

# “BETWEEN TRAYS AND CONFRATERNITIES”: AN ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIO-RELIGIOUS INTERACTIONS OF FEMALE STREET VENDORS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VILA DA CACHOEIRA

Glenda de Castro Spósito<sup>1</sup>

## ABSTRACT

This article proposes an initial foray into the universe of women street vendors (*ganhadeiras*) in the XVIII century village of Cachoeira. While we have dedicated a specific section to explore the trajectory of the *ganhadeira* Maria Pinto de Negreiros, the biographical traces present in her will guided the entire text. Understanding the socio-historical characteristics of the context in which this group operated is crucial to elucidating the process of the emergence of this economic collective. In this way, our work aimed to historicise the village of Cachoeira from the beginning of its settlement to the period when the women *ganhadeiras* emerge in the documentation. Presenting the figure of Maria Pinto de Negreiros not only unveils the identity of these women but also promotes reflections on the social networks they might have formed through their activities. Our research doesn't seek to provide conclusive answers but rather to engage with existing literature and the biographical evidence in Maria's will, analysing how such economic and religious interactions might have favoured autonomy, profitability and the attainment of freedom for this group.

**Keywords:** *ganhadeiras*, commerce, religion, sociability, economy.

## RESUMO

Este artigo propõe uma primeira incursão no universo das mulheres ganhadeiras da Vila da Cachoeira no século XVIII. Embora tenhamos destinado um espaço específico para explorar a trajetória da ganhadeira Maria Pinto de Negreiros, os vestígios biográficos presentes em seu testamento nortearam todo o texto. A compreensão das características socio-históricas do contexto em que esse grupo atuou é fundamental para elucidar o processo de surgimento desse coletivo econômico. Diante disso, nosso trabalho buscou historicizar a Vila da Cachoeira, desde o início de seu povoamento até o período em que as mulheres ganhadeiras emergem na documentação. Apresentar a figura de Maria Pinto de Negreiros não só desvenda a identidade dessas mulheres, mas também promove reflexões acerca das redes sociais que elas poderiam formar através de suas atividades. Nossa pesquisa não visa dar respostas conclusivas, mas sim dialogar com a literatura existente e os indícios biográficos no testamento de Maria, analisando como tais interações econômicas e religiosas poderiam favorecer a autonomia, rentabilidade e obtenção da liberdade para esse grupo.

**Palavras-chave:** ganhadeiras, comércio, religião, sociabilidade, economia.

---

<sup>1</sup>Graduated with a Bachelor's degree in History from the Federal University of Recôncavo da Bahia (UFRB). Currently a Master's student with a scholarship in the Postgraduate Program in Regional and Local History at the State University of Bahia (UNEB). Has experience in the area of Colonial Brazilian History, primarily studying the trajectories of enslaved and free Black women in earning a living in the village of Cachoeira and their relationship to the local economic landscape. Email: [glensposito@gmail.com](mailto:glensposito@gmail.com).

## Introduction

The symbiotic relationship that Salvador maintained with the hinterlands of the Recôncavo fostered the consolidation of the capital's status as the principal port region of transatlantic commerce, while the cultivation of agro-export crops promoted both the rural and urban territorial expansion of the vast lands comprising the Recôncavo.<sup>1</sup> The spatial scope of this study reconstructs the commercial urban landscape of the town of Cachoeira at the dawn of the eighteenth century, when the growing international demand for the principal commodities of the regional economic matrix—cultivated in the fertile soils of the Recôncavo, namely sugarcane and tobacco—underpinned the demographic growth of its major towns and the emergence of a vigorous urban economy.

The commercial intensification of plantation crops brought about significant socioeconomic and geographic transformations within the territory traversed by the Paraguaçu River. Demographic expansion and the flourishing of commerce were crucial factors enabling the Adorno clan, leveraging its social prestige, to promote the former *arraial* within the administrative framework of the Portuguese Empire. The resulting political-administrative formation of the territory contributed to accelerating the process of urbanization and the organization of public thoroughfares; consequently, by the end of the first half of the eighteenth century, the town of Cachoeira had consolidated itself as an important commercial center.<sup>2</sup>

It is within this context of economic consolidation and urban routine that the *ganhadeiras* emerge as key agents in this internal market, trading a wide array of goods with a preponderance of foodstuffs. In addition to supplying provisions to the population that animated the town's commercial life, the *ganhadeiras* were also responsible for circulating merchandise among the parishes and their surrounding areas<sup>3</sup>. The occupation of *ganho* constituted an important mechanism of autonomy, stability, and resistance for the majority of enslaved and free Black women.

The rise of urban slavery resulted from the need for labor across a variety of services demanded by the intense circulation of people from diverse social strata in the

---

<sup>2</sup>Moreira, Igor Roberto de Almeida. "AND BY SUCH THIRD CLASSES IN THE CARMELITE ORDER": the Dignitaries Brothers of the Third Order of Carmel of Vila da Cachoeira, 1691-1773. Dissertation (Master's) Postgraduate Program in Regional and Local History, UNEB, Santo Antônio de Jesus, BA, 2021.

<sup>3</sup>Graham, Richard. *Feeding the City: From Street Vendors to Liberal Reform* (Salvador, 1780-1860). 1st edition. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2013.

town of Cachoeira. In accordance with colonial precepts, the project of expanding the worship of the faith constituted one of the principal social vectors; lay associations played a crucial role in this society by ensuring their members' vital rights, such as financial assistance and protection after death. Religious temples created spaces for brotherhoods of different ethnic groups, along with their devotional practices.

The support networks fostered by these associations benefited *ganhadeiras*, as in the case of Maria Pinto de Negreiros—woman, widow, and member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Blacks—whose affiliation with such confraternities provided her with assistance during her lifetime and guaranteed her a dignified burial.

The aim of this study is to reflect upon aspects that corroborate the significant presence of ambulant women known as *ganhadeiras* at the urban commercial epicenter of the town of Cachoeira in the second half of the eighteenth century. The analysis of the case of Maria Pinto de Negreiros prompts a reflection on the role of the sociability networks formed by these women and the extent to which this web of economic and socio-religious interactions fostered their autonomy, profitability, and the acquisition of their manumissions.

