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# **ISTORIE / HISTORY**

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Email: history.annals@yahoo.com analeleucv.istorie@gmail.com

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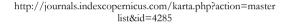
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# **STUDIES AND ARTICLES**

# COUNT A.P. BOBRINSKY (1826-1894), THE THIRD MINISTER-REFORMER OF RAILWAY MANAGEMENT IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Oleh Pylypchuk\*, Oleh Strelko\*\*

#### Abstract

The article highlights the activity of Aleksey Pavlovich Bobrinsky on the post of Minister of Ways of Communication, who is famous for his reform efforts in the sphere of railway transport and also in the construction of ports and water channels. It shows how knowledge and experience gained by A.P. Bobrinsky in England at the construction of channels and during his participation at international forums, were later successfully used in his practical activities in the Russian Empire. The analysis of sources allowed finding out that A.P. Bobrinsky took an active part in reforming a number of important issues of railways management like receiving concessions for the construction of railways, the process of setting up joint-stock railway societies, as well as the construction of waterways of the country through the direct implementation of dredging works and different hydrotechnical measures. It was found that the activity of Count Alexey Bobrinsky as the Minister of Ways of Communication had a significant influence on the processes of development of railway transport, ports and water channels of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 19th century. Being a manager of the Ministry, A.P. Bobrinsky established the Interim Statistical Department, which resolved a long-standing and a very important issue of a clear and scientific organization of the procedure of collection, processing, verification and presentation of statistic data on the condition and operation of ways of communication, which were an extremely important matter for the further activity of the Ministry. His achievements include the beginning of the construction of the Maritime Canal from St. Petersburg to Kronstadt and the construction of the St. Petersburg and Kronstadt ports. A large amount of remedial works, for example, on the Neva river made it possible to increase its depth. That is why A.P. Bobrinsky, who was well versed in such experience, became a staunch supporter of using the technology of dredging works on navigable rivers and theoretically justified the possibility and feasibility of using dredgers to provide transit depths required for navigation. Thus, thanks to the actions of A.P. Bobrinsky, foreign experience was used by domestic railway engineers and specialists of water transport in the practical direction of their activity. It is shown that an authority of A.P. Bobrinsky as the Minister-Reformer in different activities was recognized not only by the Ministry of Ways of Communication of the Russian Empire but also among the international scientific and administrative communities.

**Key words**: A.P. Bobrinsky, railway transport, water transport, reforms, joint-stock railway societies, evangelical Christianity in Russia

<sup>\*</sup> Associate Professor habil., PhD, Department of Ecology and Life Safety, State University of Infrastructure and Technologies, 9 Kyrylivska St., Kyiv, Ukraine, 04071, Phone: +380968820760, Email: olegpilipchuk47@gmail.com

<sup>\*\*</sup> Associate Professor habil., PhD, Department of Transportation Process Management, State University of Infrastructure and Technologies, 9 Kyrylivska St., Kyiv, Ukraine, 04071, Phone: +380971292471, Email: olehstrelko@gmail.com

# Introduction

On September 2, 1871, in connection with illness of V.A. Bobrinsky (1869-1871), the 2<sup>nd</sup> Minister of Ways of Communication of the Russian Empire, (Kislinsky, 1902: 89), as a manager of the Ministry, his cousin, Count Alexey Pavlovich Bobrinsky was appointed (Zenzinov, 1995: 48).

The genealogical tree of the Bobrinskys originates from the illegitimate son of Empress Catherine II, born from her lover Grigory Orlov (http://www.topauthor.ru/chto\_sdelal\_dlya\_rossiyskoy\_imperii\_rod\_dvoryan\_bobrinskih\_3a95.html).

