

**WILLIAM B. REED: PRESIDENT
BUCHANAN'S MINISTER TO CHINA
1857-1858**

BY FOSTER M. FARLEY*

A PRESIDENT'S administration is usually evaluated by some great occurrence, good or bad, and other aspects of his term of office are forgotten. Martin van Buren and Herbert Hoover are generally charged with beginning the depressions of 1837 and 1929; Ulysses S. Grant and Warren G. Harding are usually thought of in connection with the various scandals and corruption during their administrations; and James Madison and James Buchanan with beginning the War of 1812 and the American Civil War. James Buchanan, the fifteenth President of the United States "remains one of the least known statesmen of the American Nation."¹ According to Buchanan's latest biographer, Philip S. Klein, "many people remember Buchanan as the bachelor in the White House who either caused the Civil War or who ought, somehow to have prevented it."²

Few people realize that the fifteenth President was singularly well qualified to occupy the White House. Born in 1791, a native of Pennsylvania, Buchanan graduated from Dickinson College in 1809, and was admitted to the bar three years later. With a good knowledge of the law, he served first in the Pennsylvania house and then for the next ten years as Congressman. After serving as United States Minister to Russia from 1831-1833, he was elevated to the United States Senate.³ By 1844 he had become a leading contender for the Democratic nomination for President, and when James K. Polk was elected, the new President appointed Buchanan Secretary of State mainly due to the

*The author is Associate Professor of History at Newberry College.

¹ Philip S. Klein, *President James Buchanan: A Biography* (University Park, 1962), xiii.

² *Ibid.*

³ Dumas Malone, editor, *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1963), II, 207-209.

fact that he thought "he was securing for the chief post in the cabinet a man eminently qualified . . . to be his principal adviser. . . ."⁴

But Buchanan early clashed with Polk and their association was a stormy one. There are occasional references in *Polk's Diary* to the effect that Buchanan "had his mind very much fixed upon being a candidate for the Presidency, which I fear may embarrass my administration. . . ."⁵ A month later Polk noted that "Buchanan no doubt considers himself a candidate for the nomination, and is nervous and exhibits a degree of weakness on the subject that is almost incredible."⁶

When the proposed treaty with Mexico was up for discussion by the Cabinet, Buchanan opposed it and Polk surmised "that the true reason for Mr. Buchanan's present course is that he is now a candidate for the presidency, and he does not wish to incur the displeasure of those who are in favor of the conquest of all Mexico."⁷ Polk offered some sage advice when he ended the entry of that date by remarking: "No candidate for the presidency ought ever to remain in the Cabinet. He is an unsafe adviser."⁸

Polk did not seek a second term, but Buchanan did not secure the Democratic nomination in 1848, nor in 1852, losing out to Lewis Cass and Franklin K. Pierce. In 1853 Buchanan was offered the post of United States Minister to the Court of St. James, which after some hesitation, he accepted. He "was reckoned in 1853 as one of the best trained publicists in the country" and served the Democratic Party and his country as minister to England.⁹ In 1855 he returned home to campaign actively for the Democratic nomination for President.

On June 2, 1856, the Democratic Party assembled in Cincinnati to nominate its candidate. The three leading contenders were President Pierce, Stephen A. Douglas, and James Buchanan. Before the Convention was hours old, Buchanan's friends obtained control

⁴ Samuel Flagg Bemis, editor, *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*, V (New York, 1958), 244.

⁵ Allan Nevins, editor, *Polk, The Diary of a President, 1845-1849* (New York, 1952), 276.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 286.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 308.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Bemis, *American Secretaries of State*, VI, 177.

of the party machinery and elected John Elliott Ward of Georgia, Convention President.¹⁰

A dozen ballots were held in the next several days during which Buchanan led, but was not able to obtain the necessary two-thirds votes needed for nomination. On the sixteenth ballot Buchanan had a two-to-one majority, but not the coveted two-thirds. The Pennsylvanian's main strength lay in New England, the Middle Atlantic states and the West. Douglas ran ahead of Buchanan in the South, but the Senator from Illinois, seeing that he could not muster the necessary vote for nomination, withdrew before the seventeenth ballot and Buchanan was nominated by acclamation. Ward, who had impressed many people at the convention, received some votes support for the Vice-Presidential nomination, but bowed out in favor of John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky.¹¹

