

Moscow exile (1921–1923) in the life and activities of prominent surgeon S.P. Fyodorov

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The article presents archival materials from the investigative case by the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR, relating to the charges against Petrograd Professor S.P. Fyodorov of counterrevolutionary actions – spying for foreign countries (1920–1921) – and his punishment in the form of a two-year “ban” from Petrograd (1921–1923). During these years, S.P. Fyodorov lived and worked in Moscow. The distinctive aspects of the prominent surgeon's surgical, scientific and social activities during his period in Moscow are investigated. Emphasis is placed on the importance of several appeals in the defense of Fyodorov by members of Russian and German surgeons' societies, as well as the people's commissar of health of the RSFSR, N. A. Semashko, thanks to which the threatened imprisonment of Fyodorov was commuted to exile in Moscow.

Keywords: *S.P. Fyodorov, Russian Extraordinary Commission, the Council of People's Commissars of the Military Medical Academy, Russian emigration, Pirogov Russian Surgical Society, the People's Commissariat of Health of the RSFSR.*

Sergey Petrovich Fyodorov (1869–1936) was a student of the Medical Faculty of Moscow University (1886–1891) and a follower of Prof. A.A. Bobrov, under whose leadership he achieved outstanding results: he performed the world's first single-step retropubic prostatectomy (1899) and tightly stitched abdomen after cholecystectomy (1902). In the same period (1892–1903) S.P. Fyodorov developed an original design for a proctoscope (1896) and created several new surgical instruments.

The most fruitful scientific and practical activities of S.P. Fyodorov were at the Military Medical Academy (1903–1936) in St. Petersburg, where he was head of the Department of Hospital Surgical Clinic (Hospital Surgery) for more than 30 years. While working there, he introduced new surgical interventions, many of which were later named after him: one of the variants of pyelotomy (Fyodorov's operation), ways of intracapsular and subcapsular nephrectomy (Fyodorov surgery), a way to repair a lowered kidney (nephropexy by Fyodorov), operations for non-removable tumors of the cardia and lower third of the esophagus in cases involving total gastric cancer

(Fyodorov's surgeries), a method for removing the gallbladder (Fyodorov's method), the original method for stitching of the liver and many others. For these procedures, S.P. Fyodorov developed original surgical instruments specifically designed for new urological surgery and for surgery of the liver and biliary tract. The scientific and practical achievements of the Russian surgeon S.P. Fyodorov became widely known not only in Russia, but far beyond its borders.

The best Russian surgeons, as a rule, became court physicians. They were entrusted with the life and health of the ruling Romanov dynasty. Professor of surgery S.P. Fyodorov was no exception: from 1910 until 1917 he was a “Leib Surgeon” to Emperor Nicholas II and participated in the provision of emergency medical care to the Crown Prince of the Russian Empire Alexei, the heir to the Russian throne, who suffered from hemophilia.

The court surgeon developed a trusting relationship with the Russian Emperor. On the day he abdicated from the throne, Nicholas II consulted with S.P. Fyodorov. Originally, the Emperor wanted to abdicate in favor of his son. However, the “Leib Surgeon” had to report to the Emperor about the disappointing condition of the health of Alexei Romanov, who due to a severe hereditary

disease could not ascend the throne. As a result, Nicholas II decided in favor of renunciation, including on behalf of his son.

The Russian Revolution¹ (1917) significantly changed the financial situation of the prominent surgeon, who lost most of his real estate. There is a story, according to which he had to personally transfer the keys of his country estate, located in the province of Kaluga, to newly created owners. Later, his Moscow mansion, which he had received as a dowry from his wife (E.I. Konshina), became public property too. The same happened to the seaside cottage of the Fyodorovs, located in Gagra. S.P. Fyodorov lived through the cold, hunger and rampant crime of Petrograd. The events which took place during the first years of Soviet power did not inspire confidence in the future. It is hard to imagine that S.P. Fyodorov was a supporter of the changes taking place in the life of the great nation, being torn apart during the Civil War (1918-1920). During those years Finland, the former Russian province, became an independent republic. The same happened to several former Baltic provinces. The nearest border between the old² world and the new (Soviet) one was a few kilometers to the north of Petrograd. In the early 1920s, it was more like a slightly open window than a tightly shut door. Those cracks left in the "window" were skillfully used not just by various smugglers and spies. Through it, citizens driven mad by the changes ran away from Soviet Petrograd to the old world. Among them were: distinguished professor of the Military Medical Academy, A.A. Maksimov and Nikolai Petrovich, the brother of Fyodorov the former Leib Surgeon.

Who knows what Sergei Petrovich's attitude was to the developing situation? Could it be that he have given up his opportunity to cross the state border to his brother? Professor S.P. Fyodorov's bonds to the royal family, particularly strengthened during the First World War, as well as the fact that many people close to him ran away from the country, led to events concerning the least studied period of his life and work. This period (1921-

1923) is known as the Moscow exile³. A. A. Beck suggests that it was easier for the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (State Political Management) to "observe" the disgraced scientist in Moscow [1]. But the biographer of S.P. Fyodorov does not mention why the enforcement authorities of the Revolution needed to closely monitor the surgeon, who had achieved global recognition.

