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ABSTRACT

This paper presents an analysis of how the indigenous peoples of the Sertão de Amaro Leite resisted the occupation of their territories. Its purpose was to understand how this process of resistance of indigenous peoples in defense of their territories was understood as, simply, an "indigenous attack" by the settlers, as it is presented by traditional historiography. Discuss the introduction of borders as a form of appropriation and domination of the territory together with the peoples who inhabited it; get to know the indigenous peoples; understand the visions of domination and resistance when it comes to the indigenous peoples of the Sertão de Amaro Leite; relate the vision present in the period with the process of naturalization of the extermination of indigenous peoples. Regarding the methodological procedures adopted, a bibliographic review was carried out, especially the historiographic production of Goiás, and a documentary for the understanding of the problem presented. Relevant to the composition of this work were the reports of the presidents of the Province, documents that discuss the attempts of domination undertaken over the territory, as well as the resistance effected by the indigenous peoples.

Keywords: Sertão de Amaro Leite, Indigenous Peoples, Nineteenth-century, Boundary.

1 INTRODUCTION

The present work proposes to reflect on the expansion of cattle ranching in the Sertão de Amaro Leite, and the forms of domination imposed by the colonizer on the indigenous peoples who lived there, as well as to discuss the attempts of resistance of these peoples, using as a time frame the period inscribed between the years 1822 and 1864. For Paul Ricœur (2007), the duty of memory is a debt that in turn is inseparable from inheritance, memory has a duty to the victims being a moral priority with those who have suffered defeats and humiliations, those to whom the historical and social rules that intend the collective memory or collective memories that struggle for justice are imposed.

In this sense, this work proposes a new reading of the historical documents of the period,

seeking to understand the practices adopted by indigenous peoples as forms of resistance, contrary to the idea of "indigenous attacks" present in them.

Even today prevails in the memory of a large part of the inhabitants of the old Sertão de Amaro Leite, a tributary view of the documents of the nineteenth century, in which all the resistance of the indigenous peoples was not understood as such, but as, simply, "attacks", being common in the old regions where the clashes were more constant. The residents, even today, keep in their memories the accounts of the indigenous "attacks" which end up being reproduced by researchers, such as, for example, Dulce Madalena Rios Pedroso (1994; 2006) through records from oral memory "This place [Discovered] was attacked several times by the canoeists. [...] It should be noted that Porangatu is linked to the outbreak of gold in Goiás, to the scripts followed by the bandeirantes and also to the history of the repeated attacks of the Avá-Canoeiro (sic)". (BRAGA, 2009, p. 174 - 175):

João Gonçalves dos Reis (2017) in the book *Descoberto da Piedade* transcribes some documents from the nineteenth century that speak mainly of an alleged miscegenated origin of the Avá-Canoeiro and the "attacks" promoted by them to the farms and villages of the region "the villages that suffered the most aggression were Amaro Leite, Descoberto and São Félix" (2017, p. 134) and how these "aggressions" were faced by the Province of Goiás, mainly, with the implementation of the Military Prisons in 1854. (GONÇALVES DOS REIS, 2017, p. 134). The memoirist also narrates two conflicts that occurred already in the twentieth century and that reinforce the current idea that the indigenous people "attacked" the population, the farms and their inhabitants.

As can be seen, the idea that the indigenous people promoted true massacres is still present in the memory of the inhabitants, of the cities located in the old Sertão of Amaro Leite, without taking into account that these events were the way found to defend their territory, their culture and their life.

Even the historiography produced in Goiás, during much of the twentieth century, continued to reflect the vision of "indigenous attacks", present in the documents of the nineteenth century:

But in the north, with the decline [of mining], the **hostile activity of the Indians intensified**, exterminating farms and even flourishing camps, such as Palma [...] Especially in the region of the great rivers [Araguaia and Tocantins], where the Indians took refuge, **hostilities would continue** for many years. (PALACÍN; MORAES, 2008, p. 62).

The need to clarify and transpose the view present in the traditional historiography of "indigenous attacks" underpins this work and led to reflect on how the historical construction and reproduction of historical facts affect the current society and how it understands the past. We seek in this work to elucidate the reasons for the struggles of indigenous peoples, questioning simplifying visions that have transformed them into barbarians, uncivilized and cruel.

There is an inversion of the point of analysis, even if, using traditional documents, it was sought to relativize the idea of "attacks" that lent itself so well to build the presence of indigenous peoples in

the memory of Goiás, formed by political and social yearnings of the elite in an attempt to form an identity forging a memorable past of great legacies. According to Sharpe (1992, p. 53-54) the story seen from below fulfills two important functions:

the first is to serve as a corrective to the history of the elite [...] the second is that, by offering this alternative approach, history seen from below opens up the possibility of a richer synthesis of historical understanding, of a fusion of the history of people's everyday experience with the theme of the more traditional types of history.

The analysis carried out is limited to the period between the years 1822 and 1864: The year 1822 was marked by profound transformations in Brazil from independence. And the year 1864 is significant for the transfer of the Presidio of Santa Cruz do Sertão de Amaro Leite to Jurupensen, a fact that is interpreted by Professor Maria Juliana de Freitas Almeida (2016, p. 99) as a time when the capacity of indigenous peoples to react to the occupation of their territories was already reduced.