It is known (http://wikiredia.ru/wiki/Бобринский, Алексей Григорьевич), that Alexey Bobrinsky (Figure 1) was born on April 11, 1762, shortly before his mother ascended the throne. These data, according to (Bobrinsky, 1890: 507), are given in his own letter to Empress Catherine II dated April 2, 1781, which is held in the family archive of the Bobrinskys (Figure 2). In another letter of the same date (Bobrinsky, 1890: 508), the Empress presented the coat of arms (Figure 3) (https://gerbovnik.ru/arms/27.html) to Bobrinsky. Immediately after the birth, Catherine II gave her infant to Vasily Shkurin, her Grand-Maître de la Garde-Robe, in whose family Alexev Grigorovich was brought up until 1774 (http://wikiredia.ru/wiki/Бобринский,\_Алексей\_Григорьевич). In 1770, together with the sons of Shkurin, he was sent to study abroad, in a specially organized boarding school in Leipzig (De Ribas, 2007: 67). In 1774, he was returned to Russia and in 1775 on the order of the Empress he was taken and transferred to I.I. Betsko. At the same time, Catherine II decided to give a child, who had only the name Alexey Grigorovich, the surname Bobrinsky. The surname originated from the name of Bobriki village (Epiphany county of Tula Province (now a part of the territory of Bogoroditsk town)). The village was purchased from Ladyzhensky for material support of Bobrinsky yet in 1763 by the order of Catherine Π (http://wikiredia.ru/wiki/Бобринский,\_Алексей\_Григорьевич).



Figure 1 – Count Alexey Bobrinsky (1762-1813) in the 1800s (http://wikiredia.ru/wiki/Бобринский,\_Алексей\_Григорьевич)

In 5 days after his uterine brother Pavel Petrovich ascended the throne, Alexey Bobrinsky was promoted to the rank of Major General, and on the same day, on November 12, 1796, he was raised to the Counts of the Russian Empire together with his recently born son Alexey (https://gerbovnik.ru/arms/27.html).

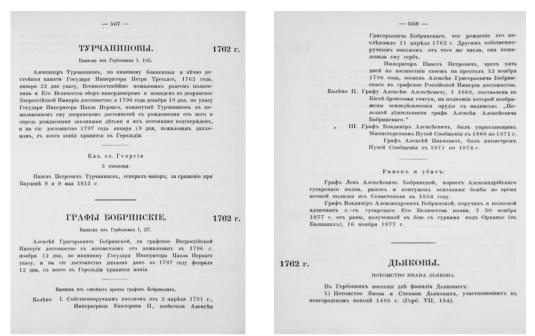


Figure 2 – Records about the noble family of Counts (Bobrinsky, 1890: 507, 508)



Figure 3 - Coat of Arms of Count Bobrinsky (https://gerbovnik.ru/arms/27.html)

On September 2, 1798, Alexey Bobrinsky retired from military service (http://wikiredia.ru/wiki/Бобринский,\_Алексей\_Григорьевич). He moved to Tula Province, Bogoroditsk, where he lived most of the year and continued to visit St. Petersburg. Alexey Bobrinsky died of "paralysis" in 1813 (http://wikiredia.ru/wiki/%D0%A4%D0%B0%D0%B9%D0%BB:Alexey\_Bobrinsk y1\_.png.).

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Figure 4 – Record on the death of Alexey Bobrinsky from the parish register of the Spasskaya church, village Bobrik

(http://wikiredia.ru/wiki/%D0%A4%D0%B0%D0%B9%D0%BB:Alexey\_Bobrinsky1\_.png)

The father of the future Minister of Ways of Communication, Pavel Bobrinsky (1801 - 1830).was the first lieutenant of the Guard (Figure 5) (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PAVEL\_ALEKSEEVICH\_BOBRINSK OLjpg?uselang=ru) and the second of three sons of the founder of the family of Alexey Grigorievich Bobrinsky. At the age of 20, he married Julia Junosha-Belinskaya (1804-1892), a distant relative of the Polish King Stanislaw-Augustus Poniatowski) (https://www.geni.com/people/Алексей-Павлович-граф-Бобринский/6000000 11286318532). She was а widow of а Moscow millionaire Sobakin (https://www.proza.ru/2016/04/11/2130). And in 1825, even before the construction of the railway in Pavlovsk, by the highest mercy of Empress Maria Fedorovna, Pavel received a large area at the Konyushennaya Street in the quarter between Peschany and Vorobyiny lanes. After occupying the entire quarter, he built a cottage there, behind which a large garden was laid out down to Gospitalnava Street. According to the memoirs of his contemporaries, it was at the cottage of Bobrinsky, where P.A. Vyazemsky, V.A. Zhukovsky and A.S. Pushkin stayed and drank tea (http://www.topauthor.ru/chto sdelal dlya rossiyskoy imperii rod dvoryan bobrin skih\_3a95.html.).

