

PRIMARY RECORD

Other Listings
Review Code

Reviewer

Primary #
HRI #
Trinomial
NRHP Status Code

Date

Page 1 of 1 *Resource Name or #: Portolá Expedition Camp, CHL #94
P1. Other Identifier: Ohlone-Portolá Heritage Trail: Portolá Camp November 5th, Laguna Grande

This amendment to California Historical Landmark, CHL #94, changes the name of the landmark from *Portolá Expedition Camp Number 8* to *Ohlone-Portolá Heritage Trail, Laguna Grande* and amends the nomination with the enclosed documentation and Ohlone-Portolá Heritage Trail historic context. This amendment also confirms that the landmark meets the requirements of California PRC 5024.1(2) regarding historical landmarks preceding #770.

Ohlone-Portolá Heritage Trail, Laguna Grande, is eligible for listing as a California Historical Landmark because it is associated with an individual or group having a profound influence on the State of California, the individual Gaspar de Portolá, and a group, the Ohlone people of what is now San Mateo County.

Laguna Grande was the site where the Portolá expedition camped on November 5, 1769, at a large lagoon today covered by the Upper Crystal Springs Lake, adjacent to the Cañada Road. As the expedition prepared to break camp, three Ohlone people approached the camp with pies and fruits, indicating that they should visit their village. When Portolá complied, he was provided with more provisions for the return trip by the Ohlone community, desperately needed to supplement their dwindling supplies.

State of California The Resources Agency Primary #
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION HRI#
BUILDING, STRUCTURE, AND OBJECT RECORD

*Resource Name or # Portolá Expedition Camp, CHL #94

*NRHP Status Code _____

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B1. Historic Name: Portolá Expedition Camp

B2. Common Name: Ohlone-Portolá Heritage Trail: Portolá Camp November 5th, Laguna Grande

B3. Original Use: Ohlone Road, Portolá Expedition Camp **B4. Present Use:** Reservoir

***B5. Architectural Style:** Vernacular — Originally compacted dirt now submerged under water; campsite was Spanish 18th century mobile expedition trappings.

***B6. Construction History:** The road was established to provide links between the Ohlone community villages sometime before 1769, as the Portolá Expedition noted that the road was in existence, used, and as wide as a contemporary Spanish road. This segment continued to be a main thoroughfare until the mid 19th century when it disappeared under the reservoir. 1769 Campsite existed less than 24 hours.

(This space reserved for official comments.)



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***B10. Significance** (continue):

In 1596, Sebastián Vizcaíno intended to colonize California, however he failed to do so. Except for his descriptions of Monterey, Vizcaíno's charts of 1602-03 were highly regarded for their accuracy and his maps continued in use until the 1790s. Even though Manila galleons explored the coasts, little note was taken about California, with one exception; when Gamelli Carreir described his south bound voyage in 1696. Thus the myth of a safe harbor at Monterey was still on the minds of Spanish officials in the 1760s, when they finally got around to planning the colonization of Alta California.

Interest in Alta California was revived by José de Gálvez, who was made Visitor-General of New Spain in 1765 (a position actually superior to the Viceroy). For reason of personal ambition, Gálvez desired to give his sphere of influence the look of expansion and not decay. Citing possible foreign interest in California, he proposed occupation of that forgotten place as a defensive measure.

He not only discussed the ever-present concern of English interests, but also mentioned rumors of Russian fur trapping activity in North America. Lack of resources and the remoteness of California were finally put aside. The Spanish now felt compelled to settle Alta California before a foreign interloper could. They desired that California become a buffer against possible aggression — to protect Mexico and, indeed, all its New World holdings. An expedition from Mexico to Alta California was sponsored by the Spanish in 1769.

The strategy in settling Alta California was to establish overland communications and transportation. This seemed necessary because of the power of the English Navy. Lack of enough colonists to occupy the new frontier would be overcome by making the California Indians Spanish in their religion and in their language. That and a gradual intermixing of blood with the Spanish would create a new race of people loyal to the crown back in Spain. In order to carry out his plans, Gálvez called upon a captain in the Spanish army, Gaspar de Portolá.

What the Spanish called the "Sacred Expedition" started out in the early months of 1769 and was the first Spanish land exploration of what is now California. Three ships were assigned the duty of supplying the main body of explorers who were on foot and mule. The vessels *San Antonio* and *San Carlos* were to rendezvous with the land contingent at San Diego. The *San José* was to meet them at Monterey.

The *San Antonio* reached San Diego first in May after 54 days at sea and awaited the arrival of the others. Despite their reputation for accuracy, charts drawn up during the Vizcaíno expedition, had marked San Diego too far north. They established the Fort Presidio of San Diego on a hill near the San Diego River. The *San Carlos* arrived three weeks later with a scurvy-ridden crew.

The first of two groups of Portolá's land expedition arrived on June 29 with only about half of the original 300 who had originally set out. The Portolá group was certainly challenged. Dozens were sick. The *San Antonio* was sent back to Mexico for supplies. A portion of these men were left in San Diego. This was the first settlement by Europeans in what is now the state of California.

