Can Fictional Characters and Mythical Sites Save Downtown America?

Monterey's Transformation from a Derelict Industrial Landscape into a Prime Tourist Attraction

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INTRODUCTION

Many American cities have fostered a myth of some sorts to compensate for the fact that, when compared to European cities, they lack a substantial connection to the past. Boston has prominently advertised its Puritan origins, and New York has promoted its Dutch heritage, while Chicago's rebuilding after the great fire in 1871 has been likened to the mythical image of a "Phoenix that rises from the Ashes." Many cities continue to circulate unusual stories for anyone willing to listen. They provide layer upon layer of fascinating urban narratives, from historical quarters based on European precedents to industrial inner-city cores, from commercially vital central business districts to vast metropolitan regions.

During the second half of the 20th century, cities around the nation have lost their appeal. The white middle class has left the inner city for the suburbs or new "Edge Cities," while commerce has taken over large areas of the urban core. Most American downtowns have become generic, featuring chain restaurants, brand-name department stores and an endless sea of faceless office towers. This sameness, experienced by every traveler, has suppressed the once unique character of any given city, thus creating a sensation of placelessness.

Recently, urban design professionals and city managers have discovered history's potential for the rejuvenation of ailing downtowns. Since 1980, the National Trust for Historic Preservation has promoted the rediscovery of abandoned Main Streets as a trend for urban revitalization. As a result, many smaller towns have invested in streetscape improvements and street furniture based on historical models. Although this approach has helped restore many town centers, it has failed to highlight the features particular to each town. Instead, the similarity of the accouterments used in the beautification process — banners, cast-iron benches, clocks, standardized awnings — has left us with environments devoid of any unique character.

Rather than giving their downtowns a generic facelift, a few communities have begun to develop a more specific "history" in order to attract visitors and new residents. They have explored literary themes such as the quest for the Maltese Falcon (San Francisco), have "rediscovered" fictional locations such as John Steinbeck's Cannery Row (Monterey), or have replicated historical structures such as the Giza's Great Pyramid (Las Vegas). As a result, these cities have once again begun to thrive as metropolitan centers as well as tourist attractions. They continue to enjoy a vibrant streetlife throughout the entire week, and attract customers and visitors from surrounding suburbs and other cities.

Although American cities are generally well researched and documented, the impact of historical or literary themes that are unique to a specific location remains largely unexplored. Little attention has been given to the role fictional landscapes play in everyday life, their contribution to the city's economic well-being, and the sheer visual success of the new historical ambiance. The study of Monterey's transformation from a derelict industrial landscape into a prime tourist attraction will shed some light on how Steinbeck's novel was used for urban renewal.


e Daily Review

PACIFIC GROVE, CAL. THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1906

PICTURESQUE CHINATOWN ONLY A MEMORY

Fire Ends a Long Controversy

Looting adds to the Losses Sustained by the Chinese

Fig. 1. Fire in 1906.

CANNERY ROW

Over the centuries, different cultural and ethnically diverse groups inhabited the coastal strip around Monterey Bay, where they founded settlements and harvested the land and sea. Prior to the eighteenth century, the Costanoan Indians searched the waters for mussels and abalone. After the founding of Monterey in 1780, however, they were displaced or assimilated by Spanish settlers, and much of the coastal area lay dormant. The California gold rush in 1849 and the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad brought several thousand Chinese workers to the state. When the gold was depleted and the railroad finished, the Chinese either migrated east, settled in large California cities, or built their own small farming or fishing villages. One such community developed along Monterey's shoreline, where the Chinese built up a highly profitable fishing business. Soon, the success of Chinese fishing methods led to