At that cottage, on February 19, 1826, Alexey, the eldest son of P.A. Bobrinsky was borne. However (https://www.proza.ru/2016/04/11/2130), Pavel Bobrinsky, the first lieutenant of the Guard, turned to be a real philander, even with an explosive

behaviour. At the age of 29, he was killed in a duel in the Italian city of Florence (http://wikiredia.ru/wiki/Бобринский,\_Алексей\_Григорьевич).

The future minister was baptized on September 18, 1826 in the family estate in the Nikolskaya Church of the Iyevlevo village (Bogoroditsk county of Tula Province) (Bobrinsky, 1894a). In 1844, Alexey Bobrinsky graduated from the Alexander Lyceum in St. Petersburg (http://wikiredia.ru/wiki/Бобринский,\_Алексей\_Павлович).



Figure 5 – Count Pavel Bobrinsky (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PAVEL\_ALEKSEEVICH\_BOBRINSKOI.jpg?u selang=ru)

After completing his studies at the Lyceum, he took service at the Department of Economic and Accountant Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire. In 1846 he left that position and settled in his estate in Bogoroditsk county of Tula Province. There he built a sugar mill in 1848-1851 and set up five farms for growing sugar beet. In 1847 he became the head of the nobility of the Bogoroditsk county (Bobrinsky, 1894b). From 1894 he was elected an honorary superintendent of the nobility in the in Bogoroditsk district college.

When the Crimean War of 1855-1856 began, he joined the army and became a Fliegel-Adjutant under Emperor Alexander II. He fulfilled his personal instructions (https://www.proza.ru/2016/04/11/2130). Throughout the war he served in the ranks of the Emperor's Rifle Regiment. After the war he continued his military service and in 1868 he became a Major General of the suite of Emperor Alexander II. He was directly involved in his reforms. Thus, in August 1858, A.P. Bobrinsky advocated the project of peasants' liberation, taking a stand for the need in transforming them into owners. In 1866, he developed and achieved the approval of the Charter of the "Society of Mutual Land Credit" for issuing loans secured by land (Malevanov, 2005: 626).

Relationships with the tsar's court, as well as friendship with A.O. Shuvalov, Chief of the Imperial Gendarmerie, facilitated the transition of A.P. Bobrinsky to state service. Already in 1869, he was appointed as a member of the Board of the Ministry of Ways of Communication (https://www.proza.ru/2016/04/11/2130). In January, 1870 he was sent to England to study the construction of railways. Upon his return from this trip, he became a member of the Sommittee for supervision over the construction of narrow-gauge railways and the issues of their service. At the same time he headed the Interim management for the construction of the state narrow-gauge line from the town Livny to the Orel-Gryazi railway (Zenzinov, 1995: 49).

In May 1871, A.P. Bobrinsky was appointed Deputy Minister of Ways of Communication (https://www.proza.ru/2016/04/11/2130), in September of the same year he was promoted to Head of the Ministry, and in April 1872 he became Minister of Ways of Communication (Klimenko, 2006).

The aim of the work is to determine the influence of the activity of Count Alexey Pavlovich Bobrinsky as the Minister of Ways of Communication on the processes of development of railway transport, ports and waterways of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.



Figure 6 – The second Minister of Railway Transport of the Russian Empire – Vladimir A. Bobrinsky. Portrait (1872). Artist Ivan Kramskoi (https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Бобринский,\_Алексей\_Павлович)

#### **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; Pylypchuk & Strelko, 2019; Strelko, Pylypchuk, Berdnychenko, Hurinchuk, Gamaliia & Sorochynska, 2019). The use of these methods and approaches to scientific research allowed to retrace the way of life and professional activity of A.P. Bobrinsky 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 Discussion**

In the first year of his activity on the post of Assistant Minister of Ways of Communication, A.P. Bobrinsky did not make any changes to the work of the Ministry. At the same time, the development of the country's railway network continued. Thus, in 1872, 2171 versts of new railway lines (Skopinsko-Vyazemskaya, Morshansko-Syzranskaya, Rostovo-Vladikavkazskaya railways, etc.) were built. Aleksey Pavlovich was a supporter of the construction of railways at the state expense. He was also an opponent of lifetime guarantees on bonds of private railways. At the same time, he contributed to the extensive railway construction (Kislinsky, 1902: 69; Kishtymov, 2013: 47).