### **The economic matrix of the village of Cachoeira in 18th-century Bahia.**

The historiography on the Recôncavo of Bahia is intrinsically linked to the broader dynamics of Brazilian economic development. From its formation, occupation, and settlement, the Recôncavo played a crucial role in both regional and national economies, chiefly due to its symbiotic relationship with the capital of Bahia. Integrated as part of the Recôncavo's hinterland, the town of Cachoeira emerged as one of the principal ports of the region; its strategic position connecting the *sertão* to the city of Bahia contributed to the expansion of urban commercial activities, and by the end of the first half of the eighteenth century, Cachoeira had consolidated itself as an important commercial hub.

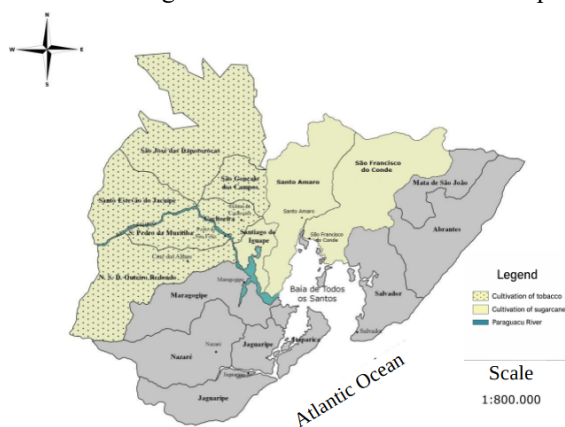
The favorable characteristics of the soil for sugarcane cultivation, combined with the commodity's significance on the international market, may be regarded as essential factors behind the considerable investments made in the construction of sugar mills and in the settlement of the region. These elements propelled the newly established parish of

Santiago do Iguape to become one of the earliest significant zones of the Recôncavo<sup>3</sup>. As the colonized territory was progressively penetrated, a social network took shape, initially concentrated in the Iguape basin and gradually extending to the last navigable point of the Paraguaçu River—precisely the site that would become the seat of the town of Cachoeira.

The introduction of a new product into the region's economic matrix—tobacco—whose value increased significantly in the international market, also contributed to the expansion of the inhabited zone. Reports indicate that farmers were already settling in an area known as the “Campos da Cachoeira” in the late first half of the seventeenth century<sup>4</sup>.

As the map below indicates, sugar production developed primarily in the northern portion of the Recôncavo, while tobacco cultivation concentrated in the more sandy and elevated soils of Cachoeira, which, being partly irrigated by the Paraguaçu River, became the center of tobacco agriculture. <sup>5</sup>.

Map of the Recôncavo region of Bahia and its cultivated crops.<sup>6</sup>



Adapted from Barickman (2003, p. 40) by Uriálisson Queiroz. Readapted by Glenda Spósito.

<sup>3</sup> The addition of a new item to the region's economic matrix—tobacco, a product that acquired high value in the international market—contributed to the expansion of the inhabited area. There are accounts of farmers settling in a region known as "Campos da Cachoeira" as early as the end of the first half of the 17th century.

<sup>4</sup> Santiago, Camila Fernanda Guimarães; Moreira, Igor Roberto de Almeida; Sant'Anna, Sabrina Mara. *The churches of Cachoeira: history, architecture and ornamentation*. 1st ed. Belo Horizonte: Clio Gestão Cultural e Editora, 2020.

<sup>5</sup> Schwartz, Stuart. *Internal Secrets: Sugar Mills and Slaves in Colonial Society*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1988. p. 83.

<sup>6</sup>Map adapted from the map “Recôncavo da Bahia and Cachoeira, tobacco production 1774 to 1830”. Silva, Ana Paula de Albuquerque. *Tobacco production: farms and farmers in the Recôncavo of Bahia (1774-1830)*. Master's thesis presented to the Postgraduate Program in History of the Faculty of Philosophy and Human Sciences of the Federal University of Bahia. Salvador, 2015, p. 52.

Following the Portuguese occupation—carried out through incursions against the native populations residing along both banks of the Paraguaçu—began the systematic process of settlement and formation of what would become one of the principal urban nuclei of the Recôncavo,<sup>7</sup> namely the parishes of Cachoeira and Muritiba (the Port of São Félix).

The population growth witnessed in the *arraial* of Cachoeira between the late first half and the early second half of the seventeenth century is attributable to the Adorno clan. The social prestige acquired by this family directly contributed to elevating the *arraial* of Cachoeira within the administrative structure of the Portuguese Empire. It is no coincidence that the parish of Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Porto da Cachoeira dates from this period, having been established on 18 February 1674 through its separation from the parish of Iguape<sup>8</sup>.

It is thus evident that throughout the seventeenth century the regional economy was centered on sugarcane and tobacco cultivation and, consequently, the enslaved population residing there must have lived predominantly in the areas where the production of these commodities was concentrated. It is reasonable to affirm that urban commercial activities began to develop only after the creation of the town in 1698, an observation corroborated by the profile of the elite who financed the construction of the Town Hall and Jail<sup>9</sup>.

The establishment of the town and its ensuing political-administrative formation accelerated the process of urbanization and the organization of public thoroughfares. One may assert that by the dawn of the eighteenth century the town already contained several commercial establishments. Its advantageous geographical position—linking the *sertão*

---

<sup>7</sup>Neves, Juliana Brainer Barroso. Colonization and resistance in Paraguaçu – Bahia 1530-1678. Master's thesis - Federal University of Bahia, Salvador, 2008; Santiago, Camila Fernanda Guimarães; Moreira, Igor Roberto de Almeida; Sant'Anna, Sabrina Mara. The churches of Cachoeira: history, architecture and ornamentation...op.cit.; MOREIRA, Igor Roberto de Almeida. "AND BY SUCH THIRD ORDERS IN THE CARMELITE ORDER": the Dignitaries Brothers of the Third Order of Carmel of the Village of Cachoeira, 1691-1773...op.cit.

<sup>8</sup>Moreira, Igor Roberto de Almeida. "AND BY SUCH THIRD BROTHERS IN THE CARMELITE ORDER": the Dignitaries Brothers of the Third Order of Carmel of Vila da Cachoeira, 1691-1773...op.cit., p.38-51.

<sup>9</sup>Santiago, Camila Fernanda Guimarães; Moreira, Igor Roberto de Almeida; Sant'Anna, Sabrina Mara. The churches of Cachoeira: history, architecture and ornamentation...op.cit, p.20.

to the city of Bahia—contributed to intensifying urban commercial activities, and by the end of the first half of the eighteenth century Cachoeira had consolidated itself as an important commercial center.

The opulence of the local commerce situated along both banks of the Paraguaçu can be attested by the post-mortem inventories of merchants, documents that describe a wide array of goods produced in the colony and in other realms<sup>10</sup>; as well as by the diversity of economic activities offered in the Praça da Cachoeira.<sup>11</sup> All of these factors, combined with the town's status as a river port, significantly contributed to what may be considered a profitable street market.

