

TO-KALON VINEYARD
(To Kalon)
(ToKalon)
1350 Walnut Drive
Oakville
Napa County
California

HALS CA-139
HALS CA-139

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

REDUCED COPIES OF MEASURED DRAWINGS

HISTORIC AMERICAN LANDSCAPES SURVEY
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
1849 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20240

HISTORIC AMERICAN LANDSCAPES SURVEY

TO-KALON VINEYARD (To Kalon, ToKalon)

HALS No. CA-139

Location: 1350 Walnut Drive, Oakville, Napa County, California.

During the primary period of historical significance the To-Kalon Vineyard encompassed approximately 500 acres. The boundaries included all vineyard land west of State Highway 29 bordered by the base of the Mayacamas Mountains to the east, its southern edge being the Oakville Grade Road and northern boundary at the division between the Oakville and Rutherford American Viticultural Areas.¹

In 1944, additional To-Kalon Vineyard acreage was annexed by then owner Martin Stelling Jr. His purchase of the adjoining Doak/McGill Ranch extended To-Kalon south of the Oakville Grade Road and To-Kalon Creek into a portion of the historic Far Niente Winery. The present day extension is bordered on the east by State Highway 29 and the south by Dwyer Road. The western boundary follows Stelling Creek, which originates in the Halter Valley watershed and excludes the UC Davis South Vineyard, 1250 Oakville Grade Road and Far Niente properties. Today, To-Kalon gross parcel size measures 825 acres of which approximately 678 are planted to vineyard.

Latitude: 38.433675, Longitude: -122.412807 (Google Earth, WGS84)

Present Owners:	Robert Mondavi Winery	University of California, Davis
	Opus One Winery	Wilsey/Traina
	Beckstoffer Vineyards	Mehran
	Garrett/Cover (Detert Family Vineyards)	Napa Valley Grape Growers
	Horton (MACDONALD)	Giovanni

Present Use: Vineyard, wineries and residences.

Significance: The To-Kalon Vineyard has played a pivotal role in the establishment of Napa Valley as a world renowned grape-growing region. Original proprietor H. W. Crabb established the vineyard in 1868 and during his lifetime performed viticultural research and varietal experimentation, which led to significant advancements in the American industries of wine and grape production. His extensive collection of grape varieties was considered to be the largest in the

¹ The following parcels: 7825, 7831, 7837 and 7855 St. Helena Highway and 1250 Oakville Grade Rd. are excluded from the historic boundary due to loss of integrity. The 7855 St. Helena Highway parcel was donated by Crabb to become the Oakville train depot prior to planting and therefore did not contribute to the historical significance of the site. Andy Beckstoffer leases approximately one acre of land that he annexed as part of his Beckstoffer To-Kalon Vineyard from this parcel which is included in the present day To-Kalon boundaries.

United States and credited for greatly improving the California stock.² Crabb's recommendation that Cabernet Sauvignon was one of the highest quality grapes suited to the Napa Valley predated that realization by almost a century. His 1884 varietal labeled Cabernet Sauvignon was described as "historical" and was one of the first commercial Cabernet Sauvignon wines produced in the Napa Valley.³

As a winemaker, Crabb helped establish the reputation of California wine throughout the country and abroad. To-Kalon was the first winery to market and sell wine through their own sales agencies located throughout the United States.⁴ Crabb was also an innovator in winemaking techniques and credited as the first winery to mechanize grape processing.⁵ Under his guidance the To-Kalon wines are thought to have garnered more awards than any other winery in the pre-Prohibition era.⁶

In 1890, the Chicago Herald praised Crabb's contributions to California wine when they stated, "...it must be understood that Crabb is the most prominent vine grower and wine producer on the Pacific coast. His name is inseparably a part of the growth of the wine production of California. No one has done as much as he toward raising the purity and high standard and the consequent popularity of the native wines of California...His practical experience of over thirty years has placed him justly at the head of the wine trade of this country, and has made the brand of his vintage familiar to every table where good wine is served."⁷

The decimation of the California wine industry in the late 1800s due to the root louse phylloxera placed To-Kalon at the forefront of the search for a resistant American rootstock. Crabb ultimately prescribed *Vitis riparia*, which was not widely adopted but has since become a primary breeding component of the most popular rootstocks in modern day viticulture. After Crabb's death, To-Kalon experienced additional periods of historical significance under subsequent ownership.

The E. S. Churchill family purchased a portion of the To-Kalon Vineyard from Crabb's estate and continued wine production throughout prohibition. The continuation of Crabb's research inspired the United States Department of Agriculture to establish the Oakville Experiment Vineyard on the Churchill property in 1903, making To-Kalon one of the most important research vineyards

² "Prominent Wine Men: Sketch No. 4 H. W. Crabb of Oakville," *Pacific Wine and Spirit Review*, May 4, 1891, Vol. 26:7, 10.

³ Federico Pohndorff, "Grape and Wine Chat," *San Francisco Merchant*, June 24, 1887, Vol 18:5, 67.

⁴ "To-Kalon: A Vineyard That Already Has a National Reputation," *Napa Register*, April 11, 1890, 3. Previously published in *San Francisco Examiner*, April 6, 1890.

⁵ *Memorial & Biographical History of Northern California* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1891), 798.

⁶ William Heintz, *The Vineyards and Wine of H. W. Crabb, Oakville, CA. and his "To-Kalon" Label* (St. Helena: St. Helena Wine Library, 1980), 25.

⁷ "To-Kalon Wines," *Chicago Herald*, June 29, 1890. PWSR, vol. 24, no. 7, 7.15.90

in the state. In addition to continuing Crabb's viticultural legacy the Churchill's crowning enological achievement came in 1909 at the Alaska-Yukon World's Fair when To-Kalon wines received five gold medals.

In 1966, Robert Mondavi established his namesake winery on historic To-Kalon land. Over time, Mondavi purchased additional portions of the historic To-Kalon Vineyard from the estate of Martin Stelling Jr., who had intended to resurrect the To-Kalon name prior to his death. In the late 1970s, Mondavi, along with two neighboring growers, reapplied the historic To-Kalon name to their surrounding vineyards. Subsequent legal disputes between the Robert Mondavi Winery and Andy Beckstoffer over To-Kalon trademark usage emphasizes the importance of maintaining the historical authenticity of this fabled site. The evolution of these disputes will serve as a precedent and likely influence the future of vineyard designation in America.

Historian: Graeme A. MacDonald

PART I: HISTORICAL INFORMATION

Geology

The origin of the To-Kalon Vineyard, in a broad sense, spans approximately 140 million years of geologic history. It began with a process called "subduction" during which the Farallon tectonic plate slid beneath the North American plate creating a range of volcanic mountains. These precursors would eventually become the Sierra Nevada and spend the next 80 million years erupting volcanic ash and lava into the environment during pyroclastic flows.⁸ Weather patterns including thunderstorms saturated the soft ash creating volcanic mudflows and proliferated weathering. Millions of years of erosion deposited the alluvium at the base of the Sierra Nevada forming one of the Napa Valley's primary components called the Great Valley Sequence.⁹

While the Great Valley Sequence was forming to the east, another major component of Napa Valley geology was accumulating at the junction of plate subduction. As the Farallon plate slid below the North American plate, a scraping effect created a conglomeration of ocean bottom material which would form the Franciscan complex.¹⁰ Elevated pressures in the subduction zone transformed much of the material, which included altering chunks of ophiolite into serpentine, containing high levels of nickel and magnesium. This accrual of ocean floor remnants created a heterogeneous and complex formation of various origins. Geologists refer to the Franciscan in the Napa Valley as "melange," meaning a chaotic mixture of ocean floor sediment and ocean crust.

⁸ Jonathan Swinchatt and David Howell, *The Winemaker's Dance: Exploring Terrior in the Napa Valley*, (California: University of California Press, 2004), 16.

⁹ Ibid. 17.

¹⁰ Ibid. 21.

Another important event started around 25 million years ago at the junction between the Farallon, Pacific and North American plates leading to the birth of the San Andreas fault.¹¹ As the last vestige of the Farallon plate subducted, the consequent junction between the North American and Pacific plate became transitional. This resulted in a slab window from which volcanism sprang forth along the western edge of the North American plate. The volcanism tracked northward along the point of transformation from subduction to translation, reaching the Napa Valley about 9 million years ago.¹² Pyroclastic flows and volcanic mudflows continued to alter the landscape depositing layers rich in andesite, rhyolite and basalt.

About 3 million years ago the Pacific plate slightly changed direction, increasing pressure on the two sides of the San Andreas fault. The transpression led to the uplifting of the Vaca Mountains and progressed westward to later create the Mayacamas Mountains.¹³ The Napa Valley as we now know it came into being as a downward crustal warp between these two mountain ranges.¹⁴ Subsequent faulting exposed layers of geologic parent material to weathering including Great Valley sequence, Franciscan formation and Napa/Sonoma volcanics. Subsequently, erosion formed alluvial fans as water deposited parent material in the basin between the growing Mayacamas and Vaca Mountains. Streams and rivers migrated across the landscape for thousands of years depositing heavier rocks/gravels at their base and finer silts/clays downstream. Massive flood events helped deposit additional materials across the fans and alter stream direction when a path of least resistance was required. One such alluvial fan complex, an aggregate of parent material from the Mayacamas Mountains, is the present day To-Kalon Vineyard.

The soils which underlie the To-Kalon Vineyard constitute a relatively recent event in the context of the geologic formation. Due to the limited depth of vine roots, the alluvium that grapes interact with has been deposited only in the last few thousands of years. Therefore, the fans are highly variable in their composition of coarse and fine material. Heavier coarse materials deposit at higher concentrations at the base of the alluvial fans while clays and silts are typically carried further. Various contributing watersheds have deposited different concentrations of geologic parent material creating a diverse setting for agriculture. Much of the To-Kalon Vineyard's complexity lies in its varied array of soil profiles and particularly variations in gravel distribution.

To-Kalon's primary alluvial fan consists of these three parent materials in various forms. The upper reaches of the watershed include Franciscan Graywacke and melange dating to the early Cretaceous and late Jurassic periods.¹⁵ The largest component is composed of Great Valley

¹¹ Ibid., 21.

¹² David Howell, interview by Graeme MacDonald, July 8, 2017.

¹³ Jonathan Swinchatt and David Howell, *The Winemaker's Dance: Exploring Terrior in the Napa Valley*, (California: University of California Press, 2004), 25.

¹⁴ David Howell, interview by Graeme MacDonald, July 8, 2017.

¹⁵ R. W. Graymer et al., "Geologic Map and Map Database of Eastern Sonoma and Western Napa Counties, California", U.S. Geological Survey Scientific Investigations Map 2956, 2007, 13.

Sequence, primarily sandstone and shale, dating from the same period. At the base of the watershed is a sliver of Sonoma volcanics from the Pliocene and late Miocene eras composed primarily of andesite and basalt lava flows.¹⁶ An outcropping of serpentine which has been sliding towards To-Kalon Creek exists on the northern border of the watershed.

Native Americans

The Napa Valley has been continuously inhabited by native people for over 4000 years and likely longer.¹⁷ European settlers referred to them as the Wappo people, thought to be a derivative of the Spanish word "guapo" meaning brave or handsome, but their self-given name remains contested. Much is unknown about their existence in the Napa Valley as few ethnographies exist. Their territory extended from northern Napa City to the upper part of Pope Creek, the southern origins of Putah Creek, the upper portions of Sulfur Creek to Cobb Mountain, then east of present day Healdsburg along the Russian River and Elk Creek.¹⁸ In 1843, their population in Napa County was estimated to be 3000, but by 1910 only seventy-three Wappo remained.¹⁹

The presence of native people is evident throughout the To-Kalon Vineyard. Obsidian fragments not naturally part of the local geology are common and indicative of human importation. Two concentrated areas of obsidian and midden can be found on a knoll alongside To-Kalon Creek and on the southern banks of Detert Creek near the base of the Mayacamas mountains. The inhabitation along To-Kalon Creek is significantly larger, as evidenced by the distribution of midden but may be the result mechanical spreading by agricultural implements. The To-Kalon sites are smaller in comparison to the excavated Goodard site, which was excavated by the University of California in 1937 and located 1.5 miles south-east.

The nearest Wappo village, named Kaimus, was located adjacent to the Napa River between Yountville and Oakville. The proximity to the To-Kalon habitation sites implies that these might have been summer encampments used by Kaimus villagers.²⁰ These encampments consisted of dome shaped grass thatch buildings supported by bent poles. Their primary source of sustenance would have been the local supply of acorns, buckeyes, toyon/manzanita berries, edible roots, fish, fowl, deer and other small animals/insects.²¹ It is unclear when these locations were

¹⁶ Ibid., 8.

¹⁷ Robert F. Heizer, *The Archaeology of the Napa Region* (California: University of California Press, 1953), 324.

¹⁸ Ibid., 234.

¹⁹ Campbell A. Menefee, *Historical and Descriptive Sketchbook of Napa, Sonoma, Lake and Mendocino* (California: Reporter Publishing House, 1873), 2. Heizer, *The Archaeology of the Napa Region*, 236.

²⁰ Campbell A. Menefee, *Historical and Descriptive Sketchbook of Napa, Sonoma, Lake and Mendocino* (California: Reporter Publishing House, 1873), 4.

²¹ Harold E. Driver, *Wappo Ethnography* (California: University of California Press, 1936), 186-187.

abandoned but they are not recorded in any public anthropological records and have never been excavated.

Mexican Occupation "Caymus Rancho"

In 1823, a Spanish expedition lead by Father Jose Altimura performed the first recorded exploration of the Napa Valley. Their intention was to establish a mission north of the San Francisco Bay to discourage Russian expansion south of their settlement at Fort Ross. That same year, they founded Mission San Francisco Solano in Sonoma, the last of its kind in Alta California. The mission successfully held the northern most point of Mexican territory for over a decade until the Mexican Secularization Act of 1833. With its enactment the following year, the influence of mission culture came to an end and Lieutenant Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo was placed in charge of the northern frontier, which included the Napa Valley.

At Sonoma, Vallejo was assisted by pioneer George C. Yount, a fur trapper who had immigrated west with the Wolfskill party. Yount was a highly skilled frontiersman who introduced shingles to Alta California including their application to Vallejo's own residence. During his time in Sonoma Yount took part in numerous altercations with the native people on behalf of Vallejo and was left in charge of the mission in Father Altimura's absence. His efforts were rewarded on February 23, 1836, when he was baptized Don Jorge Conception Yount and granted the 11,887 acre Caymus Rancho.²²

Large rancheros quickly replaced the crumbling mission system and commonly employed native converts. Such converts assisted Yount in the construction of a Kentucky-styled blockhouse located northeast of the present day town of Yountville, thought to be the first of its kind west of the Mississippi. The following year an adobe residence was built nearby and later a flour and saw mill in the vicinity. According to his biographer, Rev. Charles Camp, Yount's model farm would eventually house cattle, sheep, horses, hogs, wheat, orchards and vines.²³ Camp lists 800 acres of Yount's estate devoted to wheat production, which due to proximity to the flour mill would have likely excluded present day To-Kalon from farming activities at that time.

