Towards an understanding of the vernacular: nineteenth century Boer-made chairs in the collection of the National Cultural History Museum, Pretoria

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This article introduces ongoing research on nineteenth century Boer-made chairs housed in the collection of the National Cultural History Museum. Motivated by a lack of locally published research, the inquiry is informed by the physical objects, supported by data from the Museum register and archives. An overview is given on the main typologies, materials and construction methods. Some terminology is explored and the dilemma of naming is highlighted. With relatively few nineteenth century Boer-made objects surviving the South African War (1899-1902), it is argued that these chairs require at least further documentation so as to assist more extensive research in future.

Keywords: vernacular, furniture, chair, Boer, National Cultural History Museum

Furniture is classified according to four functional typologies: storage (cupboards), working (tables), sleeping (beds) and seating. Chairs, stools, benches and settees are examples of the latter, although trunks and chests could also serve as seats. The concern here is with the chair, which is defined as a general, moveable item of furniture, made or used for sitting on by one person, with a seat, legs and often supports and stretchers.

In The Cape chair Fransen explains that:

Chairs are more easily transported, handled and displayed than beds or cupboards. Of all furniture they are the most intensively used; their wear and tear is greatest and large numbers of them are constantly needed. In consequence the gradual, year-to-year changes in style are most easily seen in chair design.

These characteristics could partly account for the large number of chairs, estimated to be in the region of 1200, in the collection of the National Cultural History Museum (NCHM), Pretoria. Moreover, curators like Kotie Roodt-Coetzee (1913-2005) actively developed the collection, especially during the years from 1953 to 1965.

For the purpose of this study, the chair collection of the NCHM was first explored in 2004 as part of a heritage project undertaken with second year design students in the Programme in Interior Architecture, Department of Architecture, University of Pretoria. The curator for furniture, textiles and metal was requested to select nineteen chairs, with possible local or regional relevance, following which each student measured a chair and recorded scale drawings thereof. Previously confined to buildings, similar assignments have been part of the subject modules in Environmental Studies since the early 1980's. Under the guidance of Prof Schalk le Roux, invaluable material has consequently been contributed to the architectural archives of the Department.

Lectures on conservation theory, legislation, policy and practice preceded the exercise and students were tutored in aspects such as field notes and measuring methodology. As with

SAJAH, ISSN 0258-3542, volume 22, number 2, 2007: 115 — 126
the documentation of buildings, the outcome was predictable: the physical extent of each chair was documented in scale drawings with their condition, markings and textures recorded photographically and with the aid of transfer rubbings. The objective, to familiarise students with aspects of heritage practice, was met. At the same time questions about the chairs arose, which an initial perusal of literature could not satisfy, therefore necessitating research.

Figure 1
Plan and elevations of NCHM item HG 13856, measured and drawn by Junette Wesseloo, 2004
(chair not included in final study group)

Craft as cultural document

Like other cultural objects, furniture could be equated to historical texts as they may reveal layers of history and meaning, often within specific contexts - social and spatial. Tempelhoff identifies three universal role players associated with furniture as cultural documents: maker, mediator and user. He states that in cases where the mediator is absent, indicating furniture created for personal use, it could be suggested that these objects achieve two-dimensional documentary value. Furniture fitting this description most often belong to the vernacular category, where vernacular broadly refers, as it does in architecture, "to the adjective applied to an indigenous style ... that is largely untutored, but thought to be of considerable virtue .." As is the case with other crafts, vernacular furniture is characterised as essentially functional objects created through a process between art and mechanised manufacture and is medium specific.

From patrician to vernacular

As material culture, furniture can be classified according to its level of sophistication. This classification indicates how accurately artefacts represent a Zeitgeist. Referring to architecture, Fransen applies a hierarchy starting from the least sophisticated, namely the 'vernacular', through the midrange of the 'vernacular with a decorative overlay', to the most sophisticated, which he terms 'architect's architecture'. Burden, in her yet to be published book on Old Cape furniture, provides a more comprehensible application to furniture. At the top end of the scale, 'patrician furniture' is made by highly skilled cabinetmakers whose work reflects the latest stylistic tendencies. The middle group, 'country furniture', is made by cabinetmakers with generally good technical skills and whose work portrays the fashionable style of the day,
albeit in simplified form lacking refinement in its rendering. ‘Vernacular furniture’ is made by anyone in order to address mostly a functional need and is least, if at all, concerned with stylistic mannerisms. Indicative of a lack of skills or training, this furniture is often unrefined in execution and design.

