Looking beyond national borders has become more and more common in research on German history after 1871, and not only since the publication in 2006 of the iconic study, *Das Kaiserreich transnational*.\(^1\) Stefan Manz locates his study in this new research context and analyses Imperial Germany’s transnational relations and entanglements. He takes a global view of the German-language diaspora and, in the process, innovatively links different world regions with each other and with Imperial Germany. He also convincingly combines a number of methods: social history arguments based on statistics feature equally with discourse analysis and case studies.

Manz defines Imperial Germany as a ‘transnational communicative space’ (p. 7) that, he argues, contributed to creating a Greater German Empire going beyond national borders. He calls this space ‘diaspora’, referring to the most recent research, which interprets the term relatively widely. Central aspects, which may appear individually or together, are, for example, the migrants’ idealized collective memory of the homeland that they have left, and an ethnic sense of belonging together along with a problematic relationship with the host country that is, nevertheless, seen as holding out the possibility of a good and tolerant life (see p. 9). For Manz, it is important to see diaspora as a process which is ‘made’ by the migrants. With reference to Rogers Brubaker, he sees diaspora, by analogy with nation-state-building, as a condition that is in a state of permanent flux, something always in the process of becoming (see p. 209).

The study is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter Manz sums up the social history factors leading to the German migrations of the nineteenth century, with a glance at preceding centuries and almost all the regions of the world. I shall look at three of these here. For Eastern Europe, Manz concludes that only in the nineteenth century did ‘nationalist historiography’ recognize different regional (for-

\(^1\) Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel (eds.), *Das Kaiserreich transnational: Deutschland in der Welt 1871–1914* (Göttingen, 2006).
merly) German-speaking groups, some of which had been settled since the Middle Ages, as Germans (but excluding the Jews). Ignoring the ‘multiethnic’ reality on the ground, it preferred to speak of linguistic enclaves (p. 22). In the USA, Manz shows, the National German American Alliance tried to bind emigrants more closely to their country of origin from 1901. In the research, this has been seen as a response to a loosening of ties between German-speaking migrants and Imperial Germany. By taking a global view reaching from eastern Europe to the west, Manz can show, however, that this interpretation is not adequate. Nationalist movements came into being in many places at the same time, and were by no means specific to the USA. As far as internal (west) European migrations are concerned, Manz emphasizes the high degree of fluctuation based on small distances and regional working conditions. He points to significant gaps in the research for Europe as well as for Asia.

In the second chapter Manz looks at the ideas about emigration and Germans abroad circulating within Imperial Germany. This takes him more deeply into his subject, as he explicitly examines the construction of a diaspora. He first defines ‘diaspora’ as a contemporary term which can only really be applied to Germany since the establishment of Imperial Germany. This does not, of course, imply that ‘diaspora’ was tied to ‘nation’, but in the case of Germany, we can only really speak of the active formation of a diaspora with the rise of the nation-state. Manz investigates Imperial Germany’s construction of a diaspora by looking at nationalist and popular publications such as the Gartenlaube, at associations such as the Alldeutsche Verband, and at legislation which granted German migrants the right to retain or regain German citizenship on ethnic criteria. According to Manz, life in Russia, Brazil, and South Africa was imagined as being rural and anti-modern, thus allowing true ‘Germanness’ to flourish. On the basis of various publications, Manz illustrates the practices of an Indeutschnahme which the diaspora designed as a test not only of a German nation, but of an ideal German nation (see e.g. pp. 65–6). The nationalistic publications and associations, along with the citizenship legislation allow Manz to conclude that the creation of a diaspora was a building-block of a ‘right-wing modernity’ (p. 88) that saw Germany in the first row of global actors.

Manz then turns to a systematic analysis of his rich and multi-layered material. Apart from a descriptive chapter on Russia and the
USA, he concentrates on three aspects that are central to nation-state formation: politics, religion, and language. Under the heading of ‘Politics’, Manz looks at the German navy and Germans abroad. Manz sees the Hauptverband der deutschen Flottenvereine im Ausland, which was supported by the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft and must be distinguished from the Flottenverein, supported by industry, as the only ‘pressure group’ (p. 104) to have most of its members not in Germany but abroad. With the Hauptverband, Manz takes his readers abroad for the first time. Without wanting to reproduce the Eurocentric view of the time under investigation, he explains how the Hauptverband’s nationalist views were adopted in various different regions. In Europe, Manz explores the situation in Britain in detail, perhaps because of his own previous research, but also in response to the gaps in the research on German migration in western Europe that he highlights. The Hauptverband, like most of the German nationalist associations, was largely a middle-class affair and ideologically aligned with Imperial Germany, which sometimes brought it into conflict with its various host countries. In Asia and Australia, institutional encouragement of enthusiasm for the German navy was especially closely connected with the political situation. In colonized countries, such as Australia, for example, efforts were made not to provoke the colonial rulers. This form of restraint, Manz claims, was not practised in the Americas; in Central and South America, in particular, nationalist associations increased in number from 1880. In Brazil and Mexico, a strong loyalty to Imperial Germany was at least outwardly visible. Manz points out, however, that it would be wrong to look only at the nationalist associations. Many German migrants also displayed a great deal of pragmatism for the sake of a conflict-free daily life on the spot.

