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A NEW VOYAGE OF
NORTH AMERICAN DISCOVERY:
PEDRO DE SALAZAR'S VISIT TO THE
"ISLAND OF GIANTS"

by PAUL E. HOFFMAN *

THE VOYAGES TO North America and along the coast by Spanish explorers Juan Ponce de León, Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, Juan de Pineda, and Esteban Gómez are known because of the work of scholars like Henry Harrisse, Woodbury Lowery, and more recently, Samuel Eliot Morison.¹ Andrés González de Barcía, in recounting these tales, now available in English translation, described the activities of Diego Miruelo, a pilot who supposedly landed in Florida in 1516 and, eight years later, 1524, while serving Vázquez de Ayllón, became mad and died when he could not find the place he had visited in 1516.² But none of these authors mentioned the slave raid of Captain Pedro de Salazar, who perhaps was the first Spaniard to visit the middle latitudes of what is now the southeastern coast of the United States.

Little is known of Captain Pedro de Salazar. The fact that he lived in Santo Domingo is confirmed by the reference to him in a later lawsuit. He is probably the same Captain Pedro de Salazar who lived in Santiago and received fifty Indians in the redistribution of 1514. He may also be the Pedro de Salazar identified by Boyd-Bowman as a native of Frias, Burgos Province, who migrated to the Indies in 1512. If so, his rise to *encomendero* status

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1. Henry Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America* (1892; Reprinted, Amsterdam, 1961), 134-53, 198-213, 166-67, 229-43; Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States*, 2 vols. (1901-1905; Reprinted, New York, 1959), I, 123-71; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America*, 2 vols. (New York, 1971-1974), II, 502-18 (for Ponce de León and Pineda), and I, 326-38 (for Ayllón and Gómez).
2. Andrés González de Barcía Carballido y Zuñiga, *Barcía's Chronological History of the Continent of Florida*, Trans. by Anthony Kerrigan (Spanish text, 1723; Gainesville, 1951), 3-5, 9.

was rapid.³ It is probable that he rose higher still, for in 1525 a Captain Pedro de Salazar was appointed to serve as warder (*alcaide*) of the fort at Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and took his position in the summer of the following year. The latter fact precludes this man being the Pedro de Salazar who figured in a disturbance at Santi Espiritus in 1521, for that Pedro de Salazar reappears in a document of 1515-1530 as a *vecino* of that Cuban town.⁴ Las Casas, usually zealous to mention the enemies of his beloved Indians, fails to refer to Pedro de Salazar.⁵

More is known about his voyage than about the man. He was hired by or worked in partnership with the *licenciado* Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón and his sometime associates Lope de Bardeci (who served as notary for the ship), licenciado Juan Bezerra, Cristobal Guillén (factor on the voyage), Rodrigo Manzorro, and Juan de Samper. At least one person swore that the licenciado Marcelo de Villalobos was also a partner; a man named Nicola served as master of the ship.⁶

This group of associates was a minor "who's who" of Española: Vázquez de Ayllón and Villalobos were judges of the *audiencia*; Bardeci was an important merchant with close ties to Diego Colón, Christopher Columbus's son and onetime viceroy of Española; the others were *encomenderos*. All except Villalobos,

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3. Testimony of Diego Cavallero, 1526, Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter cited as AGI), Justicia 3, No. 3, fol. 48vto. "Repartimiento de la isla Española," November 26, 1514, *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias*, Eds. Joaquín F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, y Luís Torres de Mendoza, 42 vols. (Madrid, 1864-1884), I, 90 (hereinafter cited as DII). Peter Boyd-Bowman, *Indice geobiografico de 40,000 pobladores españoles de América en el siglo XVI*, 2 vols. (Bogotá and México, 1964), I, 26 (entry 753).
 4. King to licenciado Luís Ponce de Leon, November 4, 1525, *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar*, Eds. Joaquín F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, y Luís Torres de Mendoza, 25 vols. (Madrid, 1885-1932), IX, 216-17 (hereinafter cited as DIU); Hernando Cortés to King, September 3, 1526, DII, XII, 487; "Testimonio," March 13, 1522, DIU, I, 123. List of Indians distributed by Gonzalo de Guzmán, 1526-1530, listing under Santi Espiritus, DIU, IV, 123.
 5. Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 3 vols. (México, 1951), index.
 6. Jácome de Castellón's testimony, AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fols. 102-103; Antonio de Vallejo's testimony, AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fol. 117; Luís Fernández' testimony, AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fol. 237.

