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Expansion alongside integration: A new history of imperial Europe

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Introduction: Re-examining Project Europe

'Project Europe' has over the past decade run into significant headwinds. The idea of ever-tightening cooperation and integration between European countries as a path to a more peaceful future and greater wealth for all has taken heavy blows from several directions. On the one hand, the rise of populist nationalisms across the continent – most notably in the decision of the UK to leave the EU in 2016 – has challenged the very premise that integration remains a desirable end goal. On the other, the ever-hardening language and policies of 'fortress Europe' and their attendant, continually unfolding tragedy of immigrant deaths and destitution along Europe's borders from the Mediterranean through the Balkans to Eastern Europe have severely shaken the credibility of the EU as an internationalist project with humanitarian ideals. Integration itself seems to have stopped, with no new members admitted since Croatia in 2013. At the root of all these troubles lies the underexplored question of the coloniality of Europe as a concept: its internal imperial hierarchies as well as its continuously renegotiated relationship with the wider world, a double process of often-contested identity formation directed inwards as much as it is outwards. It is impossible to critically analyse Europe's seeming impasse in the 2020s or to understand the long-term trajectories of European integration without a reckoning with this imperial past.

This volume hopes to address the theme of Europe's colonial origins and to provide a thought-provoking new perspective on European imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It does so by inquiring how smaller European powers and regions at the supposed margins of the continent integrated into a globally interconnected world that was heavily shaped by their more powerful European neighbours. Case studies on Nordic, Eastern and Central European regions uncover how countries such as Sweden, Serbia or Switzerland became imperial despite having no or only short-lived overseas colonies of their own. More than that, by uncovering the structures and networks that enabled these regions to actively participate in and benefit from the imperial world around them, these case studies also reveal a crucial dynamic of European imperialism that has rarely been analysed in extant historiographies of Empire and Europe: the fact that the nineteenth-century European imperial subjugation of almost the entire

planet was not only driven by undeniable rivalry and competition among the greater European powers but also necessarily depended on collaboration and exchanges across national and imperial boundaries.[1] Moreover, these transimperial networks, mobilities and collaborations came to play a central role in the long historical process of European integration. In short, by examining the imperial histories of supposedly marginal European regions, this volume seeks to shed new light on the histories of Empire and European integration writ large.

In addressing these questions, this collection benefits from deep conceptual work by Gurminder Bhambra, Manuela Boatcă and other social and cultural theorists, who have been rethinking not only the notion of 'Europe' but also the body of implicit and explicit theories attached to this concept.[2] As a 'hyperreal' (Chakrabarty) term, 'Europe' still too often figures at the centre of historical narratives that assess how 'distant' or 'close' other (imaginary) spaces stand to the supposed core of history and modernity, which is rarely explicitly defined but mostly implicitly alludes to Britain, France or Germany. This hyperreal notion of Europe thereby not only creates hierarchies within Europe, as regions outside the imaginary core need to qualify themselves as Northern, Southern, Eastern or other supposedly 'lesser' Europes; moreover, 'Europe' as a supposedly fully modern, Christian and white space also separates itself from all (formerly) colonized regions that were heavily shaped by Europe but supposedly do not fully belong to modernity.

Realizing that European social and cultural theories are products of European imperialism that create mythologies of supposedly pristine European cores surrounded by 'lesser' European semi-peripheries in the continent's north, east and south, as well as vast non-European peripheries in the 'Global South', the strategy of decolonizing theory has been the following: to highlight how the category of Europe has been hybrid, pidginized or creolized all along.[3] In other words, there is no understanding of what Europe is without acknowledging the double process of massive and mostly violent incorporation of non-European and semi-peripheral European resources, labour and ideas on the one hand and the simultaneous exclusion of semi-peripheral and non-European regions on the other.

