'Trading Store Style' - an indelible phenomenon in the historical landscape of KwaZulu-Natal

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The trading store is a critically understudied phenomenon, dotted around the varied landscapes of Southern Africa, often marking out physical borders, cognitive boundaries and spatial edges. The emergence of the store in itself is a story of pattern making. These structures formed the spatial centre of communal nodes, with radiating patterns and markings leading to the periphery of their influence, forming a web of connections. The realization that the store itself was immediately identifiable as an iconic structure in the rural landscape was more due to its strong architectural language and latterly to the artistic and colourful resolution of its gables, parapets and end walls. The semiotic architectural form itself drove me to this study. Understanding that this modest structure was as important in the ideas of cognitive pattern making and identification in KwaZulu- Natal as the symbols of a mission church steeple or the elevated magistrates court up on the hill, prompted further research. The landscape and buildings themselves are described from an architectural point of view, and their interconnectedness from an artistic stance articulated, before the reflections on their mutations in the age of globalised societies.

Key Words: Trading stores, painted gables, material culture

'Handelswinkelstyl'

Die voorkoms van die wydverspreide en soms geisoleerde 'handelswinkel' in die verskillende landskappe van Suid Afrika is nog geensins bestudeer of gedokumenteer nie. Hierdie handelspunte het mettertyd met die ligging van fisiese skeidings, kognitiewe grense and ruimtelike skeidings geassosieer geraak. Die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die verskynsel het 'n eie geskiedenis en is steeds te sien in verskillende ruimtelike patrone van die landskap. Plekke waar handel gedryf is het uiteindelik middelpunte van 'n gemeenskap geraak, nodusse wat se invloed uitwaarts gestrek het. Die invloedsfeer van so 'n winkel het radiaal uitgekring van 'n enkele punt en is dikwels sigbaar aan die voorkoms van ander soortgelyke plekke en strukture - maar periferaal gelee. So het netwerke ontstaan. Die vreemdheid om so 'n handelsentrum in 'n landelike omgewing te vind, maar veral die eie argitektuur van die geboutjies, het grotendeels bygedra tot hulle ikoniese status. In later jare het die artistieke en kleurvolle hantering van gewels, borswerings en enige opvallende buite oppervlakke ook 'n bydraende 'n rol gespeel. Die simboliese rol van hierdie skynbaar klein en argitektonies eenvoudige gebouvorm was die dryfveer vir die studie. Dit is ondersteun deur die soeke na redes waarom hierdie eenvoudige strukture dieselfde impak op mense en gemeenskappe se geografiese geheues en hulle identifikasie met 'n eiesoortige landskap gehad het, as die kerktorings van sendingkerke of 'n landdroshof wat op 'n effense hoogte in 'n stedelike konteks gelee is. Die landskap en oudste voorbeelde van die geboutipe word uit 'n argitektoniese en hulle onderlinge assosiasies vanuit 'n artistieke oogpunt benader. Ongelukkig kon die geboutipe in later jare nie die impak en invloed van kommersialisering en globalisering vryspring nie, gevolglik het die uniekheid van elke winkel plek gemaak vir mutasies gemik op 'eendersheid'

Sleutelwoorde: Handelswinkel, kleurvolle gewels, stoflike kultuur.

he KwaZulu-Natal landscape is dotted with modest structures that have played a large part in the economic, physical and social transition in our province. These rural trading stores mark the edges of the nineteenth century Shepstonian Locations, river crossings, national borders and the tops of high mountains. Not only were these landmark stores peripheral in their geographical positions, but they were also notionally peripheral, situated in other peoples' countryside, and at a social and physical frontier. Today, many of these stores still exist, but with altered internal arrangements and different ways of doing business. This is combined with a new generation of storekeepers and scaled-down shops that are not in the same economic mode, but which have appropriated the formulaic massing and architectural signatures of the building, thus perpetuating the recognizable architectural form that has managed to embed itself deep into the psyche of people of KwaZulu-Natal. The extant architectural forms often tell their own story, some of them reflecting the forced hybridization that both squashed and fragmented them into the prescribed apartheid format, leaving them to exist as quiet manifestations of national policy. Also, in recent years, the added impetus of the possibility of new, more aggressive forms of advertising have literally overtaken some of these buildings, leading them

to shout out brand names out through the landscape, rather than be quietly complicit as they were in the past. Regardless of the pace of progress, the trading stores are immediately identifiable as a building form that has secure connotations of place, tradition, service and relationship.