Squatters plagued the Yount family at the onset of the gold rush and descended on the Caymus Rancho. In 1848, California was ceded to the United States as a result of the Mexican-American War. American settlers retained little respect for the lands formerly conveyed to the Mexican rancheros and aggressively expressed their will on the old "Californios." Yount's situation improved in 1850 when his daughter, Elizabeth Ann, married Eugene L. Sullivan, an attorney and former Collector of the Port in San Francisco. Sullivan took the squatters to court and in

²² In order to receive the Caymus land grant George Yount was baptized as a naturalized Mexican citizen and a Catholic. On October 21, 1843, Yount received an additional land grant of 4,453 acres called the La Jota Rancho on Howell Mountain.

²³ Charles L. Camp, *George C. Yount and his Chronicles of the West* (Colorado: Old West Publishing Company, 1966), 182.

1851 Yount deeded the couple 1000 acres of land in Oakville, including the present day To-Kalon Vineyard.²⁴

The Sullivan family resided in San Francisco while their farm in Oakville was managed by caretakers. Sullivan converted the property from cattle grazing to wheat, barley and oat production according to correspondence with his foreman in 1856.²⁵ Sullivan's affluence in San Francisco facilitated the sale of his extensive land holdings to wealthy individuals. The ability of those with means to invest in their properties may have played a large role in the establishment of the local wine-making and grape-growing industries. The historic stone cellars, resorts and elegant residences of the past may still influence the culture of wealthy investment in the Napa Valley today.

H. W. Crabb "To-Kalon Vineyard"

The advent of grape-growing at To-Kalon commenced in 1868 when proprietor H. W. Crabb purchased 240 acres from Eugene L. Sullivan.²⁶ Previously of San Lorenzo, California, Crabb migrated north at the bequest of his friend, nurseryman John Lewelling of St. Helena.²⁷ "Hermosa Vineyards" as Crabb christened it, also included forty oranges grafted on grandiflora and numerous Italian Chestnut trees. The eastern portion of the estate was devoted the production of hay, wheat, pasture and a three-quarter mile horse racing track.²⁸

Crabb initially confined himself to the production of table grapes but after finding them a poor return began planting wine varieties. In 1872, Crabb's focus turned to winemaking which resulted in the inaugural vintage from the property, totaling only 1000 gallons.²⁹ The first wines were likely vinified in the tenement house and barn that existed on the site prior to Crabb's purchase. Two years later, construction was completed on his first winery structure, a simple wood framed building with a capacity of 75,000 gallons.³⁰ No records exist regarding who designed or constructed the structure.

An important milestone in the viticultural importance of the site took place in 1874 when Crabb started collecting grapevine varieties from around the world. With limited access to quality vine

²⁴ Ibid., 266; Deed, George C. Yount to Eugene L. Sullivan, September 22, 1858, Napa County Records, Book DE-154. The deed was recorded at a later date than the purchase date listed on the deed.

²⁵ M. Lassetter to E. L. Sullivan, July 19, 1856, Eugene L. Sullivan Papers, Vault MS 9, California Historical Society.

²⁶ Deed, Eugene L. Sullivan to Hamilton W. Crabb, January 29, 1868, Napa County Records, Book DK-132.

²⁷ Hamilton Crabb Johnson, "Hamilton Walker Crabb," Private Collection.

²⁸ Gunther Detert, "H. W. Crabb: 1828-1899," Paper, (Napa Valley Wine Library, St. Helena, CA, 1978), 1.

²⁹ The Wine Business at Oakville," *St. Helena Star*, October 25, 1878, 3.

³⁰ *Illustrations of Napa County California with Historical Sketch* (California, Smith and Elliot, 1878), 8.

material Crabb was forced to import from France, Chile, England, Peru and the Eastern United States. By 1876, his vine collection numbered 183 types including twelve from the Muscat family and ten raisin types.³¹ Two years later, his collection had increased to 250 as did his vineyard, which now encompassed 120 acres of vines. The majority of the acreage at the time was planted to Zinfandel, Malvasia, Burgundy, Charboneaux, Riesling, Chasselas, Berger, Hamburg, Tokay and Muscat; the latter two as table varieties.³²

His extensive grape variety collection allowed Crabb to perform important experimentation regarding which wine varietals were best suited to the Napa Valley. As a result, Crabb's production continued to grow with expectations exceeding 100,000 gallons in 1878.³³ The previous winery could no longer house his expanding operations so construction began on a new facility that same year.³⁴ Crabb's completed cellars were later described in detail by the Napa County Reporter:

"His large cellars, fermenting house, etc., are all frame buildings, one story high, and cover quite an area of ground. They are, however, substantially and conveniently arranged, Mr. Crabb, with Yankee ingenuity building in conformity with his own ideas, and without regard to how his neighbor's cellars were constructed. His cellar has a capacity of storing 300,000 gallons. He uses Heald's steam crusher, and, in the after process of pressing the crushed grape, does the work with a hydraulic pump of great power."³⁵

Crabb's aforementioned ingenuity quickly made a name for his operations in Oakville. In 1879, he purchased the adjoining 119 acre ranch from Eliza Yount bringing his total acreage to 359.³⁶ Crabb's land devoted to viticulture increased from 220 acres of vineyard in 1880 to 350 acres two years later.³⁷ By 1883, Crabb had become the third largest wine producer in Napa County.³⁸ The *St. Helena Star* pointed out that "Crabb is becoming a mighty man of the vines."³⁹ Additional praise came from George Husmann, a leading author on the subject of American viticulture who stated "...Mr. Crabb's splendid collection of vines, and his extensive vineyards near Oakville, is one of the most instructive places for the study of varieties of grapes and wines

³¹ "A Fine Assortment of Grapes," *St. Helena Star*, April 29, 1876, 2.

³² *Illustrations of Napa County 1878*, (Oakland: Smith & Elliott, 1878), 8.

³³ "The Wine Business at Oakville," *St. Helena Star*, October 25, 1878, 3.

³⁴ "Along The Valley," *St. Helena Star*, August 9, 1878, 3.

³⁵ *Napa County Reporter*, October 13, 1882.

³⁶ Deed, Eliza G. Yount to Hamilton W. Crabb, March 2, 1881, Napa County Records, Book D-29-112. The date on the deed of sale reads 1879, which differs from the recording date as it was probably filed at a later time.

³⁷ Peninou, Ernest. "A History of the Napa Viticultural District: Comprising the counties of Napa, Solano and Contra Costa, with grape acreage statistics and directories of grape growers." Unpublished Manuscript (California: Nomis Press for The Wine Librarians Association, 2004), 192.

³⁸ *Napa County Reporter*, January 1883.

³⁹ *St. Helena Star*, July 25, 1879, 3.

in the State."⁴⁰ Husmann thought so highly of Crabb that he asked him to author the chapter on Napa County in his 1880 publication American Grape-Growing and Winemaking.⁴¹ Crabb concluded his chapter with an optimistic prediction as to the future of grape-growing in California:

"Whoever lives a half a century hence, will find the grapes of California in every city of the Union; her raisins supplying the whole Western Hemisphere; her wines in every mart of the globe, and then, with her golden shores, her sunny clime, her vine-clad hill and plains, will California, indeed, be the Vineland of the world."⁴²

The 1880s was a period of a rapid growth for the wine industry during which Crabb's production increased dramatically. To facilitate sales, Crabb became the first wine producer to open his own agencies throughout the eastern United States.⁴³ This was considered an important milestone in the context of early American wine marketing and protected the purity of To-Kalon products from adulteration or spoilage. Early agencies were established in Washington D.C., Chicago and New York but would later expand to San Francisco, Kansas City, Minneapolis and New Orleans.

Crabb's ingenuity made him a pioneer in wine marketing and helped establish the reputation of Californian wines both domestically and abroad. His expanding reach into the eastern markets may have influenced Crabb's decision to rename his estate To-Kalon in 1886.⁴⁴ The origins of the name can be traced back to ancient Greek philosophy, however, the earliest connection between To-Kalon and wine is located in the Greek bible. During the wedding of Cana, when Jesus performs his first miracle of turning water into wine; the resulting wine is described in Greek as the "To Kalon."⁴⁵ In his own words, Crabb defined To-Kalon as "the highest beauty, or the highest good, but I try to make it mean the boss vineyard."⁴⁶

Under the To-Kalon name the vineyard's reputation continued to flourish. With over eighty full time employees To-Kalon was described as presenting "the appearance of a young town, in fact being more of a place than many a California city."⁴⁷ By 1890, production capacity had increased to 800,000 gallons with approximately 200,000 to 300,000 gallons of wine and 10,000 to 15,000

⁴⁰ "Napa County Viticulture," *St. Helena Star*, May 28, 1880, 1.

⁴¹ George Husmann, *American Grape Growing and Wine Making* (New York: Orange Judd Company, 1882), 169-173.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 173.

⁴³ "To-Kalon: A Vineyard That Already Has a National Reputation," *Napa Register*, April 11, 1890, 3. Previously published in *San Francisco Examiner*, April 6, 1890.

⁴⁴ "Viticultural," *St Helena Star*, August 6, 1886, 3.

⁴⁵ Ancient Greek text does not employ hyphenation, which was likely added by Crabb to facilitate the connection between the two words to English readers.

⁴⁶ Frona Eunice Wait, *Wines and Vines of California or a Treatise on the Ethics of Wine Drinking* (San Francisco: The Bancroft Company, 1899), 108.

⁴⁷ "Viticultural," *St Helena Star*, August 6, 1886, 3.

gallons of brandy produced annually.⁴⁸ The following year, Crabb made his final land acquisition with the purchase of the adjoining estate of John C. Davis.⁴⁹ This brought the To-Kalon Vineyard to its maximum pre-Prohibition size of approximately 500 planted acres.

During the 1890s, the proliferation of a native root-louse named phylloxera decimated vineyards throughout the Napa Valley. As a result, To-Kalon's planted acreage decreased dramatically and was reported to the State Board of Viticultural Commissioners to be only 120 acres with twenty terminally affected by 1893.⁵⁰ Crabb's extensive collection of grape varieties put him in a unique position to combat the pest by experimenting with alternative rootstocks. To-Kalon had previously been grafted onto Zinfandel and Mission, which proved non-resistant and were later replanted to *Vitis riparia* and Lenoir rootstock. Crabb advocated for the California grape industry to adopt *Vitis riparia* but the industry instead chose *Vitis rupestris* "St. George" due to its combined deep rooting and drought resistance. Crabb's recommendation has since become one of the most popular rootstock breeding components in present day viticulture.⁵¹

The strain from replanting continued to weigh on To-Kalon's business finances. In 1892, Horace, Crabb's son and successor died from a combination of liver damage and subsequent drowning. As a result, Horace's widow's family, who had sold their adjoining Davis estate to Crabb was deeded back the property. In 1899, Crabb suffered a stroke while riding on his horse and eventually died from his injuries. At the time of his death, Crabb owed \$233,523 to creditors while his property and inventory were valued at \$221,063.⁵² Crabb's children continued to operate his wine depots in Chicago and Washington D.C. and received little else from inheritance.

To-Kalon Vineyard Historic Boundary:

To-Kalon's historic boundaries were determined using the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) methodology. Property deeds on file at the Napa County Recorder's office were used to determine Crabb's parcel ownership. The area surveyed within the legal boundaries then had to meet the NRHP criteria for evaluation by being associated with an important historical context

⁴⁸"To-Kalon: The Vineyard and Cellars of H. W. Crabb at Oakville," *St. Helena Star*, December 19, 1890, 9.

⁴⁹ Deed, John C. Davis DCSD to Hamilton W. Crabb, November 24, 1891, Napa County Records, Book D-48-351.

⁵⁰ Peninou, Ernest. "A History of the Napa Viticultural District: Comprising the counties of Napa, Solano and Contra Costa, with grape acreage statistics and directories of grape growers." Unpublished Manuscript (California: Nomis Press for The Wine Librarians Association, 2004), 261.

⁵¹ Rootstocks that are products of *Vitis riparia* parentage include *Riparia gloire*, 3309, 101-14, 420A, 5BB, SO4, 5C, Schwartzmann, 44-53M and 1616C.

⁵² Probate, H. W. Crabb, Napa County Superior Court, Case File 876, 1899.

and retaining the original integrity that conveys its significance.⁵³ Therefore, property owned by Crabb that did not contribute to the production of grapes or wine are not considered part of the historic To-Kalon Vineyard.⁵⁴

During his lifetime Crabb owned numerous properties throughout Napa County, most of which do not qualify for inclusion within the historic To-Kalon boundaries. In 1876, Crabb purchased 56 acres located near the Napa River, which may have been planted to grapevines but was sold one month later, prior to a potential harvest.⁵⁵ In 1880, Crabb purchased 165 acres of hillside in Oakville near present day Harlan Estate. However, his probate specifies that this parcel was used for timber production and not planted to grapevines.⁵⁶ Therefore, at no time did Crabb own other plantable acreage that could have contributed to the historic To-Kalon Vineyard.

Parcel ownership alone does not guarantee the validity of a property's inclusion within a historic boundary. This is true of Crabb's donation of the Oakville Depot to the Southern Pacific Railroad in addition to acreage near town converted to residential development.⁵⁷ Both properties did not retain their historic integrity related to grape production during the primary period of historical significance and are therefore excluded. Hillside property included in Crabb's purchase of the Davis estate is also disqualified since it was not planted to vineyard and therefore did not contribute to the production of To-Kalon wine.

⁵³ U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, "Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms", *National Register Bulletin 15*, Revised 1997.

⁵⁴ Recent/future development of property once owned by Crabb that did not contribute to grape-growing or winemaking during the period of primary significance do not qualify as part of the historic To-Kalon. This will become an issue where hillside vineyards and residences have been established on lands once owned by Crabb. Properties which have not contributed to the historical significance would dilute the historic value of the To-Kalon name and are therefore excluded.

⁵⁵ Deed, S. D. Gary to Hamilton W. Crabb, June 12, 1876, Napa County Records, Book DV-259.