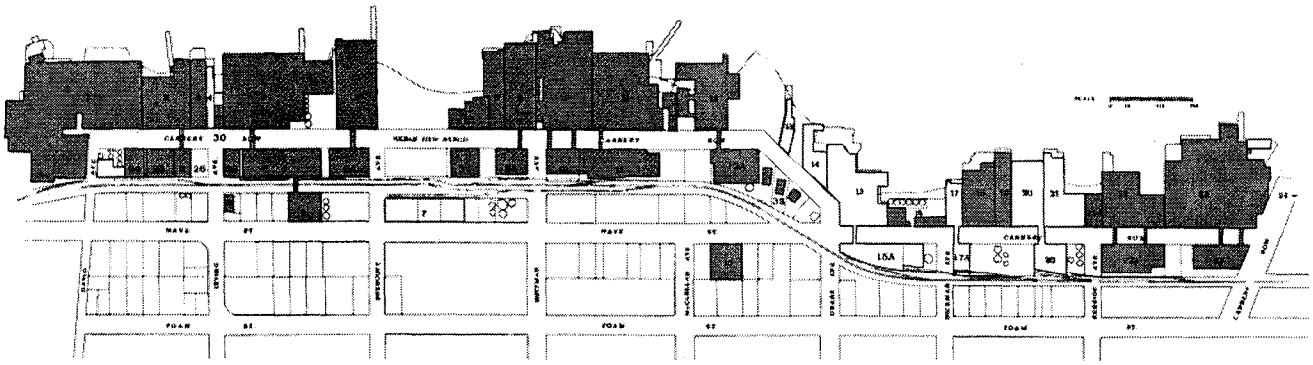

Fig. 2. Steinbeck's Cannery Row.

tensions and resentments. By 1905, local white fishermen, together with the Methodist residents of Pacific Grove and the Catholic population of Monterey, pressured the Pacific Improvement Company to evict the 'heathen' Chinese. But before the sheriff of Monterey County could legally enforce the eviction, a devastating fire destroyed the Chinese settlement. Over the next decade, Monterey's waterfront turned into an industrial fishing district with dozens of corrugated metal canneries and reduction plants.

Experiments with the preservation of sardines and the streamlining and mechanization of the canning process prepared the ground for fishing as an industrial enterprise. It was also advanced by the development of new fishing nets called purse-bottomed brails, by the shift away from independent fisherman to company-owned fleets, and by the introduction of floating reduction plants that were not subject to any governmental regulations or restrictions. The new owners suffered many obstacles and setbacks, such as organized strikes, frequent fires that destroyed entire plants, economic depressions and rising import tariffs in foreign countries. nevertheless, the canning industry along the waterfront continued to prosper.[1] The setting for Steinbeck's Cannery Row was born.

"In the morning when the sardine fleet has made a catch, the purse-seiners waddle heavily into the bay blowing their whistles. The deep-laden boats pull in against the coast where the canneries dip their tails into the bay. ... Then cannery whistles scream and all over town men and women scramble into their clothes and come running down to the Row to go to work. Then shining cars bring the upper classes down: superintendents, accountants, owners who disappear into offices. Then from the town pour Wops and Chinamen and Polaks, men and women in trousers and rubber coats and oilcloth aprons. They come running to clean and cut and pack and cook and can the fish. The whole street rumbles and groans and screams and rattles while the silver rivers of fish pour in out of the boats and the boats rise higher and higher in the water until they are empty. The canneries rumble and rattle and squeak until the last fish is cleaned and cut and cooked and canned and then the whistles scream again and dripping, smelly, tired Wops and Chinamen and Polaks, men and women, straggle out and drop their ways up the hill into the town and cannery Row becomes itself again — quiet and magical. Its normal life returns."[2]

Steinbeck's account of Cannery Row did not concern itself with the industrial landscape, labor relations, or the respectable residents of Monterey. Instead, he portrayed Cannery Row as a way of life, a community within a community, a history of people who tried to make a living on the Row outside of the canneries. Written in New York in 1944 after a brief stint as war corespondent for the New York Herald Tribune, the book was born out of homesickness and a desire to give soldiers a temporary escape from the ordeals of war.[3] Steinbeck based the book on memories from his childhood spent in Pacific Grove not far from the Chinese settlement as well as on people he met in Monterey in the 1930's. *Cannery Row* is the story of marine biologist "Doc"; the brothel owner Flora and her "ladies;"

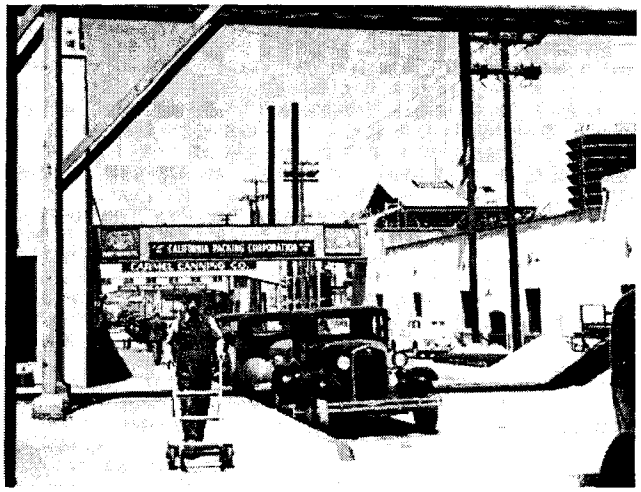

Fig. 3. Cannery Row during the 1940's.