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Bardeci, Guillén, and Samper had *encomiendas* at Santiago, in Central Española, a town which they dominated through the holding of political office. Their interest in acquiring more labor was to be expected from their positions and what is known of their economic activities.

Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón was a native of Toledo, the son of a distinguished Mozarabic family. He arrived in Española as *alcalde mayor* in 1506, serving in that post until he underwent a *residencia* and returned to Spain in 1509. Two years later he was appointed as one of the original *oidores* of the audiencia of Santo Domingo. As part of his salary in that post he was granted three *caballerias* (approximately 315 acres) of land and the use of 200 Indians. He probably already held property around Santiago and in Santo Domingo from his earlier service there; his marriage to Anna de Becerra likely brought him control of additional property around Santiago; and he acquired property near Puerto Plata, which he developed as a sugar plantation. In the redistribution of 1514, he lost sixty-five encomienda Indians at Concepción (his entire holding in that district) and twenty at Santo Domingo, but he was allowed to retain 215 in the district around Santiago. He was wealthy and powerful, although his relationship to the Pasamonte faction seems to have been somewhat ambiguous.⁷

Lope de Bardeci was a native of Becerril de Campos, Palencia, where his parents were vecinos. He first appeared in Santo Domingo in 1511, obtaining vecino status by 1514 and later serving as *regidor*. By September 1515, he was the keeper of the goods of the dead, and three years later he became treasurer of the Crusade. He was known to be favorable to the Colón interests and was elected as general advocate by the *junta* of Española cities, although he never served because of the maneuvers of the Pasamonte faction and licenciado Alonzo Zuazo, the *visitador*.⁸

7. Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Órdenes Militares, Santiago, Expediente 8568; Manuel Giménez Fernández, *Bartolomé de las Casas*, 2 vols. (Sevilla, 1953-1960), I, 323-24; Reply to charge 9 of the residencia of 1517-1518, AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fols. 450vto-451; "Repartimiento," November 26, 1514, DII, I, 60, 79, 84, 130.

8. Boyd-Bowman, *Índice de 40,000 pobladores*, I, 85 (entry 2420), and I, 158 (entry 4774, which lists Bardeci as a Vizcayan). Boyd-Bowman follows Schafer in mistakenly identifying Bardeci as the lieutenant governor for Diego Colón in 1515, when the document (DII, XXXVI, 376) shows that Fernando de Carvajal was the lieutenant governor. Boyd-Bowman also

In 1523 he described himself as a "*criado*" or "servant" (probably client) of Diego Colón, whose last will he witnessed. This connection led in 1527 to his appointment by Diego Colón's widow, the vicequeen Doña María de Toledo, as lieutenant governor for Luís Colón, then a minor. Bardeci held this post into late 1528, if not longer. By 1541 he had become a royal official, and was still living in 1560, when he was seventy-one.⁹

Bardeci's connection with the Santiago group developed from his role as the agent for Vázquez de Ayllón's major financial backer in Spain, Fernán Vázquez, who was a *jurado* of Toledo and the holder of Ayllón's power of attorney over all Ayllón's Iberian interests. Bardeci also seems to have been Ayllón's agent and partner in a store in Santo Domingo, although the partnership may have been a consequence of Bardeci's capacity as Vázquez's agent. Witnesses testifying in 1517-1518 claimed that Ayllón owed Bardeci 1,000 *castellanos* (gold pesos worth 450 *maravedis* each). Bardeci acknowledged that he "received documents" for Ayllón.¹⁰

The licenciado Juan Becerra was Ayllón's father-in-law by virtue of Ayllón's marriage to Anna de Becerra sometime between 1506 and 1509. Ayllón was then alcalde mayor of the Vega Real, a district containing the cities of Concepción, Santiago, and Puerto Plata. Becerra had discovered a mine prior to 1508. In the *repartimiento* of 1514 he received eighty-eight *naborias*, a cacique, eight old people, and nine children.¹¹ He also possessed

has Bardeci as a servant of Diego Colón as early as 1511, but the documents do not support that, as the next note shows. For the controversy of 1518, see Troy S. Floyd, *The Columbus Dynasty in the Caribbean, 1492-1526* (Albuquerque, 1973), 182.