A.T. Ivanova provides another reason why S.P. Fyodorov had "to move" from Petrograd to Moscow [2]. According to the researcher, the move was related to the work of the well-known surgeon in the Kremlin hospital. This point of view eventually became the leading one [3], and its veracity was not doubted.

We were able to find out that from November 1921 until October 1923, S. P. Fyodorov was actually sent from Petrograd to Moscow, where he was under the supervision of the enforcement authorities, "on condition that visiting Petrograd would be banned" for two years [4, p. 21]. This discovery was possible because of the special permission obtained by us from the Archive of the Federal Security Service (FSB) in St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region. Based on this, we were able to see the "archival investigation file № 12308 charging citizen Sergei Petrovich Fyodorov", filed in 1921 by the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution, Speculation and Malfeasance (Cheka) [5]. We also made several copies of the documents contained in the file.

The materials of the file (see Fig. 1) showed that in the early 1920s the professor from the Military Medical Academy (MMA), S.P. Fyodorov was twice criminally charged for political reasons. Initially, he was held in a damp dungeon of the Petropavlovsk Fortress, having been charged with counter-revolutionary activity in May 1920. The proximate cause of the arrest was his meeting with the "American spy", which took place in the Petrograd apartment of the surgeon and was under close outside surveillance. This "spy" illegally entered into Petrograd having crossed the state border between the Russian Federation and sovereign Finland and was caught red-handed together with Fyodorov. During the search of the "Ameri-

³ The author of such an original title could be the writer A. A. Bek, one of the biographers of S. P. Federova.

¹ This was the name given to the historical events of the initial years of Soviet power. Many years later it became known as the Great October Socialist Revolution.

² In the minds of the residents of Petrograd, this was embodied by the independent Finland.

can spy" they allegedly found a letter addressed to Sergei Petrovich. Apparently, it was from a resident of the United States who happened to be a Russian emigrant. However, we could not find the letter itself in the archival investigation file № 12308, so the contents of the "spy" message remain unknown to us.

The first arrest and detention of S.P. Fyodorov shocked the pride of the medical community to such an extent that he was soon released from the Petropavlovsk Fortress and instead placed under house arrest until the trial. However, during this period, Sergey Petrovich allegedly became involved in another crime, which was added to the initial charge of the counter-revolutionary activity — failure to report⁴ that his younger brother had escaped from Petrograd to Finland.

According to our data, in July 1920, during the period when S.P. Fyodorov was under house arrest, Nikolai Petrovich Fyodorov, the brother of Sergey Petrovich, illegally crossed the border of the Russian Federation and found himself in Finland. In connection with this, a new charge was added to the investigation file of the professor surgeon - failure to report a crime. It is likely that instead of the younger brother, it was Sergey Petrovich himself who was meant to go to Finland, and the change occurred only because he was placed under house arrest.

S.P. Fyodorov was tried at a public meeting of the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Petrograd Military District, held September 9, 1920 in the presence of many of the staff of the Military Medical Academy⁵. As a result, professor of surgery was found guilty on both charges and sentenced to five years imprisonment. However, at the moment of announcement of this sentence it was replaced

⁴ Legal term of the revolutionary period

⁵ In this sense, it can be considered indicative

with a suspended sentence. S.P. Fyodorov was given a strict trial warning, which could have been followed by revolutionary punishment if he would have attempted to illegally leave his motherland.

At that time there were different ways to manipulate dissidents and ideological opponents⁶ whose professional activity was necessary for the newly born country. In June 1920, when S.P. Fyodorov was under house arrest, the leading physiologist and Nobel Prize

winner (1904) Professor of Petrograd Military Medical Academy I.P. Pavlov sent a request to the Council of People's Commissaires and People's Commissariat of Education of the USSR⁷ asking for "permission to leave Russia" [6, p. 258]. V.O. Samoilo and A.S. Mozzhukhin pointed out that, the academician Pavlov named "as the main reason" as the impossibility to "continue his scientific work in Petrograd because of "insurmountable financial difficulties" and "a lack of communication, connection to universal scientific work". He spoke openly about rejecting "the social experiment" which was being conducted in Russia, which "would not change anything, except lead to political and cultural destruction,"

and pointed to "the difficult living conditions, leading to steady weight loss and exhaustion" [6, p. 258].

There is no doubt that professor S.P. Fyodorov would have signed on to such a letter, having to live and work under the same extreme conditions.

Upon receipt of the letter from I. P. Pavlov, the decision of the Council, with the personal involvement of V. I. Lenin, was swift: the answer to Ivan Petrovich was personally delivered by a special courier. It contained a request on behalf of

⁶According to archive materials and the investigation file, the prominent surgeon SP Fedorov was considered a monarchist.

⁷ This refers to the Council of People's Commissars and the People's Commissariat of Education of the RSFSR.

