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Julia Dahlberg, *Gifts of Nature? Inborn Personal qualities and their Relation to Personae* (2021).

Chapter 7 Gifts of Nature? Inborn Personal qualities and their Relation to Personae

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Introduction

In May 1926 a general strike brought public transport to an almost complete standstill and interrupted daily life in the United Kingdom for nine days. During those days Edward Westermarck (1862–1939), professor of sociology at the London School of Economics, could not leave his home in Box Hill some 30 kilometres south of London. Due to the interruption of his otherwise busy daily routines, the professor had to find some other pastime. Eventually, the involuntary break in academic work resulted in the first draft of Westermarck's memoirs, first published a year later in Swedish and then two years after that in English as *Memories of My Life* (1929). In the memoirs Westermarck reflects upon his youth and studies during the 1880s, and how he, while working on his doctoral dissertation *The Origin of Human Marriage* (1889), later extended to the three-volume international bestseller *The History of Human Marriage* (1891), came from his native city Helsinki in Finland to work in London, and later undertook anthropological fieldwork in Morocco. The book ends with a long passage where Westermarck reflects upon the factors that contributed to his choice of occupation, and on the path that had

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taken him to his later position as an internationally renowned scholar and researcher.¹

In this chapter I analyse Edward Westermarck's memoirs in order to discuss how Westermarck presented his own development into a researcher and scholarly public intellectual. I focus on the intellectual, mental, and physical abilities Westermarck presented as central to his own career and how, in his own view, he came to possess these qualities. I will explore how the nineteenth-century development of neurobiology, psychology, and other sciences of the human mind affected the common understanding of how humans gained different traits of personality. I will do this by comparing Westermarck's memoirs to the writings of his sister; the artist, writer and women's rights activist Helena Westermarck (1857–1938).² As I analyse how these scientific topics affected the scholarly and intellectual personae of the time, I will in particular focus on the idea that some personal abilities are inborn, and therefore, naturally present in the individual from birth.

The current discussion about personae contains several different approaches to understand the concept. Some of the differences have previously been explored for example by Gadi Algazi, Lisa Svanfeldt-Winter, and even more recently by Heini Hakosalo in her contribution to this volume.³ In a general sense, this article is intended as a reflection upon Herman Paul and colleagues' discussion of epistemic virtues and skills. According to Paul's definition, personae can be understood as models of (professional) selfhood or identity. As such, they can be seen as "models of abilities, attitudes, and dispositions that are regarded as crucial" for the pursuit of a social or professional activity, like scholarly study. Following this interpretation, several authors including Paul have suggested that personae can be seen as clusters of skills and epistemic virtues that the individual has to embody in order to be seen as trustworthy and recognisable in a social role, like that of a scholar or an intellectual.⁴

In this article, I will discuss how the idea of an inborn and natural self relates to Paul's interpretation of personae. If, as suggested by Paul and others, personae are mostly about skills and virtues which can be gained and internalised through education, training, or a simple exertion of will or motivation, then how do we factor in that not all personal qualities or abilities are perceived as subject to the ambition or will of the individual? In response to this question, I propose that if not all abilities can be learned or acquired, it suggests a level of hidden exclusiveness embedded in the persona, which a discussion of only skills and virtues does not render visible. In fact, culturally defined ideas about what is 'natural' to a specific gender, class, or ethnicity may make it much harder, if not impossible, for some individuals to receive recognition from contemporaries and peers as they try to embody a specific

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type of persona, such as that of a public intellectual. Thus, the idea of an inborn and natural self, can work as a double-edged sword when applied to personae: while promoting the social prestige of certain personae on a general level, it also excludes entire social groups from the social recognition and trustworthiness that a successful embodiment of a persona can offer. I therefore suggest that if we think of personae in this way, it is important to recognise that personae cannot be embodied by all individuals on equal terms.

Even though I primarily discuss the standpoint of Herman Paul, my methodology in this chapter differs from that of Paul and colleagues. As I work with a close analysis of two individuals' auto-biographies, I see them as performances where the individuals present themselves to others through a *bricolage* of repertoires in order to become recognised as credible in their own field. In this way, my approach comes closer to Mineke Bosch' approach, which is partly different to Paul's.⁵ Here, I agree with Svanfeldt-Winter, who points out that both of these approaches have their own benefits. While Paul's approach is helpful for identifying the frames of both the disciplinary and the more general cultural requirements placed upon different personae, Bosch's approach enables me to examine how these demands manifested themselves in the Westermarck siblings on an individual level, as well as individual negotiations of what was acceptable or desirable on an individual level.⁶ Before proceeding, I therefore wish to stress that I do not intend my discussion to be taken as a critique of Paul's and other colleagues' work. Hoping to complement what has previously been written, I will demonstrate that personae contain both an element of exclusivity, and of exclusiveness in relation to social categories like gender, age, class, and ethnicity.

The persona of the self-aware public intellectual

For the purpose of this article, I describe the public self of Edward and Helena Westermarck as two different versions of a persona associated with the public intellectual. In doing so, I assume that individuals continuously appropriate repertoires from several different personae and adapt them to the needs of the moment and to their own public selves. One example of such adaptation can be found in Steven Shapin's *A Social History of Truth*, where he demonstrates that truthfulness was highly valued among scholars in seventeenth-century England, because it was a central notion in the British gentlemen's code of honour.⁷ As I have discussed in some of my previous writing, the adaptations of professional personae that individuals embody might therefore not only include repertoires associated with different versions of similar personae but also repertoires that are primarily associated with

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altogether different social roles. In the case of a scholar, this could mean that an individual embodiment of scholarly persona also contains repertoires of, for example, an artistic persona, a motherly persona, or the persona of a dandy.⁸ As Herman Paul has pointed out, this sometimes completely contradictory mixture of repertoires, can be explained by the fact that human beings, scholars and intellectuals included, are committed to the pursuit of multiple moral goods that may not always be easy to combine.⁹

A very illuminating example of how repertoires pass from one persona to another can be found in the persona of the scholarly public intellectual, which took form in the consciousness of the Western public towards the late-nineteenth century. Though similar to the persona of the expert, it still had its own prominent features. The most important of these being the desire to participate in public debate outside the rather exclusive circles of public and private management and academia, which were the natural and more limited habitats of the expert.¹⁰ If we think of a scholarly public intellectual as an expert who communicates “specialized knowledge in an understandable and relevant way for a public outside of the specialty” while promoting the use of such knowledge in public discourse,¹¹ then it would be fair to say that Edward Westermarck embodied this particular persona very well. Born in 1862 in Helsinki, in what was then an autonomous part of the Russian empire referred to as the Grand Duchy of Finland, Edward Westermarck became known as a sociologist, anthropologist, and philosopher. Starting in 1906, he acted as the first professor of sociology at the newly founded London School of Economics, as well as professor of philosophy at the Imperial Alexander University of Finland (later University of Helsinki), and later also at the Finnish Åbo Akademi University. In academic society in London, he was a well-known figure who frequented the same circles as many of the most famous scientists of the day. His London network included evolutionist Alfred Russel Wallace and sexologist Havelock Ellis, who were his friends, as well as Francis Galton, who once requested that Westermarck should act as chair during one of the meetings of the Sociological Society where Galton held a lecture.¹²

As the author of several internationally praised works on moral theory and questions of marriage, gender, and sexuality, Edward Westermarck often used his expert position as a scholar to influence public opinion on questions related to these matters. Presenting his own views as based on enlightened expertise and rational thinking, Westermarck did not hesitate to use his authority as an expert to promote a more liberal attitude towards non-married relationships, divorce, and homosexuality. He also had many admirers among a liberal-minded public, amongst them the author George Bernard Shaw, who directly referred to Westermarck in his play *Man and Superman* (1903), and the women’s rights movement in Great Britain, Finland, and elsewhere, who

