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Detail of the 1656 Teixeira plan of Madrid showing the Vargas houseblock and the parish church of San Pedro el Real, lower left.

## DIEGO DE VARGAS: ANOTHER LOOK

JOHN L. KESSELL

NOT FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS, since the extraordinary, painstaking work of historian J. Manuel Espinosa, have we looked closely at Diego de Vargas (1643–1704), governor and recolonizer of New Mexico.<sup>1</sup> It is time we did.

Vargas is slipping out of focus. A recent popular history of the Southwest had this to say about him:

He was lean, resilient, and exquisitely elegant, his thin face adorned with hairline mustaches and a narrow goatee. Although he had married into a family as illustrious as his, he was unhappy. At the age of thirty-one he walked out on his wife and sailed to New Spain. Because divorces were impossible in Catholic Spain, the adored woman he found in Mexico City, mother of three of his children, remained unwed. He added grandly to his already immense fortune, and in 1688 offered to return the lost province to Mexico at his own expense.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, this graphic description is more than a little distorted. Vargas was endlessly in debt. He missed his family in Spain. He had a broad face. And he lisped.

He was born in Madrid, capital of the Spanish empire. Although the family spent part of the year at the big house in Torrelaguna, seat of Vargas rural properties north of the city, Madrid was home. Baptized on 8 November 1643, Diego Joseph de Vargas Zapata y Luján Ponce de León y Contreras hardly knew his parents.<sup>3</sup> María Margarita de Contreras, his mother, died when he was five.<sup>4</sup> The following year his father, Capt. Alonso de Vargas Zapata, knight of

the Order of Santiago, left him and his older brother Lorenzo in the care of a paternal great-grandmother and set off as *alcalde mayor*, or district officer, of Chiapas in the jurisdiction of Guatemala. They never saw him again. At least the boys were not uprooted. Surrounded by aunts and uncles and cousins, they continued living where they always had, in the principal upstairs apartments of the Vargas home "on the street that leads down from the *Puerta de Moros* to [the parish church of] *San Pedro*."<sup>5</sup>

Diego de Vargas grew up with the amenities of his class—the middle-ranking nobility of the capital. When Lorenzo died, about 1660, Diego became his father's heir. At the age of eighteen, he secured from the crown license to administer don Alonso's estates. The settlement of accounts with his legal guardian of the previous two years suggests what occupied a young man of his station in Madrid in the early 1660s.

A notary recorded the expenses routinely: for his grammar lessons (eighteen months at 20 reales per month) and schoolbooks (235 reales), his dancing lessons (ten months at 24 reales per month), his manservant (100 reales a month), food for the two of them (120 reales a month), and twenty-two pairs of shoes (11 reales each) plus two plain pairs for the dancing lessons (10 reales each). He dressed and slept well. The itemization included everything from shirts to sheets, silk stockings to hats, a velvet suit, an ordinary black suit, and others for winter, spring, and summer; gloves, handkerchiefs, ribbons, and incidentals. In the spring of 1661 Diego de Vargas had fallen ill. The cure, which included artificially opening a small wound to evacuate fluids, cost 375 reales for "two physicians and a surgeon who attended him, medicine, and other things for his comfort." Over a sixteen-month period, don Diego also spent 322 reales on bullfights, theatrical performances, and other "minor expenses."<sup>6</sup>

Early in November of 1662, the nineteen-year-old Vargas signed a power of attorney in favor of his great-uncle Sebastián de Vargas, a Jesuit residing at the *Colegio Imperial de San Pedro y San Pablo*, "because I need to go to continue my studies to the University of Valladolid for which I am about to leave."<sup>7</sup> Eighteen months later, on 5 May 1664, in the monumental Gothic church of *Santa María*

Magdalena at Torrelaguna, Father Sebastián celebrated his nephew's marriage to Beatriz Pimentel de Prado Vélez de Olazábal, twenty-two. The principal house of the Pimentel almost adjoined that of the Vargas on the Plaza del Coso: Diego and Beatriz had known each other since childhood.<sup>8</sup>

The young couple wasted no time. Entries in the parish baptismal register at Torrelaguna record five children in six years. The first, Isabel María Polonia, born nine months and four days after the wedding (9 February 1665), would through a tragic chain of circumstances become her father's inheritor. But she was not, as has been suggested, his only legitimate child. Juana Viviana, who outlived them all and was still alive in 1740, followed (2 December 1666), then María Antonia (18 December 1667), who died in infancy, and finally the two boys, Francisco Antonio, also called Francisco Iván (4 October 1669) and Juan Manuel (20 December 1670). Beatriz's brother Gregorio Pimentel de Prado, knight of the Order of Santiago, stood as godfather to all five.<sup>9</sup>

News of the death of Maestre de Campo Alonso de Vargas on 15 August 1665, in the city of Santiago de Guatemala, reached Madrid in 1666. A widower when he sailed for the Indies, don Alonso had remarried a much younger woman than he in Guatemala and was the father of three more children. His will, however, left no doubt. Diego inherited. Only in the event of Diego's death without immediate heirs would the Vargas properties pass to Alonso's firstborn American child, Pedro Alonso, who at the time of his father's death was only three years old.<sup>10</sup>