⁵⁶ Deed, William P. Coleman and Ed R. Hamilton to Hamilton W. Crabb, December 13, 1880, Napa County Records, Book DV-323; H. W. Crabb Probate, Napa County Superior Court, Case File 876, 1899. The 500-acre figures reported about To-Kalon in primary sources have been discounted over the years under the assumption that this hillside parcel was included in that total. However, the addition of that parcel to Crabb's 1868 and 1879 parcels equals 524 acres, which is significantly more than is referenced. In the probate records of Crabb's estate it specifically describes that this parcel was not planted to grapes and was used for timber production. Additionally, numerous of these primary source references specifically state the 500 acres were "bearing" or "in vines," which is not the case of his hillside parcel.

⁵⁷ Deed, Hamilton W. Crabb to California Pacific Railroad Co., August 11, 1888, Napa County Records, Book D-43-280; Subdivision, Crabb, H. W. Subn certain lots near Oakville, July 12, 1894, Book 1-86, M157.

Table 1: All property Owned by H. W. Crabb in Napa County (1823-1899)

Document ID	Book	Page	Indexed With	Recorded	Description
1002-0011312	DK	312	SULLIVAN EUGENE L	1/29/1868	240 acres (To-Kalon)
1002-0013297	DM	297	BATEMAN JONATHAN	2/12/1870	Oakville School Trustee
1002-0021445	DU	445	WATSON W C	1/3/1876	Building in Rutherford
1002-0022259	DV	259	GARY S D	6/12/1876	56 acres (Near Napa River)
1002-0028304	D28	304	COLEMAN / HAMILTON	12/13/1880	165 acres (Hillside)
1002-0029112	D29	112	YOUNT ELIZA G	3/2/1879	119 acres (To-Kalon)
1002-0048351	D48	351	DAVIS JOHN C ESTATE	11/24/1891	135 acres (To-Kalon) + 515 acres (Hillside)

Multiple primary source references corroborate that at its peak the historic To-Kalon Vineyard included approximately 500 acres of planted vines.⁵⁸ These references specifically state that To-Kalon's 500 acres were "bearing," "planted" or "in vines" and did not include non-vineyard acreage. Additional sources state that the historic To-Kalon Vineyard was contiguous and stretched from the highway back to the foothills, which is in agreement with the determined boundaries.⁵⁹ Other historians agree with this assessment, including authors Leon Adams and William Heintz.⁶⁰ Heintz confirms these conclusions in a letter to Tim Mondavi in 1979 which stated:

"Crabb originally purchased 240 acres of land in the valley, then quickly added to this until he had about 500 acres...And the lands directly in front of the old Far Niente Winery, now being restored at Oakville, were not a part of the Crabb holdings. My understanding is that E. W. Churchill purchased the Crabb/Tokalon winery and apart of the Tokalon vineyards shortly after the turn of the century...Another piece of the original Tokalon vineyards was purchased by D. P. Doak about 1915, who in turn sold it to Martin Stelling."⁶¹

Figure 1: H. W. Crabb "To-Kalon Vineyard," 1868-1899 (See Supplemental Materials)

⁵⁸ *San Francisco Merchant*, December 21, 1883; "To-Kalon Wine Vaults," *San Francisco Merchant*, Vol. 19 No. 4, December 9, 1887; "To-Kalon Wines," *Pacific Wine and Spirit Review*, July 15, 1890. Previously published in *Chicago Herald*, June 29, 1890. *San Francisco Call*, Volume 68, Number 141, October 19, 1890.

⁵⁹ "To-Kalon: A Vineyard That Already Has a National Reputation," *Napa Register*, April 11, 1890, 2. Previously published in *San Francisco Examiner*, April 6, 1890.

"Master of the To-Kalon Ranch Passes Away," *San Francisco Call*, March 4, 1899.

⁶⁰ Adams, Leon David (1905-1995). Papers, D-304, Special Collections, University of California Library, Davis.

⁶¹ William Heintz to Tim Mondavi, March 8, 1979, William Heintz Files, Napa Valley Wine Library.

Churchill "To-Kalon/To Kalon Vineyard Co."

A local banker named Edward S. Churchill purchased a 357 acre portion of the original To-Kalon Vineyard from Crabb's estate in 1900.⁶² Prior to his death, Crabb was personally indebted to Churchill for a sum of \$98,861 in addition to the James H. Goodman Bank, where Churchill served as cashier.⁶³ In 1903, the "To-Kalon Vineyard Company" filed articles of incorporation with the state of California to engage in viticulture, winemaking, horticulture, farming and stock raising.⁶⁴ That same year, E. S. Churchill passed away and the control of the property was assumed by his son Edward W. Churchill.

The Churchills most important contribution to the American grape-growing industry took place when the family leased a portion of the vineyard to the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). E. S. Churchill had signed the agreement two months prior to his death, which his son honored and even supplied the USDA with free labor. The USDA intended to continue the important viticultural research started by Crabb and utilize his extensive collection of grape varieties. In 1905, George C. Husmann, head viticulturalist for the USDA, described To-Kalon as "of all the various experimental stations in the state, the one established at the To Kalon Vineyard, Oakville, not many years ago, is the oldest and most extensive and I am greatly pleased with the results obtained."⁶⁵

The To-Kalon Vineyard Company continued to thrive under Churchill ownership. The pinnacle of their success took place in 1909 at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition when To-Kalon wines were awarded five gold medals. Advertising from that period indicated that To-Kalon produced five wines including Burgundy, Chablis, Riesling, Sauterne and Zinfandel.⁶⁶ Standardized label design implies that bottling was likely taking place at the winery, which was previously performed by To-Kalon agencies throughout the United States. The Churchills retained at least one of Crabb's original agents, the To-Kalon Wine Depot in Washington D. C. The agency has been purchased by Crabb's son in law, William T. Johnson in 1890 and operated until 1915.⁶⁷

The advent of Prohibition severely depressed the American grape-growing and winemaking industry during which To-Kalon was deeply affected. In 1919, the Churchill family filed a fictitious business name for To-Kalon Vineyard Co. and the following year applied for a permit

⁶² Deed, Hamilton W. Crabb to Jas H Goodman Co. Bank, March 6, 1899, Napa County Records, Book D-64-90; Deed, Goodman H P TTEE to Edward S. Churchill, February 2, 1900, Napa County Records, Book D65-41.

⁶³ Probate, H. W. Crabb, Napa County Superior Court, Case File 876, 1899, 299.

⁶⁴ Secretary of State Records, Articles of Incorporation, ToKalon Vineyard Company, 38120.

⁶⁵ *Pacific Rural Press*, Volume 70, Number 23, December 2, 1905.

⁶⁶ To-Kalon Wine Company, *Overland Monthly*, Advertisement, Private Collection.

⁶⁷ Hamilton Crabb Johnson, "Mr. Hamilton W. Crabb," Private collection; "A Card," *Evening Star*, May 26, 1890, 2.

to "to manufacture, sell, export and import wines for other than beverage purposes."⁶⁸ Crate labels from Prohibition show that the Churchills were also selling raw grapes branded "To-Kalon." A portion of the production was also being sold for religious purposes and advertised as "Pure Altar Wines." The decrease in profitability likely took its toll by 1922 when the Churchills sold 19.7 acres in the south-west corner of their property to the USDA.⁶⁹

Difficulties during prohibition continued to plague the Churchill family. In 1925, Chester Ames, superintendent of the winery, was arrested and pled guilty to two accounts of possession of an intoxicating liquor. This prompted a report from the San Francisco prohibition inspector who stated that Mary Churchill had been illegally removing and selling wines from the winery premises. The report noted that the To-Kalon Vineyard Co. had 149,470 gallons of wine in inventory and as a result of the infractions, temporarily denied their renewal permit. No records exist until 1928 when 3000 gallons of wine were produced from 180 acres of vineyard.⁷⁰ Additional vinification took place in 1930 and 1931 in quantities of 4,475 and 12,610 gallons, respectively.

Following repeal, Mary Churchill attempted to sell the To-Kalon Vineyard Co. She signed a purchase agreement with O. F. Kellstom and A. F. Kauth who neglected to obtain the proper permits or make their agreed upon payments. An extensive lawsuit ensued and as a result the property remained with the Churchill family until the original winery burned to the ground in 1939. The loss was estimated at \$70,000 which included all the winery structures and cooperage.⁷¹ The cause of the fire was never determined and considered suspicious as the old winery had neither electrical wiring nor workmen occupying it for some time.

Figure 2: Churchill "To-Kalon/To Kalon Vineyard Co.," 1900-1943 (See Supplemental Materials)

Stelling "To-Kalon/ToKalon Vineyards"

Following prohibition and the onset of WWII, the Churchill family's financial situation continued to worsen. In 1940, they offered the property to the De Latour family, owners of the famous Beaulieu Vineyards, for \$200 per acre. Madame De Latour believed the price would continue to drop and against the wishes of her winemaker and managers turned down the offer.⁷²

⁶⁸ Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, "Inspectors' Report On Applications," July 27, 1927, 1.

⁶⁹ Deed, Mary Alice Churchill to United States of America, April 12, 1922, Napa County Records, Book D-135 -120.

⁷⁰ "Analysis, Conclusions and Recommendations of Winery Board in the Case of Bonded Winery No. 44," August 31, 1932, Collection of United States Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Records On California Wineries 1920-1950, UC Davis Shields Library, Special Collections, D-140.

⁷¹ "Fire Razes Famed Napa Co. Winery," *The Napa Journal*, May 30, 1939, 8.

⁷² Andre Tchelistcheff, Ruth Tieser and Catherine Herroun. *Grapes, Wine, and Ecology*, California Wine Industry Oral History Project (California: Bancroft Library, 1983), 73.

In 1943, San Francisco real estate developer Martin Stelling Jr. purchased the remaining 337 acres of the Churchill Estate.⁷³ That same day he sold 90 acres to the De Latour family for \$450.00 per acre.⁷⁴

The following year, Stelling added an additional 1700 acres to his holdings with the purchase of the adjoining Doak/McGill Ranch.⁷⁵ This acquisition united the lands formerly owned by Crabb for the first time in 50 years. Crabb's former vineyard land had been converted to cherries and was thought to be the largest cherry orchard in the United States at the time.⁷⁶ The purchase also included a palatial private residence built by D. P. Doak between 1917 and 1921. The Doak Mansion was constructed by the firm Weeks and Day with gardens designed by landscape architect John McLaren at a cost of \$250,000.⁷⁷ In 1927, Doak's widow and new husband Col. John McGill offered the property to President Calvin Coolidge as a summer white house.⁷⁸

Additionally, the Doak/McGill Ranch included property south of the Oakville Grade Road, which was historically part of the Far Niente winery. Stelling extended the To-Kalon boundaries and annexed the land with the intention of converting the ruins of the historic Far Niente into the new To-Kalon Winery.⁷⁹ To-Kalon Vineyard parcel maps from the Stelling estate corroborate the expansion beyond the historic boundaries.⁸⁰ In 1947, under pressure from local groups, Stelling sold 20 acres of his To-Kalon extension to the University of California, which became their "South Vineyard."⁸¹ In addition to a grape variety collection, the parcel was set out for trails in vine spacing, fertilizer application, cover cropping and wine grape breeding.⁸²

Stelling's investment in To-Kalon signaled a recovery from the Napa Valley's post prohibition gloom. Beaulieu's winemaker, Andre Tchelistchef, described Stelling as "new oxygen" to the valley. Stelling planted quality grape varieties in separate blocks, not the traditional mixed black or white varieties that had inhibited wine quality beforehand. He intended to create one of the great wine chateaus of the world including a wine museum, library, restaurant and reception to

⁷³ Deed, Mary A. Churchill to Martin Stelling Jr., July 28, 1943, Napa County Records, Book 202-67.

⁷⁴ Deed, Martin Stelling Jr. to Beaulieu Vineyard, July 28, 1943, Napa County Records, Book 202-70.

⁷⁵ Deed, Frieda V. McGill to Martin Stelling Jr., June 16, 1944, Napa County Records, Book 211-92.

⁷⁶ "David P. Doak, Banker, Dies," *Sausalito News*, March 5, 1921, 2.

⁷⁷ "The Story of the Carmelite Monastery Oakville," Carmelite House of Prayer, 2

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁹ Richard Duarte, interview by Graeme MacDonald, 2016.

⁸⁰ John Mitchell, "Map for Engineering Report on To Kalon Vineyards for Caroline Bishop Stelling," July 22, 1950, Private Collection.

⁸¹ Deed, Martin Stelling Jr. to Regents of the University of California, March 20, 1947, Napa County Records, Book 260-315. Planted to orchard.

⁸² "The Old Federal Station," March 22, 1974, Olmo, (Harold Paul) Papers 1900-2006 Papers, D-280, Special Collections, University of California Peter J. Shields Library, Davis.

tourism.⁸³ Unfortunately, his dream was cut short when Stelling died in a car crash near the town of Yountville in 1950. Caroline Stelling inherited the property and unable to maintain her husband's grand aspirations, began to sell portions shortly thereafter.

Figure 3: Stelling "To-Kalon/ToKalon Vineyards," 1947 (See Supplemental Materials)

Italian Swiss Colony "To Kalon Vineyard"

In 1951, Caroline Stelling sold 342 acres of the Stelling Estate and To-Kalon Vineyard to the Italian Swiss Colony.⁸⁴ The Italian Swiss Colony, based in Asti, was one of California's most prolific producers of inexpensive table wine during that era. It was their intention to create a line of fine varietal wines and Stelling's plantings created that opportunity. An Italian Swiss Colony postcard from that period shows that To-Kalon was advertised alongside their vineyard in Asti, California.⁸⁵ However, after only two years it became evident that their winemaking facilities and technological ability were inadequate for the creation of high quality wines.⁸⁶ As a result, the property was sold to Stelling foreman Ivan Schoch, Dr. Donald De Carle and Harold G. Watson.⁸⁷

Figure 4: Italian Swiss Colony "To Kalon Vineyard," 1951 (See Supplemental Materials)

Schoch/Watson/De Carle/Detert/Horton/UC Davis/Beaulieu

The disintegration of the Stelling Estate and shortly thereafter Italian Swiss Colony's sale marked a lapse in the historical significance of the To-Kalon name. During this time the historic name was no longer applied to wines being produced from the site. There is evidence that Ivan Schoch referred to his portion of the original vineyards as To-Kalon but did not enforce any vineyard designation on his buyers. Instead, To-Kalon contributed to the growth of other wineries throughout the Napa Valley as a source of quality grapes.