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considered Westermarck an ally in their causes.¹³ As a political activist, Westermarck also repeatedly participated in the political developments in his native country. He took part in the clandestine civil resistance against Russian authority in Finland during the early twentieth century. In 1899, he was one of the initiators of the so-called Pro Finlandia address, which collected the signatures of prominent international celebrities from both the cultural and the scientific world in order to protest against Russian rule in Finland. During World War I, he was a much-admired older mentor for a younger generation of Finnish political activists, acting as a member of the so-called Central Committée (*Centralkommittén*, C.K.), which began to plan for organised resistance to Russian rule in Finland. After the war, in the years following the Finnish independence, he was a member of the Finnish delegation, which successfully negotiated in the struggle over the Åland Islands in the League of Nations.¹⁴

As a particular form of scholarly persona, the ‘scholarly public intellectual’ shared many of its repertoires with the self-aware ‘intellectual’, which entered into the cultural and political public arena during this time. In his analysis of the French intellectual field of the late nineteenth century, Christophe Charle shows how a number of French writers, artists, journalists, and social reformers turned the former adjective ‘intellectual’ into a noun and began to refer to themselves as “intellectuals” (*les intellectuels*).¹⁵ As these self-proclaimed and highly self-aware intellectuals began discussing the tasks of this newly invented social identity, they listed a cluster of habits, virtues, skills, and competencies that were to be expected of an ‘intellectual’. In doing so, they also made the intellectual recognisable as a social figure to others. Thus, they created a persona that was not clearly associated with any previously existing social category or professional role. As such, this newly established intellectual persona could be appropriated by nearly anyone who sought to influence public opinion and participate in public debate. At the same time, it could also be combined with commitments to other types of professional personae, such as that of a writer, artist, or scholar.¹⁶

Due to its generic nature, the persona of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century intellectual offers a revealing case study with the potential to shed light on several points of interest concerning the nature of personae. First, it underscores that there is a constant struggle for influence and recognition between different personae. In his analysis, Christophe Charle points to a growing competitiveness and constant struggle for social distinction, which forced certain groups within the elite to find new ways to differentiate themselves from rivals, and strengthen their public positions. Lacking the prestige and symbolic capital derived from a professional degree, a number of artists, writers, journalists, and other public figures wanted to distinguish themselves from the constantly growing masses of professionals

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such as doctors, lawyers, and other educated members of the liberal professions who seemed to compete for recognition in society. Using the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu, Charle argues these actors assumed a new and self-aware identity as 'intellectuals' in order to present themselves as an exclusive public elite with a special responsibility to act as the critical consciousness of society, as intellectuals and as the artistic *avant-garde*. As a result, they managed to both defend their cultural position and claim a privileged position at the centre of public debate.¹⁷ In doing so, one could claim, they also managed to make their contemporaries recognise a brand-new type of persona. Due to its high social prestige and potential to generate recognition, the persona of the intellectual became desirable not only for artists and writers, but also for a number of other figures who hoped to participate in public debate about society, including scholars and scientists.

The second point of interest concerning the persona of the (self-proclaimed) intellectual is that new personae may include repertoires which were originally associated with other forms of personae. The speed with which the intellectual persona became recognisable to a wider public during the 1890s and early 1900s suggests that although the persona of the 'intellectual' may have been new, it did not appear out of nowhere. One of its most apparent ancestors was the persona of the genius, which captured the collective imagination of the late nineteenth-century public. So much so, that it lead Darren McMahon to suggest that during this time the entire Western world was spellbound by a "religion of genius."¹⁸ The most important thing that these two types of persona had in common was their exclusivity: very few people could hope to embody either one of them in a way that would earn the recognition of others. As I will explain, this exclusivity was soundly anchored in a set of ideas of the time that presented certain parts of the human psyche as innate and therefore unachievable, forever unavailable to those not born with these particularly desirable abilities or characteristics.

The idea of the natural self

The early nineteenth century marks the emergence of a new biological materialism in the Western understanding of human psychology and identity. The scientific discussion on human intellectual and psychological abilities introduced several assumptions about the human self that had not been so clearly articulated before. The first of these ideas was that personality was a result of neurological processes over which the individual had little to no control. The formulation of this idea began around 1795 when French physiologist and philosopher Pierre Cabanis argued that the brain is the organ of consciousness in the same sense that the stomach is the organ of digestion.

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Thus, he became the first to publicly express the opinion that human consciousness was a result of material mechanistic processes, rather than an expression of an immaterial and immortal ego. Although he later retreated from the idea that all notions of a human soul were superfluous, others soon picked up the initial idea.¹⁹ Only a few years later, German physiologist Franz Josef Gall developed *phrenology*, a new medical discipline based on the assumption that the brain is the organ of the mind, composed of parts that each serve a distinct mental 'faculty', such as hope or self-esteem.²⁰

Another emerging idea was the notion that physiological features that produced mental reactions in the brain were similarly but not identically developed or shaped in individuals. This assumption explained why each human being has a unique set of mental and intellectual faculties. As the idea became more established towards the mid-nineteenth century, the list of mental and intellectual faculties believed to be present in the individual from birth grew longer. Scientists and scholars like the British sociologist Herbert Spencer, the Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso, and the French physiologists Claude Bernard and Prosper Lucas, as well as the father of the eugenics movement Francis Galton saw the human personality as a combination of pre-existing, natural dispositions. According to Galton mental and intellectual capacities were inherited from ancestors just like any other biological phenomenon such as eye colour. Thus, it was believed that individuals received both positive qualities, as well as less admirable dispositions from birth. The more positive of these innate qualities included intellectual faculties such as exceptional intelligence and creativity (or, "geniality" as the nineteenth century still preferred to call it), whereas the more negative ones included feeble-mindedness, alcoholism, and criminality. Following the reasoning of scientific authorities such as Galton or Lombroso, these qualities could be either encouraged or discouraged by the environment, training or personal motivation, but they could never fully be overcome, nor could they be gained through external influences.²¹

The ideas of an inheritable biological self were tied to a particular interest of scientists. From the early days of phrenology, scientists were particularly interested in those mental capabilities that were deemed exceptional and out-of-the-ordinary, such as the intellectual capacities of prominent scientists, writers, artists, composers, and political leaders. Thus, some scholars even went so far as to donate their own brains for other scientists to study after they passed away.²² Although phrenology soon fell out of favour, the scientific interest for inborn abilities did not. Towards the second half of the century, prominent scientists like Galton, Spencer, and Lombroso devoted special attention to the study of hereditary intellectual and creative abilities or "geniality" as these qualities were often collectively named. For example, in works such as *Hereditary Genius* (1869) and *Inquiries into Human Faculty*

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and Its Development (1883), Galton voiced the idea that biology and inheritance were fundamental in determining the level of intellect that any person could possess. Thus, only a high level of such inborn ability combined with hard work and energy could produce men of true genius. In *English Men of Science: Their Nature and Nurture* (1874), he studied the family backgrounds of prominent scientists in order to establish that the qualities that led to their success were hereditary. According to his investigations, intelligence and ability were biological traits and, as such, the product of nature, not nurture. Exceptional intelligence, just like exceptional creativity, was therefore a rare gift: either you had 'it', or you did not.²³