For the next half-dozen years, from the summer of 1666 when he took legal possession of his inheritance until the summer of 1672 when he embarked for the Indies, Diego de Vargas personally managed the family properties and the family lawsuits, residing most of the time in Torrelaguna. Once at least, he traveled to Granada to inspect holdings there. Although the Vargas *mayorazgos*, or entailed estates, of Madrid, Torrelaguna, and Granada were fairly diversified—houses, vineyards, olive groves, enclosed pastures, farm lands, and a variety of rents and privileges from religious and secular corporations—taken together, they were not profitable. There were a thousand minor details, and more debts than income. Later he would refer to his properties repeatedly as



The only known portrait of Diego de Vargas, Capilla de San Isidro, Pretel de Santiesteban, 3, Madrid (detail).

"*mis miserables mayorazgos.*"<sup>11</sup> Don Diego was, without question, a noble and landed Spanish gentleman. But the roof leaked.

In 1667 he petitioned the crown for permission to further encumber his estates. "Because of limited maintenance and the ravages of time," the houses in Madrid and Torrelaguna were sadly run-down. Put in shape, he reasoned, the complex in Madrid would provide additional rental income and the mill at Torrelaguna could be returned to production. At the Madrid place the apartments at the corner of the Calle del Almendro and the street leading down to the parish church had to be rebuilt from the foundations up. Elsewhere tile roofs, drain gutters and spouts, brick floors, cracked walls around windows and doors, the three kitchens, the water pipes: all were in urgent need of repair. Even the "secret stairway" down to the latrines was sinking.<sup>12</sup>

It was hard for don Diego to reconcile the traditional luster of the house of Vargas and the hard times that engulfed him. "*Los Vargas son gavilanes,*" the poet had sung. "The Vargases are hawks!" "Have Vargas see to it," the Catholic Kings had ordered—"Averíguelo Vargas"—and Tirso de Molina made that the title of a play. Diego de Vargas Zapata y Luján, only male heir of his direct line, knew the history. Warrior-knights, bishops, counselors to kings, his forebears had won honor and fame in the Catholic reconquest of Spain and in the expansion of empire. He had grown up in old Madrid amid the lore and the shrines of San Isidro Labrador, St. Isidore the Farmer, patron saint of the city. He knew that in the twelfth century his ancestor, the knight Iván de Vargas, was Isidore's employer and that the future saint had met his wife, Santa María de la Cabeza, while tilling Vargas land at Torrelaguna. Years later, as Diego de Vargas proclaimed the reconquest of New Mexico for God and crown, he did not have to invent the rhetoric. Outlandishly misplaced in time and space, like Don Quixote, Diego de Vargas was the warrior-knight.

Still, the contrast between the brilliance that once was Spain, between the appearances kept up at court, and the disenchanting realities of life in the mid-seventeenth century—the depressions, bread riots, and military reverses—cannot have escaped him. The year Vargas was born, French artillery had routed Spain's legendary pikemen at Rocroi in the Low Countries. An unstable economy

and the disruption of agricultural production at home forced cash-poor landed families like his deeper and deeper into debt. The year Vargas's first daughter was born in Torrelaguna, King Philip IV died and Charles II, "a sickly child, retarded by rickets, and mentally subnormal," succeeded to the Spanish throne, "the last, the most degenerate, and the most pathetic victim of Habsburg inbreeding."<sup>13</sup>

His decision to go to the Indies was calculated. The royal service offered regular pay for honorable employment, and the get-rich-quick aura of America held out prospects of fortune. Besides, he had matters to attend to in Guatemala. His father, it seems, had been party to business deals there. At home the Vargas properties were heavily mortgaged. The debt service and inflation were getting beyond him. His father and his father's father had responded similarly to the family's straitened circumstances. Lorenzo de Vargas Zapata, who secured appointment in 1649 as corregidor of Zacatecas, New Spain's fabled silver city, had died before embarking. Alonso de Vargas Zapata had served with distinction and died in Guatemala. Hope of restoring the family's fortune still lay in America. Now it was up to don Diego.<sup>14</sup>

That summer of 1672, he saw to the details. He made a will, describing himself as native of Madrid and resident of Torrelaguna. His older son Francisco Iván, not yet three, would succeed him in the event of his death.<sup>15</sup> To identify himself as legal and sole heir of Alonso de Vargas, he had proof of his legitimacy drawn up in due legal form. Four witnesses testified. They knew him personally. He was, they agreed, "a young man of medium stature, straight hair, and broad face, who lisps somewhat and cannot pronounce certain words."<sup>16</sup>

