

INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE, EVERYDAY LIFE AND ENVIRONMENTAL RELATIONSHIP

Riina Haanpää

For local people, industrial heritage with its tangible and intangible traces can be a part of their everyday lives and environment, although its value as cultural heritage isn't necessarily recognized. Rather, seen as a living environment containing practical aspects, industrial heritage including buildings, scenery and surroundings can be closely connected to a community's livelihood and culture, for example, as an environment to live or work in. Further, it can also be a part of everyday life with its normalized customs, practices and beliefs. In both cases, this environment and living in it are observed; changes happening in it are noticed and opinions are formed. People's individual living experiences create sensitivity regarding one's environment and that, as well as so-called tacit knowledge, gathered through generations about how to live and work in one's environment, affect how people value, understand and write about this space.¹

In this paper, I examine the importance of industrial heritage in the life and diaries of Urho Saralehto from the village of Reposaari, which is now a suburb of Pori, Finland.² Urho Saralehto was born in 1897 on the street Kirkkokatu in the aforementioned Reposaari. Saralehto's parents, Frans Frederik (b. 1845) and Maria (b. 1851), were both fishermen, and as soon as Saralehto was old enough, he helped with fishing and worked at the Mill as well. After Saralehto married in the early 1920s, he started working for the town of Pori. However, in the later years of the 1920s, the economic situation declined, Saralehto lost his job and had to work in various stopgap positions, which he describes in his diaries. Societally, the late 1920s and the early 1930s were destitute times: unemployment increased, there was a shortage of sources for livelihood and the only work opportunities were poorly-paid, short-term jobs. In the late 1930s, Saralehto began his studies at the teacher's seminar in Rauma. After he graduated as a woodwork teacher, he worked in the Reposaari School

until 1952, when he became ill and had to retire. Urho Saralehto died in 1953.

Long separated from the mainland, Reposaari is an island located off shore from the city of Pori on the western coast of Finland. It is a community that was originally built around the lumber and machinery industry in the early 1800s, Reposaari underwent a drastic change as a work environment in the 1970s, when the sawmill shut down and the machinery workshop moved to Mäntyluoto on the mainland. The industrial heritage of Reposaari and its surroundings are a historically and socially constructed entirety. The island's environment, full of history, has been created and moulded by its habitants, while people's customs and actions have been moulded by social needs, practices and relationships.³ Therefore, the industrial heritage of Reposaari is full of traces of its habitants and their lives.

I will examine industrial heritage in relation to its environment and its effects on social and cultural constructions as well as

people's experiences and perceptions of their surroundings. The research work done in the field of industrial cultural heritage has rarely touched on the point of view of the ordinary person or, as in Urho Saralehto's case, on the observations of a working man. However, the individual has always been at the very centre of the industrial environment.⁴ Tangible cultural heritage, the industrial Reposaaari, surrounded by the sea, becomes visible and structured by scrutinizing intangible cultural heritage such as social, professional or cultural norms and customs. On the pages of Saralehto's diaries, it is possible to see the industrial cultural heritage of Reposaaari, which is above all experienced, sensed and observed and is, thusly, more of a multisensory experience.⁵ This also challenges us to think about industrial heritage as a part of the social relations and everyday practices directed by changes in the environment.

My main empirical materials are Saralehto's diaries from the early 1930s, in which the writer reflects on the history of his environment and its then-current state. I will, therefore, rely on the local habitant's own understanding as well as his *tacit knowledge* gathered through generations of local folk, all of which are found in these diaries. Tacit knowledge is, by definition, something that can't be measured or recorded by traditional, scientific methods. It is, instead, personal, experienced, local and reflective. Tacit knowledge can still also be communal, reflecting, for example, the mutual values behind a community's actions. Saralehto's thoughts and experiences on current and past events are personal and special, experienced and localized: they show what he felt was meaningful in his own life, everyday incidents, describe what kind of associations there were between his work and living environment and why these relations were special.⁶

IMPORTANCE OF THE NOTES

The Finnish writer Pentti Haanpää (1905–1955) was known for both his social criticism and his sympathies towards the political Left. In his short story, *Päntän äijän vajoaminen* (The Sinking of the man Pänttä) (1947), the writer describes the interactions between an individual, his community and environment. In the story, every single autumn, an old man named Pänttä, felt an irresistible obsession about thin ice on the sea. The first cover of ice on the water seduced him with its glistening, glimmering and shining surface and he needed to cross over the ice because it would carry him, 'it would carry a horse, even!' And so, the old man, once again, went along with his sleigh and beautifully he glided on the smooth, autumn ice until he came to the fragile spot on the ice and the sleigh started to sink. Neighbours then saved the old man, again, from a certain death in the icy sea. Even though the old man's foolish stunts on thin ice created many difficulties and much work for the community, they also gave 'something like flavour and spice to dull everyday life. Something had happened: old man Pänttä had fallen into ice again'.⁷ The old man, Pänttä, can be seen as a culmination of Haanpää's personal style – the central character is a temperamental person, living in their own environment, almost unimportant yet still adding colour and spice to the everyday life of the surrounding community.⁸ The same kinds of characters are also seen in diaries examined by literary researchers. For example, in Finnish researcher Anna Makkonen's book, *Kadonnut kangas – Retkiä Ida Digertin päiväkirjaan* (Lost Fabric – Trips into Ida Digert's Diary), the writer of the diaries is described as one of the little, silent people, not as a female scholar, nor a meaningful, rebellious writer or the matriarch of an important family of artists. Ida had only gone to school for a year. She was

a seamstress in her village and, in her own words, ‘went through her life from kitchen to parlour to porch’. Still, the most ordinary Ida kept a diary and through her diary, she becomes a person whose words provide the reader glimpses of her own family, her village, her parsonage and even the whole of Finland during her lifetime.⁹

