

# 馬偕牧師的艋舺之役

## ——從一塊禮拜堂的門匾說起

陳俊宏

陳俊宏，1948年生於臺北萬華；成長於基隆七堵；現居加拿大安省倫敦市，從事文史著譯工作，作品包括《重新發現馬偕傳》、《李春生的思想與日本觀感》、《禮密臣細說臺灣民主國》、《黑鬚番》等。過去曾於本刊《臺北文獻》發表有〈李春生與禮密臣的一段軼事〉、〈馬偕北臺宣教源流軼事考〉、〈臺灣第一書《主津新集》〉、〈源遠流長淡水牛津學堂〉、〈臺灣史話——李春生、李延禧與第一銀行〉、〈譯介《海外建造家》——紀念臺灣的吳威廉〉、〈歷史與小說中的臺灣民主國〉、〈加拿大北臺宣教的緣起〉等篇文章。

## 摘要

座落於臺北市萬華區貴陽街二段的艋舺長老教會是馬偕北臺宣教成果中一個經常被提起的典範。筆者以斟酌設教年份上的認定為手段，來回顧這間具有歷史意義之教會的開拓過程時，發現這不僅是一項值得嘗試的考證方式；也是「馬偕研究」裡一個值得玩味的個案。本文之作主要係根據劉峰松的一篇文章，和賴永祥的十多篇〈教會史話〉的成果，以及《臺灣基督長老教會艋舺教會設教120週年紀念特刊》來進行綜合性的歸納與衍義性的詮釋，俾使馬偕北臺宣教29年歷史當中最重要「艋舺之役」能夠呈現出它的時代意義與效果來。馬偕於1895年完成了他本人在臺23年的宣教回憶錄 *From Far Formosa*，其中第17章〈HOW BANG-KAH WAS TAKEN〉講的便是他如何「佔領」艋舺的始末，由於內容極具文獻價值且經本文多次引據，特將其全章原文內容以附錄呈現。

關鍵詞：艋舺教會、龍山寺、馬偕研究、中法戰爭、艋舺教案

## 一、前言

刻有「耶穌聖教」四字的門匾石牌（附圖1）是塊珍貴的歷史證物，它鑲嵌在臺北市貴陽街艋舺長老教會現今禮拜堂前庭的一座紀念碑上，百多年來它無聲地見證著馬偕牧師當年是如何贏得了艋舺人的心。除那四個大字外，石匾上、下沿亦各刻有「大英國」3小字及「偕牧師建」4小字，而右沿則又刻著「光緒二年八月吉立」（光緒2年即公元1876年）；左沿也刻「光緒11年瓜月重建」（光緒11年即公元1885年；瓜月即舊曆的7月）按照該教會文獻的記載，這石匾是由當年艋舺地方「黃、林、吳三姓於1884年建堂落成典禮時贈送本堂。因黃姓之子受偕博士拔齒得癒表感謝之意，並以鼓吹（即本地小喇叭）迎至本堂。」<sup>1</sup>這塊匾額上所提到的兩個月份姑且不論，文獻上所記建堂年份（1884）和這塊門匾石牌上所刻「光緒十一年」（1885）顯然就有所出入。



多年前，劉峰松曾在《臺灣教會公報》第1777期（1986年3月23日）寫了一篇文章〈艋舺教會

附圖1：刻有「耶穌聖教」四字的門匾石牌（115cmX44cm）是塊珍貴的教會歷史證物，它鑲嵌在臺北市貴陽街艋舺長老教會現今禮拜堂前庭的一座紀念碑上。（艋舺教會楊承恩牧師提供）

<sup>1</sup> 《臺灣基督長老教會艋舺教會設教120週年紀念特刊》，臺北，艋舺基督長老教會，1997年3月，頁71。



附圖2、3：左為馬偕牧師（George L. MacKay, 1844-1901）；右為其夫人張聰明女士，這兩張分別是迄今所知最早期的馬偕夫婦影像，約1880年攝於馬偕加拿大故鄉；安大略省牛津郡伍德斯多克市（Woodstock, Oxford County, Ontario）。

與龍山寺）來介紹那所已有一百多年歷史的著名教會，他開頭便說：「臺北最著名的寺廟，首推龍山寺；而最著名的教會，則非艋舺教會莫屬了。兩者同在龍山區，而且相距不遠，……」豈止在臺灣當地出名，艋舺教會當年也隨著馬偕牧師（正式漢名偕叡理，Rev. George L. MacKay，1844—1901，附圖2）的事蹟，聲名遠播到了太平洋彼岸的北美洲。

其實與艋舺（長老）教會距離最近的應是只隔著一條貴陽街，位於對面巷內的祖師廟（1787），但祖師廟名氣、香火皆不如龍山寺（1738），因此劉峰松才拿歷史較久的龍山寺來和艋舺教會相比，他不愧是個文獻家，果然比得頭頭是道，很有看頭，可說是東西文化比較研究領域裡一個相當值得重視的個案。

## 二、艋舺教會的設立

幾年前，艋舺教會曾經在《臺灣教會公報》第2662期

（2003年3月9日）的廣告版刊出了一則公告，稱將於3月9日那天舉行慶祝「馬偕博士設立艋舺教會127週年」的感恩禮拜（頁24）。在那篇也算是公開邀請函的通告裡也提到：

