

**Justice on Trial – Criminal Justice System
in Republican Beijing (1912-1937)**

NG, Hoi Kit Michael

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

August 2011

UMI Number: 3504682

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent on the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI 3504682

Copyright 2012 by ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This edition of the work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

Thesis / Assessment Committee

Professor Cheung Sui Wai (Chair)

Professor Choi Chi Cheung (Thesis Supervisor)

Professor So Kee Long Billy (Thesis Co-supervisor)

Professor Yu Xing Zhong (Committee Member)

Professor Chung Po Yin Stephanie (External Examiner)

ABSTRACT

Justice on Trial – Criminal Justice System

in Republican Beijing (1912-1937)

NG, Hoi Kit Michael

China underwent tremendous change in social systems during the Republican period. Among these changes, a new legal system based upon Western model was first introduced to the Chinese society. Much previous scholarship portrayed the implementation of the new system in Shanghai or in the civil law regime. This dissertation examines how the new legal system worked in Beijing, a city enrooted with deep traditions, with particular attention given to the criminal justice system in the early twentieth century. It discusses how the participants in the new criminal justice system such as lawyers, policemen, judges and crime specialists perceived and reacted to this process of legal transplant, against the particular backdrops of culture and tradition of Beijing. Lawyers in the early Republic were influenced by the legacy of litigation masters. Republican police force could not get rid of the responsibilities of the imperial gendarmerie troop. Judges of the newly set up law court relied on their recollection of imperial teachings when they ruled on criminal cases for the Republic. From their reactions, this dissertation argues that the reform in criminal justice system in the early twentieth century did not involve an outright adoption of the Western model and a rejection of the Chinese one; rather, in practice, it represented a synthesis of the new rules and the traditional practices. This dissertation further argues that the perception of roles and responsibilities of these participants drove their appropriation between the new rules and the old practices when they carried out their judicial functions. Such perception and response contributed to shaping the development and outcome of the legal reform of

China in the early twentieth century. This approach may provide insights not only into the legal reform of the Republican period, but also into the post-Mao era when once again a modern legal system based on the Western model has been introduced, this time within a socialist regime.

論文摘要

二十世紀初中國社會經歷重大的制度改變，其中以西方模型為基礎的法律制度首次輸入中國。過去的學術研究多集中於分析這場法律移植如何在上海地區運作和集中討論民事法制上的改變。本論文試圖探討這場法律變革如何影響傳統文化植根深厚的北京。論文主要從刑事司法制度入手，了解刑事司法制度的前線參與者，包括：律師、警察、法官和學者對這場法律改革的認知和反應，特別是他們如何看待自己的角色和責任，我認為這種自我認知和反應會影響這場法律改革的執行結果，使法律移植成為新知識、新規例和舊司法習慣、傳統法律文化的互動融合。這種視野不單有助我們瞭解百年前的法律改革，對當代中國面對的法治推進過程亦可能帶來啟發。

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing a PhD dissertation is a venture. It is especially adventurous for a man at the turn of his forty, with a family of four. I would like to express my deepest thanks to many people who gave me continual support during this challenging yet enjoyable process. Without their support and indulgence, this dissertation would not have been possible. First, I would like to thank my co-supervisors, Professor Billy Kee Long So, Professor Choi Chi Cheung and Professor Yu Xing Zhong. Professor So provided important stewardship from the early stages of researching at the Beijing Municipal Archives to the final writing of my dissertation. He has always been very patient with me in giving me detailed guidance throughout my research and writing. His scholarship and approach towards Chinese history continue to inspire me. Professor Yu's feedback towards my research concepts and chapter drafts was crucial to the completion of this dissertation. His knowledge and intuitions in Chinese law and legal theories are enlightening. Professor Choi gave me a lot of support especially in navigating my way through the last, but the most important few months before the completion of my dissertation.

I would also like to thank Professor Yip Hon Ming, Professor David Faure, Professor Angela Ki Che Leung, Professor Lai Ming Chiu, Professor Cheung Sui Wai, Professor Stephanie Po Yin Chung, Professor Huang Yuan Sheng, Professor Cheng Hwei Shing, Professor Sang Bing, Professor Jan Kiely, Professor Ann Huss, Professor Frederick Hok Ming Cheung, Professor Robert Chard, Professor Xi Chao and Professor David Wong. All of them have given me constructive advice and

support at different stages of this undertaking. I also owe thanks to Professor Huang Yi Long, without his encouragement and inspiring lectures on Chinese history, I would not even have decided to pursue a PhD study.

In the process of conducting my research, I am grateful to the generous exchange of views and help from my schoolmates including Leung Wai Kee, Jiang Zhao Xin, Tian Huan, Zhang Pei Yao and Carol Chan. My gratitude also goes to the staff members of the History Department and the Centre for East Asian Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong who supported me in getting through many administrative hurdles during my study and work. I would also like to thank the staff members of the Beijing Municipal Archives, without their friendly support and assistance, this research project would not have been possible.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends, in particular Terence Mak, Jeffrey Lo, and Yeung Hin Kei for their willingness to do late-night drinks and chats that always served as an important energizer for me. Last but not least, I thank my family, especially my wife – Selaine Cheung, my two daughters – Rachel and Rhea Ng, for their greatest toleration and love, and my parents – Ng Chi Keung and Ng Yuen Lai Kuen, for giving me a life-long passion for knowledge.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One	Introduction	1-14
Chapter Two	Business of Justice and Justice of Business -The Lawyers of Republican Beijing	15-71
Chapter Three	Lawyers Perceived in Beijing -The Issue of Phony Lawyers	72-95
Chapter Four	Criminal Court Hearing -Defending Change by the Claim of Tradition	96-151
Chapter Five	Policing in Republican Beijing -From Order to Orphans	152-201
Chapter Six	Ordering of Crime in Republican Beijing	202-234
Chapter Seven	Conclusion – Justice On Trial	235-241
	Appendix	242-297
	References	298-309

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Cao Rulin, the first lawyer registered with the newly formed judiciary of Beijing in 1912, was one day summoned to meet the President of the Republic of China, Yuan Shikai. During the meeting, Yuan tried to persuade Cao to quit private practice and join his government. When Cao explained his interest and ideal in continuing to practise law, Yuan asked Cao: "*What is the point of continuing to be a lawyer? Isn't a lawyer equal to a litigation master from the old days?*" (Cao 1966, 104).

This encounter was fairly representative of the situation about the legal reform that took place in China in the early twentieth century. Although the government was the main driver of legal reform, the heads of the government may not have perceived the outcomes of the reform in the way they were supposed to. From this conversation we can easily feel the frustrations of Cao. Being one of the earliest generations of modern law specialists in China who had returned from Japan and was enjoying a good living and reputation by practising law in Beijing, he was now equalized by the highest figure in the government with the notorious litigation

hooligans of the imperial era. While the substantive difference in terms of income and legal status between a modern lawyer and a litigation master of the old days matters, so does the perception and interpretation of such difference, for they shape the former's social status. Such perception would in turn affect the outcome of this important legal reform in China.

Driven by the wish to end the extraterritoriality and to address the pressing urge to modernize China, the Qing government initiated a series of legal reform in early 1900s. In 1902, Shen Jiaben and Wu Tingfang were appointed as the Commissioners for Law Reform. The former was a master of imperial Chinese law while the latter was a native Chinese trained at the Temple Inn in London, called to the English Bar and practised law in London and Hong Kong before. The Law Reform Bureau was formed under their stewardship and a small team was recruited to kick off studying and translating the legal codes of the Western countries and Japan. In order to secure the support of the Western powers in abolishing extraterritoriality, not surprisingly, most of the suggested reforms of the law and the legal system were based on the models of the West and Japan. In the following years, a number of important legal codes were drafted by Shen's team and submitted for the imperial approval. Among these new codes the most important ones

affecting the criminal justice of modern China included the New Criminal Code (*Xinxinglu* 新刑律), the Provisional Articles for Local Courts (*Geji shenpanting shiban zhangcheng* 各級審判廳試辦章程), the Court Organization Law (*Fayuan bianzhifa* 法院編制法), the Draft Law of Criminal Procedures (*Xingshi susonglu caoan* 刑事訴訟律草案), the Provisional Articles for Lawyers (*Lushi zanxing zhangcheng* 律師暫行章程), the various articles and administrative rules for police agencies, and those for the reformed prisons.

Following the changes in legal codes, organizational change also took place. The power of administration of justice was detached from the yamen magistrates into the hands of the newly established law courts (*Shenpanting* 審判廳) whenever they were set up. Under the new system, the courts were divided into four tiers, headed by the Supreme Court (*Daliyuan* 大理院), the High Court (*Gaodeng shenpanting* 高等審判廳), followed by the Local Court (*Difeng shenpanting* 地方審判廳) and the Preliminary Court (*chuji shenpanting* 初級審判廳). Cases were allowed to be appealed twice before final adjudication was reached. The Board of Punishment (*Xingbu* 刑部) was transformed into the Ministry of Justice. Prosecution office was also set up to be responsible for conducting criminal investigation and prosecuting the arrested in criminal proceedings.

The reform also institutionalized the legal profession. New codes were drafted for prescribing qualifications, rights and duties of lawyers and judges. Students were sent abroad, mostly to Japan, to study law and politics (*Fazheng* 法政). Local law schools were also set up in Beijing and other cities. The overseas returnees and the first generation of local law graduates subsequently became a very important group of professionals in the early legal practice of China as well as activists in political matters. Police force also began to operate as one of the key agents of the government in the maintenance of law and order and the operation of criminal justice system.

All these efforts in the late Qing reform period failed to materialize due to the outbreak of the Xinhai Revolution in 1911. However, the Qing's legal reform bore fruits after the founding of the Republic of China. After the establishment of the Republic, time and resources did not allow the Beiyang government to overhaul the entire set of Qing law and replace it with newly drafted legal codes. Under the Decree of the President issued in March 1912, Qing laws would still be tentatively applied save for those in contradiction with China's status as a republic (Y.S. Huang 2000, 195). In the Republican laws, "tentative application" (*Yuanyong* 援用) of the

former Qing laws oftentimes appeared in the legal codes and administrative decrees of the Republic. Subsequent codifications of criminal law and criminal procedure law by the Republic were also made upon the foundation of the Qing's drafts.

Thanks to the early debut in sending students abroad for legal studies in the late Qing period, new judicial bodies at the national level and in major cities were able to be staffed with personnel trained in Western legal theories and practices right after the system change. The Supreme Court in Beijing started to hear appeal from the lower courts in 1912 and delivered a number of important judgments and guidelines regarding interpretation of the Republican laws (Y.S. Huang 2000, 308-358). Many Chief Judges of the Supreme Courts were Japan returnees (Y.S. Huang 2000, 40-56). Lawyers also started to practise in Beijing right after the establishment of the Republic even before the formal legalization of the legal profession by promulgation of the Provisional Articles for Lawyers in September 1912. Local bar associations were set up one after another in China. Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai attracted three largest communities of lawyers. Lawyers began to operate their legal business, compete for clients in the marketplace and appear at trial hearings since 1912. Well before the legal reform was initiated, the new policemen in Beijing had begun their street beats and other municipal works since early 1900s. They were trained under

the Japanese models and taught by Japanese policing experts in the newly set up police academy. Into the Republic, the police force served as the most frontline agent of the government in the operation of criminal justice system by enforcing the new criminal law and bringing the arrested to the process of the new trial system. New prisons were also built to house inmates sentenced under a reformed penalty system which required imprisonment to become the major form of punishment according to the Western concept of penology.

All of these on the face were moving towards the direction of adopting a Western model of administering criminal justice and an overhaul of the imperial concepts. However, a more complex process took place beneath the surface.

PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

Recent scholarship on this process could be divided into a number of categories. Philip Huang and his associates made significant contributions to the understanding of how civil lawsuits were decided in practice during Qing and Republican periods. These studies argued for the process of selective appropriation among rules and customs, new and old practices (Huang 1996, 2001; Bernhardt and Huang 1994;

Bernhardt 1999; Huang 2010). The second category is the studies of the outcome of legal reform in Shanghai and Jiangsu areas. Wakeman (2000) examined the relationship of state building and policing in the Republican Shanghai. Alison Conner (1994) described the rise and activities of the Shanghai lawyers. Chen Tong (2008) and Sun Hueimin (2001, 2002, 2006) also discussed in details the education and development of Shanghai lawyers in this period of social change. Xu Xiaoqun (2009) examined the different levels of implementation of the Western notion of rule of law among cities and counties of Jiangsu Province. The third category contains studies of criminal justice system at the national level to address the change in systems and laws, without specific reference to locality. Meijer (1976) discussed the process of how the Qing reformers arrived at a new criminal code and their struggle with traditional legal thoughts. Huang Yuansheng (2000) examined the judgments of the Supreme Court to reveal how Qing laws were interpreted and understood by the Supreme Court judges. He also built a systematic chronology in describing the evolution of criminal codes from the late Qing to the Nationalist period. Li Chunlei (2004) and Zhang Demei (2009) studied the change in litigation procedures from Qing to the Republic mainly by referring to relevant laws and imperial memorials. Relying on the murder case archives of Chongqing, Sichuan and Beijing, Jennifer Neighbors (2004) examined the categorization of homicide

offences from Qing down to the Republic. One of her findings pointed to the fact that the Republican judges applied Qing's differentiation in homicide intents when deciding on murder cases. Another recent attempt was made by Mühlihahn (2009) in describing criminal justice of the Republican China, though most of his narratives were about prison and cruelty of punishments.

To date much scholarly work can be found on the response of ordinary people and law specialists in Shanghai to the legal reform, yet not much have been published in relation to the response of people in Beijing to this process of legal change against its unique political, cultural and traditional background, save for the narratives of crimes as a part of the city's cultural and social history (Gamble 1921; Strand 1989; Dong 2003). While Shanghai is an important place to study the development of Westernized legal system because it is the financial centre during Republican period where Western values landed far earlier than other cities, Beijing should be at least equally important because it has been a political centre for a long time with deeply enrooted Chinese traditions. Dikotter's book (2003) was one of the very few academic works which addressed the cultural transformation in the concepts of crime, criminals, penology and forms of punishment in Republican Beijing. To add to his cultural study of prison reform in Beijing, this dissertation

will examine how other agents of the new criminal justice system, namely the lawyers, the judges, the policemen and the crime specialists perceived and reacted to this process of legal transplant, against the particular backdrops of culture and tradition of Beijing. From their reaction, this dissertation argues that the reform in criminal justice system did not involve an outright adoption of the Western model and a rejection of the Chinese one; rather, in practice, it represented as much continuity of traditional practices as change.¹ This dissertation will further argue that the perception of roles and responsibilities of these law specialists drove their appropriation between the new rules and the old practices when carrying out their judicial functions. Overall, this dissertation serves as the first academic attempt in giving an account of the Republican criminal justice system in practice inside this traditional capital city and aims at providing a social and cultural history of how the city and its people perceived and responded to the legal change. Most importantly, it argues that such perception and response contributed to shaping the development and outcome of the legal reform of China in the early twentieth century. This approach may provide insights not only into the legal reform of the Republican

¹ The idea that the Republican legal system displayed continuity and change with the imperial system was put forth by Philip Huang (2001) when studying and comparing civil cases in Qing and the Republic. Jennifer Neighbors (2004) extended this idea to homicide cases in the Republic by showing the continuation of Qing rules in mitigation of sentences.

period, but also into the post-Mao era when once again a modern legal system based on the Western model has been introduced, this time within a socialist regime.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Lawyers occupied a special position within the new criminal justice system. They rose as a new class of urban elites, despite the fact that litigation masters were looked down on in the traditional society. Newly trained lawyers might perceive themselves as the ones with modern knowledge and skills learned from the West; their clients and the government might not share the same belief. Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 will give an account on the interactions among the first generation of lawyers, the government and their clients in shaping the development of legal profession of Beijing. No court can function without a judge. How a judge rules on a case in a material way determine the quality of justice of a legal system. A judge in the early Republican China faced with challenges of not having enough laws, precedents and guidelines in trying cases. They solved this problem by resorting to combining what they had learned from the past and the present, from the Chinese legal thoughts and the Western jurisprudence wherever possible. Chapter 4 will discuss how the judges of Beijing Local Court perceived their role in the new legal

system and justified the way of arriving at a criminal judgment that fitted this role. Policing in Beijing did not only mean maintenance of control and order of the city. To the people of Beijing and its police force, policing embraced much broader terms of reference. The perception of these terms of reference from the Qing through the Republican era continued to frame the daily life of policemen and ordinary people of Beijing. Chapter 5 of this dissertation will look at such perception and its impact to the development of policing culture of Beijing in details. New values and knowledge from the West not only brought about changes in governance system of China, but also a reconstruction of knowledge system among the elites. Knowledge in identification of crimes and causes of crimes underwent important changes among the crime scholars, the crime detectors and the criminal law drafters in the early twentieth century. Chapter 6 of this dissertation will study the different meanings of crimes ascribed by these different groups of law specialists in Beijing in this period of social change. These differences reveal the concerns about and perception of the social reality of the urban life in Beijing among these law specialists.

SOURCE MATERIALS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

The primary historical materials used in this dissertation came mainly from

records of the Republican period kept at the Beijing Municipal Archives, writings of criminal justice professionals, including lawyers, judges, police officers and crime scholars published during the 1910s to the 1940s and journalists' reports in newspapers of Beijing during the Republican period prior to the outbreak of the Sino Japanese War.²

Specifically, the background and personal particulars of Beijing lawyers came from the membership register of the Beijing Bar Association kept at the Beijing Municipal Archives. Information about their activities and views came from the work reports published by the Beijing Bar Association. Spatial data on location of police stations, criminals, temples, guilds and commercial entities were sourced from the Republican files stored at the Beijing Municipal Archives. The criminal case judgments handed down by the Local Court of Beijing were sourced from the Judgment Volume written by the judges in 1914. The information about policemen and crimes was sourced from the data recorded in the social survey of Beijing published by Gamble in 1921, together with census data recorded by the Police Bureau of the Republic kept at the Beijing Municipal Archives. Staunton's

² Part of the research of this dissertation was supported by a research project - *Beijing in Transition: A Historical GIS Study of Urban Cultures, 1912-1937* funded by the Research Grant Council of HKSAR government (Project no. 450407), under the supervision of the Principal Investigator : Professor Billy Kee-long So.

translation of Qing Code and Xue Yunsheng's *Enquiries with the Qing Law* (*Duli cunyi 讀例存疑*) were the sources of reference for the Qing Code. Reference to relevant laws and regulations of the Republic were made from *Compilation of Law and Decree* (*Faling jilan 法令輯覽*) published by the Republican government in 1916, *Book of Law and Decree* (*faling daquan 法令大全*) published in 1920 and *Book of Law and Regulation of the Republic of China* (*zhonghua minguo fagui daquan 中華民國法規大全*) published in 1936, both by the Shanghai Commercial Press. The unpublished Draft Law of Criminal Procedures (*Xingshi susong lu caoan 刑事訴訟律草案*), with notes of legislative intention written by Shen Jiaben in 1910 was also an important reference when we discuss criminal procedures in Chapter 4.

As legal change involves rewriting legal codes, resetting social norms as well as redirecting public behaviors, the topic of this dissertation requires an attempt to combine the usage of different approaches in historiography. In order to understand the process of legal change, this dissertation was partly written as a legal history that traces the evolution of legal provisions and institutional change over time. Moreover, this dissertation tracks how the people of Beijing in their daily life reacted to the reform. As a result the approach in writing social history has also guided me

through completing this story of social change in the early twentieth-century Beijing. Most importantly, the dissertation argues for the impact of perception of the government officials, the law specialists and the ordinary people in affecting the outcome of legal change in Beijing. As such, perspectives of cultural history therefore also played an important role in substantiating the argument. Last but not least, thanks to the level of details in taking census by the Republican police force, techniques in historical geographical information system (Historical GIS) were employed in generating useful maps that enable us to understand the spatial patterns and relationship among different attributes of life in Beijing, against the backdrop of a legal reform. Though the combination of these approaches posed extra challenges in completing this dissertation, I hope this dissertation could be a useful example in enhancing dialogues among these various approaches of studying and writing the history of modern China.

CHAPTER 2

BUSINESS OF JUSTICE AND JUSTICE OF BUSINESS- THE LAWYERS OF REPUBLICAN BEIJING

INTRODUCTION

China underwent tremendous change in social systems during the Republican period. Among these changes, a new legal system based upon Western ideology was first introduced to the Chinese society. Under this new system, many new professions and institutions started to emerge soon after the founding of the Republic of China. Local bar associations, law schools, and modern law courts were established one after another. The first set of laws governing lawyers in Chinese history, Provisional Articles for Lawyers (*Lushi zanxing zhangcheng* 律師暫行章程), was passed in 1912. This new set of laws marked the legalization of legal profession in China. However, the impact of tradition over the implementation of lawyer system was not foreseen by the new legal codes.

Studies of Republican lawyers in the past decade revealed how lawyers in Shanghai endeavored to overcome obstacles in the early days of the Republic and

eventually managed to establish a legal profession of considerably high social status.

However, Beijing in that era reflected quite a different scenario. Research on lawyers of the Republican era started in the 1990s as an extension of studies on the legal system in the late Qing and early Republican periods. The books of Wang Shen (1994) Xu Jiali (1998) are pioneer studies on the institutional history of Republican lawyers. Later, scholars from mainland China, Taiwan, and overseas launched studies on the topic, approaching it more from a social-historical angle. Much of this scholarship focused on the activities of lawyers and the Bar Association of Shanghai including the works of Alison Conner (1994, 2007), Sun Hueimin (2001, 2002, 2006) and Zhang Leiyan (2004). Chen Tong (2008) examined not only the Chinese lawyers but also wrote extensively on foreign lawyers in Shanghai.

An examination of materials stored at Beijing Municipal Archives and records of the Beijing Bar Association has revealed that the lawyers in Beijing were not faring as well despite certain initial accomplishments in establishing a big professional community. Nor could they match their counterparts in Shanghai, who were moving relatively quickly toward success, blessed with both fame and financial return. From a historical or socio-cultural angle, what is depicted in the scholarly works on Shanghai lawyers as the characteristic legal culture or development of the

lawyer profession actually applies more to Shanghai, a city with its individual culture, social changes, and economic conditions — a city where the East meets the West under a unique treaty port setting. Such findings may not be characteristic of the profession in other cities, nor can they be interpreted as a general development trend of the legal culture in modern China. Although Beijing was the capital and political centre of the newly established Republic, and despite the fact that it boasted the greatest number of law schools and lawyers after Shanghai, very little notable literature exists on lawyers in Beijing, except for the recent article from Qiu Zhihong (2008) which briefly dealt with their educational background, origin and income.

The business of lawyers in Beijing, though grew fast right after the founding of the Republic, were faced with challenges that did not exist in Shanghai. This chapter and the next chapter will examine the emergence, background, and growth of the Beijing lawyers during the early twentieth century. They will also give an account of how Beijing lawyers dealt with the challenges caused by traditional perception of the government and their customers. From the archived materials presented in this chapter and the next, I will argue that the development of legal profession of Republican Beijing in the early twentieth century can be understood as a result of continuous conflicts and synthesis of the perception of traditional norms

and practices, and the interpretation of Western ideologies newly introduced into China. The extent of such conflicts and synthesis can distinguish the development of Beijing lawyers from their counterparts in other treaty ports of China such as Shanghai.

GROWTH AND EDUCATION

With the enactment of the Provisional Articles for Lawyers and the establishment of the Beijing Bar Association in 1912, modern lawyers began to run their legal business in Beijing under the protection of law. This signified not only a revolutionary turn to the formal recognition of the right to legal representation, but also a governance challenge for the government officials, who were in the past accustomed to being the sole administrators of judicial hearings. Soon after, the Beijing lawyers' community grew both in number and in diversity of background. They tried to establish a credible image in the eyes of ordinary people, who traditionally were suspicious of litigation masters.

Research for the present study included an inspection of lawyer registers, meeting minutes and correspondence prepared by the Beijing Bar Association.

Membership data of 1,007 lawyers registered with the Beijing Bar Association during the first 20 years of the Republic (1912-1931) was examined and annexed to appendix 2.1 of this dissertation. A typical registration page in the lawyer register contained important personal information of its members. A member's page of the register normally included the lawyer's name, alias, home address, office address, age, educational background, date of registration with the court, date of admission to the Bar Association, and occasionally a photograph (Membership Register of Beijing Bar Association (1911-1931) in BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547). With these data certain statistical and spatial analysis of various attributes were carried out for the present study. The results of analysis reveal important spatio-temporal information regarding this first generation of modern lawyers of China in terms of their growth and development, their operation and distribution, and their successes and failures in the early twentieth-century China that previous scholarship has not examined.

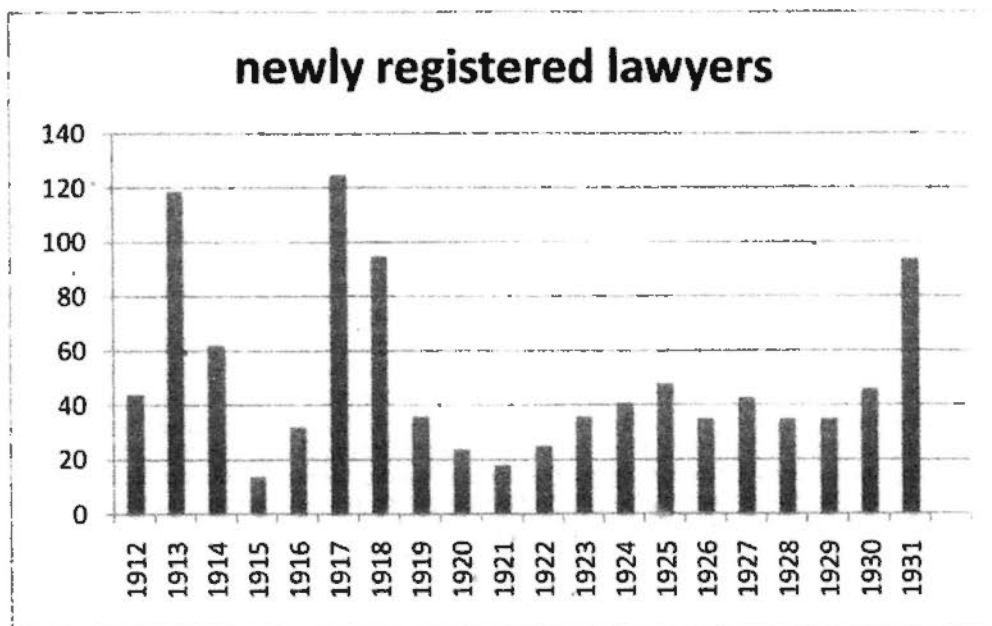
Graph 2.1 shows how the legal profession experienced its first growth period from 1912 to 1914, when the community grew from about 40 to over 200 lawyers. This growth slowed down considerably over the next two years during the period of political instability and picked up again in 1917 and 1918. Another decline in

numbers followed in the early 1920s and the Beijing legal profession seemed unable to regain its initial growth momentum afterwards. As pointed out by the Beijing Bar Association in its meeting minute book, depressing economic development in Beijing contributed to the decline of new membership in the 1920s (WRBBA 1925, regulations 11). When this was compared with the growth of the legal community in Shanghai during the same period, we could better understand the variation of growth patterns of the legal profession between the two cities, as shown in Graph 2.2.

The graph shows that for most of the time prior to 1927, the Beijing legal community outnumbered their Shanghai peers by a ratio of four to one. From 1927–1928 the Shanghai legal profession experienced its first high growth period, while Beijing lawyers' growth started to slow down and eventually declined after 1931. This was possibly due to the military instability in North China caused by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. After the mid 1930s this trend continued and Shanghai overtook Beijing to possess the largest legal community. The extensive research on Shanghai lawyers by Chen (2008) also revealed that Shanghai's legal profession experienced slow growth from 1912–1926, which was followed by a remarkable expansion from 1927–1936. Chen attributed this pattern to a number of factors. One was the growth of commerce and industry in Shanghai from the late 1920s, and the other was the gradual abolishment of extraterritoriality after the establishment of

the Nationalist Government in 1928 (Chen 2008, 185-187). Qiu (2008, 48-50) added another important reason behind the growth of the legal profession in Shanghai alongside the simultaneous decline in Beijing in the late 1920s. The relocation of the national capital from Beijing to Nanjing made Beijing less important politically and economically, and consequently less attractive for legal practice. Clearly the growth of the modern legal profession of China in the early twentieth century was closely linked to the economic and political significance of a city, and this argument may still remain valid in explaining the development of legal profession in contemporary China, where legal profession prospered faster and better in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and other coastal cities than those in the inland regions.

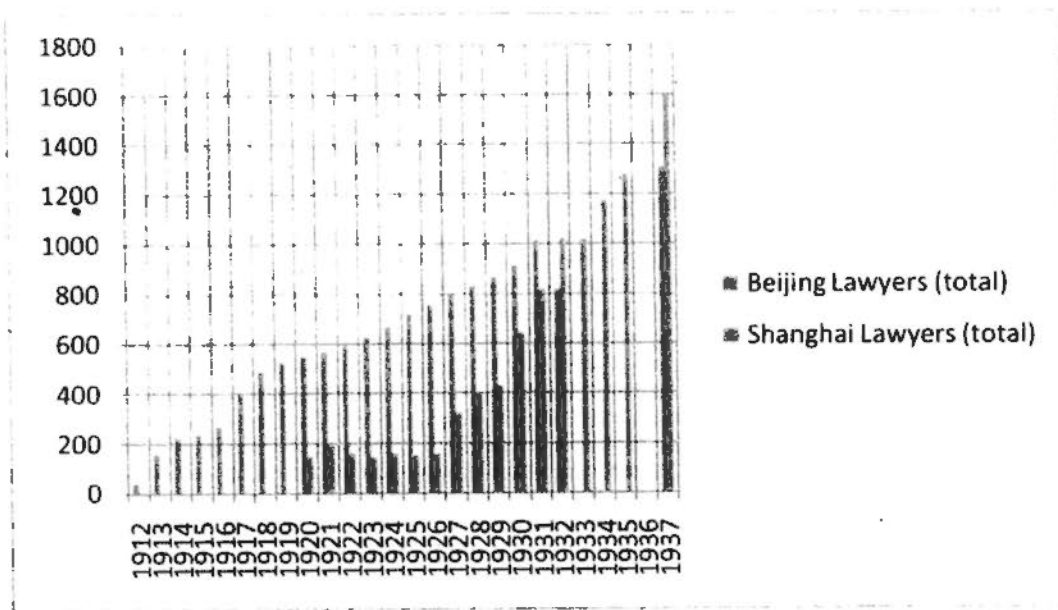
Graph 2.1:



Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

Graph 2.2:

Total Number of Beijing Lawyers and Shanghai Lawyers (1912–1937) Compared



Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547, Chen 2008, 179-185

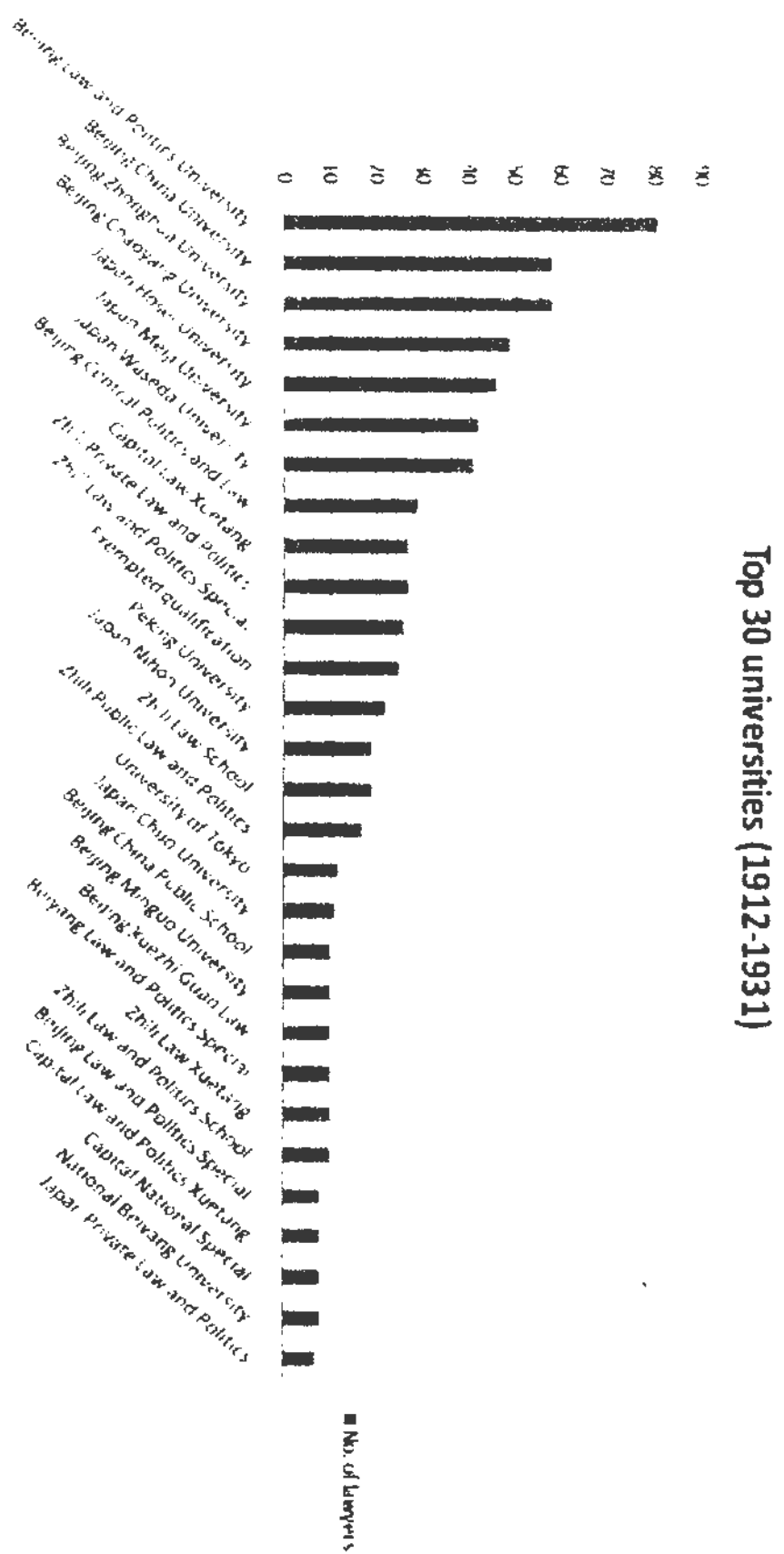
In terms of education background, modern legal professionals in Republican Beijing came from a number of sources. Some were government officials and elites from the late Qing dynasty, while others were locally trained law students from the newly established law schools, universities or schools of legal and political studies. Overseas graduates also filled in many gaps in supply. In fact much of the knowledge of Western legal systems was acquired from the experience of Japan's legal modernization. Japan appealed to Chinese students because it was geographically the closest country where the Westernized model in many aspects of life had been successfully transplanted and implemented (at least from the

perspective of its economic and military achievement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century). This fact attracted a considerable number of Chinese students to study there with the support of the Qing government. Law students in the early twentieth century formed one of the largest groups of overseas Chinese students in Japan (Lam 2006, 360). On top of bringing legal knowledge back to China, these students also made significant contributions in building the regulatory regime, business network and professional culture that shaped the development of modern legal profession of China. It is therefore worthwhile to examine their education origins in order to discover more about the characteristics of the modern lawyers' community of Republican Beijing.

Although Qiu's previous study (2008) of Beijing lawyers in the Republican period has shown their education background from 1911 to 1941, the study did not break down these data into different periods of the Republican era. Looking at the total number of the entire thirty years without a further breakdown by periods ran the risk of uncovering the impact of various graduate groups in different period of social and political change. Therefore, as well as showing the total percentage of different groups of graduates among the total number of lawyers for the twenty years (1912-1931) of this study, I will further break the figures down into five-year clusters

to reflect the level of influence of different groups in different periods. This will enable us to map out the path of localization of the new legal profession in Beijing in the early twentieth century.

From Graph 2.3 below, we can tell that of the total number of 1,007 of lawyers on the membership records for the first 20 years of the Republic (1912–1931), graduates from Beijing institutions formed the largest group of founding practitioners of over 450 members. Among those Beijing graduates, the Beijing School of Law and Politics shared the largest portion of over 80 lawyers, followed by China University and Zhonghua University, each of which provided over 50 practitioners respectively. Graduates from Japan ranked right after their Beijing counterparts and produced over 200 lawyers. Among those Japanese college graduates, 46 came from Hosei University, 45 from Meiji University and 41 from Waseda University. Schools from Zhili province produced the third largest group of over 120 lawyers during the period. While we can see from the above that the influence of graduates from Japan, Beijing and Zhili was strong among modern Beijing lawyers from the 1910s to the 1930s, more could be observed if we further condense our focus to figures covering a shorter time span.

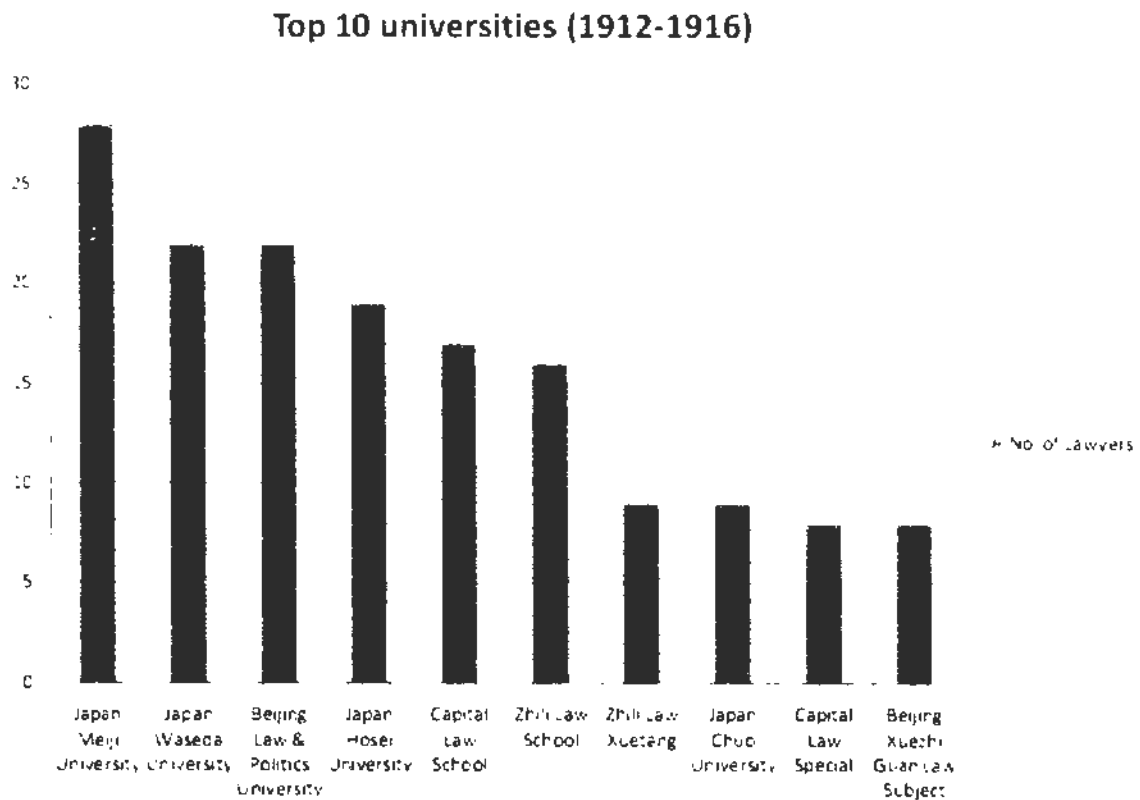


Graph 2.3:

Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

If we look at the earliest period after the founding of the Beijing Bar Association, an even stronger influence of Japanese college graduates can be noticed. During the first five years after the formation of the Beijing Bar Association, i.e. from 1912 to 1916, 270 lawyers appeared on the membership record. As shown in Graph 2.4, Japanese university graduates accounted for 96 people, or 36%. Most of them graduated from Meiji, Waseda and Hosei Universities. The majority of the remaining members came from schools in Beijing or Zhili. Within this first group of Beijing lawyers, Japan's Meiji University and Waseda University contributed the first two largest groups of 28 members and 22 members respectively. The third largest group came from Beijing University of Law and Politics, which produced 22 lawyers during the first five-year period. From the above analysis, it is clear that the founding group of modern Beijing lawyers was largely supplied by the law schools in Japan and Beijing. Further examination will tell us that Japanese college graduates had the largest influence at this initial stage.

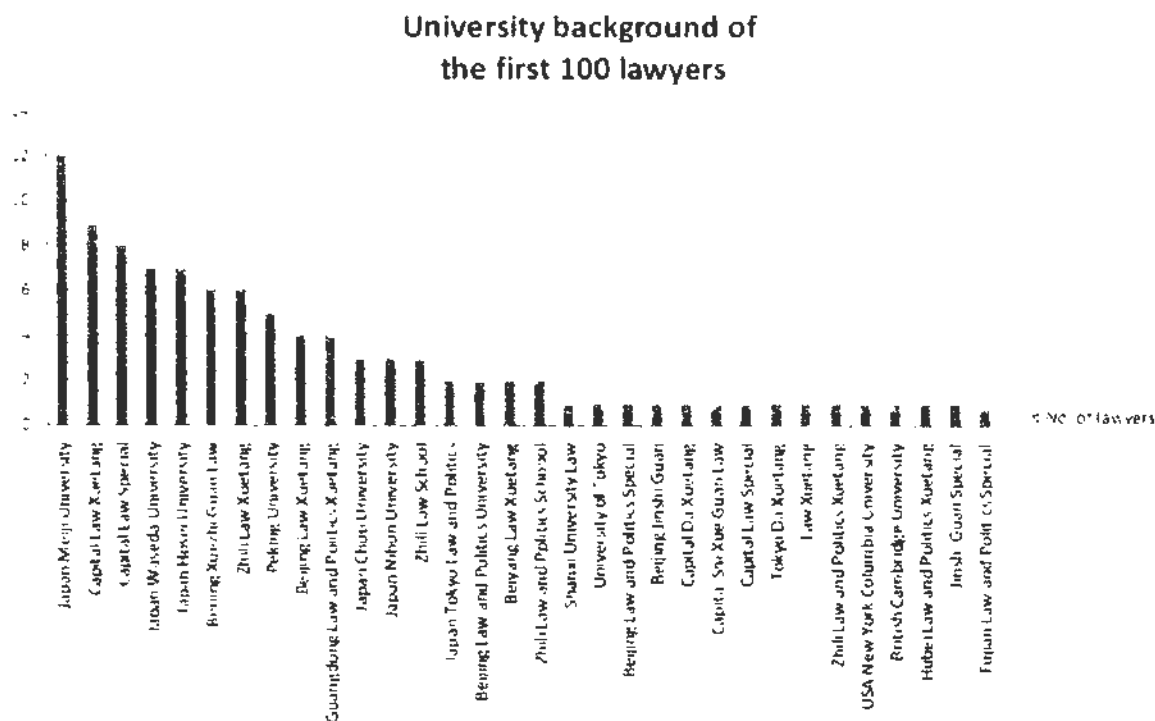
Graph 2.4 :



Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

If we further narrow down the period of analysis to the first 100 lawyers registered with the Bar Association after the founding of the Republic, the ratio is even more conspicuous. Graph 2.5 shows that of the first 100 lawyers registered with the Beijing Bar Association, 36 members were Japanese college graduates, while Beijing accounted for 41 and 13 came from Zhili schools. Even more significantly, these Japan-returnee lawyers included influential legal-political figures such as Cao Rulin, Deng Rong (then Chairman of the Beijing Bar Association), and other founding council members of the Beijing Bar Association.

Graph 2.5:



Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

During the early Republican period, Japanese college graduates not only were substantial in number, a considerable proportion of them were also senior practitioners. They exerted a significant influence over the development of legal profession in Beijing, especially at its infant stage.

How did the senior practitioners returning from Japan affect the development of judicial and legal practice during the early days? A certain number of law schools in early Republican days were proposed and organized by Japan returnees. Some

returnees also taught at these law schools while some of them helped set up the new law courts. A number of them were also appointed as the first batch of judicial officers in the new courts before they began their private practice afterwards. Many Japanese university graduates also became the judges at the highest judicial body of the Republic – The Supreme Court (Y.S. Huang 2000, 40-56).

During the early stages after the birth of the legal profession, Japan returnees remained considerably influential in the political arena as well (Takada 2006; Lam 2006). For example, Cao Rulin studied in Japan at the Chuo University and received training of the Japanese court and prison system. After graduation, he helped organize intensive law courses in Japan for Chinese students (Cao 1966, 25-26). Subsequent to his return to China, he assisted with the establishment of law schools in China. On political front, Cao was invited by the Beiyang government to help organize the parliament according to the Japanese model (Cao 1966, 69).

After the establishment of the Republic, Cao joined the Beijing Bar Association and practised as the first generation of lawyers. He was the first member in the register of lawyers with the High Court of Beijing and had “No. 1” printed at his practising certificate. Cao had business and social connection with senior government officials and judges, many of whom were Cao’s former schoolmates in Japan (Cao

1966, 99). Cao also had direct access to Yuan Shikai and was recruited for a number of times to join the government. He subsequently left private legal practice and joined the government as a senior official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However controversial he later became in his dealings with Japan on behalf of the Beiyang Government, Cao was a representative figure of influential Japan-returnee lawyers in both legal and political affairs of the Republic (Cao 1966, 103-107).

Many early returnees occupied high positions in government or professional organizations in Beijing (Takada 2006; Lam 2006). They included Deng Rong (Meiji graduate), Tang Bao-e (Waseda graduate), Jiang Yong (Waseda graduate), Huang Youchang (Hosei graduate), Liu Chongyou (Waseda graduate) and Ceng Youlan (Waseda graduate). Most of them had significant influence not only in private legal practice but also in the legislative, judicial and political arenas of China in the early twentieth century (Qiu 2008). Some returnees also helped set up the Beijing Bar Association and served as its council members. Deng Rong was once the chairman of the Beijing Bar Association (WRBBA 1925, meeting minutes 8). This group of returnees continued to liaise with the Prosecution Bureau and the Ministry of Justice for loosening the lawyers' regulations, setting a more flexible legal fee and disciplinary standards for private legal business, as shown later in this

chapter. All these matters directly affected the development of modern legal profession of China.

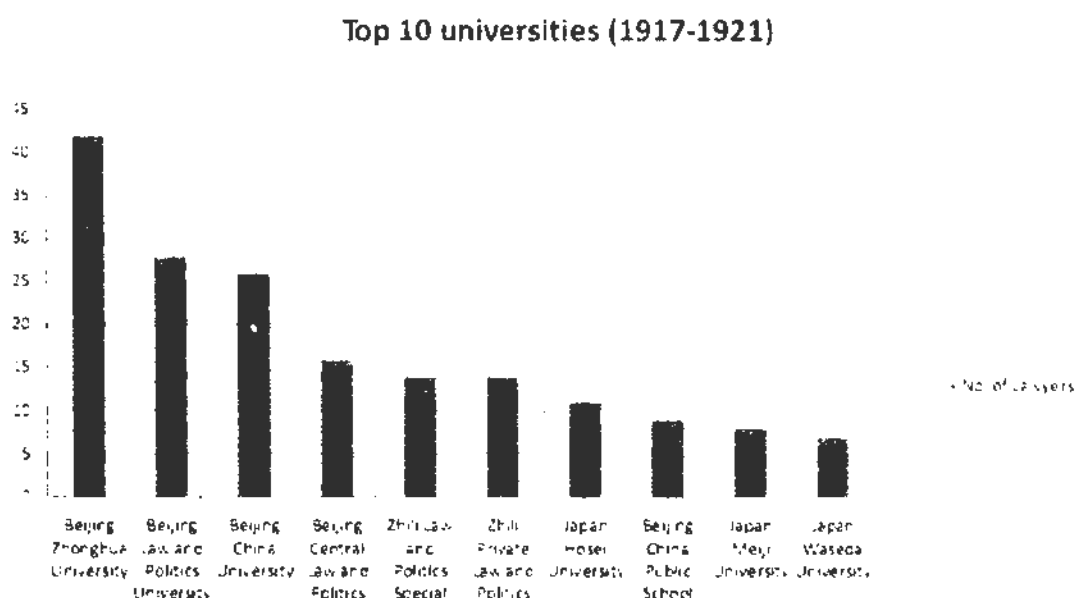
Not only in Beijing, Japan returnees also had significant influence over the development of legal profession in other major cities. Another returnee from the University of Law and Politics of Japan, Xie Zhuchen, helped establish law schools and law courts at Hubei province after his graduation. He was also appointed as prosecutor in Hubei before he was subsequently made the Chief Judge of the newly set up Shanghai District Court (Xie 1973, 31-32). Afterwards, he helped establish the Shanghai Bar Association and practised as a private lawyer for 30 years before moving to Taiwan (Xie 1973, 131). He was at one time offered 800 Yuan in legal fees for a case, partly because the head of the Sungjiang County Court was Xie's schoolmate in Japan. Xie's biography reveals that many early returnees from Japan became the earliest heads of law schools, heads of court, senior prosecutors, and senior lawyers who would often face one another in lawsuits. One should not underestimate the influence of such network in shaping the operation of the early legal profession, since consumers of legal services were willing to pay high price to engage a well-networked lawyer in order to increase the chance of winning a legal case (Xie 1973, 44).

According to their biography, Japan returnees were amazed by Japan's successful experience in ending extraterritoriality. Not surprisingly, these graduates tended to show a strong desire to learn from these experiences (Cao 1966, 16-32). It would not be unreasonable to expect that the returnees, when assisting in the establishment of the regulatory and operational regime for the legal profession during its infant stage, would leverage their experience and knowledge acquired from Japan.

Despite the fact that law graduates returned from Japan occupied important positions in the legal community of Beijing in the beginning, localization actually took place fairly quickly afterwards. Graphs 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8 show that the percentage of Japanese graduates became less significant as the years went by. Within the cluster of the second five-year block (1917–1921), most of the lawyers within this block came from universities in Beijing, including Zhonghua University, the University of Law and Politics and China University. Japanese college graduates only accounted for about 15 %, as opposed to approximately 35% in the preceding five-year cluster of 1912–1916. The trend of localization continued as the profession grew. In the third (1922–1926) and fourth (1917–1931) five-year cluster, Japanese college graduates did not fall into the top three university groups. From this we can conclude that the modern legal profession in Beijing, despite the

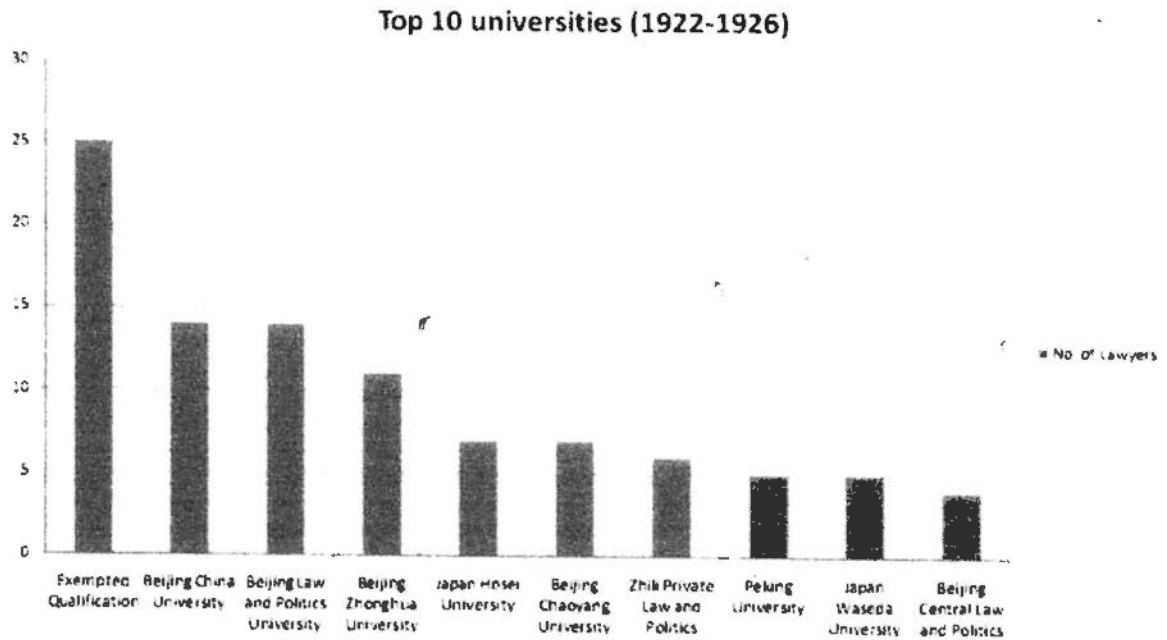
considerable operational difficulties described later in this chapter, succeeded at least in localizing its profession quickly, which was important for China's development of a new justice system and legal culture according to local needs.

Graph 2.6:



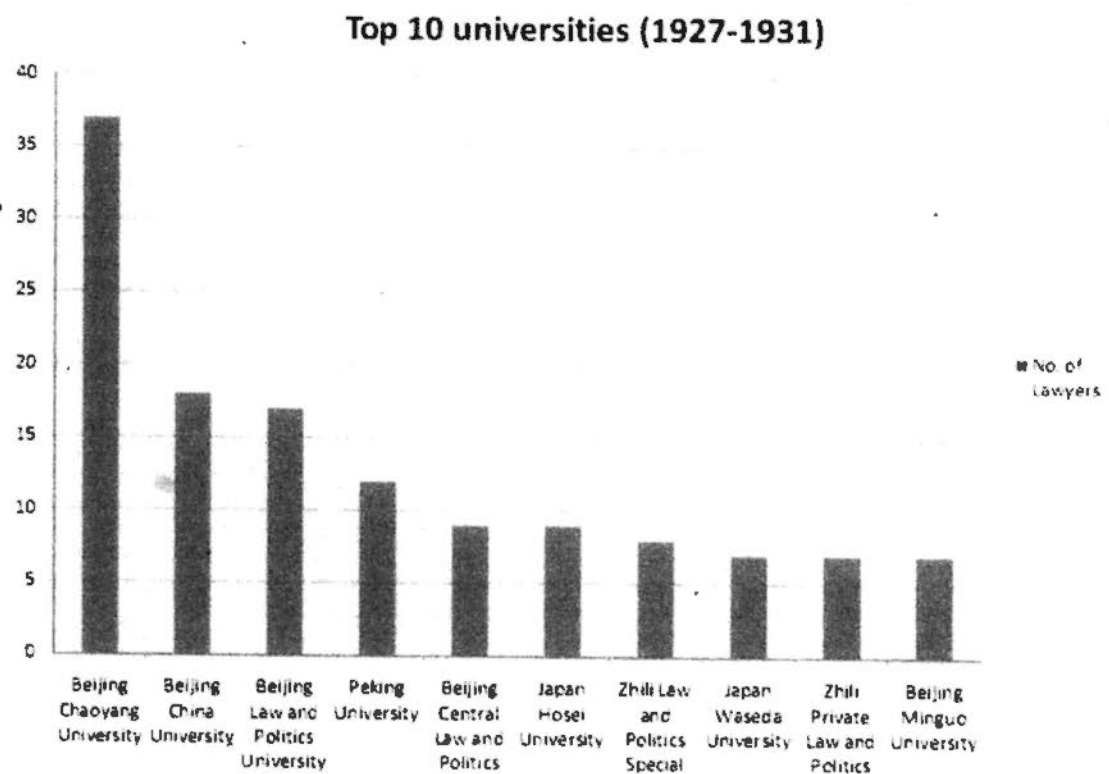
Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

Graph 2.7:



Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

Graph 2.8:

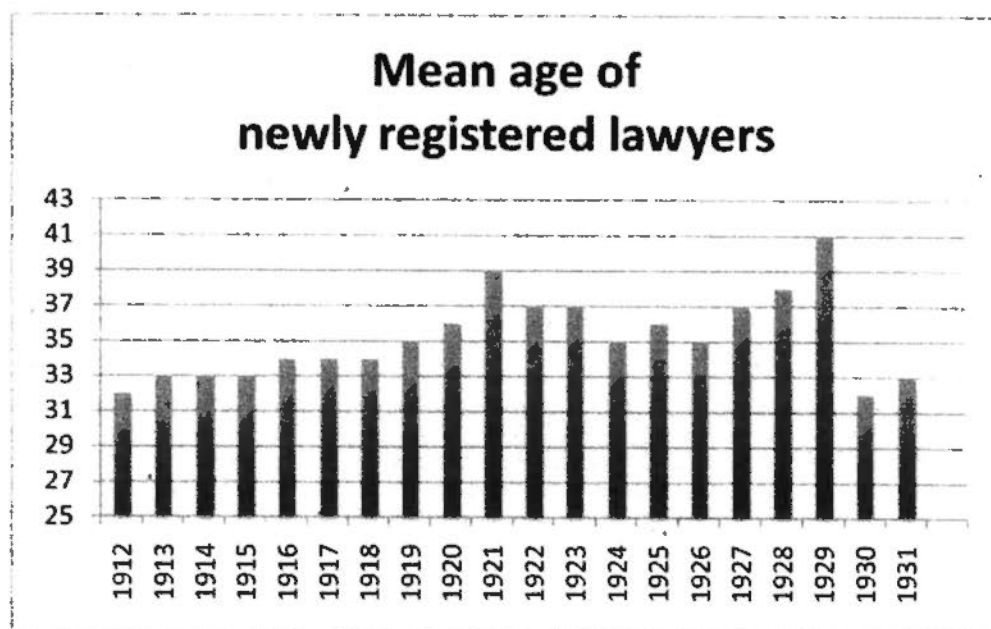


Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

AGE AND NATIVE ORIGINS

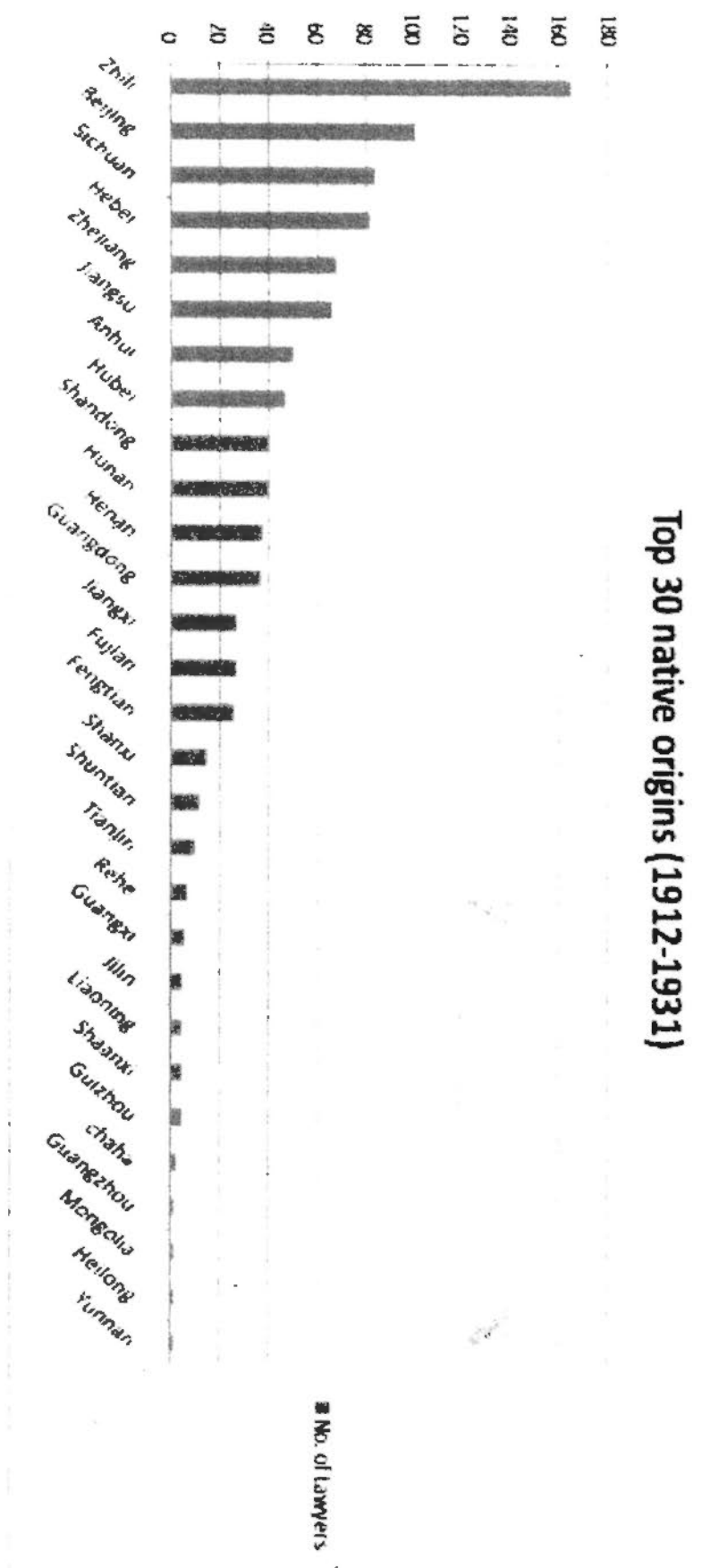
Graph 2.9 shows that the mean age of new lawyers gradually increased from their early 30s to early 40s within the first twenty years of the legal profession's development. This analysis reveals that young professionals formed the core group of early generation of Beijing lawyers. While it is hard to draw any conclusions simply from the demographic distribution of early lawyers, it is not unreasonable for Qiu (2008) to have concluded that most of the early legal professionals in Beijing were at a career-building age, which was a favorable factor for the growth of a newly established profession.