I was led into this study through architectonic referencing- describing a parapet wall to students from rural areas elicited a cry of 'Oh, you mean *trading store* style!' Thus the format of the building, although contemporarily applied to different scales of structure, forms a part of a greater communal memory.

Methodology

The scrutiny of aerial photographs produces the spider-web that characterizes the physical situation of these stores in the landscape. Photographs from 1937 and 1970 indicate the extant stores clearly together with mission stations and magistracies, as some of the few orthogonal buildings in the rural landscapes, which were then dominated by circular buildings. Paper and archive based research was supplemented by monographs written by some of the early traders, who in turn mentioned others that they had dealt with and knew of. Also, fieldwork was carried out to visit the few stores still trading, and talk to the owners, as well as interviewing retired storekeepers who had sold up and moved away, either to properties on the coast, or retirement homes.

The scope of the work is bounded by the current provincial borders, which include the recently incorporated area of Umzimkulu¹ from the Eastern Cape. Initially a time barrier of the mid-1970's was applied as a filter to screen out all the newer stores, but this was insufficient as the dating of these buildings was problematic in the process of trying to glean out the old landmark stores, and those new upstarts constructed in their likeness. In addition, the difficulties encountered with actually identifying the stores as part of an historic trading environment, in the context of a flurry of new buildings that are all in the same format, meant that revisiting of these originalities was important. Thus the more concise social study is now restricted to those traders that have inherited stores from their progenitors, where a tradition is implied, and relationships are inherited and embedded.

Fieldwork photography and capturing the co-ordinates of the position of these structures will be ongoing for some time, and a larger research component aims to capture these stores in a documentary fashion, as many are closing down, being subsumed into new townscapes or merely disappearing. Collecting a record of these fast disappearing buildings and relationships is a critical component of the social and architectural history of the ordinary people of the province of KwaZulu- Natal.

The architectural form of the landscape

The store itself formed a nodal point in landscapes- not only may it have been situated on a major wagon route, a river crossing or ferry station, or travelers intersection, but it was also a locative point in a community (sometimes classically placed like a Greek temple on the hillside, and other times huddled in the landscape). However, the patterns on the land-space that the stores generated in terms of their centralised positions, as points of departure, points of information and points of meeting meant that the geographical landscape was indelibly etched by pathways and routes leading from the store in radial patterns outwards.

The pattern is enhanced by the regulations that controlled the store positions- five miles between the stores was the law,² and this protected the traders and at the same time served different communities as well as creating linking paths.

In addition, it is important to note that most of these stores were originally constructed in an orthogonal plan form, even whilst using the vernacular building materials that they found their customers using. This shape was in contrast to most of the local buildings, where the spatial planning of the traditionally constructed buildings of the Zulus throughout the province, the Tembe in the north and the Sotho along the rim of the Drakensberg were arranged in a series of circular spaces which were sometimes elevated vertically into circular forms. The trading station, as a collection of associated buildings, introduced a mechanized rationality into these remote places, where the planning systems and the format of square-sided internal and external spaces, produced places that originated, in the eyes of the people amongst whom they settled, from a foreign notion of systematic arrangement. The stores thus stood out in the landscapes-brazen in their rational planning and vertical formats, as aggressive masculine structures in a passive feminine, natural environment.

The history of the trading store in KwaZulu-Natal is as old as the first settlers. Francis Farewell and Nathaniel Isaacs were traders that settled on the promontory of Durban Bay and plied their trade inland, trading skins and ivory for beads and cloth. The small structure that they built on the Point³ at Durban Bay was the progenitor of an architectural and an economic tradition, which at a later stage in the heyday of the trading stores, was cemented as a formalized and controlled settlement of the itinerant traders, or, using the Afrikaans term, smouse, who plied the Province trading out of the back of their ox-wagons. Many of these early traders and other frontiersmen were enticed onto mission stations as this process aided in the complete conversion of the amaKholwa. This was the name given to the Christian converts (Doke, Malcom, Sikakana and Vilikazi 1990; 399-Bryant's;1905;312- Etherington; 1978:115). Not only did the missionaries advocate the wearing of western dress and the tilling of the soil with hoes made of iron, but the close proximity of the traders who had settled there meant that the goods were now available for purchase. This factor also precipitated as movement from a barter and horticultural economy to one involving money and promissory notes. Sometimes the stores predated the mission stations, but usually, the symbiotic relationship that these two institutions enjoyed, was important in the writing of the new social and architectural texts on the land.

