

# IN SEARCH OF THE GREAT WALL OF PERU

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## Introduction and Summary of the Expedition

In 1934, while undergraduate students at Yale and Harvard Universities respectively, Richard James Cross (1915-2003) and his friend Cornelius Van Schaak Roosevelt, (1915-1991) made a trip together to Peru. Their junket seems to have been motivated by Roosevelt's reading an article about the Shippee-Johnson Peruvian Expedition of 1931 during which an ancient stone wall was discovered in the Santa Valley while taking aerial photographs of the Peruvian coast (Shippee 1932). Once in Peru Roosevelt and Cross contacted the eminent Peruvian archaeologist Julio C. Tello, who was planning a trip to the north coast and the Callejon de Huaylas in the mountains (Fig. 1).



He generously invited the two young men to accompany him as his photographers. The team traveled from Lima up the coast stopping first at Huacho [in the Huaura Valley] and on to Paramonga, Fortaleza, and then Huaran where they photographed a newly excavated ancient drum. Stopping in the Casma valley, they visited the ruins of Chanquillo (which Tello had visited but not photographed) and the adjacent 13 structures. It appears that they may also have photographed the Chimú administrative center of Manchay (see Roosevelt 1935: Fig. 6). They continued on to the Santa Valley where they investigated the “great wall” and traced its beginnings near to the coast. In Santa they also investigated several cemeteries, an ancient irrigation system and various ruins including a “fortress.”

After spending several days in the Santa Valley, they took the train from Chimote up the Santa Valley to its terminus at Huallanca and then by truck to Caraz where they photographed some monoliths in

private collections. After arriving in Huaraz the team spent several days photographing Recuay stone sculptures on the hospital grounds and some incorporated into an old building called the Pantheon Vieja. At the site of Keka Marca outside Huaraz, they discovered a large granite slab. They hired a crew to turn the stone over and found that the underside was carved in the form of a life-sized figure of a “god.”

The group had wanted to visit the site of Chavín de Huantar, but Cross was feeling sick and was not able to take part in this excursion. Roosevelt, Tello, Augusto Soriano and Pedro Vega made the trip to Chavín on August 4<sup>th</sup>. Roosevelt photographed the temple, the Lanzon idol and the interior galleries, describing his adventure in an article published in the *Geographical Review* (Roosevelt 1935).

Recovering from his illness in Huaraz, Cross visited the site of Anta Jerca and photographed some monoliths there. He revisited Keka Marca and spent time with a local missionary until Roosevelt returned. Tello stayed behind at Chavín to continue his researches in the highlands. The young men made their way back through Caraz, to Huallanca where they took the train back down to Chimbote. From Chimbote they flew back to Lima on a Fawcett plane, taking pictures out the window on their way back.

Having a few days to spare before their ship left Peru, they took the Central Railroad up the Rimac Valley to Oroyo, visiting the smelter and mines at Morococha. On August 18, 1934 they sailed from Lima, stopping at Huacho, Guayaquil, Manta, Bahia, Esmeralda, Buenaventura, finally arriving at Balboa (Panama) on August 26<sup>th</sup>. Two days later they boarded the MS Potter and arrived in New York City on September 4, 1934.

In 2004 Proulx was contacted by Jane Cross, a pediatrician living in Northampton, Massachusetts, and the daughter of Richard Cross. She had learned of Proulx’s specialization in Peruvian archaeology at the nearby University of Massachusetts and called him to offer some of her father’s effects following his death in 2003. She gave Proulx Richard Cross’ original diary of the 1934 trip along with sixty-nine 5”by 7” and one hundred ninety-two 3”by 4.5” black and white photographs that the duo had taken during their trip. Also included in the materials were several letters written by Cross to his parents in New Jersey and a letter written to Cross by Tello in 1935.

While conducting preliminary research on these materials, Proulx learned that In 1984 Cornelius Van S. Roosevelt and Richard Cross donated the photographs and records of their 1934 Peru trip to the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Museum in Washington, D.C., at the urging of Steven Wegner who held a junior fellowship there to study Recuay sculpture. According to an announcement released by the Hudson Museum, University of Maine (where an exhibit of these photographs was held in 2002), the gift consisted of 356 prints, the original negatives, and “written documentation.” It appears that Roosevelt donated his original diary, whereas Cross made a copy of portions of his diary (the original of which is now in possession of Proulx). Roosevelt published an article in 1935 in the *Geographical Review* (Vol. 25, No. 1) entitled “Ancient Civilizations of the Santa Valley and Chavín.” It included many of the photographs taken by Roosevelt and Cross along with maps and descriptions of the sites and artifacts. This

was the only report ever published by either of the two American students. Tello, who took the young men on his journey as photographers, did use ten of Roosevelt's photos in his book *Chavín: Cultura Matriz de la Civilización Andina* (1961). We are unaware of any other publications containing the photographs taken on the 1934 trip.

Wegner made a typewritten transcription of Roosevelt's diary and gave a copy to Richard Daggett in 1994. In 2004, Daggett made a copy for Proulx. It is interesting to compare the two diaries of Roosevelt and Cross. Roosevelt's contained much more detail, especially of archaeological materials.

### **Biographical Background on Cross and Roosevelt**



Fig. 2

Richard James Cross was born in 1915, the son of William Redmond Cross and Julia Newbold (Fig. 2).<sup>1</sup> His father was a successful banker in New York City. Along with his two brothers and two sisters [Tom, Bill, Emily and Mary] he was raised by his affluent family in their home at 12 East 80<sup>th</sup> St. (Iozzia 1998: Endpage). The family also had a "country home" in Morristown, New Jersey to which they retreated every weekend until it was destroyed by fire in 1928 (Iozzia 1998: Endpage). The family then purchased a 250-acre estate in Bernardsville, New Jersey where his parents lived through their final years. An Episcopalian, he attended St. Bernard's grade school, and, for his high school education, enrolled in Groton, an elite boarding school located in Massachusetts. Groton is a private Episcopalian prep school with many famous alumni including several from the Roosevelt family (Theodore Roosevelt Jr., Quentin Roosevelt, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Cornelius Van Schaak Roosevelt). Richard Cross and Cornelius Roosevelt were classmates at Groton and maintained their friendship even after they chose to attend different colleges. During the summer of 1934, the two friends made their trip to Peru, which will be described in detail below. Richard was accepted into the class of 1933 at Yale College majoring in English. Deciding to pursue a medical career, Cross applied to Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons and was accepted into the class of 1941 (Iozzia 1998: Endpage).

In 1939 Dick married Peggy Lee and the first of their five children was born in 1940. He served as a battalion surgeon during World War II in the Pacific theater. Following the war he completed his residency in internal medicine at Columbia, living with his family on East 96<sup>th</sup> St. in New York City. His long academic career began with his appointment to an assistant professorship at Columbia University and then as assistant dean. The family moved to Fair Lawn, New Jersey, but soon Dr. Cross' career took another turn when he accepted a position as dean of admissions of the medical school at the University of Pittsburgh. In 1965 he took a position at Rutgers Medical School, and the family moved to Princeton.



It was at Rutgers that Dr. Cross began to teach a human sexuality course as part of the curriculum, training himself by attending seminars and encounter groups. He became chairman of the community medicine program and his course gained in popularity and respect by the medical students (Fig. 3).

He was founding Director of the Human Sexuality Program of the Robert Wood Johnson Medical School at Rutgers. Richard Cross retired from his academic career in 1985, but his “Sex Week” had become nationally known and

the Richard J. Cross Award for Distinguished Contributions to Sexuality was established in 1987. He continued to be active in the sex education field until his death in 2003 at age 87.



Cornelius Van Schaak Roosevelt (Fig. 4) was born October 23, 1915 in New York City to Theodore Roosevelt Jr. (1887-1944) and Eleanor Butler (1889-1960). He was the grandson of President Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919) and Edith Kermnit Carow (1861-1948) and was named after his great-great grandfather. Cornelius’ father was born at Sagamore Hill on Long Island and during his early years attended school wherever the family was living: Oyster Bay, Albany and Washington. He served as Governor General of the Philippines, Governor of Puerto Rico, and Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He is best known in his position of Brigadier General during World War II where he took part in the D-Day invasion of France at Utah Beach and was given command of the 90<sup>th</sup> Division. Sadly he died of a heart attack in July of 1944 before he could assume this role.<sup>2</sup>

Cornelius Roosevelt was raised in Oyster Bay, Long Island, near his grandfather’s estate at Sagamore Hill. Like his father, Cornelius attended the Groton School (where he met Richard Cross). In 1933 he and his brother Quentin traveled to Germany where they took a two month course in gliding [planes] at the famous Segelflugschule in Grünau and earned licenses in gliding and soaring (Roosevelt Jr. 1959:308) In the Fall of 1933 he entered Harvard College where he stayed for one year before transferring to MIT. There he studied mining engineering and graduated with honors in 1938.<sup>3</sup> From 1938 to 1941, Mr. Roosevelt was a mining engineer for American Smelting and Mining Co. in Mexico, where he stayed for four

years. During World War II and afterwards he served as a technical assistant in the navy.<sup>4</sup> Between 1946 and 1949 he worked for the William Hunt & Co. as manager and then president, living in Hong Kong by 1950. In 1952 he joined the CIA and served in the

technical services division and then as chairman of the technical surveillance countermeasures committee. He retired from the CIA in 1973 but continued to serve as a defense consultant. He died on August 2, 1991 after suffering a heart attack at his home in Washington, D.C. He never married.

