Adam Ferguson (1723–1816): An Annotated Bibliography

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Abbreviations of Online Repositories

ECCO = Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (available by institutional subscription)
GB = Google Books (https://books.google.com)
HT = Hathi Trust Digital Library (https://www.hathitrust.org/)
IA = Internet Archive (https://archive.org)

Note: some HT items are not available outside the USA.

Bibliographies


Editions and Selections

- Editions


- AF’s entry “History,” in the second and third editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (Edinburgh: A. Bell and C. MacFarquhar, 1778–83 and 1788–97, respectively. The entry is lengthy and divided into five sections: General Definition; Civil History; Ecclesiastical History; Composition of History; and Historical Chart. The historical chart, the first of its kind in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, is signed by AF. The Modern Historiography Reader, ed. Adam Budd, cited below under Selections in Anthologies, pp. 72–77, reprints most of the first section and what amounts to half of the fourth. The complete entry with chart, however, is available at http://www.eliohs.unifi.it/testi/700/history3/.
AF’s authorship of the chart and entry, esp. the section on Ecclesiastical History, has been questioned by Silvia Sebastiani (2002), cited below under Social and Political Thought. Budd, *Modern Historiography Reader*, p. 57 n. 5, acknowledges Sebastiani’s skepticism regarding attribution. This question of authorship remains an issue that requires further examination, however. Frank A. Kafker and Jeff Loveland, eds., *The Early Britannica (1768–1803): The Growth of an Outstanding Encyclopedia*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2009) both questions Sebastiani’s interpretation, on p. 7, and endorses it, on p. 183. (The collection also contains other scattered references to AF.)

- “AF’s Moral Philosophy Lectures: Notes on Lecture Notes from 1775–1785, Lectures 1–34; 85–103.” A transcription by David Kettler of part of Ferguson’s lecture notes in Edinburgh University Library, posted online along with other relevant materials at [http://www.bard.edu/contestedlegacies/kettler/works.shtml](http://www.bard.edu/contestedlegacies/kettler/works.shtml).

- *The Manuscripts of Adam Ferguson*, ed. Vincenzo Merolle, with Eugene Heath and Robin Dix (London and Brookfield, VT: Pickering and Chatto, 2006). The latest, most complete and authoritative edition of AF’s thirty-two manuscript essays in EUL. The “Introductory Essay” is divided into three parts: “Ferguson’s Political Philosophy” (pp. xi–xliv) by Merolle; “Ferguson’s Moral Philosophy” (pp. xlvii–lxxvi) by Heath; and “Ferguson’s Aesthetics” (pp. lxxvii–lxxxvi) by Dix. Appendix B, which excerpts readers’ reactions to AF’s Essay and his Roman history, is particularly useful. This edition supersedes two generally inaccessible previous editions: *Collection of Essays*, ed. Yasuo Amoh (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Imadegawa, Kawabata, Sakyoku, Kyoto 606, Japan], 1996) and *The Unpublished Essays of Adam Ferguson*, ed. Winifred M. Philip, 3 vols. (Kilberry, UK: W. M. Philip, 1986). Yasuo Amoh also published a preview of the introduction to his edition, *Collection of Essays*: “Adam Ferguson, Collection of Essays: Ferguson’s Posthumous Works,” *Kochi University Review of Social Sciences*, no. 50 (July 1994): 1–37 (available at [https://ir.kochi-u.ac.jp/dspace/handle/10126/5813](https://ir.kochi-u.ac.jp/dspace/handle/10126/5813)). All materials in the three appendices to Amoh’s edition are included in the appendices to Merolle, *Manuscripts of Adam Ferguson* and Merolle, *Correspondence of Adam Ferguson*, cited below. All three editions use the same numbering to refer to AF’s thirty-two unpublished essays. Three essays were also published individually:


  - Re: no. 15, see Yasuo Amoh, “Adam Ferguson and the Division of Labour: An Unpublished Essay by Adam Ferguson,” *Kochi University Review of Social Sciences*, no. 29 (July 1987): 71–85 (available at [https://ir.jimu.kochi-u.ac.jp/dspace/handle/10126/5704](https://ir.jimu.kochi-u.ac.jp/dspace/handle/10126/5704)). Reprinted, without the editor’s introduction, as “Adam Ferguson: Of the Separation of Departments, Professions, and Tasks resulting from the Progress of Arts


