

Achieving a dream 一個夢想的實現

In all of Hong Kong, there are few more idyllic spots than the bay at Chi Ma Wan. Two sides of a deep cove extend out into the South China Sea. Wooded hills give protection from typhoon winds. The view from the hill looks over the sparkling waters towards the skyscrapers of Hong Kong Island, shimmering through the summer heat haze 14 kilometres distant.

It would be an ideal spot for a luxury resort or for expensive housing. Instead, it is the site for a drug treatment centre and a prison. History and geography have, indeed, been kind to the prisons service in Hong Kong. In a quest for locations that offer space and security, planners have gone to sites that, incidentally, present tranquillity and beauty. Further down the Lantau coast, the maximum security prison at Shek

走 遍全香港，相信不易找到一處比大嶼山芝蔴灣更質樸怡人的地方。位於深處的小海灣向南中國海伸延，山上樹木茂盛，使它免受颶風侵襲。從山頂遠眺，但見十四公里以外的香港島上大廈轟天而立，在夏日的熱浪中與碧波互相映照、閃爍生輝。

這裏本是豪華度假勝地或高尚住宅區的理想據點，但卻成為戒毒所和監獄的所在地。香港的懲教服務可說兼享天時和地利之便。策劃者為了尋求空間廣闊、高度保安的地點，在機緣巧合之下，竟找到這般風景優美、恬靜怡人的地方。



All eyes are on the future as the Chief Secretary for Administration, Anson Chan Fang On-sang, joins Commissioner Raymond Lai Ming-kee at a passing out parade at Stanley Training Institute. One of the most significant changes in the past quarter-century has been the elevation of pride in the profession. Training, stature and salaries all reflect the rising status of a career in correctional services.

政務司司長陳方安生與懲教署署長黎明基出席赤柱職員訓練院結業典禮，展望懲教工作的未來發展。在過去二十五年間，懲教事業的尊嚴獲得顯著的提升。從訓練、專業操守及薪酬來看，懲教服務事業的地位顯得日益重要。

Pik nestles in another scenic bay. On the flanks of that mountainous island, Tong Fuk gives sweeping views of unsurpassed glory. Stanley Prison, the vital key to the system, was built in a discrete cove in 1937 in what was an elite suburban retreat. Ma Hang, amid flame trees and lawns, was a British army establishment.

But beauty was far from the mind of planners who built the 23 institutions which at the turn of the 21st century were run by the Correctional Services Department of the Hong Kong government. Land was hard to come by in a territory which had one of the highest population densities on earth. It was a case of going far away and accepting what land was offered.

In 1998, prisons, correctional institutions, detention centres, drug treatment institutions and other facilities held more than 11,396 inmates daily. For years, more space had been needed. Since the construction of Shek Pik in 1984, none had been built. With cells and dormitory places designed to accommodate 10,407, the total inmate population by end 1998 stood at 11,920. There was a crush inside prisons, a situation that affected both inmates and staff. Shek Pik, the most modern jail, was designed to hold 450 prisoners; there were 721 in the cells. Stanley still had cells which would have been familiar to men convicted when it was built in 1937; in some cell blocks, the unhygienic and unhealthy slopping out system was still used, creating noisome conditions for staff and inmates. The cell blocks held 30 percent more men than the prison was designed to house.

The prison population was swollen, not only by rising crime in Hong Kong society, but by outside pressures. Waves of Vietnamese refugees over a quarter century had put pressure on society as a whole and on



The famed band of the Tai Tam Gap Correctional Institution is a familiar sight at shows and fetes. Membership of the band and the discipline of learning music and marching helps instil pride.

著名的大潭峽懲教所樂隊經常出席公開表演活動，而成員均以學習音樂及會操表演為榮。

Rehabilitation is increasingly important in a profession that looks to the future. Education for young offenders to prepare them for the workforce of tomorrow means lessons are becoming more sophisticated. Senior Master Yip Moon-wing and Master Leung King-yuen help hone skills in a language laboratory.

更生事務對於這個著眼於未來的專業顯得日益重視；而為少年罪犯而設的教育，在於協助他們加入未來的勞動隊伍，意味著課堂內容日趨精密。葉滿榮主任教師和梁景元教師負責在語言研習室協助學員鍛鍊語言技巧。



沿著大嶼山海岸往下走，戒備森嚴的石壁監獄座落在一個風光如畫的海灣。在這個群山環抱的小島之側，塘福中心雄踞一方，飽覽全景。至於象徵著香港懲教制度支柱的赤柱監獄於一九三七年建成，位於當時社會名流聚居的近郊海灣一隅。而處於一片鳳凰木中和綠草如茵的馬坑監獄，原址是一個英軍基地。

到了九十年代末的今天，懲教署轄下共有二十三所懲教機構。當年策劃者所著意的並非風景之優美，因為在人口密度佔全球之冠的香港，土地供應實在得來不易，所以只要有地可用，即使地處偏遠，亦在所不計。

在一九九八年，各所監獄、懲教所、勞教中心、戒毒所及其他設施內平均每天共住有一萬一千三百九十六名囚犯。自一九八四年石壁監獄落成後，便再沒有興建新的院舍，因此多年來地方一直不敷應用。現有的囚室和囚倉在原有的設計上只可容納一萬四百零七人，但截至一九九八年底，囚犯的總數已達一萬一千九百二十人。監獄出現人滿之患，對囚犯和職員皆造成很大影響。石壁是最現代化的監獄，可容納四百五十名囚犯；但現在卻住了七百二十一人。赤柱監房仍然沿用一九三七年的設施，例如沒有獨立廁所設備的囚室，犯人便要在自己的囚室內解手，然後按職員安排定時清理，這個極不衛生及有害健康的制度，使職員和囚犯處於臭氣薰天的環境，直至最近數年才獲全面改善。另一方面囚犯人數更比監獄原來設計可容納的超出百分之三十。

監獄人口不斷膨脹，除了因為香港社會犯罪率上升之外，亦源於外圍的壓力。過去二十五年來，越南難民潮一直困擾整個香港，特別是懲教署的員工。雖然到了一九九九年，大部分難民已被遣返越南或為別國所收容，但仍然有為數不少的越籍罪犯滯留本港。此外，還有數以千計的內地非法入境者被囚於獄中。

毒品的禍害亦為監獄制度送來源源不絕的犯人，加上每個社會皆會發生罪行，導致違法者被判入獄。雖然香港犯罪

Correctional Services staff in particular. Although by 1999, most of the Vietnamese had returned home or found succour in other lands, a sizeable number still remained behind as civilian convicts. And thousands of Chinese from the Mainland were also in jail, mostly for immigration offences.

Added to the eternal curse of narcotics which fuelled an endless stream of new prisoners into the system, there were the tragedies and disasters of any society that caused courts to send men and women to jail. Although it enjoyed a low crime rate that was the envy of much of the world, Hong Kong still produced criminals. There were too many of them for the space available.

It was a fundamental concern of senior management of the Correctional Services Department to increase space in the institutions under its control. To carry on the effort made by his predecessor Mr. F.S. McCosh, the Commissioner, Raymond Lai Ming-kee, had for years argued passionately before government and treasury bodies and before political financial watchdog committees that significant new spending was needed for a new generation of prisons and centres. All agreed that need was both urgent and genuine. But there were many other social and community needs of equal concern, and as in every society, hospitals, schools, housing and other vote-getting causes inevitably find greater favour than new prisons.

But as the 20th century ended, the Hong Kong administration had conceded the desperate need for additional modern penal institutions. The contentions by Raymond Lai and others of the urgent need for new jails had been recognised. A series of new developments were announced which would ease the worrying congestion behind bars. Funds had been allocated, architects had designed buildings, land had been cleared and work begun.

It was the greatest building boom in Hong Kong security history. It was probably the most significant construction since Stanley was built in 1937, designed as one of the most modern and secure jails in the world.

Some of the new developments were inside the expansive walls of Stanley. The old condemned cell block which housed the execution chamber (unused since the last hanging in 1966) was demolished to make way for a smart new 80-bed hospital. Redevelopment costing \$1.15 billion at Stanley Prison area would see a provision of additional cells and dormitories for 775 inmates.

Yet much remained to be done to bring the Correctional Services Department into the 21st century in ideal shape to serve the community. Facilities for women remained under great pressure. Once again, this was largely due to outside forces, rather than to a dramatic rise in crime in Hong Kong. A sizeable minority of women inmates, up to 15 percent, were foreigners, largely from the Philippines, serving sentences for immigration offences. And as with men, the constant threat of drugs was a social problem that CSD staff had to treat;

率低，備受世界各地所欽羨，但仍不乏活躍的罪犯，而他們的數目亦遠超過監獄所能負荷。

懲教署高層最關注的問題之一，是擴充轄下的懲教機構。這個問題在前任署長麥啟舒的年代已經洞悉，承接前人的努力，現任署長黎明基多年來一直在政府、財務部門及監察財務的委員會面前，力主增加經費興建新的監獄和懲教院所。雖然人們都同意確實有這個迫切需要，但香港社會亦面對很多其他同樣重要的社區需要——無可避免地，醫院、學校、房屋及其他有助爭取選票的項目，較興建監獄獲得更大的關注和重視。

到了二十世紀末，香港政府終於承認有需要增建更多現代

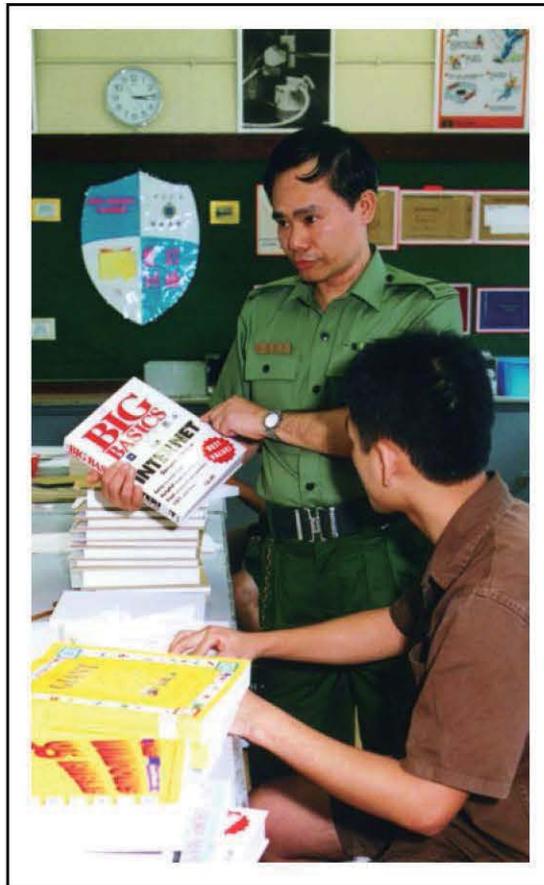
化的懲教機關，而黎明基和同僚們的爭取亦獲得認同。港府宣布了一系列的發展計劃，以改善監獄內的擠迫情況，並給予撥款和撥地，以進行設計和開展工程。

這些新的發展代表了香港保安史上最蓬勃的建設期，也是自一九三七年赤柱監獄落成以來最重要的工程，當時赤柱監獄堪稱全球最現代化和安全的監獄之一。

部分新建的項目是在赤柱監獄內進行，包括拆卸曾經設有行刑室（自一九六六年最後一次縊首死刑後已停用）的舊囚倉大樓，改建為設有八十張病床的新型醫院。赤柱監獄地區的重建計劃耗資十一億五千萬元，增建的囚室和囚倉共可容納七百七十五名囚犯。

然而，懲教署還有很多需要改善的地方，

以便作好準備，在未來世紀為本港提供最佳的服務。目前，專供女囚犯使用的設施極為匱乏，箇中原因亦非香港犯罪率飆升之故，而是受外圍壓力所影響。在女性囚犯中，有接近百分之十五為外籍人士，其中大部分來自菲律賓，因為非法入境或居留而服刑。此外，懲教署職員亦要處理女性



Releasing offenders without job skills or training does not help them towards becoming useful members of society. Many of the jobs in prison industries are meant to help offenders find worthwhile work when they are released. Bookbinding is one example, and Technical Instructor Wan Ping-kai checks the work quality of a book destined for a public library.

若罪犯獲釋放時，缺乏工作技能或訓練，便無法協助他們成為社會上有用的人。監獄裏大部分的工作是為了協助罪犯獲釋放時能尋找工作。書籍釘裝便是一個例子。工藝導師溫炳佳正在檢查送往公共圖書館的書籍的釘裝質素。

about 31 percent of all women incarcerated were drug addicts and despite all community education efforts, the number continued to rise. It was a worrying social trend. Those arriving at drug treatment centres tended to be younger and younger.

Departmental and government planners did not only have to worry about accommodating lawbreakers sentenced to confinement. There was also a pressing need for staff quarters and other facilities for home and office space for the 7,000 CSD staffers. It is a fact of life that those who are employed in prisons have to live close to their job. Emergencies can break out day or night, and if an officer lives two hours from the institution of which he or she is in charge, a life and death situation will not wait for him or her to commute.

So housing staff in decent quarters and providing support for their families was a priority with equal urgency to building new cell blocks. Once again, as everywhere else in the world, the provision of such facilities does not come at the top of political agendas. For Raymond Lai and other senior CSD officials, persuading government financial managers of the need was no easy debate. They were persuasive, with stylish new staff quarters for 700 families being planned at Stanley and similar provision made near other institutions.

The ultimate aim of the building programme as CSD prepared to enter the 21st century was to accommodate all prisoners in secure, safe and humane conditions, to eliminate such offensive necessities as slopping-out in the last cells without in-built toilets and to manage a modern penal system where the emphasis was equally on rehabilitation and security.

As the 21st century neared, this was a dream close to realisation.



因吸食毒品所造成的社會問題；儘管政府致力推行反吸毒教育多年，約有百分之三十一的女囚犯為吸毒者，這個數字正繼續上升。進入戒毒所接受治療者年紀亦越來越輕，這種趨勢實在教人擔憂。

策劃者除了面對罪犯的監禁問題外，還要處理七千名懲教署員工對職員宿舍、辦公室地方及其他設施的急切需要。在監獄工作的員工需要居於工作地點的附近，乃基於現實的原因，因為監獄可能隨時會發生緊急事故。若懲教人員須花上兩小時從住所返回工作崗位，又怎能趕及應付那些生死悠關的事故？

因此，為員工提供設備良好的宿舍和給其家庭支持，跟興建新監獄的需要同樣迫切。不過，像世界其他地方一般，提供此類設施並非政府的優先項目。對黎明基和其他懲教署高級官員來說，要說服掌管財政的政府高層正視這個需要，殊非易事。但憑著他們的能耐和說服力，終於成功爭取在赤柱興建可容納七百戶家庭的新型員工宿舍，其他中心亦獲批准興建類似的設施。

為了迎接二十一世紀的來臨，懲教署各項建設的最終目的是把所有囚犯安置於一個高度保安、安全而又人道的環境裏，同時撤換不合時宜的措施，像要求犯人在沒有廁所設備的囚室內解手，以及實行現代化的管理，建立一個對囚犯改過自新和社會治安同樣重視的懲教制度。

在實現夢想的道路上，懲教署已是指日可待。



Striding out at a parade held to celebrate a landmark in departmental history, a squad of Correctional Services staff are part of a ceremony to signal the closure of High Island Detention Centre. Caring for tens of thousands of Vietnamese over a period of a decade was a challenging and sometimes troubling task; CSD won wide praise for their work.

在慶祝標誌著萬宜拘留中心結束，懲教署歷史邁向新里程碑的典禮上，懲教署職員昂首闊步。在過去逾十年來，照顧成千上萬的越南人是一份充滿挑戰性，有時甚至是困難的工作，然而懲教署的表現獲得高度的評價。

“A filthy, disgusting place” 一個污穢和令人嘔心之所

Senior Superintendent Samson Chan has chronicled the first century of the Prisons Service in Hong Kong in a highly praised dissertation for his M.A. degree. The work is one of significant academic and historical achievement. The authors have drawn widely from Mr Chan's thesis in writing this section of *Society's Guardians*.



懲教事務高級監督陳碩聖以香港監獄服務的首百年歷史作為他的碩士論文題目，他的研究，兼具重要的學術和歷史價值，備受稱譽。筆者在撰寫本書第二章時，廣泛引用陳君論文的資料。

On a chilly winter day in 1841 Captain Charles Elliot raised the Union Jack at Possession Point and declared the Island of Hong Kong part of the wide realm of Queen Victoria. Four days later, on January 20, he appointed Captain William Caine, a soldier of the Cameronian Regiment, as Chief Magistrate. That prompt action to establish formal law and order was necessary. Even before its violent birth as a result of the Opium War, the island and its harbours was a nest for pirates, renegades, bandits and smugglers. As soon as the flag was raised, merchants and sailors flocked to the island where British law presented a sanctuary for trade. It provided, likewise, a protective umbrella for thieves, drug dealers, pickpockets, robbers and anyone else fleeing the harsh and punitive Qing rule in China.



