

CHAPTER 4

Finnish Utopian Communities, Historiographies, and Shapes of Settler Colonialism

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My goal in this chapter is to critically examine historical scholarship dealing with the histories of migration from Finland. In particular, I look at those studies that discuss migrant communities labeled as “utopian” by Finnish scholars. Recent scholarship has pointed out how Finnish utopian communities, and migration from Finland more broadly,¹ are rarely examined in the context of colonialism. Only in recent years have scholars started to treat settlements of Finnish migrants as an example of a system of power that contributed to the repression and genocide of Indigenous peoples.² Through a close reading of several historical studies on Finnish migration, I demonstrate how the absence of a critical perspective on utopian settlements contributes to the idea of Finland as an “outsider” in the histories of colonialism.

Scholars such as Gloria Wekker have employed the concept of “white innocence” to describe the logic through which many European societies detach themselves from the histories of colonialism. Central to the logic of white innocence is the denial of the importance of race

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and racism in contemporary Europe, which, in turn, hides from view how white Europeans have benefitted from racialized hierarchies originating from the colonial era.³ For example, Suvi Keskinen shows in her recent article how the participation of the Nordic countries in colonial projects is brushed aside or altogether denied.⁴ This is still often true, despite recent scholarly contributions examining the histories of such participation and the continuing impact of colonial hierarchies and discourses on Nordic societies.⁵ In 2009, scholars inspired by postcolonial studies introduced the concept of “colonial complicity” to highlight how Finland and the other Nordic countries were connected to the histories of colonialism through economic, political, and cultural ties, as well as through practices of knowledge production.⁶ Moreover, as Keskinen notes, colonial complicity “highlights the seductiveness of being included in hegemonic notions of Eurocentric modernity and the material benefits it promises for countries located at the margins of Europe.”⁷

Finnish migrants aspiring to establish utopian settlements abroad clearly benefitted materially from the settler colonial world order that provided them with access to land outside of Europe. Thus, the concept of colonial complicity does not fully manage to describe the very concrete ways Finns participated in the settler colonial initiatives, because the purpose of the utopian settlements was to naturalize European presence in regions that were often previously inhabited and utilized by Indigenous peoples. As I will show in this chapter, utopian ideas underpinning the settler colonial project are deeply embedded in the modernist thinking, characterized by ideas of progress and linear notions of time. Modernity refers to the Eurocentric way of understanding the world, formed since the 17th century, where Europe epitomized rationality, civilization, and superiority, and countries that were the targets of colonial projects represented tradition, nature, and inferiority.⁸ As Anibal Quijano puts it, “modernity was ... colonial from its point of departure.”⁹ Central to my point of view is the decolonial scholars’ argument that the interlinked notions of coloniality/modernity are not just about Western understandings of the world order where Europeans assumed the right to take over lands in the name of civilization but also about knowledge production.¹⁰ As Lucy Mayblin and Joe Turner have recently pointed out, writing about the impact of modernity in knowledge production in academia, the modernist way of thinking reaches migration studies, where Mayblin and

Turner observe “sanctioned ignorance of histories of colonialism, and of the wide-ranging debates around the legacies of colonialism in the present.”¹¹

This, I argue, also applies to research on Finnish migrants’ utopian settlements. As scholars frame utopias as expressions of humans’ desire for improvement and finding greater meaning in life, the establishment of the utopian settlements ends up being depoliticized and detached from the history of settler colonialism. It is as if these settlements existed outside the processes of conquest and replacement. Thus, in addition to highlighting the settler colonial context of these settlements, my goal in this chapter is to discuss how the modernist way of thinking about utopias is a key element in studies published on Finnish utopian settlements abroad. Ultimately, my study underlines that the understanding of Finnish migration history and the experiences of Finnish migrants *in situ* is incomplete without considering the context of colonialism. As migration historians focus on the hardships and perseverance of Finnish migrants in the utopian settlements, their ideologies and charismatic leaders, the settler colonial structures and hierarchies, and the way these crucially molded the economic, social, and political realities in which Finnish migrants lived are largely left unexplored. The settlements labeled as utopian provide a particularly fruitful context for studying these issues, as they are a concrete example of Finns’ participation in settler colonial projects.

The discussion in this chapter proceeds as follows. I will first illustrate on a broader level how the utopian settlements of Finnish migrants in the late 19th and 20th centuries have been discussed in publications on migration from Finland. I show that the authors present the utopian communities as exceptional cases, as curiosities in the history of Finnish migration, and by doing so they simultaneously obscure how Finnish migration patterns and forms of settlement are embedded in the histories of colonialism. Second, I will discuss how these historical studies described Finnish settlers’ encounters with nature on the one hand and with Indigenous and other ethnic groups on the other hand. I show that, while the colonial mindset was visible in the ways Finnish settlers approached these contacts, as explained in the historical sources, the existing scholarship largely leaves this mindset untouched. Finally, I explore the implications of the scholars’ tendency to frame the utopian settlements as failures, arguing that the

failure narrative plays into the continuing depoliticization of the Finnish utopian settlements.

This chapter is historiographical, i.e., my main sources are studies by historians and scholars in related fields either specifically on Finnish utopian settlements or, more generally, on migration of Finns to areas outside of Europe. The studies I examined were published between 1936 and 2020.¹² In these publications, the utopian settlements were usually discussed in a separate section or a chapter within the larger narrative of Finnish migration. While most of the publications were academic, some publications were authored by lay historians. In my analysis, my primary goal was to understand how the Finnish utopian settlements were framed and contextualized by the authors. I paid attention to the ways in which the writers discussed the justifications for taking possession of lands and establishing settlements in the destination countries. In the studies that I examined, the concept of utopian settlements refers to usually short-lived communities founded by Finnish migrants based on an articulated ideal, such as nationalism, socialism, and vegetarianism. These communities were scattered in different parts of the world in the period spanning from the late 18th century to the late 20th century.¹³ Teuvo Peltoniemi, for example, lists 18 Finnish utopian settlements, founded between 1792 (New Jerusalem in Sierra Leone) and 1977 (Emmaus in Finland).¹⁴ A majority (11) of these settlements listed by Peltoniemi were located in North and South America and the Caribbean; the rest were founded in Australia, France, Israel, Russia/the Soviet Union, and Sierra Leone. Jouni Korki-asaari, on the other hand, includes 13 Finnish settlements in his overview of utopian settlements. These were located in North and South America, the Caribbean, Australia, and Russia/the Soviet Union and founded between 1868 (Amur, Russia) and 1930 (Villa Vásquez in the Dominican Republic).¹⁵ The number of settlers in each colony tended to be quite small, usually only tens or hundreds of settlers.¹⁶ Many continued to other migration destinations, especially to North America, if (and usually when) the utopian settlement turned out to be unsuccessful. Numerically speaking, thus, the settlements labeled as utopian represented only a small part of the history of Finnish migration abroad. Additionally, it is quite difficult, often impossible, to make a clear distinction between “regular” and utopian migration, as I will later discuss.¹⁷ Regardless, the histories of utopian settlements have continued to pique the interest of scholars and the wider public alike, as I bring

out in the concluding section. In the following pages, I primarily draw examples from studies on the Finnish settlement of Sointula in British Columbia, Canada, but I also discuss publications on Finnish settlements in South America and the Caribbean.

