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BLUT UND BODEN: THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE NAZI AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM

BY CLIFFORD R. LOVIN

In the spring of 1930, Adolf Hitler, *Führer* of the National Socialist party, met with a relatively obscure civil servant and authorized him to organize the farmers for the support of the party. This man, Walther Darré, was well prepared for this assignment by his studies and practical experience in agriculture. He brought to his task an organizational skill and a sincere belief in the justice of his cause. His success in rallying the farmers to National Socialism was phenomenal, as the Nazi electoral victory in July 1932 testifies. Darré's influence in agricultural organizations increased until it culminated in his appointment as Minister of Food and Agriculture on June 29, 1933. Within three months Darré prepared legislation which was enacted into law and which fulfilled most of the National Socialist campaign promises to the farmers. Obviously, then Darré was not an insignificant part of the Nazi machine. The importance of his work clearly warrants a study of his early life and his basic philosophy.

Darré's life began on July 14, 1895, far from the scene of his later activities.¹ Ricardo Walther Oskar Darré was born of German parents near Buenos Aires, where his father headed an import-export business. After attending a local German school for his first ten years, the young Darré journeyed to the Fatherland for further study, at Heidelberg, Gummersbach, Godesberg, and Wimbledon in England, until 1914, when Darré decided that he wanted to become a colonial farmer. Thereupon he enrolled in the German Colonial School at Witzenhausen which had been founded by William II to promote colonial settlement.²

His studies were interrupted by the war and in August 1914 he enlisted in the First Field Artillery Regiment of Nassau; Darré served his country creditably and received a reserve commission in January 1917. The loss of Germany's colonies after the war did not dampen his enthusiasm for agriculture. He returned to Witzenhausen; in 1920 he received a diploma

¹ For this brief sketch of Darré's early life, I have relied heavily on the short, semi-official biography by Hermann Reischle, *Reichsbauernführer Darré, der Kämpfer um Blut und Boden, eine Lebensbeschreibung* (Berlin, 1933).

For confirmation and correction of Reischle's account, the following works were consulted: *Current Biography, 1941* (New York, 1941), 202-203; *Degener's Wer Ist's?*, (10th ed.; Berlin, 1935), 271-272; *Das Deutsche Führerlexikon, 1934/35* (Berlin, 1934), 21-22; *Der Grosse Brockhaus*, (10 vols.; 16th ed.; Wiesbaden, 1953), III, 59; and *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin, 1957), III, 517.

² Mary E. Townsend, *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire* (New York, 1930), 260-261. See also *Der Grosse Brockhaus* (15th ed.; 20 vols.; Leipzig, 1929-1935), XX, 410. (Hereinafter cited as *Der Grosse Brockhaus*, 15th.)

which certified him as a German colonial farmer. The years immediately following were spent working for the German Colonial Office and gaining practical experience on farms in Bavaria and Oldenburg.

In 1922 Darré married and returned to his studies. Most of the next three years he spent at Martin Luther University in Halle-Wittenberg, the center of Mendelistic-Darwinian biology in Germany. There his work was under the supervision of Dr. Gustav Froelich, director of the University's Institute of Animal Breeding and Dairying.³ The young student was mainly interested in animal breeding and its relationship to the more general biological question of race. His major research papers, resulting from intensive experimentation with pigs, were entitled "The Domestication of the Pig" and "On the History of the Breeding of Domestic Animals." In February, 1925, Darré passed the state examination to become a *Diplomlandwirt*, which qualified him for employment in various agricultural pursuits.⁴

During the years between 1926 and 1930, Darré worked mainly for the German Department of Agriculture, most of the time in the Baltic states and East Prussia. During this period he made several studies for the department, and found time to do a great deal of writing on his own. The last half of the 1920's saw twenty-three articles by Darré in seven different periodicals. Of these journals, two were agricultural and technical; the rest were nationalistic, anti-Marxist, and racist.⁵ The articles ranged from animals, plants, and agriculture to ancient history, Jews, and inheritance laws.⁶ The subject and content of some of these seem rather far-fetched, but an examination of the intellectual atmosphere of Germany reveals that they were not exceptional.