Hong Kong harbour in the 1890s
維多利亞港於一八九零年代的繁忙景象

Captain Caine took up his task with vigour. Not only was he head of the judiciary, but he was also charged with establishing a police force. He had to investigate crime, arrest the guilty, hold them and punish them. He could jail prisoners for three months, order them flogged with 100 lashes of a rattan cane, and fine them the enormous amount of \$400. His powers were wide. He used them with enthusiasm.

It was to be three years before the Colonial Police Force was formally established. But Caine couldn't wait for the legal paperwork to catch up with reality. Crime was a

八四一年一個寒冷的冬日，查理士·義律艦長在西環水坑口懸掛了英國國旗，宣布香港島成為維多利亞女皇統治下大英帝國的一部分。四天後，即一月二十日，他委任蘇屬喀麥隆步兵的威廉·堅恩上尉擔任首席裁判官。在當時來說，確立社會法律和秩序可說是當務之急，因為在香港尚未因鴉片戰爭而被割讓以前，這個小島是海盜、叛逆者、土匪和走私者的溫床。當英國國旗幟升起之後，商人和海員們聯群結隊前來，在這個受英國法律保護的小島經營貿易。同時，香港亦為盜賊、毒梟、扒手、強盜和那些逃避滿清殘酷統治的人民提供護蔭。

堅恩上尉除了擔任司法首長外，還肩負建立警隊的責任。他以充沛的幹勁執行各種職務，包括偵查罪案、逮捕嫌犯、拘留和懲罰他們。他的權力範圍廣泛，也積極行使這些權力。他有權監禁囚犯三個月，或判受打藤一百下和罰巨款四百元。

香港的警隊要待三年後才正式成立，但堅恩認為當時的情況已刻不容緩：他們不能等待簽發正式法律文件才採取行動。事實上，香港自開埠以來罪案頻生，政府領導階層亦毫不怠慢，致力盡快打擊犯罪活動。根據早期歷史記載，當時香港的建築物都是臨時的帳篷，最早興建的兩座永久建築物中，有一座是監獄。商賈大班只住在臨時的建築物，但為亞裔罪犯而設的監獄，則需要使用較堅固的材料。到了八月，域多利臨時監獄投入服務，

problem from the very birth of modern Hong Kong, and the forceful men who headed the administration were keen to deal with it effectively. They lost no time. One of the first two permanent buildings erected as the makeshift canvas-covered town of Hong Kong sprang up was a prison. The taipans made do with temporary sheds but a jail to hold the riffraff of Asia had to be made of sterner stuff, as early records recount. By August, the makeshift Victoria Gaol was operational. Up until Stanley Prison opened in 1937, it was to remain the main jail.

Early law enforcement was in the hands of soldiers and sailors seconded by Caine from the military. When the police force was established in 1844, Caine himself was shuffled sideways from the army to become Police Magistrate, Sheriff and Provost Marshal. Part of the sheriff's duties meant he was also in charge of the jail: he was the first head of the Prisons Service in Hong Kong.

With their love for written rules, the British soon had regulations formalised for running "Her Majesty's Gaol on the Island of Hong Kong." It was a formidable document, but based on common sense. Reading it a century and a half later, the ancestor of modern CSD regulations can be distantly seen. Rules were rules and were expected to be explicitly obeyed.

The European policeman on jail duty was forbidden ever to leave his post, unless ordered by the magistrate. He was ordered to keep the key of the prison yard in his possession; that door was never opened unless he was present. A sub-inspector and four "privates" of the Native Police were to be constantly attached to the jail, with a sentry stationed day and night on the veranda. The regulations were detailed. They ordered that every prisoner be searched when locked up, and that all food and clothes sent to him be searched for contraband. Visitors were permitted only on consent of the magistrate. Well behaved inmates could buy tobacco, fruit and "other harmless luxuries." No unnecessary conversations were allowed between guards and prisoners.

Strict, yes. But those early rules also showed a degree of care. The senior Non-Commissioned Officer was ordered to visit cells morning and evening, checking hygiene and personal cleanliness and the safety of all inmates.

此後它一直充當中央監獄，直至一九三七年赤柱監獄落成為止。

早期維持社會法紀的工作均由堅恩所欽點的士兵和海軍負責。堅恩本人更於一八四四年警隊成立時從軍隊轉職裁判司、司法長和憲兵司令官。由於當時警長的職責包括掌管監獄，他便成為香港監獄服務的首位長官。

英國人講求明文規定，所以不久便釐訂一套管理「香港島上英女皇陛下監獄」守則。這份文件雖然內容繁複，但都是根據一般常理寫成。在一百五十年後翻讀，仍可以窺見一些今天懲教署規則的影子。規則便是規則，必須嚴格遵守的精神始終如一。

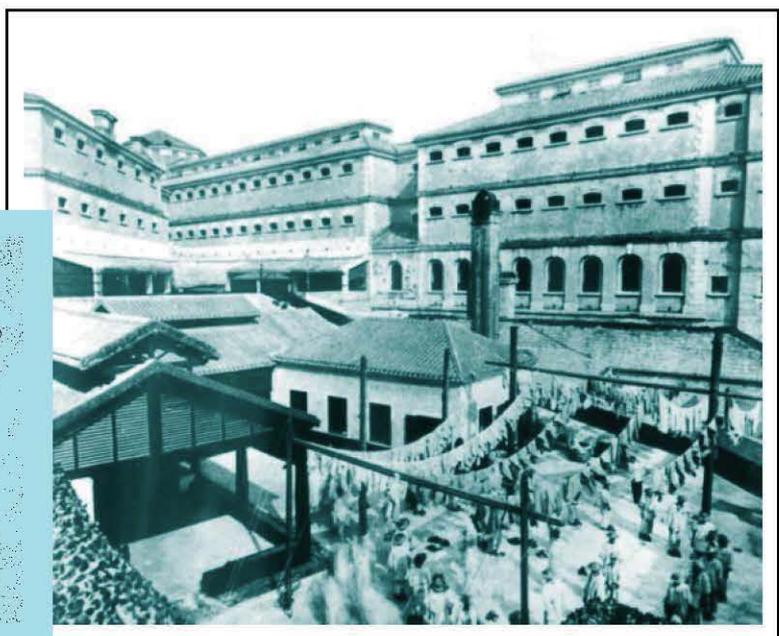
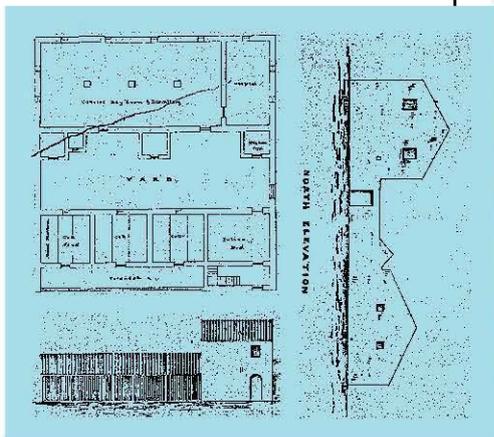
除非法官下令，否則看守監獄的歐洲裔警員嚴禁擅離職守。他還須負責保管監獄的鎖匙，沒有他在場，不可開啟監獄的大門。此外，一名副督察及四名本土警察長駐獄內，另有警衛在看守台上日夜當值。獄內規則林林總總，鉅細無遺。監獄規定每名囚犯入獄前先要進行搜身，所有送來的食物和衣服亦要檢查，防止帶進任何違禁品。訪客要獲得法官的同意才可到監獄探訪。行為良好的囚犯可獲准購買香煙、水果和「其他無害的奢侈品」。如無必要，守衛和囚犯之間不可交談。

早期的規則雖然非常嚴格，但也有為囚犯提供一定程度的照顧。高級仕官負責早晚巡視監房，檢查個人的衛生和清潔，並確保囚犯的安全。

香港的第一所監獄地方寬敞，設有一座囚倉及十二間獨立囚室。現存的圖則清楚顯示用石塊或磚塊築成的結構，大樓四周共建有十二個圓形鐵窗，其中一處是首席法官的宿舍，樓下是建築簡陋的法庭。到一八四五年，有五成的囚室皆用來囚禁錢債案的犯人（殘酷商業競爭的

Victoria Prison was an important city landmark. Plans for the jail showed colonial architects meant the purpose-built structure to last.

新建的域多利監獄，是香港當時的標誌建築。圖則顯示出殖民地建築師之精細策劃，務求令監獄盡善盡美，歷久常新。



The first prison was commodious, with a large dormitory and 12 solitary cells. Surviving plans show a structure apparently constructed of stone or brick with a dozen circular barred cell windows to the side of the cell block. In one portion were the quarters of the Chief Magistrate and downstairs was the court room. It was shoddy and insubstantial. In 1845, half the building was turned into a debtors' jail (commercial life was merciless) and later into a residence for the jailer. But the building had gone up on the cheap, with bad materials and poor workmanship. To make any real improvements, it would have had to be torn down and rebuilt.

Conditions were grim. Dr Dempster, the Colonial Surgeon, recoiled in horror when he inspected the jail after a prisoner had died. "It is a filthy, disgusting place," he wrote in anger. "It is a sink of iniquity. A man in a weak state of health kept in such a place 24 hours would receive irremediable injury to his whole system." He was horrified at "the dirty stinking hole."

Business was brisk. By 1853, there were an average of 56 prisoners a day, mostly sailors. The Surveyor-General at the time was not impressed with the class of convict. Alas, he wrote, few carpenters or blacksmiths were ever imprisoned, so the place could not be well maintained. Instead, there were these idle sailors who lolled about without proper supervision picking oakum, breaking stones, making mats or spinning rope. This labour was not punishment, he complained.

Times were soon to change. The prison authority had opted for the Victorian version of hi-tech; a treadmill had been ordered. When it arrived, "a degree of punishment would be given to each according to his deserts," the official wrote. "I have no doubt the very name of the treadmill in a few months will deter many a bad or idle character from placing himself in a situation to try it, and the goal will not be so crowded with that class of men for the future." The treadmill, one of the more purposeless modes of punishment much in favour in English jails during the period, cost £188. The inmate mounted the wheel and had to keep endlessly trudging for a specified punishment time. The wheel could be adjusted to make the journey without end more or less arduous.

結果！)，其後又改為獄卒的宿舍。囚室的建築異常粗糙，用料和手工皆屬劣等。若要進行真正徹底的改善，最實際的做法是把監獄拆卸後重建。

當時的殖民地醫官狄斯坦醫生在一名囚犯於獄中死後前往巡視，他發現監獄環境惡劣，並憤而寫道：「那裏是一個污穢和令人嘔心之所。一個體弱的人整天被囚在這種地方，身體機能將受到嚴重的損害，日後亦難以復原。」狄斯坦醫生顯然因這所「臭氣薰天的監獄」而感到震慄。

當時的監獄可謂門庭若市，到了一八五三年，每日平均有五十六名囚犯，其中大部分為海員。當時的工務司對獄內罪犯的印象並不好。根據他的記載，由於鮮有木匠和鐵匠入獄，所以監獄破舊不堪。獄中住滿了游手好閒的海員，在沒有良好監管之下，海員們終日靠拆麻絮、碎石、造地氈及結繩子度日。工務司抱怨地說，這些勞動並非真正的刑罰。

然而，這些日子很快便成過去，監獄高層決定添置一部象徵維多利亞時代高科技的腳踏轉輪。獄官這樣寫道：「腳踏轉輪可使每個囚犯獲得應有的懲罰。我深信在數月內腳踏轉輪必能發揮阻嚇作用，使那些懶散的惡人不敢以身試法，而監房亦不再擠滿這些囚犯。」這種當時在英國監獄盛行的腳踏轉輪，是一種異常呆板和沉悶的刑罰，卻成本不菲，每座價值一百八十八英鎊。囚犯踏著轉輪，在指定被罰的時間內重複不停走動。此外，轉輪還可以調節，增加難度，增添囚犯的苦楚。

其實監獄之外有不少實際的工作可做。早期的香港地勢崎嶇，街道骯髒，地面凹凸不平，極待改善，獄中的囚犯實在大派用場。一八五三年間，囚犯共花了四千四百九十五個工作天修築通往港督府的道路，以及三千七百九十四個工作天修葺中區。此外，他們用了五千零九十



Prisoners were a major source of labour for public works. In the 1850s, it was a common sight to see work gangs pulling heavy rollers through the streets to flatten the rough surfaces. 在一八五零年代，利用囚犯幫助政府修繕築路十分常見，他們是主要的勞力來源。圖中可見一群囚犯正合力拉動沉重的滾筒，把凹凸不平的路面變得平坦。



Staff pose proudly at Victoria Prison in 1880. The mass portrait clearly shows the ethnic composition of the colonial penal staff; there were few Chinese on the duty roster. 一八八零年域多利監獄工作人員合照。相中顯示在殖民式的管治下，監獄職員大多以外籍人士為主，中國人面孔寥寥可數。

There was plenty of real work outside. The young Hong Kong was a rough place, with disgusting streets and ill-formed road surfaces. During 1853, convicts proved useful. There were 4,495 man-days spent working on roads to Government House, and 3,794 man-days went into work on the Lower Bazaar. Another 5,093 men-days were used to improve 6.75 miles of road while 420 men-days were spent cleaning silt from the drain below the icehouse. More than 355 yards of drains were laid. The total value of work performed outside the jail by prisoners was valued at £410.

Some individuals were simply too much trouble. England at the time solved much of its convict problem by shipping them off to the colonies; Australia was the favoured destination at the time Hong Kong was founded. The courts in Hong Kong were quick to follow this example. In 1845, a felon named Henry Sindair was transported for life. Europeans convicted of serious crimes were shipped to the most dreaded destination on earth, Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), where men lived under the tyranny of a brutal punishment regime. Other undesirables were taken in chains to South Africa, while Chinese were dispatched to the colonial island of Labuan, off Borneo, or to Penang. This was a neat and handy way of getting rid of pirates, highwaymen, armed robbers and murderers.

There was another, more brutal, way of disposing of dangerous convicted felons. Public executions were carried out near what is today Hollywood Road. The scourge of the China coast were the pirates. They ruled some regions close to Hong Kong, just up the coast in Bias Bay, setting out to plunder in huge fleets. Others operated in

三個工作天進行長六點七五哩的道路改善工程，用了四百二十個工作天清理舊雪廠底下的淤塞渠道，和鋪設了超過三百五十五碼的渠道。總括來說，囚犯在監獄以外所承造的工程總值為四百一十英鎊。

對於管治階層來說，有些囚犯給他們帶來的麻煩實在太多。為了解決英國國內的罪犯問題，當時的政府便把罪犯流放往海外的殖民地；澳洲便是其中最熱門的地方之一。香港的法庭亦迅速仿效。在一八四五年，一位名為亨利·洗嘉的重犯被逐，終身不能回港。犯了嚴重罪行的歐洲裔囚犯被送往駭人的塔斯曼尼亞，那裏一向以嚴刑峻法、殘暴治民著稱。其他不受歡迎的囚犯則被押往南非，而華人則被流放到婆羅乃附近的殖民小島或檳城。在當時來說，這成為一個妥善解決海賊、強盜、持械劫匪及殺人犯的方法。

此外，在現今中環荷里活道附近舉行的公開行刑，是另一種清除危險重犯的殘暴方法。海盜是中國沿海一帶的大患，他們的船隊控制了部分接近香港的水域，在大亞灣沿岸伺機而出，進行搶掠。其餘的盜賊乘坐舢舨，專事搶劫弱小。沿海的搶掠和暴行正嚴重威脅這個小商埠。更糟的是，他們還闖進香港的中心地帶，甚至搶掠岸上的工廠和住家。不過，官方的懲罰亦是毫不留情

single sampans, falling on whatever victim they felt they could easily overcome. The plague of waterborne banditry threatened the very lifeblood of a mercantile port. Indeed, pirates raided into the heart of Frangant Harbour itself, and even landed to pillage factories and houses ashore. Punishment was merciless. If caught by the Chinese authorities, the swift and inevitable due was torture, then public decapitation. In British Hong Kong, they were tried first, then hanged.

Executions were a popular entertainment. As in England, where hangings were still carried out on street gallows, people thronged to catch a glimpse of evil-doers getting their just desserts. When three pirates had a date with the hangman in 1866, 150 policemen were called out to control crowds. Hawkers set up food stalls to serve the jolly crowd waiting for the spectacle.

Strangely, although hanging was on the legal books as a punishment and although colonial courts were not slow to sentence killers and pirates to death, there was no official executioner. It was all rather haphazard. When six Portuguese were to die for murder and piracy in 1852, there was nobody available to put the nooses around their necks. A black American serving time in Victoria Prison was offered the job. He accepted in return for remission of his jail term.