Utopian Communities as Expressions of Modernity and Coloniality

Scholars writing about Finnish utopian settlements often start their discussion by referring to Thomas More's *Utopia*, originally published in 1516.¹⁸ Historian Teuvo Peltoniemi notes in the preface of *Kohti parempaa maailmaa* (Towards a Better World), after pointing to *Utopia*, that the "common thread" in the utopian thinking is the "pursuit of human perfection."¹⁹ The fact that the flipside of this high pursuit was the disavowal and removal of the Indigenous presence is usually left untouched by Peltoniemi and most other migration historians.

Utopian settlements are often cast as a return to an idealized version of the past, to a purer time, or they are represented as a creation of a future-oriented utopia, the purpose of which is to build a truly egalitarian society. Historians Pertti Grönholm and Heli Paalumäki note that both nostalgic longing and utopian thinking are concepts that describe the experience of time in modern Europe. Modernity is imbued with ideas of progress and time advancing linearly. Grönholm and Paalumäki also point out that, although embedded in the European notions of modernity, nostalgia and utopia also challenge the linear notions of the passage of time.²⁰ While it is typical to associate nostalgia with a longing for the past and utopias with dreams about the future, this distinction is partially artificial, because, for example, utopian narratives often contain ideas about a return to a nostalgic past.²¹ In addition, both nostalgia and utopia were born out of dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs in modern society, for example in the contemporaneous social, political, or economic conditions. Thus, nostalgia and utopian dreaming have been conceptualized as expressions of people's desire for a better life in a temporally and/or spatially removed space.²²

Recently, scholars specializing in utopianism have started to highlight how utopian thinking is entangled with the histories of colonialism, and, consequently, with the concept of modernity, as European ideas of progress and civilization were spread around the world

through colonial expansion and mercantile ventures.²³ In other words, the histories of utopianism, modernity, and coloniality are inextricably intertwined. For instance, Lyman Tower Sargent, political scientist specialized in utopian studies, argues that “the whole process of colonial settlement can be seen as a type of utopianism.”²⁴ Karl Hardy, in turn, points out that utopianism and the utopian narrative “both prefigured and sustain the condition of white supremacy and settler colonialism.”²⁵ What is crucial in their arguments is that utopian ideas and narratives, dating back to More’s *Utopia*, rationalize the settler colonial project and naturalize the presence of white settlers in the colonized countries as the racially superior “civilizers” and “modernizers.” Indeed, Hardy goes on to argue that More’s *Utopia* is a “profoundly settler colonial text” that, in fact, produced a blueprint for the colonization of the “New World.” While the settler colonial project cannot, of course, be attributed simply to the creation of utopian narratives, *Utopia* introduced discourses justifying colonialism, for example “the emergent valourization of labour and instrumental rationalization of land-as-resource, as well as the (proto)racialization of human difference.”²⁶ Hardy also points to the tendency of Western scholars to disregard *Utopia*’s connection to settler colonialism in their analyses.²⁷ Eve Darian-Smith argues that the very reason why the settler colonial context of utopianism is ignored in research is that both utopian narratives and the scholarly tradition of studying them are thoroughly impregnated with “modernist thinking.”²⁸ If Peltoniemi sees that the Finnish utopian settlements sought “human perfection,” it is evident that he also associates these settlements with the modern project of advancing progress and civilization. Indeed, he starts the introductory chapter of *Kohti parempaa maailmaa* by stating that “Both utopia and change, migration, are basic categories of human life.”²⁹ While he writes in a universalistic way by referring to the “humankind,” the modernist way of thinking about humans’ “natural” need to aspire for progress is visible in this quote and throughout the book.

Historian Leila Koivunen and anthropologist Anna Rastas have recently pointed out that before the 2010s it was rare for historians to discuss Finland’s relationship with colonialism. As noted above, this also applies to studies focusing on migration from Finland to countries outside of Europe. Koivunen and Rastas attribute this dismissal to the concept of “Finnish exceptionalism,” according to which Finland or Finns had nothing to do with colonialism simply because the country

did not possess any colonies.³⁰ Indeed, historians describing utopian settlements typically focus on their charismatic leaders, as well as the settlements' political, social, and economic histories.³¹ For instance, studies on Sointula have often focused on Matti Kurikka, one of the founders of Sointula in British Columbia.³² The broader context in which the establishment of these various communities—i.e., the fact that the colonial rulers were selling land to settlers by dispossessing, displacing, and even murdering local habitants, including various Indigenous groups—is left out. The histories of the settlements are, thus, detached from the system of power that proved to be “dystopias”³³ for the Indigenous inhabitants.

Against this background, it is interesting that, in some of the studies dealing with the histories of Finnish utopian settlements, the word colony (*siirtomaa*) is specifically mentioned as the motive for establishing the settlements. For example, the word is mentioned in both historian Olavi Lähteenmäki's examination of the establishment of “New Finland” (Uusi Suomi) in Argentina in the early 20th century and migration historian Olavi Koivukangas's sweeping study of Finns in Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Latin America. Lähteenmäki writes that migrants were enthusiastic about the prospects in Argentina because they “saw that Finland had now acquired a sort of ‘colony,’ an Eldorado filled with abundant opportunities.”³⁴ The “lure of the virgin land” was, thus, pulling migrants to the distant land.³⁵ In the second quote, the idea of the new colonies as uninhabited “blank slates” is visible, a motif that I will come back to in the next section. Even in cases where the destination regions are referred to as “colonies,” the scholars still usually fail to situate Finnish migrations as taking place in the framework of colonialism that established a system of racial hierarchy, the purpose of which was to naturalize the European presence in the colonized countries. Instead, the “right” of Finns to acquire lands in faraway countries is taken for granted.

