

OSKARI TOKOI – MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, PRIME MINISTER, DEATH ROW EXILE, FITCHBURG FINNISH AMERICAN. Rainer Smedman, PhD.

In the picture, Oskari Tokoi in 1957, during his second visit to Finland, signed the supplementary part of his memoirs. In the preface, Tokoi emphasizes that his path became a socialist did not happen suddenly, but through long and arduous development and changes. The first inspirer was the economic depression that hit the United States in the early 1890s. This made Tokoi think that there was something wrong with the social system. First time Tokoi came into contact with the socialist movement at the end of the decade when he participated in the Socialist Labor Party's rally in Leadville during the congressional elections. That meeting opened the way for him to socialist thinking and understanding socialism. The return to backward Kannus did not offer Tokoi the opportunity to develop socialist thinking. Russia's repressive measures led Tokoi to social activities. The great strike of 1905 opened the way for socialist activity. Parliament became a real school of socialism for Tokoi. There, the information accumulated and was refined in different directions, clarifying his socialist thinking.

On May 3, 1900, American citizen, former farm man, miner, 27-year-old Antti Oskari Tokoi with his wife Hanna and his little son Anders Oscar left Leadville, Colorado for New York and on to Helsinki. The journey continued to Central Ostrobothnia to Kannus. At the end of January 1891, when he was only 17 years old, he had boarded a train from the same station on his way to America, and the Carbon mines.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Kannus had slightly less than 4,000 (3,958) inhabitants. The area was a religious, small-holding peasant area with little industry. The number of tenant farmers, crofters, and landless was not very large. Shortly after his arrival, Tokoi bought a farm (Raasakka) on the banks of Lestijoki, near the village center. Tokoi bought the farm with the 80 gold coins he had received while working as a mine renter in Leadville. In addition to managing the small farm, Tokoi was the second partner in the Tokoi & Jyrinki store for a few years. In addition, Tokoi handled smaller disputes in the courts. The village's attraction was the "American-inspired tower house" built by Tokoi.

It was known in the small Kannus parish that the emperor was the head of the land and that the parliaments sat in Helsinki and that it was not agreed to stand crosswise against the predominance, and not to criticize the decrees too much. Then word came that the emperor had broken his promise. The new Governor General Nikolai Bobrikov had arrived in Finland

in 1898, bringing with him the so-called February Manifesto, which aimed to reduce the rights of Finns. We lived in the time of the first period of repression. In 1901, the first Russification law, the Conscription Act (July 12), was enacted, according to which in the future Finns had to serve in Russian units. At that time, the law before its final approval had to be publicly announced from the pulpit. In the middle of the vicar's announcement, Tokoi, who was an opponent of repressive measures, stood up to speak against the convocation law. The matter had probably been agreed upon in advance.

Tokoi actively participated in the secret meetings of constitutional Young Finns opposing the conscription law in various parts of Central Ostrobothnia. In the spring of 1902, a meeting opposing the repressive policy was held in Helsinki. The meeting was broken up by order of the police chief. It continued in the evening in ballroom of hotel Seurahuone where Tokoi gave his first public speech to a larger audience. His social activity had received an initial impetus.

Tokoi's first position of trust was when Kannu's municipal assembly in 1902 appointed "farmer" Tokoi as his representative to the joint municipal assembly of neighboring municipalities. In December of the same year (December 20), Oskari Tokoi became a member of the municipal assembly, where he served continuously for eight years, including three years as vice-chairman (1903–1906). Appointed by the municipal assembly, Tokoi prepared petitions and statements for the authorities. In addition to this, he had numerous other positions of trust. In a few years, Tokoi had become a significant influencer in Kannus and belonged to the "cream" of his community. In 1906, Tokoi wrote the first two-part article "Our future agrarian question" in the Kokkola newspaper.

In 1904–1905, Russia fought a losing war against Japan. As a result of the war, Russia derailed into a general strike in 1905. The emperor had to allow the citizens extensive civil rights and legislative power to the Duma. The general strike also spread to the border country Finland. As a result, the emperor convened the Diet and ordered the Senate to make a proposal for a new Diet, which the emperor confirmed in July of the following year (July 20, 1906).

