ESSAYS

MORAL, POLITICAL, AND LITERARY

DAVID HUME

ESSAYS

MORAL, POLITICAL, AND LITERARY

Edited and with a Foreword, Notes,

and Glossary by

EUGENE F. MILLER

With an apparatus of variant readings from the 1889 edition by T. H. Green and T. H. Grose

REVISED EDITION

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DAVID HUME'S greatness was recognized in his own time, as it is today, but the writings that made Hume famous are not, by and large, the same ones that support his reputation now. Leaving aside his *Enquiries*, which were widely read then as now, Hume is known today chiefly through his *Treatise of Human Nature*² and his *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*.

¹An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding appeared for the first time under this title in the 1758 edition of Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects. Earlier it had been published several times, beginning in 1748, under the title Philosophical Essays Concerning Human Understanding. An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals was first published in 1751. I have drawn this and other information about the various editions of Hume's writings from two sources: T. E. Jessop, A Bibliography of David Hume and of Scottish Philosophy (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966), and William B. Todd, "David Hume. A Preliminary Bibliography," in Todd, ed., Hume and the Enlightenment (Edinburgh and Austin: Edinburgh University Press and the Humanities Research Center, Austin, Texas, 1974), pp. 189–205.

²Books I and II of the *Treatise* were published in 1739; Book III, in 1740.

³Hume wrote the *Dialogues* about 1750 but decided to withhold publication

The *Treatise* was scarcely read at all during Hume's lifetime, however, and the *Dialogues* was not published until after his death. Conversely, most readers today pay little attention to Hume's various books of essays and to his *History of England*, ⁴ but these are the works that were read avidly by his contemporaries. If one is to get a balanced view of Hume's thought, it is necessary to study both groups of writings. If we should neglect the essays or the *History*, then our view of Hume's aims and achievements is likely to be as incomplete as that of his contemporaries who failed to read the *Treatise* or the *Dialogues*.

The preparation and revision of his essays occupied Hume throughout his adult life. In his late twenties, after completing three books of the *Treatise*, Hume began to publish essays on moral and political themes. His *Essays*, *Moral and Political* was brought out late in 1741 by Alexander Kincaid, Edinburgh's leading publisher. ⁵ A second volume of essays appeared under

during his lifetime. When Adam Smith proved unwilling to take responsibility for the posthumous publication of the *Dialogues*, Hume entrusted it to his own publisher, William Strahan, with the provision that the work would be committed to Hume's nephew David if Strahan failed to publish it within two and one-half years of Hume's death. When Strahan declined to act, the nephew made arrangements for the publication of the *Dialogues* in 1779.

⁴Hume's *History* was published between 1754 and 1762 in six volumes, beginning with the Stuart reigns, then working back to the Tudor and pre-Tudor epochs. A "New Edition, Corrected," with the six volumes arranged in chronological order, appeared in 1762 under the title *The History of England, From the Invasion of Julius Caesar to The Revolution in 1688.*

⁵This edition contained the following essays: (1) "Of the Delicacy of Taste and Passion"; (2) "Of the Liberty of the Press"; (3) "Of Impudence and Modesty"; (4) "That Politicks may be reduced to a Science"; (5) "Of the First Principles of Government"; (6) "Of Love and Marriage"; (7) "Of the Study of History"; (8) "Of the Independency of Parliament"; (9) "Whether the British Government inclines more to Absolute Monarchy, or to a Republick"; (10) "Of Parties in General"; (11) "Of the Parties of

the same title early in 1742,⁶ and later that year, a "Second Edition, Corrected" of the first volume was issued. In 1748, three additional essays appeared in a small volume published in Edinburgh and London.⁷ That volume is noteworthy as the first of Hume's works to bear his name and also as the beginning of his association with Andrew Millar as his chief London publisher. These three essays were incorporated into the "Third Edition, Corrected" of *Essays, Moral and Political*, which Millar and Kincaid published in the same year. In 1752, Hume issued a large number of new essays under the title *Political Discourses*, a work so successful that a second edition was published before the year was out, and a third in 1754.⁸

