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Secret Societies and Dark Empires: Sutton E. Griggs's *Imperium in Imperio* and W.E.B. Du Bois's *Dark Princess*

Hanna Wallinger

When in his famous statement W.E.B. Du Bois speaks of the essential two-ness of the American Negro, "an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (*Souls* 2), his metaphor was bitter reality for a number of his contemporaries. If not internally in a process of psychological maiming, dark bodies were literally torn asunder in acts of atrocious physical violence, such as lynching by hanging or shooting. A society forcing even its most genteel and well-bred members to make do with segregated facilities, if they happen to be identified as colored, inevitably breeds discontent. The strategies which members of a repressed society use to cope with such oppression range from assimilation to open rebellion. Always, however, a race leader or some kind of public role model would be needed to prepare the process of rebellion or to justify integration into the dominant society. Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois are easily recognized as two such leaders of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, representing the two unreconciled strivings and opinions in African American society. Since both leaders could be seen as located on the opposite ends of a spectrum, it should come as no surprise that a great number of writers model their characters after them. In most cases, fiction offered a much safer ground for spelling out the conflict than real life. Two novels, Sutton E. Griggs's *Imperium in Imperio* (1899) and W.E.B. Du Bois's own *Dark Princess* (1928), illustrate this general trend.

One obvious manifestation of white supremacy in the late nineteenth century are its secret societies, foremost among them the Ku Klux Klan. But many other not so actively hostile fraternities and clubs denied access to non-white members. The need to form powerful societies of their own was felt by many of the excluded. Judged by the standard of world politics, movements such as the Niagara Movement, which later became the NAACP, or the Pan-

African movement carried little weight, but were nonetheless necessary steps in the development of racial self-consciousness. It is in this context that fiction could present visions that criticized political and social realities by disguising this criticism in the form of the sentimental or utopian. Both novels under discussion combine elements of social criticism, the sentimental formula, cloak-and-dagger melodrama and model-community utopian works.

In the center of *Imperium* is the vision of a dark empire, a utopian model community with its own government, parliament, taxes, and propaganda.[1] But the black masses are never seen as really important – it is the two leaders who dominate the Imperium, carry the partially ambiguous message of the novel, and provide the basis for its social criticism. Both Belton Piedmont, of humble origin, and Bernard Belgrave, a well-to-do mulatto with a white Congressman as father, are well-educated and certainly very intelligent representatives of their race. But for Belton Piedmont, who does not have financial backing, education has led to a cul-de-sac that offers him no prospect of rewarding work, no occupation corresponding to the restless energy of his mind. He is called one of many "educated malcontents" (I 131), black men who have had a sound college education – Bernard is even a Harvard graduate – but who will not be offered even a teaching position if they do not at least pay lip service to the white power structure. In his picaresque adventures after he leaves school, Belton disguises himself as a colored maid and works in a white household; he is shot at, survives an attempted hanging, and just barely escapes being dissected for pointing out the correct place in a hymnal to a white woman. Bernard, on the other hand, has had some professional success as a lawyer and politician, but decides to join the empire when his fiancee commits suicide because she does not want to marry a light-colored mulatto.

While the many adventures and happenings keep the reader turning the pages, the novel approaches its real show-down in the two speeches of Belton and Bernard which will decide the future course of this secret society. It is also at this point that the ambiguous message of the novel is most obvious. Belton Piedmont, who has been presented as a very likeable character throughout the novel, makes a fundamentally Bookerite speech, in which he contrives to see even lynch law in a positive light. He is ready to die for the Anglo-Saxon race "who snatched from our idolatrous grasp the

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[1] My interpretation owes much to the interesting and informative essays by Campbell, Elder, Gloster, and Moses on "Literary Garveyism". For a study on American utopian writings, 1888-1900, see Roemer. My thanks also go to D. M. de Silva and Kirk Allison for critical readings of this text.

deaf images to which we prayed, and the Anglo-Saxon who pointed us to the lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world" (232). His speech is presented as sincere and well thought out. He advocates a peaceful solution to the race problem in the United States, exemplified in the novel through the recent shooting of a black postmaster, an incident based on a real occurrence. Sutton E. Griggs, a Baptist preacher himself, imbues Belton with a respect for white people that will not allow him to seek a course of violent destruction.

