

JENS CHRISTIAN JOHANSEN AND THE LINK BETWEEN DANISH AND EAST EUROPEAN AGRICULTURE

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Presented by J. Kahk

Received September 6, 1993; accepted September 28, 1993

Jens Christian Johansen belonged to the numerous group of Danish engineers specializing in drainage and irrigation who from the 1870s—80s on worked in the Baltic and in other regions on Russian empire. Johansen was a collaborator of P. R. Wöldike, who headed the Baltic Land Cultivation Bureau, and personally carried out many drainage projects. Working in the Baltics he published articles about his work in Denmark. At the same time, Danish journals of melioration often published information about the drainage projects in Russia and about the participation of Danish engineers in these works. The problems of competition between Denmark and Russia were also often discussed in the Danish agricultural press. In the years of the First World War Johansen returned to Denmark; he actively participated in the discussions of the future strategy of melioration in Denmark, and so cleared the way to the land reform of 1921.

Jens Christian Johansen was an irrigation/drainage engineer, that is, he was educated as a civil engineer specializing in water in soil systems, whether the purpose of the system was to drain the soil or to irrigate it. Shortly after receiving his degree in 1892, he travelled to the Russian Baltic provinces where, like other Danish engineers and officers of the engineering corps, he reached a position of leadership. The task of these engineers was to increase the area of arable land which at that time was only about 20% of the total area.

Another Danish engineer, Peder Rosenstand-Wöldike, had studied Swedish drainage and irrigation techniques, and in 1882 he introduced drainage and irrigation as the central elements in increasing soil productivity.

Many years later, Jens Christian Johansen wrote of this work in an article describing his own first years as an engineer.¹ Johansen reported that the Russian government had entirely neglected such soil improvement techniques, and that Baltic noblemen had had to deal with the task themselves. And the task was a large one, as drainage and irrigation conditions were similar to those which had existed in Denmark 60 to 70 years earlier. Shortly after the turn of the century, however, this work had received a higher priority with the establishment of a Land Cultivation Bureau (*Landeskulturbureau*). Wöldike was appointed as head cultivation manager; there were three cultivation managers for each of the three provinces, Estonia, Livonia and Courland. These positions were occupied by two Danish engineers and two officers from the Danish corps of engineers. Johansen worked in Estonia—from 1910—as land cultivation manager.

¹ Johansen, J. C. Meliorationsarbejder i Rusland. — *Ingeniøren*, 1907, 25, June 22, 187ff., 195ff.

According to Johansen, until that time the Bureau had prepared projects for the improvement of 3,000 square kilometres of farmland, as well as drainage projects for an area of more than 27,500 hectares. Johansen himself had prepared two large drainage projects on the Väätsa-Vissuvere (Waetz-Wissofer) and Pölluküla (Pölk) estates. This had led to a better utilization of large areas of land, and prepared the way for a change over to stock breeding and dairying along the same lines as in Denmark. Johansen had also been involved in cultivating the black soil of southern Russia. Here the task was not to drain but to irrigate the land as well as to till it in depth.

Danish engineering techniques were popular in the Baltic provinces, and in connection with Johansen's article, the editors of the journal *Ingeniøren* (The Engineer) mentioned a book on bog cultivation, *Baltische Moorwiesen*. It was written by another Danish engineer in the Baltic provinces, Johannes Hoppe, a lieutenant in the corps of engineers. He also pointed out the dominant position of the German-speaking estate owners in the provinces.

Johansen concluded his article with some good advice to young Danish engineers tempted to pursue a career in Russia. It was most important, he said, that they be good, experienced technicians, and good at languages. It went without saying that Danish engineers were expected to be honest and industrious. In addition, Johansen advised the young engineers to avoid Russian government service. His experience told him that private employment was much to be preferred.

The article received no comment from Johansen's fellow professionals, and no mention was made of it in the agricultural press. But there is no doubt that Danish irrigation and drainage engineers studied Johansen's views carefully. The article also contained some constructive suggestions for an improved drainage technique.

Furthermore, the subject of melioration, or soil improvement, was a timely one. It was necessary to extract better and larger yields from Danish farmland because the profit margin for those who wanted to raise and export livestock had narrowed considerably.

Denmark continued to import large quantities of fodder mostly from Russia, but increasing competition on the British foodstuff market meant that prices were low. Profits could only be ensured if production costs were lowered, and one of the means of doing this was to increase and, at the same time, lower the cost of domestic feedstuff production.