He was going to America, he stated in a power of attorney to Sebastián de Vargas, S.J., to settle his father's affairs and to claim the inheritance that belonged to him.<sup>17</sup> At a court notorious for its ostentation and its intrigues, he had obtained appointment as *gentilhombre del aviso*, royal courier to the viceroy of New Spain and to the president of the Audiencia de Guadalajara. At Torrelaguna, don Diego compiled a detailed inventory of the Vargas properties, named Gabriel Pimentel overseer, anticipated as best he could the immediate needs of his family, and took his leave.<sup>18</sup>



In mid-August he rode south from Madrid, bound for the port city of Cádiz. A week later in the capital a spectacular fire consumed numerous houses on the Plaza Mayor, but not the one belonging to his aunt Juana de Vargas with its twelve and a half balconies, which he would inherit.<sup>19</sup>

Delayed in Cádiz more than six months, Diego de Vargas made the crossing in 1673. Later the same year Viceroy, the Marqués de Mancera, granted him the post of alcalde mayor of Teutila, a mining zone southeast of Mexico City in the dense, rugged mountains of Oaxaca.<sup>20</sup> To the new district officer from Madrid, it was an exotic place, worlds away from home. Here he learned of the death of his wife doña Beatriz, the mother of his four small children, at Torrelaguna on 10 July 1674. She had died so suddenly that she had not received the sacraments. She was thirty-two.<sup>21</sup>

Although his penmanship was bad and his syntax worse, Diego de Vargas wrote home. An incomplete collection of his personal letters, retained today in two parts by descendants, shows him to have been a loving and solicitous head of the family, always anxious about money, always seeking advancement, always homesick. There is, of course, no way to judge with perfect certainty how sincere don Diego was in his frequent professions of loneliness and nostalgia. After all, he had in a sense escaped his burdens in Spain; he seemed to relish at times, particularly during the reconquest of New Mexico, the excitement of the Indies; and he sired a New World family. Yet it was the house of Vargas in Madrid, more than anything else, that continued to define his identity.<sup>22</sup>

As early as 1675, in a letter to Gregorio Pimentel, he was contemplating return to Madrid "after having been in this kingdom, missing my homeland and toiling continually over different terrains and roads whose ruggedness I can scarcely exaggerate to you, and living among Indians, which is the same thing as existing in a desert." He asked his brother-in-law to place his two girls in the Franciscan Conceptionist convent at Torrelaguna and to arrange for the boys to stay with their grandmother.<sup>23</sup>

Vargas's tenure at Teutila lasted two years. When it ended, he underwent the prescribed review and was judged an exemplary official. He may have gone to Guatemala to attend to matters there, an objective he had expressed to Gregorio Pimentel, and then

returned to Mexico City, where evidently from the mid-1670s he maintained a residence. In 1679 the viceroy, Archbishop Fray Payo Enríquez Afán de Rivera, named him *alcalde mayor* of the mining district of Tlalpujagua in the high, pine-forested mountains of eastern Michoacán, no more than three or four days' ride from the capital. Its administration occupied don Diego for the next decade, until almost the eve of his departure for New Mexico. In 1690, even after a successor had taken over at Tlalpujagua, Vargas was still trying to collect from local mine owners for his allotments to them of mercury, an essential ingredient in the patio process of silver refining and a crown monopoly.<sup>24</sup>

The seventeen years Vargas experienced in New Spain, from the time he delivered the royal dispatches to Viceroy Mancera in 1673 until he rode north in November of 1690 to assume the governorship of New Mexico, are an unwritten chapter of his life. By 1679 or before, judging by the age of the eldest natural child whom he recognized in his final will of 1704, Diego de Vargas, a widower in his thirties, had met the mother of his American family. He did not marry her, but he had by her at least three children: Juan Manuel (born 1679–80)—the same name as his second son in Spain; Alonso (1681–82); and María Teresa (1685–86).<sup>25</sup> They may have occupied a residence in Mexico City on the Plazuela de las Gayas.<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile in Madrid, his older daughter married well. On 13 December 1688, Isabel María wed don Ignacio López de Zárate y Alvarez de Medina, knight of the Order of Santiago, minister of the Council of Italy, and fiscal for the Council of War. He was forty-one, a second son, and she was not quite twenty-three, mistress of the house of Vargas. He moved in with her.<sup>27</sup> Vargas knew the family, well-placed bureaucrats all of them. He was elated by the match. What chagrined and perplexed him for years was the dowry he wished to provide. He simply did not have the money. He tried paying in installments, then drew up a power of attorney in favor of López de Zárate, assigning to his son-in-law the administration and income of all his properties in Spain.<sup>28</sup> That proved no blessing.

The family estates were, as usual, in sorry shape. The reports depressed Vargas. "I can do no more in life," he wrote to Isabel María from El Paso, "than to have given up my homeland, my properties, and the love of being in your company. . . . I recognize

from the papers and accounting that my son lord don Ignacio sends me the bad management there has been and that the estate is more encumbered now than when I left it." From six thousand miles away he tried to advise his son-in-law, addressing him as always in the third person, the polite form in Spanish, on crops and improvements and lawsuits. "My devotion," he vowed, "can express itself to no greater degree than that of having exiled myself to this kingdom, last on earth and remote beyond compare, in order to seek in this far place the means once and for all to be relieved in my desire to make good Your Lordship's dowry."<sup>29</sup>

In his unrelenting effort to make a career in America pay, Diego de Vargas sought preferment wherever he could find it. A son-in-law at court seemed providential. Although Vargas's bid for a promotion from the New Mexico post, which he pressed for at least a decade—to Guatemala, he suggested in 1698, or Buenos Aires, or Panamá, or Chile, or Cuba<sup>30</sup>—never was successful, López de Zárate's advocacy helped secure his reappointment to New Mexico and the title *marqués*.