「……馬偕博士於主後1876年3月14日設立本會，……」

但是，劉峰松在他那篇文章有關創立緣起的一段裡卻只是記道：

「……加拿大人馬偕博士根據聖經的這段教訓，在1872年3月9日到達淡水，1876年3月14日進入艋舺，並開始傳道。」

不過，他也同時在另一處提到：

「艋舺教會，1879年在現址建堂，……」

文章中劉峰松只提「建堂」，不碰比較具有爭議性的價值判斷——「設教」年代的認定。但是他在文章中竟然寫了一句「龍山寺比艋舺教會要早140年」和另外一句「龍山寺：1738年竣工的該寺……」的話，不知劉峰松是有意還是無意，因為照此推算，艋舺教會設教年份就應該是1878!而這年份數字在他的文章裡從頭到尾沒出現過。

以馬偕進入艋舺地區，並開始傳道的那天當做是艋舺教會設立的日子，的確非常值得商榷。其實教會史家賴永祥長老也早已注意到了這個設教年代上的疑點，他從《臺灣教會公報》2528期（2000年8月13日）的〈教會史話〉No.542起，一口氣連寫了10篇共約1萬字，來探討艋舺教會的設立過程，最後當然也提出了有關這間著名教會設立年份的看法，其論述引據之周詳，推理之謹慎，不愧是大師手筆。然而艋舺教會似乎沒有注意到賴長老所寫的那幾篇考據性史話。

若以馬偕進入艋舺傳道做為推算設教年代的依據，那麼

早在1860年英籍杜嘉德（Carstairs Douglas）和金輔爾（Hur Libertas Mackenzie）兩位宣教師便曾來過艋舺傳福音（〈史話〉Nos.97,542）。這種根據顯然不夠紮實，但是溯自該教會首任駐堂牧師陳清義（1877—1942）以羅馬字（白話字）撰寫《北部臺灣基督長老教會的歷史》（1923）之時，便率先做出這項時下已經被普遍接受的認定：

「艋舺教會是於1876年3月14日設立的。」<sup>2</sup>

艋舺教會那塊「耶穌聖教」門匾的右沿刻著的「光緒二年八月吉立」（光緒2年即公元1876年），顯然「吉立」指的就是「設立」，這八個字當然可以用來印證陳清義的說法，不過兩者年代雖然吻合，月份上卻有相當的出入。

但是，如果也以這種「緣起論」的標準來推算，那麼蘇澳（長老）教會早於1873年就已經設立，但是該教會仍以1918年做為設教的年份。<sup>3</sup>

### 三、艋舺宣教的記錄

讓人感到意外的是，賴永祥根據新出土的馬偕日記原本所載有關艋舺設教內容，發現陳清義牧師的說法查無實據，因為那年的3月13—17日那幾天馬偕人都是在大龍峒而非艋舺。賴教授又從官方的《教務教案檔》資料裡（〈史話〉

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<sup>2</sup>陳清義白話字原著，陳宏文中譯本，《北部臺灣基督長老教會的歷史》，1923，臺南，人光，1997，頁99。

<sup>3</sup>《蘇澳教會80週年紀念刊》，蘇澳基督長老教會，1998，頁14。

No.77) 裡查到：1877年9月9日（光緒3年8月3日）馬偕在艋舺祖師廟旁草店尾街，以陳永順名租得的屋傳教施診施藥，他也同時發現到馬偕日記原本確也指稱是日開設禮拜堂於艋舺（〈史話〉No.546）。

然而，賴教授在其一人獨力增訂的臺灣基督長老教會《歷史年譜》新版本（1995）裡，卻仍維持原《歷史年譜》所記1877年12月「偕牧師在艋舺開設教會」的說法。<sup>4</sup> 原《歷史年譜》裡的這則設教記事不是沒有文獻上的根據，緊接著便加註有：MacKay, From Far Formosa, p. 165。

或許「艋舺教案」在當年12月間於英國副領事司格達（B.C.George Scott）與臺灣道台夏獻綸的交涉下曾經出現了轉機，馬偕日記本上才有12月9日在艋舺做禮拜（Worship in Bang-kah）的記事（〈史話〉Nos.546—548）。根據中英官方文獻所記，那天偕牧師雖然依約在草店尾街開了堂，但是那間顯然尚未準備就緒的教堂，旋於12日就被兩百餘名同夥前來鬧事的民眾拆毀。<sup>5</sup>

事實上，關於這段艋舺教會開拓史的序幕，馬偕回憶錄 From Far Formosa 是這樣正式拉開的：

“But in December, 1877, the time came for establishing a mission there, and in spite of all their attempts to prevent our entrance I succeeded in renting a low hovel of the eastern

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<sup>4</sup> 黃武東、徐謙信合編，臺灣基督長老教會《歷史年譜》，臺南，人光，再版，1982，頁38；賴永祥增訂版，1995，頁46。

<sup>5</sup> 蔡蔚群，〈建省以前臺灣北部的教案（上）〉，《臺北文獻》直字第133期，臺北市文獻委員會，2000.09.25，頁186-197。

side. ....”<sup>6</sup>

接下來，馬偕還特別提到他曾將一張寫有「耶穌聖教」（Jesus' Holly Temple）四個漢字的紙張貼在這間租來的平房門楣上，這種舉措似乎有點形式上掛牌開張的意味。但是如果再繼續讀下去的話，就會發現到為了還要走更長遠的路，馬偕不得不放棄這間教堂，而且在離開這得來不易的據點時，還遭受到有如被驅逐出境的羞辱待遇……最後才在市郊找到一塊地皮蓋起教堂（按1879年起建的那間），但在1884年法國侵臺期間它又被暴徒洗劫、拆毀了。<sup>7</sup>