Mr. Roosevelt's hobbies included woodworking, which he pursued in a spare bedroom in his Washington Condominium (Koncius 1982). From childhood he had always been handy at fixing and building things. His niece, Anna, remembers him making games for her, and later inventing a pinhole detector for sheet metal leakage (Anna Roosevelt, personal communication, Jan. 20, 2005). He was an accomplished scuba diver who swam in such places as the Red Sea and Haiti. A patron of the arts, he was a leading expert on the graphic work of the late Dutch artist M.C. Escher and donated several of his works to the National Gallery. He also had a personal collection of Japanese netsuke.

Cornelius' niece, Anna Roosevelt, herself an accomplished archaeologist specializing in South America, felt that her uncle lost interest in archaeology following his trip to Peru in 1934 (Anna Roosevelt, personal communication, Jan. 20, 2005), but his obituary in the Washington Post states that "Mr. Roosevelt was also an amateur archaeologist, and that he had helped in the removal of Egyptian antiquities from areas to be flooded for the construction of the Aswan Dam during the 1950's." (Barnes 1991). Perhaps his experience in Peru had a more lasting effect than one realized. It is not known whether Roosevelt kept in contact with Richard Cross after taking divergent paths in their respective colleges.

### **Roosevelt and Cross' Trip to Peru in 1934**

It was Cornelius Roosevelt who developed the plan to travel to Peru to undertake archaeological work. His desire to return to Germany to continue flying instruction was thwarted by the increasing militancy of the Nazi Party and that country's edict to not allow foreigners to undertake this form of training in Germany (Roosevelt Jr. 1959:366). Dr. Isaiah Bowman, head of the American Geographical Society, a friend of the Roosevelt family, suggested that Roosevelt explore an ancient wall in Peru running inland from the coast (Roosevelt Jr. 1959:384). Cornelius had also read an article in the *Geographical Review* by Robert Shippee on the "Great Wall of Peru." He convinced his friend from Groton, Richard Cross, to accompany him on this venture.

After returning, Roosevelt published his account of the trip, providing a very detailed account of the venture, especially the archaeological investigations (Roosevelt 1935). Richard Cross' account of his experience, while similar to that of Roosevelt, has never been published. It contains a fresh perspective and additional details of the experiences of the two young men, and I will attempt to give a day-to-day account, based on his diary and letters as well as supplementary data derived from Roosevelt's diary. But first, I will provide a bit of background on the primary object of their archaeological investigations, the "Great Wall of Peru."



## The Great Wall of Peru

From 1928 to 1930, Lieutenant George R. Johnson, a Fellow of the American Geographical Society and chief photographer of the Peruvian Naval Air Service as well as instructor in Aerial photography at the Naval Air Base at Ancon, Peru took hundreds of aerial photographs of coastal and highland Peru.<sup>5</sup> One hundred and fifty of these were published in 1930 in a special publication of the American Geographical Society entitled *Peru from the Air* (see bibliography). Interest in the book and its revealing photographs led to the formation of the Shippee-Johnson Peruvian Expedition of 1931, one of whose goals was to record the most ancient archaeological sites by oblique and vertical photographs and mosaic maps (Shippee 1932:1). While returning to their base camp at Trujillo, where they were photographing the Chimú site of Chan Chan from the air, they took a circular route over the mountains and then back up the coast. It was at this time that Johnson noticed what appeared to be a wall running parallel to the north side of the Santa Valley (Figs. 5 and 6).



Fig. 5

section of the structure was composed of two parallel walls that converged some distance up the valley. Using an old Ford, they attempted to drive along the wall as far as possible,

They were so intrigued by the wall that they established a temporary camp at Chimbote in order to be able to examine it in more detail. They followed the wall in their plane from its terminus about 5 miles from the ocean up the valley as far as Corongo, about 90 miles inland. They located 14 stone fortresses located on hills overlooking the wall (Shippee 1932).

The team then decided to undertake an overland trip to investigate the wall. They found that it seemed to originate in the ruins of an ancient village constructed of adobe, but they were unable to determine whether the wall extended all the way down to the ocean. The first

but the rough terrain allowed them to go only a few miles. They discovered that the wall was constructed of broken rocks set in a mud mortar.

In some places the wall rose to a height of 20 to 30 feet, but the average elevation was about 7 feet. They argued that the function of the wall was mainly defensive, built by the Chimú to prevent the Incas from invading their territory (Shippee 1932:10).

David Wilson, now at Southern Methodist University, made further studies of the “Great Wall” and its associated fortifications. In the years 1979 to 1980, Wilson undertook a systematic survey of the lower Santa Valley, mapping the sites and their architecture, and establishing a chronological sequence for the valley. He



Fig. 6

discovered that the wall is not a single continuous entity, but is made of five separate sections with gaps between some of the segments. It dates to the Middle Horizon (600-1000 A.D.) and thus was not built by the Chimú (1000-1460 A.D.) (Wilson 1988: 251-255). The wall is too low to be defensive in nature, and the gaps along its path would have allowed invaders to easily breach it. Furthermore, the “forts” or citadels, as Wilson calls them, are even earlier, dating to the Early Horizon (900-400 B.C.) and the Early Intermediate Period (100 B.C. to 600 A.D.) (Wilson 1988:104). Wilson also published drawings depicting the different types of construction used in building the wall (Wilson 1988: 253).

### **Cross and Roosevelt’s Account of their 1934 Trip to Peru**

The following is a day-by-day account of Richard Cross’ archaeological trip to Peru as reconstructed from his personal diary and from letters he wrote home to his mother and father. As editor, I have added clarifying remarks either within brackets or as endnotes. Although the most important sections deal with Cross’ interaction with Cornelius Roosevelt and Julio C. Tello, notes on the entire trip are presented so that the

reader can get a flavor of the passage to and from Peru and some of the individuals who helped them in their quest to inspect the Great Wall of Peru.

I have also included excerpts from Cornelius Roosevelt's diary dealing with the archaeological portion of the trip (July 24 to August 12). I obtained a transcript of that portion of Roosevelt's diary made by Steven Wegner while he was at Dumbarton Oaks [where the diary now resides]. I also made comparisons between the diaries and the published account of Roosevelt in 1935, referring the reader to some of the illustrations in that article.

**Friday, June 22, 1934      [New Haven to New York]**

Cross, a freshman at Yale, spent the morning attending the crew races at Gales Ferry. He saw President Franklin Roosevelt aboard the *Sequoia* and then took a special train from New Haven to New York City with his sisters Nora and Emma, staying overnight at his parent's home at 12 East 80<sup>th</sup> St.

**Saturday, June 23, 1934      [New York to Wilmington, DE]**

Cross spent the morning making final arrangements and packing. At 11:00 he went down to the docks and finally found the right boat and put his belongings on board. Richard met up with Cornelius [Corny] and his sister along with his own sisters Nora and Emma. The sailing was postponed until 4:00 P.M. so they went uptown for lunch. The boys sailed from New York at 4:15 P.M. on the MS Ward, of the Roosevelt Steamship Co. whose captain was E.J. Evans.

**Sunday, June 24, 1934      [Wilmington, DE]**

The ship, the MS Ward, anchored at Wilmington, Delaware to pick up freight. The young men convinced the captain to be allowed to go ashore, which they did in a small boat. They hoped to attend a movie or to call family friends, a Mrs. Crowningshield or the DuPonts. In Wilmington they found all the stores closed. They had a large lobster lunch and tried to call Mrs. Crowningshield, but she was away. Then they called P.L. DuPont who invited them to tea, however they were unable to get transportation to the DuPont home.