Schoch had joined the wine business after attending a viticulture class designed for veterans of World War II and taught by Beaulieu winemaker Andre Tchelistcheff. Beginning in 1946, Schoch served as a foreman for Martin Stelling Jr. until starting his own vineyard management

⁸³ Andre Tchelistcheff, Ruth Tieser and Catherine Herroun. *Grapes, Wine, and Ecology*, California Wine Industry Oral History Project (California: Bancroft Library, 1983), 73.

⁸⁴ Deed, Martin Stelling Jr. DCSD to Italian Swiss Colony, March 7, 1951, Napa County Records, Book 360 -176.

⁸⁵ "The Historic Winery Of Italian Swiss Colony Is Located In Asti, California," Postcard, Private Collection.

⁸⁶ Andre Tchelistcheff, Ruth Tieser and Catherine Herroun. *Grapes, Wine, and Ecology*, California Wine Industry Oral History Project (California: Bancroft Library, 1983), 73.

⁸⁷ Deed, Martin Stelling Jr. DCSD to Harold G. Watson, March 8, 1951, Napa County Records, Book 360-214; Deed, Italian Swiss Colony to Ivan Schoch, September 23, 1953, Napa County Records, Book 423-551; Deed, Italian Swiss Colony to Donald W. De Carle, September 23, 1953, Napa County Records, Book 423-558.

company named "Vineyards Inc." Schoch's father Benno was an executive at Italian Swiss Colony and likely played a role in his son being one of the beneficiaries of the resulting sale. However, unable to afford the purchase price, Schoch borrowed from family and friends in addition to securing a preemptive twenty-year grape contract for the fruit to Beaulieu Winery. Beaulieu's board of directors considered the proposal an ideal source for future expansion and their commitment secured Schoch's ability to obtain a loan for the property. However, the relationship eventually soured as grape prices softened and Schoch's production began to exceed the contracted amounts. Beaulieu demanded that the difference be sold and that any profit be split, leading Schoch to cancel the agreement.⁸⁸

In addition to his own vineyards, Schoch managed the adjoining Detert property which was purchased by Hedwig Detert from the Stelling Estate in 1954.⁸⁹ The Detert property was subsequently split between her children, Gunther R. Detert and Gabriele D. Horton.⁹⁰ At that time, the Detert and Horton vineyards were planted to Cabernet Sauvignon, Cabernet Franc, Chenin Blanc and Johannisberg Riesling. The resulting grapes were sold exclusively to the Mondavi family based on a handshake and included in their Charles Krug wines. A portion of the original dry-farmed Cabernet Sauvignon vines still remain on the Horton property today.

By the mid-1950s the University of California was looking to increase its research acreage. Correspondence and some collaboration between the USDA and the University of California regarding the station had been going on since the end of Prohibition. John Daniel Jr., of Inglenook Winery, was instrumental in persuading the Wine Institute to introduce a bill in Congress that allowed the university to assume control of the station.⁹¹ The bill was passed on June 28, 1954, and as a result the USDA deeded the "Old Federal Station" to the University of California to establish the UC Davis Oakville Station.⁹²

Figure 5: Schoch/Watson/De Carle/Detert/Horton/UC Davis/Beaulieu, 1955 (See Supplemental Materials)

⁸⁸ Andre Tchelistcheff, Ruth Tieser and Catherine Herroun. *Grapes, Wine, and Ecology*, California Wine Industry Oral History Project (California: Bancroft Library, 1983), 74-75.

⁸⁹ Deed, Caroline B. Stelling to Hedwig Detert, June 10, 1954, Napa County Records, Book 443-314.

⁹⁰ Deed, Hedwig Detert to Gabriele D. Horton, August 17, 1954, Napa County Records, Book 450-366; Deed, Hedwig Detert to Gunther R. Detert, August 17, 1954, Napa County Records, Book 450-368.

⁹¹ James A. Wolpert, "Oakville Experimental Vineyard: Past, Present and Future," (Prepared for the Pre-Conference Tour of the Society of Wine Educators, Department of Viticulture and Enology, University of California, Davis, August 3, 1998).

⁹² Quitclaim Deed, U S A to Regents of the University of California, March 16, 1955, Napa County Records, Book 468-425. That same year the Doak Mansion sold to the Carmelite Order

In the late 1950s, Schoch acquired the Watson and De Carle parcels increasing his total acreage to 429.⁹³ In 1962, Schoch sold the entirety of his estate to the Mondavi family for use in their Charles Krug wines. The vineyard included 107 acres of Cabernet Sauvignon, 42 acres of Johannisberg Riesling and Sylvaner, 28 acres of Pinot Noir, 28 acres of Sauvignon Blanc, 25 acres of Semillon, 31 acres of Chenin Blanc, 26 acres of Muscat Frontignan, 20 of Gamay in addition to other varieties.⁹⁴ Schoch's land offered Krug the opportunity to expand their line of varietal wines and feed expansion. Unfortunately, internal turmoil beset the Mondavi family as Robert and Peter engaged in an infamous fist fight leading to the dismissal of Robert from Charles Krug. As a result, Robert Mondavi founded his namesake winery on 11.6 acres purchased from the Stelling Estate in 1966.⁹⁵

Figure 6. Charles Krug Winery, 1962 (See Supplemental Materials)

Robert's capital was tied up in his partial ownership in Charles Krug Winery so as a result he partnered with Ivan Schoch, Fred Holmes and Bill Hart for his new venture. Construction of the Robert Mondavi Winery commenced immediately with designs by Cliff May and landscaping by Thomas Church. May's original design intended to reflect the Spanish mission architecture common in California from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁹⁶ However, Mondavi's initial acreage was not enough to supply his 15,000 case production goal. Therefore, he enlisted various growers including the Holmes, Detert and Horton families to supply his inaugural vintage totaling 497 tons.⁹⁷

Robert's purchase created turmoil within the Stelling family. In 1960, Caroline Stelling's death had transferred control of the estate to a board of trustees for her two children. One of the trustees was Martin Stelling's nephew, Hartford Rapp Jr., who unbeknownst to the beneficiaries facilitated the sale to Mondavi. Rapp had additional plans for the property, which included a 75 acre commercial zone along the highway, clusters of homes throughout the vineyards and 3 acre home sites throughout the 2200 acres of hillsides.⁹⁸ The aggressive development plan spurred opposition throughout the Napa Valley and ultimately resulted in legal action between Stelling's children and their trustees.

⁹³ Deed, Donald W. De Carle to Ivan Schoch, July 27, 1958, Napa County Records, Book 572-246; Deed, Harold G. Watson to Ivan Schoch, June 1, 1960, Napa County Records, Book 613-185.

⁹⁴ Gould, Francis L., *Bottles and Bins*, (St. Helena: Charles Krug Winery, 1962), Volume XIV, Number 2.

⁹⁵ Deed, Caroline B. Landry DCSD to Robert Mondavi Winery, July 12, 1966, Napa County Records, Book 749-500.

⁹⁶ Robert Mondavi, *Harvests of Joy: My Passion for Excellence* (New York, San Diego, London: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1998), 67.

⁹⁷ Gunther Detert, *Sketches From My Life*, 1993.

⁹⁸ "Big Hillside Development at Oakville Announced at Special UNVA Meeting," January 27, 1966, *St. Helena Star*, 1.

Meanwhile, the Robert Mondavi Winery continued to expand its operations. By 1967, nearly 1000 tons of grapes were crushed, which was higher than anticipated.⁹⁹ The excess production stressed finances leading to the acquisition of a new partner, Sicks Rainier Brewing Company, who bought out Robert's remaining partners. The influx of new capital allowed Mondavi to engage in the second stage of winery development and purchase an additional 235 acres from the Stelling Estate in 1969.¹⁰⁰ Within three years, production at the Robert Mondavi Winery exceeded 100,000 cases.¹⁰¹

Figure 7: Robert Mondavi Winery, 1969 (See Supplemental Materials)

Robert's relationship with his own family continued to deteriorate following his exit from Charles Krug. The Mondavi brothers continued to disagree and a lawsuit ensued as Robert attempted to liquidate his ownership in the family business. Not until 1977 did the court reach a final verdict. They concluded that Krug would be sold and the shares equally distributed amongst the various owners. Such a drastic conclusion brought Peter and Robert back together to create their own settlement. Robert received 429 acres of the extensive Krug vineyard holdings, including the former Schoch Vineyard.¹⁰² As a result, Robert was able to buyout Sicks Rainier Brewing Company and become the sole owner of the Robert Mondavi Winery.

Meanwhile, as part of the trustee settlement Martin's, son Doug Stelling, retained a portion of the historic Far Niente Winery and vineyards. Robert Lieff of the firm Belli, Ashe, Gerry and Ellison represented Stelling during the proceedings with his trustees and became a partner in Stelling Vineyards LLC. Since Stelling's father had intended to christen the old winery as "To-Kalon" there remained some confusion as to whether Far Niente was in fact the historic To-Kalon cellar. Lieff obtained a fictitious business name for "TOKALON" prior to the realization that their building was not the historic winery. In 1979, Gil Nickel joined the partnership and renovation project began on the pre-Prohibition stone winery building.

Robert Mondavi Winery "To-Kalon/To Kalon Vineyard"

In the late 1970s, the first history of To-Kalon was written by grape-grower Gunther Detert. Detert persuaded Robert Mondavi and his vineyard manager Charlie Williams to apply the historic name to their vineyard holdings. Mondavi was initially against attaching the historic name to a wine label out of concern it would confuse customers and detract from building the Robert Mondavi brand. The following year, the Robert Mondavi Winery enlisted wine historian and author William Heintz to perform further research. Correspondence between Heintz and Tim Mondavi show that the Mondavi family was considering a To-Kalon appellation and intended to

⁹⁹ Nina Wemyss, Robert Mondavi Winery Historical Files, Private Collection.

¹⁰⁰ Deed, Caroline B. Landry DCSD to Robert Mondavi Vineyards Inc, January 13, 1969, Napa County Records, Book 800-601.

¹⁰¹ Nina Wemyss, Robert Mondavi Winery Historical Files, Private Collection.

¹⁰² Deed, Mondavi Vineyards to R M E Inc, January 3, 1978, Napa County Records, Book 1065-182.

acquire rights to the To-Kalon name.¹⁰³ These letters also note that Doug Stelling and Robert Lieff abandoned their fictitious business name upon Heintz's assurances that their building was actually in fact the historic Far Niente Winery. Heintz's report was released in 1980 and noted that To-Kalon's historic boundaries did not encompass their land holdings south of the Oakville Grade Road leading the Mondavi family to abandon the pursuit of a To-Kalon appellation.

Meanwhile, Robert Mondavi joined forces with the Baron Rothchild, owner of one of France's classified first growths, Chateau Mouton Rothschild. Mondavi had been approached by the Baron and together they created the joint venture Opus One in 1979.¹⁰⁴ In 1981, Mondavi sold 35 acres located in To-Kalon's Stelling extension to the partnership. Additionally, the early Opus One wines included other Mondavi blocks and fruit from the Horton and Detert vineyards. The joint venture purchased two more parcels adjacent to Mondavi along the Napa River in 1983 and 1984. The "River parcel" and "Ballestra Ranch" added additional vineyard and a home site for the iconic winery.

Figure 8: Robert Mondavi Winery "To-Kalon/To Kalon Vineyard," 1981 (See Supplemental Materials)

By 1983, internal maps at Robert Mondavi show the application of the To-Kalon name to the historic vineyards.¹⁰⁵ Robert Mondavi's To-Kalon Vineyard also included the "Stelling Extension," which was historically part of the Far Niente Winery. That era at Robert Mondavi was a period of expansion and the vineyards were not exempt from that growth mentality. Tim Mondavi believed that vineyard boundary philosophy should mirror that of Bordeaux; when a chateau buys its neighbor, it becomes part of that purchasing chateau. For a short period the Opus One Winery River/Ballestra acreage along the Napa River were included in internal Robert Mondavi To-Kalon Vineyard maps but were later removed.

A pivotal point in the evolution of the To-Kalon name took place in 1988 when the Robert Mondavi Winery trademarked the name "To-Kalon." Mondavi was able to obtain the trademark by proclaiming that the words were ancient Greek and no longer had any significance in the wine industry, a point that would later be challenged. Because trademarks cannot represent geographic place names this action also encouraged the definition of To-Kalon as a brand. The To-Kalon designation appeared first in commerce on the 1986 Robert Mondavi I Block To-Kalon Fume Blanc and followed by the 1991 Robert Mondavi To-Kalon Cabernet Sauvignon. In 1993, the Robert Mondavi Winery obtained an additional trademark for the phrase "To-Kalon Vineyard."

¹⁰³ William Heintz to Tim Mondavi, September 18, 1979, William Heintz Files, Napa Valley Wine Library.

¹⁰⁴ Opus One's first release took place in 1984 with a simultaneous sale of its 1979 and 1980 red blends. The wines were designated as Napa Valley although a significant portion of the fruit was sourced from the To-Kalon Vineyard. A case had previously been auctioned off at the first Napa Valley Wine Auction for a record \$24,000, the highest price ever paid for a California wine.

¹⁰⁵ Robert Mondavi Winery. "To-Kalon Vineyard." 1983. Private Collection.

Meanwhile, the Robert Mondavi Winery had been acquiring significant debt for some time. Robert estimated the cost of replanting due to a non-phylloxera resistant rootstock called AXR1 could exceed 8 million dollars.¹⁰⁶ As a result, the Mondavi family was looking for additional funding and decided the solution was to take the company public. In 1993, "MOND" initial public offering released 3.7 million shares at \$13.50 per share, making it the third winery to be traded on the public stock exchange.¹⁰⁷ The Mondavi family maintained control of the winery throughout the IPO by differentiating between class A and class B stock such that the family would always retain 51 percent and majority voting rights.

That same year, Beaulieu's BV #4 exchanged hands to former Heublien employee Andrew Beckstoffer.¹⁰⁸ Since Beaulieu's acquisition of the parcel in 1943 there had been no association with the To-Kalon name. Prior to the sale, Beaulieu had requested that BV #4 be an island of Rutherford within the pending Oakville American Viticultural Area, which was denied.¹⁰⁹ Beaulieu had previously been purchased by Heublien Corporation for whom Beckstoffer managed their vineyards. Heublien opted to sell Beckstoffer numerous vineyard sites around the valley to limit their liability exposure and create a consistent supply of grapes.¹¹⁰

The Robert Mondavi Winery continued to produce To-Kalon designated wines throughout the 1990s, including their Cabernet Sauvignon and I-Block Fume Blanc. Grapes from the Horton property were blended into the Robert Mondavi To-Kalon Cabernet Sauvignon and along with the Detert Vineyard included as part of Robert Mondavi's To-Kalon Vineyard in marketing and internal maps.¹¹¹ These maps referred to the Horton and Detert properties as part of the Robert Mondavi To-Kalon Vineyard and estate. In 1999, the Robert Mondavi Winery commenced a major renovation named "The To-Kalon Project," which included a gravity flow design and fifty-six handmade oak fermentation tanks. The project was completed in 2001 to much publicity at a cost of approximately \$27 million.¹¹²

The Robert Mondavi Winery had invested heavily in promoting the To-Kalon name when neighboring vintner Andy Becktoffer expressed his will to use it as a designation for his own

¹⁰⁶ Robert Mondavi Winery, "Robert Mondavi Winery: Oral History 1989-1991," Volume 1, 14.