the vagrants, Mac and his boys; Lee Chong the grocer; Henri the painter; and other down-and-out characters who lived near Ocean View Avenue. In short, the book offers "a romantic, whimsical look back at the culture of poverty that he had seen on the Monterey Peninsula and in the Salinas Valley."[4]

When the book was published in January 1945, it was well received all over America except in Monterey.[5] Book sales soared, and many readers descended on Cannery Row in search of Doc, Dora, Lee Chong, and Mack and the boys. Overnight, Ocean View Avenue, called Cannery Row in the novel, became one of the most famous streets in the world. Ironically, Monterey's —- and, more specifically, Cannery Row's — emerging popularity as a tourist destination coincided with the decline of its fishing industry.

The sardines mysteriously vanished soon after the 1944/45 season, the second best ever with 237,246 tons landed. During the next season, the sardine catch tumbled to 145,519 tons, followed in 1947/48 by an unbelievable decline of 86%. Only 31,391 tons were caught in that season.[6] The sardines' disappearance was thought at first to be temporary. Many reasons were given for their scarcity: pollution caused by the dumping of ammunition at the end of the war, unfavorable ocean currents, and deep swimming sardine schools that evaded the fishermen's nets. But Ed Ricketts — "Doc" in the novel — answered the question as to "what became of the fish?" with the obvious: "they're in the cans." While in 1945 three more canneries were added to the Row by 1948 it was clear that the over 28 canneries and reduction plants faced financial ruin.

Ed David, the owner of the Dell Mar company, was the first to abandon Cannery Row. After he sold his business in 1947, many of his peers followed his example during the next decade. Thus, in the 1950's, over half of the canneries and reduction plants closed,

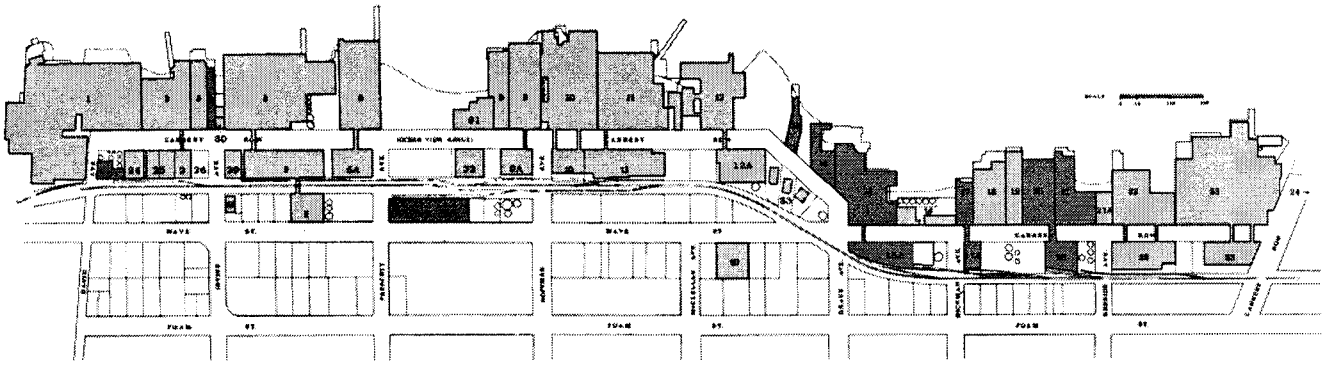

Fig. 4. Additions to Cannery Row by 1946..

dismantled and sold their machinery to places as far away as Peru, and offered their property at public auctions. Workers found employment elsewhere, and vacant buildings started to deteriorate. Finally, a series of fires that swept the area throughout the sixties and well into the seventies, completed the Row's transformation from a highly profitable industrial complex into a derelict landscape.

Tourists who continued to seek out the people and locations described in Steinbeck's novel were greeted by a landscape that mixed facts and fiction. "Walking down the deserted street shrouded in early morning fog, one could almost see the ghosts of Steinbeck's characters. ... The rusted and rotting hulks of the old canneries still evoked the memory of heartier days when the smell of cooking sardines permeated the air."[7]

This nostalgic impression soon changed, when Cannery Row Properties, which had acquired about half of the available property during the 50's, leased the space to a number of small businesses. The developers took a chance and attempted to bring the street back to life as a tourist venue, lining the Row with bars, restaurants, pizza parlors, and arts and craft shops. Through the renewal, Steinbeck's literary landscape changed hands as well. La Ida's, once a bordello, became a restaurant, Wing Chong's Emporium an antique junk shop, the Bear Flag an empty lot beside an auto body works, and Doc's Pacific Biological Laboratory a private men's club.