During the unhappy, thirty-five-year reign of Charles II, the Spanish crown created as many noble titles of Castile as it had in the previous two hundred years—five vizcondes, seventy-eight condes, and 209 marqueses. At least Vargas's was not simply bought. He earned it by his deeds, a rarity in those unheroic times. The name was up to him. As early as 1692 he had thought of Marqués or Conde de los Caramancheles, after certain family holdings near Madrid. In Spain there was no hierarchical distinction between marqueses and condes. In the end he combined the names of two Vargas rural properties north of the city of Granada near Ignalloz, the *cortijos* of La Nava and Barcinas, to become first Marqués de la Nava de Barcinas.<sup>31</sup>

There was another thing Diego de Vargas thought he deserved: membership in the still prestigious military order of Santiago. His father had been a knight of Santiago, and his grandfather, and his great-grandfather. His son-in-law and his three brothers-in-law were knights of Santiago. Writing from Santa Fe in 1697, and evidently consulting a manual on knighthood he had with him in New Mexico, he asked López de Zárate, who sat on the Council of the Orders, to obtain a decree providing that a knight of Santiago invest him

in the nearest church and that he be allowed an absence from New Mexico of a hundred days for the purpose.

"I am resolved in this," Vargas explained, "because in two years on the feast of Santiago [25 July], I have won two decisive victories of greatest importance, which I attributed to miracles from heaven." He had vowed, if he returned to Spain, to make a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Along with the decree, he wanted his son-in-law to send a habit of Santiago made in Madrid and a dozen of the red dagger-cross insignias of the order, "both large ones for cloaks and small ones to put on jackets."<sup>32</sup> Whatever the impediment—family enemies, lack of material wealth, charges pending against him in Mexico City—the recolonizer of New Mexico failed to gain membership in the Order of Santiago.

News from López de Zárate was not always depressing. With some regularity his letters brought glad tidings of grandchildren. Beginning in 1690 Isabel María gave birth to at least four: Rosoléa Gregoria, Diego Joseph, Francisca María, and María Manuela. She and don Ignacio favored long strings of baptismal names. In the parish church of San Pedro el Real on 11 October 1700, for example, their third was baptized Francisca María Teresa Antonia Rafaela Juliana Juana Ignacia.<sup>33</sup> From America, Diego de Vargas conveyed his sentiments. "My heart will rejoice," he confessed to Isabel María after the birth of the first, "to know that you are well and also my beloved granddaughter to whom I send lots of kisses and give my blessing." He had a favor to ask. He wanted portraits of the family, and also of his son Juan Manuel.<sup>34</sup>

Vargas's elder son, Francisco Iván, had died sometime between 1675 and 1685. That made his other son, Juan Manuel, his father's sole male heir and successor. Although the boy was less than two years old when don Diego last saw him, he doted on him. He must have been an attractive youth, for he had become a queen's page at court. Vargas implored his son-in-law to treat Juan Manuel not as a brother but as a son, to see to the young man's proper upbringing, to favor and protect him. When word reached don Diego in 1690 that Juan Manuel, now almost twenty, wanted to join him in America, the governor-elect of New Mexico disapproved vigorously. His son should continue to serve at the palace and learn discipline. In time he could join a cavalry unit and become a man.

"The Indies are fine for those who sell in a store," Vargas admonished, "but not for men whose object is to flee the trades, and thus it is dangerous ground." Because the viceroys, inundated by recommendations, had only so many posts to fill, there were already many humiliated nobles in America.<sup>35</sup>

He came anyway, nine years later, without his father's knowledge. Embarking at Cádiz in July 1699 with his weapons and his two servants—one round-faced with dark curly chestnut hair and the other with hawk face and short blond hair—Cavalry Captain Vargas Pimentel had given as the purpose of his passage "to seek don Diego de Vargas Zapata, my father, who is in the City of Mexico."<sup>36</sup> But Diego de Vargas was not in Mexico City. He was confined in Santa Fe by order of his successor in office. This, Juan Manuel scolded his brother-in-law, was all López de Zárate's fault for not having forwarded promptly his father's reappointment to the governorship of New Mexico. Juan Manuel had had an interesting visitor—the other Juan Manuel, a student, "as big as I am and very like me in appearance. There is another small one, and their mother sent to welcome me and to offer their house. But I shall not see her."<sup>37</sup>