  - *The Correspondence of Adam Ferguson*, ed. Vincenzo Merolle, with an introduction by Jane B. Fagg, 2 vols. (London and Brookfield, VT: William Pickering, 1995). Despite some editorial shortcomings, this is a useful collection of more than four hundred letters, with a fine biographical introduction by Jane Fagg that is keyed to the correspondence, and seventeen beneficial appendices. This edition is also available through the InteLex Past Masters database by subscription at major research libraries.

  - *Grundsätze der Moralphilosophie* (*Institutes of Moral Philosophy*), trans. Christian Garve, with a helpful introduction in English by Heiner Klemme (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2003; available separately and as vol. 6 in Klemme’s 7-vol. series, *Reception of the Scottish Enlightenment in Germany: Six Significant Translations, 1755–1782*). Garve’s 1772 translation of the first edition of AF’s *Institutes* (1769) was notable in its own right, but it became a particularly important work for understanding the German appropriation of the Scottish Enlightenment as a result of Garve’s extensive documentation (pp. 285–420 in this edition). This edition is also available at GB, and as part of the reprint edition of the 15-vol. Collected Works of 1792–1810: *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Kurt Wölfel (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1985).

- **Selections in Anthologies**
  - *Readings in Early Anthropology*, ed. J. S. Slotkin (Chicago: Aldine, 1965). Excerpts AF’s contributions to physical anthropology from the *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* (pp. 199–200) and to social anthropology from across his published writings (pp. 430–43).


- The Modern Historiography Reader: Western Sources, ed. Adam Budd (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 72–77. Excerpts AF’s “History” article in two late eighteenth-century editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. For more on this contemporary article, including the attribution controversy, see above under Editions.

- Foundations of Anthropological Theory: From Classical Antiquity to Early Modern Europe, ed. Robert Launay (Chichester, UK and Malden, MA: Wiley-

- **Selections in Journals**

**Notes:**

1. No edition of AF’s collected works has ever been published. Although some of his books have occasionally been reprinted, none has remained consistently in print except the *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767). However, nearly all eighteenth-century British and Irish editions of AF’s works, as well as some of the eighteenth-century English-language editions published in Basel (spelled Basil in the imprints), are available to those with institutional access to ECCO. The Hathi Trust Digital Archive also has an excellent collection of Ferguson publications online, including post-eighteenth-century and foreign-language editions. Some editions are also available at GB and IA.

2. For a list of foreign-language editions of AF’s works, contemporary and modern, see Norbert Waszek, “Adam Ferguson” (2004), p. 604, cited above under Bibliographies.

**Book-Length Studies and Collections**

- David Allan, *Adam Ferguson*, Aberdeen Introductions to Irish and Scottish Culture (Aberdeen: AHRC Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies, Univ. of Aberdeen, 2006). The second chapter on AF as moralist and university teacher and the concluding chapter on his impact and influence are particularly useful.
cited elsewhere in this bibliography, including *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Theory of Spontaneous Order* in its entirety.


detail AF’s thought in relation to war and to Montesquieu, with an emphasis on AF’s History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic (1783).

- Vincenzo Merolle, Saggio su Ferguson, con un Saggio su Millar (Rome: Gangemi, 1994). Text in Italian with two detailed summaries in English: see pp. 183–94 for the one on AF.


Biographical and Contextual Studies

- Biographical Accounts


See also the anonymous review of Small’s biography, attributed to James Lorimer, in *The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal* 125 (Jan. 1867): 48–85 (also available in double-column format, pp. 25–44). Both versions of the review are available at HT, as is the former only at GB.

Note: For other nineteenth-century writings with relevance for AF, see esp. the following parts of the bibliography in Fagg, “Biographical Introduction,” in Merolle, *Correspondence of Adam Ferguson* (1995), vol. 1, cited above under Editions: III. Biographical Sketches of Adam Ferguson, pp. cxix–cxx; IV. Biographical Dictionaries, Biographies, and Autobiographies, pp. cxx–cxxiv; and V. Correspondence, Journals, and Memoirs, pp. cxxiv–cxxvi.

