

FORTUNA IN THE FREE STATE: AN ANALYSIS OF ROBERT GRENDRON'S USE OF FORTUNA IN HIS EPIC *PAUL KRUGER'S DREAM*

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This article will analyse the spectacle of Fortuna's appearance to Paul Kruger at two crucial points in Grendon's 1901 epic and explore the key role she plays in the development of the narrative. Robert Grendon was the son of a Herero woman and an Irish trader in the then South West Africa and he was educated at Zonnebloem College. He taught at Edendale College among other places and was tutor to the young King Sobhuza of Swaziland. *Paul Kruger's dream* is one of the many works of Grendon's which were published.

This article examines Robert Grendon's appropriation and use of Fortuna in his epic *Paul Kruger's dream* and the possible motivations for this. Of all the Classical figures Grendon makes use of, Fortuna is by far the most prominent and this paper sets out to explore her first appearance to Paul Kruger and the possible significance of this apparition.

Robert Grendon is at this time a relatively unknown South African author who wrote prolifically at the turn of the last century. As a coloured man,¹ Grendon was an outspoken advocate for the rights of 'non-white'² South Africans, and as he had acquired a mission school education, he was well equipped to voice his objections to the politics of the time in the language of the well-educated white elite. One of the 'languages' which he relied on heavily was his knowledge of Latin and Classical literature, which he incorporated into a number of his newspaper articles and poems. This was because evidence of a Classical education commanded a civilizational authority for many 'non-whites' who had received a mission school education. Perhaps the most impressive of his poems is an epic he composed shortly after the end of the South African War entitled *Paul Kruger's dream*, which explores the exploits of the Boer general Paul Kruger throughout his life, from the beginnings of the Great Trek in 1838 to his eventual demise at the end of the South African War in 1902. Throughout this epic Grendon uses a number of Classical allusions, as well as figures from Classical antiquity, who

¹ Grendon refers to himself repeatedly as a 'coloured man' and as a man of mixed race, would have also been called this by others at the time. From this point in the article, he will be referred to as such.

² The term 'non-white' encapsulates all black, coloured, indian and people of mixed race. Grendon felt that he himself fell within this category. This term was used before Apartheid and at this stage did not have the derogatory connotations that were subsequently connected with it.

feature as characters in his epic. One of the most prominent of these figures is the Roman goddess Fortuna who appears to Kruger on two occasions, both of which are at turning points in the plot.

Background to Robert Grendon's life

Robert Grendon was the son of Joseph William Grendon, an Irish trader and a Herero woman who is only known by the Christian name Maria. He was born in Damaraland in the territory then known as South West Africa around 1867 and at the age of ten was enrolled in Zonnebloem College in Cape Town.³ From a young age Grendon spent a considerable amount of time with the German Rhenish missionaries, the Hahns, with whom he lived for two years while his father was overseas.⁴ It was during these formative years that he began to become deeply religious and his devotion was further intensified during his time at the missionary college of Zonnebloem. Zonnebloem was one of the premier education facilities for 'non-whites' and was both a vocational and educational college where students either learnt skills such as carpentry, or were provided with an education that would rival that of many of their white contemporaries.⁵ Students who showed an 'aptitude' for a 'white' education were schooled in Classics (including Latin and some Greek),⁶ Mathematics, and Philosophy.⁷ Grendon was one of these students and he matriculated in 1889,⁸ and in order to do this, he was required to take Latin as one of his matric subjects. This was a rare and remarkable feat for a 'non-white' student as there were not many 'non-whites' who enjoyed the privilege of twelve years of education.

As was common for mission educated 'non-whites', he went on to become a teacher and taught in Kimberley and Uitenhage where he gradually became involved in politics. His writings began to take a political turn when he became editor of the short lived newspaper *Coloured South African*.⁹ Grendon was a firm

³ Christison 2007:216.

⁴ *Ibid.* 154.

⁵ *Ibid.* 219.

⁶ Through correspondence with both Grant Christison and Janet Hodgson, who is probably the foremost expert on Zonnebloem, I have managed to obtain partial records of the Latin that Grendon would have studied. Unfortunately the records are incomplete and do not provide insight into the full Latin syllabus that Grendon would have studied so there is still some speculation required to pinpoint exactly which Roman authors influenced his epic composition.

⁷ *Ibid.* 210.

⁸ *Ibid.* 225.

