



This is a repository copy of *Eastern Europe : the 'other' geographies in the colonial global economy*.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:
<https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/185587/>

Version: Published Version

Article:

Balogun, B. orcid.org/0000-0001-7476-1708 (2022) Eastern Europe : the 'other' geographies in the colonial global economy. *Area*, 54 (3). pp. 460-467. ISSN 0004-0894

<https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12792>

Reuse

This article is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) licence. This licence allows you to distribute, remix, tweak, and build upon the work, even commercially, as long as you credit the authors for the original work. More information and the full terms of the licence here:
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/>

Takedown

If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.



eprints@whiterose.ac.uk
<https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/>



ARTICLE

Eastern Europe: The ‘other’ geographies in the colonial global economy

Bolaji Balogun 

Geography, Faculty of Social Sciences,
The University of Sheffield, Sheffield,
UK

Correspondence

Bolaji Balogun, Geography, Faculty
of Social Sciences, The University of
Sheffield, Sheffield, UK.

Email: b.balogun@sheffield.ac.uk

Funding information

This work was funded by the
Leverhulme Trust (Grant number
ECF-2020-080) and the University of
Sheffield, UK.

Abstract

This article engages with the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and its entanglement with the maintenance of the transatlantic colonial economy established by its powerful imperial neighbours. In doing so, the article signals an argument that the processes of the colonial global economy cannot be reduced to the West, but are also essential in the development of ‘other’ European geographies that have been thought of as detached, non-complicit and irrelevant to transatlantic narratives of slavery and empires. The focus here is directed towards the benefits of ‘associated trades’ that, when viewed through Charles Mills’s ‘racial contract’ framework, offer an alternative *longue durée* of connected geographies that makes visible Eastern Europe’s links to the benefits of the colonial global economy.

KEYWORDS

colonial global economy, Eastern Europe, ‘other’ geographies, Poland

1 | INTRODUCTION

Over recent years, interest in Charles Mills’s *The Racial Contract* (1997) has risen across different nations and has continued to gain prominence following Mills’s demise in 2021. This article advances an understanding of the ‘racial contract’ in Eastern Europe. The ‘racial contract’, as a conceptual framework, offers an understanding of the mutually constitutive nature of contractual agreements. Often discussed in relation to the works of Enlightenment contractarians – Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and Kant – the ‘racial contract’ provides a conceptual account of white supremacy that is partly rooted in economic arrangements based on consensual agreements. The heyday of that contract tradition was between 1650 and 1800 (Mills, 1997, p. 5). The tradition took different forms that included ‘class contract’, ‘sexual contract’, and ‘colonial contract’, all pointing to the maintenance of a subordinated group. Using the concept of white supremacy, Mills delineates a socio-political configuration that is set to benefit the white majority, but seems inapplicable in Eastern Europe. However, when viewed via the benefits of ‘associated trades’, the ‘racial contract’ framework offers an alternative *longue durée* of connected geographies that makes visible Eastern Europe’s connection to the benefits of the colonial global economy. Although some whites may not be signatory to the consensual agreement of the ‘racial contract’, Mills (1997, p. 11) contends that ‘All whites are beneficiaries of the Contract’. The benefit is made possible through the global colonial economy as a particular power structure that is factored through differential distribution of material wealth (Mills, 1997, p. 3).

This is an open access article under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

The information, practices and views in this article are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG).
© 2022 The Authors. *Area* published by John Wiley & Sons Ltd on behalf of Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers).

Despite several studies on the geographies of empire and their impacts on non-white populations (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Gilmartin & Berg, 2007; Noxolo, 2017;), the geographical discipline still ‘simply lacks the racial diversity’ (Pulido, 2018, p. 310) to explore the complexities of colonial economy and its benefits in Eastern Europe. Geographers have never been at ease with exploring this aspect of the region; they tend to relinquish it to historians and anthropologists (Jackson, 1984). Whilst geographers typically think of Eastern Europe as peripheral to Western Europe, this article considers the appeal of colonial global economy to these ‘peripheral geographies’ in order to theorise capital beyond the West. To think of Eastern Europe as a geography within the colonial global economy means to draw attention to, at least, Poland, once an economic powerhouse that emerged from a powerful multi-ethnic dynastic imperial state to a nation-state. Such attention brings into view Poland’s early trading activities with Western Europe, and the ways in which those activities might have contributed to, benefited from, and assisted in the maintenance of the transatlantic slave trade established by its imperial neighbours.