One of the important men in Danish agricultural science and practice, Professor M. Westermann, was the driving force behind this emphasis on plant culture as a precondition for profitable livestock breeding. He was a teacher of this subject at the Agricultural College and served as chairman of the Plant Growing Committee of Zealand Farmers' Unions. He succeeded in creating an interest towards this issue. Plant culture received generous financial support from the government in the form of grants for hiring consultants and for carrying out an extensive pilot project in this area.²

In addition, Westermann was deeply involved in the work of such institutions as the Government Committee for Plant Culture and The Danish Heath Society. These organizations endeavoured to improve the cultivation of marginal land such as heaths, bogs, marshes and water

² Regarding Westermann's importance for Danish agriculture, see *Det danske landbrugs historie*. III, 1810—1914. Copenhagen, 1988, 294ff.; Pedersen, E. H. *Landbosamfundet og Danmarkshistorien*. — In: *Landboforeninger i 200 år*, Copenhagen, 1993, in particular, 112ff.

meadows.³ Over 420,000 hectares or 15% of Danish farmland was still in this category. This meant that every farmer and agricultural technician was interested in the cultivation of such areas, or at least in transforming wet, marshy bogs into pasture for cattle.

The Danish Heath Society's specialist in bogs was Th. Claudi Westh. For various reasons, he found it difficult to win approval for his ideas about increasing the Society's activities in this area. The Heath Society saw the planting of the Jutland heath as its prime objective. It had little interest in participating in efforts to improve waterlogged farmland, as encouraged by Claudi Westh. Furthermore, Claudi Westh was an agronomist, and the "real" engineers, with degrees from the Technical University, did not feel he was qualified to evaluate drainage problems professionally.

Claudi Westh also suffered in the eyes of Conservative leaders from the fact that his political orientation was toward The Danish Social-Liberal Party. In keeping with the policy of this party, he saw it as one of his primary tasks to improve the conditions of smallholders. Various legislation, beginning in 1899, had attempted to make it possible for a farm worker to eventually own his own farm. The land made available to him, however, was often on the periphery of cultivated areas and was, therefore, greatly in need of various forms of soil improvement. But, for the time being, Claudi Westh had to be satisfied with his position as leader of the Heath Society's department for bog cultivation.

As a reader of the journal *Ingeniøren*, Claudi Westh must have been acquainted with Jens Christian Johansen's views on soil improvement. Furthermore, Johansen's brother, P. Th. Johansen (1860—1912) was a Heath Society forest supervisor and had served as the head of its office since 1893. Presumably, these two functionaries, employed by the same institution, would have discussed the merits of engineer Johansen in far away Estonia.

Claudi Westh and others with a wider interest in Danish farming in an international context could read of developments in the east in the professional journal *Ugeskrift for Landmænd* (The Farmers' Weekly). This and other agricultural journals regularly published information about the activities of Danish agricultural specialists on foreign soil, not least in the Baltic area and other parts of Russia. "Russia" became a keyword in the search for such information because there was no simple formula for defining Danish agriculture's interests in other eastern European countries.

Danish stock breeders with an interest in export markets thought of Russia as a marketplace for their products. Naturally, an agricultural country such as Russia could provide its own butter, bacon, and eggs, and there was no question of being able to export such products. Instead, Danes felt it had to be possible to sell the surplus of Danish agricultural technology, primarily cattle and horses for breeding, to an area thought to be 60 to 70 years behind them in agricultural development.

Danish manufacturers of farm machinery held this same view, although they knew that German, Swedish, and American products would provide stiff competition. At this same time, there was a widespread fear that by equipping Russia with modern agricultural technology, a future competitor was being given an opportunity to hasten its own modernization. Apart from that, Danish farmers continued to buy big quantities of cheap feedstuffs from Russia. If Russian farmers began to make use of their own grain and feedstuffs, this could force up the

³ Regarding the activities of The Danish Heath Society, see Skrubbeltrang, F. *Det indvundne Danmark* (Det danske Hedeselskab 1866—1914); Pedersen, E. H. *Hedesagen under forvandling. Det danske Hedeselskabs historie 1914—1966*. Copenhagen, 1971.

price of these products. Danish agriculture would then see a decline in profits and lose their competitive edge.