Under Governor Portolá's command a troop of 64 men ventured northward on July 14, 1769, two days before the founding of California's first mission San Diego de Alcalá. Included in Portolá's party were 27 *soldados de cuera* commanded by Captain Fernando de Rivera Moncada, six Catalan volunteers under the command of Lieutenant Pedro Fages, scout Jose Francisco Ortega, engineer Miguel Costansó, Franciscan padres Juan Crespi and Francisco Gomez, seven muleteers, two servants, a small number of blacksmiths, cooks and carpenters, the doctor, and fifteen Christian Indians from missions of Lower California to act as interpreters. Portolá took one hundred mules and provisions for six months. The route Portolá undertook was later referred to as *El Camino Real* (the term is meant to be used in the same

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manner as we use 'Highway' today), which is close to U.S. Highway 101 today. His aim was to meet the *San José* at Monterey. Sadly, the *San José* was never heard from again — lost at sea and lost to history.

Portolá's party anxiously scoured the coast for the *San José* as they approached Monterey. When they actually saw Monterey Bay, the men felt that this place could not be the location that seafarer Vizcaíno had described as a safe harbor. And so, they marched onward. The decision to press further north was a daring one, for a number of the soldiers lay ill from scurvy, provisions were running low, and winter weather threatened. By October 28 the party had resorted to rationing food, and illness incapacitated many of the group. Their plight was such that Costansó feared that the expedition must be abandoned.

The expedition's most notable sighting was San Francisco Bay, but nearly every stop along the route was a first. It is also important in that it, along with the later Pedro Fages 1770 visit, followed by de Anza expedition of 1775-6, established the overland route north to San Francisco which became the El Camino Real. That route was integral to the settlement of Alta California by the Spanish Empire and made it possible for the Franciscan friars to establish a string of twenty-one missions, which served as the nuclei of permanent settlements, established a cattle ranching economy and converted thousands of Native Americans to Christianity..



Figure 1 In two leagues they went up and over a knoll, as the westerly mountains appear to close off the hollow. Looking southeast from November 5th encampment towards their march to Menlo Park

On Sunday, November 5th, the party continued south, from California Historical Landmark #27, through the valley keeping the dense, green low woods on their west side and ranges of grassy knolls on the east. In three leagues they stopped close to a lake filled with countless numbers of fowl.¹ Scouts report that wildlife is abundant with herds of deer as large as fifty, and tracks of bear and buffalo.

¹ This lake is not mentioned in the Final Report on the 5th, only in the fieldnotes. Is this the same lake mentioned in the Final Report on the previous day? This description would match *Laguna Grande*. This is the assertion of historians and the National Park Service (Top of the Peninsula), as a transposition error from transcribing field notes to the Final Report in the following year.

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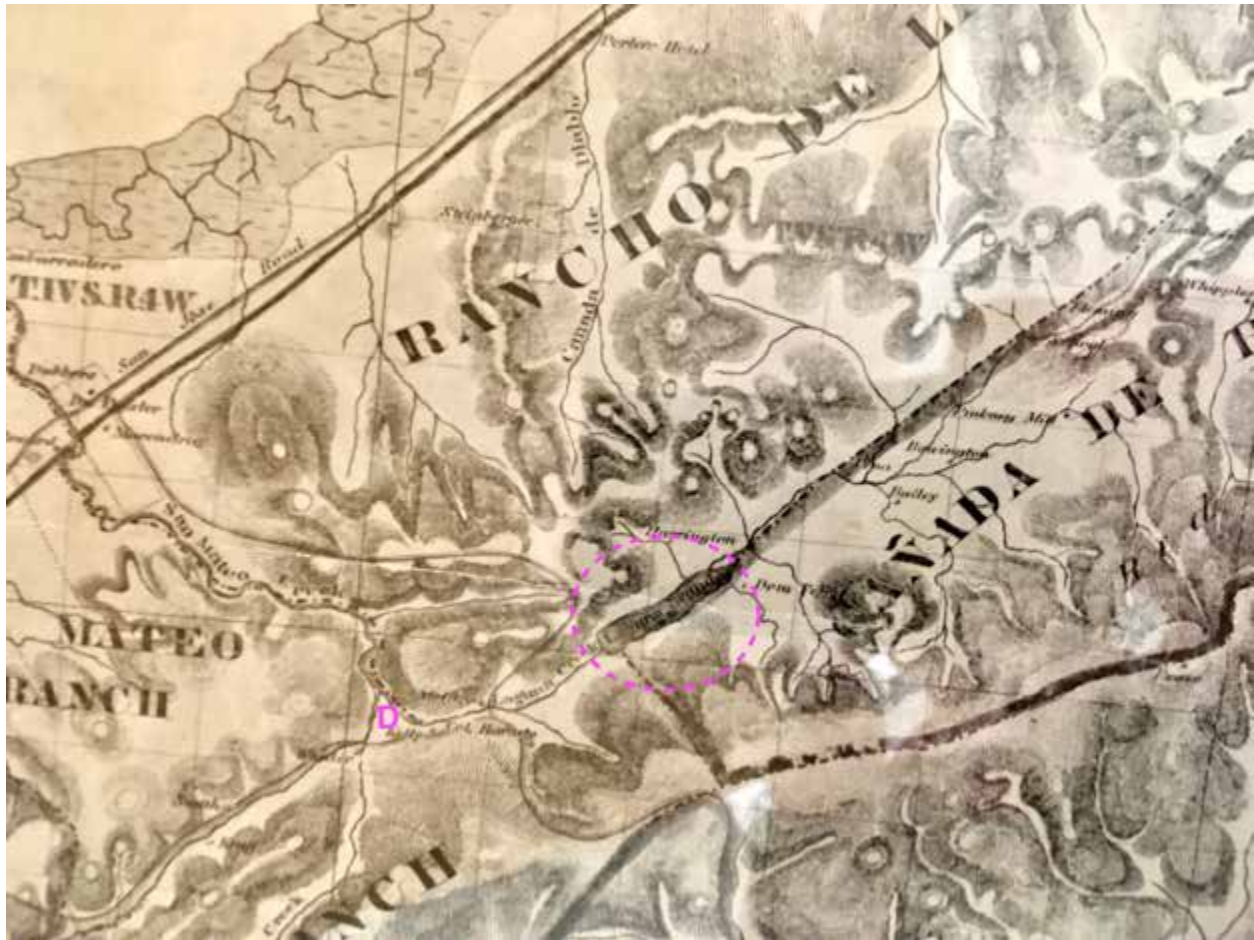


