

Materials from the M. Sessé & J. M. Mociño Expedition (1787–1803) pertaining to the Elizondo legacy

Antonio González Bueno and Raúl Rodríguez Nozal

Abstract

We have analyzed the evolution of a block of materials (texts and drawings) from the Botanical Expedition to New Spain, acquired by Mariano La Gasca for the Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid in January 1822. We have studied the origin of this documentary group, its arrival to the metropolis and the vicissitudes suffered before its incorporation into the Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid. Lastly, we have inventoried the materials pertaining to the Elizondo legacy, acquired from a private individual, and we have indicated their current locations: the archives of the Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid and the Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales, both in Madrid.

The destination of the Sessé & Mociño collections after returning to the metropolis

While the expedition still remained in the Americas, the arrival of manuscripts and drawings from the Expedition to New Spain followed, in principle, the same channels as the other illustrated scientific expeditions: centralization in the Secretaría de Gracia y Justicia de Indias and later transfer to the Real Gabinete (animals), Real Jardín Botánico (seeds) and “Oficina Botánica” (manuscripts).

The accumulation of the materials in the “Oficina Botánica,” where the expeditionary botanists H. Ruiz and J. Pavón carried out their studies on the flora of Peru and Chile, was merely provisional, pending the arrival of the members of the expedition to New Spain who would use these materials to prepare the final written version of their studies. We cannot be sure if the Mexican materials were mixed up with those of Peru or if they were properly separated; it is most likely that there was some sort of physical separation between the two collections to impede confusion even though they both shared the same space.¹

In the summer of 1803, the Botanical Expedition to New Spain returned to the metropolis. Shortly after arriving, the botanist in charge, Martín Sessé, requested the materials from New Spain previously deposited in the “Oficina Botánica”² with the purpose of putting the collections in order and writing *Flora Mexicana*. His request was soon fulfilled, but when evaluating the delivery issued by Hipólito Ruiz, director of the office, M. Sessé observed what he considered to be a substantial absence: missing were the two volumes of manuscripts, two packages of herbarium material and a multitude of animal and plant drawings. All these materials had been remitted to the Ministry of the Indies from Guadalajara in 1791, which M. Sessé communicated to the Secretario de Gracia y Justicia de Indias, José Antonio Caballero, in a document dated January 1804.³ This constitutes the group of materials that concerns us in this article.

Departamento de Farmacia y Tecnología Farmacéutica (Cátedra de Historia de la Farmacia), Facultad de Farmacia, Universidad Complutense, E-28040-Madrid, Spain. Email: agbueno@farm.ucm.es [AGB]

Departamento de Ciencias Sanitarias y Médico-Sociales (Historia de la Ciencia), Facultad de Medicina, Campus Universitario, Universidad de Alcalá, E-28871-Alcalá de Henares (Madrid), Spain. Email: raulrn@uah.es [RRN]

The first destination of the collections from the expedition to New Spain after the return of the travelers to the mother country was the house of M. Sessé himself, remaining there for four years until the death of the head botanist of the Mexican Expedition. According to his own testimony, José Mariano Mociño lived and worked at the home of M. Sessé until his death. The work of writing *Flora Mexicana*, however, did not advance substantially.

In 1808, after the death of M. Sessé, J. M. Mociño requested the transfer of these materials to the Real Gabinete de Historia Natural and the "Oficina Botánica" or the Real Jardín Botánico. Nevertheless, the materials from New Spain were not sent to these establishments. A few months after having made this proposal, J. M. Mociño was made responsible for publishing the results of the expeditions to Mexico, Guatemala, California and the Barlovento Islands. To do so, he was given the help of the Mexican, Pablo La Llave, and they were given their own offices at number 9 Baño Street in Madrid, where they were able to store all the books, herbarium sheets, fish, snakes, shells, insects and birds from the Expedition to New Spain.

The wartime situation in which Spain found itself did not favor the project entrusted to J. M. Mociño and P. La Llave. In 1811, the *Flora Mexicana* lost its offices, once again motivating the entreaties of J. M. Mociño. This time the request led to the concession of a room in the Reales Estudios de San Isidro, in a space joined with another that the botanists responsible for producing *Flora del Perú* had requested at around the same date.⁴

But J. M. Mociño achieved nothing. His adscription to the French side, his exile in France with the troops of King Joseph Bonaparte, and his later residence in Montpellier, which benefited A. P. de Candolle and indirectly contributed greatly to spreading the results of the Expedition

to New Spain, are well known.⁵ In 1818 J. M. Mociño's return to Spain was formally authorized in order to continue his work of publishing *Flora Mexicana*, an aspiration that he would never achieve before his death in 1819.⁶ The materials that accompanied J. M. Mociño during his exile were deposited in the hands of different private collections in Barcelona until 1981 when his drawings were acquired by the Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation in Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania, U.S.A.), where they are currently preserved as The Torner Collection of Sessé & Mociño Biological Illustrations.⁷

Not all the material collected in New Spain, however, was amongst the baggage J. M. Mociño took with him during his French exile. According to the testimony of Hipólito Ruiz and José Pavón, J. M. Mociño deposited eight crates in Madrid in the custody of the "Oficina Botánica" at the request of the American botanist and with the consent of the Secretaría de Gracia y Justicia de Indias. Another part remained under the control of Claudio Boutelou, director of the Real Jardín Botánico in Madrid during the years of French rule.⁸

