threats and were subsequently expelled from the territory of the Khumalo clan and Mzilikazi was obliged to live in "exile" for the duration of his father's reign or until his death. This custom was observed in order to ensure the security of the chief's future successor from possible assassination and also to protect Mzilikazi from unnecessary influences from factions and ambitious individuals within the clan. Nompethu chose to escape with her son to her own clan. It was within the royal citadel of his maternal grandfather that he would be exposed to the intricacies of nation-building by observing Chief Zwide's new military and political techniques of building larger political units, and how to govern them.

As Zwide sought to expand his empire, a similar movement of state-building was being launched by Dingiswayo of the Mthethwa clan. The two leaders soon became involved in a political struggle that resulted in war in about 1817. Zwide seized Dingiswayo and ordered that he be put to death, leaving the Mthethwa in disarray. Zwide then turned on the Khumalo after suspecting them of supporting his erstwhile enemies. He killed Matshobane, thus paving the way for Mzilikazi to ascend to the chieftaincy of the Khumalo clan, which now fell under the control of the Ndwandwe empire.

But the rise of Shaka, who hailed from what was then a small Zulu clan, to replace Dingiswayo changed the course of history for both Zwide and Khumalo. In 1818 Zwide and Shaka went to war, and the former was defeated. As a result, Mzilikazi deserted his grandfather and joined Shaka's growing Zulu empire, which ensured the continued survival and unity of his chiefdom. Just as Mzilikazi had witnessed the art of state formation under his grandfather, under Shaka he got another opportunity to learn more about the evolution of a new political system.

However, Mzilikazi soon fell out of favor with Shaka when he failed to hand over booty he had obtained after raiding a Sotho community in 1820. This totally alienated him from Shaka, and, feeling insecure, he fled with a number of loyal men and their families to the northwest, but Mzilikazi barely survived a punitive attack from one of Shaka's regiments. He mobilized the survivors and moved on to toward the Vaal River and for the first time left Zulu country.

For the next two decades, Mzilikazi traversed central and northern South Africa and clashed with several Sotho, Pedi, Nguni, Griqua, and Afrikaner *Vortrekker* (Great Trek) communities, absorbing more people from these communities, some of whom joined him as refugees from Shaka's Mfecane and Difaqane wars. During this period (1820–1839), Mzilikazi never established a permanent settlement, partly because of these tensions. But it was the *Vortrekkers* of the Transvaal who dealt Mzilikazi the blow that forced him to flee northward. In about 1840, he landed in southwestern South Zambezia (later Rhodesia, and now Zimbabwe) where he established a formidable and permanent kingdom in Matabeleland, partly by incorporating some Shona chiefdoms that paid tribute to him. He spent the next twenty-eight years broadening his territory. Once stable, Mzilikazi allowed greater numbers of European and Afrikaner visitors, hunters, traders, and missionaries into his flourishing kingdom. In early September 1868 Mzilikazi died after a long illness, and his body was buried in a cave just north of the Matopos Hills, where, ironically, the body of Cecil John Rhodes, who colonized Matabeleland through the British South Africa Company after waging a war against Mzilikazi's son Lobengeula Khumalo in 1893, lies interred.

Mzilikazi's Ndebele kingdom is an example of early state formation and stands in the same league of early states as the Zulu, Gaza, Swazi, Masaai, and Kikuyu kingdoms. The manner in which Mzilikazi constructed this state attests to the innovative ways early African leaders had the capacity to fashion large political systems that were dynamic and changed over time and place, contrary to the notions of colonial writers, missionaries, traders, and hunters who routinely described the leaders of such states as nothing more than bloodthirsty destroyers, militaristic and noble savages. Such Western colonial images of Mzilikazi and the Ndebele have now been dispensed with. In their place, new forms of revisionist scholarship that critically shred such mythologies have emerged. Ndlovu-Gatsheni's recent and authoritative monograph precisely and critically challenges the reductionist representations of these early writers by inquiring into "questions of how Ndebele power was constructed, how it was institutionalized and broadcast across people of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds," among other issues.

[*See also* Khumalo, Lobengula; Rhodes, Cecil John; *and* Shaka Zulu.]