Figure 2 An 1855 map showing the San Andreas Valley with Laguna Grande the only sizable lake in the valley. Crystal Springs Dam will be built at the "D" two miles north; north is to the left

We set out from this spot, after Mass, at what must — it was cloudy — have been nine o'clock, following a southward course, with the mountain range of very dense, very green low woods of little trees² continuing upon our right; the high ranges of knolls keep along to our left between ourselves and aforesaid sea arm.

We stopped close to a lake where there are countless ducks, geese, and so forth, in the same hollow at a half past one in the afternoon; and we have made three leagues³ in four hour hours and a half. Here in this hollow tracks have been encountered of large livestock, which some said were made by bears; others, by buffalo. Also a great many deer have been seen together, while the scouts aver that when they explore here, they saw whole bands of deer, and counted so many as fifty deer together in one. As we were upon the point of setting out from the spot, three very well-behaved heathens came over from the villages here, seeking us out laden with a good

² "of low trees" added

³ The Spanish league was originally set as a fixed unit of distance of 5,000 varas (slightly more than an English yard), about 2.6 miles or 4.2 km. In 1568 Philip II of Spain officially abolished the league. It originated as an average distance you expect to cover in one-hour walking over level terrain.

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share of black pies and a sort of cherries⁴ that they made a present of, and they followed us along well pleased, giving us to understand we should go to their village [and] they will give us food. (A great many madroños, small and large, have been met with during these two days' march, laden with fruits the size of so many beads off our rosaries)⁵

Journal of Fray Juan Crespí, Saturday November 5th, 1769

We followed the coast of the estuary, although we did not see it because we were separated from it by the low hills of the canyon which we were following in a south-southwesterly direction. We traveled for three leagues. The country was pleasant. The hills west of the canyon were crowned with savins, low live-oaks, and other smaller trees. There was sufficient pasture. We halted on the bank of a stream of good water. Some natives were seen; they invited us to go to their villages, and offered us their presents of seeds and fruits.

Diary of Miguel Costansó, Saturday November 5th, 1769

On Saturday November 11th it was declared that they had found San Francisco Harbor and its inlet, confirmed by the sighting of the Farallone Islands. They decided to return back to the coast to the point-of-pines and find *Monte Rey*. "May God let us find it; it would be a great mischance for this entire Expedition." ⁶

Historians have long hailed the sighting of the bay as crucial to the development of the Peninsula and surrounding areas. Had Portolá not happened upon "the great estuary," it may have taken many more years before a land party might have encountered San Francisco Bay, further retarding the march of events of the Spanish California period. While Monterey was established in 1770, it only lasted six years as the Spanish northernmost outpost, for in 1776, the mission and presidio at San Francisco were established as a direct result of the discovery of the Bay.

The 1769 episode encouraged more exploration. In 1772, the new military governor of California, Pedro Fages, went north from Monterey as he had in 1770, except this time he took along Father Crespí and penetrated much farther north and then east. In a failed attempt to get around the Bay, he charted the landscape deep into the East Bay and discovered Suisun Bay and the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta.

From descriptions made in 1772, the Spanish could now begin to put together the keys to the military protection and commercial promise of Alta California. They could now envision that if the Golden Gate was navigable then access to the greatest natural harbor on the west coast of the Americas could be gained. Because the Gate was so narrow, the entire San Francisco Bay might be sufficiently defended against a naval threat from the bluffs nearby. Advancing that train of thought, if the Golden Gate could be controlled and utilized, and if the Bay could likewise be controlled and utilized, then the deep waters of the Delta could be used by ships to sail into the interior of California. Further exploration indicated that if the Delta could be sailed, then the Sacramento River might be navigated to the north and the San Joaquin River to the south. In the era before railroads, when maritime shipping was universally the most important type of transportation, these realizations had great significance.