In the period after the War of Independence, and given the request of the botanists of Peru, it was approved to reunite the Mexican collections in the "Oficina Botánica," a conflictive decision as it reignited an old dispute between the "Oficina Botánica" and its members on one hand and the Royal Garden and its governing body, with Mariano La Gasca at the head, on the other. The cession of the New Spain resources to the "Oficina Botánica" included incorporating in this institution the materials that C. Boutelou acquired before J. M. Mociño's departure, then under the custody of the Real Jardín Botánico. The decision of its director, M. La Gasca, was negative, and despite the appeals of H. Ruiz and J. Pavón, these materials did not reach the hands of the botanists of Peru, as reflected

in the “Inventory” of objects belonging to the “Oficina Botánica” of 1818, which listed only the eight previously mentioned crates left in the custody of H. Ruiz and J. Pavón when J. M. Mociño abandoned Spain.⁹ The materials deposited in the “Oficina Botánica,” as well as that from the Expedition to Peru and Chile, were sold by J. Pavón en masse to some European botanists after the death of H. Ruiz in 1816.¹⁰

The Elizondo collection: Its origin and attempts at acquisition by the Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid

After the death of J. M. Mociño in 1819, the materials of the expedition to New Spain were divided into three lots: those transported by the expeditionary botanist during his French exile and later deposited in Barcelona; the eight crates in the custody of the “Oficina Botánica” that J. Pavón distributed among interested European botanists; and the materials ceded to the Real Jardín Botánico, controlled by C. Boutelou, who, at least in part, integrated the materials amongst those of his own herbarium.¹¹

There was still yet a fourth lot: the New Spanish collections in the possession of Eugenio Peña, professor at the Real Colegio de San Carlos in Madrid. Although we do not know how these materials came to be in his hands, in 1819 they were in the custody of his heir, Eugenia Elizondo. Eugenio Peña (1767–1813) was head professor of clinical medicine at the Real Colegio de San Carlos, where he held the office of secretary from 1798 to 1804, represented Madrid in the Courts in 1813, and traveled to Cadiz, where he died due to an epidemic of yellow fever.¹²

It does not seem feasible to relate this collection with the exile of J. M. Mociño. M. La Gasca maintained active correspondence with the Mexican botanist while he was

in French exile and even later during his last months in Barcelona. He was perfectly informed of Mociño’s personal situation as well as that of his collections, as alluded to in his correspondence with F. Dunal and A. P. De Candolle, and at no time was mention ever made of this legacy.¹³ We are only aware of one epistolary reference to this collection, found in the draft of a letter written by M. La Gasca to A. B. Lambert that was undated but may well be from the summer of 1819, in which he wrote: “The *Flora Mexicana* of Sessé and Mociño is still in crates and quite dispersed. Only just today I have verified in the home of a private individual 118 drawings that belong to the collection, two packets of dried plants and two volumes of descriptions, and it will all be collected under orders of the Government to be reunited with some remains that are in the Jardín. Another portion is dispersed.”¹⁴

The Elizondo legacy is comprised of precisely the coveted materials sent from Guadalajara in 1791, which were not turned over together with the rest of the materials in the custody of the “Oficina Botánica” at the return of the expedition to New Spain to the metropolis, and which M. Sessé insisted upon at length in his letter from 10 January 1804 to the Secretaría de Gracia y Justicia de Indias.¹⁵

M. Sessé informed of the departure of these materials for the metropolis on 22 July 1791 in letters written in the summer of 1791 to the Marquis of Bajamar as well as to the Count of Revillagigedo. The materials had been remitted to the port of Veracruz. They consisted of a crate containing the descriptions of 1,383 plants, in two volumes, folio, a collection of drawings, another of herbarium sheets and a group of lists with the relationship of the drawings and sheets collected during the first three years of the Expedition in the territory of New Spain.¹⁶ The crates in which these materials were packaged left the port

of Veracruz on 7 December, destined for the arrivals magistrate in Cadiz, traveling on the warship *San Isidro* [*La Astraea*] under the care of the brigadier Antonio Chacón. These materials, in addition to others sent by Vicente Cervantes and José Longinos, arrived in the mother country in early March 1792. From Cadiz, their port of arrival, they were remitted to the Court under the care of driver Nemesio Bares, who deposited them at the Secretaría de Gracia y Justicia de Indias in late March 1792.¹⁷

On reiterated occasions, H. Ruiz collected materials, drawings and herbarium sheets belonging to the expedition to New Spain from the Secretaría de Gracia y Justicia de Indias,¹⁸ but there is no record that among the items withdrawn were those belonging to the shipment to Guadalajara. It does not seem, at least, that he ever had at his disposal the two volumes with the content of the descriptions of the *Flora Mexicana*. In fact, as we have noted, these pieces were not included among those delivered to M. Sessé after the return of the expedition to New Spain to the metropolis.¹⁹