The primary reason why certain migrant settlements were labeled as “utopian”—in contrast to other settlements of Finnish migrants—was that many of them had a charismatic leader. For example, Kurikka in Sointula in Canada and Toivo Uusikallio in Penedo in Brazil advertised their utopian dream of starting a new society in a distant location because of an ideology that they believed in. Peltoniemi makes a distinction between “regular” and utopian migrations by highlighting the ideological foundations of the utopian settlements and the settlers'

desire to go far away from the hustle and bustle of rapidly industrializing European societies:

Migration researchers usually employ the concepts of the “push of the country of departure” and the “pull of the country of destination.” In utopian migration, these were unimportant. The reason for migration was in the minds of those who left, in the ideals themselves, and not in the country or the journey’s destination. ... Migration itself was important, to depart as far away as possible ... to islands or jungles.³⁶

Thus, in addition to being led by charismatic men, Peltoniemi emphasizes the centrality of the temporal and spatial detachment from the present reality in utopian migration. Even the destination country was not so important, as long as the destination was distant and preferably in an isolated location where the settlers could start “from fresh.” Following the settler colonial mindset, these faraway places were presented as being up for grabs for the Finnish settlers.

Many scholars of Finnish migration dissociate utopian settlements from “regular” migration by portraying them as “curiosities,” as particularly fascinating but short-lasting periods of Finnish migration. For example, in his book *Suomalaiset maailmalla* (Finns in the World), which provides a cursory overview of Finnish migration in a global frame, historian Jouni Korkiasaari writes in a chapter dedicated to utopian migration that, while only a fraction of Finnish migrants lived in utopian settlements, “because of their [the settlements’] special character, they have been all the more fascinating to both contemporary people and the future generations.”³⁷ However, the tendency to treat Finns’ utopian settlements as curiosities in the history of Finnish migration fundamentally depoliticizes their existence.

Interestingly, scholars have noted that one of the ideologies behind the establishment of utopian societies was Finnish nationalism.³⁸ Most utopian settlements were founded in the 19th and early 20th centuries, when the advancement of capitalism, industrialization, and technology created a fertile ground for utopian dreaming.³⁹ Many Finnish colonies were, indeed, founded as alternatives for the modern, industrializing society. Utopian socialist movements were common in this era, not only in Finland but in many other European countries, especially France. In Finland, additionally, the country’s position as the Grand Duchy of Russia and, in particular, the czarist Russification campaign

in the early 20th century, contributed to the nationalist movement and pushed some people, such as Matti Kurikka, to dream about starting a Finnish nationalist settlement abroad, based on socialist principles. Indeed, in 1900, writing from Australia, where he had initiated a failed utopian experiment before Sointula, Kurikka aspired to “plant the seed of betterment ... for the joy of humanity and for *the glory of Finland*.”⁴⁰

However, scholars usually present the desire to start colonies based on nationalist ideas in a matter-of-fact way, without contemplating the broader (moral) implications of conquering new lands outside of Finland’s borders in a nationalist pursuit, even though this provides a clear example of the colonial mindset.⁴¹ Furthermore, Peltoniemi discusses the establishment of environmentally motivated communities in Finland in the 1970s (e.g., Emmaus in Jokioinen) in the same context as the Finnish utopian settlements founded outside of Europe.⁴² While the Emmaus community may have shared some ideals with the utopian settlements based on vegetarianism and the “back to nature” idealism, Peltoniemi’s framing ends up providing a confounding example of the erasure of the settler colonial context of utopian settlements founded outside of Europe.

Settler Colonial Realities in Utopian Settlements

While utopian and nostalgic narratives have been interpreted as criticisms of modernity and the visions of progress ingrained in it, the idea of white, Western migrants as modern settlers bringing civilization to an “empty land, a ‘blank slate’ or a veritable ‘no place’” still provided the justification for the actual processes of settling utopias.⁴³ This was the case even when the primary motive was to “return to nature.” Studies on utopian settlements bring forth how Finnish settlers aspired to “tame” nature and establish farms often in rather challenging environments. This was the case both in the utopian community created by Kurikka and his collaborators in British Columbia and in the Finnish utopian settlements in South America. In the case of the latter, Peltoniemi has explained the rising interest in the utopian settlements with the concept of “tropical fever” (*tropiikkikuume*). He writes that the spread of tropical fever in Finland in the 1920s resulted in several attempts to found utopian settlements in the Southern Hemisphere.⁴⁴ The concept of tropical fever draws attention to the yearning for an exoticized, faraway place, detached from the vicissitudes of everyday

life in the industrializing Europe. At the same time, the concept can be seen as part of the tropicalist discourse (closely related to Edward Said's orientalism), where the areas of the world labeled as "tropical" are construed as the opposite of the modern West, as culturally and environmentally "other." The imagery regarding the tropics (*tropiikki*) is imbued with visions of empty wilderness, available but in need of taming by the white settlers.⁴⁵ As Marjo Kaartinen points out, the concept of the tropics does not solely refer to a geographical or climatic zone in the Southern Hemisphere but to an imagined space that contains elements of both desire and fear.⁴⁶ The "othering" of the tropics as the polar opposite of the modern West also works as a justification for the colonial endeavors.⁴⁷

In the books analyzed for this chapter the motif of the geographical spaces waiting to be civilized by Western settlers is present, but the colonial discourse that justifies these civilizing missions is left untouched. However, as historian Laura Hollsten and gender studies scholar Salla Tuori note, the "colonial world order and geography" are clearly visible in many of the primary sources originating from the time of the founding of the utopian settlements.⁴⁸ Because of this, there are glimpses of the colonial discourses in the historical studies as well. However, scholars writing about the utopian communities usually do not make that connection explicit. As Hollsten and Tuori point out, what is central, then, is the "intentional or unintentional forgetting" of colonialism as the scene in which Finns approached nature in the utopian settlements.⁴⁹

This "forgetting" is interesting, because the publications analyzed for this chapter often discussed at length how Finnish migrants settling in remote areas faced enormous challenges when trying to tame nature for the purposes of settlement. Finnish settlers aspired to make nature an object of colonization—in narratives produced by settlers, nature and landscapes were aestheticized and exoticized but, at the same time, the settlers tried to master nature, take control over it.⁵⁰ Recent scholarship has brought forward the connection between the colonial mindset and the settlers' way of approaching nature. Historian Liisa-Maija Korhonen explains in her study of *Colonia Finlandesa* in Argentina how the Finnish settlers sought to "colonize the 'empty land' and cultivate the 'virgin' nature but also civilize the 'uncivilized' region through their actions."⁵¹ In addition, American studies scholar Mikko Saikku notes in his article on the environmental experiences of

Finnish migrants in Sointula that, while nature was praised by Kurikka and the other Finnish settlers, for example, for its “healing powers ... as opposed to the hectic and alienated life in big, dirty cities,”⁵² Finns’ goal was still to “conquer and dominate nature” with “male strength.”⁵³