1.1 CATTLE RANCHING AS AN ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVE FOR THE PROVINCE OF GOIÁS

The first decades of the nineteenth century, in the province of Goiás, were marked by attempts to find alternatives to the fragile economic situation that the province had been facing since the final years of the eighteenth century, when gold discoveries became increasingly scarce and a new economic activity had not yet taken hold; mainly, due to the lack of capital, the impossibility of exporting agricultural surpluses that there might be due to the irregularity of navigation and the high cost of land transport. Euripides Antonio Funes (1986, p.70) states that "throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, Goiás agriculture did not leave its subsistence stage".

According to the researcher Sônia Maria de Magalhães (2014, p.73), the characteristics of agriculture practiced in Goiás with rudimentary techniques and the climatic seasonality would be responsible for the long periods of food scarcity, and this fact was determinant for the improvement of the taste of the Goianos, since they resorted to the cerrado in search of wild fruits, Like: pequi, guariroba, araçá.

[...] The whining of the hungry could be heard everywhere. The population of the north only did not remain in the wane thanks to the abundant harvest of cassava roots, to which, consumed in natura or the form of flours, no spice was added, because for three consecutive years the lack of salt persisted in that area. (Memórias Goianas apud Magalhães, 2014, p. 73).

Faced with what Sérgio Paulo Moreyra calls the "picture of impossibilities" is that cattle ranching appears as a viable economic solution for the Province of Goiás:

[...], cattle ranching has emerged as the only economic solution, due to the low cost of production and being self-transporting. In the third decade of the nineteenth century, more than six hundred farms of creation were scattered throughout the chapadas and cerrados, exporting annually about 20,000 head of cattle and small amount of mules and horses. (1972, p. 252).

The presidents of the Province tried to encourage cattle production by drawing attention to the large expanses of pasture, the abundance of water and the presence of "barreiros" in large quantities, as can be seen in the report of President Antonio de Padua Fleury in 1848:

The breeding of Gado Vaccum, and Cavallar, which with little work almost doubles annually, by the excellent pastures, which we have throughout the Province mainly in the vaó of Paranã, Amaro Leite, Salinas, Rio Verde, and the other Districts that do not require the expense of a stone of salt, I consider to be one of the important branches of resource for the aggrandizement of our beautiful Province. (MEMÓRIAS GOIANAS 4, 1996, p.123).

Funes (1986, p. 75-77), states that with the mining activity practically extinct, a precarious trade and a primary agriculture, the government was left with cattle ranching as an option to promote the development of the province.

Increasingly, during the nineteenth century, cattle ranching imposed itself as an important economic activity in Goiás. What can be seen in the report of the president of the province José Rodrigues Jardim in 1835:

The rearing of the Cattle, which with little work doubles annually, is undoubtedly one of the objects that will deserve your care: from the cattle everything is exported, and the same cattle by the seos péz are led, and go to fetch the currency for the Province. (MEMORIAS GOIÂNIAS, 1986 p.17).

For the cattle could be transported to the Southeast and Northeast of the colony by roads which were in a precarious state, since there was no investment on the part of the presidents of the province in reforming the roads and establishing a land trade.

However, it is by making use of these old farms (and less and less in mining) that the axis of economic activities will shift to subsistence agriculture, to the export of cattle and commercial activities, since the end of the eighteenth century. (BERTRAN, 1998 p. 55).

As observed by Nasr Fayad Chaul (1997), agricultural production has always been present in the province of Goiás, even if it was a secondary economy and supply of villages and mining poles.

Within the expansion of cattle ranching in Goiás, it is important to highlight that agriculture, as a whole, has always existed in Goiás even though it is neglected to the detriment of gold because it is considered as a complementary or secondary economic activity. It developed far from or near the mines, being for most of the gold period, as was natural, a subsidiary activity of mining, it was not given the attention it deserved, for gold overshadowed any other activity. (CHAUL, 1997, p.87)

The agropastoral fronts were established in the territories of several indigenous peoples "and it

was in the interest of the colonizer that the Indians franchise their lands for colonization purposes, thus becoming settler elements within the cultural standards of their conquerors" (PEDROSO, 1994, p. 18).

According to Pedroso (1994, p. 18-19), in the first decades of the nineteenth century in the south of Goiás, the indigenous peoples were no longer in a position to resist the colonizer, many were already extinct, settled or in small autonomous groups. However, in the north, there were still indigenous groups that opposed the occupation of their lands, which led to constant conflicts, which allowed the colonizer to occupy the territory and caused the physical and cultural decimation of several indigenous peoples.