However, as the idea of an inborn and natural self spread among scientists, it also gained ground in more popular discourse. In the 1860s, the French novelist Émile Zola began his ambitious project to study the effects of heredity and environment on human behaviour in novels such as *Thérèse Raquin* (1867) and the ambitious Rougon-Macquart series. Zola wanted to demonstrate how all human "virtue and vice" were products of natural processes, "like vitriol and sugar," a phrase which he had encountered in the writings of the art historian Hippolyte Taine and decided to use as the epigraph for *Thérèse Raquin*.²⁴ Thus, towards the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Western public had already been familiarised with the idea of an inborn and natural self, and these ideas began affecting the ways people understood themselves. Given this information, it is hardly surprising that Émile Zola has been credited with having been the first to refer to the existence of the previously mentioned self-aware class of 'intellectuals' in his famous defence of the Jewish officer Alfred Dreyfus in 1898. To Zola, 'intellectuals' were recognisable by a natural intellect and critical rationality, which allowed them to rise above petty interest and to act as the critical consciousness of society while defending those who lacked the ability to defend themselves.²⁵

As illustrated by these examples, the early nineteenth century scientific discourses on the very nature of selfhood, came with the potential to have had an impact on self-understanding and, thus, self-expression, not only in the scientific and scholarly community but in a wider circle of other professions as well. Further illumination on the impact of this discourse can be found in an article by Michael Hagner, where he discusses how the phrenological interest in the brain affected the self-understanding of scholars, providing them with an incentive to donate their own brains to scientific investigations and phrenologists' dissections. In return, Hagner argues, the scientists who donated their brains to science could expect to be commemorated with admiring, sometimes even hagiographic biographies granting them everlasting posthumous fame.²⁶ In short, the developments of modern neuropsychology and especially the idea of a natural inborn self could

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potentially help generate considerable social prestige to certain types of personae.

Of course, not all scientists and scholars went as far as to donate their brains to phrenological dissection. Turning to the memoirs of Edward Westermarck, I will show that there were other, less dramatic ways to benefit from the idea of a scholarly self, grounded in natural and inborn personal faculties. Westermarck relied strongly on the idea of the 'natural' in the presentation of his public self. Combining the professional skills of the scholar and expert with a number of inborn and therefore natural abilities, he managed to harvest some of the symbolic capital of both the professional expert and the *avant-garde* intellectual.

What it takes to be a scientist and scholarly public intellectual

In the final chapter of his memoirs, Edward Westermarck listed the different roles he had occupied during his lifetime: first, he mentioned his occupation as a "researcher" [*forskare*] in the service of "science" [*vetenskapen*], then his position as a "university instructor" [*universitetslärare*], followed by his different political endeavours as a scholarly public intellectual. However, out of all these roles, he only considered his primary role as a scientific researcher as truly meaningful and important. While dismissingly describing his work as an academic instructor as "useful" at best, he ended by describing his political activities as "sporadic". According to his own, rather modest, view, these were activities that he had only been driven to by circumstances. Thus, disregarding that his political activities had included considerable efforts in several international and domestic political campaigns, Westermarck chose to emphasise his own identity as a researcher and scientist. Underscoring that as a young man he had chosen "science" in general, and above all, "the science" that interested him the most, sociology/cultural anthropology, he chose to emphasise the "scientific" rather than the scholarly nature of the social sciences and of his own scholarly work.²⁷

The natural sciences came with great prestige during Westermarck's lifetime. Although the Swedish word *vetenskap* is less exclusively associated with the natural sciences compared to the English equivalent, it still reveals that Westermarck wanted to associate his own field of study with the practices of the natural sciences rather than with those of the humanities. In doing so, he acted like many other representatives of the relatively new disciplines of social sciences, who chose to describe their work as 'scientific' in order to emphasise the rationally analytic, objective and universal nature of their research.²⁸ As a cultural anthropologist and sociologist, Edward Westermarck

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set out to apply an evolutionary view on human culture. In his first major work, *The History of Human Marriage*, he traced the 'origins' of the institution of marriage back to its prehistoric past, to a point before the time of cultural differentiation. In his second *magnum opus*, the two-volume exposé *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (1906, 1908), he set out on a similar endeavour concerning the development of the human sense of ethics.²⁹ Westermarck's choice of words when describing his own research in the memoirs are therefore revealing.

This attitude Westermarck seems to have adopted from his professional idols. According to the memoirs, Westermarck read Herbert Spencer's *First principles* (1862) as a young student when the book appeared in Swedish in 1884. Thereafter, Spencer's principles not only became the guidelines for his scientific work but also for his presentation of himself as a scientist. From Spencer's principles, Westermarck appropriated a scientific ideal that included a strong faith in the objectivity of science; a scepticism towards religion, mysticism, and everything that could not be empirically observed; and a constant quest for 'truth'. From Charles Darwin's auto-biographic collection *Life and letters* (1887), which Westermarck read around 1887, he also adopted a strictly methodical way of gathering information and the habit of paying extra attention to every detail which seemed to contradict any general theory in order to respond to any possible criticism before his opponents were able to object.³⁰ These acknowledgements by Westermarck show how the reading of scientific and scholarly work influenced and inspired him to adopt scholarly attitudes from other scholars, and integrate them in his own scholarly performance.

The works of Darwin and Spencer were not the only influences on Westermarck's presentation of his professional self. During his early years as a student and young researcher in Helsinki, Westermarck demonstrated an interest in psychological questions. At the time, both sociology and psychology belonged to the philosophy curriculum, which was Westermarck's main subject of study. Having read some of the authorities on psychology at the time, such as Harald Høffding, Westermarck took part in debates about the nature of the human mind on several occasions during his younger years. For example, in 1892 he criticised his own professor, Thiodolf Rein, who had recently published the second volume of his work on psychology, *Försök till framställning af psykologin eller vetenskapen om själen* [1891, An attempt at a presentation of psychology, or the science of the soul]. In a review of Rein's work, Westermarck put forward the idea that the human mind and thoughts were derived from the physiological processes of the brain. He also spoke out in defence of the evolutionists, including Spencer, who considered the human personality to be part of the individual self from birth.³¹

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As Westermarck grew older, he seems to become more convinced by these ideas. During his many years in London, Westermarck befriended the sexologist Havelock Ellis, who acted as the editor of a series of scholarly publications known as *The Contemporary Science Series*, where English translations of many influential works on questions related to the existence of an inheritable, natural personality were published. The series, which Westermarck probably was well acquainted with, included the English translation of Cesare Lombroso's *The Man of Genius* (1869, English translation 1891) and Ellis' own work *The Criminal* (1890), both of which are built on an understanding of an inborn, natural self that individuals could do little to change.³² This evolutionary understanding of a biologically inherited self also shaped the way Westermarck understood his own self: a scholar was primarily born, not made.

Edward Westermarck advocating the exclusivity of the natural self

Memoirs and autobiographies were a popular kind of literature in the nineteenth century. Like many other printed materials, the genre owed part of its popularity to the cheaper and faster means of publications of the time. Additionally, there was a steadily growing reading public, which consumed literature, newspapers and magazines for the purpose of information and education, as well as for recreation and amusement. The immense success of memoirs written by public figures like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Charles Dickens, and Benjamin Franklin, showed that memoirs and autobiographies tapped in to the public's hunger for celebrities and the (increasingly nationalistic) cult of great men.³³ A well-written memoir had the power to promote the author's position in the public space and offered a powerful tool for those wishing to manage the public perception of their own person. In short, the narratives of such texts offer many detailed opportunities to study both the formation of different personae and the ways in which individuals displayed and performed their own public selves.³⁴

In a sense, the nineteenth century fascination with the autobiography meant that the genre could also be used to enhance the prestige of different types of personae. One idea that received plenty of attention was that of the natural and inborn self. In his account of the nineteenth century's deep fascination for the 'genius', Darren McMahon has pointed to the contradictory trends of the time. In the aftermath of Enlightenment and the French Revolution, the Western world was characterised by growing demands for human equality and equal rights regardless of class, gender, or ethnicity. At the same time, it was also marked by a general, almost ecstatic