We do not know the destination of this collection after entering the Secretaría de Gracia y Justicia de Indias in March 1793 until it was located in the summer of 1819 in the possession of Eugenia Elizondo. It is possible that these materials could have been turned over to Eugenio Peña for scientific evaluation.²⁰

During the latter months of 1819, M. La Gasca tried to appropriate these herbarium sheets, manuscripts and drawings from the Elizondo collection, valued at 6,000 reales. The acquisition was justified not only for the intrinsic value of the collection but also as an argument for claiming the materials deposited in the "Oficina Botánica" and those that J. M. Mociño still kept in his custody. On this occasion, the Spanish academic directorate did not consider this purchase feasible, arguing

the precariousness of the funds available and their use exclusively for expenses of immediate necessity for teaching purposes.²¹

Three years later, during the Liberal Triennium, the purchase of the collection was authorized for the price of 4,000 reales, an amount determined by the Directorate of the Real Jardín Botánico. The acquisition was approved by the General Directorate of Studies on 8 January 1822, and M. La Gasca himself was placed in charge of the legacy acquired by the State and for depositing it in the Real Jardín Botánico in Madrid, where it has been since 18 January 1822.²²

Content of the collection of Mexican materials, property of Eugenia Elizondo

We know the content of this legacy in its entirety thanks to the "*Inventario de las Plantas secas y dibujos de Historia Natural que posee Doña Eugenia Elyzondo y que pertenecieron al Doctor Dⁿ Eugenio Peña Catedrático del Colegio de San Carlos de Madrid,*" completed by M. La Gasca on 6 August 1819.²³

The inventory begins with an account of 118 drawings, 87 corresponding to plant illustrations and 31 to animal images.²⁴ The majority of the plant drawings are currently deposited in the archives of the Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid; only five of the 87 listed in the inventory have not been able to be located. The animal drawings, except for two that must be given up for lost, are preserved in the archives of the Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales and are the only illustrations that this institution possesses from this expedition. Each one presents a characteristic numerical annotation of its own in pencil on the bottom left of each drawing. Table 1 shows the relationship of these drawings and their correlation with the current catalogue numbers of the centers in

which they are preserved²⁵ (RJB Archives), the catalogue number found at the foot of the drawing (notation).²⁶

The following is an account of 174 herbarium sheets divided into two packets (one with 85

and one with 89 sheets), most of them with more than one sample (in some instances up to four).²⁷ Unfortunately, these sheets could not be located in the herbarium of the Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid (MA).

Table 1. Iconography of the Expedition to New Spain belonging to the E. Elizondo legacy

Plant drawings	RJB Archives	Notation
<i>Echites undulata</i>	ill. 50	38
<i>Achras pruniformis</i>	ill. 64	—
<i>Fuchsia arborea</i>	ill. 67	11
<i>Ceanothus africanus</i>	ill. 46	22
<i>Nerium disentericum</i>	ill. 54	—
<i>Hibiscus pedunculatus</i>	ill. 95	60
<i>Tarhonanthus purpureus</i>	ill. 105	101
<i>Cordia sebestena</i>	ill. 49	95
<i>Quassia amara</i>	ill. 76	84
<i>Urena lobata</i> ²⁸	ill. 98	—
<i>Symplocos martinicensis</i>	ill. 101	46
<i>Turnera pumilea</i>	ill. 62	—
<i>Bahinia aculeata</i>	ill. 72	103
<i>Carica papaya</i>	ill. 115	76
<i>Banisteria hispida</i>	ill. 78	—
<i>Phyllanthus americanus</i>	ill. 108	—
<i>Echites revoluta</i>	ill. 51	61
<i>Muntingia calabura</i>	ill. 86	80
<i>Gentiana corymbosa</i>	ill. 60	—
<i>Cordia gerascanthus</i>	ill. 48	33
<i>Momordica operculata</i>	ill. 103	32
<i>Buddleia americana</i>	ill. 30	67
<i>Banisteria laurifolia</i>	ill. 79	37
<i>Euphorbia iunciformis</i>	ill. 82	—
<i>Petiveria octandra</i>	ill. 65	21
<i>Schinus occidentalis</i>	ill. 117	44
<i>Dalechampia scandens</i>	ill. 112	—
<i>Coriaria cuneifolia</i>	ill. 116	69
<i>Croton vulpinum</i>	ill. 111	17
<i>Rheedia lateriflora</i>	ill. 85	—
<i>Salvia aegyptiaca</i> ²⁹	ill. 17	47
<i>Salvia glutinosa</i> ³⁰	ill. 18	68
<i>Salvia patzquarensis</i>	ill. 19	10
<i>Xanthium fruticosum</i> ³¹	ill. 109	6
<i>Arbutus ferruginea</i>	ill. 71	64