Asked by the Monterey Peninsula Herald about his views regarding the development of Cannery Row, Steinbeck offered four scenarios for the street he made famous. According to him, developers "have four choices: 1) The old-old. 2) The new-old. 3) The pseudo-old. 4) The new."

> The first possibility for the purchasers is the re-creation of the Old-old. I remember it well, shacks built of scraps of wood, matting, pieces of tin. The district known as Chinatown, a street free of sewage disposal and very romantic. In it the Chinese kept alive the arts of gambling, prostitution and the opium pipe. I remember the night the whole thing burned to the ground. We felt that a way of life was gone forever. The purchasers could re-create this pylon of the past with the help of Hollywood scene designers.
>
> Gradually the New-old came into being — a solid bank of corrugated-iron structures devoted to the canning of the pilchard, which in those days was plentiful and available. A number of these buildings still stand. The purchasers might keep them as national monuments. Their tendency to rust could be halted by spraying them with plastics. Maintenance of this reminder of our historic past would, however, require that the rocks and beaches be stocked with artificial fish guts and scales. Reproducing the billions of flies that once added beauty to the scene would be difficult and costly. ...
>
> Sooner or later the purchasers will have to face the pseudo- or Santa Barbara-old. Not very long ago, a group of people from the middle-west infiltrated. Their minds were inflamed by moving pictures and they built the passionate illusion of the gracious Spanish days of Monterey. They imitated the mud houses, architecturally reminiscent of the poorer parts of Spain in the fifteenth century. But because the original houses were damp, unhealthy and odoriferous — and also had a tendency to melt around you during a heavy rain — the 'Old Spain' people re-created these structures in concrete and stainless steel. The descendants of the early settlers are not represented in this group. They moved into more livable houses as soon as they could afford it, leaving their ancient heritage to tourists and the Santa Barbara cult. The purchasers will have trouble with this embattled junta who will demand that Ocean View Avenue be girdled with adobe and imperfectly baked tile. ...
>
> My own suggestions will get me exiled from the Peninsula. Young and fearless and creative architects are evolving in America. They are in fact some of our very best artists, in addition to knowing the sciences and materials of our period. I suggest that these creators be allowed to look at the lovely coastline, and to design something new in the world, but something that will add to the exciting beauty rather than cancel it out. Modern materials do not limit design as mud and tile once did. Then tourists would not come to see a celebration of a history that never happened, but rather a speculation on the future. ... I don't think any such thing will be done, but so far dreams are not illegal — or are they?"[8]

In hindsight, Steinbeck's suggestions proved to be very accurate. Every one of his strategies have been implemented, albeit not exactly as he proposed. After the decline of the Row's fishing industry, the area experienced a series of transformations that helped it evolve into the premier tourist destination that it is today. The following analysis will explore the many steps necessary for such a metamorphosis to occur, and will attempt to put forth a strategy for other cities to follow.

TRANSFORMATION I: TOWARDS A FICTIONAL LANDSCAPE

In *Cannery Row*, Steinbeck used Monterey's industrial landscape as a backdrop for the action of his characters, the "whores, pimps, gamblers, and sons of bitches," who were, at the same time, "Saints and angles and martyrs and holy men."[9] Not considered his strongest work by literary critics, *Cannery Row* was nevertheless devoured by the public. Through its popularity, along with the author's future success,[10] the words "Cannery Row" actually became an expression that described the misfits of society. In 1958, as a result of the book's notoriety, the City of Monterey decided to

embrace the author and to change the name of Ocean View Avenue to Cannery Row, "thus marking the beginning of a blurring of reality with a fictional discourse."[11] Several years later, the original site began to be modified to correspond to its image in art.