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belief in the existence of a highly exclusive minority of people with superior intellectual and creative abilities who ought to be granted special rights and privileges. Due to this culturally anchored belief, anyone who somehow managed to present themselves as naturally apt and gifted with exceptional natural abilities received immediate recognition and an influence over public discourse, which far exceeded that of the 'average' citizen.³⁵

Thus, to scholars and other intellectuals writing their memoirs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, it would be clearly beneficial to write their autobiography in such a way that they appeared to possess the 'natural' dispositions for intellectual work. This is exemplified in Edward Westermarck's account of his youth. Westermarck's account of his professional development follows a coherent storyline where the young boy and, later, the student, has to overcome specific obstacles while gradually transforming into the adult scholar writing his memoirs. The end point of this development is presented as obvious from the very beginning of the story. Thus, according to Westermarck's own statement, he was driven to become a scientist as a young man. After some initial doubts, he followed through with this desire. Thus, in hindsight, Westermarck describes his path as a straight "road", interrupted only by "minor detours" as it progressed towards his later role as a scientist and researcher.³⁶

However, in the opening chapters of the memoirs, Westermarck's future does not at all seem self-evident. Instead, from the very beginning of his account, Westermarck points to two major obstacles that his younger self had to overcome. The first one was his sickliness and physical weakness as a young boy. He suffered from recurring respiratory infections during his youth and seemed unfit for the physically demanding adventures of scientific fieldwork. The other obstacle was his own doubts of his intellectual capacities. Both of these obstacles turn out to be mere illusions, as Westermarck's account goes on to describe how he eventually discovered that his initial assumptions about his physical and intellectual qualifications were false. Concluding that the young student did in fact possess all the necessary faculties for scientific work, these passages are some of the most vivid, perhaps even passionate in Westermarck's otherwise rather sober prose.³⁷ Still, his account of the obstacles of his youth create a more uncertain portrait of a professional path than the statements at the end of his memoirs suggest.

Westermarck's account of his own transformation into a scholar begins with the memory of his graduation from school in 1881 – an event that, ironically enough, he was too sick to attend. The summer after his graduation, his family sent him to a sanatorium in the Norwegian mountains to nurture his health. Here, the young man who, due to his sickliness, had spent much of his childhood in bed, developed an interest in outdoor life and hiking. This

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seemed not only to have strengthened his lungs but also, for the first time, revealed his own physical stamina to himself. After his return to Finland, he spent the following three summers hiking through the lake district in central and northern Finland. These hikes, which appear to have been inspired by early Finnish ethnographers like Elias Lönnrot, took Westermarck to remote locations far beyond convenience or comfort. The longest of these hikes, from Vuokatti to Kuusamo, then to Kivakka, on the Russian side of the border, ended in Oulu and covered a distance of nearly 1500 kilometres. After this, Westermarck returned to Norway on two occasions, in 1885 and 1886, hiking through the Stavanger and Årdal areas and climbing several mountain peaks, among them Snøhetta, Uranostind, Glittertind and finally, one of the highest mountains of northern Europe, Galdhøpiggen, at 2 469 metres above sea level.³⁸

The lengthy (around 25 of the 414 pages of the memoirs) and vivid descriptions of these youthful adventures mark a symbolic break in Westermarck's account of his youth. His adventures in the Finnish forests and Norwegian mountains convinced him that, despite his previous sickness, he did, in fact, possess the physical strength and endurance to cope with extremely demanding conditions. In his mind, this was a requirement for scientific fieldwork. Or, as he later explains: "Even at this time, I nurtured a lively wish to sometime be able to travel to distant countries in order to study primitive tribes, and now I experienced for the first time a sense of that I would be able to undertake such a task and endure the hardships of it."³⁹ In this way, the poor health that Westermarck had suffered as a boy was presented as a temporary obstacle, which had to be overcome through the recovery of health and the revelation of a natural, inborn stamina rather than through intentional physical rehabilitation or fitness exercise.

Just as Westermarck describes how he discovered his own physical capacities as a future researcher, he also gives a detailed account of how he found the intellectual capacity to become a scholar. Here too, the process that leads him to find the necessary qualities is described more in terms of a discovery of inborn and dormant abilities than as the result of any intentional effort to acquire such qualities through studying or hard work. This becomes apparent through Westermarck's description of his early years as a university student and young graduate. In the beginning of his memoirs Westermarck describes how, as a young schoolboy, he had doubts about his own intellectual capacities and, hence, about his suitability as a scientist. According to Westermarck, his own weak memory for detail and subsequent failure to memorise information, meant that his schoolwork was laborious and difficult. Despite the fact that he graduated as the top student of his class (a piece of information that he makes sure to provide the reader), his slowness at learning

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led him to envy classmates who were faster in their reading, and he doubted his own intellectual “talent” and suitability for scientific work.⁴⁰

However, just like the physical weakness, this doubt in his intellectual capacities is later thoroughly dismissed as the young man encountered increasing academic success. A key moment in his youth when he realised that, despite his slowness in reading, he still possessed the suitable disposition for a scientific career was the memory of his bachelor’s thesis, which he had completed as a student at the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki. This first scientific endeavour, as minor as it was, convinced him that he possessed the necessary talent or gift [*begåvning*] to become a scientist. Thus, in the light of this experience, Westermarck’s initial difficulties at school were not a sign of lacking intellectual capacities. In his memoirs, he later attributed his initial intellectual difficulties to the pedagogical methods of the time and to the requirement to learn one’s lessons by heart. Thus, as he claimed to later having realised, any “fool” could possess a good memory for detail, but true science required other talents.⁴¹

Strikingly, this particular passage in Westermarck’s memoirs highly resembles ideas that were expressed in the contemporary scientific discussion about inborn geniality. For example, in his book *Man of Genius*, the Italian professor Cesare Lombroso discussed the impact of education on young “genius” minds. According to him, classic education where “professors of mediocrity” sought to educate “pupils of genius” was nothing but torture to children with exceptional talents, a “torment” that only the strongest could handle. To Lombroso, the immediate and most deplorable risk when a “child of genius” was forced to bear the “martyrdom” of being compelled to spend their brain on “a quagmire” of trivial things forced upon them by mediocre teachers was that the child could easily be “discouraged” and lose faith in themselves. Thus, each time an exceptional child was faced with classic instruction, humanity risked losing one of its finest and greatest.⁴²

This resemblance between Westermarck’s and Lombroso’s ideas was likely more than a coincidence. In fact, Westermarck was quite familiar with Lombroso and his work. In his memoirs, Westermarck recalled how in 1893 he visited Italy and made a visit to Turin, where over the course of two days, he visited Lombroso’s home and toured his criminological research facility at the local prison (Westermarck later returned on a second visit a few years later). From Westermarck’s account, we cannot tell if he had read Lombroso’s *Man of Genius*, which had appeared only two years earlier in English, but his writing seems to indicate that he was well familiarised with Lombroso’s work on a general level. Although Westermarck later ridiculed Lombroso’s theory that a person’s inborn criminality was visible through the form of his toes, he still demonstrated a great respect for this “ground breaker” [*föregångare*],

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who above all had managed to demonstrate “how deeply crime often can be rooted in the inborn nature of the criminal.”⁴³ This passage shows that Westermarck rather unconditionally seems to have accepted the idea that some personality traits were indeed hereditary and rooted in a person’s natural self. In the context of these quotes, Westermarck’s account of his own troubles in school are shed in a new light, as according to Lombroso, a failure to adapt to the monotony of school and the classic education model could be a sign of unrecognised exceptionalism in a student. Faced with the lack of recognition from teachers and pedagogical institutions, weaker individuals would be discouraged, whereas the stronger would somehow safeguard their “sanity,” as Westermarck had done.⁴⁴ Thus, just as he had done when describing his discovery of his dormant physical health and stamina, Westermarck seems to attribute his intellectual abilities, which enabled him to act as a researcher, to inborn predispositions rather than to intentional training, education or any other form of deliberate development of skills and abilities. These inborn, natural dispositions were in Westermarck’s opinion necessary preconditions for any young man who hoped to become a scholar.