When he assumed office in March, 1857, President Buchanan shouldered many burdens, but nowhere did he have as great a success as in his Asian policy, for his administration extended "commercial opportunities, and opened the door to diplomatic relations with Asia."¹² For Secretary of State Buchanan appointed Lewis Cass of Michigan who "was forced upon the President as a party necessity." But Cass was Secretary of State in name only; the "real Secretary . . . was President Buchanan."¹³ Two of his most trusted advisers, Ward, who had aided in obtaining the nomination, and William B. Reed of Pennsylvania, carried out his Asian policy as American ministers to China. Reed negotiated a new treaty with China in 1858; Ward was the first American minister to visit Peking (though under trying circumstances) carrying the treaty for ratification.

Critics of Buchanan's Asian policy have called it "timid and pacific"¹⁴ and liken it to an individual in an apple orchard standing "under the tree, with his basket, waiting for his associates above to shake down the fruit."¹⁵ The associates were England and France who were doing the actual fighting, while the United

¹⁰ Klein, *President Buchanan*, 255; *Official Proceedings of the National Democratic Convention, 1856*, 16-17; *Savannah Morning News*, June 4, 7, 1856.

¹¹ Klein, *President Buchanan*, 255.

¹² *Ibid.*, 326.

¹³ Bemis, *American Secretaries of State*, VI, 297.

¹⁴ Bemis, *American Secretaries of State*, VI, 375.

¹⁵ Tyler Dennett, *Americans In Eastern Asia* (New York, 1963), 395.

States, under the clause of most favored nation treatment, received about the same things in its treaty with China that England and France obtained by fighting. These estimates seem unfair in light of the foreign and domestic situations Buchanan faced.

In 1856 hostilities had broken out between China and England over a minor incident. The French joined the English, who used as their excuse to intervene, the murder of a French Roman Catholic missionary to China. After the English put down the Sepoy Mutiny in India in 1857, they began to push their war in China more vigorously.

Shortly after Buchanan assumed office, England approached the United States with suggestions for an alliance in her war with China. But this country could see little advantage in involving itself in the China war.¹⁶ Speaking for President Buchanan, Cass said that the United States could find no excuse for beginning a war with China, and the President also reminded the English minister that it was Congress, and not the President, which had the authority to make war. A similar French request was also politely turned down, although President Buchanan did agree "to dispatch a plenipotentiary to be present during the hostilities, with instructions to press the American claims for reparations and a revision of the treaty at an opportune time."¹⁷ Buchanan appointed William B. Reed "envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary," in the spring of 1857 "to proceed to China and to avail himself of any opportunities which may offer to effect changes in the existing treaty favorable to American commerce."¹⁸

Reed, who was born on June 30, 1806, in Philadelphia, had graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, studied law with his uncle, John Sergeant, and had been admitted to the bar in 1826.¹⁹ While on a trip to Central America, that year, he served

¹⁶ Lewis Cass to William B. Reed, May 30, 1857, Diplomatic Instructions, China, United States National Archives. (Hereafter cited as DI-USNA.)

¹⁷ The English ambassador informed President Buchanan of England's aggressive plans against China which included the capture of Canton, the blockade of the Yangtse as far as the Grand Canal, the blockade of the mouth of the Peiho River, with the ultimate intent of making China revise her treaties with the Western nations. Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, 300-305.

¹⁸ James D. Richardson, editor, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, III (New York, 1897), 2977.

¹⁹ *D.A.B.*, VIII, 462; John Hill Martin, *Martin's Bench and Bar of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1883), 303. Reed had many critics not the least of whom was Sidney George Fisher, who said of Reed that he had a "good

as private secretary to his uncle and to the American minister to Mexico, Joel Roberts Poinsett.²⁰ Politically Reed supported first the anti-Masonic movement and later the Whigs. After terms in the Pennsylvania House and Senate, he served six years as district attorney for Philadelphia. He was also part-time professor of American History at the University of Pennsylvania.²¹ In 1856 he shifted to the Democratic Party²² and was instrumental in obtaining the support of many "old line Whigs" for Buchanan. Baron Gros, the French minister to China, described him as a "man of some fifty odd years of a rather remarkable distinction and elegant simplicity!"²³