With this argument, I do not simply equate Poland with the European imperial powers. Whilst I am sceptical about the looseness of this connection, I equally consider the connectedness of Eastern Europe to transatlantic trade a necessary task in order to show the broader implications of transatlantic slavery beyond the Western paradigms. Routing all this via the ‘racial contract’ brings ‘other’ European geographies – that have been thought of as detached, non-complicit and irrelevant – on the radar of transatlantic narratives (Raphael-Hernandez & Wiegink, 2017, p. 421).

One might read the ‘racial contract’ as only an Anglo-American tradition. In reconceptualising the ‘racial contract’, my argument lies in the particular mode of European domination of the world that has brought about racialised distributions of wealth. However, when brought into dialogue with historical actuality, especially between white and non-white peoples, it seems apparent that the ‘racial contract’ has been pivotal in the creation of wealth that is dominant rather than inclusive.

In what follows, I set out the specificity of Eastern Europe’s connection to the ‘racial contract’ as an important aspect of the global colonial economy. Here, I do not simply present narratives of a detached geography, but stimulate a discussion that brings its economic composition, which has so far been siloed, into a closer dialogue with other European geographies of colonial economy. To unpick this entanglement, I pay attention only to the web of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth’s trade networks, and situate them within the wider debates on transatlantic trade that are largely influenced by processes of capitalism and colonialism as part of the conditions of the ‘racial contract’.

2 | THE POLISH–LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH AND THE ‘RACIAL CONTRACT’

In 1569, the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania emerged as one of the largest and powerful territories in Europe and functioned from 1570 to 1795. By any accounts, the Commonwealth was a massive territory that consisted of two parts: the *Korona* (the crown lands of Poland) and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Geographically, the *Korona* covered parts of the old Kingdom of Poland and the entire Ukraine. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania consisted of the modern-day Lithuania and Belarus (Davies, 2005). The massive geography of the Commonwealth presented its population beyond a single national framing, but as an empire – ‘an expansionist state that achieves sustained control over the labour, finances, administration and resources of a foreign territory through political or violent coercion, in turn winning the leverage to negotiate geopolitically with other powerful states’ (Doyle, 2014, p. 162). At the time of the union, the Commonwealth was at the heart of European diplomacy with French and Italian being spoken at Polish courts (Davies, 2005, p. 286). Exchanges between the Kingdom of England and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth were linked by trade and diplomacy (Davies, 2005) that facilitated the presence of Polish missions in most European cities such as Madrid, Vienna, Naples and Rome. This eventually paved the way for what seems to be the first Polish consular services that appeared in Copenhagen, Vienna and Naples in the 1630s. Indeed, the magnificent Poland–Lithuania union represented Poland as a powerful European nation.

The above abbreviated accounts of the Commonwealth make visible some neglected but important connections between the Commonwealth and Europe. Doing so fleshes out the possible ways in which the Commonwealth’s economy might be tied to the economy of Western Europe – enhanced by the overseas discoveries and colonisation. This is an area of study that scholars in Eastern Europe have pointed at, but never fully integrated into the broader dominant understandings of colonial history or considered as a racialised consensual agreement. As Struck (2020, p. 22) confirms, Eastern Europe has been largely left out of narratives of the Atlantic World – the ‘age of global revolution’. By contrast, the relational account that I am suggesting takes leave of the universal accounts of Spain, Portugal, Britain, France, and

the Netherlands' collaboration and profiting from the enslavement of peoples as an integral part of the 'racial contract' (Mills, 1997) within which the Polish contributions are barely examined.

3 | THE EUROPEAN EMPIRES AND 'THE ASSOCIATED TRADES'

The momentum of Europe's age of global revolution has been dominated by the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and English accounts that often obscure their forged trading ties with Eastern Europe. The period of great trade for the Baltic states, under the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, has been recognised as Poland's Golden Age and the most prosperous period of trade as Europe's largest grain producer (Anderson, 1979). Concurrently, the period dubbed 'Neo-serfdom' (Davies, 2005, p. 215) was also at the peak of transatlantic slavery, between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Baltic trade entered a new rapid period of development of trade with ports in Antwerp and Amsterdam into the transatlantic trade (Bogucka, 1980).