When Diego de Vargas, released on orders from the viceroy, finally reached Mexico City on 29 October 1700, he looked so fit, Juan Manuel reported, that those who knew of his ordeal could scarcely believe it. Father and son had the first sight of each other three leagues from the capital. "On seeing me," wrote Juan Manuel, "he was so overcome that for a long time he spoke not a word to me." They went for an audience with the viceroy, the Conde de Montezuma, who received the elder Vargas with demonstrations of affection and respect, "false, as is his custom," added Juan Manuel.<sup>38</sup>

By early 1701, the young Vargas wanted to return to Spain. He had achieved his "fond purpose" of finally knowing his father. But there was a war on, and the fleet sat anchored at Veracruz for fear of the English and Dutch navies. So while don Diego—who now signed "el Marques de la naba de Brazinas" even in letters to Isabel María—prepared his defense against charges of malfeasance in office, Juan Manuel enjoyed himself in the capital. When at last the

fleet, some twenty laden vessels escorted by a like number of French warships, sailed in June 1702, he was aboard.<sup>39</sup>

The report that his son had died on the return voyage struck Vargas to the core of his being. The entire fleet and every ship of the French escort had been burned, sunk, or captured in the sea-land battle of Vigo, 22–23 October 1702, a signal disaster in Spanish naval history. More than two thousand Spaniards and Frenchmen, as close as anyone could estimate, had perished, among them Capt. Juan Manuel de Vargas Pimentel. They held a service for him at Torrelaguna and the priest entered a note in the parish burial book. Only later did his father get word in Mexico City via Havana. He could scarcely comprehend that his dear son, “the idol of my affection,” to whom he had just entrusted all his properties, was dead. All his hopes for the house of Vargas, which he had so recently adorned with the title of *marqués*, had vanished in the horror of Vigo.<sup>40</sup>

But he had to pull himself together, to guard his honor, and to continue the struggle to repair his fortune “in order that my plight not expose me to the perpetual captivity of my remaining in this damned kingdom lost for not being able to leave it and trapped by my debts.” Faced by such weighty considerations, it was well, he thought, that he open his eyes “to the recognition of thirty years misspent, from August 11, 1672, when I left that kingdom and my beloved homeland, that delightful villa of Madrid, crown of all the world.”<sup>41</sup>

He hated the thought of a return to New Mexico. He wanted a promotion, but none came. Once acquitted on all counts, a blessing he attributed to the fairness of the recently arrived viceroy, the Duque de Alburquerque, Vargas saw no other alternative. He had to exercise his reappointment to the frontier province. There was also the matter of an eleventh-hour *encomienda*, a grant by the crown to Diego de Vargas of 4,000 pesos annually for two lifetimes to be collected as tribute, in goods, from the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. As an institution, the *encomienda* at this late date was being phased out all over the empire. Although Vargas seems wisely not to have pressed its imposition, his heirs later succeeded in having the grant converted to a pension.<sup>42</sup>

Then in his sixtieth year, he cannot have relished the thousand-mile ride. Back in Santa Fe in November 1703, Diego de Vargas had only a short time to live. He must have had a premonition. In mid-January he wrote individual letters to his brother-in-law, his sister, both sons-in-law, both surviving daughters, and a long-time family employee, putting his affairs in order. The next letter they received from America, dated in Santa Fe on 20 April 1704, came from Juan Páez Hurtado, Vargas's most trusted lieutenant. The Marqués de la Nava de Barcinas was dead.

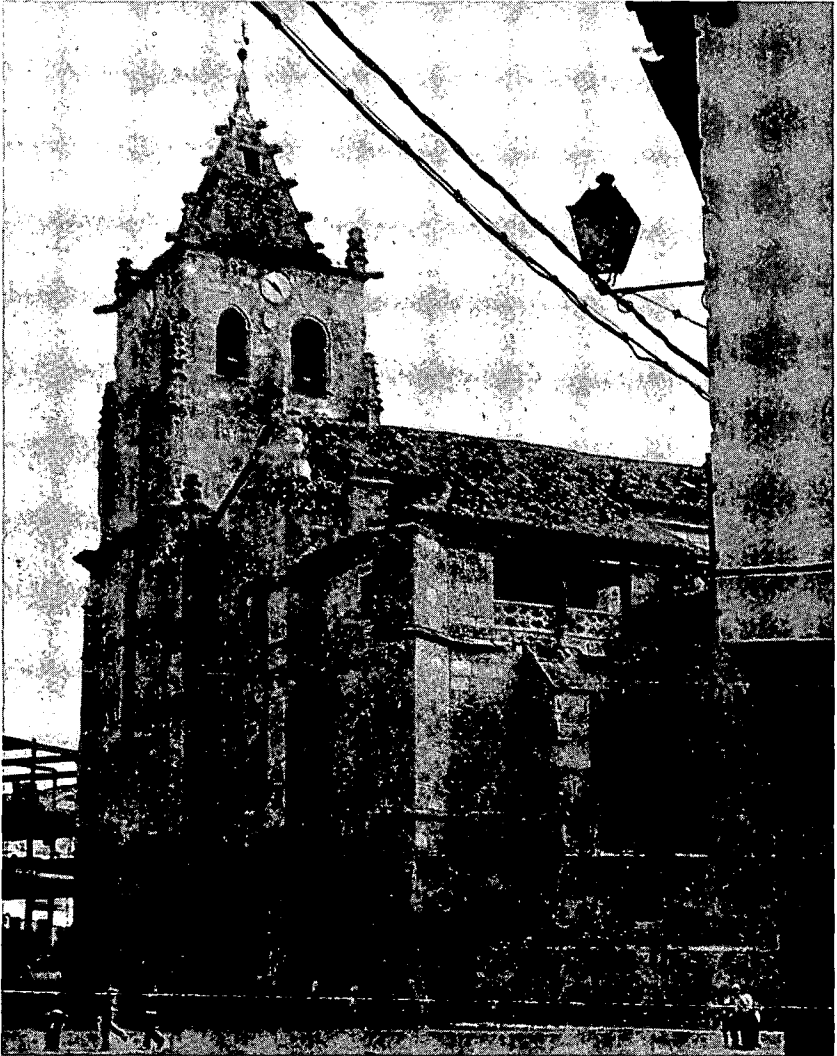
He had died pursuing Apaches in the Rio Grande Valley south of present-day Albuquerque, not from battle but from sickness. So ill that he could not ride, he had been carried from downriver to Bernalillo on the shoulders of Pueblo Indian auxiliaries. Páez Hurtado rode south from Santa Fe with medication. The governor had a long history of recurrent bouts with *tabardillo*, "the spotted fever," or typhus.