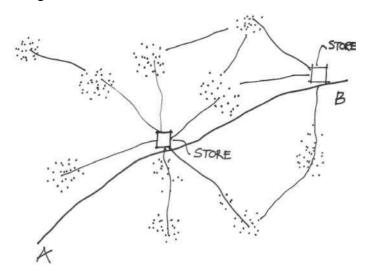


Figure 1 Landscape Patterns- interconnected stores and communities (author)

Allocation of land in Zululand, (as opposed to the Colony of Natal), was through the formal application to the Secretary for Native Affairs, and more often than not, this land allocated to people of European decent (Asians were not allowed to apply for trading licenses) was on a 99 year lease system that allocated a portion of about 5 acres to the store holder⁴. These allotments were usually worked as small farms, producing milk, maize, and fresh produce usually directly for the trader and their family The traders also had to provide overnight spaces for travelers and their helpers, and often the stores that had the better accommodation for the traveler's assistants or 'sample boys', (usually young Zulu's), were considered preferential and specifically sought out by the these sales 'aides'. Other structures that would be erected depended, sometimes, on the geographical and climatic nature of the position of the store. For instance, places like Good Hope Store and Makakhe's store on the Lesotho border, which dealt largely in wool which was bought down Sani Pass from Lesotho by Sotho tribes-people, were obliged to provide spaces for the wool sellers and their animals, as well as their produce which they were selling on. This is in addition to any wanderer which may have needed shelter from the capricious climate which could be very misty as well as sometimes very cold, and deep in snow. Thus a rational complex of buildings, usually signified by tall gum, pine or palm trees, with a bright bouganvilla for colour, indelibly altered a rural landscape, creating a visual cacophony as well as a strong identity.

In many cases it was the trading post that formed the nucleus of what was to later become a town, such as that in Kokstad. The store formed a small grouping of allied and complementary functions, such as butchery, baking and milling, and dwellings for those that operated it. The postal agencies were usually run from here, and also, in some cases, the telephone exchange was situated at the store and the store owner's wife had the duty of running it. Because it may have taken deliveries of goods from the city, the store became a recognizable place for people from outside. Store keepers tell of waking up in the middle of the night to help a woman that has traveled out of the valley to give birth to a child on the store veranda- bundling blankets and assorted necessaries, they rush out to assist in the birthing process- this is what they expect and this is what is expected of them. They are realistically aware that their store as a fixed point, and their relationship with the woman a secure reciprocity, that their veranda is a geographical marker for necessary assistance, as well as the store being a recognizable landmark for an ambulance should one be needed.

The architectural form of the buildings

The early buildings were understandably vernacular- whatever materials could be found were collated into a simple structure that formed a shelter for trade, sometimes over-nighting travelers, and a basic house for the trader. Survival at the frontier was the imperative that generated the construction of these buildings, and least of all any conformation to any prescribed social norms. Those trading stations that were distant from roads and railheads consisted necessarily of wattle-and-daub and thatch, or stone, depending on the geology. Savage shows an early store as: "One of the first rural Bantu-owned stores- built before 1930' as a stone-construction double-pitched roof with no veranda and a corrugated sheeting roof." (Savage: 1966: Plate V). People that lived closer to transport routes or towns could sometimes manage to get the wherewithal together to order a standard wood and iron structure that would then be delivered via rail and wagon. H V Marsh, in the *Wood and Iron Catalogue* published around 1915, offers 5 different options for 'Country Stores'. All options had a veranda running along the full length of the front, and were usually in a saddle roofed format, with sash windows in the vertical proportion. In all five of the options, a bedroom is provided, with the different variations offering a kitchen, or an office, or a sitting room, or an office and a back veranda. The top of the range available

had a kitchen, a back veranda, a bedroom, a sitting room and a dining room, all as part of the store building. In this particular variation, the store itself was some 5.85m square, whereas the entry level option had a store floor of just 3.9mx 3.75m- a tiny trading space indeed.⁸ (see fig 2)

