

## Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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## MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.

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Reel	Box	Folder
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When the State Takes a Life, 1977.

Western Reserve Historical Society 10825 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio 44106 (216) 721-5722 wrhs.org American Jewish Archives 3101 Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220 (513) 487-3000 AmericanJewishArchives.org When The State Takes A Life Some Thoughts On Capital Punishment Daniel Jeremy Silver February 6, 1977

Until the winter the television program Roots became major topics of conversation. We tended for several weeks there to talk about the question of capital punishment. You recall that some months ago the in the state of Utah a jury had found a man guilty of two cold premeditated murders and sentenced him to die before a firing squad. And as it came time for the sentence to be 'executed and the man demanded that the sentence be executed. Now the sentencing of a man to death in these United States this year of 1977 or the last or the year before is not an unusual thing. It is done more than occasionally. In 1976 over 300 people were sentenced by our courts to death. What was unusual was that in fact this sentence was carried forth and Gary Gilmore was executed by a firing squad. As you know, it was the first time since 1967 that a convicted prisoner had in fact been executed in any of the 50 states.

Now those who are opposed to capital punishment or, as they prefer to call it, judicial murder, were concerned that this particular incident might break loose a logjam of cases. In the 36 states which have provisions which permit the taking of a life by the courts there are several thousand people now who are under sentence of death and there was concern that these people might be executed, and that a moratorium which had existed for nearly a decade would be ended. Now if one takes a slightly longer historical view it's interesting to notice that over the last century or century

and a half there has been a deliberate and consistent move towards the reduction, if

not the elimination, of the death sentence. We have only to remind ourselves of Charles

Dickens' London, the London of the middle of the 19th century, of a London in which

men, women and children were routinely sentenced to death for crimes which varied

from pickpocketing to highway robbery to murder, to recall, to remind ourselves, how far we have come. In Charles Dickens' London people were sentenced to death not only for crimes against persons but for crimes against property. An execution was by public hanging. It was believed that the death of a felon, of a criminal, was an edifying spectacle for the rest of the community. By the end of the 19th century almost all statutes which permitted the death sentence for crimes against property had been deleted both in England and in the United States; and the spectacle of public executions had been put behind us so that by the turn of the century in the United States men and women were sentenced to death only for crimes which attacked the physical being of another person, the freedom of another person, or the life of another person, that is, for rape, for kidnaping and for murder, and this remained the practice and the law of most of our states until quite recently. But the numbers of those who were sentenced to death dropped over the decades. In the early 1930's about 200 or 220 men and women were executed; by the early 1960's the number was considerably less than 100 each year. We seemed on the move towards elimination in fact if not in law of the punishment by death and in a number of states challenges were raised as to the way in which the death sentence was imposed, claiming that the death sentence as it was being carried out in the United States was cruel and unusual punishment as defined by the eighth amendment to our Constitution. As these cases came before the various courts and then the Supreme Court a moratorium developed and from 1967 until late 1976 no

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one in the United States was in fact put to death.

Now the argument was, in our century at least, that the death of someone who

had taken another's life or threatened another's life by kidnaping, or physically assaulted

another in a way which went to the very root of their being was in fact proper under

the doctrine that in this case, in these cases, the punishment fit the crime, a life for

a life, that in any case the taking of a life of such a person, a murderer, was no great loss to society, and that in every case where an execution was carried out the execution was in fact a deterrent, a deterrent to others in the society who might be tempted to crimes of violence.

As you know, the art of social research is really a very modern art and as the social scientists began to examine the assumptions which had underlain most of our activity until this century, they found no evidence, or little evidence, that in fact the taking of a life was in fact a deterrent factor to other crimes of violence or to murder. The United Nations made a study some years ago of countries in which the death penalty was abolished. They found, for instance, that in Finland in the ten years which followed upon the abolition of the death penalty the rate of murder actually declined relative to the size of the population. And perhaps it's even more edifying to look at a state whose form of government and whose traditions are closer to our own, New Zealand. In 1939 New Zealand abolished the death penalty. In 1951 New Zealand reintroduced the death penalty. In 1961 New Zealand abolished the death penalty again. The United Nations study indicates that the rate of murder, the rate of crimes of violence, remained constant throughout all these stages in the criminal code. One cannot prove from the social statistics which have now been gathered that in fact the taking of a life is a deterrent to those who are tempted to take a life, in part because vast majority of murders are crimes of passion, in part because as one of the great English