This problem arose for the first time in about 1890, when the Danish pioneers in stock breeding, farmers on the Island of Funen, began to export their next-best breeding stock to Russia, primarily to the Baltic provinces. Ludvig Friis, an agricultural economist and journalist was one of the prime movers behind this marketing endeavour. From 1898 to 1906 he carried out government subsidized marketing efforts under the auspices of the Royal Danish Agricultural Society (*Landhusholdnings-selskabet*). He travelled as a salesman to Russia and persuaded Russian farmers and civil servants to make purchases in Denmark.

He wrote sales brochures in German and Russian, and described his activities in the Danish agricultural press.⁴ In his first article, written in 1900, he dealt with conditions in the Baltic provinces, in particular in southern Estonia, where farmers who favoured the previously introduced Angeln cattle were not eager to buy the Red Danish Milk Cattle. Friis thought that what these Angeln devotees really planned was develop a market for their own breeding animals in Russia. This would make them a threat to Danish export interests, as Friis' campaign was also directed towards this area.

Four years later, when Friis reported on the work he had done during that time, he was somewhat more optimistic. The Russian market was now partially won for Danish breeding cattle, not least because Russian buyers who visited Denmark could see the quality of the breeding stock for themselves. Friis felt it was unfortunate, therefore, that Danish newspapers often criticized internal conditions in Russia, and he stressed that this would certainly harm our sales over there.

Some years later, F. Welding, a Danish farmer in Karis near Weg-gewa in Livonia, wrote a letter to *Ugeskrift for Landmænd*⁵, describing what we could call "the Friis era" in the export of Danish breeding stock to Russia. He wrote that the market had been taken over by Swedish and Dutch exporters. The result of Friis' efforts, according to Welding, was that "second- and third-class cattle were sent [to Livonia], yes, sometimes even the "rejects"..." Few Danish farmers and dairymen went there any longer. All farming initiatives had been taken over by Germany and Sweden. The objective then became to establish a permanent exhibition of Danish agricultural technology in the Baltic provinces.

The Danish lack of interest in the Baltic provinces may have been due, in part, to the fact that Danish dairymen and other stock breeders had decided that Siberia would be a more profitable area of expansion for Danish agriculture. Beginning with 1896, the large Danish butter export company, E. F. Esmann, had become heavily involved in Siberian butter production and export. This activity increased considerably when the company was reorganized and expanded under the name "The Siberian Company (Sibiko)" (*Det sibiriske Kompagni*) in 1904.⁶ Together with other Danish companies in this field, Sibiko churned and exported so much Siberian butter to Denmark that it made up 50% of domestic production.

Needless to say, the men behind the Danish butter industry were alarmed, but the fact is that Siberian and Danish butter shared the market to the advantage of both. Because of its poor quality, the Siberian butter was sold to the Danish market and also re-exported to Hamburg

⁴ Tidsskrift for Landøkonomi. 1901, 73ff; 1904, 632ff., 649ff.

⁵ Ugeskrift for Landmænd. 1910, 299ff.

⁶ See company head, H. P. Hjerl Hansen's own report: *Danske Pionerer i Siberien*. Copenhagen, 1949.

where it was sold as provision for ships. Danish "lur-brand" butter continued to have the British market to itself, undisturbed by the Danish-owned Siberian producers.

From the Baltic Sea to the Sea of Japan, there were hundreds, perhaps thousands of Danes employed in Russian enterprises. They worked primarily in agriculture and affiliated industries, and were engaged in construction work of many kinds. If their memoirs are to be believed, they often knew nothing of one another's existence. Perhaps the truth is that they had conflicting interests. One of the most influential of these Russian Danes was ministerial counsellor C. A. Koefoed who was the government's advisor on the important question of abandonment of the open-field system of agriculture. In his memoirs, "Fifty Years in Russia" (*50 Aar i Rusland*) (1945) he mentions only those farmers whose conditions he shared during his first years. He seems, for example, to have been completely unaware of Johansen's activities in Estonia.

To some degree those Danes who had the best position in the Russian system competed for the favour of their own homeland. They, of course, had their own best interests at heart. Koefoed concludes his book with the mention of the Danish government advisor for Russia, farmer and School of Agriculture graduate, N. Otto Nielsen. In 1915, having served as land-agent in Sutiski in Podolien, Nielsen became the appointed representative of Danish agricultural interests in Russia.