因此，臺灣基督長老教會《歷史年譜》根據馬偕如此這般憶述的兩年宣教過程（1877—1879），來認定1877年12月為艋舺設教的時間，顯然也不太能夠站得住腳，其實它只能算是馬偕艋舺「宣教」意志行動的開始。早在日據時代昭和八年（1933）就出版的《艋舺臺灣基督長老教會案內》雖然也是這麼認定的：

「距離萬華火車站北方約八條街的『若竹町三丁目十七番地』係創設於光緒三年（西元一八七七年十二月）。」<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> George Leslie MacKay, *From Far Formosa*, New York, The Caxton Press, 1896, p.165（見附錄）。本段中譯文：但是在1877年的12月間（我覺得）進入那裡（艋舺）建立一所宣教站的時機已經來到，雖然他們三番兩次試圖阻撓，我們還是在東邊租到了一間低矮的陋屋。……。

<sup>7</sup> *From Far Formosa*, pp.166-169（見附錄）；Marian Keith, *The Black-Bearded Barbarian*, Toronto, 1912, Chapter 11, pp.227-253；另參蔡岱安中譯，《黑鬚番》，臺北，前衛，2003，第11章，頁131-146；另參陳政三譯述，《北臺封鎖記—茶商陶德筆下的清法戰爭》（John Dodd原著：Journal of a Blockaded Resident in North Formosa—During the Franco-Chinese War 1884-5），2/淡水砲戰，臺北：原民文化，2002，頁40-55。

<sup>8</sup> 歐賴金月譯自日文的〈馬偕博士設立本會記事〉（臺灣社寺宗教刊行會發行），《臺灣基督長老教會艋舺教會設教120週年紀念特刊》，頁20。



《歷史年譜》（第一部〈滿清時代篇〉刊於1959年）的原編者臺灣神學院前教會史教授徐謙信牧師（1917—）或許也曾看到過上述說法也說不定，<sup>9</sup> 這在馬偕日記原本公諸於世之前，畢竟還可以算是一種有所依據又合乎情理的說法。雖然教會官方所製的年譜是這麼認定，但是艱難教會卻仍然繼續沿襲「1876年設教」的說法，可見陳清義牧師至今還在信徒們的心目中繼續發揮著「獨排眾議」的影響力，這力量出自威信抑是威權？

## 四、教會設教的標準

教會的「設教」就像一個國家的「建國」一樣，在認定上必須合乎某些客觀條件或標準的要求，雖然條件或標準會因時而異，但最主要的考量還是在實質意義的充分與否。至於何人於何時、何地開始「宣教」的認定就不必像「設教」所要求的那樣嚴格。譬如，臺灣基督長老教會在1965年之所以舉辦盛大的百週年紀念活動，是以那位來自英國的馬雅各醫師（Dr. James Laidlaw Maxwell）抵臺宣教的1865年為基準來算，其實若是為了慶祝「設教」，照道理就應該以南、北部兩長老中會的34名代表在彰化西門街禮拜堂（今彰化長老教會）成立「臺灣大會」的日期（1912年10月24日）為起

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<sup>9</sup> 如前註，或許譯者歐賴金月別具慧眼，才會將這日本人的不同看法也收錄於教會紀念冊裡。

點。<sup>10</sup>

同理，北部臺灣基督長老教會的「設教」也應以「臺北長老中會」（由艋舺等11個堂會所組成，後改稱「北部中會」，乃「北部大會」前身）於淡水牛津學堂（淡江中學、真理大學的創校地點）成立的1904年10月4日那天算起，雖然過去都是以馬偕初次登陸淡水之日（1872年3月9日）為準；基於同樣的理由，臺灣南部的長老教會亦應當以首屆「臺南長老大會」（後改稱「南部中會」，乃「南部大會」前身）於臺南新樓中學（今長榮中學）成立的那天（1896年2月24日）為其「設教日」。<sup>11</sup>不過，南、北部長老教會既然已經在體制上完成了合一，當然也就宜以1912為其整合體「臺灣基督長老教會」的紀元年，來共同籌備2012年的設教百週年紀念活動。

話說回來，嚴格來講，教案平息之前斷斷續續的開堂講道都還不能算是正式設教，因為那次「艋舺教案」在馬偕獲得了賠償，1878年5月11日於草店尾舊街原址的這間第一代禮拜堂修復完工，並經學生陳永順點收後，對官方來說才算正式完結銷案；<sup>12</sup>而於次日（5月12日）「偕牧師再於該地開設禮拜堂，三百人來參加禮拜。」<sup>13</sup>

而馬偕在那天的日記上也是這麼寫的：

“Reopen Bang-kah chapel 300 present.”

