

天津扶輪社員董顯光博士 -- 報人、外交家與傳道者的傳奇

Tientsin Rotarian – Dr. Hollington K. Tong
The Legend of a Journalist, Diplomat, and Preacher

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Dr. Hollington K. Tong (董顯光博士), *HonLLD (Park College)*, AB (*Missouri*) (1887–1971) was a pivotal Chinese journalist, author, and diplomat who bridge the gap between the Republic of China's (中華民國) government and Western media during the mid-20th century.

Educated in the United States major in journalism, Tong returned to China to edit newspapers like 《The Peking Daily News》 and found influential outlets.

In the early 1920s, he relocated to Tientsin (*Tianjin*) (天津) and served as Secretary of North China Star Co., Inc. which was the publisher of the English newspaper 《The North China Star》 (華北明星報). In 1926, Tong served as President to a new Chinese newspaper 《庸報》 (Yung Pao) which was in a couple of years became one of the four leading Chinese newspapers in the territory. The other three were 《大公報》 (Ta Kung Pao), 《益世報》 (Social Welfare/Yi Shi Bao), and 《盛京時報》 (The Sheng Ching Shih Pao).

During the tenure in Tientsin before he further moved to Shanghai in 1931, Tong joined the Rotary Club of Tientsin (天津扶輪社) as an Active Member holding the Classification “Journalist”.

Tong rose from humble origins to become a key figure in the Nationalist Government, and introducing American-style journalism practices to China through his editorial roles at major publications such as 《The China Press 大陸報》 in Shanghai (上海).

In government service, Tong directed the Shanghai office of the Military Affairs Commission (國民政府軍事委員會) in 1936, acted as minister in information roles during World War II, and later became Vice Minister of Information (國民黨中央宣傳部副部長), Director of the Government Information Office (政府新聞局局長) in 1947, and Minister without Portfolio in the Executive Yuan (行政院政務委員) in 1948---positions that served as primary spokesperson against Japanese aggression and internal communist threats.

After the Nationalist Government retreat to Taiwan (臺灣) in 1949, Tong continued in advisory capacities with the Kuomintang (中國國民黨) (KMT), managing state media like the Broadcasting Corporation of China (中國廣播公司) and 《The Central Daily News 中央日報》. His diplomatic career peaked as Ambassador to Japan in 1952 and Ambassador to the United States from 1956, succeeding Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo (顧維鈞博士), where he advocated for Nationalist interests amid Cold War tensions and U.S. recognition debates. Tong's notable writings include the authorized 《Chiang Kai-Shek: Soldier and Statesman》 (1937), which portrayed the leader's military and political evolution, alongside works like 《Dateline: China》 (1950) offering firsthand accounts of Sino-Japanese conflicts.



A sketch of Hollington K. Tong

Early Life and Education

Hollington K. Tong (董顯光), born on 9 November 1887, in Ningpo (Ningbo), Chekiang (Zhejiang) Province of the Ch'ing Empire (大清帝國浙江省寧波府), came from a Protestant Christian family, which shaped his early worldview and lifelong religious commitment. His upbringing reflected the influence of missionary activities in late Ch'ing Empire (China), though specific details about his parents or siblings remain sparse in historical records.

Tong received his primary education at a missionary school in Soochow (Suzhou) (蘇州), Kiangsu (Jiangsu) Province (江蘇省), an institution likely affiliated with Presbyterian missions prevalent in the region. This environment instilled in him a devout Presbyterian faith that persisted throughout his life, influencing his personal ethics and professional networks. Education through missionary and secular institutions reflected the influence of Western-style schooling prevalent in coastal regions during the late Ch'ing Empire. Later, Tong received secondary studies at Lowrie High School (清心書院) in Shanghai (上海), Shanghai High School (龍門書院), and Anglo-Chinese College (中西書院), also in Shanghai.

By his late teens in 1905, Tong taught at the Chien Chiu School (健秋學校) in Ningpo (Ningbo) (寧波), where one of his students was “a grave-minded, ambitious, unforgettable youth from near-by Chi Kow (溪口鎮), named Chiang Kai-Shek (蔣中正)”. Tong had acquired sufficient English proficiency to tutor figures such as Chiang, indicating an early aptitude for languages amid a modest family circumstance that prioritized education despite limited resources. In 1906 Tong left Ningpo for Shanghai for a job at the Commercial Press.

Having decided to further his education abroad, in 1907, Tong traveled to the United States enrolling at Park College in Parkville, Missouri, where he studied for one year amid financial constraints that required periodic work interruptions. The following year, he transferred to the newly founded School of Journalism at the University of Missouri, from which he was graduated in 1912 with Bachelor of Arts (A.B.) degree. Tong continued his journalistic training at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism, joining its inaugural class and completing the program circa 1913. Among Tong's 12 classmates was Carl William Ackerman, who later became the School's Dean. Upon completion he served for a time on the reportorial staff of 《The New York Times》 and 《The New York Evening Post》, and also served as an assistant editor on 《The New York Independent》. This early exposure to professional standards in American journalism shaped his subsequent career.

Journalistic Career

Entry into Journalism and Early Roles

Upon returning to the newly established Republic of China in January 1912 after completing his journalism studies in the United States, Tong became the Peking correspondent for several Shanghai newspapers and, for a brief period, the English Secretary of the Senate of China's First Parliament, a hybrid role blending journalistic acumen with governmental translation and communication duties, which honed his expertise in propaganda and official messaging. This role marked his initial foray into professional journalism, leveraging his bilingual skills and American training to contribute to foreign-oriented reporting amid the early Republican era's political flux.

After the so-called Second Revolution, he was assistant editor of an English-language daily at Shanghai 《The China Republican 民國西報》, which was owned by the KMT. In 1914-1916 he was again in Peking as editor of 《The Peking Daily News》---an English daily that provided coverage of parliamentary proceedings and national affairs, reflecting his growing influence in shaping public discourse for both domestic and international audiences. During this period, he also served as English Secretary for the National Petroleum Administration and made a brief trip to the United States. In 1917 he became the Peking correspondent for the well-known Shanghai English weekly 《Millard's Review》(密勒氏評論報). A year later, Tong was promoted to assistant editor, though he continued to work in the Peking-Tientsin area. He also found time to serve as Secretary to the Chihli River Commission in 1918 and as Adviser to Yang Yi-Te, Chihli Police Commissioner (直隸全省警務處處長楊以德) and Chu Hsing-Yuan, Chihli Foreign Affairs Commissioner (外交部特派直隸交涉員祝惺元) in 1920. In the same year Tong relocated to Tientsin and served as Secretary of North China Star Co., Inc. which was the publisher of the English newspaper 《The North China Star》. In 1926, Tong served as President to a new Chinese newspaper 《庸報》(Yung Pao) which was in two years became one of the four leading Chinese newspapers in Tientsin. .

In August 1920 Tong joined the Ministry of Communications in the Peking government (北洋政府) as a Junior Adviser. Later that year in October, he was made Executive Secretary of the Ministry's Railway Finance Commission. In October 1921 he was delegated by the Peking government to represent China at the International Press Conference in Honolulu, Hawaii. In May 1922 he was promoted to Acting Councillor of the Ministry of Communications but he resigned from it in June. He became in 1923 Secretary to Vice-Admiral Y. L. Woo, then Communications Minister (交通總長吳毓麟海軍中將). For his services to the Ministry, Tong was decorated with three orders by the Peking government in 1923: (1) In May -- Order of the Golden Grain, 3rd Class (三等嘉禾章); (2) In July -- Order of the Golden Grain, 2nd Class (二等嘉禾章); and (3) In October -- Grand Cordon of the Order of Precious Brilliant Golden Grain, 2nd Class (二等大綬寶光嘉禾勳章). In 1926 Tong served briefly as Foreign Affairs Adviser to Warlord Wu P'ei-Fu (吳佩孚). In 1929-1930 Tong accompanied Admiral Tu Hsi-Kuei (海軍上將杜錫珪) on a world inspection tour as his English Secretary.

Leadership in the Shanghai media

By 1927-1928, the KMT had succeeded in unifying most of the Chinese Republic through the Northern Expedition (國民革命軍北伐), and the center of political activity had shifted from Peiping (北平) in the north to the Nanking-Shanghai area in the lower Yangtze valley. Accordingly, in 1931 Tong accepted an offer to become Managing Director and Editor of an English daily 《The China Press》 in Shanghai. In this capacity, he oversaw operations until 1935, steering the newspaper toward robust coverage of domestic Chinese affairs and international relations amid rising tensions with the Imperial Japan. The paper, under Tong's direction, emphasized factual reporting on political events, including Japanese military actions in Manchuria, which Tong analyzed through syndicated articles and editorials that highlighted China's strategic vulnerabilities. Tong secured the services of such active and promising young American reporters as Frank Tillman Durdin (費奠安) and Harold Robert Isaacs (伊羅生). Tong's experience at 《The China Press》 informed his subsequent efforts to support wartime reporting as the Sino-Japanese War began in 1937, including coordinating with English-language journalists to cover Nationalist China's resistance to the Japanese invasion.

In 1935, Tong became Managing Director of a group which had acquired a controlling interest in four journalistic enterprises in Shanghai: (1) 《The China Press》 (大陸報); (2) 《The China Times》 (時事新報); (3) 《The Evening Gazette / Industrial and Commercial Daily Press》 (工商晚報); and (4) The Shun Pao Printing Plant (申報館印刷廠). This merger was supported by the Nationalist government, aiming to strengthen the guidance of public opinion in Shanghai by acquiring these companies which were in financial distress or politically sensitive at that time.

During his tenure, Tong authored 《Problems and Personalities in the Far East》(1933) and the three-volume 《Men and Events in the Far East》(1933–1934), serialized in 《The China Press》 and later published as books, drawing on his firsthand observations to critique foreign encroachments and advocate for Chinese sovereignty. These works established Tong as a bridge between Chinese perspectives and Western audiences, leveraging his U.S. education and bilingual proficiency to counter pro-Japanese narratives in international media. His leadership fostered a network of correspondents, enhancing the paper's role in disseminating news from remote areas via cable services.

Government Roles in the Republic of China

Appointment as Minister of Information

In 1935 William Henry Donald (端納) often known as “Donald of China”, an Australian correspondent who had been an adviser to Chang Hsueh-Liang (張學良) and who then was an adviser to Chiang Kai-Shek, informed Tong of Chiang's wish that Tong become chief censor of all outgoing foreign press messages. Donald appealed to Tong's patriotism, pointing out that “inefficient press censorship was responsible for an increasingly bad press abroad”. Accordingly, Tong agreed to undertake this function, assuming the title of Secretary of the Military Affairs Commission's Shanghai office. When the Sino-Japanese war began in July 1937, it soon became clear that in addition to the fighting on the battlefronts, a war of international publicity had to be fought. Thus, when the Military Affairs Commission was re-organized to cope with wartime needs, Tong was appointed Vice-Minister of its Fifth Board, which was responsible for national and international publicity. While hostilities still were going on in the Shanghai area, Tong took the initiative to form an anti-Japanese committee in the International Settlement (上海公共租界) to publicize the Chinese cause. It was composed of Hsia Chin-Lin, Principal of Anglo-Chinese Medhurst College (上海麥倫書院院長夏晉麟), Wen Yuan-Ning, editor-in-chief of the English magazine 《T'ien Hsia Monthly》(《天下月刊》主任編輯溫源寧), Dr. Herman C. E. Liu, President of Shanghai University (滬江大學校長劉湛恩博士), and Harold John Timperley, correspondent of 《The Manchester Guardian》(《曼徹斯特衛報》調查記者田伯烈). After Shanghai fell to the Japanese late in 1937, Hsia went to the United States, Wen went to Hong Kong, and Timperley went to Great Britain to take charge of overseas information operations under Tong's direction. Liu remained in Shanghai where he was assassinated, probably by Japanese agents, on 7 April 1938.

Toward the end of 1937, Tong's department was transferred to the ministry of information. Tong then became Vice-Minister of Information, a post he held for the rest of the War. He set up a modest office at Hankow (*Hankou*) (漢口) with a staff of 20-30 people and appointed the veteran newspaperman Tseng Hsü-Pai (曾虛白) as his deputy. The few foreign correspondents who had followed the National Government to Hankow included Freda Utey (胡德蘭), Agnes Smedley, Lily Abegg, John Gunther, and Tillman Durdin. Tong

remained in Hankow for ten months. In addition to censorship and publicity functions, he was often called upon to handle tasks connected with other aspects of foreign relations. He was among the last of the National Government personnel to leave Hankow, which he did on the evening of 25 October 1938, as the Japanese troops were entering the city. He then made a ten-day hike to Changsha (長沙), where he operated a temporary office until headquarters could be established for him at the wartime capital of Chungking (*Chongqing*) (重慶). As the war developed, more foreign correspondents were drawn to Chungking. Early in 1939 Tong conceived the idea of building a press hostel to accommodate foreign correspondents. He obtained a small grant from Premier H. H. K'ung (行政院院長孔祥熙) and built a simple dormitory consisting of 13 rooms. The popularity of [Holly's Hotel 董氏寓所] increased as Japanese bombings reduced accommodations elsewhere. Among those who spent time at this hostel were Brooks Atkinson (愛金生), Theodore H. White (白修德), Spencer Moosa (摩沙), and Tillman Durdin. In speaking of this period, Durdin said that Tong was “without official stuffiness or arrogance. He was always approachable. In Chungking, correspondents could get him out of bed at 4 in the morning to argue a point of censorship or check up on a news story, and he would show no impatience. He lived with his wife in a little plaster-walled cabin in the same compound as the correspondents' hostel. . . . He was indefatigable in getting facilities and interviews for correspondents.” In addition to working with the KMT Central News Agency (中央通訊社) to furnish the foreign correspondents with news dispatches, Tong's department published a general magazine entitled 《China at War》 and maintained the radio station XGOY, which was operated by Michael Peng (Peng Lo-Shan 彭若山). Tong's efforts helped draw to Chungking such important American visitors as the publishers Roy Howard and Henry Robinson Luce (路思義).