1.2 ATTEMPTS AT DOMINATION, TERRITORIAL AND HUMAN, IN THE SERTÃO OF AMARO LEITE

Even the large number of conflicts did not prevent cattle ranching from developing with notorious importance in the northern region, while in the south, agricultural production still predominated. The differences between north and south were not restricted only to agricultural or livestock production, but mainly "[...] the north of the captaincy harbored a restrained but permanent resentment against the government of Vila Boa. Oppressed by colonial fiscalism, the benefits of government were much more focused on the South, whose men – close to the administration – were becoming bureaucrats." (MOREYRA, 1972, p. 263). Added to

delay—or total omission in some cases—of the authorities of the Capital in assisting them from the increasingly frequent attacks of the Indians on their farms, the heavy taxation levied on the cattle exported, and the fact that a large part of the free men of the Capital were functionaries supported by the taxes levied on their labor, made the men of the North aware of the oppression that weighed upon them. (MOREYRA, 1972, p. 263).

The north did not feel politically represented by the government of Vila Boa, leading its population to aspire to autonomy, "awakening the separatist feeling in the people of the north that, driven by the desire for national political autonomy, would have enabled the leaders to take an independent position, initially of a regional character." (CAVALCANTE, 2003, apud. ASSIS, 2005, p. 52), since the north of the captaincy/province of Goiás resented the state of abandonment it was in.

Without the support of the central government, disagreements between the revolutionaries and the violent repression of the movement promoted by Father Luiz Gonzaga de Camargo Fleury, soon the reunification of the Province of Goiás was achieved. "Fleury was in the north of the province during the separatist movement between 1822 and 1824, and in this period the *avá- canoeiros* (sic.) they were at war with the colonizer over the occupation of their lands." (PEDROSO, 1994, p. 38).

However, this event highlighted the fragility of the Province in managing its territory, with the effective power of Vila Boa, not going far beyond its limits to the north. The existence of a large void

exposed the province's vulnerability to further separatist onslaughts in the future. Between the north and the south there was the Sertão de Amaro Leite. (ALMEIDA, 2016, p. 17), a region that had greater proximity to the north, along with greater affinity due to livestock, which could transform "this great sertão into a potential dividing wedge, given the fragility around reunification." (ALMEIDA, 2016, p. 17).

Faced with Vila Boa's incompetence in meeting their requests, the Sertão de Amaro Leite sought support in the north to face their difficulties, and the main difficulty was to find means to contain the indigenous peoples, as Pohl attests, ¹on the occasion of his stay in Traíras (which administratively was part of the Comarca do Norte):

Just during my stay in Traíras, they planned to make war on the neighboring savage tribes, because they had recently murdered a resident of the camp. The motive for the crime, however, was not known. Here came a captain from Amaro Leite, a village eighteen leagues northwest of Traíras, to know the opinion of the inhabitants, and the command of the war should be entrusted to another commander (1976, p. 205).

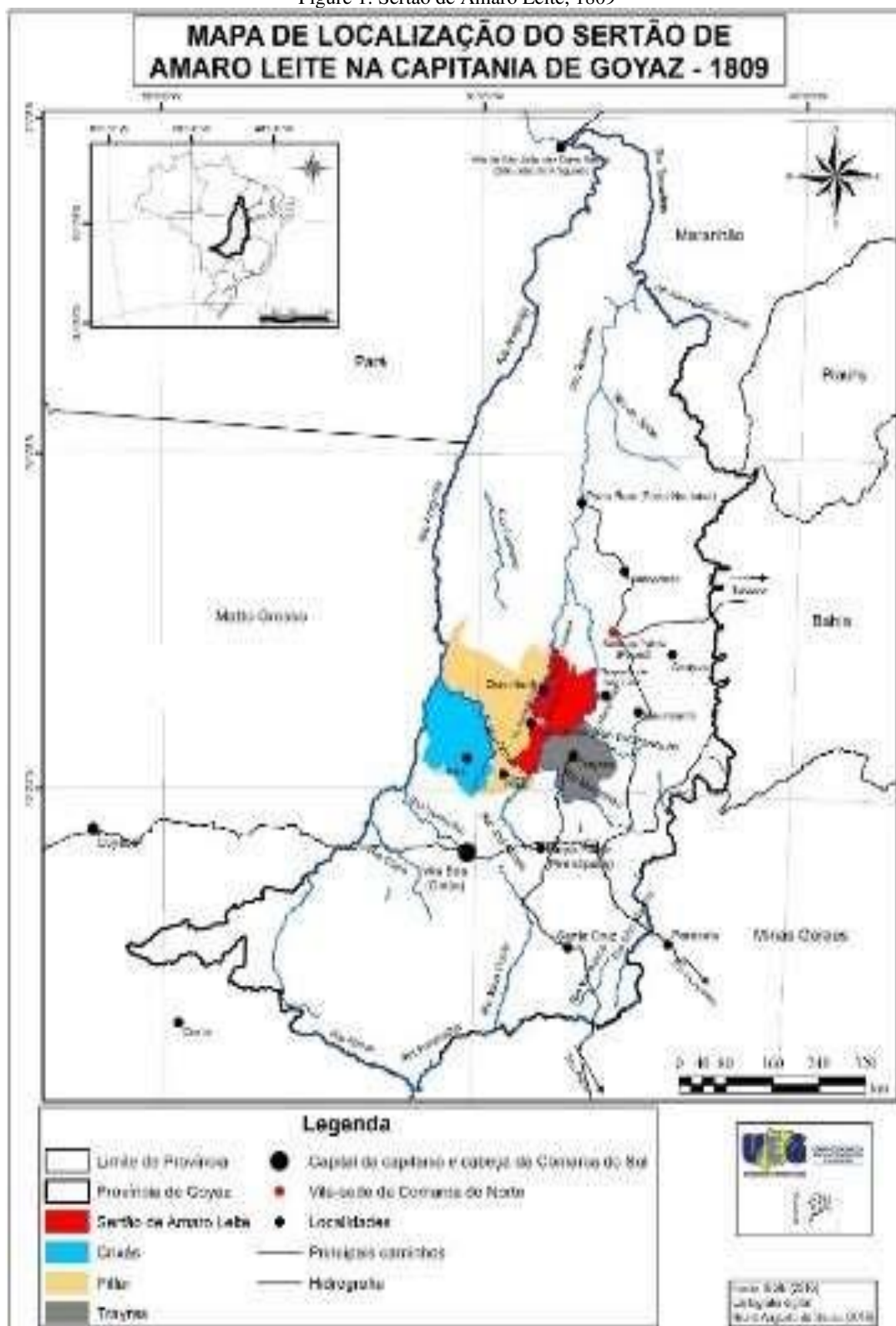
The description of the naturalist traveler allows us to see the mobilization of the Comarca do Norte in support of the inhabitants of the Sertão de Amaro Leite, who were also joined by the residents of the camp of São Félix, for the organization of an expedition in retaliation to the Indians who:

they had recently ventured into an attack in the vicinity of the Maranhão River, and several residents from beyond the river, especially in Amaro Leite, were partly expelled and partly murdered most cruelly. This gave rise to the present expedition, the preparations of which caused such an uproar. (POHL, 1976, p. 214).

The Sertão de Amaro Leite corresponded to a large area located in the central region of the Captaincy of Goiás, between the Araguaia and Tocantins rivers (ALMEIDA, 2016 p.4) potential routes of flow of the province's production, as can be seen in Figure 1 below:

¹ Johann Baptist Emanuel Pohl, an Austrian physician, arrived in Brazil on November 4, 1817, as part of the scientific expedition of the Court of Vienna.

Figure 1: Sertão de Amaro Leite, 1809



Source: Almeida (2016, p. 41)

In addition, the Sertão de Amaro Leite had the important Northern Road, which made the

connection between the Capital of the Province and Porto Imperial, with the advantage of considerably reducing the days of travel as reported by Cunha Mattos²:

This path, although shorter, [...] is subject to insults from the Canoe Indians, and there is a great lack of residents: houses are lacking, and it is often indispensable to sleep in the field to be found uncovered, because the ranches are burned or destroyed by fire, wind, or wild Indians. Here there are no means of subsistence for many people: however any body of troops riding or standing, who has to march straight to King's Landing, should prefer the road of Amaro Leite. If you have beasts to drive flour from Arraial da Piedade to Pontal. Cattle are not lacking in the farms of the sertão [...]. The difference of the distance or the march from Goiaz to King's Landing by the road of Amaro Leite, and that which follows by the stingrays of Trahiras [made by Pohl], etc., amounts to 44 legoas in favor of the first, which can be considered 9 strong marches [days of travel] for the troop and the cattle. (CUNHA MATTOS, 1836, p. 118-119, v. 2).

An important region, but insecure due to the great activity of the indigenous peoples, and what they considered the government's omission for their needs, as observed in a letter published in Matutina Meiapontese, on June 12, 1833, under the pseudonym of *O Velho do Sertão*, denounces the feeling of the population of the Sertão de Amaro Leite: "[...] soon [the Indians] would be encouraged to sahir the cassadas in the Campos, then populated by cattle of more than sixty Fazendas, today reduced to Taperas, and from 1817 until today there has not been an anno, in which they did not commit deaths, and robberies with barbarities." The residents were left with the feeling of contempt on the part of the Provincial Government, of not fulfilling the promises to build a military detachment that would defend them from the incursions of the indigenous peoples. (MATUTINA MEYAPONTESE, 6/12/1833).

The dissatisfaction of the inhabitants of the Sertão de Amaro Leite, together with the delicate political situation of the Province of Goiás, which, at any moment, could be beset by new attempts at separation, substantially alters the interest of the government of Vila Boa in the region. The Sertão de Amaro Leite now receives the measures, which aimed at its incorporation, but, mainly, a greater control of this by the government, bringing it closer to the south. (ALMEIDA, 2016). For the geographer Antonio Carlos Robert Moraes (2003 p.3):

The sertão is commonly conceived as a space for expansion, with the object incorporating that new space, so called to economic flows or to an orbit of power that escapes it at that moment [...] it is a qualifier that induces a new process of territorial domination over the focused spaces, that is, that introduces a new outbreak of political domination in the spatial sphere delimited by the proposed qualification.

In this sense, there is a growing interest in the Sertão de Amaro Leite, both to ensure the unity of the Province, and to encourage livestock, according to Almeida (2016, p. 84).