Haanpää’s old man, Pönttö, and the stories of Ida Digert, the daughter or the sawmill’s bookkeeper and the churchwarden, have given me a starting point and the inspiration for examining the diaries of Urho Saralehto. In the diaries, Saralehto writes about his own life, his family and social relations, as well as his views on politics, society, and about his work and living environment. The diary notes move from private family business towards evaluation and criticism of public places and events. Therefore, the writing is primarily about remembering, storytelling and making one’s opinions known – telling a chosen story – and writing, for Saralehto, has been a way to understand and analyse his own experiences.¹⁰ In his notes, Saralehto describes the everyday stories of the people of Reposaari, similar to old man Pönttö’s story. He observes and comments on events, repeated encounters, people, life, work and his environment and surrounding society, and thusly draws a picture of the island that is full

of sensuality, flavour and spice. Through his own life and his knowledge and interpretations inherited from the previous generations, Saralehto also gives the reader of his diaries a personal understanding about the past and opens up its multidimensional character.¹¹

Those who have examined and analysed the diaries and letters of Finnish ordinary people, researchers such as Miia Vatka, Kaisa Kauranen and Kirsi Keravuori, have described the diaries, letters and notes as egodocuments, stories produced by private individuals about their own lives.¹² Through egodocuments it has, therefore, been possible to examine the everyday lives, events and thoughts of ordinary people who have previously been left out of research. As egodocuments, diaries focus on individuals as active agents of the past and also their near communities. Therefore, the goal is, above all, to gather micro-level knowledge on people’s personal lives or, for example, their professional and occupational work.¹³

Urho Saralehto began writing his biographical diaries on New Year’s Eve 1932. In his first diary entry, he celebrated at the reception of Worker’s Institute of Pori Reposaari Comrades, listening to a speech by the local teacher, Juho Kustaa Eloranta, and then at home with friends, drinking and foretelling the future by pouring melted

tin into cold water to see what kind of forms it would take. ‘I also got twice the joy and a little sorrow’.¹⁴ In the beginning, the diaries are coloured by some melancholy. It may be because of the chan-



Reposaari photographed from the church tower. Reposaari Sawmill and lumber. Photo: Henrik Seppänen, Satakunta Museum.

ges in Saralehto's life; unemployment festered in his mind and stopgap work did not bring mental satisfaction or even concrete financial help for the upkeep of his house. Perhaps his difficult situation was just the trigger that made Saralehto write his thoughts down in his diaries.¹⁵ Saralehto's diaries end in May 1949, and his last note tells about feeling like a prisoner, who 'just gets to chew the end of the pencil in vain, as all thoughts have been nailed to my head with long-ass nails and they don't move or shift, just stay still'.¹⁶ These everyday themes, opinions, comments, explanations, descriptions and chosen expressions make the reader curious. They reveal perspectives on the voice of Reposaari, on what was meaningful for the industrial community and its individuals in the early 1930s: how were life, work and environment experienced and observed? The diary notes tell about the real, practical and explanatory past.¹⁷ When interpreting these notes, the reader needs to practice close reading and practice sensitivity. One must ask what is the subject trying to explain when certain words have been chosen, how are the lines, and especially the spaces between them, read and listened to, and what kind of past is created based on the diaries.¹⁸

Inevitably, examining the diaries calls for an examination of the ethical questions of research work, as these, originally personal writings have not typically been meant to be made public or read by others. Therefore, it is important to reflect on whether the researcher should read them at all or how they should interpret them.¹⁹ However, Urho Saralehto's son, Tapani Saralehto, gave us his father's diaries in 2015 for our research project, *Everyday Life in Reposaari*, because he felt they told about a meaningful period of Reposaari's own history.²⁰ In the research project we examined such aspects as the diaries: normal, everyday things that are still thought to be important and are pre-

served and passed on to future generations. The inspiration for this kind of starting point were conversations we held on topics such as, to whom the history of Reposaari belongs and according to whose interests is it researched and written about.²¹ When interpreting the diaries, I seek to place the diary notes in their historical and cultural context as well as to recognize their otherness and distance in the timeline. Therefore, my understanding is built on encountering the other on their terms, including all their thoughts and feelings. The diary notes are like traces I am following; traces that present the truth as it is and with which I make dialogue through time, respectfully while understanding my responsibility.²²

THE CAUSE AND THE REBELLION

On Monday, the 1st Day of God's Year 1934

*The year started with quarrel and bad temper within the Worker's Institute even though we sang Internationale when receiving the New Year. [Tomorrow, all nations shall be brothers' in Finnish, in the English version, the line is 'The Internationale unites the human race'] I think that the day will never come that all men can live in peace. The world at this time is like a volcano, its inner parts boiling and roiling, and one never knows when it will erupt. One has to be optimistic and believe that all will be well for all nations and also for the Institute's people on this island.*²³

This note begins Saralehto's diary from the year 1934. It could very well be a reminder of the Finnish Civil War of 1918, fought only a little more than a decade earlier, involving bloody fighting among locals, which saw over 450 people from Reposaari being sent to the prison camps and the deaths of 90 local men.²⁴ The Finnish Civil War was fought between the Finnish Reds (working men and tenant farmers) and the

Whites (bourgeoisie and owning-class). The war began in January 1918 and was fought until May 1918. Approximately 37,000 Finns were killed in the war and the camps set up in its aftermath. The diary entry can also make one reflect upon what it means to live in Reposaari: what did the islanders think about and how did they interpret the social life around them? After the Finnish Civil War, they reminisced: ‘Everyone in Reposaari were Reds, we were all workers in the harbour or at the Mill, there weren’t many others’.²⁵ And still, there were winners and losers in the war and the losers were mainly working people and in Reposaari there were also statistically many losers.²⁶ On the other hand, the note creates the image of a solid desire to learn and work together for common purposes. The Worker’s Institute and hopes for peace and harmony were born from the memory of the Finnish Civil War and its victims. According to the Finnish author Veijo Meri, the Finnish Civil War was the devil’s war as it was fought on the battlefield and on the home front at the same time.²⁷ The war affected everything and everybody, victims and villains, fighters and civilians, opinions and thoughts after the war, and political quarrels were even fought because of the war. Therefore, the political decisions, the inequality they sometimes caused and social problems incited the islanders to act. Sometimes by going on strike, as in the autumn of 1920 or again in 1928, when the workers in the harbour fought for better pay. Both strikes present themselves as symbols of this continuing willingness to act. In 1920, people protested against the army of outsiders, trouble-making strike-breakers from Pihkala brought to the Mill, which happened again in 1928.²⁸ Saralehto wrote in the beginning of March 1934 about coercion and recruitment at the steam mill in Reposaari:

*They try to recruit the workers at the Mill for the Patriotic People’s Movement (IKL) by threatening that we will lose our jobs otherwise. Tomorrow night we’ll stop the Mill at 4 + ½ 5. They will bring a parson from Rauma to explain and curse the Social Democrats to the lowest Hell. We’ll see how many they will catch in their nets; it won’t be a great booty. The wind blows from the south and the weather is mild.*²⁹

Some were caught in the nets. On the 17th of March, Saralehto mentions that at the Mill’s sauna and at *Lusikkalinna* (a building in the area) people were talking about some men that had joined the Patriotic People’s Movement (a Finnish nationalist and anti-communist political party). One member of the party had ‘cursed a lot and shouted that a person can join any party they like and one has to belong to a party anyhow’. This was true, and it was accepted on the island. Still, on his diary pages, almost secretly, Saralehto expressed his satisfaction when parson Varpio’s agitation came to an embarrassing end. Only a few loaders from the mill had arrived to listen to him and the meeting had to be cancelled. Parson Varpio exited the Mill ‘looking sad and a whistling concert accompanied his exit’.³⁰

The radical right-wing political atmosphere of the 1920s and 1930s was also seen and felt in Reposaari. The strikes had caused financial losses for the sawmill and harbour industries and partly helped the Left into power, which then created tension. Right-wing circles started to demand the return of authority, order and discipline to the country. Leftist thoughts should be uprooted thoroughly. Therefore, separate agitators and patriotic saviours from Bolshevism visited the island and people were forced to think about their opinions and choose their side. The Lapua Movement³¹ tried to forcefully deport the workers and activists David Hoffren, Kustaa Latvala, Aarne Holmsten and Yrjö Laine in the summer of

1930. They were first taken to Kauhajoki in Southern Ostrobothnia, to wait for a train to Saint Petersburg. Although Hoffren and Laine returned to Reposaari, Latvala and Holmsten eventually left to Soviet-Russia.³² The reality on the island was, therefore, sometimes almost oppressive and depressing. Normally, this oppression of leftists was initiated by outsiders as an oral history note in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society shows:

*This Lapua Movement and Patriotic People's Movement, they didn't much affect our fishing community but there were those punishment parties that visited here, too. They nailed doors shut where workers unions and Worker's Party kept their meetings. Strangers they were. Once there were 150 men, so many, they nailed the voluntary fire brigade's house's doors shut and destroyed their books.*³³

Shutting down, nailing and destroying worker's meeting places only reinforced the strength of the Red movement in Reposaari: about 2/3 of the islanders voted Left in the 1930 municipal and parliamentary elections.³⁴ For an islander it was not, therefore, odd in any way to write as Saralehto did on the New Year's Eve and describe the world as an erupting volcano. All kinds of events had taken place on the island again, people had made their opinions heard, this time at the New Year's reception organized by men of the Worker's Institute's, where the Reposaari Worker's marching band happened to play the Internationale instead of Finland's national anthem. The incident created intensive discussion on the island, as well as on the mainland, and was even written about in newspapers. The Marching Band's and the Worker's Institute's actions were criticized and evaluated and Saralehto wrote: "There was also a kind of smoker's gossip about anxiety in certain circles, because of the Internationale, people said some had gotten 'runs' from it and all".³⁵ The inci-

dent was perhaps small and the scandal it caused seemed partly pointless from the Worker's Institute's point of view but it did, for example, cause the Pori city council to re-evaluate the grants it gave for different marching bands in the city.³⁶

WORK AND EVERYDAY LIFE

In February 1933, the Pori city council decided unanimously to accept a grant from the Ministry of Transportation and Public Works for organizing stopgap work. In Reposaari, the grant permitted employment for many unemployed and the town began building a break water in the island's southeast end 'the council suggests that the abovementioned break wave will be quickly built on a large scale'.³⁷ Saralehto was one of those thusly employed and daily he carried stones to the break wave and nightly, after the day's work, wrote down his thoughts on the work and the worker's share.

*A worker's life, a lot of work, if one happens to get work, a little money and a little food. And that continues day in, day out until you go six feet under. Today I again counted my money at the break wave and got to thirty-six.*³⁸

In the 1930s, the depression and the unemployment it caused plagued industrial areas and their workforce in particular. General workers in Reposaari suffered because of the depression: there was no work as the industries couldn't export their goods and, for example, the saw industry was no longer profitable as Soviet-Russia had seized large shares of the lumber market. Unemployment on the island was mainly handled with different sorts of stopgap work as the town council was nearly unanimous in its decision that help for the unemployed was to be given in the form of work instead of as money or food. In that sense, stopgap

Reposaari break wave.
Photo: Satakunta Museum.



work was the social welfare of the time, as it was specifically organized to fight unemployment. The workers didn't see stopgap work as normal work with normal worker–employer–relation, which was partly due to the fact that there were so many kinds of work involved, the pay was low and the workplaces varied.³⁹ In Reposaari, stopgap jobs were, for example, construction of the break wave and setting off detonations, cutting wood, maintenance work on the docks, roof building, small repairs and sanding the streets as well as expanding the Mäntyluoto harbour and digging trenches for electricity and water lines. Saralehto worked in all the above mentioned jobs without complaint – or sometimes with – and was also working outside on dock maintenance on the 19th of December 1933, when 'it was raining cats and dogs' and 'I straight away dropped my axe into the water and there it will probably stay'.

