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Work in the interests of rail transport: the second Minister of Railway Transport of the Russian Empire – Volodymyr O. Bobrynskyi (1869-1871)

***Abstract.** The expanded and comprehensive study of the way of life of the personalities of prominent figures who have made a significant contribution to the formation and development of homeland and world science remains a topical task of historical science at the present stage of its development. The article is devoted to the coverage and periodization of stages of life and activities in the field of railroad construction of the Russian Empire, of its second Minister of Railway Transport Volodymyr O. Bobrynskyi. The preconditions of V. O. Bobrynskyi's career growth have been considered. The article shows how the study at St. Petersburg University influenced the formation of V. O. Bobrynskyi's personality. The stages of the military career of V. O. Bobrynskyi during the Crimean War of 1854-1856 have been investigated. Analysis of V. O. Bobrynskyi's activity in different public positions until he was appointed as the Minister of Railway Transport, allowed to assess his contribution to state building and the development of the Russian Empire in various fields. It has been established that Volodymyr Bobrynskyi, acting as the Minister of Railway Transport of the Russian Empire, became the initiator of the construction of 27 railway lines, and as the creator of the network of railways, including the Ukrainian segment. His activities during the administration of the ministry were aimed at strategic directions for the development of railways, in particular: to establish links between the railways that were still divided; to ensure continuation of lines that were not adjacent to the general railway network; to connect internal provinces with seaports (with Mykolaiv and Mariupol); to develop the railways in the*



interests of the coal and mining industry, as well as the Vologda and Vyatka-Dvina lines. In addition, on the initiative of the Minister, it was envisaged to include two strategic railway lines - from Prague to Warsaw and from Lukov to Ivanogorod. Analysis of reforms of V. O. Bobrynskyi in the management of the railways showed that he successfully pursued a policy of removing from the state administration all the lines already built, and those that were still being built on the expense of the public purse. At the end of the ministerial activity of V. O. Bobrynskyi in September 1871, the length of the railways in the Russian Empire grew almost twice and exceeded 13 thousand miles and almost all of them belonged to private railway companies. The article shows the role of V. O. Bobrynskyi in solving the problem of construction of narrow-gauge railways. And although his occupying the post of Minister of Railway Transport was short-lived, some two years, V. O. Bobrynskyi should be referred to the constellation of those ministers who successfully built railway transport and its facilities.

Keywords: *the Russian Empire; reforms on rail transport; development of the railway network; private railway companies; Volodymyr O. Bobrynskyi's role in the reforms*

Introduction

By named Decree given to the Government Senate on June 16 (28), 1865, the commander in chief of the Russian Empire was awarded the title of Minister of Railway Transport, and his subordinate Office was called the Ministry of Railway Transport. The first minister of communications was P. P. Melnikov – the founder of the national transport science, the chief technical director of the design and construction of the railway line Petersburg-Moscow, the honorary academician of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Under his leadership, the Ministry (1865-1869) built about 4700 km of new railways.

After the resignation of P. P. Melnikov, Major General, Count Volodymyr O. Bobrynskyi was appointed as the Minister of Railway Transport. He became the 2nd Minister of Railway Transport of the Russian Empire. Although he was in this position for a short period of time – over 2 years, he managed to bring the construction of railways to 13 thousand miles. His achievement is also the fact that he proposed a railway network construction plan covering 27 railway lines with a length of 7362 versts (i.e. miles). V. O. Bobrynskyi planned and built important railways in the south and west of Ukraine. Today we successfully use his railways.

The purpose of this article is to highlight the main achievements of the 2nd Minister of Railway Transport of the Russian Empire, as well as to analyze his activities in the field of construction of new railways.

Research methods

During the preparation of the article, chronological, comparative methods of historical knowledge, classification, and systematization of historical sources and bibliographic material were used (Pylypchuk & Strelko, 2017; Pylypchuk & Strelko,

2018). The use of these methods and approaches to scientific research allowed to retrace the way of life and professional activity of V. O. Bobrynskyi systematically and critically evaluate the sources used, highlight the main points in the current state of studying the subject and the results of predecessors, specify the most promising directions of research, give a description of the previous works on this issue and clearly distinguish issues that have not yet been resolved.