Kannus also woke up in the whirlwind of a general strike. On the first day of 1906, sawmill workers, small traders and landless people gathered for a citizens' meeting in Kannus, the peasants with their wives stayed at home. In his own speech, Tokoi emphasized that the people now had to prepare to use their right to vote for their own good and enlightened the

listeners about the history of social democracy and the labor movement. Kannus Workers' Association was founded at the meeting. At the end of the month (January 28), merchant Oskari Tokoi was elected vice-president and treasurer of the association.

With the reform of the constitution, Finland moved to Europe's most modern unicameral parliament, where the representatives were elected through elections. With the reform, the political parties organized them-selves into election and voting organizations. The country was divided into constituencies, (15) Vaasa County was divided into three separate constituencies: southern, eastern, and northern, to which Kannus belonged. The joint election meeting of the districts was held in Ilmajoki. Oskari Tokoi was the representative of the Kannus Worker's Association. According to his own words, had been elected to the meeting because he had a shop and a bicycle, and with the expenses of the shop, he could ride a bicycle from Seinäjoki to Ilmajoki, where there was no railway yet. The meeting of the social democrats of the northern constituency was held in Kannus at the end of January, where Tokoi was placed first on the list of candidates. "Prohibition law" was chosen as the election slogan. This suited Tokoi, who had become a staunch advocate of temperance in the American minefields.

Politically Central Ostrobothnia are consisted mainly of so-called Old Finns, whose newspaper, Kokkola, made effective propaganda in Central Ostrobothnia. The Labor movement did not have its own local newspaper in the region, only Vapaa Sana, published in Vaasa. The election campaign was carried out by newspapers, candidates, paid agitators, and district lecturers in speaking events.

The Social Democrats were feared to incubate a revolution and were considered enemies of Christianity, which isolated them from other people, especially in Central Ostrobothnia. During the election campaign, Tokoi focused on people's everyday affairs, helping the landless population, and improving the status of tenant farmers.

Tokoi considered his election as a member of parliament quite a surprise. However, the number of votes received by him tells something else, because of the 4,536 votes of the social democrats in the northern electoral district, Tokoi received more than half, 2,500. From 1907 to 1917, seven elections were held in total, of which only the one in 1916 was normal, the others (1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1913) were dissolution elections after the emperor dissolved the parliament in the middle of the election period. In all elections, Tokoi was the

"vote puller" of his constituency, at his best, he collected more than 70 percent of the constituency's social democratic votes.

Yrjö Sirola, who was one of the theoreticians of the Social Democratic Party SDP emphasized, that "Tokoi was known in Central Ostrobothnia above all as an advocate of the poor cottager, landless agricultural worker, and sawmill worker. He was known as a self-taught man, a visitor to America, a kingpin of municipal life, a defender of the constitution, a defender of the Constitution, who knew the problems of agriculture, who was respected even by his opponents". In addition, Tokoi was characterized as an "emotional speaker" who appealed to his listeners in a language they understood.

State parliamentarian: Before the first session of the parliament (May 22nd), SDP's 80 elected members of parliament gathered at the premises of Työmies -newspaper to prepare for their demanding task. The minutes of the second day's meeting contain the first entry of Tokoi's speech. The next day, he was elected to the committee to organize petitions and Motion proposals. With a few exceptions, the SDP parliamentary group consisted of the working population and the rural population. Farmer Tokoi was 33 years old.

At that time parliament's meeting time was 90 days, and it was mainly organized in the spring, because then they least interfered with the work of agricultural representatives. The MPs were not paid an actual salary, only an annual lump sum, because it was a confidential post. In the parliamentary group, the party's position was defined on the issues that came up at any given time, which had been prepared by the committee secretary and the appointed representatives. At the Diet of 1908, Tokoi was appointed to a committee for the first time.

Known as a good speaker, Tokoi's position in the group rose quickly. He was elected to the 1909 Kotka party meeting and to its chairmanship. Tokoi participated in party meetings as a party representative and served in various committees as a member or chairman and participated in the preparation of several reports and statements. Tokoi served as chairman of the parliamentary group three times (1909, 1911, and 1914). Tokoi was not an actual member of the party committee and party council but was participated in the meetings due to his position. In the years 1907–1917, Tokoi was a member or deputy member of ten different committees and commissions of the parliament, the longest time in the agricultural committee, and a member of the banking representatives of the Bank of Finland.