Getting stopgap work was always uncertain and the work was sporadic. Uncertainty about work often bothered Saralehto: 'I have no idea what we'll do tomorrow' is a sentence that he repeatedly wrote down in his diaries.⁴⁰ The diaries also show how Saralehto felt responsibility for a work project's progress and therefore its continuance. The soles of his shoes wore thin as he, almost daily, walked around the Reposaari back-shore checking on how detonations for the break wave were progressing. Industrial progress demanded its part from the islanders as well as the island: rocks were hurled around, the bedrock cracked and the fami-

liar landscape changed into hard-to-walk-on piles of stones.⁴¹

*Work goes on as normal. There are so many bosses here at the break wave that there'll soon be no room for them all. So, the work should go well then.*⁴²

The notes from the stopgap work can be read as a kind of expression of resistance. Work or its actions are not described specifically but Saralehto reflects on work's meaning in everyday life. These reflections contain anxiety about pay, 'we didn't get paid today, either'⁴³, anxiety about safety at work, 'there was a small fire today at the Mill'⁴⁴ as well as fear about losing his job, 'the detonation work, it's like, you never know when you are let go, even if you try your best'.⁴⁵ Saralehto also often wrote, with social aggression, about the bosses who weren't much seen. Sometimes they didn't show up at all, sometimes they only visited briefly, sometimes they 'appeared like lightning from a clear sky, with a packet of dynamite'⁴⁶ or sometimes 'our boss was a bit drunk'.⁴⁷ Bosses and their visits, no-shows and conditions were observed and evaluated and criticized, but at the same

time Saralehto wondered how long, ‘this can go on, as rumour grows as it goes’.⁴⁸ However, they worked on, waited for their pay and sometimes even felt proud of their work:

*Monday the 27th, wind blows from the east, though there isn't much. It's 10 degrees below zero. The day started badly when we began to cart the stones, the cart slipped off the rails all the time and one axle even broke [---] It was a historic moment as we dropped the first stone into the break wave at 9 am.*⁴⁹

LEARNING AND EDUCATION

Saralehto was involved in both educational and sports work. He regularly participated in sports at the workers' sports club, *Repossaaren Kisa*, which was, however, disbanded in March 1933 by the order of the local court – as was common during that time. The dissolution, according to the courts, was because the sport club ‘was participating in activities aiming to overthrow Finland's lawful government and society’.⁵⁰ After the club's disbandment, Saralehto actively participated in the new workers' sports club, *Repossaaren Kunto*. As an active member of the Worker's Institute in Reposaari, the Worker's Institute of Pori also played an important role of Saralehto's life. At the Reposaari branch he could take part into the drama society and educational conversations on societal questions, listen to visiting lecturer's speeches, take courses in the Swedish language and gymnastics as well as organize social evenings and write speeches for them.⁵¹

*At night, I had private tutoring in gymnastics with Honkanen. It took some time, but at last the movements went to the music. Lempi visited after Swedish class. We drank coffee and talked nonsense*⁵².

The ideals of the Worker's Institute united the islanders and the desire and will to learn and educate himself are shown everywhere in Saralehto's diaries. ‘We visited the reading room with Reima this afternoon. It was almost full of people, cultivating words’.⁵³ The same man who observed and commented laconically about his work and bosses, expressed his enthusiasm towards culture, art and literature using many diverse words. On the one hand, mundaneness, on the other, organized enthusiasm – an odd contradiction, which maybe best described the life on the island, its various communities and the challenges they created.⁵⁴

*The day went with all kinds of little tasks. At night the Worker's Institute had a soiree to aid the unemployed. It was a success, there were a lot of people, the hall was almost full.*⁵⁵

WEATHER AND SEA

For Saralehto, Reposaari as a marine environment was an important, essential part of life. The sea is maybe the clearest element characterizing Saralehto's writings, as it is always there, as are the surrounding landscape as well as the skills needed in work, traffic and moving around.⁵⁶ The industrial work on the island helped people make a living, it concretely brought food to the table for the people working at the docks, and because of that, a steamboat was also noticed: ‘Today the steamboat that Hacklin bought at last arrived at Reposaari’.⁵⁷ Saralehto also worked in the building and at repairing the docks so that steamboats could get to the island: ‘Work at the docks has made a living today, too. It's quite cold there when the temperature is sub-zero and wind is blowing from east but we'll work in any case’.⁵⁸

Living by the sea, weather was an essential part of an islander's life. One had to keep an eye on the weather to learn how

to understand its changes and, to predict it, sometimes one had to taste and smell it. Weather decided whether it was possible to leave for the city, fishing or sauna at the summer cottage. For an islander, weather set the terms for life, as at sea ‘time tables are made according to weather, never to escape mundane life’.⁵⁹ Saralehto wrote down observations about the weather and its changes every day: force and direction of the wind, temperature, sun or rain, amount of ice in the winter and height of the waves at summer were always noted at the beginning or end of the events of the day. He wrote down if the wind was half-harsh from the east, or if it blew from the south and was 3 degrees below zero, if on Monday there was a southern wind in west and in the afternoon from North with clear skies and 2 degrees below zero. He wrote down if there was mild wind from the north and was 8 degrees below zero, no clouds in the sky and very low sea water, over two meters lower than normal, or:

*Wednesday the 18th, half-harsh wind from the east, 11 degrees below zero, clear sky. Same work. The bay is frozen, today we came from Kattavankaula to the island by horse for the first time. Today lumber piler Aaltonen drowned on his way to the island in the Handu riverbed.*⁶⁰

During the winter, ice affected people and was also important. It made moving around possible or impossible; it gave life a rhythm and in a way, made life slower. ‘S/S Karhu (connecting vessel) couldn’t get to Mänty-

luoto today, they tried their best, but they will probably have to spend the night’.⁶¹

The notes on various weather conditions were like templates for interpreting Saralehto’s mindscape. The sea, the climate, the time of the year and weather appeared at the times as laconic notes on the harshness of both work and rainy and wet weather or at times as joyous descriptions of spending a beautiful, clear summer day at the summer cottage island with friends, listening to a gramophone, ‘ironing the floor’ and bathing in sauna.⁶² For Saralehto, weather truly was his life as its waves and winds and sun beams were entwined into islanders’ past, future and present day.