In other words, while utopias have been considered by scholars as critiques toward the modern industrializing society, the task of conquering nature in the spirit of the modern settler colonialist was still part and parcel of the Finnish utopian settlements. For example, scholars have brought forward how the settlers in Sointula, most of whom had no prior experience in working as lumberjacks, were unequipped to deal with the forests found on Malcom Island (where Sointula is located).⁵⁴ Saikku explains how the Finnish tradition of clearing forest through slash-and-burn agriculture proved to be ineffective against the magnificent trees found in the Pacific Northwest of Canada.⁵⁵ A. B. Mäkelä, one of the founders of Sointula, along with Kurikka, acknowledged the challenges brought by the “terrible giant trees, ... impenetrable thicket” in his writings in *Aika*, the newspaper published in Sointula. Regardless, he still believed in the capabilities of people to conquer nature: “It is characteristic for the great nature to make our previous grandeur insignificant. It will first push the proud humans on the ground, before slowly putting them back on their feet, distilling them with its own greatness.”⁵⁶ Mäkelä’s quote works as an example of the settler colonial thinking where humans will, eventually, be able to bring civilization to colonies, including their nature.

Thus, coloniality is clearly present in the narratives of Finnish settlers through their efforts to control and subdue nature, but also in the ways in which the racial hierarchies encountered *in situ* are discussed.⁵⁷ Moreover, Finns were integrated into the colonial way of understanding racial hierarchies already before migration, and contributed to racialization themselves through their narratives and everyday practices.⁵⁸ Modernity, tied up as it is with the histories of colonialism, racism, and slavery, has “deeply racialized implications,” as Eve Darian-Smith points out.⁵⁹ Racialization is fundamental in the establishment and maintenance of settler colonial societies—European whiteness becomes naturalized as normative in the settler societies through the processes of racialization.⁶⁰ The Indigenous presence becomes attributed with notions of “bygone, primitive, or pre-modern – as indicative of anti-utopia.” Such narratives regarding Indigenous groups play into the justification of the elimination of Indigeneity “via dislocation

(forced removal from traditional lands), annihilation (murder), and assimilation (strategies for bringing the Indigenous “up” or “forward” to the level of the European standard ...).⁶¹

In the books I analyzed, the presence of Indigenous groups is rarely discussed and if they are mentioned it is only in passing. Scholars studying primary sources produced by Finnish settlers have also occasionally noted the infrequency in which the sources bring up Finns’ encounters with Indigenous groups or other local residents.⁶² It appears as if Finns encountered a “blank slate” and an “empty land” when founding their utopian settlements. However, Indigenous peoples were not entirely absent from the analyzed texts. Peltoniemi argues that, in the case of the Finnish utopian settlements, the settlers seeking to go back to the idealized past took “the Polynesian islands or Indians, the ‘innocent brothers’ as models.”⁶³ Indeed, a common motif in settler colonial narratives was the character of the “noble savage,” who was seen as being “closer to nature and, therefore, somehow purer, simpler, and better than the supposedly civilized.”⁶⁴ While exoticized narratives about *sauvages nobles* influenced philosophy and literature produced during the Age of Enlightenment,⁶⁵ these idealized images did not obviously prevent the genocidal project of removing the Indigenous presence from the colonized regions.

In the case of Sointula, historical works rarely refer to the Indigenous presence in British Columbia, possibly because, by the time Sointula was founded, the dispossession of Native lands had already continued for centuries. While Peltoniemi says that Malcolm Island was “almost uninhabited apart from four families of Indians,”⁶⁶ other sources state that the island did not have permanent settlement at the time of the Finns’ arrival. Saikku writes that the island was a seasonal site for the Kwakwa’ka’wakw until the Europeans’ arrival.⁶⁷ More specifically, Malcolm Island was in the territory of the ‘Namgis First Nation, and in the contemporary sources, written for example by A. B. Mäkelä and Matti Halminen, there are numerous references to the ‘Namgis residing in Alert Bay on Cormorant Island near the Malcolm Island. The most detailed description in the scholarly texts about the interactions between Finnish settlers and the ‘Namgis can be found in Saikku’s article. He quotes, for example, several articles published by Mäkelä in *Aika*, describing how the initial prejudices regarding “those gloomy-looking men speaking in mysterious tongues” turned to Mäkelä’s admiration of these “complete natural socialists.” Mäkelä

wrote in 1904 that the Indigenous neighbors “had turned into ‘everyday guests’ of the community and were welcome to attend the communal dinners at Sointula.”⁶⁸ There are, indeed, references in some of the studies from different utopian settlements about Finnish settlers being critical toward the way Indigenous groups were treated by the ruling settlers.⁶⁹ This highlights Finland’s ambivalent relationship with colonialism: while Finnish settlers benefitted from the settler colonial world order that gave them the right to take over lands in the “New World,” Finns still often continued to place themselves as outsiders in the colonial endeavors.⁷⁰

Even if the relationships with the ‘Namgis were as neighborly as Saikku describes, the fact remains that the Indigenous peoples’ living areas were dwindling due to Europeans’ increasing penetration into their territories, as did their possibilities for maintaining established livelihoods and lifestyles. You can find examples in the primary sources, as well as in Saikku’s article, about how members of the Indigenous groups carved out a living through participating in the local capitalist enterprises, such as commercial fishing. In lay historian Halminen’s history of Sointula, published as early as 1936, one can find an extract where he acknowledges the ‘Namgis presence on Malcolm Island prior to Finns’ arrival, but predicts that only Finns will have continuing existence there:

[A]n island, where only the nearby Nimpkish [anglicized form of the ‘Namgis] tribe has for centuries carved their big canoes from cedarwood, first with stone axes and later with white man’s working tools, where young, tall, slender cedar trees and their bark have earlier provided useful material to Indians to make baskets, bed bases and wigwams’ dirt floors etc. ... From there, Indians have also taken the fine cedarwood needed to carve their handsome totem poles. ... Kalevan Kansa (the Nation of Kaleva) was thus not the first one to settle in Malcolm Island, but only a Finn has left a permanent mark there.⁷¹

In a similar vein, author Kalevi Kalemaa writes in Matti Kurikka’s biography about the relationship between Finns and ‘Namgis as follows:

Matti Kurikka made Indians take him by boat from Alert Bay to Malcolm Island and found it as ideal for the location of the colony. ... There was a small Indian tribe living in the other end of the island, using the

name Na-na-tla-ka-gu of the island, meaning To lay on one's back, waiting for the wind to settle. Kurikka christened the place as Malkosaari and decided to purchase the ownership of the colony.⁷²

As neighborly as Finns' and 'Namgis's relationship might have been, in this excerpt the power of the settler over the Indigenous group is evident: not only does Kurikka expect members of the 'Namgis to provide him transportation to Malcolm Island but he also assumes as his right to rename the island (to "christen" it), thereby erasing the original Native name.