**Modern Dictionary and Encyclopedia Articles**

2003), vol. 2, p. 47. See also, within the same volume, Fania Oz-Salzberger’s entry on Christian Garve, pp. 101–02, with a short but useful bibliography.


Note: thumbnail sketches of AF are available in the *Blackwell Companion to the Enlightenment, Bloomsbury Guide to English Literature: Augustan Literature, Collins Dictionary of Sociology, Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland*, and *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*.

### Other Biographical and Contextual Studies


- Robert G. W. Anderson and Jean Jones, eds., *The Correspondence of Joseph Black*, 2 vols. (Farnham, Surrey, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012). Contains a wealth of information on AF, in the form of information provided by the editors and passing references to AF in the letters of Black and others.


- John D. Brewer, “Putting Adam Ferguson in His Place,” *British Journal of Sociology* 58:1 (2007): 105–122. Regards the emphasis on AF’s identity as a Gaelic Highlander as romantic exaggeration. (Brewer [2014], cited below under Division of Labor, Political Economy, and Origins of Social Science, continues the author’s strong biographical revisionism.)


Aylwin Clark, *An Enlightened Scot: Hugh Cleghorn, 1752–1837*, foreword by Nicholas Phillipson (Duns, UK: Black Ace Books, 1992). It is well known that AF looked up to William Cleghorn, his predecessor in the chair of moral philosophy at Edinburgh from 1745 to 1754, but Clark reveals that William’s nephew Hugh, in turn, admired AF throughout his life. Illuminating also on AF’s last years and death (pp. 251–56) and on his unpublished “Dialogue on a Highland Jaunt” (pp. 7–9).


Roger L. Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment: Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2008). Contains some biographical information on AF and more on his patron Lord Milton. There is also coverage of the latter in Emerson, *An Enlightened*


- John Fleming, Robert Adam and His Circle in Edinburgh and Rome (London: John Murray, 1962). AF was a close friend of Robert Adam from university days.


- Henry Grey Graham, Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908 [orig. 1901]). Part of Chap 5 is devoted to AF. Available at HT and IA.

- Sir Alexander Grant, The Story of the University of Edinburgh during Its First Three Hundred Years, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1884). Vol. 2 contains a two-page life of AF in appendix 13; though based on Small (cited above under Biographical Accounts), it is striking for the early casting of its subject as a practitioner of “Sociology” (p. 339). Other histories of the University of Edinburgh with content on AF include those by Alexander Bower (vol. 3, 1830, pp. 7–12) and Andrew Dalzel (vol. 2, 1864, intermittently between pp. 428–51). All three of these works are available at HT and IA.

- J. Y. T. Greig, ed., The Letters of David Hume, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932). Besides three letters from Hume to AF, two of which concern the Essay’s reception, it also contains five letters to Hugh Blair and others on the Essay (revealing Hume’s real opinion of the book), as well as a letter addressed to Alexander Carlyle (dated 3 February 1761), where Hume claims credit for AF’s militia pamphlet Sister Peg. Many letters addressed to others concern AF.


Ernest Campbell Mossner and Ian Simpson Ross, eds., *The Correspondence of Adam Smith*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987). Besides AF’s letters to Smith, which appear in the first edition from 1977, the second edition, appendix E, adds fourteen letters related to AF and the “Chesterfield affair” (on this affair, see two articles by Raphael and one by Raphael, Raynor, and Ross, all cited in this section, below).


Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, 1876), vol. 2, pp. 214–15 (Chap 10, Sect 89). A harshly critical account of AF’s *Essay* (which “has the superficial merits which were calculated for the ordinary mind”) and its author (“a facile and dexterous declaimer, whose rhetoric glides over the surface of things without biting into their substance”). Available at GB and IA, and later editions are available at HT.


Notes:

1. For more on AF’s Highland background, see esp. Brewer’s and Allan’s chapters in Heath and Merolle (2008), and Buchan’s, Fry’s, and Kugler’s chapters in Heath and Merolle (2009), cited above under Book-Length Studies and Collections; Kugler (1994) and Testa (2007), cited below under Theses.
and Dissertations; Forbes (1967), cited below under Social and Political Thought; and Carr (2008), cited below under Militia, National Defense, and War.

