with MacDonnell, 19, 102; on capital punishment, 124; on the coolie trade, 121–123; on legal aid, 117–118, 128–129; on the *mui tsai* system, 135; on witnesses, 17, 111, 133n; views on justice and equality, 17, 27, 125
Smith, Charles (defendant, 1904), 168, 171–175, 176–183, 184, 187
Smith, Norman Lockhart, 310
Smith, R v (England, 1915), 302
Sneath, Graham, 354
Snowden, Francis (judge), 107, 110–112, 115, 117–119, 125, 126, 131
solicitors, 16, 117–118, 128–129, 130, 151, 176, 253–254, 300
solicitors' clerks, 28, 29, 225, 238, 252, 265
Song Xiaodong, 138, 139
South Australia, 27n, 88, 115–116
South China Morning Post (newspaper), 22, 163, 176, 188, 200, 257n, 269, 272, 276, 280, 288, 294, 336, 347, 356, 364n, 372n, 373n, 375
Southorn, Thomas, 275, 305
Spark piracy (1874), 104, 126n
special juries, 25, 51, 56, 72, 122, 199; in criminal trials, 24, 107, 117, 126–128, 133, 135, 227, 231, 235n, 266, 295, 304, 307, 310, 322n, 324n, 340
special jurors, 333; qualifications of, 20
Special Police Reserve, 226, 248
spectators: at executions, 37–39, 70, 91, 100, 115–116; at trials, 12, 55, 62, 63, 77, 92, 97, 99, 136, 179, 206, 228, 258, 267, 274, 310
Speed, James Leslie (victim, 1919), 194–197, 198, 199, 203–205, 211, 215
spleens, ruptured, 133n, 152n, 167, 189
Stanley Prison, 8, 38, 40, 219–220, 314, 318n, 327, 336, 343n, 342, 366, 372
Star, The (newspaper), 361n
statements by accused, 13, 17, 53, 59–60, 62, 110, 120, 174–176, 179, 197, 203, 206–207, 208, 215, 225, 246n, 286, 289, 331n. *See also* confessions
statements from dock, 17, 232, 242, 289, 297, 344n
Stephen, D.M.D., 276, 277
Stephens, Matthew (solicitor), 129
Sterling, Paul (Attorney General, 1844–1855), 54–55, 81n
Stewart, Frederick, 131
stinkpots, 76, 85, 98, 100
Stone, Norman, 283, 288
Stonecutters Island Prison, 84, 113, 192
Straits Settlements, 6, 20, 21n, 41. *See also* Singapore, Penang
Strikes. *See* Canton-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott, Seamen's Strike
Stuart, Andrew, 360n, 362

Stubbs, Sir Reginald (Governor, 1919–1925), 3, 35, 160, 212, 213, 216, 217, 221, 223, 245, 247–248
suicides and suicide attempts, 191, 201, 286, 289, 290, 331n; of prisoners, 5, 16, 75n, 92, 94, 142
suicide pacts, 9, 35, 320, 328, 330–331
Sum Pak-ming (juror, 1934), 295
Summary Jurisdiction Court, 97
summing up, 13, 18, 263, 345, 366; for *Caesar* and *Carl* piracies (1866), 90, 94, 99; in Cheong Alum's case, 62–63, 64 (1857); for Harbour Murders (1904), 182; for Nullah Murder (1934), 289–290, 297, 302, 303, 304; for Praya Murder (1922), 240–241, 244; for Shek O Murder (1878), 111; for Victoria Gaol Murders (1920), 209, 215; for Village Road Murder (1932), 273, 274; for murder of Yeung Ku-wan (1903), 157–158
Sun Yat-sen, 139, 140, 141, 144, 145, 147, 223, 247, 285
Sunning piracy (1927), 104, 217, 262n
Suppression of Robbery Ordinance (No. 13 of 1947), 9, 321–322
Supreme Court, 18, 82, 103; civil business of, 28, 225, 298; description of, 55, 204; extraterritorial jurisdiction of, 8, 41, 42n, 130, 246; location of, 13, 203–204; reconstitution of (in 1873), 18, 126, (in 1912), 3–4, 300. *See also* Full Court, Court of Criminal Appeal
Sutton, William (juror, 1857), 56, 59
Swanson, Inspector J.C., (witness, 1878), 110
Symons, Joyce (Legislative Councillor), 363, 370