Great Britain"; (12) "Of Superstition and Enthusiasm"; (13) "Of Avarice"; (14) "Of the Dignity of Human Nature"; and (15) "Of Liberty and Despotism." Essays 3, 6, and 7 were not reprinted by Hume after 1760, and essay 13 was not reprinted after 1768. The title of essay 14 was changed to "Of the Dignity or Meanness of Human Nature" in the 1770 edition of Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects. The title of essay 15 was changed to "Of Civil Liberty" in the 1758 edition of Essays and Treatises.

⁶This edition contained the following essays: (1) "Of Essay-Writing"; (2) "Of Eloquence"; (3) "Of Moral Prejudices"; (4) "Of the Middle Station of Life"; (5) "Of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences"; (6) "The Epicurean"; (7) "The Stoic"; (8) "The Platonist"; (9) "The Sceptic"; (10) "Of Polygamy and Divorces"; (11) "Of Simplicity and Refinement"; and (12) "A Character of Sir Robert Walpole." Essays 1, 3, and 4 were published by Hume in this edition only. Essay 12 was printed as a footnote to "That Politics may be reduced to a Science" in editions from 1748 to 1768 and dropped after 1768.

⁷This edition, entitled *Three Essays, Moral and Political*, contained: (1) "Of National Characters"; (2) "Of the Original Contract"; and (3) "Of Passive Obedience."

⁸This edition contained the following essays: (1) "Of Commerce"; (2) "Of Luxury"; (3) "Of Money"; (4) "Of Interest"; (5) "Of the Balance of Trade"; (6) "Of the Balance of Power"; (7) "Of Taxes"; (8) "Of Public Credit"; (9) "Of some Remarkable Customs"; (10) "Of the Populousness of Antient Nations"; (11) "Of the Protestant Succession"; and (12) "Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth." The title of essay 2 was changed in 1760 to "Of Refinement in the Arts."

Early in the 1750s, Hume drew together his various essays, along with other of his writings, in a collection entitled Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects. Volume 1 (1753) of this collection contains the Essays, Moral and Political and Volume 4 (1753-54) contains the Political Discourses. The two Enquiries are reprinted in Volumes 2 and 3. Hume retained the title Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects for subsequent editions of his collected works, but he varied the format and contents somewhat. A new, one-volume edition appeared under this title in 1758, and other four-volume editions in 1760 and 1770. Two-volume editions appeared in 1764, 1767, 1768, 1772, and 1777. The 1758 edition, for the first time, grouped the essays under the heading "Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary" and divided them into Parts I and II. Several new essays, as well as other writings, were added to this collection along the wav.9

As we see, the essays were by no means of casual interest to Hume. He worked on them continually from about 1740 until his death, in 1776. There are thirty-nine essays in the posthumous, 1777, edition of Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary (Volume 1 of Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects). Nineteen of these date back to the two original volumes of Essays, Moral and Political (1741–42). By 1777, these essays from the original volumes would have gone through eleven editions. Twenty essays were added along the way, eight were deleted, and two would await posthumous publication. Hume's practice throughout his life was to supervise carefully the publication of his writings and to correct them for new editions. Though gravely ill in 1776, Hume made arrange-

⁹The 1758 edition of Essays and Treatises incorporated, from a 1757 work entitled Four Dissertations, the essays "Of Tragedy" and "Of the Standard of Taste" as well as two other works, The Natural History of Religion and A Dissertation on the Passions. Two new essays, "Of the Jealousy of Trade" and "Of the Coalition of Parties," were added late to some copies of the 1758 edition of Essays and Treatises, then incorporated into the edition of 1760. Finally, Hume prepared still another essay, "Of the Origin of Government," for the edition that would be published posthumously in 1777.