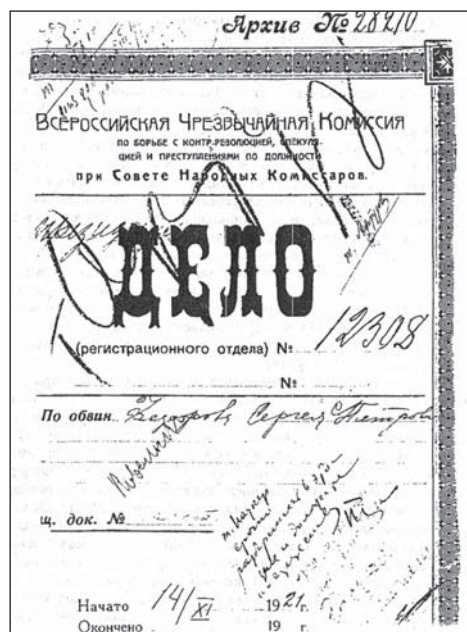


Fig. 1 The cover of the archival investigation file № 12308 charging Sergey Petrovich Fyodorov. The FSB Management Archive in St. Petersburg and Leningrad region (St. Petersburg).

the People's Commissars "not to leave the motherland" and the assurance that "all the units under our authority will be made available to immediately provide I. Pavlov with absolutely everything" [6, p. 259, 260].

The academician I.P. Pavlov was not satisfied with this decision made on his "personal complaint." He wrote another letter to the Commissariat, where he noted that the personal motives in his first statements "were deliberately put last".

"The main thing which made him feel devastated and forced him to take such a desperate decision⁸, wrote Professors V. O. Samoilov and A. S. Mozhukhin, was that terrible plight of Russian scientists and science itself. Further and on several pages, Pavlov provides several concrete examples... (arrests, putting strangers in apartments for purposes of «crowding», removal of phones..., night searches, confiscation of awards "[6, p. 260].

The second appeal of I.P. Pavlov did not go unnoticed by the Soviet government. The proletarian writer A.M. Gorkiy was urgently sent for. He came to Petrograd from Moscow to lead the Central Commission for the Improvement of Living Conditions of Scientists, which was created on July 6, 1920. Its activities would have directly relevance to S. P. Fedorov in the second half of the 1920s⁹.

After the second appeal, the academician I.P. Pavlov had six previously confiscated golden medals returned to him. According to V.O. Samoilov and A. S. Mozhukhin this was done at the end of August, 1920 in connection with a special decision of the People's Commissars.

Apparently, this was the reason for the "mitigation" of court rulings, which were quickly rendered for "counter-revolutionaries" who happened to be prominent scientists, including S.P. Fyodorov.

In contrast with the academician I.P. Pavlov, the surgical practice and research of S.P. Fedorov during that year did not undergo any significant changes. This is evidenced by his report on the condition of Russian surgery, delivered on De-

ember 16, 1920 at the meeting of Pirogov's Russian Surgical Society. The former Leib Surgeon and professor of hospital surgical clinic of the VMA reported on his own surgical procedures conducted under extraordinary conditions of the postwar period, when there was a need for everything "you could think of".

"Is it possible to operate when the temperature of the air in the operating room does not rise above 8°C because there is no firewood, and the operating wound is steaming, like a boiler?" Fyodorov asked his colleagues. How does one practice medicine if the surgeon does not have soap for washing hands, alcohol and gasoline for sterilizing the surgical field, and surgical instruments are worn out to the extreme? What does one do if silk sutures are rotten (it tears apart) and there are no catgut sutures at all? In such cases, the surgeons need to sew with a coarse thread - those were the common realities of the times.

Of course, performing surgical operations under those conditions was unavoidable, because in each case the inaction of a surgeon could have resulted in the death of the patient. Only selfless behavior could provide an opportunity for success under urgent emergency conditions. That was why planned operations were postponed until better times, which naturally led to a reduction of surgical practice and research in the field of surgery.

Nevertheless, S. P. Fyodorov remained optimistic, believing in a bright future for Russian surgery. He persuaded his colleagues that Russian surgery would soon revive like the mythical phoenix. But for this all of the forces of Russian surgery had to unite. By forces he meant "youthful forces"¹⁰ as well as veterans of Russian surgery (to which Fyodorov himself belonged). He believed that the union of Russian surgeons could only be done under the guiding star of the great commandments of "Russia's leading surgeon" — N. I. Pirogov.

For us, it is obvious that, from a philosophical point of view, Pirogov's precepts do not rest on the platform of materialistic beliefs. It is an ideology of idealism, emanating from the creation of the world around us. These were the reasons that N. I. Pirogov and, perhaps, S. P. Fyodorov

¹⁰ They probably had the surgeons inclined towards communism in mind.

⁸ Refers to emigration from the RSFSR.

⁹ At this time, S. P. Fedorov was a part-time professor and consultant to the Moscow clinic for scientists created by the medical department (currently - Polyclinic of the First MG MU, S. M. Sechenov).

proselytized Orthodoxy as the true faith of their ancestors.