What is certain is that with most stores, the need for a veranda was part of the original idea of 'store building'. This form of prefabricated construction was popular, even in the outlying areas, for Crossley's store at Underberg⁹, in 1900 a 5 day journey through rough country by oxwagon, was constructed of wood and iron

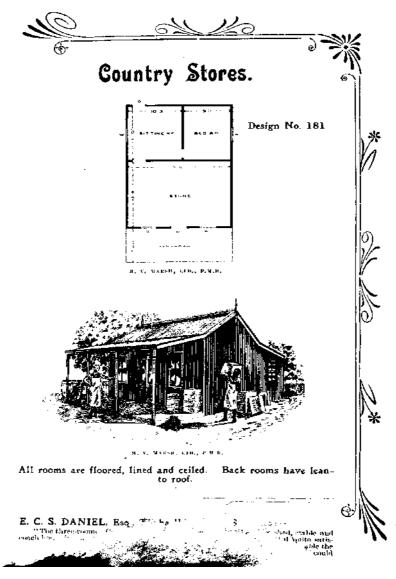


Figure 2
Option 181 from the H.V. Marsh Catalogue, cl915

A fundamental signal in identifying the 'store' as such was the parapet, which loomed high over the 'afdak' veranda. Often the veranda was elevated from ground level. The rear of the store was a large mono-pitch roofscape, if not, the parapet hid the ridge of a double pitched roof behind it. Although the actual buildings existed in a variety of different forms, with hipped roofs, gable ends, deep verandas, shallow verandas, (and even no verandas) it is the parapet-walled stores that have insinuated themselves the deepest into our national and provincial subconscious. This is what we recognize as 'store'.



Figure 3

One of the few surviving stores in its entirety- note the imposed parapet and veranda (Author: 2007)

Internally, there appears to have been no standard planning format for stores initially, merely the provision of a space from which to trade. The trading floor within the shop was a large open area, often with a wide timber counter running around the three sides which sometimes included the entrance. One informant described the wide yellowwood counter in her store as being "golden with the fat of a thousand arms" ¹⁰. Each item that was sold in the store had its specific position, whether it was jammed into a barrel, or shelved according to a hierarchy. In the larger stores, a specific person dealt with specific items, the sale of cloth being an example. Dry goods such as 'Government' sugar and flour and tobacco occupied large bins, from which scoops would be taken for measuring. High level windows left as much available room for shelves as possible, and it was certainly not uncommon to hang items from the rafters. Savage notes in his occasional paper that the stores owned by African people were smaller than those owned by Europeans, but that the format was really much the same.

"The white washed building is approximately fifteen by thirty five feet in area. An interior wall separates the storeroom from the rest of the shop and windows provide adequate ventilation and light... The wooden counter stretches the length of the shop and the wooden shelves are partly stocked by groceries. A roughly made display case and two small scales are the only articles on the counter.' (Savage; 1966: 36-37)"

This trading floor was critical in the understanding of the interactive social nature of the stores. It should be appreciated that it was here that formative introductions and interactions took place, particularly in the remoter parts of the province. The social management of the space was negotiated between the store owner and the customers, a ritual, where each person had to sit within and between cultures. The rite of greeting, the process of purchase, choice and agreement, (which necessarily was not a speedy one) the politics of demand for items, such as beads, which had different preferential colour combinations, depending on the tribal grouping that the customers came from ¹². One informant tells of their store catering to two different clan groups, Khanyile and Dhlomo, who not only had differing views on a variety of issues, but also different tastes and traditions, and, thus, the supply of beads for each was different.¹³ They thus had to stock accordingly, and knew their customers to the extent as to be able to show them the appropriate colour beads when asked. Usually directly behind the counter in their designated places, the storekeeper and his/her assistants were eyeball-to-eyeball with the customer. It was a relationship that was infinitely more intimate that the distant manner in which economic transactions are carried out today. It was this act of direct approach across a simple barrier, and the process of discussion and purchase that many of the old traders see as the critical difference between the success of their enterprises and the distant and sterilized manner in which the contemporary stores are run. This store space was the physical place which acted as the point of contact for many with a monied economy, the necessary first telephone (and a person to dial the number), the postal and telegraph agency, the weekly clinic, pension queue, and, when it existed, the fete day that accompanied the visits of the Hut Tax Collectors.