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jurists of several centuries ago, Sir William Blackstone, observed, it's not the severity of the punishment. "is the deterrent, but the certainty that there will be punishment. The problem with capital punishment as it was carried out in America was not only that it failed to act as a deterrent to further crime, but that it was clearly carried out in a way which showed a great deal about the class and the racial prejudices of our nation. Of the nearly 3,000 executions between 1930 and 1962 only 20 involved men and women who could be said to come from the wealthier sections of our society. Those who were executed were the poor and the reasons are clear. Our society does not want to take a life. It fears to take the life of an innocent man, there's no way of undoing such a penalty. It fears to take a life because there's something in our whole tradition which cries out, really, against a life for a life and so the criminal code or the criminal practice has surrounded a trial which involves a potential capital sentence with all manner of safeguard, due process, there's leniency afforded to the defense. There are all manners of appeal available and a man or a woman who can afford competent judicial defense help, legal help, almost inevitably over a period of years can manage things so that one out or another is discovered which would remove that person from the danger of execution. The poor cannot afford this kind of constant, patient, diligent, first-class legal help and so it is they who fall under the danger of the hangman's noose or the electric chair. And what is true of class in matters of the death penalty is true also in matters of race. An absolute majority of those who were executed between 1930 and 1962 were black. In the south the ratio was four blacks executed for every white person executed. In part we have an indication of the kind of legal help that was available to their defense; in part we have an indication of prejudice on the part of the juries who in many states are those who must demand that the death penalty be in fact exacted. And to all of these problems the many who engage in criminal law indicate that as a matter of fact there's an erratic quality introduced into justice by the death penalty, that there are juries who when they come into the jury room find that they are inhibited from condemning a person to a sentence where he may in fact have his life taken from him and out of that inhibition they may in fact acquit those who are

innocent. So, far from being a deterrent we accept Blackstone's principle that the certainty of punishment is the deterrent if there be one. As a matter of fact, the erratic quality of the death sentence as it has been carried out in the United States has worked in reverse. Of those who were convicted of capital crimes in the United States in this century less than 2 in 100 were in fact executed. If certainty be the standard that we are seeking, certainty of punishment, it is not certain that if one commits a crime, in fact it is very uncertain, that one in fact will suffer the death penalty.

All of these considerations conspired in the last 30 years to diminish markedly the number of those who were in fact executed, the number of cases in which the prosecuting attornies demanded the death sentence, and once the challenges were raised in the Supreme Court as to the erratic and spasmodic quality of these sentences, a moratorium was in fact undertaken by the various states. The Supreme Court, in Ferman vs. Georgian and a number of similar decisions accepted the argument that there was an erratic quality to the present system which disqualified it under the cruel and unusual punishment doctrine, and that erratic quality grew out of the fact the juries who were commanded to bring in not only a sentence of guilt but of guilt with the death sentence being demanded or not, lacked fixed standards by which they could make these judgements and, therefore, acted often out of class standards or prejudicial standards. They struck down such sentences, but they left standing the possibility of states imposing a death sentence if they could find ways of writing their statutes in

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conformity with current Supreme Court decisions.

Now, I presume that if our society had been relatively stable and relatively

secure in these last 10 or 15 years, the states would have allowed the Supreme Court decision to determine the fact that they would not reimpose the death sentence, they

would not have attempted to have their legislatures rewrite the criminal codes of their

states to conform with the Supreme Court decision in the present defacto moratorium when in fact it had become one established by law. But these were years, as you well know, in which we have felt our persons to be increasingly exposed, endangered, particularly in the big cities. These have been years in which we have put locks on our doors and we've taken mace in our cars and many have bought guns for their homes. People were demanding protection, police protection, any kind of protection, even the semblance of protection, that's what deterrence is, even the semblance of protection from those who might attack them and take their lives. And so, most of the states whose statutes were in question, put into question by the Supreme Court decision, proceeded to try and rewrite their criminal statutes to bring them into conformity with the Supreme Court decision and increasingly we have seen in recent years that prosecuting attornies have begun again to demand the death sentence for people who have committed crimes of violence.

In 1974 140 people were sentenced to death by the courts; in 1975, 285; I've not seen the figures for 1976 but they are higher yet. Our society some place deep within its soul is crying out for protection and crying out for revenge and crying out for some kind of way of solving the problem of violence and the death penalty has come again into the fore. People are again assuming it will somehow be a deterrent, be one of the ways in which we will staunch the violence. The Gallup Poll indicates that in 1969 only 42 percent of the American people favored the death sentence; in 1957

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the number had risen to 59 percent; in 1976 that number had again risen to 78 percent. Increasingly, people have come to feel that if we could only reimpose the death sentence we would somehow be protecting our persons and the safety of our families. And so we have the situation which led to the tremendous publicity given to

Gary Gilmore case for his demand that he be executed seemed to be the first overflow from the dam, the possibility that the dam would break, and logjam would begin to flow downstream and there would be a series of executions of those who had been kept in limbo during these last years and we would begin to see a sizable reintroduction of public executions in the United States. Now the reasons for Mr. Gilmore's actions remain enigmatic to all of us. There are some who would argue that he looked upon a lifetime in prison as far more distressing and damning than a quick death and that, of course, is the kind of logic which most of those who commit suicide engage in. There are others who take a more cynical view and who argue that he saw a possibility of gaining his freedom because of some peculiarities in the Utah state law, if you could get enough publicity and could delay things long enough the date of his execution would pass and then by Utah law he would in fact be free because Utah protects people from having a prolonged life under the threat of the sword, if in fact they are not executed on the day prescribed by the court. Whatever be the reason, he was in fact in time executed. The first execution had taken place and the question was and remains, what now.

