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The Seven Borderlands: Colonial Power Struggles Across North America

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Table of Contents

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Introduction

This book begins from a simple but consequential premise: borders are made, not merely drawn. In early North America the lines that would later appear on maps were the results of negotiation, improvisation, and conflict among Spanish, French, British, and a multitude of Indigenous polities. The Seven Borderlands—Florida, the Gulf Coast, the Mississippi Valley, the Great Lakes, the Northeast, the Pacific Northwest, and California—reveal how imperial ambitions and local strategies produced spaces that were fluid, contingent, and alive with possibility. Rather than treating frontiers as empty edges awaiting nation-states, this study centers the people who lived there and the relationships they forged.

A comparative lens makes visible patterns that single-region histories can obscure. Across these borderlands, trade knit together far-flung communities; diplomacy turned kinship, ritual, and gift exchange into instruments of power; and warfare reconfigured settlements and alliances. Yet each region had its own ecological rhythms and political constellations. Coastal hurricanes, continental rivers, dense forests, high deserts, and cold currents each shaped how empires advanced and how Indigenous nations resisted, partnered, or redirected those advances. In these pages, readers will see how the same imperial flag could mean different things in different places—and how Indigenous leadership often set the terms.

Methodologically, the chapters draw on multilingual archives, cartography, archaeology, and, where available, Indigenous oral histories and environmental data. This mixture allows us to follow people as they moved through multilingual market towns, mission corridors, wintering grounds, portages, and sea lanes. It also encourages us to view frontiers as processes—zones where law was plural, sovereignty was layered, and categories like “ally,” “enemy,” or “subject” were constantly renegotiated. By treating borders as relationships rather than lines, we can better understand the creative adaptations that made everyday life possible in unstable times.

The Seven Borderlands each offer a distinctive vantage point. In Florida, maroon communities near St. Augustine and Seminole-Creek networks complicated imperial claims and offered pathways to freedom. Along the Gulf Coast, ports from Pensacola to New Orleans drew smugglers and diplomats into the same brackish world, while storms and shifting deltas remade boundaries overnight. The Mississippi Valley reveals French-Illinoisan and Indigenous worlds that persisted through treaties and revolutions, even as power centers shifted. In the Great Lakes, Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee power shaped a fur-trade diplomacy that Europeans had to learn to navigate. The Northeast chronicles the long contest over Wabanaki homelands and the

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balance of influence maintained through covenant diplomacy. Farther west, the Pacific Northwest and California demonstrate how oceanic circuits, missions, Russian and British ventures, and Indigenous maritime and overland networks created overlapping sovereignties that defied simple imperial maps.

Several themes weave these regions together. Systems of captivity, slavery, and freedom crossed boundaries, creating corridors of flight and refuge as well as markets for coerced labor. Legal pluralism—where Spanish, French, British, and Indigenous jurisdictions overlapped—enabled forum shopping, strategic ambiguity, and pragmatic accommodations. Knowledge-making mattered: surveyors, interpreters, pilots, and mapmakers translated landscapes into claims, while Indigenous cartographies and place-knowledges offered counter-maps that guided travelers and defied imperial certainty. Environmental forces—epidemics, animal migrations, storms, and fires—acted as political agents in their own right.

The book is organized to help readers compare without flattening difference. After establishing the borderlands framework, three chapters on each of the seven regions examine social worlds, political strategies, and environmental constraints, pairing local case studies with broader arcs of change. The final chapters synthesize cross-regional themes—mobility and slavery; mapping, law, and governance; and the legacies of negotiated frontiers—to show how practices developed in one borderland reverberated across others. Throughout, Indigenous actors appear not as background to imperial stories but as central architects of borderland orders.

Ultimately, The Seven Borderlands argues that modern North American identities emerged from this centuries-long practice of negotiation. The nations that later claimed fixed lines inherited—and often obscured—the messy, creative, and relational work that made those lines meaningful. By tracing how people bargained, married, traded, spied, fought, and forged kin across supposed divides, we can see how power operated at the edges and how those edges shaped the centers. This is a history of frontiers as lived places, and of borders as human achievements as much as political designs.

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CHAPTER ONE: The Borderlands Idea: Empires, Ecologies, and Exchange

Borders appear on maps as neat lines, but people who lived in early North America experienced them as zones of movement and encounter. In a place where a traveler might breakfast in one language, trade in a second, and marry into a third, sovereignty felt less like a fence than a tide. Empires projected power, yet the distance between a royal decree in Madrid and a canoe on the Great Lakes could swallow the meaning of that decree. Local actors translated, adapted, and ignored orders, weaving their own geographies of power. This chapter introduces the seven borderlands as zones where imperial maps collided with lived landscapes, and where everyday negotiations shaped the continent’s future.