ments for the posthumous publication of his manuscripts, including the suppressed essays "Of Suicide" and "Of the Immortality of the Soul," and he prepared for his publisher, William Strahan, the corrections for new editions of both his History of England and his Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects. When Adam Smith visited Hume on August 8, 1776, a little more than two weeks before the philosopher's death on August 25, he found Hume still at work on corrections to the Essays and Treatises. Hume had earlier been reading Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead, and he speculated in jocular fashion with Smith on excuses that he might give to Charon for not entering his boat. One possibility was to say to him: "Good Charon, I have been correcting my works for a new edition. Allow me a little time, that I may see how the Public receives the alterations." 10

Hume's essays were received warmly in Britain, on the Continent, where numerous translations into French, German, and Italian appeared, and in America. In his brief autobiography, My own Life, 11 Hume speaks of his great satisfaction with the public's reception of the essays. The favorable response to the first volume of Essays, Moral and Political made him forget entirely his earlier disappointment over the public's indifference to his *Treatise of Human Nature*, and he was pleased that Political Discourses was received well from the outset both at home and abroad. When Hume accompanied the Earl of Hertford to Paris in 1763 for a stay of twenty-six months as Secretary of the British Embassy and finally as Chargé d'Affaires, he discovered that his fame there surpassed anything he might have expected. He was loaded with civilities "from men and women of all ranks and stations." Fame was not the only benefit that Hume enjoyed from his publications. By the 1760s, "the copy-money given me by the booksellers, much exceeded any thing formerly known in England; I was become not only independent, but opulent."

¹⁰See, in Smith's letter to William Strahan in the present edition, p. xlvi.

¹¹Reprinted in the present edition, pp. xxxi–xli.

Hume's essays continued to be read widely for more than a century after his death. Jessop lists sixteen editions or reprintings of *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* that appeared between 1777 and 1894. (More than fifty editions or reprintings of the *History* are listed for the same period.) The *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary* were included as Volume 3 of *The Philosophical Works of David Hume* (Edinburgh, 1825; reprinted in 1826 and 1854) and again as Volume 3 of a later edition by T. H. Green and T. H. Grose, also entitled *The Philosophical Works of David Hume* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1874–75; vol. 3, reprinted in 1882, 1889, 1898, 1907, and 1912). Some separate editions of the *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary* were published as well, including the one by "The World's Classics" (London, 1903; reprinted in 1904).

These bibliographical details are important because they show how highly the essays were regarded by Hume himself and by many others up to the present century. Over the past seventy years, however, the essays have been overshadowed, just as the *History* has been, by other of Hume's writings. Although some recent studies have drawn attention once again to the importance of Hume's *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*, ¹³ the work itself has long been difficult to locate in a convenient edition. Some of the essays have been included in various collections, ¹⁴ but, leaving aside the present edition, no

¹²See A Bibliography of David Hume and of Scottish Philosophy pp. 7-8.

¹³See John B. Stewart, *The Moral and Political Philosophy of David Hume* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963); F. A. Hayek, "The Legal and Political Philosophy of David Hume," in V. C. Chappell, ed., *Hume: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), pp. 335–60; Duncan Forbes, *Hume's Philosophical Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); David Miller, *Philosophy and Ideology in Hume's Political Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); and Donald W. Livingston, *Hume's Philosophy of Common Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

¹⁴See, for example, Essential Works of David Hume, ed. Ralph Cohen (New York: Bantam Books, 1965); Of the Standard of Taste, And Other Essays, ed.

complete edition of the *Essays* has appeared since the early part of the century, save for a reprinting of the 1903 World's Classics edition¹⁵ and expensive reproductions of Green and Grose's four-volume set of the *Philosophical Works*. In publishing this new edition of the *Essays*—along with its publication, in six volumes, of the *History of England* ¹⁶—Liberty Fund has made a neglected side of Hume's thought accessible once again to the modern reader.

