Edmund B. Chaffee and the Labor Temple

Dugald Chaffee
Florence, 1862, by George Fisk Comfort. From his "Italian Tour Sketch Book" in Syracuse University Archives.
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Edmund B. Chaffee and the Labor Temple
by Dugald Chaffee

Edmund Bigelow Chaffee was born on a farm at Rose Centre, Michigan, on February 19, 1887. In 1909 he received the Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Michigan and entered the University of Michigan Law School. In his first year at law school, he decided to enter the ministry and in 1913, after receiving his degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence, he entered Hartford Theological Seminary. Two years later he went on to Union Theological Seminary in New York City, graduating with the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1916.

Following his ordination into the ministry, Dr. Chaffee became assistant pastor of the Greenwich Presbyterian Church in New York. As an ardent pacifist, Chaffee, along with the church's pastor who held similar ideas about war, became the center of a controversy within the church during World War I, which resulted in the resignation of both men from their offices in the church.

Dr. Chaffee joined the American Red Cross in Palestine, returning home in 1920 by way of the Orient, where he observed and studied social and economic conditions in India, China, Japan and Korea. Also in that year, he married Florence Mearns, a Red Cross associate in Palestine, and was named Associate Director of the Labor Temple in New York City. In 1921, Dr. Chaffee was named full director of the entire Labor Temple enterprise, including the social settlement program, the school, and the American International Church, of which he was the pastor.

In 1936, Syracuse University conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity on Dr. Chaffee. By that time he had purchased a farm in New Hampshire where, with his wife and two children, Margaret and Dugald, he could return from New York for brief periods to the rural life of his boyhood.

On September 15, 1936, Dr. Chaffee was at St. Paul, attending the Minnesota State Conference on Social Work. There he died, just as he was beginning to address a dinner meeting.

The Edmund B. Chaffee Papers in the George Arents Research Library were the gift of Mrs. Chaffee and her children.

The Reverend Mr. Chaffee is the Associate for Community Services of the Metropolitan Church Board, Syracuse Area.
The collection is extensive and includes correspondence, diaries, manuscripts, notebooks, photographs and scrapbooks, providing significant research material concerning Dr. Chaffee, the Labor Temple, and many prominent personalities of the first third of this century.

The following article by Dr. Chaffee’s son combines a brief account of Dr. Chaffee’s Labor Temple years with his son’s remembrance of him as both man and father.

Edmund Bigelow Chaffee served a ministry that was tailored and molded by New York City’s Labor Temple. The Temple, the Temple School, and the American International Church were, with the exception of four years after seminary, the focus of his life and work. For although he did many things across the years — among them, editing the Presbyterian Tribune (an independent church magazine), writing a syndicated column for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, lecturing to the intellectually sophisticated and teaching the undergraduate and graduate generations — he did them all while serving his first love. Above all else he was the Director of the Labor Temple on Manhattan’s Lower East Side and Pastor of the American International Church housed in the same building. He was concerned about those “masses of men and women who have to work for their living.” His reputation and his influence were keyed to his work. Here theory met practice. Here faith and works came together.

It was 1910 when Charles Stelzle pursued the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church to purchase the old and no longer used Fourteenth Street Presbyterian Church on the corner of 14th Street and Second Avenue in New York City. Stelzle had been born on the lower East Side of New York. He had been a machinist before entering the ministry and as a member of the Machinists’ Union he knew the problems that a rapidly industrializing society was creating for workers. He felt that there was an almost total lack of understanding between industrial workers and the churches. He aimed to bridge the gap and he did so by establishing a church-sponsored meeting ground where workers could be comfortable and enjoy being present. Originally, he did not intend to found a local parish — the neighborhood was probably overchurched by normal standards — but rather to have a series of forums every night of the week. Though there was opposition, Stelzle got his project off the ground. After three years he was succeeded by Jonathan C. Day. Day brought with him an additional interest, the development of a social settlement program. Along with Day came a young intellectual whose interest was primarily in the educational process, Will Durant. Durant became the head of the Temple School. As the institution grew and the program was enlarged, the people of the neighborhood felt that they did indeed have a friend in Labor Temple. In

1 At one point the opposition was so severe that Theodore Roosevelt was called to give his blessing to the enterprise.
Edmund B. Chaffee, circa 1934. From the George Arents Research Library.
effect, they said, "We like what is going on here and if this is religion, we'd like to be identified with it." And so, in 1915, the Presbytery of New York organized at Labor Temple the American International Church where not only English, but five other languages as well were used in the services.