Steinbeck wrote about a real place, but transformed it into a fictional landscape. By creating a setting that elicits an emotional response from the reader, he established a link between Cannery Row as a physical place and the mental associations that visitors would bring with them. The first tourists appeared almost immediately following the book's publication, and many failed to separate the real from the fictional. One celebrity seeker even entered Ed Ricketts' bedroom on a Sunday morning and demanded to see Doc.[12] Others descended on Cannery Row in search of Flora, the prostitute, or Lee Chong, the grocer, or just to experience the seedy charm of their neighborhood. As Martha K. Norkunas has pointed out, "Steinbeck and his fictional characters, rather than the canneries themselves or the actual cannery workers, have become the referents to Cannery Row."[13]

TRANSFORMATION II: RESTORATION

The sudden disappearance of the sardines following the 1944/45 season meant economic disaster for the Row's industry. No longer needed to process the catch, the plants and warehouses along Ocean View Avenue became prime real estate that, due to the economic failure of the industry, sold for a fraction of its value. The area's central location, the possibility of a waterfront view and the rather large parcels, together with the already existing infrastructure, made it an ideal candidate for redevelopment. In the first stage of this development, bars, restaurants, shops and stores reused some of the existing structures. Eventually, the area saw a much more substantial investment as construction began and two large new restaurants were built. A few years later, John Steinbeck observed that "the canneries which once put up a sickening stench are gone, their places filled with restaurants, antique shops, and the like. They fish for tourists now, not pilchards, and that species they are not likely to wipe out."[14]

TRANSFORMATION III: NEW — NEW

During the 1960's and 70's, the majority of the old industrial structures on Cannery Row disappeared at an alarming rate. Neglect, fire and demolition, together with a master plan that favored development over preservation,[15] prepared the ground for new construction. Although the developers were interested in retaining the atmosphere of Cannery Row, it was usually cheaper to put up a new building than to bring an existing structure up to current standards. As a result, new development, most of which could qualify for "the pseudo- or Santa Barbara-old" mentioned by Steinbeck, replaced about 40% of the Row. Between 1980 and 1985, the city of Monterey and the California Coastal Commission approved building permits for several shopping areas to be built on historic sites. The most notable of these, the American Tin Cannery shopping complex, set about to capture the look and feel of the old bustling cannery days. In addition, several first-class hotels were built that altogether offered over 1,500 rooms.[16] The Spindrift Inn was built to resemble its predecessor, Wu's Ocean View Hotel of 1927. Far from being authentic, it advertises that the "42 luxurious rooms in this European style inn feature a wood burning fireplace, goose down featherbed, comforter and pillows, and hardwood floors." Such amenities were unheard of at the Ocean View Hotel. Indeed, these and other historicized structures helped transform the Row into a symbolic construction, weaving together vague references to a cleansed and streamlined Steinbeck legacy with impressions from its earlier industrial glory, and forming a high status marketplace.[17]

With the construction of the Monterey Bay Aquarium, historicizing development took on a completely different scale. The aquarium has been described in superlatives as the "largest," "most innovative," "most technically advanced" of its kind; featuring "an awesome three-story tank filled with 335,000 gallons of seawater." It also contains "another huge tank, 90 feet long and shaped like an hourglass," more than "80 habitat tanks" that are home to "5,500 specimens representing nearly 375 species," as well as a "55,000-gallon sea otter exhibit."[18] Over night, the aquarium became Cannery Row's main tourist attraction, which, like an anchor store in a shopping mall, drew an unprecedented number of tourists to Cannery Row. Funded by a 50 million dollar donation from the Packard family, the aquarium is "situated, fittingly enough, on the former site of the Hovden Cannery, and cunningly designed to resemble its predecessor."[19] Surprisingly enough, it is also located next to the former site of Ed Rickett's lab, where Steinbeck's 'Doc' collected and studied maritime specimens and shipped them to educational facilities throughout the United States. In fact, the aquarium itself is not without historic roots, being after all a place where we have "captured nature, much as the fishermen did of yesteryear, but now fish are displayed rather than canned."[20]

