

Introduction: Finns and the Settler Colonial Worlds of North America

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Frank Aaltonen made a 40-acre homestead claim on Sugar Island, Michigan, in September 1915. In doing so, he joined the millions of settlers who had taken Indigenous lands through homesteading since the famous 1862 act that opened land for settlers in the continental United States.¹ Declaring himself a Finnish colonizer, Aaltonen wanted to advance United States settler colonialism on this northern island hugging the Canadian border. His method: promote and enable the arrival of Finns, who would capture lands and replace the Indigenous inhabitants. Aaltonen saw that Finnish settlers would put the land to proper use and build prosperous communities.² It was in considerably hotter climates in July 1903 that the Finnish journalist Eero Erkko had landed in Havana, Cuba. An exile from tsarist Russia and an outsider in the Caribbean, Erkko's mission was nevertheless much the same as Aaltonen's. He was in Cuba to make inroads for United States settler communities on the island by scouting suitable land for incoming Finns. Recently conquered from Spain, Cuba presented a plausible overseas extension for white settlement and futures for the US settler

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colonial empire. And in this process Finns would play a key role, Erkkö envisioned.³ Aaltonen and Erkkö, respectively, saw that Sugar Island and Cuba would provide the kind of fertile pastures the Finns deserved as colonizers in North America.

Little more than a decade ago Danish historian Pernille Ipsen and Swedish historian Gunlög Fur wrote how “histories of colonial domination awaken in many Scandinavians hope that our ancestors did not participate in that soiled and sordid past, and a desire to believe that Scandinavian nations have always been defending the world’s diversely oppressed and colonised peoples.” Ipsen and Fur quickly remarked that history had proven that the “slate” was far from clean, as Denmark, Norway, and Sweden had been deeply involved in European expansion and colonialism.⁴ The above example of Aaltonen and Erkkö suggests the same for Finns: revealing active Finnish engagement in the colonization of American spaces, of Finns embedded in the capture of other people’s lands and coveting an active role in the extension of US settler colonial empire on the continent and overseas. It puts Finnish presence in North America in a fresh perspective, as settlers, not just as immigrants. Settlers were made by conquest, not just by immigration. Settlers not only joined or integrated into someone else’s society but sought to displace previous residents, capture terrestrial spaces, and remake what they found as their own.⁵ Settlers functioned as a “supplanting society,” which means “a society that moves onto the land of another with the intention of making that land its own.”⁶ In the process, settlers sought to indigenize themselves, to hide their traces. Instead of just acknowledging their status as newcomers, they advanced claims over how they made this land and how the land made them, in essence seeking to prove their belonging and their right to the land.

Recently, there has been an increasing debate and an outpour of publications in Finland concerning colonialism and its manifestations and role in Finnish history.⁷ One key theme in this discussion that has not been examined involves the experiences of Finns in the context of North American settler colonialism. This work aims to start filling this gap, challenging traditional histories of Finnish migration, in which Finns have typically been viewed almost in isolation from the broader American context, not to mention colonialism. This book examines the diversity of roles, experiences, and narrations of and by Finns in the histories of North America by employing the settler colonial analytical framework. It takes as its premise that settler colonialism is both

a global historical process connecting peoples across national borders and a distinct analytical category.⁸

The chapters in this volume discuss how Finns reinvented their identities and acted as settlers, participated in the production of settler colonial narratives, benefitted and took advantage of settler colonial conquest and structures, and were impacted by and created settler colonial cultures, material practices, and modes of knowledge production. No other work inserts Finns into these kinds of discussions and circulations, as part of these multilayered structures, processes, and contemporary legacies of North American settler colonialism.

Finns were active in the transimperial processes of conquest, far-settlement, elimination of Natives, and capture of terrestrial spaces; in the characteristic processes of settler colonialism. They dispossessed Natives from their homelands and replaced them. They crossed national and imperial boundaries and acted as connectors and mobile transmitters of practices, ideas, and knowledge. In doing so, they were part of what historian James Belich has called “settler revolutions.” In the 19th century, growing populations, technological changes spurring steamships and railroads, and changing attitudes toward migration made far-settlement acceptable and created conditions for “explosive settlement.” These settler revolutions swept, for example, North America, Australia, Siberia, and Manchuria. They also fueled visions and aspirations of gaining settler living space for Europeans in various parts of Africa, including southern Africa and French Algeria. Yet, the Finnish-speaking subjects of the Swedish crown were also part of an earlier settler invasion in the 1600s, when the reach and scope of settler colonialism might have been more limited across North America, but where its forms of power already shaped encounters between peoples. Finns were also in a visible role in Russian Alaska in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.⁹