**Monday, June 25, 1934      [Wilmington, DE]**

The ship docked at Deepwater Point at 11:00 A.M. The two young men went to Wilmington with the captain in a DuPont car. Cornelius called Mrs. DuPont who sent a car for them. P.L. was away, but Mr. And Mrs. DuPont received them kindly, and the young men had a swim and then tea. At 5:30 they caught a ferry and airflow taxi to the Dupont factory and visited briefly. They arrived back at the ship for dinner, and the Ward sailed off at 7:00 P.M. Richard wrote a letter to his mother providing the above details and asked her to forward his mail c/o American Express, Lima.

**Tuesday, June 26, 1934      [en route to Panama]**

On route to Panama, Cross watched porpoises under the ship's bow. At first he was not very impressed with his fellow passengers, but later wrote that "they turned out better than they looked at first glance." One of the ship's cylinder linings cracked, and the



ship had to keep moving lest the cylinder freeze up. He had tea with Captain E.J. Evans, “a pleasant, agreeable fellow” and some of the other passengers. He also played deck golf with the captain and ladies and practiced his Spanish.

**Wednesday, June 27, 1934 [en route to Panama]**

Richard spent the morning watching flying fish and measuring how high they could jump. The ship left the gulf stream off Savannah. He and Cornelius had baths in the afternoon. After dinner Corny slept while Cross talked to some of the other passengers, played deck golf, and worked on a puzzle.

**Thursday June 28, 1934 [en route to Panama]**

Cross spent the day reading, doing puzzles, and trying to “shoot” the north star with crude instruments.

**Friday, June 29, 1934 [en route to Panama]**

Richard beat the captain at deck golf, sunbathed and read a book. He toured the operating system of the ship and continued to work on his Spanish skills. Very hot temperatures.

**Saturday, June 30, 1934 [en route to Panama]**

Another uneventful day. Cross read the “Forsythe Saga” and “Ariel”

**Sunday, July 1, 1934 [arrival at Colon, Panama]**

Richard took pictures of the boat, did some packing for the upcoming change of ships. The ship arrived at Colon, Panama at 11:30 P.M. but the boys did not disembark. The weather was cloudy with showers.

**Monday, July 2, 1934 [Cristóbal, Panama]**

Richard and Cornelius were awakened at 6:00 A.M. by a loud salute from the British ship H.M.S. Norfolk. They went ashore with Captain Evans and second officer Michael and were met by Commander Symington, the port captain of Cristóbal. Dick tried to buy a second-hand sextant but had no luck. [It appears that Cross was quite interested in Astronomy and was impressed with the clarity of the sky and the ability to see the Southern Cross, Vega, the North Star, and various planets.] The ship was delayed all day at Cristóbal while the cylinder for the engine was being repaired. They had drinks in a bar and then went back to the ship for lunch. They slept in afternoon and returned to the city to see its night life after supper. Visited Kelly’s bar and various unsavory parts of the city. Back on ship at 3:00 A.M. In Cristobal, a reporter encountered them and persuaded Roosevelt to be filmed for the news reels shown in theaters at that time.

In a letter to his mother from Colon, he asked her to have his father arrange for their return passages from Colon to New York on the MS Potter. Roosevelt was also looking into this as well.

**Tuesday, July 3, 1934 [Canal Zone—Cristóbal to Balboa]**

Cross awoke at 6:00 A.M. as the ship weighed anchor, beginning its passage through the Panama Canal, reaching the Gatlin Locks at 7:00 A.M. Passed Pedro Miguel

at noon and arrived at Balboa at 2:00 P.M. Richard took photographs of the passage through the locks. They were met by Mr. Robinson, a Panama Agencies Agent. They were passed through customs by an official who had been with Corny's grandfather [Theodore Roosevelt] at San Juan. After attempting to find a room at the Army & Navy YMCA, they decided it was too tacky. They then moved to the Hotel Trivoli in Ancon, C.Z. Paid \$4.50 for a nice room with bath and balcony. Roosevelt got in touch with a Mr. Clayton, a lock engineer who knew they were looking for a second hand sextant, who took them to the Pedro Miguel locks and explained the workings. Richard practiced using Mr. Clayton's sextant but did not buy it because the owner wanted too much for it. They spent the day with the Clayton family, with whom Richard was quite impressed with his varied interests.

**Wednesday, July 4, 1934 [Balboa Canal Zone]**

Fourth of July holiday, everything closed down. Mr. Robinson drove them around. The ship they were to take to Peru, the Santa Cecelia, had a broken propeller blade and had to be put in dry dock to have it repaired., so their departure was delayed indefinitely. In a letter to his mother Cross complained that they would be several days late getting into Lima. The young men were invited by Ted Scott, an Associated Press correspondent in Colon, to fly to Cristóbal to see the boxing fights at the army base there. They decided to go. In the evening were the traditional fireworks, after which they went to the movies.

**Thursday, July 5, 1934 [Balboa, Canal Zone]**

Still waiting in Panama for the boat to be repaired, the young men did some shopping (camera cases for Corny's equipment). They visited Governor Schlap and Cross got his third Typhoid shot.

**Friday, July 6, 1934 [Canal Zone]**

On this day the young men visited the Gorgas Memorial Institute (of tropical medicine) and were shown around by Dr. Herbert Clark who had a collection of tropical creatures: vampire bats, ticks, monkeys snakes, etc. Had lunch with him at the Century Club. Spent the afternoon back at the institute. In the evening they went to a movie and to Kelley's bar.

**Saturday, July 7, 1934 [Canal Zone]**

Richard slept all morning and went shopping in afternoon. After dinner the boys went to "Fashions of 1934."

**Sunday, July 8, 1934 [Balboa to Cristobal]**

The young men spent the morning packing and checking out of the Trivoli Hotel in anticipation of transferring to the boat. They flew to the army base at Cristóbal to see the boxing fights. It was Richard's first flight in an airplane, and he was quite impressed. He wrote his mother that he was unable to take pictures from the air because "photographs were forbidden flying over government fortifications." Cross remarked that he could see both oceans during the flight. They moved from the Trivoli Hotel to the

Hotel Columbia. Spent time with a Mr. Rounsevelli, the editor of the Panama-American newspaper, who had previously lived in Peru.

**Monday, July 9, 1934      [Balboa, Canal Zone]**

The “Santa Cecilia” was still in dry dock where repairs were being made. Cross tried out the second-hand sextant that Cornelius had obtained from Ted Scott. Cross wrote to his mother and included 7 photos of the Panama Canal and locks that he had taken.

**Tuesday, July 10, 1934      [sailed from Balboa]**

Finally the MS Santa Cecilia was ready and ready for departure. The young men had difficulty getting to the dock due to a taxi strike, but arrived just minutes before the ship departed at 7:00 P.M. Cross wrote his mother that the boat was not quite as luxurious as he thought, and it was a good deal smaller than the MS Ward.

**Wednesday, July 11, 1934      [en route to Colombia]]**

Quiet day on the ship. Richard read and watched a movie. Their companions on the boat were mainly “old maids and gentlemen” but they struck up conversation with a young couple from Los Angeles traveling to southern Ecuador to mine for gold. The boat was rather “dinky” and not all that Richard had expected. After flipping a coin, Cross got the bunk under the window “which merely means that my feet freeze and my head cooks.” The ship was equipped “with a ping-pong table, bar, bridge table, and a 6’ by 10’ bathtub which is rumored to be a swimming pool.” Because of the cloudy sky, astronomy was difficult.

**Thursday, July 12, 1934      [Buenaventura, Colombia]**

The ship docked at Buenaventura, Colombia and the young men went ashore. Cross described the city as a “dump” with deteriorating houses, clay streets, and open sewers [perhaps a prelude to what they would encounter in parts of Peru!]. Cargo was unloaded from ship, which then sailed at 7:00 P.M. Cross mailed the letter to his mother from here.

**Friday, July 13, 1934      [crossing the Equator]**

Crossed the equator today. They went through a “childish” ceremony where the young men received an egg shampoo, were pelted with raw potatoes etc. Both received diplomas marking their successful crossing.

**Saturday, July 14, 1934      [Guayaquil, Ecuador]**

The ship reached Guayaquil, Ecuador today. The young men disembarked and wandered through the town, ending up at a movie.

**Sunday, July 15, 1934      [Guayaquil, Ecuador to Talara, Peru]**

Back on board ship, the young men met Baron von Korf who was heading for the summit of El Misti [in Arequipa, Peru] to study cosmic rays. Cross was impressed with his breadth of knowledge. The ship reached the Humboldt Current, and Cross remarked

about the brown water and the cold, cloudy weather. They arrived at Talara, Peru shortly after, but stayed only a short time since there was only a little freight to unload.