It had all started in 1769. Although Spain lacked the personnel and resources to fully exploit the situation, and later the Mexican authorities were even less able to take advantage of it, after the United States military take-over of California in 1846 and the Gold Rush that followed three years later, the Americans were. They fortified the Golden Gate with a variety of forts and gun emplacements before the Civil War

⁴ Altered from plums

⁵ Added in margin with different pen point

⁶ Crespí, pg 611

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(1861-1865). The port and City of San Francisco grew in population and economic importance so that by the end of the nineteenth century it could be considered the "Imperial" city of the American West. For thousands of years, California had existed as a difficult to reach place, inhabited by a native people unknown to the rest of the world. From Portolá's Expedition forward, this would all change. Within 200 years, this California would become the most populated, economically powerful and culturally influential state in the most important country in the world.

The expedition included individuals who had a profound influence on the history of California. Gaspar de Portolá y Rovira (1723–1786), was a veteran of 35 years of service to the king, had served as military officer and governor. As commander of the Spanish colonizing expedition on land and sea that established San Diego and Monterey, Portolá expanded New Spain's Las Californias province far to the north from its beginnings on the Baja California peninsula. Portolá's expedition was also the first time Europeans saw San Francisco Bay. The expedition gave names to geographic features along the way, many of which are still in use. Portolá was the first of the newly created position of Governor of the Californias and given overall command. He served in office from November 30, 1767 to July 9, 1770. His legacy continues today with numerous streets, schools and two towns, Portola and Portola Valley, named after him.

His company of officers would become instrumental in California history. Fernando Rivera y Moncada became captain of the Presidio of Loreto and later third governor of California 1773-1777, Lieutenant Pedro Fages would gain future notoriety as military commander, 2nd & 5th governor and explorer of Alta California, and Sergeant José Francisco Ortega chief scout of the expedition would later serve as comandante of the Presidios of San Diego and Monterey and found the Presidio of Santa Barbara and Missions San Juan Capistrano and San Buenaventura. Other men of note in the company included Juan Bautista Alvarado whose son would become governor and Jose Raimundo Carrillo future captain and comandante of the Presidios of Monterey, Santa Barbara and San Diego.

The uniqueness of this trail is that it is based on two cultures, the Ohlone and the Spanish, who were unknown to each other until 1769. This is the story of two peoples—the indigenous population and their culture, and the coming of the Spanish and European colonization. This road contains historic and archæologic resources which span a wide spectrum of human history on the Peninsula. During the Portolá expedition these stories intertwined. This would be a tragic interface; within living memory of first contact, the Ohlone lifestyle would be gone, forever altering the history of California. People have always held a view of the way the universe works, which for them seems definitive. This meeting of peoples was the day the universe changed for the First Americans.

It is important to state that throughout Portolá's journey up the coast and especially on Ohlone lands, the Spanish used the Indian trails, even referring to them as "roads." First American trails represent the earliest transportation routes in California, and these trails eventually became State Highways, public roads, and sections of today's California Coastal Trail. Seeing today's roads is like looking into the past, as our earliest ancestors have continuously moved up and down the same roads, through the same watersheds for food, bartering, health, and interaction with neighbors.

Costansó and Crespi turned out to be terrific diarists of the journey. Crespi, who had been Father Serra's student back in Spain even before Serra became a Franciscan, was particularly enthusiastic about the things they saw and the people they met. Every tribe controlled the land and people within its own area. Within each tribal region a number of villages existed, each with its own village head and set of high-status families. Tribal size varied from 40 to 500 persons. It was the Portolá Expedition that has given us the only definitive recording of these communities, the only known documentation of Quiroste.

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Once in Ohlone country, the Portola Expedition found the native people to be most gracious, offering food and guidance. The Lamchins were the largest of the three groups, probably about 350 people. Their lands in the south-central part of the Peninsula included the present cities of Redwood City and Woodside, as well as the Phleger Estate portion of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. Their known villages, Cachanigtac, Guloisnistac, Oromstac, and Supichom, cannot be precisely located.

Some of their specific villages are named in mission register entries. One child was baptized from "Cachanigtac of the Lamchin Nation" (SFR-B 554). Another child of Lamchin parents came from "Cachanigtac, commonly called Las Pulgas [The Fleas]," probably on Pulgas Creek in the present city of San Carlos (Brown 1973a:16). Supichom was another village mentioned often in the Mission Dolores registers. Other Lamchin villages mentioned are Usséte, Guloisnistac, and Oromstac (Milliken 1983). Multiple Lamchin headmen were named, including Sapecese (SFB-1176), Guatmas (SFR-B 1192), and Gimás (SFR-B 1233). The pre-mission population was probably around 240. Most Lamchin people moved to Mission Dolores between 1784 and 1793, but a few went to Mission Santa Clara in those years; 1791 was the average year of adult baptism

The Ohlone harvested "plant, fish, and animal resources" from the environment and acquired additional resources through extensive trade networks. Their impact is still evident today, including networks that extended across the San Francisco Bay to the north and east. A sexual division of labor existed within Ohlone society: women harvested plant foods, including acorns and seeds, while men hunted and fished. In regard to the material culture, "women spent a considerable portion of their time each year weaving baskets, which were necessary for gathering, storing, and preparing foodstuffs." "Houses were hemispherical in shape and were generally made from grasses and rushes, although some were constructed from large sections of redwood tree bark. Women tended to wear skirts made of plant fiber, while men were generally unclothed. Women tended to have tattoos on their chins. Men had long beards with pierced ears and nasal septums."