Graph 2.9:



Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

Regarding native origins, Graph 2.10 shows that close to 30% of the lawyers registered with the Beijing Bar Association for the period under research came from Zhili and Beijing, followed by the second largest batch from Sichuan. However, if we look at the first 100 lawyers of the profession, we can find 20 Sichuanese members and another 20 members from Zhili. While further research is required to know why the Sichuanese community was so large and what influence this group had on the development of the early legal community, this group shrank as time went on and gave way to lawyers from Jiangsu-Zhejiang and Guangdong. As the profession developed, lawyers of other provinces joined the Beijing Bar to practise there. On top of localization of education background, diversification in terms of native origin also took place over time in Beijing. It is evident that the overseas returnees firstly brought home expertise and helped training up local professionals. As the community grew and the market prospered, legal professionals from other cities flew into Beijing for business. A similar situation seems to have been occurring even in contemporary Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Shenzhen.



Graph 2.10:

Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

BUSINESS OF JUSTICE IN BEIJING

Before we can understand how a modern lawyer of Beijing ran his business, we should firstly look at the pre-requisites for running a law firm legally in Beijing.

Under the various sets of laws relating to lawyers during the Republican period, a lawyer was required to obtain a qualification issued by the Ministry of Justice, then register with the high court of the city or province in which he was going to practise.

After registration, he was still not qualified to practise until he was enrolled as a member of the local bar association upon payment of fees and compliance with certain regulations.

Archived records show that most of the lawyers operated their legal practices as sole practitioners rather than in partnership. Most of them chose their home as the venue for legal practice and less than 10% of the members on record from 1912 to 1931 had separate firm addresses. While the phenomenon of running a law firm from home looks unusual from the perspective of today, this business practice was not uncommon in Chinese cities of the early twentieth century, when transportation and commutation was not as convenient as today. Inconvenience in traffic was especially well known in Beijing during the Republican period, given the size of the

population and the intensity of traffic (Gamble, 1921, 62-64).

Services of Republican lawyers began with something quite similar to what are offered today. Their services ranged from writing civil complaints to drafting commercial documents, from appearance in court for civil cases to representing the arrested at criminal trials, from visiting inmates to handling business mediation. Legal fees comprised fixed fees and gratitude fees, which were prescribed by the Beijing Bar Association, subject to the final approval of the government (WRBBA 1925, regulations 11). The fee scale during the mid to late 1920s is shown in Table 2.1, in comparison with the fees charged by Shanghai lawyers during a similar period (WRBBA 1925, regulations 6-8; Chen 2008, 6-8). This table shows that in general, while offering similar types of services, Beijing's lawyers could only charge roughly 50%-80% of the fees charged by their counterparts in Shanghai. This again echoes the above observation that Shanghai lawyers were ahead of Beijing in terms of income generating capability during the period when the economic and political centre had moved from the North to the Yangtze Delta.

To understand the level of fees charged by Beijing lawyers, comparison was made with the salaries of other workers and professionals in Beijing during the same

period. The archived records tells us that the monthly salary of mining workers, rickshaw carriers, teachers and policemen were approximately 8, 12, 13, and 14 Yuan respectively (Gamble 1921, 431 ; Beijing Gazetteer 2005, consolidated section – people’s life record 41). It is clear that the general public or working class could not easily afford legal services, as the fees were easily equivalent to several months’ wages for the ordinary people of Beijing.

Table 2.1: Maximum itemized legal service fees in the mid 1920s, Beijing & Shanghai compared

Services	Unit	Fee (Yuan) (Shanghai ~1927)	Fee (Yuan) (Beijing ~1925)
Discussion of case	Hour	8	5
Perusal of documents or meeting persons in custody	Number of times	15	13
Summarizing or copying documents	Per 1,000 words	2	1

Preparing letters or applications	Piece of document	15	13
Plaints of mediation	Piece of document	30	26
Court appearance for civil case	Number of times	100	80
Court appearance for criminal case	Number of times	50	53
Letter of advice or other document of substantial length	Piece of document	100	53
Statement of appeal, defense or counterclaim in first appeal of civil case	Piece of document	80	60
Statement of appeal, defense in first appeal of	Piece of document	50	53

criminal case			
Statement of appeal, defense in second appeal of civil case	Piece of document	150	100
Statement of appeal, defense in second appeal of criminal case	Piece of document	80	60
Preparing letter of supplemental reasons in case of first instance or first appeal of civil case	Piece of document	80	60
Preparing letter of defense in case of first instance or first appeal of	Piece of document	50	53

criminal case			
Preparing letter of supplemental reasons in case of second appeal of civil case	Piece of document	150	100
Preparing letter of defense in case of second appeal of criminal case	Piece of document	80	60
Executing settlement items of civil case	Number of items	500	400
Re-investigation of case within Shanghai / Beijing	Number of items	80	80
Extra fee charged for services rendered out of	Days	70	50

Shanghai / Beijing			
--------------------	--	--	--

Services	Maximum Fee (Yuan) (Shanghai~1927)	Maximum percentage of subject property of litigation above 50,000 Yuan(Shanghai)	Maximum Fee (Yuan) (Beijing~1925)	Maximum percentage% of subject property of litigation above 50,000 Yuan (Beijing)
Civil Case of first instance and first appeal	1500	3%	1300	3%
Civil Case of second	800	1.5%	670	2%

appeal				
Criminal Case of first instance and first appeal	800		800	
Criminal Case of second appeal	500		400	

Source: WRBBA 1925, regulations 6-8; Chen 2008, 6-8

Despite the fact that the fees charged by Beijing lawyers were high relative to the living standard of ordinary people, the income situation of legal professionals was not as optimistic as one might expect. Not all lawyers enjoyed a high income, as the problem of overdue membership fees described below will show.

The income situation of Beijing lawyers can be well understood from the problem of overdue membership fees. The monthly membership fee charged by the

Beijing Bar Association was around 1 Yuan, which was equivalent only to the purchase price of 4-5 catties of peanut oil in Beijing during the 1910s (WRBBA 1925, regulations 11; Beijing Gazetteer 2005, consolidated economic management – price record, 49). Nonetheless, records from the Bar Association shows that fees were frequently overdue. Lawyer Suen explained in a letter to the Bar Association that due to his bad income situation, his cumulative overdue membership fee had amounted to 23 Yuan. He further wrote that he was not able to repay this huge amount in one shot and begged to be allowed to repay them by installments.

Another member, Yin, wrote a similar letter to the Association to request that repayment of overdue fees in arrears for 37 months be delayed. In response to this situation, the Beijing Bar Association sent a letter to all members requesting that members pay their fees according to its rules, or else the Bar Association would be unable to operate. The Association mentioned in the letter that there were many instances of overdue fees for over 10 months. Its financial statements of 1927 showed that it received fees of 93 Yuan in one month, but cumulative overdue fees amounted to 236 Yuan, equivalent to 2.5 times of the Association's monthly income (BBAMR 1927, vol 1 no 2, BJMA ZQ005-003-1391 to 1396). This again showed the gravity of the situation. According to its regulations, the Bar Association had the power to cancel a lawyer's registration if his fees were not paid on time. The

fact that lawyers risked their livelihood, i.e. their membership, could reflect their financial difficulties.

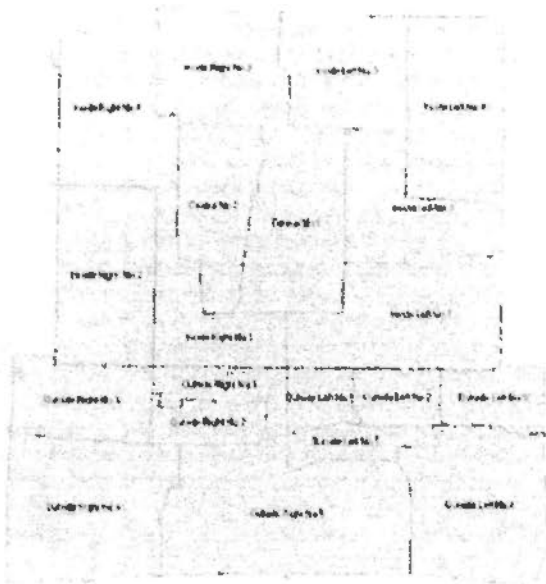
Clearly the income level of lawyers varied according to, among other things, their background and status. Cao Rulin mentioned in his biography that several clients hired him for legal services after he had won an important lawsuit at the Supreme Court. He then became a very famous and successful lawyer, earning about 2,000 Yuan per month from private practice (Cao 1966, 106).

THE LAWYERS' MARKET AND THE MARKET'S LAWYERS

Techniques in historical geographical information system were employed to generate maps and useful data for the study of spatial distribution of lawyers in Republican Beijing. These quantitative results provide useful spatio-temporal observations concerning the establishment, distribution and process of expansion of the market of legal business. Again, we separated the group into four 5-year blocks to observe different stages of development of legal business over time. We divided the city of Beijing into 20 districts as shown in illustration 2.1 (before 1928) or 11 districts as shown in illustration 2.2 (after 1928), according to the police districts

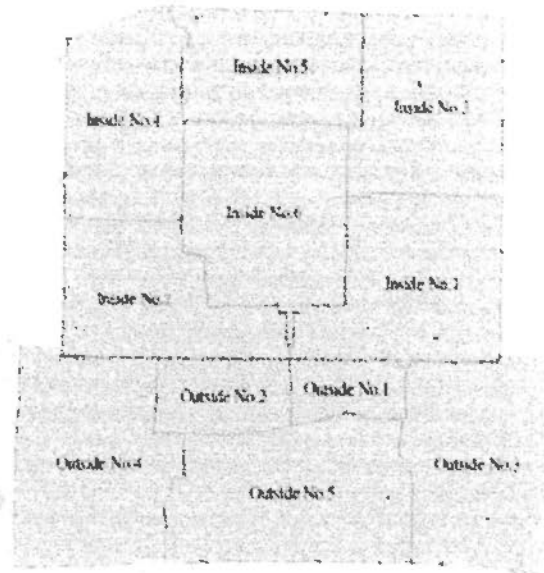
during those periods. As shown in Figures 2.1, 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4, the first legal community in Beijing was located mostly around Outside No. 1 and 2 Districts, and expanded northward and eastward as time passed. Within two decades, legal services reached over three quarters of the city, which was an unusual achievement in a place where lawsuits and the legal business were traditionally despised.

Illustration 2.1



Source: Map of Inner & Outer City of Beijing, 1906

Illustration 2.2



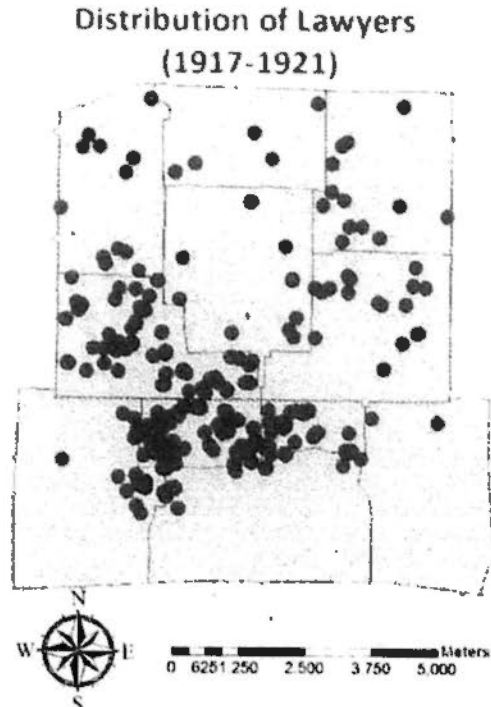
Source: Map of Inner & Outer City of Beijing, 1937

Fig. 2.1



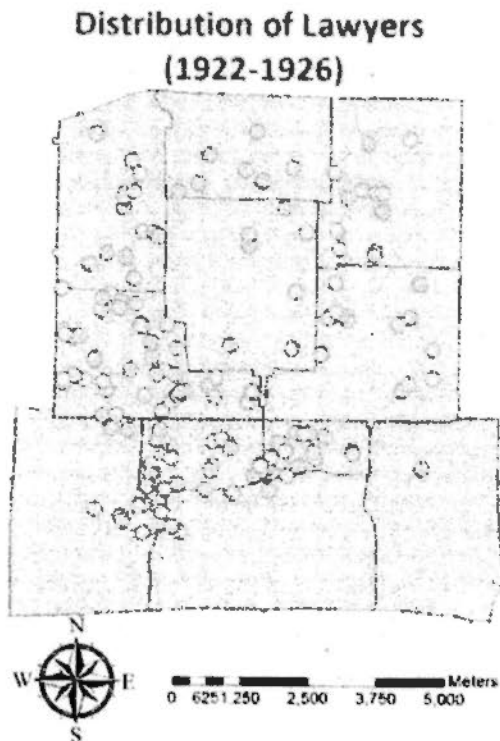
Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

Fig. 2.2



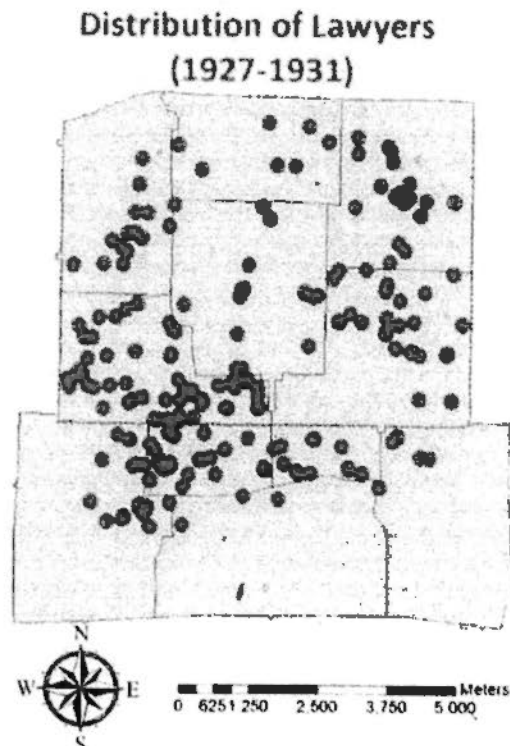
Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

Fig. 2.3



Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

Fig. 2.4

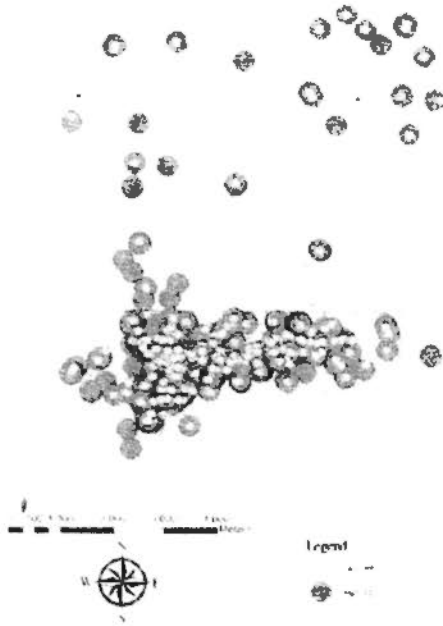


Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

Further research can be conducted on why the founding group of legal professionals preferred the Outside No. 1 and 2 Districts for setting up their business. Although the professional community eventually spread northward and eastward, there were still highly concentrated clusters of law firms in these two districts. The Outside No. 1 and 2 Districts, which are currently areas around Qianmen Street across Xuanyangmen, Zhengyangmen and Chongwenmen in Beijing, used to be industrial and commercial centers with the highest concentration of guilds, temples and shops. Guilds (*huiguan* 會館) were meeting points for business travelers of the same native origin, and also places where they could recruit workers, conduct important business discussions, witness trade deals, reside during their stay in Beijing and even resolve business disputes (*Beijing huiguan dangan shiliao* 1997, 1-17). On the other hand, temples in Beijing were venues for social gatherings, marketplaces, trade and entertainment, in addition to the venues for religious and festive functions (*Beijing simiao ziliao* 1997, 1-3). By referring to Figures 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7, the distribution of industry and commerce, guilds and temples, and that of lawyers, can be compared. It then becomes obvious why Beijing lawyers in the Republican era chose to settle down in the Outside No. 1 and 2 Districts, especially at the beginning of development of the legal business, as they were the most prosperous areas in Beijing with vibrant commercial activities and market trade.

The situation was even more prominent when the locations of lawyers were overlaid with the map of guilds for further observation (see figure 2.8). Their similar patterns in spatial distribution reveal that the rise of modern legal profession in Beijing could not be separable from the development of its market economy.

Figure 2.5: Distribution of Guilds (1909 & 1929)



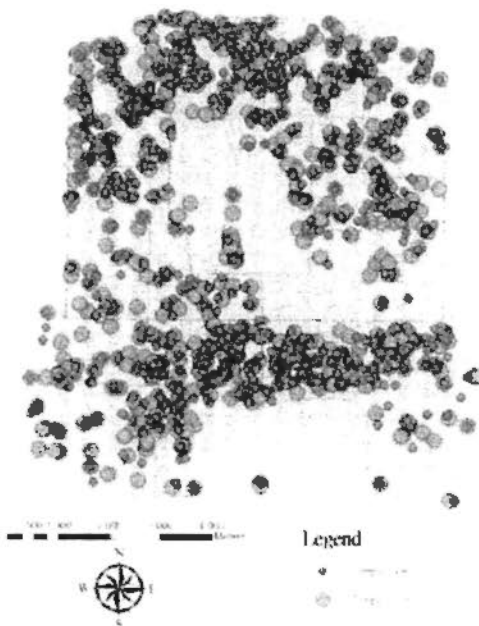
Source: Beiping zhinan 1929

Figure 2.6: Distribution of Industry and Commerce (1932)



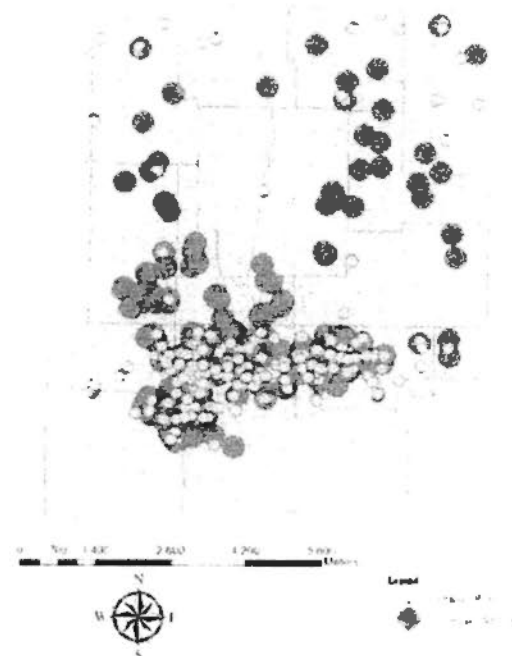
Source: Beiping shi gongshangye gaikuang 1932

Figure 2.7: Distribution of Temples (1928 & 1936)



Source: BJMA files no. J2-8-1138, J181-15-131

Figure 2.8: Distribution of Guilds (1909) and Lawyers (1912-1916)



Source: Beiping zhinan 1929, BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

As time passed, the legal community expanded to districts outside the commercial and industrial areas. So, how did lawyers choose a place to set up their business in the vast city of Beijing? Clues can be drawn by placing the locations of lawyers in the late 1920s to early 1930s over the geographical distribution of police stations (BBAMR 1912-1932). Through an observation of the spatial distribution in Figure 2.9, we notice that when the legal community spread from the Outside No. 1 and 2 Districts northeastwardly, the new locations of law firms were generally in the vicinity of police stations. When the commercial and industrial centers were no longer able to sustain the entire legal community, some lawyers chose to seek other business opportunities in the police stations.

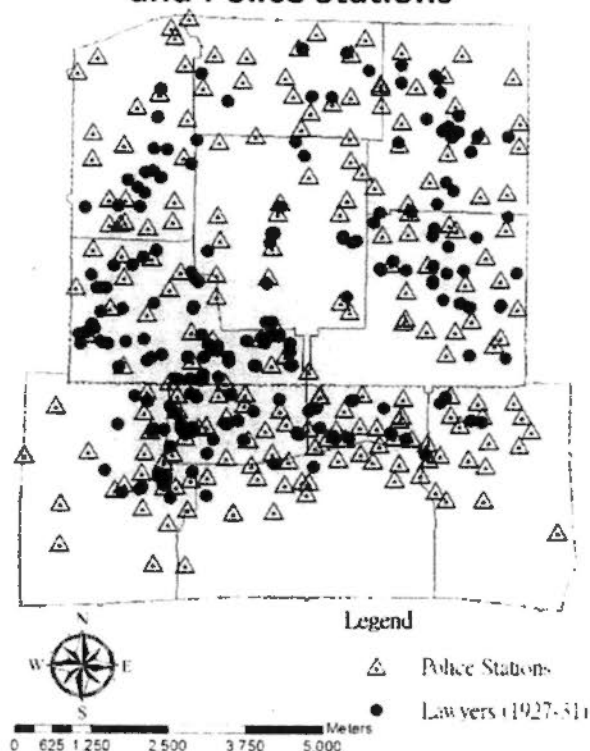
According to the regulations of the Bar Association and of the lawyers' duties at that time, the key responsibilities of lawyers included litigation and non-litigation services. Litigation services mainly included drafting complaints and attending trials, whereas non-litigation services mostly concerned commercial document preparation and personal estate management, such as will drafting and property transfer. Negotiating with police officers was not a type of lawyer's services stated in the regulations of the Bar Association; yet working things out prior to a trial with yamen officers, such as clerks, runners and secretaries, was traditionally one of the

major functions of litigation masters in the imperial period (Fuma 2007, 87, 96).

Market forces meant modern lawyers in Beijing did not shy away from taking over this role. This was a reflection of the fact that consumers' interpretation of the role of lawyers and how lawyers perceived their own functions were, to some extent, influenced by the traditions of hiring litigation masters.

Fig. 2.9

Distribution of Lawyers (1927-1931) and Police Stations



Source: BJMA files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547, J181-16-1535

JUSTICE OF LEGAL BUSINESS –THE IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICTS

Regulations and the practical experience of lawyers show that contrary to what we expect from an independent legal profession, the business of the newly established legal profession in Beijing was under a close supervision of the government. Written laws established a framework that the government, instead of the Bar Association, was the ultimate governing authority of modern lawyers in China. The provisions from the Revised Provisional Articles for Lawyers (dated 1923) clearly set out (as shown in Table 2.2 below) the rules of governance over lawyers and the bar associations (WRBBA 1925, regulations 13-19):

Table 2.2:

Article 24	The bar association is to be supervised by the local chief prosecutor or the prosecutor of the higher prosecution office.
Article 29	The bar association should determine its rules, which shall be submitted by the local chief prosecutor to the higher chief

	<p>prosecutor, who will in turn submit it to the Minister of Justice for approval.</p>
<p>Article 32</p>	<p>The bar association should not resolve on issues other than those set out on the left:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Matters prescribed by the law or the rules of the bar association; 2. Matters consulted by the court or the Minister of Justice; 3. Matters that relate to judicial affairs and the common interest of lawyers for making a suggestion to the Minister of Justice and the court.
<p>Article 34</p>	<p>The Minister of Justice or the higher chief prosecutor can declare a resolution invalid or can stop a meeting from proceeding if such a meeting of the bar association or its standing council breaches the law or the rules of the association.</p>

<p>Article 35</p>	<p>If a lawyer breaches these Articles or the rules of the bar association, the Chairperson of the bar association should, in accordance with the resolution of the standing council or the general meeting, request the local chief prosecutor to punish the lawyer.</p>
-------------------	---

Source: WRBBA 1925, regulations 13-19

The above law imposed limitations on matters that a bar association was able to discuss and resolve. Strictly speaking, a bar association was not allowed to consider matters which were not judicial in nature. In other words, the government was able to restrict the bar association from engaging itself in politics or public affairs. In theory this restriction limited the political threat of the legal community over the government, although in practice the government was not strong enough to enforce this provision to the fullest extent. Furthermore, while the bar association was the sanctioning body over disciplinary matters for lawyers; the ultimate punishment agency was the Prosecution Bureau. It is not difficult to see that the Republican government had a strong mindset of control over the legal profession.

In addition to the above restrictions over the functioning of the bar association, the daily operation of legal business was also under the supervision of the prosecution. The fee structure of legal services was an example. The initial fee structure of the Beijing legal profession was stated under the earlier versions of Bar Association rules whereby lawyers could charge both a common fee (*gongfei* 公費) and gratitude fee (*choujin* 酬金). The common fee was a fee fixed by bar associations for different types of services rendered by lawyers, while the gratitude fee was an *ex gratia* payment made according to the agreement between the lawyer and the client in addition to the common fee (WRBBA 1925, correspondence 16-22). This fee structure lasted until 1915, when the Ministry of Justice claimed that the gratitude fee was too arbitrary and decided to abolish it. The Ministry of Justice as a result promulgated a revised common fee schedule through a memorandum to the bar associations. The memorandum ordered that if any member failed to follow the revised schedule, he would be struck out from the register of lawyers. The new fee structure abolished the right of lawyers to negotiate and receive the gratitude fee and prohibited them from sharing the client's rewards from litigation. Any agreement with respect to gratitude fees and reward sharing between lawyers and clients was deemed void according to the new regulations. The memorandum also disallowed

payment of a commission to referrers of legal business. To replace the old fee schedule, the Ministry of Justice set out a new one which stated the common fee for different types of legal services and the maximum amount of such fee (WRBBA 1925, correspondence 16-22).

This announcement obviously met with adverse reaction from the legal community. The Beijing Bar Association received a number of letters of complaint from members. Complaints mainly concerned the following: (1) The fee structure was ambiguous and contained many ill-defined circumstances and self contradictory provisions, which would make it difficult for lawyers to fully comply with the rules. (2) The fees were too low and oppressive, and did not take into account the work and effort of lawyers. One member complained that writing a legal plaint of a criminal case for only 1 Yuan under the new fee structure virtually put lawyers into the same position as a *daibi* (代筆, a name given to the traditional legal plaint writer or litigation master during imperial period). (3) The fee structure gave the court or adjudicating yamen the power to audit whether the fee was just and reasonable, together with the power to reduce the fee. Members complained that this power and the circumstances under which such an audit power could be exercised were loosely-defined, and therefore did not allow the lawyers to charge reasonable fees

(WRBBA 1925, correspondence 27-32).

At almost the same time of the issuance of new fee structure, a set of Lawyers' Duties (*Lushi yiwu* 律師義務) was also promulgated by the Ministry of Justice. This was a list of five additional rules which lawyers needed to follow when performing their duties. The Prosecution Bureau and the court would have the power to impose punishment on those who failed to comply with these rules. These five rules are briefly summarized as follows:-

- (1) Unless out of the voluntary will of the clients, any gifts towards the lawyers from the clients and any contract signed between the lawyers and the clients can be rescinded.
- (2) Lawyers should transfer any benefits they obtain from the opponents of the lawsuit to the clients.
- (3) Lawyers should be responsible for compensation for damage caused to clients owing to the lawyers' ignorance of laws and procedures or owing to their laziness.
- (4) Lawyers should be responsible for litigation costs of clients if they continue to represent the client in a lawsuit or sponsor the client to continue the lawsuit

despite the fact that the lawyers have discovered that there is no proper cause for the case.

(5) Lawyers should perform their duties with integrity. If the court finds that a lawyer aids in making the plaintiff, instigates the delivery of testimony, fabricates facts or abuses the litigation procedures, it should send the lawyer for punishment (WRBBA 1925, correspondence 22-23).

Lawyers reacted strongly against these additional duties. Members felt particularly insulted by the fifth provision, which contained description that people traditionally used to describe the litigation hooligans of the past who aided in making the plaintiff, and instigating the delivery of testimony (WRBBA 1925, correspondence 24-34). In the letters of complaint to the Beijing Bar Association, members wrote that these rules created terror and puzzlement. They said that the description of “aiding in making the plaintiff, instigating the delivery of testimony” was too broad and could therefore be abused to punish lawyers. Some even said this rule was drafted by the government in order to eliminate the legal profession. These rules were also said to have undermined judicial independence and hence the chance to abolish extraterritoriality. Some wrote that these rules were purposely created by judicial bureaucrats who had regarded lawyers as enemies for a long time and wanted to use

the rules to destroy the profession (WRBBA 1925, correspondence 24-34).

The new fee structure and the additional lawyers' duties created controversies not only among Beijing's legal professionals but also lawyers of other provinces. After several rounds of argument with the government for over a year, the Prosecution Bureau made some concessions on the fee issue but still insisted on the lawyers' duties. In September 1916, the Ministry of Justice formally repealed its revised fee structure for legal services. The bar associations were allowed to fix the maximum legal fees for different services according to local circumstances, subject to the final approval of the Higher Prosecution Bureau. The Beijing Bar Association subsequently submitted its proposed revised fee structure to the Prosecution Bureau. However, the proposal was rejected as the government considered it too generous to lawyers. Having gone back and forth between the government and the Beijing Bar Association for another six months, the revised fee structure was finally approved in April 1917 (WRBBA 1925, correspondence 39-45). Subsequent changes in fees proposed by the Beijing Bar Association in 1923 met with similar disapproval by the Ministry of Justice before they were finalized after a compromise in 1925 (WRBBA 1925, regulations 11). In May 1916 the Prosecution Bureau finally agreed to amend the controversial provision No. 5 regarding the additional lawyers' duties. However,

only the wordings of “abuse of litigation procedures” were deleted, while the most controversial component of “aiding in making the plaint, instigating the delivery of testimony” was kept intact (WRBBA 1925, correspondence 39-40).

The legal profession in the early twentieth century had been trying to defend and define its boundary of autonomy from the government’s intervention. However, the government, though acknowledging the general concept of freeing up the profession to the supervision of the bar associations, was determined to retain its final right of veto on critical issues. Apart from having conflicts with the government concerning crucial elements of daily operation such as fees and duties, lawyers’ rights as the legal representatives at trial hearing were sometimes disrespected by both the Prosecution Bureau and the court. There were circumstances in which lawyers were arrested when they were representing their clients in making a request at the Prosecution Bureau (WRBBA 1925, meeting minutes 23, 57). There was also a complaint against the Supreme Court regarding its disrespect of the rights of lawyers. In February 1914, one member wrote to the Beijing Bar Association to complain that the Supreme Court did not comply with rules and oppressed lawyers. The Supreme Court was blamed for not informing lawyers about the hearing date and not handing down its reasons for judgment to the representing lawyers. As a result, the

representing lawyers lost their right to put forth their clients' cases in a timely manner and could not realize whether the case had been adjudicated based on sufficient legal grounds (WRBBA 1925, correspondence 6). Similar complaints were lodged to the Beijing Bar Association in 1915 claiming that lawyers were not informed of hearing dates until the morning of that hearing, or sometimes not informed of the date at all (WRBBA 1925, correspondence 208).

Beijing lawyers also struggled with the traditional perception of the people of Beijing about legal service providers. Modern Chinese lawyers had to demonstrate that their abilities and legal status were completely different from that of the litigation masters whom Beijing residents were accustomed to hiring for legal service. However, to change this perception was an uphill battle. For over a decade after the birth of the modern legal profession, the lawyers in Beijing were troubled by the existence of phony lawyers. This phenomenon will be discussed in details in the next chapter, reflecting how perception of the legal profession differentiated the development of Beijing from other treaty ports, such as Shanghai.

CONCLUSION: ACTION AND PERCEPTION IN DEFINING LEGAL PROFESSION

The birth and initial development of modern Chinese lawyers during the 1910s was largely a product of the late Qing reform rather than a design of the Republican Government. After the end of the nineteenth century, the Qing government began to send groups of elites abroad. Many of them studied in Japan and then returned to China. A large portion of students educated in Japan in the early days chose or was designated to study law or legal-political subjects, either in intensive courses or under a proper university curriculum. Had the Qing government not sent students abroad to study law, the legal profession could not have been established so quickly after the Provisional Articles for Lawyers was enacted in 1912. When this first set of laws was promulgated, the first generation of legal professionals had already been trained, back home and ready to practise in major cities. With this background, the founding group of lawyers in Beijing was largely made up of returnees from Japan, plus a certain number of locally trained lawyers. At least within the first decade after the establishment of the Republic, Japan returnees still had considerable influence over the establishment and operation of the Beijing Bar Association, the schooling of another generation of locally trained lawyers, and the negotiation with

the government and the courts to secure a greater degree of independence for the profession. Within the criminal justice system, a considerable number of Japanese university graduates occupied high-ranking positions in law courts, police institutions, law schools, the Prosecution Bureau or the Ministry of Justice.

As the profession grew, more law schools were set up in major cities of China. Lawyers trained by local universities grew in number and overtook the Japan-returnee community. Further, as more Chinese students chose to study engineering, science and business subjects in Japan, the influence of Japanese law school graduates was gradually diluted by locally trained lawyers. The above analysis shows that localization of legal profession in Beijing took place quickly after the mid-1910s, when Beijing and Zhili university graduates became the largest group of practitioners in the capital city.

In terms of native origin, most lawyers in Beijing came from Zhili or Beijing for the first 20 years after the establishment of legal profession. The second largest group was the Sichuanese, followed by members of Zhejiang-Jiangsu origins. Most of the lawyers were between 35 to 45 years of age. A strong local network and the relatively young age of lawyers contributed to the quick growth of the profession in

the early stages of its development. Within approximately ten years, the practice of modern lawyers spread from the central commercial areas in Outside No. 1 and 2 Districts to cover most of the remaining districts of Beijing. On a positive side, the legal business was able to quickly grow in the number of practitioners as well as localize in education background. They also successfully marketed its practice to most of the districts in Beijing, despite the traditional hatred for and suspicion of those who earned a living from litigation.

However, Beijing lawyers needed to overcome more obstacles that hindered their further growth than their counterparts in Shanghai. A lot of these difficulties stemmed from the fact that Beijing was a century-old capital city with deeply rooted traditions that affected how this legal profession was perceived among government officials, lawyers and lay clients.

In the eyes of government administrators, the new legal system liberated the legal service providers, whom traditionally were under yamen's stringent control. The question for the government concerned how much freedom should be granted by the government to the profession, and how many of the traditional rights of governance and control had to be retained. The government's view and perception

was best reflected in a conversation between Yuan Shikai and Cao Rulin, one of the earliest practitioners in Beijing. On one occasion, Cao was summoned to meet Yuan, and Yuan tried to persuade Cao to quit legal practice and join his government. When Cao explained his interest and ideal in practising law, Yuan asked Cao : “What is the point of continuing to be a lawyer? Isn’t a lawyer equal to a litigation master from the old days?” (Cao 1966, 104).

On the other hand, to those who were educated under the Westernized legal education, the administration of justice is “intrinsically” independent from the outset and the same degree of intrinsic independence should apply to the legal profession. This point was made clear in a letter of complaint written by a lawyer to the Beijing Bar Association (WRBBA 1925, correspondence 28). The question for the legal profession was how much control should be conceded to the government and how much intrinsic independence should be safeguarded. From this fundamental difference between the perception of lawyers and government officials over the rights and responsibilities, roles and functionalities of the modern legal profession, we can comprehend why Beijing’s lawyers continued to face intervention from the government.

In theory, the establishment of modern legal profession in the early twentieth century marked the beginning of the right to legal representation in China. In practice, however, this did not cause an outright adoption of the Western thoughts and the total disposal of traditional practices. A number of factors contributed to this delicate process of migration from the old to the new practices. State's actions such as passing the new laws and establishing the bar associations obviously played important parts. Perceptions of the government officials, ordinary people and lawyers themselves over the roles and functions of modern legal profession were also influential. From the above findings, I argue, at least in the case of Beijing, that the tradition of hiring litigation masters and the public image of them guided the government officials and the ordinary people in perceiving the modern Chinese lawyers. Moreover, modern lawyers sometimes took up the works that the litigation masters used to do in the past; in other times, as the next chapter will show, litigation masters posed as modern lawyers to undertake legal businesses. While modern lawyers might perceive themselves as the ones with unique knowledge and skill sets learned from the West; their clients and the government might not share the same belief and conceived little difference between lawyers and litigation masters. Such perception affected the way how the legal profession was governed by the government and treated by the ordinary people of Beijing, hence shaped the outcome

of this legal reform.

Market force also played a very important role in the process. From the close spatial relationship between the location of commercial sectors and legal businesses, we understand that the marketplace was an important environment for the survival of legal professionals. Some lawyers even operated inside the premise of guilds. In 1914, a commercial court under the supervision of the Beijing Chamber of Commerce was established by law for arbitrating commercial disputes (Gamble 1921, 204-210; Wagner 2009, 257-290). The commercial court, chaired by officials of the Chamber of Commerce, had jurisdiction over contractual and business disputes among merchants in Beijing. Lawyers were not allowed to appear formally in the commercial court, but it would not be surprising that lawyers played an increasingly important role in advising clients on the settlement of commercial disputes as the market economy grew. In addition, the growth of the business community and urban economic prosperity also benefited the development of legal business, in terms of both financial return and fame. The example of Shanghai shows that with the city's growing economic and political importance, lawyers in Shanghai enjoyed a relatively higher economic and social status in the 1930s. This elite status gave lawyers strong bargaining power vis-à-vis the government. Shanghai lawyers also

had considerable influence in public and political affairs. They became a group of professionals whom ordinary citizens in Shanghai would look to for action against social injustice (Chen 2008, 211-229). In contrast, as we shall see in the next chapter, the consumers' inability or indifference in perceiving the difference between lawyers and phony lawyers in Beijing constituted another challenge which troubled the profession for decades. As time went on and the market economy developed, the demand for licensed lawyers to function in business and civilians' life eventually made the continued existence of phony lawyers impossible. This may perhaps also apply to contemporary China where we can easily notice that professionalization and independence of legal profession grow along with the economic prosperity of a city.

2

CHAPTER THREE

LAWYERS PERCEIVED IN BEIJING

– THE ISSUE OF PHONY LAWYERS³

INTRODUCTION

Derived mainly from Shanghai archival materials, previous scholarship suggested that although litigation masters were traditionally despised by authorities, the new Chinese lawyers rose fairly quickly to a respectable social and economic status. However, historical findings presented in the last chapter and this chapter challenges this perception. This chapter argues that in a city with deeper root of legal tradition and lesser influence from Western lawyers, as in Beijing, modern lawyers faced resistance from the legacy of the old legal culture that had permeated the new justice system. For a considerable period of time after the establishment of the Republic, people of Beijing still continued to hire unqualified, phony lawyers in lawsuits, and some of these phony lawyers had previously been litigation masters of the imperial time. The case of phony lawyers again showed that although legal

³ Edited version of this chapter has been published in my article. 2011. "Attorney on trial: when lawyers met phony lawyers in Republican Beijing." *International Journal of Asian Studies* 8, no.1 : 25-39.

reform was formulated by the central government as a unified policy, its implementation was bound to vary in different regions according to the influence of the traditional perceptions. It is clear that the situation of Shanghai or other treaty ports could hardly represent the situation throughout the entire country, not even in other coastal regions. Therefore, to make more sense of a legal reform in China, one should evaluate the development of legal reform in a particular city or region against its social and cultural backdrops.

Upon examination of the materials stored at the Beijing Municipal Archives, it is found that the new Chinese lawyers in Beijing could not match their counterparts in Shanghai who were moving relatively quickly on the way to prosperity, blessed both with fame and financial return. The lawyers in Beijing, in contrast, were faced with adversaries that did not exist in Shanghai, namely, the so-called ‘phony lawyers’ (*Feilushi* 非律師),⁴ a common term denoting people without formal qualifications posing as lawyers to take up legal business in Republican Beijing.

⁴ “非律師 *fei lushi*” can literally be translated as “non-lawyer” if no regard is given to the context in which the term was used and meant to be. However, the neutrality of the term “non-lawyer”, which literally means “person who is not a qualified lawyer” does not reconcile with the circumstances under which the term was used historically, which in most of the cases referred to person who was not qualified as a lawyer but held out to be so in order to deceive people of their money. So I have chosen to use “phony lawyer” to reflect the correct contextual meaning of “非律師” as reflected by archival materials.

PHONY LAWYERS IN REPUBLICAN BEIJING: CASES AND MATERIALS

The term 'phony lawyer' denotes a person posing as a qualified lawyer in Beijing during the Republican era. 'Phony lawyers' filed legal complaints or even appeared in courts on behalf of litigants. The term was repeatedly used in a precise technical sense in official correspondence among the Beijing Bar Association, courts and persecution bureaux in Beijing, reflecting a general prevalence of the phenomenon and its gravity.

Shanghai, in contrast, sees little documentation of illegal activities of impostor lawyers. In her doctoral dissertation, Sun Hueimin (2002, 243-245) mentions that whereas cases of impostor lawyers actually appearing in Shanghai courts in the 1920s and 1930s were rare, there were cases of people misrepresenting to clients that they were lawyers and making money by referring these clients in turn to real lawyers for actual handling of the legal case. The fact that 'phony lawyers' organised themselves into gangs was found in Beijing but not in Shanghai is one indicator that the development of the lawyer profession and legal culture differed as a result of the local characteristics of a particular place.

The following cases retrieved from records of the Beijing Bar Association and the courts of Beijing in various years of the Republic, shed light on how phony lawyers were forming into gangs and setting up business openly, and how the situation was becoming beyond control in Beijing.

You Guixing, a councillor of the Beijing Bar Association, wrote together with some fellow members to the Association in May 1927 to complain about the practice of phony lawyers and requested that the Association had to work with the court to enforce a stricter ban on this phenomenon. The complainants also submitted a list of these phony lawyers to the Association. After a discussion by the Standing Committee of Councilors of the Association on 17th May, 1927, this list was sent to the courts in Beijing. At the same time, a notice was sent to all members in July 1927. Members of the Association were advised to pay attention to the activities of phony lawyers, to help investigate such activities, and to report to the Association when the members encountered phony lawyers (BBAMR 1927, vol 1 no 1, letter dated 6 July, 1927). We could see from the above the general prevalence of the phenomenon, the attention it had aroused and the disturbances it had caused to the profession.

Despite the fact that there was an order from the Ministry of Justice declaring that lawyers had to sign and stamp their seals over the legal complaints written by them, there were phony lawyers who were able to steal the chops and stamp them over the legal complaints they drafted when the lawyers were away from the office. In November of 1927 Wuqing County Branch Court of Beijing wrote a letter to the Beijing Bar Association to appeal for help regarding how to better identify legal complaints written by a phony lawyer from the paper written by a real lawyer. The court said it sometimes had to summon a lawyer to verify his signature, which cost time and money for the lawyer to make a special trip back to the county (BBAMR 1927, vol 1 no 5, letter dated 21 Nov, 1927). From the fact that even the court could not distinguish a legal complaint written by a phony lawyer from the paper drafted by a qualified lawyer, we can get a sense of the level of competence of a phony lawyer which might not be much lower than that of a formally trained and qualified one. In the few months that followed, the Beijing Bar Association presented, in several rounds, a complete list of signatures and seals of members to the court for identification purposes.

In another case of the same year, it was reported in the *Police Post* (*Jingcha Gongbao* 警察公報), *Shuntian Times* (*shuntian shibao* 順天時報) and other

newspapers that a lawyer known as Liu Quan had recently rented an apartment in Tai Ping Lane in Nanheyan District to open a branch office. On the opening day, firecrackers were lit. It was further reported that because Liu had apparently put up a shop sign without permission from the district government and let off firecrackers in the middle of the night, he was summoned to the local police station. As a result, a penalty was imposed on him. When the news report came to the attention of the Beijing Bar Association, it was discovered that Liu Quan could not be found among its list of members. The Bar Association therefore wrote to the prosecution bureau on 21 December. In the letter, the Bar Association mentioned that Liu could be a bad element who handled legal cases illegally and requested that the government had to take action to investigate Liu. If the Government failed to take appropriate action, the Association further mentioned, the honor and discipline of the legal profession would be at risk (BBAMR 1927, vol 1 no 6, letter dated 21 Dec, 1927). From this case we can see that some of the phony lawyers were not operating underground. They called themselves lawyers and ran their offices openly in public places. Their practice was thus in direct competition with those qualified under the new legal practice regime. The openness of phony lawyers' activities showed that they did not fear competition from the qualified lawyers. It could possibly be due to the fact that the phony lawyers were able, or at least they believed that they were able, to

provide customers with services at a competitive standard and price. From the case below we can further see that phony lawyers did not even fear protests from and investigation by the qualified lawyers, and that they could even gang up to resist those actions.

On 5 July, 1927 a motion was passed at the Beijing Bar Association to make a request to the courts and the prosecution bureau to ask for a stricter ban over the activities of phony lawyers. Shortly afterwards, You Guixing, one of the Association's councilors, had his office disturbed by a group of phony lawyers. The phony lawyers even threatened to break You's office name plate and tried to openly pick a fight with You in the street. In a letter of complaint from You to the Bar Association, You complained that the phony lawyers took revenge on him because of Bar Association's recent request to ban phony lawyers. You further said that the phony lawyers had purposely tried to harm his body and damage his reputation (BBAMR 1927, vol 1 no 3, letter dated Sept, 1927). The above shows that the phony lawyers in Beijing were not deterred by the protests from the qualified practitioners and were prepared to openly fight for its living space whenever necessary. It also seemed that both the government and the Bar Association were not able to find effective measures to curb the existence of the phony lawyers, even

though the identities and locations of such illegal practitioners were well known, as we shall see from the following letters.

In a letter dated 31st July, 1927 from Feng Shuyan, a qualified lawyer, to the Beijing Bar Association, Feng provided names and aliases of three well-known phony lawyers to the Association. They were Yu Paihai (alias Yu Futing), Li Zhiting (alias San Long) and Li Yung'an (alias Li Jingxuan). Feng requested the Association to work with the court to investigate and eliminate their practice so that the order of society could be restored (BBAMR 1927, vol 1 no 1, letter dated 31 July, 1927). In another letter dated 15 December from the Beijing Bar Association to the prosecution bureau, the Association mentioned that its members had conducted investigations into the activities of phony lawyers and had come up with a list of certain phony lawyers containing their names, aliases, addresses and the types of cases handled by them. The Bar Association attached the said list to the letter and requested that the prosecution bureau take action to clamp down on phony lawyers' activities in the interest of the public. Such list of phony lawyers is shown in the Table 3.1 below (BBAMR 1927, vol 1 no 6, letter dated 15 Dec, 1927).

Table 3.1

<u>Name</u>	<u>Alias</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Cases Handled</u>
<i>Li Jiechen</i>		<i>No.67 Qianmenwai Dongliushujing</i>	<i>Representing Wang to appeal against Hu in a debt case at the high court on 29th September 16th Year. Representing Hao against Li in a debt case at the summary court on 1st November 16th Year</i>
<i>Shi Bizhai</i>	<i>Yu Xueqian</i>	<i>Ma Fu Ma Da Jie, Tai Ping Hu Nei Da Cao Chang, No. 18 Qian Nei</i>	<i>Representing Chen at a detention case on 30th July, 16th</i>

		<p><i>Cao Mao Hutong;</i></p> <p><i>also live at Heluo</i></p> <p><i>Commercial Guild</i></p>	<p><i>Year.</i></p> <p><i>Representing</i></p> <p><i>Chen against</i></p> <p><i>Wang in a debt</i></p> <p><i>case on 15th</i></p> <p><i>September, 16th</i></p> <p><i>Year.</i></p>
<i>Shen Shaotian</i>	<i>Rui Quan</i>	<p><i>Luan Xing Wei</i></p> <p><i>Jie, No. 9 Jia Dao</i></p>	<p><i>Sending people to</i></p> <p><i>solicit cases at the</i></p> <p><i>entrance of the</i></p> <p><i>court everyday</i></p> <p><i>and handling</i></p> <p><i>litigations</i></p>
<i>Li Zhongyuan</i>		<p><i>No. 1 Qian Wai Xi</i></p> <p><i>Hu Ying</i></p>	<p><i>Representing</i></p> <p><i>Chen against</i></p> <p><i>Wang in a civil</i></p> <p><i>case on 26th</i></p> <p><i>September, 16th</i></p> <p><i>Year</i></p>

<i>Chen Liuguang</i>		<i>Chaozhou</i> <i>Commercial</i> <i>Guild</i>	<i>Representing</i> <i>Tsang against Li</i> <i>in a case</i> <i>regarding</i> <i>recovering</i> <i>possession of</i> <i>books in April,</i> <i>13th Year</i>
<i>Yu Peihai</i> <i>Li Zhiting</i> <i>Li Yong'an</i>	<i>Fu Ting</i> <i>San Long</i> <i>Jing Xuan</i>		<i>It is well known</i> <i>that these three</i> <i>guys plan and</i> <i>solicit cases</i>
<i>Meng Zhuxu</i>		<i>Ping Ze Men Wai</i>	<i>Representing Li</i> <i>against Wang in a</i> <i>case regarding</i> <i>recovering</i> <i>possession of a</i> <i>house</i>
<i>Shen Xiaoting</i>		<i>Chang Xiang Xia</i>	<i>Representing Su</i>

		<i>San Tiao Men Pai</i> <i>No. 9</i>	<i>against Liu in a</i> <i>case regarding</i> <i>recovering</i> <i>possession of a</i> <i>house</i>
<i>Li Chun</i>		<i>No. 16 Gu Lü</i> <i>Dong Xia Jie</i>	<i>Representing Shi</i> <i>and Wang in a</i> <i>shop guarantee</i> <i>case</i>

Source: BBAMR 1927, vol 1 no 6, letter dated 15 Dec, 1927

All of the data in Table 3.1 is derived from a single record of the Beijing Bar Association in 1927. However, phony lawyers cannot not have suddenly emerged in that year; in fact they had existed as a problem well before that. From a record of the Beijing Bar Association back in January 1918, a letter written by a member called Kuai Pude was found which described the activities of phony lawyers and urged the Association to take action against them (WRBBA 1925, 52-53). Kuai mentioned that people without lawyer qualifications falsely assumed the identity of a lawyer to handle litigations. He also said that phony lawyers chose dilapidated temples or

laundry houses in back streets where they hung the nameplate of a law firm to solicit customers and deceive people of their money. Though the law court was said to have been monitoring the situation, Kuai felt that its ears and eyes were hardly adequate for the task and many victims suffered as a result. He wrote that the situation had not only substantially affected the business of lawyers, but had also contravened the nation's intention of setting up a lawyer profession. He therefore proposed that the police bureau be requested to check the identity of law firms within their respective governing areas and ask them to produce valid lawyer certificates issued by the Beijing Bar Association.

The above again demonstrates that phony lawyers openly established offices in public Beijing. They were noticed by the public, the profession and the government over a long period of time, but could not be eliminated. The legal professionals felt that the profession and public interests were substantially affected by this phenomenon.

The official form issued by the Ministry of Justice for the appointment of attorneys in criminal cases, dated February 1920, which litigants were required to fill in, carried a specific warning not to hire phony lawyers to represent them (Form of

appointment in Criminal Case *Xingshi weirenzhuang* 刑事委任狀 1920). This again shows how serious and widespread this phenomenon was in Beijing during that period.

From the above historical data, it can be established that the phony lawyers existed for a considerable period and covered a wide legal domain; their activities ranged from securing clients and dealing with legal matters on clients' behalf, as well as appearing for clients in court. Their business activities included recovery of debts, real estate and private property, general civil cases and criminal litigation. Phony lawyers were open about their activities. At least two of those listed in Table 3.1 had addresses in commercial guilds, yet they were never suppressed in a serious way. Rather, they formed into gangs and provided each other with support against outsiders and qualified lawyers, constituting a major obstacle to the growth of the lawyer profession in Beijing.

Who, indeed, were these 'phony lawyers'? The following possibilities exist. It is stated in the above case concerning Wuqing District Court that the court had encountered cases in which phony lawyers stole lawyers' chops and stamped them over the legal complaints they drafted while lawyers were away from their

offices. Therefore, some phony lawyers could have been employees in lawyers' firms.

Phony lawyers could also have been former litigation masters (*songsshi* 訟師) or alternatively known as litigation hooligans (*songgun* 訟棍)⁵ during the Qing dynasty. Sun's doctoral dissertation mentions that the format of legal complaints in the late Qing era and early Republican days were quite similar (Sun 2002, 171-178). The market for former litigation masters might have persisted well into the 1910s. A police case record in 1915 gives us affirmative evidence in this regard.

In the court records and police report made by a patrol officer Ma Yongfu dated 1915 about a case involving a phony lawyer, Ma mentioned that he was asked to investigate Li Jiwu, alias Li Yunji, who lived in door number 31 at Xiaosiyanjing Hutong. Li often stayed at Sunrongxuan Wine Shop located at the west entrance of the district court and was alleged to have instigated litigation. He was reported to have hung a wooden plate bearing the names of the lawyers Bian Baohai and Huang Yi on it and deceived people of their money. Li was arrested on the second day of

⁵ A large number of English translations have been used by scholars to describe legal complaint writers and legal service providers during imperial era, ranging from litigation master or legal scribes to litigation hooligans, pettifoggers or litigation stick. See Fuma 2007, 79-80, Xu 2008, 233-238 and Macauley 1998, 21-23.

the month prior to Ma's investigation. To investigate whether the allegations were true, Ma went to the vicinity of Xiaosiyanjing Hutong to interview Li's neighbours. According to a man surnamed Jiang, Li was a native of Shandong and over forty years old. Jiang also mentioned during the interview that Li had made a living during the Qing dynasty by writing legal complaints for others under the cover of a fake stall selling decorations, located at the entrance of the district court (Capital Local Prosecution Bureau Correspondence 1945, no 1170).

From the above we know that the phony lawyer arrested by the police had formerly worked as a litigation master in the Qing dynasty. He made his living by soliciting customers at the entrances of law courts, whether the court was under the rule of Qing or the Republican government. Unless we assume that the above was a totally isolated case, it is reasonable to conclude that at least some of the litigation masters of imperial Beijing transformed into phony lawyers and were able to continue to make a living from of legal services during the Republican period.

CONCLUSION: PHONY LAWYERS - WHAT WENT WRONG?

From the above historical materials, it can be concluded that the existence of

phony lawyers (or “legacy litigation masters”) troubled the Beijing lawyers for a long period of time. This problem had aroused concern amongst the lawyers’ community and judicial bureaux and affected the prosperity of the modern legal profession. The great number of phony lawyers points to the fact that this was no isolated matter; rather, an entire profession was involved. From the members’ register of Beijing lawyers we know that the number of practising lawyers in Beijing during the 1920s was approximately four to five hundred. If the number of lawyers in Beijing amounts to a few hundred and the number of ‘phony lawyers’ a few dozen, this is a rather substantial ratio. At least some of the phony lawyers had been litigation masters under the Qing Dynasty who were continuing to win the heart of clients by providing traditional complaint-writing services despite the fact that the legal system had changed from a traditional to a modern one. The long persistence of the traditional specialists is striking. What went wrong in implementing the lawyer system in Beijing, such that the phony lawyers could openly handle cases illegally in 1927, even though the Western-style lawyer system and laws had been in place since 1912? Academic studies undertaken over the past few decades have so far not identified problems of a similar extent occurring in Republican Shanghai. If that was really the case, what were the differentiating factors that might have made the Shanghai legal profession less susceptible to such phenomena? I would argue that

one of the key reasons was the consumers' choice of legal services. One question worth considering is: were the consumers aware that the phony lawyers were not real lawyers? Were they interested in finding out whether or not phony lawyers were properly qualified? If they had all been victims of deception, surely the police would have intervened, and it would not have been necessary for the Bar Association to investigate and complain to the Prosecution Bureau. If the above-mentioned cases of openly securing litigation assignments were known to all, it would seem that the litigants hiring these phony lawyers knew the truth but did not mind; they simply did not care where the truth lay. In the same prosecution record of the above-mentioned arrest of ex-litigation master Li Jiwu in 1915, the Capital Prosecution Office reported that Li had been arrested previously under a similar charge but was not prosecuted since no victim had come forward to the prosecution office to file a complaint. So, what did they care about?