The borderlands concept borrows from historical studies of other frontiers, but it fits North America’s ecology and polities especially well. Instead of imagining a frontier as a moving edge of settlement, it treats contested spaces as sustained environments of interaction. Indigenous nations had their own geographies of alliance, trade, and conflict, and European empires entered these circuits rather than simply replacing them. From the perspective of a trader on a portage or an official in a coastal fort, politics was often a negotiation with neighbors and rivers, not just with distant monarchs. The result was a layered sovereignty in which authority depended on context.

A useful starting point is the basic toolkit that empires and Indigenous polities brought to these zones. European claims rested on legal formalisms—papal grants, treaties, and royal charters—backed by forts, missions, and ports. They measured land through surveys, censuses, and cadastral maps that turned rivers and forests into property. Yet these tools only mattered where they could be enforced or negotiated. Indigenous polities, meanwhile, practiced diplomacy through councils, calumet ceremonies, kinship protocols, and reciprocal trade, which tied distant peoples together in networks of obligation and prestige. Both sides used violence, but it was rarely indiscriminate; coercion targeted leverage points, like trade flows and alliance structures.

The physical environment structured what was possible. Florida’s heat, humidity, and disease ecology discouraged dense European settlement for generations but nurtured maroon communities that thrived in swamps and hammocks. The Gulf Coast’s hurricanes and shifting barrier islands made ports unstable, encouraging mobile trade and smuggling. The Mississippi Valley’s river logic turned St. Louis, Cahokia, and Natchez into hinge points where political and economic currents met. The Great Lakes

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demanded winter camps, snowshoes, and pemmican to sustain long trade routes, putting a premium on logistics and alliances with Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee communities. In the Northeast, dense forests and snow demanded canoe brigades and careful diplomacy, while the Pacific Northwest's salmon runs and cedar forests created wealth that drew maritime empires into seasonal contact. California's deserts and mountain corridors required local knowledge to cross safely, making Indigenous guides indispensable.

Trade was the nervous system of these borderlands. Furs, deerskins, copper, shells, horses, and foodstuffs moved along paths that predated European arrival but were now stitched to global markets. In exchange, Europeans offered textiles, metal goods, firearms, and alcohol—commodities that altered Indigenous economies and warfare. Yet the balance of trade was not simply imposed; Indigenous producers set terms, arbitrated among rival Europeans, and sometimes refused to trade at all. For instance, the drive to supply deerskins to Atlantic ports reshaped Southeastern polities' hunting territories and diplomatic relationships, while competition for beaver pelts in the Great Lakes forced French and British traders to seek adoptive kinship ties rather than assert raw dominance.

Diplomacy resembled a theater of performance and substance. Councils and treaty councils combined ritual speech, gift exchange, and legal reasoning in ways that could confuse European officials accustomed to writing. Indigenous leaders, fluent in multiple political languages, often negotiated with several empires simultaneously, creating a balance of power that prevented any single authority from dominating. European officials learned to honor protocols—the placement of wampum belts, the timing of calumet ceremonies—or risk being seen as unreliable partners. These performances mattered because they structured obligations; breaking them could turn trade into war. A single misjudged word could set a borderland trembling.

Warfare in the borderlands was intermittent, targeted, and often waged by proxies. European armies rarely operated alone; they depended on Indigenous allies to navigate terrain, provide scouts, and supply food. Campaigns tended to revolve around strategic nodes—posts, river junctions, or mission towns—rather than vast territorial conquest. The results could be paradoxical: a victory for one empire might be a boon for its Indigenous allies, while a defeat might strengthen a rival coalition's position. Raids and counter-raids enforced political claims, but they also redistributed captives, goods, and territory among local actors, reconfiguring the borderland itself.

Mobility was a political act. Families moved to follow game, escape disease, join missions, or join kin networks. Missionaries, traders, and officials also moved constantly, seeking healthier locations or safer routes. The result was a mosaic of settlements, seasonal camps, and itinerant routes. This constant motion blurred imperial categories: a community could be nominally Spanish but predominantly African in culture, or nominally British but largely Anishinaabe in political orientation.

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Such fluidity challenged efforts to count people and assign them to jurisdictions, and it complicated attempts to police trade and migration. The borderlands were, in many ways, places of intentional ambiguity.