Erkko and Aaltonen highlight Finnish settlers’ purported connectivity with particular environments, meaning rural landscapes made up of forests, fields, and wilderness. This is a revealing characterization of Finnish settlers and of the *narrations and myths* surrounding them. It stresses settler colonialism targeting the land in a very concrete manner. Yet, Finns in North America did not share uniform experiences and neither does there exist some static or singular brand of Finnish settler colonial history that could easily be contrasted or compared with other settler groups, in North America or elsewhere.

The chapters in this volume apply multidisciplinary perspectives for exploring this diversity, the multiple levels of Finnish involvement and the multidirectional entanglements of Finns and settler colonialism in lived experience and discourses. Of course, the treatise here is by no means exhaustive, but instead highlights the broad repertoire of Finnish embeddedness and involvement in settler colonial processes, structures, and cultures. The authors do so by discussing settlement plans and communities, settler life writings, cartographic mappings, and fluid contested identities, as in the North American Sami movement. Or, when touching on travel, looted artefacts and repatriation, as in the case of Gustaf Nordenskiöld and the Mesa Verde, or scholarly discourses and fictive depictions of New Sweden and Finnish–Indigenous relations. All along, these chapters uncover connections and track exchanges, wherever they may lead. Their analysis understands connections, like historian Roland Wenzlhuemer notes, as an assemblage of multidirectional linkages arising from diverse and intricate human actions, manifesting multiple voices, engaging numerous sites, and traversing great distances.¹⁰ These kinds of connections are plural, diverse, intricate, and often uneven. They showcase the porousness of borders, shifting identities, and contingency of encounters. They are useful as the authors in this book seek to understand the experiences and representations of Finns in North American spatial projects, in territorial expansion and integration, forms of rule, and visions of power.

Tracking the Settler Colonial World

Often settler colonialism is seen as a special form of colonialism that centers on land. It is typically understood, as its key theorist, the anthropologist Patrick Wolfe, argues, as being preoccupied with replacement and access to territory, the land itself. The settlers are conquering the area in an effort to displace its former inhabitants and root their own community and culture in the area. Wolfe maintains that settler colonialism introduces “a zero-sum contest over land on which conflicting modes of production could not ultimately coexist.” He also argues that consequently settler colonialism is characterized by a “logic of elimination,” a sustained institutional tendency to eliminate the Natives through a variety of measures ranging from assimilation and cultural appropriation to genocidal violence. Wolfe furthermore emphasizes the permanence of settler colonialism, as “settlers

come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event” or a series of isolated events.¹¹ Arguably, settler colonialism shares ground with other forms of colonialism, but it goes beyond the rule of difference, appropriation of material resources, exploitation of labor, and the coercive interference with local political and cultural structures that are so common in many colonial situations.

Principally, settler colonialism is a global historical phenomenon remaking spaces, recalibrating human relations, reinventing connections, and generating unequal power relations. It brings people together across national borders, in conflict, suppression, resistance, and mixing. Settler colonialism blurs the lines between “internal” and “external” so prevalent in national histories and problematizes the ostensibly “national” character of individual empires. As historians Sven Beckert, Antoinette Burton, Jürgen Osterhammel, and others have shown, the 19th-century world was an era of intense transnational and transimperial interconnectedness.¹² It was characterized by movement of peoples and global flows of information, ideas, and knowledge, as well as by imperial comparisons and intense, often violent, rivalries for cultural and military influence that operated on various scales from the local to the global. The transoceanic migrations, the telegraph, and the railroads, for instance, bound the world together in an unprecedented manner. They did so as British, French, German, Dutch, Japanese, and other empires scrambled for Africa, contested for Asia, extended informal influence over South America, and competed over whose explorers would first reach the most remote polar areas, most impenetrable deserts, and highest mountains. Settler colonialism was integral to the making of this competitive, integrated, and interlinked global order: the United States taking over the trans-Mississippi West, British colonists expanding exponentially in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, hundreds of thousands of Europeans imposing a settler society in French Algeria, Russian settler projects remaking the Caucasus and the Siberia, Japanese settler colonialism penetrating Korea and Manchuria, and the Germans initiating settler projects in the German–Polish borderlands and in southwest Africa.¹³