話雖說是重新開堂，但以教會發展史的角度來看，這時

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<sup>10</sup> 《歷史年譜》，再版，頁128；增訂版，頁168。

<sup>11</sup> 《歷史年譜》，再版，頁73；增訂版，頁97。

<sup>12</sup> 《臺北文獻》直字第133期，頁197。

<sup>13</sup> 郭和烈，《偕叡理牧師傳》，嘉義，臺灣宣道社印，1971，頁225。

馬偕才算穩住了陣腳，艋舺教會也才能算是「設教」；實質設立了（〈史話〉No.549）。

1878年5月12日艋舺教會設教當天，形式上雖然沒有所謂的「臺北中會議長」前來主持；不過在那個時代裡，馬偕一人實質上就等於一個「中會」（presbytery）。值得注意的是，稍後馬偕牧師與臺灣女子張聰明（原名蔥，附圖3）便於15日後（1878年5月27日），在淡水領事館辦理了公證結婚；而且在次（1879）年年底就帶著這位新婚不久的夫人返國述職（第一次例假）。可見「艋舺之役」那時雖未完全奏功，但是馬偕似乎已經心頭篤定；勝券在握了。更值得一提的是，那年不過是馬偕來到臺灣北部傳教的第7年。

按照馬偕於中法開戰前一年（1883）的3月20日所寫宣教報告書裡的一句有關內容：“The Bang-kah Church has been delayed so as to try and get a good site.”來看，那間從1879年就已動工的第二代禮拜堂當時顯然還沒完全蓋好，這或許是因為教案雖結而周遭敵意未除，再加上英領事與地方官的私下勸解，因此那時還正在考慮另外尋找一處較適當的地點來重新起建。<sup>14</sup>後來，這座才剛完工不久的禮拜堂於中法戰爭期間，果然又被排教加上仇外的當地暴民給拆毀了。此役，臺灣北部同時被毀的教堂總共有7所之多。

艋舺教會現址（臺北市貴陽街二段94號）周邊一帶古名

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<sup>14</sup>陳俊宏，〈臺北的城牆〉，《臺灣文學評論》卷5期1，2005.01.15，麻豆，真理大學「臺灣文學資料館」，頁241；另按馬偕的日記，1884年3月22日（禮拜六）馬偕到艋舺，23日（禮拜天）艋舺禮拜堂開堂（Opened Bang-kah Chapel），黎約翰牧師夫婦（Rev. and Mrs John Jamieson）、嚴（清華）、陳火（陳榮輝）也參加。故八甲庄開堂的日期應該是1884年3月23日。

「八甲庄」，是蓋了第二代的禮拜堂（1879）之後從草店尾街原址喬遷過來的。因為中法戰爭結束後當（1885）年9月28日，馬偕從巡撫劉銘傳那裡獲得一萬兩墨西哥銀的賠款，<sup>15</sup>他撥出其中一部份，以不到3個月的時間就重建起一座外觀上看起來與他的故鄉，加拿大安大略省（Ontario）牛津郡（Oxford）左拉鄉（Zorra）當年那座，迄今仍然還在使用的煙布羅村（Embro）的諾克斯聯合教會（Knox United Church）禮拜堂極為相似的；正面中央聳立著一座高聳的哥德式尖塔的第三代禮拜堂（附圖4）。



附圖4：當年有「三哲香塔」之稱的第三代禮拜堂（1885-1923），注意入口上方那塊刻有「耶穌聖教」四字的門匾。（加拿大女作家李真恩Jean Little提供）

與艋舺這棟戰後重建的「八甲教堂」同時完工的另外還有新店、錫口（松山）兩間，依郭和烈教授的推算，完工時間約在同（1885）年的12月底。<sup>16</sup>但是按照馬偕日記，這3間於1885年10月29日同時開工，若以工期3個月來算，要到次年的1月底才可能完工，這點可從馬偕1886年2月5日寫回加拿大的一份宣教報告書得到印證，

<sup>15</sup>加拿大聯合教會檔案，FMC No.167：馬偕1886年2月5日報告書；另參賴永祥，〈教會史話〉671。

<sup>16</sup>《偕叡理牧師傳》，頁225。但這與那塊「耶穌聖教」門匾左沿所刻「光緒十一年瓜月重建」（光緒11年即公元1885年；瓜月即舊曆的7月）在月份上有出入。

因為信上第一句是說他「自從去年10月28日離開此地（淡水），一直到本月1日才回到家，總共有3個月的時間都在那裡，沒離開半步。……」顯然分散在3個不同地點的建堂工程才剛於2月1日之前不久結束。

至於慢了差不多1年才重建完成的大稻埕<sup>17</sup>、五股坑、洲裡（和尚洲，今蘆洲）等3間教堂，馬偕在日記上就特別於1886年12月24日那天寫明是同一日竣工。

## 五、三哲香塔的光環

其實，若以更嚴苛的標準來要求，無論是在1885年底還是1886年初，艋舺教會那時才能算真正完成了建堂與設教，因為從此當地人不僅不再視其教堂為欲除之而後快的眼中釘，甚至還以「三哲香塔」稱之；<sup>18</sup>顯然以一種有益於本地風水的吉祥物來擁抱它了。何況臺灣學界當中也有專家李健鴻指出：「中法戰爭才是基督教傳教權利確立的關鍵」，<sup>19</sup>這點可以從馬偕分別在1879年11月及1893年8月，前後兩次返國述職前夕到艋舺巡視教會時，受到當地民眾兩種截然不同

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<sup>17</sup>這裡所指的「大稻埕」不是指今天位於臺北市甘州街40號的「大稻埕長老教會」禮拜堂，而是指迪化街二段67號「大橋教會」現址，古名大龍峒、大港泵的地方。

<sup>18</sup>《偕叡理牧師傳》，頁227。

<sup>19</sup>蔡蔚群，〈建省以前臺灣北部的教案（下）〉，《臺北文獻》直字第134期，臺北市文獻委員會，2000年12月25日，頁241。

待遇的強烈對比來獲得印證，後者那種感人場面證明馬偕終於征服了他心目中的北臺灣「直布羅陀」（Gibraltar，意謂必爭之地）——光榮地打贏了「艋舺之役」；當然也贏得了艋舺的民心。<sup>20</sup>

