Let your speech be, "Yes, yes," "No, no"; whatever is beyond these comes from the evil one. (Mt. 5:37)

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The modern-day Jesuits are arguing that St. Francis Xavier anticipated the teaching of Vatican II on the salvation of unbelievers. That teaching, according to Jesuit Superior General, Fr. Kolvenbach, is "that God will offer salvation to those who did not come to know Christ." St. Francis believed no such thing. Here's why.

The April 2006 issue of *30 Days* published an interview with the Provost General of the Society of Jesus, Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, on the 500th anniversary of the birth of St. Francis Xavier. He was asked by *30 Days*:

Cardinal Tucci has written that it would be easy to see in Xavier the mentality of the conquistador of those times. Whereas, the cardinal continues, what motivated Xavier was the conviction that nobody can be saved without having received baptism. What example and teaching can one draw from that?

WAS ST. FRANCIS XAVIER A FORERUNNER OF VATICAN II?

Superior General of the Jesuits, Rev. Fr. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach

Fr. Kolvenbach replied:

In many aspects Xavier was a child of his times. The theology he learned in Paris and the religious milieu in which he had lived, considered baptism an absolute necessity for salvation. Xavier suffered greatly when he saw the Japanese weeping after having told them that their ancestors were damned to hell because of not being baptized. As a result Xavier set more emphasis on the mercy of God who would accept the righteous lives of those who were blamelessly ignorant of the necessity of baptism. Guided by the Church and by the Second Vatican Council, we know today that the seed of truth is to be found in all mankind, and that God will offer salvation to those who did not come to know Christ. But that was not the doctrine at the time of Xavier.

The Apostolic Tradition

We do not know exactly what theology St. Francis Xavier learned in Paris (in any case, not the "New Theology" of Vatican II) nor in what religious milieu he lived, but it seems to us impossible that either he or his Parisian professors would not have known (and would not have cared) that

since antiquity, the Church has considered that baptism of water (*baptismus fluminis*) can be supplied by martyrdom suffered for Christ (baptism of blood–*baptismus sanguinis*), as well as by the desire for baptism accompanied by perfect contrition (*baptismus flaminis*).¹

The Fathers of the Church, witnesses of the Apostolic Tradition, combatted the abuse of those who postponed baptism until the end of their lives, counting on baptism of desire. St. Gregory Nazianzen, for example, said that whoever in this life has been content with baptism of desire, in the next life will have to be content with the desire of beatitude (*Orat.* 40, 23); and St. Augustine, citing the Centurion Cornelius (Acts 10) as an example of baptism of desire, remarks that he promptly received baptism of water (*De Bapt.* 4, 22).

The abuse, combatted by the Fathers, bears witness to the antiquity of the doctrine of baptism of desire, and the Fathers' combat bears witness to the doctrine according to which whoever *can* receive water baptism *must* receive it: the desire of baptism cannot supply the sacrament when, being able to receive it, one neglects to do so.

If, however, there is neither refusal nor negligence, but a real impossibility (physical or moral) of receiving water baptism, the Fathers unanimously ascribe to baptism of desire the virtue of making up for water baptism. Thus St. Ambrose in his funeral oration for the Emperor Valentinian II, slain by Arbogast when he was still a catechumen, said:

But I hear that you grieve because he did not receive the sacrament of baptism. Tell me: What else is in your power other than the desire, the request? But he even had this desire for a long time, that, when he should come into Italy, he would be initiated, and recently he signified a desire to be baptized by me....Has he not, then, the grace which he desired; has he not the grace which he requested? And because he asked, he received.²

Elsewhere he says: "I have lost someone I was going to regenerate, but he has not lost the grace he requested." We might add that the doctrine on the limbo of children, which some today would like to cast into oblivion, is connected to the doctrine of baptism of desire: baptism of water is of an *absolute* necessity for children precisely because, being still without the use of reason, they are incapable of baptism of desire, as Pius XII reaffirmed in his famous allocution to midwives.