This was the scene when Dr. Chaffee arrived in 1920. Labor Temple was born and living and healthy. It was not full grown. In the summer of 1921 he was named Director and until his death fifteen years later in 1936, this was the enterprise into which he threw his energy, his imagination, his many resources and his Christian belief. Under his care Labor Temple grew.

There were many facets of Dr. Chaffee's work at Labor Temple, but one thread woven through the entire life of the Temple was the forum. As Dr. Chaffee wrote in 1933:

Social change is desirable and inevitable. Christian principles demand that we strive to base our lives on good will and service rather than on hatred and greed. The march of events set in motion by the revolutionary shift from human to animal muscle to high power machinery is rapidly forcing economic change. These social and economic changes may come by violence and bloodshed. It is possible to bring them about by more peaceful methods. These peaceful methods are obviously more in harmony with the spirit of the teachings of the Man of Nazareth. But peaceful methods imply the changing of men's ideas. These peaceful methods imply discussion of the basic issues in our present-day human society. With this Christian philosophy at the heart of its program Labor Temple has from its very beginning made the maximum use of open forums. At these forums every kind of human question has been discussed. Religion has been debated in these meetings from every conceivable angle. Political beliefs of every brand and variety have been advocated. Every social theory and all the variations of it have been espoused with power and passion. . . . Conservatives, liberals, radicals and those to whom no label will apply have all had their chance.

And what has been the effect? . . . By giving the other fellow every opportunity to have his say there was secured the effective right for Labor Temple's spokespersons to be fairly heard. The forums made vital and living contacts for Labor Temple. It put the church in gear with great masses of workers, the men and women it was seeking to reach.²

It was the Forum which saw the notables of the day speak and be spoken to, with Ted Chaffee as the umpire to see that both sides played fair. His delightful and loving humor, his use of the appropriate word, stood him in good stead when tense moments came. For the discussion period was the moment of truth. Clarence Darrow, William J. Perlman, Norman Thomas, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Harry A. Overstreet, Pat Quinlan, J.H. Hopkins, Jerome Davis, politicians of the highest rank, rightists and leftists, theists and atheists, all had the platform. And their subjects sound strangely modern even today: The Government and Oil, Psychoanalysis, The Outlawry of War, Can We Educate America? were but a few of the topics addressed by the experts. Even literature could hold its own; not all topics could be encompassed by economics, politics, or sociology. This was democracy at work where everyone had his say without interruption.

This, indeed, was one of the goals and results of the forum. As Dr. Chaffee said, its aim was "to develop in our audiences a more orderly and courteous treatment of unpopular ideas and speakers." Ted Chaffee felt, and watched this belief flower, that the Forum tended to produce more reasoned and more stable viewpoints. Extremism was modified. Of course, there were some people who were simply cranks. He commented on one such who on every occasion when he could gain the floor would launch into a tirade against the Masons, whether the subject was "the Bagdad Railway or the care of the teeth!" But this was the exception.

A second result was that there was provided a safety valve for the social machine. He rightly recognized that, with or without good reason, thousands of people believed that they had not had their share of good things. In the forum they could speak, whether their grievances were real or imaginary. Moreover, there was the necessity to hear the flaming idealists who reminded all of the great dissenters of the past. These were men who "ask nothing for themselves but would change our whole social structure so that all men might have justice and freedom as well as the material comforts of life."