A.P. Bobrinsky was an active reformer of transport management. Thus, at the beginning of 1873 he gave a long address to Emperor Alexander II. That address was directed against the existing procedure of awarding concessions for the construction of new railways. Aleksey Pavlovich noted: "Under the existing procedure of awarding concessions, the Minister of Ways of Communication, electing a concessionaire at his discretion and agreeing with him on the cost of construction measured by versts, enjoys excessive powers and bears a great responsibility" (Zenzinov, 1995: 49). According to Alexey Pavlovich, they far exceed the rights and responsibilities authorized to ministers and it is impossible to control the appropriateness of the minister's actions. As was noted by A.P. Bobrinsky, the exclusive powers of the Minister of Ways of Communication "have a very negative impact on activities of the entire Ministry" (Zenzinov, 1995: 49). In this case, the role of its employees grows in the eyes of the co-founders and it gives rise to "different treacherous actions aimed to induce subordinates of the Minister ... to his undercover mediation or assistance" (Zenzinov, 1995: 49). Aleksey Pavlovich emphasized that the existing systems of awarding concessions and their special attractiveness lead to the fact that "everyone, who looks for easy money and at least a little familiar with the state of affairs in the ministries or higher institutions, recognizes not only the opportunity, but even the right to be the founder of a joint-stock railway company" (Zenzinov, 1995: 49-50). According to the estimation of A.P. Bobrinsky, the actions of such founders were aimed at the appropriation of property of railway enterprises. To do that, such moneymakers spent almost nothing, seeking permission from the government to create a new joint-stock company, which was entrusted with the property of railway companies. Therefore, they declared a society established without actually establishing a new railway society and appropriated the railway enterprise owned by the society, themselves, having registered all or most of the shares in the name of themselves and their relatives, without paying them up. After that, the founders set up executive managements with people close to them and become completely uncontrolled disposers of the business, procuring capital on the negligent construction of railway lines, their poor maintenance and the excess of operating costs" (Zenzinov, 1995: 50).

A.P. Bobrinsky believed that "existence of many of our railway societies is imagined; their companies are fake; their managements are wrong; their shareholders are figureheads; their shares are not sold, and the Ministry of Ways of Communication is forced to remain a ruthless witness of actions, which are hidden behind legal forms but violate the aims of the government, an enterprise and the treasury... In order to avoid disclosure, which is detrimental for state lending of railway companies, the government is forced to seek out special means, which are very difficult for the state treasury and only help the founder to eliminate his illegal actions" (Zenzinov, 1995).

As the measures to improve railway construction, A.P. Bobrinsky proposed a return to the construction of railways at the costs of the state. He wrote: "the construction of state-owned railways, which is so successfully practiced in Germany, Belgium and some other countries, can undoubtedly be of such benefit to us as well" (Zenzinov, 1995: 50). To his opinion, such practice "is absolutely rational for the state, governmental and individual benefits" (Zenzinov, 1995: 50). Moreover, A.P. Bobrinsky did not exclude the construction of railways by private companies, but in such a way that "the government was concerned not about attracting the founders, but attracting shareholders" (Zenzinov, 1995: 50).

A.P. Bobrinsky developed the procedure for setting up railway societies. But his proposal was not supported by Finance Minister M.Kh. von Reutern. On March 30, 1873, Bobrinsky's proposal received the support of Emperor Alexander II. According to the proposal, A.P. Bobrinsky planned to start construction of 14 railway lines in 1873 and submitted his plan to the Committee of Ministers. However, the discussion of that plan was postponed for different reasons. Only at the end of the year it was decided on setting up railway societies for the construction of four railway lines: Orenburg, Urals, Vistula River and Fastov in Ukraine. An application for shares of those companies was announced in March, 1874. However, the Minister of Ways of Communication A.P. Bobrinsky failed to stand upon his project, already approved by the Tsar. The right to apply for the shares of new railways was granted to the Minister of Ministers M.Kh. von Reutern. He submitted some amendments to the order of application, proposed by A.P. Bobrinsky. The latter again addressed himself to the emperor with a report on the inadmissibility of limiting the places of application for shares of railway societies to only two cities (St. Petersburg and Moscow) and to only one credit institution. A.P. Bobrynsky believed that this would be equivalent to restriction of competition and "...transferring railway companies back into the hands of speculators in future" (Zenzinov, 1995: 51).