The socio-political landscape was determined in large part by the relationships between tribes and tribal leaders. As anthropologist Randall Milliken relates, "Within each tribal territory lived a number of intermarried families that comprised a small autonomous polity ... Members of the local groups hosted dances, pooled their labor during specific short harvest periods, defended their territory, and resolved internal disputes under the leadership of a headman."

Of the ten tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula, the Aramai (whose territory was in today's Pacifica) were perhaps the most politically influential. Headman Luciano Yagueche of the village at Pruristac had at least three wives and six children. His offspring married the children of other headmen more frequently than any other headman or high-status person. Aramai men accounted for nearly one-third of leadership positions at Mission San Francisco de Asis, which is impressive given the tribe's comparatively small size. Luciano Yagueche's son, Manuel Conde Jutquis, retained an important status at the mission from his baptism in 1779 until his death in 1830.

A second important leader from the village of Pruristac, Manuel Liquiiquei, perhaps a shaman or secondary headman, married the daughter Luciano Yagueche. Because marriages between members of the same village were quite unusual for the Ramaytush, Manuel Liquiiquei may well have been a very important person in the Aramai tribe. Another indicator of his high status was that of his son. In Ramaytush culture the prominence of the father was conferred to his children, and a position of high status in the mission staff required as a prerequisite high status in the neophyte community. Manuel Liquiiquei's son, Luis Ramon Heutlics, stood witness at more marriages than any other Ramaytush person and eventually became alcalde.

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Another important Aramai man, Jorge Jojuis, most likely a brother or son of Luciano Yagueche, served on the mission staff as a witness for many Ramaytush marriages. Members of the neighboring Chiguan tribe, however, did not have prominent roles at Mission Dolores. The Aramai, then, were not only the most politically dominant Ramaytush tribe—they dominated indigenous leadership at Mission San Francisco de Asis during its formative years from 1786 until the early 1800s.

Relations between tribes were managed by intermarriages, especially among high status families. Tribal conflict originated from infringements upon tribal territorial boundaries and from wife stealing; however, “despite their political divisions, the people of the Bay Area were tied together in a fabric of social and genetic relationships through intertribal marriages.” In addition, tribes united for the purpose of ongoing trade both at the local and regional levels. Regional, seasonal fiestas brought tribes of differing languages and ethnicities together. As Milliken describes, “Regional dances provided opportunities to visit old friends and relatives from neighboring groups, to share news, and to make new acquaintances. People traded basket materials, obsidian, feathers, shell beads, and other valuable commodities through gift exchanges. Intergroup feuds were supposed to be suspended at the dances, but old animosities sometimes surfaced. All in all, such ‘big times’ strengthened regional economic ties and social bonds.”

The Ohlones of the San Francisco Bay Area shared a common world view and ritual practices. According to Milliken, “People believed that specialized powers came to them through association with supernatural beings or forces.” One common practice was the planting of a painted pole decorated with feathers, to ensure good fortune in the next day’s hunt or other event. Prayers accompanied by the blowing of smoke toward the sky or sun and offerings of seeds and shell beads were common practices. Any person with a special talent or gift was thought to be imbued with supernatural power. Dreams guided a person’s future actions.

Oral narratives were both a form of entertainment and a means of education. The narratives typically involved Coyote, head of the animals, and the Duck Hawk, his grandson. Generally, the “narratives indicate that the present events and places in nature were determined by the actions of a pre-human race of animal beings during a former mythological age.”

Similar to other tribes in California, “dances comprised the main form of communal religious expression. Each local group had its own series of festivals. Every festival had its own set of specific dances, each with a unique set of costumes, accompanying songs, and choreography. During the most sacred dances, participants and costumes could only be touched by specialists, since they were thought to be invested with supernatural powers. No dance cycle details were documented for any of the groups around San Francisco Bay.”

It was the Portolá Expedition that has given us the only definitive mapping of these communities. It was this expedition that provides us with a view into the two cultures and insight into how they interacted with each other. Furthermore, both the land and the people of this area were changed forever by the expedition and following habitation by European and Mexican people.