Here is the heart of the matter with a question that unsettles me, and perhaps may unsettle you, too. What was responsible for the flourishing economy of Poland's Golden Age? There is no simple answer to such a question, but it might be helpful as a point of entry to consider, as elegantly elaborated by the Polish-Jewish socioeconomic historian, Marian Malowist:

... [would] the colonial, industrial and trading expansion of Holland and England have been possible at all without a prior strengthening of their contacts with Eastern Europe? (1958, p. 37)

Until recently, many aspects of the transatlantic slave trade have been reduced to the Spanish, Portuguese, British, French and Dutch creation of the 'New World' with no attention to small, but significant geographical trades that helped to sustain such expedition. The expedition is often described as being triangular – the movement of goods from *Western Europe* to *Africa* and from there, the movement of 'peoples' to the *Americas*, and then the return to Europe with goods extracted from the colonies. What remains less known is how these European empires were able to meet the demands for the raw materials and resources required for their maritime expeditions (Wing, 2015, p. 2). The triangular trade did not exist in a vacuum; it was largely supported by what Williams (1944, p. 55) describes as 'the associated trade' – the material transactions supplied by established and less established European nations that helped to improve the economic circumstances of those nations. To this end, I draw attention to 'associated trade' such as the Polish–Lithuanian's economy that indirectly helped to sustain transatlantic slavery. As Wing (2015, p. 124) has shown, between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 'The Baltic trade operated on a much larger scale than the extraction of timber in Asia and the Americas by European empires'. Consequently, the growth of the Dutch and the English trades, especially through shipbuilding resources, between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was attributed to raw materials such as timber, flax, hemp, iron and tar from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. This has led to a suggestion that:

The development of Dutch and British shipping was unthinkable without a regular supply of East European timber, hemp, pitch and grease. (Malowist, 1958, p. 29)

The above products were considered essential in the Dutch and the British conquest and exploitation of overseas colonies (Malowist, 1958, p. 27), all of which, directly or indirectly, might have been used for the transportation of 'peoples' from Africa to the 'New World'. According to Davey (2011, p. 162), some of the raw materials used for shipbuilding in London could only be bought from the Baltic region. As Fedorowicz (1980) and later Walvin (2017, pp. 83–4) confirm, there was a voracious appetite for the Baltic and Northern European timber to fuel the expansion of the British commercial and Royal Naval ships. Although Spain exploited its local and colonial forests for the development of its naval revival, nonetheless, Wing (2015, p. 8) points out that pines from the Baltic states 'were on the whole better-suited and highly sought after by all European maritime powers', including Spain. Indeed, the Baltic raw materials provided Spain with the second largest navy behind Britain, and aided the Spanish imperial domination of the Americas. Also, after 1766, the French Atlantic shipyards turned to external markets including the Baltic timber for its naval expansion (Wing, 2015, p. 27).

Similar to timber, grain was crucial to the operations of European colonial powers. Malowist (1976, p. 169) has suggested that the colonial powers 'chase[d] after Polish grain all over the world' in order to establish its connections and the ways in which it might have helped to sustain the transatlantic slave trade. The economy of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth relied largely on colossal production and exportation of grain that Polish economic historians have

referred to as East European grain plantations. For example, Batou and Szlajfer (2010, p. 3) compare the trade to the Latin American ‘sugar or cotton plantations’. This suggests that the economic system of the Commonwealth was similar to the classic colonial North America, where land was an important source of wealth in the tobacco and cotton trades in Virginia and Maryland (Davies, 2005). Unlike the colonial North America, the economy of the Commonwealth relied on ‘White on White imperialism’ created by the Polish serfdom.

From river ports, especially Gdansk, everyday consumer goods (grain first of all) and industrial raw materials (timber, copper, etc.) were exported in increasing quantities to Western Europe, through Amsterdam and Antwerp along the coast of the Atlantic (Bogucka, 1980). During transatlantic slavery, exchanges between the Baltic states and well-established slave trading nations such as the Netherlands, France, Spain, Portugal and Britain often involved important but basic consumer commodities that helped to sustain their activities elsewhere within and outside Europe. By the early seventeenth century, populations in Amsterdam, Antwerp, Lisbon, London, Naples, Milan, Paris, Seville, Rome and Venice relied on the Polish grain. Indeed, Polish grain was essential for the existence of Western Europe (Bogucka, 1980, pp. 7–8). These exchanges went further than previously imagined, as Davies (2005, p. 282) confirms, ‘Slave-owning democrats such as Thomas Jefferson or George Washington, and other founding fathers of the USA, have much in common with the reforming wing of magnatial politicians among their contemporaries in Poland–Lithuania’. As such, these histories of colonial exchanges make visible the political manoeuvring and the rise of ‘Polish imperialism’ out of capitalism as an aspect of the ‘racial contract’ – ‘a contract to which the non white subset of humans can be a genuinely consenting party’ (Mills, 1977, pp. 11–12).