Consumers of legal service in China, like consumers in the West, ultimately cared most about whether justice could be sought at a reasonable cost through legal services, whether in the form of having disputes resolved, rights safeguarded, economic interests protected, wrong doing punished, and so on. However, unlike their counterparts in the West, independent, formally educated and qualified legal

professionals were never a necessary foundation for achieving justice in traditional Chinese society. Rather, legal service providers were always an illegal occupation under the law, not necessarily independent (sometimes having good connection with government officials was beneficial), and without any formal qualifications. Consumers were used to hiring legal service providers based on word-of-mouth reputation from actual services rendered; consumers made choices according to, among other things, their perception, prior experience and knowledge of similar services. The change in the legal system brought about by importing the Western system of a formally regulated legal profession did not change the perception and practice in society overnight, nor even over a span of decades.

Had consumers switched immediately from traditional perception and made a habit of hiring only qualified practitioners for lawsuits, phony lawyers would not have been able to survive for ten years or more after new laws for a Western-style legal profession were enacted in Republican Beijing. What possibly could have driven the choices of consumers in Shanghai and Beijing in different directions as they made their selection from the traditional service and the newly established modern professional service? I would argue that one of the key differentiating factors is a perceptual shift through which mass consumers came to appreciate the merits of the new Western-style professionals in order to achieve their aim of seeking

justice, whether it related to economic or other interests. When the consumers of legal services had acquired adequate experience and knowledge of the functionality of using qualified lawyers, and consequentially undergone a corresponding perceptual shift, they would likely be more willing to change their traditional habit of hiring underground legal service providers (be they phony lawyers or litigation masters) to one of retaining qualification-based legal practitioners. In such circumstances it would not be easy for phony lawyers to practise openly. From Chen Tong's well-researched work (2008) we can see how such a perceptual shift in Shanghai had occurred decades before the formal system was in place, which I would argue consequentially made the system work better than the one in Beijing.

Despite the fact that legal practitioners were traditionally represented as a despised group in the history of China (Fuma 2007; Macauley 1998), we are told that Shanghai lawyers quickly became a social and economic elite whom the community would look to for assistance in resolving legal and even political matters (Chen 2008, chapters 4, 5). I would argue that one of the possible ways of efficiently implementing foreign systems and practices, including legal reform, while mitigating possible conflicts with the mainstream ideology is to gradually and incrementally diffuse the merits of the new practices into the indigenous value system of mass

consumers by education and role modelling. The arrival, development and activities of foreign lawyers in Shanghai from the 1850s gave an effective showcase to the people of Shanghai on how Western legal practitioners could add value by protecting their rights and interests. Chen (2008, chapter 2) has described this showcase in detail. However, I would further elucidate this argument in terms of extraterritoriality. Under this new though unequal and oppressive legal framework, foreign qualified lawyers possessed a greater right of advocacy in the various courts of Shanghai during this period than before. Foreign lawyers' existence and performance boosted the demand for engaging litigators in protecting individual rights in court. Even Qing government officials, even while they continued to ban traditional litigation masters from practising, started to retain legal counsel as an inevitable method of resolving legal disputes with foreigners (Chen 2008, 74-81). There were also cases in which foreign lawyers acted for Chinese litigants in lawsuits against Westerners (Chen 2008, 68-74). In this regard, I would suggest that as the consumers of legal services in China have always judged the merits by actual results rather than qualifications or certificates, the effectiveness of foreign lawyers in protecting their commercial interests in the market was diffused into their value system. This made Shanghai a city with more rapid development of the Westernized ideology of legal representation. By contrast, in other major Chinese

cities, like Beijing, where foreign courts and lawyers had less presence and importance, the growth and development of modern lawyers was considerably less smooth owing to the legacy of traditional legal culture, one of which was the practice of hiring non-qualified legal service providers.

In Shanghai, prior to the legalization of Republican lawyers, cultural and perceptual changes had already been underway for fifty or sixty years, from the time of the first arrival of foreign lawyers, who had demonstrated economic and social leadership, the practical functionality of legal service and the importance of the right of legal representation to the people of Shanghai. The relatively speedy establishment of the modern legal profession in Shanghai is possibly attributable to the overall perceptual shift brought about by foreign lawyers' participation. From Chen's well-researched historical data, it is sufficient to say that the way Shanghai lawyers emerged as a socially and economically prosperous group in this time of change was closely related to the Shanghai-specific social change and consumers' legal awareness that began to develop in the 1850s. Their success was not only an intended outcome of the legally defined legal practitioners as established under Republican law, but also a product of the acquisition of new experience and knowledge which resulted in the development of a new perception for the legal

profession through the enforcement of extraterritoriality, the practice of foreign lawyers, the demonstration of systematic resolution of business disputes in open courts, the elite lifestyle of foreign lawyers and the Qing government's participation in engaging foreign lawyers over several decades in the late nineteenth century, among other factors. Lawyers' lives in places like Beijing, which lacked or lagged behind similar perceptual changes, would be expected to demonstrate different paths of development as illustrated above. However, I am not trying to concur with the modernization theorists that Westernization must have brought modernity to Chinese judicial reform. In fact the mixed courts under extraterritoriality can hardly have been a system of modernity given the inequality in the right of advocacy, the high degree of political intervention, the lack of judicial independence, and so on. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of foreign lawyers against this backdrop did unintentionally help in developing a new perception among Shanghai society that was well suited to the subsequent establishment of a lawyer profession.

My findings about Republican Beijing, taken together with Chen Tong's work, substantiate my view that the effectiveness of legal reform in Republican China varied according to perceptual changes under different local conditions, which themselves depended on the interplay of various socio-cultural and economic factors.

Legal reform during the Republican period, even though handed down by the central government as a unitary policy across the entire nation, took different shapes during implementation in different areas, depending on how the interaction of various factors, obviously including legal ideology or culture, played themselves out. In other words, research findings on legal reform in any given city, treaty port or region in Republican China cannot be seen as representative of the situation in other places where the dynamics of the interplay among various socio-cultural and economic factors were different, not to mention the situation across the entire nation. It would be reasonable to expect more divergent results to be observed from inland or less affluent cities where local practices, gentry's interests and traditional ideologies were more deeply rooted, in comparison with Republican Beijing or Shanghai where culture and values were developed from mixtures in different degrees from the East and the West. All of these would result in perceptual changes that would materially affect the outcome of the legal reform in China.

CHAPTER FOUR

CRIMINAL COURT HEARING –

DEFENDING CHANGE BY THE CLAIM OF TRADITION

No court can function without a judge. How a judge rules on a case in a material way determine the quality of justice of a legal system. A judge in the early Republican China faced with challenges of not having enough legal codes and judicial guidelines in trying cases. They solved this problem by resorting to combining their knowledge acquired from the past and present regimes wherever possible. This chapter discusses how the judges of Beijing Local Court perceived their role in the new legal system and justified the way of arriving at a criminal judgment that fitted this role.

REMAKING CRIMINAL PROCEDURES OF CHINA

The change in administration of justice in Chinese society began with the late Qing reform. Huang Yuansheng (2000) wrote a succinct account of how the judicial reform evolved during the last ten years of the dynasty. In 1902, Shen Jiaben and Wu Tingfang were appointed as Co-commissioners of Law Reform

(*Xiuding falu dachen* 修訂法律大臣) to be responsible for studying and translating the legal codes of the Western countries and Japan as well as learning how their legal systems worked. In 1904, Law Reform Bureau (*Xiuding falu guan* 修訂法律館) was set up. In 1906, institutional change kicked off. The Board of Punishment (*Xingbu* 刑部) was renamed as the Ministry of Justice (*Fabu* 法部), to be responsible for administration of justice (*Sifa* 司法), while the Supreme Court of Li (*Dalisi* 大理寺) was renamed as the Supreme Court (*Daliyuan* 大理院), to be specialized in trial hearing (*Shenpan* 審判) (Y.S. Huang 2000, 16). This signified important shift towards the direction of separating the administration of justice from the executive arm of the government. At the same time, students were sent abroad to Japan, Europe and America to pursue legal studies or training in law and politics (*Fazheng* 法政). This group of overseas students formed the core members of the legal community during the Republican period. Some of them returned as private practitioners while many became local judges and even senior judges at the Supreme Court (Y.S.Huang 2000, 40-56). Experts from Japan were employed to assist in revising legal codes and teaching at the newly established law schools and police academy.

Through these efforts, a number of important legal codes were drafted and

promulgated by the late Qing government. Among these the most important ones that affected trial hearings were the Provisional Articles for Local Courts (“PALC” *Geji shenpan ting shiban zhangcheng* 各級審判廳試辦章程), Court Organization Law (“COL” *Fayuan bianzhi fa* 法院編制法). These two important pieces of legislation laid down the basic system and principles upon which the court and trial hearing in Republican China operated. PALC promulgated in 1909 stipulated a number of fundamental changes in the justice system. It distinguished criminal cases from civil cases in trial procedures. It confirmed the court’s role as a separate and specialized institution for hearing and adjudicating lawsuits. It stipulated the use of adversarial trial system for criminal cases. It adopted a four-tier court system and allowed two appeals before a final judgment was reached (*siji sanshen* 四級三審).⁶ It empowered the Prosecution Bureau to be in charge of prosecution, investigation and arrests (Y.S. Huang 2000, 296-300). The COL promulgated in 1910 further provided in a more detailed manner for the system of trial and the jurisdiction of courts at respective tiers. It reaffirmed the independence of judiciary and the separation of criminal and civil hearings. It also once again stipulated the four-tier trial system and designated the Prosecution Bureau as the principal agency

⁶ Due to the lack of financial resources and newly trained judges, for a much longer time in the Republic this system was not put in place at the county level. County magistrates were still empowered to act both as the administrative and judicial heads. For background and details of counties’ administration of justice in the Republic, see Xu (2008).

for criminal investigation and prosecution. More importantly, it empowered the Supreme Court to act as the supervisory authority for all the courts at lower tiers and as the final authority for interpretation of legal codes (Y.S. Huang 2000, 301-302).

Despite these efforts in fundamentally changing the system of criminal trial, these newly enacted codes suffered from a number of drawbacks in providing sufficient practical guidance for judges to decide cases under the new justice system. PALC, given its provisional nature, was transitional in design and lacking in details. Supposedly PALC would cease effect after the nationwide legal codes on court system were completed. Huang Yuansheng commented that PALC was not even a set of formal and prudent legal codes and was overly simplistic and general (Y.S. Huang 2000: 300). In addition, PALC was limited in geographical influence because its applicability was confined only within the capital city. Although COL was supposed to be applicable to the entire country, it allowed eight years for each province to implement its recommended organization of law courts. Only after less than two years since the law was announced, the Qing government was overturned. Therefore it was doubtful if COL had ever been fully implemented in China.

Another full-blown effort was subsequently made by Shen Jaiben to nail down

the details of criminal procedures for China. With the assistance from Japanese advisors, Shen's team finalized the Draft Law of Criminal Procedures ("DLCP" *Xingshi susong lu caoan* 刑事訴訟律草案) in 1910. DLCP was divided into 6 chapters, covering the trial and appeal systems, the power and duties of the court and the judges, power of prosecution in investigation and trial hearing, rights and duties of the parties of trial hearing and jurisdictions of different courts. It also set out how documents were serviced and oral evidence was heard, how judgments were enforced and when an appeal was allowed. Procedures of operating modern types of punishments such as probation and imprisonment were also included. Huang Yuansheng (2000, 303-305) pointed out the key principles advocated by Shen Jaiben in this draft. First of all, contrary to the tradition of emphasis on confession of the accused, evidence in all available aspects (*Zhongzheng* 眾証), including but not limited to confession, was to be taken into account by the court in deciding a case. It was the judge, not the law, to attribute weights to each piece of evidence before coming up with a final judgment of fact. This is known as the principle of free evaluation of evidence (*Ziyou xinzheng* 自由心證). This principle was confirmed in article 326 of DLCP (DLCP 1910, 147). The second important change advocated by Shen through this draft was that hearings were conducted by face to face questioning of witnesses instead of judging a case based on documents or written

narratives (*Zhjie shenli* 直接審理). This principle was stipulated in article 52 of DLCP (DLCP 1910: 25). Thirdly, oral debate between the prosecution and the defence was stipulated as one of the most important litigation processes upon which the judge would make his final judgment. Lastly, adversarial mode was preferred over inquisitorial mode of hearing in criminal trials. Although DLCP was never implemented in Qing's time due to the outbreak of revolution, it was, by the Decree of the President issued in 1912, together with COL and PALC, tentatively applied by the courts of the Republic until the new set of codes for criminal procedures were enacted. The various new sets of codes in criminal procedures enacted after 1920s were also drafted by making additions and deletions to the DLCP (Y.S. Huang 2000: 305, 307-308).

While much works have been done in studying the judgments or trial hearings of civil cases of the Qing and Republican periods, previous scholarly works in relation to criminal justice in practice inside the court room during the early Republican period were not as much as we may desire. Huang Yuansheng (2000) provided us with one of the few important works in studying criminal justice of the early Republican era (1912-1914) by examining the judgments of the Supreme Court. This work on Supreme Court's judgments presented unprecedentedly useful

information about how statutes and ideologies borrowed from the West were interpreted and adopted by the highest judicial body of the Republic. However, as the Supreme Court was a final court of appeal that dealt primarily with viewpoints in law rather than the issues of facts, we are still lacking in materials as to how issues of facts and evidence were discussed and reasoned in the criminal court of first instance. Li Chunlei (2004) and Zhang Damei (2009) both recently studied the change in litigation procedures from the late Qing to the early Republican periods. They provided plentiful information and findings in relation to the change in system design and functions of various institutions. However, few cases and judgments of the Republican days were cited for providing how facts were reasoned and evidence was weighted in practice after the system change. Zhang Demei used a number of local cases to illustrate how judgments were written in the Republican period as compared with the imperial ones; however these cases were mostly civil cases. Klaus Muhlhahn's recent work (2009) on criminal justice of the Republic talked much about punishment than trial hearings. Jennifer Neighbors (2004) was one of the very few scholars who had studied the judgments of criminal cases of the lower courts during the Republican period. She reached a conclusion that Republican judges used the leeway allowed by the Provisional Criminal Code ("PCC" *Zanxing xinxinglu* 暂行新刑律) to practise Qing rules when they considered the mitigating

factors for sentencing homicide cases (Neighbors 2004, 249-251). We know from these previous academic works, especially the works of Philip Huang and his associates on civil cases in Qing and the Republic, that a binary division of modern and traditional legal system has been exaggerated and the continuity of old rules sometimes outweigh the change (Huang 2001, Neighbors 2004). However, we are yet to see more research in criminal trials, on top of the very good starting point made by Jennifer Neighbors.

The study presented in this chapter mainly concerns with how this complex process of change and continuity in criminal trial took place. More importantly, this chapter will discuss what kind of factors drove the appropriation of the new and the old rules in adjudicating criminal cases of the Republic. Cases studied in this chapter were sourced from the judgments contained in the Judgment Volume of the Beijing Local Court (“JBLC”) compiled in 1914 by a number of judges of the Beijing Local Court namely, Liu Yuyao, Zhang Lan, Zhang Zongru and Xiong Yuanhan. The JBLC contained judgments of 180 criminal cases and 92 civil cases written by numerous judges of the Beijing Local Court during the early years of the Republic. Criminal cases contained in JBLC were arranged under different offences according to the categorization in PCC, of which this chapter will

select representative ones as illustrations of major arguments.

CRIMINAL JUDGMENTS - FORM AND SUBSTANCE

The format of judgment for criminal cases handed down by the local courts was prescribed by DLCP. Under article 251 of DLCP, a judgment handed down by criminal court had to contain : the facts (*Shishi* 事實), the evidence (*Zhengju* 證據) and the law (*Falu* 法律). Missing any of the above could result in a valid reason for an appeal (DLCP 1910, 105). In actual practice, the local court judges admitted that they wrote their judgments based on the Japanese template (JVBJC 1914, 1). The 180 cases contained in the JVBJC revealed that a judgment of criminal court was divided into these sections : (1) the particulars of the accused including his or her name and native origin; (2) the main text (*Zhuwen* 主文); (3) the facts (*Shishi* 事實); (4) the reasons (*Liyou* 理由); (5) the date of judgment; (6) the names of the court and judges. When looking at the content of the criminal judgments in details, we can further understand what exactly each sections meant and contained. The main text section was actually the final verdict for the accused, which stated the final sentence. It also described how the important property exhibits or stolen goods were handled, for example, the knife used for murder or the money stolen by the defendant. These

tools or objects of crime were normally confiscated by the court or returned to the property owner. For the section on facts, it normally contained summaries of the followings: (i) a summary of facts on how each offence took place; (ii) a summary of the testimony or confession given by the accused during arrest and during trial respectively; (iii) a summary of the testimonies given by other witnesses; (iv) a very detailed autopsy account reported by the coroner; (v) a final judgment of facts; and (vi) the reasons behind such judgment of facts. The section on reasons actually contained not the reasons behind the judgment of facts but a citation of relevant sections of criminal law for determining the sentence of the accused. In homicide cases, for instance, normally the judge cited the major provision on homicide (PCC, article 310), then cited the mitigating or aggravating factors for imposing lesser or heavier sentence within the range allowed by PCC (PCC, article 54), followed by the announcement of final sentence. Although this division of the main text, facts and reasons of judgment was modeled upon the Japanese template, it was worth noting that the content of each section born resemblances to the requirement of the case rolls (*Anjuan* 案卷) during the imperial period. Zhang Demei describes what a case roll under Qing dynasty contained. A normal case roll in Qing era contained four documents, including a record of oral testimonies by the witnesses and the accused (*Gongzhuang* 供狀), a record of confession made by the accused

(*Zhaozhuang* 招狀), a record on the relevant sections of law cited by the judge to decide a case (*Dingyi* 定義), and a record that documented the handling of the property exhibits or stolen goods (*Juzhao* 舉照) (D.M. Zhang 2009, 174-178).

While both DLCP and the imperial case roll required descriptions of testimonies and citation of applicable laws, DLCP considered handling of property exhibits as ancillary and did not require separate description. The Republican judges, nevertheless, followed the old practices of describing the final handling of the property exhibits of the case. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 below are copies from the JVBLC where we can notice a specific description about the final handling of property exhibits (*Juzhao* 舉照), placed in the judgment after a description on the handling of the accused. In Figure 4.1, the main text of the judgment described that the murderer was sentenced to death and the chopper used by the defendant was confiscated. In Figure 4.2, the main text of the judgment stated that the defendant, a police constable, was sentenced to imprisonment of one year and six months. It also ordered that the hand-gun and bullets used by him be returned to the police district.

Fig.4.1

張德慶犯殺人一罪處死刑犯猥褻行為未遂一罪處四等有期徒刑一年執行死刑
 刀一把沒收

主文

右列被告因殺人及猥褻未遂案經檢察官王勳彝蒞庭本廳審理判決如左

被告張德慶棗強縣人住興隆街如意齋切麵鋪年三十歲鋪夥

判決

張德慶殺張林堂一案判詞

Fig. 4.2

右被告因殺人未遂案經檢察官馬為琬蒞庭本廳審理判決如左

主文

馬德春處四等有期徒刑一年六月未決期內羈押日數以二日抵徒刑一日并褫奪為
 官員及入軍籍之資格十年手鎗及子彈等件發還警區

Source: JVBLC 1914, homicide & wounding 23, 75

Another important aspect to note in the written judgments of the Republican criminal courts was the record of autopsy. Examination of the corpse was a very important matter under the Qing Code. Autopsy was taken very seriously in a trial and the autopsy report formed a crucial piece of evidence for the yamen magistrates in deciding homicide cases. Under the Qing Code, there were detailed rules as to the ways for conducting examination of the corpse and explicit requirements for the confirmation of the autopsy report. It also provided for the mechanism to appeal against the results of autopsy by the relatives of the dead. During the Republican period, autopsy description also formed an important part in the section of facts in a judgment. In the judgment of homicide cases written by the judges of Beijing Local Court, autopsy summary sometimes occupied more length than the summaries of testimonies of witnesses. More importantly, the autopsy summary contained in a Republican judgment was written in the format similar to the corpse form used in the Qing period. Under the Qing rules, a corpse form (*Shige* 屍格) prescribes the procedures for carrying out an autopsy examination. The results of the coroners' examination had to be filled into a corpse form according to the following sequence and format (D.M. Zhang 2009, 104):

Note :([] indicates the particulars or results of examination, to be filled in by the coroner)

“In [] prefecture [] town [] county, on [] year [] month [] day, the corpse of [] was examined

Face Up

Top of head, left side [], right side []. Head, left side [], right side [].

Forehead, corners of forehead []. The Sun acupuncture points (Tai Yang Xue) []. Two eyebrows []. Two eyes []. Two cheeks []. Two ears [].

Nose and nostrils []. The part below the nostrils and above the lips (Ren Zhong) []. Upper and lower lips []. Chin []. Throat []. Acupuncture points between the shoulder and the neck (*Quepen xue* 缺盆穴) []. Scapula [].

Armpits []. Wrists []. Palms []. Fingers, fingertips and finger nails []. Chest []. Breast []. Heart []. Abdomen []. Ribs []. Umbilicus []. Groin []. Lower abdomen []. Scrotum, penis, waist, vagina []. Thigh, kneecap and calf []. Foot and toes [].

Face Down

Back of Head []. Hair []. Ear []. Neck []. Shoulder []. Wrist [].

Back of Palm []. Fingers []. Backbone []. Back of Ribs []. Anus [].

Thigh and calf []. Ankle and sole of foot []. Toes and toe-nails [].

After examination, it was concluded that [name of the victim] was killed by [cause of death]

Name of coroner []”

（“某府某州某縣某年 月 日檢到某人屍形

仰面

頂心（有無色傷朱填，下同）偏左 偏右

總門偏左 偏右 額顛 額角 兩太陽穴 兩眉

眉從 兩眼泡 兩眼 雙睛 兩頰腮 兩耳

兩耳輪 兩耳垂 兩耳竅 鼻根 鼻準 兩鼻孔

人中 上下唇吻 上下齒 頷頰 咽喉 食氣

頰 兩缺盆穴 兩肩胛 兩腋肌 合膊 兩曲腋

兩手腕 兩手心 十指 十指肚 十指尖 十指尖縫

胸腔 兩乳 心坎 肚腹 兩肋 兩肋

肚臍 兩膀 小腹 陰囊 玉莖 外腎

婦人產門（處子曰陰門） 兩腿 兩膝 兩膝肋

兩腳腕 兩腳面

十指 十指爪

合面

腦後 髮 髮際 兩耳根 項頸 兩臂膊

兩胳膊

兩手腕 兩手背 十指指甲 脊背 脊脊

兩後（肋脇）

腰眼 兩臂 谷道 兩腿 兩曲腋 兩

腿肚 兩腳踝

兩腳跟 兩腳心 十趾 十趾肚 十趾爪縫

對從定驗得某人果因某處致命

驗屍人等”）

In a homicide against Yu for murdering Li in 1912, the autopsy summary contained in the final judgment showed the following description (punctuations added):

“Coroner’s examination of Li Dashun’s corpse in the face-up position showed that the face color is red, two eyes were open, left cheek had a wound : one inch in length, seven *fen* (分) in width, and two *fen* in depth, deep into the bone but the bone was not hurt. Throat was wounded by a sharp object near to its left side. There were three wounds, each of them was three to four *fen* in length and less than one *fen* in width. Left scapula was wounded by a sharp knife. The wound was one and a half *fen* in length, one *fen* in width. Fingers were wounded by a sharp object, the second, third and the fourth fingers were wounded. The length of the wound could not be measured and the depth was down into the bone. The bone was also hurt. The upper chest was wounded by a knife. The wound was seven *fen* in width, two *fen* in depth. The lower chest was also wounded by a knife with two wounds, each of them was around four to five *fen* in length and two *fen* in width. The depth of the wounds was down to the bone but the bone was not hurt. The left breast was injured by a knife. The wound was one inch and one *fen* in length, two *fen* in width. The parts near the heart and the ribs on the right side were injured by a knife. Wounds were around six to seven *fen* and two *fen* in width. The wounds were deep down to bone but the bone was not hurt.....” (JVBLC 1914, homicide & wounding 53)

(“驗明已死李大順屍身仰面、面色赤、兩眼胞開、左腮頰青赤皮肉破傷一處：

量斜長一寸、七分闊、二分深，斜至骨，骨未損。尖刀物扎傷咽喉、偏左、紅赤皮肉破傷三處，各量長三四分不等，各闊未及一分。尖刀割傷左肩甲，紅赤皮破傷一處：量長一寸五分、闊一分。尖刀物割傷十指，散左手二三四指，近上青赤皮肉破傷相連一處，相連難量分寸，深至骨，骨損。刀物傷胸膛，近上青赤皮肉破口傷一處：量七分闊、二分深、斜透內。尖刀物扎傷胸膛，近下青赤皮肉破傷二處，各量長四五分不等，各闊二分，均深至骨，骨未損。尖刀物扎傷右乳，青赤皮肉破口傷一處：量斜長一寸一分、闊二分，深斜透內。尖刀物扎傷心坎並右肋，各有青赤皮肉破傷一處，各量長六七分不等，各闊二分，均深至骨，骨未損……”)

In another case of the same year, Zhang was charged with murdering a nun called Jao . The section of facts in the judgment contained an autopsy description as follows (punctuations added) :

“Coroner’s examination of Jao’s corpse in the face-up position showed that the face was light red in colour. The forehead was wounded. The wound was one inch and five fen in length and deep down to the bone. The bone was also hurt as a result. The left corner of her forehead was hurt by a knife. There were two wounds, each of them was approximately two inch and one to two fen in length, one fen in width and deep down to the bone. The bone was hurt as a result. The right corner of the forehead was hurt by a knife. There were two wounds, each of them was

approximately three inch and one fen in length, one fen in width and deep down to the bone. The bone was hurt as a result. Her left eye was wounded by a knife. Her right eye was open. Eyes were swollen. The length of the wound could not be measured because the wound was linked with swollen parts. Left cheek and left ear were hurt by punches. Wounds were around two inch and four to five fen in length, one fen in width, deep down to the bone. The bone was hurt as a result. Right cheek was injured by a knife. There were six wounds, whose length could not be measured. All of them were deep down to the bone and the bone was also hurt as a result. Multiple wounds caused by a knife were found on the right wrist. The wounds were six fen in length, one fen in width, deep down to the bone but the bone was not hurt. Fingers were wounded by a knife. Right knees were injured. The wound was on the left side. It was one inch and five fen in length, one fen in width and deep down to the bone. The bone was however not hurt. When the body was placed in a face down position, examination showed that the back of the head was wounded. The wound was two inch and one fen in length, one fen in width and deep down to the bone. The skull was hurt as a result. Examination revealed that she died because of the injuries caused by punches and stabbing by knife-object. The results of examination were filed in the corpse form.” (JVBLC 1914, homicide & wounding 53)

（“驗得已死覺正仰面，面色微赤、額顱青赤皮肉破口傷一處：量直斜長一寸五分，深至骨，骨損。刃物砍傷左額角，青赤皮肉破口傷二處，各量長二寸一二分不等，各闊一分，均至骨，骨損。刃物砍傷右額角，青赤皮肉破口傷一處：量直長三寸一分、闊一分，深至骨，骨損。刃物砍傷左眼胞，開右眼胞，

青腫傷相連一處，難量分寸。拳傷左腮腠井、左耳，各有青赤皮肉破口傷一處，各量長二寸四五分不等，各闊一分，均深至骨，骨損。刃物砍傷右腮腠，青赤皮破口傷橫斜相連六處，難量分寸，均深至骨，骨損。重疊刃物砍傷右手腕，青赤皮肉破口傷一處：量長六分、闊一分，深至骨，骨未損。刃物傷十指，散右膝，偏左青赤皮肉破口傷一處，長一寸五分，闊一分，深至骨，骨未損。刃物砍傷合面，腦後偏左青赤皮肉破口傷一處：量長二寸一分、闊一分，深至骨，骨損。刃物砍傷驗畢。委係帶拳傷因刃物砍傷身死填格附卷。”)

It is clear from aforementioned two autopsy reports that the coroners in the early Republican period were still following the Qing's procedures of examination of corpse. They used the same top-to-bottom, face-up-to-face-down approach of examination i.e. from color of the face to head, from cheek to nose to throat, from shoulders to arms to hands and fingers, from chest to abdomen to the lower part, and lastly to legs and toes before examining the back of the head and body in a face down position. They applied the same technical terminologies as the coroners used in Qing's corpse form, such as *Yangmian* (Face up 仰面) and *Hemian* (Face down 合面). They wrote reports and filled out information in the format similar to that of the Qing's corpse form. These format, procedures and substances were accepted by the

Republican judges, who placed the coroner's report written in Qing's format as an important part of the written judgment of Republican criminal cases.

MULTI-FORUM HEARING

During imperial time, legal cases were heard not only at yamen. Zhang Demei described the tradition of multi-forum hearing in imperial China by quoting the explanatory notes for yamen magistrates (*Zhaojieshuo* [Qing] 招解說): "The evidence given at the scene should be collected with care and in details, including the testimonies from the relatives of the dead and the murderer, and other evidence from the location. After examination [at the scene], all of them were brought back to the county [yamen] and tried. During the trial hearing, the cause and the reason of the case should be asked again in details. The trial will be adjourned after collection of testimonies. The essence (after taking away unnecessary details) of the testimonies collected at the location and at the trial hearing were reported [to the senior officials]." (當場所供，凡在場屍親，地證，兇手各供一詞，務細問，不可粗忽。驗畢，帶一千人犯回縣，當堂初審，細問起衅、謀、故等情由，不厭多問。取供退堂，則擇其供詞要語入初報。一時將當場、當堂兩次供詞，刪其煩文通報，不加省語。)(Guo et al eds 1999, 565-567 in D.M. Zhang 2009, 135). This required the

magistrate to visit the crime scene to collect testimonies from the relatives of the dead and to look for physical evidence from the place where the offence took place. Evidence will be heard again when trial hearing was subsequently held at the yamen. During the imperial period, a magistrate was responsible for a bundle of duties in relation to a lawsuit. These included investigating on the key facts, collecting evidence, hearing oral testimonies, adjudicating and mediating a legal case. Separation of these duties did not form a crucial part of the Chinese legal practice. The duty of finding the truth and closing a case mattered more to the magistrate than keeping himself impartial in the process of collecting evidence. It was not unusual that hearing of a case involved multi-forums inside and outside the yamen for the purpose of collecting necessary evidence. This practice continued into the Republic, despite the adoption of the adversarial mode of trial under the DLCP. In a homicide case in Beijing where Dong and others were charged with murdering Chen in 1913, the court judge went with the prosecutor to the home of Dong. Physical search was conducted there and thirty- two pawn shop receipts were found. These receipts were given to the pawn shop for redemption. The clothes of the deceased were found in one of these redeemed items. These clothes formed the key evidence upon which the defendants were convicted (JVBLC 1914, homicide & wounding 32).

STANDARD OF PROOF

The standard of proof is the amount or level of evidence with which the judge must be satisfied for convicting the defendant in a criminal trial. Under the English law, such standard in general is beyond a reasonable doubt. What exactly should amount to a level that is beyond a reasonable doubt depends on individual cases and to a certain extent varies according to different judges and jurors of different societies. It is inevitably a mental evaluation and decision process of an individual judge and juror on the truth of facts, despite guidelines from case precedents or statutes. In criminal trial under the Chinese imperial system, legal codes of various dynasties also prescribed certain kind of standard of proof for the magistrate to follow when they considered evidence. Zhang Demei tried to understand these standards by referring to these imperial codes, which were summarized briefly in Table 4.1 below (emphasis added):

Table 4.1

Dynasty	Standard of proof cited	Source of extracts
Tang	<u>If the evidence of crime was conspicuous after examination and there is</u>	Tang Code Shuyi, vol 29, judging case (唐律疏議卷二九《斷獄》)

	<p><u>no reason to doubt the truth of facts.</u> [the magistrate] should judge based on the evidence, although there is no [confession] for him to rely on. (若<u>賊狀露驗</u>，<u>理不可疑</u>，雖不承引，即據狀斷之。)</p>	
Song	<p>From now on judging on crimes should be based on the kind of crimes, should rule according to laws, decrees, forms and formats...the verdict can only be decided <u>when the facts are not doubttable.</u> (今後凡有刑獄，宜據所犯罪名，須</p>	<p>Song Criminal Code, vol 30, judging case (宋刑統卷三〇《斷獄》)</p>

	具引律、令、格、式，… <u>事實無疑</u> ，方得定罪。)	
Yuan	<p>...<u>Evidence was clear after examination and the facts are not doubtable,</u></p> <p>judgment should be made accordingly (…<u>臧驗明白，理無可疑</u>，亦聽依上歸結。)</p>	Yuan History, criminal code section(元史，刑法志)
Ming	<p>...<u>when testimonies from the inmate are clear, examinations are well-conducted, there is no injustice after the trial,</u></p> <p>[the case] should be decided according to the law and forwarded to the Board of Punishment for</p>	Ming Code, vol 28, criminal code - judging case(大明律卷二八《刑律斷獄門》)

	<p>feedback. (...凡獄囚<u>鞫問</u> <u>明白</u>，<u>追勘完備</u>…。<u>審</u> <u>錄</u>，<u>無冤</u>，依律擬議， 轉達刑部定議奏聞回 報。)</p>	
Qing	<p>If a case was decided recklessly, <u>without</u> <u>evidence</u> and as a result people were convicted erroneously, the [judging magistrate] will be dismissed. (其草率定 案，<u>証據無憑</u>，枉坐人罪 者…革職。)</p>	<p>Qing Code, criminal code - judging case (lower section) (大清律例《刑 律 斷獄(下)》)</p>

Source: D.M. Zhang 2009, 115-116

Zhang Demei is of the view that “the truth of facts are understood clearly with
no reason to doubt” (*Shishi mingbai, liwu keyi* 事實明白，理無可疑) can be

generally understood as the prescribed legal standard of proof of imperial China

(D.M. Zhang 2009: 116).

Article 326 of DLCP prescribed the standard of proof by which the judge had to apply in arriving a judgment of fact under the reformed criminal justice system: “The judge should freely evaluate the weight of evidence and confirm the truth of facts according to evidence” (認定事實應依證據，證據之證明力任推事自由判斷。).

In explaining when and how this standard of proof could be achieved, Shen Jiaben further elaborated in his note on the legislative reason to Article 326. He relied on the Tang Code. The note to Article 326 of DLCP stated : “ This article abolishes the principle of oral testimony, and adopts the principle of multiple evidence. Judging a case may not need to totally rely on oral testimony. As said in the Tang Code

(emphasis added) : if the evidence of crime was conspicuous after examination and

there is no reason to doubt the truth of facts, [the magistrate] should judge based on

the evidence, even though there is no [confession] for him to rely on. Nowadays

many other countries are following the principle of multiple evidence. It is because

this is in accordance with the judicial principles and the practical benefits.” (謹按本

條第一項明揭廢止口供主義，採用眾證主義。按斷案不必盡據口供，已見唐律，

所謂賊狀露顯，理不可疑，雖不承引，即據狀斷者是也。……今各國無不採眾

證主義，亦以其合於法理與實益也。)(DLCP 1910, 147). In summary, DLCP asked the judge to decide on a legal case based on evidence of multiple sources, and such evidence should be up to a state where there is no reason to doubt the truth of facts. This was a lively synthesis of the imperial teaching and the Western notion of weighing evidence. From the criminal case judgments of the Beijing Local Court, it is clear that this synthesis was applied in the court room since the establishment of the Republic. After reviewing and summarizing the testimonies and available evidence, the judges in over 100 cases contained in the JVBLC made the following representations about the standard of proof they applied in arriving at their final judgments of facts: “confirm the truth of facts according to all testimonies and evidence” (*Ge gongzheng/ zhengju gongci rending shishi* 各供證/證據供詞認定是實) (13 cases), “confirm the truths of facts according to evidence” (*Yi zhengju rending shishi* 依證據認定是實) (19 cases), “confirm with certainty the truth of facts” (*Ying renwei queding shishi* 應認為確定事實) (23 cases), “confirm with certainty the truth of facts according to the above testimonies and evidence” (*Yingju yishang ge gongzheng renwei queding shishi* 應據以上各供證認為確定事實) (20 cases), “confirm the truth of facts with certainty without any doubt” (*Haowu yiyi ying renwei queding shishi* 毫無疑義應認為確定事實) (8 cases), “confirm the truth of facts with certainty according to sufficient evidence” (*Zhengju chongfen/quezao*

yingji renwei queding shishi 證據充分/確鑿應即認為確定事實) (11 cases),

“confirm the truth of facts according to the above testimonies” (*Ju yishang ge gong*

rending shishi 據以上各供認定事實) (7 cases) (JVBLC 1914). Despite minor

variation in the choice of dictions, the above statements all point to a similar

representation of a standard of proof, which I would summarize as : according to

available evidence and testimonies, the truth of facts was confirmed with no doubt

(*Yi/ju (ge) gong, zheng, haowu yiyi ren(ding) wei queding shi/shishi* 依/據(各)供、

證，毫無疑義認(定)為確定事/是實).

This is clearly a newly established legal document template language that the Republican judges applied in ruling criminal cases. In reality, it may not mean that the evidence of each case really supported the standard represented by these judges. Further research needs to be done in ascertaining what exactly would or should amount to the level of certainty required by the standard of confirmation of the truth of facts with no doubt. More importantly, from the judgments we are yet to understand whose doubt the judges were referring to. A doubt of an ordinary citizen would mean differently from the doubt of an ordinary judge. All of these require a more in-depth study on the writings and representations of these Republican judges, in Beijing and other major cities, for a much longer span of time,

which would go beyond the scope and object of the present study. Nonetheless, from the above findings at least it is clear that the Republican judges and the Republican laws of criminal procedures vividly combined the Western principles of evidence and the imperial teachings in forming their representation on the standard of proof for deciding on criminal cases of early twentieth-century China.

MITIGATING SENTENCES

One of the key differences between the PCC and the Qing Code in governing criminal offences was that the Qing Code provided for specific punishment for offences committed under specific situations. Examples are division of homicide into premeditated homicide (*Mousha* 謀殺), intended homicide (*Gusha* 故殺), mistaken homicide (*Wusha* 誤殺), negligent homicide (*Guoshi'sha* 過失殺), etc. Different sentences were prescribed by the Qing Code for homicides with different intents (Neighbors 2004, 246-247). However, under the PCC, the judge was given discretion to consider “reduction of penalty for one to two grades, depending on the intent of the criminal and the circumstances of the offences” (審案犯人心術及犯罪之事實其情輕者得減本刑一等或二等) (PCC, article 54). This article of PCC provided neither specific circumstances upon which sentences could be mitigated nor

guidelines upon which the discretion should be exercised. The leeway left the judges with space in applying Qing rules that they were accustomed to (Neighbors 2004, 249-250). The point of application of Qing rules has been studied by Jennifer Neighbors who told us in her doctoral dissertation that when the judge of the Republic applied article 54 of PCC for mitigating sentence, they applied the Qing rules in differentiating homicide intents and impose sentences accordingly. Not only the Qing rules, as I will argue in the following cases, customary ideas and traditional Chinese legal thoughts also formed additional grounds for the Republican judges to consider in evaluating the sentence for criminal cases.

In 1912 Yu Futing was charged with murdering Li Dashun. On 22nd September 1912, Yu hired Li 's leather trolley to carry goods for moving home. When the trolley arrived at the destination, Yu asked Li to help moving the goods into the house. Li refused to help and went into quarrel with Yu. Yu slapped on Li's face. Li took out a small knife from the trolley and attacked Yu. Yu seized the knife during the fight and stabbed onto Li. Yu ran away and Li chased after him. Yu then turned around and further stabbed onto Li's chest. Li fell onto the ground and died. Police subsequently arrested Li at his home. Yu pleaded guilty upon arrest and the court convicted him of homicide charge. Article 310 for PCC stated

that a murderer could be sentenced to death penalty, life imprisonment or imprisonment for up to 15 years. The judge sentenced the defendant to life imprisonment. The judge wrote that the sentence was based on the mitigating factor that the homicide was not premeditated (JVBLC 1914, homicide & wounding 51-55). This fell under the Qing Code where unpremeditated homicides including mistaken homicide, homicide during fighting, negligent homicide should be punished by relatively lighter sentence.

In another homicide case, Zhang Shikui was convicted of murdering a nun called Jao Cheng. Zhang did not know Jao in the first place. Every time when he walked past a temple in Beijing where Jao stayed, Zhang oftentimes stared at Jao. Jao in return scolded at Zhang. On 20th May 1912, Zhang went to the temple again to find Jao to settle the long-standing dispute. Jao once again scolded at Zhang. Jao also slapped on Zhang's face and grabbed his hair. Zhang found a chopper at the temple and threatened Jao. During the struggle Jao was stabbed and died afterwards. Zhang ran away and was subsequently arrested by the police. Upon arrest, Zhang pleaded guilty to the charge. After hearing testimonies from witnesses and the coroner, Zhang was convicted by the judge. He was not sentenced to death but life imprisonment based on the mitigating factor that he had

no intention to kill Jao when he met her. The homicide case took place due to the fear of not being able to escape from Jao. The judge said the tragedy occurred due to his anxiety and was not premeditated (JVBLC 1914, homicide & wounding 55-59). Like the first case, when imposing sentencing, the judge differentiated this case from premeditated homicide cases in the way similar to the requirements under the Qing Code.

The above cases confirmed Jennifer Neighbors' argument on the application of the Qing Code by the Republican judges in differentiating between premeditated and unpremeditated homicide cases.

In the next two cases, the homicide was caused by the urge to rescue or take revenge for parents. The sense of family piety involved in the cases received additional mercy from the court and helped differentiated them from homicide cases of more evil intents. In addition, the judge in these cases applied the principle of balance between the law and circumstances (*Renqing* 人情) upheld by the Qing judge in ruling cases (Shuzo 1998, 47-51; Z.Q. Wang 2008, 294-298).

In the case where Wang Wenguang was charged with murdering Wang Xinian in

1913, the homicide occurred due to the need for rescuing the accused's mother.

Wang Wenguang's mother – Liu Zhang, lived with Wang Xinian after the death of her former husband. Subsequently Liu found that Wang Xinian had married to a woman and had children. Since then Liu and Wang Xinian often quarreled. One day in May, 1913 Wang Xinian's another wife came to ask for money from Wang Xinian. Wang Xinian asked Liu for 20 Yuan but was declined. They quarreled and Wang Xinian took out a chopper and stabbed Liu. Liu's finger was chopped off as a result. Wang Wenguang came and saw his mother crying on the floor. Wang Wenguang seized the chopper and stabbed Wang Xinian to death. Their neighbors heard this and reported to the police. Wang Wenguang was arrested by the police. At the trial hearing, both Liu and Wang Wenguang testified that Wang Xinian had attempted to rape Liu's daughter on that day. They said Liu stopped Wang Xinian and was stabbed by Wang Xinian as a result. Wang Wenguang said he was under this urgent situation that he had seized the chopper and stabbed Wang Xinian. The court, upon hearing testimonies given by their neighbors, found that Liu had quarreled with Wang Xinian over money matters and some of the neighbors had tried to mediate the disputes. The court found the testimony that the homicide was caused by an attempted rape was a fabrication. The court therefore convicted Wang Wenguang of the homicide charge. The killing was found to be caused by the

fear of one's mother being killed. As a result, the defendant was sentenced to life imprisonment instead of death penalty. In giving the reasons for the sentence, the judge wrote that the accused committed the homicide in an attempt to save his mother. This circumstance was to be mercied. (*Qing shangke yuan* 情尚可原). If heavy penalty was imposed, the balance between the law and the circumstances would be lost (*Ruo jing chuyi zhongdian zhuanshi qingfa zhi ping* 若竟處以重典轉失情法之平). This mitigating factor outweighed the possible aggravating factor of fabricating evidence of an attempted rape⁷ (JVBLC 1914, 59-62).

In another case where Yang Dianyuan was convicted of homicide against Wang Dianyuan in 1912, the dead was the murderer of the accused's father. Yang's father served as a patrol officer in Beijing under the Qing dynasty. Wang at one time caused disturbances at the Wangpi Hutong in Beijing. Yang's father was sent to stop Wang. Wang resisted and stabbed Yang's father to death. The case was reported to Board of Punishment of Qing government but Wang ran away without being caught for many years. The murderer, Wang, subsequently served as a police

⁷ According to Jennifer Neighbors (2004, 171) the sentence was further reduced to 15 years of imprisonment upon appeal. Neighbors used the same case to mainly highlight the Republican judge's application of Qing's rules relating to unpremeditated homicide caused by sudden intent to mitigate sentences; while I would also stress that the customary ideas such as filial piety and balance between the law and the circumstances (*qingfa zhiping* 情法之平) were also seriously considered by the judge in making his judgment, as shown in the next case as well.

constable under the Republic in 1912. On 16th December, 1912 Yang heard that Wang was around in Beijing city again so he went to catch him for the case of his father's death. Wang resisted again and tried to stab Yang. Yang took a chopper from a trolley and chopped over Wang's head. Yang then went to the police station and handed himself over to the police. Wang died afterwards and Yang was charged with murder. The court interviewed a number of witnesses who were involved in the previous case of murder of Yang's father. Subsequent investigation confirmed that the case had taken place in the 17th year of Guang Xu and had been recorded with the former Board of Punishment. The court ruled that Yang's act of chasing after the murderer of his father was righteous and that the way how the tragedy had occurred should be mercied. The judge in his final judgment said "... the law is to safeguard the utmost justice. Yang pursued the revenge at the expense of his own safety. His will and act should be mercied. Moreover, he has no premeditation in killing..." (...律以不共戴天之義楊殿元奮不顧身前往殉仇志行均堪矜憫且無謀殺之意...). The court further ruled that Yang's act of handing himself over to the police should also be considered as one of the mitigating factors. The defendant was finally sentenced to an imprisonment of eight months, which was almost the lightest penalty for a homicide case (JVBLC 1914, 76-79).

The aforementioned cases confirmed that the Republican judges, when faced with insufficient guidelines and precedents, tended to apply the Qing rules, customary ideas as well as traditional legal thoughts in deciding sentences for criminal cases.

CONFESSION AND EVIDENCE

The above findings showed the continuity of former imperial legal practices into the criminal trial procedures of the Republic. On the other hand, the Republican judges also demonstrated a quick adoption of important switch away from the traditional way of evaluating evidence, as required by the new laws. This was illustrated by the way how confession and other available evidence were considered in the criminal trials.

One of the key principles advocated by the DLCP was eliminating the traditional practice of over reliance on the confession of the accused. Under DLCP, the judge is required to consider and evaluate all available evidence, including but not limited to confession made by the accused. The principle of free evaluation of evidence was spelt out in Article 326 of DLCP and its note of legislative reasons.

Under this principle, the judge had the final discretion to decide on the weight and reliability of all kinds of evidence in coming up with the final decision of facts (J.K. Chen 1930, 11). While confession is one type of evidence that the court can take into account, it is not conclusive evidence (Y.S. Huang 2000: 338-341). The following homicide cases show how the judges dealt with confessions and adopted this change according to the new legal requirements.

In 1912, Lu Yongshun was charged with murdering his uncle, Lu Delin. Lu Yongshun was employed by Lu Delin to work in his jewelry shop located in Beijing. On the 3rd October, 1912, the jewelry shop was on fire and Lu Delin was found dead after the fire was extinguished. Lu Yongshun had escaped by climbing over the rear wall of the shop before the fire spread to his bedroom. On the 13th day, Lu Yongfeng, nieces of the deceased, and another apprentice Chang went to stay at the jewelry shop. Lu Yongfeng was killed while Chang was seriously injured during their stay. Lu Yongshun ran away and was caught by gendarmeries. Upon arrest, Lu Yongshun confessed that he had killed Lu Delin and Lu Yongfeng, and injured Chang. However, the defendant reversed his prior confession during the trial hearing and denied all the charges.

Investigations revealed that the defendant had the intention to seize control of the jewelry shop. It was suspected that this was the motive for the arson and the murder of Lu Delin. However, the judge said this underlying cause was not sufficient for convicting the defendant of the charge. The judge considered the evidence of this case in four parts:-

1. Evidence from examination of the corpse – examination of the corpse revealed that the purplish-red wound over the neck was an evidence of Lu Delin being strangled to death. Also, Lu Delin's body was not curled after burning. This showed that he had been killed by strangling prior to the fire and was not burnt to death.
2. Evidence of arson – investigations showed that a bucket of oil bought and stored at the shop prior to the fire had been used up.
3. Evidence of homicide – During that night the defendant, Lu Yongshun slept at the rear part of the shop and Lu Delin slept at the front part of the shop where the fire took place. According to the defendant's testimony, he was awakened by the smoked and fell into unconsciousness right after. He further said he was then awakened by the cold wind and ran over the rear wall to escape. The judge queried that if this had been the case, the defendant would not have been able to

testify as to the location where the fire started. If the fire had been so serious that the defendant was awakened by the smoke, he would also not have been able to dress properly and escaped. Also, a ladder was found at the rear wall from which the defendant had escaped from the fire. However the ladder had been originally placed at the front part of the shop. The judge queried how the defendant had been able to get the ladder by getting through the fire at the front part of the shop and escaped from the rear part. Had he been able to get through the fire to get the ladder he would have been able to open the front door to escape.

4. When being interrogated by the brother of Lu Delin, Lu Yongshun showed a facial expression of remorse. The defendant during the final debate also showed his inability to give details and the intention of shifting responsibility.

Accordingly, the judge ruled that Lu Yongshun had killed both Lu Delin and Lu Yongfeng, committed arson and injured Chang . He was convicted of all the charges and sentenced to death according to Article 310 of PCC (JVBLC 1914, homicide & wounding 1-8).

In the above case the defendant was, during trial hearing, allowed to reverse the

confession previously made to the police when he was arrested. The judge did not just rely on the prior confession but considered other available evidence including testimonies of witnesses, the possible underlying motivation of the defendant, physical conditions of the crime scene, the attitude and facial expression of the defendants during interrogation, and the autopsy report to come up with a final judgment on the facts of the case.

In another case, Tang Guojun was charged with murdering his schoolmates, Yang Zhihua at a medical school in Beijing. Tang was found to have homosexual relationship with Yang for some time. When Yang refused to continue to have sexual behavior with Tang, Tang started to suspect that Yang had fallen into relationship with another and was angry. Another schoolmate reported their relationship to the school authority, which subsequently dismissed both Tang and Yang from studies. Yang then begged for being allowed to stay and was retained by the medical school. At around midnight of 15th September, 1912, Tang entered the bedroom of Yang and stabbed him on more than ten places over his body. Yang screamed and Tang jumped from the window of Yang's room to escape. Tang hurt his shoulder and leg when falling onto the ground. Other students living on the same floor heard the noise and discovered the incident. When the school official

went into Yang's room, Yang asked for help and said he had been attacked by Tang.

Yang was then sent to hospital but died. Tang was arrested by gendarmeries.

Upon arrest, he made confession of the murder charge. However, he reversed the

confession and pleaded not guilty at the trial hearing. The accused was finally

convicted by the trial judge based on the consideration of the following evidence:

1. Examination of the corpse showed that Yang was stabbed by a knife to death.

Examination of lower part of the dead also showed that Yang had been engaged

in anal sex. Upon hearing evidence the judge believed that the accused was

angry about the loss of relationship with the deceased. This formed the motive

underlying the homicide.

2. According to defendant's testimony, his classmate, Yang was the one that hurt

and killed the deceased. However, other classmates heard from the deceased

that it was the defendant who had injured the deceased.

3. Tang said he hurt his shoulder and legs due to the fact that he had fallen from the

staircase. However, according to testimony of the students living at the same

dormitory, the defendant was seen to have fallen from the window and found

lying on the ground floor. (JVBLC 1914, homicide & wounding 9-13)

In applying the principles stated by the DLCP, the defendant in this case was again allowed by the court to reverse his prior confession. The judge did not just consider the prior confession but other available evidence including testimonies given by witnesses, possible underlying motivation behind the murder, physical conditions of the crime scene, and the autopsy report to make his final judgment on the truth of facts.

Sometimes, when the Republican judges faced with the issues of fact that he lacked the knowledge to determine such as medical conditions of the defendants, they invited experts to conduct examination and testify at the court. However, the expert evidence, similar to the confession made by the accused, was not conclusive and was subject to the judge's evaluation and weighing against other evidence.

This was again a demonstration of the application of the principle of free evaluation of multiple evidence, where the judge had the final discretion to decide on the weight and reliability of all kinds of evidence in coming up with the final decision of facts. The two cases below show how the judges evaluated medical evidence according to the above principle.

In 1912, Li Younian was charged with murdering Su Fengjun and attempting to

murder Fu Chunpo. . Li, Su and Fu were shareholders of a cloth shop in Beijing. Li began to have relationship with a woman in 1911. Su and Fu worried about the fact that Li might over-spend money on this woman and repeatedly asked Li to be mindful about the situation. Li, however, did not accept the advice. On 11th February, 1912, Su and Fu talked to Li about the matter again, which antagonized Li. On that night after Su and Fu had went to bed, Li used a chopper to stab Su at her chest and Fu at his head. Su was killed and Fu seriously injured as a result. Other fellow staff called the police to arrest Li. Li made confession to the police upon arrest. However, when case was tried at the court, the defendant denied the charge. Li testified that he had killed Su and injured Fu due to the fact that he was insane and unconscious when committing the offence (JVBLC 1914, homicide & wounding 13-16).

In this case the defendant was again, during trial hearing, allowed to reverse the confession made to the police when he was arrested. The judge did not rely on the prior confession but considered other available evidence. The key issue to this case is whether the defendant was insane during the course of murder. On this issue the judge called upon a medical expert to give evidence. Upon medical examination, the judge was satisfied that the defendant was not insane at the time of trial hearing.

However, the medical examination could not tell if he was insane during the course of committing the crime. This issue was considered by the judge as a matter of fact which he had the discretion to make a final decision, after taking into account other available circumstantial evidence. The judge said that if the defendant was insane, why he had only chopped those shareholders who had badmouthed his relationship with another woman but had not also killed the others. Based upon circumstantial evidence, the defendant was believed to have been medically sound in mind when he committed the crime and was therefore convicted as charged.

In another homicide case that took place in 1912, the reversal of prior confession and medical evidence were also the key issues to be dealt with by the criminal court. The accused, Chao Chenglu lived in the fish shop of his cousin, Li Yongfu. Chao asked Li if he could work in the fish shop. Li Yongfu declined the request and said it was his partner, Li Fu who did not want to employ Chao. Previously, Chao was involved in a lawsuit with a guy known as Zhang and Chao was avoiding Zhang since then. Li Fu and his friend Liang Youlu always laughed at Chao about this legal case. They even whispered that they might hand Chao over to Zhang. On 6th November 1912, Chao, after all the people had gone to bed, went to the bedroom of Li Fu and Liang Youlu and hit both with the pillow stone. Both Li Fu and Liang

Youlu were killed. Chao escaped but was subsequently arrested by the police.

Upon arrest, Chao confessed that he had killed Li Fu and Liang Youlu. At the trial hearing, Chao also pleaded guilty of the murder charges and confessed that he had killed both due to his anger about the victims. However, right before the handing down of judgment, Chao suddenly reversed his confession and pleaded that he had been suffering from insanity for a long time and had gone to an insane asylum in the past. He further said that the killing was caused by his insanity.

The court then adjourned the hearing and asked the police to check with the insane asylum. Investigation by the police revealed that Chao had been admitted to an insane asylum in July of 1910 under the Qing dynasty and was subsequently released in August of the same year. The court then further asked a medical doctor to examine the defendant. The medical doctor, Xie testified that Chao did not suffer from insanity at the time of the trial hearing. The only issue is that whether he had been sound in mind during the time of murder, which neither the insane asylum nor the medical officer could verify. On this point of fact, the court ruled that though the accused had been admitted to asylum previously, he was discharged upon full recovery. Had he been suffering from insanity during the murder, the judge wrote, he would not have been waiting for the victim to go to sleep before killing them.

Also, Chao appeared sound in mind in testifying at the court and spoke normally. Therefore the court ruled that Chao had intentionally killed both Li Fu and Liang Youlu, and had not suffered from insanity at the time of murder (JVBLC 1914, homicide & wounding 20-23).

In this case the defendant was again allowed to reverse the confession made to the police when he was arrested. He was even allowed, at the last minute of the trial hearing, to turn over his plea of guilty given at the beginning of the trial. The judge did not rely on the prior confession but considered other available evidence. The key to this case is again whether the defendant was insane during the course of murder. Medical experts' evidence, however, was not able to inform the court if the defendant was insane when he committed the crime. This was again an issue of fact to be left with the judge who exercised his discretion to weigh, evaluate and balance among all available evidence put in front of him.

CONCLUSION: DEFENDING CHANGE BY THE CLAIM OF TRADITION

This chapter describes the complex process of appropriation of the new laws and the old practices by the local criminal court of China in the early years of the

Republic. The issue of continuity and change in judicial practice is not only an issue for legal historians today. Back in one hundred years ago, it has already been an issue under serious debate among legal professionals. The issue was a major reason behind the publication of the Judgment Volume examined in this chapter. One of the editors of the Judgment Volume, Judge Liu Yuyao (who was the chief judge of Tianjin Local Court and had served as the judge of Beijing Local Court before he went to Tianjin) wrote in the preface about his concerns and motives behind compiling the Judgment Volume (emphasis and punctuations added):

“Judicial independence was a rule commonly used by a lot of countries. Our nation now had to appoint county magistrates to handle judicial affairs as a tentative measure. Financial difficulty was one of the important reasons. The other is the fact that every province was lacking in judicial personnel. The society blamed that [printed] judgments of civil and criminal cases were insufficient. Because of this reason, our association put the criminal and civil judgments written by us to printing. These judgments were not meant to be models for every province, however we hope these can serve as references for the legal community. After the original editor Xiong has returned to the native place due to personal affairs, this publication was handled by Zhang Junzhong and Zhang Junlan. However, they

both have just been sent to act as county magistrates. Then this job was subsequently passed on to me, when I was the chief judge at the Tianjin Local Court. I was also told to print these judgments in Tianjin because of its lower printing costs. In a rush I used my after-work time to put together 180 criminal case judgments and 92 civil case judgments. After editing for more than a month, I can now release this compilation for reading by the legal community. Someone said after the reorganization of judiciary, judges tended to talk about judicial theories in their judgments without paying attention to reasoning of facts. They made these comments: A usual judgment could be as short as a few hundred words or as long as a few thousand words. The discussion of reason in a judgment was similar to the lecture notes of the law schools. This is no better than the judgments in the old days which set out the essential facts in a precise and concise way. The new judgment follows the Japanese format by dividing a judgment into main text, facts and reasons. This makes the judgment broken like branches of trees. Judgments of the old days are able to coherently cut through the essence without talking about ancillary matters. This also makes the new judgments look worse than the old.