Despite these parallel trajectories of colonialism across the globe, perhaps no other national character was as deeply influenced as the American. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, a distinct “American character” that defined the United States as an exceptional nation was forged. Historians like Frederick Jackson Turner believed that

this special character derived from the westward expansion and the expanding frontier. Others argued that it was the uniquely American ideals of freedom, liberty, and the yeoman farmer, or the declaration of independence and other founding documents of the United States that formed the basis for this uniquely American experiment often described as American exceptionalism.¹⁴

These notions, however, mostly pertain to the United States. In Canada, the uniqueness may derive from the early fur trade that took the French and English to the west and the dependency on other staple products acquired from the vast Canadian wilderness. Maybe it is the 19th-century emergence of a Canada that is a distinctly French *and* English nation, or perhaps it is indeed the relationship to the wilderness that makes Canada special.¹⁵ Or maybe it is the revolution and the detachment from the British crown that makes the United States distinct, a truly American experiment, while Canada has remained an integral part of the British Commonwealth. These classic notions of identity and “American/Canadian character” have, of course, been changed by modern scholarship. Yet, some of these ideas still persist and one that carries through this volume is the quest to understand how Finns fit into the larger narrative and carve out their own version of the American dream and a unique Finnish American exceptionalism.¹⁶

Whatever the assumption or preference is, the unifying theme (force) is immigration and settler colonialism. Scholars may argue about the origins of the American or Canadian character, whether there is one or not, or their uniqueness, but undoubtedly it was the immigration experience that is common for the non-Native people of North America. Immigration does not follow single, easily explained patterns, nor is there a singular, uniform immigrant. In other words, some are preferred as settlers; others are excluded. The Chinese were excluded in the 1880s by a white settler society that did not want them but feared racial mixing and Asian takeover.¹⁷ Northern European immigrants were mostly welcomed in an effort to maintain the whiteness of the North American settler societies. Africans were taken to America against their will to work as slaves, and later their return to Africa was raised as freed Africans were seen as undesirables in a white settler project.¹⁸ Larger national, even transimperial immigration and settlement patterns, policies, and experiences can ultimately be brought down to individual level. What made people move, what pulled or pushed them to leave their homelands to seek an uncertain

future in North America or elsewhere? Indeed, individuals had as many reasons to come to America as there were people on the move. Within the North American settler experience, however, the common thread emerges from the contact and conflict with Native Americans, the capture of lands and of making them one's own. From the earliest contacts to the 21st century, settlers and their descendants have been involved in the colonizing of Indigenous peoples and dispossessing them from their homelands.

Whether knowingly or unknowingly, these individuals have been part of larger colonial processes, defined by manifest destiny, American exceptionalism, or settler colonial frameworks. In their quest for a better life, individuals may not have been interested in or aware of larger ideologies or transnational colonial processes. They may have never questioned their right to acquire "free land," yet they have played a crucial role in the development of the North American settler colonial experience. This book sets out to investigate through these settler colonial and transnational frameworks, where Finns belong in this larger North American narrative, and how Finnish society is connected to it through different threads, how Finns negotiated, benefited from, and had access to these settler colonial spaces. It also aims to highlight whether and how the long-held tradition to emphasize Finns as a different kind of immigrant is indeed more a myth than a reflection of reality. Furthermore, rather than merely exploring whether the idea of Finns as a different kind of immigrant is a myth, this book challenges it in many ways and offers an analysis of the ways in which this myth manifests itself, why it has been upheld to this day, and most importantly how it contributes to settler colonialism in North America and beyond.

Colonial Histories and Finns

Traditional histories examining immigration from Finland to North America have focused on the experiences of individuals and families, and more broadly on the history and experiences of certain Finnish communities and organizations.¹⁹ The approaches and perspectives of these studies have disconnected Finns from broader context of colonial conquest in North America. The traditional and stereotypical narrative proposes that Finns had an exceptional relationship with Indigenous peoples: Finns were compassionate toward the Natives, and

even similar to them, somehow naturally predisposed to sympathize with and understand the Natives. Finns, according to this myth, were something beyond the typical notion of benevolent colonizers, if they were colonizers at all.²⁰ Some elements of this stereotypical notion may carry historical basis, but, like other immigrants, Finns were actively involved in the settler colonial processes, and they played a role in the exploitation of nature and replacement of Indigenous peoples. This book tries, for its part, to decolonize the scholarship on Finnish migration histories, by exposing these foundational myths, by linking the Finnish experience to settler colonialism, and by treating the Finns as settler colonizers, as actively engaging the settler project.²¹