In 1928 Darré retired to the home of his parents at Wiesbaden to write a broad statement of his ideas concerning race and the farmer. The resulting work, *Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse*,⁷ was published in 1929. Oswald Dutch, in his book, *Hitler's Twelve Apostles*, says that "in all the non-National Socialist circles in Germany," Darré's book "aroused homeric laughter."⁸ This statement is belied by the number and content of the reviews the book received in important German periodicals. A perusal of some of the representative reviews reveals no "homeric laughter." The

³ *Dégener's Wer Ist's?* (10th ed.; Berlin, 1935), 454-455.

⁴ *Der Grosse Brockhaus*, 15th IV, 798.

⁵ The agricultural journals were *Deutsche Landwirtschaftliche Tierzucht* and *Woelfers Landwirtschaftliche Zeitung*. The other periodicals were *Volk und Rasse*, *Die Sonne, Blut und Boden*, *Volk und Scholle*, and *Deutschlands Erneuerung*. Information concerning these can be found in *Sperlings Zeitschriften- und Zeitungs-Adressbuch: Handbuch des Deutschen Presse*, LIV (1928).

⁶ Many of these articles were collected and published: R. Walther Darré, *Erkenntnisse und Werden* (Goslar, 1940²), this edition is cited hereafter.

⁷ Darré, *Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse* (2nd ed.; Munich, 1933). Hereafter cited as Darré, *Das Bauerntum*.

⁸ Oswald Dutch, *Hitler's Twelve Apostles* (New York, 1940), 233.

book predictably was well received by the racist journals,⁹ but it was also favorably reviewed by the editor of *Anthropos*, a well-known international anthropological quarterly, and by the *Anatomischer Anzeiger*, an important medical journal. In the former review the errors of Darré were pointed out, but many parts of the book were praised.¹⁰ The latter review stated that, although the book was vulnerable from a purely anthropological point of view, its basic principles were well founded.¹¹

In the meantime Darré had once more entered the civil service, as agricultural expert to the German legations in the Baltic countries. Here he received further preparation for his future work. In 1929, according to a Nazi account, Darré was given a choice by the Foreign Office of serving at an embassy in Ecuador or working in the market research division in Berlin. Darré resigned, rejecting "these offers which would have moved him off the main track, and determined to devote himself completely to the active battle for the salvation of the German farmers."¹² This battle included the writing of his second book, *Neuadel aus Blut und Boden*,¹³ which was favorably received when it appeared in 1930. In the *Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland*, it was said to be "distinguished by its well-considered treatment of basic ethical and practical questions, which are connected with the possibility of a re-ascent of the German people."¹⁴

His desire to help the farmer led Darré to seek for a political solution to agricultural problems. With this in mind Darré agreed to a meeting with Hitler to discuss ways and means to work for agricultural interests through the National Socialist party. At this point the sketch of Darré's early life may be concluded to allow a closer look at his ideas, which impressed Hitler and many German farmers.

At the outset it must be pointed out that the ideas of Darré reviewed in the subsequent pages were not original. He was simply presenting an analysis of the ills of modern capitalistic society which had been current in Germany in the XIXth century and which gained new life in the Weimar period. That industrial capitalism with its attendant evil of urbanism was responsible for the deterioration of the German nation and that only a return to the soil could halt the decline were commonplaces.¹⁵ Popular German novelists such as Berthold Auerbach and Conrad Ferdinand Meyer idealized the peasant as the true representatives of the German race. Prophets of the *Völkisch* movement such as Julius Langbehn could praise the virtues and virility of the German farmer and describe him as the symbol of "all that

⁹ *Volk und Rasse*, IV (1929), 108; *Deutschlands Erneuerung*, XIV (1930), 135-142.

¹⁰ *Anthropos*, XXIV (1929), 364-65.

¹¹ *Anatomischer Anzeiger*, LXVIII (Jan. 21, 1930), 502f.

¹² *Völkischer Beobachter* (Munich, April 11, 1933), 5.

¹³ Darré, *Neuadel aus Blut und Boden* (Munich, 1930).

¹⁴ *Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland*, LXXXI (Dec. 31, 1930), 1757.

¹⁵ Good descriptions of this intellectual background of Nazism can be found in George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology* (New York, 1964), and in Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair* (Berkeley, 1961).

remained unpolluted in society.”¹⁶ While Oswald Spengler and Houston Stewart Chamberlain bemoaned the disintegration of western culture, many lesser men were proposing utopian solutions. The schemes of Adolf Damaschke and Willibald Hentschel combined the concept of the return to the soil with racial purity. An organization called Artamanen tried to put some of these ideas into practice in the 1920’s, without success.