**Monday, July 16, 1934 [voyage down coast of Peru]**

The ship continued its voyage down the coast of Peru. The young men and Baron Korf examined the engine room of the ship, but boredom prevailed [apparently they could not see much of the coastline due to the fog at this time of year].

**Tuesday, July 17, 1934 [arrival at Lima]**

Finally the ship reached Callao [the port for Lima] after dark and were met by the American Consul, Mr. Dukes, who gave them permission to use arms in the country, and by the Grace Lines agent at Callao, Mr. Quinset and the passenger agent Mr. Gomez who drove them into town [Lima] to the Hotel Bolivar. They obtained a room for 16 soles a day. Cross and Roosevelt were met later by Bob Livingston [a Grace company official] who took them out to dinner at the Maury Hotel along with Charles Derby and Pat Johnston. After dinner they were driven around on a tour of Lima. Returned to the Bolivar at 3:00 A.M.

**Wednesday, July 18, 1934 [Lima]**



Fig. 7

Robert Livingstone met the young men early, and along with Mr. Cass, went to breakfast. Cross and Roosevelt investigated transportation to Chimbote [to investigate the wall] and then return passage to Panama. Met with Mr. Bush, Mr. Leoni and Mr. Kirby, all big shots in the Grace Company. Mr. Bush was a classmate of Cornelius' father, Col. Roosevelt at Harvard, and consequently was very kind to them. A Mr. Cintron took them out for a Chinese lunch and arranged for them to meet Dr. Julio C. Tello, one of the leading archaeologists in Peru (Fig. 7).<sup>6</sup> They found Tello to be very pleasant and who was planning on making a research trip to the north. He very kindly offered to take the young men along, and in return Roosevelt and Cross would serve as the official photographers of the expedition. Cross was ecstatic, saying that this was a wonderful opportunity! Tello planned to drive up the coast to Chimbote, and then take the train to the Callejon de Huaylas (see fig. 1). Tello's trip would take two months, but Cross and Roosevelt would leave before that, returning to Lima no later than August 18<sup>th</sup>

**Thursday, July 19, 1934 [Lima]**

After Mr. Livingston took the pair to the Grace office to check on their baggage, the young men went to the museum [Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología] in Magdalena Vieja to see Dr. Tello who agreed to have lunch with them the following day. After lunch at Leóns, Livingston

took them to see the cathedral and the government palace on the Plaza de Armas in the central city. That evening they “crashed” a dinner party and drank until bedtime.

Cross wrote to his mother on this day, providing details of their projected itinerary with Dr. Tello and their wish to make a trip to Cerro de Pasco if they had time. He also wrote more about the cold, dismal climate of Lima. He described the houses of the commoners that were made of mud without waterproof roofs, noting they would be destroyed if it should ever rain.

**Friday, July 20, 1934[Lima]**

At 9:00 A.M. the young men took a trolley to Callao to pick up their remaining luggage which had been left behind in Cristóbal, Panama. [In a letter to his mother the version was a bit different. Cross claimed that the crew failed to offload their luggage at Callao and that the bags had traveled down to Mollendo (southern Peru), from where they were to be flown back to Lima.] Mr. Dukes whisked their luggage through customs without inspection. Roosevelt and Cross then rushed back to have lunch with Dr. Tello and made satisfactory arrangements for the trip. Mr. Cintron took them to see the Minister de Fomento [Minister of Public Works] who gave them letters of introduction. They made a courtesy call to the police station where they received similar letters.

**Saturday, July 21, 1934 [Lima]**

Cross spent the morning getting the stirrups for the horse lengthened [he was well over 6’ tall] and buying camera supplies. More letters of introduction were delivered. They had lunch at the Club Nacional, had their pictures taken, and returned to the hotel. That evening the young men went to the Country Club where they dined with the Kerbys and attended a welcoming dance in honor the passengers of the British Cruiser York.

**Sunday, July 22, 1934 [Lima]**

The young men spent the morning packing for their trip. Had dinner at the home of Mr. Cintron. There were forty-five people there, including the daughter of the vice-president of the Grace Company. After this party broke up, they went to some Peruvian’s house where they met the famous guitarist Andres Segovia, who unfortunately who could not entertain them due to contract restrictions. Back at the hotel they continued packing until 2:30 A.M.

Around this date, Richard wrote a letter to his father asking him to confirm the sailing dates of the MS Potter for their return trip from Panama. He complained that he had not received any letters from home since Panama.

**Monday, July 23. 1934 [Lima]**

Richard received a letter from his father regarding the boys’ trip home. The ship [MS Potter] that they planned to take from Panama to New York would sail four days before they arrived, so they would have to take the Santa Maria from Lima on August 15<sup>th</sup> instead of the Inez on August 19<sup>th</sup>, four days earlier than they planned.

Dr. Tello appeared in the afternoon saying that he had located a moving picture camera, but it never materialized. The young men spent a few hours dividing up the food



they had brought and gave it to Bob Livingston. They had dinner with Mr. Runcie, Shippee's photographer. They then stayed up to 2:30 A.M. packing for the start of the expedition the next day.

**Tuesday, July 24, 1934 [Lima to Huacho]**

Cross and Roosevelt were up at 6:30 to finish packing. The car to pick them up arrived at 7:30, and after some difficulty, got their baggage loaded and drove on to Dr. Tello's. Tello had rented a large touring car [a Hudson without a muffler] equipped with large balloon tires for the trip, since there were no paved roads—only tracks through the desert sand (fig. 8).



They and their driver, Juan, left Lima at 9:30 A.M. They ate a lunch consisting of Peruvian food along the road, crossed the highest point (4260 feet) and arrived at Huacho in the Huaura Valley at 5:00 P.M..

Realizing that they could not reach Paramonga that day, they stayed in Huacho at the Hotel Italia, run by a German.

Fig. 8

**Wednesday, July 25, 1934 [Huacho to Huarmay]**

Moving north from Huacho, they stopped to take pictures of an Inca wall on the far side of Huacho that Tello had been eager to photograph. The wall averaged 12 feet in height, 8 feet in diameter, with a parapet height of 6 to 7 feet (Roosevelt 1935: fig. 3). The locals claim it stretched from the sea to the mountains, similar to the Great Wall they planned to investigate in the Samta Valley. The team arrived at Paramonga [in the Fortaleza Valley] mid-morning. A Ford car was placed at their disposal and they went to see the "fortress" [Paramanga ruins] accompanied by Luis Fontenoy, the manager of the hacienda. Tello believed that the structure was a temple rather than a fortress. Apparently there had once been a large stone lintel over the entrance, but it had been removed long ago.

A group picture was taken of the four at the site (fig. 9). They visited a sugar plant on the Grace Co. hacienda and left soon after lunch. They stopped at the Cerro de la Horna cemetery near the Fortaleza Valley where more photographs were taken. The looted cemetery contained deformed skulls, some with copper in their mouths. They reached Huarmay just before dark. They viewed the remains of an extraordinary old drum dating to the Santa Culture, middle strata.



Fig. 9

**Thursday, July 26, 1934 [Huarmay to Chimbote]**

Cornelius took pictures of the drum (see Roosevelt 1935: fig. 4) while Tello, the owner of the drum and Cross, went to the cemetery where it was found. They left after Dr. Tello was unsuccessful in buying it. The group reached Casma just after noon and visited a large fortress having at least six concentric stone walls and the base of a circular tower at the center [Chanquillo]. This was a ruin that Tello had always wanted to visit, since it had never been investigated in depth (Figs. 10 and 11). The structure was located on a high granite hill with 12-foot high walls constructed of stone. The entrances to this structure were maze-like, allowing persons to enter in a single file [wooden lintels were still present as late as 1979].



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

Across a sandy valley were the so-called thirteen steps [a group of square platforms] 15 feet square and spaced 12 feet apart, all with a staircase on their north sides (Roosevelt 1935: figs. 7 and 8). The function of these structures is unknown, although Tello referred to them as “altars.” Roosevelt later wrote that Cross attempted to dig into one of these structures but found only rubble in the interior. After lunch in Casma they pushed on. Large sand dunes forced them to make detours closer to the ocean. They took pictures of



Fig. 12

some of the seals in a little bay, and Roosevelt shot a condor.

They investigated an old village [in the Nepeña Valley, probably Proulx’s PV31-31 (Fig. 12) and reached Chimbote after dark. Roosevelt, in his 1935 publication notes that there were walls in both the Huacho and Nepeña valleys (see Proulx 1973), but apparently they were not seen during their rapid trip north. In Chimbote Roosevelt left his film to be developed and bought additional film since he miscalculated the amount he would need.

