Indeed, close attention to this universe shows forces at play that undermine any narrative of victimization that Livingstone might try to impose.

These forces take the form of active and sustained resistance to the Arab traders, their followers, and, ultimately, Livingstone himself.

Most obviously, this occurs at the level of interpersonal and intercultural interaction.

It is no secret that the local populations in Manyema resent the arrival of the Arabs, as in the case of the Bira ethnic group who, notes Livingstone, “are now enraged at seeing Ujijians pass into their ivory field” (1870a:[69]).

This anger translates into multiple skirmishes with the Arab traders, as the 1870 Field Diary documents.

One example gives a sense of the whole: “Moenemokia killed 2 Arab agents & took their guns […] Elsewhere they made regular preparation to have a fight with Dugumbe's people just to see who was strongest. They with their spears & wooden shields or the Arabs with what in derision they called tobacco pipes (guns)[.] They killed eight or nine Arabs” (1870a:[59], [61]-[62]; cf. 1870i:XXXVIII).

The local populations not only resist the Arab traders, but kill them and their followers, and, notably, capture their firearms.

Elsewhere the locals also apply more subtle warfare tactics, such as setting Arab camps on fire at night (1870i:XXXI).

Arab experience gained in north and south-west of M. resistance (XXXI)

Mamohela horde become terrified of Manyema (XXXIV)

Kasongo uses Arabs for feud with Nyangwe; DL warns that Arabs will turn on him (XCIX, UJ 658-659)

Merere rebels against Arabs, then repents and tries to reconcile (LXXX)

never know which Manyema are friends or enemies (UJ 654)

LXXXIII. my long detention in Manyema leads me to

believe that they are truly a bloody people - cold blooded

murders are frightfully common and they say that but for

our presence they would ^ be still more frequent - They have no

5fear of spears and shields - guns alone frighten them - they

tell us frankly and quite truly that but for our firearms not

one of us should even return to his country