Now let me suggest to you where I stand and the logic which brings me to this position. The question of capital punishment is one of those questions in which one cannot be dogmatic. It's a question of values, conflicting values, but I must say that I am much persuaded by all of the reasons that have been raised in the last three or

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four decades which suggest that the death penalty is not in fact very much of a deterrent if at all. I am concerned, of course, as everyone is by the danger that someone will be executed who in fact will be innocent. An execution is, of course, an irreversible penalty. I am concerned with the sobering fact of class and racial bias which has been built into the penal system of the United States at all levels. I was especially most vividly and dramatically at this one, but I must also say that I am not much persuaded by much of the rhetoric which is used by those who attack what they call judicial murder on the grounds that somehow the taking of a life brutalizes the society, the taking of a single life somehow dehumanizes, a favorite word today, dehumanizes and brutalizes our American way of life. I think there is something dehumanizing and brutalizing in our lives, but I would suggest that a society which brings into its home each night ten or fifteen murders it will not be brutalized overmuch by reading in the newspaper that a single life of a cold-blooded killer has been taken here or there in one of the states. And I would suggest to you that if our nation is only one of all the nations in the world which maintains a very large standing army, a great amount of our wealth is invested in weapons of destruction, that again a few executions here or there will not of themselves dehumanize and brutalize a society. I am as convinced of the importance of the doctrine of reverence for life as anyone else, but I am also convinced that we have to establish some very major forms of social reform, our whole attitude towards violence, our attitude towards weapons, before we begin to worry that perhaps after all the due process of a court has been carried through and a man or a woman has been found to be pathological, to be a person of tremendous violence, to be a person who in fact could take other lives, that the taking of that life is one of the highest crimes which might be committed. However unbalanced, I think it would be inadvisable for us to begin in cases of murder to demand the death penalty. Nothing

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much is accomplished by it and certainly a life of incarceration is severe penalty enough. And to reimpose the death penalty would put us, it seems to me, back in that bind of creating a whole series of processes involving such crimes involving such crimes which would allow some who are innocent to get free, long hard processes which in fact would not in any way protect anyone in the social order.

Now it's interesting if we look back at our own religious tradition. I read to you this morning from the book of Exodus from the earliest of the law codes of the book of the covenant and you heard how again and again and again in crimes against persons the Biblical spirit permitted the death penalty. The Bible has three known forms of execution: execution by stoning; execution by burning; and execution by decapitation. And in crimes which were crimes of violence, murder, kidnaping, attacks on pregnant women which would result in the abortion of the child, in such crimes the Bible in fact permitted the death penalty and in the earliest stages of Israelite tradition that death penalty was carried out as a public spectacle. Now what's interesting to note is that is not where things were allowed to stay. The Biblical theory was, as you heard, an eye for an eye, a life for a life, wound for wound, but the first thing that happened in the development of our Israelite jurisprudence was the transformation of the public spectacle into a private one. During Judean days public executions in which the city was asked to come and to witness the spectacle were eliminated, and those who had taken a life were simply executed at a place called the stoning house, privately, before several judicial witnesses. All manner of legal protection was afforded to those who were under threat of the death sentence to see that in fact their lives were protected to the full extent that it's possible in any human judicial system. The witness who testified in a judicial case was in fact jeopardizing his own life if he perjured himself. If it was found that a man had been wrongfully accused those witnesses who wrong-

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fully testified to his having participated in the murder or the kidnaping would in themselves in turn be put to death for their prejudicial testimony. And when at the end of the Biblical period the right of capital punishment was taken away from the Jewish courts, from the sanhedrin, by the Romans around the year 20 of the Common Era, by this time there developed among the Pharisees, the ancestors, of course, of rabbinic Judaism, a whole legal philosophy which was very strongly opposed to capital punishment.

There is a very interesting debate which comes down to us from the mishnah which apparently took place in the early years of the second century of the Common Era in which the Pharisaic doctrine was laid down that if a sanhedrin, if a court ordered the execution of a single person in any seven year period that court was deemed to be a murderous court and two of the great judicial authorities of the time, Rabbis Akiba and Tarfun, argued that if they had been members of such a sanhedrin, the sanhedrin would never have taken a life at any time during their stay on the court. The debate proceeds to ask how could this have occurred and the answer was that these men were legal experts and would have found all manner of legal quibble in order to see to it that no man or woman was put under the jeopardy of the law. Then interestingly the debate ends with Simon ben Gamalio who was the one man who was in charge of the whole judicial system coming out and saying, but if you follow this practice murders will increase in Israel. There must be, having said all of these high principled things, there must be some concern for the social order, for security, for peace in the city. They did not have prisons as we do. They had very few ways of inflicting punishment save corporal punishment or capital punishment and Simeon ben Gamalio was saying we need some punishment, some certainty of punishment, to restrain the weakest and the most violent, the most pathological among us. Now during the long long rabbinic centuries between the first century and now the Jewish courts have had no, for the most part no authority to inflict capital punishment, and