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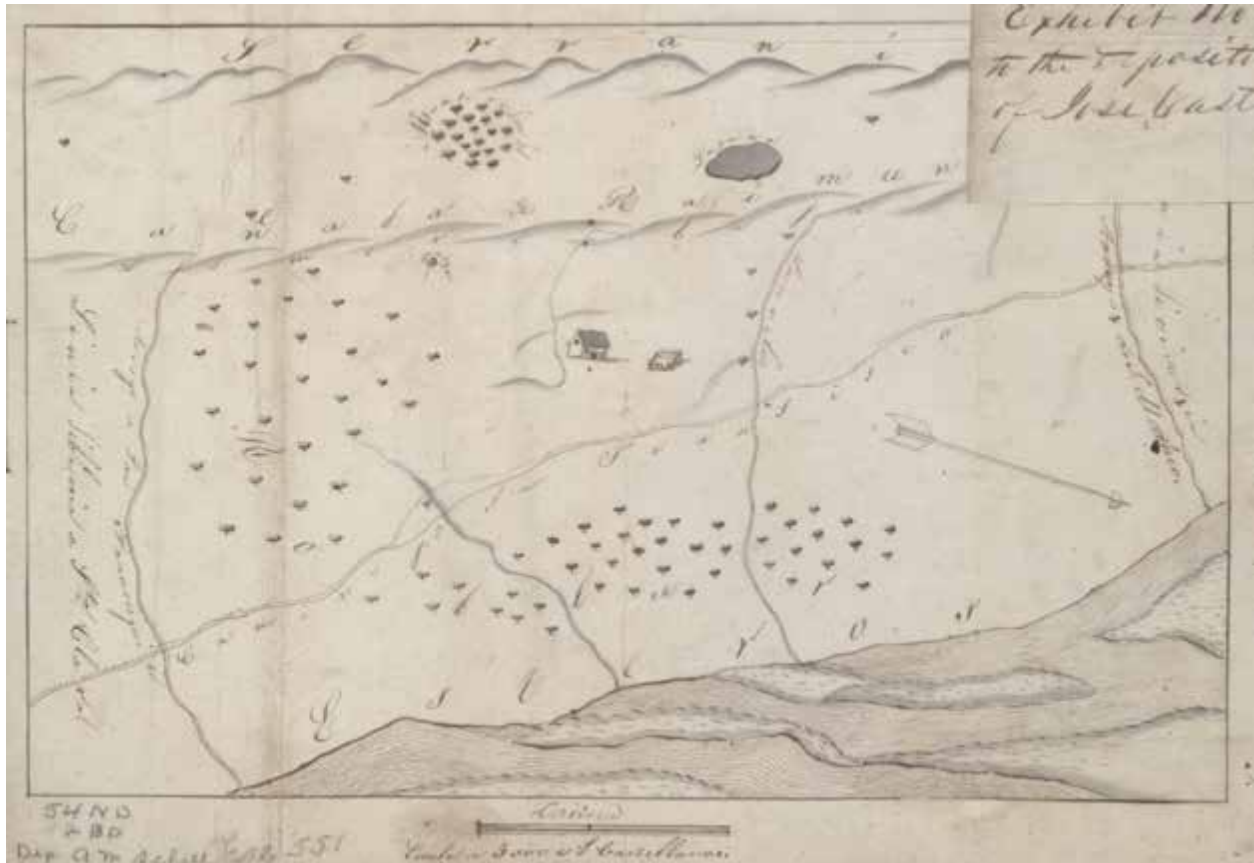


Figure 3 1835 Diseño del Rancho Pulgas includes the San Andreas Valley at the top (west) of the map. Laguna Grande is shown within the valley just to the right of center.

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Figure 4 Diseño del Rancho Pulgas 1835? To obtain a land grant during the Mexican period, the applicant accompanied the petition with a topographical sketch or diseño. Mexican law did not require precision surveying. The technique involved in making a diseño was that of the ability to stay in the saddle, to read a magnetic compass, and to measure the distance between two points by means of a rawhide cord tied between two poles; the processing was carried out with pencil, quill pen, ink and water color.

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Figure 5 Rancho Félix Map (1861) showing the central portion of the San Andreas Valley with Laguna Grande at the convergence point with Rancho de las Pulgas and Rancho Cañada de Raymundo. This map also shows the Félix Adobe on 'Old Road' south of Laguna Grande.

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Figure 6 Looking down San Andreas Valley in 1800s with road in the foreground, oak studded knolls, and open fields

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Figure 7 This is a 2019 picture near the site where the 1933 photo was taken for the original application. Turn on Cañada Road by Upper Crystal Springs reservoir two miles south of dam.

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Figure 8 Near spot of original photo was taken in 1933. This turn is two miles south of dam on Cañada Road.