If Darré’s ideas were not original and if he was not the principal philosopher of Nazism, wherein lies the importance of a study of his ideas? The answer is that his presentation of these ideas was clear and comprehensive; and, perhaps more important, that he actually put them into practice. In addition, such a study can give insight into the motivations of an individual Nazi and provide some hints as to why educated Germans could fall victim to the siren call of Nazism.

While some of Darré’s articles were about specific subjects, most of his works were theoretical, outlining the causes and the development of the basic ills of German agriculture and proposing possible cures. Darré was not concerned with particular problems in themselves, since he believed that these were only symptoms of a far more serious malady. More specifically, he thought that the future of the German nation was in peril because of the deterioration of the status of farmers in German society. It was this strong conviction that led him to write as he did and caused him to accept the post offered him by Hitler.

A convenient organization of Darré’s ideas can be made by studying separately two words of the famous slogan which cropped up constantly in his writings, *Blut und Boden*. This phrase lies at the very heart of all Darré’s thinking. *Blut*, literally translated blood, is used as the heading for his racial theories. Under *Boden*, or the soil, all his notions on agriculture appear. This is of course an arbitrary division of Darré’s concepts, but I hope it will make the following discussion coherent. Some things that do not quite fit in either group will have to be dealt with separately. If one sentence can be found to express Darré’s basic conception of the meaning of agriculture, it will be his declaration that “the German soul with its warmth is rooted in its agriculture and in a real sense always grew out of it.”¹⁷ Darré believed and fervently avowed that the farmer was the basis of German society and the backbone of the Nordic race.¹⁸ His principal means of emphasizing the importance of the farmer was equation of the terms meaning “farmer” and “noble.” He asserted that there was no distinction between the two except an artificial one late in the origin. It was necessary that his readers realize this fact, because when he spoke of a new nobility, he was only calling for a revival of the old agricultural ideal. The

¹⁶ Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*, 147.

¹⁷ Darré, *Neuadel*, 86.

¹⁸ Throughout this paper, I have translated the word *Bauer*, which is usually translated as peasant, as farmer. This is due to a personal belief that the latter more adequately expresses Darré’s concept. The English connotation of the word peasant would confuse his meaning. Also, the words German, Nordic, and Germanic have been used interchangeably. Darré did this because he believed the Germans to be the best modern example of the Nordic race.

urgency of this call issued from his conviction, which he shared with Germans of an earlier period, that a strong nobility was essential to a nation.

Darré advanced two main reasons why the old system of nobility had fallen into disuse. The first was the introduction of Christianity into Germany. In his only real attack on the church in these works, Darré blamed the Christian idea of equality for corrupting in some measure the old German concept of nobility. However, he held that since the German conversion to Christianity was politically motivated and therefore not genuine, the basic agricultural ideals had remained.¹⁹ The second and more serious reason for decline Darré found in the inheritance laws, which had been changed owing to foreign influences such as the French Revolution.²⁰ These laws reversed the old German system of allowing the inheritance to go to only one heir and held that landed estates had to be apportioned equally among all direct heirs. Even in North Germany, where the danger of constantly splitting up farms was realized, the laws had been modified only to the extent that the land itself could not be divided; however, the main heir had to pay each co-heir for his share of the inheritance. This often caused fatal financial hardship which led to eventual dissolution of many farms. According to Darré this division of property threatened the total destruction of the agricultural system.

After revealing the threats to agriculture and their causes, Darré offered his solution. Understandably, he did not propose the suppression of the church, since its effects were only superficial. However, he did propose comprehensive laws to keep the inherited tracts of land as single units. Farms should remain large enough to support a family, and the heir to the property should pay the other members of his family only what he could afford. Darré summarized his position by saying that "every farmer's law is basically good which limits the mortgaged debt of the farm, declares the indivisibility of the farm, fixes legally the inheritance rights, and makes sure that the payment to the other heirs stays within the limit of the economic capacity of the farm."²¹ If these reforms along with others which concerned race were adopted, Darré promised the emergence of a new nobility which would again form the backbone of the German nation and become the source of aggressive leaders.²² It would be a Nordic élite based on purity of blood rather than on the artificial distinction of wealth.