The reasons why historians working on Finnish immigration histories have until recently shied away from analysis of settler colonialism may derive from the general reluctance of approaching Finnish histories as colonial histories or to analyze past Finnish peoples in a colonial framing. As a global historical development, settler colonialism has not usually been associated with Finnish history, and to date hardly any scholars have approached Finnish history, whether its northward expansion or immigration, through the lens of settler colonialism.²² Perhaps they have not seen this relatively new field as an appropriate framing for the analysis of Finland's past. It is also possible that Finnish scholars have consciously rejected all colonial connotations in the national historiography. In this, they reflect a broader Nordic understanding of the past that shies away from colonial analysis, rejects it as improper and unsuited, and clings to notions of "exceptionalism" or "white innocence." These notions connote absence of colonial involvement in Nordic histories, meaning Nordics remain outside colonialism. Or, as Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin attest, they promote views that Nordic "participation in colonial politics was benign and their interactions with the peoples in Africa, Asia and America were gentler and based on collaboration rather than extortion and subjugation."²³ Scholars working on Nordic colonial histories have increasingly questioned this kind of thinking, exposing the rich and complex histories of Nordic colonial involvement around the world.²⁴ They have shown how Nordics actively initiated and participated in colonial projects on their own, in the European north and across the world. They have also shown how Nordic peoples acted and joined the colonial projects of other empires, how they were complicit, benefitted, and now inhabit colonial histories. They have also conducted

comparative studies across national boundaries in order to understand differences and similarities in the national histories of colonialism in the Nordic countries or between Nordic countries and the world.²⁵ Some have also investigated the Nordic experience and legacies in North America via the colonial lens.²⁶

In Finland, Leila Koivunen and Anna Rastas speak of an ongoing “colonial turn” in Finnish historical research, of a fundamental rethinking of national pasts.²⁷ And there certainly seems to be a burgeoning interest for grasping Finnish involvement in colonial ventures, ranging from the transatlantic slave trade and Caribbean slave economies to settler communities in Latin America, mining rushes in southern Africa, and involvement in King Leopold’s Congo.²⁸ Others have discussed colonialism in Finland, from the impact of colonial cultures in Finnish literature and thinking to the conquest of the Arctic north and the Sápmi, and the forced assimilation of Sami peoples.²⁹

All of this remains a contested history, and our book participates in the discussion by questioning the historical roles of Finns in the world and by linking Finland and Finns to the histories of global colonial empires. In this way, our book maps out a difficult and therefore often silenced part of Finnish history in which colonialism has played a significant function.

Finnish Settler America

This book offers a multidisciplinary perspective on understanding and problematizing Finns and North American settler colonialism. The book’s contributors include historians, area and cultural studies scholars, and literary and media scholars. Their chapters present a nuanced, multivocal, and multilayered picture of Finnishness in the settler colonial North America. The book is divided into three overlapping parts that follow the key trajectories of the settler colonialism experience: taking the land, constructing identities, and building narratives and legacies. They expose settler belonging and sense of place as result of contested connections, shifting networks, recalibrated meanings, and ongoing negotiations linking the past and the present. As settler colonialism has never ended in North America, the meaning and position of Finns in the settler colonial past and present remain pertinent, subject to reevaluation and contestation.

Part I: Taking the Land situates Finns in the historical processes of settler colonial land acquisition, knowledge production, and community building; as active participants in a system of power that contributed to the repression and displacement of Indigenous peoples. In “Claims for Space: Unpacking Finnish Geohistorical Imaginations of the United States,” Johanna Skurnik analyzes how, why, and what types of maps and geographical knowledge were used to document and position Finns in America. She shows how knowledge served to naturalize Finnish presence on the continent. Then Justin Gage presents a localized case study of Finnish land grabbing and claims for belonging in the Native spaces on Sugar Island, Michigan. Using digital methods, “Finnish Americanism and Indigenous Land on Sugar Island, Michigan, 1915–1940” investigates dreams of a farming utopia, contested land ownership, ethnic relations, and environmental changes. Taking another view of Finnish settler aspirations and thirst for land is “Some Kind of Eldorado: Eero Erkkö and the Plan for a Finnish Settler Colony in Cuba, 1903–1905.” Here Aleksi Huhta scrutinizes the rhetoric and the processes of colonial planning, as well as Finnish lives on this Caribbean island. Closing the first part is “Finnish Utopian Communities, Historiographies, and Shapes of Settler Colonialism,” where Johanna Leinonen charts Finnish migration histories and the significance of the term “utopian” in this literature. She demonstrates how the absence of a critical perspective in these writings has contributed to the idea of Finland as an “outsider” in the histories of colonialism.