This retheorizing of 'Europe' has opened up vast new spaces for empirical historical research. This book contributes to two topical historiographies in particular. The first one can be aptly summarized under the label of 'colonialism without colonies', a term introduced by Barbara Lüthi, Francesca Falk and Patricia Purtschert. It addresses the following problem: If, according to the theories elaborated earlier, Europe as a category is fundamentally an outcome of its imperial past, then what does this mean for European nations or peoples who were not themselves major imperial powers and are conceived as 'blank spaces' in more conventional histories of empires?[4] Over the past decade, scholars have written extensively about the multifaceted colonial entanglements of countries such as Switzerland, Norway or Finland.[5] More recently, numerous studies have expanded such analyses also to Southern and East Central European countries, with Poland featuring in the literature especially prominently.[6]

This literature has been indispensable in proving the relevance of Europe's imperial histories to a series of national audiences that have conventionally tended to think of themselves as either separate from Western Europe's colonial trajectories or even,

as in the cases of Finland or Poland, semi-colonial victims of neighbouring imperial powers. Indeed, the question of guilt or, to follow Ulla Vuorela's work on Finland, 'colonial complicity' has loomed large in many of these debates, which have often focused on reassessing widely accepted national narratives and collective identities.[7] And as might be expected, such reassessments have not always gone unopposed, as the debate in many countries has become drawn into the orbit of twenty-first-century, US-style culture wars; simultaneously, the language of post- and decolonial approaches has been hijacked by right-wing populists as a weapon against the perceived intra-European hegemony of Brussels or a more generic 'West'.[8]

While this literature on 'colonialism without colonies' has therefore proved a highly valuable addition to a number of national historiographies, also giving rise to important national-level debates transcending the bounds of academia, this fundamental rootedness in national frameworks and discourses has simultaneously served to limit its impact on the general historiography of empire. Seen as addressing primarily national-level questions, historians of the major empires have at most tended to note this literature as an intriguing addition around the edges, a filling of the blanks rather than a development with the potential to transform our understanding of the fundamental workings of European empires. This in our opinion is to underestimate the true significance of these new perspectives.

Admittedly, recent years have increasingly seen a trend in recasting these rediscovered colonial histories as regional rather than national – notable in the many collections seeking to build Scandinavian/Nordic or Central/Eastern European supranational narratives out of national case studies.[9] Yet while these initiatives have opened up important dialogues between national historiographies, they have so far largely followed well-established disciplinary affinities as established in various area studies subfields, rather than seeking to truly reconceptualize empire on a European level. Learning from that work but seeking to transcend it, this volume brings the colonial histories of disparate parts of Northern, Central and Eastern Europe into a unified analytical framework. It thereby not only applies decolonial theories of Europe to particular national or regional cases but also seeks to reimagine the categories of 'empire' and 'Europe' per se.

In so doing it draws on another important strand of recent historiography, which has sought to rethink the history of empires from a different perspective, focusing on the 'transimperial'. This approach has perhaps been most succinctly defined in the programmatic essay by Daniel Hedinger and Nadine Hée, who see transimperial history as being 'about the movements of people, knowledge and goods across empires and about the formations of imperial alliances as well as anti-imperial networks and exchanges'.[10] Where the 'colonialism without colonies' body of work has sought to broaden the scope of who are understood to have been involved in Europe's imperial expansion, historians of science and knowledge have utilized the 'transimperial' to produce a rich body of scholarship emphasizing the connectedness of imperial knowledge systems, producing a common reservoir or 'imperial cloud' – to use the term of Christoph Kamissek and Jonas Kreienbaum – of information and best practices shared across borders.[11] And while historians have so far found it easier to systematically trace the transimperial movements of ideas rather than of individuals, there is also an

evident affinity between this work and the analysis of imperial 'careering' proposed by David Lambert and Alan Lester, looking at global mobilities within the British Empire and beyond it.[12] This connection draws attention to the significance of specific kinds of agents in how transimperial networks came to be, a theme picked up by several of the chapters that follow. Such an analysis of specific careers serves to highlight the permeability of imperial boundaries and the multitude of mobilities and exchanges across them, questioning the conventional understanding of empires as monolithic, self-contained units.