Belton Piedmont is certainly meant to be taken as a Booker T. Washington figure, "a conciliator rather than an avenger," who, as Arlene Elder says, "seems to see a bright side to every wrong that the Blacks had to suffer" (76). As such he is not only a fictional representative of the real-life controversy between the more conciliatory Washington and the more radical Du Bois, but also has to be seen as representing the essential two-ness in the author himself. Griggs went through stages in his life (he was born in 1872 and died in 1933) when his conservative and middle-class optimism grew into militant radicalism (see Elder, 70f.). In general, the reader feels sympathy for Belton, even when he is made the victim of jokes and becomes an essentially comic figure. The combination of comic and tragic elements reflects the concession of an author to a reading public asking to be entertained. Belton's death as a racial martyr emphasizes, however, the potential for tragedy in a somehow comic hero.[2]

His opponent and friend, Bernard Belgrave, is his intellectual equal, but has to suffer less under social discrimination because of his background. Despite all their differences in skin-color and ideology, both have to be seen as complementary characters, whose respective faults highlight the virtues of the other.[3] In this crucial play for power at the end of *Imperium*, Bernard Belgrave proposes that as many members of the secret empire as possible should infiltrate the United States Navy, mount armed rebellion and occupy Texas as a separate African American state, while Louisiana was to be sold to their allies in return for their help. Bernard ends his resolution by saying: "Thus will the Negro have an empire of his own, fertile in soil, capable of sustaining a population of fifty million people" (252). This utopian vision of a dark empire is presented as the logical consequence of discrimination and oppression which do not leave the oppressed a ray of hope for a better future. As with Belton, Bernard is also portrayed in dualistic terms. When Bernard

[2] See also Campbell, p. 48, for a discussion of Belton's comic traits.

[3] See Elder, p. 77, and Moses "Literary Garveyism," p. 206, for a discussion of the dual protagonists and Tate and Rampersad for the dualism in *Dark Princess*.

becomes president of the Imperium he is described as noble, even regal in his attire, a natural leader of his people. At the end he is described as an upper-class ruler: "Born of distinguished parents, reared in luxury, gratified as to every whim, successful in every undertaking, idolized by the people, proud, brilliant, aspiring, deeming nothing impossible of achievement" (262f.). This makes him a "man to be feared" (263). When he commits Belton to his grave for treason, he is seen as laughing "a fearful, wicked laugh like unto that of a maniac" (263). I would argue that while the peaceful leader is doomed to death, the rebellious leader is doomed to lunacy. Yet it is the radical speaker who will eventually convince the masses. So the overall message is clear: white America beware of the time when even a Booker T. Washington may no longer be able to quell social unrest and rebellion!

In the light of this duality, when one regards Bernard as a "necessary corrective" to the Bookerite Belton, it becomes clear that the main addressee of this controversy is the African American audience who should be educated in the spirit of nationalism.[4] The figure of the traitor, the book's frame narrator Beryl Trout, then serves the function of pacifying a potentially hostile white reading audience.

These young, educated African Americans, the likes of Belton and Bernard, "would get together in groups and discuss their respective conditions" (130). Thus they constitute a considerable potential for any variety of unrest. Griggs analyses the plight of these "educated malcontents":

> It is true that it was only a class that had thought and spoken of this, but it was an educated class, turned loose with an idle brain and plenty of time to devise mischief. The toiling, unthinking masses went quietly to their labors, day by day, but the educated malcontents moved in and out among them, convincing them that they could not afford to see their men of brains ignored because of color. (131)

This statement clearly aims to drive the message home to the "ignorant" white man unable to recognize the intellectual worth of the educated African American. By implication, it also categorizes the "masses" as "unthinking" and content, which serves Griggs to establish a necessary distinction: it is not

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[4] This same duality – Belton and Bernard, conciliation and rebellion, realism and utopianism – is enacted about forty years later in the disturbing serial novels of George Schuyler, recently re-published as *Dark Empire*. The fiendish and radical Dr. Belsidus plots for a separate African American nation, while the novel's narrator, Carl Slater, is fascinated by his vision and repelled by his bloodthirsty battle for power. As Hill and Rasmussen argue, Slater's "naive humanism" (287) is offset by Dr. Belsidus' subversive extremism: "Belsidus incarnates a radical, revolutionary ideology; he becomes both demon and savior – a committed revolutionary, a cruel yet, perhaps, necessary corrective to Slater's naive humanism" (287).