Part II: Contested Identities realigns the discussion toward settler encounters and self-perceptions. These chapters expose shifting, multilayered identities and racist thinking. Sirpa Salenius first dissects the representations of Finnish immigrants in literary fiction in “Building a (White) Nation: Finns in James Kirke Paulding’s *Königsmarke, the Long Finne* (1823).” She looks at how the novel situates Finnish colonizers in early American society as embodiments of white innocence and benevolence. The next chapter, by Rani-Henrik Andersson and Rainer Smedman, builds on Justin Gage’s work in the first part. “Socialist Visions of American Dreams: The Finnish Settler Lives of Oskari Tokoi and Frank Aaltonen” provides a window to settler colonialism through the political activities and perceptions of two Finnish socialists. It looks at how Tokoi and Aaltonen built their identities through movement in transnational frameworks, their relationship to

land and Indigenous peoples, and understanding of settler rights. In “Indigenous and Settler: The North American Sámi Movement,” Erik Hieta probes blurred boundaries of settler and Indigenous identities and meanings, cultural practices, and ways of being in a modern colonial state. He demonstrates the fluidity of ongoing identity construction and how it draws from local and transnational sources spanning North America and Sápmi.

Part III: Settler Narratives and Legacies takes us to the realm of settler writing and memories, ethnic myths, and exploration. In “Life Writing as a Settler Colonial Tool: Finnish Migrant-Settlers Claiming Place and Belonging,” Samira Saramo exposes narrative strategies in Finnish migrant-settler works to better understand the notions of Finnish colonial complicity, exceptionalism, and belonging. Her discussion shows how family histories and autobiographical texts work in a settler colonial system. Also looking at how Finns claim a place in North America by emphasizing their “natural” connection to the environment is “Finns and the Indigenous People in the Great Lakes Region: Playing with Settler Myths in Late 20th- and Early 21st-Century Finnish American Fiction.” Here Roman Kushnir examines the persistent myth of a benevolence and a special relationship between Finnish settlers and the Indigenous peoples in recent literature. Lastly, Janne Lahti tackles settler colonial legacies and disconnects, the looting of Indigenous artefacts and questions of repatriation in “Gustaf Nordenskiöld and the Mesa Verde: Settler Colonial Disconnects and Finnish Colonial Legacies.” He studies Nordenskiöld’s narrations of Indigenous past and presents and local settlers, and his excavations and their relevance and repercussions in the present day.

Notes

- 1 On homesteads in North America, see Cannon, *Reopening the Frontier*; Frymer, *Building an American Empire*; Edwards, Friefeld, and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*.
- 2 See Chapters 2 and 6 in this book.
- 3 See Chapter 3 in this book.
- 4 Ipsen and Fur, "Introduction," 7. See also Naum and Nordin, "Introduction."
- 5 Our definitions of "settlers" draws on Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*; Mamdani, "When Does a Settler Become Native."
- 6 Supplanting society defined in Day, *Conquest*, 5–6.
- 7 See, for example, Merivirta, Koivunen, and Särkkä, *Finnish Colonial Encounters*; Kullaa, Lahti, and Lakomäki, *Kolonialismi Suomen rajaseuduilla*; Keskinen, "Intra-Nordic Differences"; Kullaa and Lahti, "Kolonialismi ja Suomi."
- 8 Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: Theoretical Overview*, especially 3–11; Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*; Lahti, "What Is Settler Colonialism"; Ostler and Shoemaker, "Settler Colonialism."
- 9 Ostler and Shoemaker, "Settler Colonialism." For more on Finns in Alaska see Engman, *Suureen itään*, 353–66; Oinas-Kukkonen, *Finnalaska*.
- 10 Wenzlhuemer, *Doing Global History*, especially 5–12, 19–22.
- 11 Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference," especially 868; Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," especially 388. On settler colonialism as a structure, see also Kauanui, "Structure"; Tuck and Wang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor"; Banivanua Mar and Edmonds, *Making Settler Colonial Space*; Coombes, *Rethinking Settler Colonialism*; Elkins and Pedersen, *Settler Colonialism*; Veracini, "Settler Colonialism: Career of a Concept"; Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present*.
- 12 Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*; Beckert, "American Danger"; Ballantyne and Burton, *Empires and the Reach of the Global*; Rosenberg, *World Connecting*; Hoganson and Sexton, *Crossing Empires*; Kramer, "Power and Connections"; Lahti, *American West and the World*.
- 13 On the settler colonial world, see, for example Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*; Fujikane and Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism*; Uchida, *Brokers of Empire*; Lu, *Making of Japanese Settler Colonialism*; Cavanagh and Veracini, *Routledge Handbook*; Castellanos, "Settler Colonialism in Latin America"; Barclay, "Settler Colonialism and French Algeria."
- 14 The quest to understand the American mind, exceptionalism, and special character were key issues for early American Studies scholars such as Vernon Louis Parrington, Henry Nash Smith, and Leo Marx. See Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*; Smith, *Virgin Land*; Marx, *Machine in the Garden*. The debate is still ongoing and for more recent scholarly works see, for example, Maddox, *Locating American Studies*; Deloria and Olson, *American Studies Guide*. For a Finnish perspective, see Andersson and Kekki, "Disciplinary Crossroads."
- 15 For the Staples theory and Laurentian thesis as explanation to the Canadian experience see, Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*; Creighton, *Empire of the St. Lawrence*; Bonnett, *Emergence and Empire*.
- 16 For newer analysis see, for example, Fleegler, *Ellis Island Nation*; Parker, *Making Foreigners*; Fedorowich and Thompson, *Empire, Migration, and Identity*.