During the periods of the Parliament in 1907–1917, the long-term work of the committees was made difficult by the constant dissolutions of the Parliament. The speeches held in the session hall became central to the presentation of the party's political goals. Tokoi gave his first speech at the end of May 1907 (May 29). A couple of days later (31.5.) he gave a group speech.

In total, between 1907 and 1917, Tokoi made more than 200 speeches in parliament. More than two-thirds of the speeches dealt with agricultural policy, national issues, social, economic, and transport policy, internal policy, and the judiciary. Several of Tokoi's speeches were quite long, although mostly well-grounded, often supported by statistical and research material, committee statements, references to various laws and other explanations. They were not formulaic and often had a dose of humor, irony, and satire as garnish. Despite his limited education, Tokoi knew the law well. Tokoi also got the speaker of the parliament to tap his gavel and urge him to stick to the matter when Tokoi's speech "meandered" or when he either sarcastically or too sharply criticized his fellow representatives for their views or otherwise used sharp language.

Speeches in Parliament, activities in the agriculture committee and crofter meetings, in the agricultural policy program committee, newspaper articles, and the booklet "Features of our agricultural question" published in 1911 strengthened Tokoi's position as a practical expert in agricultural policy. In addition, Tokoi devoted himself energetically to the reform of municipal laws, the implementation of the Prohibition Act, the status of the landless population, and reforming the conditions of tenant farmers. Tokoi was one of the most prominent representatives of the social democratic group and quickly became one of the leading figures in our state life at the time.

From the first parliamentary term, the appointment of the presidium, the procedure in the election, and the response of the speaker of the parliament to the throne speech became a problem. After the 1913 elections, the new parliament convened, and it was again threatened with dissolution if Speaker Svinhufvud continued to criticize the government and the ruler in his opening speech. SDP's parliamentary group repeated its earlier position that the speaker should "pronounce only the words required by the parliamentary order". Previously, SDP had not nominated its own candidate for speaker. Now it was decided to change the previous procedure and after the vote, the group decided to nominate its candidate, for which Tokoi was nominated after trial votes. In the final vote, a reluctant Tokoi was elected speaker of the parliament. According to fellow party member Väinö Tanner,

Tokoi handled the role of the speaker of Parliament "in a way that deserved recognition". Tokoi also received appreciation from bourgeois representatives. But the SDP's party committee and the majority of the parliamentary group try to hinder Tokoi in his work more than to encourage him. At the next year's Diet, Tokoi was elected first deputy speaker.

The outbreak of World War and the declaration of war in Finland also influenced the activities of the parliament elected in 1913, as the Russian government further increased its use of power in Finland. The Parliament met for only one Diet, after which they were no longer convened. The parliamentary elections of 1916 were held in the normal order, but the new parliament did not meet until the beginning of April of the following year.

During the time in Kannus Kalle Nestor (1901), Tyyne Maria (1903), Lauri Sylvester (1906), Laila Ellen, and Aune Inkeri (1912) were born to a family. When Tokoi was elected chairman of the Finnish Professional Association (SAJ) in 1912 (1912–1918), Tokoi sold their farm in Kannus and moved to their apartment with two rooms and a kitchen in Kallio, Helsinki (Fleminginkatu 2 B 16). The family stayed in Helsinki temporarily at the beginning of 1911, during which time Anders Oscar, born in Leadville, died of pneumonia at the age of 11. The children's school was located close to home. There is very little information about Tokoi's own life and that of his family from the time of Kannus and Helsinki. Tokoi's work as chairman of the Finnish Professional Association, parliamentary work, speaking and lecture tours, and writing work kept Oskar busy. Mother Hanna took care of the home and the children.

Tokoi Senate: The prolongation of the World War, great losses, war exhaustion, the delay of social reforms, and shortage of food and fuel, gave rise to riots and violence in St. Petersburg, which led to the February Revolution of 1917 and the abdication of Emperor Nicholas II. Russia's new provisional government published the so-called March Manifesto, based on the presentation of Finnish bourgeois parties, which ended the second period of oppression and restored Finland's autonomy to the way it had been before the periods of oppression. The Social Democrats would have liked the expansion of the parliament's powers to have been included in the declaration.