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a very strong anti-capital punishment tradition can be found in the Talmud and in all of the medieval codes right down to modern times. And one interesting byproduct of this is the emergence of the present penal law in the state of Israel. When Israel came into being as a state in 1948 it took for the moment as its basis for a criminal law code the existing code of the mandatory power, that is, the law code which England had maintained in Palestine up to that point, and under that English law code executions were possible for murder and for kidnaping. When the first murder took place in the new state of Israel both the chief rabbi of the Ashkenazi community and the aham, the chief rabbi of the sephardic community, that is, two senior religious leaders of Israel wrote public letters to the high court, asking the high court not to permit an execution for such crimes in the state of Israel because such an execution would now in fact be against the halacha, would now in fact be against the whole tradition of rabbinic law. And in point of fact, in 1954 when the new criminal code of Israel was written it made no provision for capital punishment in cases of rape, kidnap or murder. No one has been executed in the state of Israel for those crimes.

Now if we also look back on our tradition we find one interesting addition. Occasionally, under the Islamic rule when Jews lived in the Muslim in the Arab world, there were communities at various periods of time which were given by the Arab authorities to write or maintain their own criminal law system, their own courts, and the right even of imposing the death penalty. At no time from our records is it indicated that any such court sentenced a person to death for kidnap, rape or murder, but there are known instances in which these courts did in fact sentence and carry out the execution of a man who was called a moseach, which is a term from medieval Hebrew which means an informer. These alyamans, these kehilas, these Jewish communities existed, of course, on sufferance. They had no rights as such. They existed within a much larger world, a world which gave all kinds of inducements to those who were in trouble in the Jewish community to come over, to convert and there were all manner of people in the larger world who were eager to hear bad things about

the Jewish community. A category of crime emerged which was called informing. An informer was one who had gotten in some kind of trouble within the Jewish community and went over to the non-Jewish community and said in fact these Jews over there are committing the blood libel, they require the blood of a child for their Passover sacrifice. How do I know? I was a Jew, and these kinds of charges would be broadcast and you can imagine the kind of physical threat to which Jews were subjected, in fact, their whole communities were exiled because of these charges. Or from time to time a Jew who had gotten in trouble with his fellow Jews over some matter which was political or economic, would go to the larger community and he would say I know that these Jews are in fact not paying all the taxes that they need to pay, they have hidden assets, and the larger community would then send in the police, there would be beatings and there would be murder in fact, and sometimes the wealth of the community would be expropriated such as it was. The moser was adanger to large numbers of people and according to Jewish law the moser could be put to death and we know of instances in the medieval world in which he was. When the state of Israel wrote its law code it specifically exempted from the statement that there is to be no capital punishment two categories of crime: one was called genocide, the crime of which Adolf Eichmann stood accused, was convicted and was executed by the state of Israel; and the other would be treason in times of war. In both cases large numbers of people are

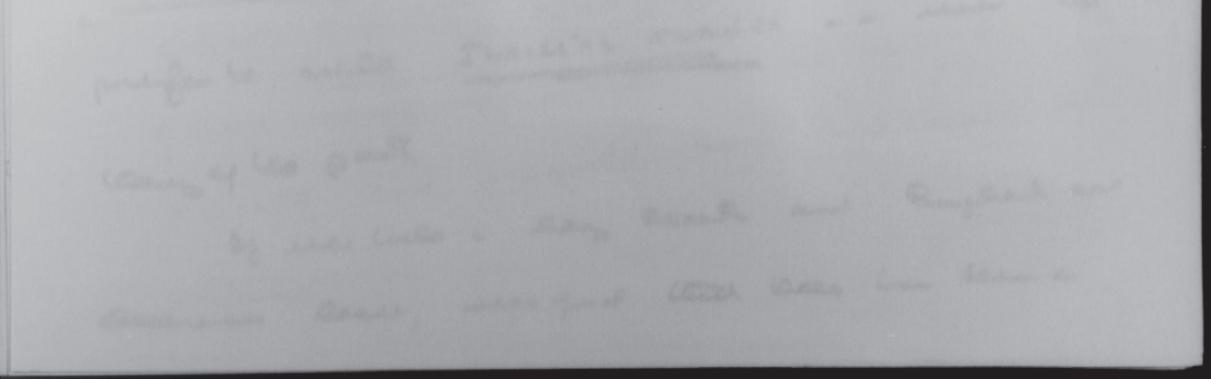
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exposed to great bodily danger, to danger to their lives and persons and families by the action of a single person. In war by the treason of some officer a whole division may be wiped out; in war or peace those who attacked the lives and property of a whole people are in fact endangering large numbers. And I wonder if this principle might not still have some validity. If there is not a whole category of crime in which not only is there a single victim, which the crime is not only a street person who needs money for his habit, his drug habit, who has a Saturday night special and goes out to hold up a grocery store or a gasoline station and panics or is challenged, a gun goes off and there is murder. That's a tragic story, one often repeated in our society. We can't bring the dead person back to life. The person who has committed this crime certainly needs to be punished. We need to have some kind of protection against them, but he's a tragic figure and he's the kind of figure that there's no way of eliminating in our society until we eliminate the poverty and the ghetto and all of that which produces it. But what about the person who plants a bomb in a large department store or other public area without concern for who may be in the area when the bomb goes off. And what about air piracy when a whole planeload of innocent people are exposed to danger to their lives? Now whatever the cause, it seems to me that people who engage in acts of these types are involved in, they are exposing, obviously needlessly, large numbers of people, the lives of large numbers of people, to death and though it's cruel, and though I suppose that in the world of idealogues and fanatics it will not be an adequate deterrence, I somehow remain convinced that this category of crime should remain a category which exposes the perpetrator to the death sentence. There's a phrase in the