Plant drawings	RJB Archives	Notation
<i>Saururus cernuus</i>	ill. 66	52
<i>Phlox violacea</i>	ill. 56	—
<i>Cynanchum maritimum</i>	[missing]	
<i>Polygala baccifera</i> ³²	ill. 100	75
<i>Cytharexylum racemosum</i>	ill. 91	48
<i>Trianthema monogyn</i>	ill. 77	70
<i>Rauwolfia oppositiflora</i> ³³	ill. 57	42
<i>Passiflora obtusifolia</i>	ill. 106	—
<i>Achras zapota</i>	ill. 63	96
<i>Bignonia leucoxydon</i>	ill. 87	90
<i>Ruellia amoena</i>	ill. 93	88
<i>Rhus pterocarpus</i>	ill. 61	71
<i>Bahinia purpurea</i>	ill. 73	—
<i>Malachra hispida</i>	ill. 96	89
<i>Buchnera grandiflora</i>	ill. 89	31
<i>Randia mitis</i>	ill. 26	—
<i>Aristolochia sagittifolia</i>	ill. 107	—
<i>Hedysarum grandiflorum</i>	ill. 99	5
<i>Polymnia wedalia</i>	ill. 104	—
<i>Verbena grandiflora</i>	ill. 20	7
<i>Asclepias scandens</i>	[missing]	
<i>Allionia incarnata</i>	ill. 27	78
<i>Ixora uniflora</i>	ill. 33	43
<i>Portulaca patens</i>	ill. 81	—
<i>Erinus humilis</i>	ill. 92	—
<i>Grislea herbacea</i>	ill. 68	28
<i>Lisianthus pauciflorus</i>	ill. 52	73
<i>Boccoma frutescens</i>	ill. 80	14
<i>Paullinia tomentosa</i>	ill. 69	82
<i>Musa sapientum</i>	[missing]	
<i>Cecropia peltata</i>	ill. 114	—
<i>Dorstenia drakenia</i>	ill. 32	—
<i>Varronia bullata</i>	ill. 59	—
<i>Capparis umbellata</i>	ill. 84	98
<i>Sida triloba</i> ³⁴	ill. 97	15
<i>Convolvulus queretarensis</i> ³⁵	ill. 47	—
<i>Cassia alata</i>	ill. 74	4
<i>Polygonum scandens</i>	ill. 70	—
<i>Hura crepitans</i>	ill. 113	—
<i>Clitoria racemosa</i>	[missing]	—
<i>Lobelia paztquarensis</i>	ill. 102	8
<i>Begonia syphyllitica</i>	ill. 110	97
<i>Phlox divaricata</i>	ill. 55	—
<i>Crataegus inermis</i>	ill. 83	51

Plant drawings	RJB Archives	Notation
<i>Bignonia salicifolia</i>	ill. 88	91
<i>Guaiacum afrum</i>	ill. 75	—
<i>Dianthera sexangularis</i>	ill. 11	—
<i>Cytharexylum quadrangulare</i>	ill. 90	48
<i>Tabernaemontana laurifolia</i>	ill. 58	—
<i>Lithospermum virginianum</i>	ill. 53	63

Animal drawings ³⁶	RJB Archives	Notation
<i>Minich sp. et als.</i> [16 figures]	[missing]	
<i>Camilla sp. et als.</i> [8 figures]	ill. 144	—
<i>Jafon sp. et als.</i> [4 figures]	ill. 146	—
<i>Eubule sp. et als.</i> [8 figures]	ill. 147	—
<i>Phalaena macularia et als.</i> [7 fig.]	ill. 145	—
<i>Motacilla lutea</i>	ill. 135	Av. 38
<i>Motacilla güira</i>	ill. 136	Av. 37
<i>Turdus trichas</i>	ill. 142	Av. 29
<i>Turdus comendador</i>	ill. 138	Av. 31
<i>Turdus arundinaceus</i>	ill. 133	Av. 32
<i>Tringa pusilla</i>	ill. 122	Av. 21
<i>Tringa hipoleucos</i>	ill. 123	Av. 20
<i>Tanagra dominica</i>	ill. 130	Av. 36
<i>Muscicapa cayanensis</i>	ill. 131	—
<i>Charadrius himantopus</i>	ill. 125	—
<i>Fringilla montana</i>	lam. 143	Av. 28
<i>Trochilus turpis</i>	lam. 129	Av. 7/8
<i>Fulica fusca</i>	lam. 124	Av. 22
<i>Gracula quiscula</i> [masc.]	lam. 141	—
<i>Gracula quiscula</i> [faemina]	lam. 140	Av. 34
<i>Crotophaga ani</i>	lam. 127	—
<i>Merops fuscus</i>	lam. 132	—
<i>Loxia americana</i>	lam. 134	Av. 27
<i>Bultur harpyja</i>	lam. 121	—
<i>Faleo sparverius</i> [masc.]	[missing]	
<i>Apelis cortinga</i>	lam. 139	Av. 33
<i>Recurvirostra avocetta</i>	lam. 126	—
<i>Phasianus cursor</i>	lam. 128	—
<i>Oriolus castaneus</i>	lam. 137	—
<i>Ardea-ciconia mexicana</i>	lam. 120	Av. 19
<i>Vespertilio spectrum</i>	lam. 148	—

One-third of the legacy is comprised of the two volumes of manuscripts that today we know as *Plantae Novae Hispaniae* ..., by J. M. Mociño, as reported by R. McVaugh (1977). The inventory notes leave no room for doubt: "One volume en folio of 554 pages without including the Preface or the covers, starting with the *Monandria* class and ending with the description of *Gesneria maculatra*" and "One volume en folio of 507 pages without including the index. Starting with the description of *Stemodia siliquosa* and ending with that of *Phoenix dactilifera*." The content coincides with the two volumes preserved in the archives of the Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid: *Plantae Novae Hispaniae nutu, ope, et auspicio Benignissimi Regis Caroli IV Hucusque collectae, et Linnaeano Systemate ordinatae; Quarum Tercentae aut plures anomine nunquam editae videntur, et rariores iconibus ad vivum repraesentantur*. 2 volumes. (RJB Archives leg. V, 7, 1 [volume I]; leg. V, 7, 2 [volume II]).