The revolution also meant that the old pro-Russian so-called "saber senate" was replaced by a new one. In the parliamentary elections of 1916, the SDP had obtained an absolute majority, and thus the formation of the Senate belonged to the Social Democrats. The situation was problematic for the SDP, as the party was divided in its approach to government cooperation with bourgeois parties.

The decision to participate in the Senate was accelerated by the threat of the Russians to continue the operation of the Russianized Senate if the Finns failed to form a government. Finally, on March 26, the Tokoi Senate was appointed, with six representatives of bourgeois parties and the same number of social democrats. Oskari Tokoi, who was considered to have perhaps greater support among the bourgeoisie than other SDP representatives, was appointed as the vice-chairman of the economic department as a "prime minister". The Social Democratic members of the Senate belonged to the party's moderate reformist politicians. The key representatives of the "class battle line" remained outside. (Otto Ville Kuusinen, Kullervo Manner and Yrjö Sirola). In the SDP, the Tokoi Senate's cooperation with the bourgeois was not to everyone's liking.

The central points of Tokoi's senate's ambitious government program were the social and economic reforms long pushed by the Social Democrats, such as the reform of working conditions, the adoption of a new municipal law, the enactment of the Compulsory Education and Religious Freedom Act, and the creation of social insurance. In addition, the Senate set the goal of solving the ever-worsening food shortage and tried to prepare a proposal for a new form of government. For the first time, social democrats and bourgeois groups are working together to implement social reform legislation.

Although state independence was not part of the Senate's program, it nevertheless sought to expand Finland's autonomy and remove the Russian government's veto power over decisions made in Finland. Views that questioned the future of Russia's supreme power in Finland became common in Finland. The Senate and Parliament began to pursue a policy of transferring to them most of the former power of the Imperial Grand Duke, which was now exercised by the Provisional Government.

On April 20 (1917), the parliament discussed the temporary government's proposal "On the right of Russians to conduct business in Finland". The actual core of Tokoi's speech was the "right to self-determination". In the first part of his speech, Tokoi went through the repressive measures of the Russification period and the parliament's fight against illegalities. For Tokoi the question was first and foremost about the realization of freedom and people's power. "The purpose of the Finnish people and the Finnish parliament is to achieve Finland's independence and freedom, the kind of independence that corresponds to the value of the Finnish people among nations, that corresponds to the position we should have as a cultural nation. I therefore dare to trust that Finland's right to self-determination, the beginning of the independence of the Finnish people is now on a solid foundation and our duty is to develop

it unwaveringly and consistently and in such a way that the independence of the Finnish people will be guaranteed in the near future."

Tokoi mentioned on several occasions Finland's right to self-determination, but not secession from Russia. Tokoi became a trendsetter for independence. The speech was significant, after all, it came from the most important place in the country. The speech, which was probably the interpretation of the independence policy at the time, caused widespread anti-Finnish writing in Russia, and disputes within the senate and between the senate and the Provisional Government.

On June 12, the parliament discussed the proposal of the temporary government "to transfer various matters to be decided by the Finnish Senate and the Governor General". In his speech, Tokoi brought up Finland's independence again: "So I dare to think that our independence and our quest for freedom is on a sound basis. I therefore hope that the parliament and the people of Finland in these difficult times will give favorable help, help us in maintaining social order in this country and thus promote our quest for freedom, which aims to elevate the Finnish people to the ranks of free nations". A few days later, the SDP's ninth party conference set the goal of an independent Republic of Finland.

In July (July 18), the parliament approved the so-called power law, according to which the supreme administrative power was transferred to the parliament, except for foreign policy and military affairs. In St. Petersburg, the government of Aleksander Kerensky considered that Finland had violated the agreement between Russia and Finland and did not accept the law of power. The Provisional Government dissolved the parliament at the end of July (July 28) and ordered new elections to be held at the beginning of October. At the beginning of August (August 2), unlike before, the Senate session was chaired by Governor General Stahovits. In the vote, in which the burghers supported the dissolution order, the Social Democrats lost by 7–6, with the governor general's vote deciding. The Provisional government published a manifesto on the dissolution of the parliament. Oskari Tokoi left the senate on August 17, the last social-democratic senators resigned at the beginning of September (September 8). After that, the Finnish government was led by E. N. Setälä's senate.