Tong's selection underscored the Nationalist leadership's emphasis on effective communication with Western audiences to garner international sympathy and support. As an American-educated journalist fluent in English, he had already established himself as a bridge between Chinese officials and foreign correspondents, notably through his wartime reporting and editing roles. Chiang Kai-Shek's administration viewed Tong's appointment as essential for countering Japanese narratives and disseminating factual accounts of Chinese resistance from the provisional capital in Chungking.

In this capacity, Tong oversaw the Ministry's foreign propaganda division, implementing policies to control news flow while providing briefings to journalists, though his efforts were sometimes critiqued for prioritizing regime messaging over unfiltered access. The appointment positioned him as a principal intermediary for Western media, shaping global perceptions of the war through structured releases and personal networks cultivated during his Shanghai press career.

Propaganda Efforts during the Sino-Japanese War

Tong, appointed Vice-Minister of Information in the Chiang Administration's Ministry of Information established in early 1938, directed foreign propaganda operations to counter Japanese information dominance following the War's outbreak on 7 July 1937. Leveraging his journalistic background, Tong proposed a centralized system in September 1937, endorsed by Chiang Kai-Shek, which integrated pre-existing treaty-port news networks to bypass Japanese blockades and project China's resistance narrative abroad. This structure emphasized professionalization, consolidating disparate agencies under unified oversight to enhance efficiency and credibility.

Tong's strategy adopted a "hands-off" approach toward Western correspondents, prioritizing assistance---such as transportation, accommodations, and guided access to front lines and Chungking, the wartime capital after Nanking's (*Nanjing*) (南京) fall in December 1937---over censorship to cultivate voluntary favorable coverage. This co-optation yielded results, as journalists embedded in Nationalist areas produced reports amplifying themes of Chinese perseverance against aggression, disseminated via English-language outlets in the U.S. and Britain. By mid-1938, the International Department under Tong had expanded these networks, inviting over a dozen key foreign reporters and dignitaries to Chungking for firsthand observation, thereby fracturing Japanese encirclement of outbound information.

These efforts focused on psychological warfare and morale-building, producing pamphlets, films, and radio broadcasts highlighting Japanese atrocities while underscoring Allied potential, which contributed to pre-Pearl Harbor sympathy in the West---evidenced by increased U.S. public support for aid to China by 1941. Tong's reluctance to assume formal roles initially gave way to active leadership, though factional rivalries within the KMT occasionally hampered implementation. Nonetheless, the system sustained international awareness of China's plight amid resource constraints until the War's end in 1945. Outcomes included bolstered Lend-Lease provisions and diplomatic leverage, though effectiveness waned post-1941 as Allied priorities shifted.

Establish the School of Journalism in Chungking

In the course of the war years, Tong took three trips abroad. In February 1942 he accompanied Chiang Kai-Shek on a two-week trip to India for discussions with Gandhi and Nehru. He accompanied Madame Chiang Kai-Shek (Soong Mei-Ling 宋美齡) on her November 1942-June 1943 visit to the United States. And in November 1943 he was included in Chiang Kai-Shek's entourage at the Cairo Conference in Egypt.

While in the United States, Tong held discussions with his old Columbia University classmate, Carl W. Ackerman, who had become Dean of the Graduate School of Journalism, about establishing a training school for journalists at Chungking. With the assistance of Columbia University, a two-part program was established in 1943. Four journalists were employed by the United States Department of State and sent to Chungking to serve as guest

experts in information agencies. One of the four was Floyd Taylor, who later became head of the American Press Institute. The second part of the program was the establishment of a Chinese-administered school of journalism in Chungking with an American staff. Harold Livingston Cross (柯羅司), then professor of newspaper law at the Columbia School of Journalism, went on leave to serve in 1943-1944 as the Dean of Chinese Post-Graduate School of Journalism (中國新聞專科學校). His teaching staff of four (later increased to seven) included Richard Terrill Baker (白克德) who later in 1968 until 1970 became acting dean of the Columbia School of Journalism. The Chungking School of Journalism, which was affiliated with the Central Political Institute (中央政治學校), trained more than 60 young journalists before it suspended operations in the summer of 1945. Dean Ackerman's 1945 report on the Chungking school spoke of its achievements "in helping the State Department's cultural cooperation program in China, in breaking down the hesitancy of Chinese officialdom to give out information and news, in spreading the gospel of freedom of the press, in teaching the responsibilities of men and women engaged in journalistic enterprises, and in training young Chinese to follow American methods in collecting and disseminating news through newspapers and by radio." Thus, the Chungking journalism school helped realize Tong's ambitions for Chinese journalism. In recognition of his wartime achievements, Tong was elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in 1945. After a short respite from official life, he assumed office as Director of the Executive Yuan's Government Information Office in 1947. The following year, he became Minister without Portfolio in the Executive Yuan.

Ambassador to Japan and the United States

After the Nationalist Government retreat to Taiwan (臺灣) in 1949, Tong continued in advisory capacities with the Kuomintang, managing state media like the Broadcasting Corporation of China (中國廣播公司) and 《The Central Daily News》《中央日報》.

Tong was appointed Ambassador of the Republic of China to the United States in 1956, succeeding Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo upon the latter's retirement after 40 years of diplomatic service. He assumed his duties by 1 May 1956, following his prior role as Ambassador to Japan from 1952 to 1956. Tong's extensive background in journalism---including as a correspondent, newspaper publisher, and former Vice-Minister and Director of the Government Information Office---positioned him to leverage media connections for fostering goodwill and mutual understanding between the Chinese and American peoples.

In his first ambassadorial address delivered in June 1956 at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., Tong warned of the dangers posed by Communist China's potential industrialization, stating that if it reached levels approximating those of the Soviet Union, it could emerge as "the strongest single aggressive force this planet has ever seen". This speech emphasised on the strategic threat from the mainland regime, drawing on his familiarity with communist tactics from prior propaganda and information roles. During his

tenure, which extended until 1958, Tong advocated for sustained U.S. support for the Republic of China (Taiwan) amid escalating tensions in the broader Cold War dynamics.

Tong's diplomatic efforts focused on consultations and cooperation between the two governments, particularly in countering communist expansionism, while maintaining the high standards of representation established by his predecessors. Tong focused on securing continued American military, economic, and diplomatic support for the Nationalist government on Taiwan amid growing pressures for recognition of the People's Republic of China (中華人民共和國) (PRC). Tong leveraged his background in journalism and propaganda to engage U.S. policymakers, emphasizing the strategic importance of the Taiwan Strait and the threat posed by Mao Zedong's (毛澤東) regime. In his inaugural major address at the National Press Club in June 1956, he cautioned that admitting Communist China to the United Nations would constitute a "disaster" for the free world, arguing it would legitimize aggression and undermine global stability.

Tong cultivated extensive contacts with the American press and congressional figures, drawing on decades of prior relationships built during his wartime information roles, to counter narratives sympathetic to the PRC. He advocated for sustained U.S. aid packages, including the US\$100 million in economic assistance and military support allocated under the 《Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954》, which he defended as essential to deterring Communist invasion attempts, such as the 1958 Taiwan Strait Crisis. Through private briefings and public statements, Tong highlighted Nationalist China's anti-communist credentials, portraying it as a bulwark against Soviet influence in Asia and criticizing U.S. State Department tendencies toward accommodation with Beijing as shortsighted.

His efforts extended to lobbying against "two Chinas" policies, insisting on the Republic of China's exclusive legitimacy as the government of all China. Tong coordinated with pro-Nationalist groups in Washington, including elements of the informal China Lobby, to influence legislation like the Formosa Resolution of 1955, which affirmed U.S. commitment to Taiwan's defense. Despite facing headwinds from shifting U.S. public opinion---polls in the early 1960s showed increasing favor for PRC engagement---Tong's diplomatic correspondence and testimonies underscored empirical evidence of Nationalist reforms under Chiang Kai-Shek, such as land redistribution and economic growth rates averaging 8% annually in the 1950s, as proof of viability against Marxist alternatives.

Tong's advocacy also involved direct appeals to U.S. President Dwight David Eisenhower (美國總統艾森豪威爾) and successors, including meetings to reinforce the 1954 Treaty's implementation, which provided over US\$1.5 billion in aid from 1951 to 1965. He publicly rebuked Western media portrayals of Nationalist China as corrupt or ineffective, attributing such views to biased reporting influenced by leftist sympathizers, and promoted firsthand accounts of Taiwan's stability to U.S. audiences. His work contributed to maintaining Republic of China (Taiwan)'s United Nations seat until 1971.

Writings and Intellectual Contributions

Biography of Chiang Kai-Shek

Tong authored 《Chiang Kai-Shek, Soldier and Statesman》, a two-volume biography published in 1937 by the China Publishing Company in Shanghai, which portrayed Chiang as a pivotal figure in China's modernization and resistance against Japanese aggression. The work drew on Tong's close access to Chiang during his tenure as press officer and Minister of Information, emphasizing Chiang's military campaigns, such as the Northern Expedition (1926–1928) that unified China under Nationalist rule, and his leadership in the War of Resistance (1937–1945), where Tong highlighted Chiang's strategic decisions like the relocation of the capital to Chungking. Tong's narrative framed Chiang's governance as a blend of Confucian ethics and pragmatic authoritarianism, crediting him with suppressing communist insurgencies and fostering economic reforms, though it omitted or downplayed internal purges like the 1927 Shanghai Massacre.

The biography served propagandistic aims, aligning with Tong's role in the Nationalist government's information apparatus, and was distributed in the U.S. to bolster Allied support during World War II, with endorsements from figures like U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull (美國國務卿赫爾), who praised its depiction of Chiang's anti-fascist stance. Critics, including Western journalists like Theodore White, later assessed it as overly laudatory, noting Tong's selective sourcing from official records while ignoring evidence of corruption and authoritarian excesses in the Nationalist regime, such as the 1943–1944 suppression of dissent in Free China areas. Despite these limitations, the book provided firsthand accounts of events like the Sian Incident (西安事變) (1936), where Chiang's kidnapping by Chang Hsueh-Liang (張學良) forced a united front against Japan, based on Tong's interviews and dispatches. Tong's portrayal extended to Chiang's personal life, depicting him as a disciplined Christian convert influenced by Soong Mei-Ling (宋美齡), his wife, and crediting this for his moral leadership amid civil strife, though post-1949 analyses from declassified U.S. State Department reports questioned the biography's veracity on Chiang's tolerance for warlord alliances and inflation policies that eroded public support by 1947. The work's impact waned after the Nationalists' retreat to Taiwan in 1949, but it remains a primary source for scholars studying wartime propaganda, revealing biases inherent in regime-insider perspectives that prioritized narrative control over empirical detachment.

Other Publications and Analyses

Tong served as editor-in-chief of the 《China Handbook》, a periodical publication issued by the Chinese Ministry of Information, with the initial volume covering 1937–1943 providing a detailed survey of wartime developments, including military campaigns, economic policies, and diplomatic efforts under the Nationalist government. Subsequent editions, such as the 1937–1945 revised version with a 1946 supplement, expanded on these analyses, compiling data on eight years of conflict against Japan, resource mobilization, and international

alliances, intended for both domestic reference and foreign audiences to counter misconceptions about China's resilience.

In 1950, Tong published 《Dateline: China: The Beginning of China's Press Relations with the World》, a reflective analysis of his experiences in establishing and managing foreign propaganda during the Sino-Japanese War and beyond, emphasizing the Nationalist regime's efforts to shape global perceptions through controlled media access and journalist coordination in Chungking. The book details tactical innovations, such as pooling foreign correspondents and scripting press briefings, while critiquing barriers like censorship that hindered objective reporting, drawing from Tong's direct oversight of the Ministry of Information's international outreach.

Beyond these, Tong contributed analytical pamphlets compiling Western journalistic accounts for Nationalist leaders, focusing on strategic assessments of Japanese advances and Allied support, though these were primarily internal tools rather than public works. His writings consistently prioritized defending the KMT's narrative of unified resistance, often attributing setbacks to internal sabotage or foreign misjudgments rather than governance failures.

Post-Diplomacy Activities, Death and Immediate Aftermath

In 1953 Tong received the degree of Doctor of Laws (LLD), *honoris causa*, from Park College (his undergraduate alma mater).

After his term as Ambassador to the United States from 1956 to 1958, Tong returned to Taiwan and continued in advisory capacities with the Kuomintang. He focused on state media efforts to promote the Nationalist regime's narrative internationally and counter communist propaganda until his retirement.