Legal pluralism defined everyday governance. Spanish law, French custom, British common law, and Indigenous legal orders coexisted, competed, and overlapped. Forum shopping—choosing which jurisdiction to petition—was common and often effective. For example, an enslaved person in Spanish Florida might seek freedom through Spanish legal channels, while a trader in British territory might prefer the relatively flexible commercial customs of the French. Indigenous legal protocols sometimes offered dispute resolution that avoided punishment in favor of restitution and kinship repair. This pluralism made borders porous and governance negotiable; the authority of any single crown was always mediated by local practice.

Ecological knowledge was a form of power. Indigenous communities understood seasonal cycles, migration routes, and resource management strategies that Europeans often lacked. When colonizers ignored these lessons, they suffered crop failures, starved during winters, or blundered into terrain hostile to their horses and wagons. Conversely, Indigenous polities adopted useful European goods and techniques selectively—iron kettles for cooking, firearms for hunting and defense, and metal tools for woodworking. The exchange was not linear; it went both ways. Indigenous knowledge shaped the success of expeditions, the placement of missions, and the viability of forts. Without local guidance, even well-armed armies could become liabilities.

The borderlands also functioned as corridors of refuge. Enslaved Africans and African-descended people fled plantations and sought freedom in Spanish borderlands, where manumission laws and opportunities for military service provided leverage. Indigenous communities displaced by war or disease relocated to new territories, forming hybrid polities like the Seminoles in Florida or Métis communities in the Mississippi Valley. These groups often developed distinct identities, blending languages, religions, and political practices. Their very existence complicated imperial claims because they lived beyond simple categories of subject, ally, or enemy. Freedom could be a negotiated status, not a fixed legal condition.

Religion offered both bridge and wedge. Jesuit, Franciscan, and Augustinian missionaries sought to convert Indigenous populations and create Christian communities. Their presence often carried imperial agendas: missions were footholds for claims, and they sometimes coordinated with military authorities. Yet conversions were uneven, and many communities adopted selective aspects of Christianity while maintaining traditional practices. Missionaries often learned Indigenous languages to preach, producing grammars and dictionaries that later served colonial administrators. In some regions, religious orders acted as protectors, criticizing abuses by settlers and soldiers; in others, they facilitated coerced labor regimes. The spiritual frontier was a

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site of negotiation and reinterpretation.

Knowledge production shaped claims as much as armies did. Surveyors and mapmakers transformed landscapes into grids of ownership, while cartography communicated sovereignty to distant audiences. Indigenous place-knowledge—names, routes, and seasonal sites—often defied European projections, creating mismatches between maps and reality. Interpreters and translators, frequently of mixed heritage, served as crucial intermediaries who could turn ambiguous statements into binding agreements or defuse tensions with careful phrasing. Pilots navigated shifting coasts and riverbars, making ports accessible and trade viable. Without these skills, imperial ambitions remained abstract; with them, they could be realized.

Epidemics were among the most significant political forces. Smallpox, measles, and other diseases restructured populations, shifting balances of power and sometimes hollowing out polities. Disease spread along trade routes, creating feedback loops between mobility and mortality. Food shortages often followed, prompting migrations that redrawn settlement maps. While disease was not politically targeted, its effects were deeply political: communities that lost elders lost negotiators; villages that lost population lost leverage in alliance networks. The borderlands were resilient, but the pace of change accelerated with each wave, forcing survivors to adapt quickly.

Environmental variability—storms, droughts, floods—shaped imperial fortunes. Hurricanes could wipe out ports and fleets along the Gulf Coast, forcing reallocations of resources and shifting trade to alternative harbors. Droughts in the interior drove bison and deer herds into new territories, which in turn redirected hunting and trade patterns. Freezes in northern lakes constrained naval movements and winter campaigns, while spring melts opened river corridors for trade and war. These rhythms meant that control was often seasonal and partial. Empires had to plan campaigns and supply lines around ecological calendars, not just political timelines.

Indigenous geographies were not simply “terrain”; they were social landscapes. Rivers were political boundaries and kinship connectors, carrying not only canoes but alliances. Mountain passes were ceremonial corridors and trade bottlenecks, often governed by protocols that regulated passage. Shores and estuaries served as assembly points for councils and markets. When Europeans built forts and missions, they usually did so at nodal points in these social geographies, seeking to insert themselves into existing flows. This insertion often succeeded because Europeans offered goods and security, but it also made them dependent on local polities for legitimacy and logistics.

The fur trade illustrates the interplay of ecology and politics. In the Great Lakes and the Northeast, beaver populations and European demand created a complex web of producers, middlemen, and brokers. Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee hunters and traders set prices and determined routes; French and British merchants competed

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through gifts, credit, and alliances. The trade's seasonality—winter hunts, spring rendezvous—structured diplomatic calendars and military operations. Excess hunting sometimes led to local depletion, forcing further movement and new negotiations. The trade's profits funded missions and forts, but its rhythms also limited the speed at which imperial control could expand.