Moreover, Dr. Chaffee felt that the church forums gave the church a better reputation among the unchurched. The view was too often held, and too often true, that the church was on the side of the propertied. But the forums at Labor Temple demonstrated an openness which became a cornerstone of its influence. Their reputation for fairness in fact inspired the

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3 He believed passionately in Freedom of Speech and Freedom of the Press. It was the great legal safeguard of democracy. It was an American and a Christian imperative. Free speech, he believed, gave the minority a right to be heard and therefore tended to do away with violence; truth comes from the interchange of ideas and in flashes of insight which any straight-jacket inhibits; and it carries out the Golden Rule. The Edmund B. Chaffee Papers in the George Arents Research Library. All subsequent footnote references to documents in the Arents Library will identify the source by the initials GARL.
5 Idem
Board of Education to ask Labor Temple to allow a lecture course to be given there “because you have the confidence of the East Side.” The importance of the forum in Dr. Chaffee’s mind was spelled out in a published article. He said, “Do forums get anywhere? They do, and that where is on the road to a better understanding between men which, if followed through, will lead us to the Kingdom itself.”

A second facet of Labor Temple was the Temple School, founded by Will Durant and continued by G.S. Beck. Here, with Dr. Chaffee’s advice and consent, was an educational enterprise serving thousands. 175,000 attendances were recorded one year. It was said that one could tell the difference between a New Yorker from the East Side and a New Yorker from the West Side by making one simple observation: the West Sider carried a newspaper, the East Sider carried a book. The Temple School was both partial cause and effect of this characteristic. For this was no trade school. Courses on the Ethics of Property or the Theory of Beauty were standard fare with casual references to Schopenhauer or Milton or Rousseau or Blake well understood. A course on the Five Ages of the World’s Literature was given by the former Literary Editor of The Nation. The Problems of Race included such topics as What Is Race, The Future of the Negro Race, Is the White Race Doomed, East and West, and Race and Environment. Other areas of study included Architecture in New York, Social Biology, the Origins and Forms of Contemporary Art, as well as courses typical of the Americanization of the immigrant. In assessing what was done at the Temple School, one must not forget that while the adult education movement is credibly established today, it was something new for courses of such worth to be offered to the masses. Dr. Chaffee spelled out his reasons in The Protestant Churches and the Industrial Crisis. First of all he felt that men and women needed to be helped to “understand the life and society of today;” hence the courses in anthropology, biology, economics and history. Second, men and women needed to learn to think clearly; thus courses in philosophy, logic, and psychology and critical discussion groups. Third, men and women needed courses without any particular utilitarian value; some courses were given just to make life more pleasant and more enjoyable, courses in the appreciation of music and the enjoyment of literature. For Ted Chaffee had faith in the common man. He never underestimated the potential of his fellow human beings. He felt it particularly unwise to underestimate the appeal of the worthwhile subjects to those who toiled or to the foreign-born. Moreover, if a better social order did eventuate from his efforts and those of others who

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6 Ibid., p. 15
7 Idem
8 p. 194
9 One debate drew over two hundred listeners, each one paying for the privilege. The topic? “Which offers the most for the happiness of the human race, an application of Plato’s Republic, or Aristotle’s Relatively Best State?”
believed as he did, then the workers needed to be educated to and for the additional responsibilities that would face them.

A third facet of Labor Temple was its position as a settlement house. The Gospel was the base of all Dr. Chaffee’s activities, but preaching alone would not do. There needed to be concrete demonstrations of what that gospel meant in everyday living.

Because Labor Temple was proclaiming good will and brotherhood it had to give a demonstration of just what it meant. There were many ways in which to do this. There were homes in which there was want and trouble. There were boys and girls who had no place to play except in the city streets.... There were men and women seeking for the self-expression denied them in the hard round of their daily toil. Labor Temple began to meet these needs. A playground was established with proper supervision. A gymnasium was secured where the bodies of the youngsters would have a chance to develop. A clinic was organized.... Friendly visits were made to the homes and comfort and cheer and sometimes economic help was given. Jobs were secured for those out of work. A health center and a marriage consultation center were pioneering ventures.... When unemployment was causing acute distress and hundreds had no shelter it opened up its church auditorium and let the unemployed sleep in it. In fact in that period it achieved the distinction of being open and having activities in progress twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.¹⁰

The social work program of Labor Temple struck a surprisingly modern note. It was surely one of the most progressive of its day and much of its theory could be utilized in human service agencies today with great profit. For example, client participation in decision making is a relatively new thing, but the House Council at Labor Temple directed its own destiny years ago. Even more importantly, Labor Temple itself was governed by a committee only half of which was made up of the titular owners of the operation. Others on the board included representatives of what today would be called the “target population.”