On his retirement from public activity in 1958, President Chiang Kai-Shek appointed Tong a senior adviser to the Presidential Office in Taipei (臺北). Tong remained in Taiwan until 1961, when he came to the United States for a Moral Rearmament conference. He suffered a stroke and, after partial recuperation, went to live with a daughter in California.

Rotarian Dr. Hollington K. Tong passed away on 9 January 1971, in a nursing home in Monterey, California, U.S.A., at the age of 83. He is often remembered as "China's first American-trained journalist". No public details on the cause of death were reported in contemporary accounts. His passing received limited immediate coverage, primarily in the form of a brief obituary in 《The New York Times》, which highlighted his roles as a journalist, diplomat, and biographer of Chiang Kai-Shek without noting any formal funeral arrangements or official tributes from the Republic of China government in Taiwan. Tong was survived by his wife, Sally Chao (Chao Hsiang-Ying 趙祥瑛), two sons and three daughters, following the earlier loss of their youngest son in a 1960 airplane crash.

Long-Term Impact and Assessments

Tong's propaganda initiatives during the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) had a

measurable impact on Western perceptions, fostering sympathy that translated into policy support, such as increased U.S. public backing for checks on Japanese expansion, with 70% of Americans favoring such measures by September 1941. By centralizing the KMT's foreign propaganda apparatus in 1937–1938, he enabled coordinated dissemination of anti-Japanese narratives through English-language outlets, including treaty-port newspapers under his influence, which shifted international framing of China from isolationist to victim deserving alliance. This system endured wartime relocation to Chungking and facilitated direct channels to Allied leaders, though its efficacy hinged on exogenous events like Pearl Harbor rather than intrinsic persuasiveness alone.

Post-1949, following the Nationalist relocation to Taiwan, Tong's direct geopolitical influence diminished amid the global recognition of the People's Republic of China, rendering his wartime advocacy for a unified Nationalist front largely obsolete on the mainland. In the Republic of China (Taiwan) (ROC), he sustained contributions via media leadership, including as General Manager of the Broadcasting Corporation of China and Board Chairman of 《The Central Daily News》, reinforcing anti-Communist messaging and ROC legitimacy through state-aligned journalism. His 1961 publication 《Christianity in Taiwan: A History further documented religious dynamic》 under ROC rule, underscoring cultural continuity efforts.

Historians assess Tong as an adept organizer who professionalized KMT international outreach, leveraging U.S. journalistic training to prioritize elite networks and narrative control, achieving “considerable success” in wartime media access despite internal party constraints. Contemporary evaluations, including U.S. diplomatic correspondence, acknowledged his operational challenges under authoritarian oversight, while his diplomatic tenure (e.g. ambassadorships to Japan in 1952 and the U.S. in 1956) earned praise for upholding Nationalist representation amid eroding mainland support. Long-term scholarly views, often from sources sympathetic to liberal media ideals, note biases in his output—such as downplaying regime corruption---that undermined credibility once Communist revelations post-1949 exposed Nationalist frailties, though empirical data on wartime opinion shifts affirm tactical gains.

Controversies and Criticisms

Accusations of Propaganda Bias

Tong, as head of the international propaganda from 1937 onward, centralized the KMT's foreign propaganda efforts to shape international perceptions of China's war against Japan, which drew accusations from some Western observers of promoting a selectively favorable narrative that minimized Nationalist shortcomings such as military setbacks, corruption, and hyperinflation. These efforts included subsidizing English-language press outlets and coordinating with figures like Soong Mei-Ling to influence elite audiences in the United States and Britain, tactics critics labeled as manipulative rather than objective reporting.

In the United States, where Tong oversaw the Chinese News Service starting in 1942 with a modest budget for key operations, detractors warned of misleading propaganda that exaggerated unity and resolve while obscuring factional divisions and governance failures, contributing to skepticism among American policymakers and journalists. Such criticisms intensified post-1944, following foreign correspondents' visit to the Communist base at Yanan (*Yan'an*) (延安), where Tong's subsequent book 《Dateline: China》 (1950) accused reporters of pro-Communist bias. In response, some journalists and analysts countered that Tong's ministry had restricted access to Nationalist areas, censored dispatches, and disseminated inflated claims of victories to sustain Allied support.

Academic assessments have noted that while Tong advocated for "truthful" reporting to build credibility, his embrace of classic propaganda techniques---such as narrative control during information blackouts---shaded his reputation among skeptics who viewed the International Department's outputs as inherently partisan, prioritizing KMT survival over balanced disclosure. These accusations persisted into analyses of the China Lobby's formation, where Tong's advocacy was seen by opponents as distorting facts to secure U.S. aid, ultimately undermining long-term trust when realities like economic collapse emerged.

Responses to Western Media Criticisms of the Nationalists

Tong, as director of the Nationalist government's Ministry of Information, systematically countered Western media depictions of the KMT regime by attributing much of the criticism to reporters' inadequate preparation and linguistic barriers, which he argued resulted in superficial or skewed portrayals of China's internal dynamics. In public statements and internal directives, Tong criticized the practice of dispatching correspondents to China who lacked proficiency in Chinese language or familiarity with local publications, contrasting this with the rigorous standards applied to European assignments where knowledge of German or French was expected. He contended that such deficiencies fostered inaccurate narratives of KMT corruption and inefficiency, often amplifying isolated incidents while overlooking the broader context of wartime exigencies and anti-Japanese resistance efforts.

To rebut specific allegations of authoritarianism and human rights abuses leveled by outlets like 《The New York Times》 and 《Time》 magazine, Tong emphasized empirical counters such as the sustained influx of refugees fleeing Communist-held territories toward KMT-controlled areas or the British Hong Kong, interpreting this as a direct referendum on regime viability. In a 1950s speech referenced in Taiwanese diplomatic records, he cited the voluntary repatriation of Chinese prisoners-of-war from Korea and the ongoing exodus from the mainland as irrefutable indicators of Communist unpopularity, challenging Western sympathy for Mao Zedong's forces as detached from ground realities. Tong's strategy included cultivating relationships with foreign journalists in Chungking, providing facilitated access and living accommodations amid wartime hardships to encourage balanced reporting, though this drew reciprocal accusations of propaganda influence.

Tong's defenses extended to broader critiques of Western bias, where he and KMT officials posited that left-leaning inclinations among some American and British correspondents---evident in favorable coverage of Yan'an despite limited access---underreported Communist agrarian reforms' coercive elements and overemphasized KMT fiscal mismanagement. Through his U.S.-based Chinese News Service and publications like 《Dateline: China》, Tong advocated for elite-level influence in Washington to offset what he viewed as systematically unbalanced press narratives, prioritizing factual rebuttals over reciprocal censorship. These efforts, while effective in sustaining U.S. aid until 1949, faced skepticism from analysts noting Tong's own role in restricting dispatches during the 1938–1941 encirclement crises, underscoring mutual accusations of informational control.

Hollington K. Tong the Preacher

Hollington K. Tong lived a deeply devout Christian life that blended his pious Presbyterian faith with his high-profile diplomatic and journalistic careers. Serving as the Republic of China's (Taiwan) Ambassador to the United States from 1956 to 1958, Tong used his religious convictions to shape both his personal values and his political worldview.

His Christian life was defined by several key areas:

1. Evangelical Alignments and Global Anti-Communist Networks

Tong was a deeply committed Presbyterian who maintained close personal ties with prominent Western Christian figures, such as Dr. L. Nelson Bell (the father-in-law of Billy Graham). During his tenure as ambassador in Washington, D.C., Tong actively engaged with American evangelical communities to rally Christian support for the Nationalist (KMT) government. For fundamentalist and evangelical missionaries who dreamed of returning to a post-communist China, Tong became an eloquent spokesman who openly championed their theological and missionary visions.

2. A Vision for a Christian Post-Communist China

Tong viewed the political struggle against communism through a spiritual lens. Writing for 《Christianity Today》 in 1957, he expressed immense optimism that godless communism would ultimately fail, leaving a spiritual vacuum that Christianity would be uniquely equipped to fill. He confidently envisioned a future where the Nationalist government would return to the mainland and place Christianity “in the first place in our religious activities”, anticipating that many future directors of state affairs would be Christians.

3. Support for Local and Global Ministries

Beyond geopolitics, Tong actively supported missionary work and noted the explosive growth of Christianity in post-WWII Taiwan. He publicly praised independent missionaries, such as Mrs. Lillian Dickson (孫理蓮) (founder of Mustard Seed International 基督教芥菜種會國際團體), highlighting her tireless efforts to serve human needs and build clinics and schools in Taiwan.

[Note]

Mrs. Lilian Dickson (孫理蓮) was the wife of Reverend James Ira Dickson (孫雅各牧師) who was a charter member of Taipei Rotary Club (臺北扶輪社) in 1948, and the next year he served as the second Club President in 1949-1950.

4. Contributions to Church Historiography

Tong's commitment to his faith culminated in his scholarly documentation of the church. In 1961, he published the foundational book 《Christianity in Taiwan: A History》 (Taipei: The China Post), which remains an early, crucial English-language reference for understanding the historical development of Protestant and Catholic missions on the island.



《庸報》是1926年8月在天津創辦的著名日報，董顯光任社長。

《庸報》曾與《大公報》等並列，在1928年皇姑屯事件中率先披露日軍罪行而轟動一時。

該報內容以本地新聞與副刊為特色，早期受上海《申報》指導，後期於1935年被日本特務機關控制。

《The Yong Pao》 was one of the most influential daily newspapers in northern China (especially Tientsin) during the Republican era. It was founded in Tientsin in 1926 by Hollington Tong and friends.



1945 年 3 月 -- 國際宣傳處副主任董顯光(左)、重慶中央政治學校新聞學院院長甘露德(中)、英文教會月刊《教務雜誌》編輯普拉特於重慶合影。(國立中正紀念堂管理處藏品照片)

March 1945 -- A group photo in Chungking: Hollington Tong (left), Vice-Minister for Information, Rodney Gilbert (center), Dean of the School of Journalism at the Central Political School in Chungking, and Frederick Lionel Pratt, editor of 《The Chinese Recorder》 missionary journal.



1958 年 2 月 19 日 -- 西北東方航空在威斯康辛州麥迪遜的代表阿克雷(中)在麥迪遜市立機場迎接中華民國駐美國大使董顯光(左)。當時董大使應威斯康辛大學麥迪遜分校的紀念聯合會論壇的邀請，就國際情勢（如印尼淪陷於中國共產黨之手）發表演說。

19 February 1958 -- Hollington K. Tong, Republic of China Ambassador to the United States (left) greeted by O. C. Akre (center), representative of Northwest Orient Airlines at the Madison Municipal Airport. Tong was in Madison to speak at a meeting held in the University of Wisconsin Memorial Union sponsored by the Union Forum Committee. Tong spoke on the fall of Indonesia to the Chinese Communists.



Chiang Kai-shek's Teacher and Ambassador

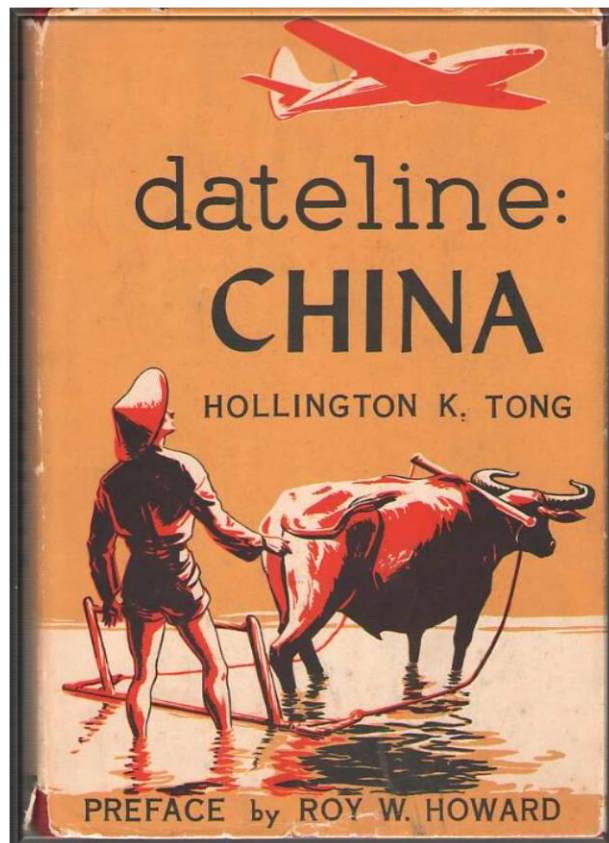


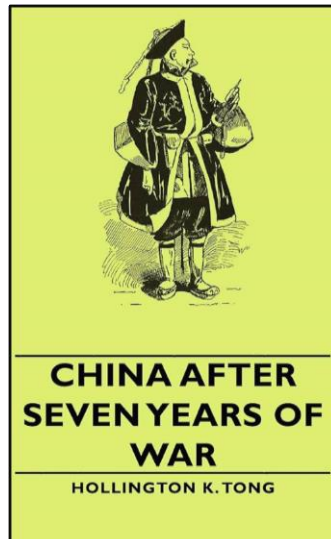
-An Inside View of the Republic of China
from 1911-1958

-General Stilwell and American Policy
Change Towards Free China

by Hollington K. Tong

Edited by Walter C. Mih





This classic book was written by Hollington K. Tong whilst China was still in the clutches of war, and contains an affective account of what life was like within the country at that time.