⁹ *Ibid.* 314.

supporter of the British Empire as can be seen from his personal correspondence. In 1892, he wrote an appeal to the British Prime Minister concerning the treatment of coloured people. In 1897 he was a signatory on a message of congratulations sent to Victoria on her Diamond Jubilee, and in the same year read a welcome address to Milner and was a supporter of Rhodes.¹⁰ It is likely that Grendon was in Uitenhage at the outbreak of the South African War in October 1899¹¹ and, as he was a patriotic and loyal supporter of the British, he volunteered for the only job open to coloured men and became a forge wagon driver, as coloured men were not allowed to bear arms.¹²

He was attached to the 42nd Battery Royal Field Artillery, which was involved at the battle of Elandslaagte on 21 October 1899 and it is likely then that he was at Ladysmith during the siege which took place from 30 October 1899 till 28 February 1900, so it is likely that Grendon experienced the siege first hand.¹³ His epic, *Paul Kruger's dream* completed in 1902 and revised in 1904 after Paul Kruger's death, is then a response of an ideologically committed participant in Britain's war effort.¹⁴ Christison, who is currently compiling *Paul Kruger's dream* for publication and is writing a biography on Grendon, believes that Grendon's writing was always didactic and his 'frame of intertextual reference embraces both Biblical and Classical knowledge.'¹⁵ In addition, Christison notes that his Zonnebloem grammar school education exposed him both to Anglican-style Christianity and to the lore of the ancient Mediterranean world, both of which are clearly evident throughout the epic.

If one is to speculate as to who his intended readers were, I would suggest that it was aimed at similarly educated 'non-whites' and British or English speaking South Africans who would be able to identify the author's Classical references. These references would reflect Grendon's perceived competence and mark him out as belonging to a specific stratum of society, which was aware of this 'elite' knowledge.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 405.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 401.

¹² Christison 2007:402.

¹³ *Ibid.* 402.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 403. Cf. Plaatje's siege diaries first published in 1973 for a first-hand account of a non-white man's experiences of living in siege conditions which were likely to be similar to those experienced by Grendon.

¹⁵ Christison 2007:437.

Grendon's epic, Paul Kruger's dream

Grendon wrote much of *Paul Kruger's dream* while teaching at Edendale near Pietermaritzburg. The epic consists of 37 parts, which explore the rise and fall of Paul Kruger and in Grendon's mind, the Boer republics. According to the epic's subtitle, the epic aims to illustrate 'The struggle for supremacy in South Africa between Boer and Briton'.¹⁶ Included in this 'struggle' was the issue of equitable governance and the rights of the 'non-white' majority in South Africa. The majority of the poem is narrated by Paul Kruger but there are interludes from characters like Fortuna, Britannia and the 'Uitlanders'. The poem follows the history of South Africa from the arrival of the Dutch to the death of Cecil John Rhodes in 1902.

Fortuna first appears in *Paul Kruger's dream* in part 2 of his epic. At this early stage, the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape has just been recounted with poetic flourish and the scene changes to Paul Kruger who is consumed by anguish and despair after the death of Piet Retief and his men at the hands of the Zulu king Dingaan.¹⁷ As Fortuna returns to Paul Kruger in 1895, supposedly fifty-five years after their first encounter, we can accurately place this first meeting sometime in 1840 when Paul Kruger was fifteen years old. This was six years after the abolition of slavery¹⁸ and five years after the start of the Great Trek¹⁹ in which Paul Kruger and his family took part, and a year before Paul Kruger settled on his own farm near Magaliesberg.²⁰

In Grendon's epic, Fortuna first appears to Paul Kruger '... In sleep' where his spirit 'wander'd to the Land of Dreams, and there discerned things yet to be'.²¹ It is while in this Land of Dreams that Fortuna provides Paul Kruger with '... revelations — good and horrid mix'd ...'²² Fortuna appears as 'A virgin with perpetual youth ... in spotless raiment clad ...'²³ She has long flowing golden hair, 'silv'ry wings'²⁴ and is tall and upright. Perhaps the most important aspect of

¹⁶ Grendon 1904. Cover page.

¹⁷ Casper Kruger, Paul Kruger's father, was a close friend of Piet Retief and only by chance did not accompany him on his ill-fated trip to visit Dingaan (Juta 1937:12). As Paul Kruger then personally knew Piet Retief and his family, this disaster would most definitely have affected him on a personal level.

¹⁸ Warwick 1980:12.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Juta 1937:18.