Fears of A.P. Bobrinsky were confirmed – the real masters in the societies of the Orenburg, Fastov and Ural railways were "railway kings" Gubonin and Polyakov. The big capitalists, seeking to concentrate the issued shares in their hands and not knowing the terms of the allotment, raised capital from everywhere to apply for as many shares as possible, and in addition bought up shares at an inflated price. Thus, the purpose of A.P. Bobrinsky was not reached and the construction of new railways again fell under the individual responsibility of builders acting on behalf of joint stock companies.

According to the order of the emperor, approved on June 30, 1874, the Provision of the Committee of Ministers on setting up railway societies by public application for shares was considered to be inconvenient. The same concerned the construction of

railways by the government. That is why the Ministers of Railways and Finance were charged to find another method to build Donetsk (coal) and Melitopol railways. However, that provision was already drafted by the next Minister of Ways of Communication, admiral Posyet.

At the same time, in the process of development of railway network in accordance with the awarded concessions for construction and operation of individual railways, it became necessary to integrate the activities especially of those railways, which were joined in whole lines, cutting through vast expanses and connecting important trading points. The need in such integration led to the convention of a general congress of representatives of railway enterprises under the Ministry of Railways yet in 1869.

At that first general congress, a "direct", i.e. continuous transportation of passengers on the united railways was started, and the railways were divided into groups and reloading stations were appointed for the continuous transportation of goods on railways operated by different companies. At the same time, for separate agreements between the railways of a one group, it was decided to convene separate congresses of representatives of the railways.

When managing the Ministry of Railways, A.P. Bobrinsky built 2505 versts of new railways; and by his predecessor V.A. Bobrinsky 5103 versts were built. Under the conditions of extension in the rail network and a gradual increase in traffic on all ways of communication and in order to properly handle the railway management, it became necessary to have a special institution within the Ministry of Railways, which would be responsible for registration of traffic and all sorts of circumstances with their distribution by known categories. For this purpose, A.P. Bobrinsky made a speech and insisted that within the Ministry the Interim Statistical Department should be established "for collection, verification and rational processing of statistical materials on all the issues related to furniture, improvement and operation of ways of communication of both rail, as well as water and road ways" (A brief outline of the development and activities of the Ministry of Railways over a hundred years of its existence (1798-1898), 1898: 154). On September 15, 1873, such a department was established. Thus, with the establishment of the Department, the Ministry of Ways of Communication resolved a long-standing and very important issue of a clear and scientific management of the issues of collection, processing, verification and presentation of statistic data on the condition and operation of ways of communication, which were extremely important for the further activity of the Department. That was the extent of changes made by Count A.P. Bobrinsky in the central institutions of the Ministry. The activity of the Ministry of Ways of Communication concerning the management of roadways during that period was limited to the transfer of roads to the subordination of zemstvos (institutions of local government set up during the great emancipation reform of 1861).

Regarding water communications, in addition to repair works and local improvements, that time was featured by beginning of the construction of the Maritime Canal from St. Petersburg to Kronstadt and the construction of the St. Petersburg and Kronstadt ports. On January 20, 1873 under the leadership of Count A.P. Bobrinsky the Special Committee was established at the Ministry, the purpose of which was to discuss the construction of the Maritime Canal for passage of large-tonnage ships and development of infrastructure for the St. Petersburg and Kronstadt ports. But this is the issue of our next article.

Working at the Ministry of Ways of Communication, A.P. Bobrinsky did much to improve the railway management in Russia. He believed that railroads do not only drive the economic forces of the country but also bring people enlightenment and culture with them. To speed up this important matter, the railway workers themselves should be also taught in every possible way.

Under the "vertical power structure" and authoritarian governments, acting honestly is a rather dangerous strategy, that is, honesty becomes synonymous with disloyalty. Here is what K.A. Skalkovsky, a famous historian, archivist and statistician of the Russian empire of Polish descent said about the activity of A.P. Bobrinsky: «Count A.P. Bobrinsky intended to perform a radical transformation in the Ministry of Ways of Communication, but lack of familiarity with the specialty of his department, not a quite good selection of personnel and hastiness led to the result that most reforms failed, the Count raised up enemies and was forced to leave his post" (Skalkovsky, 1890: 280).