I think after the reorganization of the judiciary, the court did pay a lot of attention on reasoning of facts during the trial of first instance. Exceptions are when the

court has to deal with an appeal case, it can only study the judicial principles and cannot further investigate into the issue of facts. Up till now, I have been with the judicial community for eight years. I have followed the renowned masters at the Board of Punishment and learned from them the skills of trial hearing and writing judgment. After the reorganization of the judiciary, when I decided each case with my colleagues I did firstly study the facts. Before the truth of facts can be confirmed, I will look for support from evidence. In the old days, a trial relied too much on oral testimony [confession] but not on evidence. This style oversimplified important facts. When oral testimony or confession was not available, the case became indeterminate. Now despite the fact that a judgment was divided into the sections of main text, facts and reasons, it also cut through the essence of a case without unnecessary details in a similar way as the old formats did. If one only supported the old matters and rejected everything new, he was too old-fashioned. Furthermore, I am of the view that proving the truth of facts is more difficult than judging an issue of law for a trial of first instance. Reasons for judgment can be easily found if the truth of facts is confirmed. Taking the mitigation of sentence as an example, if the fact of the case is found to be of a lenient nature, then a lenient sentence can be imposed. Without narrating the truth of facts, any mitigation imposed was equal to a manipulation of wordings. 1

think the choice of dictions in a judgment should be straight-forward, comprehensible and balanced. Over-decoration in phrases and sentences, quotation from other famous writers and sarcastic remarks were not appropriate. I am here to debate with those who supported the old style and rejected the new for the purpose of upholding the right principles.”

September, the 3rd year of the Republic

Written by Liu Yuyao of Jian Du”

(JVBLC 1914, 1-2)

(“司法獨立萬國通列我國為一時權宜之計，現委任縣知事處理司法事務，財政困難固屬重要，原因然亦未嘗不由，各省司法人才缺乏，閒有判決民刑各案不能履社會之心理群相詬病，有以致之也，本會同人有鑒於此，僉欲以平日所擬民刑各案件各判詞，付印，不敢謂為各省判牘之模型，竊願以供法界同人之參考，因各彙選判詞若干篇，推熊君元翰總編輯嗣熊君因事返里，由張君宗儒及張君蘭接續進行，旋二君又均以保送免考縣知事先後分發，不克蒞事，同人惜之，不得已，乃以此舉責成於瑤，時瑤官天津地方審判廳長，并因津埠刷印較京價廉囑瑤在津付印，公餘倉猝，總編得刑事判詞計一百八十篇，民事判詞計九十二篇，著手月餘竟能出版，當亦法界同人先覩為快也，願或謂自司法改組後，法官判案偏談法理，而不論事實，一尋常判牘少則數百言，多或數千言其

列舉理由甚或如學堂之編講義，以視舊時之判稿應有儘有，簡要不煩殆不可以
同日語，且仿日本判式分主文事實理由數段枝枝節節，以視舊時判稿，不支不
蔓一線貫穿實又多讓，曰是正不然夫各級審判廳自改組後除上告審專研求法理，
不能調查事實外，凡第一審及控告審何嘗不注重事實，瑤不敏濫竽司法界忽忽
八年曩追隨秋曹諸名公後學習、審判，稍得要領，及改組後與本會同人每判一
案，無不先後從事實上研究，其有事實不能認定，則臚列證據以證明之，視舊
日重供不重證，至遇供招全無，案件輒變更，其重要事實以為單簡，判決果孰
得而孰失，歟且現時判式雖分數段然主文事實理由自一線貫穿不溢累黍與舊日
稿式真可謂異曲同工，必是古以非今，誠泥古之見也，且嘗謂第一審之判牘不
難於據法律判斷，而難於證明事實。事實認定則判斷之理由自不煩言而解，即
以刑事論如擬用酌減律減等先於事實點敘其情輕則法律點當然酌減，若事實上
先未聲敘遽欲援律減等其不蹈舞文弄法之嫌，幾何矣，至判詞之文字則無論若
何定式，總以平正通達文質得中為要，藻詞儷句固不適用，而著書家言亦非所
長，其他嬉笑怒罵之文章佶屈聱牙之字句尤其為最忌，瑤因與是古非今者辯并
縱言及此知不值海內法家鉅子一察，聊表示就正有道之意云爾 中華人民三
年九月江都劉豫瑤謹識。”)

The highlighted parts in the above quotation show that the purpose of compiling the Judgment Volume was primarily to address two concerns of the legal community.

Firstly, there were complaints about inadequate printed judgments. In response to this, Liu compiled this Judgment Volume for the purpose of providing useful reference materials for the legal community to understand how the new court of first instance decided on criminal cases under the new justice system. The second objective, which looked like a more important one from the space it occupied in this preface section, was to defend against the allegation that the new judgments were less useful, less precise and less focused on reasoning material facts than the one written under the imperial system.

Faced with the criticism, Liu tried to defend the merits of the judicial reform based on the Western and the Japanese models by resorting to the claim of Chinese legal tradition. He said that the new judgments did uphold and continue the merits of judgments written under the imperial period in a number of important ways. Firstly, he said, the judgments handed down by the court of first instance did pay efforts in focusing on investigation of facts. Verdicts in the Judgment Volume showed how facts were reasoned and decided at the Local Court. Secondly, despite the fact that he was a judge of the new legal system, he had been in the judicial community for eight years (since the Qing days) and had learned the way of judging a case from the law specialists of the former Board of Punishment. From their

previous training he and his colleagues had learned how to focus on facts and evidence. By this Liu defended the new form of presenting judgments by his old knowledge and training acquired from the imperial institutions. Thirdly, he pointed out that though the new format of judgments required separation of distinct sections, these sections altogether did coherently point to the essence of the case without unnecessary clumsiness. In this way, he stressed that the new format worked in the same way as the old one did.

Having defended the change in the trial system by claiming that the change carried much continuity of the merits of the imperial legal practice, Liu further pointed out that the superiority of the reform did not just lie on the incorporation of the past merits but also on the elimination of the fundamental weakness of the traditional trial system. He said that trials of the past put too much reliance on confession of the accused and did not place enough weight on other available evidence. The judgments of the old days said too much on the details of confessions and wrote too little on other important facts. Finally, he advised that one should not just favor the old things and deny the merits of the new system.

The preface written by Liu for this Judgment Volume reveals a number of

important findings that help us better understand in perspectives this important legal reform of China. In the first place, Liu, like some other judges, being a local court judge appointed by the newly formed judiciary in Beijing, has served as a judge or yamen magistrate in the imperial days. He was trained by the Board of Punishment to rule a case and write judgments according to the old practices, and now “re-molded” to rule and write according to the new rules based on Japanese templates and Western models. Secondly, in ruling cases and writing judgments for the Republican Local Court, a judge like Liu did not forget about the merits and defects of the old practices. They compared the old practices with the new ideas and rules. More importantly, they perceived their roles as judges under the new court not only as the agents to push forward the new practice, but rather, as gatekeepers that were able to pragmatically synthesize the merits of both the old and the new regimes, whenever there was such a space for appropriation under the new system. This self perception of the role of a new judge shaped the development of the judicial culture in the Republican period. It drove the continuities as well as the changes we found in the judgments of criminal trials, no matter in form, in substance or in procedures. Also, in defending the superiority of the new system over the old one, Liu did little to support his argument by elaborating the merits of the Western idea of the rule of law. Rather he put forth his argument by placing the claim of the

new system's continuity with the old practice before he turned to discuss the practical merits of the new system.

While much previous scholarly works have informed us that a binary division of the traditional and modern legal system of China was not correct in defining the Chinese justice system in actual practice, also much has been done in helping us understand that the traditional practices and the Western ideologies both affected the development of legal culture of China in the early twentieth century, little yet to date has discussed the factors that shaped this process of adoption, adaptation or selective appropriation of rules and practices between the new and the old criminal justice system.⁸ Within the court room, the judge is in a unique and superior position in running the trial hearing, in reasoning the case, and in guiding the conduct of the parties involved. From the study in this chapter, I argue that their thought processes and self perception of their own roles had important influence in shaping the judicial culture. Had the judges of the early Republican China viewed themselves purely as radical advocates of the new system and Western ideologies, the written judgments, both in form and substance, would not have looked like the way that we have seen in this study. The Republican judges' self perception as the ones knowing the best of

⁸ The concepts of adoption, adaptation and selective appropriation were put forth by Philip Huang (2001) in comparing the civil cases of Qing and Republican.

both worlds (i.e. the past and present, the Chinese and the West) deserved much attention if we wish to understand how the Republican criminal cases were tried and adjudicated. They perceived themselves as synthesizers of the merits of the old and the new and as gatekeepers to strike the right balance between effecting change and maintaining continuity. This perception was reflected in the way they conducted trial, reasoned evidence and wrote judgment.

CHAPTER FIVE
POLICING IN REPUBLICAN BEIJING –
FROM ORDER TO ORPHANS

Previous studies portrayed the modern police force of China established in the early twentieth century more as a political tool of social control and state building for the various governments of the Republic (Wakeman 2000; Dray-Novey 2007).

Such focus undermines the importance of connection of the police force with the daily life of people, which to a large extent had very little to do about crime prevention, state order or social control. This chapter will discuss how and why the Beijing police force in the Republican period took up much chores than a modern police force would have been expected to do for maintaining law and order.

ORIGIN AND ORGANIZATION

The Beijing police force traces its origins to the police force set up as a part of the late Qing reform. Prior to the formation of this police force, the law and order of the capital, especially inside the inner city (also known as the North City) was

maintained by a specialized military troop known as gendarmerie (*Bujun* 步軍). Until the last decade of the Qing period, the order of the imperial capital was maintained under two arms of gendarmerie. Crime investigation and arrest of criminals within the North City of Beijing were responsible by the two Wings (*Liangyi* 兩翼) under the Head of Gendarmerie Yamen (*Bujun tongling yamen* 步軍統領衙門). The Five Battalions (*Wuying* 五營) under the same Yamen was charged with guarding the outer city (also known as the South City) and the four countryside areas (*Sijiao* 四郊). Censorate of Five City (*Wucheng Sifang* 五城司坊) was responsible for trials and arrests of the outer city. Another team known as Streets Bureau (*Jiedao tingju* 街道廳局) was responsible for the road works including washing the streets, flattening the roads, repairing pipes and ducts and lighting up the street lamps (Cai 1944, 1).

Alison Dray-Novey (1981, 1993) did thorough studies into the Qing's gendarmerie force and imperial policing structures of Beijing. These multiple forces, sometimes overlapping with each other in functions and geographical jurisdictions, were large in number and scattered around both the outer and the inner cities. She estimated that the force totaled about 33,000 which made the policemen (though they were not named as 'police' by that time) ratio of Beijing in Qing era

higher than that of Paris, London or New York of the nineteenth century. The large number was attributable to the chores required by the wide variety of works assigned to these multiple forces on top of maintaining law and security for the city. These works included census taking, street maintenance, fire watch, etc. Dray-Novey (1993, 903-911) argued that maintaining spatial and social control was the general explanation of the size of this force. Such group control was carried out, among other things, by guarding the 1,219 street gates (*zhalan* 柵欄) and 140 gendarmerie posts in the city (Dray-Novey 1993, 892; 2007, 365).

After the boxer uprising, the Japanese army set up a Military Police Yamen (*Junshijingcha yamen* 軍事警察衙門) in Beijing to maintain the law and order of the capital city. Apart from this military police force set up by the Japanese army primarily for the purpose of protecting foreign population, Order Maintenance Office (*Anmin gongsuo* 安民公所) was also set up by local gentries and gendarmeries to be responsible for patrolling and guarding of the post-uprising Beijing. After the return of the capital by the allied armies to the Qing government, the gendarmeries took over the responsibilities of the Military Police Yamen by setting up a Police Affairs Office (*Jingwuchu* 警務處) under the Head of Gendarmerie Yamen to work with the Order Maintenance Office set up previously.

After signing of the peace treaty, a Post-incident Patrol Bureau (*Shanhou xiexun zongju* 善後協巡總局) was set up to take over control from these previous entities. This newly set up entity was staffed and funded by the manpower and resources of the Head of Gendarmerie Yamen. Officers under this bureau was organized into various ranks including the most senior one known as Police Officer (*Jingxun* 警巡) (later renamed as *Xunguan* 巡官), followed by Police Captain (*Xunchang* 巡長) and the lowest-ranking one known as Police Constable (*Xunbu* 巡捕) (later renamed as *Xunjing* 巡警). These three-tier ranking system of policemen was used since the late imperial period and throughout most of the republican period in China (Cai 1944, 1-3). This initial police force was set up largely under a Japanese model, which in turn was modeled from the German police force. Police Academy was also set up to train gendarmeries and the new recruits. Japanese experts were invited to lecture at the police academy. This organization was subsequently reshaped into Bureau of Inner City Public Works and Patrol (*Neicheng gongxunju* 內城工巡局). At the outer city, Censorate of the Five Cities was transformed into the Bureau of Outer City Public Works and Patrol (*Waicheng gongxunju* 外城工巡局), which was then combined with Bureau of Inner City Public Works and Patrol to form the Bureau of Public Works of Inner and Outer Cities (*Neiwaicheng gongxunju* 內外城工巡總局). Such organization was then renamed as the Bureau

of Police of Inner and Outer Cities (*Neiwaicheng xunjing zongting* 內外城巡警總廳). This policing organization handled most of the duties in investigation of crime and arrest of criminals, controlling traffic, maintenance of city hygiene and implementation of public works, as well as other municipal affairs such as conducting census and inspecting businesses. Prince Su (*Su qinwang* 肅親王) was made the head of both the Yamen of Gendarmerie and this newly formed police bureau (Cai 1944 : 1-3). However, the formation of the new police force did not eliminate the imperial policing team under gendarmeries, rather these military force continued to exist and function alongside with the newly trained police force of Beijing in carrying out the policing functions of the capital city under a multiple-policing structure⁹ (Cai 1944, Dray Novey 2007).

Numerous district police stations and four departments were formed under this newly established police bureau. The four departments are : (1) General Affairs Department responsible for dealing with documentation, accounting, statistics and confidential correspondences; (2) Administrative Department responsible for security, order, foreign affairs and upholding morality; (3) Judicial Department responsible for criminal investigation and judicial matters; (4) Hygiene Department responsible for

⁹ Here I have borrowed the phrase of “multiple police structure” used by Dray Novey (2007, 352, 369)

cleaning of streets, managing healthcare, anti-infection, laboratory test, narcotics and medical affairs. This organizational structure was succeeded by the Capital Police Bureau (*Jingshi jingchating* 京師警察廳) formed after the establishment of the Republic, except that fire service was added as the fifth department (Cai 1944, 2-10). Wang Zhiqing (王治馨), the former head of Qing's Bureau of Police of Inner and Outer Cities in 1911, was appointed as the first head of the Capital Police Bureau of the Republic (Cai 1944, 15-16).

DUTIES OF POLICE: FROM RETENTION TO INVENTION

Given its historical origin and links with the imperial bureaucracy, the Republican police had not much choice but to inherit legacies of the imperial past. The Republican police force took over the structures and policies of the imperial Bureau of Police of Inner and Outer Cities. They continued to divide the Beijing city into 20 police districts, a system that had been used since the late Qing period. Organizational structure of the Capital Police Bureau resembled much with that of the imperial Bureau of Police of Inner and Outer Cities. It also inherited most of its physical establishments, including over 200 police outposts (out of the original more than 300 stations set up in late Qing) scattered around the city. It did neither

materially change the titles nor the pay scale of policemen (Cai 1944, 117). In addition, the Republican police, like their predecessors, had to live with the reality of multiple policing structure persisting in the capital city. Gendarmeries were not abolished until mid-1920s. They existed and functioned in Beijing together with the Republican police force. Division of work between the police and the gendarmerie was never clearly defined. As Dray-Novey (2007) and Gamble (1921) pointed out, the Republican police in a number of ways shared duties and rights with the gendarmeries. They both had to live with mutual assistance, mutual influence and mutual conflicts among the two forces. Street beats and city gates guarding remained important duties of the gendarmeries. They occupied more than 140 posts around the inner and outer cities. Both police force and gendarmeries carried out arrests in Beijing, although the police tried to keep gendarmeries' hand off the South City. Sometimes gendarmeries even arrested and tried criminals by themselves, because they had such rights under the imperial practices. Gendarmeries also showed its traditional military strength in putting down riots and containing mass movements. The massive arrest in May-fourth Movement was an example (Gamble 1921, 70-71). Gamble (1921, 70-71) noticed that the new police was sometimes in contention with the gendarmeries over jurisdiction in the inner city and especially in the South city, where the Five Battalions under the Gendarmerie Yamen had formerly

been the principal policing body but now whose law and order was charged with the new police force. The ambiguities from these multiple policing structure continued until the final abolition of gendarmerie's duties in guarding and policing the city in mid- 1920s. In 1924, the responsibilities of gendarmeries, including their jurisdiction over the 4 countryside areas outside the city wall, were formally taken over by the police force. Their property and manpower were as a result absorbed by the police force and the national army (Cai 1944, 7).

Given the historical roots and background upon which the Beijing police force was created, the Beijing Police Bureau not only exercised the usually expected policing functions such as arresting criminals, investigating crimes and controlling traffic order, it also had to be responsible for a lot of functions that they took over from the gendarmeries and their associates over time, a lot of which were not seen in other modern police forces set up in Western countries. These functions included supervision of health affairs, operation of fire services, maintenance and cleaning of roads, lighting of streets, conducting city census, etc. It further extended this scope by taking charge of supervising and running a number of hospitals and charitable institutions in Beijing. This unusually wide scope made nearly 10,000 people directly or indirectly employed under the police force, supported by millions of Yuan

in annual budget.

The organization of the police in Republican Beijing was expanding in manpower and budget from the period of the 1910s to 1930s. Details of its manpower and budget over this period are shown in Appendix 5.1 of this dissertation. The police records stored at the Beijing Municipal Archives shows that the patrolling team size increased from less than 7,000 constables in 1912 to close to 10,000 constables in 1924. It further increased to around 13,000 constables in 1925 when the police bureau absorbed the four countryside areas originally under the jurisdiction of gendarmeries. The police budget for the period also steadily increased from less than 2 million Yuan in 1910s to nearly 3 million Yuan in 1925. It further increased to over 4 million Yuan when countryside areas were taken over. Gamble was astounded by the team size and budget of Beijing police by making the following comments: "Peking has well been called the best policed city in the Orient. Any one visiting the city is struck by the large number of traffic officers on the streets, one every few hundred yards on the busy thorough fares" (Gamble 1921, 75). Gamble compared the policing density of New York City and Beijing during similar period and found that the entire police force of New York City amounted to over 9,000 members in 1910, while those of Beijing city amounted to approximately

10,000 members in 1919-20. For Beijing, these numbers mean 12 policemen for every 1,000 inhabitants in the city on average. The most densely-policed districts in terms policemen per thousand inhabitants was Central No. 2 District where there were 19 officers per 1,000 inhabitants and the most loosely policed one was Inside Left No. 4 District where there was only 3 policemen for every 1,000 inhabitants. In terms of policing density, the most scarcely policed district was Outside Left No. 4 District, an agricultural district to the east of Temple of Heaven, where there was only 4 officers stationed per Chinese mile (*li* 里). The most closely policed areas was the Outside Left No. 1 District, which was a densely populated area crowded with shops and business premises, where there were 105 policemen stationed per *li* (Gamble 1921, 77-78). Policing density of each district and its relationship with crimes of the capital will be further discussed in details in the next chapter.

Surprised by the size of the police force and the money they spent, Gamble commented: "The Peking police are annually spending an average of 2.75 Yuan per person. When compared with the amounts that are being spent on cities of similar size in other countries, this does not seem to be very much, but when the Chinese standard of living is considered, it is really a large amount" (Gamble 1921, 80).

Gamble was right in saying that ordinary people in Beijing were not earning much during that period, neither did an ordinary policeman. The average monthly salary of a constable policeman was around 8 to 9 Yuan in late 1910s (Cai 1944, 117), which was slightly more than the wage of a fertilizer (6 Yuan) and double that of a butcher (4 Yuan) (Gamble 1921, 431). Therefore since the 1920s most of the police districts in Beijing had a team size far below the original desired headcounts. The busiest market areas including the Outside No. 1, No. 2 and No. 5 Districts were oftentimes short of more than four hundred policemen (Cai 1944, 97). Not only policemen were difficult to be recruited and retained, those staying in the force would hardly resist temptation given their low wage level. Corruption and association with criminal activities were not uncommon among policemen, especially when they were empowered, as we shall see later in this chapter, to inspect and supervise business sectors and to collect taxes (Cheng 1990, 374-381).

Similar to the situation of Beijing lawyers, the number of policemen went up and down with the political and economic significance of the city. Team size and budget of the Beijing police plunged seriously after the capital of the country was moved to Nanjing in the late 1920s. In 1932, the Beijing city government passed a resolution to further reduce the police budget and team size for more than 10% (Cai

1944, 98).

To date, policing of the Republican China did not attract as much scholarly attention as we may wish. Wakeman (2000) produced one of the most comprehensive studies of Shanghai police of the 1920s to 1930s. He argued for the state building nature of the police force of the Shanghai Municipality. Dray Novey (1993, 2007) provided succinct accounts of gendarmerie and modern police force of Beijing, as well as their linkage. She highlighted the purpose of social control in framing the duties of gendarmerie, which has been passed on to the modern police force. Both Wakeman and Dray-Novey put much emphasis on role of maintaining social control and social order of the Republican police. Relatively less attention had been paid to other social responsibilities of the police force, which, especially in the case of Beijing, accounted for much of their daily chores and resources. There was also a number of Chinese scholarship on modern policing of China. Many of them (Mu 2004; J.J. Wang 1984; S.Z. Li 1943; Meng 2006) focused on the institutional and legislative changes in the policing system of this period. To date, most of the previous studies portrayed the development of policing in the early twentieth-century China from a perspective of continuing or creating a system of social control and state order. Very few studies examined the significance of the

non-crime related functions performed by the police force for the municipality.

The study of these non-crime related duties of police force was important for us to understand the development of policing in China in the early twentieth century, in particular for Beijing, in a number of ways. Firstly, it shows how policing had been traditionally perceived in the capital city. Secondly, it tells us how and why the new police force retained these traditions and further undertook new responsibilities for the city. Thirdly, like comparing the lawyers of Beijing with their peers in Shanghai of the early Republic, it again shows the contrast in the path of development of a unitary system built upon a Western model in a city with deeper root of traditions and in a treaty port. Lastly, examining the unusually wide spectrum of non-crime related duties of Beijing police force not only reveals the public order situation of the city but also the social history of the ordinary people of Beijing during its early stage of urbanization, particularly about the livelihood of the underprivileged and the poor. Therefore this chapter will place more emphasis on the works and responsibilities of the Republican Beijing police in matters not directly related to crimes. In this regard, Gamble's social survey carried out in the late 1910s and other Republican records published from the 1910s to 1940s provided us with detailed pictures on how the policemen were involved in the daily life of the

people of Beijing. The relationship between police and crimes will be dealt in the next chapter about the ordering of crime in Beijing.

POLICE AND PHILANTHROPY

One of the important features of the Beijing police was their deep involvement in running, sponsoring and monitoring charitable organizations of Beijing. Of these charitable activities, some of them were taken over from the gendarmerie but a lot more were started by the Capital Police Bureau after the founding of the Republic.

Soup Kitchens

There were approximately twelve major soup kitchen centres in Beijing where poor people could get free food in an organized manner. When doing his survey, Gamble saw people waiting outside these centres in very thin clothes and even no pant. Adults and kids, men and women carrying babies waited in the open space when the temperature in Beijing was close to zero Fahrenheit, looking for distribution of porridge. Most of them were carrying bowls, buckets, tin cans, baskets or other carriers for containing free hot porridge. The number of people

queuing up for free meal could be from several hundreds to three thousand (Gamble 1921, 276).

Gamble had a lively description of the queue outside the soup kitchen centres: “As they crowd through the gate, each one is handed a small piece of bamboo which takes the place of an admission ticket and later must be presented to the man who is dishing out the food. Those who are early, stand around the shelter of the mud wall protecting them, as best they can, from the north wind, and making the most of the brilliant sunshine. The beggars crouch down and wrap themselves up in their quilts, and for added warmth put two or three small pieces of glowing charcoal in a dish between their feet. Because of the cold even those who are wearing warm clothes are careful to keep their hands up their sleeves” (Gamble 1921, 276-277). After giving the hot food to the needy or beggars, the guards of the centre would make sure no one consumed the food at the centre. The centre then closed the gate after everyone had taken the food and left. The distribution of food began when the weather turned cold and it would continue until spring came again. In some years the distribution period could last as long as from December to April. Normally, soup kitchens operated for over 100 days in each winter (Gamble 1921, 277). In the old days, these free food centres for the poor were once operated by private

charitable organizations or temples. But during the Republican period, of the twelve major centres in Beijing, Beijing police force operated seven of them, and the rest were run by the gendarmerie (two centres) and by the municipal government (three centres). No verification of wealth was needed and no question was asked during the distribution. Of the beneficiaries, 40-45% were kids, another 40% were women and about 10-20% were men (Gamble 1921, 277-278).

Despite the fact that for most of the time the Republican government was under financial pressure, it continued to fund the soup kitchens mostly from the police budget. On average, the police force in its seven centres gave away 350,000 – 400,000 meals per month. Each meal cost 1.2 Chinese cents and was consisted normally of a hot porridge of millet and rice. It cost the Police Bureau about 12,000 – 15,000 Yuan in funding the seven centres. The funds mostly came from the government and the rest came from donations of private sources including the Bank of Communications. (Gamble 1921, 278).

Clothes Giving

Ordinary people of Beijing depended on clothes to resist cold weather during

winter because fuel cost was high. Cotton wadding was common for padding their clothes for those less well-off who did not afford wool and furred clothing. Poor people wore the same set of clothing for summer and winter except they would, if they were able to afford, put a layer of cotton pad over the summer clothes to survive through the winter. Very often, as Gamble observed, that misfortune and poverty would make people sell this layer of cotton pad to pawn shops for money to buy food during summer. When winter came, the huge interest of 2% per month charged by the pawn shops made these people unable to buy back the padding from the lenders and caused them to live without enough clothing for winter. It was not uncommon to see people with very few or even no clothes at all in the streets of Beijing during winter time.

Giving of clothes had therefore become very common charity acts of both private and public bodies because this immediately relieved people for sufferings. As time went on, many people who wanted to give clothes would give them to the police for distributions because they were well-acquainted with the right access and knowledge about the location of the poor and needy within the city. In addition, both the police and gendarmerie forces used public funds to give clothes and cast-off uniforms for the poor people. During the winter of 1916 to 1917, they altogether

gave clothes to over 5,000 persons in Beijing (Gamble 1921, 280-282).

Foundlings' Home

Apart from feeding and clothing the poor, Beijing police also took an important role in housing abandoned babies. The foundlings' home (*Yuyingtang* 育嬰堂), a centre for orphaned babies in Beijing run by private institutions in the early Republican period, was taken over and operated by the Police Bureau since 1919 (Z.X. Wang 1932, 6). Gamble's survey reported that 130 babies were staying there in the late 1910s. Of the resident babies, only 19 were boys and the rest were girls. This was not surprising, even to our knowledge today, that girls were more prone to being abandoned in Chinese society. The home was located just outside the north wall of the North City. The hygiene conditions did not seem to be satisfactory to Gamble's survey team when they saw amah busying with weaving the horse hair brush for driving the flies away from the cradles. Babies were cared until three years old by some forty amahs and nurses at the care house. They were fed with milk, cake or congee and were vaccinated three times till they reached three. At one time in 1918 the police faced problems of deteriorating hygiene conditions at the foundlings' home. A lot of babies were sick and killed as a result. The Police

Bureau sought help from the Danish consulate who sent to the centre a team of nurses and Chinese doctors trained in Western medicine. They assisted in sanitizing the centre and improved its physical conditions. Most of the funding of the foundlings' home came from the Police Bureau, with the rest shared by the municipal government and private individuals. Donors from Denmark and France also offered financial help in improving the fixtures and equipments of the centre (Z.X. Wang 1932, 7). Apart from funding and running this orphaned home for babies, the Police Bureau also made financial contributions to privately run orphanages for older kids who were abandoned by parents (Gamble 1921, 285-287).



Picture 4.1: Foundlings' Home,

Source : Gamble 1921, 287

Industrial School

Beijing police not only took care of the newly born, they were also concerned about how teenagers made living when they grew up. A boy's industrial school (*Xiyisuo* 習藝所) established in the imperial period was taken over by the Police Bureau after the founding of the Republic (Cai 1944, 53). This industrial school provided schooling and occupational training for boys between eight to eighteen years of age. It housed over 600 boys who had been investigated and recommended by the police for admission. Once admitted to the school, a boy had to stay there until eighteen years old when their parents were able to take care of him. At the school, lower to higher primary schooling was provided. Boys attending school received five hours of instructions per day given by middle school graduates of Beijing. At the time of the survey by Gamble, about 170 boys out of the 600 attendees received schooling. Those who did not attend school were taught occupational techniques, including carpentry, printing, paper making, soap making, rug weaving, tailoring, thread-spinning and cloth weaving. Resident boys received 20-60 coppers a month for the work done there. The manager of the house was appointed from the Police Bureau and forty police officers were assigned to look after the conduct and behaviors of the boys. Medical officer was also hired to

station at the school to provide medical care to the attendees (Cai 1944, 53). Total expenses of the school were around 36,000 Yuan a year, some of which were met by the sale of products produced by the boys and the remaining met by the police budget.

After the boys were educated or trained, prior to their discharge at the age of eighteen, the police helped them to look for an employment in the city. As Gamble noted, this part of the work was particularly important in China, for without the police backing it would be very difficult for the boys to find a job as they would not be able to get anybody to act as their guarantor (Gamble 1921, 290-293). Knowledge and involvement in the business life of Beijing, as we shall see later in this chapter, also gave the police better access and knowledge of where and how to place these boys into suitable jobs.



Picture 4.2: Industrial School

Source : Gamble 1921, 288

Reform School

A reform school (*Jiaoyangsuo* 教養所) started in the Qing period with the funding of soup kitchens was taken over by the Police Bureau to rehabilitate young offenders of minor offences as well as poor boys and men (Cai 1944, 54). Poor men and boys had to be investigated about their poverty situation before they could enter the school. The poor and the offenders worked together as one group but were segregated at their free time and inside sleeping quarters. This school was established in the late nineteenth century and was again taken over by the police after the Republic was established. Residents at the reform school learned work skills like rope making, weaving, tailoring and blacksmithing. Small wages of 3 – 6 Yuan

per month were paid to the workers and the inmates (Gamble 1921, 295-296).

Poor House

Another relief institution taken over by the Capital Police Bureau was the two poor houses (*Pinmin Shouyangsuo* 貧民收養所), one located at the South City and one at the North (Cai 1944, 55). Poor men, after having been investigated by the police on his neediness, could be admitted to the poor house. In the house, they received food and a very small staying space. The house was described as overcrowded by Gamble after he had seen fifteen men living in a room of about 100 square feet. A man could stay at the poor house as long as they wanted to. He could leave upon permission of the police but had to promise not to beg in the street, otherwise he would not be admitted to the house again. This could possibly be one of the methods for the police to reduce beggars, and hence improve the hygiene and the order of the city. However, being only able to admit less than 2,000 men altogether, the poor houses seemed unable to solve the problems, given the poor population of the city amounted to 80,000-100,000 people during the period. The managers of the two houses were appointed by the Police Bureau and ten police officers were charged to take care of the houses. The Police Bureau approximately

had to be responsible for paying over 20,000 Yuan annually to run the houses (Gamble 1921, 297-300).

Old People's Homes

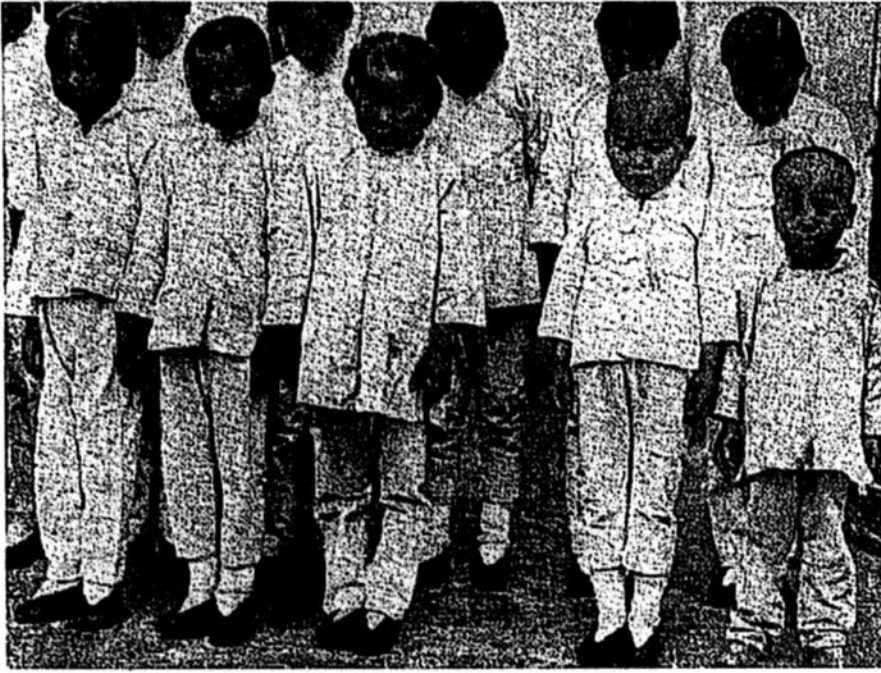
Not only taking care of the infants, the young and the poor, the Police Bureau of Beijing also ran three old men's houses and one old women's house. Altogether these houses provided accommodation for approximately three hundred men and about a hundred women. These houses were originally founded by private individuals but as in the case of many other relief institutions mentioned above, they were taken over by the police force after the Republic was established. Like other homes for the underprivileged, admission was granted only after investigation and recommendation by the police. Admittants could stay there for life and chose to work for very little money to kill their time, or to wander around and rest. They could also choose to go outside the street at leisure time provided they were not found begging in the street, otherwise they would not be allowed to return to the elderly homes. Again, like the poor houses, containing beggaring activities seemed to be one of the objectives of housing the old and poor. Expenses of the houses were supported by both the police budget and the contributions from private

individuals.

Door of Hope

Republican Beijing established a system of registering and licensing prostitutes and brothels, under the supervision of the Police Bureau (Cai 1944, 63). Alongside with such system, an institution to house women maltreated by brothels was managed by the Beijing police known as the “Door of Hope” (*Jingshi jiliangsuo* 京師濟良所) (Cai 1944, 54). Women from sixteen years old to about thirty years old who were abused by brothels were qualified to be admitted into this centre. Small children rescued from kidnapers, from homes of opium smokers or from poor families were also housed there. In 1923, it was reported that there were 51 women housed in this institution located at the Outside Right No. 2 District (X.L. Liu 1923, 35). Any women who had the need could submit application either to the district police stations or to the Door of Hope directly. In the home women could attend schooling and job training. She was not allowed to leave until her relatives were willing to support her or she was married. To promote the chance of marriage of these women, all of the admitants’ photographs were hung outside the entrance of the Door of Hope (see Picture 4.3). A man interested in any of them

needed to file an application with the police. Such application contained his personal details and a declaration of intention to buy the girl as a wife or as a concubine. Police Bureau would then conduct investigation of the man and negotiate a price with him. The price money went as a contribution to the Door of Hope. A price could range from 10 Yuan to 200 Yuan depending on the means of the man and the desirability of the woman. Though the system aimed at doing good for the unfortunate women and especially those very young girls, this system was sometimes abused, as recorded by Gamble. In some unfortunate cases, police officers or government officials made up some excuses such as maltreatment to “rescue” the women from brothels back to the Door of Hope. These officials then purchased these women for a price which was much lower than that of a direct purchase from the brothel manager (Gamble 1921, 302-303).



Picture 4.3: girls homed at the Door of Hope

Source: Gamble 1921, 255



Picture 4.4: a man looking at pictures of the girls for "sale" outside the Door of Hope

Source: Gamble 1921, 255

POLICE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

The public hygiene and health matters of Beijing were supervised by the Health Department under the Capital Police Bureau. Police Bureau was the primary enforcement agency of a large number of ordinances for administering municipal health and hygiene facilities of Beijing. Some of these functions were directly operated by the policemen as we shall see in the following section.

Hospital and medical professions

There were more than forty hospitals in Beijing in the early 1920s, in which ten were supported by public funds. Seventeen hospitals were under private Chinese management and the remaining sixteen were run by foreigners, including the 250-bed hospital invested and operated by Rockefeller Foundation of the United States. These hospitals were all under the supervision of the Health Department of the Police Bureau. Of the public hospitals, the Inner City Public Hospital (*Neicheng guanyiyuan* 內城官醫院) and the Outer City Public Hospital (*Waicheng guanyiyuan* 外城官醫院) were directly operated by the police force since 1910 (Cai 1944, 56; Z.L. Qiu 1914, vol 2, item 19). The police put over 60,000 Yuan a year to

finance these two hospitals which altogether treated over 80,000 patients a year.

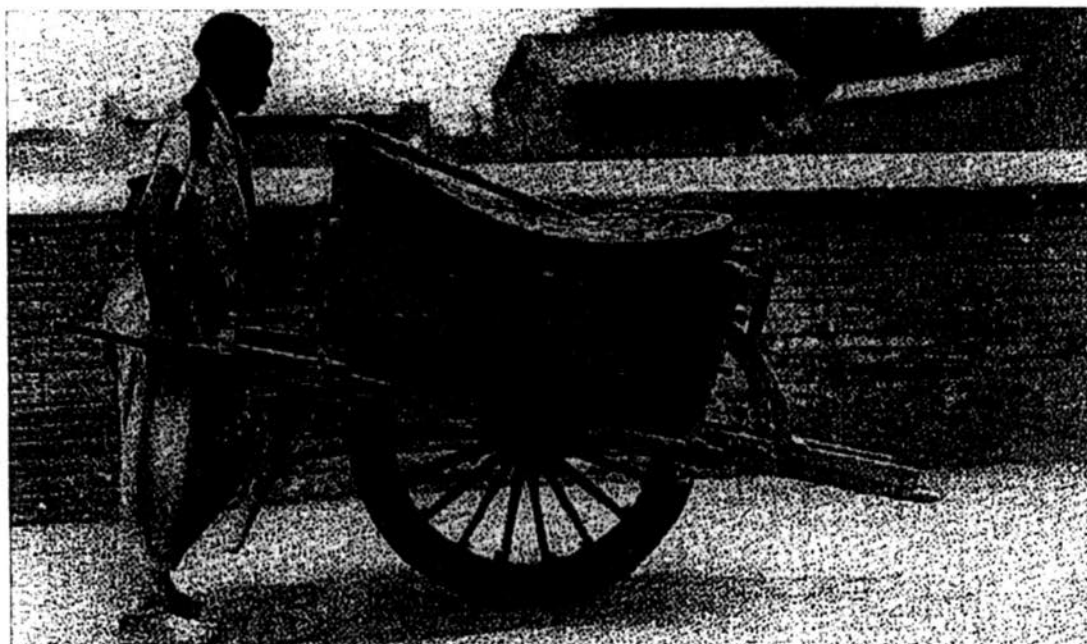
Apart from hospitals, the Beijing police force also ran and financed the insane asylum since 1912. This asylum was, according to Gamble, the first government funded asylum in China. The asylum did not house a lot but around a hundred patients. Inside this insane asylum, Chinese medicine was used for treatment (Gamble 1921, 118).

Doctors, nurses and midwives were all licensed by the police. There were 1,098 physicians in Beijing during 1919-1920, in which 90% were Chinese medical practitioners and 10% were trained in Western medicine. Of the Western medical doctors, 59 were foreigners. About 184 midwives were registered with the police during the same period in which 168 were Chinese and the rest were foreigners (Gamble 1921, 118-119). The police also run a school for midwife and nurse students (Cai 1944, 57).

Street Cleaning and Waste Disposal

The Police Bureau of Beijing also stretched their arms from supervising and operating hospitals to managing collection of night soil and running public toilets.

About 5,000 men were engaged in collection of night soil (human waste) of Beijing. All of these men were members of fertilizer guild which was organized by the order of respective district police stations. These men helped enforce police rules regarding collection and handling of night soil. Night soil was collected every morning and carried in wheelbarrows to the collection points located outside the city wall, where manure was dried for fertilizer. At the collection points or drying yards, policemen were stationed there to monitor the disposal process. Some of the night soil will be sold to fertilizer buyers at the disposal site under the supervision of the policemen. This business of night soil was closely related to the operation of public toilets. There were 528 public toilets along the streets of the city under the supervision of Beijing police force. Almost all of the toilets were built by the Police Bureau and rented to the collectors of night soil. Under police rules the renters had to clean and inspect the toilets every day. Sometimes public toilets were not cleaned as well as it was expected; in other occasions they were cleaned by some ones who were not officially appointed cleaners. It was because the price of fertilizing materials had been increasing during the years and night soil was just stolen by those phony cleaners (Gamble 1921, 121-124).



Picture 4.5: a man carrying barrel for removing night soil

Source: Gamble 1921, 119

Cleaning, sprinkling, repairing as well as lighting of streets also came under the responsibilities of the Beijing police. Street cleaning and sprinkling was handled by a team of over organized and controlled by the police. About 800 of them were assigned to work for the Inner City and the rest for the Outer City. 20 workers were grouped as one team, responsible for cleaning a specific areas of the city (Cai 1944, 60-61). They were dressed in blue uniforms and could be found in highways and small streets. Streets were watered manually by horse-drawn carts or just by hand. Water was contained in a large water tub and pulled out to the centre of the streets for sprinkling and cleaning. The police budget financed the expenses of cleaning major

highways. Cleaning of small streets was supported by funds collected from shops' or houses' along these streets. Total expenses for street cleaning work in Beijing amounted to about 150,000 Yuan a year. Streetlights were also run and monitored by people under the control of the police force. The works for lighting highways and major streets were financed by the police budget while those for other smaller hutongs were funded by the local community (Gamble 1921, 124-125).

POLICE AND BUSINESS

Apart from controlling crimes, managing health and hygiene, running charitable institutions, the police force of Beijing also acted as the inspector of commerce in Beijing city.

Regulating Shops and Industries

Special police outposts were set up to monitor major markets in Beijing such as the Dongan Market, Xian Market and Xidan Market (Cai 1944, 63). Before any store or shop can be opened, information about the entity, including name and address, nature of business, details of all employees, amount of capital invested

should be filed with the police. The store also had to secure a shop guarantee from another store of similar size and capital. The police will investigate as to the accuracy of the information before a business permit was given. Apart from taking a major role in approving the opening of shops, the police also acted as the regular inspector and tax collector. Monthly taxes were collected from shops according to the level of profit made by them. Police was authorized to collect taxes from each shop and inspect its books for verification of profitability if necessary. Policemen visited shops almost every ten days to ensure police regulations, especially those relating to health and sanitation were complied with. The police was also very concerned about the identity of people working or staying at the shop. Shop owners were required to file a report of any turnover in employees to the respective district police stations. The police force therefore kept track of the personnel records of most of the shops in Beijing. Police regulations required the storekeepers to:

- (1) Keep a record of the names, ages, native districts and addresses of all managers, workers and employees and such records must be open for inspection of the police.
- (2) Notify the police if any friend or relative of shopkeeper spent the night or lodge temporarily in the store.
- (3) Report to the police whenever an employee was added, left, died or dismissed.

- (4) Prepare the above report by using the forms prescribed by police.
- (5) Be fined if any of the above was not complied with (Gamble 1921, 216-218).

The above measures not only made it easier for the police to enforce tax rules and commercial regulations, but also increased the efficiency in investigation of crime and apprehension of criminals. With this close relationship and knowledge with the employers and employees in the city, the police needed to search only a small field before they were able to locate any one they might want (Gamble 1921, 217).

Police duties were extended not only to the opening and monitoring of business in general, but also to laying down and enforcing rules for specific industries. For instance, police force of Beijing was the authority for issuing permits for running hotels. The Police Hotel Regulations set out rules for operating a hotel. Under these rules, no one is allowed to operate a hotel until the police found that he was of good moral character. The details of construction of a hotel such as the location of chimneys, fire escapes and fireplaces had to be inspected and approved by the Police Bureau. Theoretically, hotel guests were not allowed to bring prostitutes to or gambled at the hotel premises. The hotel keeper was responsible for reporting any

irregularities at the hotel premises to the police such as suspected kidnapping, prostitution, gambling, possession of firearms or presence of suspicious persons, failing which the hotel keeper would be fined.

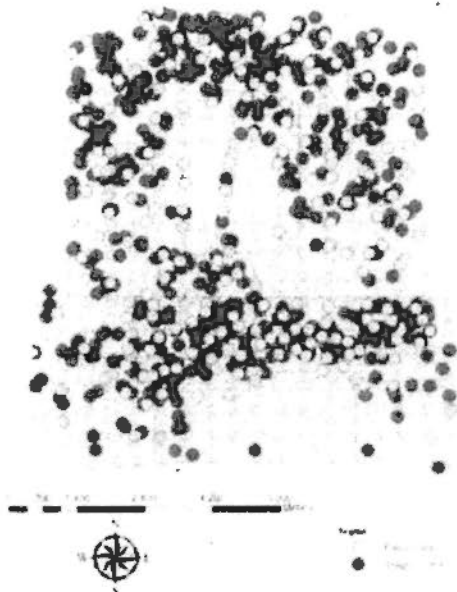
Regulating Market Gatherings

Beijing police force also kept an eye on market gatherings. Temples in Beijing served as an important venue of social gatherings, marketplaces, recreational and religious functions for ordinary people. Most of the police stations were located at the vicinity of a temple. Figure 4.1 compares the distribution of police outposts (*Paichusuo* 派出所) and that of temples in Beijing (BJMA files no. J181-16-1535, J2-8-1138, J181-15-131). A conspicuous similarity in spatial pattern between the two can be seen. In contrast, when over-layering the spatial pattern of distribution of police outposts with the number of criminals reported in each districts of Beijing (BJMA file no. J181-1-371) (Figure 4.2), the outcome surprisingly did not show any particular concentration of police outposts in the districts where more criminals appeared. This again showed that while detecting crimes and arresting criminals were undoubtedly one of the important functions of the Beijing police, there were other municipal duties that the Beijing police perceived to be equally, if not more,

important tasks.

Fig. 4.1:

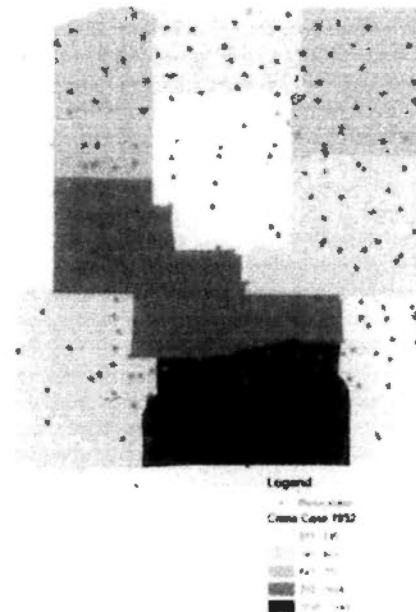
Distribution of Police Stations and Temples (1936)



Source: BJMA files no. J181-16-1535, J2-8-1138, J181-15-131

Fig 4.2:

Distribution of Police Stations and Crimes 1932 (darker color represents more crimes)



Source: BJMA file no. J181-16-1535, J181-1-371

POLICE AND CITY RECORDS

Apart from dealing with crimes and criminals, controlling traffic, managing health and hygiene, looking after the opening and operation of shops and industries, taking care of the homeless, the poor and the elderly, the police force of Beijing was also responsible for conducting census for the city. According to Gamble, they made census once a year (Gamble 1921, 83). However if one has seen the amount

of statistics and reports they left over as archives, he would agree that the view that census were taken once a year should be a serious underestimate. In the files prepared by the police force now stored at the various archives of China, we can easily notice thousands of statistical tables ranging from crime related records such as monthly crime entries of each districts, categories of crimes, record of stolen goods, records of gun holders and narcotics manufacturers, identities and details of suspects and released inmates, monthly record of suicide cases, to non-crime related information such as the records of users of libraries, records of shops and hotels, records of fire and estimated amount of fire damage, birth and death registries, hospital budgets and patients' information, etc.¹⁰ The depth of details of these records would surprise researchers by the amount of manpower and resources spent by the Republican police force in collecting and compiling these information, despite the financial difficulties the government had been facing during most of the Republican period.

¹⁰ For perusal of some of these records prepared by the police bureau during the Republican period, see the legal culture data kept at the website : <http://www.iseis.cuhk.edu.hk/history/beijing/>, run by the project *Beijing in Transition: A Historical GIS Study of Urban Cultures, 1912-1937* funded by the Research Grant Council of HKSAR government (Project no. 450407), under the supervision of the Principal Investigator : Professor Billy Kee-long So.

POLICE AND FOREIGNERS

Unlike Shanghai, Beijing was never a treaty port. So, theoretically foreigners had no right to reside in Beijing except within the legation quarter area. However, the Republican government allowed foreigners to live and trade in Beijing subject to their compliance with the relevant rules. Most of these rules were laid down and enforced by the Police Bureau. The police force took the primary responsibility in tracking the information and activities of these foreigners in Beijing. No figure was available in the republican archives examined in this study as to the number of foreigners residing within the legation quarter area as this area was guarded and managed by diplomatic corps or legation guards employed by embassies. Outside the legation quarter, the Beijing police kept detailed information of other residing foreigners. The survey of Gamble found that 1,524 foreigners were living in Beijing outside the legation quarter in 1917 according to the police record, in which 60% were Caucasians and 40% of them were Japanese, as shown in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1:

Foreigners per police census 1917

	Male	Female	Total	Percentage Male
American	173	108	281	62%
Austrian	6	1	7	86%
Belgian	30	8	38	79%
Dane	11	13	24	46%
Dutch	3	3	6	50%
English	142	88	230	62%
French	99	32	131	76%
German	102	50	152	67%
Italian	6	2	8	75%
Japanese	428	167	595	72%
Mexican	3	2	5	60%
Norwegian	2	3	5	40%
Portuguese	3	1	4	75%
Russian	9	6	15	60%
Spanish	2	1	3	67%
Swedish	8	6	14	57%
Swiss	1	1	2	50%
No data	3	1	4	-
Total	1031	493	1524	68%

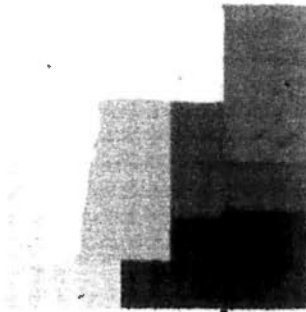
Source : Gamble 1921, 111

The police tracked the activities of foreigners by imposing rules over their choice of residence. According to the police rules, foreigners could not own land in Beijing. Therefore they had no choice but to rent an apartment or a house from Chinese landlords. All rental contracts, according to the police rules, could not

exceed three years and had to be approved by the police office before coming into force. The contracts were renewable subject to police's approval. By approving these contracts, the Police Bureau was able to keep track of and limit the area of residence of the foreigners in Beijing. Most of the foreigners were "placed" in the district close to the legation quarter around Inside Left No. 1 District in the South-Eastern part of the North City. Only very few (around 200) were allowed to live in the West side of the North City or inside the South City (Gamble 1921, 110-113). Gamble's observation was confirmed by the maps generated according to the data about foreigners' residence kept at the police data stored at the Beijing Municipal Archives (BJMA files no. J181-4-34, 35, 36, 37). Figures 4.3 to 4.6 show that most of the foreigner population was confined to the North-Eastern part of the city, mostly within or surrounding Inside No. 1 District, where legation quarters, foreign banks and organizations were located. According to Gamble's interview, the police said that the reason for such placing measures was to ensure that all foreigners were adequately protected. Allowing them to live in the South City would take a larger body of manpower than could well be spared. The other reason for keeping a close eye on the spatial distribution of the foreigners in Beijing, as the findings in the next chapter will show, was the association of foreigners with crimes.

Fig. 4.3

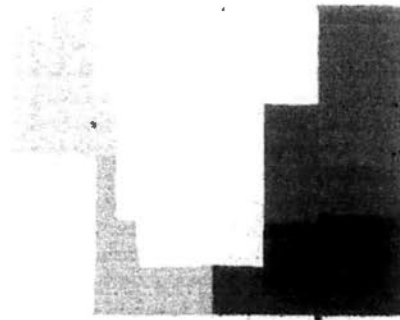
Distribution of Foreigners for Top 5 Districts 1925



Source: BJMA files no. J181-4-34

Fig. 4.4

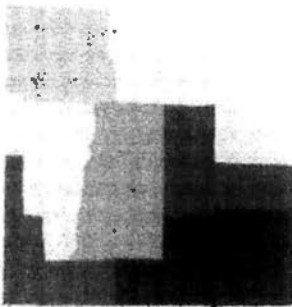
Distribution of Foreigners for Top 5 Districts 1926



Source: BJMA files no. J181-4-35

Fig 4.5

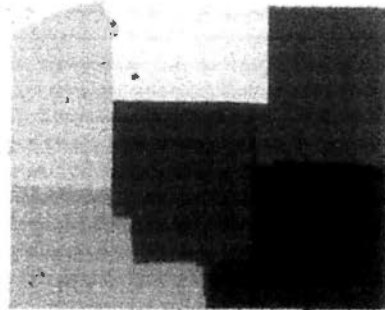
Distribution of Foreigners for Top 5 Districts 1927



Source: BJMA files no. J181-4-36

Fig 4.6

Distribution of Foreigners for Top 5 Districts 1928



Source: BJMA files no. J181-4-37

CONCLUSION: POLICING PERCEIVED IN BEIJING

The extraordinarily wide scope of responsibilities of Beijing police raised the question of how policing was perceived in the newly established Republic.

Republican police not only took charge of the works of police force in today's sense i.e. detecting crimes, arresting criminals and controlling traffic, but also took the responsibilities of cleaning roads, disposing waste, running hospitals, taking care of the abandoned infants and kids, housing prostitutes, reforming inmates, regulating shops and buildings, licensing doctors, nurses and brothels, giving away clothes and food to the poor, etc. In observing this widely stretched scope of work done by Beijing police, Gamble wrote that, "The managing of many of the institutions of the city is the most unusual work that is being done by the police. Since the Revolution of 1911, they have taken over more and more of this work until now they have some connection with practically all of the charitable institutions. They are in entire control of two hospitals, the insane asylum, the poor houses, the industrial schools, the reform schools and the rescue home for prostitutes. They have also opened 53 half-day schools, in various parts of the city, and in these are giving some education to 4,000 poor children" (Gamble 1921, 85). In short, Beijing police since its establishment on the one hand took over many of the existing duties of gendarmeries,

on the other hand it continued to expand their scope and started plenty of new non-crime related undertakings, many of which had never been the duties of gendarmerie troop. To understand policing of the Republican Beijing in perspectives, one had to understand the historical circumstances upon which Beijing police force was founded and the bureaucratic environment they were placed to operate.

Republican Beijing police was formed by the Qing government primarily for taking over the roles of patrolling and protection of foreigners played by the military police organized by the Japanese army during the occupation by the allies. Already deeply indebted with financial burden, the Qing government had not much choice but to rely on the manpower and funds of the existing imperial gendarmerie force to support the newly formed police. For two decades, both the police and gendarmerie could arrest, charge and even sometimes try criminals in Beijing. The police force of Republican Beijing worked in a delicate and competitive relationship with the gendarmerie troop. The newspapers of Beijing were also keen at reporting the development of the delicate dynamics between the two forces. In the newspaper reports of the capital city, very often the reaction and opinion of both the head of gendarmerie and the director of police force on public issues was reported and

compared side by side. On 27 August 1916, a news article in the Morning Bell Post (*Chenzhong bao* 晨鐘報) reported that the head of gendarmerie, Jiang issued a decree to ask the gendarmerie force to patrol more frequently and pay more attention in searching for thieves and robbers, given the fact that more cases of robberies and other crimes were reported in Beijing. Five days later, a report of similar content was written on the reaction of the director of the Capital Police Bureau, Wu towards the situation. Wu was reported to have also issued a decree that ordered the police force of Beijing to patrol more vigorously in eliminating thefts and robberies in open streets. He also said that the head of the police districts would be held accountable if his order was not followed. Another news report in 1916 was written on a robbery case that took place consecutively in Chung Hwa Book Store and in a glass factory of the next door. Reaction of both Jiang and Wu were again noted in the article. Both heads said their forces were ordered to arrest the suspects within a time limit. It is clear that a conscious attempt was made by both forces to assert power and authority in the city. They were oftentimes placed under the lens of mass media for comparing their actions and reactions towards the municipal affairs of the city. Their opinion was sought not only in matters relating to curbing crimes and catching thieves, but also in municipal affairs such as planting trees and cleaning hutongs. Gamble noted this delicate relationship: "The principal duties of the

Military Guard [gendarmerie] in Peking are putting its seal on all proclamations for the city, guarding all the city gates and posting extra guards on the main highways. These guards are allowed to make arrests without first notifying the police, if they find the offender in the North city, but they cannot do so in the South City. The police are jealous of the power that the Military Guard [gendarmerie] used to have in the South City, and so insist that no arrests be made without their having been notified. They want to make sure that the Military Guard is not using the organization that it still maintains for the South City” (Gamble 1921 70-71).

However conflicting their respective interests may look like, both teams were aware of the need to cooperate under this traditional multiple-policing structure. In a news report in 1916, it was reported that the head of the Gendarmerie Jiang and the Director of Police Wu desired to establish a recreational club for the purpose of “bettering of relationship of the police force and the gendarmeries” (*Lianluo junjing lianjie ganqing* 聯絡軍警兩界感情). It was further reported that both heads had a tea-meeting to discuss details of launching the club. Under these historical settings and delicate dynamics between the predecessor and successor of policing in Beijing, the police force not only had to defend its core work scope in arresting and charging criminals under the new criminal justice system, but also had to look for opportunities to display to the public their usefulness by expanding its roles in the

city and running more and more institutions not directly related to the criminal justice system, such as running the insane asylum, the Door of Hope, the foundlings' home and the soup kitchens.

Dray-Novey placed much emphasis on the aim of social control in explaining gendarmerie's expansive duties in the capital city, which to a large extent were subsequently taken over by the police force. While social control was undoubtedly a key responsibility of gendarmeries and the police force, social control alone, I argue, could not adequately explain all the new tasks undertaken by the police force after the establishment of the Republic. Many works undertaken by them were largely charitable and municipal in nature such as cleaning the streets, lighting street-lamps, approving road signage, inspecting kitchen and utensils of food providers, running public toilets, caring the poor and the abandoned. Unless we used the widest possible way of defining social control so that anything and everything falling within social welfare or social justice system was understood as indirect preventive measures against delinquent behavior, otherwise a reasonable definition of social control measure would probably not include distributing winter clothes, collecting human waste, running hospitals, planting trees, carrying out laboratory test for cosmetics and inspecting dead bodies of animals. I argue that

these works made sense for the policemen only if the role of policing in the capital had been perceived to be much broader than maintaining law and order within the meaning of policing used in today's sense.