4 | THE BALTIC TRADES AND THE ENGLISH EASTLAND COMPANY

Associated trade cannot be fully established without its connections to the imperial trades. A good way to examine such a connection is through the activities of the English Eastland Company in Poland (Fedorowicz, 1980). The Eastland Company was an English crown-chartered company, founded in 1579 to facilitate trade between Britain and Eastern Europe. The company traded under the name ‘the Company of Merchants of the East’ and consisted of practising British merchants, who have trafficked through the Sound, deeply into Poland, and the eastern and southern shores of the Baltic Sea (Sellers, 1906). In their assessment of the British ships sailing through the Sound Toll¹ between 1784 and 1795, Minchinton and Starkey (1981, p. 184) found a significant number of English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish sailors calling at ports in the Netherlands on their way to the Baltic region. Their cargoes, according to Johansen (1981, p. 163), ‘consisted mostly of tobacco, coffee, indigo, brazilwood and wine of colonial ... origin’. This episode of the Baltic trade was confirmed by Davies (2005) when he presented trading transactions between the Baltic states and the West, involving exchanges of colonial and non-colonial materials for shipping into Poland.

According to Davies (2005, p. 210), timber, mainly sent to Britain, France and the Netherlands, was the fourth largest product exported out of Gdansk in 1641, and colonial products such as sugar and coffee were the second largest products imported into Gdansk in the same year (see Figure 1). As Tamaki (2010) affirms, the exporting/importing of raw materials such as wooden products and sugar contributed massively to the economy of the Commonwealth as ‘an associated trade’ to the imperial trades:

Since the Baltic maintained a favorable balance of trade with Western Europe, the area was able to import colonial goods, especially sugar, from the New World. With the rise of the Atlantic economies, the Baltic economy also developed. The Baltic provided naval stores to European countries, but, at the same time, the imports of colonial goods into the Baltic increased. The imports of colonial goods, however, have not been studied so much since historians have mainly paid attention to bulk goods such as grain and timber and have tended to ignore the imports of sugar. We should consider the importance of the Baltic as a market for colonial goods, especially sugar. (Tamaki, 2010, p. 351)

The above argument prompts a reminder that throughout the transatlantic slave trade, sugar was one of the major associated trades that sustained the triangular trade. This process was facilitated by ‘the overseas discoveries and the commercial expansions across the Atlantic and around Africa’ (Pach, 1990, p. 180). As Williams (1944) confirms, the ‘processing of colonial raw materials [such as sugar] gave rise to new industries in England, provided further employment for shipping, and contributed to a greater extension of the world market and international trade’ (p. 73). Simultaneously, France not only opened Saint Domingue’s sugar to the European market, according to Williams (1944, p. 145), but two-thirds of