The first actions of the Provincial Government that aimed to give greater control to the region

² Raymundo José da Cunha Mattos, arrives in Goiás on May 28, 1823, where I assumed the position of Governor of Military and Civil Arms.

occur between the years 1835 and 1854 as the transfer of the Sertão de Amaro Leite de Traíras (Comarca do Norte) to Pilar (Comarca do Sul) and others such as the improvement of the road, establishment of a monthly post between Pilar and Amaro Leite, repairs of the church and creation of classes, and a school. (ALMEIDA, 2016, p. 84-90).

These small actions were unable to stimulate the increase of the non-indigenous population or to diminish the reaction of the indigenous peoples to the invasion of their territories. Between the years 1835 and 1853, the Sertão de Amaro Leite was marked by the constant incursions of the Avá-Canoeiro and, to a lesser extent, also of the Xavante. (ALMEIDA, 2016). And in response to the alleged "attacks" the government authorized the creation of flags that roamed the tribal territory in search of the villages:

The force against the fierce Nation of Canoeiro was to consist, according to the Instructions, of two hundred Squares, divided into two Divisions, each composed of three Sections; the 1st Division would have its general parade in Amaro Leite, and the 2nd in S. Felix, and should march to the center of the Sertão d' Amaro Leite, so that gathered they could beat the Villages. (MEMORIAS GOIANAS, 1986 p.74 – 75).

The constant official or private flags exerted an effect contrary to what was intended, they could not scare away the Indians, and these sensing the threat in their territories, responded with new attacks on the farms and villages, maintaining a vicious circle of action and reaction, fear and violence, as perceived by Pohl:

It is no wonder, then, that the poor savages should likewise make provision for their safety, and that they should seek to annihilate their adversaries, or at least to keep them frightened and frightened. This is especially the case of the canoeists, limited to the east and west by the settlers who sometimes give vent to their hatred and envy of the Indians and even try to enslave them. Were it not so cruel in their actions the canoeists, not forgiving any Christian, and would long ago be exterminated, displaced, or enslaved. (POHL, 1976, p. 213).

The year 1854 was marked by the investigation of the feasibility of implementing Military Colonization³ in the region, and still in 1854 were implanted the colonial prisons in the Sertão de Amaro Leite: Presidio de Santo Antônio, Presídio de Santa Bárbara and the Presidio de Santa Cruz⁴. According to Simões de Paula (1972, apud Almeida, 2016, p. 120), military colonization was a three-dimensional policy that aimed to occupy demographic voids, control indigenous peoples and favor navigation.

It can be said that the creation of military prisons in the Sertão de Amaro Leite quickly had the expected effects, and between the years 1854 and 1864 there is a considerable reduction in indigenous

³ The implementation of military colonization takes place from the mid-nineteenth century and has its initial milestone with Law No. 555, of June 15, 1850, which, in its article 11, § 5, authorizes the government to establish where it suits it, prisons and military colonies giving them the most appropriate organization. (BRAZIL, 1850 apud ALMEIDA, 2016 p. 109).

⁴ Founded on February 17, 1855, the prison of Santa Cruz was located between the villages of Descoberto da Piedade and Espírito Santo do Peixe, the banks of the Cana-brava River, there lived 42 people and 26 squares.

activity in the region,

The prisons on the banks of Maranhão have competed powerfully for the development in some places of the extinct cattle breeding industry. The hinterlands of Amaro Leite whose property for this purpose leaves nothing to be desired, which were so prosperous in antiquity and which later became deserts because of the incursions of the savages, began to fear in the shadow of these garrisons. (MEMÓRIAS GOIANAS, 1997 p.263).

The implementation of military colonization prisons in the Sertão de Amaro Leite managed to increase the number of non-indigenous inhabitants through the policing of their neighborhoods.

To employ the detachments thus collated in constantly beating the mattas, those of the western line, in the direction of the south, and those of the north in the direction of the east, to the bank of the Tocantins, seeking to find the Indians, and not aggravating them more vigorously repelling their attacks, to either convince them of our peaceful dispositions, or compel them by terror to abandon these portions of territory, and proceed until they were impellied beyond the Araguaya. (MEMORIAS GOIANAS, 1997 p.42).

Shortly after the implementation of the prisons, there was a significant reduction in reports of "indigenous attacks", without making it very clear how the approaches were made to the indigenous people who lived nearby. But what is certain is that at the same time the number of settlers in prisons and throughout the region grew; the number of indigenous people was considerably reduced, especially the Avá-Canoeiro.

In 1864, the Presidio of Santa Cruz was transferred to Jurupensen, a region of influence of the Araguaia River, indicating that the indigenous peoples of the Sertão were already unable to maintain resistance against the invaders of their lands (ALMEIDA, 2016, p. 90-97).

2 THE RESISTANCE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE BACKLANDS OF AMARO LEITE

In addition to the Avá-Canoeiro, the Sertão de Amaro Leite was also inhabited by the Xavante, both bellicose peoples who bravely resisted the invasion of their territories; leading to being described by non-Indians as "barbarians" and "uncivilized."