In working towards a reconceptualization of 'Europe' and 'empire' that is informed by both of these literatures, this volume makes use of the concept of 'marginalities' or 'margins' as a tool for thinking about how an imperial Pan-European identity was constructed over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from its boundaries rather than its centres. This approach builds on Kristín Loftsdóttir's work on nineteenth-century Iceland's liminal position as not only a semi-colonial possession deemed racially and civilizationally inferior by its masters but also a nation in the process of constructing its own 'white' identity and position in a global colonial hierarchy. Similar local efforts to define Europe's limits in a world of empires took place around the continent, and as Loftsdóttir points out, such 'explorations of how coloniality was lived and executed at the margins of Europe' have value as they allow us not only 'to understand the construction of margins but also to deepen the understanding of the "project" of Europe'.[13]

Christof Dejung and Martin Lengwiler have similarly argued – in their effort to reconceptualize European history – that a focus on its margins or borders (*Ränder*) is essential in order to respond to the challenges recently posed to the historiography by the rise of global history. In particular, they make the case for understanding Europe less as a strictly delineated place and more as an argument for specific projects of modernization and reordering of society, one that could be fruitfully employed not only from the continent's Western metropoles but also from its diverse peripheries.[14] Moreover, as Kris Manjapra has argued, several agents – scientists, engineers and managers – from Europe's 'semi-peripheries', from Scotland to Ireland to Germanophone Central Europe, played an important role in the nineteenth century in constituting a global colonial middle class crucial to the functioning of multiple empires and spreading practices and know-how across imperial boundaries around the world.[15] As the contributions to this volume further underline, the continent's margins have long been central to defining both the internal order of the idea of Europe and its external relations.

Reinterpreting Europe's imperial past along these lines brings to view a series of continuities, some of them unexpected, from nineteenth-century empire-building to the much-trumpeted processes of European integration in the twentieth century and beyond. The most recent critical literature questioning the European project's image as a peace initiative first and foremost has already started to broach these questions. Kiran Patel, in his landmark history, has drawn attention to how the European Community in its early years 'represented a forum where the colonial powers could consider the future of their empires, and from the 1960s a tool for coping with the political and economic aftermath of decolonization'.[16] As Patel notes, this framing of

European integration as an evolution of imperial power politics stands in stark contrast to conventional interpretations that have tended to mark it as a break with the past, a drastically new and more equitable model for a postcolonial global reordering.

Along similar lines but pushing further back in time, Anne-Isabelle Richard has examined a number of interwar predecessors of European integration thinking. She argues that these projects betrayed a concern for Europe's loss of influence on the global stage and that a reorganization through integration of Europe's colonial possessions in Africa was seen as one possible solution to such perceived 'geopolitical, economic, civilizational and racial challenges from all corners of the world'.[17] Yet, while these important interventions have made the connection between empire and integration, the issue has so far not really been considered from the perspective of Europe's supposedly non-imperial margins; as the chapters collected here will show, such a change of perspective helps root the debate in longer-term continuities going back to the nineteenth century.

Building on these literatures, the essays in this volume when read together provide a model for centring transimperial experiences 'from the margins' as constitutive of a fragmented yet shared imperial European identity and a set of cross-border imperial networks and structures that facilitated European integration since *c.*1800. This volume therefore proposes a fresh, new interpretation of the global expansion of European imperialism that transcends national and imperial frameworks and makes an argument for empire as a transnational, Pan-European phenomenon while also expanding the geographical scope of conventional analyses of European empires by incorporating the experiences of countries and spaces that were not themselves major imperial powers. It is through these processes of transimperial integration that the emergence of hierarchies within and without Europe ought to be analysed: the intra-European division between (British, French, German) core Europe and supposedly lesser Europes in the north, east and south, as well as the imperial division between the 'west and the rest'.

Contributions and themes

The chapters in this volume, based on research in multiple archives both within Europe and beyond it, provide a range of concrete insights into how Europe's imperial expansion necessitated and facilitated various forms of structural European integration. All chapters speak to all three of the major themes in this volume: the structures and networks of transimperial collaboration across Europe; European integration through colonial entanglements; and the construction of European identities in a colonial world order. Yet among the whole, individual contributions set different priorities and adopt different approaches. On a general level, the ten chapters that follow can be divided into two broad categories. A first group of essays focus on economic and professional networks in particular, examining how these drew individuals and groups from Europe's margins into the orbit of overseas colonialism.