The general conclusion of this reading of Edward Westermarck’s memoirs is that the narrated self, which Westermarck presented in his memoirs, contains few references to abilities or skills that the young writer would have gained through education, training or personal efforts. Instead, when writing about the young man he had once been, the mature author chose to focus on a select number of dispositions that he saw as innate and therefore natural. This emphasis on an inborn self can be interpreted as a way for Westermarck to make the ‘scientific’ or scholarly persona that he sought to embody seem more exclusive. In doing so, he referred to ideas that were deeply rooted in the popular perception of the time. The benefit of this strategy was that it made the persona of the scholarly public intellectual seem more exclusive in comparison to those personae, which relied more on the display of professional skills or acquired abilities. Such personae were for example those of doctors, lawyers, and other free professionals, which Christophe Charle has identified as the professional competition of the self-aware “intellectual”.⁴⁵ In this way, one could claim that Westermarck through his references to a natural and inborn intellectual self, presented the intellectual persona as an exceptionally exclusive and thus, particularly desirable, form of persona. In doing so, he advocated the social status of the intellectual persona, and participated in a collective and cultural effort to protect it from an unwelcome social competition with other professional experts, who competed for recognition and credibility in the eye of society.

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Helena Westermarck opposing the exclusiveness of the natural self

In the previous section, I have showed how references to a natural and inborn intellectual self, helped Edward Westermarck render the intellectual persona a notion of exclusivity, which contributed to increasing the social status of the intellectual persona at a collective and cultural level. However, while the idea of a natural and inborn core of the self, promoted the exclusivity, and hence, the desirability and prestige of some personae over others, it also promoted a form of excluding exclusiveness, which I will explore in the remaining section of this chapter. Here, I will discuss the writings of Edward Westermarck's sister Helena in order to make some additional points about the element of competition present in the persona, and how the idea of a natural self, helped exclude a whole range of different social groups from the intellectual persona. Referring in my argument to the specific case of gender, I end my discussion by suggesting that these mechanisms of exclusion may in other circumstances be applicable to a number of other social categories like, for example, age, class, or ethnicity.

In her native country Finland, Helena Westermarck had a well-recognised career as a painter, writer, women's rights activist, editor, and public intellectual. Although she never achieved the international fame of her brother, she too had a very internationally oriented carrier. Beginning in the 1880s when she studied painting in Paris for several years, and continuing with a number of shorter and longer travels abroad in order to study, work, and occasionally, to take care of her health. Through these travels, and her involvement in the Finnish women's rights organisation *Unionen*, she was part of the large intellectual network of the international women's rights movement of the early twentieth century. Her personal network included women's rights activists and cultural figures not only in Sweden and the other Nordic countries, but also to some extent in France, and the United Kingdom.⁴⁶

In her writings, Westermarck often referred to similar psychological ideas about a natural and inborn self that her brother believed in. For example, in 1894 she published a biography about George Eliot, the first major work presenting the British novelist to Swedish readers. Here, Helena Westermarck repeatedly emphasised Eliot's "natural" or inborn intelligence and intellectual nature as well as her natural creativity or "geniality".⁴⁷ Although the former two of these concepts are not synonymous today, Westermarck used them as such, sometimes speaking of "intellect" [*intellekt*] and sometimes "intelligence" [*intelligens*] while referring to Eliot's naturally sharp mind and her inborn talent for intellectual endeavours. Westermarck also repeatedly referred to Eliot's innate "geniality" [*genialitet*].⁴⁸

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In Helena Westermarck's interpretation, the innate and therefore natural intellect and geniality of George Eliot explained not only Eliot's prominence as novelist but also her ability to influence society through her literary activities as an editor and public figure. Thus, in Westermarck's narrative, these exceptional intellectual traits were present in Eliot's personality at birth, and they manifested themselves in early childhood. After that, Eliot's intellectual and creative nature only strengthened and sharpened as the writer advanced in age and experience. Westermarck suggests that without these inborn and natural qualities, the woman by the name of Mary Anne Evans, would never have been able to become the world-famous writer known as George Eliot. In Helena Westermarck's account, George Eliot's intellect as well as her creativity were equal, sometimes even superior, to that of her contemporary male writers and fellow intellectuals. There is nothing in Westermarck's interpretation that hints at the possibility that Eliot, because of her sex, would have been less suited to intellectual and artistic pursuits. Alas, not all of Westermarck's contemporaries shared her belief. Western culture has tended to associate abilities such as reason, logic and intellect as well as artistic creativity or "geniality" with the male sex for centuries. The idea that only men could create art as well as science has deep roots in both philosophy and science.⁴⁹ According to Friedrich Hegel, whose thoughts deeply penetrated all Finnish intellectual life in the nineteenth century, women lacked the ability to generate something completely new intellectually or artistically. Women, he held, could only hope to repeat, reproduce, or copy. Only men could possess the true "universal faculty" which was necessary in science, philosophy and art.⁵⁰

The idea that the different sexes were born with different natural abilities remained common until the twentieth century, regardless of the increasing number of voices (including Helena Westermarck's) who in the nineteenth century began to question the idea of women's supposed lack of inborn intellectual and artistic geniality.⁵¹ In his *Hereditary Genius* Francis Galton mostly dealt with male "genius", although he occasionally also spoke of "men or women of genius". However, to the extent that his account dealt with intelligent women, they mostly occupied the positions of mothers and wives of male geniuses. As such they were worthy of scientific interest only when discussing the heredity of geniality.⁵² Others, like Cesare Lombroso were even more dismissive. In his *Man of Genius* Lombroso stated: "In the history of genius women have but a small place. Women of genius are rare exceptions in the world. It is an old observation that while thousands of women apply themselves to music for every hundred men, there has not been a single great woman composer." Although there existed a few exceptions to this rule, like George Eliot, Germaine de Staël and George Sand, they could only be seen as freaks of nature. The "women of genius are men", Lombroso stated.

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Although some women admittedly displayed an exceptional talent, they were still never as genius as Beethoven or Goethe.⁵³

The writings of Lombroso and other scientific authorities on creativity and intelligence show that the idea of an inborn self was highly shaped by understandings of the time about which qualities that were 'natural' to the different sexes. Women were thought to be born with the natural tendency to be more emotional and therefore less rational than men. They were often thought to be more easily influenced by others and therefore more likely to copy or reproduce what they had seen before. As such, they were considered less likely than men to achieve intellectual or creative greatness.⁵⁴

In this regard, Helena Westermarck's view on the female self differed from that of many of her contemporaries. In some of her most programmatic writings on women's rights, Westermarck defended the idea that men and women were born with the same individual variety of natural qualities, talents, and dispositions. The biological sex of a person could therefore not reveal if that person was more suited than anyone else to perform a specific task. Thus, according to Helena Westermarck, the only reason why history featured such an abundance of male scientists, writers, painters, and other intellectuals, was that society had placed so many restrictions on women, both in the past and in the present.⁵⁵ In another of her articles, entitled "*On strength of character in the woman*" [*Om karaktärsstyrka hos kvinnan*], she argued that as long as women were robbed of the possibility to fully develop their inborn and natural personalities, no-one could truly find out if female genius really existed. Quite ironically, in this article Westermarck referred to the biography of the Italian journalist and pedagogue Paola Lombroso, daughter of Cesare Lombroso, to demonstrate her argument.⁵⁶ Thus, while Westermarck definitely supported the idea of a natural and inborn self, she did not accept the idea that a person's gender determined what was natural to that individual.