Recent publications on the history of vernacular English furniture mostly distinguish only between sophisticated and a broad group of less sophisticated furniture, the latter which is further described with words such as ‘homemade’\(^\text{18}\), ‘common’\(^\text{19}\) or ‘provincial’\(^\text{20}\) and sometimes as ‘primitive’\(^\text{21}\) or ‘rustic’. American readings\(^\text{22}\) contribute entrenched terms such as ‘folk’, ‘Southern’ and ‘Shaker’, although these do not necessarily denote vernacular characteristics.

It is of interest to note that critical research into American folk furniture\(^\text{23}\) predates even the first publication\(^\text{24}\) on the history of South African furniture in general. American journals\(^\text{25}\) certainly helped to popularise the collecting of vernacular pieces and so contributed to the demand for original, and later for reproduction furniture. This demand created the need for comprehensive surveys,\(^\text{26}\) such as the measured documentation of Shaker furniture by John Kassey.\(^\text{27}\) Kassey’s work has been followed by numerous publications\(^\text{28}\) offering DIY enthusiasts guidance in making their own ‘authentic’ Shaker furniture. Locally, measured drawings are found in Pearce’s\(^\text{29}\) significant description of Eighteenth century furniture in South Africa, in which Cape patrician furniture is documented using architectural drawing conventions. Thus fine detail is made accessible to the reader by combining orthographic projections with written descriptions and photographs.

The vernacular in perspective

General historical and many cultural historical descriptions deal with settlers in the interior during the nineteenth century. Many of these are romanticised readings\(^\text{30}\) frowned upon by historians of the present generation. Some inquiries deal with the architecture,\(^\text{31}\) craft and folk art\(^\text{32}\) of the same period and context. On furniture in particular, few provide meaningful insight beyond contextual and incidental references.

A re-reading of our narrative\(^\text{34}\) has only recently commenced in a post-apartheid spirit of inclusion, with many historical inadequacies to be addressed. This could be extended to the history of South African furniture: up to now research has largely focussed on exemplars borrowing from Western European styles and the geographic area related to the Cape of Good

Figure 2.1, 2.2 & 2.3

2.1 Rustic vernacular or Victorian romanticism? [Possibly mid nineteenth century] (Cartwright & Cowan 1978:27)

2.2 General Christiaan de Wet on a Thonet No 85 chair\(^\text{33}\) (Malan 1990:12)

2.3 Detail from “Troops clearing furniture from a farmhouse” during the South African War (Lee 2002:165)
Hope. South Africa has neither experienced significant popular interest in vernacular crafts, such as furniture, nor have we developed adequate terminology in the field. In fact, very little has been published at all on furniture from the period beyond the early to mid nineteenth century.

In explaining why this is so, one should consider that, as the boundaries of the colonial settlement at the Cape were forced inland from the late eighteenth century onwards, utilitarian considerations lessened, but not obliterated, the impact of high cultural expression. Moreover, photographic archives hint toward the rise of mass production and the impact of Victorian taste that accompanied it. With improved transportation, the craft of furniture making was slowly being replaced by imported industrial products. This paradigm shift was gradual and as can be expected a considerable timelag is evident between the manifestations of such influences in established centres of culture and places removed from these sources. On the whole, these events challenge the seemingly neat classification of material culture according to the stylistic modes used to understand patrician furniture. In addition, a considerable legacy of material culture was destroyed during the South African War (1899-1902). Therefore any collection of nineteenth century artefacts has assumed significant value and deserves further investigation.