When speaking of street commerce, the *ganhadeiras* are intrinsically bound to this commercial process. To a large extent, urban commercial relations were sustained by the labor of *ganho*, and it is within this sphere that enslaved and formerly enslaved women came to occupy a prominent place in the urban labor market. Based on the consulted bibliography<sup>12</sup>, together with primary sources, we classify as *ganhadeiras* the women who offered the most diverse forms of ambulant trade—modalities described as selling corn cakes, working as *quitandeiras*, *canoeiras*, and so forth<sup>13</sup>.

The master's thesis of the historian Vilmara Teixeira—focused on African freedwomen in the comarca of Rio das Mortes in the captaincy of Minas—analyzed the social dynamics through which a web of street-based economic activities was constituted, activities developed predominantly by enslaved and free Black women. From this macro-social analysis, the author concluded that the existence and consequent economic ascension of the group under study depended directly on the presence of a robust and diversified local market, for such characteristics fostered the emergence of a “new” consumer public and a resulting socio-economic dynamism through the insertion of marginalized groups into commercial activities.<sup>14</sup> This observation aligns with the

---

<sup>10</sup> We can cite the inventory of the Portuguese merchant Manoel Lopes da Silva Couto, deposited in the Municipal Archive of Cachoeira. APMC, box 12, document 103.

<sup>11</sup> See the table compiled by Igor Moreira in his master's thesis: Moreira, Igor Roberto de Almeida. "E POR TAIS TERCEIROS NA ORDEM DO CARMO": os Dignitários Irmãos da Ordem Terceira do Carmo da Vila da Cachoeira, 1691-1773. Dissertation (Master's) Postgraduate Program in Regional and Local History, UNEB, Santo Antônio de Jesus, BA, 2021

<sup>12</sup> Soares, Luís Carlos. Slaves who worked for wages in 19th-century Rio de Janeiro. *Brazilian Journal of History*, São Paulo, v. 16, 1988.

<sup>13</sup> Cachoeira Municipal Archive. Bail Bonds. Uncatalogued miscellaneous documents.

<sup>14</sup> Teixeira, Vilmara Lúcia Rodrigues. Black Ladies: freed African women and their socioeconomic insertion in the Rio das Mortes region (1750-1810). Dissertation (Master's) – UFRJ – Rio de Janeiro, 2006.

findings for the town of Cachoeira: the women engaged in such activities relied on the thriving urban commerce to accumulate savings, establish themselves in the territory, and secure their manumissions.

### **Socioeconomic Transformations: Urban Demography and Street Commerce**

The consolidation of the town of Cachoeira as a commercial entrepôt occurred in the mid-eighteenth century, driven by a demographic boom and constant flows of merchandise. The town's strategic position was crucial to the expansion of a multifaceted array of urban commercial activities. By the end of the first half of the eighteenth century, Cachoeira had already established itself as an important commercial center. This assertion is evidenced by the steady circulation of goods and the ongoing negotiations between merchants from Salvador and those from the town, demonstrating the region's economic vitality<sup>15</sup>.

As a result of the expansion of the tobacco-export trade in the second half of the eighteenth century, the town of Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Porto da Cachoeira underwent major transformations in its economic structure. It produced and shipped from its port the tobacco exported to Europe—especially Gibraltar, Lisbon, Porto, Marseille, Hamburg, and Liverpool—and, above all, to the African coast, which was primarily responsible for the expansion of tobacco production in the late eighteenth century. Tobacco served as the principal currency of the Atlantic slave trade for roughly one hundred years; the so-called "Costa da Mina cycle" officially lasted until 1815, after which it began to decline due to the increased surveillance of British cruisers<sup>16, 17</sup>.

The master's thesis of historian Igor Roberto de Almeida Moreira presents a meticulous study that reveals population growth through the accounting of inhabitants and their respective households in the town of Cachoeira and its surrounding districts. His

---

<sup>15</sup> Moreira, Igor Roberto de Almeida. "AND BY SUCH THIRD BROTHERS IN THE CARMELITE ORDER": the Dignitaries Brothers of the Third Order of Carmel of Vila da Cachoeira, 1691-1773... op.cit., p.100-124.

<sup>16</sup> Reginald. Lucilene. *The Rosaries of the Angolas: Black Brotherhoods, Slave Experiences and African Identities in 18th-Century Bahia*. Doctoral thesis - State University of Campinas, Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences, Campinas, SP. 2005. 244p.

<sup>17</sup> Original version: Em decorrência da expansão do comércio de exportação fumageiro, na segunda metade do século XVIII, a vila de Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Porto da Cachoeira sofreu grandes transformações em sua estrutura econômica. Produzia e embarcava em seu porto o tabaco exportado para a Europa, especialmente Gibraltar, Lisboa, Porto, Marselha, Hamburgo e Liverpool e, principalmente, para costa da África, responsável primeira pela expansão da produção do vegetal no final do setecentos. O fumo foi a principal moeda do tráfico Atlântico durante cerca de cem anos; o chamado ciclo da costa da mina durou oficialmente até 1815, sofrendo a partir de então um deslocamento face a vigilância dos cruzeiros britânicos.

study further demonstrates that the urban core corresponding to the town’s seat possessed socioeconomic characteristics that contrasted with those of the other parishes, which were predominantly rural. The table below illustrates the distribution of population and households (*fogos*) across the town and its districts, based on demographic data from the 1775 census.

Demographic data for the town of Cachoeira and its Districts, 1775 Census.

<b>Parishes</b>	<b>Number of Households</b>	<b>Number of Inhabitants</b>	<b>Approximate Number of Persons per Household</b>
<b>Nossa Senhora do Rosário (sede da Vila)</b>	986	5814	5,9
<b>São Pedro da Muritiba</b>	562	4012	7,1
<b>São Thiago do Iguape</b>	337	3671	10,9
<b>Outeiro Redondo</b>	379	2947	7,9
<b>São Gonçalo dos Campos</b>	455	3625	8
<b>São José das Itaporocas</b>	312	5017	16
<b>Santana do Camisão</b>	91	540	6
<b>Santo Estevão do Jacuípe</b>	175	1354	7,9

Moreira, Igor Roberto de Almeida. "AND BY SUCH THIRD BROTHERS IN THE CARMELITE ORDER": the Dignitaries Brothers of the Third Order of Carmel of Vila da Cachoeira, 1691-1773...op.cit., p.51.