The sharp contrast which Darré painted between settlers and nomads was a second method of demonstrating the importance of the farmer. The typical German farmer, rooted to the soil, was quite different from the wandering parasitic nomad. The settler opened up "with the work of his hands the riches of the soil in the vicinity of a permanent abode,"²³ looking to the future; while the nomadic herdsman, who lived only for the present, was the archetype of the evil to be found in all races except the Nordic. Perhaps the worst characteristic of the nomads, in Darré's opinion, and the one from which all the others sprang was their parasitic nature. He said, "The life of the nomads is always a life of pure parasitism. . . . From this parasitic attitude the world knows that the people of these nomadic tribes

¹⁹ Darré, *Neuadel*, 20.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 80.

²² *Ibid.*, 89-91.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 75-80.

²³ Darré, *Das Bauerntum*, 46.

work nowhere and at no time."²⁴ The nomad could not construct, but only exploit. He had to wander with his herds in order to find pasture and markets. Furthermore, nomads often engaged in wars of spoliation and plunder. An Islamic word for leader was used by Darré to demonstrate the evil and warlike nature of the roving tribes of Muslims. This word, *Gazi*, included in its meaning the ideas of "ambushes, destruction, death, and robbery."²⁵

From his study of nomads Darré concluded that the most obvious result of the warped thinking of the wanderers in contemporary life was Marxism.²⁶ The effects of this philosophy showed that every part of human endeavor touched by nomadic ideas would become sour and unworthy of life. It was obvious to him that nomads were the cancerous part of mankind. To illustrate this contention, he suggested a comparison of the Muslim colonies in North Africa with those of the Nordic race in the Americas. The growth of America, he said, was proof enough of the greatness of the Nordic settlers.²⁷

From this summary it is obvious that Darré felt that the Nordic race was superior and that one of the chief reasons was its closeness to the soil. And he believed that the race had another principal source of primacy in its biological makeup or, as he put it, in the purity of the blood. In approaching the racial concept, Darré said that it was difficult for him to be objective in reference to his own race, but that he had attempted to be so. Expressing this in the introduction to *Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse* he said, "I have endeavored in so far as possible to be neutral, to keep away from every exaggerated admiration of the Nordic race; but I have not been able to restrain myself . . . from awarding to the Nordic race what has to be awarded to them in my opinion."²⁸ In order to prove this greatness, Darré proceeded to explain that historically the Nordic race had been unsurpassed. The Greeks, who were the first in the line of great Nordic peoples, developed "the perfect inner consciousness of freedom of the people of the Nordic race."²⁹ The Romans, however, had erred greatly by allowing foreign blood to compromise their racial purity; so, according to Darré, the Teutons had to conquer Rome to carry on the Nordic tradition. Darré described many of the extraordinary exploits of the Nordic race in history, emphasizing its constant efforts to maintain racial purity. Thus he viewed the history of the western world as the history of the Nordic race.

It was Darré's firm belief that Germany's greatest challenge was that of maintaining racial purity. The race had to rise once again to fend off the specter of foreign blood. Darré announced that the first step in facing this challenge was to reiterate the principles of marriage and the family which the old Germanic tribes had held. Unfortunately, these principles had been

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 311.

²⁶ Darré, *Neuadel*, 48.

²⁷ Darré, *Das Bauerntum*, 57, 63-66.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁹ Darré, *Erkenntnisse und Werden*, 113.

modified by Christianity. Darré thought that, while marriage was a worthwhile institution, the modern idea that it was sacred and eternal was untrue and un-German. Marriage was good only if the individuals involved were racially pure and able to produce children.³⁰ Although Darré intimated that marriage was of no value in itself, he felt the family was necessary because it formed a basic socio-economic unit for agriculture.³¹ His overriding theme was that the integrity of the race was more important than any other consideration.