#### **Friday, July 27, 1934 [Chimbote to Hda. Santa Clara, Santa Valley]**

After driving for one and a half hours they arrived at the Hda. Santa Clara in the Santa Valley and were well received by Sr. Roa, the elderly manager, and by the owner’s son, Sr. Carmona. In the afternoon they investigated several cemeteries nearby, finding several [exposed] strata. Tello was surprised to find triangular shaped adobes in one of the graves, which, according to him, originated in the Callejon de Huaylas. Roosevelt took many photos of these graves since Tello wanted to record them. They also encountered a series of petroglyphs, one a conventionalized snake and the other a human figure. They returned to Santa Clara where they talked with a local farmer about the wall and its course up the valley. In the evening Tello made plans for the next stage of the trip while the boys took a bath and packed.

#### **Saturday, July 28, 1934 [Santa Clara to Huaca Corral, Santa Valley]**

Leaving Santa Clara they headed for Huaca Corral, a small farm up valley. Traveling north along the coast, they found some square foundations of buildings, some of which contained llama skulls. Finally they encountered a small wall and followed it back to the hills believing it to be the great wall, but it was not. They crossed a pass and found a wide irrigation ditch along the base of some hills which Tello attributed to the Inca culture. They then found the true Great Wall which they followed up river (Figs. 13 and 14), encountering a few graveyards en route—mainly late in date. The team was interested in discovering whether the wall was built on top of the cemeteries or later, thus providing a chronology for its construction, but they were unable to determine this. Between 2:30 and 3:30 P.M. the group reached Huaca Corral, a small farm run by a peasant, and had a late lunch. The house was constructed of wattle and daub and



furnished with bug-infested straw beds. In the afternoon they visited another large



Fig. 13



Fig. 14

cemetery having two strata, the bottom containing adobes of the same culture found in the Callejon de Huaylas [Recuay], greatly exciting Dr. Tello. The cemetery was searched for mummies, and a sherd collection made. They also examined some small forts along the wall. They spent the night at Huaca Corral, and Tello ordered four men to dig in another cemetery further up river. [July 28<sup>th</sup> is Peruvian Independence day and is a major holiday today. No mention is made of it in Cross' diary]

**Sunday, July 29, 1934      [Huaca Corral to Tanguche, Santa Valley]**

Cross and Roosevelt took a bath in the Santa River which is described as having water of a chocolate brown color, but both enjoyed the opportunity to wash off the dirt from the trip. Then the group went to see what the hired men had accomplished in the cemetery. They found them in the wrong cemetery getting nowhere. Two of the men quit at once, but the three explorers joined the others in digging but found nothing. The team stopped to investigate two other cemeteries, but also found nothing, Cross climbed up a 300 foot hill to investigate a structure, while Roosevelt and Tello found some musical instruments and other artifacts in another graveyard.

Moving further inland, they had lunch at Tanguchi, an attractive hacienda whose owner knew Dr. Tello. The team investigated some ruins behind his house that he had been excavating on his own, having revealed a doorway and part of a wall. Roosevelt questioned the owner about the local fauna and was told that wildcats, spectacled bear, puma, and some species of small deer abound in the area. After lunch they returned to Huaca Corral for the night. They brought back more pottery sherds, and a Chimú "wine server" that was broken.

**Monday, July 30, 1934      [Huaca Corral to Had. Santa Clara, Santa Valley]**

After returning to Santa Clara, the team explored the ocean end of the wall. From the hacienda they rode south until they found the wall, which ran toward the mouth of the Santa River (Fig. 15). The height of the wall increased as it neared the ocean. At one point a secondary wall running parallel to the main wall was discovered, running for about one quarter of a kilometer. The remains of a small village were found at the east end [probably the same site investigated by Shippee in 1931].



Fig. 15

The area between the walls measured about  $\frac{3}{4}$  by  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. At the western end was a stepped pyramid identified as a temple, from the summit of which one could see the Had. Santa Clara. The remainder of the enclosed area was one large looted cemetery. The wall then turned right toward the sea through a steep pass in the hills and continued toward the sea where it stopped at a salt marsh [it is unclear how close to the sea the wall terminated]. The cemeteries and temple near the village seemed to have been built by the same people who constructed the wall—the Mochica of the middle strata [according to Tello]. Returning to Hda. Santa Clara about 3:00 P.M. they had a late lunch and then prepared for the continuation of their trip the next day. Roosevelt wrote a six-page letter to his father. They then packed for their trip to the mountains. They sent their tent back to Lima, but kept the saddles in case they were needed later.

**Tuesday, July 31, 1934      [Had Santa Clara to Chimbote to Caraz]**

The day began inauspiciously. The team planned to leave for the highlands by train from Chimbote at 7:00 A.M. Tello woke them at 5:30, breakfasted at 6:00 and then learned that the train would leave at 7:30. Cross could not find his camera, but it was



finally located in a saddle room. The car had tire trouble, so they didn't leave the hacienda until 6:45. Then the car wouldn't start, and it was pushed almost a kilometer before a mechanic was called, who, after much time and difficulty got it started. They were then told that the train would be leaving at 8:00, so they rushed off to make it on time. Along the way bystanders yelled that their baggage was falling off. Cross's was being dragged along behind the car and Roosevelt's was missing. They had to return all the way to the hacienda where it had fallen off on their departure. They finally reached the train station at 8:10 and had to wait 20 minutes for the train, which did not leave until 8:50! They scrambled and were able to get into the first class car.



Fig. 16

The civil war vintage train stopped for 20 minutes at every station (Fig. 16). They had lunch at Chucikara and reached the end of the line a Huallanca at 4:30. From there they got a truck to drive them to Caraz, but even that was an adventure. The fuel pipe on the truck was broken, so they had to pour gasoline into the carburetor every 10 minutes. The driver forgot the water can, so he had to fill the radiator

with their hats. At one point the driver jammed on his brakes in order to catch a Muka, a small marsupial like a possum, which he hoped to sell to a pet shop. The road was cut into the hillside and passed through about 43 tunnels. They spent the night at Caraz at the Hotel Italia [apparently the same name as the hotel in Huacho].

**Wednesday, August 1, 1934**

**[Caraz to Huaraz, Callejon de Huaylas]**



Fig. 17

In the morning they went to Dr. Augusto Soriano Infante's house and inspected and photographed a collection of huacos [ancient pottery]. They "scoured around town looking for monoliths" and spent a number of hours while workmen extracted a large stone in the city square [which Cross does not describe because the work was not completed before they had to leave]. Some of the stelae were incorporated into the walls or used as door lintels of local structures. Finally they left for Huaraz, (Fig. 17) some 4 to 5 hours

distant, and took lodging at the Hotel Genova. The local authorities knew Dr. Tello and he was well received. The team attended a town meeting where speeches were made and a resolution was passed thanking Dr. Tello for his visit. The Junior Assembly had a dinner for them at 9:30 P.M.

**Thursday, August 2, 1934**

**[Huaraz]**

Tello and the young men spent the morning photographing 22 Recuay monoliths (Figs. 18-20)) on the grounds of the local hospital and at the Pantheon Vieja [an old Spanish building] where a number of the sculptures had been incorporated into its walls.



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

They also visited the home of Dr. Soriano Infante to photograph some heads of the Chavín culture [Soriano was a Catholic priest and appears to have had homes in both Caraz and Huaraz]. After a late lunch, the boys rested while Dr. Tello left to arrange the trip to Chavín and the boy's trip back

to Lima. Cross wrote "I think we both are getting a bit tired of archaeology." A number of routes the boys could take back to Lima were discussed with Tello. They had originally planned to go back the same way through Chimbote, but they decided that would be too repetitive. A flight from Caraz was ruled out since the service had been discontinued. Another alternative was to take mules from Chavín to Huancayo, but that would take 5 days and require armed guards. Roosevelt felt that this option would be too long and hard for Cross, who was not experienced in riding. Then they thought of going to Paramonga [on the coast] via Recuay and Aija. This would give them the opportunity to photograph another group of monoliths for Dr. Tello on the way. They had dinner with Sr. Victor Ramos who spoke excellent French as did Roosevelt.

**Friday, August 3, 1934**

**[Huaraz area, Keka Marca]**

At 11:30 Tello, Cross and Roosevelt, accompanied by “a large following” left to investigate an ancient village [Keka Marca]. On the way they stopped in various small villages where carved monoliths had been incorporated into the walls of houses or used as steps or paving stones. In all these locations Tello had the carvings excavated and photographed. Arriving at Keka Marca they found Inca walls superimposed on the older ruins. The site had a 100-foot drop on one side and 20-foot drops on the others. The structures of the site were indistinguishable in form and function.