According to Moreira, when the data are considered in isolation, the town of Cachoeira and its districts comprised 3,297 households (*fogos*) and a total population of 26,980, highlighting the continuous settlement of residents in the urban area and the exponential increase in the number of inhabitants.

Within this context, the group of *ganhadeiras* emerges as a central presence occupying the urban spaces of the town, with their trays, wooden bowls, and *quitandas*. Many carried their goods on their heads, while others operated from fixed stalls. They

played an active role in fostering the regional economy beyond the agro-export sector; these ambulant women were also responsible for the circulation of goods between the town and its districts, as well as among the hinterlands of the Recôncavo.

The pioneering work of Cecília Moreira Soares, "As Ganhadeiras: Mulher e Resistência Negra em Salvador no Século XIX"<sup>18</sup> develops a study based on the gender–race–class triad. The author offers a profound analysis of the ambulant women of Salvador, emphasizing how Black women occupied significant spaces within the urban commercial center through the *ganho* system. The work also examines the daily experiences of enslaved women hired out for *ganho*, who were required to pay weekly or daily fees to their owners. Additionally, it explores how age, health, and personal skills influenced the profitability of their individual enterprises.

The social profile of these women—mostly African and formerly enslaved—reveals the need to study this context in order to understand the social dynamics and strategies employed by this group to obtain manumission and rise economically.

Moreira's dissertation also reveals the breadth and diversity of the town's urban commerce in the eighteenth century, listing a wide range of occupations exercised by members of the Third Order of the Carmo in the town—individuals who largely belonged to local elites<sup>19</sup>. The historian highlights the investments made by certain individuals in urban slavery through the revenue obtained from the *jornais* paid by their enslaved workers. This, therefore, underscores both the profitability and the social relevance, for the group of ambulant women, of the activities classified as *trabalho de ganho*, demonstrating its importance within the commercial sphere.

Schwartz and Barickman's works on the colonial period<sup>20</sup>, emphasize the social and economic significance of Salvador and later outline the port, demographic, and economic potential of the Recôncavo, directing their focus toward the rural zone and the

---

<sup>18</sup> Soares, Cecília Moreira. "The women who made women: women and black resistance in Salvador in the 19th century." In: *Afro-Asia*, Salvador, no. 17, (1966), pp. 57-72.

<sup>19</sup> Moreira, Igor Roberto de Almeida. "AND BY SUCH THIRD BROTHERS IN THE CARMELITE ORDER": the Dignitaries Brothers of the Third Order of Carmel of the Village of Cachoeira, 1691-1773...op.cit...

<sup>20</sup> Schwartz, Stuart. *Internal Secrets: Sugar Mills and Slaves in Colonial Society*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1988. Barickman, Bert. J. "A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava and Slavery in the Recôncavo, 1780-1860". Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003.

intense production of sugar and tobacco mills that supplied Salvador, without engaging with aspects related to urban economic life.

These historiographical contributions—such as those of Schwartz and Barickman—analyze economic activities performed by the enslaved population almost exclusively in relation to sugar and tobacco cultivation. Until now, no study has attempted to examine their connection with the economic and commercial activities carried out in the urban areas of the town of Cachoeira.

The classical historiographical perspective, influenced largely by Caio Prado Jr., reduced the economic process in Brazil to that of an exploitative colony—namely, in his view, all commercial activity in Portuguese America existed primarily to serve international trade, neglecting internal demands. Challenging this perspective, João Fragoso demonstrates, through the analysis of customs-house records, the commercial dynamism of the colony, showing that its commerce was far more diverse than classical historiography suggested. Fragoso further demonstrates that the colony possessed a strong internal market, including the existence of local elites who accumulated capital through negotiations and exchanges specific to local marketplaces. Moreover, the process of “re-exportation,” examined in detail by Fragoso and Florentino, highlights precisely this aspect of a consolidated and robust internal market that helped balance the commercial deficit.<sup>21</sup>

Vilmara Teixeira’s work aligns with the discussion above by showing that classical economic perspectives of the colonial period delayed the study of the importance of the colonial economy itself, thereby contributing to the absence of *ganhadeiras* in historiography. According to the author, the emergence and maintenance of a strong and profitable street-commerce sector depended on the existence of established commercial centers that handled large sums, as well as on the circulation of people, which directly favored the business ventures of the groups mentioned earlier.<sup>22</sup>

In her dissertation “*Negras Senhoras: As mulheres africanas forras e sua inserção socioeconômica na comarca do Rio das Mortes (1750–1810)*”, Teixeira offers a

---

<sup>21</sup>Prado Júnior, Caio. *Formation of Contemporary Brazil*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1961.; Fragoso, João Luís Ribeiro. *Men of Great Adventure: Accumulation and Hierarchy in the Mercantile Square of Rio de Janeiro (1790-1830)*, Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1998.

<sup>22</sup>Teixeira, Vilmara Lúcia Rodrigues. *Black Ladies: freed African women and their socioeconomic integration in the Rio das Mortes region (1750-1810)*... op.cit.

meticulous examination of the multiple and complex society of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais through the experiences of African freedwomen. She clarifies how economic activities contributed to the rise of an intermediate social layer in which *ganhadeiras* stood out as important actors in the colonial setting. Using several case studies, Teixeira proposes methodological approaches that combine quantitative and qualitative analyses, allowing for comparison without obscuring individual particularities. This methodological resource will aid in formulating the questions that will guide the analysis of the diverse professions present within the world of the *ganhadeiras* of Cachoeira.<sup>23</sup>

The reading of Teixeira's dissertation also reveals the scarcity of studies that examine the daily lives of these enslaved and freedwomen beyond the enslaved condition itself. In this sense, the present literature review seeks to demonstrate the absence of such studies for the colonial Recôncavo, thus underscoring the importance of the ongoing research.

Complementing the socioeconomic thought structured by *ganhadeiras* in the commercial urban centers of Minas, Luciano de Almeida Figueiredo's *O avesso da memória: Cotidiano e trabalho da mulher em Minas Gerais no século XVIII* contributes directly to this research by offering analytical tools to address the commercial networks and *ganho* labor performed by enslaved and freedwomen. Figueiredo provides a detailed examination of the commercial experience of ambulant women known as *negras de tabuleiro* in the daily commercial life of the captaincy and the prominent role women played in food-related commercial activities. Beyond ensuring provisions for the local population, these ambulant women were responsible for circulating food among the mining *arraiais*. Yet they were also pursued by officials for infractions and disturbances; their free movement and relative autonomy in urban centers and their hinterlands often led to accusations of smuggling, tax evasion, and prostitution. Despite these persecutions, *ganhadeiras* were essential agents for the functioning of the colonial system<sup>24</sup>

In dialogue with Figueiredo's research, Sheila de Castro Faria, in her article "*Mulheres forras – riqueza e estigma social*," examines the daily lives of formerly

---

<sup>23</sup>Teixeira. Vilmaria Lucia Rodrigues. op.cit.