¹⁰⁷ Associated Press, Los Angeles Times, "Mondavi Winery Sells 2.5 Million Shares in IPO", http://articles.latimes.com/1993-06-11/business/fi-2193_1_robert-mondavi (accessed on March 20, 2018). "MOND" is the market abbreviation for the Robert Mondavi Corporation stock on the NASDAQ stock exchange.

¹⁰⁸ Deed, Heublein Inc. to Beckstoffer Vineyards II, November 24, 1993, Napa County Records, Document ID 1993-0038461.

¹⁰⁹ Richard Mendelson, *Appellation Napa Valley: Building and Protecting a National Treasure*, (Napa: Val de Grace Books Inc., 2016), 135.

¹¹⁰ William Andrew Beckstoffer, Interview by Carole Hicke, *Premium California Vineyardist, Entrepreneur: 1960s-2000s*, Wine Spectator California Oral History Series, 2000, 39.

¹¹¹ Robert Mondavi Winery, "To Kalon Vineyard, Oakville District," 2001, Marketing Map, Private Collection. In 2000, Detert Family Vineyards launched their first wines a Cabernet Franc.

¹¹² Jeff Morgan, Wine Spectator, http://www.winespectator.com/webfeature/show/id/Mondavi-Announces-27-Million-Expansion_20326 (accessed May 26, 2018).

vineyard. Since 1999, Beckstoffer had been exchanging letters with Michael Mondavi regarding his intent to designate his vineyard as "Beckstoffer To Kalon" and sell fruit to various clients.¹¹³ Around the same time, Cain Vineyards vineyard labeled their Napa Valley Premiere lot "To-Kalon Vineyard" sourced from Beckstoffer fruit. However, it was Schrader Cellars who produced the first commercial "Beckstoffer Original To Kalon" designated wine label. In December of 2002, the Robert Mondavi Winery filed a lawsuit for trademark infringement against Schrader Cellars and shortly thereafter a counterclaim was filed by Beckstoffer Vineyards.

In the counter claim, Beckstoffer argued that Mondavi performed false advertising and false designation of origin regarding its To-Kalon wines. Due to expansion beyond To-Kalon's original boundaries during its primary historical significance, Beckstoffer contended that Mondavi was misleading consumers by including grapes from lands not previously owned and operated by H. W. Crabb.¹¹⁴ Additionally, Beckstoffer claimed that Mondavi had fraudulently filled out the trademark application when they stated the word To-Kalon "cannot be translated and has no present meaning or significance in the relevant trade or industry."¹¹⁵ Eventually, the case was settled out of court and Beckstoffer was granted royalty free licensing rights to the To-Kalon trademark. As a result, Beckstoffer re-licensed the vineyard designation "Beckstoffer To Kalon Vineyard" to clients who incorporated it into their wine labels.

By 2004, extensive charitable donations made by Robert Mondavi to UC Davis, Copia and Stanford University began to decrease the MOND stock value. As a result the family decided to sell off a percentage of their class B stock holdings to cover the contributions. Meanwhile, acting on behalf of their shareholders, the board opted to offer the Robert Mondavi Winery and subsidiary brands for sale. On December 22, 2004, Constellation Brands purchased the remaining MOND class A stock for \$56.50 per share and class B stock for \$65.82 per share for a total of \$1.36 billion.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Beckstoffer does not hyphenate his spelling of To-Kalon and as a result of their settlement, Mondavi no longer does either. In 2001, Beckstoffer trademarked both Crabb Vineyards and Hamilton Crabb Vineyards both of which were eventually abandoned.

¹¹⁴ Deed research was not performed during the lawsuit, instead historic boundaries were determined using two official maps of Napa County from 1895 and 1915. However, these maps represent only a snapshot in time and are not an accurate representation of the historic To-Kalon boundary during the primary period of historical significance (1868-1899). Beckstoffer's limitation of the historic To-Kalon to 360 acres is patently false and in disagreement with prior deed research from wine historian William Heintz. Heintz's research and historic boundary determination was even cited and included in the lawsuit as an appendix in the Declaration of W. Andrew Beckstoffer.

¹¹⁵ *Beckstoffer Vineyards II v. Robert Mondavi Winery*, C02-5743 EMC, 5 (D.C. Cir 2002).

¹¹⁶ Constellation Brands, "Constellation and Mondavi Sign a Definitive Merger Agreement," <http://www.cbrands.com/news-media/constellation-and-mondavi-sign-definitive-merger-agreement> (accessed March 20, 2018).

Following the sale, the Horton family began production of its own wine label. The 2010 vintage marked the inaugural release of MACDONALD produced by Horton grandchildren Alex and Graeme MacDonald. The remainder of the family's grapes continued to be sold to the Robert Mondavi Winery and included in their Reserve and To-Kalon Cabernet Sauvignon bottlings. Cabernet Franc grapes from the Detert family also make up a portion of the Robert Mondavi Reserve, in addition to their own label Detert Family Vineyards. The MACDONALD, Detert and wines sourced from UC Davis do not designate To-Kalon on their own labels due to Mondavi's ownership of the trademark.

In 2013, the Robert Mondavi Winery released their 2011 Robert Mondavi Cabernet Sauvignon Reserve with a "To Kalon Vineyard" designation. The designation had previously only been applied to their To-Kalon and I-Block bottlings. The phrase "To Kalon Vineyard" was also applied to the Robert Mondavi Winery frontage sign along State Highway 29. In 2017, Constellation Brands purchased the former Mondavi adversary Schrader Cellars for an undisclosed sum. That same year, Constellation applied for two additional trademarks "To-Kalon Wine Company" and "To-Kalon Vineyard Company" hiring consulting winemaker Andy Erickson to oversee the project. Beckstoffer filed an opposition to the trademarks leading Constellation to abandon the applications. Resurrecting a To-Kalon wine brand would constitute a significant shift in the meaning of the term, which has been used exclusively as a vineyard designation since Prohibition.

The To-Kalon Vineyard's historical significance in the context of vineyard designation is still being defined. The Alcohol and Tobacco Tax and Trade Bureau regulates that in a vineyard designated wine 95 percent of those grapes must be sourced from that vineyard.¹¹⁷ However, the boundaries of that vineyard are at the owner's discretion and do not need to reflect historic delineations. As Tim Mondavi stated during his family's feud with Andy Beckstoffer, "The trademark allows us protection on the term To-Kalon. It says it's our right any way we choose to use it...we can use it, if we choose, to bottle (it as) a wine from Nairobi."¹¹⁸ Therefore, the documentation of To-Kalon will hopefully help preserve the authenticity of one of Napa Valley's most treasured sites.

The Napa Valley as an American Viticultural Area and wine growing region is still in its infancy compared to other parts of the world. However, since pre-Prohibition historic vineyards including To-Kalon have proven that they can compete on the world stage and as a result have established an international reputation for Napa Valley wines. Unlike other established wine regions, there currently is no domestic system of vineyard designation that recognizes the importance of place. As a result, the historic vineyard sites of the Napa Valley have been largely forgotten or adulterated over time. Historical documentation of these endangered sites is imperative for maintaining the authenticity of this great valley and for the preservation of its winemaking and viticultural legacies.

¹¹⁷ Richard Mendelson, *Wine in America: Law and Policy*, (New York: Wolters, Kluwer Law & Business, 2011), 250-251.

¹¹⁸ "Tim Mondavi responds to Lawsuit," *St. Helena Star*, December 26, 2002, 7.

Figure 9: To-Kalon/To Kalon Vineyard, 2018 (See Supplemental Materials)

PART II: PHYSICAL INFORMATION

The present day To-Kalon Vineyard is a historic agricultural landscape spanning 825 total acres of which 678 are planted to vines. The landscape gently rises from State Highway 29 to the base of the Mayacamas mountains. Thousands of years of stream erosion has created a complex of alluvial fans, which cause undulations in the topography and varied gravel content. All streams except To-Kalon Creek have been redirected or undergrounded by human intervention. Detert Creek is undergrounded on either side of the Horton property across the Robert Mondavi Winery Monastery Block and south of the Creekside Offices. Doak Creek is undergrounded from the base of the Mayacamas Mountains until the Oakville Grade Road across lands owned by Robert Mondavi Winery and UC Davis. The creek is then partially redirected in a trench along the Oakville Grade Road. A portion of Doak Creek follows its original path towards the Far Niente Winery before being redirected again, as a linear trench, eastward towards the highway. These linear trenches are maintained by the Robert Mondavi Winery as a hedgerow comprised of beneficial and native plants. Stelling Creek which originates in Halter Valley south-west of Far Niente's Stelling Vineyard is also trenched parallel to Dwyer Road.

Prominent trees that exist within these riparian areas include Coastal Live Oak (*Quercus agrifolia*), Valley Oak (*Quercus lobata*), Bay Laurel (*Umbellularia californica*), California Buckeye (*Aesculus californica*), Arroyo Willow (*Salix lasiolepis*), California Madrone (*Arbutus menziesii*) and White Alder (*Alnus rhombifolia*). Numerous specimens of Live Oak and Valley Oak are multiple hundreds of years old and exceed 3 feet in diameter. Additionally, To-Kalon Creek includes Snowberry (*Symphoricarpos albus*), Native Rose (*Rosa californica*), Coyote Bush (*Baccharis pilularis*), Wild Grape (*Vitis californica*), Toyon (*Heteromeles arbutifolia*), Poison Oak (*Toxicodendron diversilobum*), Spice Bush (*Calycanthus occidentalis*). Invasive species include Periwinkle (*Vinca major*), Scotch Broom (*Cytisus scoparius*), Saint John's Wort (*Hypericum perforatum*), Blackberry (*Rubus fruticosus*), Chinese Hawthorn (*Crataegus pinnatifida*) and English Ivy (*Hedera helix*). The portion of To-Kalon Creek managed by Opus One and Robert Mondavi Winery underwent extensive re-vegetation and the addition of numerous plants native to California but not from the local germplasm. Detert, Doak and Stelling Creeks have been largely disturbed through human intervention and retain significantly less biodiversity than To-Kalon Creek.

The present day To-Kalon Vineyard is planted to seven main grape varieties. The landscape is predominantly Cabernet Sauvignon with 521.8 acres, which equates to 77 percent of the total acreage. This is followed by 51 acres of Cabernet Franc and 19.2 acres of Petit Verdot, which constitutes 7.5 percent and 3 percent of the total acreage, respectively. Smaller portions including 9.6 acres of Merlot and 2 acres of Malbec make up 1 percent and approximately 0.5 a percent of the remaining red acreage, respectively. White grape varieties constitute 6.5 percent of total acreage including 35.6 acres of Sauvignon Blanc and 8.3 acres of Semillon. The remaining 4.5 percent of To-Kalon is currently fallow including 12.1 acres of the Beckstoffer To-Kalon, 15.4 acres of the former Robert's Block and 2.7 acres of UC Davis Oakville Station.

Three vineyard blocks within To-Kalon qualify for historic designation under the methodology of the Historic Vineyard Society. Their organization documents vine plantings that are over 50 years old and retain one-third or more of the existing vines from the original planting date.¹¹⁹ The oldest vines planted on the Horton family property are the only vines officially certified in To-Kalon by the Historic Vineyard Society. The Old Monastery Block and I Block owned by the Robert Mondavi Winery would also qualify, having been planted in 1945 and 1949, respectively. Another portion of the Robert Mondavi portfolio, 15.4 acres of Sauvignon Blanc, planted in 1959 and named "Robert's Block" would have qualified but was ripped out in 2018.¹²⁰

Historic To-Kalon selections of Cabernet Sauvignon, Cabernet Franc and Sauvignon Blanc still exist on the site. The Horton family stewards a To-Kalon selection of Cabernet Sauvignon while the Detert family continues to propagate a To-Kalon selection of Cabernet Franc. Both of these were sourced from the original vines on the property, which likely trace their lineage to Crabb's original importations of these varieties.¹²¹ The Robert Mondavi Winery also retains one heritage selection of Cabernet Sauvignon in addition to two Sauvignon Blanc selections. All of Mondavi's selections were micro shoot-tip cultured by Foundation Plant Services to remove viruses. They are available publicly within the FPS portfolio as Sauvignon Blanc #22, Sauvignon Blanc FPS #26 and Cabernet Sauvignon FPS #31.¹²² Beckstoffer propagates a portion of his acreage to Cabernet Sauvignon FPS #6, which was sourced from an abandoned University of California experimental vineyard in Jackson, California. The remaining vineyards are planted to clonal plant material of various origins.

There are a mixture of farming practices and philosophies taking place throughout the To-Kalon Vineyard. The Robert Mondavi Winery, Beckstoffer Vineyards and UC Davis farm using conventional practices including synthetic herbicides, fungicides and fertilizers. The Detert and Opus One parcels are also conventionally farmed but employ mechanical weed control in place of herbicides. The Horton family vineyard is the only property in To-Kalon that is farmed using organic practices. Approximately 9.4 acres of the To-Kalon Vineyard are farmed without the use of irrigation, including the Horton old vines and the Robert Mondavi I Block and Old Monastery Block.

¹¹⁹ Historic Vineyard Society, "Registry of Heritage Vineyards: Vineyard Criteria," https://historicvineyardsociety.org/about#page-about-multi_column-6 (accessed March 20, 2018).

¹²⁰ Courtney Humiston, Decanter Magazine, "To Kalon vineyard renamed in honour of Robert Mondavi," <http://www.decanter.com/wine-news/to-kalon-vineyard-renamed-in-honour-of-robert-mondavi-17990/> (accessed May 26, 2018).

¹²¹ Richard Duarte, interview by Graeme MacDonald, 2016.

¹²² Nancy Sweet, FPS Grape Program Newsletter, "Cabernet Sauvignon at FPS," October 2008, <http://iv.ucdavis.edu/files/121462.pdf>. Sauvignon Blanc FPS #22 was sourced from a 1890 planting of Sauvignon Blanc planted on the UC Davis South Vineyard. Sauvignon Blanc FPS #26 was sourced from I Block which was planted by Martin Stelling Jr. in 1949. Cabernet Sauvignon FPS #31 was sourced from Old Monastery Block which was planted by Martin Stelling Jr. in 1945.