Many years after Hume's death, his close friend John Home wrote a sketch of Hume's character, in the course of which he observed: "His Essays are at once popular and philosophical, and contain a rare and happy union of profound Science and fine writing." This observation indicates why Hume's essays were held in such high esteem by his contemporaries and why they continue to deserve our attention today. The essays are elegant and entertaining in style, but thoroughly philosophical in temper and content. They elaborate those sciences—morals, politics, and criticism—for which the *Treatise of Human Nature* lays a foundation. It was not simply a desire for fame that led Hume to abandon the *Treatise* and seek a wider audience for his thought. He acted in the belief that commerce between men of letters and men of the world worked to the benefit of both. Hume thought that philosophy

John W. Lenz (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965); Writings on Economics, ed. Eugene Rotwein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1955); Political Essays, ed. Charles W. Hendel (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953); Theory of Politics, ed. Frederick M. Watkins (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1951); and Hume's Moral and Political Philosophy, ed. Henry D. Aiken (New York: Hafner, 1948).

¹⁵London: Oxford University Press, 1963.

¹⁶Volumes 1 and 2, Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1983; Volumes 3 and 4, 1984; Volumes 5 and 6 in preparation. This edition has a Foreword by William B, Todd.

¹⁷John Home, A Sketch of the character of Mr. Hume and Diary of a Journey from Morpeth to Bath, 23 April-1 May 1776, ed. David Fate Norton (Edinburgh: Tragara Press, 1976), p. 8.

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FOREWORD	

itself was a great loser when it remained shut up in colleges and cells and secluded from the world and good company. Hume's essays do not mark an abandonment of philosophy, as some have maintained, ¹⁸ but rather an attempt to improve it by having it address the concerns of common life.

Eugene F. Miller 1 October 1984

Eugene F. Miller is Professor of Political Science at the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia

¹⁸T. H. Grose, in prefatory remarks to Hume's Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary, admits to being struck by "the suddenness with which his labours in philosophy came to an end" with the publication of the Treatise (see "History of the Editions," in The Philosophical Works of David Hume, ed. T. H. Green and T. H. Grose [New Edition; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889], 3.75). Grose maintains that Hume "certainly lacked the disposition, and probably the ability," for constructive philosophy, once the critical or negative task of the Treatise was completed (ibid., p. 76). Though contrary to what Hume himself says about his mature writings as well as to what other interpreters have said about his abilities, this view was a rather common one at the turn of the century. It helped gain for Hume's Treatise the attention that it deserves, but at the same time it discouraged the study of Hume's other writings, particularly the Essays, as proper sources for his philosophy.

THIS NEW EDITION of Hume's Essays, Moral, Political, and *Literary* is based on the edition of 1777. The 1777 edition is the copy-text of choice, for, while it appeared posthumously, it contains Hume's latest corrections. It was the text used by T. H. Green and T. H. Grose for the version of the Essays that is included in their edition of *The Philosophical Works of David* Hume. Because of initial difficulties in obtaining a photocopy of the 1777 edition, Green and Grose's text was used as editor's copy for the current project. Both the editor's copy and the compositor's reading proofs were then corrected against a photocopy of the 1777 edition obtained from the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The present edition contains material that was not in the 1777 edition of the Essays: Hume's My own Life, Adam Smith's Letter to William Strahan, and the essays that were either withdrawn by Hume prior to the 1777 edition or suppressed by him during his lifetime. Unless otherwise noted, these materials are reprinted here as they appear in Green and Grose and, unlike the Essays proper,

have not been corrected against the appropriate earlier editions.

Green and Grose's edition of the Essays has generally been regarded as the most accurate one available, and it has thus become a standard source for scholars. A close comparison of their edition with that of 1777 shows, however, that it falls far short of the standards of accuracy that are adopted today in critical-text editing. There are hundreds of instances in which it departs, either intentionally or unintentionally, from the text of the 1777 edition. Comparing Green and Grose's "New Edition," in the 1889 printing, with the 1777 text, we find at least 100 instances of incorrect wording (words dropped, added, or changed), 175 instances of incorrect punctuation, and 75 errors in capitalization. Probably intentional are over 100 changes in Hume's spelling, symbols, joining of words, formatting of quotation marks, and such. At least 25 typographical errors in the 1777 edition are corrected silently by Green and Grose, who also corrected some of the Greek passages. The most massive departures from the 1777 edition come in Hume's footnotes, where his own citations are freely changed or augmented. Only near the end of their volume, in a final footnote to Hume's essay "Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations," do Green and Grose inform the reader that

¹A few years ago, Roland Hall observed: "Hume's Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary have not been properly edited, and the best text may still be that in the Green and Grose Philosophical Works." See Fifty Years of Hume Scholarship: A Bibliographical Guide (Edinburgh: University Press, 1978), p. 5.