These commandments, of course, could not be the basis for reconciliation of ideological opponents, some of whom were newly appeared materialists, while the others were veterans of idealism. The former won in the Civil War in 1918-1920. In the postwar years, the ideological struggle between the two parties would continue up to our times.

The show which the officers of the PGECCCR¹¹ made out of the second arrest of S.P. Fyodorov in September 1921 differed very little from the first one (May 1920). Again, a courier illegally slipped into Petrograd across the state border with Finland in order to deliver a message from an alleged leader of a white immigrant organization to Sergei Petrovich. The courier was arrested before he met Fyodorov and no incriminating letters were found at all. From this, a conclusion was made that the message had been delivered to an accomplice. The alleged accomplice was arrested in the apartment of S.P. Fyodorov together with him on 13 September 1921. However, documentary evidence of the surgeon's counterrevolutionary activities could not be found. In fact, the file indicates that the Petrograd accomplice of the overseas courier was shot, after which the further investigation of S.P. Fyodorov's case completely stopped.

In the archival investigation file of S.P. Fyodorov there is an original appeal on behalf of the Board of the Pirogov's Russian Surgical Society (PRSS) to the People's Commissars, addressed to the chairman of the Soviet government V.I. Lenin (October 1921) [5, p. 8], signed by the Chairman of the Board PRSS I.I. Grekov, and his Deputy, Treasurer and Secretary (signatures were certified by the round seal) (see Fig. 2).

Along with the appeal to the Board of the PRSS, the archival investigation case № 12308 contains a telegram of protest sent to the German Council (Berlin) by the chairman of the German Urological Society¹² professor K. Posner (October 1921). On behalf of the German urologists, professor K. Posner asked the Soviet government to save the life of S.P. Fyodorov; it was in danger be-

¹¹ Petrograd Governorate Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution

¹² The Russian surgeon S. P. Fyodorov was an honorary member of this society of multiple foreign doctors.

Совнарком Ленину.

Русское Хирургическое Общество Пирогова в Петрограде осведомившись о вторичном аресте своего почтенного члена президиума С.П. Фёдоровы, когда сообщает о возможности скорого рабства дома и об освобождении по воле суда и передаче на поруки Общества в виду болезненного состояния С.П. Фёдоровы земельные комисс. и каскамент почти его в коллегии руководителем двух клиник для тифлизов и врансий, а также как высоко квалифицированного специалиста по урологии и хирургии в интусах многолетних больных.

Председатель И. Греков
Тreasurer И. Динь
Secretary Календарь

Секретарь И.И. Греков

Fig. 2 The appeal of the management of the PRSS to the Head of the Council of People's Commissariat V.I. Lenin with a request for the release of professor S.P. Fyodorov from custody until the trial.

The archival and investigative file № 12308 charging Sergey Petrovich Fyodorov. Archive of the FSB Management in St. Petersburg and Leningrad region (St. Petersburg).

cause he had been arrested on charges of counter-revolution. "Professor Fyodorov is an outstanding scientist and doctor of the highest level..., said K. Posner. The scientific achievements of the professor [S. P. Fyodorov. - Ed.] are highly appreciated around the world and ... his life is vital for all mankind" [5, p. 1].

The absence of a compelling reason for conviction, and S. P. Fyodorov's denial of his connections with foreign agents and personal involvement in the illegal correspondence did not affect the decision of the Presidium of the PGECCCR, adopted at its meeting of November 6, 1921. The well-known surgeon, "taking into account that he was tried for counter-revolution activity for the second time," was declared an "unreliable member of society"¹³ [5, p. 18].

Revolutionary logic in that case was reduced to a simple formula. An "unreliable member of society" had to go to jail, therefore, the following decision of the Presidium of the PGECCCR was made: "a two year sentence of forced labor under incarceration" [5, p. 18] (see Fig. 3).

¹³ The original photograph has been preserved

ВЫПИСКА ИЗ ПРОТОКОЛА	
Заседания президиума Петроградской Губернской Чрезвычайной Комиссии по борьбе с контр-революцией, спекуляцией и преступлениями по должности от 6-го ноября 1921 года.	
Присутствовали: т.т.	
Слушали:	Постановили:
<p>Дело № 2534 по обвинению гражданина ФЕДОРОВА Сергея Петровича в контр-революции, спекуляции и преступлениях по должности в 1920 г. ПИЧ за участие в деле у себя на квартире Чрезвычайной разведки ГОЛД и за незаконную переписку с Ф. Я. Яковлев.</p> <p>ИЗВЕЩЕНИЕ И РАССЛЕДОВАНИЕ: Выявлено с Буяковской группой, по итогам письма из-за границы через Кутера Англия, к. -разв. А. Д. Д. Д. Д.</p> <p>Отрицает всякое знакомство с курьерами, а также и не признает эту переписку.</p> <p>Связь с курьерами и Филл. следствием доказана и признана во внимание, что он активно привлекался за контр-революцию, П. Ч. К. считает его неблагонадёжным элементом.</p>	<p>Приговорить к 2 годам принудительных работ с содержанием под стражей.</p>
<p>Председатель Петгубчека: <i>[Signature]</i></p> <p>Зав. с/о: <i>[Signature]</i></p>	<p>Отделом: <i>[Signature]</i></p>

Fig. 3 Archival and investigative case № 12308 charging Sergei Petrovich Fyodorov. Archive of the FSB in St. Petersburg and Leningrad region (St. Petersburg).