Results and discussions

Volodymyr Bobrynskyi belonged to the constellation of those Ministers of Railway Transport in the Russian Empire of the second half of the nineteenth century, who laid and developed the foundations of the railroad business and thoroughly developed the transport system of the country. In the Encyclopaedia of History of Ukraine, V. Lazanskaya states that the Smila lineage (the Bobrynskyi-Smilianskyis) is a glorious Count family, its members were large landowners, industrialists, state and public figures, agronomists and generals (Lazanska, 2009). The patriarch of the Smila lineage of the Bobrynskyis was Oleksii Bobrynskyi. His sons - Oleksandr, Lev, and Volodymyr, buying up new lands to the acquired in the inheritance ones, at the beginning of the twentieth century had already 52 thousand acres. The Bobrynskyi-Smilianskyis founded 6 sugar factories, 1 refinery, 5 wineries, 4 brick factories, 1 sawmill, 2 flour-grinding factories, coal mines, and others. At the beginning of the XX century, their industrial enterprises produced annually products for 10 million rubles.



Figure 1. V. O. Bobrynskyi in Paris (in the '40s of the 19th century)
(Count Vladimir Alexeevich Bobrinskyi, 1845)

They owned large estates in Tula, Kyiv, Kursk, Orel, Symbirsk and other provinces. The cost of estates, buildings and available capital amounted to 17.5 million rubles. They were the founders of powerful European sugar factories, owners and shareholders of enterprises in wine, flour mill, mining industry (Vivcharyk, 2005). With the assistance of the Bobrynskyi-Smilianskyis there started and for a long time were functioning Smilianski technical courses. It was the first in the Russian Empire educational institution, which trained specialists for sugar production.

Representatives of the Smila lineage of this glorious family were state and public figures, engaged in agronomy, genealogy, and archaeology. Oleksandr Oleksiiovych's first son was an attorney by education, from 1896 he was a member of the State Council of the Russian Empire, admired the genealogy, published a two-volume book titled "Noble generations Listed in the General Armorial of the All-Russian Empire" and "Student Songs of 1825-1855". His other son - Volodymyr Bobrynskyi (1824-1898) was a Tula landowner, but devoted himself to the railway business; in 1869-1871 he served as the Minister of Railway Transport of the Russian Empire (Moskalenko, 2009).

Volodymyr Bobrynskyi was born on 2 (14 October) in 1824 in St. Petersburg. After graduating from the University of St. Petersburg (in 1846), he served in the Petersburg provincial department, and then (from 1851) in the office of the Kyiv governor. He received his education at the Law Department of the University of St. Petersburg. He became a bachelor of law (Zenzinov, 1995a).

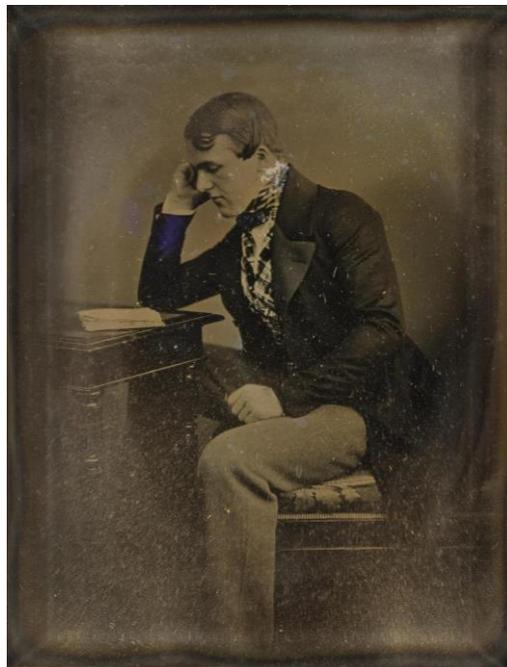


Figure 2. Volodymyr O. Bobrynskyi (1846)
(Count Vladimir Alexeevich Bobrinskyi, 1845)

With the beginning of the Crimean War of 1854-1856, he got into an active army. As a non-commissioned officer of the tsarist army, he participated in military operations on the Danube, in Crimea, under the siege of Silistra. In 1855 he became an officer, and since April 1856 he became an aide-de-camp under Emperor Oleksandr II. He participated in the defence of Sevastopol. After the end of the Crimean War, he was in the retinue of the emperor and performed his personal mandate. Later, in 1863, he participated in the construction of the St. Petersburg-Warsaw Railway, where he headed the construction of the site from Vilnius to Warsaw. By the decree of Emperor Oleksandr II of April 17 (29), 1863 he was appointed as Acting Director of the Grodno Military Governor. On May 4 (16), 1863, received the rank of Major General and was appointed to the emperor's suite. By the decree of Oleksandr II from July 21 (August 2) in 1863, at his own discretion, he was dismissed with the preservation of the court rank.