A fourth facet of Dr. Chaffee’s work was his utilization of mass contacts. Labor Temple tried to reach the individual; it also tried to make every possible connection with organizations, particularly workers’ organizations. Dr. Chaffee served as fraternal delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City, reminded churches of those products made by union labor, and offered good surroundings for all kinds of meetings at minimal expense. Because he was trusted by all factions, he attained a position as conciliator across many factional barriers.

Finally, one must look at the church at the heart of Labor Temple. It

¹⁰“What One Church Is Doing – Labor Temple.” Chaffee Papers, GARL.
was a church and it was chiefly supported by the church. In his book Dr. Chaffee spelled out its basic concept in the clearest of terms:

It has boldly announced that it is a propagandist institution, not in the sense of trying to make Presbyterians or even Christians in the theological meaning of the word, but in the sense that it is trying to change the attitudes of men, trying to persuade them to have in their hearts the quality of love that was in the Carpenter of Galilee, trying to change our social order into the Kingdom of God. It has welcomed converts into its church life, but it has never tried to force them to come in. No man, woman, or child to whom another church or faith has meant anything vital has been asked to “come with us.”

Ted Chaffee felt that St. Augustine was right when he prayed, “Thou hast made us for Thyself and our hearts are restless until they find their rest in Thee.” This is why Labor Temple always tried to be friendly, no matter how great the provocation. It is why the facilities of the organization were open to all on equal terms. Jews and Christians, white and black, Italians and Russians and English were all in the same club. And it was the same with the staff: various nationalities, colors and religions worked together that kindness might rule. Even the Sunday School had Jews, Catholics and Protestants studying together.

Under Ted Chaffee Labor Temple grew and prospered. It had its desperate hours, but the desperate hours were the hours of its triumph. What place of service had more to give in the days of the Great Depression! It

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11 The Protestant Churches and the Industrial Crisis, p. 203.
outgrew its quarters, and a new building was built in Dr. Chaffee's tenure as Director. Even the building was a special monument to the nature of the work. For the seven story structure was built by a corporation at no cost to the church that owned it in fee simple. The plan was one Dr. Chaffee preached to many groups: when he spoke at the Free Synagogue of the Bronx, a business man adopted it. One portion of the building was used for shops, offices, and apartments. The rest of the building housed the church, the auditorium, the gymnasium, the offices and meeting rooms, with the Director's home on the top floor.

Great technological changes were beginning to make their impact on society in the era during which Edmund Chaffee's adult life was spent. It took no particular gift of prophecy to see that more changes were coming, but not everyone was ready for those changes. It was against this background that he defined himself as a liberal. "By a 'liberal'," he once wrote, "I mean a man who, contrasted with the conservative, is willing to change, but unlike the radical is not anxious to do so." Perhaps one reason he could be flexible was that he was exposed to more varying life styles of class and geography than most men in that first third of the twentieth century. He knew the country and never lost his love for it, having been born on a farm in rural Michigan. He grew up in the small town of Holly, Michigan, where the comradeship of close acquaintance was clearly felt. His high school classmates remained friends all of their lives as a comparison of a picture of the Class of 1905 and a listing of his correspondents shows. This was his base, but he knew more than the midwest. He knew the east coast with its sophistication as a center of financial power. He knew the city, with its immigrants only lately introduced to the United States. He saw a most necessary ministry to the "tired ... poor ... huddled masses yearning to be free."