Helena Westermarck's stands on the natural and inborn self as independent of a person's gender, demonstrates how cultural assumptions about what is natural and inborn affects personae. Nineteenth century women were not expected to possess the natural and inborn 'creativity' or 'intelligence' that was expected of an 'intellectual' in the cultural context of Helena Westermarck's time. Thus, if women, despite of these assumptions, tried to embody an intellectual persona, they did not receive recognition for their performance.⁵⁷ In this light, Helena Westermarck's emphasis on the inborn and natural presence of intellect and geniality in George Eliot's person can be seen as an effort to change the assumptions about the natural female self by proving that women, too, could possess a natural inclination for intellectual activities. Doing so, Westermarck made use of pre-existing opinions

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concerning the much-admired novelist and journalist, as Eliot was one of very few women who Westermarck's contemporaries, including scientific authorities such as Cesare Lombroso, would have recognised as a true 'genius'.⁵⁸ Underscoring the supposedly natural and inborn intellect of Eliot, Westermarck attempted to demonstrate that Eliot, regardless of her gender, met the expectations concerning the 'natural' abilities of a genius and an intellectual. Thus, trying to change her contemporaries' understanding of female intellect and personality, Westermarck also attempted to affect the intellectual persona. In doing so, she hoped to make it easier for future women to present themselves as intellectuals and receive social recognition for their performances.

Inborn nature or nurtured virtues? Some final remarks concerning personae

In my discussion of the Westermarck siblings, I have demonstrated that both Edward and Helena Westermarck took the existence of a natural and inborn self for granted. To both brother and sister certain inborn qualities like intelligence and creativity were central requirements of a public intellectual. Thus, in order to embody a convincing intellectual persona, both of them needed to find ways to embody these qualities in a way that would have convinced their contemporaries that they were natural and inborn parts of their personality. In this chapter, I have shown in more detail how Edward Westermarck went about this task in his memoirs, and as I have demonstrated elsewhere, similar attempts to embody natural and inborn qualities can also be found in Helena Westermarck's memoirs.⁵⁹ My reading of these texts therefore differs from the interpretations of personae by Herman Paul and other colleagues, which have focused on personae as manifestations of skills and virtues that can be gained through training, practice, or a persistent exercise of will.⁶⁰ With this I do not, however, wish to question the importance of virtues and skills to personae. After all, the memoirs of both Edward and Helena Westermarck, are filled with manifestations of nurtured virtues (such as "love of fatherland"), and acquired skills (like the ability to paint in the case of Helena, or to speak Arabic like Edward). None the less, the difference is that although the Westermarck siblings had acquired some of these virtues and skills at a very young age, they did not present them as inborn. Therefore, even if the Westermarck siblings did not necessarily highlight the effort that had been required to obtain these virtues and skills, they did not seek to completely conceal them either.

My discussion of the Westermarck siblings' writings does also shed some light on why women of the nineteenth century often found it harder to embody

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the persona of the public intellectual than men did. As I have argued, the emphasis on supposedly inborn and natural qualities made the intellectual persona seem more exclusive and increased its social status. However, this emphasis could potentially also exclude large groups of people from the persona because many inborn qualities were associated with a specific gender. In Helena Westermarck's writings, one can therefore find multiple examples of how she opposed the idea that gender was of any relevance to the inborn self. In doing so, she hoped to convince her contemporaries that women, regardless of their gender could possess the innate intelligence and creativity which nineteenth century culture associated with the persona of the public intellectuals.

In this way, I have discussed how nineteenth century scientific discourses on the human mind and personality, shaped both the self-understanding of nineteenth century people, and the personae of the time. But of course, the scientific and scholarly debate on whether qualities such as intelligence or creativity are indeed inborn talents or acquired through a combination of favourable conditions and practice is not settled by any means, even today as we are entering the 2020s. It is therefore important to underline that I do not intend to provide an answer to this question. Instead, my point is to underscore that while personal capacities like intelligence and creativity undoubtedly have to be nurtured in order to develop fully, they are still often *understood* as natural and inborn abilities that cannot be acquired through an active and conscious effort. Thus, as many personal qualities in the nineteenth century were presented as abilities that could not be learned through training or the exercise of will alone, women were easily excluded from the possibility of successfully convincing others that they too, met the requirements expected from an intellectual persona. Thus, what mattered was not how 'intelligent', 'creative', 'objective', or 'rational' women were, but rather that their abilities often went unrecognised.⁶¹

Finally, these reflections bring me to my final point, which perhaps is the most far-reaching. Since nineteenth century personae were constructed upon assumptions about a natural and inborn self, then women were, of course, not the only ones who were robbed of the possibility of receiving recognition as they tried to embody the intellectual persona. Looking to the nineteenth-century discussion of intellectual and creative 'geniality', we can find more examples of a similar exclusiveness based on assumptions of what was natural to different categories of individuals. For example, in his writings, Cesare Lombroso not only excluded women from 'geniality' but also stressed that this rare inborn ability was a quality of certain classes and ethnicities. In his view, the influence of 'race' was for example apparent among "men of genius". Thus, the "Jews of Europe", according to Lombroso, had demonstrated a clear tendency to rise above other people from "Africa and

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the East,” sometimes even surpassing “the Aryans” in terms of geniality (though the Jews had never been able to produce a Darwin).⁶² This suggests to me that various assumptions about what is to be considered natural for different age groups, classes, sexual orientations, or other social groups (for example mothers) can, and often do, affect the chances individuals have to successfully embody personae. Thus, if we add what is perceived as natural and inborn to the requirements of personae, we may get a somewhat different picture than if we only think of personae as performances of virtues and skills. If we recognise that mastering the many requirements of a successful performance of persona is never solely dependent upon the individual’s own ambition, persistence or determination, we have to recognise that the persona is less democratic and open than it may seem. Studying how certain repertoires and personal qualities become naturalised as supposedly ‘inborn’ and ‘natural’ parts of a person’s personality therefore reveals the different practices, not only of social distinction but also of exclusion or even discrimination that are hidden within personae.

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Notes

¹ Edward Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage. Part I: The Origin of Human Marriage* (Helsingfors: Edward Westermarck, 1889); Edward Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage. Vol. I–III* (London: MacMillan & Co, 1891); Edward Westermarck, *Memories of My Life* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1929); Edward Westermarck, *Minnen ur mitt liv* (Helsingfors: Söderströms, 1927). I will be referring the Swedish-language original of Westermarck's memoirs, rather than the English translation, because the terms Westermarck chose to use are significant to my analysis. A selection of previous literature about Edward Westermarck and his scientific legacy: Rolf Lagerborg, *Edvard Westermarck och verken från hans verkstad under hans tolv sista år 1927–39* (Helsingfors: Schildts, 1951); Juhani Ihanus, *Multiple Origins: Edward Westermarck in Search of Mankind* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1999); Olli Lagerspetz and Kirsti Suolinna, *Edward Westermarck: Intellectual Networks, Philosophy and Social Anthropology* (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Science and Letters, 2014); Olli Lagerspetz, Jan Antfolk, Ylva Gustafsson, and Camilla Kronqvist, eds., *Evolution, Human Behaviour and Morality: The Legacy of Westermarck* (London: Routledge, 2016); Niina Timosaari, *Edvard Westermarck: Totuuden etsijä* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2017); Otto Pipatti, *Morality Made Visible: Edward Westermarck's Moral and Social Theory* (London, New York: Routledge, 2019).