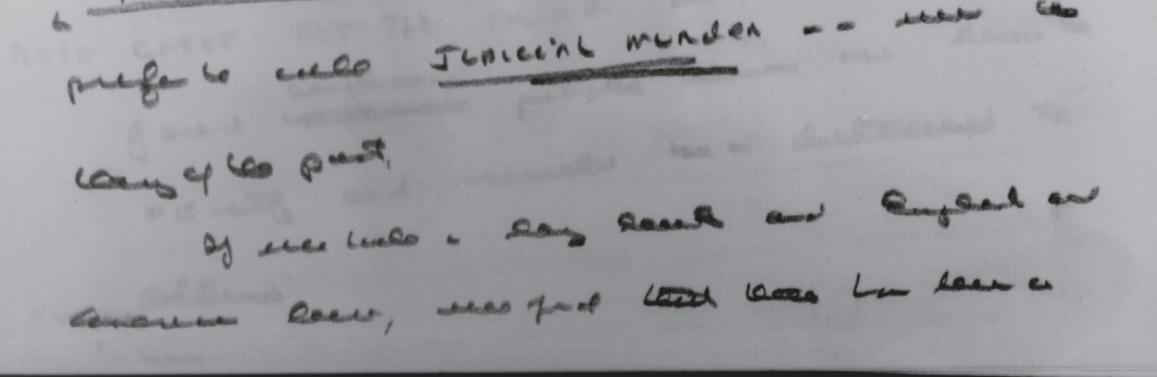
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Bible which has a quality to it to which I respond even though I know that it does not represent the highest moral statement which could posbe sibly be made, one that would always forgiving: All Israel shall see

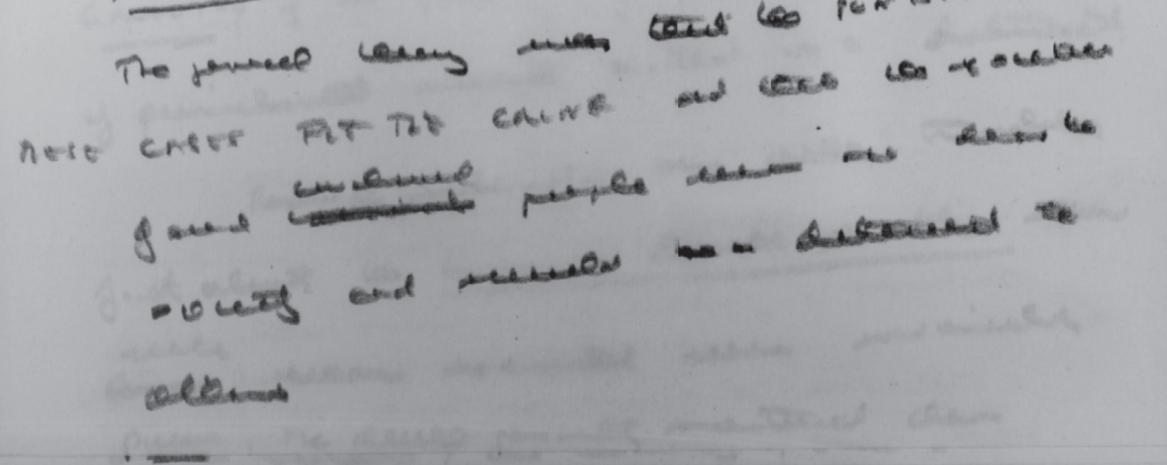
and do no more this evil." We live in an imperfect world and understand and no judicial system will ever be perfect, and no system of deterrence will ever be that effective, but it seems to me that in our world where it's very easy today because of our engineering and the capacity of our weapons to expose large numbers of people to death for whatever reason, it seems to me that we must maintain the symbol that this kind of action will not be accepted, will not be forgiven and that quick and certain punishment to the point of taking the perpetrater's life will be exacted from that kind of criminal. To the traitor who exposes his fellows in wartime to the Adolf Eichmann's of the world who would destroy a whole people, be they Jews or blacks or any other, to those misbegotten terrorists of our world who are responsible for the Munich's of our world, it seems to me there must still be some way of a society expressing its total abhorence of the crime and exacting the kind of punishment which in a messianic age might not be necessary and which I believe is still necessary in our own.