The escalating social disagreements weakened the possibilities of the Tokoi Senate from the beginning. Growing unemployment and food shortages increased dissatisfaction, especially in the cities. The weak support of the SDP also made it difficult for the senators

to work. Tokoi listened to the voice of his party's opposition, whose position was strengthened due to labor struggles and food shortages. As a conciliatory character, Tokoi, along with other moderates, also had to accompany the demands of the party's radical wing. With the unrest, the mood of the workers began to radicalize.

Towards a civil war: A few days after the Russian Revolution of October 1917 (24-25), the Workers' Revolutionary Central Council (TVK, 27 members) was formed, following the Russian example, which Tokoi was also a member. At the central council meetings held in early November (9th–11th), the seizure of power was discussed, which Tokoi supported, but without a solution. Tokoi emphasized particularly that before embarking on a revolution, it must be clear that it will receive the unanimous support of the working population. The general position of the parliamentary group was against it. The leading bodies of the labor movement declared to the country on 14.11. general strike. The following day, the parliament declared itself (127–69) as the holder of the highest power, which practically severed Finland's state connection with Russia. The skirmishes and acts of violence that took place during the week-long general strike inflamed the atmosphere even more.

At the SDP's extraordinary party meeting at the end of November (25–27), the revolutionary line and the formation of a coalition government were approved. When the formation of the government failed (27.11.), the bourgeois independence senate of Svinhufvud was formed, after the Social Democrats' proposal for a red government led by Tokoi was rejected in a vote (100–80). On December 4, the senate made a proposal on Finland's declaration of independence, which was approved by the parliament two days later. A week earlier, Tokoi had presented in the parliament that "We want Finland to be declared an outwardly independent state".

Food Commissioner 27.1. - April 21, 2018: Increasing insecurity, worsening food shortages, acts of violence, and lack of law and order led to the establishment of armed organizations, the Red and White Guards. At the end of the year, the situation was explosive. Tokoi did not belong to the core group of revolutionaries but tried until the end to reach an agreement between the socialists and various bourgeois groups. In January 1918, the newly independent Finland did not have its own army or police force. The responsibility for maintaining order belonged to the order patrols, whom the bourgeois government did not trust. On January 25, the Senate declared the white civil guard to be government forces.

Two governments: Two days later, civil war broke out and the Reds established a 13-member revolutionary government in Helsinki, the Finnish People's Delegation, with Kullervo Manner as its leader. According to his own words, Tokoi as a Chairman of the Finnish Professional Association agreed to be a food commissioner in the People's Delegation. My view is that Tokoi's consent was primarily based on loyalty to the labor movement, the working population, and the party. The Main Council of Workers was formed as the legislative body, which functioned as a people's parliament, a red parliament. Tokoi was not part of the delegation's inner circle, contrary to the "deep ranks of the people" believed. Some of the members of the old senate stayed in the capital, some moved to Ostrobothnia. There were two governments in the country, the white senate in Vaasa and the People's Delegation in Helsinki.

"The most critical of all issues is the food issue" declared the People's Delegation magazine at the beginning of February (8.2.). The food situation in the area administered by the Reds in southern Finland was made worse by the fact that there were cities and urban areas and therefore much more consumers dependent on rationing than in the area of the whites. Tokoi's first task was to inventory the food stocks in the country, including private households. Municipal food boards, whose task was the procurement of foodstuffs, were urged to resort to the expropriation of grain and foodstuffs in extreme cases. At the same time, Tokoi's department tried to get food from Russian military ware stores and by buying from Russia, with an agreement that had already been made to obtain grain. In St. Petersburg, where there was also a shortage of foodstuffs, shipments were stopped. At the beginning of March, Tokoi and E. Gylling signed the state treaty between Finland and Soviet Russia. In the middle of the month (13.3.), Tokoi, who had spent much time in St. Petersburg, was replaced by Gylling. Tokoi no longer participated in the meetings of the People's Delegation. At the end of March, Tokoi managed to get a trainload of grain from Siberia.

