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. Mzilikazi chose to escape with his 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 Zwelithini's new military and political techniques of building larger political units, and how to govern them.

As Zwede 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 1832. Dingiswayo enlisted the help of his brother, the queen Mother, and both sides were well-armed. From about 1835 to 1838, the two sides clashed at various places, including Eshowe, eMzinyathi, and eNkwenkwe. In 1840, Dingiswayo was killed in battle, and his brother succeeded him as chief. The Mthethwa clan continued to expand, and in 1842, Dingiswayo died. The Mzilikazi's victory over Dingiswayo was significant because it marked the beginning of the Matabele Confederacy, which would later become the Matabeleland.

In 1856, Mzilikazi was killed in battle with the Xhosa, and his son, Dingiswayo, became the new chief. Dingiswayo continued his father's policies of expansion, and in 1859, he defeated the Zulu chief Shaka at the Battle of Isandlwana. This victory allowed Dingiswayo to expand his territory to the west, and in 1860, he defeated the Zulu again at the Battle of umhlanga. These victories allowed Dingiswayo to become the dominant power in southern Africa.

Mzilikazi's ability to build and maintain a strong empire was due in large part to his military strategy and his ability to recruit and retain loyal followers. He was also able to maintain a large and well-organized army, which allowed him to conquer and subjugate other tribes. His military successes were due in large part to his ability to adapt to new situations and to remain flexible in his strategies.

After Mzilikazi's death, his empire continued to expand under the leadership of his sons and grandsons. However, by the late 19th century, European expansion and colonization began to threaten the survival of the Ndebele confederacy. In 1889, the British took control of Matabeleland, and the Ndebele were forced to submit to British rule.

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 he had to defend his role as a leader 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 Kadalle, Clements; Lessing, Doris; and Nyandoro, George Bodzo.]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


**TIMOTHY SCARNECCIA**

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**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 Tuir, 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 signifyng the chief's status). The soothsayers had selected the poor and effeminate Nabi Gungonbili of Yalmo-n-karaga to succeed Naa Zolkulgi. 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 ensued, the selection 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 *Kamoke 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 Quran. In recognition of the Muslim roots, Naa Zangina is said to have proclaimed Sabali as his mother's home, and where he studied the Quran.

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 Dagbon near Daboja, 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...