<sup>24</sup> Figueiredo, Luciano. *The Other Side of Memory: Daily Life and Work of Women in Minas Gerais in the 18th Century*. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio; Brasília, Edunb, 1993.

enslaved people and their possibilities for entering the labor market, especially within the urban economic sphere. Faria offers an important reflection aimed at dismantling the historiographical assumption that freedwomen were inevitably destined for poverty. By examining marriage contracts recorded by notaries, she traces the trajectories of African freedwomen who sought to safeguard their assets from potential complications with future husbands. The documentation reveals in detail the goods acquired, their geographical location, and the fact that they had been accumulated through “their own industry,” that is, through their labor. One striking aspect is that nearly all the contracts aimed to protect the women’s assets, without mentioning any potential property belonging to their future spouses.<sup>25</sup>

Another relevant aspect of this study concerns the socioeconomic analysis that helps explain the prominence of this group in urban commercial activities. Understanding the legislation that regulated such commerce in the kingdom and how the institution of slavery altered this context in the colony is essential to comprehending the full complexity of the social dynamics surrounding these activities. Ambulatory control of retail trade by this group of enslaved and freedwomen appears to have stemmed from the hierarchical mentality of the Antigo Regime in the tropics. Thus, while in the kingdom such activities were reserved for poor white women, in the colony they were delegated to Africans and their descendants.

The author also highlights the high profitability of the so-called *escravos de ganho*; many owners managed to support entire families through the earnings of one or more enslaved workers employed in urban activities. In this regard, we cross-reference these findings with data presented by Igor Moreira, who identified a group of Cachoeira merchants who likewise obtained revenue from the incorporation of their enslaved workers into such occupations.<sup>26</sup>

The pioneering work of Brazilianist historian Richard Graham, “*Alimentar a Cidade – Das vendedoras de rua à reforma liberal (Salvador, 1780–1860)*”,<sup>27</sup> investigates

---

<sup>25</sup>Faria, Sheila de Castro. "Freed women: wealth and social stigma". In: *Revista Tempo*, Rio de Janeiro, v.5, n° 9, jul. 2000.

<sup>26</sup>Moreira, Igor Roberto de Almeida. "AND BY SUCH THIRD BROTHERS IN THE CARMELITE ORDER": the Dignitaries Brothers of the Third Order of Carmel of Vila da Cachoeira, 1691-1773...op.cit. p.100-118.

<sup>27</sup>Graham, Richard. *Feeding the City: From Street Vendors to Liberal Reform (Salvador, 1780 - 1860)*... op.cit..

how the economic mechanisms of commercial relations formed a complex social fabric in eighteenth-century Salvador. His objective is to delineate the socioeconomic context through the key actors who shaped this environment—ambulant men and women who played a central role in the functioning of the economic machinery of the principal city of the South Atlantic. The study of stratification processes centered on food-related commerce and its actors aligns with our research in reconstructing the networks of interaction and the strategies employed by African *ganhadeiras* seeking autonomy and social mobility. This entire framework allows us to understand more clearly the social importance of the *ganhadeiras*, the group that will be studied in depth throughout the master’s project.

The book *Ganhadores: A greve negra de 1857 na Bahia*<sup>28</sup> by João José Reis, is a work of considerable relevance for understanding the social reality of workers who orbited the commercial zones of major urban centers. Although the author examines the first strike movement involving marginalized social groups, the work provides a deep immersion into the socioeconomic landscape of nineteenth-century Bahia.

Despite the historical differences between the insertion of freed Africans into nineteenth-century society and the period analyzed here, the work nonetheless offers valuable insights into our object of study, particularly regarding the formal and bureaucratic mechanisms used by the municipal senate to control these workers. Additionally, the methodological approach resembles our own in its effort to identify who these free and enslaved workers were. Another noteworthy point concerns the construction of the workers’ profiles and the way they performed *ganho*, which for the author reflects an African inheritance, particularly in the rhythm and organization of labor.

In her article “*Ganhadeiras: Trabalho feminino nas ruas do Recife setecentista*,” Suely Cordeiro de Almeida constructs a perspective closely aligned with our research, particularly with regard to female protagonism and the actions of freed and enslaved women within the commercial sphere of Recife’s urban center. The author examines the activities of *ganhadeiras* in *ganho* labor, revealing their ties to religious brotherhoods and highlighting their networks of interaction with various social strata of Pernambucan

---

<sup>28</sup> Reis, João José. *Ganhadores: a greve negra de 1857 na Bahia*. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 2019, 451p.

society. Importantly, Almeida emphasizes the success of these *ganhadeiras* in pursuing manumission, maintaining the supply of urban centers, and ensuring their own survival through the legally recognized practice of *ganho*.<sup>29</sup>

Regarding the specificities of urban slavery, Liana Maria Reis's study, *Mulheres de ouro. As negras de tabuleiro em Minas Gerais*, analyzes the urban phenomenon in Minas Gerais through the experiences of enslaved and freedwomen in *ganho* labor. Her study aligns with our research because, as in Cachoeira, the growing urban dynamism in Minas fostered an economic and slaveholding system that created a multicultural social fabric. Reis emphasizes the lack of specific studies on urban settings and on women (enslaved or freed). Moreover, when referenced in Minas Gerais historiography, these women are generally classified into three tendencies: authors who overlook enslaved and freedwomen altogether; authors who confine their studies to themes of sexuality and female submission—such as concubinage, *mancebia*, and prostitution, rooted in patriarchal domination; and finally, authors who reveal female protagonism beyond sexual objectification, highlighting their diverse activities and occupations: farm laborers, midwives, *quitandeiras*, and even central agents in resistance movements and in the provisioning economy of mining society.<sup>30</sup>

Historian Sheila de Castro Faria has produced essential studies that help elucidate the complex web of relationships that constituted colonial society. Her seminal work *A Colônia em Movimento* seeks to understand the family as the foundational institution of that social model, capable of granting stability and potential social mobility. We draw from this work to analyze specific aspects that help illuminate the formation of networks of mutual support forged through community ties in the places where our group lived. Faria concluded that the likelihood of marriage among the freed population was directly proportional to the strength of neighborhood relationships<sup>31</sup>.