*The birch fell down at last, the only tree on the plot that birds sang in. My late father planted it and now one can’t see whether the wind is blowing or not as its branches won’t sway in the wind anymore.*⁶³

THE TRACE OF THE DIARIES

The tacit knowledge in Saralehto’s diaries is personal, experiential and reflective. The diaries bring forward not only incidents



Waiting for the connecting vessel. Photo: Erkki and Pertti Nurmi.

of everyday life and the customs of community, but also feelings and, for example, bodily sensed information. They present Saralehto's values, his decisions and solutions, the stances he took and opinions he formed, even his ideologies. Thus, they open a window through which it is possible to examine social history, the local industrial community and the writer's personal life. The tacit knowledge in the diaries tells, above all, about the contact and encounter between Reposaari culture, community and the individual – the knowledge that had importance in, and affected, Saralehto's life.⁶⁴

Glimpsing, reading and finally, analysing Urho Saralehto's diaries can also help to recognize and even explain the ways he interpreted the world, people and local community as well as the island's industrial heritage.⁶⁵ Saralehto's strong knowledge and sense of place was born through work and ideals, learning and hobbies and observing the sea and weather. In Saralehto's life, in his work in particular, all those small, diverse and various jobs of stopgap work covered all sectors of the geographically small island. Small jobs at the school, in people's homes, on the streets or in the forest strengthened the sense of locality. Walking on the seashore cliffs in the sunshine, on autumn nights at the demolition site and on the ice while the winter cold pinches one's cheeks; these moments told of experiencing one's own environment bodily and comprehensively. The sawmill with its lumber yard, working throughout the year or the works of the machine industry were marks of life going on for the islanders as they had created and made possible the island's thriving work and living community in the first place. Any changes in this environment, strikes, small fires or returning to work were immediately noticed: 'the Mill stopped today for the lack of logs'⁶⁶ or 'there were 8 gangs loading at the Mill yesterday'.⁶⁷

The juxtaposition caused by the Finnish Civil War continued in a way at work places – between the losers and the winners, the strikers and the strike-breakers – throughout the 1920's and 1930's, which left its marks on people.⁶⁸ In Saralehto's diaries, however, this on the other hand manifested positively, as a will to learn and educate oneself and as, for example, his active discussion about the prevalent societal situation. The employment situation was followed; its effects were evaluated and the unemployed were helped through joint actions and the collection of money. The Worker's Institute and its educational importance was also significant, as its reading room, lectures and classes for adults helped workers participate in social activities and bettered workers' knowledge and thusly, their conditions and status as well.

Saralehto seldom reflected on his own role as a diary writer in his diaries. Sometimes he felt inadequate and couldn't find the right words. Notes on a day's events and weather frustrated him as he would have liked to aim at something more meaningful in his texts. The worker's day was long, however, and sleep might have taken time away from writing:

*I'm starting to get bored with this diary writing. Often, I skip a day or two. It's naturally just carelessness. Or maybe stress, nerves are all over place, I don't know what to write. I have no topics. Or actually, there would be topics if I just had time to mould them into words and sentences. It's just that often sleep wins. Half-asleep you write where the wind blows from and when that has been written, sleep has already conquered you almost completely.*⁶⁹

In particular, Saralehto's diaries show the process through which a person interprets industrial heritage as an everyday life's lived and sensed environment. The implications in the diaries make visible the va-

lue of industrial heritage for local people, it becomes recognized and acknowledged. It contains various elements: observing one's living and work environment and daily remarks about mundane life of the past and present, old and new events and their interpretations. Saralehto's experiences and views enlighten the reader about thoughts and feelings related to living on the island. Thus, Saralehto's *subjective relation* towards his environment is something that stands out. This relation includes not only personal experiences and past knowledge but also current and societal statements. This subjective relation is also meaningful when looking at industrial heritage. One must learn to read and interpret what one reads. Above all, the mindscape the relation carries with it has to be made visible.⁷⁰

Riina Haanpää is a lecturer of Cultural Heritage at the University of Turku. Her research themes are oral history, memory and cultural heritage.



¹ Bendix 2009, 255; Haanpää & al 2017, 260; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006, 161–202; Sivula 2017, 32; 2013, 162.

² This article is partly based on my previous article called "Muistiinpanoja Reposaarelta" which was published in *Kertomusten Reposaari* (2017) and it is also connected to the project *The Taste and Scent of the Sea*. The aim of this project is to look into the dynamics and interaction of coastal industrial landscapes in southern and northern Europe. The Taste and Scent of the Sea is a project of the Degree Programme in Cultural Production and Landscape Studies at the University of Turku.

³ Morris 2011, 1, 6.

⁴ Laakkonen 2002, 31–33; Rossi 2015, 3–6, 34–36, 40.

⁵ Relph 1976, 12–15; Lukin 2011, 89–92; Koskihaara 2016.

⁶ Hänninen & al 2005, 3–5; Abrams 2010, 1, 6–7, passim; Hänninen 2003, 32; Leskelä-Kärki 2006, 22. See also Sternberg & al. 2000.

⁷ Haanpää 1969, 113–116.

⁸ Koivisto 1998, 19.

⁹ Makkonen 2005, 10–11. See also Leskelä-Kärki 2006, 22.

¹⁰ Abrams 2010, 106; Leskelä-Kärki 2006, 52; Makkonen 1996, 64.

¹¹ Bendix 2009, 255; von Greyerz 2010, 277, 281; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006, 161–202; Leskelä-Kärki 2006, 22, 24; Linnainmaa 2009, 64.

¹² Kauranen 2013, 22; Keravuori 2012, 10, 13–19; Vatka 2005, 95; von Greyerz 2010, 275, 277–278. The concept *egodocuments* was introduced by the Dutch writer and history professor Jacob Presser, who used not only factual documents but also letters and diaries in his research. Diaries qualify as egodocuments because their narration is chronological and also because of the form of writing, in which daily events are repeated. In this sense, egodocuments is perhaps a more suitable term for my point of view in observing the past than the term *life writing* used by literary researchers and also as a hypernym for many forms of autobiographical writing. See also Eakin 2004, 1; Jolly 2001, ix–x; Sidonie & Watson 2010, 1, 4–5, 13.

¹³ Keravuori 2011, 164–166; 2012, 10–12, 15–17; Vatka 2005, 13. See also Fingerroos & Haanpää 2012, 82–83.

¹⁴ Urho Saralehto, diary 31.12.1932.

¹⁵ Kuusmin 2013, 70.

¹⁶ Urho Saralehto, diary 10.5.1949.

¹⁷ Davis 2000, 2–6, passim; Ahola 1993, 97; Norkola 1996, 38; 1995, 116–128. Tero Norkola separates diaries into different types. A notebook-type diary includes short and separate notes on daily events. A reportive diary consists of evaluations and reports on daily actions. A confessional diary is much like a therapeutic self-examination and the keeper of an esthetic diary pays attention to language, style and the form of their writing. See also Vatka 2005, 75–77.