2. For other biographical treatments of AF, see also Chap 2 in Allan’s monograph (2006), and Chap 3 in Kettler’s (1965), both cited above under Book-Length Studies and Collections.

3. On Hume’s antipathy to AF’s Essay upon publication, see esp. pp. 57–60 in Kettler (1965) and the essays by Raynor and by Merolle in Heath and Merrolle (2009), cited above under Book-Length Studies and Collections; and appendix B in Teng (1988), cited below under Theses and Dissertations.

Theses and Dissertations (excluding those made into published books)

- John Peter Bradwell, “Sir Walter Scott, the Scottish Enlightenment, and British Romanticism” (PhD diss., Univ. of Virginia, 1993), esp. pp. 79–85 (“Scott and Ferguson”).
- Ashley Nicole Carroll, “‘Preparing the Youthful Mind for Virtuous Actions’: Adam Ferguson at the University of Edinburgh” (MA thesis, North Carolina State Univ., 2007). Suggests that it is AF’s pedagogy that sets him apart from his Moderate peers.
- Michael Dey, “Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson: Philosophy, Economic Change and Class Limitations in 18th Century Scotland” (PhD diss., Univ. of Aberdeen, 1984).
- Simon William Grote, “Moral Philosophy and the Origins of Modern Aesthetic Theory in Scotland and Germany” (PhD diss., Univ. of California Berkeley, 2010). Chap 2 is devoted to the aesthetic theory of William Cleghorn, professor of moral philosophy at Edinburgh University from 1745 to 1754. But see specifically pp. 57–58, 62–65, and 105–07, which examine Cleghorn’s personal relationship with AF as well as the latter’s fictional Highland jaunt with Cleghorn and other Lowland friends. (This dialogue is no. 5 in Merolle, Manuscripts of Adam Ferguson, cited above under Editions.) Pp. 63–64 raise the possibility that AF penned the brief obituary for Cleghorn in the Edinburgh Evening
Courant, 26 August 1754, based on the suspicion of nephew Hugh Cleghorn, communicated in a letter of 1836.

- Sarah Ramirez, “The Road to Virtue and the Road to Fortune: The Scottish Enlightenment and the Problem of Individualism in Commercial Society” (PhD diss., Loyola Univ., 2012). Chap 4 is devoted to AF.
- Youssef Sabbah, “Philosophical History in Scott’s Waverly Novels” (DPhil diss., Univ. of Wales, Bangor, 2003).
• James Sheets, “Adam Ferguson: The ‘Good Preceptor’ of Empire” (PhD diss., Univ. of Rochester, 1993). Shows how “Ferguson defended the ideal of empire throughout his work.”
• Alan George Smith, “The Political Philosophy of Adam Ferguson Considered as a Response to Rousseau: Political Development and Progressive Development” (PhD diss., Yale Univ., 1980).
• Denise Ann Testa, “‘A Bastard Gaelic Man’: Reconsidering the Highland Roots of Adam Ferguson” (PhD diss., Univ. of Western Sydney, 2007). Concentrates on AF in relation to the “concrete reality of the locale, language and vestigial shame-honour culture” of the Highlands.
• Jean Carolyne Willke, “The Historical Thought of Adam Ferguson” (PhD diss., Catholic Univ. of America, 1962).

Criticism
• Social and Political Thought (including civil society, civilization, conjectural history, moral philosophy, primitivism, progress, republicanism, and spontaneous order)
  o Edward G. Andrew, Imperial Republics: Revolution, War, and Territorial Expansion from the English Civil War to the French Revolution (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2011), Chap 8, “Imperial Pride and Anxiety: Gibbon’s Roman Empire and Ferguson’s Roman Republic.”