There was another, less messy, alternative. When dozens of Chinese suspected pirates were caught, they were often hustled quietly across the harbour into Chinese jurisdiction. Once in the hands of the Qing military garrison based at the Walled City in Kowloon, their fate was very quick and very certain. ✦

的。若被中國官方擒著，罪犯將難逃酷刑之苦，然後再被斬首示眾。在英屬香港，他們會先受審判，然後再被問吊。

像英國一般，處決死囚成了一種大眾娛樂，遇有犯人在大街上的絞刑台行刑時，群眾皆蜂湧而至，但求一睹作惡者受到的應有懲罰。當三名海盜於一八六六年被問吊時，需要動員一百五十名警察來控制人群。現場還有小販擺賣，向等候欣賞奇觀的群眾兜售食物。

雖然法律規定問吊是刑罰的一種，而殖民地法庭亦毫不遲疑地判處殺人犯及海盜死刑，但奇怪的是官方並無正式的行刑手。當六名葡萄牙人於一八五二年因謀殺及海上搶劫被判死刑時，竟無適當人選去負責行刑，把絞索套在他們的頸上。結果政府僱了一名在域多利監獄服刑的美國黑人擔當該職，後來他獲得減免刑期，以作酬勞。

另外，還有一種更乾淨利落的做法。英方在捕獲大批懷疑是海盜的華人後，會一聲不響地把他們趕往對岸的中國管轄的地區。只要他們一旦落入駐守在九龍城寨的清軍手裏，必定難逃厄運。 ✦



Little mercy was shown to offenders - or suspects - in Qing dynasty China. A common punishment was the canque. In some cases, thieves were displayed in the streets with slogans telling of their crimes on the wooden neckpiece. In more severe cases, unfortunates in the canque were left to their fates; they could not feed themselves or eat, and the ultimate punishment was to starve to death. It was such punishments that led administrators writing colonial laws to say that Chinese customs and laws would be followed, but stressing "all aspects of torture excepted".



中國清朝時代，平民百姓對罪犯及嫌疑犯不存憐憫之心。首枷是最常見的刑罰。有時候，犯人甚至被送到街上示眾，他們頭頂上的木塊清楚列名所犯的罪行。由於手腳給鎖上，飲食和行動均不自如。若遇上一些重犯，他們會遭活活餓死。這種種刑罰，促使當時的政府官員在制定殖民地法例時，難以中國的習俗及法律為依歸，但強調「各種酷刑除外」。

A COSTLY EXERCISE IN CONFINEMENT

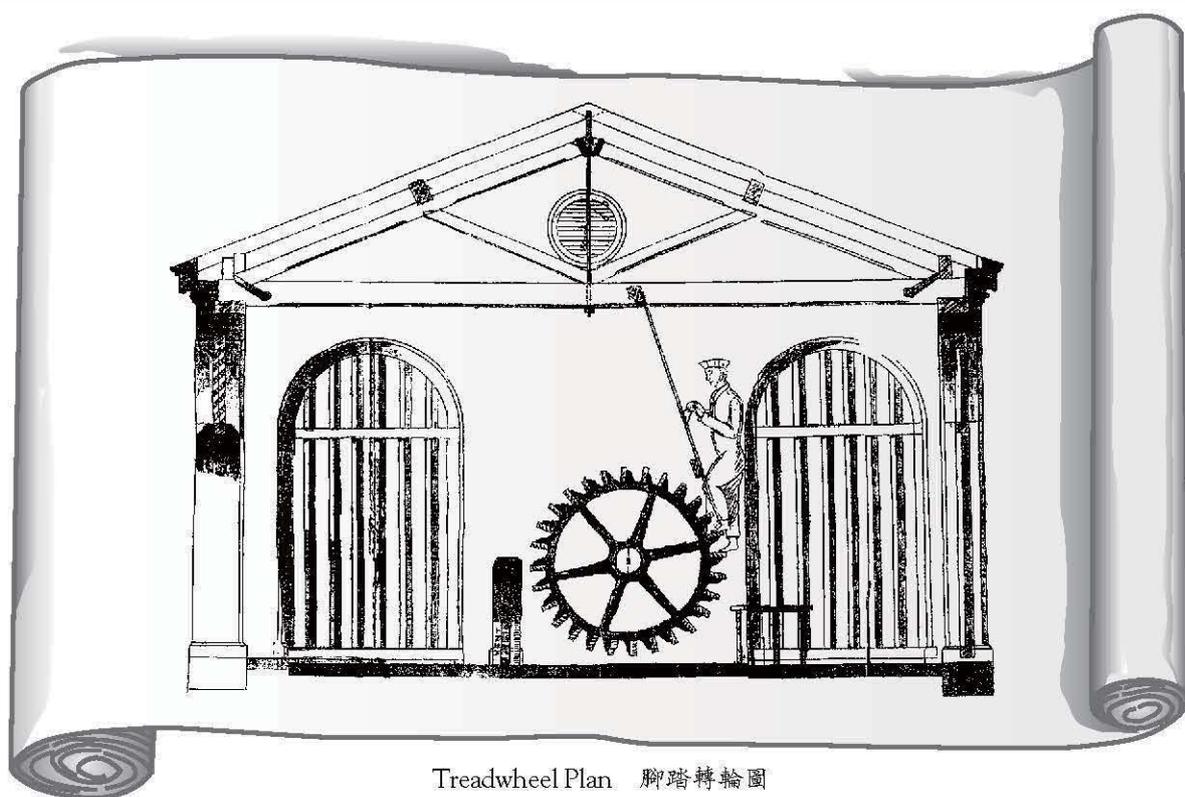
監獄制度所費不菲

Running a prison system was never cheap. Colonial accountants kept detailed records which showed the costs of keeping inmates under lock and key. In 1851, it cost £628.5 shillings and five pence, with more than 80 percent spent on provisions. By 1853, staffing costs were £1,206. The Sheriff got £600 annually and the jailer received £125. A European turnkey was paid £58, Indian constables got £19 a year, a "European headman" got £36, the sole Chinese guard received £15 and the only woman staff member, a "female turnkey" got £12.

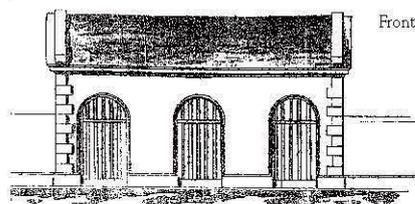
The payroll shows most staff were Europeans (almost all British) and Indians, with only one Chinese guard. How did the guards speak to the prisoners?

要施行一個監獄制度實在一點也不便宜。殖民地的會計師詳細記錄了監禁囚犯的各項支出。一八五一年，總支出是六百二十八英鎊五先令五便士，其中有八成用於膳食和日常物資供應。到一八五三年，職員的薪金共費一千二百零六英鎊。警長年薪為六百英鎊，獄官則為一百二十五英鎊。歐洲裔的看守員每年年薪五十八英鎊，印度裔警員則獲酬十九英鎊，「歐洲裔領班」的回報是三十六英鎊，唯一的華人守衛年薪十五英鎊，而唯一的女看守員卻只獲十二英鎊。

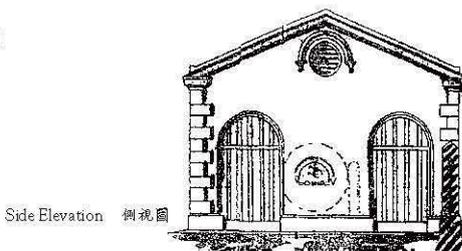
在職工名冊上，可以看到大部分職員為歐洲人（差不多全是英國人）和印度人，華人守衛只有一人。這不禁令人聯想到，究竟守衛是如何跟囚犯交談的呢？



Treadwheel Plan 腳踏轉輪圖



Front Elevation 正視圖



Side Elevation 側視圖

Victorian penologists were focused on keeping idle hands busy. When the treadwheel was installed with much fanfare at Victoria Prison, one enthusiastic colonial administrator noted: "The very name of the treadwheel will deter many a bad or idle character." Insert shows the imposing facade of the building erected to house the equipment.

域多利監獄的管理人員，為避免囚犯終日游手好閒，特別引進了一部腳踏轉輪。當時一位職員表示：「它能阻嚇獄中的壞分子」。小圖：專為轉輪而設的建築物。

The British roots 秉承英國的制度

The prison service in Hong Kong sprang directly from its roots in the British penal system. For its time, in the early Victoria era, that was remarkably liberal, especially when compared to the way thieves, political opponents and malcontents were treated in many parts of the world.

Since the earliest civilisations, there have been places to hold those thought to be a danger to society. In many societies over many centuries, the solution was to cast people out of the community, to make them outcasts. Or they were held in dungeons hewn from rock until it was decided what to do with them (usually an unpleasant fate) or until relatives could pay compensation to those they had harmed. The concept of a prison as a place to hold an offender for a specified, limited amount of time as determined by a court is a relatively modern development. More commonly, punishment for criminals was by corporal punishment, torture, banishment, inflicting crippling injuries or death.

The system inherited by Hong Kong in 1841 came directly from Britain. Compared to the fate awaiting prisoners in China, where offenders against Manchu rule were usually dispatched with swift and brutal efficiency, the colonial system was humane, for the era. Today, we would find it shocking. The colonial administration in Hong Kong was swift to point out that "native" customs and laws would be respected, with the strict exception of torture, which would not be tolerated.

In 18th century Britain, houses of correction and jails were run by local justices, and jailers made a living by charging for board and lodging. Everyone was treated according to what they could pay. Behind bars, festering in appalling conditions, were debtors, people spending many months waiting for tardy courts to hear their cases and criminals awaiting transportation to penal colonies in America or Australia. It was a dreadful system, unjust and inhumane.

In 1777, the liberal reformer John Howard made a survey of British jails, finding them "filthy, corrupt-ridden and unhealthy." They were standard for their time, and probably better than most. Two years later, Parliament brought in the idea of hard labour, and prisoners on revolting hulks in the Thames had to dredge the river. The hulks, riddled with disease, were notorious, and convicts who lived to see a ship weigh anchor to carry them to servitude in the living hell of Tasmania were the lucky ones.

In 1816 the Home Office for the first time took direct responsibility and opened the initial penitentiary on the Thames at Millbank. A prison for juveniles followed in 1839, at Parkhurst, and Pentonville prison opened in 1842. This was meant to be a model for cities throughout Britain and in British possessions and colonies throughout the world.

香港的監獄服務可說是植根於英國的監獄制度。在維多利亞時代初期，英國實施的監獄制度較其他國家開明，從當局處理竊賊、異見分子和反叛者的方式，便可見一斑。

在人類最早期的文化中，已設立特定的地方，用以囚禁被認為危害社會安定的人。數百年以來，不少國家都透過驅逐出境和流放海外等方法，把這些人摒諸社群之外；此外，他們也會被收押於地牢裏，直至有決定如何處置他們（通常不會有好下場）；或待親屬給受害人付上賠償，才把他們釋放。監獄根據法庭判決，在特定的期間囚禁罪犯，是一個較為現代的觀念。早期較流行的懲罰方式包括體罰、酷刑、放逐、肉刑甚至處決。

香港在一八四一年所承襲的制度直接源於英國。以當時來說，殖民地的制度比較滿清政府迅速處決犯人的做法，可算較為人道，但以現今的標準來看，仍有令人感到震驚之處。當時殖民地政府表示尊重香港「本土」的風俗和法律，只是嚴禁用酷刑的懲罰方式。

在十八世紀的英國，懲教所和監獄由地方治安官吏經營，獄吏藉著為犯人提供收費的膳食和住宿以謀生計。犯人的待遇乃根據他個人所能付出的費用而定。當時，過著可怖的鐵窗生涯的是坐錢債監的人、長年累月等待法庭聆訊的候審人，或等待被流放到美洲或澳洲的刑事犯。這是一個駭人聽聞，而且是不合理和不人道的制度。

一七七七年，自由派的革新者侯偉文對英國的監獄狀況進行調查，指出當時監獄是一個「骯髒、貪婪枉法和不健康」的地方。事實上，當時英國監獄制度已達致一定的標準，而且可能較其他地方更好。在兩年之後，國會議決犯人須服苦役，於是在囚船上服刑的犯人便被安排在泰晤士河挖掘河床。這些載滿犯人的囚船散布著傳染病，可說臭名遠播。對於那些有機會看著船隻起錨，隨船到達澳洲塔斯曼尼亞監獄服勞役的犯人來說，已屬萬幸。

英國內政部在一八一六年開始負責興建監獄，並先在泰晤士河米班克設立第一間懲教所，接著在一八三九年，於帕克思特開設一所青少年監獄。三年後，彭頓維爾監獄亦投入服務。自此以後，英國其他城市和英國在世界各地的殖民地監獄，均以彭頓維爾監獄為藍本。

The first of many pieces of legislation designed to bring uniform standards to British prisons was the "Gaol Act" of 1823. Twelve years later, the Prisons Act called for the appointment of five inspectors of prisons. Another law in 1844 authorised a Surveyor General of Prisons and controls over building new prisons; within six years, 54 new prisons were built containing 11,000 cells. Most were modelled on Pentonville. This "separate" system had a far-reaching effect on penal theory around the world, including Hong Kong, although it was to be many years before colonial prisons reached such standards. Local prisons in Britain remained a disgrace and in 1877 the London government reluctantly gave responsibility for all British jails to the Home Secretary and the five appointed members of the newly formed Prison Commission.

The Commission was headed by Sir Edmund du Cane, and many of the patterns and disciplines of modern penology can be traced to his reforms. He fought to establish an efficient and uniform system, based on separate confinement. A proper system of accounting and staff levels was introduced. Over the next few years, 53 small and ineffective local prisons were closed.

Du Cane and his supporters argued for "separate" systems in jails because they felt a criminal was more likely to see the error of his ways if he was locked up without company. Being sent to prison was a punishment and should be sufficiently unpleasant to make people certain not to risk going back. Du Cane's rules were hard; prisoners had to sleep on a plank and to work alone in their cells for the first month. Work was dull, nasty and had no meaning. It usually consisted of picking oakum. There were cranks and treadwheels, which were soon introduced to Hong Kong. In both Britain and the colonies, prisoners operating a crank or tread wheel were strictly forbidden to talk. Food was basic and dull. Letters and visitors were allowed once every three months.

As the 20th century began, there was a mounting debate in Europe about crime and suitable punishment. The old theories of jail being a punishment that would deter criminals was questioned. In 1895, the Gladstone Report to Britain's parliament stated that reformation should also be a major aim. Instead of "separation" the theory of "association" should be used.

The reforms were wide-sweeping. Prisoners should be classified, books be made available, education introduced, more visits encouraged and solitary confinement reduced. A juvenile reform home for men under 23 serving three years or less should be built, stressing individual attention and aftercare.

In 1902, one wing of a prison at Borstal was turned into an institution for young offenders. It was to be upon this successful system that Hong Kong was later to model its treatment of juveniles. Carefully selected boys faced tough discipline and hard work. It was copied widely, with young offenders separated from adult prisoners.