¹⁸ Latvala & Laurén 2013, 249–266; Makkonen 1996, 142, 149; Pöysä 2010, 338–341; Schlissel 2004, 14.

¹⁹ Leskelä-Kärki 2006, 78–85, 632–639. See also Eakin 2004, 6, 9–10; Schlissel 2004, 11. In Saralehto's diary the mundane events of each day is important and significant. Saralehto is simply an ordinary man, who lived an ordinary life, but the main thing is, that through his writings, historical events take on a new dimension.

²⁰ The *Everyday life in Reposaari* -project was carried out at the University of Turku from 2014 to 2017. The educational research project was led by Riina Haanpää and Eeva Raike. The project produced a collection of articles *Kertomusten Reposaari* in 2017.

²¹ Kalela 2006, 86.

²² Keravuori 2011, 187; Leskelä-Kärki 2006, 632–639; 2011, 264–266.

²³ Urho Saralehto, diary 1.1.1934.

- ²⁴ Haanpää 2017, 236.
- ²⁵ SKS KRA. "Kirkollisen kansanperinteen kysely". Interview 15.9.1981, interviewee male, born 1910.
- ²⁶ Haanpää 2017, 243; Koivuniemi 2006, 377–379.
- ²⁷ Meri 1978, 145.
- ²⁸ *Satakunnan Lehti* 11.9.1920; *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* 4.9.1920; The Notes of Pekka Tuominen.
- ²⁹ Urho Saralehto, diary 4.3.1934.
- ³⁰ Urho Saralehto, diary 31.3.1934.
- ³¹ The Lapua Movement was a Finnish radical nationalist and anti-communist political movement founded in and named after the town of Lapua.
- ³² Siltala 1985, 672–673; Koivuniemi 2006, 393–395; Kähkönen 2010, 64; The Notes of Pekka Tuominen; *Satakunnan Kansa* 18.6.1930.
- ³³ SKS KRA. 'Kirkollisen kansanperinteen kysely'. Interview 13.9.1981, interviewee male, born 1911.
- ³⁴ Koivuniemi 2006, 403; The Notes of Pekka Tuominen.
- ³⁵ Urho Saralehto, diary 2.1.1934.
- ³⁶ Kivimäki 2017, 52–55; Porin kaupungin musiikkilautakunta 9.3.1934. The Reposaaari Worker's Marching Band lost its rehearsal room, yearly contributions from the city and the band's director lost his job.
- ³⁷ Kertomus Porin kaupungin kunnallishallituksesta 1933.
- ³⁸ Urho Saralehto, diary 9.3.1934.
- ³⁹ Peltola 2006, 421, 442, 510–515; 2008, 21–24.
- ⁴⁰ Urho Saralehto, diary 12.1.1933.
- ⁴¹ Urho Saralehto, diary 16.3.1933; 17.3.1933; 21.3.1933; passim.
- ⁴² Urho Saralehto, diary 28.2.1933.
- ⁴³ Urho Saralehto, diary 2.2.1933.
- ⁴⁴ Urho Saralehto, diary 9.6.1933.
- ⁴⁵ Urho Saralehto, diary 20.3.1933; 21.3.1933.
- ⁴⁶ Urho Saralehto, diary 13.1.1933.
- ⁴⁷ Urho Saralehto, diary 8.4.1934.
- ⁴⁸ Urho Saralehto, diary 20.2.1934.
- ⁴⁹ Urho Saralehto, diary 27.2.1933.
- ⁵⁰ Lautamäki 2017, 197; *Satakunnan Kansa* 12.11.1931.
- ⁵¹ Urho Saralehto, diary 13.1.1933, passim; Kivimäki 2017, 49–52.
- ⁵² Urho Saralehto, diary 12.2.1934.
- ⁵³ Urho Saralehto, diary 6.1.1933.
- ⁵⁴ Teräs 2001, 43. See also Ingold 1995, 10–11.
- ⁵⁵ Urho Saralehto, diary 5.3.1933.
- ⁵⁶ Enges 2017, 383; Morris 2011, 1–2.
- ⁵⁷ Urho Saralehto, diary 3.4.1933; 26.5.1933; 27.7.1933; 13.9.1933.
- ⁵⁸ Urho Saralehto, diary 15.2.1933.
- ⁵⁹ Saiha 2009, 7.
- ⁶⁰ Urho Saralehto, diary 18.1.1933.
- ⁶¹ Urho Saralehto, diary 3.2.1933.
- ⁶² Urho Saralehto, diary 6.1.1933, passim. See also Heimo 2007, 68.
- ⁶³ Urho Saralehto, diary 28.2.1949.
- ⁶⁴ Parviainen 2000, 147–148, 152–153, 157.
- ⁶⁵ Abrams 2010, 106; Morris 2011, 9–10.
- ⁶⁶ Urho Saralehto, diary 5.5.1933.
- ⁶⁷ Urho Saralehto, diary 7.5.1933.
- ⁶⁸ Kähkönen 2010, 25.
- ⁶⁹ Urho Saralehto, diary 21.9.1933.
- ⁷⁰ Haanpää & al. 2017, 259–261; Hämeenkoski & Koskinen 2014, 7, 20.