This time he had not responded. He had dictated his last will, professed in the Franciscan Third Order of Penitence, and about five in the afternoon of 8 April 1704, he gave up his soul. Describing Vargas's fatal illness to the family in Spain, Páez Hurtado called it "*un grave accidente de calenturas por habersele resfriado el estómago.*" It may have been dysentery.<sup>43</sup>

Diego de Vargas, who relied on his own strength of character and on the disunity of the Pueblo Indians to recolonize New Mexico in the 1690s, was a loving and lonely family man cursed all his adult life by reduced circumstances. The notion that he was wealthy, based in part on his landed status in Spain and in part on his claim to have reconquered the province at his own expense, is ill-founded. He did underwrite the relatively inexpensive expedition of 1692 and the recruitment of one group of colonists. Another look suggests a revision of the passage quoted at the beginning of this article.

On the eve of his departure for America, he was a young man of average height, straight hair, and broad face, with a speech impediment. Although he had married well, the chronic indebtedness of the Vargas properties weighed heavily upon him. At the age of twenty-eight, in hopes of restoring his family's financial welfare, he

took leave of them and set out for New Spain. His wife died soon after. A widower, he chose not to marry the woman in Mexico City who bore him three more children. He added scarcely a peso to his already encumbered assets and in 1688, the year of his appointment as governor of New Mexico, wanted nothing so much as to go home.



The parish church of Santa María Magdalena, Torrelaguna (Madrid), where Diego de Vargas was married, his children baptized, and his wife baptized and buried.



## NOTES

1. J. Manuel Espinosa, *Crusaders of the Río Grande: The Story of Don Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest and Refounding of New Mexico* (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History, 1942), is the standard narrative. Seven articles by him about the recolonization are listed in the bibliography. His *First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), vol. 10 of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, includes a scholarly English translation of Vargas's campaign journal and correspondence of 1692 and five related documents. The current, long-term Vargas Project at the University of New Mexico, funded in part by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission and the National Endowment for the Humanities, has as its goals: (1) bringing together all available documentation bearing on New Mexico during the pivotal period 1680–1710, (2) entering the vital information in a model computer data base, and (3) publishing in English translation a six-volume scholarly edition of the Journals of Diego de Vargas.

2. David Lavender, *The Southwest* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), pp. 59–60.

3. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (AHN), Sección de Ordenes Militares, Casamientos, Santiago, núm. 10.461. A certification of Vargas's baptism is included in the proof of good lineage required of his daughter Isabel María when her husband Ignacio López de Zárate, knight of the Order of Santiago, was elevated in 1694 to the Consejo de las Ordenes. Licenciado Pedro de la Carra had performed the baptism, according to the certification, "for the parish priest of San Ginés and San Luis," but it does not say where. The baby's maternal grandparents, Diego de Contreras and Beatriz de Arraiz, became his godparents. Since his father, grandfather, and forebears were members of the parish of San Pedro el Real, a stone's throw from the ancestral home, it is probable that Diego was baptized there. The original entry, written in a baptismal book of the parish of San Luis, seems not to have survived the burning of that church in 1936. (*Guía de los archivos de Madrid* [Madrid: Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1952], p. 462). The certificate and related genealogical material is printed in José Pérez Balsera, *Laudemus viros gloriosos et parentes nostros in generatione sua* (Madrid: privately printed, 1931), copy in the History Library, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe. Another genealogy, by Diego de Vargas's grandson, is Diego Joseph López de Zárate Vargas, *Breve descripción genealogica de la ilustre, quanto antiquissima casa de los Vargas de Madrid* (Madrid: privately printed, 1740), copy in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

4. Doña María Margarita, who died on 17 April 1649, was only twenty-six. She was laid to rest in the Vargas chapel of the church at the Franciscan Convento Grande in Madrid. Not quite seven months later, on 13 November 1649, Vargas's paternal grandfather Lorenzo de Vargas Zapata also died (Relación de D. Diego de Vargas Zapata y Luján, Madrid, 30 June 1670, con nota posterior, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla [AGI], Indiferente, 123).