In the years up to 1914, N. Otto Nielsen's name had become well known through his numerous long articles in the agricultural press. He had a first-class knowledge of the conditions in Russian agriculture. From the very beginning he, like the aforementioned Welding, favoured more specific sales promotion. In a report on the agricultural exhibition in Kiev in 1913⁷ he pointed out that Sweden, once again, had taken the lead by having a building of its own on the exhibition grounds. Danish breeding stock were conspicuous by their absence, but there was, of course, an exhibit of breeding cattle from the Baltic provinces, "our biggest competitor on the Russian market," as he put it.

Within a very short time, N. Otto Nielsen had created such a name for himself that he became Denmark's first government advisor in Russia. He settled in Riga and was preparing to develop a network of contacts in the Baltic area when he was killed during street fighting in Riga in November, 1919.

By this time, Koefoed had safely returned to Denmark, having fled the Bolshevik rebels and future rulers of Russia. A few years later he was appointed to succeed N. Otto Nielsen as government advisor in Russia, but that is another story. It may be interesting in this connection that in the early 1920s, both Koefoed and Johansen reported about the conditions in Estonia to the new journal, *Landbrugsraadets Meddelelser* (Reports from the Agricultural Council). At no point, however, did they let their readers know that Johansen in Tallinn knew Koefoed in Riga—and vice versa.

But this anticipates developments which occurred during the First World War. To the best of our knowledge, Jens Christian Johansen returned to Denmark some time during 1915. It is not entirely clear just why he took this step and how he had planned to manage financially, with his family—and his source of income—in Tallinn, and himself in Copenhagen. According to the Danish Biographical Encyclopedia (*Dansk biografisk Leksikon*) while in Denmark, he gave lectures in drainage and irrigation techniques at the Technical University. But in order to make ends meet, he must have had other activities,

⁷ Ugeskrift for Landmænd, 1913, 299ff.

Upon his return to Copenhagen, he cannot have helped noticing that drainage and irrigation techniques had become a topic of even greater interest than upon his previous visits to Denmark. The bloody super-power conflict had created an enormous need for food. This meant that a neutral country like Denmark, where the means of production remained intact, had gained even greater importance as a supplier of processed farm products. At the same time, the import of feedstuffs seemed to be decreasing. It was, therefore, necessary to increase the yield of Danish farmland, and an important means of doing so was, of course, to drain it more effectually.

In addition, the difficulties faced by the smallholders were now receiving greater publicity because their own political party, The Danish Social-Liberal Party, had come to power in 1913. Previous to this, a Land Commission (*Landbokommission*) had been set up. This Commission was to consider the sensitive issue of barring the entailments of the large estates in return for their giving up land for parcelling out as smallholdings.

Th. Claudi Westh, who later worked together with Johansen, played a central role in both connections. On the issue of soil improvement, he felt the national government should offer financial assistance to farmers willing to take initiative in this area. This assistance should be based on studies carried out to identify specific needs. He insisted that The Heath Society and private engineering companies should carry out the necessary work, based on the results of such studies.

Most smallholders and peasants did not have the necessary capital to finance expensive soil improvement. In Westh's opinion, therefore, it should be the responsibility of the government to lead money and provide grants for that work. He was requested to write a recommendation to the Land Commission to that effect.

Having served The Heath Society for nearly 25 years, he judged that it would be impossible to convince that conservative, patriotic organization to support a political solution of the smallholders' need for soil improvement. He wanted, therefore, to see a national institution established to carry out the studies and plan the work and, in general, to advise the public authorities in these matters.⁸

To a great extent, Westh's campaign had the support of Professor Westermann, who at this point had a strong position as the Chairman of the National Plant Cultivation Committee (*Statens Planteavlsudvalg*) and President of the Danish Agricultural Society (*Landhusholdningsselskabet*). It was on his initiative that a special "water committee" was appointed in 1914. This committee was to consider the agricultural and administrative aspects of soil improvement efforts.

Westh, and those who shared his views, enjoyed the favour of the Social-Liberal government. For various reasons, however, Westh's campaign was stranded toward the end of 1916. Instead, The Danish Heath Society had used its political friends in the non-socialist parties to secure additional funds to finance its own activities.