The stores were unadorned, simple structures that expressed their function with architectural honesty. Few of them were decorated with the gentrified frippery such as fretwork and decorative bargeboards that characterized the architecture of the late Victorian and early Edwardian period at the end of the nineteenth century in the urban areas. Rather, decoration, which did arise as an unconscious development, came as a result of the advertisers plying well-known brand names.



Figure 4
Mondi Store, near Creighton, now closed (Photo: Author)

The advent of the apartheid laws affected traders in a material fashion. In many cases, unlike the prescriptive Dealers Licenses Act no 18 of 1897, legislation relating to traders and trading was buried deep within other laws and ordinances, being a spin-off of greater ideas. The ban on selling liquor to Africans, for example, was entrenched in late nineteenth century laws in Natal which enforced the 1878 Code of Native Law. It was also as the result of new legislations that forced those traders who occupied buildings not of 'formal construction', such as woodand-iron and wattle-and-daub, to pull down these old stores and to re-erect on the site stores that were of the desired and prescribed conventional brick and mortar construction- ensuring that that they all fitted into a structural and aesthetic norm¹⁴. Some, such as a store in Impendle, a Shepstonian period 'Reserve' in the Midlands, left the old wood-and-iron structure, which then became the trader's home, and constructed a new store within the framework of the new legislations from which they still trade. 15 These new stores then had to comply with the new regulations of racial separation as ordered by the Nationalist Government where different races had to be served in physically separated zones. Thus, some of the remote stores, such as in the north of Zululand, which had both a European and a Zulu customer base, had to separate the store into two distinct areas- one to deal with 'the Whites' and one to deal with 'the Africans'. One old trading family informed me that the women would run the European customers side, and the African half would be handled by the male trader. These two spaces would then trade concurrently, sometimes the European side being self-service, whilst the African side was counter service. ¹⁶ If the store was really in a remote area, catering only to people on 'Natal Native Trust' or 'South African Native Trust' land¹⁷, then this would only have the single trading floor.

Also, the historic legislation dating back to the mid-19th century which disallowed the sale of alcohol and spirits to African customers appears to have been taken lightly in instances- an informant tells of a secret door in the floor of their family store, situated in the 'Location' area of Pholela, which led into the cellar where the 'hooch' was kept.¹⁸

The stores would consist of, reasonably critically, a veranda, which acted as a climatic transition as much as being occupied as a social space. This veranda was also an important extension of the trading floor, in that, in the big stores, this was where the sewing 'boys' would sit, and the women, in the Msinga valley, would construct the bangles out of the wire purchased from the store. These bangles are still recognized as prestige items in the Msinga valley today. Latterly, with the relaxation of trading regulations, particularly those pertaining to the sale of alcohol to Africans, this place is where the old men sit and drink beer, and discuss the state of the world. As an interstitial space, the veranda is a place of no-man's land, a representative tree stuck onto the outside of the building. Here, neither the store space, being liminal and embodying of a mixture of cultures, nor the house/office which is the domain of the storekeeper, nor the outside environment, recognized and 'owned' by the customers in terms of an embodied recognition of accepted behaviour, is challenged- it is a space between spaces.

Somehow, over the years, and with this legislated rebuilding, an iconic architectural identity developed which, although follows a variety of different forms, has embedded a sense of immediate recognition in the national psyche. The building forms and materials all fit into a common vernacular, and whether it is the distanced positioning of them in a landscape that would previously have consisted of predominantly circular buildings, which would lead the eye to examine the details more closely, or whether it is the mere fact of its isolation in the landscape that begets the focus, is currently conjecture.²⁰

The art and the buildings the buildings as art

Part of the whimsy of the store was the opportunity for display. Many remember the Coca-Cola advertising that for decades characterized the stores, boldly displayed on the gables or gable ends and adding a further layer of identity to the store building form and its meaning for people. These advertising opportunities created iconic statements in the KwaZulu-Natal built fabric, to the extent that they have often formed the focal subject of painter's works²¹. The 'product' people, say the storeowners, approach the stores and decorate the walls- most store owners deny any monetary recovery from this. The product owners such as Amalgamated Beverage Industries agree to paint names and signage for those stores that they post advertising at, depending on the orders and turnover of their products.²² Provision of a professionally painted shop name is obviously not a major draw-card in an old, well-established store with a constant, loyal customer base. However, the plethora of small 'spaza' shops with professionally painted signage and the accompanying loud advertising, is testimony to the efficacy of the power of the advertisers.