The high position of the woman among Nordic peoples was affirmed and praised by Darré.³² Instead of being a virtual slave, as in some areas of the world, the German wife was viewed as a partner dedicated with her husband to the glorious task of the preservation of the race. The main purpose of the wife was to bear children; and if she was not able to perform that task, the community owed it to the home to furnish the husband with a concubine.³³ Darré felt that the meaning of morality and marital fidelity had been distorted by Christianity. There was no real conflict between the social right of marriage and the necessity of having heirs. In other words, nothing was immoral about having sexual relations with a woman other than one's own wife if this was necessary for the perpetuation of the race. No social stigma should be attached to illegitimacy so long as racial purity was not impaired. The only really immoral act in Darré's view was intercourse with a foreigner.³⁴ After clarifying these basic German racial concepts, Darré proceeded to supply his own proposals for meeting the racial crisis of his time. His two-pronged program included the use of scientific knowledge gained from animal breeding,³⁵ and, if necessary, the forcible elimination of the weak and impure from society.³⁶ Darré did not propose that the people be herded into giant cages to be bred there by the scientists of the country; but he did call on the members of the Nordic race to use wisely the scientific knowledge at their disposal, and he did propose laws to limit the individual's power to procreate indiscriminately. Since there was no difference between breeding men and breeding animals, it was practical to apply the lessons learned from animal breeding to human propagation.

Darré's ideas about the means of keeping the blood pure were best summarized in the following statement: "All breeding progress rests only on the rejection of inferiority and the maintenance of proven blood."³⁷ It is obvious that Darré did not place all his hope for the purification of the race in positive methods. He called on the Germans to weed out the weak and impure. To accomplish this, Darré said it would often be necessary to ignore feelings and to employ crude methods, including extermination of the impure. For examples of what sometimes had to be done, Darré referred to the lynchings in the United States.³⁸ Indeed he could have bor-

³⁰ Darré, *Neuadel*, 150-151.

³¹ Darré, *Das Bauerntum*, 101.

³² *Ibid.*, 376, 381.

³³ *Ibid.*, 385.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 407.

³⁵ Darré, *Das Bauerntum*, 432; Darré, *Neuadel*, 187-188.

³⁶ Darré, *Das Bauerntum*, 427-430.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 364.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 428.

rowed a common American expression: "Beware the mongrelization of the race!"

One of Darré's more peculiar proposals concerned the classification of women.³⁹ The first of his four classes would be encouraged to marry pure-blooded men and to reproduce for the good of the race. The second class, which comprised the majority of German women, were racially pure and could marry, but they lacked the physical perfection of the most honored class. Sterilization would be required for the third class of women if they married, because they had impurities in their racial background which should not be passed on if the purification of the race were to be achieved. The last class was made up of foreigners, who were forbidden to marry or have children. By thus classifying women, a new nobility would arise from the first two groups while the undesirables would die out. Naturally this placed a great responsibility on the racially pure women of Germany. To produce a nobler race would be their highest duty. For such a drastic proposal Darré had two solid reasons. First, he believed in the organic unity of man. Nordics had, said Darré, always believed that the mind and the body of man were inseparable.⁴⁰ This conviction had led them to be as interested in developing the body through selective breeding and exercise as in educating the mind. Darré made it clear that he did not mean to downgrade the mind, but he did want to awaken wayward Germans to the importance of their bodies. After all, the body was the outward manifestation of the soul.⁴¹

His second reason was that the salvation of the race was at stake. Unless drastic measures were taken, racial extinction was not an impossibility. Darré's passionate belief in the rightness of his cause and the need for action is illustrated by the following statements: "It is only with all possible means of striving that the creative blood in the body of our nation, the blood of the men of the Nordic race, will be maintained and increased. . . ." ⁴² "By the removal of the less good, one can constantly build the better into the best. Only thus can one create, in time, perfection." ⁴³

One facet of Darré's racial ideas remains to be explored—his attitude toward the Jews. In his major works Darré said little about the Jews in particular, but was content to class them in the larger group which he called nomads. Most of his views on the Jewish race are contained in the article, "The Pig as the Criterion for Nordic Peoples and Semites." ⁴⁴ Although Darré did not place a major emphasis on the Jews, this article is worth examining because of the general Nazi anti-Semitic policy. Darré says:

Out of the obscurity of ancient history, two human races emerge, who in their relation to pigs are perfect opposites. While the Semites neither know nor accept pigs and exclude them by all available means . . . these stand in first place in the cults of the Nordic people and form with them . . . the distinct center of their agricultural lives.⁴⁵

³⁹ Darré, *Neuadel*, 169-174.

⁴⁰ Darré, *Das Bauerntum*, 439.