² Helena Westermarck, *Mina levnadsminnen* (Helsingfors: Söderströms & Co, 1941). Helena Westermarck's unfinished memoirs were published in Swedish after her death. A selection of previous literature about Helena Westermarck: Julia Dahlberg, *Konstnär, kvinna, medborgare: Helena Westermarck och den finska bildningskulturen i det moderna genombrottets tid 1880–1910* (Helsingfors: Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten, 2018), <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-653-421-6>; Arne Toftegaard Pedersen, *Helena Westermarck: Intellektets idoga arbetare* (Helsingfors: Svenska Folkskolans Vänner, 2016); Git Claesson Pipping, *Men arbetet! Mitt arbete! Identitet och berättande i Helena Westermarcks yrkeskvinnobiografier* (Göteborg: Makadam, 2007). About the relationship between Edward and Helena Westermarck: Julia Dahlberg, "When Artists Became Intellectuals: Female Artistic Persona and Science as a Significant Other," *Persona Studies* 4, no. 1 (2018): 60–73, <https://doi.org/10.21153/ps2018vol4no1art688>; Julia Dahlberg, "Konst och vetenskap: Intellektuell gemenskap i Helena Westermarcks brev till sin bror", *Niin & Näin. Filosofinen aikakauslehti* 89, no. 2 (2016): 57–66.

³ Gadi Algazi, "Exemplum and Wundertier: Three Concepts of the Scholarly Persona," *BMGN Low Countries Historical Review* 131, no. 4 (2016): 8–32, <http://doi.org/10.18352/bmgn-lchr.10262>, especially pp. 9–16; Lisa Svanfeldt-Winter, "Where Scholars are Made: Gendered Arenas of Persona Formation in Finnish Folkloristics, 1918–1932" (diss., Stockholm: Department of History, Stockholm University, 2019), urn:nbn:se:su:diva-171246 (retrieved 5 January 2020), 18–26, especially 26. See also Heini Hakosalo's chapter in this volume.

⁴ Herman Paul, "What is a Scholarly Persona? Ten Theses on Virtues, Skills, and Desires," *History and Theory* 53, no. 3 (October 2014): 348–371, quote on 353, <https://doi.org/10.1111/hith.10717>, 352. Also Herman Paul, "Sources of the Self: Scholarly Personae as Repertoires of Scholarly Selfhood," *BMGN Low Countries Historical Review* 131, no. 4 (2016): 135–154, <https://doi.org/10.18352/bmgn-lchr.10268>; Herman Paul, "Performing History: How Historical Scholarship is Shaped by Epistemic Virtues," *History and Theory* 50, no. 1 (February 2011): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2303.2011.00565.x>; Lorraine Daston, "Objectivity and Impartiality: Epistemic Virtues in the Humanities," in *The Making of the Humanities. Vol. 3: The Modern Humanities*, eds. Rens Bod, Jaap Maat and Thijs Weststeijn (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014): 27–42; Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007); Herman

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Paul, "Introduction: Repertoires and Performances of Academic Identity," *BMGN Low Countries Historical Review* 131, no. 4 (2016): 3–7, <http://doi.org/10.18352/bmgn-lchr.10261>; the collective contributions to Jeroen van Dongen and Herman Paul, eds., *Epistemic Virtues in the Sciences and the Humanities* (Cham: Springer, 2017); and Herman Paul, ed., *How to Be a Historian: Scholarly Personae in Historical Studies, 1800–2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019).

⁵ Mineke Bosch, "Scholarly Personae and Twentieth-Century Historians. Explorations of a Concept," *BMGN Low Countries Historical Review* 131, no. 4 (2016): 33–54, <http://doi.org/10.18352/bmgn-lchr.10263>, especially 23–25. See also Mineke Bosch, "Persona and the Performance of Identity: Parallel Developments in the Biographical Historiography of Science and Gender, and the Related Uses of Self Narrative," *L'Homme. Europäische Zeitschrift für Feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 24, no. 2 (2013): 11–22. <http://doi.org/10.7767/lhomme.2013.24.2.11>; Kirsti Niskanen, Mineke Bosch, and Kaat Wils, "Scientific Personae in Theory and Practice: Ways of Creating Scientific, Scholarly, and Artistic Identities," *Persona Studies* 4, no. 1 (May 2018): 1–5, <https://doi.org/10.21153/ps2018vol4no1art748>.

⁶ Svanfeldt-Winter, *Where Scholars are Made*, 26.

⁷ Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-century England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

⁸ Dahlberg, "When Artists Became Intellectuals," *Persona Studies*, 60–73.

⁹ Paul, "What is a Scholarly Persona?" *History and Theory*, 362–363.

¹⁰ Compare for example to the expert as described in Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Life: A Moral History of a Late Modern Vocation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

¹¹ Sven Eliaeson and Ragnvald Kalleberg, "Academics as Public Intellectuals," in *Academics as Public Intellectuals*, eds. Sven Eliaeson and Ragnvald Kalleberg (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 1–16, especially 1–7; Helen Small, ed., *The Public Intellectual* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

¹² For a more extensive presentation of Westermarck's international reputation and his role as a scholarly public intellectual see Timosaari, *Edvard Westermarck: Totuuden etsijä*; Lagerspetz and Suolinna, *Edward Westermarck: Intellectual Networks*.

¹³ Timosaari, *Edvard Westermarck: Totuuden etsijä*, 89–101, 132.

¹⁴ Ville Kajanne, "Edvard Westermarck ja kulttuuriadressin kokoaminen Italiassa" and Tony Lurock, "Suomen tuntijat ja tutkijat Isossa-Britanniassa," in *Pro Finlandia: Suomen tie itsenäisyyteen. Vol. 2. Näkökulma: Saksa, Iso-Britannia, Itävalta ja Unkari*, eds. Jussi Nuorteva and Pertti Hakala (Helsinki: Edita Publishing, 2015), 143–151, 273–283; Harri Korpisaari, *Itsenäisen Suomen Puolesta: Sotilaskomitea 1915–1918* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2009), 58, 84; Westermarck *Minnen ur mitt liv*, 185–194, 385–397.

¹⁵ Christophe Charle, *Naissance des "Intellectuals" 1880–1890* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1990).

¹⁶ I have previously discussed this development with regard to artistic personae in Dahlberg, "When Artists Became Intellectuals".

¹⁷ Charle, *Naissance des "Intellectuals."*

¹⁸ Darrin M. McMahon, *Divine Fury: A History of Genius* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), 189. See also Penelope Murray, ed., *Genius: The History of an Idea* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

¹⁹ Raymond Martin and John Barresi, *The Rise and Fall of Soul and Self: An Intellectual History of Personal Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 202.

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²⁰ Ibid., 202–203.

²¹ Martin and Barresi, *The Rise and Fall*, 202; McMahon, *Divine Fury*, 155–158, 168–169; Janet Browne, “Inspiration to Perspiration. Francis Galton's 'Hereditary Genius' in Victorian Context” in *Genealogies of Genius*, ed. Joyce E. Chaplin and Darrin M. McMahon (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016): 77–96.

²² Michael Hagner, “Skulls, Brains, and Memorial Culture: On Cerebral Biographies of Scientists in the Nineteenth Century,” *Science in Context* 16, no. 1–2 (March 2003): 195–218, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0269889703000784>.

²³ Browne, “Inspiration to Perspiration,” 78–81; Francis Galton, *English Men of Science: Their Nature and Nurture* (London: MacMillan, 1874); Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into Its Laws and Consequences* (London: Mc Millan & Co, 1869, second ed. 1892); Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development* (London: MacMillan, 1883).

²⁴ Brian Nelson, “Zola and the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Zola*, ed. Brian Nelson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–18, here 3–4; Émile Zola, *Thérèse Raquin* (Paris: A. Lacroix, Verboeckhoven et Cie, 1867)

²⁵ Charle, *Naissance des "Intellectuels"*, 139–182.