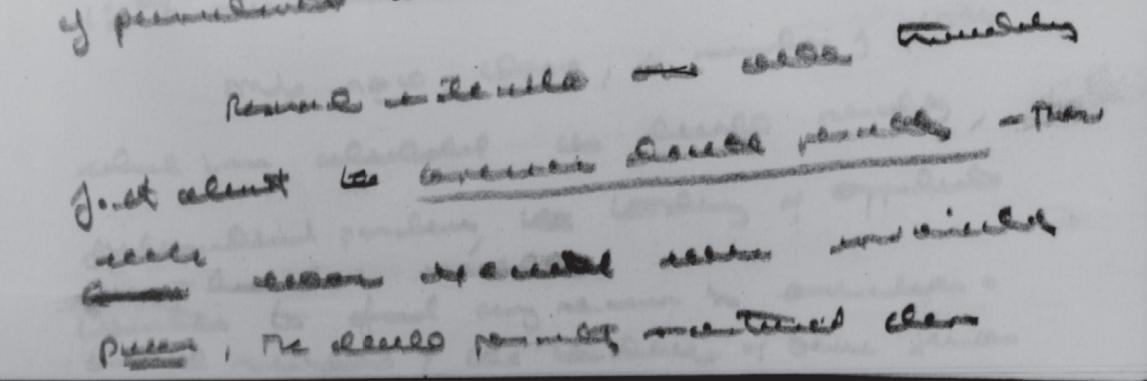
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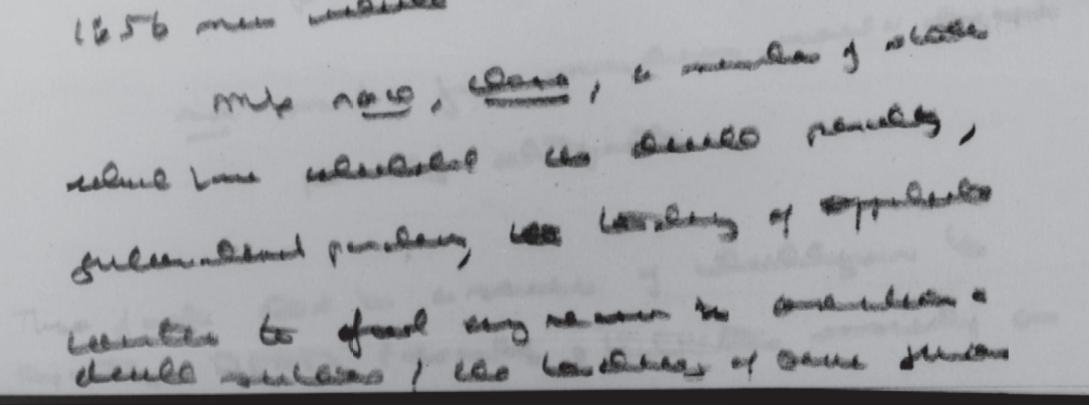
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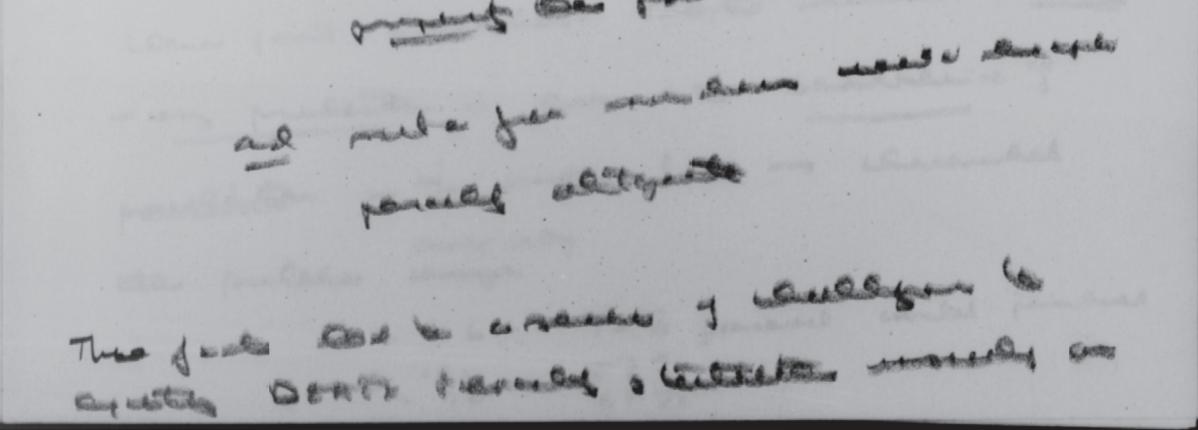
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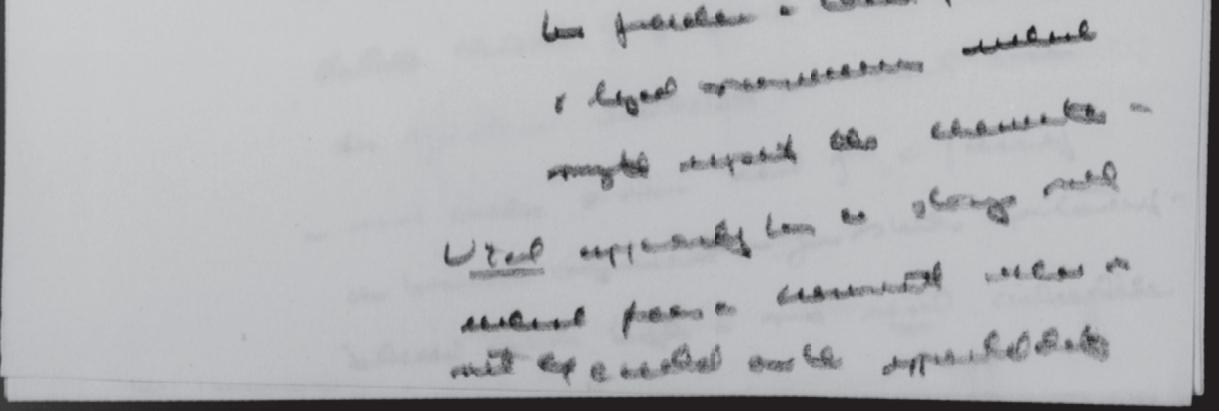