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MUCHAPARARA MUSEMWA

Mzingeli, Charles (1905–1980), Zimbabwean trade union leader, was born at the Catholic Mission near Plumtree, in what was then Southern Rhodesia. His father was a military leader who had fought against the British South Africa Company in the 1880s. On the advice of the missionaries, Mzingeli's father sent him to South Africa for schooling at the age of 14, but after one year Mzingeli returned, due to poor health. He then began an apprenticeship working on the railroads throughout Southern and Northern Rhodesia. This itinerant work at such a young age made a great impression on Mzingeli and must have brought him into contact with one of the most important regional political currents of the 1920s, Clements Kadalie's Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU). Mzingeli was trained by Kadalie's representative in Southern Rhodesia and was given the task at the age of 24 to form an ICU branch in Salisbury's (then only) African township. Mzingeli would make Harare Township his home for the rest of his life and leave an indelible mark both on township and African nationalist politics into the 1960s.

Although inspired by Kadalie's populist strategies and emboldened with a rhetorical bravery few other African leaders were willing to display in public forums at the time, the early years were difficult for organizing, and the ICU branch went dormant by World War II. Mzingeli had made an impression, though, as young men and women were told in the rural areas to go hear Mzingeli when they visited Harare. He would speak in open-air meetings on Sundays under the *Ndaba* (meeting) tree and would speak out against the large and petty injustices African workers and township dwellers faced. In his early years he campaigned for more humane treatment of African prisoners and child laborers and sought to improve the public health conditions of the township. He also went into business as a co-owner of an African restaurant and bar, but the venture was short-lived after his partners cheated him out of the considerable earnings made from selling "hop" beer.

During World War II, Mzingeli began to reach out for allies among the handful of socialist and Communist Europeans in Salisbury. Well-known individuals such as city councilor and mayor Gladys Maasdorp and Nobel Prize–winning novelist Doris Lessing worked with Mzingeli during the war to help him make contacts within the British Labour Party, and in particular the Fabian Colonial Bureau (FCB). Mzingeli wrote diligently to the FCB leaders in London, asking for their assistance in demanding that the British Parliament use its veto powers to stop discriminatory legislation in Southern Rhodesia that saw the rights of urban and rural Africans further curtailed during the 1940s. Mzingeli waged a largely successful campaign against the 1946 Native (Urban Areas) Registration and Accommodation Bill. Although the Bill passed without a British veto, Mzingeli's efforts to publicize the negative impact of the legislation, and his constant comparison of white rule in Southern Rhodesia to that of Nazi Germany and *Herrenvolk* South Africa, helped shed light on racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia. In 1946, after five years as leader of the African Branch of the Southern Rhodesia Labour Party, Mzingeli quit his coalition politics with whites and relaunched the ICU in Harare Township under the new name, the Reformed ICU, or RICU as it was popularly known.

Mzingeli's greatest successes as a popular leader were with the RICU from 1946 until 1956. In these ten years, Mzingeli managed to successfully represent the demands of township residents to the municipality and national government. Although Africans were not represented in local and national government, Mzingeli made a point of dominating the local African Township Advisory Board with RICU members in order to use it as a direct line of communication with the Europeans involved in African Administration and to keep it from becoming a "rubber stamp" organization. He did the same with the African Welfare Society, much to the chagrin of the European director of the Welfare Society, the paternalistic Reverend Percy Ibbotson. During key moments such as the 1948 general strike, Mzingeli managed to meet directly with Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister Godfrey Huggins, and at this meeting Mzingeli gained greater recognition for African trade union and political rights in return for addressing the striking workers.

Although the RICU was ostensibly a trade union, Mzingeli ran it more as a form of self-government

for the African township of Harare. This earned him the unofficial title of "Mayor of Harare," and often European administrators would clear issues with him directly. At times residents were able to get things done by threatening to take an issue to Mzingeli. Mzingeli was particularly sensitive to women's issues and demands in the township. Perhaps because he recognized early in life the centrality of township women's economic and social-welfare work, he relied on close ties with prominent township women to improve conditions for single women and to protect informal employment, which was dominated by women. At one point in the early 1950s, the majority of RICU members were women.