9. Signatures attesting Diego Colón's will, September 8, 1523, DII, XL, 229. His appointment as Lieutenant Governor is described in a letter from Bardeci to Alonso de Ara, November 4, 1528, DII, XL, 430. Boyd-Bowman, *Índice de 40,000 pobladores*, I, 85 (entry 2420). Bardeci said in 1518 that he was 29: AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, 397, 433vto. His testimony was taken in 1560 in another matter. See AGI, Patronato 63.
10. Power of Attorney from Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón to Fernán Vázquez, February 14, 1512, Archivo de Protocolos, Sevilla, Oficio XV, 1512, libro 1, fols. 290-293vto. See AGI, Indiferente General 1202, No. 58, for reference to the store. Pedro de Barruelo, Notary, and Alvaro Bravo both testified to the debt in AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fols. 250, 262vto, respectively. Bardeci's declaration is in AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fols. 397, 443vto.
11. Giménez Fernández, *Bartolomé de las Casas*, I, 326-27; Testimony of Antonio de Vallejo, resident of Santiago, 1518, AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fol. 15vto; Ferdinand to Ovando, April 30, 1508, DII, XXXII, 23; "Repartimiento," November 26, 1514, DII, I, 84-85.

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ranches and probably became involved in sugar production about the same time that Ayllón did. He had two brothers, the bachillero Juan de Becerra and the bachillero Rodrigo Manzorro, another of the partners.¹²

Rodrigo Manzorro may have reached Española as early as 1493, and was certainly at Santo Domingo by 1498. He was the first of the clan to arrive, but soon brought in his brothers and various other relatives. He is best remembered as the father of a mestiza daughter, Elvira Manzorro, who married Francisco Barriónuevo, a prosperous merchant-planter. Manzorro tried to have children by his Castilian wife, but according to the repartimiento of 1514, she bore him no offspring. He possessed eighty-three Indians after the 1514 repartimiento, having selected eighty from among the 115 or more he had registered. He was given three others who had not been registered by anyone.¹³ Like his brother, he was a vecino and regidor of Santiago.

The other two partners in the Salazar voyage, Cristóbal Guillén and Juan de Samper, were somewhat less distinguished than Becerra, Manzorro, and Bardeci, but still they belonged to the elite of *encomenderos* and were powerful men. Guillén was probably from Montanches in Cáceres, from whence he came to Española in 1506. In the redistribution of 1514 he was given sixty-seven *naborias de casa* and the services of the cacique Alnaorex and thirteen persons "of service," a total of eighty.¹⁴ He was a vecino of Concepción de la Vega and probably an old acquaintance of Ayllón and the Becerras.

Juan de Samper (or Juan de San Pedro, according to Boyd-Bowman) seems to have been born, like his more distinguished brother Bartolomé, in Fuente de Jiloca, Zaragoza. His brother had been *continuo real*, *alcaide real*, and, in 1508, inspector of mines. It was probably through that connection that Juan met Ayllón and the Santiago group. Upon Bartolomé's death, Juan secured royal approval for his own use of Bartolomé's encomienda

12. This Becerra received seventy-one Indians, fifteen old people, and three children under two caciques in the repartimiento of 1514. He was also made the inspector (*visitador*) to see that the laws governing Indians were enforced at Santiago. "Repartimiento," November 26, 1514, DII, I, 87.

13. Floyd, *The Columbus Dynasty*, 79-80, 229; "Repartimiento," November 26, 1514, DII, I, 80, 90.

14. "Repartimiento," November 23, 1514, DII, I, 69.

of forty Indians (plus twelve old people and six children) for four *demoras* or eight-month periods of service in the mines. These Indians lived at Buena Ventura. Juan's privilege was running in 1514.¹⁵ His interest in securing replacements for these Indians probably accounts for his participation in the company.

The date of the Salazar voyage is nowhere stated in sources examined so far. The range of year dates can be narrowed on the basis of various statements made in 1517-1518, and the documents to which they refer. The *audiencia's* *residencia* (questions 16-17, 24-25) establishes that the voyage, which was one of several sponsored by the same group of men, was made after the prohibition of the laws of Burgos of 1512-1513 on enslaving all Indians except Caribs.¹⁶ In 1518, licenciado Alonso Zuazo informed William of Croy, Monsieur de Xavres, Charles I's secretary, that the redistribution of *encomienda* Indians, and in particular that made by licenciado Rodrigo de Alburquerque in 1514, caused the *oidores* and Miguel de Pasamonte (treasurer) to seek and obtain permission from Ferdinand the Catholic to enslave Indians from "useless" islands near Española.¹⁷ Albuquerque made his redistribution during July-December 1514.¹⁸ This redistribution led to new slaving expeditions according to a contract entered into the record of the *residencia*. Dated at Santo Domingo on August 5, 1514, it established a company involving the licenciados Villalobos and Juan Ortíz de Matienzo and ten others for the purpose of dispatching slaving expeditions.¹⁹ This was not, however, the company which sent out Salazar.