No naval associations were founded in the German colonies in Africa. In German South-West Africa (today’s Namibia), for example, German migrants generally retained a positive attitude towards Imperial Germany, but developed a ‘hybrid identity’ between the colony and the metropole. This brief section on Africa could have been somewhat longer, as the ‘ideology of dissimilation’ in the colonies,2 which were seen as part of Imperial Germany, is, ultimate-

2 Ulrike Lindner, Koloniale Begegnungen: Deutschland und Großbritannien als Imperialmächte in Afrika 1880–1914 (Frankfurt am Main, 2011), 312.
ly, difficult to compare with other diaspora phenomena. Overall, Manz comes to the conclusion that the highly popular German navy was deliberately used to drive an expansion of Imperial Germany to include its (former) members abroad. He points out that while the construction of a diaspora was not something entirely new at the end of the nineteenth century, national tendencies were globalized at this time. The Hauptverband and the naval associations were ‘one mosaic piece within this process’ (p. 123).

A chapter on the USA and Russia makes it clear that both countries differed from other places of migration. While there were German nationalist associations and publications in tsarist Russia, the country’s unequivocal demand for loyalty to the Tsar meant that Russia was not a suitable place for the creation of diasporas. And the USA was a special case in that German immigrants identified with the American model of success and progress, making them much more prepared to assimilate than, for example, in Brazil or the colonies, where there were much clearer movements to delineate the immigrants from the local population. Overall, Manz stresses the heterogeneity of the migrants to north America. But this should not be misunderstood as a lack of ‘diasporisation’ (p. 144), as the mass German patriotic reaction to the outbreak of the First World War shows.

In the next systematic chapter, Manz looks at the relationship between religion and the formation of diasporas. Religion here refers mainly to Christianity, and Protestantism in particular. Manz provides only a short digression on Catholics, as Catholic associations and other actors in Imperial Germany only accepted nationalist arguments and began to identify with Volk and nation at a late stage. And they referred to the Protestant discourse. Manz presents a triangle of Protestantism, nation-building, and diaspora, whereas previous research has only combined two out of the three factors. He shows impressively how the three aspects were linked and intertwined. For German migrants, he argues, the linking of Protestantism and nationalism or Volksstum was a welcome opportunity to bind the scattered community together again. Even secular actors allied themselves with Protestantism in order to disseminate nationalist ideas. In countries which did not foreground or permit the formation of a national diaspora, such as Russia, Manz suggests there was a shift towards religion. In such contexts, connections and solidarity were built mainly via religion.
Schools also contributed to the creation of a German diaspora and a Greater German Empire, as Manz shows in his last chapter, on language. The founding of associations and targeted selection and training of teachers allowed the transnationalization of schools to be institutionalized and centrally controlled. According to Manz, teachers were sent abroad with a dual task. First, they were to teach the children of German migrants and, from 1900, also some children from the local population, and tie them ideologically to Imperial Germany. And after their return to Germany, they were to apply the ‘German-ness’ they had practised and taught abroad to German national education. Given the centrally controlled selection and purpose of education, it is no surprise that most teachers were members of nationalist and conservative associations, and tended towards ‘political conformism’ (p. 239). Taking the example of schools, Manz can once again point to the conflict-enhancing character of diaspora formation. In many countries Germanocentric education was not popular and contributed to the ‘Germanophobic violence’ (p. 254) that erupted in many places from 1914.

In his study Manz takes a global view of attempts to create and maintain a German diaspora. Numerous associations as well as political and religious movements played a part in this. Manz also impressively demonstrates how processes of inclusion and exclusion worked within the diaspora. National movements, for example, sometimes gave women new scope for action, but they were often excluded from membership of associations. Jews were always excluded from the construction of a German diaspora for which the (Protestant) ‘male, educated middle-classes’ (p. 263) were responsible. Manz himself repeatedly concedes that the global view of the making of a diaspora cannot be exhaustive because, for example, it can only begin to perceive the movements for separation from Imperial Germany, and the efforts to conform to the host country.

At the centre of this study is a differentiated approach to the many regions to which (former) German citizens migrated. The pleasure of reading is somewhat diminished, however, by the detailed accounts of the various associations and their often rather small contributions to the formation of the diaspora which occasionally threaten to overwhelm the reader. And this reader would sometimes have preferred a pithy summary to the many, frequently long, quotations which present contemporary voices and point to the broad and often
impressive material basis of the work. Ultimately, however, this form of analysis and presentation leaves an inspiring impression, created by its differentiated approach, methodological diversity, and references to gaps in the research. Finally, it is to be hoped that Manz’s work, with its pioneering global approach, will stimulate further in-depth research on the creation of regional diasporas and similar transnational studies on migration.