On behalf of Emperor Oleksandr II in 1868, he carried out an audit of the Mykolaiv (St. Petersburg-Moscow) and Moscow-Kursk Railways, and from June 4, 1868, to April 20, 1869, he was a fellow (deputy) of the Minister of railway transport P. P. Melnikov. From April 1869 to September 1871 he was the Minister of Railway Transport of the Russian Empire.

Even before the appointment as the Minister, Count V. O. Bobrynskyi opposed the state construction of railways and criticized the views of P.P. Melnikov. In particular, this was manifested in the consideration of complaints from grain merchants from the districts of the Moscow-Riazan, Riazan-Kozlovsk and Orel-Vitebsk railways that on these lines the goods are delayed for several months and are not delivered in time to the destinations. And this damaged the interests of trade. Verification of these complaints was entrusted to V. O. Bobrynskyi as the Deputy of the Minister of Railway Transport P. P. Melnikov. V. O. Bobrynskyi travelled all of these lines and submitted to the Emperor Oleksandr II the report, bypassing his immediate supervisor. Recognizing the complaints of the grain merchants fair, Volodymyr Oleksiiovych proposed measures to increase the freight capacity of the railways: the construction of the second railway track in the Moscow-Viazma direction, the opening of additional junctions on single-line sections, the strengthening of water supply, the purchase of additional rolling stock, etc. He supported the railway policy of the Minister of Finance M. Kh. Reiter.

For the realization of these measures, V. O. Bobrynskyi recommended extracting from the state treasury loans to specified private railways in the amount of 9 million rubles. The issue was submitted to the Special Commission under the chairmanship of the chairman of the Committee of the Railways Count S. H. Stroganov. At that time, the Minister of Railway Transport P. P. Melnikov considered the complaints of grain merchants heavily exaggerated and guaranteed that before the start of navigation, all the goods would be transported and timely sent abroad, without the expense of the great means of the public purse. A special council members, as well as the Emperor Oleksandr II, did not support P. P. Melnikov.

After six months of work on the post of Minister of Railway Transport V. O. Bobrynskyi, at a council of prelaty of Russia under the chairmanship of Emperor Oleksandr II in late 1869, discussed the issue of railway construction in the country. V. O. Bobrynskyi noted that the Ministry of Railway Transport received a number of requests for permission for the construction of new railways and proposed to develop a new plan of the railway network to replace the one developed by P. P. Melnikov and approved two years earlier. And January 2, 1870, V. O. Bobrynskyi received from the emperor the command to draft a new network of railways, including into it five lines from the network of 1868. It was planned to build up to 4000 versts (i.e. miles) of new lines.

V. O. Bobrynskyi's proposals were repeatedly discussed at the meetings of the Railway Committee, and if the first part, which included five lines from the previous network with significant changes, did not raise any special objections, then the second, which consisted of 18 new lines, took place in three meetings and concerning some lines it came to disputes (Zenzinov, 1995b).



Figure 3. The second Minister of Railway Transport of the Russian Empire – Volodymyr O. Bobrynskyi (1869-1871) (Bobrynskyi Vladimir Alekseyevich, 1824)

The second part, proposed by V. O. Bobrynskyi, had the following goals: to establish a connection between the railways that were still divided; to ensure continuation of lines that were not adjacent to the general railway network; connect the inner provinces with the seaports (to Mykolaiv and Mariupol); to develop the railways in the interests of the coal and mining industry, as well as the Vologda and Vyatka-Dvina lines. In addition, at the request of the military minister, it was envisaged to include in the plan two strategic railway lines - from Prague to Warsaw and from Lukov to Ivanogorod. Most members of the Railways Committee supported a new plan for building a railway network. After this, the emperor wrote: «Execute, and in relation to those questions which led to disputes, I approve the opinion of the majority» (Lapin, 2008).

As a result, the network of railways in 1870 covered 27 railway lines with a length of 7362 versts (i.e. miles). In addition, the Committee provided the Minister of Railway Transport, with the consent of the Minister of Finance, the right to enter into submissions on the construction of feeding (accessory) spurs in case of need. Unlike previous plans, in the new provision on the network, there was no division of lines into categories - it served as a general guide to the future activities of the Ministry of Railway Transport and the Ministry of Finance.