About the Xavante, Father Luiz Antonio da Silva e Sousa⁵ (1849, p. 495) described them thus: "A fierce and numerous nation, resident in the village of Carretão, although in large numbers they are scattered through the forests between the Araguaya River and Tocantins; they use a bow and arrow; they are cruel and stealing. [...]". Silva e Sousa's description of the Avá-Canoeiro is also very significant, about the discourse of the time, about the indigenous peoples, opinions that were reproduced by different subjects throughout the nineteenth century:

⁵ Padre, born in Serra Fria- Minas Gerais.

A cruel nation, bellicose, and that does not know how to flee, resisting in its battles until it dies, furiously investing the same women and brave dogs that bring with them: gyram in canoas, which they make by the rivers Tocantins, Paraná, Manoel Alves, Barra da Palma, where it has done much damage; although it is said to have its main village among the mountains that are next to the Duro, where it has establishment, in which on our part it has not arrived. They use, besides bow and bow, spears of more than twenty palms, toothed at the ends; They are amicissimos of cavallar meat, which is their tastiest food. (SILVA AND SOUSA, 1849 p. 495).

The vision of Silva e Sousa, both of the Xavante and the Avá-Canoeiro is representative of the vision of the colonizer with the Indians, which can be perceived in the characteristics attributed to them, such as: fierce, warlike, thieves and uncivilized. And that if they were not exterminated it would lead to the ruin of the province as stated by the President of the Province, Antonio Joaquim da Silva Gomes, in his report of 1851:

I am intimately convinced that one of the most pressing needs of the Province is the expulsion of the Indio Canoeiro, who is few, but incapable of fraternizing with the Christãos; and that therefore it will bring the infallible result of increasing the population, of reviving the dampened industry, and the stagnant trade, these two great wellsprings of public and private wealth. (MEMOIRS GOIANAS 5, 1996, p. 103).

Throughout the trajectory of human development, whether social, cultural or economic, it is fated to deal with the establishment of borders, a line of impasse provided by the pioneer front (the already existing), and the expansion front (the dominator), of course not, necessarily, always dealing with a duel of emblematic forces, such as the process of colonization and appropriation of territory, José de Souza Martins states that, the border includes many different things:

frontier of civilization (demarcated by the barbarism that hides in it), spatial frontier, frontier of cultures and worldviews, frontier of ethnicities, frontier of history and historicity of man. And above all, *the frontier of the human* In this sense, the border has a liturgical and sacrificial character, because in it the other is degraded to make possible the existence of those who dominate, subjugate and exploit it." [emphasis in original] (2009, p. 11).

The border transcends the territory that in turn composes elements of cultural or social habits of a people and becomes the place of conflicts not only by the attempt to appropriate the territory, but also the attempt to subjugate the other, which, perhaps, includes the annulment of what does not prevail to the impasse.

The border is, in fact, the limit point of territories that continually redefine themselves, disputed in different ways by different human groups. On the border, the so-called white is civilized relative to its emphasis on the material elements of life and the struggle for land is also related. (MARTINS, 2009, p. 10).

The concept of border becomes broad to interpretations, so that each society has a look at this reality, "to the North American tradition, the border had connotations of opportunity, of a place to start

again, for Brazilians the sertão was a dark, unknown and dangerous space, without God, society or State". (McCREERY, apud SILVA; MOURA; FIELDS, 2015, p. 235).

For McCreery (2006, apud MOURA, 2015, p. 33), in Goiás in the nineteenth century, there was no "ideal" border with a line moving and behind this were organized the settlement and institutionalization of the State. What he calls the Goiás Frontier is situated on the "periphery of the periphery", formed by three types of borders:

As for its form of occupation and settlement it calls the Swiss Cheese Frontier [...], as for the contact with the autochthonous groups, it will be called the Frontier of Exclusion [...] and as for the economic and social structure of the Cattle Frontier [...]. The combination of these three models will form the situation of "periphery of the periphery" of Goiás. McCreery (2006, apud MOURA, 2015, p. 32-33)

What McCreery (2006, apud MOURA, 2015, p. 33) calls the Swiss Cheese Frontier is the perception that the settlement nuclei, which emerged during the mining period, remained as archipelagos, remaining small, isolated and with poor communication between one village and another, and that they were preserved even after the fall of mining and the ruralization of Goiás society as administrative and religious centers. This type of border remained, but without advancing "in the sense of not structuring infrastructure improvements and substantial enrichment of the population, but also without being extinguished, [...]" (MOURA, 2015, p. 33).

The Cattle Frontier refers to the economic structure and political domination in Goiás. McCreery (apud MOURA, 2015, p. 33-34) considers that during the imperial period there was no internal market or monetary system in Goiás, land was not a criterion of wealth, and that thus the possession of slaves and animals was the economic differential between social groups.

These "cattle lords" formed the elite of the sertão and were responsible for controlling the legal system and legislation and acted in defense of the interests of the State, which was usually a conjunction of their interests. With a weak and inoperative state, cattle ranchers performed these functions and acted as authorities in those regions. (MOURA, 2015, p. 34).

Still according to McCreery (2006, apud MOURA, 2015), the Cattle Frontier is characterized by a violent society and even more aggravated when thinking about the contingent of poor population driven to the hinterlands, by coffee in the southeast, or by even more precarious conditions of Bahia and Piauí, added to the indigenous population "who lived on a collision course with the border population. With the presence of so many socially 'excluded' individuals and the ineffectiveness of the State in instituting a system of social correction, the region enters into a permanent condition of combat, which has been called the frontier of exclusion [...]". (MOURA, 2015, p. 35).