The deerskin trade in the Southeast followed a similar pattern but with distinct ecological and cultural features. Dense forests and abundant white-tailed deer supported a robust economy that linked Creek, Cherokee, and other Southeastern polities to Atlantic markets. European traders established posts and trading houses, but Indigenous leaders mediated access to hunting grounds and regulated competition. The introduction of horses transformed hunting strategies and allowed more efficient exploitation of terrain, but it also increased intertribal tensions and warfare. Overhunting and market pressure gradually shifted the balance, making some communities dependent on the trade and vulnerable to fluctuations in European demand.

In the Pacific Northwest, the maritime fur trade centered on sea otter pelts for Chinese markets via European middlemen. Ships from Britain, Spain, and later Russia appeared seasonally along the coast, exchanging metal goods, textiles, and liquor for furs. Indigenous coastal polities, skilled in maritime technology and negotiation, set prices and controlled access to prime hunting grounds. Unlike the interior fur trade, this was a ship-based economy that required harbors, safe anchorage, and good relations with local chiefs. The Nootka Crisis, in which Spanish and British sailors clashed over port rights, exemplified how maritime trade could escalate into imperial disputes when local control was contested.

In California, mission-presidio systems sought to convert and labor Indigenous communities, tying land and people into a regulated ecclesiastical framework. This system depended on Franciscan control and military enforcement, but it also relied on Indigenous knowledge of water sources, agriculture, and seasonal movements. Resistance took many forms: flight, slowdowns, and reassertion of traditional practices. The mission economy produced surplus crops and livestock, but its sustainability hinged on labor regimes that were often coercive. California's deserts and mountain passes made overland travel difficult, so coastal missions remained nodes in a broader network of Spanish claims that were thin on the ground.

Control of coasts and ports often translated into control over interior trade. Pensacola, St. Augustine, New Orleans, and later San Francisco and Vancouver served as gateways where goods entered imperial systems and where customs, passports, and permits asserted sovereignty. Yet these ports were porous: smugglers exploited regulatory gaps, and local officials sometimes looked the other way for profit or political advantage. Sailors, deserters, and informal traders mixed in cosmopolitan waterfront communities that defied easy classification. A port's success depended less

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on royal decrees than on its ability to attract and retain trade through security, fairness, and supply chains.

The relationship between forts, missions, and towns differed across regions. In Spanish territories, missions often preceded permanent towns, with presidios providing protection. French settlements frequently centered on trading posts and river towns, blending commercial and administrative functions. British towns in the Northeast grew around port economies and agrarian communities, with forts on the periphery for defense. Indigenous towns, meanwhile, could be mobile, seasonal, or semipermanent, depending on ecology and political strategy. In each case, the built environment reflected negotiation: settlers chose sites that offered access to trade, water, and allies, while Indigenous leaders granted permission or contested settlements based on their own calculations.

Language was a battlefield and a bridge. Multilingualism was commonplace in borderlands towns; a single market day could involve Spanish, French, English, and several Indigenous languages. Interpreters were indispensable, but their loyalties and skills varied. Misunderstandings could lead to conflict, but they could also produce new hybrid vocabularies and legal concepts. Some European officials learned Indigenous languages to negotiate directly, while Indigenous diplomats learned European languages to argue cases in councils. In mission contexts, religious texts were translated, sometimes creating new forms of literacy and communication that endured beyond imperial control.

Gift-giving was a formal political economy, not mere hospitality. Calumet ceremonies, wampum belts, and traded goods constituted contracts and recorded relationships. European gift protocols often clashed with Indigenous ones; poorly executed exchanges could be seen as insults. Successful officials treated gifts as investments in alliance-building, budgeting for them and timing them with seasonal gatherings. The symbolic weight of gifts could be heavier than their material value; a belt of wampum could recall a treaty’s terms without written records. Ignoring these rituals risked losing credibility, which was the currency of the borderlands.

Slavery and captivity were central but varied across regions. In the Southeast, plantation slavery under British and later American control contrasted with Spanish manumilitary practices near St. Augustine, where freedom could be earned through military service. In the Gulf Coast, slavery existed alongside smuggling networks that sometimes facilitated escapes. In the Mississippi Valley, captivity practices blended Indigenous and European forms, with captives often incorporated into kinship networks. In the Northeast, Wabanaki raids and diplomacy intertwined with captivity economies. Across the borderlands, freedom was not simply the absence of bondage but a negotiated status that could change with location and politics.