The first line, according to the new plan, became the Brest-Smolensk railway. Contrary to the rules, during the issuance of a permit for its construction, there was no competition between the searchers, although there were many people interested in the construction of this railway. March 4, 1870, this right, on the proposal of V. O. Bobrynskyi was given to the Moscow-Smolensk Railway Company. In the future, the system of competition between searchers in sealed envelopes was applied only once – when issuing a concession to the Brest-Berdychiv line. Officially V. O. Bobrynskyi explained this by the fact that search engines, captured by competition, could assign unevenly underestimated construction price, which would lead to underestimation of construction quality, violation of technical conditions, and later to the deterioration of the performance of the lines and the increase in the cost of their containment.

Characterizing the activity of V. O. Bobrynskyi on the management of the Ministry of Railway Transport, M. O. Kyslynskyi wrote in 1902: «He set himself the goal of completely removing the Government from direct involvement in the construction and operation of railways and to assign these responsibilities exclusively to private companies. In this case, Count Bobrynskyi had the active support of the Minister of Finance, who, as it is known, was himself an opponent of the state-owned railway industry. The period of 1869-1871 was a short period of time when the ministers of railway transport and finance made a full agreement on the main issues of rail policy» (Kislinskiy, 1902).

Based on these guidelines, V. O. Bobrynskyi planned to remove from the state administration all the already built railway lines, and those that were still being built at the expense of the public purse on the Right Bank of Ukraine, dividing them into

three groups. The operation of the railways of each group was planned to be transferred to a separate joint-stock company. The lines were distributed as follows:

1st group - from Kyiv to Zhmerynka. The company also had to build a railroad from Berdychiv to Brest and a branch line from one of the points to the Austrian border.

2nd group - from Volochysk through Zhmerynka and Rozdilna to Odessa with Tiraspol-Chisinau line and with the Odessa-Balta-Yelisavetgrad railway. The company also planned to complete the Chisinau spur and extend it to the Prut River in the direction of Jass (Romania).

3d group - from Yelisavetgrad (now Kropyvnytskyi) to Kremenchuk, as well as to construct a line from one of the points of this railway to the city of Mykolaiv.

In total, in 1870 it was allowed to build new railways in length 1723 versts (i.e. miles), but it was built more, 2445 miles of new lines.

V. O. Bobrynskyi as the minister had unsuccessful attempts to construct narrow-gauge railways as feed lines to the railways with a simple track. All narrow-gauge railways (Livensk, Chudovo-Novgorod, and Yaroslavl-Vologda) were cheap, but their operation proved to be compatible with the high costs of transfer cargoes to wide-gauge wagons. And this greatly increased the cost of transportation. On the initiative of V. O. Bobrynskyi, during the sale of the Mykolaiv Railroad to the Main Society of Russian Railways, a contract with American Winans on the maintenance of the railroad had been terminated. The term of this contract expired in July 1874. For the termination of the contract, Winans received from the public purse a remuneration of 5 million rubles (Bogdanovich, 1995).

At the end of the ministerial activity of V. O. Bobrynskyi in September 1871, the length of railways in the Russian Empire exceeded 13 thousand miles, and almost all of them belonged to private railway companies (with the exception of 67 km of Lyvny-Verkhiv branch line). There were 44 such companies. All of them were debtors of the government: by guarantees of shares and bonds issued by the companies; by deposit interest and repayment on bonds, on loans, and for transferring state-owned railways to private companies – to a total of 173.8 million rubles (Klimenko, 2006).

According to the well-known economist O. O. Chuprov, the construction of railways by private companies was expensive. In 1875 he noted: «For those who use our Orel-Vitebsk or Kozlovsk-Tambov lines, located on an equal footing, it is difficult to believe that they have cost our homeland as much as, for example, Germany's Bavarian and Baden state railways» (Chuprov, 1875). And he gives the cost by versts (i.e. miles) of construction at the rate of 1870: Orel-Vitebsk - 83 thousand rubles, Kozlovsk-Tambov - 82 thousand rubles, and such mountain railways as Bavarian - 82 thousand rubles, Baden - 78 thousand rubles.

Famous publicist and writer K. O. Skalkovsky described V. O. Bobrynskyi: «In 1869 the Count. V. O. Bobrynskyi, whose father was famous for the founding of beet-and-sugar industry in the South of Ukraine, became the Minister. The Count, not familiar with the issue at all, had been the minister for a little more than a year and

lost his post for an unsuccessful project - to rent the Volga to the Epstein company» (Skalkovskiy, 1890). Another contemporary, academician of St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences O. V. Nikitenko wrote in this regard in his diary: «The Polish and Berlin capitalists nearly took possession of the Volga Shipping Company. The intervention of the Minister of Finance Reiter defeated the treaty already confirmed by Oleksandr II after the report of V. O. Bobrynskyi. Knowing from Reiter, Oleksandr II made a reprimanded V. O. Bobrynskyi and told him that he was very poorly surrounded by assistants. V. O. Bobrynskyi fell ill and was no longer in charge of the ministry. It is said that there were a lot of abuses in the Department of Railway Transport» (Pylypchuk & Strelko, 2017).