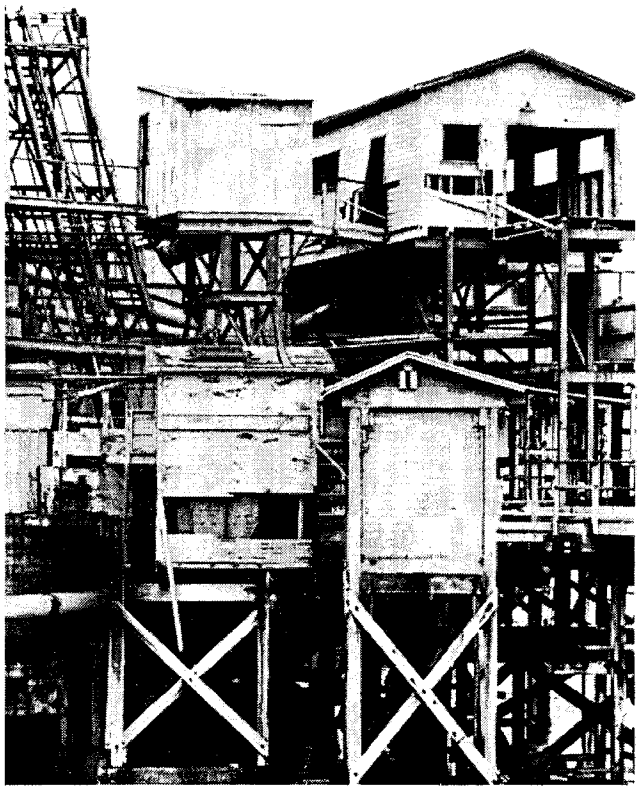

Fig. 5. Derelict Landscape.

Such an aggressive approach to revitalization also marked a departure from the simple preservation of historical and fictional references. Developers, questioning whether the Row's literary fame would continue to attract visitors, focused their attention on new projects. They added over 84,000 square feet to the aquarium (1996), and built a three-story conference center. Each of these projects helped Monterey attract more visitors. The latest development in the shopping and entertainment mecca along the Row, the newly constructed Steinbeck Plaza (1997), makes no reference , other than in its name, to the author or his novel. Instead, it features high quality tenants, such as Ghiradelli Chocolate Company, Pebble Beach Company, and TGIFridays, large commercial chains, none of which have any ties to Monterey's history.

PRESENT AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

At present, Monterey, called "the most historic city in California,"[21] is one of California's premier tourist destinations. Cannery

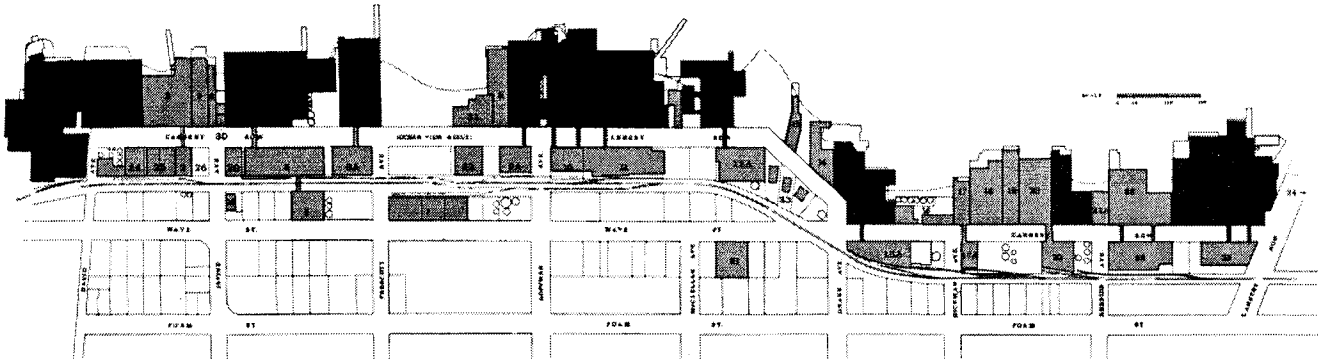

Fig. 6. Vacant properties due to fires.

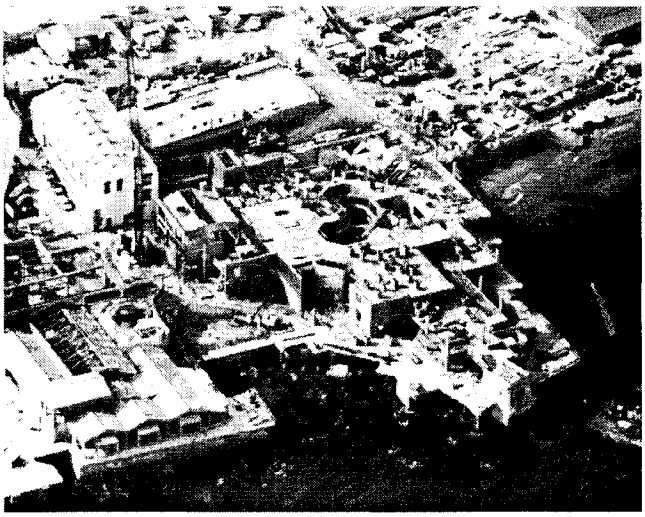

Fig. 7. Construction of aquarium on Hovden site.