²¹ Grendon, *Paul Kruger's dream* 2:136-137. From here on this title shall be abbreviated to *PKD*.

²² *PKD* 2:139.

²³ *Ibid.* 141-142.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 148.

Grendon's description of her is the flag she carries: 'Her right hand she a costly standard held, Whose folds were wov'n in red, and white, and blue, And green'.²⁵ This is the 'vierkleur', the flag of the Transvaal Republic from 1857-1902.²⁶ As this flag only appeared seventeen years after Fortuna's first apparition, it would seem that Grendon is trying to solidify the prophetic aspect of Fortuna's character by showing her bearing the 'vierkleur'. In addition to the 'vierkleur' Grendon reveals which aspect of the Classical Fortuna he has chosen to appropriate, that of prophetic messenger. This speech also shows that at this point in the epic, Fortuna supports Paul Kruger. In this speech, Grendon has Fortuna speaking in blank verse.

Fortuna's monologue begins by explaining how it is God himself that has sent Fortuna as his messenger to tell Paul Kruger of his future.²⁷ It is only at this point that Fortuna identifies herself to Paul Kruger: 'A daughter of the Skies am I! Fortuna is my name; Betwixt this Earth and Heav'n I ply — Jove's orders to proclaim'.²⁸ What is interesting is that Fortuna says she has been sent by Jove whereas in the previous verse she claims to be sent by heaven. It seems Grendon is assimilating the Classical pantheon to the Christian God. This is a motif employed by a number of other authors including Dante, Milton and Camoens. We can be sure that Grendon had read at least the works of Milton.²⁹ Perhaps, by referring to Jove and not God, Grendon is trying to draw a clear connection between Fortuna and the ancient world from which she has been appropriated. The next few verses contain her prophecies. What she foretells would have been common knowledge to many of Grendon's contemporary readers. Her prophecies then are a combination of factual history and Grendon's own created mythology about Paul Kruger. He employs this device in much the same way as Vergil used a combination of existing mythology, history and his own manufactured mythology in his epic to legitimise his own inclusions.

Fortuna hints at Paul Kruger's change in fortune, which will occur before the next time she appears to him: 'To-day may show'r wealth — peace — and mirth — To-morrow *all* is lost!'³⁰ Paul Kruger's dramatic shift in fortune from president of an independent republic to death as a political exile, although premonitory at this stage in the epic, would have been a well-known fact to readers. Here we see a prime example of Grendon incorporating fact into Fortuna's prophecies in order perhaps to legitimise the less factually accurate aspects of her prophecies, which clearly contain Grendon's own opinions and beliefs.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 150-152.

²⁶ *Juta* 1937:129.

²⁷ *PKD* 2:156-157.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 158-161.

²⁹ *Christison* 2007:417.

³⁰ *PKD* 2:168-169, italics inserted by Grendon.

Grendon's motivation for his depiction of Fortuna

It is well documented in his writings that Grendon's sympathies lay strictly with the British and he fostered a severe dislike of the Boer nations. He nevertheless plays on their ideologies of being a chosen people being led to a chosen land as his Fortuna tells Paul Kruger how 'Another land awaiteth thee',³¹ which refers in appropriate biblical language to the Boers' move from Natal into the Transvaal. This idea of a heaven-sent messenger telling Paul Kruger of a new homeland for the Boers seems to correlate with the Boers' own beliefs of a heavenly ordained homeland³² and it appears here that the Fortuna, through whom Grendon is speaking, seems to be both sympathetic to the Boer 'plight' and supportive of their quest for an independent homeland. This would seem to stand in stark contrast to Grendon's own beliefs but, when read alongside Fortuna's second appearance in which she has switched her allegiance and is now in opposition to Paul Kruger and the Boers, it seems to highlight the extreme reversal of her allegiance.