In this respect, we relate her findings to Tânia Santana's doctoral dissertation,<sup>15</sup> which uses wills and post-mortem inventories to examine how the “pedagogy of charity”

---

<sup>29</sup> Almeida, Suely Creusa Cordeiro de. *Ganhadeiras: women's work on the streets of 18th-century Recife*. *ABPN Journal*, v. 12, Special Edition, August 2020, p. 52-70.

<sup>30</sup> Reis, Liana Maria. *Women of Gold: Black Women Selling on Trays in 18th-Century Minas Gerais*. *Journal of the Department of History*. Belo Horizonte: FAFICH/UFMG, v. 8, 1989.

<sup>31</sup> Faria, Sheila de Castro. *The Colony in Motion: Fortune and Family in Colonial Daily Life*. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1998.

shaped the distribution of goods. Santana's study converges with that of Faria in emphasizing the importance of friendship ties and their social, economic, and family implications—an essential point for understanding the process of social articulation among the *ganhadeiras* of Cachoeira.

Considering the processes of socio-religious interaction and network formation, we incorporate the works of Daniel Precioso<sup>16</sup> and Igor Moreira,<sup>17</sup> both of whom analyzed the profiles and sociability of members of lay associations in Portuguese America. Both authors adopt a methodological approach similar to the one used in this study: identifying individuals by name as a guiding thread in reconstructing the networks woven within confraternity spaces and their connections to other social spheres—just as we seek to relate the socio-religious functions of the Rosary confraternity of Black members in Cachoeira to the economic lives of the town's *ganhadeiras*.

Finally, we draw particular interest from specific details presented in Moreira's dissertation, "*E por tais Terceiros na Ordem do Carmo*", especially regarding the creation of horizontal and vertical networks within lay associative spaces and their probable advantages for economically disadvantaged groups. Notably, the author discusses the case of the Brotherhood of the Amparo of the *homens pardos* of Cachoeira, which succeeded in taking the first steps toward building its own chapel only after securing the membership of a local elite figure.<sup>32</sup>

### **Devotional Economic Networks: The Case of the Ganhadeira Maria Pinto de Negreiros**

Maria Pinto de Negreiros was a *ganhadeira*, as were the eighty-nine women identified in the ongoing research for this master's thesis, all of whom resided in the town of Cachoeira. Negreiros built her trajectory of autonomy in the interstices of *ganho* labor, information that can be extracted from her last will and testament.

Although sources concerning women who engaged in *ganho* activities in the eighteenth century are scarce, this has not impeded the work of reconstructing their lives

---

<sup>32</sup>Moreira, Igor Roberto de Almeida. "AND BY SUCH THIRD BROTHERS IN THE CARMELITE ORDER": the Dignitaries Brothers of the Third Order of Carmel of Vila da Cachoeira, 1691-1773...op.cit. p.145-168.

through the documentary fragments that survive. The case of Maria is among the most significant of the few biographical traces uncovered, revealing both the profitable nature of *ganho* and, especially, the networks of interaction that these Black women maintained with various sectors of contemporary society.

Commerce in the town of Cachoeira, beyond enabling the circulation of goods between shopkeepers and *ganhadeiras*, also fostered the formation of economic and religious alliances among individuals from different social classes. These connections, which transcended interpersonal relations, formed a fundamental economic vector anchored in networks of mutual interest. From these interactions emerged a religious vector, as the bonds forged in commercial environments took on new meaning within the context of brotherhoods and confraternities, where social relations expanded and acquired additional layers of significance.

Although founded by Black people, the lay associations to which *ganhadeiras* belonged often had socially and ethnically heterogeneous memberships. Their presence in these spaces allowed them to establish a footing—or even become part of—certain economic groups active in the town. These environments also facilitated the formation of spiritual ties, such as those forged through godparenthood or marriage.

Moreira's dissertation reinforces the argument that some religious associations brought together members of different ethnic and social backgrounds, deepening the analysis of the coexistence between enslaved individuals and their owners within the same confraternity. One emblematic example is that of Manuel Pereira de Azevedo, a white man and influential member of the Venerable Third Order of the Carmo, who was also affiliated with the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Blacks alongside his enslaved man, Francisco. Both appear as brothers within the same association, evidencing the complex dynamics of social interaction that took place within religious spaces at the time<sup>33</sup>.

The will of *ganhadeira* Maria Pinto de Negreiros<sup>34</sup> provides valuable fragments of her life and social relations. Maria was married in accordance with Church canon to

---

<sup>33</sup>Moreira, Igor Roberto de Almeida. "AND BY SUCH THIRD BROTHERS IN THE CARMELITE ORDER": the Dignitaries Brothers of the Third Order of Carmel of Vila da Cachoeira, 1691-1773...op.cit. p.157-158.

<sup>34</sup>APEB, Judiciary, Book of wills of Cachoeira, No. 2. Maria Pinto de Negreiros.

José Mendes de Bastos, after whose death she remained a widow without descendants. She was a slaveowner: she declared possessing two enslaved individuals—one barber, described only as a “Black man of the Mina nation,” whose name was not recorded; and another enslaved man named Antônio, whom she left *coartado* for the amount of 88\$000, granting him a period of four years to purchase his freedom through *ganho* labor. The document also reveals her membership in the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Blacks, the same confraternity that included Manuel Pereira de Azevedo.

At the time Maria drafted her will, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the town of Cachoeira had three officially constituted Black and mixed-race brotherhoods. The oldest, the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Amparo of the *homens pardos*, was founded at the end of the seventeenth century<sup>35</sup>. It was followed by the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Blacks and the Brotherhood of the Good Jesus of the Martyrs, established in the convent of Our Lady of Carmo in 1765, whose membership consisted primarily of Africans of the Jeje nation. Together these associations formed a religious and social landscape marked by interwoven networks of support and solidarity.

The Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Blacks was formally instituted in 1727, emerging from a devotional practice initiated by enslaved Africans. The devotion of Africans and Afro-descendants to Our Lady of the Rosary may be interpreted as a symbolic expression of liberation from bondage, as the Virgin was often associated with hope for freedom. This connection is partly explained by the narrative of the Battle of Lepanto (1571), whose Christian victory over the Ottoman Empire resulted in the liberation of hundreds of Christian captives. The event strengthened the association of the Rosary devotion with protection and deliverance—an idea that profoundly resonated among enslaved populations<sup>36</sup>.