- 17 See, for example, Chang, *Pacific Connections*; Lahti, *American West and the World*; Lee, *At America's Gates*; Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*.
- 18 Miles, "Beyond a Boundary"; Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa*.
- 19 Some works in this category include Kero, *Migration from Finland*; Kero, *Suomalaisina Pohjois-Amerikassa*; Roinila, *Finland-Swedes in Michigan*; Kostiainen, *Finns in the United States*; Kostiainen, *Finnish Identity in America*.
- 20 Huhta, *Toward a Red Melting Pot*, 389–94; Huhta, "Claiming Roots." See Chapters 2, 5, and 7 in this volume.
- 21 On decolonizing scholarship, see Kauanui, "Structure"; Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*; Wekker, *White Innocence*.
- 22 For exceptions, see Lahti, "Settler Colonial Eyes"; Kuokkanen, "Pohjoismainen asuttajakolonialismi."
- 23 Naum and Nordin, "Introduction," 4. See also Fur, "Colonialism and Swedish History"; Fur, "Colonial Fantasies." On white innocence in the Dutch colonial context, see Wekker, *White Innocence*.
- 24 Kjerland and Bertelsen, *Navigating Colonial Orders*; Fur and Hennessey, "Svensk kolonialism"; Kullaa and Lahti, "Kolonialismi ja Suomi"; Höglund and Burnett, "Nordic Colonialisms"; Gulløv et al., *Danmark og Kolonierne*; Loftsdóttir, *Crisis and Coloniality*.
- 25 Vuorela, "Colonial Complicity"; Höglund and Andersson Burnett, "Nordic Colonialisms"; Loftsdóttir and Jensen, *Whiteness and Postcolonialism*; Fur, *Colonialism in the Margins*; Lakomäki, Kylli, and Ylimaunu, "Drinking Colonialism."
- 26 Fur, "Colonial Fantasies"; Sverdljuk, Joranger, Jackson, and Kivisto, *Nordic Whiteness*; Hjorthén, *Cross-Border Commemorations*; Blanck and Hjorthén, *Swedish-American Borderlands*.
- 27 Koivunen and Rastas, "Suomalaisen historian tutkimuksen uusi käänne?"; Keskinen, "Intra-Nordic Differences."
- 28 Aaltonen and Sivonen, *Orjia ja isäntiä*; Särkkä, "Imperialists"; Särkkä, "Kolonialismin toiseus"; Aaltonen and Sivonen, *Kongon Akseli*; Hollsten and Tuori, "Avoin ja vapaa kaikille."
- 29 See, for example, Kullaa, Lahti and Lakomäki, *Kolonialismi Suomen rajaseuduilla*; Kortekangas, *Language, Citizenship, and Sámi Education*; Ranta and Kanninen, *Vastatuuleen*; Lakomäki, Aalto, and Kylli, "Näkymättömissä ja kuulumattomissa?"; Nyyssönen, "Sami Counter-Narratives"; Lehtola, "Sámi Histories."

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