Fortuna tells Paul Kruger that he and his people need to defend their new homeland, their 'free state', against all enemies and at any cost: 'Preserve it with life's blood! 'Twill win you liberty, and fame By hill, and field, and flood!'³³ Paul Kruger seems to take these words to heart towards the end of the South African War as can be seen in the Boer commandos' will to fight to the bitter end³⁴ and till the last man had perished. The irony here is that this does not win him the fame Fortuna spoke of, but rather infamy as a leader who would not surrender, despite the enormous sufferings of his people, nor does it bring him liberty as the Boers are eventually forced to make peace with the British and Paul Kruger is sent into exile.³⁵ Fortuna then continues to prophesy things that will come to pass. She tells Paul Kruger about the 1880-1881 Transvaal War of Independence and the four battles, namely the battles of Bronkhorst Spruit, Laings Nek, Ingogo and Majuba which will usher in the era of Transvaal independence.³⁶ Grendon has clearly used the first half of Fortuna's monologue to show her ability for prophecy by only prophesying events that his readers would have known were historically accurate. This leaves Grendon open to begin subtly, and in some places, not as subtly as others, to include some of his own opinions and beliefs as to why Paul Kruger failed, using this to preach his personal Christian beliefs and to highlight what he believed to be the failings of the Boer nations in general.

³¹ *PKD* 2:174.

³² Kruger 1902:5.

³³ *PKD* 2:179-181.

³⁴ Warwick 1980:62.

³⁵ Kruger 1902:207.

³⁶ Warwick 1980:103.

While the first half of Fortuna's speech is generally very positive and supportive of Paul Kruger, the second half begins to reveal Grendon's feelings concerning the Boer general, which are only fully realised and exposed in Fortuna's second appearance to Paul Kruger in part 13. The warnings that Fortuna now presents to Paul Kruger are all the vices that Grendon, and many others, believed Paul Kruger succumbed to and, by presenting them as warnings of potential disasters, Grendon is emphasising what he believes to have been Paul Kruger's choice to embrace a life of vice and sin. Fortuna provides Paul Kruger with a choice of how he can live his life. By embracing the route of tyranny and pride, this choice will result in his destruction: 'Pay goodly heed; be not allur'd By Pride and Tyranny; Lest captive in their chains secur'd Thou perish mis'rably'.³⁷ Grendon highlights how 'un' Christian he believed the Boer leader to be and how consciously he embraced greed and cruelty over good Christian values: 'Let *Justice* ever sway thy heart! Let *Truth* thy pathway light! Such being thy compass, and thy chart, What canst thou do but *Right*?'³⁸

Fortuna further warns Paul Kruger against letting Mammon, a god of material wealth and greed, seduce him and lead him astray from the will of God. The greed, pride and arrogance that Grendon's Mammon embodies in many of his other works, are all characteristics that Grendon believed Paul Kruger exemplified. Grendon, being deeply religious himself, especially believed in the power of Mammon to turn man away from God's right path. After this meeting with Fortuna and before his next meeting with her fifty-five years later, Paul Kruger has supposedly fought an internal battle between God and Mammon for control of his soul, a battle that Grendon believed Mammon had clearly won. Fortuna warns Paul Kruger what the outcome will be if he succumbs to Mammon (which Grendon seems to believe was inevitable all along) 'And when thou'st satisfied that lord, He'll prove thy deadliest foe; For thee he'll shamefully reward With crown of bitter woe!'³⁹ The bitter woe to which Grendon refers must be Paul Kruger's defeat by the British and his eventual death in exile. It is interesting that Fortuna warns Paul Kruger about Mammon as she herself is often represented with a child who represents Ploutos, the god of wealth.⁴⁰ This warning then perhaps seems more apt as it is directed from someone who was personally associated with the acquisition of wealth.

What we begin to see at this stage are Grendon's strong religious beliefs in the words of his prophetess Fortuna, whose words serve now as both a warning to

³⁷ PKD 2:186-189.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 190-193.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 210-214.

⁴⁰ Rausa 1997:127.

Paul Kruger and to Grendon's readers whom he tries to educate both about God and the repercussions if Mammon is embraced: 'Not so with Him, Whom I adore — He'll never prove remiss! For *all* who do obey His law, inherit lasting bliss! ... Now if my counsel thou forsake, And cling unto thine own, A hell of yonder land thou'llt make — More fierce than all thou'st known!'⁴¹ Grendon's subtlety in the last two stanzas disappears almost entirely as Fortuna no longer hints at Paul Kruger being misled by Mammon but states that it will happen: 'In five and fifty summers hence — When thou shalt Heav'n disdain — When men shall tremble in suspense — Will I return again!'⁴² Grendon then makes it apparent that he never believed that Paul Kruger had to choose between Mammon and God as he had already decided to follow the former. This makes it seem that his fate is both predestined and inevitable and the first half of Fortuna's visit where she warns him of the potential repercussions of following Mammon seem in vain.