Row alone now features seven hotels, four art galleries, four wine-tasting rooms, at least twenty restaurants, a dozen or so fast-food establishments and confectioneries, ten places offering nighttime entertainment, a wax museum, an antique carousel and dozens of specialty stores.[22] It lures about 3 million visitors a year, more than half of which explore the Monterey Bay Aquarium.[23] In short, tourism, which accounts for about 50 percent of the city's annual revenue, has become a billion dollar industry in Monterey.[24]

In order to continue with the expansion of its tax base, the city of Monterey is currently reviewing a proposal for the Cannery Row Marketplace, a mixed use development that would combine retail with residential units. The development proposes 90,000 square feet of retail space on both sides of Cannery Row as well as forty one condominiums and six low and moderate income rental units on the upper stories. Although the site is no longer home to historic structures — all three canneries and packing plants were ravaged by fires in 1967 and 1973 — a group of preservationists strongly oppose the development in favor of a project that retains "more of the atmosphere, intimate scale and appropriately grungy tin walls that connect today's Cannery Row to the near-legendary days John Steinbeck wrote about."[25] To make their objections known, they have written articles and petitions, and have created a website[26] that voices their objections in no uncertain terms. "SAVE CANNERY ROW / DON'T MALL THE ROW / CANNERY ROW .... NOT CONDO ROW" are some of the slogans used to draw the attention of Monterey's city officials and residents. The preservationists claim that "Cannery Row is in danger of being overrun by developers who care little about the historical integrity of the area,"[27] and that the city should take steps to preserve "the drastically reduced inventory of authentic structures along the rest of the row." They assert that the

Fig. 8. Don't mall the Row.

new development would be nothing more than a typical shopping mall, and predict that, should the city fail to protect its "touristic / historical assets as carefully as natural resources," Monterey will lose what sets it apart, and tourists will no longer visit the area.[28]

The strong objection to new development was sparked by the city's decision in 1997 to demolish the San Xavier Cannery building, one of the few remaining buildings with a direct link to the cannery industry and also the filming location of "Clash by Night," a 1952 movie that featured Marilyn Monroe as a cannery worker. Neal Hotelling, a local historian, brought the matter to the attention of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The following year, out of over 100 nominations, the Trust selected the Row as one of the 11 most endangered places in the nation, declaring that "years of inattention and neglect have taken their toll on Cannery Row."[29] The Trust's decision was featured in many national and local newspapers, and has angered civic leaders who argue that their million-dollar investments for the preservation of the Row have gone unacknowledged. As Ted Balestreri, whose Cannery Row Co. owns most of the historic waterfront district, points out, "if his company

had not bought the property two decades ago for retail development, there would be nothing left to save, period."[30]

Monterey has clearly reached a crossroad in its development. No matter what the city's decision might be, we have to bear in mind that Monterey's success as one of America's prime tourist attractions would not have been possible without the shift away from industrial production to a service, commerce, and entertainment-based industry. The neighboring city of Salinas, Steinbeck's birthplace, is already attempting to channel some of the tourist dollars into its own community by constructing the National Steinbeck Center. The Center, built next to Salinas' historic district, will house research facilities as well as both permanent and temporary exhibits with simulations of the settings described in his novels. According to Patricia Leach, the center's executive director, visitors will enter into Cannery Row "and see the characters and story come alive - down to even the olfactory senses."[31] Should the Center's multimedia extravaganza be successful, it might convince tourists to prolong their stay for one more day and thus expand the area's economy. It could, however, also free Monterey from having to preserve its own literary legacy, which might tip the scales in favor of new development.

LESSONS LEARNED

Most American cities have at least one district whose grittiness resembles that previously found in Monterey's canning and processing district. Perhaps, some of the principles behind its rejuvenation can be applied to other areas. Although few cities are blessed with a fictional account that rivals the magnitude of Cannery Row, diligent research might unearth many citations, descriptions or essays with the potential to stir up our imagination. As a first step in a rejuvenation program that uses Monterey as a model, I would recommend that city governments engage in such a "History Project.' These accounts need not necessarily be favorable; they will spark our interest nevertheless. After all, John Steinbeck described Cannery Row as "a poem, a stink, a grating noise," inhabited by "whores, pimps, gamblers and sons of bitches."

After having collected their historical data, communities must now choose which of the many accounts they want to highlight. Too many tales will fragment their image and require greater financial resources than most communities have available. Monterey, for example, has chosen to ignore most of Cannery Row's history and has instead focused on the images presented in Steinbeck's novel.