Tai Num-tuk (defendant, 1866), 88, 89, 91, 92
Tai Po Road shootings (1922), 222–224, 243, 247
Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864), 49, 83, 101, 141, 160
Tam Achoy, 54, 55, 72
Tam Atai (defendant, 1878), 114–115, 116
Tam Chung (witness, 1903), 153, 158
Tang Afook (defendant, 1866), 92, 93, 94
Tao Mo (Viceroy of Liangguang, 1900–1902), 164
Tarrant, William (newspaper editor), 58, 72–73
tattoos, 102, 112, 124, 126n
Temple, William, 293
Teruzzi, Father Emilio, 305
testimony. *See* evidence
Thistle Murder (1856), 49, 58, 61, 62
Thomas, Michael (Attorney General, 1983–1988), 373
Thomas, William (juror, 1934), 295
Thomas Tam, William Ngar-tse (barrister), 264, 265
Thomson, Oswald (solicitor), 177
'Three Wolves' case, 339–340
Tientsin, Treaty of. *See* extradition
Tilney, John (MP), 361
Tin Fung Yat Po (newspaper), 372
To Lam-sin (defendant, 1952), 325
To Wai-man (suspect 1937), 310
Tong Ching-Kwai (witness, 1932), 259, 261
Tonnochy, Malcolm, 91, 116n
Too Apo (informer, 1847), 78, 88
torture, judicial, in Qing China, 28, 42, 83, 138, 142, 145, 163–164
trade unions, 224, 317. *See also* guilds, Chinese Seamen's Union
training centres, 292n, 299, 327n, 336
transportation (punishment), 16, 36, 42, 79, 80, 82, 84
treason, 5, 7, 8, 9, 20, 56, 65, 66, 70, 71, 314, 315, 316, 318, 376, 377
Tremont Murder (1905), 185
Trench, Sir David (Governor, 1964–1971), 312, 338, 339, 340, 342, 347, 348, 349, 350, 359
Triad Society, 7n, 28, 29, 132, 138, 139, 143n, 145, 160, 177, 202, 254n, 317, 340
trial procedure. *See* procedure
Tsang Afat (defendant, 1866), 92, 94
Tsang Foo Villas Murders (1931), 291
Tsang Koon-ching, 265
Tsang Wai-keung (defendant, 1973), 353, 354
Tse Chan (witness, 1922), 223
Tse Kwok-wah (defendant, 1947), 324n
Tse Tsan-tai, 147, 160, 163
Tso Seen-wan (Legislative Councillor), 276
Tsoi Hing-tai (defendant, 1916), 216
Tsoi Kwok-cheong (defendant, 1972), 352–363, 365
Tsui Fuk (alleged conspirator, 1901), 149, 155, 158, 159
Tsui Ka-cheung, Paul, 342
Tsui Pui-hung (defendant, 1966), 312
Tung Cheung (alleged conspirator, 1901), 149, 155, 158, 159

Tung Wah Hospital, 102, 136, 169, 275
Turner, George Cooper (solicitor), 55

Un Chun-fai (juror, 1920), 204–205
University of Hong Kong, 113n, 266, 293, 344, 358
US Congress, 122
US Consuls, 122, 177, 183n

Vagrancy Ordinance (No. 25 of 1897), 168–169, 186
vagrants, 169–170, 185, 186, 187, 220
Vandenberg, Francisco Valeriano (juror, 1920), 204
verdicts, 13, 18, 26, 130n, 335; criticisms of, 32, 33, 84, 190n, 345, 346; in inquests, 10, 40, 224; insanity, 14, 30n, 33, 128, 226, 263, 265; majority in non-capital cases, 1–2, 20, 21–22, 78–79, 133; 'not proven', 65; options in murder trials, 13–14; rushed, 66, 93, 113, 120n; unanimous in capital cases, 20, 21, 133. *See also* juries and jurors
Vice-Admiralty Court, 12, 77–78
Victoria Gaol, 40, 80, 84, 168, 192–220; conditions in, 192, 206–207, 211–214; executions in, 38–39, 69, 91, 116, 184; expansion and renovation of, 192–194, 217; replacement of, 216–217, 219–220
Victoria Gap Murder (1932), 265
Victoria Registration Ordinance (No. 7 of 1866), 102
Volpicelli, Eugenio (Italian Consul), 164