According to McCreery (2006, apud MOURA, 2015, p. 35), the Frontier of Exclusion had exterminationist objectives, characterized by the many flags and the attempts of the settlers to

incorporate the indigenous captured by families and their use as a labor force. The conjunction of these three borders was what McCreery called the Goiás Border. And we can see in the Sertão de Amaro Leite the existence of this frontier almost permanently during the nineteenth century: the permanence of the old mining camps, in conditions of isolation; a few "cattle lords" and the constant belligerence between Indians and settlers.

However, essentially on this frontier violence and estrangement prevail, visualized through the confrontations between the expansion front and the pioneer front. The friction between the parties goes beyond the limits of territoriality, but the land turns out to be a physical object that supports the experience of peoples and their cultures, conflicts become inherent in a desire for conquest and subjugation, in general, marked by: intolerance, ambition and death. That is, at the border the struggles materialize over land tenure, but what is intended is the maintenance or replacement of cultures and ways of life.

At the same time that the expansion fronts demanded a greater amount of land, the indigenous peoples, who lived in these places, were deprived of their traditional tribal territories and forced to greatly modify their way of life, even interfering in their eating habits and often exchanging the hunting of wild animals for the consumption of the cattle of the farmers (ROCHA, 1998, p. 32, apud, ALMEIDA, 2016, p. 78).

In the Sertão de Amaro Leite the cattle intensify impasses, since they have the role of appropriation of the territory, which usually belonged to the indigenous. Dulce Madalena Rios Pedroso in her work *A História de resistência dos Avá-Canoeiro* (1992), describes the existence of conflicts between the Avá-Canoeiro and colonizers already during the eighteenth century, in which, at first, it is thought of a utility for the vast and fertile lands to the north and an economy that, later, would be one of the main sources of income of the province which would witness its exhausted mines that would justify the agropastoral economy, which in a second moment depreciated the lands of indigenous possession, causing conflicts in the "frontier of the border".

Melatti (1994), states that the conflicts between colonizers and indigenous people should be understood as defense, and not retaliation, are pertinent to the territory, which transcends a geographical delimitation, and extends to the experiences of the Indian with their customs, culture. But on the other hand, the "civilized" do not stick to these ethnic, cultural, but rather territorial questions for the increase of crops or herds. Where for the indigenous there was their housing, way of life, sustenance and religion, it was seen by the colonizer as a great void and, therefore, capable of being occupied, dominated. "From the mid-eighteenth century, colonization reaches the Avã-Canoeiro territory, where the agropastoral fronts and navigation along the Tocantins River start conflicts between Indians and settlers." (PEDROSO, 1992, p. 5).

Therefore, the cattle become a way to legitimize the conflict of the colonizer with the

indigenous, because the cattle do not need much care are raised wide, and entered the sertão. That is, the cattle take with them the border, and the conflicts.

On the other hand, those fronts that are characterized by cattle raising advance through the indigenous territories to take their lands to use them in the expansion of herds. However, pastoral activities do not require many workers. A few cowboys can take care of many cattle. Therefore, it is not in the interest of the sertanejos who constitute this type of front to take advantage of the Indians in pastoral work. Therefore, the Indians, when they see their territory invaded by a pastoral front, in addition to losing their lands, are not taken advantage of as workers. (MELATTI, 1994 p. 185).

As an example for this fact, one can cite the choice made in the prisons of the Sertão de Amaro Leite, that the first payments of the soldiers were made through the cattle of raising, as a way to feed the feeling of connection and promote the fixation of men to the territory; thus increasing the effectiveness of military colonization, because the soldier in addition to confronting the Indians for the obligation of their activity, so they would also have a personal motive, that is, the defense of their property.

In addition, this feeling of ownership or defense of private property, in particular cattle, would allow conflicts against the Indians to become a lawful act, since it would be seen as a form of defense by those who had dispossessed the Indians, and any other action that was not a passive attitude of the Indians would be seen as an "attack" on the civilized. (ALMEIDA, 2016).

According to Pedroso, the provincial government sought the integration of the indigenous people in their plans of society and settlement, removing them from their lands, as this would prevent them from living according to their culture, which characterizes cultural genocide, since they intended to subject them to a process of acculturation, which would result in the weakening of their original beliefs and customs. It was hoped that the end of the struggles would result in the eviction of indigenous lands, paving the way for settlers to establish their cattle ranches and the possible use of indigenous people as labor. What did not occur in the Sertão de Amaro Leite, that until the implementation of the Military Colonization in the region, in 1854, the activity of indigenous resistance was constant.

But the permanent state of conflict between settlers and Indians has increased significantly. The more they resisted the attempts of "pacification" of the colonizer, they gave rise to new confrontations. An example of this was the genocide that occurred with the Avá-Canoeiro:

However, the interethnic tensions generated earlier led the Indians not to accept the peace proposals of the colonizer. As a consequence, a great massacre occurred in the village of the Stumbling Islands. However, several Indians managed to escape and were pursued to the Paranã River, by order of the commander of the flag. (PEDROSO, 2006 p. 95).