In the mid-1950s, Mzingeli's leadership was challenged by a younger generation of men, including George Nyandoro, who had been mentored by Mzingeli in his small office adjacent to his township grocery store. Nyandoro and others represented a more radicalized nationalism, and they saw Mzingeli as the "old guard," falsely characterizing him as a yes man for the white administration, given his many years of service on Advisory Boards and the Welfare Society. The younger men began to heckle and shout Mzingeli down at his own meetings, and soon they took over these meetings, before forming the Salisbury City African Youth League in 1956, just prior to the Harare bus boycott. Mzingeli would be highly critical of the Youth League leadership for failing to contain the violence that occurred during the boycott, and this marked the departure of Mzingeli from mainstream African nationalism. He would later join the United Federal Party against the boycott demands of the nationalists, further alienating him from the nationalists. During the early 1960s, he wrote against universal suffrage because of the great mistrust he had in the new generation of nationalists. Writing in the *Central African Examiner*, Mzingeli predicted, that should these young men come to power, their call for "one man, one vote" would be changed to "one vote for one man."

[*See also* Kadalie, Clements; Lessing, Doris; *and* Nyandoro, George Bodzo.]

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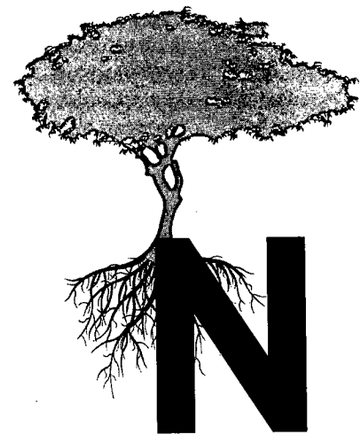
TIMOTHY SCARNECCHIA



Naa Zangina (fl. eighteenth century), ruler of Dagbon (in the West African savanna, present-day Ghana), occupies a special place in the history of Dagbon. Naa Mohammed Zangina was the son of Naa Titugri, who ruled from circa 1700 to circa 1715. Best known for being the first Muslim ruler, for encouraging trade and Muslim immigration into the kingdom, and for ending the Gonja menace, Naa Zangina radically changed the civilization of Dagbon.

He benefited from a rupture in the traditional method of consulting soothsayers to determine the rightful heir to the skin (an animal skin signifying the chief's status). The soothsayers had selected the poor and effeminate Nabi Gungonbili of Yalmo-Karaga to succeed Naa Zolkugli. This hurt the pride of the stronger princes, who vowed to change this method of selection. When Naa Gungonbili died, an intense competition for the skin ensured, the settlement of which was brought before Naa Atabia of Mamprugu in 1700. Upon his testing the princes, Naa Zangina, the youngest, emerged the favorite, much to the chagrin of the older princes. This was to lead to the introduction of the gate system of succession to the skin.

Naa Zangina is best remembered for being the first Muslim *Yaa Naa*, or overlord, of Dagbon. "The Drum History of Dagbon" (based on traditional talking drums that recount the histories of the people) attributes Naa Zangina's conversion to the *Kamshe Naa*, leader of the Wangara Muslim community, but it is clear that the earlier Mande community at Sabali and their leader, the *Yarna*, converted Naa Zangina to Islam. The Yarna had earned his title as leader of the Mande Muslim community when he foretold of the woman, the future Naa Zangina's mother, whom the Yaa Naa would come from. Zangina was renamed Mohammed and sent to the Yarna to study the Qur'an. In recognition of the Muslim roots, Naa Zangina is said to have proclaimed Sabali as his mother's home, and where he studied the Qur'an.

Influences from the war with the Gonja impacted Zangina's Muslim experience. Probably puzzled by the strength of the young Gonja state's initial advantage, the Dagombas ascribed the Gonja's success to Muslim prayers. The adoption of Muslim names is always the surest and earliest sign of conversion, and beginning from the time of Naa Zangina, who had changed his name from Wumbee to Mohammed Zangina, all Dagbon kings took Muslim names. Dagbon under Zangina thus turned its attention to the Muslims, accepting them into the court and making use of their prayers at war.

Zangina assumed the reins of kingship, becoming overlord when the Gonja state threatened the very survival of the Dagbon state. The Gonja had defeated the Dagomba near Daboya, and forced them to relocate from Yen Dabari in the west to Yendi. The Gonja pursued the Dagomba eastward, whereupon Zangina selected Andani Zigili to lead the Dagomba army, the Gonja were decisively defeated, and their chief, Kumpatia, was killed at Sang, near Na Ya, Yendi.

Naa Zangina also took advantage of the strategic location of Yendi on the trade route to Hausa, and encouraged trade and Muslim immigration into Dagbon, by opening, and ensuring peace on, the trade routes. This not only brought other aspects of