Of course, Finnish settlers also encountered other ethnic groups in their areas of settlement. The arrival of Finns in the utopian settlements took place within the racist settler colonial project, where white Europeans were preferred, and their settlement was supported by the local administrators.⁷³ Historian J. Donald Wilson specifically highlights how the local newspapers in British Columbia considered Finnish migrants desirable. He cites several newspapers published around the time of Sointula's establishment that supported Finns' settlement plans. Finns were described as "very desirable emigrants" and "an excellent class of people"—one newspaper even goes on to state that "we could not, outside of Great Britain and Ireland, get a more desirable lot of settlers."⁷⁴ Also, Lähteenmäki, writing about Finns in Argentina, cites at length newspaper articles that favored Finnish migrants' arrival in the country:

Already months before the arrival of Finns in Argentina, the biggest newspapers *La Nación* and *La Prensa* had published praising stories about Finnish migrants whom they expected to come. According to *La Nación*, the arrival of Finns was an event with a great meaning. ... Even more admiring tone can be found in *La Prensa* ...: "This [Finnish migration] is a new and important ingredient, that is now coming to our country, because Finns are physically one of the most beautiful nations in Europe, they are at high moral level, possess vigilant intelligence ..."⁷⁵

Not citing any original sources, Peltoniemi writes about the Finnish settlement in the Dominican Republic in a similar manner: "Villa Vásquez was going to be an example for other migrants. Light skinned migrants from the faraway North were valued. Artturi Sonni, who later became the leading figure in the community, noted that they

were wanted to replace the ‘Dominican population that was found to be unenterprising, reluctant and weak.’”⁷⁶ Historian Eevaleena Melkas briefly notes how the establishment of Villa Vásquez in the Dominican Republic took place in the context of racist migration policies favoring European migrants.⁷⁷ However, she also writes, reiterating the racist vocabulary of the early 20th century, how “Finns were seen as representing one of the purest white races in Europe” whose presence would “remedy the imbalance prevalent in the island caused by black Haitians. ... [A]ttracting Finnish migrants to the country was deemed important [for] their white, pure Aryan race and civilization.”⁷⁸ When these descriptions are presented without proper contextualization in the racist ideology underpinning the settler colonial projects and the increasingly restrictive migration policies in North America, the racial hierarchies become naturalized as the “neutral” setting in which Finns realized their migration and settlement plans.

Furthermore, considering that Finns’ status as “white” migrants in North America was occasionally questioned, as the pseudoscientific racial theories of the era categorized Finns as racially other, related to Mongolians,⁷⁹ it becomes all the more curious how the descriptions of Finnish settlements lack critical reference to the racial hierarchies originating from colonialism and slavery. This is interesting when one observes from glimpses in the historical publications that Finns were often quite aware of the local racial hierarchies and their own position within these hierarchies. For example, in his article about Sointula, Wilson cites Kurikka’s letter to his daughter in April 1901: “There is an attempt being made here ... to exclude the Chinese and Japanese from the labour market. If that happens, Finnish immigrants will have lots of work.”⁸⁰ Thus, Kurikka was aware of the racist policies geared toward Asian origin migrants in North America and that Finns could potentially benefit from these policies. However, the ways in which Finns both adopted racist vocabularies and practices of the era and were targets of such racialized categorizations remain, by and large, unaddressed in the studies that I examined.

Utopias as Failures

Even though Finnish utopian settlers benefitted in many ways from European colonial exploits, it is clear from the historical studies that the settlers faced various hardships in the colonies. Most utopian set-

tlements lasted only for a short time, a couple of years, before collapsing, often due to economic difficulties and internal disputes. Indeed, the impression that the reader gets from the publications that I studied for this chapter is that the utopias were doomed from the start because the settlers were ill-equipped to deal with the conditions found in the remote destination areas. The challenging conditions aggravated social tensions in the settlements. In most cases, the Finnish settlements did not, however, entirely disappear despite the collapse of the utopian enterprises; while their communities may have fallen apart, many settlers still decided to stay in place, eking out livelihood in any way they could. Many Finnish settlers in South America were found to be destitute later in the 20th century and some received financial assistance from Finland. For instance, the situation of Finnish migrants in Colonia Finlandesa in Argentina became more widely known in Finland in the 1970s, thanks to the Finnish Seamen's Mission in Buenos Aires that started to organize relief work with organizations in Finland. Later the state of Finland also financially assisted the impoverished residents of Colonia Finlandesa, as most of the migrants were still Finnish citizens.⁸¹ Thus, as Hollsten and Tuori point out, if the criterion for qualifying as settler colonialism is gaining economic and political power in the country of destination, then the Finnish utopian settlements hardly filled this qualification.⁸² However, as noted before, without the settler colonial project, Finns would not have been able to migrate to these areas in the first place, to take the lands and try to make them their own, even if they failed eventually. Moreover, Finns who did stay in the colonies "adapted to the local settler colonial regimes."⁸³

The history books studied here largely deemed the utopian settlements as failures. For example, migration historian Reino Kero bluntly describes Sointula as a "miserably failed dream."⁸⁴ According to Karl Hardy, the reason for utopias usually ending as failures lies in the weaknesses of the humankind: "It seems impossible to construct a unified 'we,' without stepping outside of history and neglecting the realities of difference. Utopia, or more accurately, eutopia (the good place) for some appears to be inescapably dystopian, or, minimally, less-than-eutopia, for others."⁸⁵ Thus, as utopias are about "social dreaming,"⁸⁶ this social experiment inevitably brings along frictions, as forming a community is about including some while excluding others. In the case of settler societies, the utopian settlements occasionally turned out to be dystopias for the settlers.

Finnish utopian settlements were labeled as utopian because of a presence of a charismatic leader and being based on an expressed ideology, or a mixture of ideologies. However, individual migrants within the utopian societies may have had various motives for moving to the colony. Many joined the utopias simply to improve their lot in life. This begs the question: how different were the utopian settlements, in the end, from “regular” migration? Are they called utopias *because* they failed?⁸⁷ If the colonies had been successful, it is unlikely that scholars would treat them as fascinating curiosities in the history of Finnish migration. Moreover, it may well be that the figure of a failed and impoverished utopian migrant does not fit the idea of a settler colonizer ruling over colonized lands and peoples. At the same time, the narrative of failure may further prevent scholars from making the explicit connection between Finnish utopian settlements and settler colonialism.