Figure 7 – A.P. Bobrinsky. Photo from the family archive of M.M. Bobrinsky (http://www.ng.ru/bogoslovie/2017-07-19/15\_424\_graf.html.)

Here is how S. Yu. Witte wrote about this man (http://www.ng.ru/bogoslovie/ 2017-07-19/15\_424\_graf.html.): "Count Alexey Bobrinsky was the Minister of Ways of Communication under Alexander II and served under his authority. He was a man of honour, but also with some oddity. For his honesty at the post of the Minister of Ways of Communication he went to gauptvachta (military detention) for his refusal to assist Princess Dolgorukova (Yurievskaya) in her money frauds. After that he retired and no longer appeared in the capital". The Princess was a favourite of the monarch.

A.P. Bobrinsky resigned on June 10, 1874, having served as a minister for about three years (https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Бобринский,\_Алексей\_Павлович).

During that time more than 2500 versts of railway tracks were built. They were all built by joint stock companies. The total length of railways in tsarist Russia amounted to more than 18 thousand versts. After resignation, A.P. Bobrinsky organized agricultural production in his estate with the use of free labour.

After his resignation, A.P. Bobrinsky settled in his estate in Bogoroditsk (https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Бобринский,\_Алексей\_Павлович). In 1874, A.P. Bobrinsky met Lord G. Radstock, a British missionary. In the course of their communication A.P. Bobrinsky changed his skeptical attitude to religion. He took an active part in the work of the Society for Promotion of Spiritual and Moral Reading, founded by V.A. Pashkov, another follower of G. Radstock. Bobrinsky financially supported the publication and further distribution of the Bible, the Magazine "Russian Worker" and spiritual and moral literature of the Protestant brand in St. Petersburg and Tula Province. He also personally conducted religious and educational conversations (Randall, 2018; Batalden, 1994: 85; Savinsky, 1999: 151).

Bobrinsky set up a close acquaintance with Lev Tolstoy (Popoff, 2014: 13; Smith, 2000: 16; Knapp, 2016: 129). They exchanged visits, conducted hours-long conversations about faith and interpretation of Holy Scripture. The image of A.P. Bobrinsky's estate in Bogoroditsk is described under the name of Vronsky's estate Vozdvizhenskoye on the pages of the novel "Anna Karenina" by L.N. Tolstoy (https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Бобринский,\_Алексей\_Павлович).

After the activity of the Society for Promotion of Spiritual and Moral Reading was outlawed and its participants (named "Pashkovtsy sect" by the authorities) began to be persecuted (https://www.geni.com/people/Алексей-Павлович-граф-Бобринский/600000011286318532), A.P. Bobrinsky was forced to leave Russia. The Union of Evangelical Christians-Baptists of Russia considers him along with G. Radstock, V.A. Pashkov and their adherents to be a one of the founders of Evangelical Christianity in Russia (Randall, 2018; Savinsky, 1999: 151).



Figure 8 – Monument to Alexey Pavlovich Bobrinsky, Minister of Ways of Communication, at the Zhdanka Railway Station (Bogoroditsk, Russia) (https://deadokey.livejournal.com/442920.html)

A.P. Bobrinsky died from acute liver inflammation on October 8, 1894 (Bobrinsky, 1894a; Bobrinsky, 1894b) in France, in the city of Cannes, where he was buried.

#### Conclusions

The activity of Count Alexey Bobrinsky on the post of Minister of Ways of Communication had a significant influence on the processes of development of railway transport, ports and water channels of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He developed the procedure for setting up railway societies. Being a manager of the Ministry, A.P. Bobrinsky established the Interim Statistical Department, which resolved a long-standing and very important issue of a clear and scientific organization of the procedure of collection, processing, verification and presentation of statistic data on the condition and operation of ways of communication, which were an extremely important matter for the further activity of the Ministry. His achievements include the beginning of the construction of the Maritime Canal from St. Petersburg to Kronstadt and the construction of the St. Petersburg and Kronstadt ports.

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