Emile Benveniste, “Civilization: A Contribution to the History of the Word,” in *Problems in General Linguistics*, trans. Mary Elizabeth Meek (1966; Coral Gables: Univ. of Miami Press, 1971), pp. 289–96. Largely based on a 1759 letter from Hume to Adam Smith regarding a “treatise on Refinement” (presumably an early draft of the Essay that AF had been working on for some time), suggests that it is possible that AF coined the word “civilization.” But because this early draft perused by Hume has never been located, as Benveniste had hoped, we have no idea how similar it is to the finished Essay and his tantalizing conjecture, accordingly, remains merely that. The current honor of coining the word civilization, in French, remains with the physiocrat Victor de Riquetti, Marquis de Mirabeau, in his treatise on population *L’Ami des hommes, ou Traité de la population* (dated 1756 but published in 1757).


Christopher J. Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1997). Treats AF among other social theorists of the “Scottish school,” updating Bryson’s classic 1945 account (see below).


F. A. Hayek, “Individualism: True and False,” in *Individualism and Economic Order* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 1–32. Contrasts a largely British model of spontaneous order, promulgated by AF and others, with the so-called pseudo-individualism or collectivism of a largely French, Cartesian rationalist school. This distinction, and the crucial place it allots to AF within the


- Umaji Kaneko, *Moralphilosophie Adam Fergusons* (Lucka, Saxony-Anhalt, Germany: R. Berger, [1903 or 1904]). A reprint of the author’s PhD dissertation in philosophy from the University of Leipzig, evaluated by pioneering psychologist Wilhelm Wundt. Available at HT.


- Henry Laurie, *Scottish Philosophy in its National Development* (Glasgow: J. Maclehose, 1902). Chap 11 is devoted to AF. Available at HT and IA.

o Martha McLaren, *British India and British Scotland, 1780–1830: Career Building, Empire Building, and a Scottish School of Thought on Indian Governance* (Akron, OH: Univ. of Akron Press, 2001). Argues for the influence of AF and others on Thomas Munro, John Malcolm, and Mountstuart Elphinstone, though in an impressionistic manner.
o Ronald L. Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976). The savage as a social scientific problem, for AF among many others.
Social Development, and a new introduction by Irving Louis Horowitz. Contains scattered commentary on AF.


Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, subtitled “Narratives of Civil Government,” deals extensively with the Scottish Enlightenment, and Section VI is entitled “Adam Ferguson: The Moderate as Machiavellian.”


John Sekora, *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1977), esp. pp. 104–05 on how AF redefined luxury and, together with Hume and Adam Smith, “delivered the intellectual coup de grace to the more blatant political purposes to which the idea of luxury had been put.”


o Norbert Waszek, *Man’s Social Nature: A Topic of the Scottish Enlightenment in its Historical Setting* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1986). Chap 5 is on AF.


o María Isabel Wences Simon, *En torno al origen del concepto moderno de sociedad civil: Locke, Ferguson y Hegel* (Madrid: Dykinson and Instituto de Derechos Humanos Bartolomé de las Casas, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, 1998). Pt 1, Chap 2 is devoted to AF (pp. 43–91).


**Notes:**

1. See also Kettler’s, Oz-Salzberger’s, and Smith’s chapters in Heath and Merolle (2008) as well as Berry’s, Heath’s, Lisa Hill’s, Merolle’s, Raynor’s, and Weinstein’s chapters in Heath and Merolle (2009), both cited above under Book-Length Studies and Collections.

2. See also Broadie’s, Faure’s, Nicolai’s, and Waszek’s chapters in Prunier (2014), cited above under Book-Length Studies and Collections.

3. For AF and the idea of friendship, see Hill and McCarthy (1999) and Silver (1997), cited in this section, and Silver (1990), cited below under Division of Labor, Political Economy, and Origins of Social Science.

**Division of Labor, Political Economy, and Origins of Social Science**


- Robert van Krieken, *Norbert Elias*, Key Sociologists (London and New York: Routledge, 1998). Pp. 23 and 52 speculate that in the early 1930s Elias was at the very least indirectly influenced by AF’s notion of unintended consequences (via Sumner’s *Folkways*). On Sumner and AF, see also Pickens (1987), cited below.