To understand how the works of modern policing were perceived in Beijing, one must look at the duties of gendarmeries. The Head of Gendarmerie Yamen, originally named as Yamen of Governor of Nine Gates and Patrol of Five Battalions (*Tidu jiumen xunbu wuying tongling yamen* 提督九門巡捕五營統領衙門) was modeled upon the Military Commander of Five Cities (*Wucheng bingma zhihuisi* 五城兵馬指揮司) of Ming dynasty (J.J. Wang 1984, 6). According to the Record of Official Responsibilities of Ming's History (*Mingshi guanzhizhi* 明史官職志) as quoted by J.J. Wang (1984), the work scope of the Military Commander of Five Cities included "directing patrolling officers to arrest thieves, managing vagabonds and wicked guys; tidying up streets and drains, matters relating to inmates and prevention of fire..."(指揮巡捕盜賊，疏理街道溝渠及囚犯火禁之事，．．．境內有遊民、姦民則逮治；) (*Mingshi guanzhizhi* 明史官職志, 3 in J.J. Wang 1984, 6). This perception did not change much when a new police force was trained up under the Japanese model because municipal duties were also parts of the job of the Japanese police. The perception of the scope of work of the Japanese police was

reflected in Zhang Zhidong's petition for setting up a police force under the Japanese model. He wrote in a petition, "All matters relating to population census, cleaning roads, preventing fire, differentiating the good and the bad, arresting thieves and robbers are done by the police bureau [of Japan]" (日本名為警察，其頭目為警察長，. . . 凡一切查戶口、清道路、防火患、別良莠、詰盜賊皆警察局為之。) (*Zhangwenxiang quanji* 張文襄全集 petition 53, 11-13; 25-30 in J.J. Wang 1984, 23-24).

Apart from discharging municipal services, policing in Beijing also meant performing functions in moral education for the mass. Within the four departments under the Qing's Bureau of Public Works of Inner and Outer Cities, there was a division under its Administrative Department known as morality upholding division (*Zhengsu* 正俗). This division was responsible for checking the moral practices of hotels and restaurants, checking the affairs relating to custom in temple meetings and social gatherings, monitoring prostitutes' brothels, imposing ban on the sale of pornographic materials, detecting cases of abuse of animals, etc. David Strand also commented that the Republican policemen in Beijing perceived that they had the duty of appearing to be a moral example for the people. The police force consciously engaged themselves in the function of moral display and followed the

dictates of a public-service ideology (Strand 1989, 89-97), despite the fact that corrupted policemen were not uncommon in reality. The self perception of having the responsibilities of managing the municipal services and upholding morality was reflected in the additional charity and social relief that they chose to take up during the Republican period. In 1918, when one of the markets at Tianqiao area was devastated by a fire of an opera theatre, public debates arose as to whether the market should be rebuilt. Certain public opinion was against the rebuilding of the market and entertainment area at Tianqiao because the place was notorious for housing crimes and vices. Finally, the head of the police station at Outside Right No. 5 District of Beijing decided to take up the task of rebuilding the market. Their work included designing the market layout, monitoring the construction of shop spaces and entertainment facilities, as well as renting out the spaces to vendors. The head of the police station sought justifications for taking up these works by resorting to what they were taught to believe to be the roles of policing in Beijing: maintaining law and order, upholding the custom and morality, benefiting the difficult and the poor, and giving away for the needy (Tianqiao Expenses Report 1918, 1-2). Wakeman (2000, 21-22) also noted that this design of wide scope of municipal responsibilities distinguished the police force originated from the late Qing reform from the state-building nature of police force of Shanghai designed by the Nationalist

government after 1928. It is clear that traditional moral and municipal responsibilities perceived by the modern police force continued to drive and shape the way how the city and the people of Beijing were policed in the early twentieth century.

CHAPTER SIX

ORDERING OF CRIME IN REPUBLICAN BEIJING

New values and knowledge from the West not only brought about changes in the governance system of China, but also a reconstruction of knowledge system among the elites. During the early twentieth century, new meaning was given to what was deemed crime and criminal, and what were the causes of crime. This chapter will study the differing meanings of the ordering of crime in Beijing given by law drafters, crime scholars and police officers in this period of social change and cultural transformation. These differences reveal the concern about and perception of the social reality of the city among these participants in the criminal justice system. Such construct of meaning continued to shape the criminal justice system to cope with the perceived problems perceived in the early twentieth century.

SOCIOLOGICAL ORDER OF CRIME

Sociological studies began to appeal to Chinese students in the early twentieth century, and Western organization and missionaries established important academic institutions in Beijing in the early Republican period. Social studies of a larger

scale also began around the same time. Examples included the establishment of the Princeton University Centre in China and the social survey conducted on Beijing city in late 1910s by Sidney Gamble under the sponsorship of this Centre (Dong 2003, 211-212). Crime, together with other urban problems such as poverty, public hygiene and prostitution became popular subjects in these foreign sociological studies. Sydney Gamble, like many other foreign scholars of the time, conducted a social survey on Beijing with his own views on the social progress of China. He studied the social conditions and problems of China with the aim that “the Orient, as far as possible, be saved from the costly mistakes made by the Occident.” (Gamble 1921, vii). They carried a mission of social reconstruction and aimed at working out a social program that will influence the life of people in China (Gamble 1921, 25-28). Local sociologists began to catch up in the 1920s and produced important works in an attempt to provide their own sociological discourse on problem of crime in China. These social scientists tried to fit the crime situation into a sociological framework that they learned from the West to look for an explanation of the crime problem in Beijing and other urbanizing cities of China in the early twentieth century. Previous scholarly works have provided succinct accounts on the studies done by the first generation of Chinese criminologists in the early twentieth century including Yan Jingyao, Zhou Shuzhao and others (Dikotter 2002; Dong 2003; Kiely 2010).

Many of these sociologists were alarmed by the rising crime figures in Beijing and searched for the causes. In the 1920s, Yan Jingyao studied the situation of crime based on the data supplied by the Capital Police Bureau. He also visited the Beijing No. 1 Prison in 1926 to interview the inmates. He collected data relating to the social and economic background of criminals and found that most lived near Qianmen, Tianqiao and Chaoyangmen, which were 'places of "unspeakable filth" and "extreme poverty" dominated by the lowest classes of society' (Dikotter 2002, 201). In his analysis of crime in Beijing written in 1928, Yan attempted to establish a connection between poverty and crime by identifying a pattern in the location where criminal resided (Dong 2003, 222). Poverty and education were the key factors that Yan put forward in explaining the roots of crime in Beijing (Dikotter 2002, 201-202). These are social issues that can only be cured, according to Yan, by social measures, including a more even distribution of wealth, the provision of sufficient job opportunities and improved education. Furthermore, Yan Jingyao and his fellow academics viewed these problems primarily as a part of the urban problem, especially in the big cities most influenced by the foreign, modern world. Poor neighborhoods and areas with cheap entertainments were mapped by these academics as bad areas (Kiely 2010, 24-25). About this early sociological analysis of crime order in China, previous studies pointed to the fact that these criminologists

discoursed crime situation under the influence of the specific setting of social change in Beijing during that period. Dikotter made the following comment : “ To educate was to reform: a strong cognitive coherence thus existed between the dominant penal philosophy of the Republican period, which envisaged punishment as moral education, and the instrumentalist vision of criminological knowledge, designed to enlighten the public’s understanding of the “social problem” of crime. Within this approach, moral values were considered not so much to constitute either undesirable infringements of the presumed objectivity of science, or unconscious remnants of traditional thought, but the very premise on which the legitimacy of knowledge was based. In short, criminology was suffused with morality...” (Dikotter 2002, 185). Dong commented that: “Sociologists’ discussions of the causes of crime, like their discussions of poverty, were somewhat muddled in their conclusions. Yan Jingyao developed a definition of crime that he felt fit the context of Beijing. He eschewed Western definitions of crime because he believed that the social concept of crime changes; what is considered crime changes over time and place”(Dong 2003, 222). Kiely wrote that: “ The Chinese discourse of crime in the city in this time period centered on the fear of the destruction of the patriarchal social ideal. In writing about the problem of crime, the early generation of criminologists and judicial penal officials produced conceptual maps of order and disorder between

the country and the city, and within the city itself that revealed their own anxieties and aspirations” (Kiely 2010, 26). Out of the anxiety about urbanization and westernization, the urge for social advancement, and as a part of their mission to educate the poor mass, the criminologists nevertheless portrayed their discourse of order of crime for the early twentieth-century China. At the same time, state agencies were also revisiting the legal order of crimes out of their own missions and visions. These legal re-ordering efforts can have considerable impact over the perception and discourse of these sociologists about the severity and the causes of crime.

LEGAL ORDER OF CRIME

The new criminal justice system introduced into China numerous new institutions for dealing with crimes and criminals, including the legal profession, the police force, the law courts and the reformed prisons. What is equally important is the introduction of a new definition of crime under the law. This new legal definition not only affected the way in which offenders were recorded, handled and tried, but also the ways in which crimes were perceived, interpreted and discussed further in the discourse made by other crime specialists.

During the imperial period, major categories of crime could be found in the Criminal Code (*Xinglu* 刑律) section of the Qing Code. According to the Criminal Code, crimes were primarily categorized into the followings: robbery and theft, homicide, quarrelling and fighting, abusive language, offence relating to presenting information to the court, bribery and corruption, forgery and fraud, incest and adultery, escape from arrests and other miscellaneous offences such as defacing public monuments and gambling (Staunton 1805). Through the efforts of Shen Jiaben and Wu Tingfang, a New Criminal Code (“NCC” *Xinxinglu* 新刑律) was completed in about 1908 and promulgated in 1910. Subsequently, a number of revised criminal codes were promulgated during the Beiyang and the Nationalist periods, but these new codes bore little change from the NCC of the Qing dynasty, especially in terms of crime categorization. The first criminal code of the Republic- Provisional Criminal Code (“PCC” *Zanxing Xinxinglu* 暂行新刑律) categorized crimes into thirty-five types, most of which existed in the NCC, as follows: treason, foreign aggression, harming the relationship with another country, leaking confidential information, dereliction of duty, harming public duty, harming elections, causing breach of peace, escaping from arrest, hiding criminals and destroying evidence, forging evidence and making malicious accusations, causing arson and harming

water supply, possessing or manufacturing dangerous goods, harming public traffic, harming order, forging currency, forging weighing scales, forging documents, blaspheming religious ceremonies and excavating tombs, offences relating to opium, gambling, sexual offences and bigamy, harming drinking water, harming hygiene, homicide and wounding, abortion, abandonment of babies, private arrest and imprisonment, abduction, damaging reputation and credibility, theft and robbery, deceit, misappropriating another's property, , handing stolen goods, and damaging property.

This categorization of crime remained largely in force in China until 1949. NCC and PCC not only re-categorized crimes, but also excluded certain offences from the official definition of crime. These excluded offences were redefined as police contraventions (*Weijing* 違警) under the law and placed under another legal regime called Police Contravention Punishment Law (*Weijing fafa* 違警罰法). The concept of police contraventions was adopted from the Continental legal tradition by the law reformers in the late Qing period. In 1908, the Police Contravention Code (*Weijinglu* 違警律) was approved by the Qing government as a part of the legal reform. From then until 1949, many offences were placed under the police contravention laws, and outside the reach of the regime of criminal law and criminal

justice system. The Republic's Police Contravention Punishment Law, which was largely based on the Qing's Police Contravention Code, categorized police contraventions primarily into the following six categories: harming public peace, harming order, harming customs, harming hygiene, harming others' body or property.

The significance of police contravention laws lies in a number of important aspects. Firstly, many offences were removed from the definition of crime, and hence were removed from the process of criminal justice. Offenders of police contraventions were neither tried openly nor sentenced by a court judge. They were summarily handled by the Police Bureau and were charged, convicted and penalized inside the police stations. Offenders were either warned, fined (for no more than 15 Yuan), and/or detained (for no more than fifteen days) at the detention centre run by the Police Bureau. Secondly, the official data on crimes and the number of criminals did not include police contravention offences. In the police archives, data regarding police contraventions (*Weijing* 違警) were recorded separately from the records and statistics of crimes (*Fanzui* 犯罪).

Although some of the offences under the police contravention law such as harming another's body were more serious in nature than littering or creating a

public nuisance, they were removed from the official definition and statistics of crime, and perhaps also from the attention of criminologists at that time. What remained in the official crime statistics of the Republican government were offences that were not included in the police contravention law. Yan Jingyao in his study acknowledged the incompleteness and limitations of the crime data supplied by the government. This imperfection, he said, was partly due to the exclusion of police contraventions (Yan 1928, 3). However, he might not have realized that the difference could be as substantial as the following analysis will show.

Figure 6.1 is a set of graphs that show a comparison between the data used by Yan in his analysis of the crime situation in Beijing in the 1920s and those kept by the Police Bureau. From there we are able to appreciate the possibility of creating different impressions of crime situation of the city by using different sets of data. First of all, the graph (in purple) shows that the number of criminals examined by Yan was only 15-20% of the total amount of criminals recorded by the Police Bureau (the graph in blue). It was because, as admitted by Yan, the dataset he used only included the criminals sentenced to imprisonment. Therefore the difference between the two set could possibly comprise criminals sentenced to suspended imprisonment, fines and probation order (Yan 1928, 5). In his study Yan was

alarmed by the 123% increase in the number of criminals over seven years from 1920-1926 (Yan 1928, 4-5), but the rising trend would have looked even more serious if Yan had the chance to study the full record on the number of criminals in Beijing (the graph in blue) kept by the Police Bureau. While the officially defined crimes were climbing in number over the years, police contraventions offered another impression. In contrast with the sharp increase in the numbers of criminals described above, the number of police contravention offenders (the graph in red) during the same period decreased steadily with the exception of one or two years. If we combine the numbers of criminals with the police contravention offenders (the graph in green) during the same period and look at the data again, we are able to get another different impression about the order of crime in the city. The combined graph of criminals and police contravention offenders from 1911 to 1931 shows that the crime situation in Republican Beijing was not worsening to the extent described by Yan. Rather, the number came down in late 1920s to the level similar to that of mid 1910s. Obviously this combined result was dominated by the trend of police contraventions because the number of these police contraventions offenders was eight to ten times higher than that of criminals. Thus, adding together two sets of data reduces the impact of the number of criminals over this combined analysis result.

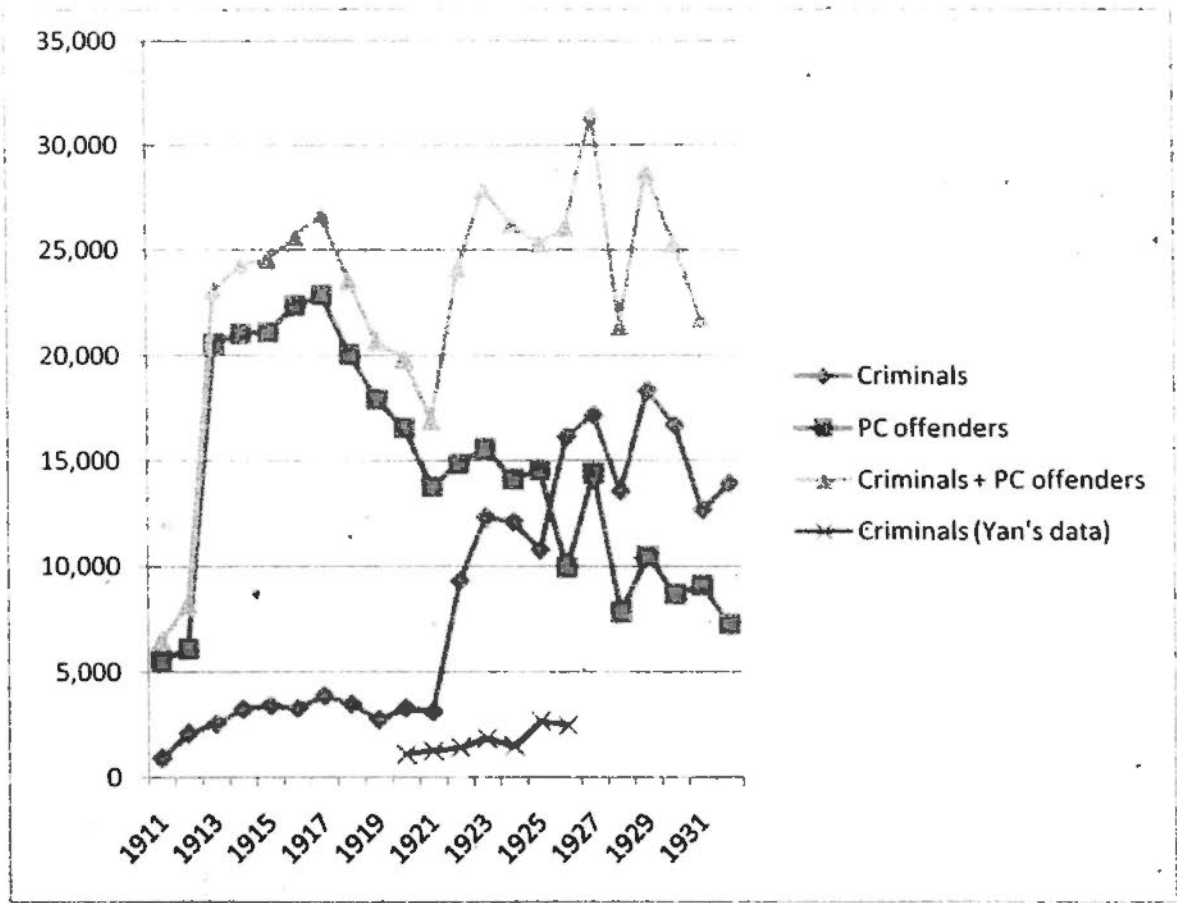


Fig. 6.1: Comparison of crime data recorded by the police and used by Yan Jingyao
 Source: BJMA files no. J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,268; Yan 1928, 4

Although we can neither possibly assess the level of accuracy and completeness of the data used by Yan nor those recorded by the Police Bureau, at least it is evident from the above analysis that the crime scholars and the criminal justice agencies were using different sets of data to form their own image of the crime situation in Beijing. Using their own set of data, they conducted analysis and portrayed their views to fit their conception of the social reality in the city. Criminologists applied the Western sociological knowledge to the results of the analysis to form their

perception of crimes and theorize about the causes of crimes in Beijing. On the other hand, the Police Bureau used the data collected to guide their deployment of resources and form their own spatial order of crimes in the city, as we shall see in the next section.

SPATIAL ORDER OF CRIME

The, policing agency of Beijing had been responsible for collecting data concerning various aspects of life of the city since the imperial period, with crime data being one of the most widely collected. Data of crime ranged from the number of crime cases and criminals for each category of crime, gender and age of criminals, year and month of occurrence of crimes, to districts of occurrence. Such data not only provided useful information about the rise and fall of crime numbers, but also described the spatial order of crimes over time. Appendix 6.1 shows a table of spatial statistics of crimes of various years from 1912-1932 prepared according to the record of the Police Bureau. From the table we are able to generate, via the historical geographical information system, maps (Figures 6.2-6.11) that show the spatial pattern of criminals in Beijing as perceived by the Police Bureau.

Fig 6.2 distribution of criminals 1912

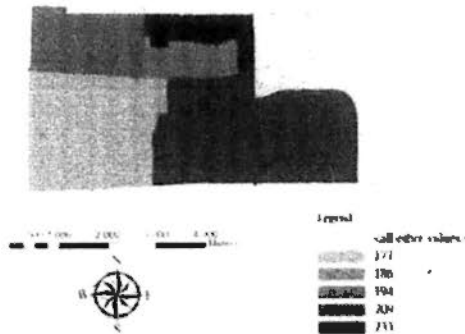


Fig 6.3 distribution of criminals 1922

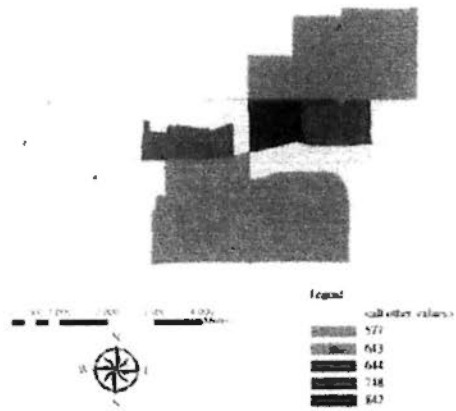


Fig 6.4 distribution of criminals 1925

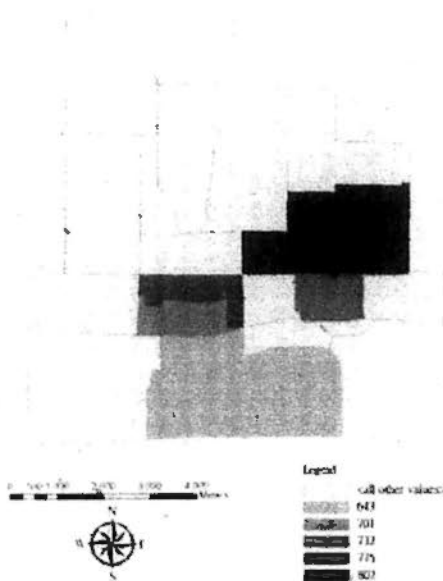


Fig 6.5 distribution of criminals 1926

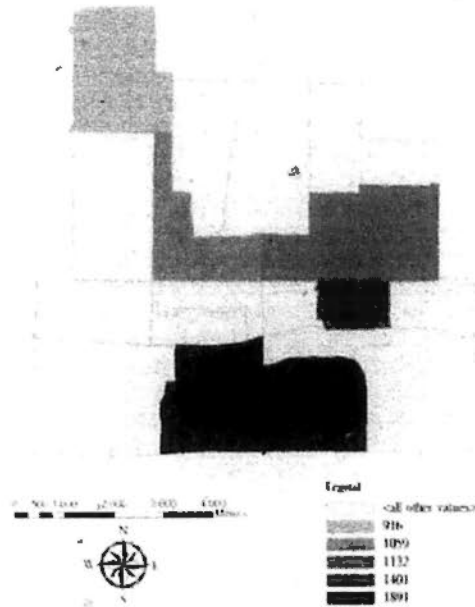


Fig 6.6 distribution of criminals 1927

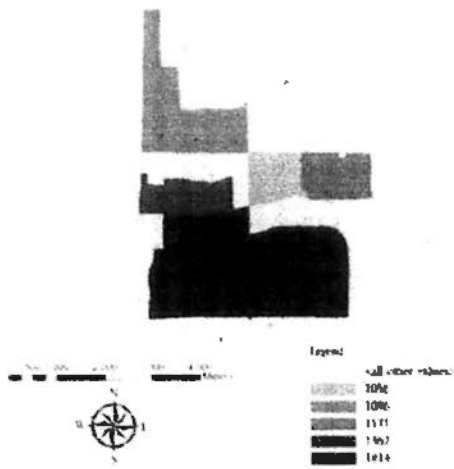


Fig 6.7 distribution of criminals 1928

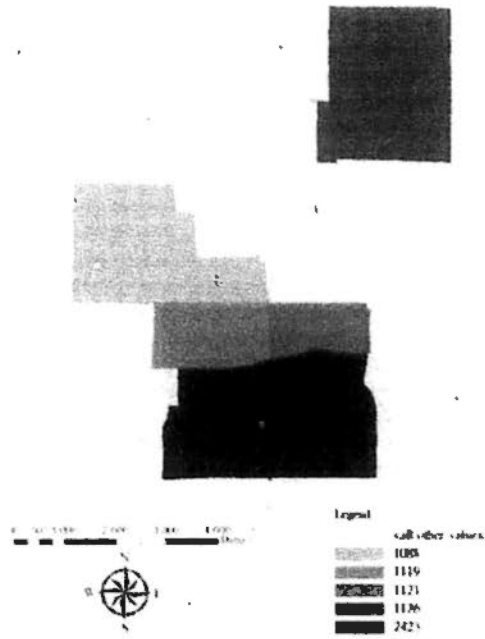


Fig 6.8 distribution of criminals 1929

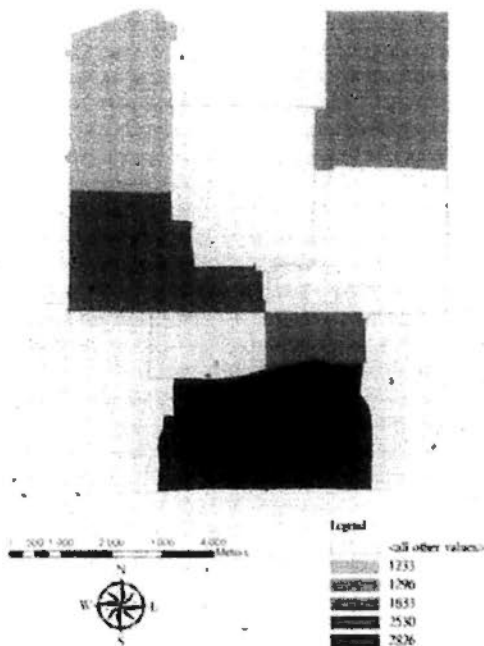


Fig 6.9 distribution of criminals 1930

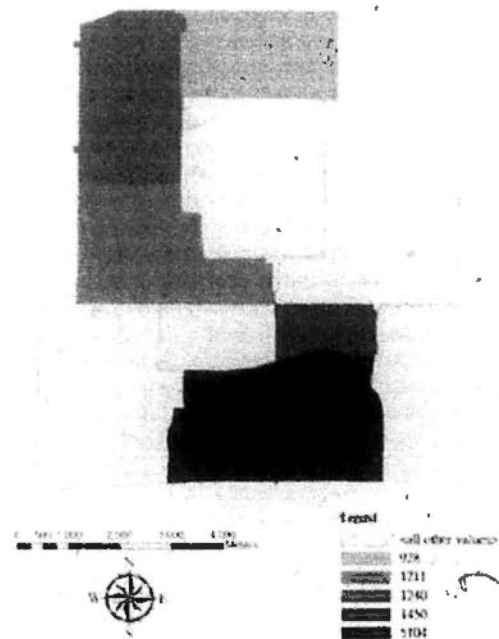


Fig 6.10 distribution of criminals 1931

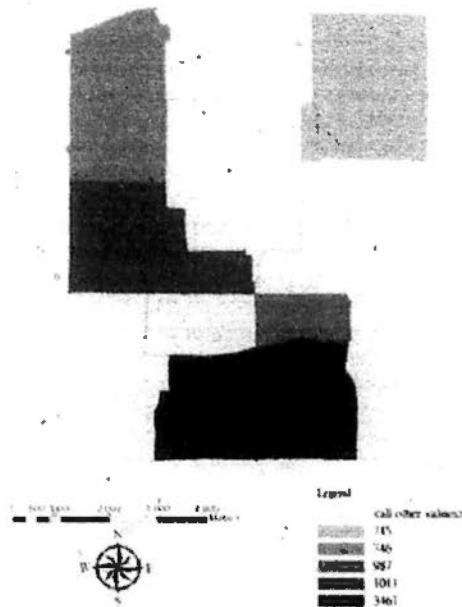
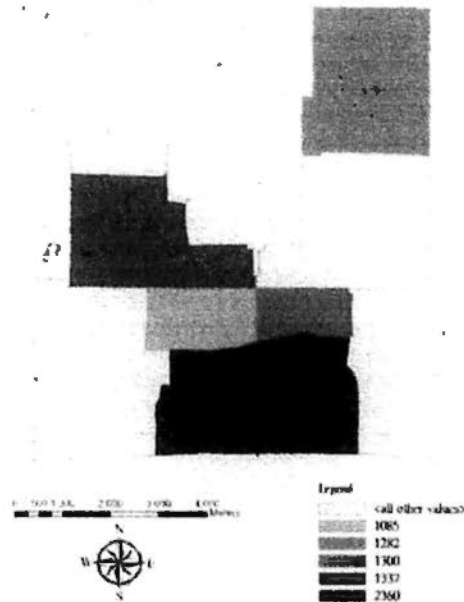


Fig 6.11 distribution of criminals 1932



Sources of figures 6.2-6.11 : BJMA files no. ZQ12-2-261, ZQ12-2-268, ZQ12-2-307; J181-1-369, J181-1-370, J181-1-371; J181-4-34, J181-4-35, J181-4-36, J181-4-37

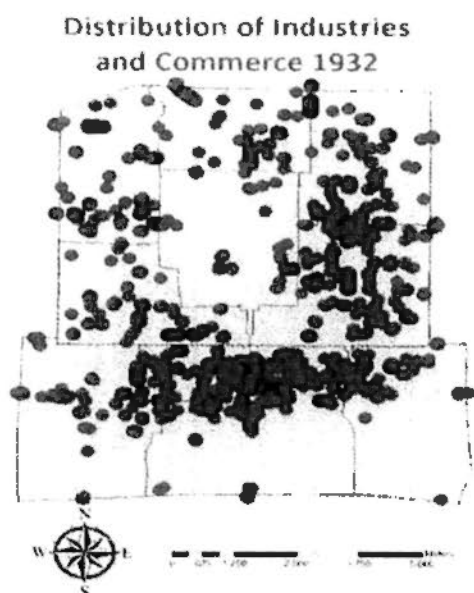
From the spatial distribution of criminals recorded by the Police Bureau for the period from the 1910s to 1930s, it looks as if the districts with the highest number of criminal (the ones with darker color in the maps) changed over the years. However, when we look more closely at the numbers we are able to see the common denominators of these patterns. If we take the 1920s to early 1930s as a continuous period for observation, Outside No. 5 District was always within one of the top five districts with the highest number of criminals, and in four of the nine years, it had the highest crime occurrence rate. Besides Outside No. 5 District, , Outside No. 1 District was always among the top three districts. In fact, the northern part of the South City which comprised Outside No. 1 and No.2 Districts as well as Outside No.

5 District had always been fairly popular for criminals. Why did these districts remain attractive to criminals despite changes in the political and economic situation of Beijing over those years?

The Outside No. 1 and 2 Districts, which are around Qian Men Street across Xuan yang men, Zheng yang men and Chong wen men in today's Beijing, were once commercial center of Beijing with the highest concentration of guilds, temples, shops and markets, as shown in Figures 6.12-6.14. The Outside No. 5 District, another area popular to criminals, was located with the famous Tianqiao market. Tianqiao was a the biggest market for low-priced goods in Beijing. It was gathered by the sellers of mostly second hand clothing, fabric and leather goods. Tianqiao was also famous for its entertainment performances such as wrestling and martial arts (Dong, 2003, 184-187). To the police force, these venues of vibrant markets and social activities were highly dangerous and needed to be closely watched. This spatial order of crime provided a useful guide to the Beijing police in deploying their manpower and resources. Graphs 6.1 -6.11 below show the police density of each districts of Beijing from 1910s to 1930s. Police density was measured by the number of constable policeman (CP) per Chinese mile (*li* 里). The analysis results show that Outside No. 1 and No. 2 Districts, where most criminals were found

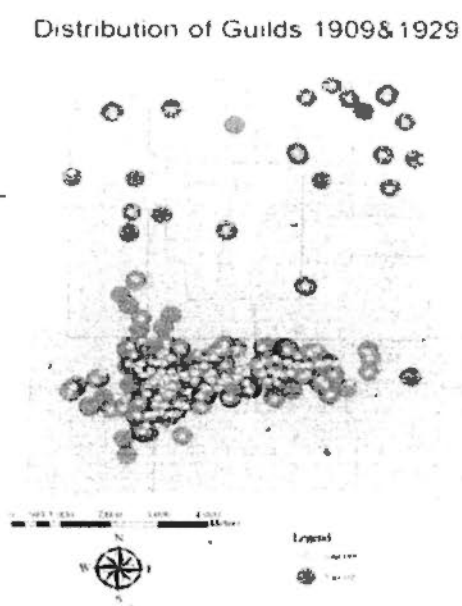
according to the aforementioned spatial records kept by the police, consistently had the highest concentration of constable policeman throughout the period.

Fig 6.12



Source: Beiping shi gonshangye gaikuang 1932

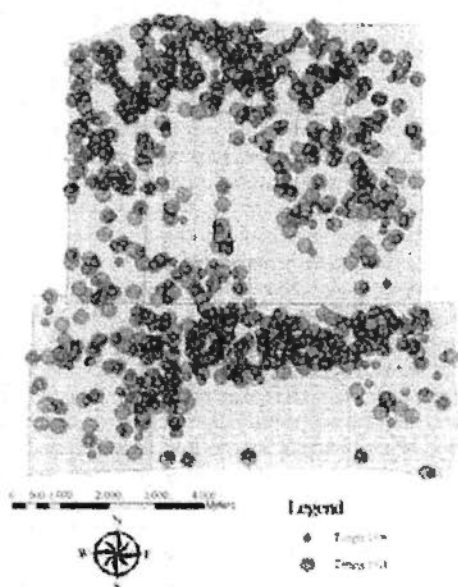
Fig. 6.13



Source: Beiping zhinan 1929 ,

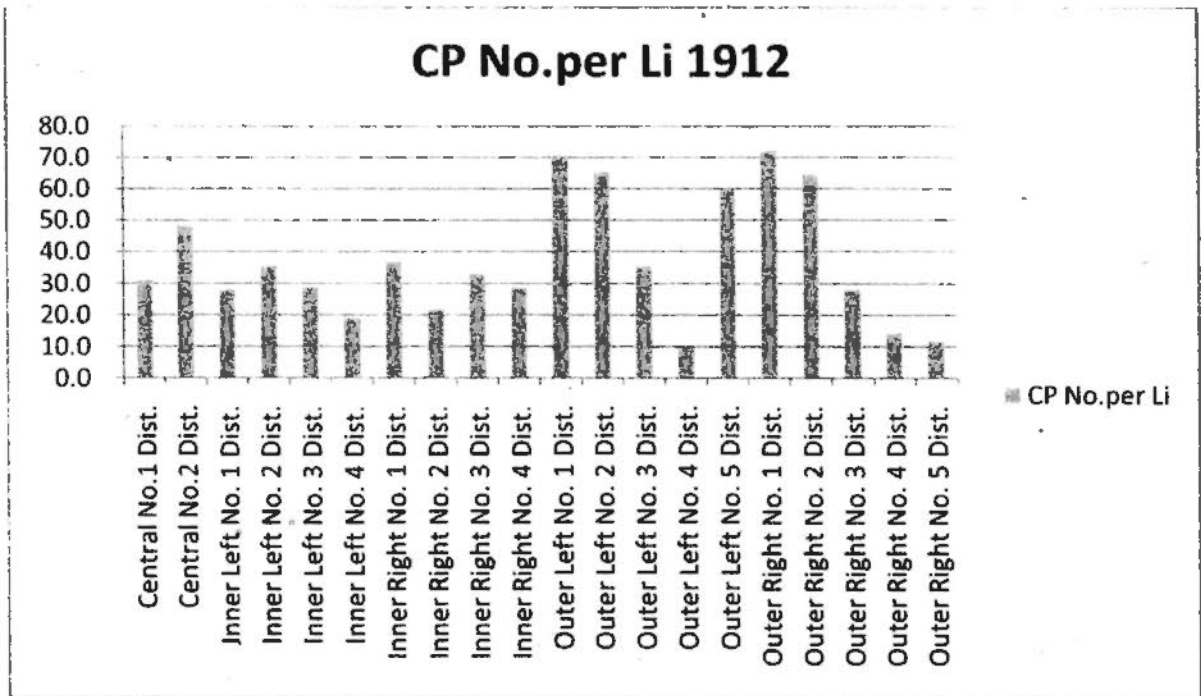
Fig. 6.14

Distribution of Temples 1928&1936

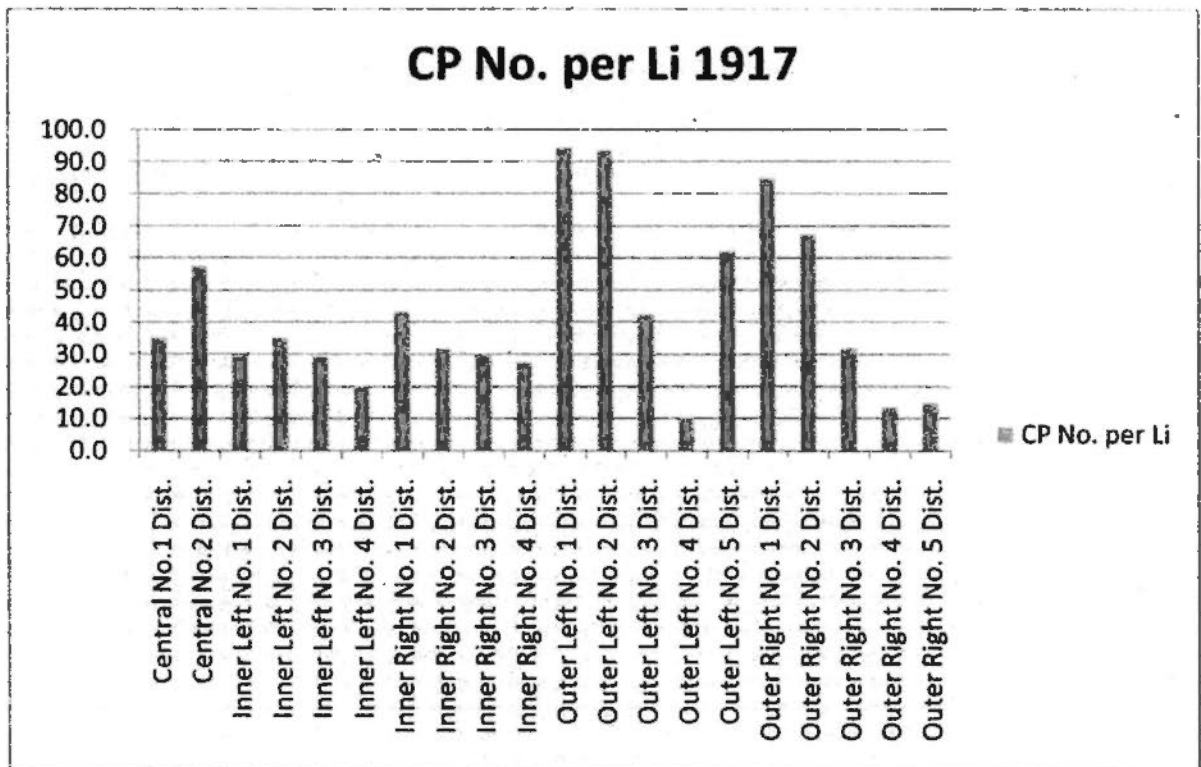


Source: BJMA files no. J2-8-1138, J181-15-131

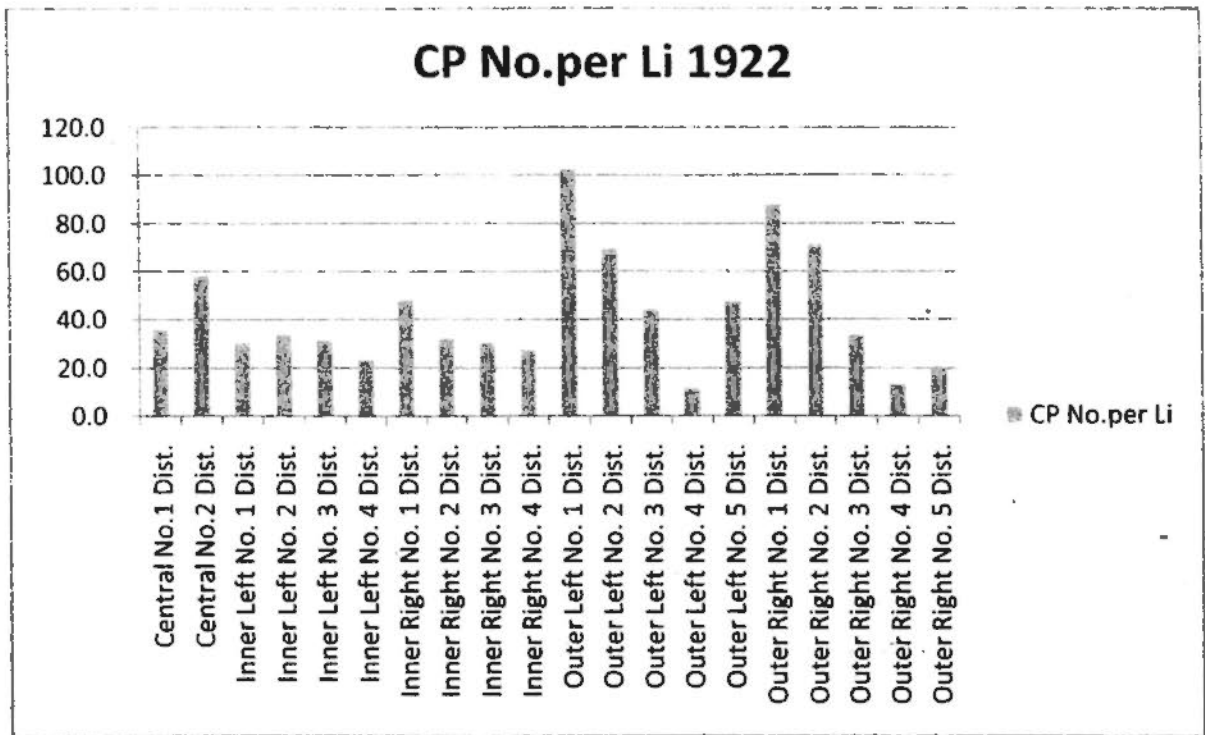
Graph 6.1



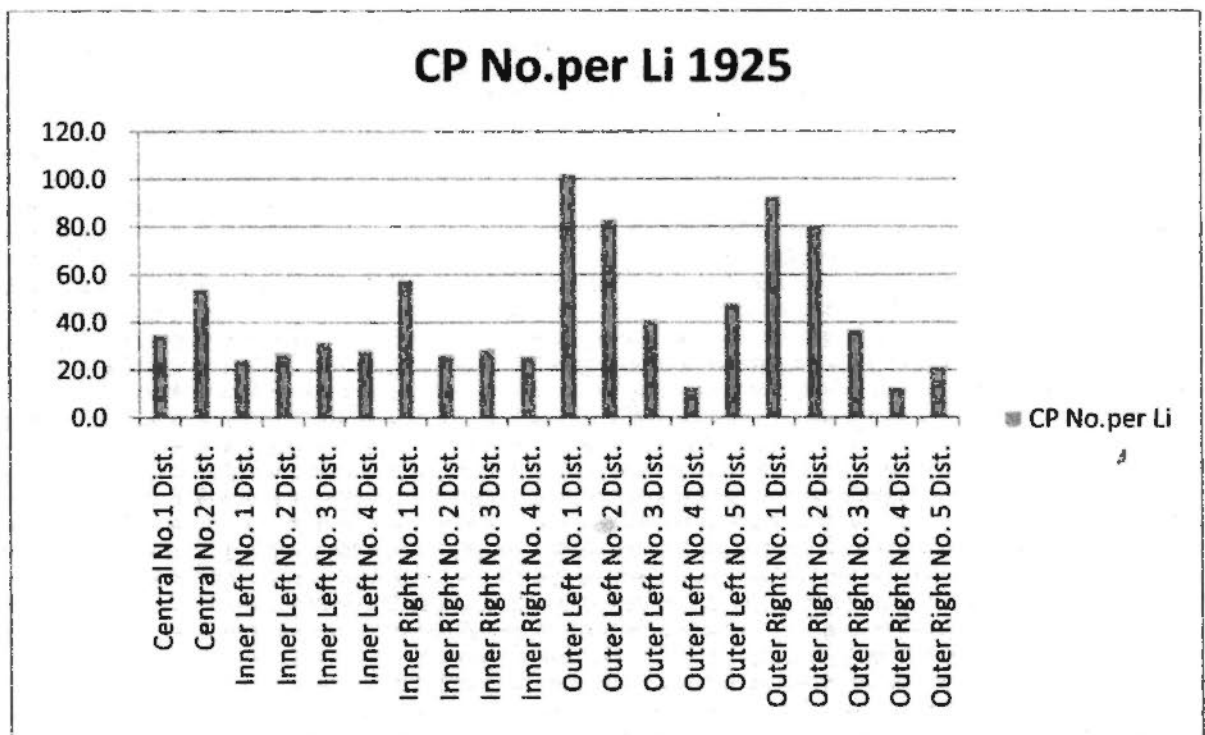
Graph 6.2



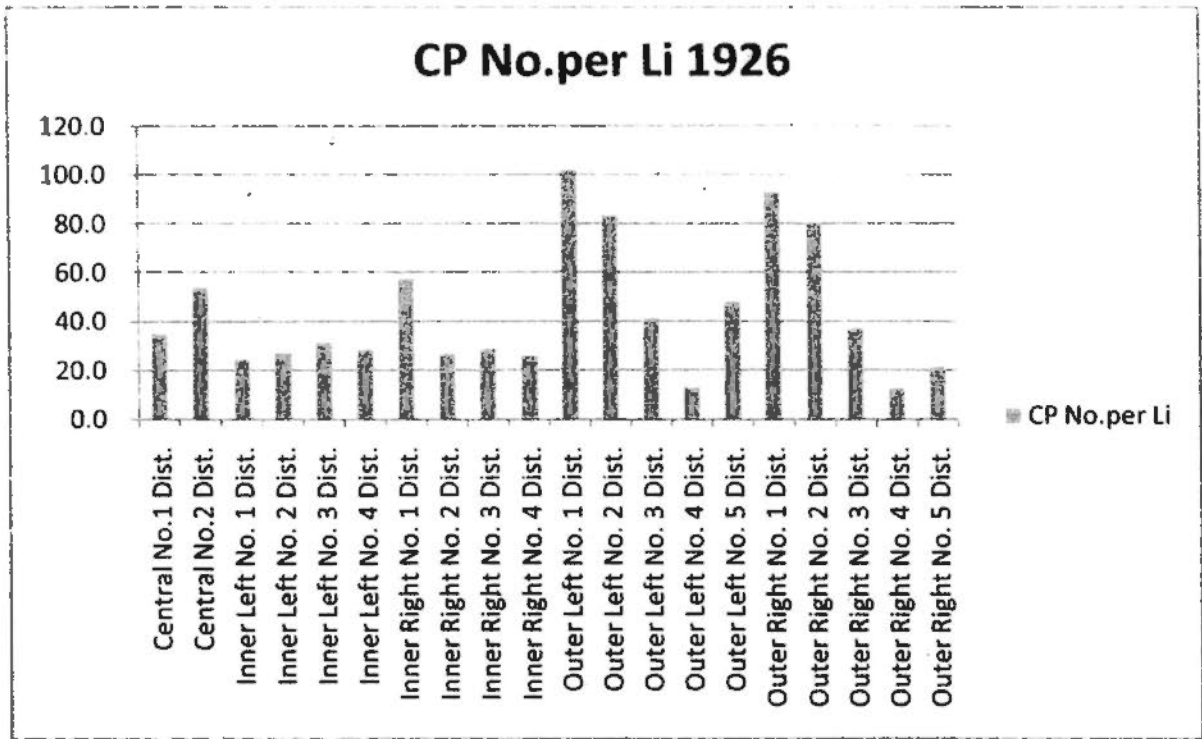
Graph 6.3



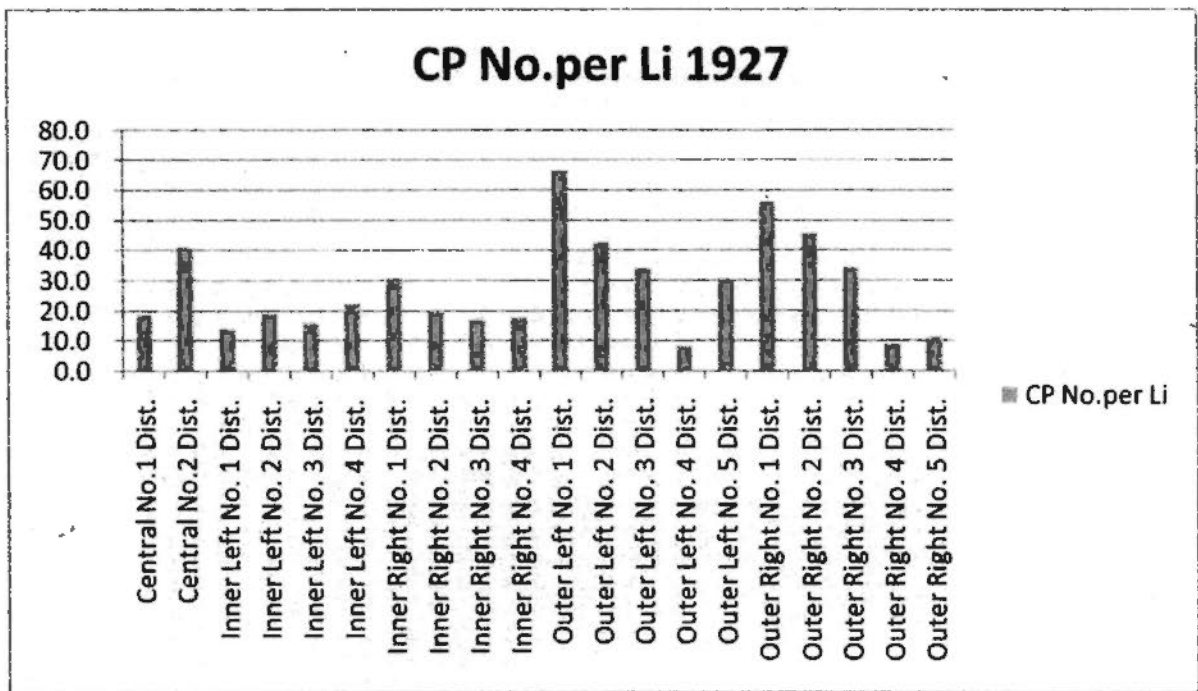
Graph 6.4



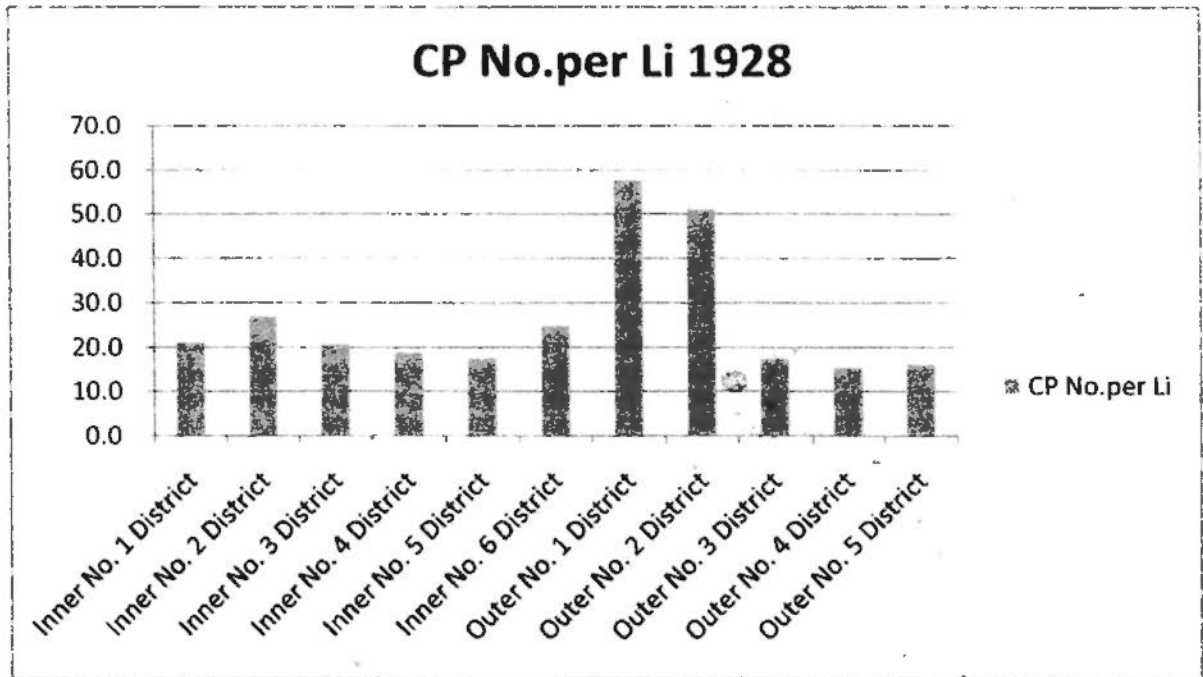
Graph 6.5



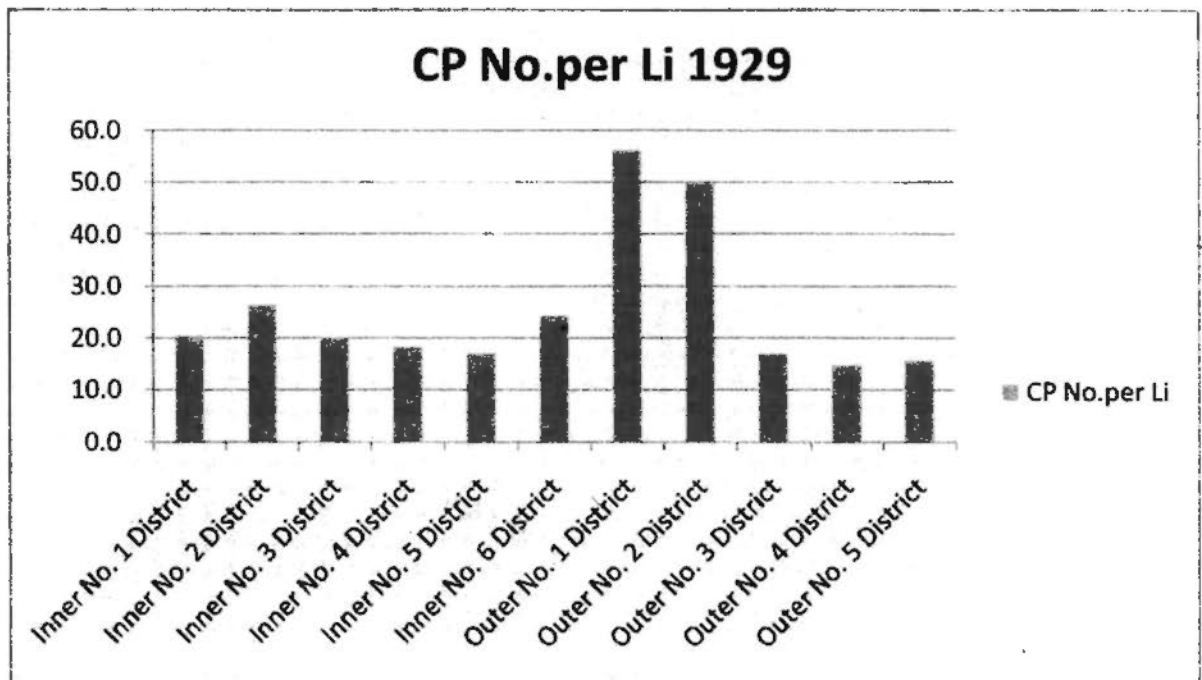
Graph 6.6



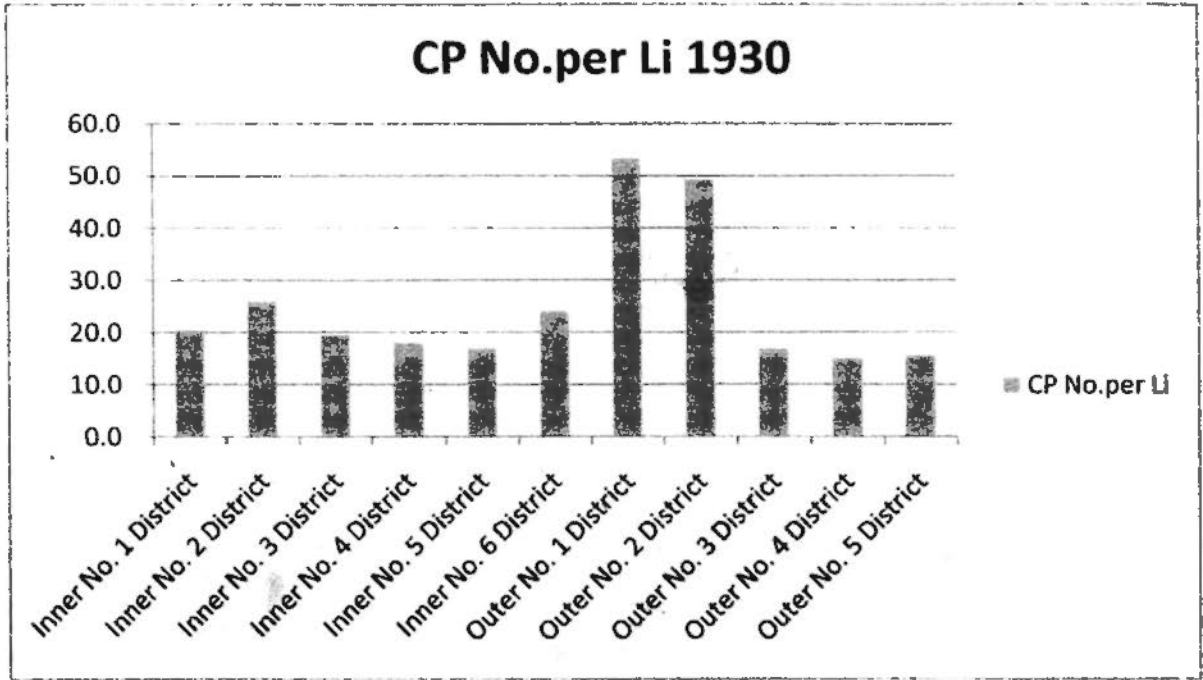
Graph 6.7



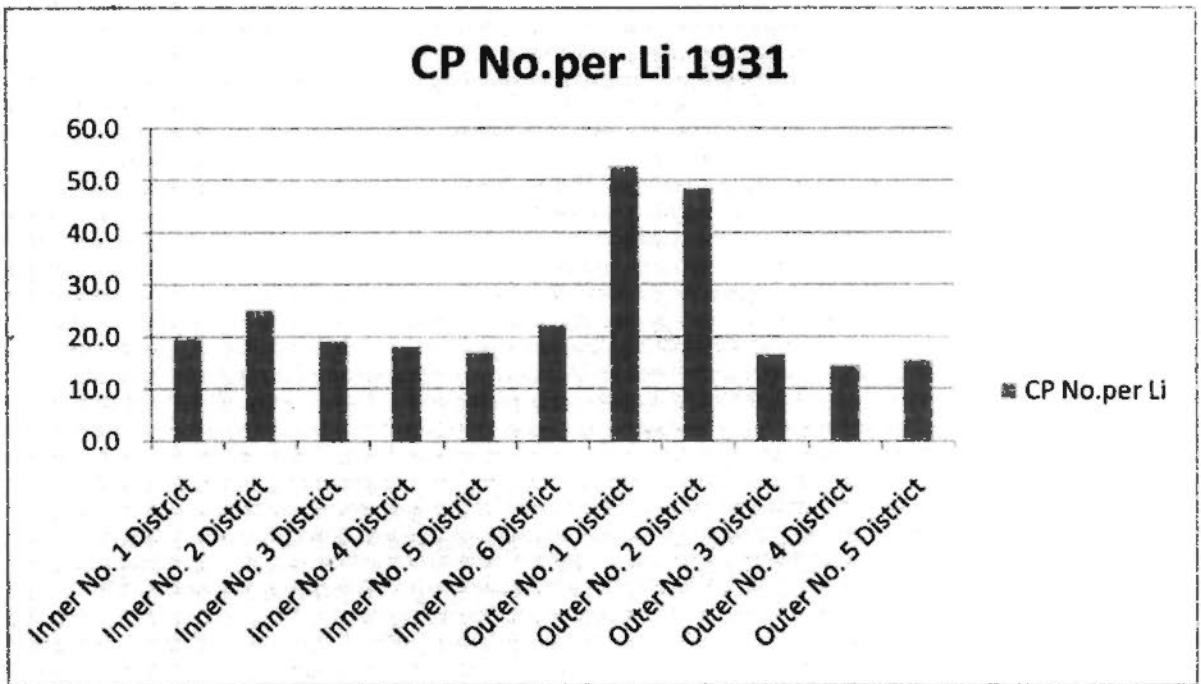
Graph 6.8



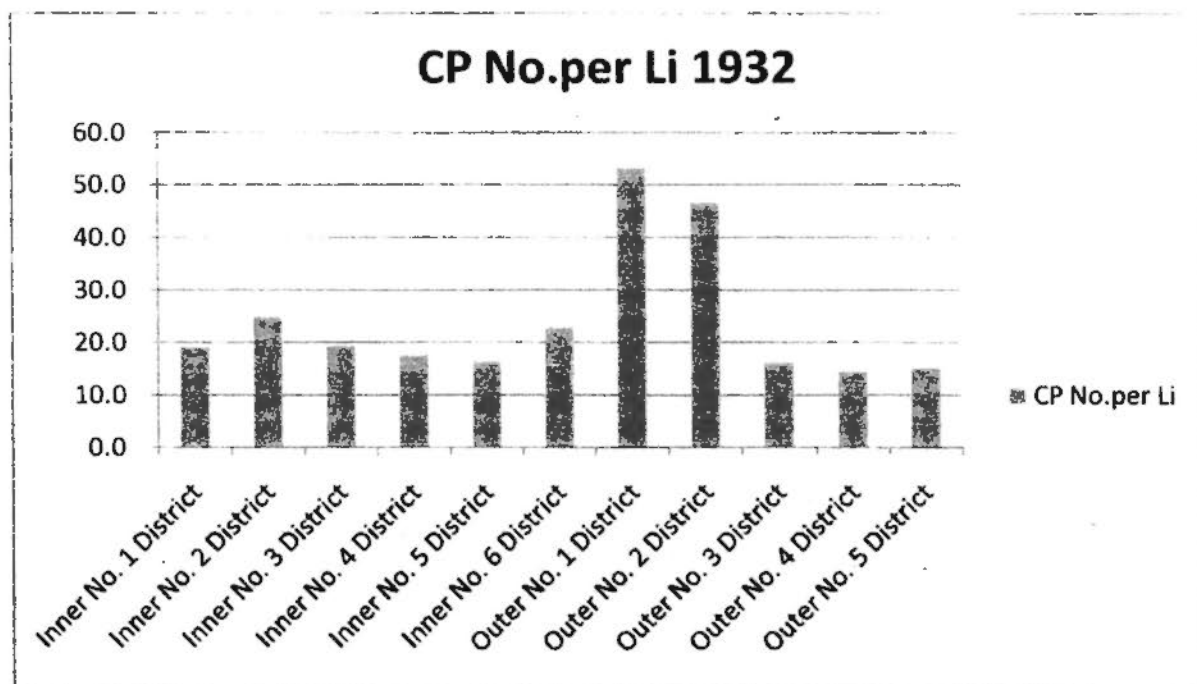
Graph 6.9



Graph 6.10



Graph 6.11



Source of graphs 6.1-6.11: BJMA files no. J181-4-34, J181-4-35, J181-4-36, J181-4-37; J181-1-369, J181-1-371; ZQ12-2-261, ZQ12-2-268

Perceived Market of Crime: Recycling Business in Beijing

The statistical data recorded by the Police Bureau of Beijing provided useful spatial order from which the deployment of police manpower and resources among various districts could be managed. The Police Bureau of Beijing also used this spatial order of crime to construct an association of crime with other aspects of urban life in Beijing. For example, the spatial relationship of the location of recycling

businessmen with the distributions of criminals was found by the police force to be something that warranted further actions.