At this stage, Sergei Petrovich Fyodorov could have been saved from prison only by intervention at the highest level. On November 6, 1921 the management of the PGECCCR received a telegram from Moscow, which contained an order, signed by one of the leaders of the Cheka — to immediately transmit the investigative file of prof. S.P. Fedorov to Moscow, "along with the person arrested" [5, p. 17]. This meant that the final decision would be made at the hearing of the Presidium of the Cheka, which had sufficient authority to overrule the Petrograd court decision in the case of the famous surgeon.

In the first half of November, S.P. Fyodorov was taken under police escort from Petrograd to Moscow and, most probably, placed in the Butyrskaya Prison for approximately two weeks while the Cheka prepared new orders for its investigative case. Available materials suggest that the coordinated participation for the release from arrest of S.P. Fedorov was performed by Cheka leadership at the highest levels, including A.H. Artuzov and I.S. Unszlikht. They prepared their own orders, for the court session of the Presidium of the Cheka, where there were facts, which had not been mentioned before. For example, it was pointed out that professor S. P. Fyodorov had a

worldwide reputation and was considered one of the best urologists in the Russian Federation and abroad. That resulted in a sentence that that could not have been given by the PGECCCR "impose amnesty, giving him [S.P. Fyodorov. - Ed.] 2 years of probation." [5, p. 4].

This change in the tone of the sentence indicated that the appeal of the Board of the PRSS and the German Urological Society, aimed at the protection of S.P. Fyodorov, achieved its goal. As a result, it was expected that the surgeon would in fact be found not guilty and imminently return to Petrograd, which was what Sergei Petrovich's admirers insisted on.

It is understandable why the Soviet government, in March 1918, had to urgently leave the northern capital and permanently settle in Moscow. It was separated from the border by hundreds of kilometers, while Petrograd had the location of a border town, where remaining surviving descendants of the aristocratic families lived, and many scientists, who, as I.P. Pavlov said, did not support the global "social experiment". The geographical and social position of Petrograd attracted the attention of adventurers of all sorts, trying to find like-minded people in this city. Also, one should not forget the possibility of fleeing to neighboring Finland, which was done by many Russians, including those from the scientific world.

Nothing but a desire to keep the surgeon having had a worldwide reputation for his own country guided F. E. Dzerzhinsky, the Chairman of the Cheka. He had to approve the investigatory decision concerning S. P. Fyodorov, prepared by A.H. Artuzov and I.S. Unszlicht. That was why his resolution was significantly different from the one proposed by his assistants. "I agree to, 2 years on probation *without the right of residence in Petrograd* [emphasis added by the author]." [5, p. 4], said F.E. Dzerzhinsky, referring to the amnesty and his own idea of keeping the prominent surgeon for the RSFSR.

This ruling of the court session of the Presidium of the Cheka was communicated to S. P. Fyodorov on November 29, 1921, at the eve of his release from custody, which was held in Moscow, where he was to spend the following two years (see Fig. 4).

The wishes of the Board of PRSS as well as of the German Society of Urology were formally met: the punitive agencies no longer threatened

the life of Professor S.P. Fyodorov and he was released from custody.

On November 30, 1921, the Moscow exile of Sergei Petrovich began. Maybe it "saved" him and "kept" him for his own country. Who knows what might have happened to him if he had returned to Petrograd in December 1921? For example, in February 1922, another prominent scholar of the Petrograd Military Medical Academy, a longtime colleague of S.P. Fyodorov, Head of the Department of Histology and Embryology, A.A. Maksimov, with whom Sergei Petrovich in 1903 began his professorship in the MMA, left the RSFSR forever. Professor A.A. Maximov together with his sister illegally emigrated from the USSR to Finland: at night they went skating on the ice of the Gulf of Finland and crossed the state border. The Maximovs prepared for this crossing for an extended period (sold their property and bought diamond with the cash): the brother and sister carried only a small bag from their past life to the new life one.

The real reasons for the Moscow exile of Professor S.P. Fyodorov dispel the myths about his work in the Kremlin hospital in the years between 1921-1923, as reported by A.T. Ivanova, N.N. Zemskov and other authors.