**Revisiting the collection**

The initial choice of chairs in 2004 was based largely on visual inspection. Subsequently an attempt has been made to establish the extent of a group that could be meaningfully researched: the initial group of nineteen chairs grew to eighty six and was finally narrowed down to sixty three by examining the data in the Museum accessions register. This source unlocked important, but often incomplete information to the researcher.

One of the first tasks was to find a collective term that could also be used to explore literature. Amongst the plethora of often confusing terms in use, geographical references were considered as hinted towards by Fransen, Botha and Aukema. It became clear that the 'Transvaal' chair was an unsatisfactory term, as it alluded to an exclusively geographical meaning and is possibly already associated with early twentieth century collectables from that area. Although a recognised architectural style term, 'pioneer' was also rejected, as it is associated only with the early constructs of European settlers, and thus could not satisfactorily include the late nineteenth century makers and end users of these chairs.

Including an accurate reference to the makers and users of the artefacts became a primary concern. The phrase 'Boer-made' was found to best address this matter, albeit at the risk of unfortunate connotations. It is derived from various references in the Museum register to the Afrikaans word *Boeremaaksel* that allude to the makers or users, and also to the craftsmanship and spirit these chairs embody. This nuance may be lost in translation.

Fransen observes that "... most Cape furniture pieces are undated as well as being of anonymous manufacture, so that direct dating is almost impossible." On the anonymity of vernacular furniture, Gilbert adds that it is rarely possible to relate or trace vernacular pieces to archival sources: "Establishing a firm provenance counts as success ..."

In the collection, accessioning was often through family members related to the maker or an owner, enabling the recording of oral histories associated with the item. Roodt-Coetze promoted this practice, but also attempted to verify anecdotal references where possible. Ownership and family associations are recorded for at least fifteen of the selected chairs. In only ten instances the name of the maker is recorded. For one item it is mentioned that the maker had experience in joinery.
Figure 3.1, 3.2 & 3.3
3.1 Varied shapes found in milking stools in the NCHM collection © NCHM
3.2 NCHM item HG 10666: milking stool, Pioneer House © NCHM
3.3 NCHM item HG 16277: veldstoeltjie, Voortrekker Monument Museum © NCHM

Figure 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 & 4.4
4.1 NCHM item HG 13843: folding chair © NCHM
4.2 NCHM item HG 6846: folding chair, Voortrekker Monument Museum © NCHM
4.3 NCHM item HG 15447: folding chair with armrests, Voortrekker Monument Museum © NCHM
4.4 NCHM item HG 7821: folding chair with armrests, Pioneer House © NCHM

Figure 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 & 5.4
5.1 NCHM item HG 7874: side chair, Pioneer House © NCHM
5.2 NCHM item HG 9690: side chair, Pioneer House © NCHM
5.3 NCHM item HG 48039: side chair, Pioneer House © NCHM
5.4 NCHM item HG 5406: side chair © NCHM

A large number of items have only sparse records on file. Of the selected group of sixty three, twenty two exemplars were obtained from antique dealers during the 1970's. Especially Owen Meubels acquired large numbers from collection runs in the western Transvaal and north-eastern Cape without any available record of whom they were bought from.
Typology

Disregarding the inconclusive stylistic variations, six main typologies were identified: three types of folding seats, side chairs,\(^52\) armchairs and low stools. These three or four legged stools have been referred to as milking stools\(^53\) (melkstoeltjes). In the study group, this is the only type without the usual riempie (leather thong) seat. Seats of varied shapes are made of solid wood, with a slight depression seemingly carved or shaped by wear and use. The position of the pegged legs is mostly revealed through the seat, exaggerated by use and age.

In the NCHM register, a handwritten note was recorded for such a stool, item HG 10666, at acquisition in 1971 where it was labelled as a krukkie. The Dutch word krukje reveals the origin of this note: Van Oirschot\(^54\) defines it as "Lage twee, drie- of vierpoot, uit de 16e en 17e eeuw, maar ook later nog gemaakt, met of zonder rugsteun" and Kruyskamp\(^55\) adds "stoel zonder leuning, taboeret, veelal met ronde zitting". Seemingly, "... tripod stools occur in many cultures and times..."\(^56\) and literature mentions examples from the African continent,\(^57\) America\(^58\) and England,\(^59\) where it is also known as a 'cricket' or less often as a 'buffet'. It would seem that this archetype occurs universally and indeed could have seen more applications than the name 'milking stool' suggests.