When the Germans captured Helsinki (April 12), the Soviet government clarified that the Finnish Reds were not allowed to continue fighting using Russian soil. The People's Delegation's last meeting on the Finnish side in Vyborg was held on 21.4. Tokoi had already moved to St. Petersburg without permission the day before, where he began to help red refugees who were in a miserable position in St. Petersburg. The activities of the People's Delegation ended when it moved to St. Petersburg four days later.

The Finnish Legion of Murmansk: At the beginning of June (7.6.) in Murmansk, the founding agreement of the Finnish Murmansk Legion was signed. The legion was attached to the

British Army (236th Infantry Brigade) and stationed at Knäsö. According to the agreement, the legion would be used exclusively in operations against the Germans and Finnish whites. The main part of the legion consisted of scattered groups of Reds who had had to flee from northern Finland to Karelia, as well as forest workers and Red Guards from northern Finland. In mid-June, Tokoi and his family started a journey from St. Petersburg toward Siberia and the city of Buji, where it was planned to establish a settlement for red refugees, which ultimately failed.

In the meantime, while the Finnish Legion trained and its companies took up their positions, Tokoi stayed in Archangel, where he had arrived at the end of June to establish a settlement for red refugees and start sawmill operations. First, Tokoi and his group (Emil Elo, Kalle Hämäläinen, Aarne Orjatsalo, and Wilho Halme) made a report on the situation in Finland the Allies and an appeal to "Finns in America" to obtain aid for the Finns in need and published several declarations, writings, and circulars.

After moving from Archangel to Knäsö on 23.9. Tokoi joined the Finnish Legion. The next day in St. Petersburg, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland (Sirola, Jukka Rahja, Kuusinen, Evä, and Letomäki) condemned Tokoi, together with three others (Elo, Wesley, and Hämäläinen), to death as a traitor and provocateur of the international revolution. The execution of the sentence was the duty of every worker. Upon hearing about the sentence, Tokoi stated: "that it probably knows a long life".

In the Legion, Tokoi was officially a translator on the British payroll, but he served in the British headquarters as a liaison officer with the rank of lieutenant colonel, although without insignia, a kind of representative of Finland in the Allied General Staff. Tokois, who was a bridge builder, be-came the "spiritual leader" of the legion, respected by the crew. Tokoi's family also fell apart in these rumors. At this time, Tokoi had left Hanna with her five children in St. Petersburg in bad conditions, which the wife Hanna complained bitterly about.

SLIDE 14: An exile settles in Fitchburg: When the legion was repatriated at the end of 1919, some of the legionnaires were allowed to return to Finland, and some of those on the "blacklist", including Tokoi, had to move to England, London on the English army's payroll. In July 1920, Tokoi received a letter from the British War Office announcing that Tokoi's appointment as an army interpreter was ending and thanking him for his services during the war. At the end of October, Tokoi and 37 legionnaires received a travel permit to Canada, where they arrived on November 10. Tokoi was deployed to the north of the provinces of

Ontario and Quebec for forest work in the border area of Timisgam. In July 1921, he was transferred to hay work about 50 miles from Winnipeg (Bordage la Prairie, Manitoba).

Tokoi had no passport, only a residence permit in England, a discharge certificate from the army, and an entry permit to Canada. With the help of his friend (T.C. Wetton) Tokoi got permission to visit the United States when a visa valid for 60 days was attached to his previous papers (Declaration of Alien About to Depart for the United States, July 30, 1921). The journey stopped at the US border when Tokoi had forgotten to register at the US immigration office. Dissatisfied with the decision he appealed to the US Labor Office, under which the immigration office operated. At the same time, Tokoi's family, his wife, and children were staying in Toksova, about 20 km north of St. Petersburg, on a farm where Hanna worked as a cook.