It was in this situation that Jens Christian Johansen came to Westh's aid. From the start, Johansen had to assume that, professionally speaking, he and Westh had little in common. And, Westh, the bog engineer from Viborg, could scarcely be expected to feel great friendship for a man like Johansen who represented the "real" engineers—that is to say, engineers with tailor-made views on the supposed ignorance of agronomists when it came to drainage and irrigation techniques.

⁸ Pedersen, E. H. Hedesagen under forvandling, 27ff.

Furthermore, Jens Christian Johansen's experience in this area was based on his activities in the distant Baltic States where the distribution of land and agricultural conditions, in general, were radically different from those in Denmark.

It is not clear who took the initiative in securing Johansen as the speaker, but on May 9, 1917, he gave a lecture on "Future Tasks in the Field of Drainage and Irrigation Techniques" for The Society of Engineers in Copenhagen.⁹ It was his belief that Danish agricultural conditions would be completely changed after the war. This was because, in the meantime, many countries would have endeavoured to make themselves self-sufficient in the provision of food.

Danish agriculture already suffered from a poor balance between the cost of raw products and the profits earned from the land, and Johansen maintained that the aim should be to "ensure maximum yield from all our land..." In his opinion, however, there was no comprehensive plan for solving the problem in a rational way. Again, agriculture's supply of capital was not geared to solving that kind of problem. Neither was it geared to solving the technical aspects of the problem.

In any case, Johansen judged it to be good business for agriculture and society as a whole to carry out soil improvement activities. He reckoned that soil improvement would give at least a 20% return on the investment—in Russia up to 30%. He maintained that basic experiments and studies, combined with a complete listing of the areas suffering from an excess of water, were the first steps to be taken. The national government should pay for that part of the work, but after that, it would be the agriculture's own responsibility to finance the engineering work to be done.

Westh, of course, attended Johansen's lecture. To a great extent he agreed with Johansen's views, but he felt the national government should also finance the engineering work itself with loans and special grants. Johansen and Westh began to work closely together during the early autumn of 1917, and in spite of their very different personalities, they became very good friends. I quote from a letter Johansen wrote to Westh on December 22, 1917: "The two of us have probably become so close because of our personal, rather than our professional, compatibility..."¹⁰

Together they succeeded in helping to establish a central planning organization, The National Soil Improvement Commission (*Statens Grundforbedringsvæsen*) in February, 1918. This was a direct result of their joint efforts to improve the utilization of two large raised bogs in northern Jutland. Johansen was responsible for planning the government's possible purchase of these areas with an eye to making use of the large quantity of raw peat there. The government could thus contribute to solving the problem of unemployment in North Jutland and, at the same time, increase the national fuel supply.

He and Westh gave a lecture on this topic in the Society of Engineers on April 24, 1918. In short, both favoured government purchase of the land. The peat was then to be dug and prepared for use in industry and private households. Finally, the soil cleared when the peat was removed was to be cultivated and divided into smallholdings. This process was delayed politically in the first chamber of the Danish Parliament (*Landstinget*), which, at that time, was dominated by the Conservative Party. The political tug-of-war lasted for three years and ended with the appointment of a special Moor Commission (*Vildmosekommission*). By

⁹ Printed in *Ingeniøren*, 1917, 39, May 16.

¹⁰ This letter and those cited in the following are in Westh's private archive. The Danish National Archives, Copenhagen.

this time, it was felt that industrial use of the peat would no longer be profitable. Instead the bogs were drained and cultivated to provide permanent pasture land.

With regard to the National Soil Improvement Commission, however, Johansen and Westh were able to make a significant contribution—although not in the way they had originally planned. The Social-Liberal government continued to lose ground to the non-socialist parties, and the result was a change of government in May, 1920. The liberal party (*Venstre*) formed a minority government based on the support of the Conservatives. This gave The Danish Heath Society the upper hand in their struggle for power with the National Soil Improvement Commission. In 1921, all soil improvement activities became the responsibility of The Heath Society which was reorganized as originally outlined by Claudi Westh.¹¹

Johansen's numerous letters to Westh from this period bear witness to his mixed feelings of optimism and frustration. "Let us not lose faith in the fact that we are the sensible ones and that the others are idiots," he wrote as early as December 31, 1917. When the bog issue seemed hopelessly stranded in the Danish Parliament, Johansen viewed it as an expression of "how damaging politics can be to practical issues."