During the primary period of historical significance vines were typically spaced 8 feet by 8 feet and head trained. Today, vineyard design varies throughout To-Kalon and is the subject of continued experimentation at the UC Davis Oakville Station. Robert Mondavi has the most varied forms of vineyard design ranging from 4 feet by 4 feet vertical shoot positioning to 10 feet by 8 feet head trained, spur pruned. Opus One Winery adheres to a universal 4 feet by 4 feet vertically shoot positioned design, modeled after the vineyards of Bordeaux and applicable to over the vine tractor operations. Beckstoffer employs 7 feet by 5 feet spacing and a vertical shoot positioning system, oriented north-south. Their new developments are employing a east-west orientation, parallel to Walnut Drive, for additional sun protection. The Horton family vineyard utilizes the California Sprawl design in addition to a double guyot split canopy on the western blocks. Orientation is parallel to the Oakville Grade Road, running north-east south-west while spacing mirrors the more traditional style, measuring 10 feet by 8 feet, 8 feet by 8 feet and 8 feet by 5 feet. The Horton Vineyard is entirely cane-pruned, a more intensive pruning technique, which is also employed on a small scale by Opus One and Robert Mondavi. The Detert Vineyard shares the same orientation as Horton but utilizes the Lyre and vertical shoot positioning systems on 12 feet by 8 feet, 7 feet by 6 feet and 7 feet by 5 feet spacing.

The historic buildings associated with the To-Kalon Vineyard and early pioneers have suffered extensive fire damage over the years. All residences from the primary period of historical significance have burned down, including the original residences of J. C. Davis, H. W. Crabb and the original To-Kalon Winery. The former H. W. Crabb residence, located at 1350 Walnut Drive, retains some of its original character although it was completely rebuilt following a fire in 1997. It was subsequently enlarged but maintains the original appearance of a farmhouse with a Victorian styled addition. The residence maintains numerous mature Valley Oak trees, a few ailing Bay Laurel, one Magnolia and a fig tree from the original estate.

The oldest habitable structures still in existence are the Detert residence and Doak Mansion, which were built in 1904 and from 1917 to 1921 respectively. The Doak Mansion itself is worthy of documentation and the Detert house is a fine representation of an early twentieth-century American craftsman style. Three stone bridges and former winery infrastructure along To-Kalon Creek also date back to the primary period of historical significance. The original To-Kalon Winery bridge is deteriorating and no longer functional but the H. W. Crabb residence and Walnut Drive bridges are still in use. A small cement dam at the base of the To-Kalon watershed and another water catchment system further upstream are no longer functional. The dams were erected previous to H. W. Crabb's ownership by J. C. Davis, who was the grandson of George C. Yount.¹²³

The landscape design laid out by original and subsequent pioneers is still evident throughout To-Kalon. The entrance to Walnut Drive from State Highway 29 is lined with massive pecan trees exceeding 75 feet in height and dating back to the primary period of historical significance. The pecans, line the north side of Walnut Drive beginning at the highway and continuing all the way to the former H. W. Crabb residence. The south side of the road is lined with English walnuts grafted on black walnut stock, which is congruent with the plantings from Crabb's era and the

¹²³ "A Fine Place," *St. Helena Star*, May 16, 1879.

origin of the street name.¹²⁴ The roads themselves follow the same trajectories as they did during the primary period of historical significance but have been widened to meet county road requirements. Extensive deer fencing exists along the edge of all vineyard blocks between the north-western corner of To-Kalon and Oakville Grade Road. A small selection of old almond trees, likely dating back to prohibition, line Walnut Drive between the Carmelite Monastery and the Detert residence. The Horton residence and Robert Mondavi Winery retain much of their original integrity, which were laid out by renowned landscape architect Thomas Church in the 1960s.

The Robert Mondavi Winery is the only existing winery within the To-Kalon Vineyard boundaries. Designed by architect Cliff May, the building's characteristic arch and bell tower was intended to reflect California's Spanish mission style. Since its inception the winery has undergone extensive expansion, including additional hospitality rooms and the To-Kalon Cellar. The winery expansion has extended westward past their original "V" shaped design on either side of the arch. An open sided pre-fabricated fermentation structure is currently being constructed in the rear parking lot to house additional production. The expansive lawn extending out from the back of the archway is used to host guests for the annual Margrit Mondavi Summer Concert Series.

The historic To-Kalon Winery is now an archeological site within Opus One's K South-East vineyard block. Evidence of glass, metal scraps, drain tiles and other man-made materials exist throughout the former winery foot print. Mechanical spreading and artifact degradation has occurred due to cultivation and other agricultural practices. Remnants of a water system adjacent to the historic winery in To-Kalon Creek still exists. The structure consists of reinforced rock and concrete walls and floors resulting in a manmade portion of the creek measuring 40 feet wide, 5 to 6.5 feet tall and 7 feet wide. Other large portions of cement foundation associated with the previous structures have been discarded along the banks just west of the To-Kalon Winery bridge.

Two archeological sites associated with the native Wappo people are located within the historic To-Kalon boundary. Both exhibit midden including occasional hand carved obsidian arrow points and debitage. Obsidian is not native the To-Kalon geologic parent material and is a result of human importation. The largest site is located in K-West block on the highest point of a gentle knoll just north of To-Kalon Creek. Midden distribution measures 190 feet by 128 feet but may have been dispersed beyond its original boundaries by agricultural equipment. Along the creek banks directly south is a 20-foot-long by 3 foot high semi-circular mound with an adjacent subsurface depression, which may be associated with the site but has not been studied. The second archeological site is located just south of the Detert residence across Detert Creek along Walnut Drive. Similar to the To-Kalon Creek habitation there is a smaller distribution of midden and evidence of obsidian and occasional arrow points.

¹²⁴ "To Kalon," *Napa Register*, October 14, 1887, 1. The street is also referred to as "To-Kalon Avenue" in a postcard dated 1910.

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PART IV: PROJECT INFORMATION

This project was undertaken by Graeme MacDonald, Dr. Sarah MacDonald, and Dr. David Howell. The project leader, historian and digital photographer was Graeme MacDonald (wine-maker and grape-grower). Drawings were created using ArcGIS by Dr. Sarah MacDonald (Envision Geo LLC). Geologic documentation was produced under the direction of Dr. David Howell (USGS retired and Stanford University). Chris Pattillo, FASLA, Janet Gracyk, ASLA and Carol Roland Nawi members of the Northern California Chapter of HALS reviewed the draft. Documentation commenced in 2017 and was completed in 2018.

Supplemental Materials:

Figure 1: H. W. Crabb "To-Kalon Vineyard," 1868-1899.

Base Map Source: Napa County Recorder, Assessor's Map County of Napa, California, Bk. 27, Pg. 28, 1955.

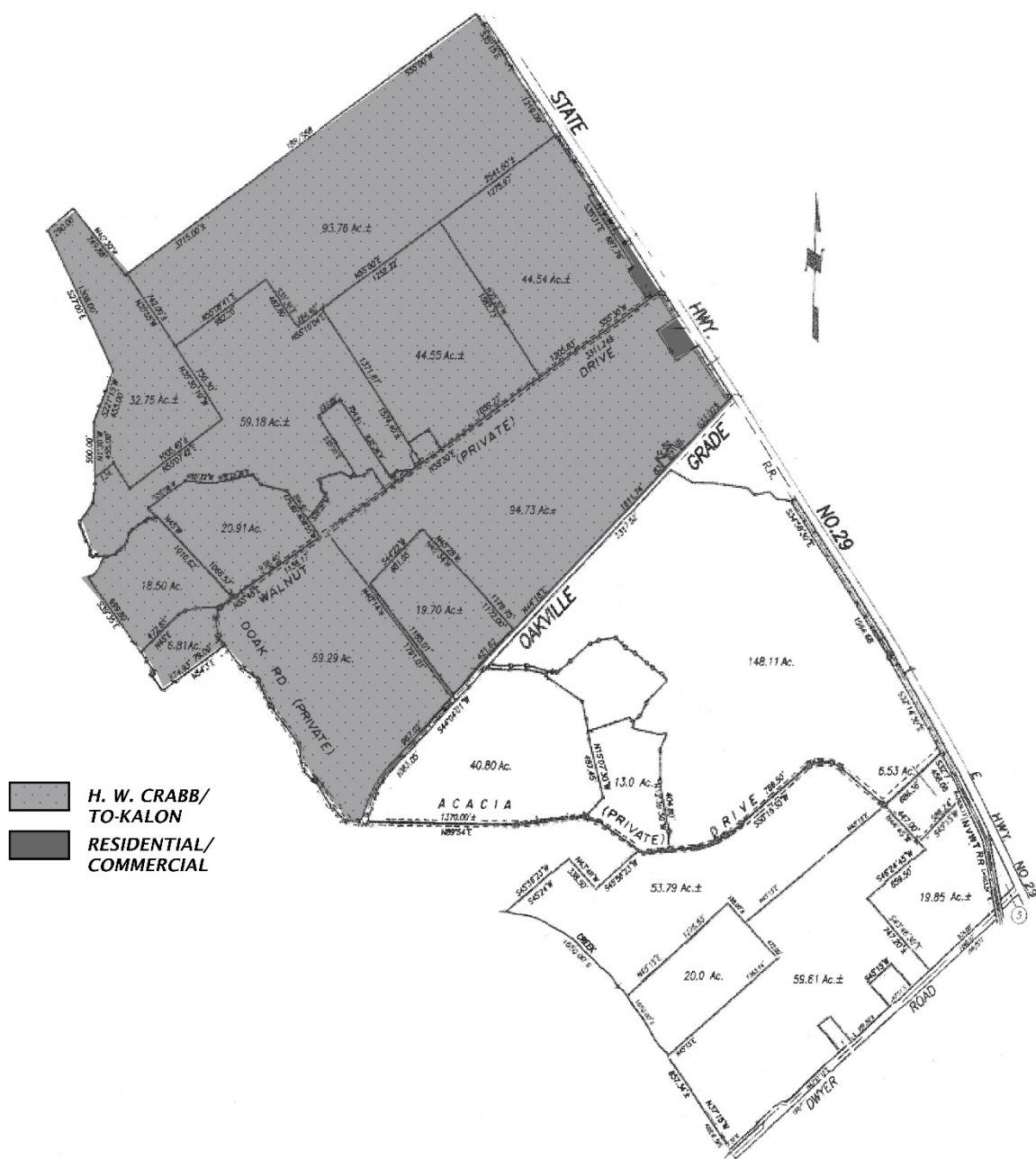


Figure 2: Churchill "To-Kalon/To Kalon Vineyard Co.," 1922.

Base Map Source: Napa County Recorder, Assessor's Map County of Napa, California, Bk. 27, Pg. 28, 1955.

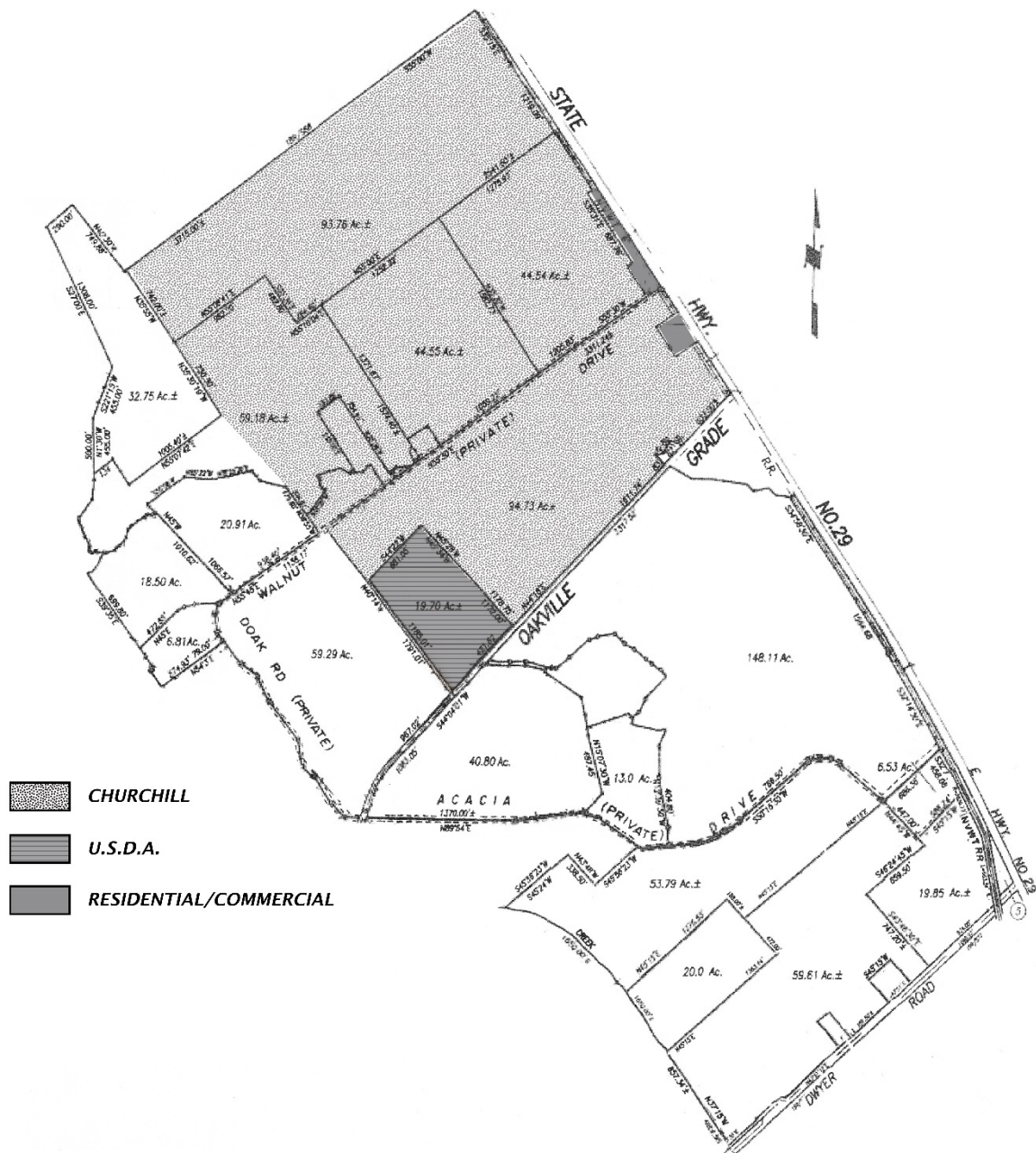


Figure 3: Stelling "To-Kalon/ToKalon Vineyards," 1947

Base Map Source: Napa County Recorder, Assessor's Map County of Napa, California, Bk. 27, Pg. 28, 1955.