Nor were his contacts confined to North America for he travelled extensively, particularly far-ranging in the course of his service with the Red Cross during World War I and immediately thereafter. He knew Europe and visited Africa, lived and worked in the Middle East, toured India and the Orient. His diaries and letters to family and friends mirror the impact of other

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12 The World Tomorrow, Volume VIII, Number 12, December, 1925. Chaffee Papers, GARL.
13 Chaffee Papers, GARL.
14 An article in The Presbyterian Magazine, March, 1926, describing Dr. Chaffee's locale during his tenure in New York City's Labor Temple is impressively polyglot: "The Jews, a great host . . . the Italians a block away . . . Chestnuts roasting on the corner . . . the pushcart market . . . the jostling crowds . . . There are the Russians with their restaurants, and bookshops, and bakeshops, the Ukranians . . . the Poles, the Magyars, the Germans . . . All Europe is there by proxy."
15 From the inscription on the Statue of Liberty.
16 Even the journey across the South Atlantic was not uneventful — the ship on which he and Florence Mearns, later to become Mrs. Chaffee, were traveling was chased by a German raider.
cultures and traditions on his thinking. His records were extensive and fascinating, in part because he knew shorthand. They include his reactions to the shock expressed by an Indian editor named Natarajan when he learned that not all American colleges were coeducational, the prediction of war between Japan and England made by Sun Yat-sen, the assessments of such military figures as Storrs and Allenby, and the beauty of the spirit as well as the writing of the poet Tagore. Some of his interviews he transcribed for later publication; many exist only in outline form.

In part Ted Chaffee was a complete man because of the breadth of his education. With the support of his mother and his half-sisters Mary Chaffee and Margaret Pepper,¹⁷ he gained an excellent basic schooling beginning at the University of Michigan. There his work on the debating team was impressive. He earned a doctorate in jurisprudence at the same school and was admitted to the bar in Michigan. He studied theology at Hartford Seminary in Connecticut and Union Theological Seminary in New York. And he kept on learning. Syracuse University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His library, still virtually intact in what became the family home in New Hampshire, reveals the interests he had in a variety of fields. The economist Stuart Chase, the psychologist William James, the physicist Arthur Haas, the astronomer Sir James Jeans and a multiplicity of authors on history, archeology, theology, psychical research,¹⁸ literature, philosophy, and many other fields are represented on his shelves. Moreover, he kept fresh by teaching his peers as well as the oncoming student generation to which he related so very successfully.

Withal he shared his education and his life with persons of every race, class and position in society. A listing of his friends would read not only like an edition of Who's Who, but also of Who Isn't Who. Congressmen and senators, mayors and lesser politicians, social workers and doctors, millionaires and lawyers, men and women on the assembly lines and in stores and on cleanup crews were his friends.¹⁹ Occasionally the son of the house had

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¹⁷ The copy of his book, The Protestant Churches and the Industrial Crisis, which is a part of the manuscript collection in the Syracuse University Library, was the particular one he gave to Miss Pepper. The hand written inscription reads: "To my sister Margaret who made my theological education possible."

¹⁸ At the time of his death he owned one of the most extensive private libraries in the field. Some of the Proceedings of the American Society for Psychical Research and The Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research are included in the Chaffee collection, GARL.

¹⁹ Senators Gerald P. Nye, Royal S. Copeland, and Burton K. Wheeler; Professors Mark Van Doren, Will Durant, and Reinhold Niebuhr; Frances Perkins and Oswald Garrison Villard; Doctors Abraham and Hannah Stone were typical of the better known persons with whom he was associated. But also, there was Mr. Zero, self-named because he felt no one cared: if he was a nothing, let that be his name. And Abe S. Klinger once wrote — and the spelling has been unchanged: "I would like to appologise for the mistake we did last week in Labor Temple; as we did not mean to sneak in the yard: we would like to have your pardon this time, and we will never do it again. Thanking you, Sincerely yours." Chaffee Papers, GARL.
If any further evidence of the close connection between religion and economics be needed we have it in the words of that great prayer of Jesus, the Lord’s Prayer, which has come to us down the ages. One of the first petitions of it is "Give us this day our daily bread". And both the Passover of the Jews and the Lord’s Supper of the Christians have to do with the plain economic fact of food and drink.