Extract :

“The Chinese believe that all things under heaven work together for good. An evil comes but will not long stay. No matter how a story begins, it has a happy ending. During seven years of war, the Chinese have suffered misery. There have been broken homes and broken hearts. There have been separations and dislocations. There have been worries about food and about clothes and about innumerable things. The war years are not the first in which the Chinese have suffered. In their best times, they were afflicted with poverty. The majority of them are poor by birth. On top of poverty there have been floods, droughts, civil wars, each bringing untold suffering. All these calamities soon passed. The Chinese rose after each, not only unbeaten but stronger through the discipline of hardships which, down the centuries, they have learned to endure and overcome. The present war has brought the worst of the worst to the Chinese people. Seven years is the longest that any evil has remained with them, but it has not been long enough to wear out people who, for thousands of years, have suffered hardships and privations, and have survived. This long war will end as all other evils have ended, and there will come a better day. Until it comes, the Chinese have the spirit to smile in the face of hardships and to carry on a spirit which has sustained them through the calamities of the seven years of this war as it sustained them through calamities of the past. It is the spirit of her teeming millions of farmers, from whom most of the five million men of China’s army were drawn, and from whose fields comes the food for the army. It is the spirit of her laborers, her mechanics and engineers who have built China’s wartime railways, highways, water ways, and other arteries of communication, and who work in China’s arsenals to keep the guns supplied with ammunition. It is the spirit of China’s women as well as her men. The people of China, despite the stress and strain of war, have carried on. They continue to make love, to get married, to give birth to babies and to support growing families on meager incomes. Seven years is a long time, during which many things can happen and many things have happened to Teng Chan.”

總統府94年9月13日華總一智字第09400132570號
密，採專案方式概括解密，各級密等予以註銷。

報

中華民國三十三年九月三日
侍從秘書處

事 呈為表同禮為派赴美國演講之適當人選可否先予指定名義派遣赴
美國敬祈
由 裁核示遵由

臧 董顯光

批

謹 呈三十三年九月三日

國史館

八號

鈞電畧開所呈辦法第一第二兩項可准照辦第三項演講人員先派
三人候詳核後再定至每一演講員之川旅各費應由該處覈實再
擬具款等因另又奉侍祕字第二三七二號

鈞電抄發王主任雪艇所擬派遣人員出國應注意原則一份飭為參

考等因奉此自應遵辦除原呈辦法第一二兩項當即注意推進外

目即派遣人員赴美演講一事實亦當務之急所奉

核定先派三人入選方面自當審慎考慮查有表同禮係圖書館專家

曾得美國國家圖書館學校學位並曾歷赴歐美考察圖書館發展

狀況并出席第三屆國際公共教育會議等為我國代表任北平圖書

館館長歷有年數熟悉本黨主義長於演講實為適當人選擬請

先予指定以行行政院派赴美國開九戰後教育會議派遣出國以六個月

為期川旅各費擬定為美金 元如蒙

准予照派敬祈

核撥是否可行特此呈請

裁核示遵敬呈

總裁蔣

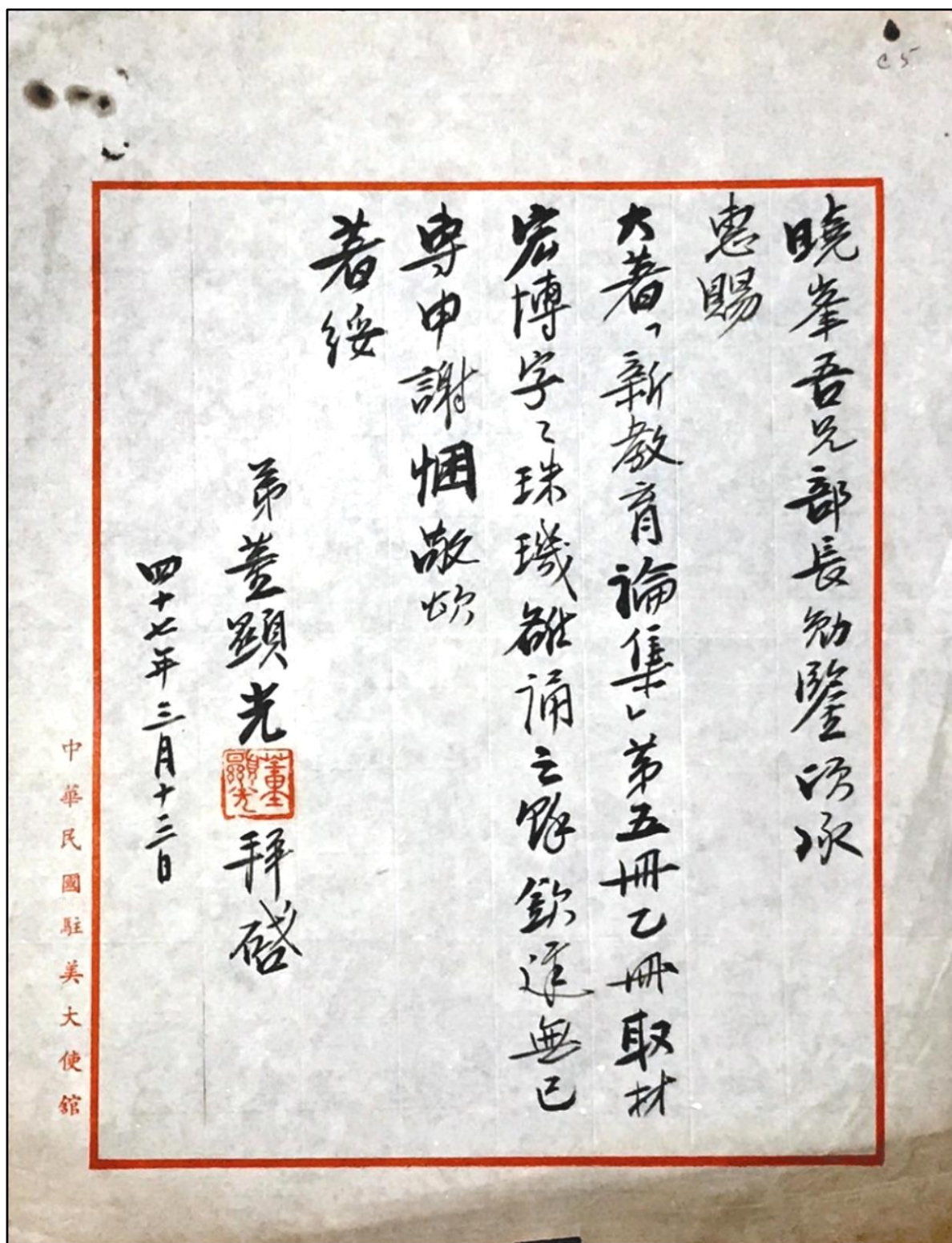
表同禮

表同禮

039

民國 33 年 (1944 年) 9 月 3 日 -- 中國國民黨中央宣傳部副部長董顯光呈總裁蔣中正
為袁同禮係派赴美國演講適當人選，請先予指定名義派遣出國。

3 September 1944 – Kuomintang Vice-Minister of Information Hollington K. Tong
submitted a proposal to Chiang Kai-Shek, President of the Kuomintang,
recommending Yuan Tung-Li as a suitable candidate to give a speech in the United States,
and requesting a designated title for him to be sent abroad.



民國 47 年(1958 年) 3 月 13 日 --中華民國駐美利堅合眾國特命全權大使董顯光博士的手書
13 March 1958 – Chinese brush hand-writing by Dr. Hollington K. Tong on his official letterheads as
Republic of China
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America



《董顯光自傳》[序] 一個中國農夫的自述

寫自傳的慣例都保留序文到最後才寫，我卻要倒過頭來先寫序文。因為我沒有寫自傳的願望，總覺得敘述自己一生，主觀色彩太濃，不會引起任何人的興趣。可是，我還是違背了自己的意志寫了這本書，理由只因為我妻子堅持要我寫。她知道收集笑話編成書是我一心嚮往的最高消遣，因此他要挾我，不先把我生活經過黑字寫在白紙上，我不得寫任何一本書。我們夫妻間偶有爭執，她勝利的成份多，這一次自不能例外。

我不願寫自傳的理由，說來非常簡單。因為，我的一生並不是推動時代主流的動力。我雖經常側身在偉大人物的營幕裡，可是我並不是偉人本身。因此，我在歷史上的地位是輔佐的。我的前半生做了卅年新聞記者，最近廿年才幸得站在幕後窺察歷史發展的動態：伴隨著製造時代歷史的人物掌握到了解局勢的線索。使我有機會觀察到許多歷史人物的特殊性格，領悟到局外人摸索不到的政治意義。但，我不是時代潮流的主力推動者。

自傳應該保留給那些立有豐功偉業足為萬世師表者寫，這是我的主張，一再向我妻子表白過。

但，我的妻子不能贊同。她以為我的一生有許多不尋常的經驗，最少也應該寫下來留給下一代看著做榜樣。實際，除此之外，恐怕她還受到一種好奇心的推動。她知道我的一生充滿著困苦艱難的奮鬥，在許多場合中，她是我掙扎的伴侶，但更有許多場合，涉及政治，事關機密，我無法使她分擔我的思想與經驗，她就變成了局外人。當我追隨蔣委員長處理重要機密事件的那幾年，所見所聞一概密封在我的腦子裡不給任何人講，我的妻子也不例外。因此，我們夫婦間，彷彿保留著一部分交通阻塞的距離。那麼，在我政治生活快近結束的階段，一生伴隨在我身邊共患難同甘苦的妻子，要打開阻塞了解全貌，當然是順理成章的要求了。

因此我接受她要求的寫成了這本自傳。我相信這本書反映了廿世紀中國的許多重要事件與問題，多少應該有些價值。雖然以這時代中國為背景寫的書已經多得汗牛充棟，但西方人對中國的了解還隔著很寬的一道不了解的鴻溝。我自八一八八七年出生以來，整個一生混在時代發展的潮流裡，經驗著中國悲劇動盪與深刻的刺激，直到本書擱筆之時，還找不到一個確定的結束。我寫的是我一生的經歷，卻也對近代中國在奮鬥中的人與事有所啟發。這可以說是我接受董夫人要求的主要動機。

天津扶輪社員董顯光博士 -- 報人、外交家與傳道者的傳奇



董顯光博士(Dr. Hollington K. Tong, HonLLD (Park College), AB (Missouri))是二十世紀中期中華民國政府與西方媒體之間溝通的橋樑，是一位舉足輕重的中國記者、作家和外交家。董顯光是中國第一位赴美國專攻新聞學並獲得學士學位的人，也是中國情報工作的創始人。在他的自傳裡，他曾提到：「我想假定我能留在新聞事業這條路線中，我應該是最快樂的人。」大時代的動盪，讓他體會到新聞記者的筆槍與飛機坦克一樣重要。

董顯光對中國近代傳播事業的貢獻，也是同樣的重要。他任《庸報》社長，首度將美式辦報拼版方式引入中文報紙；並主持當時上海重要英文報紙《大陸報 The China Press》，將戰爭新聞正確傳達到西方國家；而後，在擔任中央宣傳部副部長期間，更是致力於積極培育國際傳播人才。1957年(民國四十六年)，美國密蘇里大學新聞學院(School of Journalism, Missouri University)特地頒發給董顯光「新聞事業傑出服務獎章 Missouri Honor Medal for Distinguished Service in Journalism」，獎勵他一生對中國新聞事業的傑出貢獻。

董顯光在日記中寫道：「無論何物，凡是不費力而得到的，大概都不會給我相當的興趣。」又寫著：「世上沒有一事可以比得上個人努力而成功的。」靠著個人的努力，去完成理想，志之所在，終身不渝。他的一生德業輝煌，事功彪炳，他不僅是傑出的新聞工作者，也是卓越的外交家。

董顯光在美國接受新聞學教育，回國後曾擔任英文報紙《北京日報 The Peking Daily News》等報社的編輯，並建立了頗具影響力的媒體平台。1920年代初，他移居天津，擔任華北明星報社(North China Star Co., Inc.)的秘書，那是英文報紙《華北明星報 The North China Star》的出版商。1926年8月，《庸報》在天津創辦。董顯光任社長，該報在短短兩年內躋身天津四大中文報紙之列。另外三份是《大公報》、《益世報》和《盛京時報》。

在天津任職期間，董顯光加入了天津扶輪社(Tientsin Rotary Club)為現職社員，職業分類「新聞記者」。1931年，董顯光轉職去上海。



董顯光的生平

董顯光（1887年11月9日—1971年1月10日）是中華民國著名的新聞學家、外交家及基督教傳道者。畢業於美國密蘇里大學新聞學院及在哥倫比亞大學新聞研究所進階學習，是中國第一位系統學習西方新聞學的學者。他的一生，跨越了報業、外交與宗教傳播等多個領域。因早年在寧波任教，曾被視為蔣中正與戴笠的老師，在國民政府體系中地位特殊。

抗日戰爭期間，擔任國民政府軍事委員會第五部副部長及國民黨中央宣傳部副部長，負責對外宣傳工作。他在上海與南京組織記者招待會，並編發《每日戰報》，有效向國際社會傳達中國抗戰實況，爭取國際支持。