A wave of reform swept through many countries, penal systems after World War I, and in London, Alexander Paterson was made head of the Prison Commission. He was a liberal reformer who introduced many reforms to the prison system. Typically, these were slow to reach Hong Kong, but so dominant was Paterson and so influential his policies that many aspects of Hong Kong institutional life today can be traced to his initiatives. Further improvements after World War II were copied more swiftly in Hong Kong. But as the modern era arrived, many of the initiatives that helped the Correctional Services develop into its recognisable form were spawned in Hong Kong. ✨

英國在一八二三年頒布《牢獄法》，首次制訂英國監獄制度統一的標準，並為日後法例奠定基礎。十二年後，當局根據《監獄法》委任了五名監獄監察長。在一八四四年，政府立法規定設立監獄量地官，負責興建新監獄，結果，在六年內共興建了五十四所新監獄，有一萬一千間囚室，大部分均仿照彭頓維爾監獄的模式而建。這個「單獨式」的監禁制度對世界各地的刑罰理論造成深遠的影響，香港在多年後亦秉承這個模式。其實，當時英國的地方監獄管理仍為人所詬病。在一八七七年，倫敦政府終於在不大願意的情況下，把全國的監獄事務交由內政部和新成立的監獄委員會的五名成員負責。

監獄委員會由康德民爵士領導。不少現代監獄的管理模式和規條均源自他的改革成果。他致力建立一個有效和統一的單獨囚禁制度，並訂立適當的會計和人員編配制度。在其後數年，五十三間小型和效率偏低的監獄相繼關閉。

康德民和他的支持者極力爭取實行「單獨式」的監禁制度，理由是一個獨自囚禁的犯人更容易進行自我反省；入獄本身已是一項懲罰，應可發揮足夠的阻嚇作用，使他們不再以身試法。康德民所訂立的規則非常嚴厲，囚犯在第一個半月必須睡在木板上，並在囚室內做一些沉悶、令人難受和缺乏意義的工作，例如拆麻絮和後來引進到香港的曲軸和腳踏轉輪。英國本土及殖民地政府均嚴禁犯人在轉曲軸和腳踏轉輪時談話。此外，監獄的膳食清淡乏味，只具基本的營養價值，而親友探訪和書信往來只可每三個月一次。

二十世紀初，歐洲興起一片討論犯罪和懲罰方式的熱潮。昔日主張以囚禁作為懲罰，對犯罪分子可起阻嚇作用的理論受到質疑。在一八九五年，格士頓向英國國會提交的報告指出，應致力推行革新，廢除「單獨式」囚禁的措施，改為提倡「共處」的模式。

格士頓報告提出的改革範圍十分廣泛。報告主張監獄應把犯人分類，提供教育機會和書籍讀物，鼓勵親友探訪和減少單獨囚禁的時間。報告亦建議英國政府興建一間青少年改造所，以收容刑期少於三年的二十三歲以下男性犯人，強調對個別囚犯的照顧和善後輔導。

一九零二年，英國當局把波斯托爾監獄的一翼改建為一所青少年教導所。由於該所的成效顯著，香港其後亦借鑑這種處理青少年犯人的模式。當局挑選了一些男孩，藉著嚴峻的紀律訓練和體力勞動，協助他們改過自新。其後，世界各地紛紛仿效波斯托爾模式，把青少年罪犯與成年犯人隔離。

在第一次世界大戰後，不少國家都興起一股改革監獄制度的浪潮。柏達遜主管當時英國的監獄，大力主張改革監獄制度。雖然在多年後，香港才引進這些改革內容，但我們目前沿用的制度，很多方面均源於他那極具影響力的改革措施。在二次大戰後的進一步監獄制度改革，不久便引進到香港。到了今天，香港懲教署所實行的多項革新計劃，均由本地社會所倡導。 ✨

Striving to cope 殖民時代的監獄服務

By 1853, colonial administrators were trying to tie up loose ends. A detailed Ordinance for the Regulations of the Jail of Hong Kong was gazetted. It was highly detailed, laying out precise requirements on how the prison was to be run. In England, there were fresh theories about crime and punishment and how that punishment should be administered. Those more liberal ideas penetrated the Hong Kong regulations.

Part of this feeling included the Victorian preoccupation with religion. The chaplain was to be allowed into jail at all times. The jailer was required to attend every religious service and if he could not go, had to record in his official journal what had kept him away. Part of the jailer's duties was to force staff, and, where possible, the prisoners, to attend the services.



The crank was one of the pointless, make-work machines devised in Victorian England to occupy the time of prisoners. The device could also be used as an exhausting punishment. Adjustments could make it very hard to turn and an inmate forced to turn the wheel hundreds or thousands of times was often prostrated with fatigue.

曲軸是一種毫無意義、叫人不停轉動的器械，它源自英國維多利亞時期，專門用來懲罰囚犯，是令人疲累的苦刑工具。由於設有調節制，故此可隨時增加重量，令犯人花更大的氣力轉動；他們往往須連續轉動曲軸數百次至數千次，這是足以令人發瘋的體力勞動。

到了一八五三年，殖民地官員實行整頓變革，公布一項有關香港監獄規則的法例。法例內容非常詳盡，臚列了監獄管理的各項要求。當時的英國興起有關犯罪、刑罰和運用刑罰的新新理論，而香港的制度亦受這些較自由開放的思想所影響。

這些想法部分源於維多利亞時代對宗教的熱忱，因此，神父獲准隨時進出監獄，監獄長亦須出席所有宗教活動，若因事無暇參加，也要在職員簿上列明缺席的原因。他們的職責之一便是監督員工和囚犯參與這些獄中的宗教活動。

神父的工作非常繁重。監獄守則規定他要和囚犯一起讀經，向他們傳道，在他們生病及有需要時往囚室探望，並為所有死囚「提供援助」。

其他監獄員工的表現亦受到嚴格的約束。獄中設有匯報制度，監管員工執行職務的情況。此外，還訂有規則防止濫用權力、偏私及虐待囚犯。

對行政人員來說，若要貫徹落實各式各樣的規條，監獄管理必然是一場惡夢。囚犯被分為八級，分別有等候上庭的謀殺犯、嚴重罪犯和錢債案犯人等。級別不同的囚犯不會被囚在一起。即使囚犯之間，好像欠債犯人與候審囚犯也嚴禁交談。當然也有部分規則看來是合理的，例如男女囚犯便完全分隔。

事實上，如何才能把這群失落絕望的囚犯分隔呢？如今，在十一年前匆匆搭建而成的監獄已殘破不堪，若要興建新監獄，需要花上二千英鎊。這裏本擬用作總警官的官邸和辦公室，在改建為監獄後既不安全，又不合乎保安標準。此外，納稅人並不願意斥巨資興建新的監獄。但遠在倫敦的殖民地辦公室在接到港督令人震驚的匯報後，決定把興建新監獄和醫院列為優先項目，而在海傍的工程便須暫緩進行。

香港社會的發展一日千里，監獄人口亦面臨爆炸，從一八五六年的二百七十八人急升至一八六二年的六百五十人。因此，新建的監獄必須有更大的規模，才能容納不斷上升的囚犯人數。當人滿之患的情況失控時，監督便會在名單中挑選那些已服了三分之一刑期的囚犯，驅逐出境。在一八六三年，有二十二名囚犯更是急不及待，掘了隧道逃走，奔向自由。當時的獄官因此事被革職。

Being chaplain was no easy task. The regulations bade him read prayers with the prisoners, preach to them, and visit them in their cells when he thought fit, especially when they were sick. He was to "tender his assistance" to all prisoners under sentence of death.

Other staff were also under ceaseless strictures about how to behave. All ranks came under a reporting system that checked on their duties. There were rules to prevent abuse of authority, taking advantage of prisoners or mistreating them.

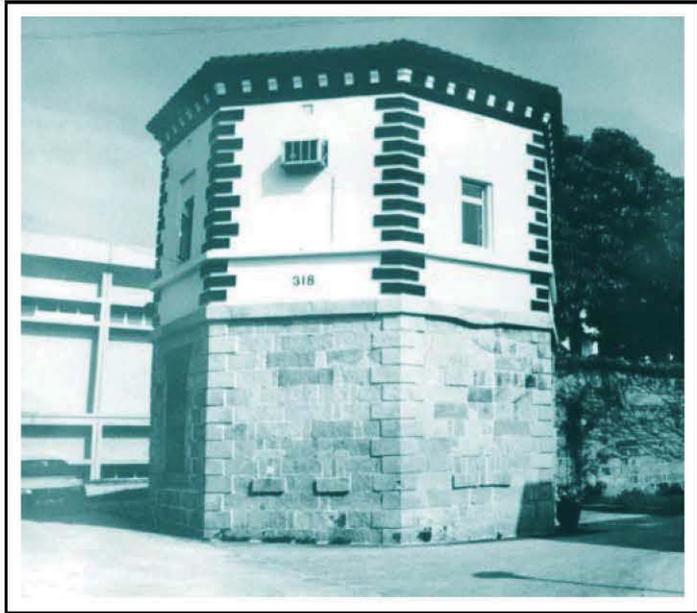
The rules - if followed to the letter - must have made management of the jails an administrative nightmare. Prisoners were divided into eight classes, ranging from murderers awaiting trial to felons to debtors. No prisoner of one class was to be locked up with a prisoner from another class. A debtor, for instance, was not even allowed to talk to a prisoner awaiting trial. Some rules made sense; there was total segregation of male and female prisoners.

But how did you keep this dismaying array of inmates apart? The jail was crumbling. A new building costing £2,000 was needed to replace the tumbledown structure thrown up hastily 11 years before. Originally intended to house the police chief as both home and office, it was both insecure and unsafe when converted into a jail. Taxpayers were unwilling to dig deep to pay for a new prison. The Colonial Office in distant London thought otherwise; after receiving alarming reports from the Governor, it ruled a new prison and hospital were top priorities. Work on the praya could wait.

That new prison had to be big. Hong Kong was growing rapidly but the prison population was exploding. From 278 inmates in 1856, it had shot up to 650 in 1862. When overcrowding became impossible, the prison superintendent would go through the list of inmates. Any who had served a third of their sentence were immediately deported. Some didn't wait that long. In 1863, 22 convicts dug a classic escape tunnel and crawled to freedom. The warden was sacked.

Despite deportation and escapes, the cells became more crowded every month. Under a new treaty with China, Britain had obtained the tip of the Kowloon peninsula and Stonecutters Island. What a splendid site for a jail! The government came up with an expedient idea. It would buy a hulk, refit it as a floating prison, and anchor it off Stonecutters Island. Every day, work parties would be rowed ashore to cut stones - as the name suggests - and to build the New Prison for hard-core convicts. When it was finished, the prisoners could be housed in the jail they had just built.

This sounded fine, in theory. It did not work so well, in practice. A few weeks after the hulk Royal Saxon opened as a prison hulk, 38 convicts were hurled into the sea from a sampan taking them to their new accommodation. The chains that bound them together carried them to the seabed. All drowned. The tragedy meant the Royal Saxon was moored alongside Stonecutters, so prisoners could walk down a gangplank. Thank you, said 100 felons, who promptly escaped. The idea of Stonecutters as a penal island faded. When Victoria Prison work was completed in 1867, inmates were shipped back to Hong Kong Island. The Stonecutters Island buildings were later used as plague and leprosy hospitals and by the military.



To relieve the pressure of overcrowding at Victoria Prison, a new jail was built at Stonecutters Island. This remnant of the "New Jail" wall, built in 1863, remained standing for decades.

為了減輕域多利監獄的擠迫情況，一所新監獄在昂船洲興建。圖中可見監獄剩餘的小部分外牆，雖建於一八六三年，數十年來依然屹立不倒。

可惜驅逐出境和囚犯逃獄均未能紓緩監獄日趨擠迫的情況。當時英國剛與中國訂立新的條約，獲許租借九龍半島及昂船洲，這裏正好是興建監獄的理想地點！港府於是想出權宜之計，先購入一艘舊船，然後翻新為一所浮動監獄，停泊在昂船洲離岸。每天，囚犯都會被送到岸上當碎石的苦力，協助建築一所監獄。一旦竣工後，他們便會住在自己親手興建的囚牢。

不過，這個如意算盤在實際上卻是打不響的。在這所皇家森遜號海上監獄啟用數星期後，便有三十八名罪犯在乘搭舢舨前往監獄途中被捲進大海。纏在身上的鎖鏈使他們無法脫險，結果葬身浩瀚大海。在慘劇發生後，皇家森遜號停泊在昂船洲沿岸，囚犯只須踏過跳板便可抵達陸地。於是超過一百名重犯便在第一時間內逃脫，昂船洲變為監獄的計劃亦因而告吹。當域多利監獄修葺工程於一八六七年完成後，囚犯便被送回香港島。位於昂船洲的建築物日後曾用作瘟疫和癩瘋病院，其後又曾被英軍徵用。

監獄規則的革新正值香港風起雲湧之際。當時從廣州乘汽船抵港只需一毛錢，而每當汽船的跳板放下，都送來數百個滿懷希望的新移民。廣州一片混亂，客家與本地幫派之間正進行火併，還有太平天國的動亂引發了瘋狂的廝殺。另一方面，英國皇家海軍把海盜逐出珠江三角洲，海盜們一直沿河上游進發，在大陸肆意搶掠破壞。此刻的香港畢竟代表一個希望。這個英屬小島遍地黃金的傳言使來自廣東的年青人趨之若鶩，直至今日，香港的魅力依然未減。他們攜帶簡便的行裝上路，並滿懷希望前赴香港。可惜，不論過去或現在，新移民中有不少最後銀鑰入獄。

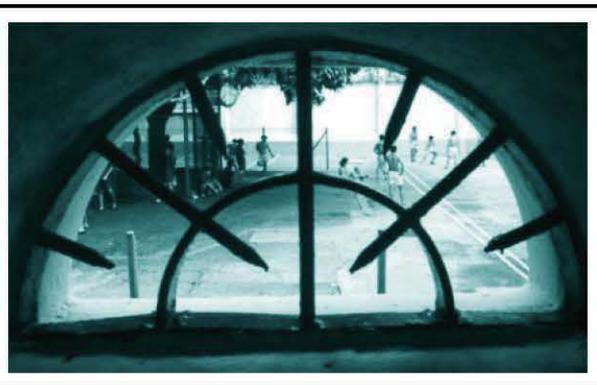
The new jail rules came at a time of swift change. It cost 10 cents for a passage on a steamer from Guangzhou, and daily the gangplanks clanged down along the praya to discharge hundreds of eager new arrivals. Guangdong was in chaos. There was ethnic cleansing and bitter tribal warfare between Hakka and Punti. The madness of the tide of the Tai Ping rebellion was mushrooming to its enormous murderous peak. The Royal Navy had largely driven pirates out of the Pearl Delta; they headed upstream, taking their vicious depredations into the hinterland. Above all, hope was the spur. Young people from Guangdong heard rumours of jobs and wealth in the British island. It was an enticing lure, and one which was to last up to modern times. With little luggage except optimism, they headed for Hong Kong. Then, as now, a fair proportion of those new arrivals ended up in prison.

Some things never change. Periodically, there would be a particularly ghastly crime, or the number of crimes seemed to leap. This was predictably followed by public calls for tougher action, more police, stricter penalties, longer jail terms. The press would go into hysterics. The public would demand action.

Even the sober dispatches to the Colonial Office could become unusually excitable. It was argued that British (eg, Hong Kong) prison conditions were so humane compared to those in China that they were hardly a punishment. Inmates in Victoria Jail were better fed, clothed and lodged, and worked less than honest labourers, was the cry. Being in prison carried little public odium. "There is little public shame and disgrace attached to it," cried one official dispatch.

How could prison be made more unpalatable? Governor R.G. MacDonnell had an idea. Without bothering to get legislative approval or telling the Colonial Office, he ordered that Chinese prisoners be branded on the cheek

or ear. This very practice had been abolished in England in 1779. There was an uproar but MacDonnell blandly argued that "on a Chinaman the brand would not carry any stigma in his own country, but would be looked on as a mark of honour inflicted by the foreign devils." He failed to explain how branding was, therefore, a punishment. The Governor went on leave. In what amounted to a legal uprising, the Chief Justice, Attorney General and Lieutenant Governor banned the illegal branding. Two years later, in 1872, the Colonial Office legalised it again. ✦



有些事情好像永恒不變。每一陣子，準會出現一些特別可怖的罪行，又或是罪案的數字飆升，導致公眾要求政府採取強硬的手段、增強警力、加重刑罰和延長囚犯的刑期。傳媒藉此大造文章，市民則渴望見到實際的行動。

政府向殖民地辦公室發出的官式電訊，有時附帶出人意表的見解。例如說英國（香港便是一個例子）的監獄情況遠較中國的人道，幾乎不像在施行懲罰，特別是域多利監獄的囚犯衣食住俱佳，勞動量比忠誠可靠的工人還少。就是被囚於監獄也不一定受公眾所唾棄。一份官方發布便這樣寫道：「坐牢並不是甚麼可恥或丟臉的一回事。」

怎樣才可以令監獄變為一個令人生畏的地方？當時的港督麥當奴心生一計。在沒有立法通過或知會殖民地辦公室的情況下，麥當奴下令在華人囚犯的臉上或耳朵紋上刺花。這種刑罰早於一七七九年已在英國被廢除。麥當奴的做法引發群情洶湧，但他卻反應冷淡，只道：「對中國人來說，刺花不算是一種恥辱，只會被看作是外國鬼子加諸身上的輝煌標記。」因此，他未能圓滿解釋為何刺花是一種懲罰。其後在他休假期間，首席法官、首席檢察官及助理港督齊起反對，禁止施行非法的刺花。但兩年後，即一八七二年，殖民地辦公室竟又把刺花合法化。 ✦

The courtyard at Victoria Prison is today used by inmates as an exercise area. Looking through one of the ventilation windows in a cellblock staircase, gives a view past steel spikes and bars to the recreation area shaded by spreading trees.
今天，域多利監獄的庭院已被用作囚犯休憩的地方。透過裝上鐵柵的古老通風口，可窺見院內樹影婆娑。



Why were people sent to jail? Everybody knew, of course, but until Mr F. Snowden sent the Jail Committee Report to Governor Sir Arthur Kennedy in 1877, nobody had thought to spell it out. Snowden and his committee had laboured painstakingly for 10 months on their report. Their conclusions reflected popular prejudice.

Jail was meant to deter people from crime. Every other consideration, including reform and rehabilitation, came very much in second place.

"The primary object is to deter from crime and every other idea must be subsidiary to it," the report thundered. It was greeted with much public acclaim.

Mental and moral training, to which Victorian England was so partial, was placed to the side. Even profitable prison labour was of mere secondary importance if it meant life in jail was made more tolerable for the inmates.