Tomasz Ewertowski examines Poland and Serbia as providers of services, expertise, mercenaries, sailors and missionaries for multiple European powers, namely Russia,

the Habsburg Empire, France and the Netherlands. As Ewertowski points out, by no means all of these services were voluntary. Especially among the mercenaries, there were many forced recruits, which points to the continuing feudal inequalities and newly emerging class hierarchies in nineteenth-century Europe. However, the better-educated men in particular used their multifaceted services in political, economic and religious projects in transimperial spaces to reflect on their experiences in colonial Central and Southeast Asia. This resulted in a continuous flow of published biographical and travel accounts tailored to educate and entertain Polish and Serbian reading audiences and thereby familiarize them with the imperial and often-racist worldviews of their time. Polish returnees, in particular, would go on to become major actors in Poland's struggle for national independence.

John L. Hennessey's chapter expands the theme of Europe's margins as a reservoir of imperial service providers by pointing out the continuous demand emanating from imperial centres for particular kinds of skills and expertise. Hennessey too cautions against seeing the massive presence of men from Europe's peripheries in all imperial spaces solely as a story of profit and benefit: given Europe's deep class and gender hierarchies, risks and opportunities for imperial service providers were highly unequally distributed. Following recent arguments on how imperialism shaped the emergence of a 'global bourgeoisie', Hennessey does show, however, how shared cultural understandings of bourgeois masculinity, civilization and shared professional identities among merchants or mercenaries enabled European men in the colonies to bond and overcome tensions or misunderstandings that arose from their multiple linguistic, religious or regional backgrounds. Importantly, Hennessey makes a global, meta-level argument, suggesting that transimperial and border-crossing careers like these were far from a rarity but in fact a common and fundamental feature of nineteenth- and twentieth-century empires, which should best be understood as arising from the emergence in this period of specific, specialist occupational groups that criss-crossed boundaries with ease, making one's national identity less relevant than the education and skills one could put at the service of empires.

André Nicacio Lima also focuses on economic networks in his programmatic plea for an entangled history between nineteenth-century Brazil, Africa and continental Europe. After independence in 1818, the new Brazilian elite depended on mass immigration of enslaved Africans and on white Europeans to simultaneously integrate Brazilian economy into world markets and 'whiten' its society. Examining the first national census of 1872, Nicacio shows how, in addition to Portuguese immigrants, large colonies of other Europeans had established themselves in the empire, the biggest groups being Germans, Italians, Swiss, French, Spanish and British. Using a list of all registered trading firms and merchants in Brazil's major ports between 1868 and 1888, Nicacio then highlights how even numerically small numbers of Europeans, for example, Danes or Greek, played a major role in Brazil's slavery-based export economy. Zooming in on the case of two Swiss traders, Nicacio shows how they completely integrated into Brazil's elite society, shaping policies, institutions and infrastructure in the service of slavery and exporting coffee and other cash crops while remaining connected to business partners and families in Europe's centres and peripheries alike.

Tellingly, this history has been almost completely erased from public consciousness and historiographies on both sides of the Atlantic.

Taking a more micro-scale approach and benefitting from access to private family archives from renowned Swiss watchmaker families, **Fabio Rossinelli** manages to uncover transimperial networks that are usually difficult to pinpoint in public archives. Using the Dubois family from the Swiss Jura Mountains, he highlights how this industry grew in the nineteenth century also through using colonial raw materials enabling wealthy watchmakers to diversify their investment portfolios. Using their widespread family and business networks in imperial France, Germany and other European metropoles, in addition to contacts with Swiss missionaries and merchants who had established themselves in colonial Southeast Africa, they invested in mining schemes. There they operated outside public purview and without any regulatory oversight, which served them in many ways. Unlike other Europeans operating in public environments, these capitalist investors never bothered to intellectualize their crude racism or legitimize their exploitative practices with religious, scientific or ethical discourse. Unrestrained, they enriched themselves by defrauding their clients and investors in Europe and moved on to another 'frontier economy' in the United States after their machinations were eventually uncovered. Rossinelli's micro-history of global capitalism therefore allows rare insights into a world of colonial finance, speculation and exploitation that knew neither geographic nor moral limitations and almost no legal ones.

Tonje Haugland Sørensen adopts yet another approach. She introduces a Norwegian chalet that was exhibited in Paris during the 1889 world fair as a boundary object of sorts. For a young nation seeking international recognition, it represented 'traditional' Norwegian culture on the one hand, but also represented Norway's modern export industry on the other. Norway at the time was a major exporter of not only lumber but also ready-made wooden houses that were in demand in many of Europe's newly growing settler colonies in Africa. One of Norway's main customers was the Belgian King Leopold II's colony in the Congo. Norway's colonial chalet export was embedded in wider diplomatic, professional and scientific networks that allowed Norwegians to serve as consuls, sailors or medical professionals in the Belgian Congo. Given this relatively strong Norwegian presence in the Belgian colony, it comes as no surprise that the Congo figured prominently in Norwegian publications, which, as Sørensen's analysis reveals, conveyed a crudely racist worldview that remained uncontested at the time.