REFERENCES

Archival material

- Tapani Saralehto, home archive
Urho Saralehto, diaries 1933, 1934, 1949
- Pekka Tuominen, home archive
The Notes of Pekka Tuominen, interviews made in Reposaaari in the 1960s.
- City Archives, Pori
Kertomus Porin kaupungin kunnallishallituksesta 1917, 1918, 1919, 1933
Porin kaupungin musiikkilautakunta 1934
- The Finnish Literature Society, Archive (SKS), Helsinki
Kirkollisen kansanperinteen kysely, Reposaaari
- Newspapers
Satakunnan Lehti 11.9.1920
Satakunnan Kansa 18.6.1930; 12.11.1931
Suomen Sosialidemokraatti 4.9.1920

Bibliography

- ABRAMS, Lynn. *Oral History Theory*. London, Routledge 2010.
- AHOLA, Suvi. Naiset päiväkirjojen kirjoittajina. – Piela, Ulla (ed.), *Aikanaisia. Kirjoituksia naisten omaelämäkerroista*. Helsinki, SKS 1993.
- BENDIX, Regina. Heritage between economy and politics. An assessment from perspective of cultural anthropology. – Smith, Laurajane & Akagawa, Natsuko (eds.), *Intangible Heritage*. New York, Routledge 2009.
- DAVIS, Natalie Zemon. *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-cen-*

- turey France. Stanford, Stanford University Press 2000.
- EAKIN, Paul John. Introduction. Mapping the ethics of life writing. – Eakin, Paul John (ed.), *The Ethics of Life Writing*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca & London 2004.
- ENGES, Pasi. Reposaarelaisuuden aineksia. – Haanpää, Riina & Raike, Eeva (eds.), *Kertomusten Reposaari*. Harjavalta, Satakunnan Historiallinen Seura 2017.
- FINGERROOS, Outi & Haanpää, Riina. Fundamental Issues in Finnish Oral History Studies. – *Oral History*. Vol. 40 [2] 2012.
- von GREYERZ, Kaspar. Ego-Documents: The Last Word? – *German History*. Vol. 28 [3] 2010.
- HAANPÄÄ, Pentti. *Juttuja*. Helsinki, Otava 1969.
- HAANPÄÄ, Riina & Puolamäki, Laura & Raike, Eeva. Eurajoen muuttuvat arvot. – Fingerroos, Outi & Koskihaara, Niina & Lillbroända-Annala, Sanna & Lundgren, Maija (eds.), *Yhteiskuntaetnologia*. Helsinki, SKS 2017.
- HAANPÄÄ, Riina. Sisällissotaa saarella. – Haanpää, Riina & Raike, Eeva (eds.), *Kertomusten Reposaari*. Harjavalta, Satakunnan Historiallinen Seura 2017.
- HEIMO, Anne. ”Alkaneet suuret levottomuudet kautta maan”. Fredrik Litzénin almanakkamerkin­ töjä keväältä 1918. – *Sananjalka*. Suomen Kielen Seuran vuosikirja 49. 2007.
- HÄMEENAHO, Pilvi & Koskinen-Koivisto, Eerika. Etnografian ulottuvuudet ja mahdollisuudet. – Hämeenaho, Pilvi & Koskinen-Koivisto, Eerika (eds.) *Moniulotteinen etnografia*. Helsinki, Ethnos ry 2014.
- HÄNNINEN, Sakari & Karjalainen, Jouko & Lahti, Tuukka (eds.). *Toinen tieto. Kirjoituksia huono­ osaisuuden tunnistamisesta*. Helsinki, Sosiaali- ja terveysalan tutkimus- ja kehittämiskeskus 2005.
- HÄNNINEN, Vilma. *Sisäinen tarina, elämä ja muutos*. Tampere, Tampereen yliopisto 2003.
- KALELA, Jorma. Muistitiedon näkökulma historiaan. – Fingerroos, Outi & Haanpää, Riina & Heimo, Anne & Peltonen, Ulla-Maija (eds.), *Muistitieto- tutkimus. Metodologisia kysymyksiä*. Helsinki, SKS 2006.
- INGOLD, Tim. Work, Time and Industry. – *Time & Society*. London, SAGE Social Science Collec- tions 1995.
- JOLLY, Margaretta (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Life Writing: Autobiographical and Biographical Forms*. Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, London 2001.
- KAURANEN, Kaisa. Mitä ja miksi kansa kirjoitti? – Laitinen, Lea & Mikkola, Kati (eds.), *Kynällä kyntäjät. Kansan kirjallistuminen 1800-luvun Suomessa*. Helsinki, SKS 2013.
- KERAVUORI, Kirsi. *Itseoppineet kirjoittajat, kirjeen- vaihdon kulttuuri ja kirjeet egodokumentteina. Tutkimus Janssonin laivuriperheen kirjeen- vaihdosta 1860- ja 1870-luvulla*. Turku, Turun yliopisto 2012.
- KERAVUORI, Kirsi. Itseoppineet ihmiset kirjeen- kirjoittajina. Perhekirjeenvaihtoa 1860-luvun saaristosta. – Leskelä-Kärki, Maarit & Lahtinen, Anu & Vainio-Korhonen, Kirsi (eds.), *Kirjeet ja historiantutkimus*. Helsinki, SKS 2011.
- KIRSHENBLATT-GIMBLETT, Barbara. World Heri- tage and Cultural Economics. – Karp, Ivan & al. (eds.), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*. London, Duke University Press 2006.
- KIVIMÄKI, Outi. *Satavuotias osaamisen ahjo. Porin Työväenopisto 1917–2010. Porin Seudun Kansalaisopisto 2011–2017*. Pori. Porin Seudun Kansalaisopisto 2017.
- KOIVISTO, Juhani. *Leipää huudamme ja kiviä annetaan. Pentti Haanpään 30-luvun teosten kytkentöjä aikansa diskursseihin, todellisuuteen ja Raamattuun*. Helsinki, SKS 1998.
- KOIVUNIEMI, Jussi. Jakautuneet yhteisöt. – Haapa- la, Pertti & al. *Nouseva maakunta. Satakunnan historia VII (1870–1939)*. Satakunnan Museo / Porin kaupunki & Satakuntaliitto, Pori 2006.
- KOSKIHAARA, Niina. Paikalliset edunvalvojat. Kylä- ja kotiseutuyhdistykset paikallisentiteetin ylläpitäjinä ja rakentajina. – Riukulehto, Sulevi (ed.), *Kunnat, rajat, kulttuuri. Muutoskokemuksia*. Helsinki, SKS 2016.
- KUUSMIN, Anna. Päiväkirjat ja omaelämäkerrat. Aikain muistot ja kokemusten koulut. – Laiti- nen, Lea & Mikkola, Kati (eds.), *Kynällä kyntäjät. Kansan kirjallistuminen 1800-luvun Suomessa*. Helsinki, SKS 2013.
- KÄHKÖNEN, Sirpa. *Vihan ja rakkauden liekit. Kohta- lona 1930-luvun Suomi*. Helsinki, Otava 2010.
- LAAKKONEN, Simo. Muistitiedon keruu – ratkaisu lähdeongelmaan. *Työväentutkimus* 2002/1.
- LATVALA, Pauliina & Laurén, Kirsi. The sensitive interpretation of emotions: methodological per- spectives on studying meanings in oral history texts. – Frog & Latvala, Pauliina & Leslie, Helen F. (eds.), *Approaching methodology*. Helsinki, Academia scientiarum Fennica 2013.
- LAUTAMÄKI, Linda. Reposaaren urheiluelämää. – Haanpää, Riina & Raike, Eeva (eds.), *Kertomusten Reposaari*. Harjavalta, Satakunnan Historiallinen Seura 2017.
- LESKELÄ-KÄRKI, Maarit. *Kirjoittaen maailmassa. Krohnin sisaret ja kirjallinen elämä*. Helsinki, SKS 2006.
- LESKELÄ-KÄRKI, Maarit. Kirjeet ja kerrotuksi tulemisen kaipuu. Kirjailija Helmi Krohnin ja sä- veltäjä Erkki Melartinin kirjeistä 1906–1936. – Leskelä-Kärki, Maarit & Lahtinen, Anu & Vainio-Korhonen, Kirsi (eds.), *Kirjeet ja histori-*