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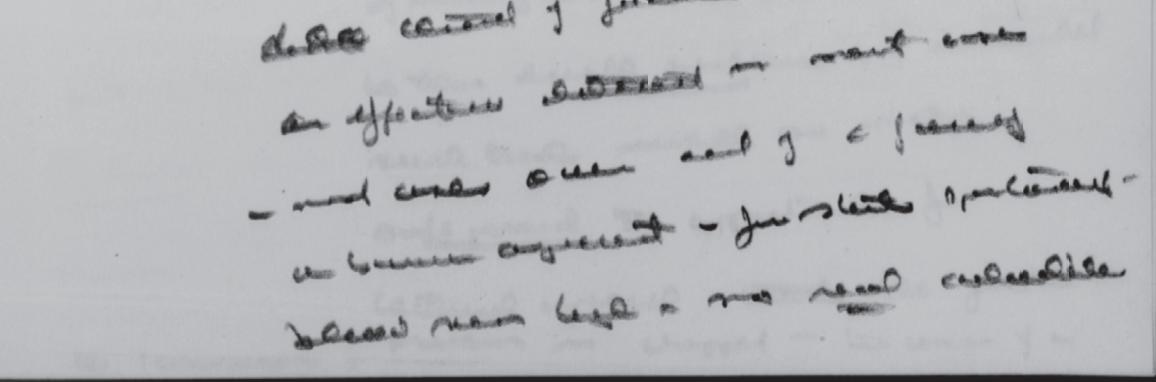
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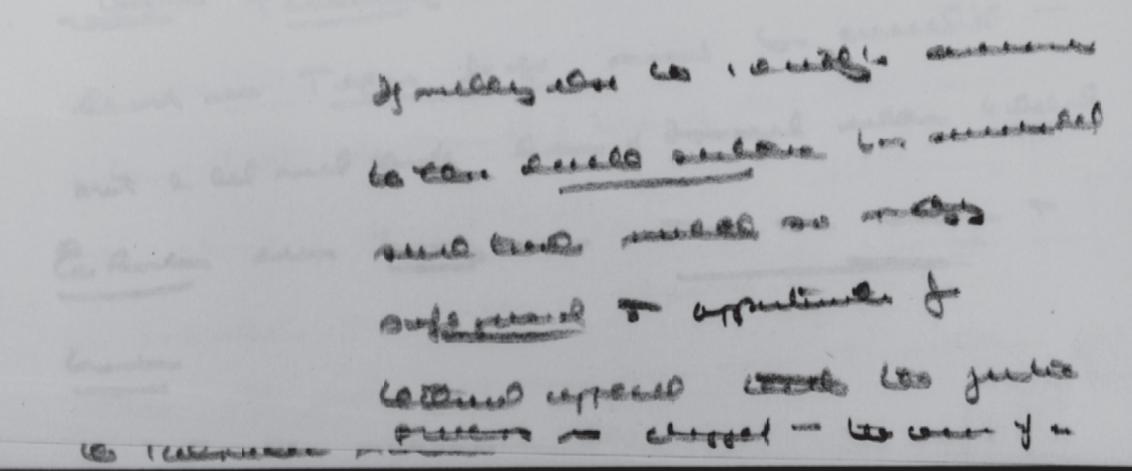
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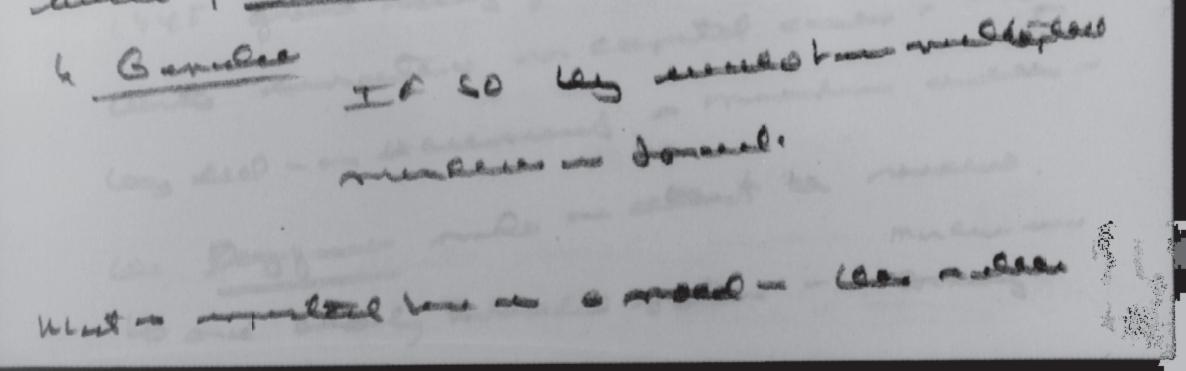