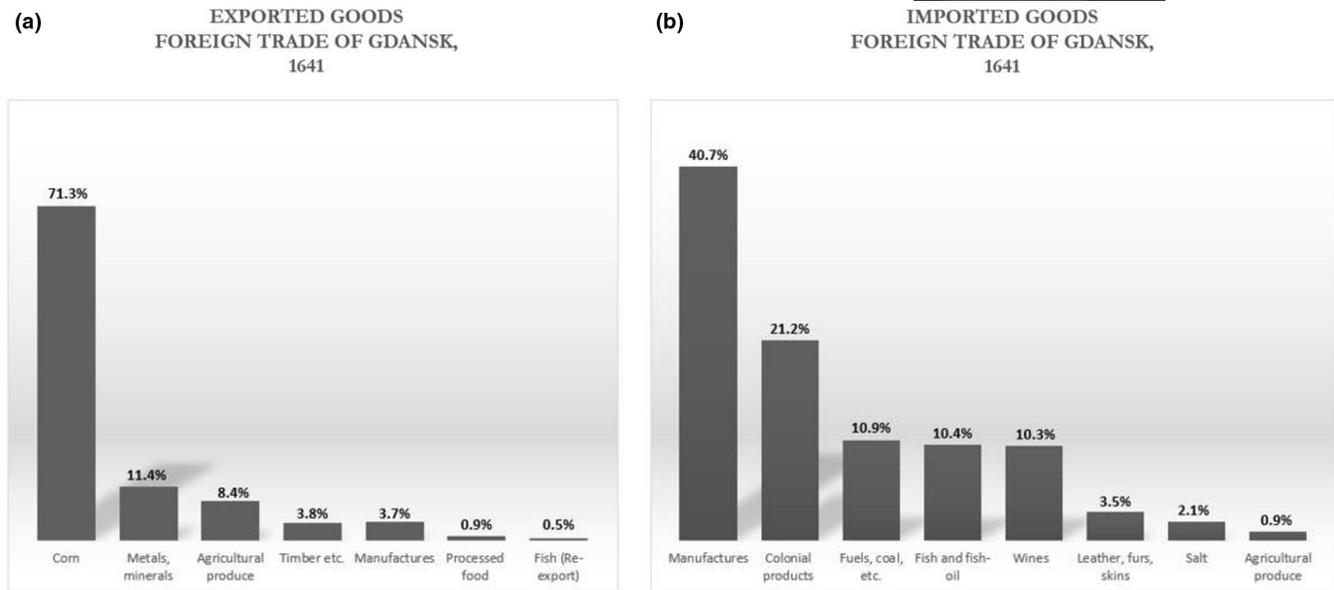


FIGURE 1 Gdansk's trade transactions in 1641.

Source: Davies (2005, p. 210)

French exports to the Baltic states were colonial products that included sugar from Saint Domingue. Indeed, as Bhambra (2021, p. 74) writes, 'Colonialism and slavery were not simply profitable in their own terms, but the expansion of available markets also contributed to the dynamism of what tends to be presented as an endogenous feature of the metropole'.

5 | BENEFITS OF THE 'RACIAL CONTRACT'

Here, I want to briefly set out some of the benefits of the 'racial contract' that give rise to 'Polish imperialism' out of capitalism. Mills (1997, p. 33) identifies material advantage as one of many benefits accruing from the 'racial contract'. By trading with European colonial powers, Poland and other parts of the Baltic region were able to accumulate capital and colonial goods. It is insufficient to treat these geographies as just available markets for the consumption of colonial goods. When viewed through the benefits of 'racial contract', we discover connected geographies that bring into view some 'unmarked' European geographies that have benefited from the colonial global economy. The engagement between the Baltic and Western Europe produced civilisational transformations in both regions. Attman (1981) adds substantial evidence to this when he links the early wealth of Eastern Europe to the accumulation of bullion from the English East India Company and American silver from the Spanish *Casa de Contratación* – the central trading house of the Spain empire and the Portuguese *Casa da Índia* – the administrator of the Portuguese empire. Also, American silver entered the Baltic region through the Dutch East India Company as payments for the Polish grain and raw materials such as timber and iron. Further integration of the Dutch East India Company into the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth came with thousands of 'Dutch-Settlers', merchants, bankers, artisans, various skilled specialists, and most importantly the introduction of the banking system, credit operations and technical innovations into Gdansk (Bogucka, 1981).

The above benefits of the 'racial contract' involved what has been described as a 'stream of money' that found its way into the Commonwealth (Malowist, 1958, p. 30). The 'stream of money', arguably, improved the living standards of many Polish and Lithuanian nobles whilst the serfs were being worked to death (Dabrowski, 2016, p. 116). Through the same 'stream of money' from sales of raw materials to the West, the Commonwealth was able to access the Middle and Far East trade, acquiring jewellery, and richly decorated textiles. The accumulation of capital from transatlantic trades with Amsterdam, Cadiz, London and Porto, Bogucka (1980) argues, was one of 'the reasons why those people from the East and from Poland have become so rich' (Joost Nykerke cited in Bogucka, 1980, p. 15). The accumulated wealth eventually led to the rise of the Polish Golden Age – the Renaissance Poland. To this end, the building of contemporary magnificent royal palaces, castles and cathedrals; the acquisition of great architectures, sculptures and paintings; the pensions

provided to the Polish, Dutch and Italian builders and painters, as Bogucka (1980, p. 16) has detailed, the whole range of cultural patronage exercised by the magnates and the gentry, as well as by the wealthiest townsmen, especially in Gdansk, largely came from the profits of the Baltic trades with the West.