- antutkimus*. Helsinki, SKS 2011.
- LINNAINMAA, Terhikki. Reflektiivisyys ja refleksiivisyys kirjallisuusterapiassa. – Ihanus, Juhani (ed.), *Sanat että hoitaisimme. Terapeuttinen kirjoittaminen*. Helsinki, Duodecim 2009.
- LUKIN, Karina. *Elämän ja entisyyden maisemat. Kolme kujevenenetsien arjessa, muistelussa ja kerronnassa*. Helsinki, SKS 2011.
- MAKKONEN, Anna. *Kadonnut kangas. Retkiä Ida Digertin päiväkirjaan*. Helsinki, SKS 2005.
- MAKKONEN, Anna. *Sinulle. Romaani joka ei uskalla sanoa nimenään tai nainen, kapina, kirjoitus ja historia*. Helsinki, SKS 1996.
- MERI, Veijo 1978: *Goethen tammi*. Helsinki, Otava 2005.
- MORRIS, Benjamin. "Not Just a Place": Cultural Heritage and the Environment. – Anheier, Helmut & Raj Isar, Yudhishtir (eds.), *Heritage, Memory and Identity*. London, SAGE Publications Ltd 2011.
- NORKOLA, Tero. Tavallisen ihmisen päiväkirjat – merkintöjä kirjallisuuden marginaalissa. – Makkonen, Anna & Ikonen, Teemu (eds.), *Karnevaali ja autiomaan – kirjallisuustieteellisiä tutkielmia*. Helsinki, Helsingin yliopisto 1995.
- NORKOLA, Tero. Kirjoituksia sydänten kammiosta. Henkilökohtaisen päiväkirjan poetiikkaa. – Norkola, Tero & Rikkinen, Eila (eds.), *Sivupolkuja. Tutkimusretkiä kirjallisuuden rajaseuduille*. Helsinki, SKS 1996.
- PARVIAINEN, Jaana. Kehollinen tieto ja taito. – *Ajatus* 57, 2000.
- PELTOLA, Jarmo. Sosiaalisia ongelmia. – Haapala, Pertti & al. *Nouseva maakunta. Satakunnan historia VII (1870–1939)*. Satakunnan Museo / Porin kaupunki & Satakuntaliitto, Pori 2006.
- PELTOLA, Jarmo. Monipuolinen ja omavarainen talous. – Haapala, Pertti & al. *Nouseva maakunta. Satakunnan historia VII (1870–1939)*. Satakunnan Museo / Porin kaupunki & Satakuntaliitto, Pori 2006.
- PELTOLA, Jarmo. *Lama, pula ja työttömyys. Tamperelaisperheiden toimeentulo 1928–1938*. Tampere, Tampere University Press 2008.
- PÖYSÄ, Jyrki 2010. Kaksin tekstin kanssa. Lähiluku vaeltavana käsitteenä ja tieteidenvälisenä metodina. – Pöysä, Jyrki & Järviluoma, Helmi & Vakkimo, Sinikka (eds.), *Vaeltavat metodit*. Suomen Kansantietouden Tutkijain Seura, Joensuu 2010.
- RELPH, Edvard. *Place and Placelessness*. London, Pion Limited 1976.
- ROSSI, Leena. *Yksilö ja ympäristö. Maalari Frans Lindin (1903–1988) elinikäinen ympäristösuhde muistitiedon ja maisemamaalausten valossa*. Turku, Turun yliopisto 2015.
- SAIHA, Markku. *Itämeren rannalla. Valokuvaajan merialueita*. Porvoo, WS Bookwell 2009.
- SCHLISSEL, Lillian. *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey*. Schocken Books, New York 2004.
- SILTALA, Juha. *Lapuan liike ja kyyditykset 1930*. Helsinki, Otava 1985.
- SIVULA, Anna. Mitä teollinen kulttuuriperintö on? – Heikkilä, Suvi (ed.), *Satakunnan teollinen kulttuuriperintö*. Harjavalta, Satakunnan Historiallinen Seura 2017.
- SIVULA, Anna. Puuvillatehtaasta muistin paikaksi. Teollisen kulttuuriperintöprosessin jäljillä. – Tuomi-Nikula, Outi & Haanpää, Riina & Kivilaakso, Aura (eds.), *Mitä on kulttuuriperintö?* Helsinki, SKS 2013.
- SMITH, Sidonie & Watson, Julia. *Reading Autobiography. A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*. University of Minnesota Press, University of Minnesota 2010.
- STERNBERG, Robert J. & al. *Practical Intelligence in Everyday Life*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2000.
- TERÄS, Kari. *Arjessa ja liikkeessä. Verkostonäkökulma modernisoituihin työelämän suhteisiin 1880–1920*. Helsinki, SKS 2001.
- VATKA, Miia. *Suomalaisten salatut elämät. Päiväkirjojen ominaispiirteiden tarkastelua*. Helsinki, SKS 2005.