Three types of folding chairs were found, all supported on pivoting X-shaped legs. Possibly of ancient\(^60\) origin, the folding chair is depicted in local artwork by, amongst others, Samuell Daniell (1775-1811), Charles Bell (1813-1882) and the sketches of Erich Mayer (1876-1960). The obvious advantage of a folding chair is that, when folded, its compactness makes for easy transportation.\(^61\) Most elementary are the ones without backrests, known as a veldstoeltjie (literally small field chair) or a bok\(^62\) (trestle). A backrest extends from the back legs of a further variation, seemingly known as a klapstoel\(^63\) or opklapstoel (tip-up chair). The name could be derived from the slapping sound made when the seat is tipped up or folded (this action is also known as opklap in Afrikaans). It could also be argued that the term klapstoel refers to all folding chairs in the same way that the Afrikaans klaptafel possibly refers to both gate-leg and trestle tables.

The third type of folding chair has armrests added between the extended back legs and the front. All of these exemplars in the study group have additional pivots to the back leg, allowing the backrest to fold over as well, thereby packing more compactly than the klapstoel with rigid legs. The shape of the armrests and legs vary from curved to straight. All three types of folding chairs show varied arrangements of the riempies in the seat rail, from the inner edge to the outer face and also half wrapped around the front rail. None is as elaborately ornamented and carved as those from the West Coast region illustrated in Baraitser & Obholzer.\(^64\)

The largest numbers of exemplars are side chairs, or chairs without armrests, of which a great range is found (figure 5.1-5.4). An extraordinary example is chair HG 5406, estimated to date from around 1850. It possibly survives from the Staatsmuseum\(^65\) of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, founded in 1892\(^66\) and predecessor of the National Cultural History Museum. Contextual influence is clearly visible in the materials used: eland horn for the front legs, sable antelope horn for the hind legs, on top of which were added reebok horns. It seems that the wood was not initially\(^67\) identified, as correspondence from 1976 confirms the results of microscopic analysis for identifying the wood of the components: Bolusanthus speciosus (tree wisteria), Schotia brachypetala (Boer-bean) and Ocotea bullata (stinkwood). Unfortunately nothing else is recorded, but comparable applications of horn as structural members in chairs are known to exist, both locally and further afield (figure 7.1 and 7.2) and with a similarly sparse provenance. Other sources\(^68\) do refer to various items made with horn or adorned with horn or ivory inlays and such examples are indeed found in the collection.
Figure 6
Detail from field notes and elevations of NCHM item HG 5406, measured and drawn by Elana van der Wath, 2006

Figure 7.1, 7.2 & 7.3
7.1 Hardwood, bone and horn rocking chair, Transvaal, circa 1900 (Deon Viljoen Fine Art 2002)
7.2 Armchair, Steer horn, American, circa 1875 (Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum) (Fitzgerald 1982:264)
7.3 Ivory in stinkwood on NCHM item HG 5371 © NCHM

Figure 8.1, 8.2, 8.3 & 8.4
8.1 NCHM item HG 8558: armchair, Cape, circa 1900 © NCHM (not included in study group)
8.2 NCHM item HG 15856: armchair, origin unknown [Cape], circa 1835 © NCHM (not included in study group)
8.3 & 8.4 NCHM item HG 16260: armchair, Middelburg, ZAR, circa 1880 © NCHM

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Armchairs represent the second highest number in the study group, although in comparison to the side chairs, there are significantly fewer of them. As an example, HG 16260 was supposedly made by Piet Nel from the district Middelburg in or around 1880. The wood has been recorded as white kirkia. Through comparison with sophisticated Cape armchairs in the collection, Nel’s chair illustrates the devolution of stylistic mannerisms (figure 8.1-8.3) and the simplification of details in memory of a stylistic mode that is no longer present.

