

**HARRINGTON AND HIS
OCEANA: A STUDY OF A
17TH CENTURY UTOPIA AND
ITS INFLUENCE IN AMERICA**

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H. F. Russell-Smith

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HARRINGTON

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A STUDY OF A 17TH CENTURY UTOPIA
AND ITS INFLUENCE IN AMERICA

BY

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REPLACING

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PREFACE

My attention was drawn to the ideas of Harrington when I was studying the history of toleration in the Stuart period. It appeared to me that his influence in England and in her colonies, both at his own time and since, deserved a fuller examination than it had yet received. My tenure of the Allen Scholarship in 1911 enabled me to make some researches both in England and America, which I have brought together in the following essay. I have attempted in the first place to give some account of Harrington's political ideas, describing their origin, their history, and their subsequent influence on two centuries of English political thought; in the second place, to trace a connection, which has often been surmised but never established, between *Oceana* and the political institutions of America; and finally to discuss the revival of Harrington's chief theories in the constitutions of revolutionary France. In this way I hope incidentally to have given a new illustration of the connection between political theory and practice, and to have shown afresh the essential unity of the three great revolutions of modern Europe.

The authorities for a study like this are necessarily various, but they are for the most part readily accessible. The history of Harrington's public life is drawn largely from the Thomason Pamphlets in the British Museum. The contention that Grote's advocacy of the ballot was due to his study of Harrington rests on Grote's unpublished essay on *Oceana*,

also in the British Museum. The most important evidence for establishing Harrington's influence in Pennsylvania is supplied by the preliminary drafts of the first constitution of Pennsylvania, which exist in manuscript in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Of secondary authorities little more need be said. There have not been many recent notices of Harrington's work. The article in the *English Historical Review* (April 1891), and the chapter on Harrington in Franck's *Reformateurs et Publicistes de l'Europe* are nothing but summaries of *Oceana*. The article by Theodore Dwight in the *Political Science Quarterly* (March 1887) is more valuable, being written partly from the American point of view. The best accounts are to be found in Masson's *Life of Milton*, Prof. C. H. Firth's *Last Years of the Protectorate*, and in Mr G. P. Gooch's *History of Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, to all of which I am much indebted. I had concluded that there must have been some connection between Penn and Harrington before I discovered that the same idea had occurred to Dr W. R. Shepherd, the author of *Pennsylvania as a Proprietary Colony*. I had studied the influence of Harrington on Sieyès before the appearance of Mr J. H. Clapham's recent book, *The Abbé Sieyès*, from which I have, however, borrowed one valuable reference. The fact that these connections have been seen by writers who can be said to have no prejudices in the matter seems to me to lend additional support to a contention which might appear to be due to bias, when made in an essay written for the purpose of tracing Harrington's influence.

Of the editions of Harrington's works something

is said in the text. For the present work I have made use of Toland's edition of Harrington's *Works*, 1747 (the 3rd edition), giving the name of the particular writing to which I have referred and the page on which my reference is to be found in the collected *Works*.

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge the courtesy and kindness which were shown me while I was carrying on my investigations in America by scholars too numerous to mention ; and to thank Professor Firth for valuable suggestions in regard to the first four chapters, and Mr E. A. Benians of my own college for reading this essay both in manuscript and proof, and assisting me throughout by his sympathetic criticism.

H. F. R. S.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE
CAMBRIDGE, March 1914