Cities also need to better advertise their many attractions and to improve their transportation infrastructure. Local events and activities could be announced from billboards located next to the main thoroughfares that pass through the city. Perhaps travelers would stop en route to other destinations. In addition, neighborhood maps with information on historic points of interest could be mounted at every bus stop. This might make residents more aware of their community's heritage.

Most urban areas possess all the elements necessary for it to become a major tourist attraction. Should local governments follow the above suggestions, they would most likely see an expansion of its tourist trade with a corresponding increase in revenues. These moneys could be used to finance the long overdue restoration of much of the old housing stock and to fund a major overhaul of the public transportation system. This, in turn, would go a long way towards attracting visitors, companies and department stores to the city.

Any city that embarks on such an endeavor must beware its inherent risks. As Monterey has shown, there is a fine line between revitalization and Disneyfication, or, as John Steinbeck calls it, creating the "pseudo- or Santa Barbara-old." It is important for cities to honor their heritage and to remain true to it rather than offering cleaned-up versions that might be more agreeable to tourists. In fact, a little decay might lend a project some authenticity. Unfortunately, today most developers tend to favor the cleaned-up Disney look. Given a choice, however, between revitalizing our cities or allowing them to fall further into disuse, there is no question that we must undertake something, no matter what the risk.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

[1] Catches increased annually, from 159,000 tons in 1930 to 230,000 tons in 1935 to an average of 250,000 tons in the early 40's. Maxine Knox, *Steinbeck's Street: Cannery Row* (San Rafael, California: Presidio Press, 1980), p. 19.

[2] John Steinbeck, *Cannery Row* (New York: Viking Press, 1973), p. 1f.

[3] Catalina Ortiz, "Cannery Row nets tourists, not sardines, these days." *LA Times*, March 1995.

[4] Martha K. Norkunas, *The Politics of Public Memory* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), p. 56.

[5] The residents of Monterey felt that Steinbeck's account was biased and unfair, that it ignored the respectable side of the community, and that it glorified bums and prostitutes. Norkunas, p. 58.

[6] Tom Mangelsdorf, *A History of Steinbeck's Cannery Row* (Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press, 1986).

[7] Ibid.

[8] Steinbeck's suggestions appeared in the *Monterey Peninsula Herald* on March 8, 1957, and are quoted in full in Mangelsdorf, p. 197ff.

[9] Steinbeck, p. 1.

[10] In 1948 Steinbeck was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and in 1962 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature for *Travels with Charley.*

[11] Norkunas, p. 56.

[12] Mangelsdorf, p. 178.

[13] Norkunas, p. 63.

[14] John Steinbeck, *Travels with Charley*, as quoted in James R. Curtis, "The Boutiquing of Cannery Row," *Landscape 25*, p. 46.

[15] The 1973 master plan recommended allowing the Row to evolve from its former industrial based economy to a new retail, commercial, professional, residential and recreational one. *Monterey Peninsula Herald* 7/19/73.

[16] Mangelsdorf, p. 196.

[17] Norkunas, p. 51.

[18] All descriptive quotes from Marquis Childs, "A Novel Aquarium Depicts the Story of Monterey Bay." *Smithsonian* (June 1985).

[19] Ibid.

[20] Norkunas, p. 51.

[21] "Steinbeck's Gift to Monterey." Editorial, *The San Francisco Chronicle*. June 28, 1998.

[22] Lee Foster, "Walk With the Ghosts of Cannery Row." *The San Francisco Examiner*, September 24, 1995.

[23] "Steinbeck's Gift to Monterey."

[24] Nina Siegal, "Cannery Row Struggles to Stay True to Steinbeck." *The New York Times*, June 22, 1998.

[25] Alan Hess, "This is no way to treat Cannery Row." Published in the *San Jose Mercury News*, 8/24/1997, and retrieved from http://www.chumash.org/cannery/noway.html (July 30, 1998).

[26] www.spiral.org. (July 30, 1998).

[27] http://www.chumash.org/cannery/index.html (July 30, 1998) http://www.chumash.org/cannery/details.html (July 30, 1998).

[28] "This is no way to treat Cannery Row"

[29] Michael McCabe, "Cannery Row in Peril." *San Francisco*

Chronicle, Tuesday, June 16, 1998.

[30] Tom Gorman, "California and the West; Monterey defends efforts on Cannery Row." *Los Angeles Times*, June 17, 1998.

[31] Director Patty Leach, as quoted in Jenn Shreve, "the grapes of tourism." Available at http://www.salon1999.com/media/1997/10/22steinbeck.html.