外交生涯方面，董顯光曾出任駐日本大使及駐美國大使（1956年—1958年）。晚年獲聘為總統府資政。

早期生活與教育

董顯光在1887年11月9日生在大清帝國浙江省寧波府鄞縣的一個基督徒農民之家，父母都是長老宗教會的信徒。他自幼隨父母讀經禱告，接受基督教信仰的熏陶。由於家庭貧困，直到10歲才得以進入蘇州的一所教會小學讀書。後來在上海清心書院(Lowrie High School)、龍門書院、中西書院(Anglo-Chinese College)等學堂讀書，為自己的中英文打下了良好基礎。

中學畢業後，董顯光應聘到奉化龍津中學教授英語。鳳麓學堂與龍津學堂是奉化兩所新辦學校，學堂開設英文、算學等新課，但教學重心仍在經史子集等舊學。

1905年，董顯光在寧波健秋學校教書，那裡有一個學生「認真而有雄心，是一個來自溪口令人不能忘懷的青年，名叫蔣介石」。這兩個青年人，年齡相差不到一個月，交上了朋友。1906年，董顯光離開寧波去上海。1907年董顯光和趙祥瑛(Sally Chao)結婚，在商務印書館任職。

新聞從業經歷

1909年，董顯光決定去美國深造。在基督教長老會的幫助下，進了密蘇里派克學院(Park College)，翌年進密蘇里大學(University of Missouri)新成立的新聞學校。1912年畢業，隨後又成為哥倫比亞大學新聞研究院(Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University)第一屆的學生。同學十二人中有愛克曼(Carl William Ackerman)，後即成為該研究院院長。董顯光在紐約時任《紐約時報 The New York Times》、《紐約晚報 The New York Evening Post》記者，《紐約獨立報 The New York Independent》副編輯。這段早期接觸美國新聞專業標準的經歷，塑造了他後來的職業生涯，為他日後的發展積累了寶貴的經驗。

1913年，董顯光因母親病危放棄取得碩士學位，取道日本回國。途中結識了孫中山，後經其介紹，任國民黨辦的上海英文報紙《民國西報 The China Republican》副主筆兼駐北京記者，由此開始他豐富多彩的記者生涯。同年，宋教仁被袁世凱派人暗殺，董顯光率先揭發此事，成為二次革命的導火線。1914年，董出任北京英文報紙《北京時報 The Peking Gazette》主筆，並一度擔任參議院英文秘書。1916年後長期擔任熊希齡的秘書，同時任石油管理局英文秘書，並去美國短期訪問。1917年任著名的上海英文報紙《密勒氏評論報 Millard's Review》駐北京記者，一年後升任副編輯，但仍在京津一帶工作。

1918年董顯光兼任直隸水利工程局秘書，1920年任直隸全省警務處處長楊以德、外交部特派直隸交涉員祝惺元的顧問。

自1920年始，董顯光走上從政道路。8月，董顯光任北京政府交通部低級顧問。同年底，任該部鐵道財務委員會行政秘書；1922年5月升任交通部參事；1923年任交通總長吳毓麟的秘書。因服務優良，曾獲得北京政府分別頒授三等、二等嘉禾章和大綬寶光勳章。

董顯光離開政府職務後，於1925到1931年任天津《庸報》主編。《庸報》是1926年8月4日由葉庸芳創辦的日報，後由董顯光、蔣光堂接辦。董顯光任社長，蔣光堂任總經理，張琴南任總編輯。該報在業務上接受上海《申報》指導，以突出本地新聞為特色。副刊對文藝、體育活動的報導形式新穎，配有照片。發行量近兩萬份，成為僅次於《大公報》、《益世報》的天津第三大報紙。

1926年董顯光一度任北洋軍閥直系首領吳佩孚的外交事務顧問；1929-1930年充任杜錫珪海軍上將的英文秘書，周遊世界。

此時，國民黨已通過北伐統一了大部分中國，政治中心已從北平轉到長江下游寧滬地區。1930年代初，董顯光的工作重心轉到報業行政管理上。1931年董顯光受聘任上海英文報紙《大陸報 The China Press》主編，該報雖由伍廷芳創辦，並由中方股東控制，但卻在美國註冊。他聘請了美國積極有為的年青記者如寶莫安(Frank Tillman Durdin)、伊羅生(Harold R. Isaacs)等人。1931年中董顯光任該報經理；1935年擔任一個擁有《大陸報》、《時事新報》、《大晚報》、《申事通訊社》等報大部股金的企業的經理，成為上海新聞界的領軍人物。

中國國民黨的公職

1934年，經蔣中正介紹，董顯光加入中國國民黨，開始從政。起初，董顯光在國民政府軍事委員會上海辦事處負責檢查外國新聞電訊。1935年，前任張學良顧問和當時蔣中正顧問的澳大利亞記者端納(William Henry Donald)通知董顯光，說蔣中正希望他擔任對外新聞稿的審閱人。端納稱讚董的愛國心，說「效率不高的新聞審查造成了影響不佳的國外宣傳。」董顯光允以軍事委員會上海辦事處秘書之職，從事此項工作。

1937年7月，中日戰爭爆發後，情況表明，除了戰場上的戰鬥之外，還需要從事國際輿論的戰鬥。因此當軍事委員會適應戰時需要加以改組後，董顯光任第五廳副廳長，負責國內外輿論工作。當中日在上海作戰時，董顯光發起在上海公共租界建立一個委員會，宣傳中國的抗戰事業。委員會由英華學院的夏晉麟、後來任駐希臘的大使溫源甯、滬江大學校長劉湛恩、《曼徹斯特衛報 The Manchester Guardian》的田伯烈(Harold John Timperley)等人組成。1937年底，上海淪陷後，夏去美國，溫去香港，田伯烈去英國。他們在董顯光的領導下，從事海外的宣傳工作。劉湛恩仍在上海，1938年4月7日被害，可能是被日本間諜刺死的。

1937年底，董顯光的那個部門改為宣傳部，董任次長，戰爭期間他一直擔任此職。他在漢口成立了一所簡陋的辦公處，有工作人員二、三十人，由老新聞工作者曾虛白任副職，隨同來到漢口的少數外國記者中有胡德蘭(Freda Utley)、史沫特萊(Agnes Smedley)、阿波格(Israel Epstein, *United Press*)、史坦因(Gunther Stein, *The Manchester Guardian*)、寶莫安(Frank Tillman Durdin, *The New York Times*)。董顯光在漢口十個月，除負責審查和宣傳外，也受命處理其他外交事務。董顯光是最後一批撤離漢口的政府入員之一。

1938 年 10 月 25 日夜，日軍已進入漢口時，他才離開，步行十天到了長沙。他在重慶的辦事機構正式建立之前，一直在長沙臨時辦公室工作。

隨著戰爭的進展，更多的外國記者來到重慶。1939 年初，董顯光就想建立一個記者旅社以安置外國記者。他得到孔祥熙的一小筆款子，建了一所有十三個房間的宿舍。日本的轟炸使住房減少，這所「董氏寓所」就越加有名了，不少記者如愛金生(Brooks Atkinson)、白修德(Theodore H. White)、穆沙(Spencer Moosa)、賓莫安都在這裡住過。

講到這一段生活時，賓莫安曾說：「董顯光沒有官場的死板、傲慢習氣，總是平易近人。在重慶，記者們可以在凌晨四點把他叫醒，爭論一件新聞審查得是否得當。或是同他核對一件事實，他毫無厭煩情緒。他和他夫人同其他記者一樣，住在灰泥牆壁的一間小屋子裡。他不知疲倦地為記者們提供方便，並同他們晤談。」

董顯光除了同國民黨中央通訊社一起向外國記者提供新聞外，還出版一種通俗刊物《中國在戰鬥》，並經管 XGOY 廣播電臺，該電臺是彭樂山負責的。經過董顯光的努力，美國著名的出版家霍華德(Roy W. Howard)、魯斯(Henry R. Luce)等要人都曾被吸引到重慶來。

在戰爭期間，董顯光曾三次出國。1942 年 2 月，他陪同蔣中正去印度訪問兩周，與甘地(Mahatma Gandhi)、尼赫魯(Jawaharlal Nehru)商談。1942 年 11 月到 1943 年 6 月，他陪同宋美齡訪問美國。1943 年 11 月，他陪同蔣中正出席開羅(Cairo)會議。

創辦新聞訓練學校

董顯光在美國時，與老同學當時哥倫比亞大學(Columbia University)新聞學院院長愛克曼(Carl W. Ackerman)商談在重慶創辦一所新聞訓練學校，經哥倫比亞大學的協助，1943 年制訂了一個兩部分計畫。美國國務院派出四名新聞記者到重慶宣傳部門任職，其中有泰勒(George Edward Taylor)，後來是美國國際資訊與文化事務辦公室(Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs)主任。計畫的另一部分是由美國工作人員協助在重慶成立中國新聞專科學校，美國新聞法教授柯羅司(Harold Livingston Cross)在 1943-1944 年暫行離職去重慶任校長。他的四名教員(後增加為七名)中有白克德(Richard Terrill Baker)，後在 1968 年任新聞專科學校代校長。重慶的新聞專科學校和中央政治學校合作，在 1945 年夏天停辦前共訓練了六十多名青年新聞工作者。1945 年愛克曼有關重慶新聞專科學校的成就的報告說：「它協助國務院促進對中國的文化合作，打消了中國官方在提供情報和新聞方面的繼續拖延，宣傳了新聞自由的原則，教導了中國男女新聞工作者的責任心。訓練他們用美國的方法，通過報紙和電臺廣播採訪和發佈新聞」。所以，可以說重慶新聞專科學校實現了董顯光對新聞事業的雄心。

由於董顯光在戰時工作的成就，1945 年被選為國民黨中央執行委員。他經短期休養後，1947 年，董顯光成為首任行政院新聞局局長；次年轉為行政院政務委員。

中華民國大使

1949 年中國共產黨接管大陸時，董顯光隨國民政府轉往臺灣。先後擔任國民黨《中央日報》董事長，和 1950-1952 年任中國廣播公司經理、國民黨中央諮詢委員會委員。

1952 年，董顯光成為一名外交官。在 1952 年 8 月至 1956 年間出任中華民國駐日本國特

命全權大使，是第二次世界大戰後中日兩國復交（《中日和平條約》簽訂）後的首任駐日大使。雖然他本身並非「知日派」出身，也未深入參與核心的對日決策，但他憑藉優秀的新聞與公共外交背景，在任內有以下幾個具體的關鍵表現：

- 奠定戰後臺日外交架構：作為戰後首任大使，他負責籌設並重啟中華民國駐日本大使館。在冷戰初期臺海局勢動盪的背景下，穩固了蔣中正政府與日本吉田茂政府的外交雙邊關係。
- 推動中日文化與經濟交流：任內積極聯絡日本政要與民間組織，如與何應欽主持的「中日文化經濟協會」密切配合。推動日本議員團訪問臺灣，並促進雙邊的醫學、文化與商貿互訪，藉此拉攏日本自由黨等保守派政治勢力支持中華民國。
- 爭取軍事與防務安全合作：面對當時中共的軍事威脅，他頻繁與日本內閣（如首相吉田茂）進行嚴肅交涉。積極為臺灣方面爭取日本的軍事援助，並在臺海安全議題上試探、促請日本政府表態與給予防務支持。
- 發揮國際宣傳與公共外交長才：董顯光出身資深報人、曾任行政院新聞局長，極擅長國際宣傳。駐日期間，他利用自身英語流利與熟悉媒體的優勢，積極對日本及在日本的國際媒體發聲。闡述中華民國的合法性，防範中共在日本民間與政界的滲透。

董顯光在任內展現出優秀的外交官素養，成功在複雜的冷戰地緣政治中，撐過了中日復交初期的外交考驗。隨後於 1956 年因表現卓越，被調任為中華民國駐美國大使。

董顯光在 1956 年 4 月至 1958 年 8 月期間，擔任中華民國駐美國特命全權大使。他的表現，展現出深厚的對美高層政要人脈與溫和穩健的文宣外交風格。其主要功績與歷史評價，體現在他成功穩固了 1950 年代冷戰時期的臺美同盟關係。他在任內的具體表現與外交特點如下：

(1) 善用早年人脈，直通美國總統艾森豪

董顯光畢業於美國哥倫比亞大學新聞學院，早在 1950 年銜蔣中正之命訪美時，就已結識了當時擔任哥倫比亞大學校長的艾森豪威爾(Dwight David Eisenhower)。當他於 1956 年接任駐美國大使時，艾森豪威爾已貴為美國總統。這層同窗與早年結識的私交，使他在華府的外交開展極具優勢，能更直接地將中華民國政府的立場傳達給艾森豪威爾政府高層。

(2) 深獲蔣中正夫婦信任，貫徹高層意志

董顯光不僅是蔣中正的英文老師、傳記作者，更是宋美齡極度信任的虔誠基督徒同袍。他對元首意圖的精準理解，使他在處理敏感的中美防衛、美援爭取及聯合國席位保衛戰時，能夠極為忠實且精準地在第一線貫徹臺北的政策方針。