If, then, the Salazar voyage was no earlier than August 1514, as seems probable, what was the latest it could have been? The one absolute date is May 10, 1517, when the power of attorney was given by Ayllón and Christobal Lebrón, one time *Juez de Residencia* for the *audiencia*, to Pedro Gallego so that he could

15. "Repartimiento," December 21, 1514, DII, I, 168; Boyd-Bowman, *Índice de 40,000 Pobladores*, I, 163 (entries 4923 and 4921).

16. AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fols. 13-14.

17. Zuazo to Xevres, January 22, 1518, DII, I, 312. The *cédula* in question may be one signed by Ferdinand at Seville, June 6, 1511, which is copied into AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fol. 404vto., and which allows the *audiencia* to designate islands where slaves may be sought. See also Carl Ortwin Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley, 1967), 193, for other orders of 1511 and 1512 allowing slave raiding.

18. "Repartimiento," 1514, DII, I, 50-236.

19. AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fols. 404-404vto.

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collect all money, jewels, lucayan and giant Indians, Negroes, repartimiento Indians, naboria Indians, etc., belonging to them and represent them before the licenciado Zuazo.²⁰ Clearly the voyage had been accomplished by then.

However, the last likely date for the voyage may be moved back to coincide with the arrival of the three Hieronymite friars at Santo Domingo, December 1516. Although they subsequently came to accept the point of view of the island's Spanish residents and even opposed Zuazo, for their own reasons, their presence as agents of Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros—a known sympathizer with the Dominican opposition to Indian slavery—would have inhibited the sending of a slaving voyage long enough for Zuazo to arrive (January 1517) and cause a cessation of such activity by beginning the residencia. It must be concluded, therefore, that Salazar's voyage was sometime between mid-August 1514 and early December 1516.

The course of the voyage can be inferred from the statements of Diego Cavallero, secretary of the audiencia and a member of the Conchillos-Pasamonte-Ayllón-Matienzo clique, and Pedro de Quexo, a pilot. Both testified in 1526 in connection with Matienzo's suit against Ayllón over the Quexo-Gordillo discovery of what is now the coast of South Carolina. Cavallero claimed that in 1521 Ayllón had told him that Pedro de Salazar had discovered a land north of the Bahamas, and that Francisco Gordillo, Ayllón's pilot in 1521, had instructions to sail north from the Bahamas if he failed to obtain a cargo of Indians there.²¹ Quexo testified that he and Gordillo had sailed north from the Bahamas for eight or nine days, but then became discouraged and decided to move toward Florida, which Juan Ponce de León had discovered in 1513. Florida was then known to extend north to only about 28 1/2° north, the approximate northern limit of the Bahamas.²² Since it is reasonable to assume that Gordillo was doing what he was told by Ayllón, one may infer that Salazar's voyage must have lasted about eight days, although

20. Power of Attorney, May 10, 1517, AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fols. 434-36.

21. AGI, Just. 3, No. 3, fol. 48vto.

22. Quexo's testimony is in AGI, Just. 3, No. 3, fol. 40. It has been published in translation from John Gilmary Shea's copy by David B. Quinn (ed.), *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, 5 vols. (New York, 1978), I, 258-60.

the direction that he traveled must have been more to the northwest than that of Quexo and Gordillo if he were to cross the northeast-flowing Gulf Stream and find land in that period of time.

Where the landing occurred is not stated except for the suggestive name, "Island of Giants." Considerations of time and distance indicate that it was the coast between northern Georgia and Cape Fear, an area which even today is flanked by numerous barrier islands as far as Winyah Bay.

Little ethnographic data is supplied by witnesses testifying in the residencia. Most agree that the "giants" were taller than the Indians of the Bahamas and Caribbean. Pedro Romero, who apparently was on the voyage, testified that the Indians were very peaceful, had welcomed the Spanish with food, had taken them to their huts (*bohios*), and had shown a willingness to give whatever was asked of them. He also claimed that they seemed genuinely sad when the Spanish indicated they were about to leave and that the "giants" traded regularly with the Indians in the Bahamas in pearls, *guanines* (gold objects of low carat), cotton clothing, and "other things."²³ Luís Fernández testified that his friend (*compañero*), Nicola, the ship's master, was injured by a *vara* or staff carried by one Indian when a fight broke out as the Spanish began seizing slaves.²⁴ Other witnesses agreed that the "giants" had been peaceful until the Spanish attempted to enslave them.