From time to time he reported on the restless situation in Estonia. In early March, 1918, his wife wrote to tell him that she had rescued some of his office furnishings and brought them home "under the protection of the Danish flag as the Bolsheviks had occupied all of the Agrarbank's beautiful building". By July, 1918, Johansen and Westh's joint efforts were winding down. In a letter written on July 11, Westh heartily thanked Johansen for his efforts, and said that they had been crucial to the establishment of the National Soil Improvement Commission. In a letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 30, 1918, Westh characterizes Johansen as "a very serious man who is extremely interested in Danish issues" ... a man who is not driven by personal interests and who would therefore be exceptionally well suited for the post of Danish consul in Tallinn. In addition, Johansen represented significant Danish interests in Estonia, among others, the international engineering firm, F. L. Smidth & Co.

Complications arising out of the World War placed Jens Christian Johansen, engineer and later consul, in the midst of the Danish play for influence in the organization of soil improvement efforts. Although the final solution to the problem was far from that proposed by Johansen and his good friend and fellow worker, Th. Claudi Westh, their efforts were of lasting importance.

In May, 1921, a law providing for government support of soil improvement work was passed, and this legislation was on the books for more than 50 years. The work of The Danish Heath Society was expanded both in breadth and in depth, and although the systematic study of the need for soil improvement never met with sympathy in the Society, Westh and Johansen's efforts bore fruit in this area as well.

¹¹ Pedersen, E. H., Hedesagen under forvandling, 134ff.

JENS CHRISTIAN JOHANSEN NING TAANI JA IDA-EUROOPA PÖLLUMAJANDUSE SIDEMED

Erik Helmer PEDERSEN

Jens Christian Johansen sai maaparandusinseneri diplomi 1892. aastal ja siirdus nagu paljud teisedki taani spetsialistid tööle Venemaale. Ta võttis osa maaparandustöödest Lõuna-Venemaal, kus maad tuli niisutada. 1907. aastal ilmunud artiklis kirjeldas J. C. Johansen maaparanduse algaastaid Venemaal ja väitis, et tsaarivalitsus oli selle ala lohakuusse jätnud ning Taani oludega võrreldes pool sajandit maha jäänud maaparandusega pidid tegelema hakkama kohalikud aadlikorporatsioonid.

Taani insener P. Rosenstand-Wöldike oli hakanud alates 1882. aastast juurutama dreanaazi Balti kubermangudes. Käesoleva sajandi algul asus ta Baltimail rajatud spetsiaalse Maakultuuri Büroo etteotsa. Teda abistas kolm maakultuuritööde korraldajat — üks iga kubermangu kohta. Kõik nad olid taani insenerid, neist J. C. Johansen hakkas tööle Eestimaal. J. C. Johanseni andmeil oli büroo 1910. aastaks valmistanud projektiid 3000 ruutkilomeetri maa parandamiseks ja dreanaaziprojektiid enam kui 27 500 hektari tarvis. J. C. Johansen ise oli koostanud kaks suurt dreanaaziprojekti — Väätša-Vissuvere ja Põllküla mõisale.

20. sajandi algul rõhutasid Taani põllumajandusteaduse juhtivad asjatundjad, et Inglismaa turu vallutamiseks peab Taani põllumajandus vähendama karjasaaduste omahinda nende tootmise efektiivsuse suurendamise teel. Saavutati valitsuse toetus taimekasvatuse arendamiseks ja asjaga hakkas energiliselt tegelema Taani Nõmmekultuuri Selts. Kaasaegete hinnangul vajas üle 15% Taani talude maadest melioratsiooni kui soised ja rabased alad. Nõmmekultuuri Seltsi soode peaspetsialistil C. Westhil oli aga raskusi oma maaparandusplaanide elluviimisel, kuna seltsi peatahelepanu oli pööratud Jüütimaa nõmmede kultiveerimisele ja selts ei toetanud väiketalu poegi. C. Westhil oli kahtlemata tuttav J. C. Johanseni seisukohtadega.