Reed's diplomatic instructions were quite specific. England and France had already decided on hostilities to force China to accept a resident minister in Peking, open new ports to Western trade, secure the reduction of domestic tariffs, support religious freedom for all foreigners in China, and extend treaty benefits to all civilized nations.²⁴ Reed was encouraged to communicate frankly and cordially cooperate "with the English and French ministers, and was also urged to cooperate with the Russian minister."²⁵ He was also ordered to either try and suppress the opium trade or at best to control it. It was suggested that he fully inform the Chinese of American policy and to impress upon them "that we are no party to the existing hostilities, and have no intention to interfere in their political concerns, or to gain a foothold in their country."²⁶ Reed was further instructed to settle claims of Amer-

deal of cleverness but by no means distinguished talents." Nicholas B. Wainwright, editor, *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher Covering the Years 1834-1871* (Philadelphia, 1967), 125.

²⁰ Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, 306.

²¹ Fisher was not very kind to Reed, whom he heard give a lecture on "The Romance of American History," in February, 1839. Fisher called the lecture "too long, full of factitious sentiment, badly arranged, style turgid and pretending, without originality of thought, and altogether a commonplace production." Wainwright, *Philadelphia Perspective*, 75.

²² Almost twenty years later Fisher was still critical of Reed calling him "clever, without strong moral principles." Remarking on Reed's becoming a Democrat he said that he did that "no doubt from ambitious motives." He called Reed's pamphlet on Buchanan "well enough written but artful and omitting all mention of the real and serious topics." *Ibid.*, 262.

²³ Baron Gros to Comte Alexandre Walewski, November 26, 1857, as quoted in W. C. Costin, *Great Britain and China, 1833-1860* (Oxford, 1937), 241.

²⁴ Richardson, *Messages*, VII, 2978.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 3038.

²⁶ Paul M. Clyde, *United States Policy Toward China, 1839-1939* (New York, 1940), 40.

ican merchants against China.²⁷ Regarding the attitude of the United States toward the Taiping Rebellion, Buchanan told Reed that the "internal dissensions of the Chinese empire will not fail to engage your earliest attention" but the United States had no "other concern as to its progress or result than to take care that our rights are preserved inviolate."²⁸

With these instructions Reed sailed aboard the *U.S.S. Minnesota* early in July, 1857, for Capetown on his journey for China. They reached Capetown on September 7 after a sixty-eight day voyage from Virginia.²⁹ Two months later Reed arrived at Hong Kong where he was welcomed to Asia by Commodore James Armstrong of the American East Indian Squadron who had been informed by Secretary of the Navy Isaac Toucey to "pay the highest regard" to Reed's wishes.³⁰

Reed's first official act was to present himself to his English and French counterparts, Lord Elgin³¹ and Baron Gros. Here he met a cool reception because of America's refusal to join them in the war against China.³²

Relations with the Russian minister were a different story. Admiral Count Evfimii Putyatin,³³ had recently arrived at Hong Kong aboard the steamer *Amerika*; and Reed and Putyatin were

²⁷ Bemis, *American Secretaries of State*, VI, 396.

²⁸ Clyde, *United States Policy Toward China*, 34.

²⁹ William B. Reed to Lewis Cass, September 9, 1857, *Senate Executive Document*, No. 30, 36 Congress 1st Session, 15. (Hereafter cited as *Reed Correspondence*.)

³⁰ Isaac Toucey to James Armstrong, June 12, 1857, *ibid.* 11.

³¹ James Bruce, eighth Earl of Elgin, was born in 1811. He had served as governor of Jamaica, 1842; governor-general of Canada, 1846-1854; minister to China, 1857-1858, 1860; and would be, before he died, governor-general and viceroy of India, 1861-1863. "In China and in India where he was brought into contact with Englishmen and other Europeans settled among the Asiatic populations, he seems to have formed a strong, and some persons thought, an exaggerated impression of the tendency of Europeans to ill use the inferior races, his letters both public and private, containing frequent and indignant allusions to this subject." Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, editors, *Dictionary of National Biography*, III (London, 1949-1950), 104-106.

³² William B. Reed, Manuscript of Private Diary of Mission to China. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, 122-127.