Chinese were different, the report stressed. They were beings whose pasts were unknown, whose language could not be grasped, whose character and feelings were not understood by those placed over them. It was impossible to try to educate or improve them. The alternative was simple; make life for Chinese prisoners as harsh and unbearable as possible - "within reason and humanity" - by strict discipline, less food and hard toil.

The Committee decided long-term Chinese prisoners were fed so well that the diet must be "a positive inducement to return to jail." Their sarcastic jibs that prisoners ate better than free labourers echoed similar charges in England during the same era.

European inmates posed different problems. Most were in jail for breaching naval or army regulations, on short sentences. There was no time to drum worthy moral discipline into these wayward men, most of them picked up during drunken runs ashore through the bars and brothels (many operated by policemen) which thickly studded the lands close to Victoria Jail. The authorities seemed eager to have these men serve their sentence, then get rid of them as soon as possible.

Diet was used as a deterrent. Prisoners sentenced to 14 days or less went on strict bread and water rations if they were Europeans, rice and water if Chinese. For the first six months of any sentence, 10 days a month were on the basic harsh diet. It was an idea imported from England.

Toil was instituted as a punishment. There were pointless hours of hard labour carrying shot, lead cannon balls weighing between 18lbs and 32lbs. The prison was luxuriously furnished with cranks, punishment machines which inmates had to turn for hours, ordered to turn the heavy handle up to 12,000 times. It was mindless, maddening labour. Oakum picking was hated work by Chinese, the jailer reported. Stone-carrying, with two men toting a 90lb stone on a bamboo between them, saw inmates staggering from one spot to another, then carrying their burden back to where they started. There was always stone-breaking to relieve the boredom; prisoners were expected to break three bushels a day.

The work was mostly pointless and non-productive. It was aimed at instilling discipline, work habits and obedience, as outlined by the 1865 Prisons Act in England. The only work of any meaningful type was washing laundry, cooking and cleaning, and maintenance of the jail.

為甚麼有人要坐牢？答案自然人所共知，但在史諾頓於一八七七年向港督堅尼地提交監獄委員會報告書以前，從未有人公開討論這個問題。史諾頓及他的委員會用了十個月完成報告，其結論反映當時流行的偏見。

監獄的用意在於阻嚇人們犯罪，其他例如改造和使其更生等問題皆屬次要。

史諾頓的報告強調：「監獄最基本的目的是對罪行產生阻嚇作用，其他一切主張都須服膺於這個大前提之下。」當時市民的反應熱烈，紛表支持。

而英國維多利亞時代所推崇的信念：把監獄用作精神與道德的訓練場所，已不再受到重視。甚至獄中可予圖利的勞動亦顯得次要，因為這些勞動使囚犯的生活好過一點。

此外，報告亦強調中國犯人與英國犯人的差別。報告說明對中國犯人的過去一無所知，不單言語不通，更無法了解他們的習性和感情，所以沒有可能教育和改造他們。餘下的解決辦法非常簡單：在合理和符合人道的情況下，要求囚犯嚴守紀律，少吃多做，務求令他們在獄中的生活苦不堪言。

委員會又認為長期服刑的華人罪犯膳食奇佳，故造成他們重度牢獄生涯的誘因。他們譏諷在獄中的囚犯吃得比一般勞苦大眾還要好，類似的意見在英國同期亦屢見不鮮。

歐洲裔囚犯的問題卻又不盡相同。他們大部分都因為觸犯軍方規條而受短期監禁，其中有不少是在域多利監獄附近一帶的酒吧和妓寨（不少由警員開辦）流連買醉時被捕。要對這些放蕩不羈的人灌輸道德原則實在費時失事，當局只希望在他們盡快服刑期滿後把他們送走。

膳食因此被用作一種阻嚇工具。獄中嚴格規定被判囚十四天或以下的歐洲裔囚犯只獲分配麵包和開水充飢，華人則被配給米飯和開水。此外，根據英國的一項建議，規定在任何刑期的頭六個月內，每月有十日都實施該項嚴格的伙食措施。

苦工亦成為一種刑罰制度。囚犯須進行毫無意義和長時間的體力勞動，搬運重十八至三十二磅的炮彈和大炮鉛球。獄中放滿了刑罰用的曲軸，供囚犯連續轉動多個小時，轉動曲軸的次數更可高達一萬二千次。這都是一種毫無意識和足以使人發瘋的苦力勞動。根據獄官的報導，華人囚犯最討厭拆麻絮，還有搬石——由兩人承著擔挑把重九十磅的石頭從一邊搬往另一邊，然後再搬回原處。幸而，他們偶爾被委派當碎石的苦力，聊以解悶，據稱囚犯每天須打碎三大籬石塊。

監獄的苦工既沒意義，也無建設性，正如英國一八六五年的監獄條例所言，苦工的目的是讓囚犯學習紀律、培養良好工作習慣及服從。獄中富有意義的工作，大抵只有洗衣、煮食、清潔和維修監獄。

Fighting for space

爭取更大的空間

Alex Gordon was absolutely determined. The system of cramming many men into a cell had to be replaced by the system of separate confinement, which had proven so successful in England's reformed prisons. This was impossible in Victoria Prison with its lack of space and unsuitable building. Locking up prisoners had in the past been a punishment, rather than the norm. Despite the squeezed accommodation, Commissioner Gordon tried to follow the British pattern. He didn't bother with short-term prisoners, who lived in the common association cells. But anyone sentenced to more than six months had to spend at least a few days in separation. He was constantly shifting prisoners from individual cells into cells with other prisoners, juggling the unceasing flow of newly sentenced inmates.

The obvious answer was a new and spacious jail. The equally obvious response was that the public did not want to spend money on prisoners. Besides, the new dam at Tai Tam, Victoria College and extensive sanitary works had used all available funds. A 1887 commission to assess the need for a new prison advised Gordon to take other steps.

But how could Gordon be tougher, increase the public fear of prison and reduce crime, while at the same time maintaining the "civilising influence of a Christian nation?" "Cut off all prisoners' queues," the commission advised. This would cause shame. Make life tougher in jail; they didn't say how. Whip more offenders. Forcibly send them back to China. Set free gamblers and opium addicts. Cut their diets - again! The prisoner has one-and-a-half day's holiday a week, something not ordinary Chinese labourer enjoyed, the commissioners protested shrilly. Quite right, the Colonial Office promptly agreed. What's more, the tough recommendations didn't go far enough. All prisoners serving a year or more should wear three pounds of iron chains, connected to ankle rings and hanging from a hook on their belt.

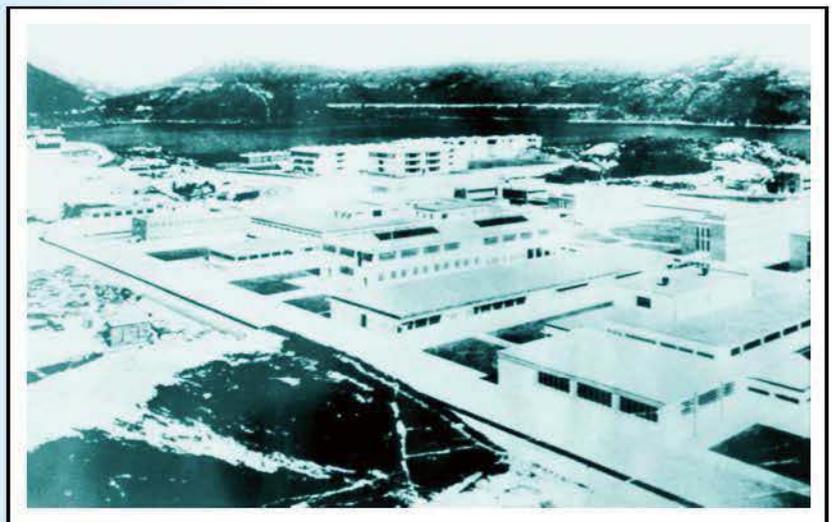
This strict regime caused upset behind bars. Prisoners tried to bolt from the chain gangs working outside and during a mass breakout from the jail, a warder and two convicts were killed. Any idea that

When it opened in 1937, the new Stanley Prison was one of the wonders of Hong Kong. It incorporated every modern aspect of penology and could be pointed to with pride as an example of enlightened treatment of offenders. It remains easily recognisable today, despite many additions and changes. 赤柱監獄於一九三七年啟用時，成為香港史上的奇蹟，它揉合了現代監獄管理學的每個層面，成為教化罪犯的典範。縱然屢經改動及擴建，依然容易辨認出來的。

艾力•高頓決意要將監獄把多名犯人擠在一個細小囚室的制度，改變為分隔囚禁制度。雖然這個銳意革新的制度在英國推行時足證有效，但根本沒可能在缺乏空間和適當建築物的域多利監獄內進行。一直以來，將犯人獨自囚禁是一種懲罰方式，而非正常的模式。雖然監獄的環境擠迫，但高頓仍試圖仿效英國的做法。他不介意讓短期犯人居住在共同囚室，但安排刑期多於六個月的犯人，最少獨自囚禁數日。他也不斷將犯人由獨立囚室遷往共同囚室，以安置陸續增加的犯人。

最明顯的解決方法是興建一所地方寬敞的新監獄，但問題是市民仍不願意在囚犯身上花錢。此外，新興建的大潭堤壩、維多利亞書院和大規模的改善衛生工程已用去所有的資源。政府於是在一八八七年成立一個委員會，以評估興建新監獄的需要，但委員會卻建議高頓採取其他的措施。

若要高頓採取更為強硬的措施，阻嚇犯罪分子，真是談何容易。然而，他如何能使人對監獄產生恐懼，以減低罪案率，同時又維持「一個基督教國家的文明影響」？委員會建議剪掉所有華籍犯人的辮子，令他們產生羞恥感，使牢獄生涯更艱苦。可是，委員會並沒具體說明應該怎樣做；向更多的犯人施行笞刑；強迫將犯人遣返中國；釋放賭徒和吸毒者；再次削減犯人的膳食。此外，犯人每週有一天半的假期，這是一般華人勞工也未能享有的福利，委員們也因此提出強烈的抗議，殖民地辦事處亦同意這個觀點。但這些



the harsh conditions behind bars would lower the crime rate was soon proved wrong. Business in the courts was as busy as ever. Conditions in the jail got worse. With 549 inmates in 1890, it was scandalous. Packed into 95 association cells, the prisoners had a scant 200 cubic feet of space, only a third of the space the law required lodging house keepers to provide. Cynics pointed out the Superintendent of Victoria Jail could be fined £50 for every one of those cells, if he was doing business as a boarding house. Sleeping prisoners covered every inch of floor space, huddled under blankets.

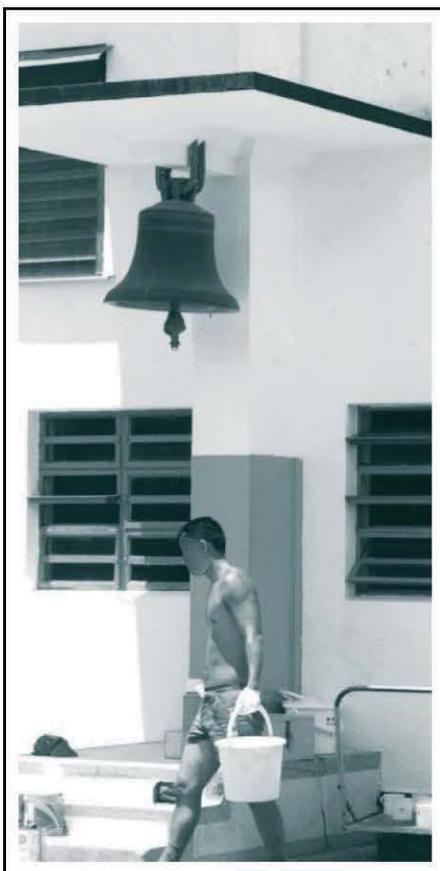
The solution was simple. Build a bigger prison. The government's answer was to appoint another commission. To the surprise of all, this body came back with strong recommendations to spend \$250,000 - an enormous sum at the time - to enlarge the jail by extending existing buildings. This would provide more space for work and exercise and, in answer to Gordon's ceaseless advice, provide individual cells for all male criminals. As expected, Unofficial Legislative Councillors rose in rage. It was waste, they roared. It was unnecessary expenditure. Instead of building separate cells, make more use of the cane. The convicts, LegCo members protested, had a life of ease. This time, they lost. The rebuilding plan was approved.

When the work was finished in 1898, the Superintendent found himself in a surprising situation; he had 427 individual cells and 26 association cells which could hold 557 convicts, but only 510 prisoners to occupy them. This didn't last long. Three years later, those single cells were each holding three men.

The new prison for which jail officials had been pleading for 60 years was finally built in Lai Chi Kok in 1924. It could hold 350. Victoria, expanded again, could accommodate 700. But by 1925, the average daily prison population was 1,116. Lai Chi Kok was hurriedly expanded. It was still not enough.

The government, possibly more enlightened and certainly with a larger budget, unveiled revolutionary new plans. For the astonishing sum of \$3,700,000, an advanced, sophisticated prison would be built at Ngau Chi Wan. As this dramatic news was being discussed, the plan was shelved. The land was needed for the new airport at Kai Tak. Nothing was done for seven years.

By 1931, the administration had upped the ante to \$4,500,000 and had found a new site at Stanley, and was all set to proceed. This time, the Colonial Office knocked the plan on the



Still polished daily to show its gleaming brass, the bell in Stanley Prison was originally used as a fire warning. 曾經用作火警警報的黃銅鐘，今天仍然掛在赤柱監獄內。每天，皆有所員洗擦銅鐘，以保持亮澤。

嚴厲的措施仍未足夠，所有服刑一年或以上的犯人，還須在腰帶扣著三磅重的鐵鏈，用以鎖著足踝。

嚴苛的管治引來一場監獄風暴。一些犯人為擺脫這種被枷帶鎖和戶外勞動的生活，試圖集體越獄，結果導致一名獄卒和兩名犯人被害。官員們認為以嚴刑峻法管理監獄可減低罪案數字，很快便被證實有誤。法庭仍然其門如市，監獄的情況日趨惡劣。在一八九零年，情況更使人震驚，五百四十九名犯人擠在九十五間共同囚室內，犯人僅得二百立方呎的空間，這是法例規定公寓經營者須提供空間的三分之一。於是有人嘲諷域多利監獄的監獄長，若這裏是公寓，每間囚室將被罰款五十鎊。監獄的每一吋地板，都腫滿蟻縮在毛毯下的囚犯。

要解決監獄擠迫的問題，辦法其實十分簡單，就是興建一所更大的監獄。政府於是委任另一個委員會，而出乎意料地，這個委員會大力支持耗資二十五萬港元（在當時來說，是一筆大數目）擴建監獄，為囚犯提供更大的工作和活動空間，並實踐高頓不斷提出的建議——為所有男性犯人設獨立囚室。一如所料，立法局非官守議員提出激烈的反對。他們高呼這是浪費公帑和不必要的開支，並建議更充分地利用笞刑，以取代興建獨立囚室。他們又指犯人過著舒適的生活。但這一仗最後失敗了，擴建監獄的計畫終於獲得通過。

擴建工程在一八九八年竣工後，監獄長發覺情況出乎意料，在可容納五百五十七名犯人的四百二十七間獨立囚室和二十六間共同囚室中，只住了五百一十名犯人。這情況並沒有持續，三年後，每一間獨立囚室竟又住上三名犯人。

六十年來，監獄管理人員一直要求的新監獄，終於在一九二四年於荔枝角興建，這所監獄可容納囚犯三百五十人，而再度擴建的域多利監獄亦可容納七百名犯人。一九二五年以前，監獄每日平均囚犯人數達一千一百一十六人。雖然荔枝角監獄已迅速進行擴建，但仍未能提供足夠的地方。

當時的政府可能因為較開明和財政預算較充裕，故宣布一項改革計畫——以三百七十萬港元的巨資，在牛池灣興建一所先進及設備現代化的監獄。正當人們討論這個重大的消息之際，計畫卻被擱置，原因是有關土地須作發展新啟德機場之用。接著的七年，興建監獄之事一直毫無進展。

一九三一年，政府將預備興建監獄的費用提高至四百五十萬港元，並在赤柱選擇到適合興建監獄的新址。當一切準備就緒，正要開始動工之際，計畫卻受到殖民地辦事處的阻撓。當時香港正處經濟衰退之中，政府收入銳減，英國倫敦的政客認為香港在未能平衡財政預算的情況下，不應興建新的監獄。倫敦的官員們亦重彈千篇一律的老調：香港監獄的情況遠比中國監獄為佳。不過，香港政府一直堅持興建新監獄的需要，而英國的立場最終亦軟化，應允將興建新監獄的費用撥入在一九三四年度的財政預算中，因此赤柱監獄的工程得以即時展開。



Snapping smartly to attention, staff at Stanley in the 1950s were passing out of training school into a new era. 二十世紀五十年代，一聲號令下職員利落落地立正，他們正於赤柱的訓練學校進行結業操。