那棟象徵著勝利的尖塔禮拜堂落成之時，正好是馬偕艋舺宣教最初16年辛苦歲月（1877—1893）的分水嶺；也就是否極泰來的轉捩點。在1885年建成的這棟禮拜堂門匾上所刻的「大英國」三小字是否意味著艋舺市民已經接受了這個外來的「耶穌聖教」（即基督教）？因為刻上這三個小字等於是在尖塔上懸掛了一面米字旗。當年鑲嵌在艋舺長老教會禮拜堂入口門楣上方的這塊石匾的確是有些楣角（竅門）可尋

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<sup>20</sup> 《偕叡理牧師傳》，頁226-229；另參From Far Formosa, Chapter XVII, pp. 164-171（見附錄），茲摘錄其中皆與「轎子」（sedan chair）有關的兩段原文內容作比較：

（1）1879年11月，馬偕第一次返國述職之前（p.169）：“……In 1879 six students and I, on foot, and my wife in a sedan chair, were going through one of the streets after dark on our way to the chapel……There were thousands of them in the procession, leaping and yelling as if under the afflatus of evil spirits. We were recognized. There was a pause, and a torch was thrust into the face of my wife in the chair, nearly destroying her eyes……Changes have taken place in that once proud city.”

（2）1893年8月，馬偕第二次返國述職之前（p.170）：“……But it was on the eve of our departure to Canada in 1893 that Bang-kah gave evidence of the greatness of the change produced in that city. In the chapel, on the occasion of our last visit, two marriage ceremonies were performed in the presence of a large assembly. The head men of the city sent their visiting-cards, with a message to ask if I would be willing to sit in a sedan-chair and be carried in honor through the streets of their city. I begged some time to consider, and decided that, as in the past they had acted toward us as they chose, so now I would allow them to do the same……”

的。

馬偕的學生，同時也是他的二女婿柯玖（維思）在他恩師去世（1901年6月2日）後同年的7月13日，寫了一封信向加拿大長老教會報告其臨終過程時，也特別提到馬偕當年站在艋舺街頭時那種「打死不退」的神勇表情。<sup>21</sup>

1894年6月馬偕當選任期一年的加拿大長老教會第20屆總會議長；坐上了教會最高的榮譽位子，任內又完成了那本史詩般的宣教回憶錄From Far Formosa，而其中的第17章〈HOW BANG-KAH WAS TAKEN〉（全章內容見附錄）講的便是他如何「攻陷」艋舺的始末。可見「三哲香塔」當年不僅為艋舺人帶來好運，也為綽號叫「黑鬚番」的馬偕自己帶來了祝福與榮耀。

但是當他結束長達兩年的例假，於1895年底回到臺灣時，又得面對新一波的挑戰，艋舺這所才只有10年歷史的教堂在1895年12月24日那天晚上，成了由馬偕與日本牧師細川瀏共同主持的首次臺日信徒聯合禮拜的場所。<sup>22</sup>或許正由於這項歷史淵源，來自日本沖繩恩寵教會的運天康正牧師夫婦藉推廣其所開創的「華（花）道風水流」來到臺灣以花傳道

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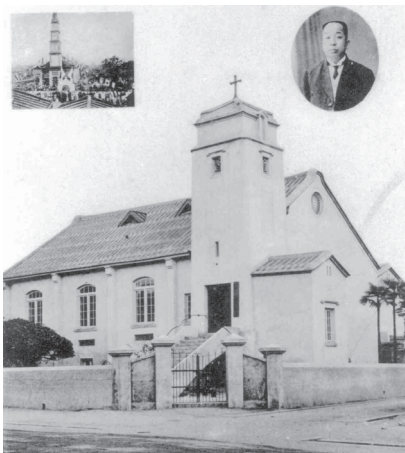
<sup>21</sup>柯玖這封馬偕死後第42天（1901年7月13日）以英文所寫成報告書性質的信件於同年9月4日寄達多倫多（Toronto），收藏在加拿大教會檔案庫裡已超過百年。茲錄有關原文如下：

“Once he called the students to sing one of his favorite hymns “I am not ashamed to own my Lord”（見於Hymns and Spiritual Songs, von Isaac Watts, 1709），按長老教會的臺語聖詩譯為〈我認救主不驚見羞（誚、笑）〉）He was in bed, at that time; and when those beautiful words were heard then he grasping his hands; with tears in his eyes and sat up straight; as if he was in the street of the city of “Bang-kah.” He often said when he could recover he would redouble his work for Christ.”