It is not difficult to see in these two volumes of hand-written descriptions an imitation of "*Flora Ruiziana*" prepared around 1785 by the expeditions to Peru and Chile.³⁷ Neither of these texts was prepared to be printed directly, but both compiled a good number of descriptions of exotic plants, until then unknown to the international botanical community.

Notes

1. The transfer of the materials from the Viceroyalty of New Spain to the metropolis can be followed through the documentation preserved in the MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folders 498, 506, 507, 509, 512, 533 and 544. An abundant amount of documentation on the incorporation of these materials to the "Oficina Botánica" is preserved in these archives: receipt signed by Hipólito Ruiz, Madrid, 24-IV-1793 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 201); receipt signed by H. Ruiz, Madrid, 20-XI-1793 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 205); official letter addressed to Pedro de Acuña requesting the transfer of the botanical collections deposited in the "Pretil de Palacio" to the "Oficina Botánica," Madrid, 17-V-1793 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 205); official letter from Casimiro Gómez Ortega to Eugenio Llaguno, [Madrid], 10-IV-1796 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 524). The existence of a series of rooms for the materials from New Spain in the "Oficina Botánica" headquarters itself is reflected in a receipt corresponding to the new locks installed in these offices, located on Don Pedro Street, Madrid, Aranjuez, 5-II-1794 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 514).
2. The "Oficina Botánica" or "Oficina de la Flora Americana" was a new scientific institution, created at the end of the 18th century in the Court of Madrid, whose main mission was to house the natural history materials originating from the overseas expeditions and enable the botanists and illustrators to publish "*Floras americanas*." About this scientific establishment, independent from the Real Jardín Botánico, cf. R. Rodríguez Nozal (1995), R. Rodríguez Nozal and A. González Bueno (1995), and A. González Bueno and R. Rodríguez Nozal (2000a).
3. The letter, dated 10 January 1804, is preserved in the MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 534.
4. The evolution of the collections from New Spain after the return of the expeditions to the Peninsula has been studied through the following documentation: official letter from M. Sessé to J. A. Caballero, Madrid, 10-I-1804 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 534); draft of an official letter addressed to H. Ruiz and J. Pavón, Aranjuez, 7-III-1804 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 309); official letter from J. A. Caballero to H. Ruiz and J. Pavón, Aranjuez, 7-III-1804 (RJB Archives, folder IV, 12, 3, 7); communication from J. A. Caballero to M. Sessé, Aranjuez, 7-V-1804 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 534); official letter from J. M. Mociño to P. Ceballos, Madrid, 24-X-1808 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 546); letter from J. M. Mociño and P. La Llave notifying their problems with the workplace, [Madrid], 16-VII-1809 (RJB Archives, folder V, 1, 5, 34); draft of official letter written by J. M. Mociño expressing his problems with the workplace, [Madrid], [1809-1811] (RJB Archives, folder V, 1, 5, 36); draft of an official letter written by J. M. Mociño requesting a room in the Reales Estudios de San Isidro, [Madrid], VIII-1811 (RJB Archives, folder V, 1, 5, 40). A detailed account of these vicissitudes is in A. González Bueno and R. Rodríguez Nozal (2000b).