5. Nombramiento de tutora y curadora a la señora D.a Juana Ponce de León y otros, Madrid, 8 April 1650, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (AHPM), Protocolo (P.) 7.214. To provide for the boys in case of their great-grandmother's death, don Alonso named a succession of five more guardians. A superbly detailed plan of Madrid, drawn in 1656 when Diego de Vargas was not yet thirteen, shows the Vargas houseblock, no. 153 on later plans, and the nearby parish church of San Pedro with its mudéjar tower, block no. 152 ("Topografía de la Villa de Madrid descrita por don Pedro Texeira, año 1656," Nueva edición [Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1980]). See also Miguel Molina Campuzano, *Planos de Madrid de los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, Seminario de Urbanismo, 1960).

6. Ajustamiento de cuentas, D. Diego de Vargas y D. Joseph de Castro su curador, Madrid, 29 August 1662, AHPM, P. 10.120.

7. Carta de poder, Madrid, 4 November 1662, AHPM, P.10.120. Later Vargas took some pride in having been a student at Valladolid (Espinosa, *Crusaders of the Río Grande*, p. 28).

8. Matrimonios, Libro 3 (1628–66), Parroquia de Santa María Magdalena, Torrelaguna. Almost two years Diego's senior, Beatriz was born on 8 January and baptized on 22 January 1642. Bautismos, Libro 4 (1638–66), Parroquia de Santa María Magdalena, Torrelaguna. The couple's marriage contract, dated 1 April 1664, is preserved in the Archivo de Notarías, Torrelaguna. The Vargas house, or Palacio de Salinas, is at present a Guardia Civil barracks: only the handsome sixteenth-century facade is original. The Diputación Provincial de Madrid has published a booklet, accompanied by color slides and tape cassette recording, *Guía de la Provincia de Madrid: Torrelaguna*, describing the once-walled medieval town. Today its chief claims are as birthplace of Santa María de la Cabeza, and of Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, and as site of the formidable fifteenth- and sixteenth-century "semi-cathedral" of Santa María Magdalena.

9. Bautismos, Libros 4 (1638–66) and 5 (1667–1701), Parroquia de Santa María Magdalena, Torrelaguna. López de Zárate Vargas, *Breve descripcion*, pp. 15–16.

10. Testamento del Maestre de campo D. Alonso de Vargas, Ciudad de Santiago de Guatemala, 14 August 1665, photocopy in the Archivo del Marqués de la Nava de Barcinas, Madrid (AMNB).

11. Memorial de toda la hacienda, Torrelaguna, 9 August 1672, AMNB.

12. Facultad para imponer sobre los bienes hasta en cantidad de 4,000 ducados, Madrid, 23 July 1667, etc., AHPM, P. 9.012.

13. John Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 2: 249. On Spain in the seventeenth century, see also Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1964); V. Vázquez de Prada, *Historia económica y social de España*, vol. 3, "Los siglos XVI y XVII" (Madrid: Confederación Española de Cajas de Ahorros, 1978); Henry Kamen, *Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century, 1665–1700* (London: Longman, 1980).