³³ Putyatin was naval attache to London in 1857 when he heard of the joint Anglo-French expedition to China. He hastened to St. Petersburg where he obtained the appointment of Russian minister to China. Earlier he had been in command of the "Russian squadron that visited Japan at about the same time as Commodore Perry—and for more or less similar purposes." George A. Lensen, *Russia's Japan Expedition, 1852-1855* (Gainesville, 1955), vii.

immediately drawn to one another.³⁴ They journeyed together to Macao where the American minister requested an interview with the Chinese Commissioner of Canton, Yeh Ming-ch'en, for talks leading to the revision of the Treaty of Wangha. (Yeh, as was expected, refused the American minister's request.)³⁵

On December 28, 1857, England and France bombarded Canton and then launched an attack on the city with 6,000 troops. Early in January, all resistance ceased and Commissioner Yeh and his suite were prisoners. For the next three years England and France ruled Canton through a Chinese puppet. Despite the hostile action against Canton, the Chinese court did not comprehend the seriousness of the situation. In February the aggressive Europeans decided to demand of the Ching dynasty that they negotiate at Shanghai, and if they refused this request, an attack would be launched on Tientsin. Reed and Putyatin were invited by England and France to join them in their journey north. Commodore Josiah Tattnall, the new American commander for the area, placed at Reed's service the steamers, *Minnesota* and *Mississippi*, and chartered for the American minister's use the "light draft steamer, *Antelope*."³⁶

The last of March the four western ministers arrived at Shanghai and after some negotiation with the Chinese, the Westerners were told to go back to Canton and negotiate with the new Chinese commissioner. When the four diplomats refused this request war was the next step. The European allies now prepared to attack the Taku forts guarding the approaches of the Peiho River leading to Tientsin and Peking. Reed informed Buchanan of these plans to attack the Taku forts and said he would act according to his instructions of either being a neutral observer or trying to mediate the situation.³⁷

By the middle of April, 1858, all four ministers were at the Taku forts and on April 23 sent identical notes to the Emperor demanding replies within six days. The Emperor sent an imperial

³⁴ William B. Reed to Lewis Cass, November 25, 1857, *Reed Correspondence*, 20; Reed Diary, 122-127.

³⁵ William B. Reed to Lewis Cass, December 15, 1857, *Reed Correspondence*, 49.

³⁶ Charles O. Paullin, "Early Voyages of American Naval Vessels to the Orient," *United States Naval Institute's Proceedings* (June 1911), 397.

³⁷ William B. Reed to Lewis Cass, April 13, 1858, *Reed Correspondence*, 220.

commissioner to negotiate, but the English and the French, already determined on war, refused to treat with him because he lacked "full power."³⁸

Reed, however, was of the opinion that he should at least meet the Chinese envoy, for "I could not persuade myself that the technical rules of Western diplomacy should be asserted against this strange people."³⁹ Reed met twice with the Chinese representative, Governor-General Tan Tinghsiang, and obtained assurances from them that they would refer the whole treaty (when negotiated) and not article by article, to Peking for approval. After the second meeting between Reed and Tan, Sino-American negotiations were carried on by deputies of both sides. By May 19, the American proposed treaty of some thirty-three articles was the subject of study. The next day the European allies stormed the Taku forts and captured them, and the last of May, Tientsin fell to them. After securing the city, they set up headquarters in a large temple. A short time later, Reed, in the company of Admiral Putyatin, sailed to Tientsin aboard the Russian steamer *Amerika*.⁴⁰

American negotiations were resumed on June 7 and proceeded rather swiftly, because England and France were the real negotiators and whatever their treaties contained, the American and Russian treaties would also contain, due to the most favored nation principle.⁴¹ W. A. P. Martin, an American missionary of long familiarity with China, aided Reed in his negotiations and recorded his impressions of the American diplomat, unfortunately not very flattering. Reed wanted his version of the treaty of Tientsin signed on the 18th of June (the date of the Battle of Waterloo) "imagining that posterity would somehow connect his name with that of Wellington."⁴² The treaty was signed on that date and when the Chinese delegate affixed his seal, the American, having no official ring, was forced to use his own ring to make his impression in wax.⁴³

³⁸ Costin, *Great Britain and China*, 253-254.

³⁹ William B. Reed to Lewis Cass, May 6, 1858, *Reed Correspondence*, 260.

⁴⁰ William B. Reed to Lewis Cass, June 2, 15, 1858, *Reed Correspondence*, 329, 335.

⁴¹ Reed Diary, 122-127; William B. Reed to Lewis Cass, June 18, 30, 1858, *Reed Correspondence*, 350, 352.