the mass of Black people who would need social recognition and good jobs according to their abilities, but the select few leading intellectuals who would have to be granted adequate positions. In *Imperium*, they are called "New Negroes," "self-respecting, fearless, and determined in the assertion of [their] rights" (62). When his poor mother sends him off to school, she trusts in the ennobling effect of education: "A man of tact, intelligence, and superior education moving in the midst of a mass of ignorant people, ofttimes has a sway more absolute than that of monarchs" (7). In college, Belton spearheaded an early form of a sit-in to end discrimination in the eating arrangement for the one colored teacher. This was "Belton's first taste of rebellion against the whites for the securing of rights denied simply because of color" (63). He became determined that "white men could be made to capitulate to colored men under certain circumstances" (62). These circumstances, it is clear, are contingent upon the outstanding intellectual and moral value of the individual African American. One may criticize this attitude from our perspective of the late twentieth century, but one hundred years ago a wholesale equality of the races was nowhere in sight. It seemed to be a more realistic course for many to demand privileges for the few than to fight for equality for the many. The chosen few would then, of course, be expected to become leaders and work for the "uplift" of the others.

Du Bois was certainly such a visionary racial leader himself, self-assertive, shifting politically between liberal and radical, and never content with achieving a minor aim if he could go for a major gain. The recent *The Future of the Race*, a critical exchange between two of the best known African American thinkers of today, Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Cornel West, is based on Du Bois's concept of the talented tenth and proves that this ongoing discussion has lost none of its fervor.

In the face of a deteriorating racial climate,[5] Booker T. Washington decided to put his energy in the industrial training of the Black youth, while Du Bois decided that the African American society would need above all their talented tenth, the educated elite: "The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men" ("The Talented Tenth," 31). After having been himself a student abroad, he had to face the racial dilemma upon his return home: "As a student in Germany, I built great castles in Spain and lived therein. I dreamed and loved and wandered and sang; then after two long years I dropped suddenly back into 'nigger'-hating America!" (*Autobiography* 183) He is deeply disillusioned: "I felt as though the bottom

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[5] Among the historical texts I have found most useful as background information about the race relations in America are Meier and Gossett.

of the universe was loose and might go down if after all this soaring I stopped full feet upon it" (*Autobiography* 184).

Du Bois would soon step full feet upon most of the burning racial issues of his time, while Griggs would never achieve this high level of public fame becoming, undeservedly, more of a marginal figure in African American life and letters. Griggs and Du Bois certainly knew each other and about each other. Griggs was an active member in Du Bois's Niagara Movement. Their literary connection is pointed out by Aptheker when he calls Bernard a Du Bois figure and argues that Du Bois was influenced by the secret Imperium in Griggs's novel. Secret societies, the Ku Klux Klan, the discussion of leadership, and political and social discrimination; the debate about the future course of the African American people, the Back to Africa movement, elements of Marcus Garvey's nationalism, the formation of a separate nation on American soil: all these topics link the two novels and establish a connection to other African American novelists, such as Pauline Hopkins, Jessie Fauset, George Schuyler, Chester Himes, Ralph Ellison, Richard Wright, and John A. Williams.

Du Bois's alter ego in *Dark Princess* is Matthew Towns, a highly intelligent student of medicine.[6] He is first seen on board ship on his way to Europe after being forced to leave medical school because white women would not have their babies delivered by him. In this moment of transition, he is in a desperate mood, angry with the world in general. Like many other exiles before and after him, he feels "a man outcast in his own native land" (7). Looking at the people around him, he muses that "[t]hey had brains; if they knew him they would choose him as companion, friend" (6). So, in Berlin, when he meets Kautilya, the Maharanee of Bowdpur, whose luminous beauty, radiance, youth and strength instantly overpower him, he eagerly accepts her offer to be included in the intellectual circle of her "Great Council of the Darker Peoples." At a luxurious dinner party he meets the important members of this secret society: a Japanese, two Indians, two Chinese, two Egyptians, and an Arab. Although Matthew cannot quite hold up his end of the conversation on topics of European and world art and music, he feels this to be his real spiritual home: "Here were culture, wealth, and beauty. Here was power, and here he had some recognized part. God! If he could just do his part, any part!" (24) He soon realizes, however, that even this "Council of the Darker Peoples" draws "a color line within the color line" (22), with the African and American Negro still being regarded as "the

[6] For more detailed and excellent criticism, see Aptheker, Byerman, McKay, Moses' *Black Messiahs*, Rampersad, and Tate.

canaille" (24) of the world. Matthew is finally able to convince them of at least some worth in the African American by giving a powerful performance of "When Israel was in Egypt land" (26).