September 2 (14), 1871 V. O. Bobrynskyi was dismissed because of the disease without retaining membership in the State Council of the Russian Empire. After his resignation, he settled in the city of Smila and devoted himself entirely to agriculture, in particular, beet and sugar industry. Before the beginning of the Crimean War, he was elected a Cherkasy district chief of the nobility and led the Smila estate in the lifetime of his father. From the agricultural activity of the count, we should note the introduction into crop rotation of significant crops of spring, and then winter wheat, which eventually displaced the ravine and took the first place among the grain crops of the south-western region. But especially much work and energy he devoted to the concerns, support, and development of the homeland sugar industry. Thanks to his ability and ingenuity, the beet and sugar industry avoided the crisis, which could have caused the closure of many small beet and sugar factories. The result of this work V. O. Bobrynskyi was the publication by the government of the law of November 20, 1895, entitled «On Certain Measures for the Sugar Industry». In society, this law was called «government regulation».

His brilliant activity was marked by the state government with: The Order of St. Hanna, the 4th class "For Bravery" (1855); Silver medal in memory of the coronation of Oleksandr II (1856); The Order of St. Volodymyr, the 3d class (1868); the Order of St. Hanna, the 1st class (1886); Commander's Cross (1865).

V. O. Bobrynskyi died at the age of 74 in the city of Smila Cherkasy region of the Kyiv province.

Conclusions

The article covers the main achievements of the second Minister of Railway Transport of the Russian Empire V. O. Bobrynskyi.

Analysis of the activity of V. O. Bobrynskyi in various public positions and his military career until the appointment as the Minister of Railway Transport, allowed us to assess his contribution to state building and development of the Russian Empire in various fields.

It has been established that Volodymyr Bobrynskyi, acting as the Minister of Railway Transport of the Russian Empire, had a name for the initiator of the construction of 27 railway lines, and for the creator of the network of railways, including the Ukrainian segment. His activities during the administration of the

ministry were aimed at strategic directions for the development of railways, in particular: to establish links between the railways that were still divided; to ensure continuation of lines that were not adjacent to the general railway network; to connect internal provinces with seaports (with Mykolaiv and Mariupol); to develop the railways in the interests of the coal and mining industry, as well as the Vologda and Vyatka-Dvina lines.

Analysis of reforms of V. O. Bobrynskyi in the management of the railways has shown that he successfully pursued a policy of removing from the state administration all the lines already built, and those that were still being built on the expense of the public purse. At the end of the ministerial activity of V. O. Bobrynskyi in September 1871, the length of the railways in the Russian Empire grew almost twice and exceeded 13 thousand miles and almost all of them belonged to private railway companies. The article shows the role of V. O. Bobrynskyi in solving the problem of construction of narrow-gauge railways.

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Праця в інтересах залізничного транспорту: другий міністр шляхів сполучення Російської імперії – Бобринський Володимир Олексійович (1869-1871)

Анотація. Розгорнуте та всебічне дослідження життєвого шляху персоналій видатних діячів, що зробили вагомий внесок у становлення та розвиток вітчизняної та світової науки, залишається актуальним завданням історичної науки на сучасному етапі її розвитку. Стаття присвячена висвітленню й періодизації етапів життя та діяльності на ниві розбудови залізничного транспорту Російської імперії, її другого міністра шляхів сполучення Володимира Олексійовича Бобринського. Розглянуто передумови кар'єрного зростання В. О. Бобринського. Показано важливу роль у формуванні В. О. Бобринського як особистості, такого етапу життя, як навчання у