Construction and materials

Basic joinery is applied and revealed in the examples studied. Mostly mortise and tenon joints are used, sometimes blind but hardly ever without the pin exposed. Especially in folding chairs (klapstoele), through tenon joints (figure 9.1 and 9.3) expose the simple tectonics required for structural stability. Two examples of wooden pivots were found in veldstoeltjies (figure 9.2). The role of blacksmiths in the nineteenth century is well documented: "Nearly every farmyard had a smithy which could make iron pegs, dowles [sic] and hinges ..." and it is therefore no surprise to find forged connectors, washers and spindles on some chairs. Wear and tear is most evident in the riempies where many chairs have lost their leather strips altogether and others are torn or damaged. Of the wooden components the front legs are often shortened through abrasion and similarly lower front stretchers are symmetrically worn away. Although the odd machined connector was introduced for structural stability, the integrity of only two chairs was compromised by substantial interventions: both HG 6982/37 and 6982/40 had seat brackets crudely added to the inner corners of the seat (figure 9.4).

For twelve exemplars, the wood has not been identified at all in the register, while a third of the study sample is recorded to be made of stinkwood, a popular and durable choice for furniture. Based solely on visual inspection, the identification of wood proves to be very difficult and often questionable. Although the scientific identification of materials was certainly undertaken by the Museum, it is improbable to have been done before 1953. How widespread the practice was pursued after this date, and on which items of the study sample in particular, is uncertain, although it is most probable that more archival evidence exists.

Conclusion

To some extent, the gap in published research is filled by these chairs, but fully understanding their physical attributes and unlocking the complementing intellectual data has just started. With
their continued existence almost guaranteed, the chairs' value as a group of historic documents is far greater than what any individual item could singularly attain. This collective attribute should also direct future research: other similar collections should be investigated, and through comparative analysis, a frame of reference and significance should be established. Thus, the continued documentation of their physical attributes could assist researchers in future.

Notes

2. Carstens (1986:128)
3. Van Oirschot (1978:111)
6. Roodt-Coetzee was a prominent cultural historian and museum administrator (Grobler 2005:77-113). Furniture and furniture making counted amongst her interests (Grobler 2005:195).
8. According to Grobler (2005:77-113), Roodt-Coetzee was appointed as professional officer in 1953 and from 1965 served as Director of the National Cultural History and Open-Air Museum (later the NCHM). It is evident that she had great impact on the collection, both before her permanent appointment in 1953 and after 1965.
10. Specifically Theme C in Environmental Studies 210 of 2004 according to University of Pretoria (2004:67).
11. University of Pretoria (2004:67); these theory lectures, presented by Gift Phalatse Setschedi, were supplemented with the documentation assignment, executed under the studio master for Design.
15. Donkin (2001:5-6)
21. 'Primitive' here refers to a basic method of mortice or wedged construction; see Knell (1992:22).
25. Fitzgerald (1982:306-315) lists several journals, some dated from as early as 1943. Of particular interest is his reference to a catalogue for an exhibition on folk furniture from the Southern states that was published in The magazine antiques in 1952. Bibliographical notes in Gilbert (1991:270 and 282) confirms this and refers to ten essays in the March 1968 special edition of the journal Antiques entitled Symposium on American country furniture.
29. Pearce (1960)
30. Especially publications associated with the centenary celebrations of the ‘Great Trek’; see for instance Bosman, Coertze, Viljoen & Coetzee (1938).
33. According to the Director of the Thonet Museum in Frankenberg, this specific chair is a Thonet No 85 from the Thonet catalogue of 1895, Thonet, A-M. (anke.m.thonet@t-online.de) 2007. Thonet chair No. 85. E-mail to: Botes, N. (nico.botes@up.ac.za) 1 April.
See Etherington (2001:xii-xvii and 243-272) and Giliomee (2003), amongst others.

Coetzee (1960:126) already refers to some of these shortcomings. Also see Aukema (1984:79).