According to S. P. Mironov, in these years the Kremlin hospital and the Kremlin outpatient clinic were located in a protected area of the Moscow Kremlin in a two-story building on the Poteshnyi Dvor, not far from the place where the former Apothecary Prikaz was located [7, p. 77]. The diagnostic clinics of the Kremlin Hospital in 1921-1923 were exclusively therapeutic in nature. Therefore, the first full-time professors (1922) F.A. Gautier, V.A. Shchurovsky and D.D. Pletnev were the therapists [7, p. 89]. During this period, patient surgical care was provided by the Medical Administration of the Kremlin¹⁴ at

¹⁴ These included the first Soviet People's Commissars, their deputies, top party leadership, the "old" pre-Soviet Bolsheviks officials and their families.

S.P. Botkin Hospital (former Soldatenkovskaia). According to our data, professor S.P. Fyodorov did not perform a single complicated surgery in this hospital during his Moscow exile. His medical practice was conducted in other Moscow hospitals [4, p. 27-30]. For example, in January 1922 (the second month after his release from custody) S. P. Fyodorov conducted his first surgery in a Moscow hospital: the private surgical hospital of A. A. and N.A. Bakunins, where he had operated during previous visits to Moscow.

The data about the medical institutions of the capital, where Professor S.P. Fyodorov actually operated in 1922-1923, were found in the summary records of surgical interventions left by him in "Notebook № VII" [8]. Each of them, in addition to the duties of surgery, and the assessment of immediate and long-term results, included data about the hospital where it was made.

Such records were made by Sergey Petrovich on a 100-sheet oilcloth covered notebook, since

1910 when he became a Leib surgeon. Many of the records of surgeries performed in Mogilev in 1916, where the Supreme Commander of the Russian Army was staying, were added to "Notebook № IV".

After his sudden arrest in September 1921 and moving under escort from Petrograd to Moscow, "Notebook № VI" and the Petrograd records of surgical operations remained unfinished. During the Moscow exile, Sergey Petrovich started a new oilcloth cover notebook which, like the others, had the next serial number cut into it with a scalpel – VII.

On its front page, the home address of Professor S. P. Fyodorov remained, Verhnyaya-Krasnoselskaya st., 14, apt. 8 "[8, p. 1]. However, this address apparently refers to the one he had on August 1922.

Fyodorov's "Notebook № VII" was started in August 1922, but the records of surgical procedures from the beginning of his Moscow exile

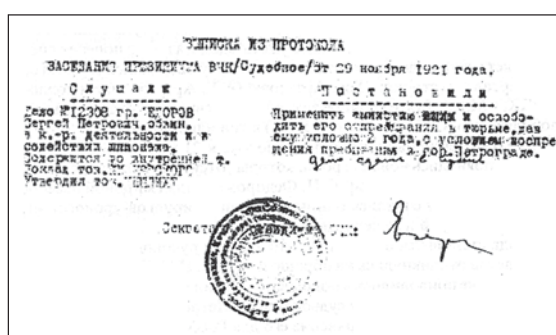


Fig. 4. Archival investigative file № 12308 charging Sergei Petrovich Fyodorov. Archive of the FSB in St. Petersburg and Leningrad region (St. Petersburg).

until August he made in a different notebook. On January 1923, Sergey Petrovich copied them to "Notebook № VII", interrupting existing reports for August-December 1922. As a result, "Notebook № VII" first provides information about the surgeries performed by S.P. Fyodorov between August-December 1922, and then those between January-July 1922 and 1923.

We can assume that "Notebook № VII" does not provide a complete list of surgical operations performed by S.P. Fyodorov during his Moscow exile. Most likely, it represents the most significant ones in the field of urology or surgery of the liver and biliary tract. The fact that he performed abdominal surgeries at other sites, such as neurosurgical ones, is indicated in a single report in "Notebook № VII".

However, complex urological surgeries, as well as the operations performed on the liver and biliary tract, were an essential part of S. P. Fyodorov's practice. Their generalized results were widely used between 1922-1923 for the preparation of scientific reports, journal articles, and several sections of scientific monographs.

In total, "Notebook № VII" contains 64 records concerning the surgical interventions conducted between in 1922-1923 in 11 hospitals of Moscow. They were made primarily in four private surgical hospitals (53 surgical operations or 83% of all performed), including Vasilyeva's (26 or 40.6%), the Community of the Red Cross (10 or 15.6%), Rudnev's (10 or 15,6%), as well as A.A. and N.A. Bakunins (7 or 10.9%).

In addition, during the Moscow exile S.P. Fyodorov completed 4 (6.3%) out of the mentioned surgeries in the Staro-Ekaterinskaya Hospital, where he first started his surgical activities after graduating from the medical faculty of Moscow University. During this period, another 7 (10.9%) of surgical operations were performed in other Moscow hospitals, Pavlovsk, Sokolniki and railway hospitals, as well as former surgical hospitals of Slater, Postnikov and the Iverskaya community.

Thus, during the Moscow exile S. P. Fyodorov did not have to perform difficult urological surgeries or surgeries of the liver or biliary tract in the surgical wards of the Botkin Hospital. Therefore, it can be concluded that during the above-mentioned period he was not allowed to perform complex surgical operations to specific groups of

people at the Kremlin hospital. At the same time, we cannot ignore the possibility of the practical work of Professor S.P. Fyodorov in the Kremlin dispensaries and requires further study.