6 | CONCLUSION: CONNECTING THE 'OTHER EUROPE' TO GLOBAL COLONIALITY

Until now, my focus has been grounded in the colonial global economy from which 'other' geographies in Europe have benefited, but have never been directly implicated. In this final section, I provide some implications of this oversight in geography, as a discipline, that has 'much to offer in illustrating the materiality of racism and the uneven geographies of the ill-gotten wealth of colonialism' (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, p. 729). Whilst there is much to welcome in a steady increase in scholarship that has attempted to situate Poland and Eastern Europe within global coloniality (Boatcă, 2007; Grzechnik, 2020; Mark et al., 2020; Mayblin et al., 2016; Puchalski, 2021; Rucker-Chang and West Ohuery, 2021; Valerio, 2019), there is still a compelling argument connecting all this to the 'racial contract' (Mills, 1997).

It is worth pausing momentarily over the 'racial contract' and its application in Eastern Europe. According to Mills (1997, p. 3), 'White supremacy is the unnamed political system that has made the modern world what it is today', based on the consent of individuals who are seen as equals. Such agreement, Mills affirms, stems from an implicit contract between 'the white people' (1997, p. 3). In his assessment, he uses colonisation as a compelling event that 'lies at the heart' of the rise of Europe based on the exploitation of the non-European world underwritten by race (Mills, 1997, p. 35; Pagden, 2002). These implications of the 'racial contract' are better understood in terms of their global, Europeanness and non-Europeanness – conditions that are empowered by the European 'Renaissance', the European 'Reformation' and the European 'overseas discoveries' (Hesse, 2007). These implications have so far centred on the United States and Western Europe. They are barely considered in the theorisation of colonisation in Eastern Europe, and the possible ways in which the region is connected to the benefits of global white supremacy. Connecting the 'other' geographies to the colonial global economy is a much-needed task. Beyond this, the wider connection brings into view several implications that show the ways in which the transatlantic slave trade and the creation of the 'New World' formed parts of the earliest economic enterprises that relied on global networks of trade that have uprooted and relocated peoples. Interlocked with this, as part of the 'racial contract', was a massive transatlantic migration of unprecedented numbers of people from Eastern Europe to the 'New World' (Bhambra, 2019). This included a large-scale emigration that accounted for over 2 million Polish people moving to the Americas, as part of the 'attempts to recognize Poland's position in the global capitalist economy and to test the possibility to compete for influence in overseas lands' (Snochowska-Gonzales, 2020, p. 107; Zubrzycki, 1953). Paired with this Polish attempt at settler colonialism was the movement of 2 million subjects of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary to the Americas (Ginelli, 2020; Zahra, 2016). This colossal movement of Eastern Europeans was pioneered by millions of White British/Irish people settling in colonies across the globe, including the Americas, in the early nineteenth century (Delaney, 2000; Fedorowich & Thompson, 2013). These histories of emigration may appear as individual accounts but cannot be understood as a category separate from that of the global European colonial economy. They are better understood as part of the 'racial contract' arrangements.

Connecting Eastern Europe to the unfolding historical account of the colonial global economy is significant. It offers a distinctive pathway to 'the historical connections generated by processes of colonialism, enslavement, dispossession and appropriation, that were previously elided in mainstream sociology in favour of narrower understandings' (Bhambra, 2014, p. 3). To read Eastern Europe as a separate geography outside the 'racial contract' arrangements would not only create a blind spot in the ways in which detached geographies are economically connected, but an erasure of the respective 'forms of imperality' that could help us with a better understanding of the effect of global colonisation (Virdee, 2019). The point that needs to be emphasised here is that the ripple effects of Western colonisation of the 'Global South' have interactive strategic effects across Europe from which less known European empires have benefited. Indeed, calls for a historically informed global analysis is well-timed, as nuanced geographical accounts are required, if we are to challenge the narrow reading of Eastern Europe as a secluded geography.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper originated as a part of seminar series organised by the Migration Research Group at the University of Sheffield. I would like to thank the series organisers as well as the audience whose questions helped to refine the

paper. Thank you to Gurminder Bhambra and Remi Salisbury-Joseph who encouraged me to bring Central and Eastern Europe into dialogues with the colonial global economy, and the following people for their constructive feedback: Gill Valentine, Konrad Pedziwiatr, Peter Jackson, Łukasz Szulc, and Richard Phillips. The interventions of the anonymous reviewers encouraged me to develop this paper further – thank you so much for your encouraging and constructive engagements.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Data are not shared.