²⁶ Hagner, “Skulls, Brains, and Memorial Culture”

²⁷ Westermarck, *Minnen ur mitt liv*, 410–411.

²⁸ Daston, “Objectivity and Impartiality”

²⁹ Edward Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (London: MacMillan & Co, 1891); Edward Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas. Vol. 1–2* (London: MacMillan & Co, 1906, 1908).

³⁰ Westermarck, *Minnen ur mitt liv*, 33, 81.

³¹ Thiodolf Rein, *Försök till en framställning af psykologin eller vetenskapen om själen. Vol. 2.* (Helsingfors: Edlund, 1891); Edward Westermarck, “Professor Reins kritik af den monistiska själsteorin,” *Finsk Tidskrift* 32, no. 1 (1892): 33–41, <https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/497573?page=1> (accessed 12.10.2019). About the discussions on these matters in the Philosophical Society in Finland and Westermarck's opinions, see also Georg Henrik von Wright, “Edward Westermarck och Filosofiska föreningen,” *Ajatus: Yearbook of the Philosophical Society* 27 (1965): 123–161, <https://filosofia.fi/tallenarkisto/tekst/4824> (accessed 12.10.2019): 133–138; Jan Antfolk, “Westermarck as a Precursor of Evolutionary Psychology: The Nature and Nurture of Evolutionary Explanations,” in *Evolution, Human Behaviour and Morality. The Legacy of Westermarck*, ed. Olli Lagerspetz, Jan Antfolk, Ylva Gustafsson, and Camilla Kronqvist (London: Routledge, 2016), 78–84.

³² Cesare Lombroso, *L'uomo di genio in rapporto alla psichiatria* (1888), English translation *Man of Genius* (London: Walter Scott, 1891); Havelock Ellis, *The Criminal* (New York: Scribner & Welfors, 1890).

³³ See for example Mineke Bosch, “Looking at Laboratory Life, Writing a (New) Scientific Persona. Marianne van Herwerden's Travel Letters from the United States, 1920,” *L'Homme. Europäische Zeitschrift für Feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 29, no. 1 (2018): 15–34; Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (second ed., (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 63–102; Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 27–40, 66–73.

³⁴ My reading of autobiographical texts is informed by a general understanding of autobiographies as documents of life-writing where the subject actively narrates their life

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story to themselves and to others. See Caine, *Biography and History*, 66–85, 97–102; Mary Fulbrook and Ulinka Rublack, “In Relation. The ‘Social Self’ and Ego-Documents,” *German History* 28, no. 3 (September 2010): 263–272, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gerhis/ghq065>. I am in particular inspired by the example of Toril Moi, who, in her classic biography of Simone de Beauvoir, sought to understand not the “real Beauvoir” but, rather, the person who appears through Simone de Beauvoir’s writings. See Toril Moi, *Simone de Beauvoir: The Making of an Intellectual Woman* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

³⁵ McMahon, *Divine Fury*, xix–xx. See also Murray, *Genius*; Kathleen Kete, *Making Way for Genius: The Aspiring Self in France from the Old Regime to the New* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); Ann Jefferson, *Genius in France: An Idea and Its Uses* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015); Joyce E. Chaplin, and Darrin M. McMahon, eds., *Genealogies of Genius* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016).

³⁶ Westermarck, *Minnen ur mitt liv*, 410–412.

³⁷ Westermarck, *Minnen ur mitt liv*.

³⁸ Westermarck, *Minnen ur mitt liv*, 42–68.

³⁹ Westermarck, *Minnen ur mitt liv*, 55. ”Redan vid denna tid hyste jag en livlig önskan att en gång kunna resa till fjärran länder för att studera primitiva folk, och nu erfor jag för första gången en förnimmelse av att jag skulle mäktas med en sådan uppgift och vara i stånd att uthärda de därmed förbundna strapatserna.”

⁴⁰ Westermarck, *Minnen ur mitt liv*, 16–17.

⁴¹ Westermarck, *Minnen ur mitt liv*, 16–17, 26–27.

⁴² Lombroso, *Man of Genius*, 159–161.

⁴³ Westermarck, *Minnen ur mitt liv*, 137–138, 190. “Den förnämsta betydelsen av hans och hans skolas verksamhet ligger måhända däri, att de visat vilka djupa rötter brottet ofta ha i brottslingens medfödda natur”.

⁴⁴ Lombroso, *Man of Genius*, 161–161.

⁴⁵ Charle, *Naissance des "Intellectuels"*.

⁴⁶ See further Dahlberg, *Konstnär, kvinna, medborgare*.

⁴⁷ Helena Westermarck, *George Eliot och den engelska naturalistiska romanen: En litterär studie* (Helsingfors: Wentzel Hagelstam, 1894). About Westermarck’s biography and its place in the European reception of George Eliot, see Git Claesson Pipping and Catherine Sandbach Dahlström, “‘Spirit of the Age(s)’: The Reception of George Eliot in Sweden,” in *The Reception of George Eliot in Europe*, eds. Elinor Shaffer and Catherine Brown (London, New York: Bloomsbury Academics, 2016), 103–119.

⁴⁸ For example Westermarck, *George Eliot och den engelska naturalistiska romanen*, 4, 11, 13, 21, 28, 29, 33. Further discussion; see Dahlberg, *Konstnär, kvinna, medborgare*, 154–155.

⁴⁹ Genevieve Lloyd, *The Man of Reason: "Male" and "Female" in Western Philosophy* (London: Methuen, 1984).

⁵⁰ Hegel expressed these opinions in an addition to §166 in *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* where he says: “Women can, of course, be educated, but their minds are not adapted to the higher sciences, philosophy or certain of the arts. These demands a universal faculty”. See Friedrich Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (1820), English translation *Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1896), 172.

⁵¹ About the changes in the view on female intellectual capacities: see Jerrold Seigel, *Modernity and Bourgeois life. Society, Politics and Culture in England, France and Germany Since 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 316–335.

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⁵² Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, 196, 331.

⁵³ Quotes Lombroso, *Man of Genius*, 137–138. See also McMahon, *Divine Fury*, 168–169.

⁵⁴ Lloyd, *The Man of Reason*, PAGES.

⁵⁵ Helena Westermarck, "Hvad vi vilja?", *Nutid* 1, no. 1 (1895): 2–3.

⁵⁶ Helena Westermarck, "Om karaktärsstyrka hos kvinnan", *Nutid* 17, no. 11 (1909): 399–410.

⁵⁷ This did evidently not stop nineteenth-century women from trying to embody supposedly male 'natural' qualities.

⁵⁸ For example: Lombroso, *Man of Genius*, 138.

⁵⁹ As I have discussed elsewhere, Helena Westermarck's memoirs (Westermarck, *Mina levnadsminnen*, 11) start with an early childhood memory where Westermarck's inborn and natural capacity to render an artistic expression to past events is emphasised. Dahlberg, *Konstnär, kvinna, medborgare*, 151–152.

⁶⁰ For example, Paul, "Performing History"; Paul, "What is a Scholarly Persona?"; Daston, "Objectivity and Impartiality"; Paul, "Introduction"; the collective contributions to Dongen and Paul, *Epistemic Virtues in the Sciences and the Humanities*; Paul, *How to Be a Historian*.

⁶¹ Compare to Anna Cabanel, *La fabrique d'une persona scientifique au féminin: the International Federation of University Women: Années 1920–années 1960* (Groningen: University of Groningen, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.33612/diss.109504410>, 20. See also Daston and Galisson, *Objectivity*, PAGES.

⁶² Lombroso, *Man of Genius*, 133–134.