---

<sup>35</sup>According to Lucilene Reginaldo, the possible justification for this ethnic separation of religious associations has a particular function of social advancement for that specific group. A second justification would also be the rivalry between ethnic groups; although the possibility of refusing entry to people from an association was reserved only for whites, ethnic groups such as Africans and Creoles chose to separate in order to avoid misunderstandings between them. Reginaldo, Lucilene. *O Rosário dos Angolas*. op.cit. p.97.

<sup>36</sup>Moreira, Igor Roberto. de Almeida. op.cit. p. 157.

Although no explicit declaration survives, it is plausible that Maria was among the freedwomen residing in Cachoeira. She succeeded in accumulating enough resources not only to become a slaveowner, but also to acquire valuable goods. Her will reveals that she owned metal plates, a pair of gold earrings, and three gemstones, all pledged to the treasurer of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Blacks for 4\$000. This suggests that Maria may have turned to the confraternity in a moment of financial difficulty, highlighting the importance of religious associations as networks of social and economic support.

Although the specific statutes (*Compromisso*) of the Rosary confraternity of Cachoeira have not been located, one may infer its role as a support institution for the Black and mixed-race populations of the town by examining Chapter XI of the 1765 *Compromisso* of the Martyrs confraternity. This document presents social measures designed to assist members, including financial aid in cases of illness or extreme poverty, the possibility of loans with interest, and monetary assistance for the manumission of enslaved brothers. These benefits attest to the role of confraternities as networks of social and economic support:

“(...) the said money shall be kept in a chest with three keys, one of which shall be held by the brother president, another by the scribe, and the last by the treasurer; and only with the presence of all three and by their votes shall money be withdrawn, opening the chest for a necessary expenditure, such as the suffrages for deceased brothers, which shall never be delayed; to aid living brothers who fall ill or into poverty and ought to be helped by the brotherhood; and if there is money available, it shall be lent at interest to those who wish to borrow, providing free and unencumbered property as collateral, without fraud or malice, with a special mortgage and a clause prohibiting alienation, drafting a public deed with interest according to royal law and with guarantors for the principal debt. After presenting a petition to the board, and once the security of the debt, the clarity of the collateral, and the suitability of the guarantors have been verified, the granted sum shall be issued with the consent of the board, convened for this purpose by the procurator, whose duty this shall be. In no other way shall any money be withdrawn; those who do otherwise shall be obliged to reimburse an equal amount from their personal goods. And in this manner all brothers of this

confraternity shall be preferred, especially those who, being enslaved, require money for their freedom.”<sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup>.

Maria Negreiros’s affiliation with the Rosary confraternity demonstrates how religious brotherhoods were fundamental in sustaining and expanding Catholic devotion in the colonial period. These institutions multiplied rapidly with the support of the Crown and local ecclesiastical authorities. This encouragement had several motives: the construction of new churches brought religious life closer to residents of distant areas, and brotherhoods offered extensive social assistance to their members, such as financial aid, hospitalization, and dignified burial<sup>39</sup>.

Maria’s will provides material evidence of the importance of the confraternity in her final years, whether through spiritual support or through the loan she utilized for her sustenance. Another passage in the document shows that she designated the souls in purgatory as heirs to the remaining portion of her estate.

The central thread of this research, in reconstructing small biographical traces, reveals the relationships and networks established among heterogeneous groups within Cachoeira’s society. Within this context, the confraternity space emerges as a mechanism that forges alliances, promotes financial aid, and establishes mutual support networks. An example appears in a passage from Maria Pinto de Negreiros’s will, in which she declares herself “*justa e satisfeita*” with the accounts rendered by her *comadre* Antônia Alves—whom we suspect may also have been a *ganhadeira*. This testimony highlights the

---

<sup>37</sup> Original version: (...) se recolherá o tal dinheiro em um cofre que para isso haverá com três chaves, uma das quais terá o irmão presidente, outra o escrivão e a última o tesoureiro; e só com assistência de todos três e por seus votos se tirará dinheiro, abrindo-se o tal cofre para alguma despesa muito necessária, como é a dos sufrágios dos irmãos defuntos, que por nenhum caso se retardarão; socorrer aos irmãos vivos que forem enfermos ou caírem pobreza que a irmandade deva socorrer; e havendo o dinheiro que esse possa dar a juros a quem eu quiser tomar, dando bens livres e desembargados sem dolo ou malícia com hipoteca especial deles e com cláusula de não alienar, fazendo escritura pública com juros na forma da lei do reino e com fiadores aos juros que vencer a sorte principal, e que sejam estes abonados, fazendo primeiro petição a mesa e depois de informada da segurança da dívida e desembaraços dos bens da hipoteca na sobredita forma e abonação dos fiadores, se mandar a dar a quantia pedida com beneplácito dos irmãos da mesa, que para isso se convocaram pelo irmão procurador, que terá essa obrigação e de outra sorte se não dará dinheiro algum da irmandade; e os que obrarem o contrário ficarão obrigados a ressarcir a irmandade outra tanta quantia pelo seus bens, e nesta forma sempre preferiram todos os irmãos desta irmandade que sendo cativos carecem de dinheiro para sua liberdade.

<sup>38</sup> Overseas Historical Archive, Codex, No. 1666, Chapter XI.

<sup>39</sup> Reginaldo. Lucilene. The Rosaries of the Angolas: Black brotherhoods, slave experiences and African identities in eighteenth-century Bahia...op.cit. 244p.

interconnection among *ganhadeiras* and the reciprocal support that characterized their relationships. Such evidence reinforces the importance of wills as sources for understanding personal aspects of their lives, their communal ties, and the roles they played socially and religiously.

The interconnection between women engaged in *ganho* and confraternal institutions suggests that these spaces not only encouraged religious practice but could also function as channels of economic and social assistance. Although not all *ganhadeiras* were linked to a specific religious organization, the support offered by confraternities—such as loans for the manumission of enslaved individuals—represented a crucial step in their pursuit of autonomy. This dynamic underscores the significance of confraternities in constructing networks of solidarity and support that strengthened the position of *ganhadeiras* within Cachoeira’s society.

### **Final Considerations.**

The classical perspective of colonial economic historiography has often underestimated the significance of internal demands, focusing primarily on export-oriented commerce. This emphasis delayed the examination of essential nuances of urban slavery, thereby neglecting the trajectories of individuals such as the *ganhadeiras*. These ambulant workers, however, played crucial economic and social roles within colonial cities. Recent studies demonstrate how street commerce was directly linked to the consolidation of commercial squares, which moved large sums of money and encouraged the circulation of people, thereby strengthening the small-scale provisioning trade conducted by *ganhadores*.

