Circumstances in eastern Congo, however, necessitated more than just recourse to slaves as porters.

The rush for ivory compelled the traders “to build up their own infrastructure” and, as Tippu Tip eventually did, to organize a state that, for the most part, acted independently, but still retained loose allegiance with Zanzibar and, of course, served as a key link between maritime and interior contitnental trade (Sheriff 1987:190, Vansina 1968:238, Renault 1989:161-63).

Livingstone himself experienced the push and pull of these forces in various ways.

For instance, he notes that “a letter obtained from the Sultan of Zanzibar […] has been of immense service to me with most of his subjects” (1870i:LI).

Yet elsewhere it becomes clear that some of Livingstone’s troubles with his Nassicker attendants stem from the fact that, in Bambarre, i.e., so far from the coast, the attendants have little regard for the Sultan’s authority (1870a:[17]-[19]).

The rise of Ujiji, on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, preceded the interior ivory trading development, but the settlement also became an important gateway to the Congo and, indeed, was Livingsotne’s departure point in 1869 (Bennett 1974:226-28).

West of Lake Tanganyika, where prior trade had predominantly taken a regional form, Arab expansion followed two principal directions.

Initially, efforts focused on the regions of Kazembe and Katanga in the south and south east, then once the ivory in those regions dwindled, Arab traders moved north, first into Manyema where Livingstone composed both the 1870 and 1871 Field Diaries (Sheriff 1987:187-90).

Arab settlement in Manyema focused on a few key centers, Nyangwe, Kasongo, and to a lesser degree Bambarre among them (Wisnicki 2013:211, Sheriff 1987:190), hence the reason why in 1869-71 Livingstone found himself in the latter village in the first place.

In this region, ivory abounded.

Livingstone, for instance, complained of the “Californian gold fever at Ujiji” that prevented him from getting good carriers for the Congo, and, later, he “met a band of Ujijian traders carrying 18000 lbs weight of ivory bought in this new field” just before he reached Bambarre (1870i:L, XLII).

Moreover, in 1870, Livingstone observed the traders making a vigorous push towards new frontiers, both west of the Lualaba River towards the Lomami River and further north along the Lualaba and towards the rainforests of Legaland (e.g., 1870h:XVII-XVIII).