Savage observes the aggressive advertising in the mid-1960's where his comment "Apart from a board which is provided by one of the large suppliers and which advertises the name of the shop, there is little to distinguish it from the occasional rectangular dwellings." (Savage;19 60:37)

Initially, the penchant for the simple black, white and red' Coca-Cola' has been rapidly superseded in recent years by a plethora of other products. Margarine brands such as 'Rama' and 'Floro' occupied the gables and parapets in the recent past, but latterly aggressive marketing by large corporate companies which produce strongly branded consumables such as 'Nyala' maize meal,

'Eveready' Batteries and 'Glen Tea' have begun to overtake the entire store itself, such that the whole store building becomes a board for the advertisement. Introduction of bright colour and bold figure has entered the landscape of not only the rural areas, but also the townships. No longer is Coca-Cola THE demure symbiotic symbol participant in the notion of the quietly positioned store. Nowadays, advertisement and building becomes aggressively vocal across the urban and rural landscapes. Helped in great part by the more prominent parapet form, the building evolved to present the space that called out for the advertising.



 $Figure\ 5 \\ 'Eveready'\ shouts\ across\ the\ landscape-\ near\ Amatikulu,\ (Author:\ December\ 2006)$

Changes in the times of globalization

On embarking on the study, it became rapidly apparent that the state of the stores was in some sort of flux. Many stores visited had recently closed, particularly ones that were known to have been important landmarks in the rural areas over many decades. Other storeowners bemoaned the changes, indicating that the political shift in the last two decades had played a role. Also, there was a subtle change in the stores themselves- many were now little more than *spaza* shops, others had run the whole gamut of change and were kitted out with tills, turnstiles and the blank faces of disembodied service.

Initially, there was also a slow realization that what a trading store consisted of was much more than the visual artifact. The parapet wall certainly defines the store as a mark on the land-scape, but does not convey the essence of what these stores were. Evenually, establishing the traditional nature of the operations of the stores and the definition of specific types of relationships between the different people involved in the buying and the selling, sorted out this conundrum. Thus, it became such that identifying the store was a visceral reaction to the spirit of the tradition of operations, as much as an immediate recognition of the format in the landscape. There appeared to be a mercurial scale along which the actual buildings were situated the counter service *spaza*, a community tuck shop selling little more than a few tea bags, cell-phone air-time and some cold drinks, the trading store itself which was a stock-all from roller skates to beer pots, and then the fully fledged supermarket which came together with turnstiles, tills and disinterested staff. The movement between these on the scale is both temporal and pragmatic, the elevated supermarket 'end' eventually leaping off into a wholesale business that totally rejects the traditions, relationships and subtleties of what it was to be a trader.



Figure 6
The landmark store at Ndundulu, near Melmoth (photo; author 2007)

Another change in the material fabric of the stores, as a result of changing crime levels, was the new requirements for enclosure and barricade. Stores, particularly those that ran as *spaza* shops, began to barricade themselves in behind gates and bars, serving people through hatches. Sometimes these barricades reached all the way to the ceiling, but usually they were just the height of a door. Either way, this need to enclose is indicative of the perceived wealth and target value of the owners of these institutions, as much as a marker of the levels of crime in the new South Africa²³. Not all of the stores are barricaded, and those that have been victims of hold ups, or those that are on the *spaza* 'end' or the supermarket 'end' often have drastic security measures. Many store owners that have operated for decades and have visible relationships of reciprocity between themselves and members of the communities that they serve, have no physically barring security, but instead rely on their social currency as well as the employment of security guards from the local community that ensure the safety of their central facility



Figure 7
A deserted store near Sweetwaters (photo: author 2007)

The stores have also suffered through a variety of other changes, such as the easy access to transport such as minibus taxis which did not exist until the relatively recent past, making the possibility of transport into major centres more possible- this is obviously also assisted by the more efficient road network! Also, other store owners say that the new government departments marginalize them, such as by changing road systems such as the national highways, and re-routing/ realigning the older roads. This means that passing trade is now minimized.