Петербурзькому університеті. Досліджено етапи військової кар'єри В. О. Бобринського під час Кримської війни 1854-1856 рр. Аналіз діяльності В. О. Бобринського на різних державних посадах до призначення міністром шляхів сполучення, дозволив оцінити його внесок у державотворення та розбудову Російської імперії у різних галузях. Встановлено, що на посаді міністра шляхів сполучення Російської імперії Володимир Олексійович Бобринський виступав як ініціатор будівництва 27 залізничних ліній, та як автор мережі залізниць, зокрема українського сегменту. Його діяльність під час керування міністерством, була спрямована на стратегічні напрямки розвитку залізниць, зокрема: встановити зв'язок між залізницями, які були ще розділені між собою; забезпечити продовження ліній, які не примикали до загальної мережі залізниць; з'єднати внутрішні губернії з морськими портами (з Миколаєвим та Маріуполем); здійснити розвиток залізниць в інтересах кам'яновугільної та гірничозаводської промисловості, а також Вологодської і В'ятсько-Двінської ліній. Крім того, за ініціативою міністра передбачалося включити до плану дві стратегічні залізничні лінії – від Праги до Варшави та від Лукова до Івангорода. Аналіз реформ В. О. Бобринського в управлінні залізничним господарством показав, що він успішно проводив політику вилучення з казенного управління усіх залізничних ліній як вже були побудовані, так і тих, що ще будувалися за рахунок казни. Наприкінці міністерської діяльності В. О. Бобринського у вересні 1871 р. протяжність залізниць в Російській імперії зростає майже вдвічі та перевищила 13 тисяч верст і майже усі вони належали приватним залізничним товариствам. У статті показана роль В. О. Бобринського у вирішенні проблеми будівництва вузькоколіїних залізниць. І хоча його перебування на посаді міністра шляхів сполучення було нетривалим, якихось два роки, В. О. Бобринського слід відносити до плеяди тих міністрів, які вдало розбудовували залізничний транспорт та його господарство.

Ключові слова: Російська імперія; реформи на залізничному транспорті; розвиток мережі залізниць; приватні залізничні товариства; роль у реформах Володимира Олексійовича Бобринського

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Работа в интересах железнодорожного транспорта: второй министр путей сообщения Российской империи - Бобринский Владимир Алексеевич (1869-1871)

***Аннотация.** Развернутое и всестороннее исследование жизненного пути персоналий выдающихся деятелей, внесших весомый вклад в становление и развитие отечественной и мировой науки, остается актуальной задачей исторической науки на современном этапе ее развития. Статья посвящена освещению и периодизации этапов жизни и деятельности на ниве развития железнодорожного транспорта Российской империи, ее второго министра путей сообщения Владимира Алексеевича Бобринского. Рассмотрены предпосылки карьерного роста В. А. Бобринского. Показано важную роль в формировании В. А. Бобринского как личности, такого этапа жизни, как обучение в Петербургском университете. Исследованы этапы военной карьеры В. А. Бобринского во время Крымской войны 1854-1856 гг. Анализ деятельности В. А. Бобринского на различных государственных должностях до назначения министром путей сообщения, позволил оценить его вклад в строительство государства и развитие Российской империи в различных областях. Установлено, что в качестве министра путей сообщения Российской империи Владимир Алексеевич Бобринский выступал как инициатор строительства 27 железнодорожных линий, и как автор сети железных дорог, в частности украинского сегмента. Его деятельность во время управления министерством, была направлена на стратегические направления развития железных дорог, в частности: установить связь между железными дорогами, которые были еще разделены между собой; обеспечить продолжение линий, которые не примыкали к общей сети железных дорог; соединить внутренние губернии с морскими портами (с Николаевом и Мариуполем) осуществить развитие железных дорог в интересах каменноугольной и горнозаводской промышленности, а также Вологодской и Вятской-Двинской линий. Кроме того, по инициативе министра предполагалось включить в план две стратегические железнодорожные линии - от Праги до Варшавы и от Лукова к Ивангорода. Анализ реформ В. А. Бобринского в управлении железнодорожным хозяйством показал, что он успешно проводил политику изъятия из казенного управления всех железнодорожных линий, которые уже были построены, так и тех, что еще*

строились за счет казны. В конце министерской деятельности В. А. Бобринского в сентябре 1871 протяженность железных дорог в Российской империи выросла почти вдвое и превысила 13 000 верст и почти все они принадлежали частным железнодорожным обществам. В статье показана роль В. А. Бобринского в решении проблемы строительства узкоколейных железных дорог. И хотя его пребывание в должности министра путей сообщения было непродолжительным, каких-то два года, В. А. Бобринского следует относить к плеяде тех министров, которые успешно строили железнодорожный транспорт и его хозяйство.

Ключевые слова: Российская империя; реформы на железнодорожном транспорте; развитие сети железных дорог; частные железнодорожные общества; роль в реформах Владимира Алексеевича Бобринского

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