The town of Cachoeira emerged as an important commercial hub from the eighteenth century onward, consolidating itself as a significant economic center. In addition to hosting the cultivation of tobacco—an item of considerable value on the international market—the town benefited from its strategic geographic position, serving as one of the principal ports for the outflow of various goods. This scenario bolstered both local commerce and export activities, strengthening the regional economy and expanding its influence within the colonial context.

To a great extent, commercial relations were structured through *ganho* labor, and it was within this domain that enslaved and formerly enslaved women gained prominence, particularly in this ambulant sector. The *ganhadeiras* dominated the food trade and were responsible for the exchange and distribution of provisions and other items among the hinterlands of the Recôncavo, as demonstrated throughout this article.

For a long time, historiography confined the history of women to categories of subalternity and inferiority in relation to men, frequently associating them with socially stigmatized spaces such as marginality and prostitution. However, works by Cecília Soares, Suely Cordeiro, Sheila Faria, Vilmaria Teixeira, among others—and the present study—break with this historiographical stigma. These studies aim to shed light on specific discussions concerning female protagonism in power relations, commercial networks, matrimonial practices, and devotional life, highlighting women as active agents of their own histories and as fundamental figures in the social and economic dynamics of the period.

By reconstructing relational networks, it becomes possible to identify in the documentation women such as the *ganhadeira* Maria Pinto de Negreiros—buying, selling, lending, purchasing manumissions, accumulating goods, affiliating themselves with lay associations—demonstrating their mobility not only in performing essential labor for the colony but also in using these activities to negotiate greater autonomy. Understanding such trajectories allows us to comprehend their roles within the commercial sphere and their strategies in pursuing independence.

Through the examination of these relational networks, we find cases like that of Maria Pinto de Negreiros, a *ganhadeira* who bought, sold, lent money, acquired manumissions, accumulated property, and joined lay associations. Her circulation within the colonial economy reveals not only the essential services she provided to the colony but also her skill in harnessing economic interactions to attain greater autonomy. These partial results, derived from an ongoing investigation, enable us to understand the role of these women in commerce and the strategies they employed to achieve financial and social independence.

## REFERENCES

- ALMEIDA PRADO, J. F. *A Bahia e as capitanias do centro do Brasil (1530–1626)*. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1945.
- VILHENA, Luís dos Santos. *A Bahia no século XVIII*. v. 2. Salvador: Itapuã, 1969.
- ALMEIDA, Suely Creusa Cordeiro de. *Ganhadeiras: trabalho feminino nas ruas do Recife setecentista*. *Revista da ABPN*, v. 12, n. esp., p. 52-70, ago. 2020.
- BARICKMAN, Bert J. *Um contraponto baiano: açúcar, fumo, mandioca e escravidão no Recôncavo, 1780–1860*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003.
- FARIA, Sheila de Castro. *Mulheres forras: riqueza e estigma social*. *Tempo*, v. 5, n. 9, jul. 2000.
- GRAHAM, Richard. *Alimentar a cidade: das vendedoras de rua à reforma liberal (Salvador, 1780–1860)*. 1. ed. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2013.
- MATTOSO, Kátia M. de Queirós. *Bahia opulenta: uma capital portuguesa no Novo Mundo (1549–1763)*. *Revista de História*, São Paulo, n. 114, p. 5-20, 1983. Disponível em: <https://revistas.usp.br/revhistoria/article/view/62048>
- MOREIRA, Igor Roberto de Almeida. “E por tais terceiros na Ordem do Carmo”: os dignitários irmãos da Ordem Terceira do Carmo da vila da Cachoeira, 1691–1773. 2021. Dissertação (Mestrado em História Regional e Local) — Universidade do Estado da Bahia (UNEB), Santo Antônio de Jesus, 2021.
- NEVES, Juliana Brainer Barroso. *Colonização e resistência no Paraguaçu – Bahia, 1530–1678*. 2008. Dissertação (Mestrado) — Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2008.
- PRECIOSO, Daniel. *Terceiros de cor: pardos e crioulos em ordens terceiras e arquiconfrarias (Minas Gerais, 1760–1808)*. 2014. Tese (Doutorado em História) — Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2014.
- REGINALDO, Lucilene. *Os Rosários dos Angolas: irmandades negras, experiências escravas e identidades africanas na Bahia setecentista*. 2005. Tese (Doutorado em História) — Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Campinas, 2005.
- REIS, João José. *Ganhadores: a greve negra de 1857 na Bahia*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2019.
- SANTANA, Tânia Maria Pinto de. *Charitas et misericórdia: as doações testamentárias em Cachoeira no século XVIII*. 2016. Tese (Doutorado em História) — Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2016.
- SANTIAGO, Camila Fernanda Guimarães; MOREIRA, Igor Roberto de Almeida; SANT’ANNA, Sabrina Mara. *As igrejas de Cachoeira: história, arquitetura e ornamentação*. 1. ed. Belo Horizonte: Clio Gestão Cultural e Editora, 2020.
- SCHWARTZ, Stuart B. *Segredos internos: engenhos e escravos na sociedade colonial*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1988.
- SILVA, Ana Paula de Albuquerque. *Produção fumageira: fazendas e lavradores no Recôncavo da Bahia (1774–1830)*. 2015. Dissertação (Mestrado em História) — Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2015.

SPÓSITO, Glenda de Castro. “Between trays and confraternities”: an analysis of the economic and socio-religious interactions of female street vendors in eighteenth-century Vila da Cachoeira. *Baraúnas: Journal of History*, Feira de Santana: State University of Feira de Santana (UEFS), v. 3, n. 4, p. 345–367, Jan.–Jun. 2025. ISSN 2965-3053. DOI: 10.13102/barh.v3i4.12497

SOARES, Cecília Moreira. As ganhadeiras: mulher e resistência negra em Salvador no século XIX. *Afro-Ásia*, Salvador, n. 17, p. 57-72, 1966.

SOARES, Luís Carlos. Os escravos de ganho no Rio de Janeiro do século XIX. *Revista Brasileira de História*, São Paulo, v. 16, 1988.

TEIXEIRA, Vilmara Lúcia Rodrigues. Negras senhoras: as mulheres africanas forras e sua inserção socioeconômica na comarca do Rio das Mortes (1750–1810). 2006. Dissertação (Mestrado) — Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2006.