While this first group of contributions analyse the construction of Europe from the outside in, as it were, using globe-spanning economic and professional networks as entry points into their analysis of European identity-building through transimperial collaboration, a second group takes the opposite approach. These chapters start from within, tracing the construction of identities along Europe's margins and negotiating their place in global racial or cultural hierarchies through localized case studies focusing on the networks and institutions that enabled such processes. Drawing on the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, French, Dutch and Swedish Empires, **Corinne Geering**'s chapter provides a fascinatingly wide-ranging study of how colonial ethnographical collecting practices learned overseas came to shape how Europe's imperial urban centres

understood their own rural hinterlands throughout Central and Eastern Europe. Through a careful institutional-level analysis of how specific museums – including the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in Paris, the Náprstek Museum in Prague and the Weltmuseum in Vienna – incorporated both overseas collections and rural or 'folk' collections from Europe, Geering's chapter draws attention to the production of the rural as another kind of 'marginal position' within Europe that was co-constituted as a response to and in parallel with the colonial. Moreover, Geering reminds us to be mindful of how such materials and practices travelled across borders throughout the continent, allowing for the creation of a shared European imperial culture of collecting and presentation that also reached countries without any overseas possessions of their own and evolved over time to account for Europe's changing position in the world. Through her case studies, Geering highlights the importance of the construction and negotiation of imperial Europe's internal marginalities, which emerges as a prominent theme in several chapters.

In many cases, this process of internal boundary-drawing entailed encounters of an at least partly colonial character with Europe's many racialized 'others'. **Janne Lahti** examines in his chapter how Finnish settlers and travellers in the area of Petsamo by the Arctic Sea – gained for a brief period by newly independent Finland in 1920 – essentially acted as colonizers. They drew direct inspiration from overseas examples of settler colonialism, notably in North America. The accounts of these Finns combined a romantic yearning for the natural wilderness of the north with intricate racialized hierarchies that cast the civilized, imperial Finns as a vanguard of European modernity and progress in this supposedly primitive region with its multi-ethnic population, including the indigenous Sámi. Analysing a wealth of materials, including the contemporary press, tourist brochures and travel writing, Lahti shows how Petsamo in effect allowed the newly independent Finnish state to imagine itself as a colonial power standing between a civilized Europe and a primitive Asia. Nor was this a purely national effort for a domestic audience, as these materials were also published in several foreign languages to entice international tourism to the region, further underlining the connectedness of these colonial imageries. Even if only few Finns had the chance to travel to Petsamo, the imagery associated with this colonial fantasy reverberated deeply throughout the country and beyond and served to reinforce the ongoing two-pronged process of nation-building and Europeanizing in the interwar period.

In other cases, similar processes of colonial identity-building took place further afield and through different methods, including in the realm of science: as **Szabolcs László** shows in his insightful analysis, nineteenth-century Hungarian orientalists like Antal Reguly (1819–1858) engaged in similar hierarchy-building in their studies of the people of Inner Asia. These expeditions, backed by state scientific institutions like the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, sought to compensate for the nation's lack of colonial possessions through scholarly prowess and to emphasize Hungarians' own level of civilization relative to the peoples they studied. Much like how Finns in Petsamo encountered and came to position themselves relative to the linguistically and culturally related Karelians, László shows that Hungarian scholars engaged in what he calls 'fraternal Orientalism', buttressing their own position in the racial hierarchy

through the study and representation of related peoples in Inner Asia. Importantly, however, László argues that these scholars did not merely copy imperialist discourses imported from elsewhere but found ways to emphasize their own national distinctness through research that recast Hungarians' Eastern origins as a sign of unique strength and prestige rather than cultural inferiority. Therefore, both Finns and Hungarians, in different ways, employed the language and tools of the colonial powers to secure their own, somewhat fragile and vulnerable position on the margins of Europe.