Almeida (2016) lists three factors that contributed to make possible the control of the Sertão de Amaro Leite, ideologically supporting the desire to conquer these lands: the supposed fertility and

wealth of the land and its natural aptitude for livestock; the theory of the mixed origin of the Avá-Canoeiro, which excluded them from the indigenist policy and their inability to be "civilized". The Indians were seen by the colonizers as obstacles to "civilization," and for the economic flourishing of the north it was necessary to end "these obstacles."

As the colonizer advanced on the indigenous territories of the Sertão de Amaro Leite, there were different forms of contact and resistance, "the Indians, faced with the reduction of their territories, had two alternatives: resistance or flight to more distant places" (ALMEIDA, 2016, p.80).

The Xavante opted for migration to other lands, which can also be understood as a form of resistance to flee and isolate themselves from the strong territorial invasion and the pressure imposed by the pioneer front with the establishment of farms for cattle breeding, the Xavante managed to protect their culture and their lives.

[...], when he left Carretão, he isolated himself in his former territory located between the Tocantins and Araguaia rivers, from where he resumed his hostilities against the regionals. With pressure from the fronts of cattle ranchers and farmers in the north of Goiás, the Xavante withdrew from the region. After 1859, they had already crossed the Araguaia and Cristalino rivers, where they settled on the banks of the Mortes River in the east of Mato Grosso, a region they have lived in ever since. (RIBEIRO, 1977, p.65 apud SILVA, M. G. O., 2013, p.73 apud ALMEIDA, 2016, p.80)

The Avá-Canoeiro, on the other hand, as a way of resisting colonization, fought numerous wars with the settlers and managed, at times, to vacate vast regions of the Sertão de Amaro Leite, forcing the colonizers to abandon their farms and migrate to other regions.

Rocha (1998, p.36) points out that among the indigenous groups of Goiás, the Avá-Canoeiro were the most feared, even threatening the occupation in extensive areas. For Pedroso (1992), the resistance of the Avá-Canoeiro in defense of their territories and the persistence in maintaining an autonomous society may have originated from contact with other indigenous peoples during their arrival in the region:

The resistant character of these Indians not to submit to the domination of the colonizers and to defend their traditional territory of occupation may have roots in the group's fixation in the Tocantin region. Everything indicates that the Ava-Canoeiro had to fight, with other indigenous groups, for the conquest and maintenance of the territory in question. In this way, the bellicosity of the group allowed, for more than a century, the permanent confrontation with the colonizer. These Indians constituted an obstacle to the advancement of colonization in their tribal territories. (PEDROSO, 1992 p. 10).

The permanent state of war between the Avá-Canoeiro and the colonizers caused a significant reduction of the indigenous population, its dispersion over an extensive area and the fragmentation into small nomadic groups. In this way, moving in smaller numbers would make it more difficult for the colonizer to notice their presence, since they were on the run. Such transformations contributed to the

survival of this group.

The most striking feature of these people is their resistance to remaining autonomous as a society. Such resistance can be observed first through war, when the preservation of their tribal territories became necessary. When the dispute became impossible, due to the significant decrease of the indigenous population, the Indians began to flee to hide. They also insisted on remaining autonomous. (PEDROSO, 1994, p. 96-97).

In this way, we can understand that the attitude of the Avá-Canoeiro in dividing themselves into small groups and adapting to the nomadic culture, clearly characterizes another form of resistance, since they were no longer in a position to bravely resist the confrontation and the advances of the colonizer.

3 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The work "The Expansion of Cattle Ranching and Indigenous Resistance: Sertão de Amaro Leite (1882 – 1864)" is an attempt to investigate the forms of indigenous resistance to the expansion of cattle ranching in their territories.

In the first moment, it brought some considerations about the economic situation of Goiás, that in the first half of the nineteenth century, gold production was already in crisis, agriculture in the subsistence stage and left to the presidents of the Province the agriculture as a way to promote the economic development of the region.

As a second topic, we analyzed the attempts of territorial and human domination in the north of Goiás imposed by the colonizers who aimed to give greater control to the region. It was also observed the reasons that favored the triggering of conflicts between settlers and indigenous peoples. We sought to understand the effects of the policy of military colonization, the implementation of military prisons and the establishment of the Goiás border, which aimed at the domination and settlement of areas hitherto owned by indigenous people, which were decisive for the disappearance of the indigenous population and the growth of the non-indigenous population.

And in a third reflection, the forms of resistance of the indigenous peoples of the Sertão de Amaro Leite (Avá-canoeiro and Xavante) were discussed, with the Xavante opting for the escape, and the Avá-Canoeiro for the struggle. Both were essential for the development of this research, because what traditional historiography treats as "attack", is understood in this work as resistance to the process of territorial occupation.

The analysis of the resistance of the indigenous peoples allowed, therefore, to understand how devalued was the culture of the inhabitants of the region before the colonizer's gaze, and the importance of the territory in the process of affirmation within the political, economic and cultural context.

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