(3) 以文宣長才推動「公眾外交」

新聞記者與出版出身的董顯光，其外交手腕與傳統的職業外交官不同。他在美國期間大力推動新聞體系、傳播媒體與文宣外交，積極向美國公眾、國會講述臺灣的冷戰關鍵地位，成功在美國民間與政界塑造了對中華民國友善的輿論環境，有效穩固了《中美共同防禦條約》簽署後初期的雙邊關係。

綜合歷史評價——相較於前後任駐美大使（如外交教父顧維鈞或爆發力十足的葉公超），董顯光的風格更傾向於溫和、務實與守成。雖然他在任內未有驚天動地的外交突破，但在兩岸局勢動盪、八二三砲戰爆發前的冷戰高壓時期，憑藉著與美方高層的信任基礎，確保了臺美溝通管道暢通，是一位稱職且深受臺美雙邊高層敬重的「儒使」。他在 1958 年 9 月因年齡與健康因素呈請辭職。從政界退休後，還被聘為總統府國策顧問，時年 70 歲。

天國大使

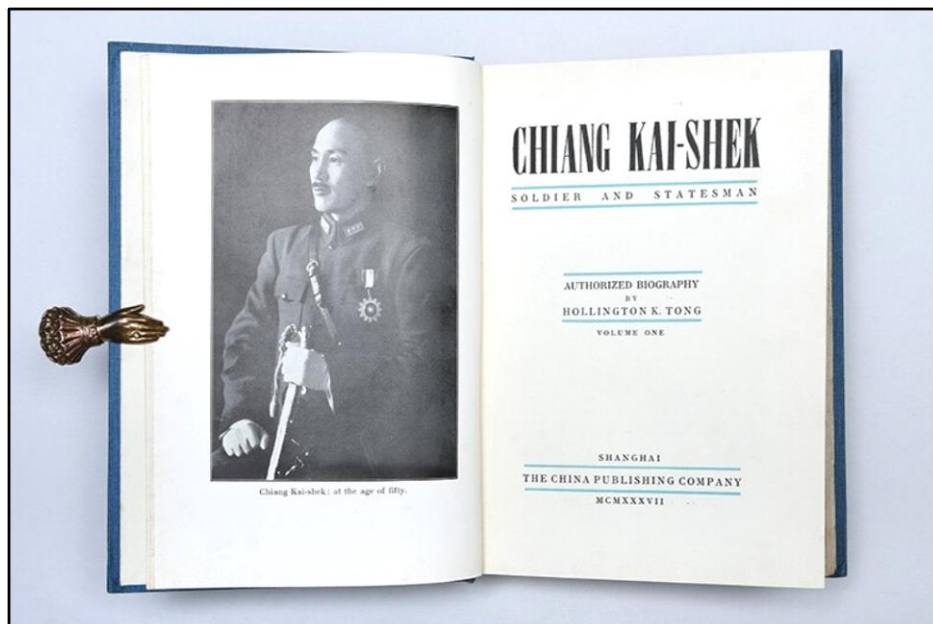
董顯光在信仰生活上也十分敬虔，自幼篤信基督。無論在國內還是國外，無論是求學，還是在職場、官場上，他都持守著基督徒生活，每主日都去教會做禮拜。當國民政府定都南京時，他曾擔任凱歌堂首任執事會主席。該堂是當時蔣中正和夫人，以及國民政府政要們所參加的教會。雖然凱歌堂在以後歲月裏隨國民政府數度搬遷，董顯光始終是該堂的教友。

退休後，董顯光以其餘生從事于宣道工作，宣稱自己是一「天國大使」。他所作的第一件事，是撰寫臺灣基督教發展史。他首先花了五個多月的時間，遍訪臺灣各宗派的教會、教會學校、醫院、慈善機構、神學院，以及衆多教會人士，搜集到豐富的資料。然後又花費八個多月時間埋首寫作，終於以英文撰寫出一部臺灣基督教會史，書名為《Christianity in Taiwan: A History》。不久，又把它譯成中文，名為《基督教在臺灣的發展》。該書於1962年出版問世，獲得史學界極高的評價。

此外，董顯光還經常應邀到各地教會講道。1960年，他接受了臺北榮民總醫院的義務傳道職務，向病患及其家屬傳福音。他在主日禮拜的56篇講章，後來都被整理成書出版。他偕夫人還常常參加教會的各種聚會，並慷慨奉獻，支持教會的事工。

1961年，董顯光赴美國參加「世界道德重整運動大會」，順道看望在美國的子女。期間不幸中風，只好留在美國治療。十年後，終因不治，於1971年1月10日與世長辭，享年84歲。其生前好友故舊及各界人士，在華盛頓為其舉行了追思禮拜，並將其安葬在馬里蘭州的洛克威爾城的花園公墓（Garden Cemetery in Rockville, Maryland）。

董顯光在臺灣的親友，將其數十年日記中有關勵志與靈修的文字整理出版，名之曰《萬年常青》。該書問世後，曾一版再版，暢銷一時。董顯光的英文著作中最著名的是經過認可的《Chiang Kai-Shek: Soldier and Statesman 蔣介石：軍人和政治家》，1937年出版；以及《Dateline: China 中國日程》，1950年出版，後者記述了董顯光在戰時的經歷。



中華民國政府官職年表

- (1) 1920-11-22 任交通部鐵路財政籌議會專任會員
- (2) 1920-11-22 任交通部鐵路財政籌議會秘書
- (3) 1922-05-13 任命署交通部參事
- (4) 1922-05-27 呈請辭職署交通部參事
- (5) 1922-06-02 呈請辭職署 交通部參事
- (6) 1923-02-13 任交通部秘書
- (7) 1923-02-13 兼充交通部籌還內外債委員會委員
- (8) 1924-11-07 呈請辭職交通部秘書
- (9) 1932-01-23 敦聘國難會議會員
- (10) 1947-04-23 特任行政院新聞局局長
- (11) 1948-05-31 特任行政院政務委員
- (12) 1948-12-22 呈請辭職行政院政務委員
- (13) 1948-12-22 呈請辭職行政院新聞局局長
- (14) 1950-06-14 特派中央銀行理事
- (15) 1952-08-16 特任中華民國駐日本國特命全權大使
- (16) 1953-10-12 免職中央銀行理事
- (17) 1956-04 特任中華民國駐美利堅合眾國特命全權大使
- (18) 1958-08-21 呈請辭職駐美利堅合眾國特命全權大使



董顯光自傳：出使日本

人生總有出乎意外的巧遇，我的日本老友芳澤謙吉竟在 1952 年 4 月 28 日中日和約簽訂之後同時與我被任為中日兩國戰後的第一任大使。就做外交官的條件檢討，我們兩人實在沒有一點相同之處。芳澤 1900 年起就做日本的外交官，二三十年來歷任日本駐中、法等國的大使，是一位資深的外交官。我呢，剛剛相反，這還是第一次接受外交官的任命，無任何外交資歷可言。

我們兩人在聽到對方任命之後，同時都有相互的批評。芳澤以為我在戰時充滿了反對日本的紀錄不適任此職。我對他的保留，一是年齡，（他那時已近八旬高齡了），二是他在戰時是一位支持日本侵略的外交家。

朋友告訴我，做一個大使，除掉了知識修養的條件之外社交技能也是一件很重要的考慮。例如，芳澤會打高爾夫球，會打橋牌還會跳舞，他不獨會玩，並且還玩得很精。問我喜歡些什麼，我只能說，我喜歡結交朋友，收集笑話和剪貼報紙新聞。這些嗜好，好像跟外交業務沒有什麼幫助可言。

我曾經很率直地請問過陳誠院長，為什麼他會選中我。我自己檢討，我在美國受教育，不會說日本話，還有反日本的過去紀錄，而我國瞭解日本的外交專家可以擔任此職者有的是，為什麼單獨選中了我。不料陳院長的答覆竟簡單地說道，就因為我沒有這些顯著的資格才選中了我。他拒絕再多加說明。

我決定接受這個任命，就自我檢討究竟我對日本的認識，事與人各方面有多少把握。我發現我知道我這未來責任的對象之深竟超過我平時的想像，因此自信可以不負蔣總統和陳院長的知遇，做一任好大使。

促成我作這決定的最主要因素還是我的妻子莎麗。當 1949 年迄 1950 年間我從臺灣出發奔走歐美各國間時，莎麗為了要解除她獨居的寂寞，住到日本去，從事日本語文的研究。在我接受駐日大使任命以前的一年中，莎麗學日本語文每天差不多要花去十二小時。她的老師是前田侯爵夫人，前田是日本駐英武官。在這位好老師教導之下，莎麗的日本語文打下了很好的根基，可是她絕對沒有料想到她會因此在我做駐日大使任內幫了我很大的忙。

莎麗在日本最初階段是很快活的，不幸 1951 年的春季，她在打蠟的地板上做健身操跌了一交，使脊椎骨脫了骹。她不得不睡在石膏模子裡好幾個月。那時候我的經濟狀況很拮据，我向蔣總統請假赴日看莎麗，蒙賜醫療費得應急。

我赴日履新的日子一天接近一天，我對日本研究的興趣也一天比一天濃厚起來。我深自檢討，我在不同的背景中看到不同的日本---在戰爭背境中，以無法控制的仇恨心理看日本；在戰後和平背境中，以驚其復國神速的欽佩心理看日本---但映在我心坎裡永誌不忘的日本，還是日本人每一個人私人生活給我的畫面，那種不帶政治性的勤苦耐勞的生活背境，絕對沒有任何內在自尊或自卑心理的反映。

五十年來我維持著研究日本人的興趣，不光從書本上，也從個人接觸間。要瞭解日本人，我們先得考慮他們所受地理環境的限制。八千五百萬人在島國小天地中求生存每一個人都有一番奮鬥史。我同意很多人類學者的看法，環境的艱苦是人類力量的泉源也是他們成功的基礎。

我最初遇到的日本朋友，是四十年前派克學院裡的一位姓池田的同學。我跟他是整個學院裡僅有的兩個東方人。兩人住在一間宿舍裡，經常交換瞭解彼此祖國的情況。前面我曾敘述過暑假中跟我共同在農家做活而闖禍的日本同學就是他。他不久因肺病而結束了他很有希望的一生。後來我又得悉，他還是東京明治學院校長前田四郎中學時的同學哩。

我認識的日本朋友有孫總理日本友人山田：朝日新聞的著名作家杉村與該報早期發行人村山長舉。在日本的政界中，我認識首相吉田茂在他二十年代任日本駐天津總領事時，我認識外相有田八郎在他任日本駐北平公使館秘書的時候。我也認識日本前首相幣原喜重郎等其他日本的政界要人，其中很多人在日本的政界與工商界今日仍佔很重要的地位。

抗戰給我研究日本的機會特別多，因我主管國際宣傳，研究敵情是我主要任務之一。戰後出國，平均每年訪日四次，每次必逗留好幾個星期。在這些逗留期間，我目睹日本在七年的短時期中從戰後的瓦礫堆般經濟狀況中復興而達今日的繁榮，充滿著興趣。他們的所以得此成就，是日本人民不發怨言的埋頭苦幹與其政治家明智的領導配合促成的。

我就挾著這一份解瞭日本人物與現狀的自信心，在1952年8月20日接奉任命，九月中旬到了日本。莎麗住在日本已有兩年，能說一口流利的日本話。她喜歡學外國語文，學日文完全為了好學，卻不料幫了我的忙。

初到日本，我跟莎麗都受到前任行政院長外交部長張群先生夫婦的招待，住到他們的宿舍裡去。張先生這時候剛代表蔣總統到日本作親善的訪問。他們兩夫婦和我們倆有長時期的友誼，我們把他們當自己的兄弟姊妹看待。張先生知道日本比什麼人都清晰，認識的日本人也比什麼人都多。他設宴招待日本政府裡他認識的重要人物，經常由我作陪，感謝他借此使我在未履新前就多認識了許多重要的日本新朋友。我們兩夫婦住在他家好像重溫我們的蜜月：不管家務，可又像是在自己的家裡。

可惜這種享清福的日子祇有三個星期，因為接收偽滿駐日大使官舍修繕告成，我們得正式遷入大使官舍去住了。在這所官舍中我們住了將近四年，交了很多日本和各國的新朋友，確實豐富了我們的生活。

我到任第一件事當然是謁見日本天皇呈遞我的國書了。皇室禮賓司派來一輛金碧輝煌的馬車，由兩頭黑得發亮的高頭大馬拖著，駕馬的御者也穿著璀璨的制服。在我坐的這輛馬車前面，又有一輛四匹馬拖的開道車。皇宮禮賓司長坐在車裡陪著我。我們都穿著晨禮服，戴著大禮帽。我們這一個很引人注目的行列，一路向皇宮行去，路旁行人夾道踮足，有的還伸頸張望坐在車裡的人。這使我有些窘，不得不默唸童時背熟的耶教聖經中的辭句以求鎮定。

到達皇宮，由禮賓司長引見天皇，行三鞠躬禮，天皇亦答禮如儀，然後就坐，呈遞國書。照例的寒暄開始，由我代表蔣總統問候天皇，天皇亦作同樣的問候。儀式簡捷結束，我返大使館，酒會招待迎送我的禮賓司長。後來我知道，我離大使館後，莎麗即由友人眷屬伴同驅車至皇宮附近的大街下，擠在人堆裡睜著孩子般好奇的眼睛，看我行列的經過。