5. About the transfer of the collections from New Spain to exile by J. M. Mociño, cf. Special meeting of the Madrid Medical Academy, celebrated Monday, 16 August 1813 (RNAM Archives, Book of Accords, III, pp. 476–477); copy of official letter addressed to the Secretary of State about the claim made to the French Government concerning the objects extracted from Spain in times of Joseph Bonaparte, Palacio, 16-VI-1814 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 548); and letter from M. P. Graells to the Minister of Public Works, Madrid, 12-V-1862 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 552).
6. The comings and goings of the materials transported by J. M. Mociño after his return to the Peninsula, formally authorized in 1818, can be tracked through the following documents: copy of an official letter addressed to the Secretary of State from the Junta de Protección del Museo de Ciencias Naturales, Madrid, 8-VII-1818 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 551) and official letter from M. P. Graells to the Minister of Public Works, Madrid, 12-V-1862 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 552). About this subject, see also the study by R. Weibel (1949).
7. Concerning the location of the drawings from the Expedition to New Spain, M. Colmeiro presented a communication to the Real Sociedad Española de Historia Natural (cf. M. Colmeiro 1873). R. McVaugh gives an account of the current location of this collection (1981); a catalogue is available of these drawings reproduced in electronic format and created by J. J. White, R. McVaugh and R. W. Kiger (1998).
8. Testimony of the materials that remained in the custody of the “Oficina Botánica” after the departure of J. M. Mociño, in a letter from H. Ruiz and J. Pavón to M. Lardizabal, Madrid, 11-VI-1814 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 339); there is evidence of these materials in an inventory of the “Oficina Botánica” completed in Madrid, 1-VII-1818 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 352).
9. The attempts made by H. Ruiz and J. Pavón at reuniting all the material from the American expeditions in the “Oficina Botánica” after the sudden passing of J. M. Mociño are revealed in the following documents: draft of official letter addressed to the head of the Secretaría de la Gobernación de la Península requesting the materials found at the home of J. M. Mociño be turned over to H. Ruiz and J. Pavón, Palacio, 16-VI-1814 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 549); draft of official letter addressed to H. Ruiz and J. Pavón for them to take charge of this delivery, Palacio, 16-VI-1814 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 549); Pedro Macanaz [head of the Secretaría de la Gobernación de la Península] to the head of the Real Jardín Botánico, informing him of the delivery of the materials belonging to J. M. Mociño, Palacio, 28-VI-1814 (RJB Archives, folder I, 23, 6, 2); H. Ruiz and J. Pavón to Joaquín Fondevila, informing him of M. La Gasca’s refusal to turn over the materials belonging to J. M. Mociño, Madrid, 27-VI-1814 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 549).
10. A study on the dispersion and current location of the American collections deposited in the “Oficina Botánica” is in R. Rodríguez Nozal (1994).
11. M. Colmeiro informs on the materials of J. M. Mociño in the Boutelou Herbarium (1858, p. 191); in 1883, these materials were still divided between the University of Seville and the Escuela de Ingenieros de Montes de Madrid (cf. R. González Frago 1883); F. Muñoz Garmendia gives an account of the destruction of the materials deposited in the Escuela de Ingenieros de Montes de Madrid, as a consequence of the Spanish Civil War from 1936 to 1939 (1992).
12. Biographical data of Eugenio de la Peña is in R. López Mateos (1813).
13. During his exile in France, J. M. Mociño considered M. La Gasca his contact in Spain for scientific matters, cf. letter from J. M. Mociño to M. La Gasca, Montpellier, 31-XII-1816 (RJB Archives, folder I, 56, 9, 11); *Ib.*, Barcelona, 21-I-1818 (RJB Archives, folder I, 56, 9, 12); *Ib.*, 18-II-1818 (RJB Archives, folder I, 56, 9, 13). Other correspondents in Montpellier informed M. La Gasca of J. M. Mociño’s health and work, cf. letter from A. P. de Candolle to M. La Gasca, Montpellier, 16-VI-1816 (RJB Archives, folder I, 56, 5, 3); *Ib.*, 8-VIII-1816 (RJB Archives, folder I, 56, 5, 4); letter from F. Dunal to M. La Gasca, Montpellier, 2-VIII-1817 (RJB Archives, folder I, 56, 5, 15).
14. Draft of a letter from M. La Gasca to A. B. Lambert, s.f. [1819] (RJB Archives, folder I, 57, 5, 19). Original in Spanish, translated to English.
15. The letter, dated 10 January 1804, is preserved in the MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 534.
16. The delivery was sent by the Viceroy of México on 22 July 1791; among the materials remitted were a collection of indices of materials that still survives today: *Rariora Novae Hispaniae Animalia Iconibus repraesentata; Animalia Novae Hispaniae ad vivum Hucusque depicta, et quo missa sunt ordine enumerata; Rariora Novae Hispaniae Vegetabilia in tertia excursione Botanicala iconibus respresentata;*