⁴² W. A. P. Martin, *A Cycle of Cathay* (New York, 1897), 181.

⁴³ Reed Diary, 122-127; William B. Reed to Lewis Cass, June 18, 1858, *Reed Correspondence*, 350.

In essence all the four treaties were similar. The American treaty contained 30 articles, the most important of which were the right of American diplomats to reside at Peking, the privilege of appointing "Consuls and other commercial agents for the protection of trade to reside" at the stipulated treaty ports, the protection of Americans who were shipwrecked, and the right of freedom of religion to all foreigners in China.⁴⁴ Martin criticized Reed for this part of the treaty when he said that he (Reed) "only tolerated it in hopes of currying favor with religious communities at home." Martin also castigated Reed for intimating that he wanted them "to make the religious people" of the United States "fully sensible of what he had done for their cause." But the Anglican bishop of Hong Kong, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, complimented the American envoy for "'heartly zeal, sympathy and cooperation'" for his "'wording of the treaties'" in inserting the article on religious toleration.⁴⁵

Reed viewed the new treaties of Tientsin as bringing "China into the great nations of the world," but at the same time he seriously wondered "whether the old system (in China) is to be totally demolished and then reconstructed, or whether it can be altered and renovated to adapt itself to new influences and institutions without undergoing the horrors of revolution."⁴⁶ This was a remarkable statement in light of what has transpired in the last one hundred years.

President Buchanan in his State of the Union message summarized the events of 1858 in China and the part played by the United States. "Our minister has executed his instructions with eminent skill and ability. In conjunction with the Russian plenipotentiary, he has peacefully, but effectually, cooperated with the English and French plenipotentiaries, and each of the four powers has concluded a separate treaty with China of a highly satisfactory character."⁴⁷

Reed's instructions regarding American claims against China as well as the tariff problem were settled in Shanghai with the

⁴⁴ *Treaties, Conventions, etc. between China and Foreign States* (Shanghai, 1917), 405.

⁴⁵ Martin, *Cycle of Cathay*, 182-183, 184.

⁴⁶ William B. Reed to Lewis Cass, September 4, 1858, *Reed Correspondence*, 434.

⁴⁷ Richardson, *Messages*, VII, 3037.

signing of a supplemental treaty on November 8, 1858. The imperial negotiators were Kuei-liang, governor-general of Chih-li province, in which Tientsin is located, and Hua-Sha-na, President of Board of Civil Appointments,⁴⁸ both who had negotiated the Tientsin treaties, and the American counterpart was Dr. S. Wells Williams.⁴⁹ The tariff duties which "had previously been in force" were reduced and provision was made for the reorganization of "the Foreign Inspectorate of Chinese Customs" at Shanghai and "the extension of the system" into the other treaty ports was assured. As far as the claims of Americans against China were concerned Reed suggested to Buchanan that a commission be appointed to settle the issue and during Ward's stay in China this matter was settled.⁵⁰

Among the articles negotiated, mention should be made of the legalization of the opium trade. Buchanan had instructed Reed that the "United States does not seek for their citizens the legal establishment of the opium trade, nor will it uphold them in any attempt to violate the laws of China by the introduction of that article" into China.⁵¹ Legalization of the opium trade was discussed during the Tientsin negotiations but was not included in the final draft of the treaty. Reed first opposed legalization and then reversed himself and came out in favor because as he said the "heavy duties and exclusion of foreigners from the transportation and sale of the drug in the interior was preferable" to the smuggling of it by unscrupulous American merchants.⁵²

Throughout Reed's stay in China he constantly complained of being snubbed by the British or being treated as a second rate. His letters to the American Secretary of State show ample proof

⁴⁸ Kuei-liang (1785-1862) was a Manchu and was 73 years of age in 1858. He was Grand Secretary and was president of the Board of War in 1852 and governor-general of Chihli in 1853. Hua-sha-na (1806-1859) was 52 years of age, a Mongol, and president of the Board of Civil Office. See Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *China's Entrance into The Family of Nations: The Diplomatic Phase, 1858-1880* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960), 51.

⁴⁹ S. Wells Williams was an unordained missionary to China. In 1854 he took charge of the Printing Press of the American Board of Commissions for the Foreign Missions. He acted as interpreter for Commodore Perry when that naval officer visited Japan. Williams was appointed Secretary and interpreter of the American Legation in China in 1855.