Sergey Petrovich's surgical practice in private clinics and large Moscow hospitals during the Moscow exile was combined with social and scientific activities. So, in March 1922, he participated in the meetings of the Moscow Society of Surgery (MSS), and in May his first scientific work was published in the "New Surgical Archive". It was a magazine article entitled "On casuistry of ureterocele" [9], in which the well-known surgeon paid attention to a particular clinical case: the unusual contents of a ureter cyst formed near its junction with the bladder. During an operation in its cavity, 2 urinary stones of considerable size were found there, the appearance of which puzzled the author. In the same work, a similar observation of a Moscow surgeon was mentioned and reported at the meeting of MSS in March 1922.

On March 28, 1922 Professor Fyodorov participated in a scientific presentation at the meeting of the Moscow Society for the Fight Against Tuberculosis. The results of 122 clinical cases associated with tuberculosis of the kidneys were presented, "of which 92 patients underwent nephrectomy, and the rest were not allowed to be operated on or the patients themselves refused to do it" [9]. The results of nephrectomies performed by well-known foreign scientists (Vindboltz, Mayo, Rafen and others) were mentioned. But unlike the data of S. P. Fyodorov presented in 1920, the data of the rest of the authors was outdated (it dated back to the pre-war 1911 and 1912), which confirmed the statement about the information isolation of Russian surgeons made which he made 1920 from the stand of the PRSS. In conclusion, it was emphasized that nephrectomy was no longer an extremely dangerous operation for TB patients, as it had been considered before. S.P. Fyodorov's thesis was based on the average score of postoperative mortality which he estimated to be 5-6% of the total number of operated patients. These figures were compared with the results of surgical nephrectomy procedures conducted by other surgeons. The total number of such operations, the details of which were analyzed by the prominent surgeon, amounted to 1583 cases. A tendency towards decreasing post-

operative mortality during nephrectomies led, according to S.P. Fyodorov, to the possibility of increasing the indications for this type of surgery.

In 1922, another scientific work of the prominent surgeon dedicated to tuberculosis of the kidneys was published. It he dealt primarily with atypical cases of clinical manifestations ("On Atypical Tuberculosis of the Kidneys").

1923 was a year in which the prominent surgeon published four out of six editions of his new scientific monograph, entitled "Surgery of Kidneys and Ureter," [11]. It should be mentioned that most of the work required for the publication of this paper was completed during the first year (1922) of the Moscow exile of Sergei Petrovich.

"Surgery of Kidneys and Ureter," was the first classic Russian urological manual, on which he had been working for a total of approximately 20 years. For example, in the III edition (Chapter VII) there were the results of many years of clinical observation of Professor S.P. Fyodorov related to urolithiasis. They showed that between 1903-1921 alone, the surgeon performed 242 operations for patients with urolithiasis [12].

The main provisions of his scientific urological works, performed during the Moscow exile (1922), were found in the IV edition (1923) – a unique monograph by S.P. Fyodorov "Surgery of Kidneys and Ureter," [11], where he paid attention not only to operational, but also to non-invasive treatments of renal tuberculosis. There was no specific anti-TB treatment in those times, so in all cases a decision was made in favor of a surgical treatment, "if the second kidney was efficient enough."

However, S.P. Fyodorov was well aware of the fact that radical surgical was a forced and temporary measure.

"The time will come - he noted in this monograph – when we will be able to [in tuberculous lesions of kidneys. - Ed.] use non-invasive methods of treatment successfully". The Moscow exile still was not yet of those times.

Thus, in 1922-1923 Professor S.P. Fyodorov not only maintained a high level of operational activity in the field of urology, performing 34 complex surgeries, but resumed his scientific and social activities, in spite of the extraordinary conditions of his Moscow life. At the same time, he continued practical work and scientific

activity in abdominal surgery, primarily related to cholelithiasis and gastric ulcers. For example, in February 1922, S. P. Fyodorov delivered a scientific presentation at the meeting of the Moscow Therapeutic Society, in which he dwelt on the theoretical aspects of the formation of gallstones. [12] In 1923, his scientific article was published: "Some of the Data from Observations of 220 Patients After Operations on the Biliary Tract". It published the results of clinical observations, which became his scientific achievement after the publication of his famous book "Gallstones and Biliary Tract Surgery" (1918); recent results were included in those observations (1922). The article stated that of the 220 operations performed due to cholelithiasis, 166 cholecystectomies were performed, of which only 13 ended in suturing the peritoneum [14]. In all other cases, primary suturing of the peritoneum was not done, and a wick drain was temporarily applied to the remote area of the gall bladder to improve the outflow of fluid. According to the author, the presence of the wick drain, although increasing the duration of the postoperative period, contributed to the prevention of life-threatening complications.

No less important during the Moscow exile of S.P. Fyodorov were his activities concerning the problems of gastric ulcers and duodenal ulcers. He had returned to the resolution of these problems shortly before he was arrested the second time. Proof of this is his presentation during the debates at the meeting of PRSS, in which he speaks in favor of gastrostomy for peptic ulcers [15].