Environmental degradation often followed commercial extraction. Overhunting

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depleted fur-bearing animals, disrupting Indigenous economies and shifting political power toward communities with alternative resources. Deforestation near settlements affected fuel supplies and game availability. In mining regions, water pollution and soil erosion altered landscapes and prompted migrations. Europeans sometimes blamed Indigenous practices for changes they themselves had caused. Yet Indigenous communities adapted, developing new subsistence strategies and asserting rights to protected areas. The borderlands were not static environments; they were actively managed and sometimes contested ecosystems.

Maps told stories that often diverged from on-the-ground realities. European maps depicted neat blocks of territory that implied clear sovereignty, but these were aspirational rather than descriptive. Indigenous maps—mental, oral, and sometimes drawn in sand or on bark—emphasized routes, landmarks, and social relationships. When officials tried to enforce map-based claims, they encountered practical obstacles: impassable terrain, communities that refused to recognize lines, and ecological change that made borders obsolete. The result was a layered cartography in which the imperial imagination collided with lived geographies.

The time horizon of imperial planning rarely matched local rhythms. Seasonal cycles, migration patterns, and ceremonial calendars structured daily life, while European fiscal calendars and military campaigns imposed different schedules. This mismatch created opportunities for evasion and negotiation. Communities could delay decisions until an official’s departure or align their movements with market cycles to maximize advantage. The borderlands were temporally plural: multiple clocks ticked simultaneously, and their synchronization was a matter of negotiation, not decree.

Several recurring patterns emerge across the seven borderlands. First, Indigenous power remained central; European empires rarely dominated without local allies. Second, trade networks shaped political alignments, with commodities acting as levers for influence. Third, ecological knowledge and mobility were critical for survival and strategy. Fourth, legal pluralism enabled pragmatic accommodations and forum shopping. Fifth, information systems—maps, languages, and knowledge brokers—structured power. Sixth, warfare and diplomacy were intertwined, and victories were often partial and temporary. Seventh, refuge communities and hybrid identities created durable alternatives to imperial binaries.

It is tempting to see these borderlands as preludes to later nation-states, but that perspective obscures their distinctiveness. For long periods, alternatives existed—political orders that blended Indigenous sovereignty, European claims, and African free communities. These were not failed experiments but viable systems that adapted to local conditions. Over time, some systems were overwhelmed by demographic shifts, legal changes, and military conquest. Yet the practices developed in the borderlands—negotiation, kinship diplomacy, legal pluralism, and ecological management—endured in various forms.

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Comparing the seven regions highlights how context mattered. Florida's maroon communities and Seminole alliances offer a lens on freedom and refuge. The Gulf Coast's ports show how smuggling and regulation coexisted. The Mississippi Valley's river towns illustrate the persistence of French-Indigenous networks through political upheavals. The Great Lakes reveal a fur-trade middle ground shaped by Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee power. The Northeast illuminates covenant diplomacy and long-term alliance management. The Pacific Northwest demonstrates how maritime trade created imperial disputes without easy resolution. California's mission-presidio system shows the limits and local adaptations of ecclesiastical colonization.

The borderlands idea is not a claim that empires lacked influence; it is a recognition that influence was negotiated and contingent. Royal decrees could be ignored, resisted, or reinterpreted; forts could be supplied or starved; missions could attract converts or provoke flight. Local actors—Indigenous leaders, African-descended maroons, Métis traders, missionary friars, and imperial officials—made decisions that reshaped power every day. Their choices were constrained by ecology, law, and violence, but they were not predetermined. The borderlands were spaces of possibility where the future of North America was under construction.

By keeping our focus on these negotiated frontiers, we can better understand how modern identities emerged. Categories we take for granted—citizen, foreigner, ally, enemy—were contested and reshaped in places where people lived with multiple sovereignties. The line that later became the United States' southern border, or Canada's northern one, did not spring fully formed from treaties; it crystallized from centuries of practice. The Seven Borderlands show how those practices were built from exchange, adaptation, and compromise. They offer a window onto the making of a continent, one negotiation at a time.

This book's structure invites comparison while honoring regional complexity. Each of the seven regions receives three chapters that examine social worlds, political strategies, and environmental constraints, with case studies that illuminate broader patterns. Cross-regional themes—mobility and slavery, mapping and law, legacies of negotiated frontiers—tie the sections together without flattening difference. By tracing how people bargained, traded, fought, and forged kin across supposed divides, the chapters reveal how power operated at the edges and how those edges shaped the centers. The borderlands were not peripheries; they were arenas where the future was decided.

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