Notes:

1. For more on AF and psychology, see Kaneko (1904), cited above under Social and Political Thought.
2. For more on AF and anthropology, see Slotkin (1965) and Launay (2010), cited above under Selections in Anthologies.
3. For more on AF and sociology, see Schneider’s introduction to his edition of Ferguson’s Essay (1980), cited above under Editions; and Jogland (1959), Lehmann (1930), and Séris (1994), all cited above under Book-Length Studies and Collections. Blaikie (2010), cited above under Other Biographical or Contextual Studies, also contains a section comparing AF with modern sociologist Michel Maffesoli, on pp. 39–45.
4. Pascal (1938), Meek (1967), and Skinner (1982), all cited in this section, form a trio, with each building upon the former.
6. See also Milgate and Stimson (2009), cited above under Social and Political Thought.
7. See also Pascal (1962), cited below under Connections with European Thought.

- Militia, National Defense, and War
  - Matthew P. Dziennik, The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America, The Lewis Walpole Series in Eighteenth-Century Culture and
- John Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985). Argues that AF and his Moderate coterie promoted the “spirit” of a militia rather than the institution itself, and that as a result of their support for Ossian and the militia, they “well deserve to be counted with the earliest inventors of the modern, kilt-ridden tradition of Scottishness” (p. 243).
Notes:


3. For explicit considerations of AF and gender, see esp. Rendall (2008) and Sebastiani (2013), cited above under Social and Political Thought; and Oz-Salzberger (1992), cited below under Connections with European Thought. Effeminacy, moreover, is a perennial concern for AF, informing his thinking not only on war but also on commerce and other matters.

- **American and French Revolutions**


  o Roy Branson, “James Madison and the Scottish Enlightenment,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 40:2 (1979): 235–50. Claims that “Madison had purchased [AF’s *Essay*] for himself in 1775” (p. 237), and that he was esp. taken by its emphasis on the “possible decline of commercial society” (p. 241).


- Henry E. Meikle, Scotland and the French Revolution (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1912), pp. 5–8. Makes no reference to AF’s views on the French Revolution but does, in Chap 1, briefly discuss his dealings with Christopher Wyvill, the leader of the Yorkshire Association for parliamentary reform. (It also revealingly quotes from the 6-vol. edition of the “Wyvill Papers,” available at ECCO.) Available at HT and IA.


- Garry Wills, Inventing America: Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978), esp. pp. 288–92, which, among other things, asks “Was Jefferson using ‘political bands’ in the preamble to the Declaration as Ferguson used ‘the bands of political union’...referring to the bands of affection in the moral-sense terminology?” (pp. 290–91).

Notes:

1. For primary source material, see Amoh et al., *Adam Ferguson and the American Revolution* (2015) and Appendices G, H, and I in Merolle, *Correspondence of Adam Ferguson* (1995), vol. 2, both cited above under Editions.

- Religion

Notes:

1. For primary source material, see Arbo’s article on AF’s 1746 sermon (2011), cited above under Selections in Journals.

- Literature and Rhetoric
  - M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York: Norton, 1971). This classic of Romanticism studies briefly suggests Schiller’s and Thomas Carlyle’s debt to AF.


Thomas M. Curley, *Samuel Johnson, the Ossian Fraud and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009). Contains scattered commentary on AF in relation to Ossian, from a Johnsonian point of view.


Erik Frykman, *John Galt and the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Philosophy: Some Notes on the Intellectual Background of Galt’s Scottish Stories, being The John Galt Lecture for 1953*, Papers of the Greenock Philosophical Society (Greenock, UK: “Telegraph” Printing Works, 1954). To our knowledge, Frykman was the first to observe that Galt’s works seriously reflect eighteenth-century Scottish philosophy, esp. AF. On p. 11, he lists the following Fergusonian themes in Galt’s fiction: man as a social being, historical causality, luxury, political institutions, public opinion, war, and some ethical problems. Scattered references to AF are also contained in Frykman’s monograph on Galt, *John Galt’s Scottish Stories, 1820–1823* (Uppsala: Lundequistska bokhandeln, 1959).


Michael Meehan, *Liberty and Poetics in Eighteenth Century England* (London and Dover, NH: Croom Helm, 1986). Pp. 113–23 are devoted to AF’s aesthetics; esp. intriguing is Meehan’s suggestion that the “many new aesthetic emphases [of the Essay] found a full and worthy approximation in literary practice only in the writings of William Wordsworth” (p. 113).