Beijing was renowned for its recycling businesses and market of second hand goods, such as clothing, house ware and antiques. Shops and booths selling second hand goods could be found in many places in Beijing including hundreds of shops and stalls located in the Tianqiao area (Dong 2003, 184-185). Shopkeepers collected these goods from a number of sources in Beijing, such as ordinary households and pawnshops. Another key source of supplies was a group of specialized recyclers known as drum beaters (*Daguren* 打鼓人). Drum beater was probably an occupation unique to Beijing (Tao 1938, 167-169). Drum beaters referred to a group of buyers in Beijing who were specialized in buying used goods. They did not run a shop to collect used stuff. Rather, they walked around the city and scrolled through small hutongs. While walking, they hit the leather drum that they held in order to arouse the attention of the surrounding households, hence the name. When people heard the sound of the drum beating for sale, they brought out their used goods to the drum beaters. Buyers and sellers transacted in the open space in the middle of hutongs or in front of households (see Picture 6.1). There were two types of drum beaters, namely the hard drum beaters and the soft drum beaters.

The hard ones bought more expensive goods. They collected antiques, jewelry, furniture, old books, etc. They had good relationship with the antique shops. They only walked around hutongs and districts where the well-off were located.

One of the major clienteles of hard drum beaters was the Manchurians. After the fall of Qing, the income of this past noble class declined tremendously. Some had to support themselves by selling the expensive monuments or collectables kept at their homes. The pressing financial needs of this bannermen class gave the drum beaters an opportunity to buy at low prices and sell at much higher prices. In contrast, the soft drum beaters wandered around poorer areas of Beijing to collect whatever used goods of resale value, including shoes, jars, and clothes. These drum beaters, though very tough in negotiating price, provided important channels for the poor families who often had to sell used goods and clothing for cash to support themselves, especially when they lost a job. After the drum beaters had bought these used goods, they sold them to the markets. Markets for these second hand goods were mainly located at Dasheng Gate, Suanwu Gate, Tianqiao, Anding Gate, Dongdan and Tode Temple (Gao 1977, 62-63).

The drum beaters and recycling businesses obviously provided important distribution channels of used goods for ordinary people as well as the businessmen of

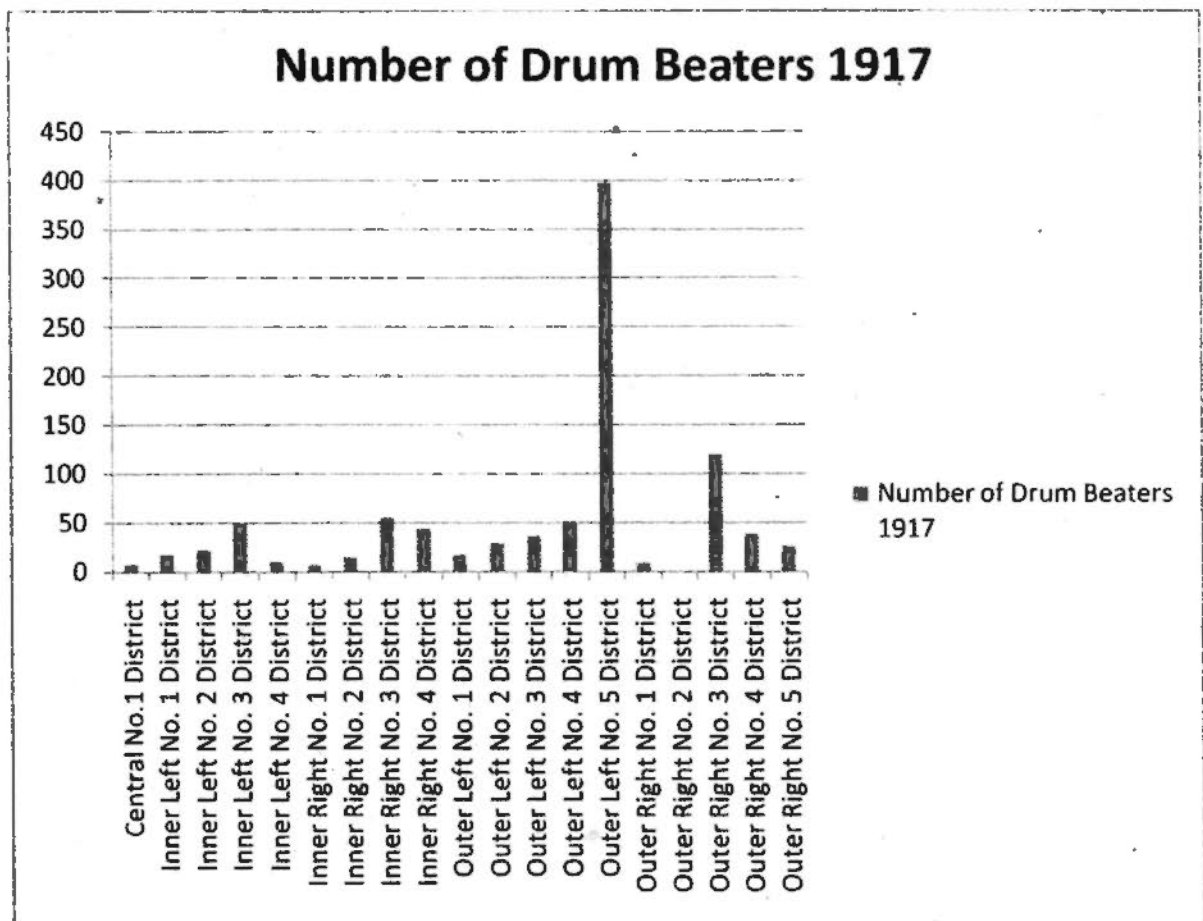
Beijing; however, it also created risks for law and order of the city in the eyes of the capital police. The mobile nature of this business made buyers and sellers of goods less identifiable. The major concern for drum beaters in a transaction was the value and the price for the goods involved. They were far less concerned about the ownership and origin of these goods. But this worried the police force of Beijing, which wrote reports on the activities of drum beaters and came to the conclusion that drum beaters were important channels for selling off stolen goods. In other words, in the eyes of the police, the business of drum beaters indirectly assisted in the activities of theft and handling of stolen goods in Beijing. In response to this apprehension, the Republican police, as part of their routine job of assembling spatial statistics for the city, also collected information specifically about drum beaters.

Graph 6.12 is compiled from the information of drum beaters collected by the Beijing police in 1917. From the data we can see that Outside Left No. 5 District had the largest number of drum beaters. This district was a logical choice for drum beaters for a number of reasons. Firstly it was one of the highest population density. Secondly, this district was also very close to the Tianqiao market, where the exits for the goods collected by the drum beaters were located. However, the police force interpreted the data from a different angle. In the police report about spatial distribution of drum beaters, a note was made in explaining the high concentration of

drum beaters in the Outside Left No. 5 District : “the Outside Left No. 5 District contained many abandoned houses and small shops, which were convenient places for thieves and robbers to hide” (外左五區, 破落之戶十居五六, 而小店林立尤為盜賊淵藪) (BJMA file no. J181-018-8679). The spatial co-relationship between the location of hidden thieves and concentration of drum beaters led the police to conceive that certain transactions handled by the drum beaters were criminal in nature. Such perception gave police a reason to be wary of the business activities of second hand goods. Not only these mobile drum beaters were monitored, shops for second hand goods were also closely watched. In 1913, the Beijing government promulgated the Capital Police Bureau’s Articles for Monitoring Business of Used Goods (*Jingshi jingchating quidi jiuhuoyingye zhangcheng* 京師警察廳取締舊貨營業章程) to regulate the opening and operation of merchants of used goods. Under these articles, a shop selling the following types of goods was required to submit personal details of shop owners and provide shop guarantee from three shops to the Police Bureau before the shop can be opened : used clothes, antiques, jade items, calligraphic and painted artworks, clocks and watches. The shop owners were required to record details of each transaction including the details of used goods, value of the transaction, names and addresses of the sellers, according to the form shown in Picture 6.2 below. This form had to be submitted to the Police Bureau

once per month. If the shop owners dealt with sellers who were travelers with no known address, the shop owners had to find a guarantor or request the police to check their identity before a transaction could take place. The Police Bureau also from time to time circulated lists of stolen goods to shop owners, who were required to report to the police if they came across those goods named in the list. Policemen were also empowered to inspect the shops any time (FLJL 1917, 258-259: Articles for Monitoring Businesses of Used Goods 1913, article 1-7).

Graph 6.12:



Source: BJMA file no. J181-018-8679



Picture 6.1: Drum beaters inspecting used goods

Source : Qi et al eds 1993, 90

查獲供案詳記簿格式						
年	月	日	貨物類別	件數	價值	備註
						年物主姓名
						年店號業
						註此項存貨均
						備註

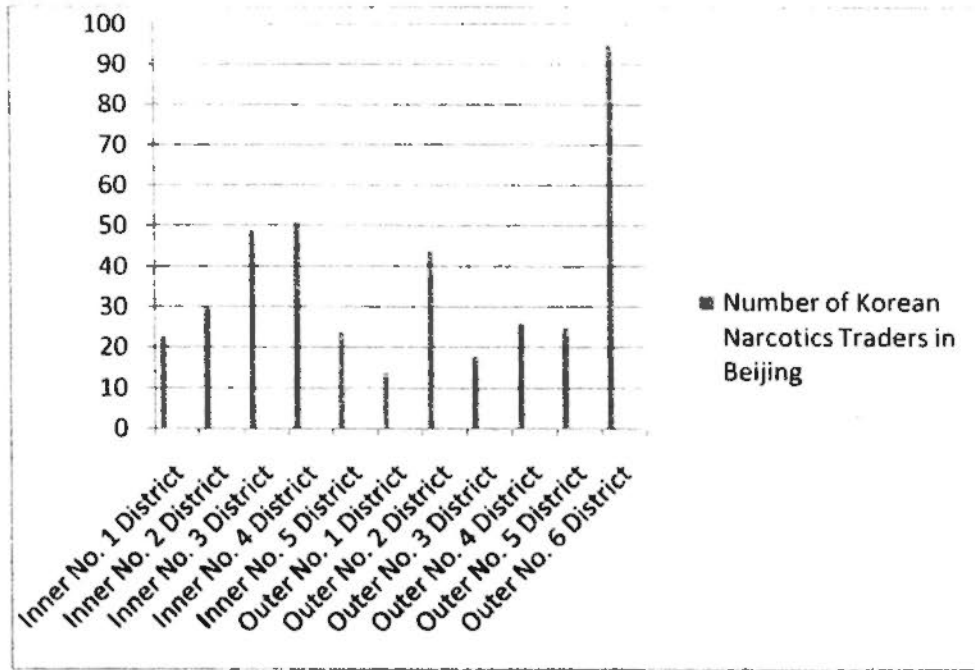
Picture 6.2: Form of particulars of used goods for filing to the police

Source: FLJL 1917, 260

Spatial Order of Foreigners and Crimes

As well as tracking of businesses of the city, the Police Bureau was also used to keeping a detailed record of foreigners in Beijing as described in the last chapter. Specific surveillance efforts were made towards particular group of foreigners who were suspected of causing crimes. One example concerned the Korean community in Beijing. The Police Bureau collected personal and spatial particulars of Koreans whom they suspected were running narcotics business. Surveillance record of Korean drug traders prepared by the police in the 1930s was shown in Appendix 6.2. Graph 6.13 is generated from this record which shows that out of the 399 Koreans narcotics traders within the city, most (close to a quarter) were again operating in the Outside No. 5 District, an area where businesses, crimes, police resources and social activities were concentrated.

Graph 6.13 No. of Korean drug traffickers in Beijing



Source: BJMA files no. J181-20-94, 95

CONCLUSION: RE-ORDERING OF CRIME DURING CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION

The above analysis reveals that the sweeping changes in the criminal justice system in China during the early twentieth century transformed not only the legal system, but also reconstructed the system of knowledge about crimes and criminals.

The state agencies, the social scientists, the businessmen, and possibly others in society participated in making sense of what constituted and caused crimes in modern China. These ascriptions of meanings and definitions by different people and institutions might have interacted and affected each others. The overhaul of the

imperial Criminal Code and adoption of the new legislative division of crime and police contraventions redefined what were deemed criminal under the law. Only the legally defined “crimes” were handled through criminal trials of the new criminal justice system, while other offences were dealt with summarily by the Police Bureau. Similarly, only these officially recognized “crimes” were recorded in the crime statistics whereas others would come under the record of police contraventions. This division of recording possibly limited or even distorted criminologists’ views towards the whole picture of criminal activities in Beijing. Despite these possible limitations, Chinese and foreign sociologists of early twentieth century attempted to establish their views and concerns regarding the crime problem in China. They employed the Western methodologies of social science in analyzing crimes in Chinese society. Chinese criminologists of the early twentieth century tended to look at the crime situation as a result of their anxiety about urbanization and Westernization of Chinese society. Yan Yingyao, as one of the major criminologists of that period, perceived crime as an obstacle to the advancement of society. He concluded that unemployment, poverty, natural disasters, an overcrowded population, war, disease, lack of morality and crime were interrelated and had to be resolved through the efforts of the entire society (Yan 1928, 44).

On the other hand, the Beijing police force kept detailed spatio-temporal records of crimes and criminals of the city. Despite inevitable imperfections in accuracy and completeness of these records, they were used by the state agencies in forming their own perception and explanation of crime order in Beijing. This perception could have formed the basis for police resources deployment around different districts of Beijing. From this spatial order the Police Bureau tried to find the possible roots and causes of crimes. Sometimes, spatial order of crimes and spatial order of other walks of urban life in Beijing were connected by the police in forming their own perception of the city order. Activities of drum beaters and Korean residents were examples.

Some criminologists of the early twentieth century argued that Western lifestyle and urban culture brought about an increase in crimes in Beijing. The truth to this argument is now difficult to be verified. However, from the above findings, at least it is evident that Westernization brought about a change in approaches of theorizing, categorizing and explaining crimes in China. These various approaches influenced each other in reordering of what were deemed as crimes, what were perceived as their causes and how the new criminal justice system should work to cope with this social problem.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION – JUSTICE ON TRIAL

System transplant was a difficult process. It took time and pain to complete.¹¹ However, China in the early twentieth century was not allowed to have that much time in planning for the new system before overhauling the old one. Since 1900s the Qing government was under pressure to quickly put in place a reform package to please the allies and calm down the revolutionary voices. Before the Qing government had enough time for a full trial-run of the reform policies, it was overturned. Nevertheless, most of these efforts were put on trial by the succeeding governments of the Republic.

Previously scholarship examined how legal reform initiatives were put into practice in the Republic, with particular focus on civil cases or the implementation in Shanghai. In contrast, how the criminal justice system was run in Beijing, a political centre where the legal reform was originated and a city enrooted with deep

¹¹ There is an ongoing debate as to whether legal transplant is at all possible, see Watson (1974) for a conventional view from a comparative law angle, which was strongly criticized by scholars in sociology of law, see Legrand (2001). For an account of the process of how legal transplant was affected by or affected social changes in Asian societies other than China, see Tanase (2001) on the case of Japan and Harding (2001) on South East Asian countries.

tradition, attracted little scholarly attention. This dissertation has portrayed how the forefront players in the criminal justice system of Beijing, especially the lawyers, the policemen, the local judges and the crime specialists perceived and reacted to this process of legal change, against the particular cultural and historical backdrops of this traditional capital city. We have also seen how these perceptions drove their appropriation between the new rules and the old practices and how, as a result, the outcome of the legal reform of the late Qing and early Republic was shaped.

Overseas graduates together with locally educated elites began their practice as the first generation of lawyers in Beijing right after the establishment of the Republic. Despite the successful growth of the legal community in the first decade, the legal profession of Beijing were faced with a number of challenges caused by the legacy of traditional perception of litigation masters. Such perception affected how legal professionals were treated by the government and regarded by the lay clients.

For a decade after the establishment of the Republic, new rules on criminal procedures still remained inadequate for the judges to follow in running trials. They had to rely sometimes on the guidelines from the Supreme Court, if any, sometimes refer to the Draft Law of Criminal Procedures prepared by Shen Jiaben

for the Qing government, and sometimes even resort to applying what they conceived applicable and equitable practices of the imperial era. Continuity of imperial practices were seen in the format of criminal judgments, in the preparation and usage of autopsy reports, in the judges' consideration of mitigation of sentences and in their representation of the standard of proof; all alongside with a quick adoption of Western judicial principle of free evaluation of evidence. More importantly, the judges sought justifications in applying this mix-and-match approach by upholding a claim of tradition. Republican judges perceived that being legal specialists trained in the imperial era, they had the obligations of blending the merits of traditional hearings as well as the advantages of the Western trial system. Practising imperial rules, to these judges, was not in contradiction with their position as the judges appointed under a Westernized legal system; rather this is the right thing for them to do in improving the quality of justice in China. This perception guided them in trying criminal cases, writing judgments and shaping the development of judicial culture of modern China.

Dual policing structure formed by the gendarmerie and the new police force distinguishes the police force of Beijing from that of other cities in China in the early twentieth century. In the eyes of the news media, the ordinary people as well as

the foreigners in Beijing, the two forces were perceived to have been cooperating and at the same time competing with each other. Under such perception and bureaucratic dynamics, the Beijing police force was left with not much choice but to continue as much traditional responsibilities of the gendarmerie as possible. On top of that, they took up additional social responsibilities in order to assert their authority in the city. Policing in the capital city meant more than merely a disciplinary force to maintain law and order, to investigate crimes and to arrest criminals. It was meant to include much responsibilities in managing municipal services, moralizing people's behavior and advancing social justice. This unusually wide meaning guided the way how the Beijing police force deployed their resources and understand their authority.

Last but not least, crimes were ascribed with new meanings in the course of legal reform. From a legislative perspective, the Qing's New Criminal Code reshuffled the old ordering of crimes under the Qing Code. More importantly, less serious crimes that were punishable by a lighter fine and shorter custody were taken away from the legal definition of crimes. They became police contravention offences under the Qing's Police Contravention Code. This re-ordering of crime was largely inherited by the Republican criminal justice system. The number of

police contravention offences occurred in Beijing was as high as ten times than that of the more narrowly defined crimes. Nevertheless, police contraventions were taken off from the official statistics of crimes kept by the Police Bureau. Hence these numerous minor crimes were off the eyes of the public and the crime scholars. Crime scholars, on the other hand, began to theorize about the crime order of Beijing in the 1920s to the 1930s, despite the fact that they had on hand only data with limited comprehensiveness. They tried to attribute the crime situation of Beijing to a much broader issue of urban social order including poverty, poor education and Westernized entertainment. At the same time, the police force in Beijing built their own discourse of crimes and causes of crimes by constructing a spatial order of crimes and other urban activities. These differing perceptions continued to influence each other in the re-ordering of what were deemed crimes, what were conceived as their causes and how the new criminal justice system should work to cope with this social problem.

The early twentieth century was an era of change for China. Within a decade or so after the turn of the century, there were suddenly so much for China to learn about new ideas; yet too little for her to learn how to erase the old experiences that we normally call traditions. Previous studies and this dissertation have informed

us that the outcome of the legal system transplant that took place in the early twentieth century in China was inevitably a product of path-crossing between the new ideas and the old experiences, in both the civil and criminal regimes . How exactly the new rules mixed and matched with the old practices depended on the interplay of a number of factors, one of which, as shown in this study, was the perception about the roles and responsibilities of the players in the new justice system. These players included, among others, lawyers, policemen, judges, crime scholars and even the lay people who were engaged in lawsuits. Obviously how these perceptions were formed was another complex story of interaction among traditional norms, Western ideologies, political and economic forces. Legal reform during the Republican period, even though handed down by the central government as a unitary policy across the entire nation, took different shapes during implementation in different areas, depending on how such interaction of various factors played themselves out. In other words, the outcome of the Republican legal reform in any given region cannot be seen as representative of the situation in other places where the perceptual changes were different, not to mention the situation across the entire nation. More divergent results should be expected from inland or less affluent cities in comparison with Republican Beijing or Shanghai where culture and values were developed from mixtures in different degrees from the East and the

West. This story of Republican China is important to us today, not just because plenty of the legal codes drafted in the late Qing and early Republic are still used in Taiwan today, but also because this complex process of legal change was also taking place in the contemporary People's Republic where a legal system based on the Soviet and Western notions were once again imported into China since 1980s.

APPENDIX

Appendix 2.1 List of members of Beijing Bar Association

Source : BJMA J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

Name	Allas	Age	Place of Birth	Education	Certificate No.	Enrollment Date
李得春	深首	32	直隸保定府祁州縣人	北洋法律學堂畢業	23	19121009 會證第一號
陶潤波	芝田	33	浙江會稽	京師法律學堂畢業	16	19121009 會證第二號
朱鼎萊	丙一	25	直隸省大興縣	京師國立專門法律學堂畢業	14	19121009 會證第三號
徐原恒	久成	39	四川夔州府萬縣	京師國立專門法律學堂畢業	13	19121009 會證第 4 號
許國熙	(?)定	37	江蘇無錫縣	京師國立專門法律學堂畢業	12	19121009 會證第 5 號
王錫鑾	鏡銘	33	廣西桂林府臨桂縣	京師國立專門法律學堂畢業	8	19121009 會證第 6 號
李錫望	典晉	30	湖南桂陽州	京師國立專門法律學堂畢業	9	19121009 會證第 7 號
李方	楠方	35	廣東嘉應州	英國甘畢里大學畢業	18	19121009 會證第 8 號
趙汝衡	雷村	27	直隸玉田縣	京師法律學堂畢業	48	19121009 會證第 9 號
增斌(?)	幼鶴	34	順天宛平縣	北京國立專門法律學堂畢業	45	19121017 會證第 10 號
胡家勤	辛夫	30	廣西臨桂縣	京師法律學堂畢業	38	19121018 會證第 11 號
黎光蒸	紹南	42	四川定遠縣	京師法律學堂畢業	24	19121023 會證第 16 號
張允同	子麟	29	廣東番禺	京師法律學堂畢業	11	19121019 會證第 13 號
楊述傳	云澄	30	江蘇丹徒縣	京師法律學堂畢業	25	19121023 會證第 15 號
王鑫烈	庚山	34	甘肅	北京國立專門法律學堂畢業	7	19121114 會證第 25 號
李應英	伯良	38	河南盧氏縣	北京國立專門法律學堂畢業	10	19121019 會證第 12 號
汪其砥	砥鋒	32	安徽省壽縣	日本大學法科畢業	21	19121105 會證第 17 號
江天錚	觀庵	33	廣東花縣	日本早稻田大學畢業	2	19121107 會證第 18 號
鄧爾班	超如	34	四川綿州	日本明治大學畢業	40	19121109 會證第 19 號
劉東浙	震鴻	32	直隸省滄州	日本明治大學政科畢業	26	19121109 會證第 20 號
楊光湛	南父	30	四川綿寧縣	日本中央大學畢業	4	19121110 會證第 21 號
曹汝霖	潤田	37	江蘇省上海縣	日本東京中央大學畢業	1	19121111 會證第 23 號
方震甲	圻野	31	安徽省定遠縣	日本明治大學法科畢業	29	19121110 會證第 22 號
鄧錕	守殿	40	四川成都縣	日本明治大學畢業	20	19121112 會證第 24 號
王天木	天木	32	直隸省涿州	日本明治大學畢業	126	19121114 會證第 26 號
黃永穎	固培	30	四川省慶符縣	日本明治大學畢業	124	19121115 會證第 27 號
歐陽頌	(?)庭	41	江西彭澤縣	京師仕學官法政畢業	135	19121118 會證第 28 號
彭解	報暉	26	江西萍鄉縣	北京學治館法政專門畢業	70	19121119 會證第 29 號
關慶銘	坤卿	27	直隸省南和縣	直隸法律學校畢業	134	19121123 會證第 30 號
岳秀敏		31	河南開儀	日本早稻田大學	5	19121019 會證 24 號

羅樹棠	蔣軒	44	四川忠州	京師法律學堂	72	19121128 會證 32 號
薛大可	子奇	31	湖南益陽	日本早稻田大學法律科畢業	80	19121123 會證 31 號
金源	問渠	24	浙江歸安	京師法律專門學堂畢業	67	19121129 會證 33 號
刁名世	符五	25	四川新都縣	直隸法律學校	30	19121130 會證 34 號
劉嵩	嵩榮	30	四川華陽	日本明治大學法科畢業	50	19121205 會證 35 號
王清潤	仲璜	36	四川重慶府	北京學治館法政專門畢業	88	19121206 會證 36 號
熊垓	暢九	30	江西瑞州府高安縣	東京大學堂畢業	213	19121217 會證 37 號
趙雲章	少山	34	直隸衡水縣	北京法律學堂畢業	17	19121218 會證 38 號
劉崇佑	嵩生	36	福建閩縣	日本早稻田大學法律科畢業	89	19121222 會證 39 號
王毅檢	幼渠	28	直隸易州	北京法律學堂	167	19120227 會證 40 號
高春熊	尚志	23	直隸東鹿縣	直隸法律學堂畢業	216	19121228 會證 40 號
馬有略	星曹	38	廣東潮陽縣	日本明治大學法科	22	19130108 會證 42 號
王維華	瑰璋	21	四川豐都縣	北洋法律學堂	133	19130109 會證 43 號
廖國宗	恩鳳	48	順天宛平縣	法律學堂畢業	232	19130109 會證 44 號
何崇	喜如	25	四川重慶府江津縣	直隸法律學堂畢業	317	19130110 會證 45 號
江洪杰	子因	36	安徽旌德縣	日本明治大學法科畢業	266	19130111 會證 46 號
劉教誥	厚之	48	浙江山陰	進士館專門學校畢業	297	19130111 會證 47 號；又 19140702 報告人會
曹廷斌	佩京	25	順天大興縣	京師國立專門法律學堂畢業	305	19130112 會證 48 號
楊紀宇	星權	35	湖南寧遠縣	京師國立專門法律學堂畢業	35	19130116 會證 49 號
段坤慶	源瑜	41	江西宜春縣	北京學治館法政專門別科畢業	233	19130118 會證 50 號
高廷彦	臣堯	23	四川崇慶縣	直隸法律學堂畢業	323	19130129 會證 51 號
許紹祖	復朴	51	浙江紹興縣	直隸法律學堂畢業	434	19130201 會證 52 號
李謙	紹儀	26	直隸宛平縣	北京法律學堂畢業	341	19130201 會證 53 號
胡晴清	炳奇	38	直隸宛平縣	日本早稻田大學畢業	516	19130215 會證 54 號
袁本賢	仲和	28	江蘇吳江	日本明治大學畢業學士	488	19120216 會證 55
張孝琳	劍舟	33	浙江杭州	日本大學法科畢業	121	19130224 會證 56
石廣垣	誠野	25	直隸灤州	山西大學法律專科畢業	153	19130215 會證 57 號
張務本	體仁	36	順天府大成縣	日本早稻田大學畢業	220	19130225 會證 58 號
傅德洋	滋誠	32	貴州省黔西州	日本東京法政大學畢業	214	19130226 會證 59
熊福華	馨芝	27	湖北江夏	北京學治館法政專門別科畢業	125	19130228 會證第 60 號
劉吉星	聚五	27	直隸唐山	日本明治大學政科專門畢業政治學士	43	19130301 會證第 61 號
袁紹維	中涵	30	四川資州	北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	442	19130210 會證 62 號
方鎮泉	悅九	33	河南衛縣	北京學治館法政專門學校別科畢業	71	19130311 會證 63 號
吳錫寶	至人	26	大興	日本早稻田大學政科畢業法政大學研究科學士	662	19130325 會證 64 號
左際	贊剛	38	廣東南海	北京進士館畢業	483	19138326 會證 65 號
黃晃庚	誠存	29	廣東順德	廣東法政學堂別科畢業	194	19130329 會證 66 號

凌步倫	子云	32	廣東開建	廣東法政學堂別科畢業	223	19130328 會證 67 號
楊宏策	煥旭	29	廣東新會	日本法政大學法科專門畢業	123	19130329 會證 68 號
翁銳	海壽	34	廣西蒼梧	廣東法政學堂別科畢業	110	19130329 會證 69 號
張伯烈	亞農	41	湖北隨縣	日本東京法政學畢業	334	19130329 會證第 70 號
黃國恩	添卿	24	直隸武邑	直隸法律學校	751	19130407 會證 71 號
郭廷輿	蘇南	26	直隸東鹿	直隸法律學堂畢業	766	19130408 會證 72 號
陳發禮	海瀾	34	廣東瓊山	日本東京帝國大學法學士	131	19120409 會證 73 號
尹朝萃	維誠	35	湖北沔陽	日本法政大學法科專門畢業	651	19130410 會證 74 號
周慶恩	次理	36	山東歷城縣	日本法政大學法律部畢業充法政教員 3 年以上	260	19130410 會證 75 號
韓霖	仲耕	27	直隸寶縣	北京學治館法政專門學校別科畢業	645	19130413 會證 76 號
何蔚	慎真	30	廣東興寧	日本日本大學法律科及高等研究科法律學士畢業	278	19130416 會證 77 號
李惟熙	綸庭	29	浙江會稽寄籍順天府大興縣	直隸法政學堂	873	19130528 會證 77 號
姚立繩	炬修	26	四川西昌	湖北法政學堂	771	19130427 會證第 78 號
葉多羅	肅庭	28	順天府平縣	京師國立專門法律學堂畢業	767	19130429 會證 79 號
陳贊愚	智若	34	四川江北廳	京師法律學堂畢業前漢口審判廳推事	300	19130501 會證 80 號
劉昌吉	慎西	35	安徽濠州合肥	國立北京法政專門學校法律班畢業	1019	19130501 會證 81 號
朱兆萃	鼎輝	34	廣州府花縣	美國紐約哥倫比亞大學校商科學士法科碩士	1020	19130508 會證 82 號
李英詮	鏡衡	36	廣東韶州英德縣	廣東法政學堂別科畢業	196	19130508 會證 83 號
廖治	用之	20	四川華陽	日本明治大學法科畢業	736	19130509 會證 84 號
楊陳銘	竹欷	30	福建連城	福建法政別科畢業庚戌法官前福州地方檢察官	1088	19130519 會證 85 號
陳象光	基初	34	浙江永嘉	京師大學堂仕學官畢業	368	19130521 會證 86
孟錫年	百朋	31	直隸安平縣	直隸法律學堂畢業	1067	19130527 會證 88 號
孫潤宇	子南	35	江蘇吳縣	日本法政大學法學士曾充江蘇律師總會會長	561	19130526 會證 89 號
石潤金	奉春	42	湖南益陽	日本法政大學專科畢業	1368	19130623 會證 90 號
田玉振	金璧	34	直隸完縣	直隸法政學校畢業	722	19130605 會證 91 號
江紹杰	漢瑞	36	安徽旌德	日本法政大學畢業	629	19130606 會證 92 號
張增	復元	35	浙江天臺	日本中央大學大學部畢業法學士	1228	19130611 會證 93 號
孫鏡清	性權	38	四川江津	北京法律學堂	1360	19130616 會證 94 號
方錫光	耀廷	39	順天府縣原籍安徽歙縣	北京國立專門法律學校畢業	1215	19130617 會證 95 號
胡鳴程	瑞儀	25	順天府大興縣原籍四川鹽山縣	北京國立專門法律學堂畢業	1209	19130619 會證 96
張波明	仲宜	39	直隸易縣	直隸法政學校畢業	753	19130625 會證 97 號
王鴻運	耀勛	31	四川富順	京師法律學堂	739	19130628 會證 98 號
郭廣臣	邦彥	29	四川夔州	日本法政大學高等研究科畢業	1523	19130710 會證 99 號
司徒直	登輝	36	廣東恩平	北京國立法政專門法律學校畢業法學士	1556	19130731 會證 102 號

歐宗瀛	敬孟	33	廣東番禺	北京國立大學校法科法律專門學業法學士	1553	19130226 會證 103 號
劉士傑	龍祥	31	湖北竹溪	湖北法政學校畢業	1445	19130714 會證 100 號
韓其銘	新之	33	浙江山陰	直隸法政學校畢業	1086	19130715 會證 101 號
傅紹儒	聘三	39	順天寧河縣	京師法律學堂本科畢業	1723	19130729 會證 104 號
凌士鈞		35	浙江石門	日本法政大學畢業	761	19130804 會證 105 號
鄭其光	春廷	27	廣東新寧	北京法政專門學校	1560	19140812 會證 106 號
王斌	聚之	30	浙江龍山	北京國立法政大學法律專門法學士	1551	19130813 會證 107 號
唐寶琦	秀豐	36	廣東香山	日本早稻田大學畢業	3	19130814 會證 108 號
王之森	基三	34	直隸東鹿	直隸法政學堂畢業	339	19130816 會證 109 號
曾澤霖	志志	35	江蘇上海縣	日本早稻田大學畢業	597	19130820 會證 110 號
姚潤仁	毓孫	32	湖南沅江	日本早稻田大學畢業	1811	19130901 會證 111 號
顧晉德	旭人	25	江蘇上海縣	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	1835	19130901 會證 112 號
彭濟民	博航	24	奉天懷嶺縣	北洋法政專門學校別科畢業	1752	19130901 會證 113
丁東輝	玉亭	34	直隸武邑	直隸發展專門學業	1808	19130905 會證 114 號
趙寶海	次耀	33	直隸保定滿城	直隸法律畢業	1361	19130922 會證 115 號
邊文泉	灝然	26	直隸保定滿城	直隸法律畢業	1137	19130922 會證 116
李渭吉	學義	42	直隸順德府沙河縣	直隸法律畢業	1748	19130923 會證 117
黃汝瀛	仟昉	43	廣東惠州府龍川縣	廣東法律學堂別科畢業	1517	19130927 會證 118
汪有齡	子露	36	浙江杭縣	法律法政學堂充教習五年以上	1848	19130928 會證 119
廖成廉	慎光	29	四川內江	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	1559	19131001 會證 120
梁冠英	選卿	35	廣東博縣	日本中央大學法學士	1799	19131002 會證 121
郭德楠	子誠	32	山西	日本明治大學法學士	1951	19131005 會證 122
李德銘	雁溪	25	江蘇武進	直隸法政學堂畢業	501	1913106 會證 123
岑毓秀	萬生	31	安徽建平	京師發展學堂	1987	19131007 會證 124
方采	友廉	31	順天大興縣	國立北京法政專門學校法律科	1058	19131008 會證 125
李慶芳	芬園	35	山西襄垣	日本明治大學法律科畢業	683	19131009 會證 126
張玉崑	瑞峰	39	直隸滄縣	陝西法政高等專門學校教授三年以上	1850	19141013 會證 127
恩華	味春	36	蒙古	日本法政大學畢業	1524	19131013 會證 128
魯永忠	行之	32	四川新都	直隸法律學堂畢業	1750	19131015 會證 129
張鳳培	海若	37	湖北蒲圻	日本法政大學畢業	1839	19131018 會證 130
鄧維慎	開揚	36	四川巴縣	日本明治大學法律部高等研究科畢業	1820	19131021 會證 131
吳鳳翔	毓山	32	直隸任縣	保定法律學校畢業	680	19131021 會證 132
余傑	冠敏	38	浙江金華	直隸法律學校畢業	421	19131027 會證 133
鄧耿光	鎮如	34	福建晉江	日本明治大學法律科畢業	1896	19131029 會證 134
張坊	仲吉	48	直隸晉河	京師法政學堂	1539	19131101 會證 135
鄧和翰	次承	31	湖南平江	山西大學法學士	1975	19131108 會證 136
辛福蓋	翼如	31	湖南安福	日本中央大學法律本科畢業	1982	19131106 會證 137

畢世芳	相禮	30	直隸獻縣	直隸法政學堂畢業	1988	19131108 會證 138
吳炳臣	履矩	34	四川樂至	四川法政學校畢業	1726	19131112 會證 139
關鈞慎	承之	34	順天大興縣	北京國立法政專門學校畢業	1058	19131113 會證 140
霍錫宣	彥卿	32	直隸任縣	直隸法律學校畢業	1889	19131116 會證 141
張益芳	佩之	32	江西德化	日本日本大學法科專科卒業	2013	19131117 會證 142
高積	子鳴	33	福建閩侯	日本中央大學法科	2154	19131117 會證 143
李澤民	紹前	32	湖南瀘縣	日本明治大學政學士畢業	2063	19131117 會證 144
鄧林	王林	39	廣東大埔	北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	1554	19131124 會證 145
趙炳鎰	經甫	26	直隸灤縣	直隸法政學校	1225	19131124 會證 146
韓玉辰	遠齋	31	湖北松滋	湖北法政學堂畢業	1906	19131201 會證 147
陳鼎	伯銘	37	安徽巢縣	北京法政專門學校甲班畢業	1900	19131201 會證 148
周維圭	亞韓	33	四川銅梁	北洋法政專門學堂法律本科畢業	1826	19131202 會證 149 號
高家?	季結	33	黑龍江巴彥縣	國立北京法政專門學校法律科畢業	1834	19131208 會證 149
崔亮辰	盤廷	39	直隸武強	北洋法政專門學堂別科最優等畢業	545	19131208 會證 151
李載庚	竹亭	30	河南杞縣	日本早稻田大學法律科卒業	2159	19131210 會證 152
段世垣	次曜	30	河南濬池	日本早稻田大學畢業	2209	19131220 會證 153
金若泉	禮父	42	貴州畢節	日本法政學堂畢業	2292	19131211 會證 154
胡承結	吉農	36	四川成都	日本早稻田大學畢業	2305	19131212 會證 155
鄧庚藻	汝百	36	湖北江陵	日本法政大學專門部分了科學業	2379	19131212 會證 156
姚鴻賓	秀岑	32	河南洛陽	北洋法政專門學校畢業	1985	19131217 會證 157
李鎮棠	竹亭	40	順天宛平	日本中央大學高等法律研究科畢業	2006	19131220 會證 158
張樹森	拓覺	33	陝西安康	日本法政大學政治科專門部畢業	2572	19131223 會證 159
方雷頌	伯榮	24	浙江會稽	直隸法律學堂	1077	19131225 會證 160
夏傳生	子駿	27	江蘇蘇縣	南京兩江法政學堂畢業	1458	19131227 會證 161
潘江	式尼	30	四川涪陵	日本法政大學法科專門畢業	2157	19131229 會證 162
徐鼎元	惠伯	36	浙江會稽	日本早稻田大學畢業	589	19131229 會證 163
姚文楷	式如	26	直隸崑山	奉天法政專門別科畢業	2575	19140102 會證 164
徐成柱	棟村	29	四川簡陽	直隸法律學校畢業	2218	19140103 會證 165
曹玉德	運生	32	安徽靈璧	安慶法政別科畢業	2733	19140107 會證 166
百嘉鈺	倫五	27	直隸磁縣	直隸法律學校畢業	875	19140109 會證 167
程文鎮	烈光	41	浙江杭縣	京師法律學堂畢業	2744	19140110 會證 168
楊崇彩	松年	44	湖南寧道	日本法政大學畢業	2291	19140113 會證 169
黃錫甫	適生	30	江西德化	日本中央大學法律專門科畢業	2208	19140114 會證 170
劉晉	季衍	35	湖北隨縣	日本法政大學畢業	2549	19140114 會證 171
鄧以謙	逸公	23	四川古蔺	直隸官立法政學校畢業	2203	19140116 會證 172
王繼純	子繩	30	直隸固安	直隸法政學校畢業	325	19140116 會證 173
趙從鈺	輟東	28	江西南豐	日本大學法律科畢業	2213	19140117 會證 174

帥濟生	巢叔	43	江西新餘	國立北京法政專門學校畢業	2211	19140119 會證 175
劉蔚生	景燾	28	直隸任縣	國立保定法政學校畢業	2961	19140203 會證 176
徐敬海	紹蘇	33	直隸巨鹿	直隸法政學校畢業	1642	19140206 會證 177
王祖師	辯生	35	湖南長沙		3142	19140216 會證 178
劉益謙	吉文： 興節	27	直隸滿城	直隸法律學校畢業	1859	19140216 會證 179
李炳璋	爽秋	26	直隸威縣	直隸法律學校畢業	886	19140218 會證 180
章汝新	劍泉	35	浙江山陰	日本明治大學法科畢業	2074	19140218 會證 181
景志仲	陸初	24	陝西富平	直隸法律學校畢業	2958	19140220 會證 182
傅柏山	洵森	36	廣州	俄京高比得堡帝國大學校法政科畢業	3257	19140227 會證 183
唐宗愈	基湖	37	江蘇無錫	京師大學堂仕學官法政畢業	3345	19140311 會證 184
謝正權	孟衡	37	四川綿竹	日本早稻田大學畢業	2973	19140316 會證 185
曾有瀾	鶴仙	34	江西尋鄔	日本早稻田大學法科畢業	2215	19140318 會證 186
高祖翔	謙程	26	四川重慶江北廳	直隸法政學堂別科畢業	2553	19140324 會證 187
謝克楨	幹壽	27	浙江紹興	直隸法律學校畢業	2554	19140330 會證 188
馮志	印三	40	福建閩縣	國立進士館修業二年半；日本法政學堂畢業	3251	19140406 會證 189
尹道臨	崑琛	32	廣西臨桂	京師法律學堂乙班畢業	2176	19140512 會證 190
唐濟	易庵	39	江蘇武進	日本東京帝國大學法科大學畢業	69	19140525 會證 191
王聚	武慈	33	山西太原	日本日本大學法科專門部畢業	3351	19140602 會證 192
趙仲宣	鏡如	29	直隸東麗	直隸法律學校畢業	1836	19140614 會證 193
張世節	雅軒	38	直隸藁城	北京國立法政專門學校法律科畢業	2844	19140625 會證 194
景灝	仲寅	29	浙江紹興	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	1733	19140627 會證 195
鄒璋	陸崑	48	四川仁壽	北京法律學堂畢業	3190	19140720 會證 196
孫可銘	德齋	34	直隸灤縣	北京學治館畢業	3517	19140727 會證 197
嚴彬	任一	37	江蘇桃源	日本早稻田大學法科畢業	1025	19140807 會證 198
劉慶	問鼎	25	陝西朝邑	直隸法律學校畢業	1434	19140811 會證 199
王榮福	平階	31	四川富順	北京教育部直隸法政專門學校畢業	2143	19140814 會證 200
姚毓	恨吾	42	安徽桐城	日本早稻田大學畢業	730	19140828 會證 201
沈壽昌	佩宮	38	浙江海鹽	日本明治大學高等研究科畢業	272	19130829 會證 202
張知陵	知陵	40	四川云陽	日本法政大學畢業進成科	3081	19140803 會證 203
陳樹楷	鏡明	45	順天大興縣	日本法政大學畢業	3332	19140909 會證 204
程發度	百高	38	四川云陽	日本明治大學法律科不畢業	3334	19140910 會證 205
劉斐	偉臣	36	云南東川	京師法律學堂畢業	191310	19140911 會證 206
金其亮	希均	26	奉天錦縣	北京法政專門學校畢業	3273	19140813 會證 207
張端	崇本	44	山西平陸縣	日本明治大學法學士	632	19140925 會證 208
蘇長銘	心爾	38	直隸寧河	北京學治館法政別科畢業	648	19141002 會證 209
傅福鴻	寬仲	33	江蘇武進	京師法律學堂畢業	44	19141002 會證 210

李煜庫	蔚如	31	河南泌陽縣	京師法律學堂畢業	67	19141009 會證 211
牛慶舉	來章	36	山東莒平縣	山東濟南法政學校畢業	1499	19141019 會證 212
李希曾	次參	33	直隸東鹿	直隸法律學堂畢業	668	19141024 會證 213
成志安	翰卿	42	四川綿竹	京師法政專門學校畢業	1363	19141028 會證 214
艾善凌	哲文	35	江蘇句容	日本早稻田大學政治經濟科畢業	68	19141105 會證 215
胡植	旭明	31	浙江寧海	日本明治大學法科	3002	19141118 會證 216
徐熙臣	偉森	28	直隸平谷	直隸公立法政專門法律科畢業	2985	19141123 會證 217
王世維	明久	32	山東濟陽	山東第一法政學校	814	19141126
李純云	帆峰	38	河南項城	北洋法政別科畢業	2129	19141128 會證 218
王遠衡	梓舉	35	湖南衡陽	京師法政學堂二級別科最優等畢業	2210	19141128 會證 220
杜鴻臨	俊勝	25	四川合州	京師法政學堂二級法律別科畢業	3421	19141203 會證 221
高廣德	恩軒	30	山西夏縣	直隸法律學校畢業	489	19141211 會證 223
胡道彝	谷生	28	河南光山	直隸公立法政學校法律科畢業	3270	19141207 會證 222
趙同燾	和璧	23	河南輝城	直隸法律學校	2131	19141216 會證 224
王光鼎	丹九	34	四川奉節	日本明治大學法科畢業	2199	19150113 會證 225
劉紹育	鼎霖	34	四川雲陽	北京法律學堂畢業	2182	19150122 會證 226
米金堂	樹玄	40	直隸定縣	直隸省公立法政專門學校法律科畢業	3269	19150127 會證 227
雷震寰	仲公	25	四川璧山	國立北京法政學堂法律科畢業	3329	19150211 會證 228
黃翼	翼增	32	四川奉節	日本法政大學法律科畢業	3320	19150301 會證 229
潘詠雷	殿其	29	江蘇興縣	國立北京法政學堂法律科畢業	1832	19150304 會證 230
林善仁	神湖	33	福建龍溪	日本明治大學畢業	1109	19150524
李文賢	敬學	29	直隸東鹿	直隸法律學校畢業	504	19150525 會證 232
王云廷	紀臣	32	山東滕縣	山東第一法政學堂畢業	812	19150628 會證 233
朱庭鏞	德門	31	江西余干	國立法政專門學校法律專科畢業	1982	19150713 會證 234
李琪春	紫印	43	山東安丘	山東法政學堂	2580	19150725 會證 235
魏笑濤	渭川	33	熱河平泉	直隸法律畢業	2232	19150810 會證 236
胡吉祥	錫如	34	四川合江	日本東京法政大學專門部法律科畢業	347	19150911 會證 237
曹潤澤	學淵	32	四川銅梁	京師法律學堂乙班畢業	1587	19151029 會證 238
飛德恩	官濟	33	山東禹城	山東法政學堂	3513	19160113 會證 239
韓錫琦	云翔	40	直隸新河	日本早稻田大學法科畢業	2339	19160304 會證 240
李錫琛	孟啟	30	湖北襄陽	京師法律學堂	3205	19160308 會證 241
陳光	華士	42	福建閩侯	日本法政大學畢業	1990	19160815 會證 242
黎炳文	雅亭	36	直隸深澤	日本明治大學畢業	154	19160911 會證 243
包世傑	志猛	26	江蘇華賢	日本中央大學法學士	6	19161021 會證 244
藍定國	知三	36	四川仁壽	國立北京法政專門法律本科四年畢業	1	19161027 會證 245
黎潤齡	喬年	33	京兆通縣	青島中德國立特別高等專門學堂法政專科畢業	349	19161103 會證 246
申炳文	夢奇	35	直隸涿州	國立北京法政專門法律本科畢業	45	19161110 會證 247

王文鈞	仲耀	30	河南安陽	國立北京法政專門法律本科畢業	32	19161111 會證 248
王育陸	懋權	29	京兆大興	國立北京法政專門法律本科畢業	94	19161115 會證 249
王征香	紹良	32	江蘇上海	國立北洋大學法科法律學門畢業	3493	19161120 會證 250
隨步廷	培一	33	安徽亳縣	國立北京法政專門法律本科畢業	2	19161121 會證 252
李景光	謙民	26	福建福州	日本東京法政大學政科畢業	55	19161120 會證 251
唐寶錫	乃秋	42	廣東香山	日本早稻田大學專門部政治經濟科畢業	44	19161122 會證 253
樂挺志	詞宗	36	江西上饒	日本東京法政大學專門法科	90	19161130 會證 254
徐如霖	潤珊	50	江蘇鹽城	國立北京法政專門法律科畢業	2866	19161202 會證 255
李靜湖	問渠	38	直隸東鹿	日本明治大學法科專門部正科畢業	54	19161202 會證 256
周齡	翰先	36	湖南祁陽	日本大學政治經濟專門部正科畢業	14	19161208 會證 257
朱念典	聖叔	26	京兆永清	國立北京法政專門法律本科畢業	129	19161211 會證 258
劉謙	仿叔	41	江西雲都	日本早稻田法律專門部畢業	2195	19161212 會證 259
錢佐	仲彰	36	直隸華天	國立北洋大學法律專科畢業	84	19161212 會證 260
黃汝璽	筱衡	32	四川樂山	日本東京帝國大學法科畢業	3352	19161214 會證 161
姚鳴信	壽亭	33	直隸深縣	北京國立法政專門學校法律本科畢業	273	19161216 會證 262
包振	遠?	26	京兆大興	日本日本大學法科畢業	58	19161220 會證 263
紀春瀾	月波	34	熱河承德	北京國立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	190	19161221 會證 264
林行規	斐成	33	浙江?縣	英國法政律師大學畢業	285	19161227 會證 285
張嗣	子聞	29	安徽廬江	國立北京法政專門法律畢業	2901	19161228 會證 266
王佩	輔宣	33	江西東鄉	日本東京帝國大學法科畢業	1809	19161128 會證 267
劉世長	永猷	40	江西上饒	日本明治大學政治經濟科畢業	2926	19161229 會證 268
李兼善	達叔	38	廣東番禺	廣東省立法政學堂法律別科加班最優等畢業	555	19161231 會證 269
吳志華	伯賢	35	安徽宿縣	日本明治大學法律科畢業	2337	19161231 會證 270
杜之棠	嗣聞	49	直隸廣宗	日本法政大學畢業	3357	19170105 會證 271
劉名山	仲仙	27	直隸深縣	北京國立法政專門學校法律本科	358	19170109 會證 272
馬汝銘	越坡	33	廣東香山	北京國立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	185	19170112 會證 273
林鶴榜	俊三	33	廣東瓊山	北京國立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	187	19170112 會證 274
潘鴻勳	逢民	23	浙江紹興	北京國立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	232	19170113 會證 275
時經潤	峻行	34	河南通許	日本日本大學法科畢業	352	19170115 會證 276
蕭國安	樂村	34	四川台川	北京國立法政專門學校法律本科	142	19170120 會證 277
李漢	云孫	39	山東濟寧	日本大學法律科畢業	330	19170127 會證 278
駱慶麟	止齋	41	四川資中	京師法律學堂畢業	208	19170131 會證 279
周笠	魯漁	31	江蘇丹徒	北洋法政專門學校畢業	1545	19170131 會證 280
周琳	發青	42	湖北監利	日本私立日本大學專門法科3年畢業	88	19170202 會證 181
郭定森	寶書	34	江蘇句容	日本明治大學畢業	389	19170208 會證 184
張濟之	桐丞	31	直隸武強	北洋法政專門學校法律本科	2022	19170210 會證 285
辛漢	濯之	38	江蘇江寧	日本東京帝國大學法科畢業	2080	19170203 會證 282

陳繼善	李周	36	浙江瓊縣	法國巴黎大學法科畢業	30	19170205 會證 283
劉銘	承之	30	京兆宛平	直隸公立法政專門學校別科畢業	552	19170211 會證 286
張晉興	天放	36	河南新鄉	日本早稻田大學大學部政治經濟科畢業	209	19170213 會證 287
徐均	持平	22	江蘇吳江	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	89	19170213 會證 188
趙瀾聲	惠庭	42	河南方城	北京學治館法政專門學校畢業	745	19170215 會證 189
范重麟	春如	36	直隸東鹿	直隸法政學堂別科畢業	269	19170127 會證 290
徐偉功	竹銘	29	京兆宛平	國立北京法政專門學校法律別科畢業	422	19170227 會證 291
張偉	超季	32	安慰獻縣	日本明治大學法律科畢業	398	19170302 會證 292
徐光民	桂權	32	直隸灤縣	北京私立中國公學大學部法政別科畢業	967	191703005 會證 293
崔顯文	孟紘	30	廣東南海	廣東公立法政專門學校別科畢業	668	19170306 會證 294
高翔	震志	34	江蘇武進	日本東京帝國大學畢業	1061	19170312 會證 295
章鴻	華德	44	浙江紹興	廣東公立法政專門學校別科畢業	670	19170317 會證 296
李奎文	孟星	45	河南獲嘉	河南公立法律專門學校畢業	1525	19170319 會證 297
崔銘法	晉勳	32	山東茌平	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1342	19170320 會證 298
范偉漢	毅云	36	河南內鄉	河南公立法政專門學校別科畢業	583	19170320 會證 299
康宗儒	楷庭	29	京兆宛平	私立北京中華大學法律別科三年畢業	978	19170326 會證 300
曹福祿	統之	33	京兆大興	私立北京中華大學法律別科三年畢業	999	19170326 會證 301
何鏡奇	希之	29	四川綦江	北京私立中國公學大學部法政別科畢業	136	19170327 會證 302
鄭象山	陟夫	32	安徽英山	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1876	19170327 會證 303
余鍾秀	綱生	27	湖北武昌	日本法政大學專門部法律科又高等研究科	285	19170328 會證 304
翁慶心	翰一	20	奉天蓋平	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	645	19170229 會證 305
陳紀森	景階	29	四川安縣	日本國日本大學法律正科畢業法律學士	627	19170402 會證 306
李邦楨	士周	40	京兆宛平	中華大學法律別科畢業；曾充京師地方審判廳推事	1440	19170404 會證 307
王宗綱	式二	24	京兆宛平	北京私立朝陽大學法律別科畢業	1811	19170404 會證 308
賈武	干城	29	江西鄱陽	日本明治大學法律別科畢業	325	19170407 會證 309
吳蘊藻	旭章	32	湖北房縣	中華大學法律別科畢業	1773	191700409 會證 310
任鳳閣	蘭亭	34	直隸河間	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1535	19170411 會證 311
李炳森	芳孫	33	江西臨川	國立北京法政專門學校別科畢業	412	19170411 會證 312
陳彰壽	仲文	38	浙江崇德	日本私立法政大學畢業曾任大理院推事；甘肅、山東湖南等省 高審長	1505	19170413 會證 313
薛錫恭	敬齋	33	京兆房山	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1738	19170416 會證 314
李境坡	靈明	33	直隸涿強	直隸公立法政學校法律別科畢業	2082	19170417 會證 315
何？鑫	毓巖	37	山東平原	湖北公立法律專科學校畢業	2428	19170419 會證 316
屈亮工	澄濟	32	安徽太和	國立北京法政專門學校本科畢業	204	19170431 會證 317
謝廷賢	夢樸	35	浙江余姚	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1533	19170423 會證 318
徐其澄	志清	34	山東招遠	北京私立中國公學大學部法律別科畢業	2090	19170425 會證 318
顧澤祺	子惟	34	廣東連平	日本明治大學政學士東京帝大選科畢業	59	19170426 會證 320