Fortuna leaves having warned Paul Kruger of his fate of which the reader would already be aware. What started as a positive and seemingly optimistic prophetic message has degenerated into a message tainted with foreboding and a foreknowledge that all the events that Fortuna has mentioned will happen. This shift in Fortuna's attitude and message is rather typical of a goddess traditionally known for switching her allegiance.⁴³ Perhaps this capriciousness of Fortuna is the one characteristic still most closely associated with her ancient self, as in the rest of her appearance, she resembles little of the goddess from antiquity. But perhaps this lack of resemblance in fact resonates with the ancient character of Fortuna, who was adapted and moulded by many ancient authors. We find numerous examples, some of which are discussed below, where Fortuna's identity has been shaped by each author who has appropriated her. So Grendon in turn is perhaps carrying on this tradition of appropriation and adaptation. Fortuna has been relegated to a simple messenger of God / Jove and no longer represents any luck or power herself. It is as though, through her assimilation to the Christian religion, she has lost both her own voice and her power and has become nothing more than a mouthpiece for both Grendon's God and Grendon himself.

⁴¹ *PKD* 2:215- 221. Grendon had written numerous other articles concerning the right Christian path people should follow such as *What man's accomplish'd ye can do* and 1 December, 1903 and *Amagunyana's soliloquy* 18 May 1906, both in the newspaper *Ilanga lose Natal*. This is to name but two (Christison, via personal correspondence).

⁴² *PKD* 2:222-225.

⁴³ Elaborated on below.

Grendon's classical education and the influence it played in his appropriation of Fortuna

It has proved to be somewhat tricky ascertaining which ancient authors Grendon based his Fortuna on but the examination of the partial records,⁴⁴ supplied by Hodgson, of the authors Grendon would have read at Zonnebloem has provided indications as to what he *might* have read. Grendon was in Class I,⁴⁵ the top form class at Zonnebloem. It can be confirmed that, at the very least, he would have used the textbooks *Henry's first Latin book* and *Smith's first Latin course* which contained abridged texts from a number of Latin authors including Cicero, Catullus and Ovid, Vergil's *Aeneid*⁴⁶ and Caesar's *de Bello Gallico V*. Valpy's *Latin Delectus* was a prescribed textbook for Class II and it is possible that Valpy's *Second Latin Delectus* may have been read by Class I⁴⁷ as these two seemed to have been read in succession. If this were the case, Grendon would have read a selection from authors including Cornelius Nepos, Ovid, Quintus Curtius, Vergil, Livy, Paterculus, Florus, Horace, Cicero and Lucretius.⁴⁸

No doubt from Grendon's classical education and his thorough instruction in the history of Rome,⁴⁹ Grendon would have become familiar with the character of Fortuna. Traditionally, Fors Fortuna is associated with the Greek 'Tyche'. She is not a deity of chance or luck but rather is a 'bringer', a 'personified agency supposed to direct events, both good and bad'⁵⁰ as her name, derived from the Latin *ferre*,⁵¹ signifies. Fortuna is generally depicted holding a cornucopia and a ship's rudder. The cornucopia symbolises her early connection to fertility and her ability to provide wealth, and the rudder of a ship symbolises her ability to change directions and either lead people safely home or drive them to their destruction. She is also often pictured as blind and in this form most closely resembles the personification of Justice. Her transformation from Tyche to Fortuna began with

⁴⁴ My greatest thanks to Janet Hodgson who, through private correspondence, has assisted me greatly by providing me with some details of the syllabus Grendon would have studied.

⁴⁵ Zonnebloem Native College 1884:9.

⁴⁶ We can only be certain that he read Book 3 in its entirety, as the rest of the volume contains only abridged texts, as I have seen in the copies which I have managed to acquire.

⁴⁷ Class I was the more advanced class, and would be similar to the 'a' and 'b' streams found at many high schools nowadays.

⁴⁸ Valpy 1836:v.

⁴⁹ Hodgson 1975:361.

⁵⁰ *OLD* s.v. *fortuna*.

⁵¹ *Fero, ferre, tuli, latum*, meaning to carry, bring, relate or tell.

the Hellenisation of Roman religion in the 3rd Century BC.⁵² While she started out primarily concerned with fertility, she evolved to represent a protector of Rome who was able to dispense victory and also to bring ruin; it was believed the destiny of the nation rested in the caprice of Fortuna.⁵³

So whose Fortuna is it anyway?