Neil aastail pidasid Taani karjakasvatavad Venemaad soodsaks turuks oma tõukarjale, masinaehitajad aga lootsid sinna müüa põllutöomasinaid. Levis kartus, et sel teel kasvatatakse endale tulevikus ohtlik võistleja, kes ise hakkab kasutama söödateravilja, mida seni müüdi odavalt taanlastele. Küsimusega tegeles Taani Kuningliku Põllumajandusühingu ülesandel L. Friis, kes oma esimeses, 1900. aastal kirjutatud artiklis vaatles Baltikumi ja pööras erilist tähelepanu Lõuna-Eestile. Ta kahtlustas, et Lõuna-Eesti angli tõukarja aretajad tahavad enda kätte haarata Lõuna-Venemaa turu. Mõni aasta hiljem süüdistas keegi taani farmer Taani tõukarja aretajaid, et need olid meelega Baltikumi müünud madalakvaliteedilist tõukarja ning seetõttu läks rootslastel ja sakslastel korda vallutada Venemaa turg oma tõukarjale. Sajandivahetusest alates pöörasid Taani võieksporditörid järjest suuremat tähelepanu Siberi turule. 1904. aastal rajatud Taani võiekspordikompanii «Sibiko» tõi koos teiste kompaniidega Siberist nii palju võid, et see moodustas ligi poole Taani enda toodangust. Taani kvaliteetsem võid jäi valitsema Inglismaa turul, Siberi võid aga müüdi kui teisejärgulist Hamburgi turul, eeskätt laevade tarbeks.

20. sajandi algul töötas tsaariimpeeriumis sadu, kui mitte tuhandeid taani põllumajandusspetsialiste. Üks tuntumaid neist oli N. O. Nielsen, kes tegutses Riias. Teine silmapaistev spetsialist C. A. Koefoed esitas 1920. aastate algul Taani valitsusele ettekande põllumajanduse olukorrast Eestis. Samal ajal esitas seesuguseid ettekandeid ka J. C. Johansen, kusjuures kumbki teise omadest teadlik polnud.

Aastal 1915 pöördus J. C. Johansen Taanimaale tagasi. Ta mõistis, et maaparanduse tähtsus oli veelgi tõusnud. Seda taipas ka Taani väikepõllumeeste huve kaitsev võimule tulnud sotsiaal-liberaalne partei. C. Westh rõhutas, et valitsus peab aitama väikemaapidajaid kulukate melioratsioonitööde alustamisel. Aastal 1914 rajati nende ülesannete täitmiseks niinimetatud Vete Komitee. C. Westhi tuli abistama J. C. Johansen. Oma 1917. aastal peetud kõnes kuivendustööde tulevikuülesannetest rõhutas ta, et kuigi maaparandus annab Taanis kasu 20% aastas, ei pöörata kapitalimahutuste tegemisel sellele küllaldast tähelepanu. 1918. aastal esinesid C. Westh ja J. C. Johansen ühise avaliku loenguga nõudes, et valitsus ostaks melioreeritavaid maid, töötleks sealt turvast ja pärast jagaks maa edasiseks harimiseks väikemaomanikele. Kuid järgnevatel aastail asetleidnud poliitiliste muutuste tõttu need plaanid ei realiseerunud. J. C. Johansen elas sügavalt üle oma plaanide nurjumist.

Tänades J. C. Johansen Taani Rahvusliku Maaparanduse Komitee rajamisel osutatud abi eest andis C. Westh oma 1918. aasta 11. juuli kirjas J. C. Johansen tegevusele väga kõrge hinnangu. Uhtlasi soovitas ta teda Taani konsuli ametikohale Tallinnas, kuhu J. C. Johansen järgnevalt siirduski. J. C. Johansen tegevus aitas ette valmistada Taani põllumajanduse arengule väga olulise maaparandust reguleeriva seaduse vastuvõtmist 1921. aastal.

ЕНС КРИСТИАН ЙОХАНСЕН И СЕЛЬСКОХОЗЯЙСТВЕННЫЕ СВЯЗИ ДАНИИ С ВОСТОЧНОЙ ЕВРОПОЙ

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Енс Кристиан Йохансен получил диплом инженера-мелиоратора в 1892 г. и уехал, как многие другие датские специалисты, на работу в Россию, где принимал участие в оросительной мелиорации черноземов в южных губерниях. В 1907 г. он опубликовал статью, в которой писал, что развитие мелиорации в России только начинается, да и то благодаря инициативе местных корпораций дворян, что Дания ушла от России в этом деле более чем на полвека вперед.