Another factor is that the structure and aspirations of the trading families have changed; whereas in the past, growing up on a trading station implied that the business would be handed on through generations, today, many of the traders have children that are professionals and are

not willing to take over the stores, having had university education and professional training. Some, such as one in northern Zululand, ²⁴ has let his store out to Chinese people- a new generation of traders in Zululand, whilst he remains in his house close to the store with his wife.

Conclusion

In all, the days of the trading store have changed, and, certainly in the context of the traditional manner of running the stores, are largely over. Few people still run the store in the context and manner of the old ways, and those that do are usually constantly on their guard regarding their personal security. It is a hard life, constantly at the beck and call of the community that is served, with little opportunity for escape. However, the part that these institutions played in the social, economic and architectural history of KwaZulu-Natal cannot be overstated.

The trading store building as an artistic and architectural icon has entrenched itself into the language of provincial and national vernacular. The manner in which the buildings both identify and dominate landscapes, yet act as a space of provision and constancy, places them in a unique category of public space. It is ironic that the stores have perpetuated in their architectural idiom, producing a plethora of likenesses in the diminutive 'spaza' shops, such that a 'store' is an immediately recognisable form in the KwaZulu-Natal landscape. It did not carry any perceived colonial baggage in its transformation, but perhaps, with its reproduction echoing the acknowledged economic success of the rural traders in the perpetuation of an ideal, at the same time it was replicating a formulaic institution which relied on the nostalgic relationships of the communities that they once served.

Notes

- 1 This previously excised area was under the government of the Eastern Cape until recently.
- 2 Mrs A.: a personal communication.
- **3** Brian Kearney (1973:1).
- 4 Some plots were noticeably larger as the traders at Intigwe had some 100 acres which made the 10 farming of wattle and gum for the sale of firewood and building poles viable. (A-pers. comm.)
- 5 Ovens (1999:2).
- The success of these Wood and Iron buildings was enough to produce the 4th edition of the Marsh Catalogue, a Pietermaritzburg based manufacturing company. In the introduction to customers in 'the four provinces of South Africa, Rhodesia and Basotholand,' HV Marsh notes that 'To those situated away from towns this class of Building particularly appeals, for not only is the cutting out and framing done here at our Works, thus enabling the erection to be easily undertaken by the labour usually available in the country, but everything is supplied complete, as specified, down to the last nail and screw.'
- 7 This differs markedly from the stores that were rebuilt, as the presence of high level windows 16

- maximising the amount of shelf space inside, changed windows to a horizontal format.
- These are stores number 179 to 182 at the end of the Marsh Catalogue.(Marsh: c1915).

McKenzie (1990:11).

Mrs A: a personal communication.

Although my study is concentrating on KwaZu-lu-Natal, Eastern Cape examples also have some reference as the border at the time the early traders were establishing themselves was reasonably permeable, Pondoland being annexed to Natal in 1894. (Burgess: 2005:36).

- 12 The bead combination formed part of regional identity, and different areas are distinct in their beadwork.
- 13 Mrs A.: a personal communication.
- 14 JM: a personal communication.
- 15 B- Pers. comm.. Comment from an informant in this case notes that the store was built to modernise operations. He forms part of a relatively young generation in this context.

JM: a personal communication.

- 17 Now all forming part of the Ingonyama Trust, administered by King Goodwill Zwelethini.
- 18 MM: a personal communication.
- 19 Usually Malawians- JM pers.comm.
- 20 Plate VII in Savage; 1966 shows a small store with a parapet as 'A typical Bantu-owned store within a residential setting.'- Savage's work covers the area described within the former Transkei-East London district.
- 21 Artists such as Rick Andrew produced photographic type paintings depicting the store in the peri-urban landscape. Siyabonga Sikhosana

- in Pietermaritzburg uses the 'spaza' shop and its customers as inspiration and focal points in work. Also, Richard McCormack depicts stores in his many paintings of rural buildings.
- 22 Customer relations, ABI Pietermaritzburg.
- An informant, Mrs A, told me that her mother was held up in the early 1960's in one of the Zululand stores, so the phenomenon is not a new one, although it was certainly uncommon in those days.
- Mr I whose family has traded in Ubombo since the beginning of the 19th century.

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