²Peter H. Nidditch writes: "In my view, a suitable and attainable standard of accuracy in the text (from printed materials) offered by an editor working single-handed is an average in his first edition of two brief miswordings and of six erroneous forms per forty thousand words of the text; in the first reprint taking account of his rechecking (which is a pressing duty), these allowances should be halved. This is the standard I have adopted as the General Editor of *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of John Locke* (Oxford, 1975, in progress)." See *An Apparatus of Variant Readings for Hume's Treatise of Human Nature* (Department of Philosophy, University of Sheffield, 1976), p. 34.

such changes have been made. Hume's essays have many long footnotes, and there are at least 7 instances where Green and Grose, without warning or explanation, print not the 1777 version of the footnote but a different version from an earlier edition, producing substantial variations in wording, punctuation, and spelling besides those tabulated above.

In preparing this new edition of Hume's Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary, fidelity to the text of the 1777 edition has been a paramount aim. Hume's peculiarities of spelling, punctuation, and capitalization have been retained, because these often bear on the meaning of the text.³ The reader should know, however, that there are some minor departures in the present edition from that of 1777: (1) typographical errors in the 1777 edition have been corrected silently; (2) Greek passages are reprinted as they appear in Green and Grose, with corrections and accents; (3) footnotes are designated by arabic numerals rather than by Hume's symbols (in cases where these designations are adjacent to the punctuation mark, they have been relocated so that they follow, rather than precede, the mark); (4) whereas Hume's longer footnotes are lettered and collected at the end of the volume in the 1777 edition, the present edition puts them at the bottom of the appropriate page, as was the practice in editions of the Essays

³In the 1777 edition of Hume's Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects, proper names and adjectives derived therefrom (e.g., "BRITISH," "FRENCH") are printed entirely in capital letters, with the first letter being larger than the rest. Abstract nouns are sometimes printed the same way for emphasis or to indicate divisions in the argument (e.g., "FORCE," "POWER," and "PROPERTY" in "Of the First Principles of Government"; "AUTHORITY" and "LIBERTY" in "Of the Origin of Government"). Occasionally, however, words are printed entirely in large capital letters ("GOD") or entirely in small capitals (e.g., "INTEREST" and "RIGHT" in "Of the First Principles of Government"). It is uncertain to what extent this reflects Hume's manuscript practice, as distinguished from contemporary book trade convention, but in any event, Hume did have the opportunity to correct what finally went into print. Since these peculiarities of capitalization may be relevant to the interpretation of the text, they have been preserved in the present edition.

up to 1770 (with the change in location, it was no longer appropriate to capitalize the first word of these footnotes); (5) whereas two sizes of capitals as well as lowercase letters are used in essay titles in the 1777 edition, titles here are in level capitals; (6) the "long s" has been eliminated throughout; and (7) the running quotation marks in the left margin have been omitted, and the use of quotation marks has been made to conform to modern practice.

Textual Notations

Three types of notational symbols appear in the present text.

A. Superscript Numerals. A superscript arabic numeral indicates a footnote. The editor's notes are enclosed in brackets to distinguish them from Hume's own notes. Information that I have added to Hume's footnotes is also bracketed.

A reader of the *Essays* cannot fail to be impressed by the breadth of Hume's learning. In the *Essays*, Hume ranges far beyond the great works of philosophy into every area of scholarship. One finds abundant evidence of his reading in the Greek and Latin classics as well as of his familiarity with the literary works of the important English, French, Italian, and Spanish authors. The essays reflect Hume's intimate knowledge not only of the history of Great Britain but also of the entire sweep of European history. He knew the important treatises on natural science, and he investigated the modern writings on political economy.