Yes, our communist and socialists friends are right in their insistence that religious forms and expressions are determined by the way a given society is solving its economic problem. And this is only natural for religion and economics go hand in hand and they can be separated only with disaster to each. If God is not in the fundamental facts of economics he is nowhere. Yet, strange as it seems, those of us who have given our lives to the kind of religion which is seeking a human society which is based upon economic justice, a society without classes, have found ourselves attacked on both flanks. On the right we have been bitterly assailed by a large group of men who have told us that religion has nothing to do with economics, how men make their living, that all such questions as child labor, poverty, unemployment, the piling up of wealth into the hands of the few are questions with which religion has nothing to do. From inside the church as well as from the outside we are told to stick to the gospel and keep out of social questions. It is scarcely necessary for me to answer that attack before you who know something of the development of religion to which I have briefly referred tonight. But if there are any here who represent that point of view I would point out that when religion is relegated to the services in church, to prayer and the reading of scripture for an hour or so each week while all the rest of the hours are given over to the world of industry religion is lost in the shuffle. It doesn't touch and cannot touch the modern man.
dinner with Dr. Chaffee's guests. The conversation was stimulating and the experiences are remembered with pleasure, but it was years before the realization came that the kind and variety of table companions was not typical of the average middle-class family.

He did not let his many activities interfere with his time with his family. Saturday afternoon was family time. Father and mother, son and daughter spent that portion of the week together. Frequently all went to Manhattan's Automat where the children delighted in putting nickles into the slot and turning the knob for the food temptingly visible behind a small glass door. Then on to Radio City Music Hall, with its appealing combination of motion picture, music, and dancing with precision. And who can spell out the many hours Ted and his wife, Florence, spent in multi-faceted enjoyment in each other's company. For Florence had a keen mind, had also travelled extensively, and had an education beyond that of most of her sex. Each was fully worthy of the other.

Ted Chaffee was a generous man. He gave of his money to those in need. He was also generous in his judgments: He early learned to avoid the polarity of labels. That is to say, while he was willing to categorize and analyze for the sake of convenience, he was unwilling to put anyone in a pigeon-hole. Moreover, even when he was dealing with persons whose philosophies he despised, he could still look for whatever was good in an "ism" and appropriate it for good purpose. The last speech he gave was a passionate and reasoned declaration for what he considered to be the American Way. It was entitled, "Communism or Facism, Must We Choose?" He could, nevertheless, acknowledge that both philosophies existed because in some way they answered a concern of mankind.  

Perhaps, in full circle, Ted Chaffee was a complete man because he saw the relevance of his religion to the affairs of the day. It was as if the vision he saw harnessed him to the implications of his faith. It was said of him in an article reflecting on what was to be his last gathering with a group of clergymen in Minneapolis' famous Westminster Church: "Here is a man who has seen visions of a better world and will carry the torment of the difference till he dies."  

It was not "pie in the sky by and by when you die," as the old I.W.W. song derisively put it. It was a religion of the here and now though he successfully maintained that tension between past, present, and future which is the mark of a wise Christian who lives in both worlds at the same time. Ted Chaffee was not caught on either horn of the dilemma expressed in the old aphorism that the religion that ends with the self ends, though the religion that doesn't begin with the self has no beginning. Thus, though he called himself a liberal and was unceasing in his struggle for economic and social

20 The writer remembers well this talk, for he had been taught to earn money beyond a modest allowance through the typing of some of his father's manuscripts. As a lad of fifteen he typed out this last writing.

21 The Presbyterian Tribune, October 15, 1936, p. 13
justice, his activity was completely rooted and grounded in a deep personal conviction that God was Lord. "I AM WHO I AM," was real.

To spend a few hours in the George Arents Research Library with Dr. Chaffee's diaries and letters, to read clippings from *Time* magazine, metropolitan dailies, and weekly country newspapers, is to learn or to be reminded of much of that day and age. But in so doing one learns even more of a man dedicated to reconciliation and the restoration of personhood to a fractured world. He was for peace and justice at every level – personal, community and business, national and international. He believed that the Christian ethic could be applied in the world; otherwise, in fact, disaster must come. He worked with hope and with the urgency of a miner under a landslide. When he died, a plaque was placed in his memory in Labor Temple with words identical to those on his headstone:

Servant of God and Man  
Toiler for Justice and Peace

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22 Exodus 3:14. A quatrain of a hymn written by Dr. Chaffee reads:

Be thou Supreme, Lord Jesus Christ,  
Thy life transfigure mine;  
And through this veil of mortal flesh  
Here may Thy glory shine.

23 The plaque has recently come into the possession of Syracuse University and is now in the Chaffee collection.