This early dinner scene determines Matthew's future outlook on life. Here he has come to judge America by the standards of European and world culture, and the genteel and refined surroundings will serve as his model community for the rest of his life. It should come as no surprise that the second great dinner scene in the book is set in complete contrast. It is his wife, Sara's, attempt to achieve the culmination of his political career by having him nominated for congress as Chicago's first black candidate. The part of the novel that deals with Matthew Towns' political career is by far the most realistic and socially critical section. Matthew Town has become a grafting politician with a shrewd sense of the needs of his constituency and the power play of politics in general. It is, however, Sara Andrews Towns, who really dominates this section. This cool, calculating, and very light colored woman has decided to try to beat the white world at its own game. Sara uses the "machine," as it is called, with a facility uncommon for a woman of her time. She knows how to talk people into supporting her husband, how to set up a political platform that satisfies the various groups and how to manipulate people. Her negotiations even include the Ku Klux Klan's political representatives. She knows that lying, dealing, bribery, gambling, and prostitution are the facts of political life and should be used to achieve certain ends. She is described as hard, selfish, and unscrupulous (193). But the emphasis also lies on the fact that she is not evil: "Her character had been hardened and sharpened by all that she had met and fought" (200). Her ruthless pursuit of wealth and position is "her answer to the world's taunts, jibes, and discriminations" (200). Sara Andrews, who represents the powerful position of the colored women's clubs, and the Honorable Sammy Scott, who is modeled on Oscar de Priest, Chicago's first colored Congressman, are by far the most credible characters in the novel.[7]

In the organization of this dinner party, Sara has tried to achieve the impossible, a social gathering of influential white and colored people. Her dining-room is set to perfection, her food is excellent. It takes all her and Sammy's wit, subtlety, and tact to arrange and re-arrange the groups, make them comfortable, and get the important political decisions made. Yet as this is, above all, an important social gathering, she nearly fails because "there was no common center of small talk to unite black and white, educated and

[7] Rampersad sees Sara Andrews as "the most accomplished portrait in all of Du Bois' fiction" (211).

self-made" (202). And then Matthew chooses this moment to re-unite with the Princess, who is let in as the representative of a labor union. When Sara opens the door to the library she finds the two of them, in full view of the entire gathering, "in close and quivering embrace" (206). While Matthew and Kautilya disappear, like two children singing in the rain, Sara has to gather up the shambles of her life. The white men and women can now feel justified that "the Negro" is not yet ready for political responsibility. The two colored women feel the burning shame of the oft-repeated image of the shiftless, immoral and irresponsible black man. For them the shame is doubled by having it made public in front of this gathering: "'To think of a Negro acting that way, and before these people! And after all this work. Won't we ever amount to anything? Won't we ever get any leaders? I am simply disgusted and discouraged'" (212). Sara is seen "standing stark alone, a pitiful, tragic figure amid the empty glitter of her triumph, with her flesh-colored chiffon and her jewels, her smooth stockings and silver slippers" (213).

As in *Imperium*, the book is really about the quality of leadership. Throughout, Matthew is presented as honest, intelligent and hard working. When he denounces Sara and follows Kautilya, he celebrates the fact that he has not sold his soul to graft nor given up his vision of the ideal union of the colored peoples of the world. By making Sara unattractive, too hard, and above all passionless, Du Bois, I would argue, reflects masculine fear of the new phenomenon of the powerful African American woman. This part of the novel is also Du Bois's most stinging critique of the African American middle class and their fake values. Therefore, it has to be the beautiful, regal, exotic Princess that shatters Sara's ambitious plans. Matthew surrenders to her as soon as she re-enters his life and then enjoys an exceptionally sensual and openly adulterous relationship with her. At the same time, however, this step brings the book safely back to the realm of fantasy and imagination. By backing out of his only chance of real political and social influence, Matthew deprives the black population once again of hope and leadership.