石頭與鋼鐵造成的奇蹟

赤柱監獄於一九三七年落成啟用時，一度成為當時的神話。監獄佔地一平方英里，被十八呎高的圍牆包圍，並設有六座以三合土、鋼鐵和石塊建成的囚倉。這所監獄除了具體表達出犯法者應受懲罰這個傳統觀念外，亦帶出一個協助犯人自新和覺悟的開明概念。赤柱蘊含著監獄管理學的精粹，同時被形容為「殖民地帝國中最好的監獄」。這所規模龐大的監獄，對於在獄中工作的職員，以及贊成改革監獄制度的公眾來說，都有一定的新鮮感。赤柱可容納一千五百名犯人，是監獄制度的強力支柱，它不單有助解決監獄的擠迫問題，更為本港大部分的犯人提供一個衛生和安全的居所。

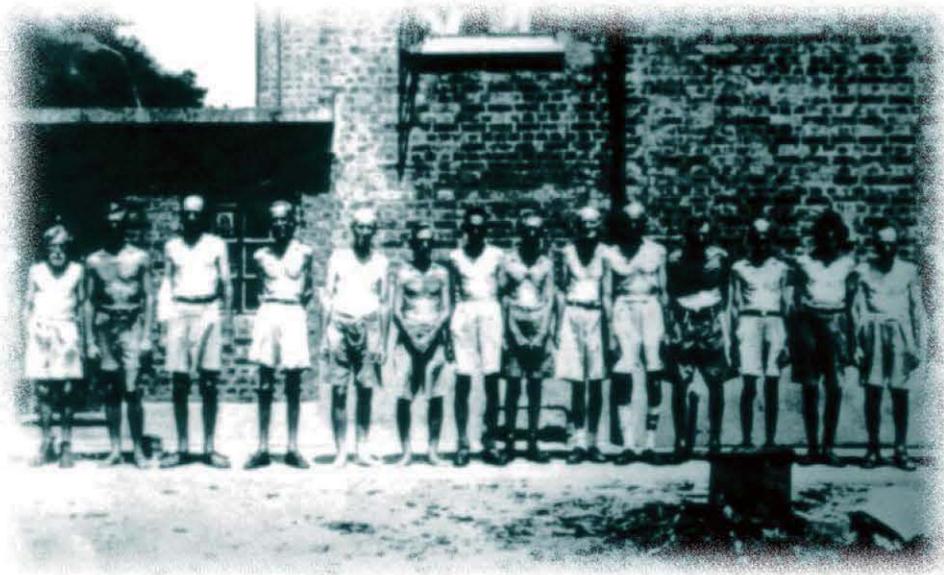
head. It was the depth of the Great Depression, Hong Kong's revenue was sagging, and the Wise Men in London said the colony could not afford a new jail when it couldn't balance its budget. Anyway, London added, in a refrain that by now had become a weary chorus, conditions in a Hong Kong jail were better than in a Chinese prison. The government persisted. The need for a new jail was acute. Finally, London relented. The new prison could be included in the 1934 budget. Work began at Stanley immediately.

A miracle in stone and steel

When it opened in 1937, Stanley Prison was one of the wonders of Hong Kong. Built into the concrete, steel and stone in six cell blocks set in one square mile behind 18-foot-thick walls, were the liberal notions of reform and repentance, as well as revenge. It embodied the very best of modern penology. It was described as "the finest prison in the colonial empire". The sheer size of the institution was enthralling, both to the men and women of the Prisons Service and to the many people in the community who had argued for reform of the system. Designed to hold 1,500 prisoners, it was the strong lynchpin of the prison system. It was aimed at ending overcrowding for

然而，赤柱監獄只是一個轉瞬即逝的夢想，在首名犯人入住獨立囚室後七個月，這裏已住了二千五百九十九名犯人。至於改建為女懲教所的荔枝角監獄，情況亦不遑多讓，原本為一百名犯人而設的空間，卻住了二百六十八名犯人。這兩間懲教機構的大部分犯人，都是因輕微罪行而被判短期監禁的囚犯，很多因非法擺賣而被判入獄一週或十天。事實上，他們是生活坎坷困頓的一群。當時中國爆發內戰及遭日本侵略，不少人橫渡深圳河逃難抵港，加上當時全球經濟不景氣，人們的生活困苦，在街上販賣零碎物品幾乎是當時唯一的謀生方法，但卻因此被捕入獄。當時的警務處處長和市政局主席均承認，小販只是對社會造成滋擾，而非罪犯，不過他們卻像所有被送往赤柱監獄的犯人一樣遭受嚴格的監禁。在犯人數目大幅飆升下，只有三百一十二名犯人的刑期是超過兩年的。

當時赤柱監獄只有五十八名歐籍職員，實在難以管理多達三千名的犯人。一九三九年，政府為恐防發生監獄動亂，便



The Japanese used staff quarters at Stanley as an internment camp for civilians. Squeezed into the quarters were almost the entire British population of Hong Kong, apart from men from the Hong Kong Volunteer Regiment who were treated as prisoners of war and held at camps in Kowloon. Dutch, Canadians, Australians and other enemy aliens were also held at Stanley. Most Americans were expatriated early in the occupation. When peace came, the effects of long years of sub-standard rations were obvious; the inmates were virtual skeletons. All the Prisons Service expatriate officers were interned at Stanley. When the war was over, many were repatriated for health reasons. The service had to be built anew.

日本侵略香港期間，日軍將赤柱的職員宿舍用作集中營。當時，除了香港義勇軍被視作戰犯，囚禁在九龍的集中營外，差不多所有在香港的英國人都被關進這裏。此外，丹麥人、加拿大人、澳洲人及其他日軍敵人亦囚於赤柱。大部分美國人在日軍佔初期已被遷出香港。光復後，多年差勁的膳食制度產生不良的影響；被監禁的人大多皮黃骨瘦。由於監獄所有的外籍職員曾被監禁於集中營，戰爭結束後，他們基於健康理由，返回家鄉。懲教服務必須重新建立。

the foreseeable future, providing hygienic and secure accommodation for the majority of the territory's wrong-doers.

It was a short-lived dream. Seven months after the first prisoners occupied their single cells, Stanley was housing 2,599 inmates. The picture was the same in Lai Chi Kok, which had been turned into a women's institution after Stanley opened; there were 268 prisoners in space meant for 100. Most of the prisoners in both institutions were serving short sentences for minor offences, many in jail for a week or 10 days for hawking. Their cases were often pitiable. In China, civil war and the Japanese invasion had sent people rushing across the Shenzhen River to Hong Kong. The effects of the world slump were still felt. People were desperate. Selling a few scraps on the street was often the only way to survive. Those caught went to jail. The Commissioner of Police and Chairman of Urban Services both admitted the hawkers were not criminals, but nuisances. They still went to jail, where every new entrant to Stanley Prison had to undergo the same rigorous procedures. As the prison population swelled alarmingly, there were only 312 inmates serving more than two-year terms.

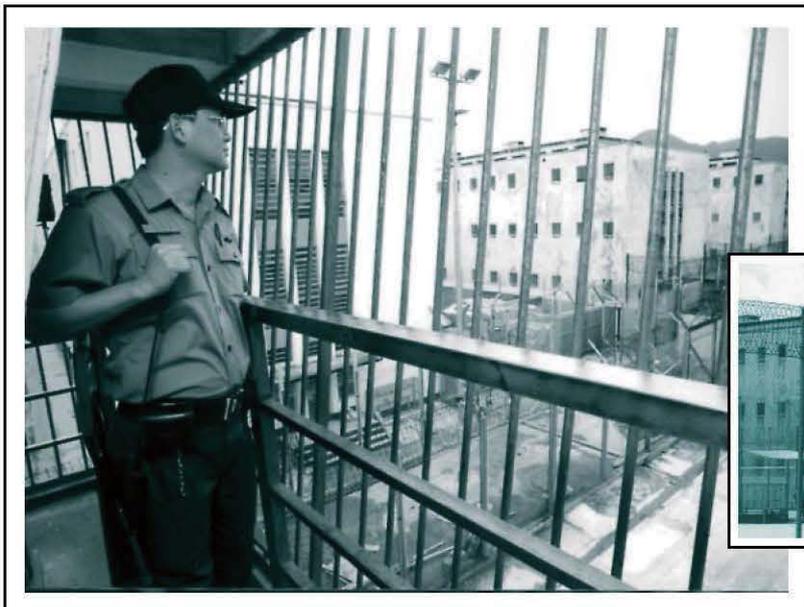
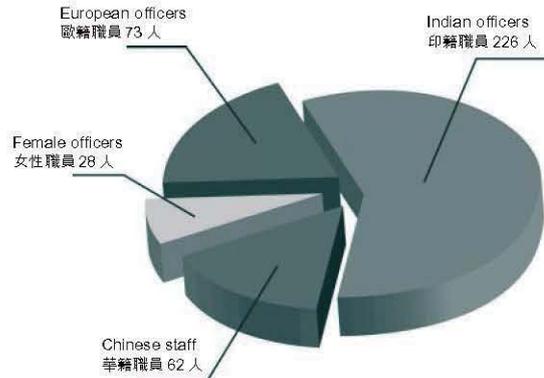
The 58 European staff at Stanley found it impossible to cope with 3,000 inmates. There were fears of mutiny in 1939, worries which prompted the government to create armed guards. In the jail yard, long term hardened convicts were refusing to perform hard labour. Informers told staff of violent conspiracies.

What happened to the staff and prisoners in December, 1941, when Japan invaded? Tales are sketchy. In nearby hospitals, there was a slaughter of wounded soldiers and merciless rape of nurses. A few months after the Christmas Day surrender, the staff quarters outside the jail became an internment camp for foreigners. Civil servants, businessmen and housewives were held there until liberation in 1945. But the 300 long-term prisoners inside Stanley? Nobody knows. In 1943, a British agent in Hong Kong managed to send a report to the British embassy in Qongqing. It said four Japanese were running Stanley Prison, with 38 of the former Indian Muslim guards remaining on the strength. There were 11 Chinese cooks, drivers and general workers. There were only 30 to 40 prisoners. What had happened to the others? Nobody knows. ✦

派遣武裝警衛駐守監獄。監獄內長刑期犯人拒絕作苦工，有告密者曾向監獄職員透露有關叛亂的圖謀。

一九四一年十二月日本入侵香港，關於赤柱監獄職員及犯人在戰亂期間的遭遇，只有粗略的描述。據說在監獄附近的醫院，不少傷兵被屠殺，護士們慘被強暴。香港終於在聖誕日淪陷。數月後，監獄外的職員宿舍成為外國人的拘留營。被拘留的人士包括公務員、商人和家庭主婦。這情況一直延至一九四五年光復為止。然而，赤柱監獄中的三百名長刑期犯人的蹤跡，至今仍無從稽考。一九四三年，一名在港的英國情報人員曾向重慶的英國大使館報告，指四名日本人在三十八名仍留下來的印度回教守衛協助下管治赤柱監獄，此外，還有十一名華人廚子、司機和工人，而犯人則只有三、四十人。至於其他犯人的下落，則無從知曉。 ✦

The Prisons Service, 1939 一九三九年的監獄署職員人數



In Stanley today, staff stand guard in towers, keeping vigilant watch over the institution. It has a striking record; since 1937, there has not been a successful escape from within the walls of the maximum security institution.

在今日的赤柱監獄，一職員在瞭望塔密切注視獄內四周環境。這所高層設防的監獄有一個驕人的紀錄：自一九三七年以來，沒有囚犯能成功越過圍牆逃走。



The system of harshness

嚴苛的懲罰

Sir John Pope Hennessy was a thrusting, forceful Irishman with notions ahead of his time. He was a hands-on colonial administrator who wanted a say in everything. Streets, police stations and public parks stand in memory to him from Mauritius to Wanchai. One of his many interests was the way in which prisons were run. He greatly favoured the separate system, for prisoners to be held apart. His partiality for this sprang from the mass outbreak of convicts from Singapore prison, which caused a sensation in 1877.



Sir John Pope Hennessy, Governor 1877-1883. 一八七七至一八八三年的香港總督軒尼詩。

The separate system was a dream. At Victoria Prison, nine inmates were crammed into cells of

香

港總督軒尼詩爵士是一位積極進取、有魄力和高瞻遠矚的愛爾蘭人。這位殖民地行政官喜歡凡事親力親為，掌管決策。由非洲的毛里求斯以至香港的灣仔，都有以他命名的街道、警局或公園。軒尼詩爵士的多種興趣之一是管理監獄，他特別主張將囚犯分別囚禁的隔離制度。他支持這種制度，是基於在一八七七年，發生轟動一時的新加坡監獄暴動事件。

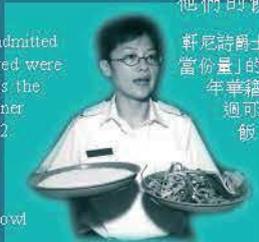
對於域多利監獄來說，隔離制度本是一個遙不可及的夢想。在這裏，九名囚犯同擠於合共七百七十五立方呎的囚室內；幾個合共四百八十二立方呎的囚室，關了七名大漢。軒尼詩爵士對於囚室擠迫的環境表示擔憂，這並非基於囚犯的福祉問題，而是只要兩三名滋事的囚犯，便足以在囚室激起難以收拾的衝突。此外，犯案累累的積犯和乳臭未乾的小子混在一起，結果導致「年青犯人淪落，與他們腐混的人一樣壞透。」

軒尼詩爵士提出警告說，新加坡的監獄暴動顯示華籍囚犯混合囚禁的危機，他要求工務司立即訂訂方案，好能在監獄改行獨立囚室的隔離制度。此外，由於囚犯人數日增，當中包括再次入獄的犯人，足以向軒尼詩爵士證明監獄的紀律寬鬆，未能發揮有效的阻嚇作用。他也認為囚犯吃得太好，並指出中式膳食的配糧太多。

軒尼詩爵士喜歡突擊巡查域多利監獄，也喜歡向華人社區領袖提出意見。他研究過史諾頓報告，結論與多年來各界

Their daily rice

Sir John Pope Hennessy admitted the ration cuts he ordered were "considerable." Here is the ration for a Chinese prisoner in 1877. There was 112 ounces of rice weekly, 14 ounces of fish and 32 ounces of vegetable. This is what the daily rice bowl looked like.



他們的飯糧

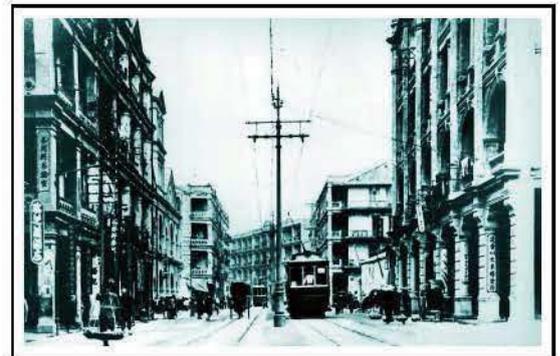
軒尼詩爵士承認他下令削減「相當份量」的配糧。這是一八七七年華籍囚犯的配糧。他們每週可獲一百一十二安士米飯、十四安士魚肉及三十二安士蔬菜。這是他們每日的食物份量。

Prison populations 囚犯數字

In 1876, Governor Sir Arthur Kennedy gave the following breakdown of the population of Victoria Jail over that year.

一八七六年，港督堅尼地報告有關被判刑到域多利監獄的囚犯數字如下：

Sentences 刑期	Prisoners 囚犯人數
Five years or more 五年或以上	20
One year to five years 一至五年	117
Three months to a year 三個月至一年	254
Three months or less 三個月或以下	2,968



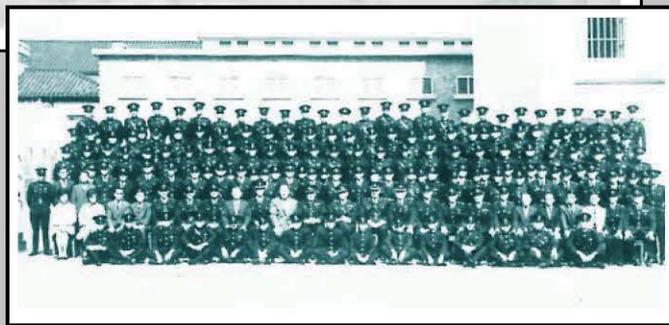
At the turn of the century, Des Voeux Road in Central was lined with typical architecture of the period.

二十世紀初期的中環德輔道，路旁統統是當時典型的建築。



From the start, Victoria Prison was overcrowded. Business was brisk for the police who arrested malefactors and their colleagues who staffed the prison. Complaints about lack of space came from concerned members of the community. The basic structure of the jail in the 1990s would be familiar to staff and inmates of a century earlier.