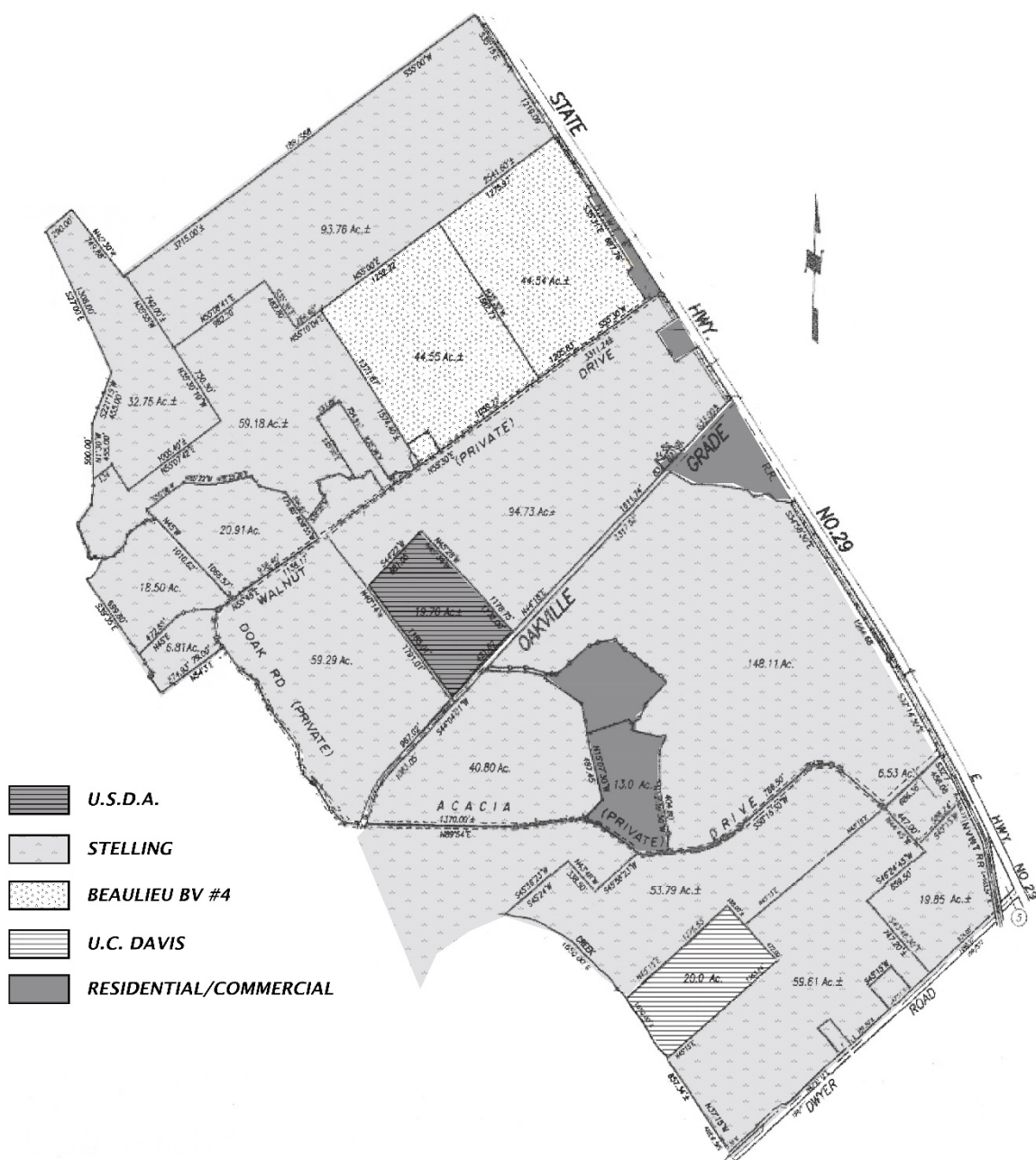


Figure 4: Italian Swiss Colony "To Kalon Vineyard," 1951

Base Map Source: Napa County Recorder, Assessor's Map County of Napa, California, Bk. 27, Pg. 28, 1955.

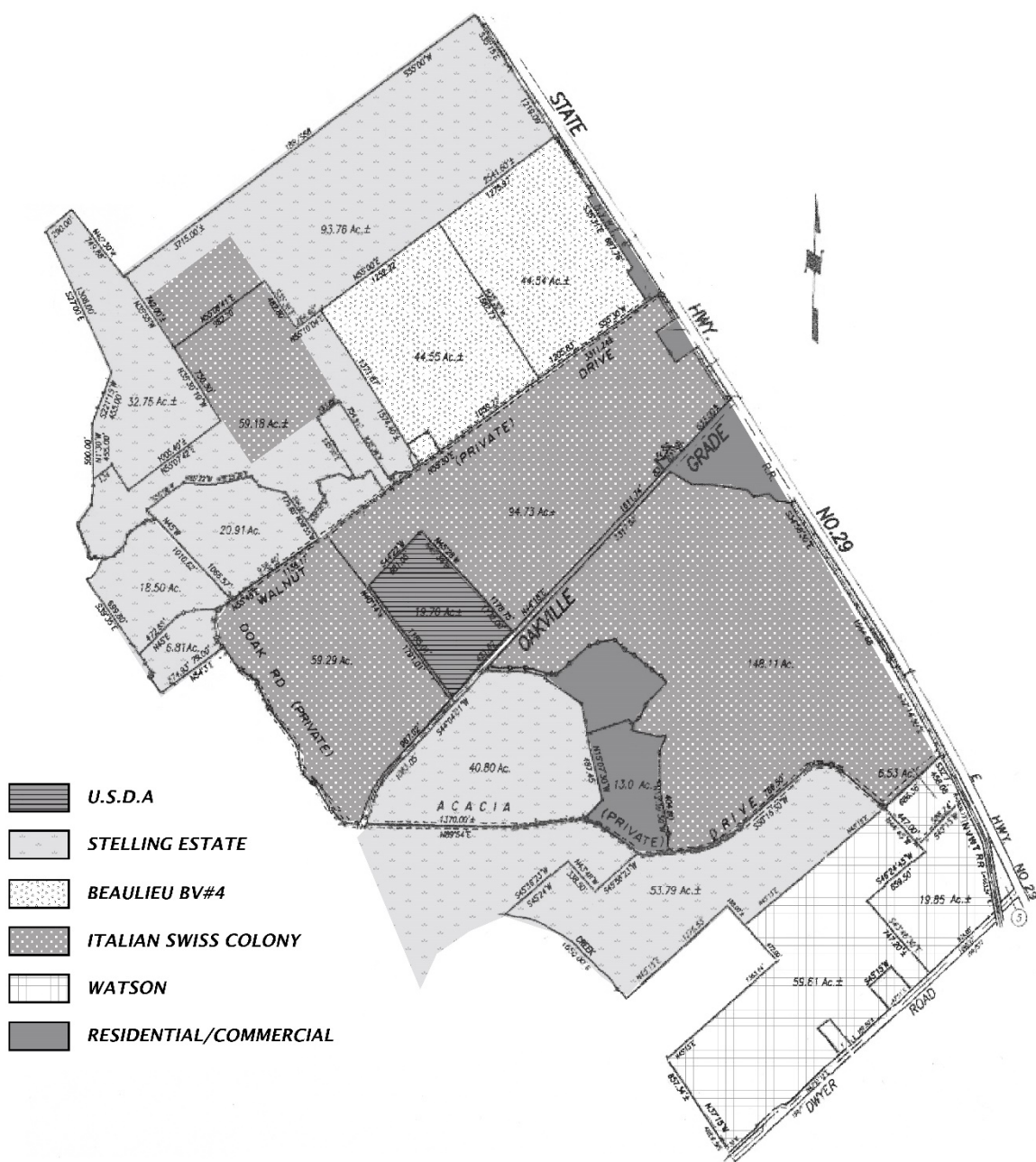


Figure 5: Schoch/De Carle/Watson/Horton/Detert/UC Davis/Beaulieu, 1955

Base Map Source: Napa County Recorder, Assessor's Map County of Napa, California, Bk. 27, Pg. 28, 1955.

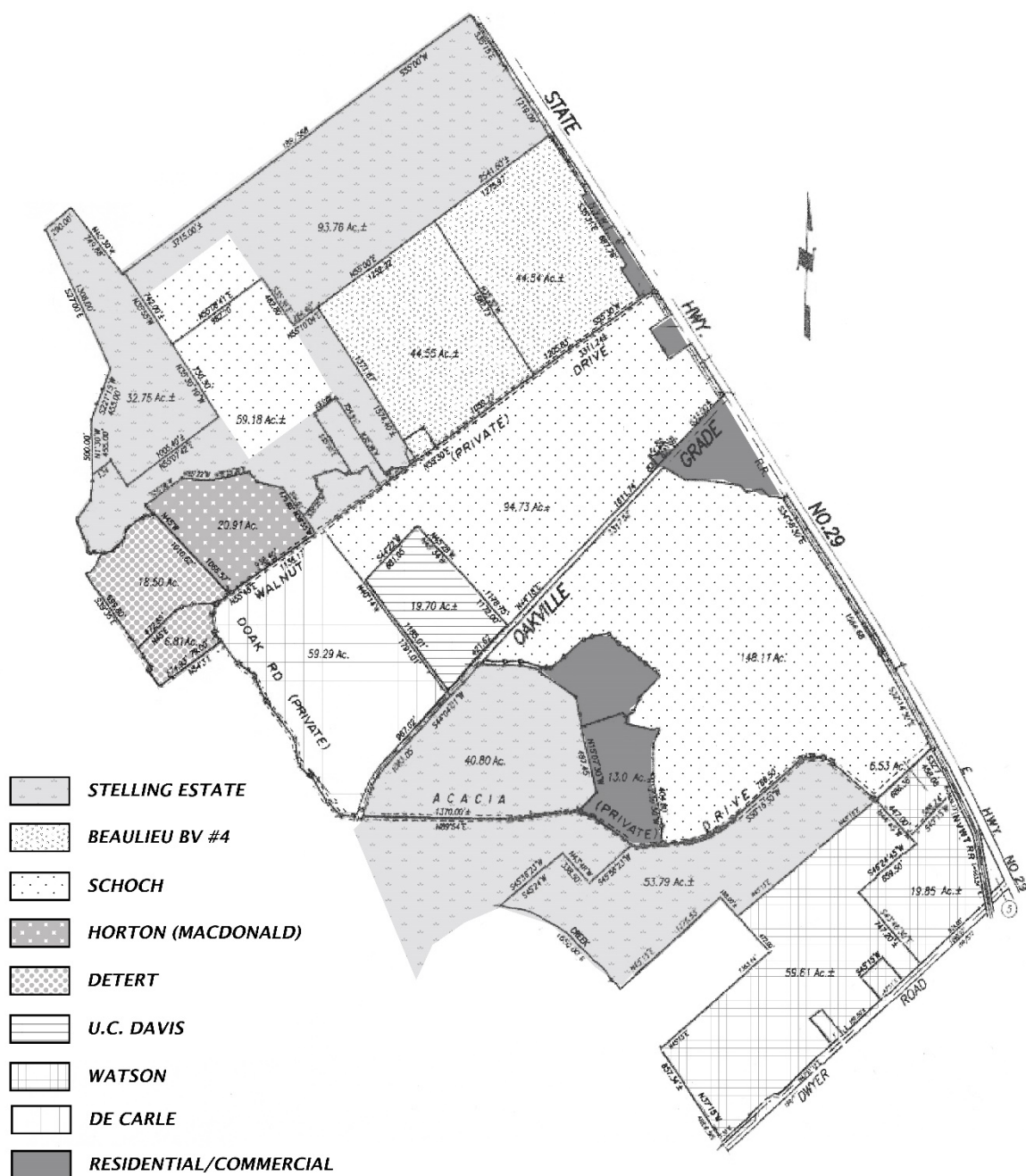


Figure 6. Charles Krug Winery, 1962

Base Map Source: Napa County Recorder, Assessor's Map County of Napa, California, Bk. 27, Pg. 28, 1955.

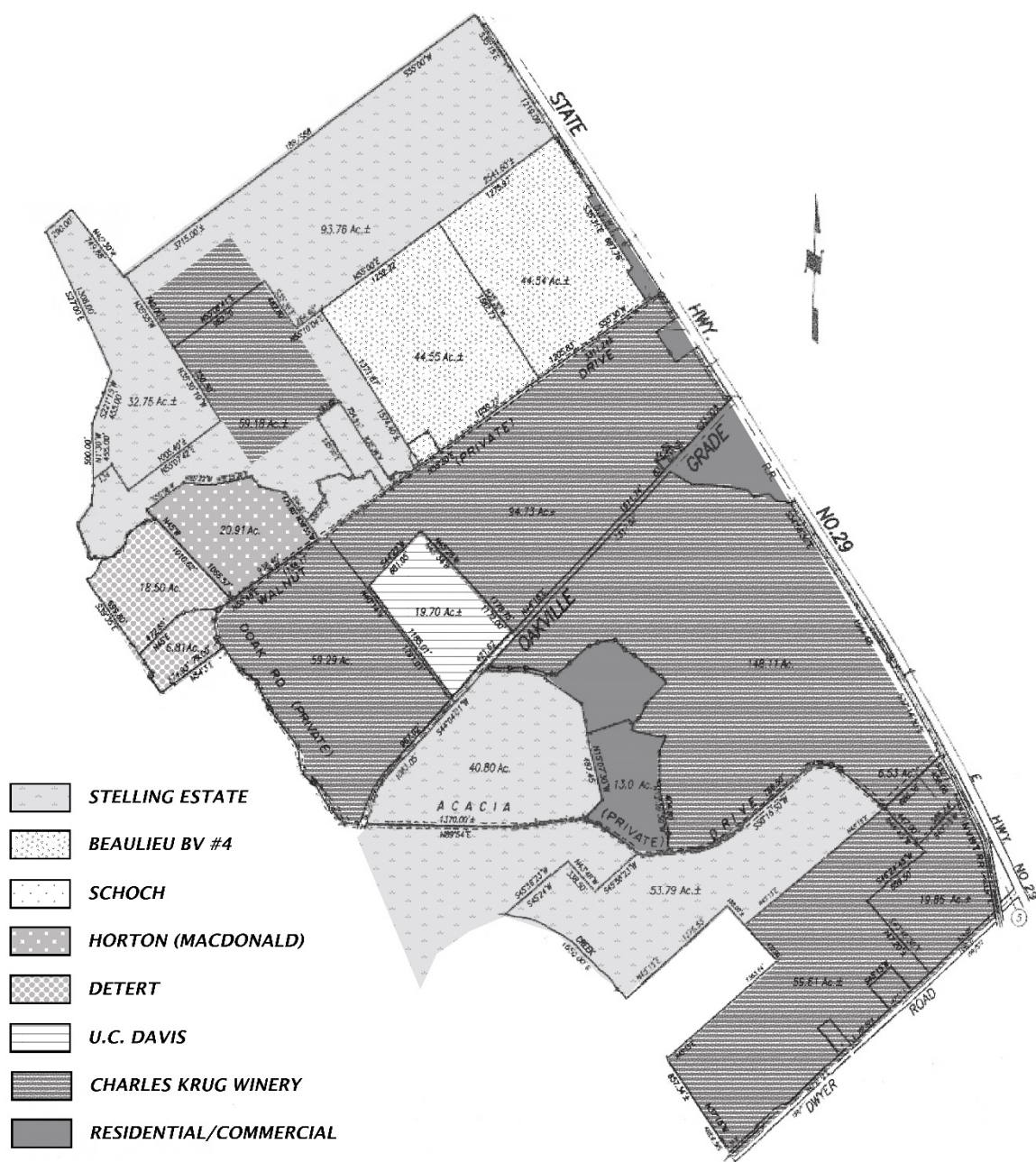


Figure 7: Robert Mondavi Winery, 1969

Base Map Source: Napa County Recorder, Assessor's Map County of Napa, California, Bk. 27, Pg. 28, 1955.