П. Розенстанд-Вельдике — другой датский инженер — с 1882 г. занимался дренажными работами в Прибалтийских губерниях. В начале XX в. здесь было создано специальное Бюро по земельной культуре, которое он и возглавил. В подчинении П. Розенстанда-Вельдике были три распорядителя — по одному на губернию, все датские специалисты. С ними Е. К. Йохансен и стал работать по прибытии в Эстонию. Согласно данным Е. К. Йохансена, в 1910 г. бюро подготовило проекты по мелиорации 300 кв. км и дренированию более чем 27 500 га. Сам он был автором двух больших проектов — для мыз Вяэтса-Виссувере и Пыллкюла.

В начале XX в. ведущие датские специалисты в области сельского хозяйства сошлись во мнении, что для завоевания английского рынка себестоимость продуктов животноводства Дании непозволительно высока, необходимо снизить ее за счет повышения эффективности производства. Встал вопрос о развитии растениеводства и проведении мелиоративных работ. При поддержке правительства было учреждено соответствующее общество, которое энергично взялось за дело. По оценкам этого общества, более 15% крестьянских земель в Дании были заболоченными и трясинными. К. Вест — главный специалист общества по болотам — составил план мелиорации мелких крестьянских земель, но

общество, игнорируя этот план, сосредоточило основные усилия и средства на культивации земель в Ютландии.

В те годы датские животноводы видели в России подходящий рынок сбыта своего племенного стада. Но при этом и опасались, что в будущем заполучат себе опасного соперника, который вместо того, чтобы дешево продавать датчанам зернофураж, найдут ему применение у себя. По заданию Королевского сельскохозяйственного общества этим вопросом стал заниматься Л. Фриис. В 1900 г. он написал статью о Прибалтике, в которой уделил особое внимание Южной Эстонии. Он высказал опасение, что специалисты по разведению ангельской южноэстонской породы намереваются захватить южнороссийский рынок. Несколько лет спустя один датский фермер обвинил местных работников племенного дела в том, что они намеренно продавали Прибалтике низкокачественный племенной скот; позволив тем самым вытеснить датчан с российского рынка и занять его шведам и немцам.

В начале XX столетия датские экспортеры масла стали проявлять повышенный интерес к сибирскому рынку. В 1904 г. новая компания по экспорту масла «Сибико», скооперировавшись с другими компаниями этого профиля, закупила в Сибири столько масла, что по объему оно составило почти половину собственной продукции. Датское масло как более качественное завоевало английский рынок, тогда как сибирское как второсортное пошло на гамбургский рынок, прежде всего на нужды флота.

В начале XX в. в царской империи работали сотни, если не тысячи датских специалистов по сельскому хозяйству. Из них наибольшую известность приобрели Н. О. Ниельсон и К. А. Козфозд. В начале 20-х годов последний представил правительству Дании доклад о состоянии дел в сельском хозяйстве Эстонии. В это же время подобные доклады посылал и Е. К. Йохансен, причем ни один из авторов не был в курсе содержания докладов другого.

В 1915 г. Е. К. Йохансен вернулся на родину. Он понимал, что будущее сельского хозяйства Дании за мелиорацией. Это понимала и пришедшая к власти социал-демократическая партия Дании, защищавшая интересы мелких земельных собственников. Разделяя те же взгляды, К. Вест обратился к правительству с предложением помочь мелким землевладельцам начать дорогостоящие мелиоративные работы. В 1914 г. был учрежден т. н. Комитет по водному хозяйству. В паре с К. Вестом работал и Е. К. Йохансен. В речи, произнесенной в 1917 г., он остановился на будущем дренирования и подчеркнул, что хотя в результате проведения мелиоративных работ Дания станет получать до 20% прибыли в год, в капитальных вложениях эта цифра недостаточно учитывается. В 1918 г. К. Вест и Е. К. Йохансен выступили с публичной лекцией, где изложили план действий: правительство должно выкупить подвергнутые мелиорации земли, провести торфоразработки и затем распределить земли между мелкими собственниками для обработки. Однако последовавшие политические изменения в Дании не дали этим планам осуществиться.

К. Вест высоко ценил Е. К. Йохансена. В письме от 11 июля 1918 г. он выразил Е. К. Йохансену глубокую признательность за активное участие и помощь при основании Датского национального комитета по мелиорации. Деятельность Е. К. Йохансена помогла подготовить очень важный для развития сельского хозяйства Дании закон о мелиорации и принять его в 1921 г. К. Вест рекомендовал Е. К. Йохансена на должность консула Дании в Таллинне.