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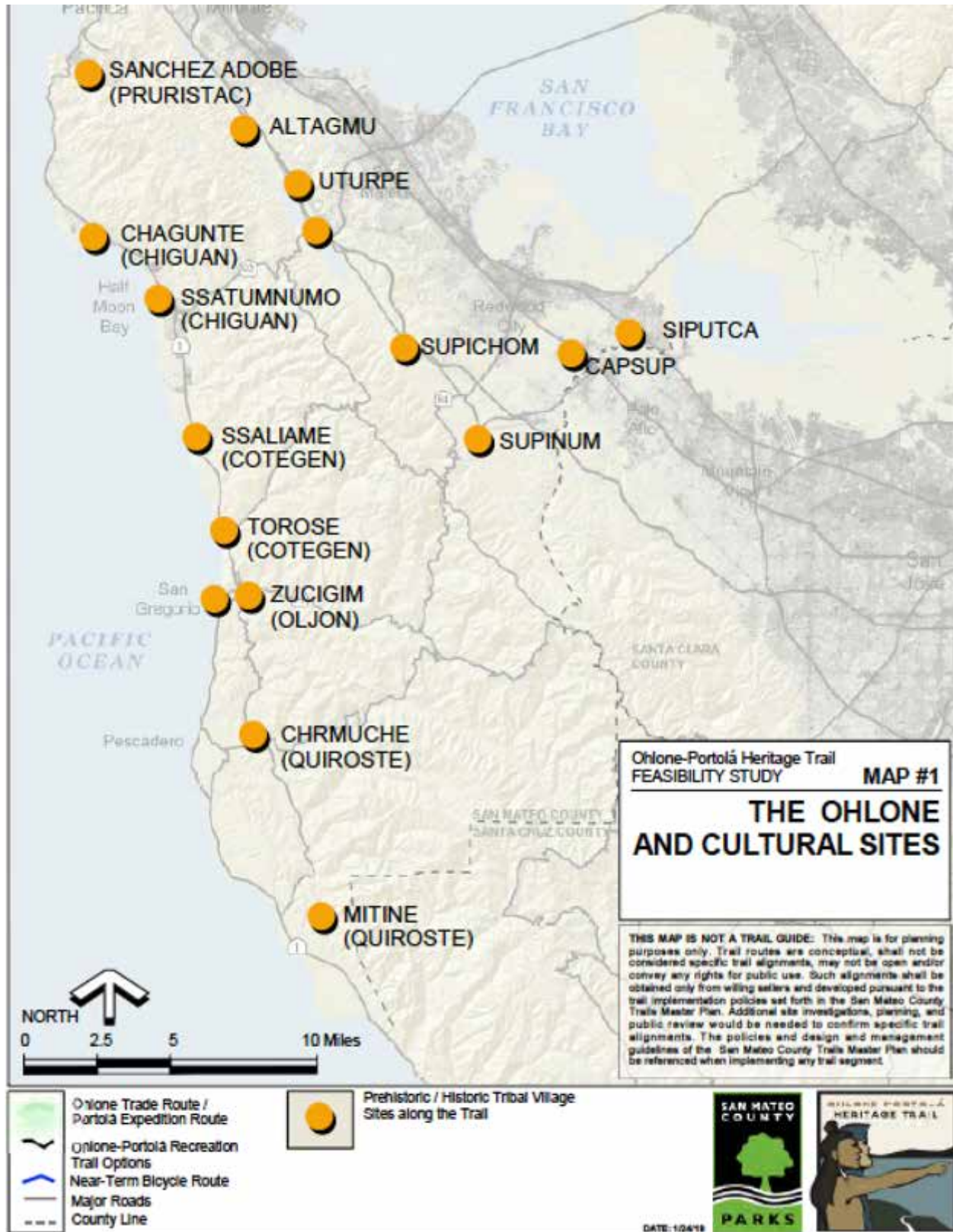
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Figure 9 From Cañada Road looking west overlooking submerged Laguna Grande.

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B13. Remarks: California Historical Landmarks #2, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 92, 94, 375, 394, 655, 665, 727, 784 are directly related to the Portolá Expedition.

Portolá campsite #8 was registered as California Historical Landmarks #94 on 29 March 1933. There is no plaque currently for this site.

