Expansion into the Congo proceded by the creation of depots and bases, which the traders then used to launch forays farther afield.

The trading parties, often financed by capital from Indian merchants settled on the east coast of Africa, brought together a diverse array of individuals, including “Omani Arabs, coastal Swahili, inland Africans, and others” (Northrup 1988:23).

Despite European characterization, labor in these trading parties took highly differentiated forms and did not depend wholly on slavery.

Indeed, in East Africa, the Nyamwezi ethnic group pioneered a sophisticated culture of “wage labor shaped by indigenous precapitalist labor norms but closely linked to merchant captial and the global economy” (Rockell 2006:6)

The use of slaves as porters in the Congo, which the Arabs had yet to chart at the time and where other ethnic groups, such as the Bira (in the northeast) and Bisa (in the southeast), dominated trade thus constituted a break with East African caravan norms (Rockell 2006:17, cf. Livingstone 1870a:[69], Wilson 1972).

Arab trading follows established routes: 3 routes into interior: central route focus on ivory (Bennet, AI, 216-19)

Eldorado in 1870s = Z; previously regional trade west of LT (Sheriff 185)

ivory rush in Manyema; TT in Kasongo; Congo = key component of Z trade in late 1870s; focus on Ujjij (Bennett, AvE 113-16)

Muhamad's people travel again to Metamba (XVII)

just before Bambarre meets horde carrying 18k of ivory (XLII)

ivory causes gold fever; no carriers at Ujiji (L)

western penetrations = 2 prongs: 1) Kantanga, then when ivory gone 2) goes north, 1867/68 (Sheriff 186-88)

DL to follow Habib and Dugumbe to West Lualaba then Katanga (XIV, 1; several Arabs going west XVIII; LXXIX)

need to build own infrastructure, e.g. Nyangwe/Kasongo = centers (Sheriff 190); rise of Ujiji Bennet, AI, 226-29)

Nyangwe 1871 (Wisnicki 2013, 211)

TT organizes state (Vansina, Kingdoms 238)

trading structure, indivs involved incl Arabs, depopulation in Manyema, expanding stations (Renault 148-50)

whole zone in homogenous; Z sultan allegiance (cf. Nassickers 1.13-24); maritime & continental trades linked (Renault 161-63)

DL travels under letter from Sultan (LI)