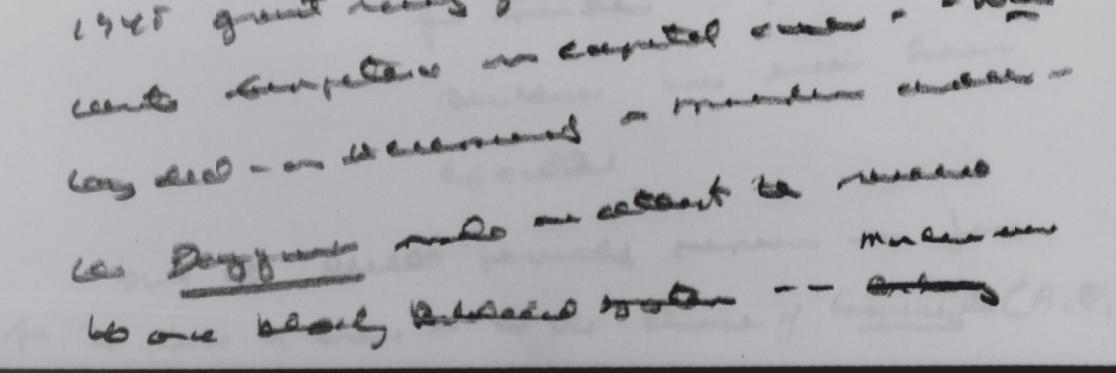
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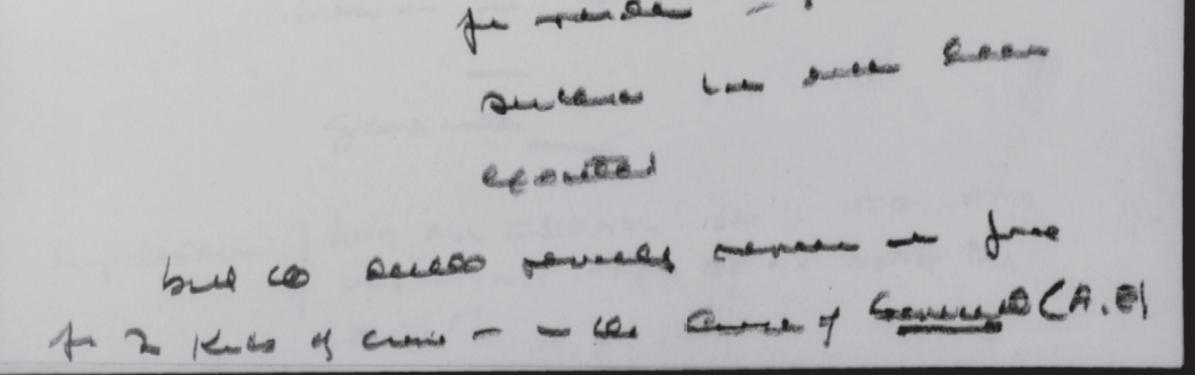
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