Fig. 21

A large stone monolith measuring 8'x 3'x 1' was discovered, about a quarter mile from the site, apparently with the underside carved in relief. Half a dozen Indians worked to turn it over while the team ate lunch. It took three hours to uncover the monolith but when the work was finished, they found that the stone was carved with a “god with hands upraised and apparently bisexual.

Queer looking creature, but apparently very valuable archaeologically” (Fig. 21; quote from Cross diary). Tello was elated with the discovery because “it was the first idol discovered in Northern Peru and the only one of its age” (quote from Roosevelt diary). The young men went to a movie [Fra Diavolo] after dinner while Tello made final arrangements for the trip to Chavín.

**Saturday, August 4, 1934**

**[Huaraz to Olleros (Roosevelt)]**

Cross awoke on this morning not feeling very well. Corny packed while Cross rested. Mr. Rodriguez Larraín, the head of the Huaraz schools, helped the young men shop for needed supplies. Since Tello was not at the hotel, Rodriguez looked for him and then all four had lunch. Cross left in the middle of the meal, not feeling well. Tello was concerned and took Cross' temperature which was 100 degrees and decided Cross should not go to Chavín. Before Tello and Roosevelt left, they found some English speaking people to assist Cross while they were gone, including the American evangelist, Mr. Kragin, who promised to visit Cross every day while they were gone.

At 4:00 P.M. the team, consisting of Roosevelt, Tello, Fr. Soriano, Dr. Pedro Vega [physician] and a young boy to help Tello with making casts of the sculptures, left for Chavín. Tello wanted to continue his investigations at Chavín de Huantar and to



survey some sites near the Marañón River and so planned to remain at Chavín until August 12, while Roosevelt would return to Huaraz on the 8<sup>th</sup>. The group was driven to the Hda. Olleros by a Mr. Cáceres. On the way Tello discovered that he would need more film for all the photos he wanted at Chavín, so he sent a messenger back to Huaraz to bring the additional supplies. At Olleros Roosevelt was impressed with the hot sulfur springs nearby and by the electric generator and other amenities.

**Sunday, August 5, 1934 [Cornelius Roosevelt Diary]**

Because Roosevelt and Cross were separated for the next few days, separate accounts of their activities are presented.

**[Olleros to Chavín (Roosevelt)]**

Roosevelt, Tello, Vega, Soriano and the boy left Olleros for Chavín at 8:00 A.M. and traveled on horseback for 7 hours without stopping. The description of the trip is interesting, so I will quote from Roosevelt's diary. An expanded version of this trip is provided in Roosevelt 1935:36.

The path or trail first led over a valley with a little brook fed by the snow running down its center. The hills were smoothly rounded and bare but for the high-altitude grass which abounds therein clumps. Gradually the landscape became rockier and soon the gigantic snow covered hills could be seen in the distance. For hours we never seemed to be any nearer. The path was now paved with rocks to avoid washouts—but little springs made it very slippery going for the horses' hooves. Soon the sky clouded over and I was glad that Sr. Cáceres had lent me his poncho. A light snowfall began which soon increased in strength as a bitter wind sprang up. For two hours all we did was crouch in the saddles and pick our way up the hills (Fig. 22). About every two miles we passed little strings of burros loaded with bales of coca leaves, all going to Huaraz to be shipped to the surrounding country side for coming fiestas. Bare footed Indians kept herd on them but always on foot. Even the snowy cold they wore no extra clothes.



Fig. 22

About 12:00 we rose above the snowstorm that rapidly swept past us. It had just come over the pass and seems to have cleared the whole atmosphere. Fresh snow covered the ground and the air was marvelous. Great glaciers on the adjacent mountains seemed faintly blue in the sunlight. Directly ahead of us was the pass. In reality the pass consists of two ridges about 80 feet apart with a small trough in between. Therein lies a little pond. I tried to see if it emptied both ways, but it seemed to go only to the Pacific.



Fig. 23

mountainside. Large numbers of yellow birds flew about...we passed several little tiny villages including an old mission church.

As soon as we crossed the pass the vertical descent began. On this side the mountain was almost vertical. The trail zigzagged all over its surface before settling into the valley below (Fig. 23). In contrast, the side we ascended took three hours to climb the last thousand feet while this one took 15 minutes to descend the same distance. Here the trail dropped into a valley. In an hour we were back to vegetation and grazing cattle. The pass was about 15,150 feet high and two miles from it was only 13,100 feet. [After lunch] I chewed coca leaves with a most remarkably stimulating effect. The valley soon became a wonderful gorge through which the brook—now a small river—tumbled. ...Soon semi-tropical vegetation crowded us out of the gorge until the trail ran along the



Suddenly the gorge took an abrupt turn to the north—there was Chavín (Fig. 24). It was flanking a little road, which ran down the narrow valley. The houses were all built of adobe or a sort of local cement. [It] probably [had] no more than 600 inhabitants, yet [there was] a little plaza and quite

Fig. 24



a church. As soon as we got there it became dark. The sun had set long ago and we had only the twilight to light us as we stumbled through town. At the [far] end we found the house of Sr. Barrón who had offered us his hospitality.

**Sunday, August 5, 1934      [Richard Cross Diary]      [Huaraz]**

The English speaking population in Huaraz consisted of four individuals: Mr. Rodriguez, the head of the school, two of his English teachers, Sr. Idiaguez and Sr. Rivera who had studied in the States, and an American missionary, Mr. Kragin, from Kansas. The latter was engaged in translating the Bible into Quechua but was rather a fanatic although his English was the best of the lot [he had been living in Huaraz for 8 years]. Richard felt well enough to write his mother from Huaraz and he reiterated his disappointment in not being able to travel to Chavín, to cross the Cordillera Blanca and to see the Marañon. He also wrote that he felt that the missionary was trying to convert him and that he was appalled that Cross did not carry a Bible with him on his trip. He gave Richard a vest pocket edition of St. John to “save me from complete damnation.” Despite his feeling better, he declined an invitation by Mr. Rivera to attend a football game. Mr. Idiaguez appeared with a note from Roosevelt requesting more film be sent to Chavín.

**Monday, August 6, 1934      [Cornelius Roosevelt Diary]      [Chavín]**

Tello took Roosevelt to see the temple of Chavín, which Roosevelt erroneously described as three separate buildings [he was counting the two flanking mound of the main plaza](Fig. 25 for a modern picture). He accurately described the walls as consisting of one layer of thick stones with two layers of thin stone between (Fig. 26).



Fig. 25



Fig. 26

He also observed that no mortar was used in the construction. In one place tenon heads could still be seen *in situ*. The temple was covered with vegetation and native huts were built on top. That morning they also did a preliminary exploration of the internal galleries

within the temple and the [Lanzon] idol. Roosevelt claimed that the idol stood below an altar on which blood sacrifices were made, with the blood running down a channel to the idol. However no traces of an altar were found.

Roosevelt spent the afternoon photographing the galleries and the idol with Fr. Soriano as his helper. Using flash powder, the passages were filled with smoke, sometimes disturbing hundreds of bats living there. Cornelius described the idol as being 20 feet high, narrower at the top than the bottom. The whole stone is covered with intertwined snakes [sic]. The idol chamber measured only 8 feet in width. After dinner Roosevelt returned to map the galleries.

**Monday, August 6, 1934 [Richard Cross Diary] [Huaraz, Anta Jirca]**



Fig. 27

Feeling somewhat better, Cross left the hotel with Mr. Rivera. Using horses, they forded a river, climbed a large hill, and “wandered around on top, waist deep in all sorts of horrible cacti.” He found little of interest—a few monoliths and several small square tombs or houses. The site was called Anta Jirca (Fig.27 ). After lunch with Rivera, they returned to Huaraz where Cross spent the rest of the day talking to Sr. Rodriguez.

**Tuesday, August 7, 1934 [Cornelius Roosevelt Diary] [Chavín]**



Fig. 28

(Fig. 28), while at the same time Dr. Tello was attempting to make plaster casts of some of the carved reliefs. Apparently the effort was not successful, and Tello was frustrated.

In the morning Roosevelt took more pictures of the interior galleries and then went across the river to take some panoramic views of the temples and the town. His guide showed him the entrances of additional galleries near the river, thus demonstrating that the passageways extended some distance away from the temple. Returning to the main ruin, Cornelius took photographs of all the sculptures that could be moved into the sun

After lunch Roosevelt returned to continue mapping the galleries and ventilator shafts. More photographs were taken of the idol. Drs. Tello and Soriano then presented him with a membership in the Sociedad Estudios Arqueológicos y Folklóricos de Ancash. They also named him as their New York Correspondent and made him director of the museum in Caráz. Cornelius remarked, “Hope I didn’t get involved in something.”