Rampersad calls *Dark Princess* "first a story of love" (202). The Princess certainly possesses all the inner and outer qualities necessary to make Matthew fall head over heels in love. By birth and education she belongs to the ruling class of the world. Upon first meeting her, Matthew notices: "She had the air and carriage of one used to homage and yet receiving it indifferently as a right. With all her gentle manner and thoughtfulness, she has a certain faint air of haughtiness and was ever slightly remote" (14). Her exotic and luxurious beauty overpowers the young American whose

grandfather was "a whipped and driven slave," whose father "was never really free and died in jail," and whose mother "plows and washes for a living" (23). The Princess is described as more than superior:

> Never had he seen color in human flesh so regally set: the rich and flowing grace of the dress out of which rose so darkly splendid the jeweled flesh. The black and purple hair was heaped upon her little head, and in its depths gleamed a tiny coronet of gold. Her voice and her poise, her self-possession and air of quiet command, kept Matthew staring at her almost unmannerly. (19)

Kautilya is in Matthew's eyes "'colored' and yet not at all colored" (14); she belongs to the darker peoples of the earth, but she is not a "colored" woman with all the derogatory qualifications inherent in this term. At least this is how she wants to be seen. That her view does not correspond with that of white Europeans is made clear to her in an incident with a young English boy with whom she thinks she is in love. She tells Matthew about the boy's marriage proposal:

> "Yes, I mean to marry you," he said. "I am going to have you. I don't care if you are colored." I gasped in amazement. He didn't *care*. He, a low-born shopman's brat, and I, a princess born. I, *'colored'*! I wanted to strike him with my croquet mall. I rushed away home. (231)

On the one hand, this incident underlines the color line within the color line and the lack of solidarity between the darker peoples of the world. On the other hand, it highlights the undiscriminating racial blindness of the white race that cannot distinguish between a person's skin-color and his or her inherent nobility. Kautilya is a romantic heroine but not a tragic mulatta as so many heroines in African American fiction were. Above all, she is proud of her color, she never wishes to be white, and her color leads her to a fulfilled relationship.

Throughout the novel, the love between Matthew and Kautilya is presented as sacred. The language used to describe their bliss is lofty and filled with pathos and helps to emphasize the fact that Matthew is by no means shiftless and immoral. Rampersad argues that "the formal phrases also represent his [Du Bois's] determination to stress the spirituality of the sexual experience. Such flights suggest his uneasy relationship with an eroticism after which he seemed nevertheless to hunger" (216). Rampersad sees that the author's problem was "to establish a moral situation in which eroticism would develop out of nobility of thought and deed" (216). The Princess's Secret Society is continually used as a unifying goal legitimizing this

otherwise illegitimate affair. The vision of a distant future of glory and unification justifies the way that leads there. It allows the artist to create a blissful union in which the American Negro emerges as the father and progenitor of the new messiah.

Whereas the "Great Council of the Darker Peoples" does not have an African representative, Matthew's America and Kautilya's India are structurally linked to Africa through Matthew's mother. He describes her as a strong, hard-working, and caring person. But while Kaultilya is portrayed as a romantic heroine, and Sara Andrews as a very realistic career woman, the Mother is given mainly symbolical power. She represents the African heritage that distinguishes Matthew as an African American. Kautilya calls her "Kali, the Black One, wife of Siva, Mother of the World" (220). The panegyric to the primal force of Black womanhood is to be found various times in the works of Du Bois. In "The Damnation of Women" he writes: "Yet the world must heed these daughters of sorrow, from the primal black All-Mother of men down through the ghostly throng of mighty womanhood, who walked in the mysterious dawn of Asia and Africa" (300). This glorification of the Black woman is a necessary correction to the predominant image of the Black woman as immoral. Yet it also belongs to the realm of romanticized and visionary otherworldly existence, thus obfuscating the view of the real-life situation of the African American woman and preventing possible solutions to their plights. While Sara Andrews is treated in a rather critical way, the Mother's virtues are extolled, but she never plays a substantial role in the novel's plot.