（福音）時（自1980年代起），便是以艋舺教會為其重鎮，而當年那位才剛成為基督徒不久的歐賴金月女士則是負責這項新興宣教事業的靈魂人物。

可惜當年那座饒富歷史意義的哥德式禮拜堂為了配合紀念馬偕北部臺灣宣教50週年（1872—1922），又被艋舺教會改建成一座具有墨西哥風格的教堂（附圖5），目前這棟於1985年重建成的現代化教會建築物按序算來是第5代（附圖6）了。

反觀龍山寺，經過了大約270年的風霜歲月，或許還談不上什麼現代化，但別的不說，單以今日臺灣文化品質而論，在古蹟風貌的保存與歷史遺產的維護上確實做出了不可否認的巨大貢獻。這是當年那位雖然才剛從長老教會領洗成了基督徒時，就榮獲一項為紀念《臺灣教會公報》創刊100週年（1885—1985）而頒發的「巴克禮寫作獎」的劉峰松，<sup>23</sup> 為了見證福音而特別下功夫



附圖5：艋舺教會第四代禮拜堂（1923-1984），右上角為陳清義牧師（馬偕牧師的大女婿）；左上角為第三代禮拜堂。宣教師羅虔益（Mr. Kenneth W. Dowie，駐臺期間為1913-1924，曾任淡江中學教師、校長）所設計，1923.06.05獻堂（加拿大女作家李真恩 Jean Little提供）。

<sup>22</sup> 《臺灣基督長老教會百年史》，臺南，人光，1984年2版，頁97

<sup>23</sup> 英國長老教會傳教士巴克禮（Rev. Thomas Barclay，1849-1935，正式漢名巴多馬）是有「臺灣第一報」之稱的《臺灣教會公報》的創辦人



找資料做比較研究時，所忽略了的  
地方。

## 六、結論

艋舺教會從無到有——先設教，後建堂——的開拓過程本身就是一個獨特的歷史個案。幾乎每隔十年它都會被教會做為宣教成果來紀念一番，而且似乎每次都會發掘出一些新的意義來。因為藉著具體的歷史證物與新的文獻資料之間

的互相印證之後，所產生新的時代意義就像新的文化物種或基因會被拿來回饋教會與社會。教會「設教」（或國家「建國」）年份上的設定其實是「正名」的一環，前者攸關本身的歷史淵源；後者則要求名分正確反映實質，而歷史淵源正是實質內涵不可含糊的部份。教會講究年代定位的遠近，目的是要能夠名副其實、名正言順地透過現代化的文明，去向眼前的周遭詮釋、見證其獨特的歷史經驗與文化內涵。因此，對艋舺教會來說，「三哲香塔」的記憶其實就是一項資產。<sup>24</sup>



附圖6：教會長老歐賴金月女士攝於臺北市萬華區貴陽街二段94號的艋舺長老教會現今的第五代禮拜堂前。（楊承恩牧師提供）

<sup>24</sup>The Black-Bearded Barbarian, pp.162-174,227-253；另參《黑鬚番》，頁94-101,131-146

至於艋舺教會爾後如何由「大英國耶穌聖教」的一處海外據點，轉型為「臺灣基督長老教會」（Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, 1912）的一個在地堂會的過程，是另外一件值得深入探討的歷史課題。<sup>25</sup>通常教會與國家的建立難免都會有「轉型正義」的課題，其中「正名」是要達到名副其實的目的，然而在「求實」上則應更加重視，例如禮拜堂可以一再重建，但是建地所有權的移轉是否正當則更須接受質疑以自我檢驗，一個特殊的例子是同樣位於臺北市；同屬臺灣基督長老教會的雙連教會（1913年3月3日—）。<sup>26</sup>

後記：筆者在《臺灣教會公報》第2671期（2003年5月11日）寫了一篇文章〈艋舺教會設教年代考〉之後，經修改、擴充後另以〈談艋舺教會設教年份的認定〉為題藉2007年1月份之《臺灣文學評論》第7卷第1期刊登。本文係根據後者內容補充一些新的資料並加註腳以符合文獻考據上之要求，再次以新的面貌來發表，以資記念：（1）艋舺教會的設教日（1878年5月12日），以及（2）首對臺加配偶（張聰明與馬偕）的聯姻日（1878年5月27日）。本文承蒙艋舺教會長老歐

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<sup>25</sup>陳俊宏，〈譯介海外建造家——紀念臺灣的吳威廉〉，《臺北文獻》直字第160期，2007年9月25日，頁165-171

<sup>26</sup>陳秀芬，〈雙連教會土地與“教士會”土地的關係〉，《臺灣基督長老教會雙連教會設教90週年紀念特刊》，臺北，雙連長老教會，2004年3月1日，頁18-24。今雙連教會大樓用地在二次大戰前是加拿大長老教會海外宣教事業「臺北神學校」的操場；戰後旋即就地蓋起了禮拜堂，因此雙連教會針對其戰後所建禮拜堂土地的取得，在其設教90週年的紀念冊上公開了這一份類似調查報告的文章，目的便是要努力為這筆教產所有權移轉的正當性提出說明。

賴金月及牧師楊承恩分別提供其教會120週年紀念特刊及舊禮拜堂門匾「耶穌聖教」影像等珍貴資料，特此誌謝。

附錄：George L. MacKay, *From Far Formosa*, pp. 164-171, Chapter XVII : HOW BANG-KAH WAS TAKEN

The stronghold – Waiting an opportunity – Forbidden – Expelled – Back again – Mobbed – Victorious – Changes – Honored

BANG-KAH was the Gibraltar of heathenism in North Formosa. It is the largest and most important city, thoroughly Chinese, and intensely anti-foreign in all its interests and sympathies. In 1872, I visited it with A Hoa and got a foretaste of the reception awaiting me on every subsequent occasion. In my journal of 1875 I find the following entry, made after having experienced anew the malignant hate of the Bang-kah people :

"The citizens of Bang-kah, old and young, are daily toiling for money, money – cash, cash. They are materialistic, superstitious dollar-seekers. At every visit, when passing through their streets, we are maligned, jeered at, and abused. Hundreds of children run ahead, yelling with derisive shouts; others follow, pelting us with orange-peel, mud, and rotten eggs. For hatred to foreigners, for pride, swaggering ignorance, and conceit, for superstitious, sensual, haughty, double-faced wickedness, Bang-kah takes the palm. But remember, O haughty city, even these eyes will yet see thee humble in the dust. Thou art mighty now, proud, and full of

malice; but thy power shall fall, and thou shalt be brought low. Thy filthy streets are indicative of thy moral rottenness; thy low houses show thy baseness in the face of heaven. Repent, O [p. 165] Bang-kah, thou wicked city, or the trumpet shall blow and thy tears be in vain!"