George Pottinger, *Heirs of the Enlightenment: Edinburgh Reviewers and Writers 1800–1830* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1992). Claims, in passing, that “Ferguson...was a seminal influence on Francis Jeffrey and the Reviewers” (p. 36), and that John Galt “had taken the work of Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson, especially his Essay on Civil Society, to heart” (211).


Margaret Mary Rubel, *Savage and Barbarian: Historical Attitudes in the Criticism of Homer and Ossian in Britain* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1978). Contains much on AF’s historicization of Homer and Ossian.


Scottish hostility transformed a seemingly minor incident into a major cultural confrontation.

- Lois Whitney, “English Primitivistic Theories of Epic Origins,” *Modern Philology* 21:4 (1924): 337–78. Despite the title (typical of the times), this article is concerned almost exclusively with contemporary Scottish thinkers, including AF.

**Notes:**

2. For more on AF and Sir Walter Scott, see Bradwell (1993), Fielding (1990), Philip (1982), and Sabbah (2003), cited above under Theses and Dissertations.
3. For studies of AF and German imaginative literature, see Connections with European Thought, below. For links between AF and Jacobi’s novel *Woldemar* in particular, see von Hofe (1957), Pascal (1947), and Waszek (2015).

**Connections with European Thought**


Robert Van Dusen, *Christian Garve and English Belles-Lettres* (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1970). Although AF is mentioned very briefly, this work deals with Garve’s extensive engagement with English-language literature and literary theory. Thus, it is essential for a more rounded appreciation of Garve.


Ulrich Im Hof, *Isaak Iselin und die Spätaufklärung* (Bern: Francke, 1967). Contains a little coverage of AF.


influence on Francesco Antonio Grimaldi and, to a lesser extent, Francesco Mario Pagano.


- Manfred Kuehn, *Scottish Common Sense in Germany, 1768–1800: A Contribution to the History of Critical Philosophy*, foreword by Lewis White Beck (Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen’s Univ. Press, 1987). Contains some coverage of AF, though with the peculiar claim that Thomas Reid was his most important teacher.


- Norbert Waszek, “Der junge Hegel und die ‘querelle des anciens et des modernes’: Ferguson, Garve, Hegel,” in *Idealismus mit Folgen: Die
Notes:

1. For more on AF and Montesquieu, see Binoche’s chapter in Prunier (2014) and the first two chapters of McDaniel’s monograph (2013), cited above under Book-Length Studies and Collections, as well as Hirschman (1977), Olson (1990), and Waszek (2011), cited above under Social and Political Thought.

2. For more on AF and Rousseau, see Binoche’s chapter in Prunier (2014) and throughout McDaniel’s monograph (2013), cited above under Book-Length Studies and Collections; Meer (2016), cited above under Other Biographical and Contextual Studies; McLean (1989) and Smith (1980), cited above under Theses and Dissertations; and Hill (2009), Jones (2006), and Layton (2006), cited above under Social and Political Thought.

3. For more on AF and Christian Garve, begin with the extensive coverage of him in Oz-Salzberger’s monograph (1995), esp. in Chap 8, cited above under Book-Length Studies and Collections. See also: Garve’s edition of AF’s Institutes of Moral Philosophy, cited above under Editions; Oz-Salzberger’s article on Garve in the Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment (2003) and Tonelli’s article on him in
The Encyclopedia of Philosophy (1967), both cited above under Modern Dictionary and Encyclopedia Articles; and Waszek’s chapter in Brühlmeier (1996), cited above under Social and Political Thought.

4. For more on AF and Schiller, see Abrams (1971), cited above under Literature and Rhetoric.

5. For more on AF and Hegel, see Hill (2009), cited above under Dictionary and Encyclopedia Entries; Ferrarotti (1984) and Simon (1998), cited above under Social and Political Thought; and Waszek (1983), cited above under Division of Labor, Political Economy, and Origins of Social Science.

6. For more on AF and his contemporary German reception and influence in general, see Oz-Salzberger’s monograph (1995), cited above under Book-Length Studies and Collections.

7. For more on AF and Italy, see Venturi’s essay in Hont and Ignatieff (1983), cited above under Division of Labor, Political Economy, and Origins of Social Science.

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