14. Relación de D. Diego de Vargas, 30 June 1670.

15. Testamento de D. Diego de Vargas Zapata, Madrid, 21 June 1672, AHPM, P. 10.125.
16. Prueba, Madrid, 21 June 1672, AHPM, P. 10.956. Repeating the same description, almost word-for-word, the witnesses saw don Diego as "*un moço de mediana estatura pelo lacio y cara ancha algo ceceoso que no puede pronunciar algunas raçones.*" This must have been a speech defect, an identifying feature like a scar, not simply the *ceceo* of regional Spanish utterance.
17. Poder, Madrid, 21 June 1672, AHPM, P. 10.125.
18. Memorial de toda la hacienda, 9 August 1672.
19. Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, *El antiguo Madrid*, 2 vols. (Madrid: La Ilustración Española y Americana, 1881), 1: 277.
20. On Teutila, see Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 300–305. Relación de D. Diego de Vargas, 30 June 1670.
21. Difuntos, Libro 2 (1664–1712), Parroquia de Santa María Magdalena, Torrelaguna. They had buried doña Beatriz in the cavernous parish church, in the Vélez family chapel of San Gregorio, a fine example of Gothic fabric and Renaissance adornment. The burial entry gave no clue to the cause of her death.
22. Preserved in the archive of the Marqués de la Nava de Barcinas (AMNB) and that of Rafael Gasset Dorado (ARGD) in Madrid, these Vargas letters, 55 in all, present the recolonizer of New Mexico in a different light. Only 1, a fragment, is from the 1670s. There are 2 from the 1680s, 20 from the 1690s, and 32 from the period 1700 to 1706. Forty-four are by Vargas (2 of them incomplete) and the rest by relatives (2 incomplete). Not properly a part of the official Journals of Diego de Vargas, this collection of family letters is being translated and prepared for publication separately by John L. Kessell in collaboration with Eleanor B. Adams.
23. Vargas to Gregorio Pimentel de Prado, Teutila, 22 October 1675, ARGD. The first part of the letter, in which he must have commented on the death of doña Beatriz, is missing.
24. Vargas to Ignacio López de Zárate, México, 14 June 1690, AMNB. Relación de D. Diego de Vargas, 30 June 1670. He seems to have had the title *justicia mayor* first and then *alcalde mayor*. For a description of Tlalpujagua, see Gerhard, *Guide*, pp. 318–20.
25. Testamento del Marqués de la Nava de Barcinas, Bernalillo, 7 April 1704, Spanish Archives of New Mexico (SANM), State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, Series I, no. 1027. Although the baptismal books of the Sagrario parish in Mexico City exist for this period, it would be difficult to identify these children. As issue of unmarried parents, they would appear only as *hijos de la iglesia* without the names of mother or father.
26. Parroquia de la Asunción, Sagrario, México, Padrones (1670–1824), vol. 7, Genealogical Library, Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, microfilm 036,415. A census of the Sagrario parish in 1689 shows a "Cassa de Diego de bargas" on the Plazuela de las Gayas. Manuel de Vargas is

the first of seven persons enumerated. Another "Cassa de Bargas" on the same plazuela has no enumeration.

27. Pérez Balseira, *Laudemus viros gloriosos*.

28. Vargas to López de Zárate, México, 8 February 1690, AMNB.

29. Vargas to Isabel María de Vargas Pimentel, Paso del Río del Norte, 23 September 1691, and to López de Zárate, Paso del Río del Norte, 25 September 1691, and 9 April 1692, AMNB.

30. Vargas to López de Zárate, Santa Fe, 9 October 1698, ARGD. He was at this time, he told his son-in-law, a prisoner of his successor in office, Pedro Rodríguez Cubero.

31. Vargas to López de Zárate, Santa Fe, 30 September 1698, ARGD. Domínguez Ortiz, *Las clases privilegiadas en la España del Antiguo Régimen* (Madrid: Ediciones ISTMO, 1973), pp. 71, 77. Vargas's royal concession of title was dated 15 June 1699. Although he spelled Barcinas, or Barzinas, correctly before he left Spain, he misspelled it Brazinas consistently in America.

32. Vargas to López de Zárate, Santa Fe, 4 January 1697, AMNB. The manual, Joseph Micheli y Márquez, *Tesoro militar de Cavallería: Antiguo, y moderno modo de armar cavalleros, y professar, según las ceremonias de qualquier Orden Militar* . . . (Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1642), was listed in the post-mortem inventory of Vargas's books in 1704 (Eleanor B. Adams, "Two Colonial New Mexico Libraries, 1704, 1776," *New Mexico Historical Review* [NMHR] 19 [April 1944]: 150).

33. AHN, Ordenes Militares, Casamientos, Santiago, núm. 10.461. López de Zárate Vargas, *Breve descripcion*, p. 15.

34. Vargas to Isabel María de Vargas Pimentel, México, 4 November 1690, and Paso del Río del Norte, 23 September 1691, and to López de Zárate, Paso del Río del Norte, 25 September 1691, AMNB.

35. Vargas to López de Zárate, incomplete [late 1690], AMNB.

36. Capt. Juan Manuel de Vargas Pimentel, 1699, AGI, Contratación, 5459, núm. 20.

37. Vargas Pimentel to López de Zárate, México, 2 November 1699, ARGD.

38. Vargas Pimentel to López de Zárate, México, 7 April 1701, AMNB.

39. Vargas Pimentel to López de Zárate, 7 April 1701.

40. Vargas to López de Zárate, México, 31 December 1702–4 April 1703, ARGD. Oficio, 23 November 1702, Difuntos, Libro 2 (1664–1712), Parroquia de Santa María Magdalena, Torrelaguna. Cesáreo Fernández Duro describes the battle of Vigo in some detail in *Armada española desde la unión de los reinos de Castilla y de Aragón*, 9 vols. (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1895–1903), 6: 23–45.

41. Vargas to López de Zárate, 31 December 1702–4 April 1703.

42. Lansing B. Bloom, "The Vargas Encomienda," *NMHR* 14 (October 1939): 366–417.

43. Páez Hurtado to López de Zárate, Santa Fe, 20 April 1704, AMNB. Espinosa, *Crusaders of the Río Grande*, p. 358 n. 25, discusses Vargas's death. See also Vargas correspondence, 1702–1703, AMNB and ARGD.