Kautilya sees the Mother's home in Virginia as the center where Africa, Asia and America meet:

> But to be in the center of power is not enough. You must be free and able to act. You are not free in Chicago nor New York. But here in Virginia you are at the edge of a black world. The black belt of the Congo, the Nile, and the Ganges reaches by way of Guiana, Haiti, and Jamaica, like a red arrow, up into the heart of white America. Thus I see a mighty synthesis: you can work in Africa and Asia right here in America if you work in the Black Belt. . . . You may stand here, Matthew – here, halfway between Maine and Florida, between the Atlantic and the Pacific, with Europe in your face and China in your back; with industry in your right hand and commerce in your left and the Farm beneath your steady feet; and yet be in the Land of the Blacks. (286)

It is in this Virginia cottage, with the help of Mother, that the future Maharajah is born. His birth sanctifies Matthew's and Kautilya's relationship. Madhu, the new Messiah[8], is hope incarnate for a better future.

Both novels set out on a campaign of racial apology and glorification. The debate about the leadership of the Imperium, when we take the Imperium as standing for the utopian dream of a unified and powerful organization of America's entire black population, should then be seen as representing the divided personality of the African American, vacillating between loyalty to the United States and rebellion, which consequently makes him easy prey to treason. The vision of the "Council for the Colored Peoples" shifts emphasis from the national to the global level. The future, the birth of Matthew's and Kautilya's son, lies in an amalgamation of America and Asia, and, by implication, Africa.

Critics have argued that both novels are artistic failures; they deserve, however, "a more patient hearing than they have received" (Moses, "Literary Garveyism", 215). Wilson J. Moses appreciates Griggs as "a forceful, colorful, and entertaining writer . . . capable of moving his readers – especially his black readers – very deeply" (215). Campbell argues that "to read *Imperium in Imperio* properly, the reader must view it according to the convention Griggs employed, rather than denigrating it because it fails to satsify demands outside its scope" (47). Arnold Rampersad says about *Dark Princess*: "This queer combination of outright propaganda and Arabian tale, of social realism and quaint romance, is a challenge to the casual reader" (204). And writing about Du Bois's novel, Wilson J. Moses urges us to transcend the narrow limits of genres in order to appreciate its thematic scope:

> *Dark Princess*, with its hodgepodge of undeveloped themes – its Pan-Africanism, its Bolshevism, and its labor-movement rhetoric; its romanticism, its Wagnerian extravagance, and its flushed, breathless idealism – is probably not a novel at all. It is an opera in prose. (*Black Messiahs*, 154)

Moses thinks that the novel "is one of heroic proportions, and its flaws, like its strengths, are of some magnitude" (144).

Published by private subscription, Griggs's novel was a considerable success. Hugh M. Gloster even claims that "his novels were probably more popular among the rank and file of Negroes than the fiction of Chesnutt and Dunbar" (13). Griggs is called "a significant pioneer in the history of American Negro fiction" (21). Arlene Elder argues that Griggs's novels

[8] The best treatment of the messiah figure is found in Moses' study of *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms*.

"dramatize the agonizing birth of a new Black consciousness" and that Griggs was a "middle-class forerunner of today's revolutionary Black artists" (70). Du Bois's novel, in contrast, was a nearly complete failure. As Claudia Tate says: "the novel's fantastic plot, its spectacular messianic finale . . . , unrestrained sensuality as well as explicit sexuality overwhelmed most of Du Bois's first readers" (xxiii). After surveying some critical reviews, she suggests that "[d]espite the efforts of these sympathetic critics to efface the novel's eroticism and to recast the work in the more favorable light of racial propaganda, privately, they seem to have regarded *Dark Princess* as a dirty old man's fantasy that should never have been published" (xxiv). Tate's own evaluation of it is that it "is an important work for reconstructing Du Bois's conceptions of black male heroism and black heroic art, his passionate commitment to fighting for racial justice, and his complex personality" (xxv).

Imperium in Imperio and *Dark Princess* have to be seen and accepted as conspirational novels that reflect their authors' and with them their readers' deeply felt longing for some dark empire that would end oppression and discrimination and lead to freedom. They are visionary novels that use elements of the popular fiction of the time to criticize social and political conditions and thus deserve their place in literary history.

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