⁵⁰ William B. Reed to Lewis Cass, November 10, 1858, *Reed Correspondence*, 523.

⁵¹ William B. Reed to Lewis Cass, May 30, 1857, *ibid.*, 8-9.

⁵² Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, 324-326.

of this. Such expressions as "His Lordship's tone is not agreeable to me," and "nothing of an unofficial character passed between the English and French plenipotentiaries and myself, and little in the way of conversation on public affairs." Reed concluded that the reason for this was the "irritation created by his country's failure to embroil the United States in its China adventure." Reed was also very much irritated when the English sent Reed a bundle of letters to the American legation, they had captured in Canton. In these letters Americans were referred to as "barbarians," "dogs" and "sheep" and so on.⁵³

After completing a rather successful mission, Minister Reed departed for the United States aboard the *U.S.S. Minnesota* for Hong Kong on November 11, 1858, and on December 8, he took passage for Bombay "where he took the mail steamer for home."⁵⁴ On his way home through Europe he happened to meet his successor, John E. Ward, in Lyon, France, the last of March, 1859. Reed recorded his impressions of the Georgian in a letter to S. Wells Williams:

We met here yesterday and he has been kindly and patiently listening to a long lecture on Chinese affairs, and I hope profiting by it. If you find him fill(ed) with preconceptions you must attribute not a few of them to me, if they are wrong get him clear of them as soon as possible, for I have told him how implicitly he may rely on your disinterested and generous friendship. I like him much and I think you will. . . . I have said to Mr. Ward and I say to you that I shall look upon his success as necessary to my reputation as well as heightening his—I mean in getting to Peking, and I am confident you will be anxious as either of us.⁵⁵

⁵³ William B. Reed to Lewis Cass, October 21, 1858, *Reed Correspondence*, 439. Another instance of English superiority was the British refusal to see one of the Chinese imperial commissioners, Ch'i-ying, who earlier had signed the first treaties with the West, had been in political eclipse until 1858, but Reed consented to talk with him at Tientsin on June 9, 1858. Reed had some harsh words for the English: "The English may be very anxious to introduce Western Civilization into China; they certainly are not introducing Western courtesy—I think this is a very gross thing." *Reed Diary*, 123.

⁵⁴ William B. Reed to Lewis Cass, November 25, 1858, *Reed Correspondence*, 540.

⁵⁵ William B. Reed to S. Wells Williams, March 26, 1859, quoted in Frederick W. Williams, editor, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, LL.D.* (New York, 1889), 295.

Ward moved on to Hong Kong and witnessed the defeat of the European allies as they attempted to take the war north. He then proceeded to Peking, but was unable to obtain an audience with the Emperor because he refused to perform the kowtow; the Treaty of Tientsin was ratified by a lesser official of the Chinese Empire. Ward remained an unwilling observer to events in China until his departure for the United States in December, 1860.

The careers of the two principal players, the President and Reed for the remainder of their lives are interesting. Buchanan retired to his home at Wheatland, near Lancaster, where he died on June 1, 1868. Reed opposed the Civil War and was ostracized politically as well as socially. He wrote against the conflict his principal article entitled "A Paper Concerning A Statement and Vindication of Certain Political Opinions."⁵⁶ Sidney George Fisher, a contemporary of Reed, called him and other Democrats "traitors because they sympathize with the rebellion and in my opinion very justly."⁵⁷ Until his death in 1876, Reed supported himself and his family by a career in journalism.⁵⁸

By the end of Buchanan's administration the United States policy toward China was little different from that in 1844 when she signed the Treaty of Wanghia—that of keeping China as a friend and at the same time keeping her free. The policy of the United States in the 1850's, particularly during the Presidency of Buchanan was to do all it could, short of war, to safeguard the territorial integrity of that nation and of guaranteeing the commercial interests of the Western treaty nations in China. In later years this policy will be referred to in the words of Secretary of State John Hay as the "Open Door Doctrine."

⁵⁶ Wainwright, *Philadelphia Perspective*, 416.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 439.

⁵⁸ According to Fisher, Reed appropriated "money sent to him by an English client for investment here to the amount of \$30,000." Reed, also according to Fisher "used the money of his sister, her little all, in the same way." But Fisher was not without remorse, for he said that he pitied him "for what terrible agony . . . he must now suffer, more especially when he thinks of his beggared children and sister." *Ibid.*, 554-559.