Kristín Loftsdóttir looks at a similar moment of racialization of Europe's internal hierarchies in the mid-nineteenth century, but from a different perspective: her chapter analyses a series of plaster busts made by a French scientific expedition of individuals in Iceland in order to demonstrate specific racial types. Loftsdóttir's analysis situates the creation of these busts in an ambiguous moment where expeditions like this – not unlike Reguly's, as analysed by László – to Europe's 'margins' served the purpose of establishing a global, racialized hierarchy of peoples. However, Loftsdóttir's study reminds us that this was a two-directional process not controlled entirely from the imperial centres: simultaneously and in parallel to the designs of French scientists, Icelandic intellectuals were themselves seeking to climb up that very hierarchy through their cooperation with such imperialist projects. And importantly, in between these two positions were the Icelandic models themselves, eternalized in plaster and present in museum collections across Europe to this day as sculptures trailing their colonial legacies through re-emergent twenty-first-century debates.

What these multiple and parallel projects of boundary-drawing and hierarchy-making all amounted to was an envisioning of a Europe that was bound together by imperial endeavours and ideologies – one that actors on its margins were incentivized to contribute to and believe in as it furthered their own interests and provided opportunities for economic and political advancement. This link to longer-term institutional processes of European integration is most apparent in the contribution of **Lucile Dreidemy** and **Eric Burton**. They reinterpret the Pan-European Union project launched in the early 1920s by the Austrian nobleman Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894–1972), often seen as a mere curiosity and a failed precursor to the European Union. Instead, Dreidemy and Burton convincingly argue that it ought to be seen as a substantive attempt to reimagine a Pan-European imperial formation on a supranational level to ensure the continuation of Austria's imperial prestige into the post-Habsburg era of the interwar period. Their analysis therefore highlights the significance of imperial legacies and motivations to the processes of European integration and underlines the importance of critical analysis of the EU as itself a kind of (post-)imperial formation, both in its internal structures and external relationships.

Finally, this line of argument on the coloniality of Europe's institutions and the roots of present-day political and cultural integration in the colonial networks and collaborations of previous centuries is picked up by **Manuela Boatcă** in her Afterword. Drawing on the chapters collected here alongside her own longstanding research on the topic, Boatcă addresses the question of how our understandings of contemporary Europe and the European project should be shaped by and reconsidered in the light of the complicated, entangled imperial legacies presented in this volume.

Conclusion

We hope the chapters collected here will provide new insights for three interconnected audiences interested in European histories: firstly, they will offer comprehensive explanations of how countries such as Poland, Norway or Switzerland that see themselves as uninvolved outsiders in colonial history, or as victims of inner European imperialism, were nevertheless shaped through their indirect colonial involvements. Secondly, the volume will also offer rich empirical arguments for seeing European integration as something that emerged not only as a peace-building project after the Second World War but which has an older, violent and racist prehistory in the period of European expansion. Last but not least, it will also offer readers from former imperial metropoles in Germany, France, Britain, the Netherlands or Russia a better understanding of how and why their supposedly national imperial projects were always, in many different ways, also European projects – long before anyone joined, never mind exited, the EU.

We hope that our theoretical model and empirically convincing case studies can serve as the basis for a new imperial history of Europe. At the same time, we do not want to neglect drawing attention to some limitations of our model and outlining areas that require further theoretical and empirical work. The main focus of this volume is to show the co-construction of intra-European hierarchies between an imagined core Europe and European peripheries on the one hand, and the construction of imperial hierarchies between Europe and the colonies, on the other. This concern however must remain incomplete as long as it does not build bridges to other critical historiographies, which are at least hinted at in individual contributions.

Specifically, the question of how European collaborative imperialism was linked to broader, not just regional, intra-European relations of domination needs deeper consideration. After all, the age of empires was also the age of European patriarchy, of culture wars between Catholics and Protestants, of radicalizing anti-Semitism, of criminalization and pathologization of homosexual relations and non-binary gender identities, of the emergence of class societies and the extinction or near extinction of numerous animal species and natural environments. These are just the most obvious themes. In different ways, they all both shaped and were in turn shaped by Europe's imperial encounters with societies in the Americas, Asia, Africa, Australia and the Pacific World.