We had previously established churches north, south, east, and west of Bang-kah. She sent hirelings to surrounding villages and towns to reprimand the magistrates, incite the people, and frustrate us in the execution of our work. Three large clans, through their head men, ruled the city. All the others had to acquiesce in every proposal. Foreign merchants never succeeded in establishing themselves there. Attempts were made, but their Chinese agents were dragged out of the city and narrowly escaped death. It might seem that mission work should have been begun in Bang-kah first. Indeed, I received a communication from a very devoted and excellent missionary in China -- one who has now gone to his reward -- in which he said, "I hear you have stations in several towns and villages. Why don't you begin at Jerusalem?" Now I did not begin at the "Jerusalem" of heathenism for the same reason that I did not go to Madagascar or to India. I sought to follow the lead of my Captain. He led me to Formosa, and to point after point where chapels were already opened. I knew the time would come when Bang-kah would be entered.

The authorities of Bang-kah issued proclamations calling on all citizens, on pain of imprisonment or death, not to rent, lease, or sell either houses or other property to the barbarian missionary. But in December, 1877, the time came for establishing a mission there, and in spite of all their attempts

to prevent our entrance I succeeded in renting a low hovel on the eastern side. On getting possession I placed a tablet of paper on a wooden frame above the door, with the inscription, "Jesus' Holy Temple." Shortly afterward several soldiers who were returning to their encampment near by came, stood, looked up, read the inscription, and immediately threatened me with violence. Then they returned to their encampment and reported to the general, who despatched a number of [p.166] officers to order me out of the place, stating that the site belonged to the military authorities. I demanded proof of their statement. It was produced, and it was at once evident that I could not maintain my position there. We must respect Chinese law and act wisely if we would successfully carry on the Lord's work, and so I at once admitted their claim, but stated that, as I had rented from a citizen, I would not leave that night. Till long past midnight angry soldiers paraded the streets, shouting threatening words. At times they were at the door, on the point of smashing it, rushing in, and disposing of me with their weapons. Again and again they approached, and it seemed in that dark, damp place as if my end were at hand. On leaving the place in the morning great crowds went in front; others followed after, jostling and sneering; and many viewed me from their low-roofed houses and flung filth and missiles down at me. It took me several hours to make my way a short distance to the river's bank. Entering a boat, I went down the river to the Toa-liong-pong chapel, three miles away, to find my students. We spent the rest of the day there, and in the evening, after preaching in the chapel, we entered the little room and prayed to the God of heaven to

give us an entrance into the city of Bang-kah. Rising from prayer, we returned immediately to the city. It was dark, but some lights were visible. Not knowing exactly whither we were going, we met an old man, and inquired if he knew any one who would rent even a small house for mission work. "Yes," he replied, "I will rent you mine." We accompanied him, and, passing through dark streets and over rubbish, came to a small back door opening into a dirty room with mud-floor. We entered and began to write a rental paper. The house had to be rented by a native, for foreigners cannot hold property away from the treaty ports. To be particular I said, "Do you own the site?" "Oh no," said he, "but I can secure the owner this very night." In half an [p. 167] hour the owner was with us, another paper prepared, and both contracts signed and stamped. I was in full possession, and that according to Chinese law, by midnight. He gave us possession at once, crept out a back way, and disappeared.

In the morning I put up a tablet over the door with the same inscription as before: "Jesus' Holy Temple." In less than an hour crowds filled the street, and the open space in front of a large temple was thronged with angry citizens. People came and went the whole day long. The second day the whole city was in an uproar, and the hubbub produced by their thousand voices fell very unpleasantly upon our ears. Still I walked the street among them, now and again extracting teeth, for we had friends even among so many enemies. On the third day lepers and beggars and other lewd fellows, hired to molest us, pressed around with their swollen ears and disgusting-looking features. They tried to rub against us, expecting us soon to

quit the premises. About four or five o'clock the excitement grew to a white heat. Hundreds had their cues tied around their necks, and blue cloth about their loins, to signify that they were ready for the fray. One stooped down, picked up a stone, and hurled it against the building. In a moment their screams were deafening. They were on the roof, within and without, and the house was literally torn to pieces and carried away. No material was left. They actually dug up the stones of the foundation with their hands, and stood spitting on the site. We moved right across the street into an inn. No sooner had we done this than scores were on the roof and many more climbing the walls. The crash of tiles could be heard as they attempted to force an entrance. By this time the shouts and yells were inhuman. One who has never heard the fiendish yells of a murderous Chinese mob can have no conception of their hideousness. The innkeeper came to us with the key of the door in his hand and begged us to leave, lest his house be destroyed.