Scholars have still tried to carve out a deeper meaning for the Finnish utopian settlements. Peltoniemi, for example, writes in the concluding chapter of his book as follows:

Even though the Finnish utopian communities failed in their experiments, it does not matter that much. ... [T]he communities fell apart after filling their purpose. ... Utopian communities ... are signs of humans’ desire for something higher. ... Members of utopian communities recognize that they are part of the humankind and the process of change that everyone can influence a little if they want to. Utopian societies ... emphasize humans’ possibilities to make a difference.⁸⁸

Thus, according to Peltoniemi, the Finnish utopian settlements were expressions of human desire for a higher meaning, and since they managed to fulfill that desire, however imperfectly, the fact that the experiments failed was less important. Peltoniemi’s text is a good example of modernist thinking, imbued with ideas of hope, progress, and human improvement, where utopias have been considered as examples of human’s ambition toward something greater.⁸⁹ What is apparent in Peltoniemi’s statement is the erasure of the Indigenous perspective: the establishment of the European utopian settlements certainly meant immensely much for the Indigenous peoples. Thus, Peltoniemi’s text ends up normalizing the racialized hierarchy where the experiences of Indigenous groups were deemed insignificant, barely worth a mention.

Conclusion

In recent years, postcolonial and decolonial scholars have pointed to the serious limitations in the concept of utopia because of its roots in modernist thinking. There have been calls to decolonize (or indigenize) utopias “according to the terms and imaginings of what specific indigenous communities envisage their future to be.”⁹⁰ To decolonize utopia means destabilizing and rearticulating the basic tenets of the current utopian narratives, tied as they are to coloniality and modernity. As Hardy notes, “a meaningful attending to Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies – on their terms, as fully-human subjects – requires the fundamental displacement of utopian studies discourses.”⁹¹

This chapter has shown that the modernist way of thinking about utopia penetrates Finnish studies on utopian settlements. Because a critical perspective on the embeddedness of Finnish migration in the histories of colonialism is missing, the depoliticized approach to utopian settlements lives on. This can be seen, for example, in stories about these settlements that appear in the Finnish media in regular intervals.⁹² The utopian settlements continue to fascinate journalists and readers alike, but the settler colonial context remains unmentioned. In addition, one can occasionally find news about Westerners’ new plans of starting utopian settlements, harking back to the earlier settler colonial narratives.⁹³ Hardy uses the concept of *settler ecotopianism* to refer to the ways in which Westerners continue to appropriate Indigenous cultures to “escape from the alienation experienced by the urban industrial white settler society.”⁹⁴ As such dreams of an escape do not attempt to decolonize utopian narratives, they end up “contributing to the naturalization, perpetuation, and otherwise sustainment of white supremacist settler colonialism.”⁹⁵

The studies analyzed in this chapter have provided crucial information about the histories of Finnish utopian settlements in various locations. Like all literature, they are products of their own times and reflect the epistemologies of the field during the time of publication. Today, within the calls for decolonizing knowledge production in academia, it is important to rethink Finnish migration history from a perspective that questions the earlier ways of producing knowledge.

Notes

- 1 Koivunen and Rastas, “Suomalaisen historian tutkimuksen uusi käänne?”
- 2 Keskinen, “Intra-Nordic Differences”; Hollsten and Tuori, “Avoin ja vapaa kaikille”; Korhonen, “Tulinen Amerikan kiihko.”
- 3 Wekker, *White Innocence*, 16–18.
- 4 Keskinen, “Intra-Nordic Differences.”
- 5 E.g., Loftsdóttir and Jensen, *Whiteness and Postcolonialism*; Lahti and Kullaa, “Kolonialismi ja Suomi.”
- 6 Vuorela, “Colonial Complicity.”
- 7 Keskinen, “Intra-Nordic Differences,” 164.
- 8 Mayblin and Turner, *Migration Studies and Colonialism*, 26–34.
- 9 Quijano, “Coloniality of Power,” 548.
- 10 Quijano, “Coloniality of Power”; Bhambra, *Rethinking Modernity*; Mignolo, “DELINKING.”
- 11 Mayblin and Turner, *Migration Studies and Colonialism*, 3.
- 12 The publications that I reviewed for this chapter include: Eklund, *Builders of Canada*; Fish, *Dreams of Freedom*; Halminen, *Sointula*; Hollsten and Tuori, “Avoin ja vapaa kaikille”; Kalemaa, *Matti Kurikka: Legenda jo eläessään*; Kero, *Suomalaisina Pohjois-Amerikassa*; Kero, *Suureen Länteen*; Koivukangas, *Kaukomaiden kaipuu*; Kolehmainen, “Harmony Island”; Korhonen, “Tulinen Amerikan kiihko”; Korkiasaari, *Suomalaiset maailmalla*; Lindström, “Utopia for Women?”; Lähteenmäki, *Colonia Finlandesa*; Melkas, *Kaikkoavat paratiisit*; Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*; Raivio, *Kanadan suomalaisten historia*; Saikku, “Utopians and Utilitarians”; Salo, “The Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company”; Wilson, “Never Believe What You Have Never Doubted.”
- 13 Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*, 13.
- 14 Peltoniemi has, indeed, included one settlement in Finland in his list of Finnish utopian settlements. I will briefly discuss this point later in this chapter.
- 15 When compared to Peltoniemi’s listing, Korkiasaari leaves out Sierra Leone (1792), the Red Deer initiative in Alberta, Canada (1899), Paradiso in French Riviera (1925), Jad Hashmona in Israel (1971), and Emmaus in Finland (1977). Korkiasaari, *Suomalaiset maailmalla*, 53–72.
- 16 The largest group listed as utopian was Finnish migrants moving to the Soviet Union from Finland and North America in the 1930s. Approximately 15,000 migrated from Finland and several thousands (6,000–8,000) from the United States or Canada. This migration has been studied extensively, e.g., by Auvo Kostiaainen (see, e.g., Kostiaainen, *Loikkaarit*). Scholars note that while migrants had various motives for moving to the Soviet Union, many followed the utopian ideal of building a socialist paradise (e.g., Korkiasaari, *Suomalaiset maailmalla*, 71).
- 17 Korkiasaari, *Suomalaiset maailmalla*, 53.
- 18 E.g., Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*, 9; Koivukangas, *Kaukomaiden kaipuu*, 241. Peltoniemi’s book continues to be the most frequently cited study on the topic.
- 19 “Utopia-ajattelun punainen lanka on inhimillisen täydellisyys tavoittelu.” Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*, 9.
- 20 Grönholm and Paalumäki, “Nostalgian ja utopian risteyksessä.”