What this volume gestures at is both a global story and a story of how Europe came to be, an entangled history that cannot be unpicked in all its complexity within the pages of a single book. And to truly understand the legacy that collaborative European imperialism has left for all involved, the very category of 'Europe' must be further pluralized as an object of research. Whether and how such a story can be concisely told only the future will show.

Notes

1. Here this volume builds especially on the work in Volker Barth and Roland Cvetkovski, eds, *Imperial Co-operation and Transfer, 1870–1930: Empires and*

Encounters (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); and Maria Paula Diogo and Dirk van Laak, *Europeans Globalizing: Mapping, Exploiting, Exchanging* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

2. Gurminder K. Bhambra, 'A Decolonial Project for Europe', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 60, no. 2 (2022): 229–44; Manuela Boatcă, 'Thinking Europe Otherwise: Lessons from the Caribbean', *Current Sociology* 69, no. 3 (2021): 389–414; Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Provincializing Europe: Postcoloniality and the Critique of History', *Cultural Studies* 6, no. 3 (1992): 337–57.
3. Manuela Boatcă and Anca Parvulescu, *Creolizing the Modern: Transylvania across Empires* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022); Harald Fischer-Tiné, *Pidgin-Knowledge: Wissen Und Kolonialismus* (Zürich: Diaphanes, 2013); Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995); Gurminder K. Bhambra, *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
4. Barbara Lüthi, Francesca Falk and Patricia Purtschert, 'Colonialism without Colonies: Examining Blank Spaces in Colonial Studies', *National Identities* 18, no. 1 (2016): 1–9.
5. P. Purtschert and H. Fischer-Tiné, eds, *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking Colonialism from the Margins* (Cham: Springer, 2015); Kirsten Alsaker Kjerland and Bjørn Enge Bertelsen, eds, *Navigating Colonial Orders: Norwegian Entrepreneurship in Africa and Oceania* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014); Raita Merivirta, Leila Koivunen and Timo Särkkä, eds, *Finnish Colonial Encounters: From Anti-imperialism to Cultural Colonialism and Complicity* (Cham: Springer Nature, 2022); Gunnel Cederlöf, ed., *The Imperial Underbelly: Workers, Contractors, and Entrepreneurs in Colonial India and Scandinavia* (London: Routledge, 2022).
6. Piotr Puchalski, *Poland in a Colonial World Order: Adjustments and Aspirations, 1918–1939* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021); Marta Grzechnik, ' "Ad Maiorem Poloniae Gloriam!" Polish Inter-colonial Encounters in Africa in the Interwar Period', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 48, no. 5 (2020): 826–45; Jan Mrázek, 'Returns to the Wide World: Errant Bohemian Images of Race and Colonialism', *Studies in Travel Writing* 21, no. 2 (2017): 135–55; Lucy Riall, 'Hidden Spaces of Empire: Italian Colonists in Nineteenth-Century Peru', *Past & Present* 254, no. 1 (2022): 193–233. See also the work of Zoltán Ginelli on Hungary, for example, here: https://zoltanginelli.com/2020/04/02/postcolonial-hungary-eastern-european-semiperipheral-positioning-in-global-colonialism/.
7. Ulla Vuorela, 'Colonial Complicity: The "Postcolonial" in a Nordic Context', in *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region*, ed. Suvi Keskinen, Salla Tuori, Sara Irni and Diana Mulinari (London: Routledge, 2016), 19–33.
8. Siegfried Huigen and Dorota Kołodziejczyk, 'East Central Europe between the Colonial and the Postcolonial: A Critical Introduction', in *East Central Europe between the Colonial and the Postcolonial in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Siegfried Huigen and Dorota Kołodziejczyk (Cham: Springer Nature, 2023), 22.
9. Suvi Keskinen et al., eds, *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region* (London: Routledge, 2016); Johan Höglund and Linda Andersson Burnett, 'Introduction: Nordic Colonialisms and Scandinavian Studies', *Scandinavian Studies* 91, nos. 1–2 (2019): 1–12; Markéta Křížová and Jitka Malečková, eds, *Central Europe and the Non-European World in the Long 19th Century* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2022); Siegfried Huigen and Dorota Kołodziejczyk, eds, *East Central Europe between the Colonial and the Postcolonial in the Twentieth Century* (Cham: Springer

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