This ethnographic data is so general that it could apply to almost any group of Indians who had not had contact with the Spanish. The height of the Indians Salazar enslaved does, however, provide indirect evidence that he was in North America. Witnesses in the 1526 lawsuit who testified about the Indians brought back from North America by Quexo and Gordillo in 1521 claimed they were taller than the Indians of the Bahamas and the Caribbean.²⁵

The journey back to Española is not described in detail, but

23. AGI, Just. 42, No. 2, fol. 25vto. Peter Martyr says the same thing according to Sauer, *Early Spanish Main*, 189. Martyr's source of information on this trade is not stated.

24. AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fol. 237. This resistance is confirmed by Jácome de Castellón, *ibid.*, fol. 102.

25. AGI, Just. 3, No. 3, fols. 36 (testimony of Juan de Ampies), 43vto (testimony of Geronimo de Medina), and fol. 47 (testimony of García Camo).

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it is known that many of the Indians died due to lack of food. Jácome de Castellón, who claimed to have been on the voyage, said that two-thirds of the 500 captured Indians died at sea.²⁶ Both the number of Indians and their death rates may be exaggerated, but there seems little doubt that many did die, and mainly from a lack of food. Ayllón's Bahamas fleets, of which the Salazar voyage is a special case, were notorious for being inadequately provisioned.²⁷ Gonçalo de Guzmán saw the Indians landed and stated that they were weak (*flacos*) due to lack of nourishment.²⁸

Upon landing, the "giants" were tattooed and divided among the backers of the voyage, for sale or work on the properties of the backers. A few were given to crewmen in payment for their services.²⁹ Ayllón, in particular, seems to have used some of his share of the slaves on his own properties around Puerto Plata. The slaves that were sold were at prices which most witnesses in the residencia considered to be excessively high. Juan Fernández de las Varas, at times himself a slave trader, charged that the natives sold by Ayllón were frequently offered at prices of fifteen, twenty, thirty, and even fifty to sixty pesos de oro each.³⁰ Antonio de Villasante and Fernando Pacheco agreed that prices of thirty to forty pesos de oro often were charged by Ayllón, while Jerónimo de Grimaldo admitted paying thirty pesos de oro for a *gigante*.³¹ Pedro Romero, on the other hand, claimed that prices of sixty to one hundred pesos de oro were demanded by Ayllón and others, although he, like all of the witnesses except Grimaldo, does not specifically say those were the prices of the gigantes.³²

Whatever the price, the gigantes were bad bargains. The witnesses of the residencia all agree that the "giants" died soon after their arrival at Santo Domingo. In so doing they deprived some of the seamen of their reward; a dead Indian was worthless.

Once the "giants" had been sold off the matter seems to have

26. AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fols. 102-03.

27. Testimony of Bartolomé Asserado, AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fols. 229-32, and testimony of Juan Fernández de las Varas, on folios 70-73.

28. AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fol. 84.

29. Reply of Goncalo de Guzmán to Question 20, AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fol. 86. Reply of Luis Fernández to Question 19, AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fol. 237vto.

30. AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fols. 70-73, replying to questions 20-22 of the *pesquisa secreta*.

31. AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fols. 132vto, 148, 219, respectively.

32. AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fol. 53.

been forgotten, and no further voyages were made to this new discovery. Indeed the whole episode would have been lost to history were it not for the residencia of 1517, and Diego Cavallero's testimony in the Matienzo-Ayllón suit of 1526.

It may be speculated that the voyage in question was to Curaçao, also known at the time as the "Island of the Giants."³³ Some of the testimony in the residencia does in fact relate to such a voyage, but it is clear from the full record that some witnesses were referring to a voyage north of the Bahamas. Most agree that Ayllón did his slaving in the Bahamas, not the southern Caribbean, and that the Indians were not like those from the Caribbean. Moreover, Luís Fernández said that Nicola claimed he had "discovered" it.³⁴ The *Islas de Gigantes* off South America were discovered by the Juan de la Cosa-Amerigo Vespucci expedition of 1499.³⁵ It seems unlikely Nicola would not have been aware of that fact fifteen years later. The reason for the apparent confusion in the residencia testimony is that the advocate for licenciado Matienzo—who normally did his slaving in the Caribbean—introduced the case of Juan Gil in order to clear his principal of charges that he had not enforced the prohibitions on slave-taking in certain parts of the Caribbean, including Curaçao. Gil had raided the "island of the giants"—evidently Curaçao—and had been jailed for this under Matienzo's orders.³⁶ Happily for all parties, Gil had died in jail before the matter came to trial, thus sparing Matienzo embarrassing revelations in court. Witnesses who were not aware of the Salazar voyage, but who did know of the Gil voyage, testified for the defense. However it is possible to sort out that testimony and the testimony relating to the Salazar voyage, and, using Luis Fernández's testimony and that of Diego Cavallero (1526), see that the Salazar voyage was to North America and not to Curaçao.