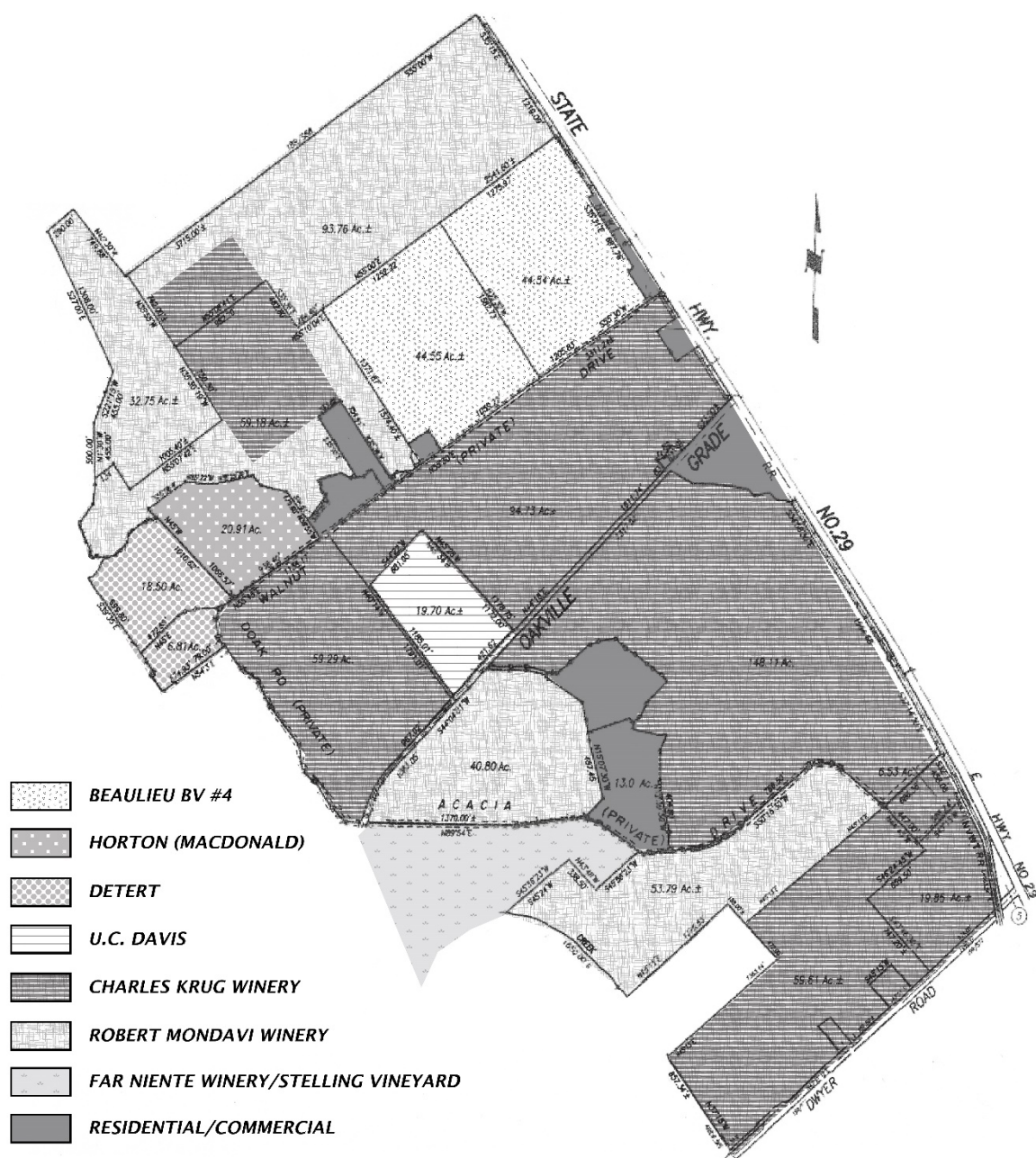


Figure 8: Robert Mondavi Winery "To-Kalon/To Kalon Vineyard," 1981

Base Map Source: Napa County Recorder, Assessor's Map County of Napa, California, Bk. 27, Pg. 28, 1955.

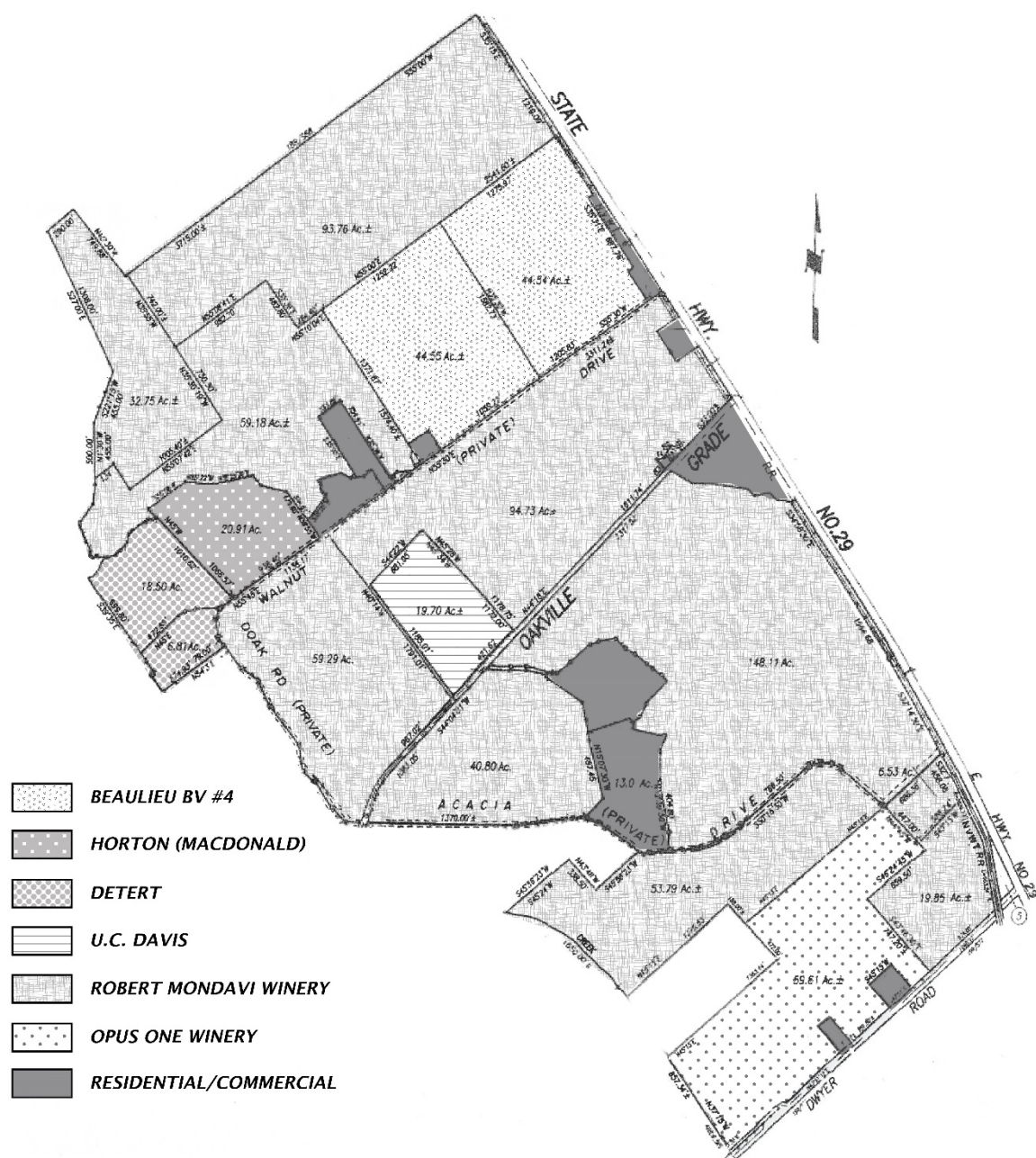


Figure 9: To-Kalon/To Kalon Vineyard, 2018

Base Map Source: Napa County Recorder, Assessor's Map County of Napa, California, Bk. 27, Pg. 28, 1955.

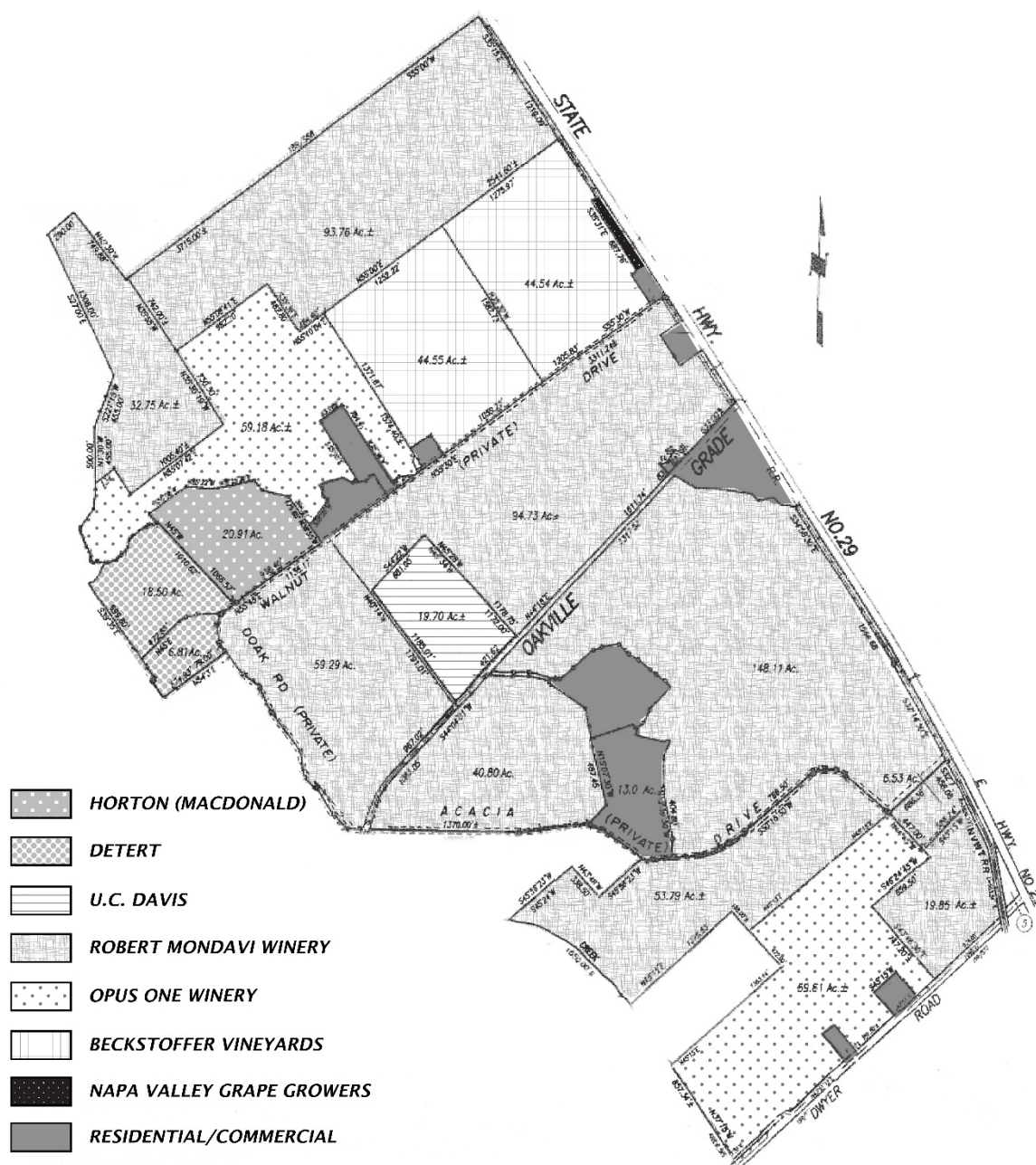


Figure 10: General View of Rear Facade of Detert Residence (1500 Walnut Drive) Facing Northeast



Figure 11: General View of Front Facade of Former H. W. Crabb Residence (1350 Walnut Drive) Facing West



Figure 12: View of Stone Bridge to Former H. W. Crabb Residence Facing East



Figure 13: View of Stone Bridge to Pre-Prohibition To-Kalon Winery Facing East



Figure 14: General View of Infrastructure in To-Kalon Creek Associated with The Pre-Prohibition To-Kalon Winery



Figure 15: View of Stone Bridge on Walnut Drive Facing Southeast



Figure 16: General View of To-Kalon Vineyard From 1494 Walnut Drive Facing Southeast



Figure 17: General View of Robert Mondavi Winery Facing East



Figure 18: Interior View of The To-Kalon Cellar Located at Robert Mondavi Winery Facing West



Figure 19: General View of Robert Mondavi Winery Monastery Block Facing East



Figure 20: Detail View of Robert Mondavi Winery I-Block Facing Southeast



Figure 21: Detail View of Obsidian Arrow-Points Found in Midden North of To-Kalon Creek.