- Herbario tertia excursione Hispaniae missum Julio mense an. 1791; Index Animalium. Mammalia ferre/Aves picce; Index Plantarum quae Iconibus demonstrantur litera; and Index Specierum Plantaum Herbaris*, all of which are preserved in the MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 505, as well as some transcripts by J. C. Arias Divito (1968).
17. The evolution of this delivery can be reconstructed thanks to the documentation preserved in the MNCN Archives, folder 506: report from the Count of Revillagigedo to the Marquis of Bajamar about the crates being sent to Veracruz, México, 8-X-1791; report by Miguel del Corral, acting Governor of Veracruz, giving an account to the Marquis of Bajamar about the loading of the crates on the warship *San Isidro*, Veracruz, 23-XI-1791; letter from the Count of Revillagigedo about the delay suffered by the shipment, México, 30-XI-1791; report by Miguel del Corral about the departure of the shipment from the port of Veracruz, Veracruz, 30-XII-1791; official letter to the arrivals magistrate in Cadiz giving the order to send the crates to Madrid, Aranjuez, 14-II-1792; report from Manuel González Guiral, arrivals magistrate in the port of Cadiz, to the Marquis of Bajamar about the shipping of the materials to the Court, Cádiz, 2-III-1792; letter from the Marquis of Bajamar to M. González Guiral confirming having received his notification, [Aranjuez], 21-III-1792; report from the Marquis of Bajamar to the Viceroy Revillagigedo about the materials being received, Aranjuez, 21-III-1792; report from the Marquis of Bajamar to the Governor of Veracruz about the arrival of the material from New Spain, San Ildefonso, 16-VIII-1792. R. McVaugh (1977, p. 112) makes mention of previous messages from M. Sessé to the Count of Revillagigedo, Guadalajara, 22-VII-1791, and to the Marquis of Bajamar, Tépíc, 13-VIII-1791, informing them of the shipment of these materials.
 18. Among the materials closest to the shipment that concerns us, there are receipts for the following: 180 plant drawings, a list of books and 33 drawings of animals from the Expedition to New Spain, Madrid, 24-IV-1793 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 201); 293 drawings of American plants, 35 drawings of animals and 4 packets with sheets belonging to the Botanical Expedition to New Spain, Madrid, 17-V-1793 (MNCN Archives, folder 205).
 19. The documentation preserved in the MNCN Archives allows us to reconstruct the facts: in a letter dated 10-I-1804, M. Sessé informs J. A. Pérez Caballero that the manuscripts, drawings and referenced herbariums are missing (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 534); on 7-III-1804, J. A. Pérez Caballero responds to M. Sessé, informing him of the destination of the collections sent by the Expedition to New Spain in 1791 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 534); that same day, 7-III-1804, J. A. Pérez Caballero orders H. Ruiz and J. Pavón to turn over to M. Sessé any drawings and herbarium sheets that they may have from the Expedition to New Spain (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 534); in a letter dated 17-III-1804, H. Ruiz and J. Pavón report to J. A. Pérez Caballero that they have delivered all the materials from New Spain kept in the "Oficina Botánica" to M. Sessé (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 309).
 20. Eugenio Peña was actively in favour of the spreading of scientific information; together with Josef Rebollo, Juan Álvarez Guerra, Juan Blasco Negrillo, Josef Miguel Alea, Josef Folch and Manuel Josef Quintana, he formed part of the group that produced the magazine *Varietades de Ciencias, Literaturas y Artes*, published in Madrid by the Benito García and Company press, from 1803 to 1805; appearing in this magazine was the first public account of the scientific results of the Expedition to New Spain (Anonymous 1805); the materials of the legacy that concern us, however, were not specifically mentioned.
 21. The Marquis of Santa Cruz reports on the collection in possession of Eugenia Elizondo to the Premier Secretary of State, Madrid, 27-X-1819 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 552); this official letter mentions the request for purchase made by M. La Gasca; the denial to this request is found in the official letter sent from the Secretary of State to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, Palacio, 16-XI-1819 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, folder 552). The report sent from Palacio is quite specific in this respect: "What is essential is for Lagasca to teach Botanica well and create good disciples, and in order to do so he already has all the necessary aids; to complete collections, which cannot even be published yet, it seems that we must await times of greater abundance."
 22. Cf. official letter from M. Flores [of the General Directorate of Studies of the Kingdom, Section of Special Schools] to M. La Gasca, Madrid, 18-I-1822 (RJB Archives, folder I, 31, 1, 1).
 23. RJB Archives, folder I, 1, 5, 47.
 24. In the report sent by M. La Gasca to the Marquis of Santa Cruz in the autumn of 1819 (MNCN Archives, Expedition, folder 552), he states

that the drawings are, barring exception, very well preserved, designed in black ink and with the notes necessary for illustration, and the zoological iconography is all well illustrated. Just as M. La Gasca indicated, the botanical drawings belonging to this collection are only partially illustrated, while the zoological ones are in their entirety; it should also be added that the botanical drawings belonging to this collection are of much better quality than the other drawings of the Expedition preserved in this same archive.

25. We have followed the catalogue numeration proposed by P. Coello et al. (1987) and G. Zamudio (2000) for the plant drawings and that of J. Barreiro (1987) for the zoological drawings.
26. This numeration appears systematically in the lower left of each drawing; having been written in pencil, in some cases the notation has worn off. These numerical notations only appear on the drawings from the Elizondo collection.
27. M. La Gasca, in his report to the Marquis of Santa Cruz from the summer of 1819 (MNCN Archives, Expeditions, doc. 552), indicated that the plants were preserved rather well, although the majority only presented blooms and few presented flowers and fruit; in the report he indicated that a large part of the herbarium sheets corresponded with the drawings, in an attempt at increasing the value of this collection and promoting its acquisition.
28. "est diversa" [mss. La Gasca].
29. "est S. angustifolia Cav." [mss. La Gasca]
30. "est sp. diversa" [mss. La Gasca]
31. "est Franseria ambrosioides" [mss. La Gasca]
32. "est Monrina sp." [mss. La Gasca]
33. "est Rawolfia glabra Cav." [mss. La Gasca]
34. "No lo es" [mss. La Gasca]
35. "est Ipomea" [mss. La Gasca]
36. Some of the animal drawings (those noted in the Table) are numbered in ink in the lower left-hand corner, which corresponds with the "Index Animalium" remitted to the Court in 1791, duplicates of which are preserved in the MNCN, Expeditions, doc. 505. It should be observed that, on the same sheet, sometimes more than one of the drawings cited in this list appear as the expedition did not annotate the number of pages sent, but rather the number of species illustrated.
37. About "Flora Ruiziana" cf. A. González Bueno (1995); about the materials produced by the expedition to Peru and Chile cf. A. González Bueno and R. Rodríguez Nozal (1996).