陳北均	景如	33	直隸獻縣	直隸私立法政學校法律別科畢業	238	19170426 會證 321
張振鐸	金燮	30	河南濬池	北京津人私立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	1610	19170428 會證 322
王維藩	峻屏	39	河南光山	河南公立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	239	19170430 會證 323
王鴻?	華燾	42	直隸高陽	直隸私立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	2008	19170430 會證 324
楊春熙	耀翔	40	山東臨沂	中國公學大學部法政別科法律科畢業	1486	19170430 會證 325
李希明	鏡如	37	京兆三河	北京中華大學法律別科畢業	3190	19170501 會證 316
譚連屏	牧卿	43	湖北巴東	北京中國公學大學部法政別科法律科畢業	2598	19170502 會證 327
董清廉	鏡溪	27	直隸磁縣	北京中國公學大學部法政別科法律科畢業	1476	19170502 會證 328
謝作孚	達賢	37	江西廣昌	日本中央大學大學部法律本科	7	19170503 會證 329
張維華	晉卿	44	京兆三河	北京私立中國公學大學部法律別科畢業	1489	19170507 會證 330
柳津	質新	35	浙江臨海	北京中國公學大學部法政別科法律科畢業	1890	19170508 會證 331
張維賢	竹齋	31	直隸天津	直隸私立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	3399	19170510 會證 332
王大焜	拱辰	30	直隸天津縣	直隸私立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	3393	19170510 會證 333
游桂嬰	一山	36	直隸唐縣	直隸法政專門學校法律別科畢業	767	19170512 會證 334
胡季昌	昭然	39	江蘇宿遷	吳淞中國公學專門部法律科畢業	4794	19170514 會證 335
張印璽	鳴珂	25	山東泰安	北京政法專門學校畢業	4597	19170514 會證 336
劉恩格	鈞門	30	奉天遼陽	日本私立日本大學專門部法律科畢業	4479	191705117 會證 337
郭卓波	聞平	40	福建閩侯	日本私立明治大學法律科畢業	709	19170517 會證 338
袁超	澤然	34	湖南長沙	湖南私立建材法政專門學校法律別科畢業	2081	19170518 會證 339
陳鴻璽	虹泛	30	湖北隨縣	私立中央法政專門學校法律別科畢業	3460	19170525 會證 340
王廷賓	湛慶	31	河南武陟	直隸官立法律學堂畢業	1942	19170528 會證 341
王德鈞	純修	25	直隸邢臺	私立中央法政專門學校本科畢業	3449	19170530 會證 342
趙立勳	炳坤	34	直隸寧津	私立中國公學大學部法政別科法律科畢業	1741	19170604 會證 343
周玉山	象德	34	京兆通縣	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	976	19170611 會證 344
蕭桂榮	蔚庭	36	京兆香河	北洋法政專門學校發展別科畢業	1871	19170615 會證 345
賈寶華	煥亭	38	京兆武清	北京中國公學大學部法政別科法律科畢業	2050	19170626 會證 346
袁汾齡	級心	26	江蘇無錫	國立北洋大學法科畢業	331	19170626 會證 347
王寶恕	龍乾	43	湖北隨縣	湖北公立法律專門學校法律別科畢業	3482	19170801 會證 348
曾崇高	叔聘	32	山東泗水	國立北京法政專門學校法律別科畢業	615	19170811 會證 349
關茂遠	靈齋	42	山東黃縣	中國公學法律別科畢業	1520	19170815 會證 350
黃士杰	濯群	30	浙江松陽	國立北京法政專門學校法律別科畢業	127	19170816 會證 351
李學謙	為之	31	直隸固安	直隸法政專門學校	3172	19170818 會證 352
周澤	綱卓	29	浙江山陰	北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1398	19170901 會證 353
趙從愚	庚成	42	江西南豐	北京中華大學法律別科畢業	981	19170908 會證 354
傅詩	湘泉	39	四川忠縣	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1449	19180904 會證 474 號
向楚卿	守仁	30	湖南黔陽	國立北京法政專門學校別科畢業	4766	19180828 會證 473 號
沈坦	砥平	28	京兆順義縣	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	4429	19180822 會證 472

張廣培	子中	42	安徽桐城	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	126	19180821 會證 471
沈祖森	敘倫	35	京兆大興	中國公學大學部法律別科畢業	8816	19180820 會證 470 號
朱邁	仲亭	28	京兆霸縣	北京市私立中國公學大學部法律科畢業	1979	19180817 會證 469
李錫爵	季侯	35	安徽合肥	北京私立中國公學大學部法律科畢業	3385	19180816 會證 468 號
孔慶凱	濟英	42	直隸東唐	北京中國公學法律科畢業	5914	19180815 會證 467 號
黃雲鶴	英涵	37	四川璧川縣	日本早稻田大學畢業	2600	19180803 會證 466 號
朱常倫	紀五	27	奉天省遼陽縣	吳淞私立法政專門學校法科畢業	10012	19180801 會證 465 號
黃象模	通斌	40	奉天鳳凰縣	國立北京法政專門學校別科畢業	9655	19180715 會證 464 號
李登臺	象題	34	直隸文安縣	北京中華大學校法律別科畢業	980	19180709 會證 463 號
饒嘉祿	蔣岑	42	河南固始縣	北京豫人私立法政專門學校別科畢業	2566	19180709 會證 462 號
郭渭民	錫峯	31	湖北鍾祥縣	湖北私立武昌中華大學法律別科畢業	10715	19180708 會證 461 號
楊退	雲章	29	直隸文安縣	國立北京法政專門學校本科畢業	7626	19180701 會證 460 號
薛英	昆生	33	京兆大興縣	北京中國公學大學部法政別科法律科畢業	1981	19180619 會證 459 號
伯克剛	伯潛	37	江西萬載	國立北京法政專門學校法律別科畢業	125	19180619 會證 458 號
盧朝恩	錫鴻	30	京兆霸縣	直隸法政學校畢業法律別科	1023	19180612 會證 457 號
劉光祿	竹庵	42	四川宜賓縣	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	3959	19180612 會證 456 號
崔玉峯	後三	31	熱河朝陽縣	北京私立中央法政專門學校法律本科畢業	3455	19180603 會證 455 號
蘇仙峰	潤登	40	高陽縣	直隸私立法政專門學校法律別科	3464	19180525 會證 454 號
王守蘭	子佩	24	京兆大興	直隸法政正科畢業	8638	19180529 會證 453 號
袁駒賓	鳳聲	32	京兆宛平	北京中華大學法律別科三年畢業	8462	19180528 會證 452 號
宋生桂	馨善	31	山西浮山縣	北京私立中國公學大學部法律別科畢業	1978	19180527 會證 451 號
朱天林	子乘	40	京兆密雲	北京私立中華大學法律別科畢業	972	19180525 會證 450 號
聶登期	雙夫	37	浙江常山縣	日本明治大學法科專門部正科畢業	6453	19180523 會證 449 號
周鴻鈞	羽參	26	安徽天長	日本大學專門部法律科畢業	641	19180517 會證 448 號
岳朝山	星如	35	京兆安次縣	北京私立中華大學法律別科畢業	1448	19180517 會證 447 號
王恩澤	錫倫	28	奉天西安縣	北京私立中國大學專門部法科畢業	6604	19180513 會證 446 號
王永章	錦堂	36	河南滎陽縣人	北京豫人私立法政專門學校法律別科	1584	19180510 會證 445 號
張森銘	處齋	30	直隸高陽縣人	北京化石橋私立法政專門學校	6790	19180509 會證 444 號
張俊武	孟德	31	奉天瀋陽縣	奉天法政專門學校畢業	2833	19180508 會證 443 號
梅欽光	佛航	36	安徽太和縣	直隸法律學校畢業	5620	19180508 會證 442 號
段希文	崧高	34	四川武勝縣	北京國立法政專門學校法律本科一班畢業	817	19180506 會證 441 號
朱振章	贊?	24	京兆大興	北京中央法政專門學校	3450	19180504 會證 440 號
王麟洪	訥源	30	直隸灤縣	北京中國大學別科畢業	7083	19180504 會證 439 號
曹敬修	殿五	43	四川合川縣	北京中華大學畢業別科	1461	19180503 會證 438 號
王育	錫之	27	直隸河間縣	京師私立朝陽大學畢業別科	7526	19180503 會證 437 號
徐德	子璽	34	河南臨汝縣	京師法律學堂畢業	2587	19180502? 會證 436 號
李樹楨	希恩別	40	湖北隨縣	日本法政大學專門部法律科畢業	9706	19180502 會證 435 號

陳其新	銘倫	37	奉天遼陽縣	日本大學專門部法律科畢業	269	19180501 會證 434 號
劉尊嚴	銘賢	29	奉天昌圖縣人	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	7628	19180501 會證 433 號
趙從魁	星緯	25	江西南豐縣人	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	9317	19180429 會證 432 號
藍步瀛	海博	37	湖北天門縣	京師法政學堂別科畢業	4431	19180429 會證 431 號
林小琳	唐甫	36	湖北漢陽縣	日本日本大學專門部法律科畢業	8894	19180423 應曉價 430 號
郭松齡	茂辰	33	奉天遼寧縣	北京私立中國公學法律別科畢業	7010	19180419 會證 429 號
張允中	子執	26	廣東番禺	北京化石橋法政專門學校法律本科畢業	7550	19170912 會證 355
王濟甫	左臣	34	山東福山	中華大學法律別科	1910	19170912 會證 356
林鴻圖	燾宗	27	奉天興京	國立北京法政專門學校法律別科畢業	2594	19170918 會證 357
宋澹洲	源琛	30	河南鄭縣	京師陸軍私立法政專門學校畢業	2486	19170918 會證 358
章芾	孟如	30	湖北黃陂	湖北公立法政專門學校別科畢業	5688	19170919 會證 359
陳元魁	達民	31	直隸定縣	直隸公立法政專門學校別科畢業	1819	19170926 會證 360
章鑒	鶴舫	38	江蘇常熟	日本私立日本大學專門部法律科畢業	626	19170927 會證 371
沈仁培	道璽	24	浙江興興	化石橋法政專門學校法律本科畢業	7639	19171002 會證 372
張允濟	子威	25	廣東番禺	化石橋法政專門學校本來本科畢業	7551	19171002 會證 372
趙方田	慶三	38	奉天遼寧	中央法政專門學校畢業	1442	19171005 會證 373
何雲屏	琴友	45	湖南衡山	北京中華大學法律科畢業	19170425	19171013 會證 375
劉才偉	仕奇	34	四川敘永	四川成都公立法政畢業	3166	19171015 會證 376
田奇藻	煥春	30	直隸威縣	直隸法政專門學校畢業	2078	19171018 會證 367
楊振飛	鵬程	29	直隸東麗	直隸公立法政專門學校畢業	8230	19171019 會證 368
王仲統	竹坡	36	直隸東安(現改安次)	北京中國公學大學部法政別科畢業	1387	19171019 會證 369
胡春林	茂符	36	安徽含山	上海神州法政專門學校法律別科畢業不	2538	19171027
李香辰	瑞生	33	察哈爾豐鎮	北洋法律專門學校畢業	672	19171031
李維翰	贊卿	43	直隸元氏	直隸私立法政專門學校畢業	2256	19171031 會證 372
劉俊超	禹讓	30	黑龍江呼蘭	北京化石橋法政專門學校法律本科畢業	8212	19171101 會證 373
王政堯	荷勳	22	京兆涿縣	國立北京法政專門學校畢業	5937	19171102 會證 374
宋翰彬	荷慶	40	直隸祁縣	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1463	19171103 會證 375
王禮恭	一舟	49	綏寧聯城	直隸法政學校別科畢業	864	19171108 會證 376
胡霖	政之	29	四川成都	日本大學法律本科畢業法學士	2105	19171110 會證 377
白鈞	輔章	38	京兆昌平	北京私立化石橋法政專門學校別科畢業	7542	19171115 會證 378
陳維藩	屏閣	37	熱河平泉	北京中國公學大學部法政別科法律科畢業	4472	19171119 會證 379
畢登	輔庭	37	天津	直隸私立法政專門學校畢業	2253	19171119 會證 380
李潤新	日宣	25	奉天開源	北京中國大學專門部法律本科畢業	6739	19171119 會證 381
張繼先	子承	36	京兆安次	直隸私立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	2390	19171126 會證 382
張登奉	儉之	34	直隸易縣	北京私立中國公學大學部法政別科畢業	4974	19171128 會證 383

李麗	子儀	27	山東安丘	北京私立朝陽大學法律本科畢業	7496	19171129 會證 384
張公壽	鶴年	30	京兆安次	直隸私立法政專門學校法律本科	5708	19171204 會證 385
李錦	綱如	29	湖北漢川	日本私立法政大學專門部政治科畢業	2403	19171205 會證 386
廖漢賢	杰丞	39	湖南郴縣	北京私立中央政法法律別科畢業	1484	19171208
朱天章	用平	34	四川西昌	成都公立法政學校別科畢業	2581	19171208 會證 388
王遠時	詒?	33	湖北襄陽	湖北法政專門學校畢業法律別科	3439	19171212 會證 389
蕭蓬	竹齡	37	湖南長沙	日本法政大學專門部法律科畢業	33	19171217 會證 340
陳炳望	錫麟	34	安徽涇縣	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	2034	19171219 會證 341
江旭東	廷屏	37	四川江津	國立北京法政專門學校法律別科畢業	3272	19171222 會證 392
張汝明	仲宜	33	直隸易縣	直隸官立法政專門學校別科戊班補習民刑訴法畢業	8740	19171227 會證 393
沈培	厚田	31	京兆順義	私立中央法政專門學校法律別科畢業	1481	19171228 會證 394
張鼎乾	健伯	25	陝西郿縣	曾充北京私立中央法政專門學校教員三年以上	7640	19171228 會證 395
潘清芳	晉良	27	安徽婺源	安徽公立法政學校法律別科	961	191801043 會證 396
劉文章	伯武	26	京兆宛平	私立中央政法專門學校法律本科	3183	19180105 會證 397
毛勳	孝登	28	湖北麻城	日本東京法政大學大學部法律科畢業	631	19180106 會證 398
李育亨	香亭	36	山西荷氏	山西法政專門學校法律本科畢業	101	19180114 會證 399
姜同濟	品清	30	熱河朝陽	北京私立中國大學法律別科畢業	7867	19180117 會證 400
張煥孫	春華	32	直隸滄河	北京私立中央政法專門學校法律別科畢業	1526	19180120 會證 401
李兆庚	知白	31	奉天北鎮	奉天法政專門學校法律別科畢業	2875	19180122 會證 402
吳修源	信三	35	江蘇金山	北京中國公學大學部法律別科畢業	1428	19180129 會證 403
王棧市	樸吾	39	湖南郴州	中華大學法律別科畢業	1381	19180129 會證 404
張廷獻	家修	40	四川雙流	中華大學法律別科畢業	2722	19180209 會證 405
崔顯泉	快甫	27	直隸大成	私立中央政法專門學校畢業法律本科	4972	19180221 會證 406
陸紹祁	齊階	32	廣西桂林	私立中國公學大學部法律別科畢業	1918	19180223 會證 407
金魁榮	占甫	32	浙江蘭山	國立北京法政專門學校法律別科畢業	3302	19180227 會證 408
孫祖?	慕周	35	浙江紹興	北京私立中國公學大學部法政別科法律科畢業	1919	19180301 會證 409
張國英	震陽	33	湖南衡陽	日本早稻田大學正科卒業法政大學研究科卒業	601	19180302 會證 410
皮寶銘	仰西	26	直隸高陽	北京私立朝陽大學畢業法律本科	7521	19180305 會證 411
吳宗孫	文欽	39	安徽績溪	私立民國法政大學法律本科畢業	2374	19180305 會證 412
程榮鈞	星階	44	河南商城	北京豫人私立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	9350	19180305 會證 413
索清修	履明	36	直隸磁縣	北京私立中國公學大學部法律別科畢業	1867	19180305 會證 414
王慎山	仲岳	28	山東濟平	北京私立中國大學專門部法律科畢業	6437	19180305 會證 415
張顯泉	少泉	32	奉天遼原	北京私立朝陽大學法律別科畢業不	7528	19180306 會證 416
韓國棟	孫民	36	直隸深縣	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1379	19180309 會證 417
趙西岡	懷桐	29	直隸故城	私立北京中央政法專門學校法律本科畢業	7369	19180309 會證 418
崔秀巖	秀巖	35	直隸盧龍	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1532	19180309 會證 419
陸宗梁	壽初	28	京兆大興	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	426	19180314 會證 420

傅崇光	子明	29	京兆大興	日本明治大學校政治經濟科本科畢業	7850	19180319 會證 421
徐永祿	靜之	29	京兆宛平	日本早稻田大學法科畢業	7851	19180319 會證 422
陳彰五	馮齊	37	河南伊陽	北京豫人私立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	2565	19180328 會證 423
劉世勳	毅忱	30	奉天蓋平	奉天公立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	2652	19180328 會證 424
沈叔木	克仁	32	直隸蠡縣	直隸私立法政專門學校法律本科畢業	9642	19180328 會證 425
冀良秀	雷升	45	直隸曲周	私立中國公學大學部法政別科法律科畢業	1413	19180409 會證 426
謝振麟	鵬飛	33	四川銅梁	北京中華大學法律別科畢業	977	19180415 會證 427
周國瑞	定文	37	四川江北	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1530	19180416 會證 428
陳世昌	子京	36	吉林伊通	司法講習所	11239	19230106 會證 594
秦維祺	燭桑	30	安徽南陵	安徽法政學堂畢業並獲律師委員會審議面試合格	11166	19221209 會證 593
葉少英		28	江蘇吳縣	英國愛伯汀大學畢業司法官再試典試委員會審議準免初再各試	11027	19221204 會證 592
吳蕪	雨香	34	京兆良鄉縣	北京私立中國大學專門部法律科畢業	7003	19221118 會證 591
鄧政楷	琴父	39	浙江紹興	直隸官立法政學校別科畢業	8619	191221111 會證 590
史鶴永	子應	65	四川萬縣	京師進士館法律科畢業	11215	19221928 會證 589
張寶棠	駱村	37	京兆房山	江西官立法政學堂別科畢業；曾經派署安徽德寧地檢庭檢察官；黑龍江呼蘭地檢官特別地審廳推事	10983	19221026 會證 588
朱兆升	旭賢	39	直隸安國	京師法政畢業	481	19221020 會證 587
范國	伯華	36	廣西桂林	直隸私立法政畢業	2559	19221018 會證 586
金鍊	晉初	33	江蘇常熟	國立北京大學法科畢業	11178	19221014 會證 585
謝越石	萃玄	43	江西萍鄉	國立北京法政專門學校法律別科畢業	7443	19221003 會證 584
李大誌	少甫	35	京兆宛平	北京私立中華大學畢業	1399	19220928 會證 583
武伊慎	竹孫	39	直隸永年	甄拔律師委員會審議面試合格；京師法政學堂二級別科畢業	11163	19220909 會證 582
李寶慎	謹亭	35	京兆香河	甄拔律師委員會審議面試合格；化石法政專門學校畢業	11162	19220902 會證 581
張紹鵬	少泉	43	山東臨清	甄拔律師委員會審議面試合格；中央法政學校畢業	11101	19220830 會證 580
范福田	心齋	31	直隸定縣	甄拔律師委員會審議面試合格；中央法政學校畢業	11168	19220829 會證 579
鄭俊	傑民	30	京兆涿縣	甄拔律師委員會審議面試合格；北京大學法科法律系	11137	19220819 會證 578
王運孚	儀公	47	湖北松滋	日本法政大學法律專科畢業	3183	19220726 會證 577
郭定保	山民	34	江蘇句容	司法講習所畢業	11073	19220710 會證 576
何謙	益聯	24	湖南郴縣	甄拔律師委員會審議面試合格；北京大學法科法律系畢業	11104	19220605 會證 575
楊德元	奕溪	30	山東歷城	私立北京中央法政學校法律本科畢業	11102	19220601 會證 574
蔣澄宇	韻方	35	直隸蠡縣	天津直隸私立法政學校畢業	6084	19220410 會證 573
商爾臣	齡九	39	奉天昌圖	奉天法政別科畢業	7123	19229328 會證 572
桂步騷	健？	32	安徽石埭	國立北洋大學法科法律專門畢業	9736	19220318 會證 571
王晉昌	益皆	35	京兆永清	國立法政專門司法講習所畢業	11078	19220301 會證 570
王維聖	啟軒	33	京兆房山	中國大學法律科畢業	2146	19220220 會證 569
劉晏軌	聞長	50	湖南湘潭	日本東京帝國大學畢業	3250	19220211 會證 568
莊景珂	景高	37	福建閩侯	日本早稻田大學法律科畢業	323	19211220 會證 567

堂紀翔	嘉南	41	京兆大興	京師大學堂仕學官畢業	1068	19211206 會證 566
黃炳衡	仲平	49	湖南湘潭	日本法政大學	497	19211116 會證 565
趙之駟	伯揆	38	浙江吳興	日本明治大學法科畢業	248	19211008 會證 564
吳炳樸	繩範	39	湖北房縣	日本法政大學畢業	216	19211008 會證 563
許維藩	翰屏	30	京兆固安	北京私立中央法政專門學校畢業	3451	19210918 會證 562
羅錫福	星怡	32	河南禹縣	河南法政專門學校別科畢業	896	19219826 會證 561
趙日俊	于杰	36	山東博山	山東公立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	1586	19210817 會證 560
王國鼎	伯績	43	廣東梅縣	日本早稻田大學部政治經濟科畢業	335	19210808 會證 559
崔殿林	學危	33	直隸天津縣	北京中華大學	6117	19210701 會證 558
馮永溶	溥泉	30	直隸通縣	私立中央法政專門學校法律本科畢業	5002	19210613 會證 557
崔希瓊	述之	37	四川威遠	北京國立法政專門學校法律科畢業	225	19210523 會證 556
劉仲深	仲深	35	直隸天津	北洋法政專門學校法律本科	1875	19210330 會證 555
吳大業	扶青	36	江蘇泗陽	北洋大學畢業前山西第二高檢分廳監督	83	19210315 會證 554
呂世芳	悅園	41	安徽旌德	日本法政大學法律科畢業；曾任奉天高等審判廳廳長	10977	19210114 會證 553
徐光祺	慎初	52	湖南湘陰	日本法政大學畢業；前湖南公立法政學校校長	1605	19210105 會證 552
王可亨	鶴立	30	直隸大名	北京私立中國大學專門部本法律科畢業	6766	19180918 會證 475
吳榮萃	拔其	40	江蘇六合	日本明治大學法科專門部畢業	775	19180924 會證 476
孫紹敬	滿英	29	河南	中國公學大學部別科法律科	9309	19181014 會證 477
王懷河	靜軒	30	京兆昌平	私立中央法政專門學校法律別科畢業	1743	19181017 會證 478
尹式昌	占五	31	山東肥城	山東公立法政專門學校法律別科	636	19181017 會證 479
張陸棠	棟華	42	湖北資陵	湖北江漢學校法律科畢業	5661	19181023 會證 480
傅慶祥	少卿	30	東麗	直隸法律學校畢業	1213	19181028 會證 481
馮祥霖	雨亭	35	直隸東麗	北京私立中國大學專門部法律科	7380	19181112 會證 483
蘇曠芳		42	奉天義縣	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1904	19181118 會證 483
孫禮高	顯庭	42	京兆懷柔	天津私立法政專門學校別科畢業	3272	19181118 會證 484
王庭蘭	友芝	33	京兆大興	直隸法政專門學校法律本科畢業	4781	19181126 會證 485
楊潤	備舍	33	直隸定縣	直隸法政專門學校法律別科畢業	1808	19181126 會證 486
李慶春	壽庭	28	奉天錦西	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科丙班畢業	4591	19181126 會證 487
吳曾揆	習元	38	直隸崇德	日本法政大學專門部法律科畢業	9748	19181204 會證 488
張鳳林	桐坡	31	直隸衡水	直隸法政專門學校別科畢業	6755	19181204 會證 489
張聘	一山	37	山東棲霞	山東公立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	5553	19181205 會證 480
黃耀青		31	山西曲沃	中華大學法律別科三班畢業	1511	19180106 會證 491
朱鴻儒		31	安徽婺源	直隸法政專門學校法律本科畢業	3679	19180210 會證 492
陸冲鵬		32	江蘇海門	江蘇私立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	1780	19180220 會證 493
陳步東	蔚菴	42	浙江東陽	浙江公立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	8957	19180222 會證 494
舒偉元	德齋	38	江西德興	日本私立法政大學專門部法律科畢業	891	19180327 會證 495
劉碧奇	庚虞	29	直隸涿苑	北京私立中國公學大學部法政別科法律科畢業	5677	19180327 會證 496

戴錫衡	可奇	38	京兆宛平	北京學治館法政專門別科畢業	7093	19190411 會證 497
馬宗禮	尚文	33	直隸南宮	直隸法政專門學校別科畢業	547	19190415 會證 498
姜德森	廷庭	44	安徽涇上	北京中華大學法律別科畢業	871	19190507 會證 499
劉輝桐	庭生	32	浙江杭縣	私立中央政法專門學校法律別科	1433	19190507 會證 500
程世祺	伯權	34	四川云陽	俄國皇家大彼得法政大學畢業	9252	19190510 會證 501
程文錦	華園	39	直隸高陽	中國公學法政別科法律科畢業	1982	19190514 會證 502
趙福滿	浚川	40	浙江會稽	日本私立法政大學速成班畢業曾任京師地方審判廳推事一年半以上	8842	19190515 會證 503
甘士楷	棋山	38	四川云陽	四川成都公立法政專門學校補習法政別科畢業	10853	19190520 會證 504
陳樂汶	竹溪	34	京兆房山	直隸法政專門學校畢業別科	545	19190528 會證 505
張隆培	汝明	43	直隸定興	北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1539	19190603 會證 506
夏恩鴻	雨田	34	直隸涿城	直隸法政專門學校別科畢業	1845	19190609 會證 507
黃瑛年	子超	55	河南高城	直隸法政專門學校畢業	2023	19190613 會證 508
翁瑞徵	玉書	28	廣東臺山	廣東公立法政專門學校別科畢業	8632	19190617
丘昭文	少海	34	廣東清遠	廣東公立專門法政學校政治正科畢業	1395	19190617 會證 510
李廷德	懋修	30	浙江紹興	直隸法政專門學校法律本科畢業	10013	19190621 會證 511
李?	勤補	34	湖南臨湖	湖南公立法政專門學校法律別科	998	19190628 會證 512
曹祖蕃	寶麟	45	江西新建	簡任大理院推事	8902	19190802 會證 513
劉鍾祐	鍾辰	30	京兆安次	北京私立化石橋法政專門學校法律本科畢業	8237	19190829 會證 514
姜樹蕃	益三	27	直隸天津	法政專門學校法律本科畢業	8995	19190920 會證 515
沈觀舒	展如	31	湖北安陸	直隸公立法政學校法律科乙班畢業	248	19191002 會證 516
藍景山	九峰	36	熱河平泉	直隸法律專門學校畢業	8989	19191018 會證 517
熊煜	楊滋	38	四川萬縣	京師法律學堂畢業	10850	19191101 會證 518
劉國霖	家瑞	36	四川敘永	北京中華大學畢業別科	8520	19191112 會證 519
王鈞卓	力武	30	山西懷山	私立中央政法專門學校法律別科畢業	1747	19191121 會證 520
楊啟煒	子明	30	直隸大名	直隸法政專門學校法律本科畢業	5919	19191122 會證 521
和棹	振中	35	直隸定興	北京中華大學法律專科	1547	19191122 會證 522
黃裕培	魯一	28	直隸涿城	畢業法政專門學校法律本科	9411	19191128 會證 523
侯嘉峰	子青	31	山東泰安	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	8421	19191212 會證 524
許卓然	修直	39	江蘇無錫	日本中央大學法律本科大理院簡任推事	1567	19191212 會證 525
張務滋	務滋	30	江蘇上海	北洋大學法律專科畢業	85	19191217 會證 526
黃寶琦	竹農	30	直隸鹽山	山東法律學校法律別科畢業	7022	19200112 會證 527
周鴻文	光亞	30	安徽天長	日本私立日本大學專門部法律科畢業	300	19200115 會證 528
劉維芳	鐵卿	32	直隸定縣	直隸公立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	770	19200116 會證 529
張文燾	健如	30	江蘇泗水	安徽公立法政專門學校法律本科畢業	10462	19200117 會證 530
紀顯祥	瑞符	31	京兆固安	直隸法政專門學校別科畢業	9109	19200204 會證 531
艾香凌	哲文	40	江蘇句容	日本早稻田大學法政科畢業	638	19200225 會證 532

吳哲	子明	36	直隸涿水	中央政法專門學校畢業	4589	19200315 會證 533
李志奎	璧辰	31	直隸武強	直隸公立法政學校法律本科畢業	5022	19200316 會證 534
趙登	賈一	33	京兆大興	中國大學法律別科畢業	1894	19200323 會證 535
張守鈞	平軒	34	山西芮城	北京法政專門學校畢業	7855	19200410 會證 536
毛慎思	澗村	48	京兆通縣	京師法律學堂	2086	19200426 會證 537
張庭珍	升階	35	直隸定興	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1901	19200427 會證 538
蕭梓	仰鶴	33	京兆密雲	直隸私立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	3398	19200429 會證 539
武維文	從周	41	京兆安次	直隸私立法政專門學校別科畢業	2110	19200601 會證 540
茹夏雙	寬生	34	浙江慈溪	日本私立法政大學理成科畢業曾充廣東法政專門學堂教員半年以上	541	19200612 會證 541
馬銘山	止靜	43	直隸撫寧	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業不	2045	19200629 會證 542
張宗儒	翼成	39	浙江吳興	日本法政大學畢業前任京師地方審判廳推事	10968	19200701 會證 543
馬是?	步雲	35	湖南新化	北京私立中國公學大學部法政別科法律科畢業	1613	19200717 會證 544
趙永廷	蔭齡	34	山東歷城	直隸法律學校畢業	64	19200814 會證 545
錢鼎鼎	立山	32	直隸保定	直隸官立法律學堂畢業	1754	19200918 會證 546
王勤聞	勤聞	39	安徽英山	北京私立中華大學法律科畢業	9752	19200229 會證 547
董益成	慎卿	44	安徽望江	北京私立中華大學法律別科畢業	2535	19201006 會證 548
熊才	費三	39	直隸杭州	浙江法政專門學校畢業理陽理地審廳長	204	19201015 會證 549
馮學顯	耀文	45	京兆寶坻	北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1331	19201215 會證 550
何基鴻	海秋	33	直隸懷城	日本帝國大學法科畢業	25	19210105 會證 551
徐光楨	慎初	52	湖南湘陰	日本法政大學畢業前湖南公立法政專門學校校長	1605	19210105 會證 552
白景桐	祥堂	38	直隸趙縣	直隸私立法政專門學校畢業		19251024 會證 3611
董毓廷	午亭	29	京兆固安	北京朝陽大學法律本科	12060	19251023 會證 3601
褚福廣		0	吉林嶺南	京師法律學堂畢業	392	19251015 會證 3609
李博	靜波	41	直隸磁縣	北洋大學法科畢業明治大學法科法學士	11120	19251014 會證 3608
鄒于佑	仲晴	41	福建閩侯	福建法政專門學校	1157	19251009 會證 3607
鍾德瑞	學超	31	浙江紹興	北京中央政法大學校法律本科畢業	12225	19250916 會證 3616
吳守忠	慎初	40	浙江紹興	北京中華大學	12248	19250915 會證 3605
韓樹人	哲生	33	直隸香縣	國立北京大學畢業	11223	19250914 會證 3604
關振傑	漢三	28	直隸深縣	國立北京大學畢業		19250909 會證 3603
張維周	廣西	28	直隸任縣	北京朝陽大學畢業	12228	19250904 會證 3602
王祖綱	孫軒	25	京兆涿縣	北京法政大學畢業	12203	19250901 會證 3601
劉道翰	昉思	46	四川資陽	北京中華大學法律科畢業	1773	19250827 會證 3600
張國藩	維亞	27	京兆平谷	直隸法政專門學校畢業	11579	19250825 會證 3599
趙世賢	之國	37	直隸靜海	奉天法政學校畢業	172	19250822 會證 3598
鮑世洪	竹川	0		京師法律學堂畢業		19250813 會證 3597
光榮峰	紀思	26	安徽桐城	甄別律師委員會審訊受試合格	12141	19250804 會證 3596

王永章		0	河南濬池	北京豫人私立法政專門學校	1564	19250731 會證 3595
郭麗如		31	山西永濟	日本明治大學法科專門部畢業	12151	19250604 會證 3593
楊習峰		33	直隸新鎮	北京中國大學法科畢業		19250716
徐鵬志	涇陽	39	江蘇	中國公學法律科畢業	4988	19250527 會證 3592
邱仁輔	神民	50	山東萊陽	北京中國大學法政別科法律科畢業	12162	19250626 會證 3591
李駿光	贊慮	50	直隸天津	直隸私立法政專門學校畢業	6159	19250623 會證 3590
姚謙	益亭	48	直隸深縣	國立北京法政畢業	12012	19250803 會證 3589
趙慶	玉章	34	安徽懷寧	安徽法政學堂別科畢業		19250522 會證 3588
柯士密		0	德國	德國法官	11302	19250520 會證 3587
趙榮甲	淋濟	38	奉天莊河	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	1157	19250421 會證 3585
曾志銘		38	湖南衡陽	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格：國立法政專門學校畢業	11803	19250501 會證 3586
王桂熙		41	京兆宛平	北京中華大學法律別科畢業		19250414 會證 3584
沙顯楷		51	江蘇武進	京師法律學堂畢業	4766	19250413 會證 3583
甘斯道	毅申	33	江西華新	國立北京法政大學法律本科畢業	11823	19250403 會證 3582
萬兆之	元輔	37	江西豐城	美國哈佛大學法學博士	11323	19250402 會證 3581
張紹堪	偉仰	37	直隸滿城	北京私立中國公學大學部法政別科法律科	1949	19250331 會證 3580
閻采亭	亮辰	53	山東濟寧	山東法律學校畢業	1427	19250317 會證 3579
徐谷蘭	惠芝	44	安徽	北京中華大學法律科畢業	11510	19250317 會證 3578
馬德潤	海鏡	43	湖北	德國柏林大學法學博士	9586	19250307 會證 3577
任景亭	仰山	61	山東昌邑		5920	19250303 會證 3576
吳鍾赫	怡英	42	奉天新民縣	奉天法政專門學校法律別科畢業	1369	19250223 會證 3575
劉道駒		54	湖北	日本法政大學速成科畢業：進士館三年畢業	182	19250212 會證 3574
張雷勳	尹民	32	湖北廣濟	中國大學法政別科法律班畢業	11546	19250204 會證 3573
呂復	健秋	46	直隸寧鹿	日本私立明治大學理科畢業	11899	19250130 會證 3672
管成彰	云青	40	安徽和縣	北京中國大學法律本科畢業	11499	19250129 會證 3571
王裕泉	森庭	32	奉天綏中	北京中央政法專門學校畢業	11539	19250108 會證 3570
何振權	民巖	35	云南保山縣	日本私立法政大學專門部畢業	6789	19241223 會證 3569
孫百田	玉圖	31	奉天本溪	國立北京法政畢業	11341	19241219 會證 3568
嚴治	平甫	25	京兆宛平	中國大學畢業	11719	19241219 會證 3567
張丕怡	卓如	39	山東東門	國立北京法政畢業	11901	19241205 會證 3566
張雨蒼		42	直隸安新	國立法政專門學校畢業	814	19280405
楊廣譽		36	直隸灤縣	直隸私立法政專門學校畢業	12179	19280405
宋勛		36	安徽懷寧	安徽公立法政專門學校畢業	11359	19280505
李廷斌		42	直隸寧晉	日本早稻田大學畢業	517	19280310
周玉山	象德	45	京兆通縣	私立北京中華大學畢業	976	19280317
李錫愚	鳴	48	四川內江	北京中國大學畢業	12859	19280317
崔嗣功	紀勛	36	直隸灤縣	直隸公立法政專門學校畢業	11631	19280316

劉炳珍	乙方	25	京兆武清	北京朝陽大學法科畢業	12843	19280314
李永楨	介慶	26	熱河凌源	北京朝陽大學法科畢業	12827	19280313
張宗耀		28	京兆涿縣	中國大學法律系畢業	12726	19280310
曹淳		30	京兆安次	北京朝陽大學法科畢業	12841	19280302
邢福順	健侯	52	京兆房山	江西官立法政專門學校別科畢業	10505	19280218
楊文明	潤生	40	山東歷城	中央政法學校畢業	11164	19280218
彭羽陶	希明	46	湖南長沙	日本明治大學政治專門部正科畢業	419	19280201
葛應昌	佛旗	36	河南舞陽	朝陽大學法律科畢業	11788	19280118
李卓茂	白中	39	湖北漢陽	湖北私立法政專門學校法律科畢業	2067	19280105
于宗孟	步仙	39	河南沁水	北京中央大學畢業	12832	19271105
鄒其毅	汝彬	51	直隸衡水	北京私立中國公學大學部法政別科法律科畢業	1880	19271012
劉輝船?	銘之	29	四川涪陵	北京朝陽大學法科畢業	12812	19271008
老通春	序東	39	直隸蠡縣	直隸私立法政專門學校法律本科畢業	9383	19271001
汪瀾	月江	42	江蘇阜寧	司法講習所畢業	11074	19270927
馮鎮梅	學嶺	29	直隸房山	直隸公立法政專門學校畢業	12692	19270923
朱超翰	云藻	34	京兆良鄉	北京中國大學法科畢業	12338	19270916
陳文輝	天一	24	直隸益陽	北京朝陽大學法科畢業	12813	19270913
田春恩	羅潔	27	直隸巨鹿		11932	19270912
任維清	學泉	36	山東平陰	山東法政專門學校畢業	12184	19280901
林廷璋	子獻	40	福建閩侯	日本法政大學畢業	8531	19270901
龐文千	鈞任	39	廣東番禺	英國牛津大學法學畢業	93	19270822
孫啟濂	吉臣	36	湖北漢陽	英國蘇瑞克司法科畢業	12153	19270818
唐寶鈞	秀霞	51	廣東香山	日本早稻田大學法學士	11238	19270810
程謙	伯巖	40	江蘇宜興	日本東洋大學高等法科畢業	987	19270808
羅從權	秉衡	36	福建長汀	福建私立法政學校法科、日本大學法科大學畢業；甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	11224	19230108 會證 595
劉益謙	吉占	35	直隸滿城	直隸公立法政學校法律別科畢業	844	19230108 會證 596
王鳳翰	紫林	36	京兆香河	朝陽大學法律本科畢業	11270	19230207 會證 597
袁其惠	振南	34	貴州修文	日本大學大學部法律科畢業；甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	11257	19230207 會證 598
張揚烈	明軒	53	山東平原	北京私立中國大學法政別科法律科畢業	8960	19230222 會證 599
林毓棠	召禮	47	四川南充	私立北京中華大學法律別科畢業	2048	19230330 會證 600
姜塾	鏡齋	40	京兆密云	北京中國大學專法畢業	9102	19230410 會證 601
鄭安	子鴻	32	直隸遷安	朝陽大學法律本科畢業	11352	19230517 會證 602
呂庚第	松岑	31	京兆固安	私立中央政法專門學校法律本科畢業	4598	19230610 會證 603
葛長華	紹虞	43	京兆順義	北京中華大學法律別科畢業	1534	19230707 會證 604
周衡	豐澄	38	江蘇宜興	日本明治大學法科畢業	10968	19230710 會證 605
陳應榮	嗣宗	31	廣東南海	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格（免試合格證書號 324 號）	11398	19230720 會證 606

穆端芬	靜蘭	27	京兆密云	北京朝陽大學法科畢業，甄拔律師委員會免試合格	11348	19230801 會證 607
陳則民	淑賢	44	江蘇吳縣	日本大學大學部法律科畢業	356	19230808 會證 608
葉夏聲	寬生	35	浙江慈溪	日本法政大學畢業	357	1923 會證 609 (補給)
楊永清	惠慶	30	浙江鎮海	英國華盛頓大學公法碩士，法律學士	11183	19230822 會證 610
高承蔭	衍卿	35	京兆宛平	北京中華大學法律科畢業	1132	19230823 會證 611
鄭滿芬	味蘭	40	浙江慈溪	浙江四明法政專門學校法律專修科畢業	6069	19230901 會證 612
新作楨	子清	32	陝西藍田	北京中國公學大學部法政科法律科畢業	1604	19230901 會證 613
江元亮	悟源	44	湖北鄂城	北京國立法政專門學校畢業	391	19230904 會證 314 (614?)
孫樹	旨霖	34	四川瀘縣	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格：北京大學法律科畢業	11382	19230905 會證 615
盧作賓	治熙	39	四川蓬安	法政學校畢業	2552	19230910 會證 618
錢匯源	海權	26	京兆宛平	中央法政專門學校畢業	11420	19230912 會證 617
張國華	祉宣	38	江蘇鹽城	北京中華大學畢業		19230914 會證 618
楊朝齡	觀九	34	吉林	日本法律大學專門部法律科畢業	309	19230927 會證 619
林際	少旭	40	福建閩侯	日本早稻田大學堂畢業	11432	19231001 會證 620
林炳炎	東鼎	48	河北滿川	河北公立法政專科畢業	2997	19231007 會證 621
費爾衡	龜臣	42	浙江余杭	日本早稻田大學政治經濟科畢業	9314	19231014 會證 622
姚鳴儀	壽亭	38	直隸灤縣	北京國立法政專門學校法律科畢業	273	19231016 會證 623
江庸 (介紹林行規)	端云	46	福建長汀	日本早稻田大學政治經濟科畢業	11031	19231102 會證 624
周紹鏡 (介紹江庸)	澤光	35	湖南湘潭	湖南公立法政專門學校畢業	983	19231120 會證 625
王揚濟	筱侯	43	湖北江夏	甄拔律師委員會免試合格	11457	19231201 會證 626
余天休 (葉夏聲介紹)	天休	28	廣東臺山	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格；英國哲學博士，法律學士，教育學士，文學碩士，醫學學士	11458	19231219 會證 627
戴景槐	枕淮	38	浙江寧波	國立北京大學法科畢業	7412	19231229 會證 628
王維翰	藩軒	47	滿洲	京師法政學堂畢業	935	19240104 會證 629
孫照璋	玉芳	42	湖北黃陂	北京私立中國公學大學部法政科法律科畢業	5693	19240104 會證 630
尹福賢	學上	33	江蘇儀征	吳淞中國公學法律專門部畢業	11450	19240104 會證 631： 19241231 出會第 31 號
李璋	玉章	30	武清	甄拔律師委員會免試合格	11506	19240129 會證 632
何祖韓	子奎	29	湖北	甄拔律師委員會免試合格	11516	19240203 會證 633
吳昆善	昆善	37	四川銅梁	巴黎法科大學法學士	10988	19240204 會證 634
石志泉	友儒	38	湖北孝感	日本早稻田大學政治經濟科畢業	11043	19240211 會證 635
胡存忠	龜石	41	湖北武昌	中國公學大學部法政科法律科畢業	1422	19240211 會證 636
張士驥 (鄭復介紹)	子騰	34	直隸寶坻	直隸公立法政專門學校法律本科畢業	9466	19240220 會證 637
鄭天錫 (劉崇佑介紹)	邦隆	40	廣東香山	英國倫敦大學法科畢業	11497	19240223 會證 638
饒孟任 (林會長介紹)		43	江西南昌	眾議院議員	11509	19240312 會證 639
李鎮蓮 (王禮恭介紹)	鍾如	42	天津	直隸法政專門學校畢業	2247	19240312 會證 640
朱煥彬	子珽	30	江蘇如皋	審查律師合格	11071	19230317 會證 641

黃右昌	麟麟	40	湖南醴陵	日本法政大學畢業	2136	19240324 會證 642
沈江 (金錢·朱煥彬介紹)	海石	30	浙江東陽	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	11559	19240329 會證 643
孫在均	乃崇	39	福建閩侯	京師法政學堂正科法律班畢業	486	19240402 會證 644
劉義順	華民	27	直隸任丘	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	11576	19240404 會證 645
何耀光	孟庚	52	四川江北	京師法律學校畢業	102	19250409 會證 646
朱學曾 (介紹沈江)	文伯	39	貴州平越	司法部審查合格	9774	19240418 會證 647
趙毓藻	仲孫	27	宛平	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	11557	19240503 會證 648
張德欽	若仲	33	江蘇寶山	美國法學士；甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	11524	19240524 會證 649
何有典	鎮之	26	山東平原	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	11614	19240609 會證 650
唐有烈	九如	29	江蘇吳江	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	11452	19240609 會證 651
董祺 (介紹人律師王禮恭·姜繼善)	燕孫	26	京兆三河	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	11656	19240818 會證 652
楊文翰	西園	38	天津	直隸私立法政專門學校畢業	1817	19240617 會證 653
楊長秀	楷耕	37	直隸定興	北京中國大學法科畢業	2372	19240619 會證 654
王鼎新	欽平	38	湖北孝感	日本大學法科大學部畢業	2585	19240705 會證 655
王豫 (葉夏聲介紹)	桐軒	34	湖南寶慶	廣西法政專門學校別科畢業	3906	19240708 會證 656
高文作	伯鈺	39	奉天海龍	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	11462	19240704 會證 657
李思璽	開民	37	安徽石埭	北洋法政專門學校畢業		19240731
劉萬清	子英	26	京兆順義	中央大學畢業	11716	19240818
胡右卿	允欽	31	京兆安次	直隸私立法政學校畢業	2021	19240818
王文琳	崑瑛	30	直隸東光	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	11749	19240901
呂世芳		44	安徽旌德	日本法政大學法律科畢業	10977	19240903
周士俊	鍾秀	29	安次	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	11706	19240904
沈垣	植基	31	蘭隴	國立北京法律專門學校法律本科畢業	4430	19240923
李禮毅	憲慶	44	直隸冀縣	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業	31	19241017
李傑	訪漁	54	直隸東麗	日本法政大學畢業	11940	19241114
秦玉怡 (介紹人楊春熙)	仲如	39	收到東阿	國立北京法政畢業	11901	19241205
朱吉蘭	正泉	40	京兆大興	考試及格	11340	19251030
梁憲	由銘	49	廣東南海	日本明治大學明法學士	11048	19251120
馮美學	友甫	30	浙江	浙江公立法政專門學校畢業	12334	19251127
陳金蘭	晉久	26	京兆寶坻	免試合格：國立法政專門	12313	19251128
曹之棟	國幹	39	京兆涿縣	免試合格	8122	19251226
李樹滋	潤生	28	京兆香河	免試合格	11830	19260104
劉震	亨齊	31	浙江杭縣	北京國立法大日本明大畢業	11128	19260113
吳福基	安仁	29	浙江嘉善	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格：國立法政專門	12361	19260115

潘大道		37	四川開縣	日本早稻田大學畢業	11484	19260121
張正身	行修	27	河南林縣	中央政法大學畢業	12247	19260219
潘健勳		35	江蘇吳縣	甄拔律師委員會審議免試合格	12005	19260220
杜泓	鏡秋	28	山西新絳	北京政法大學畢業	12333	19260308
王郁聰	少青	38	京兆通縣	北京朝陽大學專門部法律本科畢業	11251	19260310
徐世勳	夢?	33	奉天桓仁	北京民權大學法科畢業	12315	19260317
劉明陽	靜道	34	天津	直隸私立法政專門學校法律科畢業	2242	19260318
任維屏		29	京兆涿縣	北京政法大學畢業	12338	19260325
張維城	維城	30	江蘇上海	免試合格：北京大學法律門畢業	11487	19260327
張寶文	爾孫	31	湖南	免試合格	11584	19260414
宋庚廷	筱牧	45	河南	豫人私立法政專門學校教授法律之學三年以上		19260520
魏先根	強子	44	湖南長沙	民國三年二月六日領得證書并經司法部覆驗合格	3167	19260529
張光煥	映南	34	湖南江陵	河南公立法政專門學校畢業日本早稻田大學卒業	797	19260605
王貽謀	蓋侯	45	江蘇吳縣	河南公立法政專門學校別科畢業	1037	19260605
許聲銘	雲舫	43	直隸安國	北京中國大學法律本科畢業	7085	19260623
王德遠	利卿	33	武濟	直隸法政專門學校畢業	8798	19260629
石毓松	鶴年	30	京兆武清	國立北京大學畢業	12377	19270629
劉立泉	卓人	46	京兆霸縣	北京中華大學畢業	12300	19260629
溫志賢	儒山	38	直隸遵化	直隸公立法政專門學校法律別科畢業	765	19260630
趙建中	衡峻	39	直隸深澤	直隸法政專門學校畢業	851	19260630
李云閣	上崑	36	山西永濟	日本明治大學法科畢業	12456	19260803
周寬	瑞麟	41	直隸樂亭	北京朝陽大學法本科畢業	8321	19260830
董抗時	登甫	45	浙江東陽	日本法政大學大學部法律科畢業	124	19260906
陳耀森	步壽	30	浙江晚島	北京大學法律系畢業	12408	19260916
汪武維	乃鈞	34	安徽懷寧	中國大學法本科畢業	12431	19260923
周寶華	劍秋	34	京兆涿縣	司法講習所畢業	10969	19260925
李成舉	致遠	46	直隸深澤	北洋大學畢業	652	19261021
劉通源	鶴汀	35	京兆大興	國立北京法政專門學校法律科畢業司法講習所畢業	12552	19261026
葛辰	雷長	25	江蘇上海	國立北京法政大學法律科畢業	12394	19261023
梁耀祖	仲華	30	河南孟縣	北京民權大學法律科畢業	11554	19261101
張錫蘭	幼庵	30	直隸雄縣	國立北京法政專門學校畢業	11977	19261109
李賢德	少蓮	29	天津	北洋法政專科法科畢業北京中國大學法科畢業	12531	19261216
楊世芬	幼龍	38	安徽蕪湖	北京私立中華大學政治經濟科畢業	11414	19261227
廖成康	慎先	43	四川內江	國立北京法政專門學校法律本科畢業：歷任陝西各級法院推事 庭長廳長	12608	19270102
佟炳京		27	直隸豐潤	北京法政專門學校畢業	12047	19270121
吳澄	現莊	30	京兆良鄉	國立北京大學法科畢業	12325	19270201

金殿選	若虛	38	安徽婺源	安徽省立法政專門學校畢業；曾充合肥審判廳廳長奉天漢口推事 東京師地方審判廳廳長	289	19270208
劉碧階		36	直隸深縣	中央政法專門學校畢業	12645	19270301
高權	采衡	27	京兆大興	國立北京政法大學畢業	12586	19270303
周恩濟	恩濟	37	京兆懷柔	北京中國大學專門部法律科畢業	8991	19270323
夏來恩	紫林	31	京兆密云	北京朝陽大學法律本科畢業	12685	19270401
陳名振	四震	28	京兆大興	中央大學法科畢業	12491	19270405
石觀京	相如	35	京兆大興	北洋法政專門學校畢業	12611	19270405
韓學乾	龍民	34	京兆大興	國立北京法政專門學校法律別科畢業	432	19270407
張士魁	冠五	35	直隸龍觀	朝陽大學法律科畢業	12618	19270418
盧天衡	雁卿	38	湖北襄陽	中央政府專門學校畢業	12503	19270420
彭景楨	阮伯	38	安徽蕪湖	北洋公立法政專門學校法政別科畢業	9922	19270422
馮仙洲	樞軒	32	直隸文安	民國大學法科畢業	12533	19270426
張國士	紹韓	28	京兆三河	直隸法政專門學校畢業	12679	19270505
張席貞	執符	28	直隸定縣寄籍京兆 三河縣	北京朝陽大學校畢業	12716	19270514
周慶文	琴舫	50	京兆涿縣	京師法政學堂一級別科畢業	491	19270525
彭望群	望群	41	江蘇吳縣	日本大學法科專門部畢業	12777	19270602
李肇甫	伯申	42	四川巴縣	日本私立明治大學法科畢業	447	19270607
王顯奎	璧垣	55	浙江餘烏	浙江公立法政學校法律別科畢業	10586	19270616
印源	月潭	40	直隸延慶	北京中華大學畢業	12766	19270620
郭杰	子英	39	山西介休	中國大學法律科畢業	12798	19270627
樓恩	菽田	47	浙江杭縣	北京私立中國大學部法政別科法律科畢業	4788	19270702
張煥周	秀孫	50	江蘇江寧	京師法政學堂別科畢業	10982	19270708
王志新	振庭	49	京兆通縣	直隸法政專門學校畢業	1022	19270713
劉東鈞	子陶	25	直隸完縣	北京朝陽大學畢業	12764	19270725
李懷亮	特成	44	湖南湘鄉	隨任大理院推事	9901	19270804
程緯	振之	47	江西鄱陽	日本早稻田大學畢業	529	19310105
李萬福	厚賢	45	河北通縣	北京中央政法專門學校畢業	3159	19301228
邢培真	峻岑	45	河北深縣		901	19301224
王乃善	惠均	44	河北寶坻	直隸私立法政專門學校畢業	1684	19301221
周紹鏡	紹鏡	24	天津	河北省立法商學院畢業	1091	19301223
劉景遠	廷興	49	山東德縣	私立化石橋法政學校畢業	1547	19301215
高云鳳	桐齋	26	河北大興	北平朝陽大學畢業	1043	19301211
高晉雄		41	四川成都	四川法政學校別科畢業	268	19301207
祁維詩	韻濟	32	山東牟平	北京朝陽大學畢業	768	19301125
胡傳龍	梅庭	40	安徽涇縣	國立北京法政專門學校畢業	3200	19301126

張慎賢	次謙	49	湖北襄陽	國立北京法政專門學校畢業	3119	19301123
張伯烈	亞農	59	湖北隨縣	日本法政大學畢業	1701	19301122
鍾承志	念慈	56	浙江杭縣	日本東京帝國大學畢業	203	19301121
劉大魁	紹勝	45	湖北襄陽	日本法政大學專門部法律科畢業	3127	19301106
張鳳祥	午橋	28	江蘇鎮江	北平民國大學法科畢業	1484	19301027
林榮奇	仲易	45	福建閩侯縣	日本早稻田大學畢業	2326	19301017
李景圻	仲憲	47	福建閩侯	日本早稻田大學畢業	202	19301020
魏駁	俊侯	0				19301025
戴仁	百賢	52	貴州息峰	日本法政大學畢業	2579	19301018
胡端正	伯雨	0	河北通縣	北平私立中國大學畢業	716	19300930
王述霖		52	河北靜海	奉天法政學堂畢業	891	19300930
李瑞星	東符	40	河北大興	北平民國大學畢業	1667	19300929
賴趾	佩衡	0	福建	英國芝加哥西北大學畢業	120	19300921
陶淵	清泉	28	京兆順義	國立法政專門學校畢業	12589	19280410
薛維長		26	京兆宛平	中央政法專門學校畢業	12409	19280412
李寶珍	毓川	26	京兆武清	北京中央大學畢業	12848	19280505
向哲澄		34	湖南寧鄉	英國華盛頓大學畢業	12765	19280520
趙廣仁		42	京兆安次	直隸私立法政專門學校畢業	1502	19280604
王德鈺	念應	42	四川	國立北京法政專門學校畢業	7583	19280620
劉煜		35	江蘇丹徒	司法講習所畢業	11072	19280723
陳宗香		51	福建閩侯	日本私立法政大學	64	19280901
劉寶麟	季波	34	湖南瀏陽		12093	19280901
胡寶麟	龍圖	35	廣東順德	國立北京大學法科畢業	1683	19280902
韓立遠	卓如	26	河北香河	國立法政大學法科畢業	12856	19280930
謝通仁	梅臣	43	福建閩侯	福建公立法政專門學校畢業	10401	19281012
李樹庸		48	湖北隨縣	日本法政大學法科畢業	2045	19281126
陳羽田	鏡泉	41	河北蠡縣	中央政法專門學校畢業		19281127
何宗點		41	浙江臨海	國立北京法政專門學校畢業	2858	19281208
潘季堯	鏡堯	50	安徽懷寧	私立北京中華大學畢業	1060	19281228
張瑛	耀璠	40	河北沙河	國立北平大學畢業	11806	192901
李增祺		25	河北豐潤	國立北京法政大學畢業	12842	192901
劉士元	筱波	42	天津	日本大學專門部法科畢業	328	19290109
徐望之		31	浙江吳興	國立北京大學法科畢業	12035	19290111
高崇煥	文伯	32	山東歷城	國立北京大學法科畢業	12033	19290111
潘啟清		39	福建閩侯	福建私立法政專門學校畢業	3275	19290201
何益鴻	海秋	41	河北藁縣	日本東京帝國大學畢業	3197	19290220
吳育謙	振西	39	安徽合肥	北京中國大學畢業	3430	19290225