謁見了天皇之後，我就遍訪首相、外相、最高法院院長，以及日本政府中其他高級長官。這是一種疲憊而枯燥的活動。訪問要人，過去我常做，並且做得異常起勁，因為都是些新聞訪問，有濃厚追求知識的興奮刺激，只須技巧運用成熟每次都可得有價值的收穫。但，這些以外交官身分跟天皇、首相以及高級官吏的社交談話，都空洞無物，對談雙方都厭惡它。但，外交儀式卻不能廢除它，不管你怎樣厭惡它。這一巡迴的官式訪問後，使我如釋重負地警告自己，此後千萬不要再接受做大使的任命了。

不提這些官式的酬酢，我倒想在這裡說一節瑣碎的小故事。日本的《改造雜誌》是一份人人愛讀的雜誌，他的發行人大和是我的朋友。大概一年前他在東京的某一次社交場合中遇見了我，閒談間，他說，他最喜歡喝杭州西湖的龍井茶。隔了幾天，我就把臺灣帶到東京的龍井茶一罐送給他。不幸，茶送到時大和病倒在床上了。可是，他聽說我竟很快找到他喜歡的茶葉送給他，為了表示感謝起見，叫家人趕緊泡了，扶他起來一茶匙一茶匙喂給他喝。他不久去世，我送他的那罐龍井茶永遠放在他的臥室裡保存著。這是他的兒子專訪我時告訴我的。他來訪並接我和莎麗到他家裡。我們買花到他家裡拜見他的孀母，並巡視他給父親保留的臥室。

這一件簡單而充滿人情味的小故事，表現著中日兩國人民在私人生活中怎樣找到了人與人間關係的價值與深度。我以為國與國間建立永恒不變的友誼，決不靠昂貴的禮物與信誓旦旦的盟約，只有人民與人民間在這種不經意的私人接觸中建立的關係才是鞏固國交的真正粘合劑。

抗戰時期為國家發聲的董顯光博士

董其岳（寧波市政府高級研究員）（2014年3月1日）

董顯光（1887—1971），寧波市鄞縣（今鄞州區）茅山鄉（今姜山鎮）董家村人，民國前期著名新聞記者和報業家、抗戰時期國民政府新聞高官和宣傳家。早年曾任蔣介石的英文啟蒙老師，後來從美留學回國，跟隨孫中山先生投身革命。他創辦了獨樹一幟的「美式」《庸報》，《北京日報》主筆，英文版《大陸報》總經理兼總編輯，為中國近代新聞報業的創始者。董顯光博士在「西安事變」蔣介石生死消息最為混亂的時刻，忠於職守檢查外文新聞電訊，嚴守新聞求真求實，到事變結束、國共合作一致抗日，國內外通訊社沒有任何不利的謠言發佈，原因就是董顯光的嚴格篩檢。

董顯光博士在抗日戰爭中負責國際宣傳，曾潛入敵後或親臨前線，在敵人的炮火下，不計危險，從容不迫的舉行中外記者招待會，用英語向全世界宣告中國國民堅持抗戰，決不屈服的誓言之後，才最後一個離開硝煙彌漫的會場，此筆視死如歸的精神，立下新聞記者冒險犯難的精神。

董顯光博士在當年國民政府中的聲譽與威望，同蔣介石的得力文膽陳佈雷和國民政府著名外交家、「中國奧運之父」王正廷等並駕齊驅。限於篇幅，本文僅擇其在抗戰時期為中國「發聲」的幾個片斷作真實的報導，以饗讀者。

受命為國際宣傳的副部長

1937年八月，上海「八一三」事變爆發，日軍進攻上海，淞滬抗戰開打，董顯光奉派出任國民政府軍事委員會第五部副部長，不久又改任國民黨中央宣傳部副部長，全權負責國際宣傳工作。

在這國運危難之中，董顯光親自赴前線找陳誠、顧祝同、張發奎與朱紹良四位將軍獲取抗戰情報，編發《每日戰報》以擴大抗戰影響。同時，董顯光經常召開記者招待會，邀請當時上海市長俞鴻鈞根據前線戰報，做政府的新聞發言人。從此這個記者招待會變成了溝通國際輿論的重要通道。

上海戰爭之後，董顯光的宣傳活動從上海轉移到南京，並結合中央通訊社社長蕭同茲等，加強對新聞的寫作報導，並設置一個戰鬥力很強的攝影組，使之圖文並茂，特別是有張在上海戰爭中，一個孤兒坐在轟炸狼藉的火車軌道上啼哭的照片，成了抗日戰爭中最受同業讚美的傑作，影響各國一致譴責日本侵略者的野蠻行動，開啟中國對國際宣傳的有利形勢。

派員赴日揭露日寇暴行

侵華日軍於1937年十二月十三日攻陷南京之後，對無辜的中國平民和戰俘進行長達六個

星期的大規模屠殺、強姦、搶掠、焚燒，罪大惡極，罄竹難書。至少有卅萬以上的中國平民和戰俘被日軍殺害，南京城的三分之一被日軍縱火燒毀，日本侵略者對中國人民犯下了不可饒恕的滔天大罪。

日本軍國主義製造南京大屠殺後，1938 年五月六日，董顯光撰寫了一份由四位外國人調查揭露南京大屠殺的真相《董顯光彙報國際宣傳處，派員赴日揭露南京大屠殺真相密呈蔣介石委員長》。同時分送至英、美兩國，引發全世界強烈震驚。同時也派人送到日本東京，揭露日本軍國主義屠殺中國人民的罪行。這是第二次世界大戰中，一個受害國在敵對國首都，公開進行反法西斯戰爭宣傳的罕見範例。董顯光還組織外國記者以他們的親歷親見，寫出《日軍暴行紀實》和《南京戰禍寫真》兩書，在國內外公開刊行，有力地揭露日軍製造南京大屠殺的滔天暴行。

組織外國記者到台兒莊採訪

1938 年 3 月至 4 月，中國軍隊在徐州附近的台兒莊打了一次大勝仗，取得台兒莊戰役大捷。

台兒莊勝利消息傳來，董顯光格外忙碌。日本方面想減輕他們失敗的惡劣影響，想方設法讓外國新聞界相信他們還守著台兒莊。董顯光為擴大顯示中國抗戰的意志和力量，申請並獲得軍事委員會政治部陳誠部長的同意，由軍事委員會派出專機，滿載外國記者，讓他們親自到大敗日軍的台兒莊戰場，在現場親眼目睹實際情形，進行實地採訪，並作實況報導，日方詭計不攻自破，也增長了中國人民的抗日志氣。

炮火中舉行記者招待會

1938 年六月至十月武漢戰役，是抗日戰爭中，中國軍隊與日本軍隊進行的規模最大一次會戰。中國軍隊投入兵力達 110 萬以上，以抗擊由畑俊六指揮的 35 萬日本帝國陸海軍。戰場橫跨安徽省、河南省、浙江省及湖北省。戰役共進行了四個半月，是整個抗日戰爭中時間最長、規模最大的一次戰役。為保持抗戰實力，國民革命軍只好從武漢撤退。董顯光當時決定，由曾虛白處長率同國際宣傳處的全部員工，帶著可以攜帶的所有器材、文卷，乘粵漢鐵路火車，南下到衡山，去組織他們的臨時辦公處。留在漢口的只剩下董顯光和科長沈劍虹。蔣介石給董顯光的指示是留在漢口跟最後一批撤退的部隊一起走。因為董顯光手裏保持著中國部隊撤離漢口的最後宣言，詳細說明政府撤退的理由，一定要等全部武裝部隊退抵安全距離之外，再由董顯光召集中外記者，宣讀此項文告。

蔣介石跟董顯光約定，他和宋美齡離開漢口後，可能打電話來指示董顯光最後撤走的時間，如過了十月二十五日上午十時還沒有接奉電話指示，董顯光就可以召集中外記者招待會，宣讀政府文告後再撤離漢口。

十月二十四日深夜，國共合作時任國民政府軍事委員會政治部副部長的周恩來，多次打電話告訴董顯光，最後一批卡車定於十月二十五日早晨一時準時出發，再三勸董顯光乘周恩來的卡車一起撤離武漢，以免被敵人俘虜。董顯光婉言謝絕了周恩來的好意，表示一定要堅守崗位，等到開完中外記者招待會後再離開漢口。二十五日凌晨四時，沈劍虹科長接到警備司令部打來電話，稱該部最後一批人員要馬上出發了。董顯光囑沈劍虹跟他們一起去，而只留下他單獨一個人。

直到十月二十五日早上九點鐘，還不見蔣介石的電話來，可得準備召集中外記者招待會了。電話已到處打不通，幸有好友竇奠安協助，董顯光坐著他的吉普車，在隆隆槍炮聲中跑遍整個武漢城，將外國記者和新聞同業召集起來。董顯光冒著敵人的炮火，冒著生命的危險，從容不迫地舉行國民政府在武漢的最後一次中外記者招待會，用英語向中外記者宣讀中國政府的文告，向全世界莊嚴宣告中國國民堅持抗戰決不屈服的誓言之後才最後一個離開硝煙彌漫的會場。

到了十月二十五日下午七時，警備司令部得到情報，敵騎兵已衝進日本租界。董顯光就同警備司令兼任蔣介石侍從武官的林蔚文將軍一起，徒步走過橫跨漢江的浮橋向著長沙前進。這十天的徒步旅程疲憊又加驚恐。日機不斷在頭頂上盤旋，一看見活動的影子立刻轟炸掃射，因此董顯光走路大半在黑夜裏，走夜路照明的只靠一隻舊式紙糊的蠟燭燈，走的路都是亂石泥濘，沒有平鋪的路面，一不小心就會跌倒。

直到 1938 年十一月五日，經過歷時十天晝伏夜行的董顯光，終於走到了長沙。蔣介石看見了董顯光，立刻邀他出席宴會。到了 1938 年底，國際宣傳處在重慶組織就緒，董顯光的長期抗戰國際宣傳又展開了艱苦鬥爭的新頁。

視死如歸闖蕩上海日佔區

從 1937 年七七盧溝橋事變，到 1939 年九月歐洲拉開第二次世界大戰序幕，歐洲戰局直接影響著亞洲戰局和中國的抗日戰爭。最使董顯光擔心的，是來華的外國記者們不能適應重慶的戰時生活，逐漸地去上海和香港在安適的生活中，報導中國新聞。上海日佔區的新聞為日方為優勢，香港的新聞為當時以中立態度的英國為主。

經董顯光再三研究，唯一挽救的辦法，只有親自到香港、上海去佈置有利於我國新聞的傳播通道。在 1939 年的春季，董顯光化裝成一個鄉下農夫，在香港坐一艘英國商船潛入上海。

董顯光置生死於度外，多次隻身深入上海日佔區狼穴。有一天董顯光打電話給紐約《泰晤士報》記者阿朋 Hallet Abend。他接電話聲音有些遲疑，叫董顯光隔一小時後再到他那裏去。董顯光如約前往，阿朋告訴董顯光接電話的時候，日本在上海指揮作戰的海軍司令，則坐在他的身旁。董顯光辭出時，突見留學美國密蘇里大學時的日籍同學、當時任日本同盟社副主筆的堀口迎面走過來，同董顯光擦肩而過。董顯光知道堀口秉性冷酷，殺人如麻，發現了董顯光必置他於死地而後快。幸虧董顯光化裝成農夫掩護得好，躲過了堀口的注意。

董顯光離滬上船，正暗喜脫離險境，不料輪船開到吳淞口，日軍巡邏艇突然喝令停駛，巡邏人員蜂擁登船，到處搜索之後，復在船長室內盤問船員達一小時之久。這一段時間，使董顯光懸疑恐懼，好像這一切緊張氣氛，都是為了追查董顯光似的。

加強香港辦事處是面對局勢當務之急，因此董顯光派強將主持香港辦事處，以加強我方跟香港政府的聯繫，經常擔負起國際宣傳處宣傳資料向國際發聲。

同時，董顯光在美國華盛頓和英國倫敦成立我方設在外國的辦事處，廣泛聯繫同情中國之友人及其社會團體，不斷影響各國政府支持中國抗戰的戰略決策，把中國堅持抗戰到最後勝利的大張旗鼓地佈告全世界。

董顯光：蔣介石的老師、新聞界「舵把子」

于子冉（2023年10月26日）

作為民國時期新聞行業的翹楚，董顯光的成就令人矚目。董顯光，1887年出生在浙江省鄞縣一個虔誠的基督徒家庭裡，青年時代曾在上海讀書，中學畢業後擔任奉化龍津中學英文教員。1909年，董顯光前往聞名遐邇的美國密蘇里新聞學院攻讀新聞學。求學期間，他採訪過美國總統老羅斯福等頭面人物，並在多家刊物上發表文章，成為密蘇里新聞學院首屆畢業生。1913年，董顯光回國，開始在多種英文報紙供職並供稿，後來又擔任國民政府外電檢查員、中央宣傳部副部長和新聞局局長等要職。

一、初出茅廬深陷政治漩渦

董顯光的人生充滿了神奇的際遇。在學成歸途中，他驚奇地發現，國父孫中山先生竟然和他同船。此時的孫中山正帶領大批黨政官員從日本回國，計畫從事交通建國的宏偉理想。董顯光抓住機會在船上對孫中山進行了採訪。之後，二人的友誼迅速升溫，經中山先生介紹，董顯光初到上海即出任《中國共和日報》副主筆。