域多利監獄一直以來都以擠迫見稱。逮捕罪犯的警察，與監守獄中的同僚，各有各忙，透不過氣。此外，社會上一些有心人士，亦投訴獄內過份擠迫的情況。然而，監獄在二十世紀九十年代的基本結構，與上一個世紀比較，沒有太大差別。



775 cubic feet. Seven men filled cells of 482 cubic feet. Pope Hennessy worried about such crowding, not out of any concern for welfare, but because two or three troublemakers in a cell could stir up strife. Hardened criminals mixing with young offenders meant that "the younger are turned out as bad as those they have been mingling with".

The Singapore prison uprising showed the danger of Chinese convicts combining, he warned. He called for the Surveyor General to immediately draw up plans showing how he could change the prison to the separation system with individual cells. Rising convictions, including former inmates being sent to prison for further terms, proved to Sir John that prison discipline was too lax; it didn't deter. And he was another who found that prisoners ate too well; the Chinese rations were excessive.

Pope Hennessy made snap inspections of Victoria Jail. He spoke to Chinese community leaders. He studied the Snowden report. He came to the same conclusion formed over the years by many; convicts were eating better than "a hard-working coolie outside the prison." Once again, rations were ordered cut. Chinese convicts got a paltry 16 ounces of rice daily. The Colonial Surgeon was nudged into agreement. He had opposed suspension of the pork allowance to long term prisoners, and in deference to his professional protests, this was restored. Discipline in the jail also came in for criticism. It was not sufficiently harsh, the Governor complained. Real labour was needed which would see convicts forced to do "remunerative hard work".

This incredibly active busy-body then set about pushing his personal bugbear of separate confinement. He called for a new 700-cell prison to be built on Stonecutters,

人士的研究結果一樣，就是囚犯吃得比「監獄外辛勤工作的苦力」還要好，於是配糧再度被削減。華籍囚犯每日僅得十六安士的米飯。當時的殖民地警官被迫接受這項命令，但他反對停止給長期囚犯供應豬肉。結果監獄接受了他以專業資格提出的異議，恢復豬肉的供應。當時也有投訴監獄紀律不嚴，他認為囚犯應付出實際的勞力，於是強制進行「有酬苦工」。

其後，這位精力充沛的總督開始推動他念念不忘的分隔囚禁制度。他要求在昂船洲興建一所設有七百間囚室的新監獄，費用來自出售域多利監獄的地皮，這幅地無論在當時以今日來說，都有龐大的物業發展潛力。這項建議立即引來公眾的反對——市民反對花錢來安置罪犯，重建計畫亦頓成泡影。

幸而，香港正經歷一段罕有的平靜期，社會治安日靖。由一八七六至一八八一年期間，每年有三千五百三十至四千一百五十名囚犯被判入域多利監獄。監獄的人口以每日計由高峰期的六百六十六人下降至三百九十五人。

只要犯人同意被遞解出境，香港的監獄會提早釋放他們，不過，這種非官方但有效的措施終於告一段落。這其實不難理解，別國政府毫無顧慮地接收我們摒棄的殺人犯、劫匪和海盜，當他們一旦發現這些新移民是何方神聖時，必定感到非常懊惱。這項在一八六六年開始實行的措施，目

which would be funded by selling the Victoria Jail site which then, as now, was a potential real estate gold mine. The public erupted. The eternal opposition of spending money to house law-breakers saw the proposal dropped.

Fortunately, Hong Kong was going through a rare spell of comparative law abiding tranquillity. Between 1876 and 1881, 3,530 and 4,150 convicted prisoners entered Victoria Jail every year. The daily prisoner population ebbed from a high of 666 down to 395.

The unofficial but effective Hong Kong practice of letting prisoners out of jail early as long as they agreed to deportation came to an end. Understandably, other territories which were the unsuspecting recipients of our unwanted killers, robbers and pirates became upset when they discovered the type of new migrant landing on their shores. This action was originally taken in 1866 to cut down prison numbers and avoid having to build an expensive new jail. Pope Hennessy stopped it in 1879. Hong Kong had to deal with its own problems, not inflict them on others. Banishment remained. Once a Chinese had served his term, he was commonly escorted to a departing steamer or junk.

Flogging remained. Inside the prison, 226 convicts were flogged with the savage "regulation cat" instead of the more common rattan cane. The cat-of-nine-tails, still used at that date throughout the Royal Navy as routine punishment, was a terrible instrument that ripped skin and flesh to shreds. Doctors in Hong Kong jails examined the effects of a session with the cat. Flogging had been introduced by Governor MacDonnell and although 71 prisoners out of 570 who had been flogged died in one year, the rack on which prisoners were tied was retained. Floggings were still held in public, something banned in Britain six decades earlier.

Pope Hennessy flogged them, almost starved them, stopped shipping them out of Hong Kong and cut off their queues; he was still branded as too lenient by the European population. They were concerned about the free flow of criminals back and forth between Hong Kong and China. The Governor stuck to his guns. Superintendent of Jail Tonnochy had proved that the strict but fair rules under which prisons were run in other parts of the British empire would work in Hong Kong. In 1885, a British Major General, Alex Gordon, took over the job. He was determined that dramatic reforms in penology which had shown "marvellous" results in England would be followed in his prison. These had resulted in a truly astonishing drop in crime.

Gordon admitted there were local reasons that made it more difficult in Hong Kong to apply deterrents and reformatory policies. He repeated the view that Chinese punishments and prisons were so severe that criminals in Hong Kong "could hardly be deterred by humane and decent treatment" extended by a "civilised and Christian nation". He was another who insisted that convicts ate better, worked less and were



Chief Officer David Yip Chi-wai demonstrates the rattan cane used for a century to administer corporal punishment. The department banned use of the cane for disciplinary internal punishment several years before the Hong Kong government followed suit and ended corporal punishment as a sentence which could be imposed by the courts. Insert: The cat of nine tails was a dreaded punishment. Used commonly in the Royal Navy, it was also inflicted on criminals. The cat could rip and tear skin from the back of a victim, scarring him for life.

總懲教主任葉志偉示範笞杖的使用方法。百多年前，它用作鞭打犯人，是體罰的一種。但在政府廢除以體罰作為一項刑罰前，著方已禁止使用笞杖處罰違反內部紀律的囚犯。插圖：九尾鞭也是一種令人生畏的刑具。由於它在英國皇家海軍普遍使用，故此省時亦被引用到監獄囚犯身上。九尾鞭能令犯人皮膚撕裂，痛不欲生。

的是減少囚犯的人數，以免興建昂貴的新監獄。軒尼詩爵士在一八七九年下令停止這項措施，他認為香港應自行解決自己的問題，而並非將責任推卸他人身上。不過，流放制度仍然保留，通常罪犯服刑後會被押往一艘離境的輪船或帆船。

笞刑制度仍然保留。在監獄中，有二百二十六名囚犯被原始的刑具「九尾鞭」鞭打，而非採用常見的藤製笞杖。當時的皇家海軍仍然使用九尾鞭進行例行的刑罰。在香港的監獄，醫生需要為接受九尾鞭刑罰的犯人驗傷。笞刑制度是由港督麥當奴引進，雖然被九尾鞭懲罰的五百七十名囚犯中，有七十一人在一年內死去，這種使受刑者皮開肉裂的恐怖刑具仍然保留。英國早於六十多年前已廢除公開進行笞刑，但在香港仍有進行。

軒尼詩爵士主張鞭打犯人，使他們捱餓，停止將他們提早釋放，剪掉他們的辮子，但歐洲人認為他太寬待犯人。他們關注的是罪犯能自由往返香港與中國兩地之間的問題。但軒尼詩爵士堅守他的立場，而當時的監獄長杜老誌則謹



In one and a half centuries, thousands of prisoners have been escorted through the front gate of Victoria Prison. The route today for criminal offenders and detainees facing immigration charges remains similar to that followed by cut-throats and pirates of a century earlier.

一百五十多年來，數以千計的囚犯進出域多利監獄大門。今天，非法入境者與刑事罪犯，如百多年前的殺人犯海盜一樣，依據類似路線出入。



明，香港可以像大英帝國其他地方一樣，以嚴厲但公平的法規來管治監獄。在一八八五年，英國的陸軍少將艾力·高頓出任該職。他決意效法在英國取得「卓越」成績的監獄管理方法，在香港監獄作出重大的改革，結果使犯罪數字銳減。

高頓承認基於地方性的理由，在

香港難以實行阻嚇性及改造性的政策。他重申中國式的懲罰及監獄制度向來嚴苛，使「文明的基督教國家」所推動的「人道和妥善」措施，難以對香港的犯人產生阻嚇作用。他亦認為當時的犯人比自由的勞工吃得更好、穿得更好，但負擔更少的勞動。我們因而可想像當時社會匱乏的情況。

better clothed than free workers, which gives some idea of the general standard of living at the time.

In his first annual report, he targets staff performance as unsatisfactory. He wanted military men as warders, instead of the Chinese, Europeans, Indians and others then employed. He inspected prisons in Macau, Guangzhou and Singapore, where a jail with 800 individual cells and well-paid staff impressed him.

在高頓第一份年報中，他認為員工的表現未如理想。他希望任用軍人為獄卒，而並非中國人、歐洲人、印度人或其他的人員。他到澳門、廣州及新加坡的監獄巡視，對於新加坡一所設有八百間獨立囚室、職員待遇優厚的監獄留下深刻印象。

The Governor and Superintendent dramatically rewrote the Prison Ordinance, Rules and Regulations, basing changes on sweeping new liberal rules introduced in Britain. Those 1885 laws ended public executions and public flogging. The dreaded cat was replaced by the cane. Branding and banishment came to an abrupt end. All regulations which were aimed specifically against Chinese were stopped.

在英國引進自由法則之後，港督和監獄長按照這些法則，大幅改寫監獄的條例、規則和規例。這些一八八五年的法例，取消了公開處決和公開的笞刑，並以笞杖取替可怖的九尾鞭。刺花和流放制度亦告終止，所有特別針對華籍囚犯的規例亦被取消。

The man in charge of the jail was to set an example. The Superintendent was to act with firmness, temper and humanity. In addition to seeing that the prisoners served their sentence, he was to "induce practical habits of industry, regularity and good conduct," the regulations ordained. The men under him were also to be of moral principle and unblemished character. Drunkenness would be punished severely; at the time, grog shops were often either owned by corrupt policemen or run under their connivance. Law enforcement staff were frequently the best customers in the drinking dens.

根據這些規例，監獄長必須以身作則，採取堅定、溫和及人道的立場對待犯人。此外，條例規定的職責是除了使犯人圓滿服刑之外，還須使囚犯「培養勤奮、規律化及行為良好的日常習慣」。他的部屬亦須具備道德原則和良好品格，醉酒行為將受到嚴懲。當時的酒吧通常是由貪污的警務人員開設，或受他們包庇，執法人員是這些場所的常客。

The new rules brought an unaccustomed hush to the noisy, crowded jail. The silence system was strictly enforced. All unavoidable conversations between prisoners was banned. They were to live and work in silence, except when absolutely necessary. This applied also to the outside work parties, who toiled in silence, shackled with chains 12ft long to another prisoner. Work schedules were demanding; prisoners toiled from six to 10 hours daily, six days a week, with rigidly detailed chores.

新的規例為原本擠迫嘈雜的監獄帶來罕有的寧靜。監獄嚴格執行肅靜的制度，犯人之間自然流露的對話亦受到禁制。除了極度需要的情況外，他們須默默地生活和工作。這項措施亦適用於戶外勞動的犯人，他們被十二呎長的鐐銬互相鎖著，沉默無聲地工作。工作編排亦十分嚴苛，每天須工作六至十小時，每週工作六天。

The reforms of 1885 ended the horrible spectacle of public executions, 17 years after the last public hanging in England. In future, the hangman would go to work inside the prison. Detailed rules ordered the Superintendent to be present at every execution, and to oversee the grisly work. Officers at the hanging should be "dressed decently in black". The execution chamber was copied from England. ✦

一八八五年的監獄改革結束了恐怖的公開處決，時為英國執行最後一次絞刑之後的十七年。其後，執行絞刑的職員轉往獄中工作，規則詳細訂明監獄長在每次處決死囚時均須出席，督導這項可怕的工作。在執行絞刑時，在場人員均須「穿上得體的黑色素服」。行刑室的設計乃抄襲英國的式樣。 ✦

Into the penal system 收押所的工作

The large blue vans start arriving at Lai Chi Kok Reception Centre in mid-afternoon. They pull into the vehicle port between two solid steel gates, then into an inner courtyard. Officers unlock doors and out of the vans come convicted prisoners and suspected offenders, handcuffed in pairs. Every working day, an average of 150 new arrivals enter the barred reception room where busy staff deal with documentation. "It's like running a hotel," said Chief Superintendent Chan Chun-yan, who was officer in charge of the maximum security institution in the late 1990s. At times, men of 23 different nationalities have been in the centre at one time.



In an internal courtyard, newly arrived inmates are unloaded from a bus that has brought them from court appearances.
在內院，剛完成法庭審訊的新犯人陸續被帶下囚車。

Hoteliers, however, do not have such a dependable flow of guests. The special-purpose reception centre, which handles all male adult prisoners on remand, including murder suspects and other top-security risks, was designed to house 960 inmates, but often held 1,200 men and sometimes up to 1,500. Built in 1977, the eight-storey cell blocks and seven-storey dormitory blocks are a rarity, Lai Chi Kok is one of the world's few high-rise penal institutions.

Working in the reception centre poses special challenges for staff. Unlike most jails, the officers do not find much time to get to know better the character and background of the inmates, whether they are violent or likely to have emotional problems. A large percentage of arrivals are drug addicts; constant vigilance is essential to stop narcotics being smuggled into the Centre. Many of those new admissions are addicts who have been arrested many times before. They know they face stringent searches

when they reach Lai Chi Kok and some have swallowed condoms filled with heroin. Other addicts are painfully sick with withdrawal symptoms.



中 午時分，荔枝角收押所兩道堅固的鐵閘緩緩打開，多輛大型藍色囚車駛進停車場，陸續進入內院，獄教人員隨即拉開車門，戴上手銬的判罪犯人和嫌疑犯魚貫走下囚車。每個工作天平均有一百五十名新犯人被送到這禁閉式的收押所，然後職員會埋首處理有關他們的各項文件。獄教事務總監陳俊仁在九十年代末掌管這間高度設防的獄教機構，他說：「這裏就像一間酒店」，有時甚至出現二十三種不同國籍的男子同時被關在收押所內。



Into the barred reception room at Lai Chi Kok every working day go 150 new arrivals. Staff meticulously document every man, record their property for collection upon release after they have served their sentence, and process their criminal records.

每一個工作天，約一百五十名新犯人進入荔枝角收押所禁閉式的收押室。職員正忙於為每個犯人登記資料及財物數量，待刑滿出獄後取回。同時，亦編製個人的刑事紀錄檔案。

酒店的入住率也不如這裏般有保證。這間具特別用途的收押所專門處理所有還押羈留的成年男犯，包括謀殺嫌疑犯和其他高度危險的疑犯。收押所的設計可收納九百六十名所員，但在實際上，所員的數目經常維持在一千二百名，有時甚至高至一千五百名。荔枝角收押所於一九七七年建成，樓高七八層的囚舍實屬罕見，是世界上少有的高層建築獄教機構之一。

在收押所工作的獄教人員需要面對特別的挑戰。跟大部分監獄不同，獄教人員缺乏足夠時間去瞭解所員的性格和背

Built in 1977 as the facility through which 95 percent of new inmates enter the penal system, the high-rise cell blocks of Lai Chi Kok surround an inner courtyard. Principal Officer Tam Tak-wah and Chief Officer Leung Kwok-wing both wear the prized coloured lanyards awarded by the Commissioner in recognition of valuable contribution to the Department. The special challenges posed by work at the reception centre call for some of the most experienced officers in the Department serving there.

荔枝角收押所於一九七七年落成，為多層建築物。百分之九十五被判入獄機構的犯人均首先被收押在這裏。高級獄教主任譚德華和總獄教主任梁國榮身上配戴的，是為表揚他們對獄教著作出資貢獻而頒發的警笛組。收押所的工作充滿挑戰性，由署內最深資的職員承擔。

vomiting, losing control of their bowels and sometimes banging their heads against walls to relieve their agony. Courts order suspected addicts to be screened at the Centre, where experienced staff including medical officers question inmates and make recommendations about whether they think individuals should go to a drug treatment centre or some other institution. At any time, there are about 160 drug addicts in the institution.

Regulations are specific. Every arrival must have a medical check-up, including an X-ray. Three full-time doctors work at the Centre, with a cadre of registered nurses in the arrival section and the 94-bed hospital wards. In the close confines of a penal institution, it is vital to make sure that all inmates are properly cared for and that anyone with infectious diseases is separated in a timely manner.