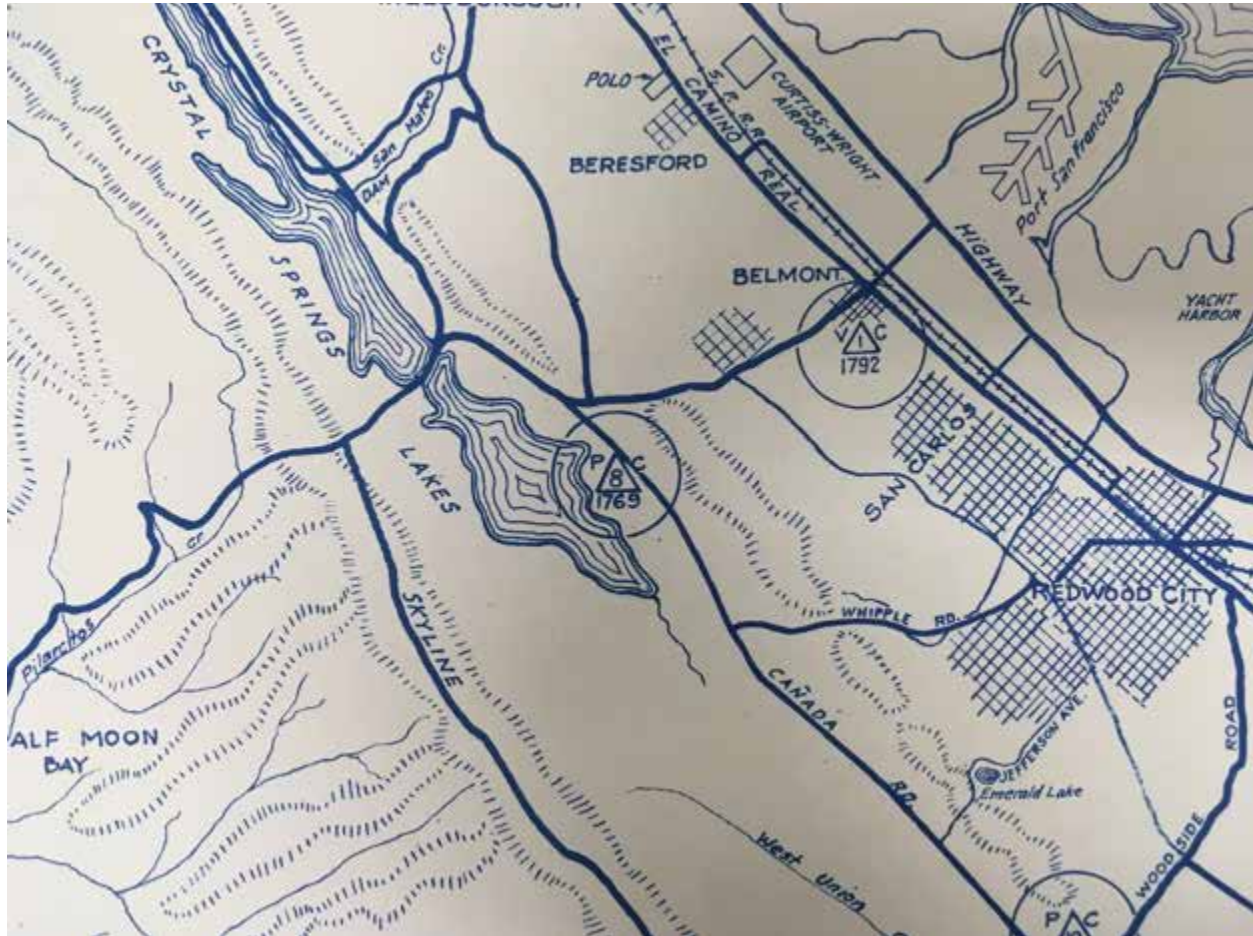


Figure 10 Map submitted in 1933 application

On 23 October 1982, James Arbuckle filed a *Survey of California Registered Historical Landmarks* reporting the location for #94 as being "Crystal Springs Dam on Skyline Blvd. (p.m. 13.7), 0.1 miles south of Crystal Springs Road. 4 miles west of San Mateo" with no justification included as to the change. This moves the location to a different lake, Lower Crystal Springs, and the historical site is not visible from the dam.

California Historical Landmarks publication (1996, page 239) and website <http://www.landmarkquest.com/sanmateo/chl94.htm> uses Crystal Springs Dam as site location, coordinates ~37.528843,-122.362254, which is correct for the dam but not for Laguna Grande. Commemoration of the site will either be on Cañada Road near 37.499123, -122.338898 (37.500, -

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122.333) or at the Pulgas Water Temple at (~37.483359,-122.317024), safety will be the determination factor.



Figure 11 At Crystal Spring Dam there are three markers commemorating the dam, not the Portolá Exposition. Two of these are the same markers documented in the CHL file that are dated 6-16-83.

B12. References (continue):

Ohlone-Portolá Heritage Trail Feasibility Study Discussion Draft – May 5, 2019

The State Department of Natural Resources and the State Park Commission in Cooperation with the California State Chamber of Commerce, *Second Report*, 1 July 1932

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Portolá, G. de. (1909). *Diary of Gaspar de Portolá during the California expedition of 1769-1770*. Berkeley: University of California.

Crespí, J. (1927). *Fray Juan Crespí: missionary explorer on the Pacific coast, 1769-1774*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California press.

From Punta Del Bolsa Northward to Tunitas Creek, T-Sheet, U.S. Coast Survey, 1854, Scale: 1:10000

Mitchell P Postel, *Historic Resource Study for Golden Gate National Recreation Area in San Mateo County*, San Mateo County Historical Association, 2010

Marianne Babal, *The Top of the Peninsula, A History of Sweeney Ridge and the San Francisco Watershed Lands, San Mateo County, California*, Historic Resource Study, National Park Service, 1990

Randall Milliken; *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area 1769-1810*, Bellena Press, Menlo Park, CA, 1995, p. 19.

Randall Milliken, Laurence H. Shoup and Beverly Ortiz, *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today*, prepared by Archaeological and Historical Consultants, Oakland, California for the National Park Service, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California, June 2009, p. 289.

Richard Levy, "Costanoan," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 8, Smithsonian Institute: Washington D.C., 1978, p. 489.

James T. Davis, "Trade Routes and Economic Exchange among the California Indians," The University of California Archaeological Survey, Report No. 54, March 31, 1961.