⁴¹ Darré, *Neuadel*, 138.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 190.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁴⁴ Darré, *Erkenntnisse und Werden*, 24-26.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 27-28.

Darré claimed that his purpose was to find out why the Jews exclude pigs, reject pork. He tauntingly gave possible reasons and proceeded to disprove them. He finally said that perhaps the eating of pork caused some psychological disharmony. If this had been true, said Darré, its revelation would have been the Jews' greatest contribution to the knowledge of the world; but, of course, it was not true. Furthermore, Nordic people had always eaten pork; and it was, in fact, a necessary part of their diet. In spite of the fact that this article is light and satiric, it is important to a study of Darré. Perhaps its significance is found not in what it says, but in what it portends, considering the anti-Semitism which arose in Hitler's Germany.

Two important notions appear in Darré's works which do not seem to fit in either of the two groups of ideas already discussed. The first of these is his theory of government. Darré believed that the state, like the individual, is an organic unity. It is the sum of its parts and operates as a living organism. Darré outlined a rather elaborate program of what the actual composition of an ideal government should be.⁴⁶ Under this system a pyramid of noble (farmers') assemblies would rule the country. The basis of this government, and indeed, the basis of all lasting governments, would be law. Law and God were one: "To the German mind, the two cannot be separated; God is law. The law is to the German merely the expression of his eternal existence."⁴⁷

Examining Darré's comments on the person at the apex of the pyramid of government, one finds a surprising deviation from the usual ideas of a National Socialist. Darré did not believe in *Führer*-worship: "In harshest contrast to the personal veneration of *Führer* or leaders stands the German people's king. . . ." ⁴⁸ Here Darré was referring in particular to a comparison between the Communist veneration of Lenin and the respect which the Germans had for their rulers. Darré further asserted that the leaders of the Germans had always been elected and were only agents to act as a cohesive force within the nation. Thus the future official of the Third Reich relegated the *Führer* to a ceremonial position. This leader was to be the unifying symbol of the nation, especially in the event of war. Not that the Germans were warlike; however, they often had to defend themselves against the nomads, and sometimes this called for offensive action. The earliest example of this type of occurrence came when Cain killed Abel.⁴⁹

Another important concept of Darré's is found in his statements on equality and freedom. He asserted that inequality was as inseparable from mankind as life and death. For Darré the phrase, "equal rights for all," did not mean that everyone was equal but that everyone should strive to be worthy of equality.⁵⁰ "Everyone" meant only the nobility of blood and soil. Darré was unconcerned with the masses of people. Moreover, he made it clear that the rights of any individual had to be balanced by duties. Those who assumed the most duties would naturally have the most rights. "Freedom" was another word that Darré felt had been misused. To the

⁴⁶ Darré, *Neuadel*, 107-126.

⁴⁷ Darré, *Das Bauerntum*, 90.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 327.

⁵⁰ Darré, *Neuadel*, 47.

nomad it meant that he could do as he pleased, but the German only understood the meaning of freedom within the community. For example, Darré said that there was no such thing as an "unfree farmer." The fact that a man was a part of the larger entity of the state did not make him a slave. The German was not interested in individuality but in the community,⁵¹ and it was only within this context that the word "freedom" had real significance for the German.

It is fitting that this summary of Darré's pre-Nazi ideas should terminate in the idea of community, so basic to the National Socialist philosophy. Darré was in full accord here with the main concept of Nazism—*Gemeinnutz vor Eigennutz!* In fact, as might be expected, most of the ideas of Darré fitted the philosophy of the Third Reich, since both had as their source the troubled intellectual atmosphere of the Weimar republic. This does not mean that the Nazis had no ideological or policy differences, but it is true that these differences were submerged by the enthusiasm which permeated the movement in the period before it gained control of the government. This is illustrated by the fact that there were no apparent differences between Darré and Hitler in 1930 though as circumstances changed the divergence in thought became clear. To Darré the elevation of the status of the farmer and the building of a pure race were the ultimate goals. Once they were reached all other problems would take care of themselves. Hitler, on the other hand, used the ideas of Darré and others only as a means to another end—his personal power. By the time Darré was aware of this it was too late, because the whole world was caught up in the maelstrom known as Nazism.

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⁵¹ Darré, *Das Bauerntum*, 100.