- 21 Sargent, *Utopianism*, 21.
- 22 Cf. Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia*.
- 23 Darian-Smith, "Decolonising Utopia," 169–71.
- 24 Sargent, "Colonial and Postcolonial Utopias," 202.
- 25 Hardy, "Unsettling Hope," 1.
- 26 Hardy, "Unsettling Hope," 12; see also Vieira, "The Concept of Utopia."
- 27 Hardy, "Unsettling Hope," 81.
- 28 Darian-Smith, "Decolonising Utopia," 169.
- 29 "Sekä utopia että muutos, siirtolaisuus, ovat ihmiselämän peruskategorioita." Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*, 11.
- 30 Koivunen and Rastas, "Suomalaisen historian tutkimuksen uusi käänne," 428–29.
- 31 For a brief review of research on Sointula, see Saikku, "Utopians and Utilitarians," 4. See also Hollsten and Tuori, "Avoim ja vapaa kaikille," 495.
- 32 E.g., Wilson, "Never Believe What You Have Never Doubted"; Wilson, "Matti Kurikka: Finnish-Canadian Intellectual"; Kalemaa, *Matti Kurikka*; Lindström, "Utopia for Women?"; Heimo et al. "Matti Kurikka."
- 33 Sargent argues that while settler colonies produced "dystopias" for Indigenous groups, "the cultures being destroyed were given a utopian hue." See Sargent, *Utopianism*, 51–53. However, Hardy criticizes Sargent's use of the term dystopia because, by doing so, he defers "Indigenous concerns via the consignment of Indigenous peoples to the past, or [rejects] contemporary Indigeneity as inauthentic on the very basis of their experience of colonialism." See Hardy, "Unsettling Hope," 141–45.
- 34 "(U)udisasukkaiksi lähtevät katsoivat Suomen nyt saaneen eräänlaisen 'siirtomaan', yltäkylläisten mahdollisuuksien eldoradon." Lähtenmäki, *Colonia Finlandesa*, 161.
- 35 "Voimme kai tässä yhteydessä puhua neitseellisen maan vetovoimasta." Lähtenmäki, *Colonia Finlandesa*, 161.
- 36 "Siirtolaisuustutkimus askaroi yleensä käsiteparilla 'lähtömaan työntö' ja 'kohdemaan veto'. Utopiasiiirtolaisuuden osalta ne eivät ole kovin tärkeitä. Muuton syy oli lähtijöiden mielessä, aatteessa sinänsä, ei niinkään maassa eikä matkan päässä. ... Tärkeää oli ... nimenomaan siirtolaisuus, lähtö mahdollisimman kauas ... saarille tai viidakkoihin." Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*, 216–17.
- 37 "Erikoislaatuisuutensa vuoksi ne ovat kuitenkin kiehtoneet sitäkin enemmän sekä aikalaisiaan että jälkipolvia." Korkiasaari, *Suomalaiset maailmalla*, 53.
- 38 For Kurikka's nationalism, see, e.g., Wilson, "Matti Kurikka," 56. Peltoniemi categorizes, e.g., the Itabo community in Cuba, the New Finland initiative in Red Deer, Alberta, Canada, and Colonia Finlandesa in Misiones, Argentina as settlements founded on nationalist ideals. Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*, 13. On the plans of founding "New Finland" in Red Deer, see, e.g., Pedersen, "Wherever Two or Three Are Gathered."
- 39 Fingerroos, *Karjala utopiana*, 25; Grönholm and Paalumäki, "Nostalgian ja utopian risteyksessä," 9–10.
- 40 Quoted in Wilson, "Never Believe What You Have Never Doubted," 132. Wilson cites Salo, "The Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company," 249. Italics added by

- Wilson. It is unclear who originally translated Kurikka's letter from Finnish to English.
- 41 See, e.g., Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*, 12–13; Lähtenmäki, *Colonia Finlandesa*, 80–86; Koivukangas, *Kaukomaiden kaipuu*, 241–50.
- 42 Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*, 204–14.
- 43 Hardy, “Unsettling Hope,” 57.
- 44 Peltoniemi *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*, 12–13.
- 45 Sysser, “Unelmointia keinotekoisessa luonnossa.”
- 46 Kaartinen, *Neekerikammo*.
- 47 Sysser, “Unelmointia keinotekoisessa luonnossa.”
- 48 Hollsten and Tuori, “Avoin ja vapaa kaikille,” 499.
- 49 Hollsten and Tuori, “Avoin ja vapaa kaikille,” 499.
- 50 Korhonen, “Tulinen Amerikan kiihko,” 517.
- 51 Korhonen, “Tulinen Amerikan kiihko,” 516.
- 52 Saikku, “Utopians and Utilitarians,” 12.
- 53 Saikku, “Utopians and Utilitarians,” 12.
- 54 E.g., Raivio, *Kanadan suomalaisten historia*, 390.
- 55 Saikku, “Utopians and Utilitarians,” 16.
- 56 “Se juuri on suuren luonnon tunnusmerkki, että se lyö mitättömäksi kaikki entiset suuruutemme. Itsensä ylpeän ihmisen se iskee ihan maata vasten ensinnä, kunnes taas vähitellen hänet kohottaa jaloilleen, vuodattaen häneen omaa suuruuttaan.” McKela, “Koti-juttuja Sointulasta.”
- 57 Korhonen, “Tulinen Amerikan kiihko,” 520.
- 58 Hollsten and Tuori, “Avoin ja vapaa kaikille,” 497–98.
- 59 Darian-Smith, “Decolonising Utopia,” 170.
- 60 Hardy, “Unsettling Hope,” 5.
- 61 Hardy, “Unsettling Hope,” 18.
- 62 E.g., Hollsten and Tuori, “Avoin ja vapaa kaikille,” 502. One must note that in the earlier studies on Finnish utopian settlements, published before the 2000s, it was not uncommon to refer to local groups with labels that reproduced racist vocabulary of the era; for example, Koivukangas referred to local “mestizo” groups as “half-blooded” (*puoliverinen*). For instance, in one of few instances in which he described Finns’ relationships with other groups in the area, he noted that “Finns exercised free social life with mestizo and other half-blooded women, but they were considered as untrustworthy as housekeepers.” (“Suomalaiset harrastivat tosin vapaata yhdyselämää mestitsien ja muiden puoliveristen naisten kanssa, mutta heidät katsottiin taloudenhoitajina epäluotettaviksi.”) Koivukangas, *Kaukomaiden kaipuu*, 256–57.
- 63 “Esikuvia on haettu Polynesian saarilta tai intiaanien, ‘viattomien veljien’ parista.” Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*, 217.
- 64 Sargent, *Utopianism*, 53.
- 65 Lahtinen, “Matkoja mahdolliseen,” 218.
- 66 “Se oli lähes asumaton lukuunottamatta neljää perhekkunutta intiaaneja.” Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*, 43. Also Kalevi Kalemaa states that there was “a small Indian tribe” living on Malcolm Island. See Kalemaa, *Matti Kurikka*, 152.
- 67 Saikku, “Utopians and Utilitarians,” 14.