Both Fransen (1987:343) and Baraitser & Obholzer (2004:8) refer to the timelag evident between European and Cape fashions. Burden (2007) considers this a universal phenomenon associated with less sophisticated modes of expression, such as country furniture.


Only 8 chairs of the study group are recorded as being certainly from the Transvaal region. "Pioneer: A term used for the first vernacular structures of European settlers new to an area in South Africa employing traditional building materials and techniques, both of their own or of the local inhabitants." (Fisher 2001). Burden (2007) refers to vernacular furniture in Afrikaans as pioniermeubels, while Aukema (1984:79) refers to "Transvaal pioneer furniture".

Boeremaaksel according to NCHM Register entries for HG 6982/37, 6982/39, 6982/40, 6986 and Boeremaak according to HG 7314, 7821, 7874, 8074, 10408, 11482.

Fransen probably refers to the geographical meaning of 'Cape', although Burden et al. (2001:53) indicates that the term 'Old-Cape' furniture should refer to the crafted furniture, also from the nineteenth century, from the whole of the present South Africa, provided that Western stylistic origins are reflected.

Gilbert (1991:1)

Grobler (2005:197, 389)

NCHM Register entries HG 5371, 6846, 6986, 7874, 8074, 10160, 11482, 16260, V 131 and 132.

"Kootjie Burger was 'n skrynwerker voordat hy die Kaapkolonie verlaat het." (NCHM Register entry HG 10160).

Notably Owen Meubels (NCHM Register entries HG 13840, 13843, 13845, 13848, 13850, 13852 and 13853) and Uit Toeka se Dae (NCHM Register entries HG 16277, 16279 and 16281).

Side chairs, without armrests, named for the position they held around the patriarchal table in relation to armchairs. Sometimes referred to as back chairs.

Baraitser & Obholzer (2004:418): "three legged milking stool". Also see NCHM Register entries for HG 13235, 13758/1 and/or 2.

Van Oirschot (1978:72)

Kruijsskamp (1982:1282)

Sieber (1980:130)

Sudan (Sieber 1980:130); Uganda (Sieber 1980:142); Kenya and Tanzania (Sieber 1980:143); see also Delftse Universitaire Pers (1980:5-6).

Sieber (1980:130)

Knell (1992:22); Gilbert (1991:47)

Van Oirschot (1978:120) and Atmore (1965:84) refer to the Egyptian prototype, while Botha (1977:13) refers to the Roman cross legged folding chair.

Pretorius (1992:44); Carstens (1986:16, 127)

NCHM Register entry HG 5688

Van Oirschot (1978:69)

Baraitser & Obholzer (2004:90-91)

NCHM Register entry HG 5406: "Stoel, nog van die ou Staatsmuseum Z.A.R." to which a comment, possibly written by Roodt-Coetzee, adds "Wie se so?"

Grobler (2005:63)

NCHM Register entry HG 5406: the (undated) original entry only mentions the types of horn. A comment on the wood was later added by hand, possibly only in 1976. See diagram and memorandum dated 15-12-1976, from CP Kromhout (on Department of Forestry stationery): "Uitkenning van hout-ondersoek van stoel", NCHM Archive, System 2 No 32 NKMeub 1967-1978.


NCHM Register entry HG 16260

Kirkia acuminata according to Coates-Palgrave (2002:423).

NCHM V 678 and HG 5688; Baraitser & Obholzer (2004:91) also illustrates examples.
Aukema (1984:82) NCHM Register entries HG 6982/37 and 6982/40 record this condition for both chairs at acquisition in 1957. 

Ocotea bullata according to Coates-Palgrave (2002:213-4). See also Burden et al. (2001:52).

Clearly the scientific identification was an initiative of Roodt-Coetzee. See letter dated 17-03-1960, from CP Kromhout to Roodt-Coetzee: "Houtmonsters", NCHM Archive, System 1

Works cited


anthropological, archaeological and historical.


NCHM sources:

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National Cultural History Museum Archive, System 2

National Cultural History Museum Directors' Archives: Kotie Roodt-Coetzee Archives


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