**Tuesday, August 7, 1934 [Richard Cross Diary] [Huaraz, Keka Marca]**

Cross returned to Keka Marca with the missionary Mr. Kragin and his two daughters and “poked around a little.” They returned back past a place where Mr. Kragin claims he and his family had been attacked by a group of 150 Indians with stones and clubs at the instigation of the Catholic priests while he was baptizing three Indians.

**Wednesday, August 8, 1934 [Cornelius Roosevelt Diary] [Chavín to Huaraz]**

Roosevelt rose early and packed for his trip back to Huaraz. Tello offered the local children 10 cents for each sherd they brought him and 25 cents for a pair that fitted together. The kids weren’t dumb and broke the sherds in half to make more money. Roosevelt agreed to take the sherds back with him.

At 9:00 A.M. Roosevelt left for Huaraz [accompanied by Fr. Soriano?]. He took photographs as he ascended the gorge and by noon had started to make the final ascent, crossing the high altitude pass at 1:00 P.M. They reached the Hda. Olleros around 6:30 P.M., the whole trip having taken nine and a half hours. They stayed only for a cup of coffee. From Olleros he charted an “express car” and arrived in Huaraz at 8:00 P.M. He was anxious to see if Cross had recovered from his illness and was relieved to find him in good shape. He told his traveling companion that Tello had recommended that they not travel back to the coast via Aja, but rather go back the way they had come—on the railroad to Chimbote

**Wednesday, August 8, 1934 [Richard Cross Diary] [Huaraz]**

Richard had lunch at the Kragin’s [the missionary’s home] and was taken aback by the length of the hymns and prayers before the meal and a long discussion of the salvation of souls afterwards. He then returned to the hotel to pack because Roosevelt was expected to return this day, and the boys planned to ride horseback down via the Huarmay Valley to the coast and hence to Lima.

Cornelius arrived on schedule around 8:00 P.M. Roosevelt related his experiences to Cross including the high altitude trip to Chavín, a description of the temple and underground passages there, and the Lanzon idol within [for a summary of this part of the trip, see Roosevelt 1935 and the more detailed description above].

For some reason, Tello felt the boys should not return via Huarmay without guides, and instead, had arranged for them to return to Chimbote via the same railroad on which they had come to the Callejon de Huaylas. [Roosevelt also did not feel that Cross could sustain a trip by mule because he was not as experienced a rider as himself]

**Thursday, August 9, 1934 [Huaraz]**

The young men spent the day preparing for their departure back to Lima. Arrangements were made for a car to take them to the railhead at Huallanca and for a Panagra flight from Chimbote to Lima. They spent time with a Victor Ramos and had lunch with him. In the afternoon they arranged to sell their saddles for four pounds each.

**Friday, August 10, 1934**

**[Huaraz to Huallanca]**



**Fig. 29**

Cross and Roosevelt left Huaraz at 9:00 after Mr. Kragin and Sr. Ramos had said their farewells. The boys gave their unused canned food to the missionary. A flat tire on their car interrupted the trip to Huallanca (Fig. 29). After lunch at the Hotel Italia at Caraz, they accurately counted 41 tunnels on the way to Huallanca where they had to wait until the next morning to get their train. Roosevelt

described Huallanca as consisting of a railroad station and a hotel. There were no houses. Located in a desolate deep gorge, it had no vegetation but was cursed with a blazing sun. At the Hotel Luna, where they stayed overnight, their peace was disturbed by the squealing of a pig that had been hit by a car. It was killed and roasted in the courtyard of the hotel.

**Saturday, August 11, 1934**

**[Huallanca to Chimbote]**



**Fig. 30**

The train (Fig. 30) left at 7:00 A.M. and the trip to the coast was uneventful according to Cross. Roosevelt, on the other hand, related how the brakemen on the train “worked almost to death setting and unsetting the brakes.” They brought canned food for their lunch and ate on the train at Chukitara. Halfway between Tablones and Chimbote the train encountered a cow on the tracks that finally galloped down the rails for a mile before skidding down an embankment.

They saw fragments of the wall as they passed near Huaca Corral. Roosevelt took photos of some cemeteries they had previously encountered. At Chimbote they were met by a friend of Ramos’s and were told that there was a Fawsett flight to Lima the next day for 80 soles, less than the Panagra flight and with a better schedule. They wandered down to the beach but only found rotting pelicans,

**Sunday, August 12, 1934**

**[Chimbote to Lima]**

The boys spent the morning walking the beach among the dead pelicans and looking for shells. After lunch Cross and Roosevelt went to the airfield and took off at 12:30 P.M. They landed in Nepeña to pick up the English owners of the hacienda there, then on to Lima arriving at 3:00. Cross wrote his mother that the ceiling was quite low, but that he had taken three rolls of film despite that. The Grace Line officials were incensed that they had not taken the Panagra flight [owned by the Grace Co.] rather than Fawcett, but it was cheaper that way and a day earlier. Richard remarked that the two

hour flight was much more pleasant than the three day drive up to Chimbote. They took a taxi to the Hotel Bolivar where they were given their old room (no. 142), bathed, and ate at the Maury.

**Monday, August 13, 1934** [Lima]

The day was spent making final arrangement for their departure. They went early to the Grace Line office. Bob Livingston delivered two kegs of Cartavio rum, one of which Richard intended to give his father as a present upon his return. Roosevelt was dismayed that he had not been reimbursed the 18.5 soles that he had lent Tello for film. The young men went to the post office and found many letters that their respective families had sent them. Cross wrote back to his mother telling her of his expected arrival time. He also requested that she ask his father for travel directions to Canada where the family had planned to take a short vacation in the woods. He complained that the Roosevelts should have known that there was no American Express office in Lima, and it was only by luck that he retrieved his letters from the post office.

They learned that the MS Potter, the ship they had originally wished to take from Panama to New York, was leaving on the 27<sup>th</sup>, the same day that the MS Inez would arrive from Peru, so they switched their passage from Lima to Panama back to the Inez instead of the Maria, much to the consternation of Mr. Gomez. Apparently all of the ships were booked with tourists, but the Grace officials were able to find space for them on the Inez.

Since they had a three-day wait before the ship left Lima, they decided to travel to Oroya in the sierra. They received letters of introduction from Mr. Bush top the general manager of the mine, Mr. Kingsomill.

**Tuesday, August 14, 1934** [Lima to Oroya]



Fig. 31

Cross and Roosevelt were up early to catch the train to Oroya (Fig. 31). [NB: This is the famous Central Railroad built by the legendary American engineer Henry Meiggs between 1870 and 1893, using Chinese laborers. The Railroad passes through 66 tunnels, 59 bridges and 22 zig zags. It reaches an elevation of 15,689 feet!] There was a group of tourists, teachers, who were also planning

to go, so the young men ate quickly and rushed to the train in order to get good seats. Most of the tourists got off at Rio Blanco. Cornelius became sick with soroche [altitude sickness] but Cross was unaffected and rode on the back platform of the train most of the way to take pictures. They reached Oroya at 5:00 P.M. and were met by Mr. Fowler, the superintendent, who took them to their hotel. Roosevelt immediately went to bed while Cross hiked around the town and had dinner.



**Wednesday, August 15, 1934**

**[Oroya]**



The boys awoke late and had a “real American breakfast.” They went to Mr. Fowler’s office, and he had a subordinate show them around the smelter, which took most of the day (Fig. 32). They made arrangements to visit the mines at Moracocha the next day.

Fig. 32

**Thursday, August 16, 1934**

**[Oroya]**

Cross and Roosevelt left at 9:30 A.M. for the Moracocha mines in a new Chevrolet. The trip took about an hour. The superintendent, Mr. McCutchen, showed them the ore concentrator before lunch. The young men were outfitted with lamps, hats and overalls for their decent into the mines. To quote from Cross’ diary:

then we went down La Natividad, the deepest of their five shafts. We saw the pumping station at one thousand feet and then went down to 1700 ft. to the end of their new drainage tunnel, six miles long. We returned to the surface and descended another shaft to the 400 ft. level where we wandered around. It was very dangerous with mud on the ground, trolleys roaring along the tracks, and a high-power trolley wire an inch and a half from your ear. But we survived and learned all about the methods of cut and fill mining. Then, after watching some drilling, we returned to the surface and then to Oroya.

Back in Oroya they were taken to meet Mr. Kingsville, the general manager. At dinner in the hotel they met an Englishman who worked for the company named Philip Hodgson. He showed them “some particularly indecent” huacos [ancient pottery].