References

- MNCN Archives—Archives of the Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales (Madrid)
 RNAM Archives—Archives of the Royal National Academy of Medicine (Madrid)
 RJB Archives—Archives of the Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid

Bibliography

- Anónimo. 1805. Noticia de los trabajos científicos de Don Martín Sessé. *Varied. Ci.* 2(4): 353–358.
- Arias Divito, J. C. 1968. *Las Expediciones Científicas Españolas durante el Siglo XVIII: Expedición Botánica de Nueva España*. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica.
- Barreiro Rodríguez, J. 1987. Catálogo de las láminas [de la Expedición de Nueva España] del Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales. In: B. Sánchez, M. A. Puig-Sámper and J. de la Sota, eds. 1987. *La Real Expedición Botánica a Nueva España (1787–1803)*. Madrid: Real Jardín Botánico, CSIC. Pp. 345–351.
- Coello, P., F. Pelayo, A. Fernández and J. L. Díaz. 1987. Catálogo de las láminas del Real Jardín Botánico. In: B. Sánchez, M. A. Puig-Sámper and J. de la Sota, eds. 1987. *La Real Expedición Botánica a Nueva España (1787–1803)*. Madrid: Real Jardín Botánico, CSIC. Pp. 317–345.
- Colmeiro, M. 1858. *La Botánica y los Botánicos de la Península Hispano-Lusitana*. Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra.
- Colmeiro, M. 1873. Noticias sobre los dibujos originales de la flora mejicana. *Anales Soc. Esp. Hist. Nat.* 2(Actas): 53–55.
- González Bueno, A. 1995. Los materiales inéditos de la "Flora Peruana y Chilense" conservados en el Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid. In: W. D. Müller-Jahncke, A. M. Carmona and F. Ledermann. 1995. *Materialien zur Pharmazie-geschichte Akten des 31. Kongresses für Geschichte der Pharmazie, Heidelberg, 3–7, Mai 1993*. Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft. Pp. 335–342.
- González Bueno, A. and R. Rodríguez Nozal. 1996. *The Expedition to Peru and Chile (1777–1788): Inventory of scientific production*. *Huntia* 9(2): 107–132.
- González Bueno, A. and R. Rodríguez Nozal. 2000a. *Plantas Americanas para la España Ilustrada: Génesis, Desarrollo y Ocaso del Proyecto Español de Expediciones Botánicas*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense.

- González Bueno, A. and R. Rodríguez Nozal. 2000b. La Expedición botánica a Nueva España (1787–1803): Un análisis de sus resultados. In: P. Aceves Pastrana, ed. 2000. *Tradiciones e Intercambios Científicos: Materia Médica, Farmacia y Medicina*. México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Xochimilco. Pp. 255–282.
- González Frago, R. 1883. Una carta inédita de Pavón. *Anales Soc. Esp. Hist. Nat.* 12(Actas): 69–71.
- López Mateos, R. 1813. *Elogio Fúnebre del Doctor don Eugenio de la Peña*. Madrid: Imprenta que fue de Fuentenebro.
- McVaugh, R. 1977. Botanical results of the Sessé & Mociño Expedition (1787–1803). I. Summary of excursions and travels. *Contr. Univ. Michigan Herb.* 11(3): 97–195.
- McVaugh, R. 1981. Long-lost Sessé and Mociño illustrations acquired. *Bull. Hunt Inst. Bot. Doc.* 3(1): 1–2.
- McVaugh, R. 2000. Botanical Results of the Sessé & Mociño Expedition (1787–1803). VII. A Guide to Relevant Scientific Names of Plants. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation.
- Muñoz Garmendia, F. 1992. *Diarios y Trabajos Botánicos de Luis Née*. Barcelona: Lunverg.
- Rodríguez Nozal, R. 1994. Las colecciones americanas generadas por las Expediciones Botánicas de la España ilustrada: Un análisis de su dispersión. *Llull* 17: 403–436.
- Rodríguez Nozal, R. 1995. La Oficina Botánica (1788–1835): Una institución dedicada al estudio de la flora americana. *Asclepio* 47(2): 169–183.
- Rodríguez Nozal, R. and A. González Bueno. 1995. Ciencia periférica en la metrópoli: La “Oficina Botánica” (1788–1835), una institución americanista en el Madrid de la Ilustración. In: P. Aceves Pastrana, ed. 1996. *Farmacia, Historia Natural y Química Intercontinentales*. México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Xochimilco. Pp. 115–142.
- Weibel, R. 1949. *La Flore du Mexique et les dames de Genève*. Genève.
- White, J. J., R. McVaugh and R. W. Kiger, comp. 1998. *The Torner Collection of Sessé & Mociño Biological Illustrations*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Carnegie Mellon CD Press for Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation and The Universal Library. [CD-ROM.]
- Zamudio, G. 2000. Catálogo de los dibujos de la Real Expedición Botánica del Archivo del Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid. In: M. P. San Pío Aladrén and M. A. Puig-Samper. 2000. *El Águila y el Nopal: La Expedición de Sessé y Mociño a Nueva España (1787–1803)*. Madrid: Real Jardín Botánico. Pp. 117–212.