A similar point of view was expressed by S. P. Fyodorov in April 1922, when he was making a scientific report on the same topic at the meeting of the MSS [16]. By that time he had completed 323 surgeries for gastric ulcers and duodenal ulcers; gastrectomy was performed in 119 of these.

Comparing the long-term results of different methods of surgical treatment of peptic ulcer, S.P. Fyodorov showed that resection resulted in a permanent cure for 80-85% of patients, whereas in case of gastroenterostomy it happened less frequently - in 47-50% of cases. Therefore, he emphasized in the conclusion, "we must resort to more radical interventions for treating ulcers than gastrostomy" [16].

During the Moscow exile, an important area of scientific and practical interest of S.P. Fyodorov

remained neurosurgery, although, in this area the number of new clinical observations proved to be more limited. [17] Perhaps this was due to the conditions of his practical activities, conducted primarily in private surgical clinics, which were less suitable for performing neurosurgical operations than large city hospitals in Moscow.

Consequently, the practical, scientific and social activities of Professor S.P. Fyodorov continued during the Moscow exile. Its results were only slightly different from the Petrograd period of the same length (1924-1925). For him, surgery was not so much a medical profession but a way of living, which was impossible to change under any circumstances.

The two-year term of Moscow exile ended at the end of November 1923. At that time, Sergei Petrovich expected to return to Petrograd. It would have happened if it were not for the fact that on September 12, 1923 the Deputy Commissar of Health of the RSFSR A.P. Golubkov appealed to the Deputy Chairman of the GPU NKVD I.S. Unszlikht did not address the People's Commissar director of Health of the RSFSR, A. P. Golubkov.

The text of the petition states that the People's Commissar of Health of the RSFSR N.A. Semashko "repeatedly" asked for the return of Professor S. P. Fyodorov to Petrograd. However, those requests were ignored by the Management of the Cheka – GPU NKVD. Only the last petition achieved its goal, and on October 5, 1923 Professor S.P. Fyodorov received official permission to return to Petrograd "before the end of his probation term".

Due to bureaucratic red tape in the Main Military Medical Administration of the Red Army, where the surgeon was performing military service, he was not able to obtain a movement order

to return home, extending the term of the Moscow exile for another fortnight.

An enthusiastic meeting of Sergei Petrovich at the Petrograd station occurred on October 22, 1923. It brought together his colleagues, friends and students. Soon after his return to Petrograd, Professor S.P. Fyodorov was able to regain the previous respect for his achievements in the surgical,

scientific and public arena. He was the author of classic scientific papers that have received world acknowledgment; he was a consulting professor in several Leningrad and Moscow hospitals, head of the first Russian Institute of Surgical Neuropathology (now the Institute named after A.L. Polenov), performed responsible surgeries to prominent leaders of the USSR and RSFSR, created a scientific college from which 30 professors graduated. Sergey Petrovich no longer thought about leaving his motherland; he became the first surgeon - Knight of the Order of Lenin, the honored scientific researcher, the proud owner of a private car (fast driving was his weakness) and a luxurious cottage near Leningrad.

Along with outstanding scientific and practical achievements, the famous surgeon left touching words to his future descendants. He wrote "A person cannot be assessed outside of time and space. Most must be evaluated in connection with their past and the conditions under which they had to work." [18].

Now we really can truly imagine the conditions that Professor S.P. Fyodorov had to work for the good of the Homeland during the first years of Soviet rule. The difficulties which our colleague had to overcome on his journey added to his determination to reach his goal. He overcame them becoming stronger and rose to a new level of practical and scientific activities, where deserved and universal recognition awaited for him.

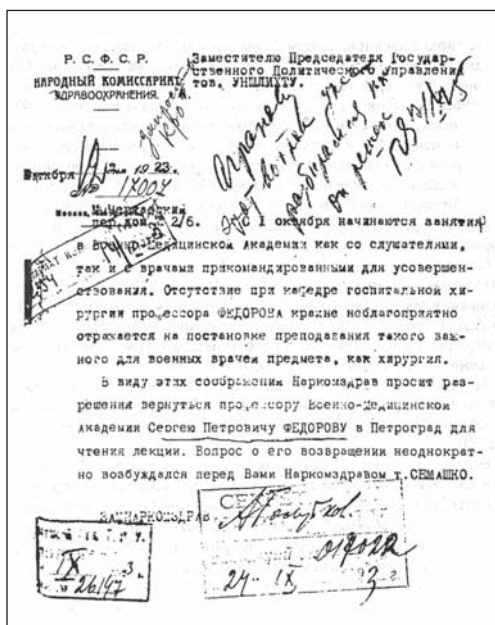


Fig. 5. Archival and investigative file № 12308 charging Sergei Petrovich Fyodorov. A.P. Golubkov's appeal. Archive of the FSB Management in St. Petersburg and Leningrad region (St. Petersburg).

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