沈毅木	克仁	43	河北蠡縣	直隸私立法政專門學校法本科學業	9642	19290301
李屬官	仙傳	53	河北河間	直隸公立法政專門別科學業	2	1929
陳璋昆	克生	43	湖南常德	日本東京帝國大學畢業	1	19290419
馮景先	雲和	32	河北三河	國立北京法政大學政治經濟科畢業	1089	19290607
孫潤宇	子通	51	江蘇吳縣	日本法政大學畢業	801	19290706
辛漢	濯之	51	江蘇江寧	日本東京帝國大學校畢業	803	19290706
楊錫怡	樂彭	29	河北宛平	北京民國大學專門部法本科學業	145	19290801
張紹曾	省三	40	河北蠡縣	直隸法政專門學校畢業	3342	19290803
牛麟瑜	敬醇	39	河南北源	京師法律學堂畢業	1815	19290822
汪贊侯	贊侯	44	安徽旌德	國立北京法政專門學校法律別科學業	733	19290822
師啟		50	四川長壽	日本東京私立法政大學速成科畢業	195	19290901
張雲茂	幼蘭	35	河北武強	國立北京大學法律系畢業	910	19290904
韓紹琦	芍辰	42	河北武強	直隸法政專門法律別科學業	905	19290904
李洪岳		39	河北獻縣	直隸私立法政專門法律別科學業	3325	19290916
王登瀛	仙洲	29	河北香河	直隸法政專門法本科學業	173	19290916
陸守經	紹權	45	江蘇青浦	英國惠斯頓新大學畢業	981	19290925
陳銘鏗	子衡	53	河南西平	私立比較中華大學畢業	1660	19290930
孫體圻	補笙	44	江蘇無錫	日本私立中央大學法科學業	582	19291003
凌敬鴻	俱民	41	浙江興興	日本大學法科學業	1808	19291003
丁樹勳	質彬	42	直隸紹興	中央政法大學畢業	35	19291011
陳耀奎	紹奎	51	四川巴縣	國立法政專門學校法律別科學業	3290	19290727
張汝霖	慶人	52	江蘇如皋	日本法政大學專門部法律科學業	44	19291108
趙泉	慶庭	0	北平	瑞士日來非學院畢業	220	19291116
李震？	伯威	53	湖南長沙	日本早稻田大學專門部政治經濟科畢業	3319	19291201
徐同鄰	仲侯	30	江蘇武進	國立北京法政大學畢業	2865	19291003
朱應中	伯孚	54	安徽休寧	日本法政大學畢業	1113	19291003
張家驥	浴瀆	59	河南林縣	前清進士館三年畢業	751	19291207
徐旭通		36	天津	直隸法政專門學校政經本科學業	1249	19291218
翁鳴璽	山奇	58	福建閩侯	前清仕學官畢業	2301	19300301
左鴻文		49	河南潁川	河南法政專門學校畢業	3161	19300304
鄧日曜	振之	39	山東海陽	北京私立朝陽大學畢業	2944	19300319
林京	振璽	38	福建閩侯	國立北京大學法科學業	1043	19300405
王湧	墨林	39	浙江山陰	中央大學專門部法本科學業	3189	19300412
高敏學	豫勤	0				19300414
張寶元	善齋	0				19300414
何福麟	玉雷	50	湖北鄂城	日本法政大學畢業	3269	19300509
朱尚瑞	雲五	36	遼寧沈陽	國立北京大學法科學業	2494	19300510

張文忠	野生	55	河北			19300510
劉錫麟	伯英	0				19300522
張廣元	品三	28	河北安次	河北省法商學院畢業	401	19300602
溫錫琛	世珍	0			121	19300608
劉慶坤	子泉	29	河北定興	直隸公立法政專門學校畢業	415	19300608
戴國璋	民輔	46	湖南城步	私立日本大學專門部畢業	882	19300614
袁崇英	崇英	0				19300715
張連仲	連堪	31	河北大興	北京朝陽大學法科畢業	678	19300720
趙維藩	慎人	27	河北永清	河北省立法商學院畢業	462	19300701
何尚	遠冰	0				19300722
崔志平	仲翔	0	河北蠡縣	北平私立中國大學畢業	974	19300728
夏林翰	際隨	38	江蘇江陰	直隸北洋法政專門學校畢業	333	19300810
谷振河	卓群	25	河北安次	北平私立朝陽大學畢業	723	19300817
傅謙益	殿五	43	江蘇江寧	私立北京中華大學畢業	486	19300820
喬鏡周	彥忠	41	河北安平	私立中央法政專門學校畢業	660	19300821
時得震		40	直隸雄縣		12780	19280407
孫世英		26	河北定縣	國立北平大學法學院政治系畢業	4321	19320201
謝松澗		28	河北安國	河北大學法律學系畢業	2116	19320127
李書春		30	河北安次	北京平民大學法律科畢業	4171	19320127
王廷珍	蔚章	34	河北寧晉	北平民商大學法律科畢業	2612	19320121
李炳陽		43	河北臨榆	奉天法政學校法律科畢業	3423	19320114
張春軒	寶寶	42	吉林吉林縣		2842	19320107
姚禮成	純清	44	浙江山陰	直隸法政學堂畢業	3329	19320104
王志榮	欣生	33	河北昌平	國立北京法政大學法律科畢業	877	19320104
袁履剛	仁伯	23	河北阜平	北平朝陽學院法律科畢業	3725	19321220
王道程	毅明	29	山東阜平	北平朝陽學院法律科畢業	3801	19311220
吳有恩	慎?	30	察哈爾宣化縣	北平朝陽大學法律科畢業	3050	19311216
李之澄	靜之	23	河北安次	北平民商學院法律科畢業	3205	19311204
李維才	靜舟	29	河北寶坻	直隸公立法政專門學校畢業	3079	19311201
黃其政	宜猷	35	吉林賓縣	美國米爾斯大學法學士畢業	2295	19311201
馮介	子明	0	河北	國立北京大學法律學系畢業	2719	19311201
陶富春	厚齋	29	河北三河	北京朝陽大學法律本科畢業	1682	19311120
楊紹蘇		41	河北武清	直隸法政學校法律科畢業	4129	19311120
紀世昌	繼興	50	遼寧實甸	北平中國大學法律科畢業		19311110
樊慶章	齡安	49	四川資中	國立法政學校法律科畢業	688	19311104
田漢清	竹枝	43	河北蠡縣	直隸私立法政學校畢業	607	19310110
龐麟世	麟九	44	河北定興縣	日本早稻田大學不詳	2065	19310117

陳怡本	鹿梅	31	河北通縣	北京朝陽大學校畢業	1947	19310123
吳海林	幼軒	30	河北大城縣	中央大學專門部畢業	3188	19310126
蘇霖	沛蒼	42	江蘇上海	北平私立中國大學校畢業	1092	19310128
陳應榮	嗣晉	39	廣東南海	英國京都大學畢業	2315	19310130
安錫燾	繼五	32	河北武清	中央大學法律本科畢業	665	19310130
韓立瀛	卓如	31	河北寶坻	國立北平法政大學校畢業	329	19310201
趙希倫	教五	38	河北武清	北平私立朝陽大學校畢業	1391	19310205
凌昌英	澤仲	43	安徽懷遠	國立北京法政專門學校畢業	2051	19310211
關兆鳳		42	河北東明	國立北京大學畢業	166	19310214
劉光斌		32	河北雄縣	國立北京法政專門學校畢業	2885	19310225
郭生元		35	河北武清	北京私立中國大學校畢業	2783	19310226
王翊	澤田	29	河北武清	北平私立朝陽大學校畢業	2582	19310228
盧益英		41	安徽羅江	安徽公立法政專門學校畢業	191	19310307
王雨泉	默軒	35	河北新城	北平朝陽大學校畢業	2393	19310312
李漢民	華生	0	天津	北京私立中國大學校畢業	1876	19310315
王維國	嗣南	30	河北交河	北平私立朝陽大學校畢業	2387	19310315
趙潤洪	志瞻	28	河北涿縣	北京朝陽大學不要	373	19310320
李軾	祝虛	42	河北承德	熱河法政專門學校畢業	205	19310322
靳韻	又陵	23	河北安次	北平私立朝陽大學小畢業	1729	19310325
趙綸	裕誠	23	河北安次	直隸法政專門學校畢業	1757	19310327
徐福田		38	河北玉田	直隸公立法政專門學校畢業	1246	19310401
楊庭瑛	耀堂	34	河北撫寧	直隸公立法政專門學校畢業	3536	19310405
李樹勛	鍾鈺	37	河北宛平	北京法政專門學校畢業	2873	19310410
米廷翰		34	河北寧晉	北平私立朝陽大學小畢業	2115	19310410
李祺	爵軒	29	河北寧晉	北平私立朝陽大學小畢業	1960	19310410
谷瑞甲	備之	33	河北蠡縣	國立北京法政大學畢業	2317	19310417
王充華	警警	55	浙江紹興		13007	19310421
趙錫敏	學之	27	河北宛平	北平私立民國大學校畢業	1551	19310426
陳寬餘	伯齊	41	湖北安陸	山西大學法科法律學門畢業	3225	19310429
李寶琛		45	河北高陽	直隸法政學校畢業	1217	19310501
梁洪睿	穎充	0		國立北大學		19310501
王國德	文鴻	0				19310501
王崇	蘭泉	41	河北滄縣	北平私立中央大學畢業	2984	19310509
洪興卿		29	浙江杭縣	國立東南大學文科政治系畢業	2492	19310514
王振華	德之	26	河北永清	北平朝陽學院大學部畢業	3562	19310518
周寶鈞	衡國	25	河北涿縣	國立北京大學校畢業	817	19310530
丁睿田	晉圖	0				19310530

余輔昌	佐威	47	浙江紹興	北京私立中國公學大學部法政別科畢業	65	19310601
馮宗周	煥堂	0				19310601
王學先	念堂	50	山西廣靈	山西法政專門學校畢業	2110	19310608
陳克靖	柳如	33	遼寧遼陽	北京私立中國大學法本科學業	2760	19310615
于澤世	哲潛	44	吉林榆樹	私立北京中樞大學畢業	510	19310615
劉敬修	允中	40	湖北漢川	中央大學畢業	1574	19310623
杜尚中	孔讓	27	河北宛平	私立北平民國學院畢業	3367	19310627
劉景榮		0	河北藁城	北平朝陽大學校畢業	1806	19310630
朱鎮成	菴玉	30	河北武清	直隸法政專門學校畢業	2578	19310701
白瑞	雁峰	51	蒙古卓盟	北平中國大學法政別科畢業	1185	19310703
邵勳	禹敷	47	浙江東陽	京師法律學堂法正科學業	45	19310711
英子頤	泰通	47		廣東法政學校高等研究部畢業	1542	19310716
林輝鼎	朗孫	51	福建閩侯	京師法律學堂畢業	697	19310717
李承瑞		41	河北故城	國立法政專門學校法律本科學業	3273	19310721
曹之傑		29	河北涿縣	朝陽大學專門部本科學業	1505	19310724
鄧桂林	秋圃	28	河北涿縣	中國大學專門部本科學業	2400	19310802
李玉江		30	河北行唐	朝陽大學大學部法科學業	2527	19310805
劉柏林	秋江	33	山東德縣		3847	19310812
賈煜廷		29	河北三河	朝陽大學專門部法律科學業	980	19310816
高雪禾	悉軒	32	河北遷安	朝陽大學專門部法律科學業	677	19310820
解茂成		35	天津		657	19310826
何運衡	駿儒	41	河北昌平	北京法政學校法律本科學業	3281	19310829
費尚志		31	河北懷來	北平民國學院大學部法律系畢業	3204	19310830
劉樹先	續華	43	遼寧鐵嶺	日本大學法律科學業	733	19310901
紀鉅統	文伯	47	河北獻縣	賢登法政學校別科畢業	3134	19310910
韓德儀	雲漢	29	河北昌平	北平朝陽大學法科學業	3890	19310912
陳廷俊		31	河北固安	朝陽大學專門部法律科學業	1869	19310914
殷狀	誠吾	48	河北固始	北京私立法政專門學校畢業	1802	19310915
李熙	子炎	0	河南	北平朝陽大學校畢業		19310922
鄧經順		29	山東掖縣	北平中國學院法律科學業	3973	19310928
盧克渠		38	安徽合肥	日本明治大學法科學業	3894	19310928
丁蔚昌	應南	31	雲南懷來縣	北平朝陽大學法律本科學業	1297	19311002
趙修五	慎之	37	江蘇銅山	北平中國學院法律科學業	3831	19311003
鍾光顯	裕輝	50	浙江上虞	直隸法律學堂法律別科畢業	589	19311006
楊占聚	金波	50	河北宛平	京師法政學校法律科學業	286	19311015
王尊家		47	浙江安吉	浙江法政專門學校法律別科畢業	3480	19311016
陳天鈞	爾純	34	福建同安	日本大學專門法律科學業	3006	19311019

王振麟	子澤	33	河北武強	北平大學法律學系畢業	2109	19311020
陳煊	心竹	0	福建閩侯	日本大學法律科畢業	1748	19311025
高秀琛		27	山東廣饒	北平中國學院法律科畢業	3399	19311028
王維垣	紫宸	26	河北寶坻	北平民國學院法律科畢業	3678	19311101
周鍾策	運生	31	河北涿縣	北平中國大學法律科畢業	2290	19311104
樊鳳翠	體安	49	四川資中	國立法政學校法律科畢業	688	19311104
紀世昌	福興	50	遼寧寬甸	北平中國大學法律科畢業		19311110

Appendix 5.1 Data of police team size, budget, and number of criminals

Year	No of ConstablePol	Population	Police Budget	No of Criminals	Police Contraventions Offenders	Source at BJMA
1911	6472	783053	1249826	932	5576	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1912	6924	725035	1369414	2101	6086	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1913	7771	727803	1774813	2549	20554	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1914	8761	769317	1969321	3247	21056	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1915	8085	789123	1991149	3417	21130	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1916	8427	801136	1991575	3273	22373	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1917	8590	811556	2235934	3886	22870	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1918	8453	799395	2495337	3500	20058	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1919	8783	826531	2704821	2741	17915	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1920	9228	849554	2832122	3300	16554	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1921	9251	863209	2891294	3122	13791	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1922	9484	841945	2937536	9305	14860	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1923	9491	847107	2696510	12347	15573	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1924	9714	872576	1491507	12110	14123	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1925	13192	1266148	2856187	10783	14555	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1926	12347	1224414	4062829	16136	9923	J181-4-34,35,36,37;J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,

1927	8818	1305022	4030289	17178	14197	J181-4-34,35,36,37,J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1928	9453	1469511	2860511	13566	7831	J181-4-34,35,36,37,J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1929	9605	1175452	2108517	18315	10444	J181-4-34,35,36,37,J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1930	9485	1378916	2345904	16668	8684	J181-4-34,35,36,37,J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1931	9188	1415488	2339867	12670	9082	J181-4-34,35,36,37,J181-1-369,370,ZQ12-2-261,
1932	6613	1491830	2045194	13944	7253	J181-1-371

恒通	0	0	2	0	3	2	70	36	6	35	1	10	0	90	57	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	0	0	1	1	26	0	34	31	7	21	6	57	0	620	342	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	0	0	0	9	7	0	20	20	3	6	0	2	0	230	697	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	1	0	0	3	69	0	60	23	4	11	0	13	0	14	450	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	0	0	0	5	94	0	11	16	0	16	1	5	0	20	574	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	0	0	0	3	30	0	9	2	1	1	0	1	0	23	154	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	3	9	12	20	188	2	154	42	20	27	25	13	2	154	1148	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	0	0	0	0	11	0	20	9	0	0	0	1	0	0	147	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	0	0	1	0	91	0	17	27	0	19	1	37	0	15	76	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	1	0	3	2	95	0	19	34	1	23	2	20	0	13	62	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	0	0	0	2	36	0	19	31	0	11	0	65	0	13	66	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	0	0	0	2	23	0	16	20	2	0	0	13	0	21	406	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	0	0	0	0	13	0	19	15	0	0	0	9	0	16	163	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	0	0	0	1	11	0	30	4	1	15	0	37	0	34	78	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	0	0	0	1	15	0	17	42	3	20	7	3	0	7	130	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	0	0	2	0	3	0	31	10	0	2	1	6	0	9	11	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	1	0	1	1	99	0	70	30	0	11	0	19	0	10	606	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	2	0	6	1	100	0	100	41	1	35	3	13	0	12	321	1920-19206	133-139
恒通	0	1	1	4	57	0	14	11	11	1	1	13	0	20	17	1920-19206	
恒通	0	0	1	3	41	0	14	20	0	1	0	11	0	95	113	1920-19206	
恒通	0	0	0	9	67	0	11	5	1	0	0	4	0	14	113	1920-19206	
恒通	0	1	0	3	11	0	11	4	0	0	0	1	0	19	207	1920-19206	
恒通	4	2	19	36	100	0	289	11	12	10	11	40	0	144	965	1920-19206	
恒通	1	0	0	3	106	0	21	21	1	10	0	5	0	0	60	1920-19206	
恒通	0	0	1	4	15	0	90	10	1	16	1	4	0	112	104	1920-19206	
恒通	4	0	1	1	116	0	16	17	12	4	1	17	2	17	70	1920-19206	
恒通	0	0	0	3	13	0	75	11	0	0	0	15	0	13	697	1920-19206	
恒通	0	0	0	7	113	0	119	23	0	0	0	12	0	11	612	1920-19206	
恒通	0	0	0	1	4	0	11	16	2	0	0	23	0	16	119	1920-19206	
恒通	4	0	0	1	111	0	14	14	2	16	0	19	3	20	101	1920-19206	
恒通	0	0	0	0	25	0	19	11	1	42	0	61	0	27	170	1920-19206	
恒通	0	0	0	0	2	0	14	14	0	1	1	17	0	4	10	1920-19206	
恒通	1	0	4	3	111	1	17	26	5	24	2	30	0	7	61	1920-19206	
恒通	3	9	3	0	145	1	13	65	6	11	6	10	0	43	140	1920-19206	
恒通	0	1	0	9	16	0	14	12	12	0	0	20	0	14	99	1920-19206	
恒通	2	0	6	3	41	0	16	11	3	11	0	14	0	20	14	1920-19206	
恒通	0	0	1	11	42	0	107	11	0	17	0	1	1	14	171	1920-19206	
恒通	0	0	0	2	17	0	60	2	1	0	0	1	0	19	121	1920-19206	
恒通	11	1	16	6	117	1	281	42	13	11	11	10	6	101	1011	1920-19206	

Appendix 6.2 Spatial data of Korean drug traffickers kept by the Republican Police

District	Name	Citizen	Address	Business	Source
內一區	全翼俊	朝鮮	西市場南街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	尹致衡	朝鮮	多福巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	全叻東	朝鮮	小多福巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	何漸道	朝鮮	豬市胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	金花香	朝鮮	后拐棍胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	金亨基	朝鮮	東城根	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	任明高	朝鮮	禮士胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	金榮華	朝鮮	崇內大街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	文時鼎	朝鮮	大土地廟	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	白德基	朝鮮	銀盤(?)胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	車應道	朝鮮	洋溢胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	黃根模	朝鮮	官帽胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	鄭聲宇	朝鮮	棲鳳樓	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	高貞煜	朝鮮	小方家胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	金汝怡	朝鮮	小報房胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	崔東秀	朝鮮	南八寶胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	玄海容	朝鮮	堯治國胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

內一區	崔賢謙	朝鮮	三元庵	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	金孝丁	朝鮮	范子平胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	金聖是	朝鮮	船板胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	樸在炳	朝鮮	鮮魚巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	李順賢	朝鮮	蘇州胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內一區	金應順	朝鮮	四眼井	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	李習燦	朝鮮	兵部窪	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	尹瑞禎	朝鮮	松樹胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	洪奉麟	朝鮮	舊簾子胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	金性鎮	朝鮮	銅井大院	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	樸榮山	朝鮮	東控馬椿	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	金益佑	朝鮮	新簾子胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	孫學亨	朝鮮	舊簾子胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	劉永順	朝鮮	新昌路	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	魚東替	朝鮮	賢孝里	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	李英實	朝鮮	荷陰胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	金奉先	朝鮮	關才三條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	樸龍云	朝鮮	關才三條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	申永是	朝鮮	西斜街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

內二區	黃萬金	朝鮮	油坊胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	崔尚輯	朝鮮	嘎哩胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	鄭燦珍	朝鮮	通條胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	崔用逸	朝鮮	國會街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	金國漢	朝鮮	銅幌子胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	申炳練	朝鮮	石駙馬大街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	鄭德元	朝鮮	白廟胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	梁瑞洪	朝鮮	手帕胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	黃鶴奎	朝鮮	大木倉	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	韓奉德	朝鮮	棗林街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	安東珠	朝鮮	下崗	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	樸亨祚	朝鮮	官房胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	崔明沃	朝鮮	前泥窪	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	芮增壽	朝鮮	前泥窪	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	趙尚典	朝鮮	北寬街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	李英玉	朝鮮	錦什坊街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內二區	韓用源	朝鮮	錦什坊街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	韓志寬	朝鮮	南煤鋪胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	文時龍	朝鮮	南新開路	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

內三區	文成業	朝鮮	南弓匠胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	吳仁賢	朝鮮	南椿樹胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	車衡一	朝鮮	後墨河胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	金世元	朝鮮	五條胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	金京云	朝鮮	牛圈胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	車義煥	朝鮮	流水溝胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	鄭瑞斌	朝鮮	流水溝胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	金時宏	朝鮮	流水溝胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	白英泰	朝鮮	五條後坑	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	鄭龍壽	朝鮮	六條胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	金石鎬	朝鮮	七條胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	金孝鎮	朝鮮	八條胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	張用哲	朝鮮	八條胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	全榮泰	朝鮮	南板橋	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	金永鶴	朝鮮	南板橋	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	橫景浩	朝鮮	石橋	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	成阿只	朝鮮	月牙胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	金尚礪	朝鮮	轎子胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	金鶴圭	朝鮮	鋼察胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

內三區	崔萬壽	朝鮮	細管胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	徐丙俊	朝鮮	細管胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	白炳斌	朝鮮	白米倉	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	鄭國一	朝鮮	土兒胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	劉淑惠	朝鮮	土兒胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	張昌根	朝鮮	香餌胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	樸世明	朝鮮	新安號	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	鄭光泰	朝鮮	水獺胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	李定洪	朝鮮	方家胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	鄭碩澹	朝鮮	小三條胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	安世和	朝鮮	翔鳳胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	張允變	朝鮮	橫街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	田永植	朝鮮	橫街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	趙祥進	朝鮮	十一條胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	文俊杰	朝鮮	辛寺胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	金弘斌	朝鮮	九道灣	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	張日赫	朝鮮	九道灣	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	催成俊	朝鮮	九道灣	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	樸鳳翰	朝鮮	小菊胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

內三區	文燦亨	朝鮮	八寶坑	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	白龍珍	朝鮮	羅車坑	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	趙德弘	朝鮮	裕褸坑	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	催錫古	朝鮮	西頌年胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	張志田	朝鮮	南小街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	張孝健	朝鮮	南小街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	金利權	朝鮮	南小街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	金益俊	朝鮮	大康里	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內三區	張志禎	朝鮮	柏林寺胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金興業	朝鮮	羊皮街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	?然哲	朝鮮	敬勝胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	趙一愚	朝鮮	南錢?胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	申告善	朝鮮	磚塔胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	洪聖濟	朝鮮	武衣庫	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	成百濶	朝鮮	南順城街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金鳳旭	朝鮮	大喜胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	李碩華	朝鮮	磚塊胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	文時弘	朝鮮	大麻線胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金鐵秀	朝鮮	顯靈宮	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

內四區	樸鐘位	朝鮮	馬市大街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	樸誼連	朝鮮	小拐棍胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	李運寶	朝鮮	中毛家灣	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	鄭禹奎	朝鮮	麻狀元胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	李在奉	朝鮮	棉花胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金龍鶴	朝鮮	南下窪子	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	鄭永敏	朝鮮	南下窪子	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金明鶴	朝鮮	南下窪子	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	樸枝榮	朝鮮	南下窪子	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	趙一愚	朝鮮	前車胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	崔承懋	朝鮮	前車胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金國源	朝鮮	西安市場	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	張昶福	朝鮮	后車胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	黃鶴奎	朝鮮	北溝沿	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金云伯	朝鮮	北溝沿	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	趙宗瑞	朝鮮	北溝沿	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	趙錫范	朝鮮	北溝沿	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	申秉瓚	朝鮮	六合大院	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金孝尚	朝鮮	南井兒胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

內四區	金元萬	朝鮮	白塔寺夾道	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金泰奎	朝鮮	二條胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金麗允	朝鮮	二條胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金麗英	朝鮮	西四條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	白官億	朝鮮	西四條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	韓儀玉	朝鮮	五條胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金禮寶	朝鮮	西橋干	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金斗河	朝鮮	中廊下	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金李光玉	朝鮮	玉皇閣	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金戴寬	朝鮮	前紗絡胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	盧學教	朝鮮	回子營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	文燦奎	朝鮮	蘇羅葡胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金壽明	朝鮮	南小街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	張龍基	朝鮮	半壁街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金承萬	朝鮮	玉佛寺	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金炳業	朝鮮	穿堂門	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	文煥然	朝鮮	樺皮廠	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	崔世道	朝鮮	樺皮廠	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	崔在田	朝鮮	小帽胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

內四區	吳世洛	朝鮮	中帽胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	李云祥	朝鮮	時刻亮	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內四區	金明業	朝鮮	時刻亮	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	崔翼權	朝鮮	三不老胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	金彩源	朝鮮	草廠大坑	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	李孝俊	朝鮮	槍廠大坑	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	李興泰	朝鮮	興化寺街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	金用濟	朝鮮	果子觀	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	申鏞是	朝鮮	大石碑胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	張時悅	朝鮮	前井胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	趙昌玄	朝鮮	前海南河沿	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	韓咸淑	朝鮮	後坑	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	盧心熙	朝鮮	酒醋局	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	張乘植	朝鮮	大小佛寺	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
	安昌浩明				
內五區	治	朝鮮	草廠	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	崔成業	朝鮮	白醋胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	金貞秀	朝鮮	鈴鐺胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	金用烈	朝鮮	扁擔廠	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

內五區	薛聖德	朝鮮	靈官廟	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	金尚旭	朝鮮	謝家胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	崔成三	朝鮮	大經廠	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	盧在浩	朝鮮	小經廠	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	金鳳日	朝鮮	小經廠	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	盧在俊	朝鮮	壽比胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	孔文寶	朝鮮	壽比胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內五區	金世亨	朝鮮	后鼓樓苑	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
			東不壓橋東胡		
內五區	崔聖龍	朝鮮	同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內六區	李柱承	朝鮮	門雞坑	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內六區	鄭永俊	朝鮮	騎河樓	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內六區	方之燮	朝鮮	大學夾道	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內六區	金啟華	朝鮮	中老胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內六區	崔錫奉	朝鮮	鐵匠營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內六區	韓成龍	朝鮮	水簸箕	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內六區	方德升	朝鮮	蹶兒胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內六區	金益鉉	朝鮮	吉安所右巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內六區	韓有龍	朝鮮	北海北夾道	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

內六區	李禎泰	朝鮮	恭儉胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內六區	延貞淑	朝鮮	大宴樂胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內六區	李正鐸	朝鮮	黃羊子胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內六區	李錫武	朝鮮	西岔胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
內六區	樸龍巖	朝鮮	西土地廟	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	河命源	朝鮮	北孝順胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	東健文	朝鮮	穿店	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	張國成	朝鮮	穿店	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	張國寶	朝鮮	井兒胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	南明云	朝鮮	羅圈胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	李石度	朝鮮	羅圈胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	樸基農	朝鮮	大蔣家胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	李官湛	朝鮮	后營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	樸子明	朝鮮	后營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	宋泰元	朝鮮	前營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	方芝春	朝鮮	前營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	權益河	朝鮮	水窖胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	金光郁	朝鮮	大蔣家胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	韓東古	朝鮮	長巷頭條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

外一區	元基伯	朝鮮	長巷二條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	尹明燮	朝鮮	豆腐巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	金在三	朝鮮	豆腐巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	金天卿	朝鮮	豆腐巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	金昌興	朝鮮	高廟胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	黃河清	朝鮮	大蔣家胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	洪仁寶	朝鮮	南蘆草園	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
			北蘆草園小四		
外一區	成俊得	朝鮮	條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	康泰膺	朝鮮	草廠三條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	金始旭	朝鮮	草廠七條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	安萬浩	朝鮮	草廠二條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	崔龍珍	朝鮮	西八角	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	金承贊	朝鮮	東八角	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	金炳浩	朝鮮	東八角	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	金世俊	朝鮮	東八角	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	韓昌模	朝鮮	南深溝	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	田命俊	朝鮮	大施興	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	邊達善	朝鮮	樂家胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

外一區	金鎮均	朝鮮	大溝沿	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	金海秀	朝鮮	南官園	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	金利俊	朝鮮	東興隆街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	崔永淑	朝鮮	河泊廠	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	金萬哲	朝鮮	河泊廠	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	吳昌根	朝鮮	河泊廠	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	申斗明	朝鮮	河泊廠	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	劉起賢	朝鮮	烏槍胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	金達珠	朝鮮	茶食胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	白殷說	朝鮮	東柳樹井	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	文泰郁	朝鮮	高家營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外一區	車性均	朝鮮	黃雀胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	康濟殷	朝鮮	庫堆胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	安永珍	朝鮮	庫藏胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	黃起鴻	朝鮮	麻線胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	金完順	朝鮮	棉花下三條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	金益斌	朝鮮	棉花下七條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	金道善	朝鮮	敖家坑	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	孫春萬	朝鮮	棉花八條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

外二區	蔡良默	朝鮮	棉花八條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	金信弘	朝鮮	永光寺西街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	崔炳珠	朝鮮	西草廠	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	玄帝等	朝鮮	鐵老鶴廟	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	張亨國	朝鮮	鐵老鶴廟	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	李英三	朝鮮	十間房	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	李英三	朝鮮	小窩藏胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	丸永稷一	朝鮮	西北園	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	池源永	朝鮮	西茶食胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	鄭壽巖	朝鮮	海北寺街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外二區	李俊秀	朝鮮	東大院	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	金善熙	朝鮮	扁擔胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	李允達	朝鮮	下下三條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	獨孤禧	朝鮮	下唐刀	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	金道珍	朝鮮	下寶慶	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	崔相謙	朝鮮	中四條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	崔相謙	朝鮮	天龍寺	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	李正根	朝鮮	天龍寺	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	安尚熙	朝鮮	大石橋	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

外三區	車趙仙姑	朝鮮	大石橋	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	桂吉順	朝鮮	首院胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	李萬逸	朝鮮	東廳胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	李海周	朝鮮	兩顆槐	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	李禎武	朝鮮	東河槽	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	崔守福	朝鮮	東馬尾帽	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	金太鎬	朝鮮	東利市營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	李任鴻	朝鮮	西河槽	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	智德成	朝鮮	西河槽	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	崔學俊	朝鮮	地藏寺街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	高光勇	朝鮮	九道灣	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	申太均	朝鮮	九道灣	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	鄭英喆	朝鮮	竹頭胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	全俊明	朝鮮	竹頭胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	獨孤正允	朝鮮	東大地四巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	金好坤	朝鮮	紅橋前街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	李錫龜	朝鮮	沙土山街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外三區	張寬翰	朝鮮	東唐洗泊街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	樸鶴株	朝鮮	儲庫營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

外四區	白信行	朝鮮	校場五條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	樸成燁	朝鮮	校場頭條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	樸興采	朝鮮	車子營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	金元浚	朝鮮	車子營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	張英子	朝鮮	老墻根	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	崔鳳燮	朝鮮	廣惠寺夾道	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	金龍鶴	朝鮮	廣安西里	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	樸誼建	朝鮮	九間房	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	梁薛祚	朝鮮	九間房	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	崔基萬	朝鮮	延旺廟街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	金魯鶴	朝鮮	扁擔胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	崔如松	朝鮮	大吉巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	李成鎬	朝鮮	保安寺街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	李根茂	朝鮮	大川淀	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	張得成	朝鮮	南線閣	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	崔尚和	朝鮮	德源里	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	金明山	朝鮮	德源里	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	金賢務	朝鮮	德源里	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	鄭用練	朝鮮	廣安大街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

外四區	林亨碩	朝鮮	廣安大街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	崔承宗	朝鮮	下斜街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	張得守	朝鮮	樂培園	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	尹萬壽	朝鮮	樂培園	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外四區	申東澤	朝鮮	樂培園	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	李昌和	朝鮮	鞭子巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	鄭然恒	朝鮮	鞭子巷二條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	黃善羽	朝鮮	鞭子巷胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	獨孤振	朝鮮	奶子胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	安宗柱	朝鮮	北壇根	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	樸祥熙	朝鮮	溝尾巴胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	成啟懋	朝鮮	山澗口	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	石均德	朝鮮	山澗口	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金奉元	朝鮮	山澗口	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	桂醜五	朝鮮	川堂院	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	樸秀根	朝鮮	川堂院	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金二稷	朝鮮	川堂院	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	黃道洪	朝鮮	川堂院	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	承學清	朝鮮	大坑	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

外五區	承禎潤	朝鮮	老虎洞	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	咸錫一	朝鮮	紅廟	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金斗玄	朝鮮	西草市	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	裴天一	朝鮮	刷子市	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	吳成錄	朝鮮	刷子市	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	吳成錄	朝鮮	溝尾巴胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	李春瑞	朝鮮	精忠寺街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	崔正麟	朝鮮	金魚胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	李致福	朝鮮	賈家胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	林鳳集	朝鮮	粉房琉璃街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	洪錫倫	朝鮮	潘家河沿	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金斗善	朝鮮	潘家河沿	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金仁成	朝鮮	潘家河沿	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	禹時命	朝鮮	銅法寺	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	全載升	朝鮮	銅法寺	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	桂云淳	朝鮮	大森里	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	智允善	朝鮮	先農市場	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	崔用秀	朝鮮	福長街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	宋京允	朝鮮	福長街二條	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

外五區	崔芝鋒	朝鮮	留學路	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	趙時彬	朝鮮	留學路	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	李春植	朝鮮	忠恕里一巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	崔治恒	朝鮮	忠恕里一巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	崔南奎	朝鮮	忠恕里三巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金秉夏	朝鮮	忠恕里一橫巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	洪鐘秀	朝鮮	忠恕里一橫巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	高道輪	朝鮮	忠恕里二橫巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	中村明浩	朝鮮	忠恕里一巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	吳致尚	朝鮮	西市場四巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金東義	朝鮮	西市場西街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金潤元	朝鮮	西市場大街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金善行	朝鮮	西市場大街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金道浚	朝鮮	新農里	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	林忠男	朝鮮	西市場中街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金道云	朝鮮	公平市場	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金鳳仞	朝鮮	公平市場	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	李炳喆	朝鮮	先農壇跟	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	李貞和	朝鮮	西市場南街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

外五區	龍稱俊	朝鮮	西市場南街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	樸勝愚	朝鮮	西市場南街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	鄭童玉	朝鮮	西市場南街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	羅俊成	朝鮮	西市場南街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	韓觀訓	朝鮮	西市場南街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	安昌俊	朝鮮	趙錐子胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	石民濟	朝鮮	趙錐子胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	李仁告	朝鮮	趙錐子胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	俞文賢	朝鮮	舖陳市	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	蔡春國	朝鮮	舖陳市	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	洪致范	朝鮮	舖陳市	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	李哲鎬	朝鮮	舖陳市	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金成文	朝鮮	儲子營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金明哲	朝鮮	儲子營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金容九	朝鮮	儲子營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	何得龍	朝鮮	居仁里	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	韓正獻	朝鮮	大喇叭胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	高敏錫	朝鮮	小喇叭胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	樸芝榮	朝鮮	天橋西溝旁	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

外五區	黃義謙	朝鮮	何家大院	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	趙志奎	朝鮮	四聖廟	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	張明正	朝鮮	小保吉巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	柳元奎	朝鮮	鐵香爐	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	李圭哲	朝鮮	雙五道廟	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	宮下靜盛	朝鮮	華興里	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	崔熙明	朝鮮	王家大院	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	李基福	朝鮮	王家大院	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	崔炳熙	朝鮮	華嚴路	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	崔德山	朝鮮	華興里	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	李弼準	朝鮮	華仁路	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	劉西河	朝鮮	大川路	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	羅云鶴	朝鮮	大川路一巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	金奉賢	朝鮮	大川路一巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	金鎮榮	朝鮮	大川路一巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	鄭海赫	朝鮮	大川路二巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	李東淵	朝鮮	大川路二巷	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	姜齊國	朝鮮	七聖廟	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95
外五區	金寬泉	朝鮮	七聖廟	售賣毒品	J181-20-94,95

外五區	洪智煥	朝鮮	阡兒路	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	張義禎	朝鮮	平安里	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金孝順	朝鮮	虎坊橋	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金時卿	朝鮮	福州館街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
外五區	金陽直	朝鮮	福州館街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	洪陽天	朝鮮	黃廟	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	李基樸	朝鮮	景昇西街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	劉養俊	朝鮮	景昇西街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	安國信	朝鮮	蔡家大院	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	安仁順	朝鮮	朝陽市場	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	樸益祚	朝鮮	朝陽市場	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	金允明	朝鮮	朝陽市場	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	林元健	朝鮮	朝陽市場	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	李金氏	朝鮮	朝陽市場	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	鄭金石	朝鮮	朝陽市場	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	李珠信	朝鮮	朝陽市場	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	林基贊	朝鮮	北大院	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	權仁周	朝鮮	南營房二甲	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	任信元	朝鮮	牌樓胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

東郊	韓永浩	朝鮮	頭條胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
東郊	李萬榮	朝鮮	元老胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
西郊	趙有鉉	朝鮮	寶塔寺	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
西郊	全昌學	朝鮮	四眼井	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
西郊	金志哲	朝鮮	四眼井	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
西郊	李元植	朝鮮	博物院路	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
西郊	白洛善	朝鮮	北營房	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
西郊	許旭	朝鮮	港溝	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
南郊	金云鼎	朝鮮	廣安關廂	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
南郊	桂基順	朝鮮	小紅門前街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
北郊	崔振青	朝鮮	敞風口	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
北郊	黃萬善	朝鮮	左家胡同	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
北郊	崔成履	朝鮮	關廂西后街	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95
北郊	金啟萬	朝鮮	藍旗營	售賣毒品	J181-20-94;95

References

Alford, William. 1984. Of arsenic and old laws: Looking anew at criminal justice in late imperial China. *California Law Review* 72, no. 6: 1180-1256.

-----, 1995. *To steal a book is an elegant offense: Intellectual property law in Chinese civilization*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

BBAMR : Beijing lushi gonghui huiwu yuebao 北京律師公會會務月報 [Beijing Bar Association Monthly Report], volume 1, no 1-6. 1927. Stored at Beijing Municipal Archives, file no. ZQ5-3-1391 to ZQ5-3-1396.

BJMA: Beijing Municipal Archives Data files:

Crime and criminals: Files no. ZQ12-2-261, ZQ12-2-268, ZQ12-2-307;
J181-1-369, J181-1-369-370, J181-1-371; J181-4-34, J181-4-35, J181-4-36,
J181-4-37

Drum beaters: Files no. J181-18-8679

Korean drug traffickers: Files no. J181-20-94, J181-20-95

Membership register of Beijing Bar Association: Files no. J65-3-539 to J65-3-547

Police budge and team size: Files no. J181-4-34, J181-4-35, J181-4-36, J181-4-37;
J181-1-369, J181-1-371; ZQ12-2-261, ZQ12-2-268

Police outposts' location: Files no. J181-16-1535

Temples: Files no. J2-8-1138, J181-15-131

Beijing shimao ziliao weiyuanhui [The editorial board of the Historical temple records of Beijing], ed. 1997. *Beijing shimao ziliao* 北京寺廟資料 [Historical temple records of Beijing]. Beijing: Beijing dongan chubanshe.

Beijingshi donganguan [Beijing municipal archives], ed. 1997. *Beijing huiguan dangan shiliao* 北京會館檔案史料 [Beijing guilds archives]. Beijing: Beijing chubanshe.

Beijingzhi bianji weiyuanhui [The editorial board of Beijing Gazetteer], ed. 2005. *Beijingzhi zonghe juan: renmin shenghuo zhi* 北京志綜合卷:人民生活志 [Beijing Gazetteer :Consolidated Section, People's Life Record]. Beijing: Beijing chubanshe.

Beiping shi gongshangye gaikuang 北平市工商业概况[Overview of industry and commerce of Beiping]. 1932. Beijing: Beiping shi shehuiju.

Beiping zhinan 北平指南 [Beiping guide]. 1929. Beijing: Beijing minshe.

Bernhardt, Kathryn. 1999. *Women and property in China, 960-1949*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bernhardt, Kathryn and Philip Huang, eds. 1994. *Civil law in Qing and republican China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Cai, Xun. 1944. *Beijing jingcha yanke jiyao* 北京警察沿革紀要 [Record of origin and development of Beijing police]. Beijing: Beijing Special City Police Bureau.

Cao, Rulin. 1966. *Yisheng zhi huiyi* 一生之回憶 [Memory of Life]. Hong Kong: Chunqiu chubanshe.

Chen, Chengze. 1913. *Zhonghua minguo zanzhang xinglu shiyi* 中華民國暫行刑律釋義 [Interpretation Notes to Provisional Criminal Code of Republic of China]. Shanghai: Shengwu yinshuguan.

Chen, Jinkun. [1930] 2007 *Xingshi susongfa tongyi* 刑事訴訟法通義 [Theories of Criminal Procedures]. Beijing: Falu chubanshe.

Cheng, Shanqing. 1990. *Tianqiao shihua* 天橋史話 [Historical Stories of Tianqiao]. Beijing: Sanlian shudian.

Chen, Tong. 2008. *Jindai shehui bianqian zhong de Shanghai lushi* 近代社會變遷中的上海律師 [Shanghai Lawyer in the Social Change of Modern China]. Shanghai: Cishu chubanshe.

Conner, Alison. 1994. "Lawyer and the legal profession during the republican

period.” In *Civil Law in Qing and Republican China*, edited by Kathryn Bernhardt and Philip Huang, 215-248. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

-----, 2007. “Chinese lawyers on the silver screen.” In *Cinema, Law, and the State in Asia*, edited by Mark Sidel and Corey Creekmur, 195-211. New York: Palgrave.

Dang, Jiangzhou. 2005. *Zhongguo Songshi Wenhua* 中國訟師文化 [Culture of litigation masters in China]. Beijing : Beijing daxue chubanshe.

Dikotter, Frank. 2002. *Crime, punishment and the prison in modern China*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

DLCP: Shen, Jiaben. 1910. *Xingshi susong lu caoan* 刑事訴訟律草案 [Draft Law of Criminal Procedures]. Unpublished.

Dong, Madeleine. 2003. *Republican Beijing: The city and its histories*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Dray-Novey, Alison. 1993. “Spatial order and police in imperial Beijing.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 52, no.4: 885-922.

-----, 2007. “The twilight of the Beijing gendarmerie, 1900-1924.” *Modern China* 33, no.3: 349-376

Dutton, Michael R. 1992. *Policing and punishment in China: From patriarchy to "the People"*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Faling daquan 法令大全. 1924. [Complete Laws and Ordinances of the Republic of China]. Shanghai: Shengwu yinshuguan.

FLJL: Yinzhu Ju 印鑄局 [Printing and Minting Bureau]. 1917. *Faling Jilan* 法令輯覽 [Compilations of Law and Decree]. Beijing: Yinzhu Ju.

Fuller and Fisher, trans. 1960. *The Code of Criminal Procedure of the Republic of China*. Taipei: Lawrence J. Fuller & Henry A. Fisher, Jr.

Fuma, Susumu. 2007. “Litigation masters and the litigation system of the Ming and Qing China.” *International Journal of Asian Studies* 4, no. 1 : 79-111

Gamble, Sidney D. 1921. *Peking: A social survey*. New York: George H. Doran Company.

Gao, Qingxin. 1967. *Beiping huiyilu 北平回憶錄* [Memory of Beiping]. Taichung: Qingxin wenyishe.

Guo, Chengwei and Tao Tin, eds. 1999. *Mingqing gongdu miben wuchong 明清公牘秘本五種* [Five secret books of judgments of Ming and Qing]. Beijing: Zhengfa daxue chubanshe.

Harding, Andrew. 2001. "Comparative law and legal transplantation in South East Asia". In *Adapting legal cultures*, edited by David Nelken & Johannes Feest, 199-222. Portland, Oregon: Hart Publishing.

Huang, C.C. Philip. 1996. *Civil Justice in China: Representation and Practice in the Qing*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

-----, 2001. *Code, Custom, and Legal Practice in China: The Qing and the Republic compared*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

-----, 2010. *Chinese Civil Justice, Past and Present*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Huang, Yuansheng. 1998. *Zhongguo chuantong fazhi yu sixiang 中國傳統法制與思想* [Chinese Traditional Legal System and Legal Thoughts]. Taipei: Wunan tushu.

-----, 2000. *Minchu falu bianqian yu caipan(1912-1928) 民初法律變遷與裁判(1912-1928)* [Judgment and Change in Law of the Early Republic (1912-1928)]. Taipei: National Chengchi University, 2000.

-----ed. 2009. *Jingyin daliyuan minshi panjue baixuan 景印大理院民事判決百選* [Selection of Civil Judgments of Supreme Court]. Taipei: Wunan tushu.

Jiang, Yasha, ed. 2006. *Bujun tonling yamen huibian 步軍統領衙門匯編* [Compilation of Documents of Gendarmerie Yamen]. Beijing: China National Microfilming Centre for Library Resources.

Jin, Gong. 1930. *Weijing fafa tongquan* 違警罰法通詮 [Interpretation Notes to Police Contravention Law]. Shanghai: Dadong shuju.

Jingshi defang jianchating gonghan di 1170 hao 京師地方檢察廳公函第 1170 號 1915. [Letter no. 1170 of Capital Local Prosecution Bureau] Stored at Beijing Municipal Archives, file no. J181-18-5209.

JVBLC : Liu et al, eds. 1914. *Beijing difang shenpanting facaohui pandu huibian* 北京地方審判廳法曹會判牘彙編 [Judgment Volume of Beijing Local Court]. Tianjin: Shengwu yinshuguan

Katz, Paul R. 2009. *Divine Justice: Religion and the development of Chinese legal culture*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Kiely, Jan. 2010. "Dangerous cities: crime and its perception by craniologists and judicial authorities in 1920s-30s China." Paper presented at International Conference on Urban Cultural Change in Republican China (1910s-1940s): Dialogue between Cultural Narrative and Historical GIS, Hong Kong. September 18-20, 2010.

Lam, Hokchung. 2006. "Fazheng sucheng ke yu liuri fazheng jiaoyu 法政速成科與留日法政教育." [Legal-political intensive course and legal-political education for overseas students in Japan] In *Jindai zhongguo liuxuesheng lunji* 近代中國留學生論文集 [Collected Essays on Foreign-educated Students of Modern China] edited by Joseph S.P. Ting, Chow Kaiwing, and Wong Yinlee, 352-378. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of History.

Legrand, Pierre. 2001. "What 'legal transplants?'" In *Adapting legal cultures*, edited by David Nelken & Johannes Feest, 55-70. Portland, Oregon: Hart Publishing.

Li, Chunlei. 2004. *Zhongguo Jindai xingshi susong zhidu biange yanjiu 1895-1928* 中國近代刑事訴訟制度變革研究 1895-1928 [Study of Reform of Criminal Procedures of Modern China 1895-1928]. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe.

Li, Shizhen. 1943. *Xiandai geguo jingcha* 現代各國警察 [Modern Police of the World]. Chongqing: Shengwu yinshuguan.

Li, Xiuqing. 2002. "Daqing weijin lu: Yizhi waiguo fa pinxi 大清違警律移植外國法評析." [Qing's police contraventions code : analysis of transplant of foreign laws] *Fanzui yanjiu* 3: 8-14.

Liang, Zhiping. 1996. *Qingdai xiguan fa : shehui yu guojia 清代習慣法 : 社會與國家* [Customary law of Qing dynasty: Society and state]. Beijing : Zhongguo zhengfa daxue chubanshe.

Liu, Xiaohui. 1938. "Daxiaogude 打小鼓的." [Those beating the drums] In *Beiping yi gu 北平一顧* [A glance at Beiping] edited by Kang-de Tao, 167-169. Shanghai: Yuzhoufengshe.

Liu, Xilian. 1923. *Beijing cishan huibian 北京慈善匯編* [Volume of Beijing philanthropy]. Beijing.

Louis Edwards. 2000. Policing the modern woman in Republican China. *Modern China*. 26, no. 2: 115-147

Macauley, Melissa. 1998. *Social power and legal culture: litigation masters in late imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Meijer, Marinus J. (1950) 1976. *The Introduction of Modern Criminal Law in China*. Aelington, Virginia: University Publications of America.

Meng, Qingchao. 2006. *Zhongguo jingcha jindaihua yanjiu 中國警察近代化研究* [Study of Modernization of China Police]. Beijing: Zhongguo renmin gongan daxue chubanshe, 2006.

Mu, Yumin. *Beijing jingcha bainian 北京警察百年* [Hundred Years of Beijing Police]. Beijing: Zhongguo renmin gongan daxue chubanshe, 2004.

Mühlhahn, Klaus. 2009. *Criminal Justice in China: A history*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Neighbors, Jennifer. 2004. "Criminal intent and homicide law in Qing and Republican China." PhD dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles.

Ng, H.K. Michael “Yichang gaige, butong difang, duozhong keneng: pingjie Xu Xiaogun - Trial of Modernity: Judicial Reform in Early Twentieth Century China 1901-1937 he Chen Tong - Jindai shehui bianqian zhong de shanghai lushi 一場改革，不同地方，多種可能- 評介徐小群《Trial of Modernity: Judicial Reform in Early Twentieth Century China 1901-1937》，和陳同《近代社會變遷中的上海律師》” [A unitary system - different possibilities in different places : review of Xu Xiaogun - Trial of Modernity: Judicial Reform in Early Twentieth Century China 1901-1937 and Chen Tong - Shanghai Lawyer in the Social Change of Modern China]. *Fazhi shi yanjiu* 15: 285-293

-----, 2011. “Attorney on trial – when lawyers met phony lawyers in Republican Beijing” *International Journal of Asian Studies* 8, no. 1 : 29-39

North, Douglass. 1990. *Institutions, institutional change and economic performances*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Potter, Pitman. 2001. *The Chinese Legal System : Globalization and local legal culture*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Qi, Fang and Jiran Qi, eds. 1993. *Old Peking : The city and its people*. Hong Kong: Hai Feng Publishing.

Qiu, Hanping, eds. 1935. *Weijing fafa 違警罰法* [Police Contravention Law]. Shanghai: Shengwu yinshu guan.

Qiu, Zhihong. 2008. “Minguo shiqi Beijing lushi qunti tanxi 民國時期北京律師群體探析” [Analysis of Republican Beijing lawyers community]. *Beijing shehui kexue* 4: 75-83.

Qiu, Zhonglin. 1914. *Xin Beijing. 新北京* [New Beijing]. [Beijing]: Jiehuashuju.

Shiga, Shuzo. 1998. “Qingdai susong zhidu zhi minshi fayuan de gaiguaxing kaocha 清代訴訟制度之民事法源的概括性考察” [General study on origins of civil law of the Qing]. In *Ming Qing Shi Qi De Min Shi Shen Pan Yu Minjian Qi Yue 明清時期的民事審判與民間契約* [Civil Trials and Civil Contracts during the Ming and Qing Periods], edited by Wang and Liang, 19-53. Beijing: Falu chubanshe.

Skinner, G. William, ed. *The City of Late Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977.

So, K.L. Billy. 2007. "Legitimizing New Political Order Legally: Legal Reform in Northern Song China." In *The Legitimation of New Orders – Case Studies in World History*, edited by Philip Y.S. Leung, 27-52. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

-----, 2010. "Chinese Legal Reforms in Historical and Comparative Perspective: The Legal Reforms of the 1990s and the 1070s." *Hong Kong Law Journal* 40, no.1: 175-198.

-----, Forthcoming. "Modern China's Treaty-port Economy in Institutional Perspective: An Introductory Essay." In *Treaty-port Economy in Modern China: Empirical Studies of Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, edited by Billy K. L. So and Ramon H. Myers, chapter 1. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley.

Staunton, George. (1810) 1966. *Ta Tsing Leu Lee: Being the Fundamental Law, and a selection from supplementary statutes, of the penal code of China*. Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe.

Strand, David. 1989. *Rickshaw Beijing: City people and politics in the 1920's*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Sun, Hueimin. 2001. "Zhongguo lushi zhidu de jianli : Yi cong Shanghai wei zhongxin de guancha (1911-1912) 中國律師制度的建立—以從上海為中心的觀察 (1911-1912)" [Establishment of the Chinese lawyer system : Observing from the case of Shanghai]. *Fazhi shi yanjiu* 2: 121-154

-----, 2002. "Jianli yige gaoshang de shiye: jindai Shanghai lushiye de xingqi yu duncuo 建立一個高尚的職業：近代上海律師業的興起與頓挫" [Building an elegant occupation: Rise and setback of modern Shanghai lawyers]. PhD dissertation, Taiwan daxue lishi yanjiu suo.

-----, 2006 "Qingmo zhongguo dui lushi zhidu de renshi yu yinjie 清末中國對律師制度的認識與引介" [Knowledge and introduction of lawyer system to China in the late Qing period]. *Jinshi suo kanji* 52 : 165-210

Takada, Yukio. 2006. "qingmo liuri xuesheng de zheng tixing yanjiu: shi fenxi

gesheng guanfei zifei biye xuesheng xingming biao 清末留日學生的整體性研究：試分析各省官費自費畢業學生姓名表。” [Study of Japan educated students in late Qing period: an attempt to analyze the name list of self-financed and government funded graduates of each province] In *Jindai zhongguo liuxuesheng lunji 近代中國留學生論文集* [Collected Essays on Foreign-educated Students of Modern China] edited by Joseph S.P. Ting, Chow Kaiwing, and Wong Yinlee, 90-104. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of History.

Tanase, Takao. 2001. “The empty space of the modern in Japanese law discourse”. In *Adapting legal cultures*, edited by David Nelken & Johannes Feest, 187-198. Portland, Oregon: Hart Publishing.

Wagner, Richard. 2009. Alternatives to magistrate justice: Merchant guild dispute resolution and the foreign trader driven litigation and arbitration reforms of late imperial and early Republican China. *Journal of Comparative Law* 4.2: 257-290

Waiyouwuqu jingchashu banli Tianqiao dengxiang minguo qinian shouzi gekuan baogaoshu 外右五區警察署辦理天橋等項民國七年收支各款報告書 [Outside Right no. 5 District police station's report about income and expenses of managing Tianqiao projects in the 7th year of the Republic]. 1918.

Wakeman, Frederic. 1995. *Policing Shanghai 1927-1937*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Wang, Jiajian. 1944. *Qingmo minchu woguo jingcha zhidu xiandaihua de licheng 清末民初我國警察制度現代化的歷程* [Modernization process of Chinese police system during late Qing and early Republic]. Taipei: Taiwan Shengwu Yinshuguan.

Wang, Shen. 1994. *Zhongguo jindai lushi zhidu yanjiu 中國近代律師制度研究* [Study of lawyer system of modern China]. Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexue yuan chubanshe.

Wang, Zhiqiang. 2008. “Qingdai sifa zhong de falu tuilei 清代司法中的法律推理” [Judicial Reasoning in Qing's Judicial System]. In *Zhongguo shi xinlun 中國史新論* [New Perspectives on Chinese History]), edited by Liu, 283-311. Taipei: Academia Sinica.

Wang, Zhixiang. 1932. *Beiping yuyingtang gailan 北平育嬰堂概覽* [Overview of

Beiping foundlings' home]. Beijing: Beiping yuyingtang.

Watson, Alan. 1974. *Legal transplants: An approach to comparative law*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academy Press.

WRBBA: Beijing lushi gonghui linian banshi baogao 北京律師公會歷年辦事報告 [Work Reports of the Beijing Bar Association]. 1925. Beijing Bar Association.

Xie, Jian. [1973] *Xiezhuchen huiyilu* 謝鑄陳回憶錄 [Biography of Xie Zhu-chen]. [Taipei]: Wenhai chubanshe.

Xie, Zhenmin, ed. 2000. *Zhonghua minguo lifa shi* 中華民國立法史 [Legislative history of Republic of China]. Beijing: Zhongguo zhengfa daxue chubanshe.

Xingshi weirenzhuang 刑事委任狀 [Form of appointment in Criminal Case]. 1920. Stored at Beijing Municipal Archives, file no. J65-4-1203.

Xu, Chaoyang. 1967. *Zhongguo Xingfa suyuan* 中國刑法溯源 [Origins of Chinese Criminal Law]. Taipei: Shengwu yinshuguan.

Xu, Jiali. 1998. *Zhonghua minguo lushi zhidu shi* 中華民國律師制度史 [History of Lawyer System of Republic of China]. Beijing: Zhongguo zhengfa daxue chubanshe.

Xu, Xiaoqun. 2001. *Chinese professional and the republican state: the rise of professional associations in Shanghai, 1912-1937*. New York: Columbia University Press.

-----, 2008. *Trial of Modernity: Judicial Reform in Early Twentieth Century China 1901-1937*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Xu, Zhongming. 2006. *Anli gushi yu mingqing shi de sifa wenhua* 案例、故事與明清時期的司法文化 [Cases, Stories and Judicial Culture of Ming and Qing]. Beijing: Falu chubanshe.

Xue Yungsheng, ed. (1905) 1970. *Duli Chunyi* 讀例存疑 [Enquiries with the Qing Code]. Edited and Punctuated by Huang Jingjia. Taipei: Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Centre.

Yan, Jingyao. [1928]. 1995. "Beijing fanzui zhi shehui fenxi 北京犯罪之社會分析" [Social Analysis of Crimes in Beijing]. In *Yan Jingyao lunwenji 嚴景耀論文集* [Compilations of Papers of Yan Jingyao], edited by Zhang Wen, 1-44. Beijing: Kaiming chubanshe.

Yang, Honglie. (1930) 1967. *Zhongguo falu fadashi 中國法律發達史* [History of Development of Chinese Law]. Taipei: Shengwu yinshuguan.

Yang, Yifan and Xu, Lizhi, eds. 2005. *Li Dai Pan Li Pan Du 歷代判例判牘* [Cases and Judgments of Various Dynasties]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.

Yu, Chengxiu. 1937. *Zhonghua minguo xinjiu xingfa tiaowen bijiao 中華民國新舊刑法條文比較* [Comparison of New and Old Criminal Code of Republic of China]. Shanghai: Hui Wen Tang Xin Ji shuju.

Yu, Xingzhong. 2010. *Fali xue jiandu 法理學檢讀* [Reading Jurisprudence]. Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe.

Zhang, Demei. 2009. *Cong gongtang zouxiang fating 從公堂走向法庭* [From the Yamen to the Court]. Beijing: Zhongguo zhengfa daxue chubanshe.

Zhang, Liyan. 2004. "Tongwang zhiyehua zhi lu: minguo shanghai lushi yanjiu (1913-1936) 通往職業化之路：民國上海律師研究（1913-1936）" [The road towards professionalization: Study of Republican Shanghai lawyers]. PhD dissertation, Huadong shifan daxue jindai shi yanjiusuo.

Zhonghua minguo fagui daquan 中華民國法規大全 [Book of Law and Regulation of the Republic of China]. 1936. Shanghai: Zhengwu yinshuguan

Zhonghua minguo shi falu zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui [Editorial committee of History of the Republic of China : Gazetteer of Law], ed. 1994. *Zhonghua minguo shi falu zhi 中華民國史法律志* [History of the Republic of China : Gazetteer of Law]. Taipei: Academia Historica.

Zhu, Hongda. 1934. *Xingshi shenpan shiwu 刑事審判實務* [Practice of Criminal Trial]. Shanghai: Shiji chubanshe.

Zhu, Qingqi et al, eds. (Qing) 2007. *Xingan Huilan* 刑案匯覽 [Compilations of Legal Cases]. Beijing: Falu chubanshe.