There are three different sorts of remand inmates. Some awaiting trial in the High Court may have appeals and hearings that drag out for more than a year. Defendants awaiting hearings before District Court may spend 50 days or more in Lai Chi Kok. Those whose cases are handled by magistrates' courts usually are in and out of the Centre within two weeks. Once convicted, all prisoners go before a classification board headed by the Chief Superintendent or another senior officer, and which includes a doctor. The man's record is studied and he is questioned. Should he be sent to a maximum security institution, or do his sentence and disposition make it more appropriate for him to serve his sentence in a more open institution? Guided by established criteria and experience, a decision is made. Just as 150 new arrivals enter Lai Chi Kok every day, so 150 depart to begin serving the terms imposed by the courts.

Before any prisoner leaves Lai Chi Kok, staff must be certain he is free of the taint of drugs. Extreme care is taken that no inmate can take narcotics into another institution; Lai Chi Kok is like a dam stemming the flood of heroin that constantly seeks entry into the penal system. "In jail, drugs are like diamonds," Chan Chun-yan advises his younger officers.



A detailed medical examination of every new entrant into the prison population is carried out; infectious diseases in the crowded prison environment have to be avoided at all costs. X-rays of all prisoners are a routine part of the check-ups.

每名新犯人在入獄前，必須經過詳細的身體檢查，以杜絕傳染病在擁擠的監獄環境中傳播。X光檢驗是身體檢查過程中不可缺少的一環。

景，包括是否有暴力傾向或情緒問題。很大部分的新犯是吸毒者，因此職員須嚴防毒品被偷運進收押所。很多新收押的吸毒犯人過往曾多次被捕。他們知道在送抵荔枝角收押所時，將會面對嚴格的搜查，所以有些人不惜鋌而走險，吞下裝滿海洛英的安全套。其他吸毒犯則受到戒除毒癮過程中的痛苦煎熬，上吐下瀉，時而將頭撞向牆壁，以舒緩痛楚。法院頒令吸毒嫌疑犯接受收押所的甄別測試，經驗豐富的職員包括醫療人員會向所員發問，進行評估，然後就每名犯人的情況向法院建議應該押送至戒毒所，還是其他懲教機構。在任何時候，荔枝角收押所都收納約一百六十名吸毒犯。

這個收押所有明確的規例。每名新犯必須經過身體檢驗，包括X光檢查。在收押所內，有三位全職醫生和一組註冊護士當值，並設有共計九十四張病床的病房。在禁閉式的懲教機構裏，必須確保全部所員獲得適當的照顧，及時隔離患傳染病的犯人。

還押羈留的所員分為三類：等候在高等法院上訴或受審的所員，可能需被羈留超過一年；等候區域法院聆訊的被告人，可能在收押所羈留五十天或以上；等候裁判法院處理所涉案件的所員，通常在收押所羈留兩個星期。一經定罪，犯人便會被押送到分類及編級委員會。委員會由懲教事務總監督或另一高級官員任主席，聯同其他成員包括一位醫生負責審閱犯人的紀錄，並作出查問，然後考慮應該將他送到高度設防的懲教機構，還是根據他的刑期和性情傾向，送往較為開放的懲教機構服刑。懲教人員依據既定的準則和經驗，作出適當的決定。每天約有一百五十名新犯人到荔枝角收押所，亦約有一百五十名犯人在法院判決後，由該所送到指定的懲教機構服刑。

任何犯人離開荔枝角收押所前，懲教署職員必須確定他們沒有藏毒，嚴格確保犯人沒有攜帶毒品進入另一間懲教機構。荔枝角好比一個堤壩，將時刻衝擊著懲教制度的海洛英洪流堵截。陳俊仁向部屬表示：「在監獄裏，毒品就像鑽石般珍貴。」



Before a classification board headed by Chief Superintendent Chan Chun-yan a newly convicted prisoner is questioned about his criminal record. The board, which included Principal Officer Kwan Pi-tak and Dr Kwan Ngar-ming, decided which institution would best serve the interests of the public, the penal system and the prisoner.

新定罪的犯人接受以懲教事務總監陳俊仁為首的分類及編級委員會審查其刑事紀錄。委員會的成員包括高級懲教主任（行政）關彼德和鄺雅明醫生。他們以市民大眾、懲教制度和犯人的最佳利益為依歸，決定犯人應被收押的懲教機構。



Chief Superintendent Chan Chun-yan balances the rights of prisoners and his responsibility to respect their dignity with the extreme care needed to ensure that narcotics do not enter the penal system. "In jail, drugs are like diamonds," he tells his staff.

懲教事務總監陳俊仁需要在尊重犯人權利與履行職責之間取得平衡，要審慎維護犯人的尊嚴，又要確保沒有毒品被偷運進懲教機構。他告訴部屬：「在監獄裏，毒品就像鑽石般珍貴。」

Living by the rules

嚴守紀律的精神

Hong Kong lives under the rule of law. Inside penal institutions, too, rules and regulations govern the lives of both inmates and staff. Throughout their training, new recruits are reminded constantly, and tested both verbally and in examinations, about the strict discipline and regulations that they are expected to follow. These rigid guidelines provide clearly defined paths that young officers can trust; stick to the rules and you cannot go wrong.

The same applies to inmates. When men and women are first escorted into prisons, or boys and girls into training centres, they undergo induction courses. Experienced officers outline to them the stringent rules that will govern their lives in confinement. They are also informed of the rights and privileges that, by law, are extended to them.

Every prisoner, they are told, can at any time ask to see a senior officer to make a complaint. Every prisoner has the right to speak in private to a visiting Justice of the Peace. Every prisoner is free to approach the Ombudsman's office with a written complaint. These rights are not flimsy promises, but solid vows. In every institution, on walls in dining rooms and workshops, in dormitories and exercise yards, these solemn pledges are displayed prominently. Prisoners may be incarcerated because they have broken the rules of society; they still have the protection of those rules behind bars.



In the reception office of Tai Lam Centre for Women, new arrivals are processed on their first day in prison.
大德女懲教所收押室的職員正忙於處理新犯人的資料。

The prison system in Hong Kong is run by rules that are known to all. Obey the rules, and life proceeds down a defined path that leads for most prisoners to rehabilitation and release. Break the rules, and strict disciplinary action is taken.

A central core value of the modern prison system in Hong Kong is to keep inmates in safe custody. That guarantee comes true, for the overwhelming majority of people sentenced to confinement, to an extent unequalled anywhere else in the world.

There are few escapes - virtually none in the post-war years from Pik Uk Correctional Institution, Stanley, Shek Pik, Siu Lam or other maximum security prisons. This is a record of which CSD professionals can be proud, and one in which the public can take great comfort. When the courts order a dangerous individual to be confined,

香港是法治之區，懲教機構亦然。囚犯和職員的言行舉止均須依循法規。在訓練期間，新入職的人員經常接受訓示，必須嚴守紀律和既定的行事規則，並會接受有關的口頭測試和考試。這些嚴格的指引為年青的懲教人員提供了清晰的路向：只要堅守規則，就不會行差踏錯。

囚犯亦如是。當成年的男女犯人押送到監獄，而未成年犯人押送到教導所時，會先參加一個短期的啟導班，由資深的懲教人員向他們解釋在收押期間須遵從的嚴格規條，以及法律賦予他們的權利。



The first lesson in any institution is to learn the rules. Most of these young prisoners at Tai Tam Gap are illegal immigrants from the Mainland serving short sentences for over-staying or working without permission in Hong Kong. Assistant Officer Chu Yen explains to them the regulations that will govern their lives while in confinement. Obey the rules, and life behind bars can offer new opportunities.

在任何懲教機構裏生活，首先要學習的是那裏的規則。這些大潭峽的所員大部分都是來自內地的非法入境者，由於過期居留或未經許可而在香港工作，因此被短期囚禁。懲教助理朱茵向她們講解服刑時需要遵守的規則。若囚犯願意服從規則，鐵欄後的生涯便可為她們提供新的機會。

每名犯人均可隨時要求向高級職員投訴，有權私下向到訪的太平紳士申訴，也可隨意去信申訴專員公署。這些權利並非泛泛空談，而是確實的保證。在每間懲教機構的飯堂、工場、宿舍和運動場的牆壁上，這些莊嚴的承諾觸目可見。儘管犯人因違法而遭囚禁，但在鐵窗之下，他們仍受到明文法規的保護。

香港的懲教制度按定明的規例運作。犯人循規蹈矩，當可順利度過獄中生活，改過自新，重返社會。相反，一旦違反規例，便須接受嚴厲的紀律處分。

there is a guarantee that he or she will not run free to threaten the community. Escapes in the past 20 years have been limited to low-risk minimum security prisoners, most of them on outside working parties. They have posed little threat to public safety.

When a person is sent to prison, his personal safety is guaranteed. It matters not if he was a billionaire stockbroker, a wealthy and flamboyant playboy, a triad boss or a narcotics kingpin. His life on the outside does not matter. Inside the walls of a jail or treatment centre, he is just another prisoner. But high profile inmates are protected by the rigid system of rules that are known to all. They do not suffer extortion, blackmail or revenge attacks.

That same system of unbending regulations, of endless checks and ceaseless vigilance, keeps narcotics out of jail. For many years, the stream of drugs into prisons was a curse. It is now under control, but only thanks to endless checks and diligent routine procedures.

Alongside rules, there is responsibility. The CSD system does not shrug off its work onto the shoulders of convicts. The use of inmates as trustees with power over other prisoners was an ugly and inefficient feature of the old system, one cause of the trouble that helped spark riots in Stanley Prison in 1973. In the sweeping changes that came after that violent outburst, the trustee system was discredited and discarded.

Today, responsibility and accountability are the key words in management. Every second of every day, some CSD officer is responsible - directly and personally responsible - for the safety, security and whereabouts of every inmate. This is a duty that cannot be evaded or avoided. Every officer knows precisely what his or her role is, and for what he or she is responsible. It is a system that is not taken lightly. It is a system that gets results; it works.

Personal surveillance 24 hours a day and a system that places the safety and welfare of every individual inmate directly under a staff member also prevents homosexual attacks in Hong Kong jails. This is another source of great pride. The responsibility system, where a staff member is directly and personally accountable for the well being of those under his or her charge, eliminates the sexual threat that is a constant plague of jails elsewhere.

This strictly disciplined, tautly managed system has seen Hong Kong's Correctional Services Department win international recognition as one of the world's leading

現代香港監獄制度的基本價值之一，是確保囚犯在羈留期間能安全生活。實際上，在香港的監獄制度下，絕大部分囚犯的人身安全均獲得保證。這個成績，在全球的監獄中，可謂首屈一指。

過往香港曾發生少數逃獄事件，但在戰後，幾乎無一犯人可以从壁屋懲教所、赤柱、石壁、小欖或其他高度設防監獄逃走。這是懲教署人員引以自豪的紀錄，亦可讓大眾市民安心。當法院頒令將一名危險人物收監，即保證他不能逃走，危害社會。過去二十年來，只在低度設防的監獄才有囚犯成功逃脫，而且通常是在戶外工作時發生的。這些逃犯對社會安全的威脅極微。

當罪犯被囚在獄中，不論他是身家億萬的證券商，還是富有奢華的花花公子，抑或是黑社會頭子或大毒梟，他的人身安全都會獲得保證。他昔日的的生活如何，並無關係。在監獄或戒毒所之內，他只不過是一名犯人。不過，受人注目的囚犯會按照人所共知的規則受到嚴格保護，以免遭受敲詐、勒索或報復。



An ingrained part of the responsibility system is direct accountability. At all times, every inmate in every institution is the direct responsibility of a prison officer. The staff members must be able to immediately account for the number of prisoners under their control, their whereabouts and their activities. In a workshop at Lai Chi Kok Reception Centre, Assistant Officer Law Lin-sang snaps a salute and reports on the inmates under his control.

責任制的精神是直接問責。在懲教機構內，職員必須直接負責所管轄的囚犯。他們必須能隨時說所看管的犯人數目、犯人的行蹤和活動。在荔枝角收押所的工場裏，一級懲教助理羅年新正向總監督致敬禮，並報告他看管的所員的情況。

在同樣嚴格的規則、不停的檢查和高度警戒之下，毒品也在監獄裏絕跡。多年以來，毒品不斷流入監獄，成為懲教人員的夢魘。不過，毒品問題現已受到控制，全賴恆常嚴密的查察。

懲教機構除了規則嚴格之外，懲教人員亦自承職責，從不將工作推卸到犯人身上。利用囚犯互相制衡的舊制度非但醜惡，而且欠缺效率，更是導致一九七三年赤柱監獄暴動的一個禍端。經過這次激烈的暴亂後，香港的監獄起了極大的轉變，這個制度受到質疑，繼而被廢除。

時至今日，責任與問責已成為管理學上的重要課題。部分懲教人員必須時刻對每名囚犯的人身安全和行蹤負責。這些

工作是不可避免的。每位職員均確切知道本身的角色和職責。懲教工作不能輕率視之，成效亦有目共睹。

透過每天二十四小時的個人監視，加上每名囚犯的安全和福利均由一位懲教職員直接負責，這個制度亦防止監獄裏發生同性戀者性侵犯的事件。這是懲教署另一項驕人成就。由職員個人直接負責所看管的囚犯，使香港監獄避免如各地監獄般受性侵犯的問題所困擾。

香港懲教署贏得國際稱譽，躋身最優良的懲教機構之列，實有賴紀律嚴明、管理嚴格的制度。香港基本上是一個秩

prisons services. In terms of numbers of prisoners, it is not large; Hong Kong is basically a well-ordered and law-abiding society, and with a total of 12,000 inmates in the latter years of the century, the rate of prisoners to overall population is small. (Hong Kong has a rate of 180 inmates per 100,000 population. In the United States, which has 1,170,000 prisoners in total, the rate is more than three times.) At the same time, the number of staff may seem high, by world figures. But the result, in terms of guarding the community and rehabilitating inmates, are highly satisfactory. With an annual budgeted expenditure of \$2,500 million, it is money well spent.

The 7,000 staff running 23 correctional institutions make CSD possibly the most highly qualified government department in Hong Kong. New recruits who enter as assistant officers must have a minimum of three years' secondary education; many have considerably higher educational qualifications. In-service training, provided either by the department or in collaboration with universities and other professional bodies, is both common and actively encouraged.

Numerous officers have built on their original qualifications to gain higher degrees, additional degrees or diplomas and formal management or professional qualifications. The staff roster shows a large percentage of men and women who are registered nurses, occupational therapists, clinical psychologists and social workers.

The range of institutions calls for many specialised roles. Minimum-, medium- and maximum-security prisons, a psychiatric centre and training, detention and drug addiction treatment centres all hold different sorts of inmates, and present different challenges to staff. But in all institutions, discipline must be maintained within the regulations that guide staff duties.

To instil those values is part of the role of the Staff Training Institute. To uphold that discipline, an Emergency Support Group goes through constant training and stands on eternal alert. 

序井然、奉公守法的社會，囚犯人數不多。在本世紀末，囚犯人數共有一萬二千名，相對於全港人口，犯人所佔的比率甚低。（在香港，囚犯對全港人口的比率約為每十萬人一百八十個。在美國，共有一百七十萬名囚犯，比率為三倍以上。）另一方面，與全球數字比較，香港的懲教人員數目可能偏高，但在保障社會及幫助囚犯改過自新方面，卻卓有成效。每年用於懲教服務的財政預算開支達二十五億元，實為物有所值。

懲教署能成為香港質素極高的政府部門，成功管理共二十三間懲教機構，有賴全體七千名職員的努力。申請成為懲教助理的新入職人員，必須最少具備中三程度；很多人還有更高學歷。受到署方的鼓勵，懲教職員經常參予由署方主辦或與其他大學和專業團體合辦的在職培訓。

不少在職人員都力求提高他們的學歷，攻讀更高的學位、額外的學位或文憑課程，考取正式的管理或專業資格。從職員名冊所見，註冊護士、職業治療師、臨床心理學家 and 社會工作者佔了很大的比例。

懲教機構的類型眾多，需要不同類別的專業人員提供各種服務。低度設防、中度設防和高度設防的監獄、精神病治療中心、教導所、勞教中心和戒毒所，各為不同的犯人而設，為職員帶來不同的挑戰。然而，所有懲教機構均要求每一名職員嚴守紀律，履行職責。

職員訓練院所擔當的職責，其一是向職員灌輸上述的價值觀。為維持紀律，應急支援組人員須經常接受訓練，並隨時處於戒備狀態。 

All prison life is based on rules. Obey the regulations, and a prisoner can be certain of respect and good order. The most important first few days of a new inmate's sentence are when he or she attends an induction course, like this one held by Assistant Officer Shum Keen-cheung. The 14-days course explains in detail to prisoners exactly what is expected of them in prison. It also outlines in depth their rights and privileges under the prison regulations.

任何監獄的生活都以紀律為本。遵守紀律的囚犯，可以確保獲得尊重與良好的對待。一個新囚犯在服刑最初的幾天，要參加一項啟導課程，像懲教助理沈健祥主持的一班。整個課程為期十四天，內容是向所員詳盡講解在監獄內他們需要遵守的各項規條，同時也說明他們在《監獄條例》內可享有的權利與福利。