[p. 168] Then there was a lull. The Chinese mandarin, in his large sedan chair, with his body-guard around him, and with soldiers following, was at the door. Just then, too, her Britannic Majesty's consul at Tamsui, Mr. Scott, put in an appearance. We sat down together. The Chinese official told the consul to order the missionary away from the city. The consul quickly retorted, "I have no authority to give such an order; on the other hand, you must protect him as a British subject." I love British officials of that caliber. When the consul left I accompanied him to the outskirts of the city. On my return the mandarin was literally on his knees beseeching

me to leave the city. I showed him my forceps and my Bible, and told him I would not quit the city, but would extract teeth and preach the gospel. He went away very much chagrined, but left a squad of soldiers to guard the place. In two or three days the excitement subsided. In a week I was offered a site outside the city, and the promise of help from the Chinese authorities to erect a building there. I refused point-blank. As I was lawfully in possession of the site as well as of the building which had been destroyed, I was determined to have our mission building in Bang-kah, and on that spot. The officials then said that I would not be allowed to build in that place again because it was within only a few feet of the examination hall, although, in fact, the hall was a mile and a half away. Having exhausted their whole stock of excuses and subterfuges, they yielded. I erected a small building on the original site -- not one inch one way or another -- and opened it, with soldiers parading the street to preserve the peace. Still the three strong clans continued to be bitterly opposed to us and our work. Every citizen who dared to become even a hearer was boycotted. The former owner of the site had to flee for his life. In time a few became friendly. We purchased a larger site and erected a good, commodious place of worship, roofed with tiles. During the French invasion in [p.169] 1884 that building was destroyed by the looters, the materials carried away, and indignities heaped upon the preacher and converts. Within three months after the cessation of French hostilities three stone churches were erected. One of these was in Bang-kah. It is a solid, handsome, substantial church, with stone spire seventy feet high, and lightning-rod three



feet higher. It is of stone hewn at the quarry; has pillars and turrets of modern style; the inside is plastered beautifully white, the outside finished in stucco-plaster like colored stonework. There are rooms for the preacher, and an upper room -- the only one in the mission -- for the missionary.

In 1879 six students and I, on foot, and my wife in a sedan chair, were going through one of the streets after dark on our way to the chapel. It was the tenth day of a heathen feast, and the idolatrous procession was about to disband, so that the devotees were wrought up to the highest pitch of fury and agitation. There were thousands of them in the procession, leaping and yelling as if under the afflatus of evil spirits. We were recognized. There was a pause, and a torch was thrust into the face of my wife in the chair, nearly destroying her eyes. A dozen dragged two students by their cues, while others were tumbling a third on the stone pavement. Wilder and wilder grew the infuriated mob. Louder and louder sounded their gongs and yells. Things looked dangerous, when an old man from a house right there rushed up and said, "This is Kai Bok-su, the barbarian teacher. Do not interfere with him or his company. Take my advice and go on in your procession." Fortunately there was a narrow lane at right angles to the street where we met the processionists. Into this he hurried us out of danger. We went directly to the chapel, where I preached on the words of the psalm, "As the mountain, are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people from henceforth even forever." Changes have taken place in that once proud city. In 1887 [p. 170] I was there during the time of idolatrous rites and

processions. Perhaps there never was such a gathering of people in that city before. A Hoa and myself took our position purposely at various places near the temple, on the cross-streets, by the wayside, and on the wall of the new city. Once we were right above the gateway through which the processionists passed, but we were neither molested nor slandered. They went along with smiling faces. That very evening we sat in front of the large temple where years before the mob met to kill us. The same Bang-kah head men were in the procession, and as they came near us they halted and greeted us kindly. Before dark I extracted five hundred and thirteen teeth and addressed an immense throng. But what a change! Who ever dreamed of such a change! I never witnessed such a half-hearted, listless procession. By removing an idol or two the whole performance would have amounted to little more than a sight-seeing farce. But idolatry is far from being dead yet. There is indeed a great change, but hard battles must yet be fought before heathen hearts will yield to Jesus and follow him.

But it was on the eve of our departure to Canada in 1893 that Bang-kah gave evidence of the greatness of the change produced in that city. In the chapel, on the occasion of our last visit, two marriage ceremonies were performed in the presence of a large assembly. The head men of the city sent their visiting-cards, with a message to ask if I would be willing to sit in a sedan-chair and be carried in honor through the streets of their city. I begged some time to consider, and decided that, as in the past they had acted toward us as they chose, so now I would allow them to do the same. A procession

was formed on the same level ground, near the same old temple. Eight bands of music, with cymbals, drums, gongs, pipes, guitars, mandolins, tambourines, and clarionets, took the lead. Men and boys with flags, streamers, and banners followed; [p. 171] scores with squibs and fire-crackers set off after the manner of Chinese celebrations. Five head men, a magistrate, a military official, and two civil officials came next in order; and then three large red "umbrellas of honor," with three flounces each, presented by the people, with their names inscribed, were carried in front of me, as I sat in a handsome silk-lined sedan chair. Following the chair were six men on horseback, twenty-six sedan-chairs, three hundred footmen in regular order, and various other parties behind. Thus we passed through the streets of Bang-kah, and on all hands received tokens of respect and honor.

On arriving at Bang-kah "jetty," where the steam-launch was waiting, our Christians stood and sang, "I'm not ashamed to own my Lord." Heathen and Christian alike cheered us as we boarded the launch. Two bands of music accompanied us all the way to Tamsui, and from the launch right up to our dwelling-house. In front of our door was the climax of the demonstration. And all this was from the head men and citizens of Bang-kah, the erstwhile Gibraltar of heathenism. And thus was Bang-kah taken. Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy holy name, be the glory!