**Friday, August 17, 1934**

**[Oroya to Lima]**

Paid a hefty hotel bill in Oroya and caught the morning train to Lima. When they arrived they found that the taxi drivers were on strike, so they walked back to the hotel. Bob Livingston met with the pair and introduced them to two school teachers. They had a farewell dinner provided by Pat Johnson. A Carlos Dogny wanted to fence with Cornelius at the Club Nacional, but it never happened.

**Saturday, August 18, 1934**

**[sailed from Lima to Chancay]**

On this day the young men finally left Peru. They acquired their sailing permits and stopped at the Grace Lines office too late to change their Peruvian money. Had lunch at the Maury Hotel and then returned to the Hotel Bolivar to check out. Because the taxi drivers were still on strike, they took the trolley to Callao accompanied by two policemen with rifles to ward off belligerent strikers. Cross wrote his mother that some people predicted that a revolution was about to take place [in the previous year the military dictator Luis Sanchez had been assassinated and was replaced by Oscar Benavides]. They said their farewells to Pat Johnson and Mr. Gomez and, beating the other tourists to the ship, took the first launch out. Cross stated that he felt it would be a boring trip to

Panama. Richard was somewhat turned off by the large number of teachers sailing with them. He was particularly annoyed by four of them who sat at a nearby table for meals. He confided that if the weather became rough, he would spend the entire meal describing 'a rabbit's insides and various gruesome diseases of the interior of Peru to see if I can drive them to the rail by the power of suggestion.' The ship stopped briefly at Chancay on its way north.

**Sunday, August 19, 1934**                      **[Chancay north along coast]**

The ship stopped at Huacho and some of the tourists went ashore. The boys stayed on board thinking that "they had seen enough of that town." Sailed at 11:30A.M.

**Monday, August 20, 1934**                      **[en Route to Ecuador]**

Cross and Roosevelt bided their time on the ship by playing shuffleboard and conversing with other passengers.

**Tuesday, August 21, 1934**

Reached Guayaquil after lunch and went ashore with some girls they had met on board. Spent the day meeting new people, including a fellow who planned to attend Yale drama school, and having drinks with numerous acquaintances. Cross mailed a letter to his mother while in port. At 11:00 P.M. they sailed on.

**Wednesday, August 22, 1934**                      **[arrival at Manta, Ecuador]**

Played shuffleboard. Arrived at Manta [Ecuador] , the home of Panama hats.

**Thursday, August 23, 1934**                      **[Manta to Bahia, Ecuador]**

At Manta, the boys went ashore and were swamped by hat vendors. Cross eventually bought a hat for \$15, which had been made in the town of Monti Cristi,. The ship left at noon, and it stopped 27 miles up the coast at Bahia where they unloaded some cargo with difficulty. The ship continued its voyage at 6:00 P.M.

**Friday, August 24, 1934**                      **[Manta to Esmeraldas, Ecuador]**



Cross awoke to find the ship in Esmeraldas [Ecuador]. They took the only launch ashore and walked through the town (Fig. 33), examined a balsa wood saw mill and then returned to the ship. In the afternoon they had the "Neptune party" as they crossed the Equator. Cross was dressed as the royal princess with two half grapefruits as breasts. As before, he felt the custom was ridiculous.

Fig. 33

**Saturday, August 25, 1934 [Esmeraldas, Ecuador to Buenaventura, Colombia]**

The ship arrived in Buenaventura [Colombia] at 8:30 A.M. They visited the local hotel and then returned to the ship for lunch. The ship sailed at 6:00 P.M. Cross complained of an infected toe.

**Sunday, August 26, 1934 [Buenaventura, Colombia to Balboa, Canal Zone]**

Richard spent the morning in the ship's pool. Cornelius persuaded the wireless operator to contact Balboa for accommodations. Cross saw the doctor about his toe. He described the girls that they had befriended as snobs, and the teachers aboard were gossiping about the rude manners of the group. The ship anchored at Balboa at 9:00 P.M. Slept on the ship.

**Monday, August 27, 1934 [Canal Zone]**

Mr. Robinson arrived and told the boys that the MS Potter was waiting at Cristóbal. They left their baggage on board the Inez and went ashore to do some shopping. Cross purchased several items for family and friends, found a letter from Nora at the Trivoli Hotel, went to the Gorgas Memorial Institute to return some items borrowed, and then back to the Hotel. They learned from Mr. Robinson that only government employees could travel on the Potter [which meant that the girls they had met and with whom they had planned to travel back to New York, could not come with them]. Taking the Inez to Cristóbal, they arrived at 2:10 P.M. Their baggage was transferred from the Inez to the Potter and eventually they boarded the Potter. The ship hoisted anchor that evening and headed north.

**Tuesday, August 28, 1934 to Tuesday, September 1, 1934 [Panama to New York]**

The voyage from Cristóbal to New York was uneventful. The weather was rough some of the time, and the ship, having no cargo, was tossed around more than usual. The Captain, H.E. Sanders, was an older man without much humor, but the first officer, Peder Eriksen, was much more likable.

Owing to weather delays, the ship did not reach quarantine until 2:40 September 4<sup>th</sup>. They finally arrived in New York and docked at the 50<sup>th</sup> St. pier.

**Significance of the Research Expedition**

What began as a summer jaunt for two young college students ended with the publication [by Roosevelt] of the first detailed description of the Great Wall of Peru and the later investigation, by others, of similar walls in other valleys, such as Nepeña (Proulx 1973: 93-96 and Plate 27b). Although other scholars (such as Wilson 1988) have added significantly to our knowledge of the Santa wall, Cross and Roosevelt were among the pioneers.

Beyond their original objective of exploring the wall, Cross and Roosevelt became intertwined with the expedition headed by Julio C. Tello. The many photographs that they took of the Recuay sculpted monoliths in Huaraz (e.g. Figs. 18-20) are valuable records of this amazing local culture, as is the description of sites near Huaraz, like Keka

Marca and Anta Jirca. Roosevelt's trip to Chavín with Tello, his photographs of the site, and his published comments are also noteworthy. Ten of Roosevelt's photos of Chavín were later used by Tello in his book on Chavín.

Finally, Cross' diary and letters provide an intimate picture of Julio C. Tello, one of Peru's eminent archaeologists during a period in his career of which there is a spotty record. We learn of his field techniques, his relationship with local people, and his manner of obtaining artifacts. And we learn something of the lives and personalities of these two amazing young men who both went on to their distinguished careers.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The bulk of the information about the life and accomplishments of Richard Cross was taken from a tribute written by Barbara Iozzia published in *Healthstate* in 1998. (see bibliography).

<sup>2</sup> Much of the information about Theodore Roosevelt Jr. was obtained from a history of his life on the web site of the Matinecock Masonic Lodge No. 806, F & A.M.  
<http://www.matinecock.org/portal/desktopdefault.aspx?tabindex=2&tabid=23&item=5>

<sup>3</sup> This information was derived from an article published in the Washington Post in 1982 (see Koncius 1982 in the bibliography)

<sup>4</sup> Much of the information on the life of Cornelius Roosevelt was obtained from his obituaries in the Washington Post and the Atlanta Constitution.

<sup>5</sup> Johnson and Shippee were not the first to take aerial photographs over Latin America and even over Peru. In December of 1926, Major Herbert Dargue commanded a group of five planes that traveled 22,000 miles and visited 20 Latin American countries on a "Pan-American Goodwill flight" to bring greetings from the United States to the leaders of these countries (Dargue 1927). Although they stopped at Paita, Chimbote, Lima, Pisco and Ilo in Peru, they mention no archaeological sites, not did they publish any aerial photographs of Peru.

<sup>6</sup> Julio C. Tello was one of Peru's greatest archaeologists, sometimes called the "Father of Peruvian Archaeology." Born in Huarochiri in 1880, he was racially a Quechua Indian, one who worked his way up to being Director of the National Museum. After receiving the equivalent of a Bachelor's degree in Peru, he was offered a scholarship to Harvard where he completed his Master's degree.

By the 1920's Tello attained the position of Director of the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology. With the change of government in 1930, he was abruptly fired from his job, thus beginning a five year period of "poverty and obscurity" until he regained power in 1935 (Daggett 1994:1). During that five-year hiatus, Tello was named Director of the Institute of Investigations at the University of San Marcos. When the university was temporally closed by the government, he was forced to teach at a number of local universities including the Catholic University, San Marcos, and at the Colegio Antonio Raimondi (Daggett 1994).

During the 1930-1935 period, in his capacity as Director of the Institute of Investigation at San Marcos, he carried out a number of projects. When Cross and Roosevelt met him, he was about to begin his third expedition to Chavín and the Marañón

region, and he invited them to join him as the official photographers for the expedition. In return, he agreed to spend one week with them exploring the Great Wall of Santa.

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