- 68 Citations, originally published in *Aika* in 1903–1904 and translated into English, can be found in Saikku, “Utopians and Utilitarians,” 14–15.
- 69 Saikku, “Utopians and Utilitarians,” 25; Hollsten and Tuori, “Avoin ja vapaa kaikille,” 498.
- 70 Kuortti, Lehtonen and Löytty, *Kolonialismin jäljet*; Keskinen, “Intra-Nordic Differences,” 167; Hollsten and Tuori, “Avoin ja vapaa kaikille,” 498.
- 71 “[S]aari, missä vaan läheisen Nimpkish-heimon intiaanit ovat vuosisatoja kovertaneet seetripuusta suuret kanoottinsa ensin kivikirveillä ja myöhemmin valkea miehen työaseilla, missä nuoret, pitkät, solakat seetrit ja niiden kuoret ovat ennen muinoin olleet käytännöllistä tarveainetta intiaanien korien tekoon, vuoteitten alustoiksi ja wigvamien maalattioitten peitteiksi y.m. ... Sieltä ovat intiaanit myöskin saaneet Alert Bayhin pystyttämänsä komeat totem-patsaat, niiden veistämiseen tarvittavat jalot seetrit. ... Kalevan Kansa ei siis ollut ensimmäinen, joka Malkosaarelle tuli kotiansa perustamaan, mutta ainoastaan suomalainen on sinne pysyväisen jälkensä jättänyt.” Halminen, *Sointula*, 23, 25.
- 72 “Alert Bay’sta Kurikka soudatti itsensä intiaaneilla Malcolm Islandiin ja totesi sen ihanteelliseksi siirtolan paikaksi. ... Saaren toisessa päässä asui pieni intiaaniheimo, joka käytti saaresta nimitystä Na-na-tla-ka-gu eli Maata selällään ja odottaa tuulen tyyntymistä. Kurikka risti paikan Malkosaareksi ja päätti hankkia sen siirtolan omistuksen.” Kalemaa, *Matti Kurikka*, 152.
- 73 Hollsten and Tuori, “Avoin ja vapaa kaikille,” 497–98.
- 74 Wilson, “Never Believe What You Have Never Doubted,” 136.
- 75 “Jo kuukausia ennen suomalaisten tuloa Argentiinaan suurimmissa sanomalehdissä La Naciónissa ja La Prensassa oli esiintynyt ylistävät kirjoitukset odotettavissa olevista suomalaissiirtolaisista. La Naciónin mukaan suomalaisten tulo oli todella suurimerkityksellinen tapahtuma. ... Vieläkin ihannoivampi sävy oli ollut La Prensan julkaisemassa kirjoituksessa ...: ‘Tämä on uusi ja tärkeä aines, joka täten tulee maahamme, sillä suomalaiset ovat fyysisesti eräs Euroopan kauneimmista kansoista, ovat korkealla moraalaisella tasolla, omistavat valppaan älyn.’” Lähteenmäki, *Colonia Finlandesa*, 170. Italics added.
- 76 “Villa Väsquezista piti tehdä esimerkki muille siirtolaisille. Kaukaa pohjolasta tulleita vaaleaihoisia siirtolaisia pidettiin arvossa. Siirtolan johtohahmoksi myöhemmin nousut Artturi Sonni katsoi, että heidät tahdottiin maahan ‘aloitkevyyttömäksi, haluttomaksi ja heikoksi osoittautuneen dominiikaniväestön sijalle.” Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*, 143.
- 77 Melkas, *Kaikkoavat paratiisit*, 42.
- 78 “Heidän katsottiin edustavan yhtä Euroopan puhtaimmista valkoisista roduista ja olevan ratkaisu siirtolaisuuden ongelmaan, minkä tavoitteena oli korjata saarella vallitseva mustien haittilaisten aiheuttama epätasapaino. ... [S]uomalaisten siirtolaisten saamista pidettiin tärkeänä ja ... korostettiin näiden valkoista puhdasta arjalaista rotua ja sivistystä.” Melkas, *Kaikkoavat paratiisit*, 208, 210.
- 79 Kivisto and Leinonen, “Representing Race.” See also Huhta, “Toward a Red Melting Pot.”
- 80 Wilson, “Never Believe What You Have Never Doubted,” 137.
- 81 Koivukangas, *Kaukomaiden kaipuu*, 266–67.
- 82 Hollsten and Tuori, “Avoin ja vapaa kaikille,” 505.
- 83 Keskinen, “Intra-Nordic Differences,” 170.

- 84 “Sointula oli surkeasti epäonnistunut haave.” Kero, *Suomalaisina Pohjois-Amerikassa*, 79.
- 85 Hardy, “Unsettling Hope,” 8–9.
- 86 Sargent, *Utopianism*, 5.
- 87 Janne Lahti posed this question to me at a seminar dedicated to this book on April 20, 2021, and I would like to thank him for this thought.
- 88 “Vaikka suomalaisten ihanneyhteisöt epäonnistuivat kokeiluissaan, sillä ei ole suurta merkitystä. ... [Y]hteisöt hajosivat kun ne olivat täyttäneet oman tehtävänsä. ... Utopiayhteisöt ... ovat merkkejä ihmisen pyrkimyksestä korkeampaan. ... Utopiayhteisön jäsen tunnustaa olevansa osana ihmiskuntaa ja muutosprosessia, johon jokainen pystyy halutessaan hitusen vaikuttamaan. Utopiayhteiskunnat ... korostavat ihmisen vaikuttamismahdollisuuksia.” Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa*, 221.
- 89 Lahtinen, “Matkoja mahdolliseen,” 188.
- 90 Darian-Smith, “Decolonising Utopia,” 177.
- 91 Hardy, “Unsettling Hope,” 162.
- 92 Fogelholm and Landström, “Kalevan kansan luvattu saari”; Kokko, “Pieni Suomi viidakossa”; Fogelholm, “Penedon kadotetun paratiisin pelasti turismi”; *Yle Areena*, “Suomalaisten utopiayhteisöjen historiaa”; Fogelholm, “Argentiinan aarniometsissä mureni jopa suomalainen sisu”; Fogelholm, “Kalifornian suomalaisutopia kaatui osaamattomuuteen ja pula-aikaan”; Lyytinen, “Sosialismia, Jumalan sanaa ja alastomuutta”; Vainio and Siniauer, “Sen piti olla paratiisi”.
- 93 Lyytinen, “Toivo lähti nudistiksi Brasiliaan.”
- 94 Hardy, “Unsettling Hope,” 13.
- 95 Hardy, “Unsettling Hope,” 114. See also Higgins, “Lifestyle Migration and Settler Colonialism.”

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