A final problem is the connection, if any, between Barcía's tale of Diego Miruelo and the Salazar voyage. Close comparison of the facts of the Ayllón voyages as recorded in the lawsuit of 1526 and Oviedo's manuscript additions to his *Historia de las Indias* shows that Barcía has his facts wrong in so far as they

33. Sauer, *Early Spanish Main*, Figure 1, p. 3, and pp. 112, 194.

34. AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fol. 237.

35. Sauer, *Early Spanish Main*, 112.

36. AGI, Just. 42, No. 1, fol. 451.

pertain to Miruelo's alleged service for Ayllón. Similarly, he seems to have mistaken Diego Miruelo for Diego Carmago when discussing the Garay expedition to Pánuco in 1522. But the voyage of 1516 was correctly reported, at least there is no evidence to the contrary. As reported by Barcía, this voyage involved a discovery on the Gulf coast of the Floridas where trade apparently took place. Miruelo failed to record his latitude. Nonetheless, he was considered an expert in navigating the Gulf coast and was with Panfilo de Narváez in Florida in 1528. One result of this relationship was probably the naming of Miruelo Bay, if it had not already been named in 1516.³⁷

In light of Miruelo's apparent discovery of a bay on the Florida Gulf Coast, and his subsequent voyages there in Narváez's service, it seems unlikely that he was the pilot on the Salazar voyage. Cavallero's testimony is quite specific in its suggestion that Salazar sailed north from the Bahamas. Eight or even nine days would not be enough time to work west from the Bahamas along Cuba or Florida and then north into the Gulf to the site of Miruelo's Bay, which was on the northern Gulf coast. The Miruelo and Salazar voyages were distinct. Both were involved in unauthorized slaving at about the same time and for the same reason; the lack of Indians in the Bahamas and in other parts of the Caribbean.

The testimony in the residencia of 1517 and Diego Cavallero's testimony in 1526 establish that Pedro de Salazar visited the coast of what is now the southeastern United States, probably at one of the barrier islands south of Winyah Bay. There he seized slaves and returned them to Española where the survivors of the sea voyage were tattooed and sold by or distributed to the partners

37. For the Ayllón materials compare Barcía, *Chronological History*, 4-5, 7-9, with AGI, Just. 3, No. 3, fols. 6-9, and with Goncalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de Indias*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1851-1855). III, 627-30. Miruelo is nowhere mentioned in these documents. Lowery records the correct facts on the Garay voyage, and notes Barcía's statements in *Spanish Settlements*, I, 153 and note 1 on that page. Barcía made the Diego Miruelo with Garay and Narváez, the nephew of the Diego Miruelo of the voyage of 1516 (also with Ayllón), but this statement of kinship was forced on him by his error of having the Miruelo with Ayllón die in 1524. The rest of Barcía's tale, that Miruelo became melancholy when he could not find the bay while on the voyage of 1526, probably has its origin in the facts recorded by Oviedo about his inability to find his bay while serving Narváez. See Oviedo, *Historia general*, III, 583, col. 2. For Narváez see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 176. For Miruelo Bay see *ibid.*, I, 445.

in the venture. All seem to have died shortly afterwards. The voyage occurred sometime between August 1514 and December 1516. Pedro de Salazar thus joins the select company of early explorers of North America, although his only monuments were heaps of Indian corpses, and the knowledge which led Pedro de Quexo and Francisco Gordillo to sail north from the Bahamas in 1521 and then turn west until they encountered the coast at 33 1/2 degrees north, a discovery which has long been regarded as the first Spanish discovery of North America north of the peninsula of Florida.³⁸ It would seem then that Salazar should be recognized as the first Spanish discoverer of the coast north of Florida.

38. Act of Possession, June 30, 1521, AGI, Just. 3, No. 3, fol. 55. See also Pedro de Quexo's testimony on fols. 39-42 of the same document.