Hume intended for his essays to have a wide audience, but since he presupposed that his readers would have a broad knowledge of literature, history, and contemporary affairs, his footnotes are quite sparse and sketchy by today's standards. He often refers to persons or events without explaining who or what they are. He frequently quotes in languages other than English, and often he fails to identify an author or the work from which he is quoting. He sometimes misquotes his sources or gives misleading citations. No doubt the informed

eighteenth-century reader could have filled in many of these lacunae, but such background knowledge can no longer be presupposed.

My footnotes and supplements are meant to provide some of the information that today's reader may need to understand Hume's Essays. Since it is hoped that this edition will be useful to beginning students and general readers, I have tended to prefer fullness in these annotations, even though much is included that will be known to specialists in one area or another of eighteenth-century studies. First, I have identified persons, places, and events to which Hume refers. Second, I have provided translations of foreign-language passages in those instances where Hume himself fails to translate them or give a close English paraphrase. Translations of Greek and Latin authors have been drawn from the appropriate volumes in the Loeb Classical Library, which is published in the United States by Harvard University Press (Cambridge, Mass.) and in Great Britain by William Heinemann Ltd. (London). Third, I have given citations for the many quotations or references that Hume leaves uncited. Moreover, I have supplemented Hume's own sparse citations to identify authors, give dates of an author's birth and death or else the date when a work was published, provide full titles of sources cited, and specify as closely as possible the location in a work where quotations or references can be found. For the sake of uniformity, classical citations are given to the Loeb editions. Since these often divide or arrange materials differently from the editions used by Hume, the Loeb citations will not always agree with Hume's. Finally, I have added explanatory notes that refer to Hume's other writings when this helps to clarify the argument of an essay.

B. Superscript Circles. A small superscript circle by a word indicates that the meaning of that word is specified in the Glossary. This symbol is used at the word's first occurrence in the Essays and usually is not repeated unless the word is used later with a different meaning. One encounters quite a large number of words in Hume's Essays that either have become

obscure in their meaning or have come to have quite different meanings from the one that Hume intends. I have found Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*, which was first published in 1755 and revised frequently thereafter, to be immensely helpful in locating eighteenth-century meanings. Specifically, I used the eleventh, corrected and revised, edition (London: 1816; 2 vols.) in preparing the Glossary. Words are glossed sequentially rather than alphabetically, because their meanings are often related closely to the contexts in which they appear. In those cases where Johnson's *Dictionary* proved inadequate, I have consulted *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961; 12 vols.).

C. Superscript Lowercase Letters. A superscript lowercase letter indicates a variant reading in some earlier edition or editions of Hume's Essays. These variants are collected at the end of this volume. As has been noted, Hume's Essays went through numerous editions in his lifetime, and Hume worked painstakingly to prepare them for the press. Besides adding many new essays and deleting some old ones, Hume often made changes in the essays that he carried over from previous editions. Some of these changes are only stylistic, but others reflect substantive alterations in Hume's views.

A critical edition of a text is understood today as one that collates the copy-text with all other editions and gives an exhaustive record of variations—formal and material—in the texts. Two excellent examples are Peter H. Nidditch's critical edition of John Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975)⁴ and the Glasgow

⁴The Introduction and Appendix to Nidditch's edition of Locke's Essay provide a very helpful discussion of the techniques and terminology of critical-text editing. Nidditch's editorial work on some of Hume's most important writings is also noteworthy. He has revised the texts and added notes to the standard Selby-Bigge editions of the Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding, and Concerning the Principles of Morals, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), and the Treatise of Human Nature, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978). Nidditch discusses the problems of editing Hume as well as the merits of various editions of Hume's writings in the aforementioned texts as well as in An Apparatus of Variant Readings for Hume's Treatise of Human Nature.