ORCID

Bolaji Balogun  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7476-1708>

ENDNOTE

¹ The assessment of ships' logs – records of ships and cargoes passing through Elsinore – showing the date, the name and residence of the shipmaster, the ports of departure and destination (from the mid-1660s), and the composition of the cargoes. For more details on the Sound Toll Registers, see <http://www.soundtoll.nl/index.php/en/over-het-project/sonttol-registers>

REFERENCES

- Anderson, P. (1979) *Lineages of the absolutist state*. London, UK: Verso.
- Attman, A. (1981) *The bullion flow between Europe and the East, 1000–1750*. Göteborg, Sweden: Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhället.
- Batou, J. & Szlajfer, H. (2010) Introduction: I chased after Polish grain all over the world. In: Batou, J. & Szlajfer, H. (Eds.) *Western Europe, Eastern Europe and world development 13th-18th centuries: Collection of essays of Marian Malowist*. Leiden, the Netherlands; Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 1–11.
- Bhambra, G.K. (2014) *Connected sociologies*. London, UK; New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Bhambra, G.K. (2019) On European 'civilization': Colonialism, land, Lebensraum. In: Aikens, N., Mistry, J. & Oprea, C. (Eds.) *Living with ghosts: Legacies of colonialism and fascism*. L'Internationale. Available from: https://www.internationaleonline.org/research/decolonising_practices/118_on_european_civilisation_colonialism_land_lebensraum [Accessed 15th February 2020].
- Bhambra, G.K. (2021) Narrating inequality, eliding empire. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 72(1), 69–78. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12804>
- Boacă, M. (2007) The eastern margins of empire: Coloniality in 19th century Romania. *Cultural Studies*, 21, 368–384. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601162571>
- Bogucka, M. (1980) The role of Baltic trade in European development from the XVIth to the XVIIIth centuries. *The Journal of European Economic History*, 9, 5–20. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-5952-6_7
- Bogucka, M. (1981) The Baltic and Amsterdam in the first half of the 17th century. In: Wieringa, W.J. (Ed.) *The interactions of Amsterdam and Antwerp with the Baltic region, 1400–1800: De Nederlanden en Het Oostzeegebied, 1400–1800*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Springer Netherlands, pp. 51–57.
- Bonds, A. & Inwood, J. (2016) Beyond white privilege: Geographies of white supremacy and settler colonialism. *Progress in Human Geography*, 40, 715–733. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132515613166>
- Dabrowski, P.M. (2016) *Poland: The first thousand years*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Davey, J. (2011) Securing the Sinews of Sea Power: British Intervention in the Baltic 1780–1815. *The International History Review*, 33(2), 161–184. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2011.555384>
- Davies, N. (2005) *God's playground – A history of Poland*, Vol. 1. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Delaney, E. (2000) *Demography, state and society: Irish migration to Britain, 1921–1971*. Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press.
- Doyle, L. (2014) Inter-Imperiality. *Interventions*, 16(2), 159–196. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2013.776244>
- Fedorowich, K. & Thompson, A.S. (2013) Mapping the contours of the British world: Empire, migration and identity. In: Fedorowich, K. & Thompson, A.S. (Eds.) *Empire, migration and identity in the British world*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, pp. 1–14.
- Fedorowicz, J.K. (1980) *England's Baltic trade in the early seventeenth century: A study in Anglo-Polish commercial diplomacy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gilmartin, M. & Berg, L.D. (2007) Locating postcolonialism. *Area*, 39(1), 120–124. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2007.00724.x>
- Ginelli, Z. (2020) *Postcolonial Hungary: Eastern European semiperipheral positioning in global colonialism*. Available from: <https://zoltangine.lli.com/2020/04/02/postcolonial-hungary-eastern-european-semiperipheral-positioning-in-global-colonialism/> [Accessed 5th September 2021].
- Grzechnik, M. (2020) 'Ad Maiorem Poloniae Gloriam!' Polish Inter-colonial Encounters in Africa in the Interwar Period. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 48(5), 826–845. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2020.1816619>
- Hesse, B. (2007) Racialized modernity: An analytics of white mythologies. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(4), 643–663. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701356064>