Tokoi moved to Port Arthur (now Thunder Bay) and further to the other side of Lake Superior to Sault Ste Marie near the US border to wait for an entry permit to the US. One day, an unknown man approached Tokoi on the street and asked: "Aren't you Oskari Tokoi?". The questioner was Frank Aaltonen, whom the Fitchburg-based Raivaaja newspaper had urged to find Tokoi in his hands. Tokoi rowed with Aaltonen to Sugar Island and thus became transferred to the American side, without an official immigration permit. Tokoi worked on Aaltonen's farm and in the lumber store until the end of September. It was really like a recreational sanatorium for a sick soul. I gained new strength and courage there for future possible battles, Tokoi later wrote in his memoirs. Now Tokoi didn't remember his family as he did in a moment of despair just a moment before in Port Arthur. At the beginning of September, the newspaper Social Democrat from Finland hired Tokoi as their correspondent (September 10). Even before the appointment, the magazine had published several magazine articles written by Tokoi in the Canadian forest camp. Around the same time, at the beginning of September (September 9th), Hanna, Laila, Aune, and Lauri arrived in Helsinki. The family's oldest children, Tyne and Nestori, had voluntarily stayed in St. Petersburg.

Finally, on September 22, 1921, 48-year-old Tokoi crossed the US border, now an exile twice sentenced to death, one by the whites, one by the Communists, and headed to Fitchburg to his cousin William Koski. When Tokoi arrived in the city, there were a little over 41,000 inhabitants, of which slightly less than 5,000 (4,985, 1920) were Finnish immigrants.

Tokoi's arrival was also noted in the local English-language newspaper (Fitchburg Daily Sentinel), where a two-part interview of Tokoi appeared (November 26, 29) under the title "Former Prime Minister of Finland, a current political refugee is in the care of relatives and friends in our city". Tokoi's reception in Fitchburg was mixed: Raivaaja organized a spectacular party for him, the communists considered the English lieutenant colonel a traitor to the class struggle, the city's right-wingers thought Tokoi was an unpatriotic person who had been ready to sell his country to the Russian Bolsheviks.

Tokoi had no intention of participating in public political activities, but already at the end of 1921 (December 20), he gave his first speech at Saima Haall, which impressed American Finns. On the last day of December, Tokoi was scheduled to speak in Fitchburg neighboring town of Gardner, but it was canceled when police arrested Tokoi on a warrant from the US Department of Labor

"Ex-Finnish Premier seized as anarchist", was the title of the New York Times January 1, 1922, of Tokoi's arrest. In fact, the reason was completely mundane, the expiry of Tokoi's residence visa. According to Tokoi, "My political enemies had figured out that I could be declared a foreign anarchist and deported from the country on the basis of that." Tokoi spent a few days behind bars and was released on bail. The first hearing was held in Boston, and the final hearing, involving an immigration inspector and an FBI agent, was held in Fitchburg. The liberating decision came in March (March 18.).

At the beginning of the following month (April 3), Tokoi joined Raivaaja magazine, as editor and a little later to the American Finnish Socialist organization with its headquarters in Fitchburg. Raivaaja, which had recently passed to social democrats from the communists, and the various organizations needed capable speakers to carry their message forward. From the former member of parliament, trade union leader, senator, and prime minister, they got one.

From the period between 1922 and 1924, 11 letters written by Hanna to her husband have been preserved. The letters, talk about the everyday life of the family and the children, the responsibility of raising the children alone, his own feelings and experiences, mutual acquaintances, the lives of Nestori and Tyyne, the delay in getting a passport, daily politics, etc. The letters also reveal that Oskari tried to regularly send money to her family, who lived a meager life.

The family didn't get a travel permit until the beginning of March 1923 (March 6), a year and a half after arriving in Helsinki. Finally, in September 1924 (16.9) Hanna and children Laila, Aune, and Lauri leave Helsinki and arrive in New York on 28. September. After more than six years, the family, except for Tyyne and Nestor, was together again.

In his memoirs, Tokoi writes: When the family arrived, life in every way returned to normal. The children were already almost adults and started working, except for the youngest, who started school. The long-term starvation, disappointments, and suffering endured in Russia left a lasting mark on the health of those who were there. However, the children had already recovered when they were in Finland, but they had left permanent marks on my wife, from which she never fully recovered. However, life had leveled off and became calm, almost stationary.