Of the authors Grendon encountered, Cicero⁵⁴ portrays Fortuna as a fickle and devious goddess and we find Vergil saying similar things about her. Ovid associates her with *mater matuta* (a goddess of ripening grain and later, the dawn) and says that she had an oracular shrine at Praeneste⁵⁵ so here we see a reference to her prophetic abilities. Perhaps the most important source on Fortuna for this paper is Livy. In Book 21⁵⁶ of *The history of Rome* Fortuna is an ally of Hannibal,⁵⁷ who promises Carthage great rewards for victory⁵⁸, but later changes her allegiance to the Romans.⁵⁹ Livy's Fortuna is fickle and inconstant but she is not neutral and indiscriminate. She acts with purpose and force, favouring one side or the other and rarely leaves any doubt concerning her favourite. As Lazarus argues, 'By emphasizing this aspect of the power of Fortuna, Livy broadens the range of this concept and increases its literary versatility. He is able to employ Fortuna both as substantive concept denoting the notion of chance in history and as a structural element imposing a rhetorical framework upon his narrative of the war with Hannibal'.⁶⁰ It seems that this is exactly what Grendon had in mind when he chose to appropriate what I believe to be Livy's Fortuna, as his Fortuna also performs the dual purpose of depicting change, as on both occasions she appears to Paul Kruger she ushers in a change of fortune for him.

Fortuna is also a literary device which Grendon deploys in the narrative for intertextual reasons. Grendon's Fortuna corresponds fairly closely to Livy's, whose fickleness is also emphasised, as is her ability and willingness to switch allegiance. It is interesting to speculate whether Grendon read Livy at school in his Latin classes. If he did, which is a definite possibility, it makes sense then that his

⁵² Rausa 1997:125.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 126.

⁵⁴ *Off.* 1.38; *Aen.* 6 *passim*.

⁵⁵ *Fasti* 6:569.

⁵⁶ Despite the fact that concrete proof of his having read Book 21 has yet to come to light, there is still a very strong possibility that he did.

⁵⁷ Livy 21.43.44.

⁵⁸ Livy 24.42.5.

⁵⁹ Livy 30.30.

⁶⁰ Lazarus 1979:131.

Fortuna seems to be mostly closely modelled and appropriated from Livy's in the *War with Hannibal*. If this was a conscious decision, what is Grendon saying of Fortuna's switch in allegiance from Hannibal to Rome in his Fortuna's switch of allegiance from Paul Kruger to England? Is he perhaps modelling his Paul Kruger on one of the greatest enemies the Romans ever faced, Hannibal? The parallels between the Roman and British empires would then be obvious, but at this stage, as there are *lacunae* in the Latin syllabus at Zonnebloem, it is mere supposition.

Fortuna was closely tied up with the ideals of the Roman Empire and through manifestations such as *Fortuna Redux*, introduced by Augustus, she becomes inseparably tied to ideas of empire. What appears then is that in all likelihood, as Grendon had received a Classical education, his choice of using Fortuna as his prophetess seems far more appropriate than a choice such as a Sibyl or Pythia, who do not have her inherent connection to ideas of empire. In addition to this, Fortuna's connection with Ploutos and the inconsistency with her allegiances make her even more of an ideal choice for Grendon as she ties in perfectly with his ideas of destructive wealth and greed, and her abilities to switch allegiances make her his perfect mouthpiece for first supporting and then abandoning Paul Kruger.

Grendon's seeming mastery of the colonial and elite education system put him into a position to criticise the *status quo* of the time, in its own language. In *Paul Kruger's dream*, Grendon provides a criticism of both British and Boer, but mainly of Paul Kruger — his use of Classical allusions is a societal critique veiled in a nationalist epic, though admittedly in some places this veil is very thin and Grendon's inherent disregard for the Boer nations and his almost unflinching support of the British is very obvious.

Of Grendon, Tim Couzens, says 'His botanical book, his epics, his political writings, if they ever surface, will put him in the same category as his contemporary, Sol Plaatje, a man of wide learning who needed to write on a variety of subjects because there were so few who were capable of doing so'.⁶¹ We can see that even from this short extract examined above that this is an accurate analysis, and Grendon's multi-layered epic still holds much to be revealed to us. This will illuminate not only his own beliefs, but perhaps that of the educated 'non-whites' at the turn of the last century. Even more interesting perhaps is what Grendon has to tell us about how he and other mission educated 'non-white' elite viewed the Classical world and how they incorporated it into their work and why.

⁶¹ Couzens 1988:32.

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