- Jackson, P. (1984) Social geography: Culture and capital. *Progress in Human Geography*, 8(1), 105–110. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/030913258400800106>
- Johansen, H.C. (1981) Ships and cargoes in the traffic between the Baltic and Amsterdam in the late eighteenth century. In: Wieringa, W.J. (Ed.) *The interactions of Amsterdam and Antwerp with the Baltic region, 1400–1800: De Nederlanden en Het Oostzeegebied, 1400–1800*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Springer Netherlands, pp. 161–170.
- Malowist, M. (1958) Poland, Russia and Western trade in the 15th and 16th centuries. *Past and Present*, 13, 26–41. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/past/13.1.26>
- Malowist, M. (1976) *Konkwoistadorzy portugalscy*. Warszawa, Poland: Państw. Instytut Wydawniczy.
- Mark, J., Kalinovsky, A.M. & Marung, S. (2020) Introduction. In: Mark, J., Kalinovsky, A.M. & Marung, S. (Eds.) *Alternative globalizations: Eastern Europe and the postcolonial world*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, pp. 1–31.
- Mayblin, L., Piekut, A. & Valentine, G. (2016) ‘Other’ posts in ‘other’ places: Poland through a postcolonial lens? *Sociology*, 50(1), 60–76. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038514556796>
- Mills, C.W. (1997) *The racial contract*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Minchinton, W.E. & Starkey, D. (1981) British shipping; The Netherlands and the Baltic, 1784–1795. In: Wieringa, W.J. (Ed.) *The interactions of Amsterdam and Antwerp with the Baltic region, 1400–1800: De Nederlanden en Het Oostzeegebied, 1400–1800*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Springer Netherlands, pp. 181–191.
- Noxolo, P. (2017) Introduction: Decolonising geographical knowledge in a colonised and re-colonising postcolonial world. *Area*, 49, 317–319. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12370>
- Pach, Zs.P. (1990) The East-Central European aspect of the overseas discoveries and colonization. In: Pohl, H. (Ed.) *The European discovery of the world and its economic effects on pre-industrial society, 1500–1800. Papers of the Tenth International Economic History Congress*. Stuttgart, Germany: Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Beiheft, pp. 178–194.
- Pagden, A. (2002) Europe: Conceptualizing a continent. In: Pagden, A. (Ed.) *The idea of Europe – from antiquity to the European Union*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 33–54.
- Puchalski, P. (2021) *Poland in a colonial world order: Adjustments and aspirations, 1918–1939*. London, UK; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Pulido, L. (2018) Geographies of race and ethnicity III: Settler colonialism and nonnative people of color. *Progress in Human Geography*, 42(2), 309–318. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132516686011>
- Raphael-Hernandez, H. & Wiegink, P. (2017) German entanglements in transatlantic slavery: An introduction. *Atlantic Studies*, 14, 419–435. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14788810.2017.1366009>
- Rucker-Chang, S. & West Ohuiri, C. (2021) A moment of reckoning: Transcending bias, engaging race and racial formations in Slavic and East European studies. *Slavic Review*, 80, 216–223. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1017/slr.2021.75>
- Sellers, M. (1906) *The Acts and Ordinances of the Eastland Company*. London, UK: Royal Historical Society.
- Snochowska-Gonzales, C. (2020) Exercises in expansion. Colonial threads in the National Democracy’s turn toward discipline. *Praktyka Teoretyczna*, 2, 105–135. Available from: <https://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/prt/article/view/23809>
- Struck, B. (2020) Did Prussia have an Atlantic history? The partitions of Poland–Lithuania, the French colonization of Guyana, and climates in the Caribbean, c.1760s–1780s. In: Wimpler, J. & Weber, K. (Eds.) *Globalized peripheries: Central and Eastern Europe’s Atlantic histories, c.1680–1860*. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer Press, pp. 19–36.
- Tamaki, T. (2010) The Baltic as a shipping and information area: The role of Amsterdam in Baltic integration in early modern Europe. *Asia Europe Journal*, 8(3), 347–358. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10308-010-0277-4>
- Valerio, L.A.U. (2019) *Colonial fantasies, imperial realities: Race science and the making of Polishness on the fringes of the German Empire, 1840–1920*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Virdee, S. (2019) Racialized capitalism: An account of its contested origins and consolidation. *The Sociological Review*, 67, 3–27. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026118820293>
- Walvin, J. (2017) *Slavery in small things: Slavery and modern cultural habits*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Williams, E. (1944) *Capitalism & slavery*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Wing, J.T. (2015) *Roots of empire: Forests and state power in Early Modern Spain, c.1500–1750*. Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill.
- Zahra, T. (2016) *The great departure: Mass migration from Eastern Europe and the making of the free world*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Zubrzycki, J. (1953) Emigration from Poland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *Population Studies*, 6, 248–272. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00324728.1953.10414889>

How to cite this article: Balogun, B. (2022) Eastern Europe: The ‘other’ geographies in the colonial global economy. *Area*, 00, 1–8. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12792>