進入報社工作不久，就趕上宋教仁在上海火車站遇刺不治身亡事件。董顯光預感到袁世凱要對國民黨下手，這次兇殺案僅僅是一個開端，中國革命形勢危急。於是，他四處奔走採編，在《中國共和日報》顯要位置發表大標題文章，詳細記載兇殺經過，揭露袁世凱，並不斷進行深度報導，引起了極大的反響。

隨後，董顯光被邀請參加在孫中山家裡召開的秘密協商打倒袁世凱的一系列會議，並被委以重任。中山先生派他代表所有上海國民黨記者去北京採訪這一場政治搏鬥。一個初出茅廬的記者，就這樣一下子跳進了政治的漩渦。動身前夕，孫中山交給董顯光一支手槍，告誡他倘若被袁氏爪牙逼得走投無路，就拿槍結束自己的生命。

到北京後，董顯光巧妙地躲過新聞檢查，每天向上海發三四千字的文章分送國民黨的報紙登載，及時通報袁世凱的種種陰謀，並記錄風起雲湧的反袁革命。此時的反袁鬥爭已經達到高潮，董顯光親眼見到當國民黨否決了袁世凱政府的「五國銀行借款案」時，參議院會場上一片混亂，墨水瓶飛上了議長台，議員們揪打在一起。忽然，董顯光站起來高呼：「再鬧就吃我手裡這顆炸彈！」會場即刻鴉雀無聲。然而，當員警走過來搜查時，發現他手裡拿的只是一個手巾包裹著的鵝蛋。

袁世凱氣急敗壞，宣佈國民黨為非法政黨，撤銷國民黨黨員參議院議員的資格，甚至派軍隊包圍參議院，強迫議員投票。參議院被清算後，時任司法部部長的梁啟超代表袁世凱內閣起草了一份「政策聲明書」，力圖以政治諮詢機構取代參議院行使職權。在此緊要關頭，董顯光又受聘為《北京日報》的主筆，從而把自己推到了新聞鬥爭的第一線。他利用私人關係拿到「政策聲明書」的原稿，然後譯成英文，搶先在《北京日報》上發表。袁世凱見報大怒，要置董顯光於死地，經過多方斡旋，董顯光以公開道歉的方式將事態平息，但此次事件卻讓他名聲大震。後來，董顯光竟然應約採訪袁世凱，請他亮明關於中國恢復帝制的態度。袁世凱極力掩蓋自己的野心，斬釘截鐵地對董顯光說：「我可以做中國的華盛頓，為什麼要做中國的拿破崙？就算我有了做中國皇帝的一切條件，可是我的太子在哪裡呢？我的大兒子跛一足不是做太子的坯

子。」(董顯光《董顯光自傳》)然而,事實證明,袁世凱當時的表態僅僅是掩人耳目的滑稽炒作。不過,這件事卻給董顯光一個警示:在帶有欺騙性的政治語境中,新聞工作者仍然要堅守新聞求真的原則。

二、鼓舞國人士氣揭露日寇行徑

1928年,「皇姑屯事件」爆發,董顯光在《庸報》上率先向日本人發難。他如實報導張作霖在日本控制區內被炸彈爆炸所害的事實,用跨欄大標題指證氣焰囂張的日本軍國主義,引起社會各界人士的強烈關注。日本人見報後怒不可遏,禁止那期的《庸報》在日本租界內出售。隨後,董顯光在《評論之評論》上發表題為《日本頭腦美國錢開發中國東北》的文章,以鋒利的筆觸揭發日本的陰謀,一躍成為一個名副其實的反日記者。

董顯光早年曾經在奉化龍津中學做過英文教員。在教書期間,有一個學習勤奮刻苦、生活井井有條的學生給董顯光留下了深刻的印象,這個人就是後來的國民政府首腦——蔣介石。這一際遇也讓董顯光的人生軌跡得以改變。軍人出身的蔣介石,與新聞界的聯繫並不緊密,在國民政府建立之初,他在媒體中沒有可以有效利用的資源。董顯光既諳熟西方的傳播理念,又瞭解中國的政治生態,並在報業積攢了深厚的人脈,又與蔣介石有師生之緣,是其能夠放心倚重的力量。1929年夏,董顯光擔任《大陸報》主筆後,開始向蔣介石秘密地彙報工作,蔣介石則定期向他提供資助(魏舒歌《戰場之外:租界英文報刊與中國的國際宣傳(1928—1941)》)。在中日對峙的尖峰時刻,鋪天蓋地的戰爭新聞大都是經過日本軍國主義渲染歪曲的,《大陸報》從中國政府的立場出發,與親日媒體針鋒相對,向全世界傳遞中國抗戰聲音,成為揭露日本謊言的重要陣地。不久,董顯光正式加入國民政府,負責新聞檢查和對外宣傳,先後擔任過軍事委員會第五部副部長、中央宣傳部副部長和新聞局局長等要職。

董顯光十分重視戰事新聞的對外宣傳,每遇中國軍隊勝利,他總是不避風險,親自率領外國記者前往戰場參觀,並提供各種便利動員他們撰發電訊。淞滬會戰期間,董顯光與指揮作戰的四位將軍(陳誠、顧祝同、張發奎、朱紹良)建立密切聯繫,編發每日戰報。邀請時任上海市市長的俞鴻鈞,每天接待外國記者。這個記者招待會也變成了鼓舞國人士氣、溝通國際民意的一條重要管道。

1937年12月,日軍佔領南京後,對手無寸鐵的中國人實施了慘無人道的屠殺。但此時的新聞傳播管道都掌握在日軍手裡,故局外人對其令人髮指的滔天罪行都不甚瞭解。如何將日軍的暴虐公告於天下,讓中國的苦難獲得同情並在國際上構成鉗制日本的力量,對於董顯光領導的宣傳機構來說是個嚴峻的考驗。董顯光認為,大屠殺之後,留在南京的外國人是歷史的見證人,他們可能願意幫助中國揭露日軍的暴行,並且,這些協力廠商目擊者的陳述,遠比來自本國的報導更令人信服。因此,董顯光尋求與他們建立聯繫,待機守時,準備發起反擊。

台兒莊戰役中,中國軍隊重挫日軍,但日軍卻謊稱得勝。董顯光在陳誠的協助下,專門派出一架載滿了外國記者的飛機親自到戰火連綿的現場查看實情,令日方詭計不攻自破。

1938年,董顯光隻身潛入上海,找到了親歷南京浩劫的英國記者田伯烈(H. J. Timperley)。田伯烈向他提供了相關信件、日記和照片等翔實資料,指證日軍在南京的滔天罪惡,董提議資助田伯烈繼續多方搜集資料,將第三國人所記錄的日軍暴行結集成書。董顯光深知這本書出版的重要性,多一天拖延可能就多一天殺戮,而多一天公開真相可能就多一線勝利的曙光。經過多方努力,田伯烈的《戰爭意味什麼:日軍在華暴行 The Japanese Terror in China》一書終

於編寫完成，得到書稿之後，董顯光立即組織印刷發行。1938 年中期，該書在上海、倫敦、紐約等地以不同文字同時出版發行，10 餘萬字的血淚故事，真實且直接的現場還原，使得日軍的暴行震驚了世界。

董顯光還暗中協助記者們用影像資料揭露南京大屠殺的真相，當得知費吳生（George Ashmore Fitch）從南京偷運出了西方傳教士拍攝的日軍殺害中國平民的膠片時，董顯光立即派人前往英美等國，與當地的電影公司協商，通過影片放映與公開演說相結合的方式，擴大宣傳效果。同時，董顯光還想辦法寄送給美國國務卿一部名為《南京暴行紀實》的影片，喚起美國高層對日軍暴行的譴責，贏得美國人對中國抗戰的同情與支持（董顯光《董顯光自傳》）。

更難能可貴的是，董顯光還秘密派人前往東京，向日本的宗教團體、商界領袖、政府官員，以及駐日使館的外交官和外國記者等群體傳播有關南京大屠殺的宣傳冊、照片、電影，以及田伯烈的手稿。此次行動展示了中國抗戰的強大意志，成為「二戰」中在敵對國首都進行宣傳的成功範例。

1938 年 10 月 24 日，蔣介石做出放棄武漢西遷重慶的決定。撤離之前，他命令董顯光主持最後一次記者發佈會。此時衛戍司令部的士兵已逐漸撤出武漢，隨著日軍的一步步逼近，在武漢的每一分鐘都生死攸關。午夜時分，周恩來在半小時內接連打了四次電話，一再催促董顯光趕在最後一輛撤離的卡車出發之前撤離武漢，董顯光卻堅辭不就。第二天上午 10 點半，日軍已經佔領了機場，董顯光仍然從容不迫地舉辦記者招待會，用流利的英文向記者報告最新戰況，並傳達蔣介石關於繼續抗戰，決不屈服的聲明：「中國是一個幅員遼闊、人口眾多、資源豐富的國家。敵軍侵犯越肆虐，我們抵抗的意志就越堅決。」記者會結束後，他晝伏夜行，花了 10 天的時間徒步涉險到達長沙（魏舒歌《戰場之外：租界英文報刊與中國的國際宣傳（1928—1941）》）。

三、潤物無聲爭取國際支援

早在 1930 年左右，董顯光在天津創辦的《庸報》就給中國報業市場刮了一股新風。此前，沉悶的英式報紙讓讀者無不感到閱讀疲勞，而《庸報》跨欄大標題的編排風格卻讓人眼前一亮，這顯著增加了報紙的銷量，也讓董顯光領略了新聞技巧的重要性。成為政府外宣部門的負責人之後，董顯光對宣傳工作做了大刀闊斧的改革，他起用新聞專業人才，重建資訊傳遞設施和人際網路，一改國民政府宣傳孱弱的被動處境，開創了戰時宣傳的新局面。

獲取國際支持，打擊共同敵人，是戰時對外宣傳的主要目標。為此，董顯光在香港和上海兩地設立辦事處，作為政府宣傳資料向國際吐納的視窗。除此之外，董顯光又在海外的紐約、倫敦、仰光、印尼等地設立了 10 個辦事處，這些辦事處可以與當地的報業直接對接，從而保證資訊傳播的通暢。

董顯光認為，對外宣傳應隱藏真正意圖，抹去宣傳痕跡，並且儘量讓瞭解真相的外國人做自己的代言人。為最大限度利用外國資源，董顯光聘用了很多外國資深記者加入國際宣傳處。為增強政府資訊在國際輿論場上的可信度，董顯光著力加強有人情味的新聞寫作，並通過圖片使對外報導更加形象，更有說服力。在此期間，政府宣傳機構所刊登的許多照片都為國外報紙所普遍採用，特別是一個孤兒坐在轟炸狼藉的火車軌道上啼哭的照片，打動了全世界的讀者。



廢墟中啼哭的嬰兒

董顯光認為，確保新聞報導與事實相符才能達到宣傳的效果。因此，他始終秉持真相就是最好的宣傳這一基本原則。1936 年「西安事變」期間，外界關於事態演變的傳聞和蔣介石已遭不測的流言甚囂塵上，董顯光明白，這些不實消息一旦登報見刊，將會對中國的穩定產生難以估量的破壞，也會讓美英等國對中國失去信心。因此，他首先竭力安撫外國駐華記者，耐心勸導他們不要輕信謠言，然後利用長途電話與宋美齡、孔祥熙、宋子文和何應欽四人保持聯絡，以便隨時獲取準確消息，對事變的進展保持 24 小時跟進。經過董顯光的努力，直到「西安事變」和平解決之際，也沒有一篇誤報從上海發出。他雖然查扣了大量的外電，但是並沒有遭到駐華記者的圍攻，而傳播蔣介石遭到不測的新聞大多是不受中方審查的日本新聞社發出的，這當然嚴重地損害了他們的聲譽（董顯光《董顯光自傳》）。

董顯光認為，努力聯絡與爭取國際友人對宣傳工作大有助益。因此，他經常邀請主流媒體記者前來中國採訪，並為他們提供各種便利，盡力滿足他們的信息需求。在武漢，他與各國記者建立起十分密切的關係，尤其是畢業於密蘇里新聞學院並在美國重要新聞機構任職的記者。在他的感召下，這些「密蘇里幫」的成員都能夠為中國的抗戰盡力宣傳。在重慶，董顯光千方百計協助亨利·盧斯等美國名流前來與蔣介石等政府要人會面，由於他的精心安排，盧斯等報界大亨所控制的媒體資源為中國政府做了大量的宣傳工作（柳長《董顯光傳略》，《民國檔案》）。上海淪陷後，南京成為世界輿論關注的焦點，董顯光幾乎每天都通過拜訪、下午茶和晚宴等私人方式與駐守記者交流，這些非常時期結交的國際友人大都能盡心為中國說話出力（石源華《董顯光：民國時期的「公共外交家」》，《世界知識》）。

從 1913 年歸國到 1945 年抗戰結束，董顯光先後做過新聞記者、報社主筆和宣傳主管，30 多年間，他始終在新聞行業摸爬滾打，在一個資訊資源與話語權極不平等的輿論環境下，把中國的積極姿態和良好形象傳遞給世界，留給我們一段珍貴的歷史記憶和一筆寶貴的精神財富。