Wa Tsz Yat Po (newspaper), 164n, 206, 225
Wah Kiu Yat Po (newspaper), 361
Wakeman, George (Crown Solicitor), 223, 225, 227, 243
Walker, William Bradley (juror, 1922), 227
Wallace, R v (England, 1931), 288–289, 302
war crimes trials, 4n, 314
weapons, 46, 320, 325, 354
Webb, Sir Aston, 203
West, James (prison warder), 238
Whitehead, Thomas (Legislative Councillor), 178
Whyte, James (magistrate), 88
Wilkinson & Grist (solicitors), 252
Williams, Charles (defendant, 1859), 188
Williams, Ernest Hillas (judge, Acting Chief Justice 1945–1946), 316, 322n, 324
Williams, John (judge), 313
Wilson, William (defendant, 1972), 359n
witnesses; 12, 13, 14, 26–30, 41, 94, 133, 159, 162, 245, 335; absence or reluctance of, 3, 54, 81, 104, 132, 135, 151, 158; alleged unreliability of, 27–29, 57, 66, 90, 125, 132, 142, 143, 157, 226, 239, 240, 243, 244; as alibis, 67, 78, 93, 129, 130; children, 264n, 287–288, 296; cross-examination of, 2, 12, 13, 17, 28, 29, 31, 118, 125, 130, 143, 263; inconsistent evidence of, 12, 15, 25n, 28, 29, 54, 66, 71, 79, 99, 123, 132, 143, 155, 202, 224, 243, 245, 273, 292n; intimidation of, 11, 28, 66; revenge against, 28, 42n, 70, 193; tampering with, 28, 78, 79, 103, 132, 237
women: and death penalty, 4, 5, 9, 18, 36, 39, 245n; and jury service, 19, 21, 277, 333–335, 337; as victims of homicide, 24n, 96, 108–110, 114–115, 128, 135, 168, 172, 176n, 179, 182, 188n, 194, 235n, 279, 291, 294, 309, 312, 315, 320, 321, 337, 368, 370, 375; traffic in, 120, 134–135
Woping Theatre Murder (1921), 227, 232, 233–234, 243
Wong Akeen, 59
Wong Cheung (defendant, 1931), 291
Wong, George (defendant, 1946), 315
Wong, J.Y., 64
Wong Kai-kei (defendant, 1966), 313, 340–342, 346
Wong Kam-fuk (juror, 1920), 210
Wong Kwong (defendant, 1920), 198, 203–209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 215
Wong Kwong-tin, 275
Wong Luk (witness, 1904), 172
Wong, Ma-chow, 71, 73, 76
Wong Ma Kok, 76, 219
Wong Mang-tsap, 150
Wong Mee-sing (defendant, 1866), 92–96
Wong Nam-heung (defendant, 1934), 258, 259, 261, 266, 267, 270, 278
Wong Qui-fook (defendant, 1866), 96
Wong Sik-pun, 339
Wong Tak-kwong (juror, 1934), 296
Wong Wai-hung (defendant, 1954), 326
Wong Ying-kau (victim, 1959), 339–340
Woo Pak-chuen (Legislative Councillor), 348, 349

Wood, John Roskruge (cadet officer): as coroner, 197, 199, 203, 223–224; as judge, 32n, 218, 262, 263n, 265, 274, 294, 299n, 300, 301
Wood, Lytton Bevis (victim, 1948), 322n
Wu Tingfang. *See* Ng Choy
Wynne Jones, Edward (magistrate), 257, 261, 271n

Yancey, William (victim, 1868), 120
Yang Ti-liang (Sir T.L. Yang) (judge, Chief Justice, 1988–1996), 364–365n
Yang Xiangfu, 139, 145, 146
Yau Tak (defendant, 1954), 321
Ye Mingchen (Chinese Imperial Commissioner), 48, 49, 50, 64, 70
Yeep Afoo (defendant, 1866), 92, 94
Yeung Kam-ha (witness, 1903), 153
Yeung Ku-wan (victim, 1901), 139–140, 141, 144, 145–150, 153–158, 158–160
Yeung Po (defendant, 1921), 198, 199, 211, 214–215
Yeung Pun-shi (witness, 1903), 146–147, 150, 153
Yeung Tsing-kai (alleged conspirator, 1901), 154, 155, 158
Yim Chun (victim, 1934), 279
Yim Yat-hong (defendant, 1929), 265
Youde, Sir Edward (FCO official, Governor 1982–1986), 367–368
Young, Sir Mark (Governor, 1941–1947), 315, 322
Yu Shuk-shiu, Patrick (barrister), 330, 335
Yuen Kam-wah, 330
Yuen Long, 216, 287, 315, 353, 354
Yung Sou (witness, 1934), 283
Yung Wing, 31n
Yvanovich, Vicente (witness, 1922), 222, 228

Zhang Zhaodong (Acting Viceroy of Liangguang, 1874–1875), 104
Zhang Zhidong (Viceroy of Liangguang, 1884–1889), 143
Zimmern, Edward (witness, 1932), 252–256, 257, 258, 259, 267–269, 271–274, 276, 279

About the Author

Christopher Munn served as an administrative officer in the Hong Kong government and in various positions in the Hong Kong Monetary Authority. His publications include *Anglo-China: Chinese People and British Rule in Hong Kong, 1841–1880* and (with May Holdsworth) *Crime, Justice and Punishment in Colonial Hong Kong*.