The Traditional Doctrine Defended and Expounded by the Scholastics

The doctrine of the Fathers was defended, at Paris in fact, against Abelard by the first Schoolmen, in particular by Hugh of St. Victor and by St. Bernard, who wrote: "By simple faith and by desire of baptism, a man can be justified" (*Ep.* 77, 8). The major Scholastics (especially St. Thomas) deepened the Patristic doctrine on baptism of desire:

The sacrament of Baptism is said to be *necessary* for *salvation* in so far as *man* cannot be saved without, at least, Baptism of desire; "which, with *God*, counts for the deed" (Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps. 57*).⁴

Baptism of desire essentially consists in the fact that

a man receives the effect of Baptism by the power of the *Holy Ghost*, not only without Baptism of Water, but also without Baptism of Blood: forasmuch as his heart is moved by the *Holy Ghost* to *believe* in and love *God* and to repent of his *sins.*⁵

Here St. Thomas appeals to the authority of St. Augustine and St. Cyprian:

Thus, therefore, each of these other Baptisms is called Baptism, forasmuch as it takes the place of Baptism. Wherefore *Augustine* says (*De Unico Baptismo Parvulorum* iv): "The Blessed Cyprian argues with considerable reason from the thief to whom, though not *baptized*, it was said: 'Today shalt thou be with Me in Paradise' that suffering can take the place of Baptism. Having weighed this in my mind again and again, I perceive that not only can suffering for the name of Christ supply for what was lacking in Baptism, but even *faith* and conversion of heart, if perchance on account of the stress of the times the celebration of the mystery of Baptism is not practicable" (*De Baptismo contra Donatist.*, c. 22).

From the same passage of St. Augustine, Peter Lombard concluded: "It is evident that some can be justified and saved without baptism [of water]" (*Sent.* d.4, c.4).

The Church has thus always taught the necessity of baptism, but she has never taught (except for children without the use of reason) the *absolute* necessity of water baptism for salvation in the case of a genuine impossibility, physical or moral, of receiving it.

The Magisterium

Innocent II, called upon to resolve the case of an unbaptized dead person, refers to St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, and recommends preserving the doctrine handed down by the Fathers on baptism of desire (Dz. 388). Innocent III, in his turn, declared that no one can baptize himself, even in a case of necessity, but in a case of necessity a man can be saved by faith in the sacrament even without the sacrament of faith: "Propter sacramenti fidem, etsi non propter fidei sacramentum" (Dz. 413). This doctrine was defined by the Council of Trent, which taught that one cannot be justified "except through the laver of regeneration, or a desire for it-sine lavacro regenerationis eius voto fieri non potest" (Dz. 796.

If there were a novelty at the time of St. Francis Xavier, it was this: until the great geographical discoveries, it was believed that the gospel had been preached to the entire world; then many peoples were discovered to whom the gospel had not been preached. Even so, all their ancestors should not have been consigned to hell; rather, the missionaries should have applied the ancient teaching on baptism of desire, a doctrine the Fathers of the Church had already applied to the pagans who had not been able to hear of Christ.

In this case, one cannot speak of negligence or contempt of the sacrament, but invincible ignorance, and hence a real moral impossibility of receiving water baptism, which is why it is necessary to attribute to baptism of desire (if this desire is present by an action of grace) the virtue of making up for water baptism. The desire for baptism can be explicit, as for catechumens who die before being baptized, but it can also be implicit in the general desire to accomplish in all things the will of God.⁷ What remains a secret of God is the number of those who are saved by this extraordinary means (the ordinary way is that of faith received through hearing: fides ex auditu, whence the need of missionaries), and it is certain that in this extraordinary way, they are deprived of the assurance of salvation and the ordinary means of attaining it dispensed by the Church.8

Thus those who would exclude from salvation men united to the Church by baptism of desire

(explicit or implicit) are condemned, as well as those who affirm that all men can be saved by their natural rectitude in all religions (indifferentism). Considering what Fr. Kolvenbach asserts, at the sight of the tears shed by the Japanese, St. Francis would have gone from the first error to the second error, and this second error...would be the "fruit" ripened by Vatican II, the ecumenism which in practice unconditionally and without distinction extends baptism of desire to all the infidels, rendering water baptism and the missions unnecessary.

Naturalism

Fr. Kolvenbach attributes to St. Francis Xavier the error of holding that "God would accept the righteous lives of those who were blamelessly ignorant of the necessity of baptism." On this point, too, there is a constant teaching of the Church: since man's final end is supernatural, it is impossible for him to be saved by natural rectitude alone (which undoubtedly disposes man to receive grace, but which cannot replace it); to be saved, supernatural faith is necessary. That is why, while water baptism in given circumstances can be supplied by baptism of blood and of desire (even implicit), for adults supernatural faith cannot in any instance be supplied (it is only for little baptized children that it is supplied by the faith of the Church).

Holy Scripture and the magisterium are categoric: "But without faith it is impossible to please God" (Heb. 11:6); St. Clement of Rome declared that no one has ever been justified without supernatural faith (*Epist.*, *I ad Cor.* XXIII). The doctrine of St. Cyprian, of St. Ambrose, of St. John Chrysostom, of St. Cyril of Alexandria, of St. Gregory the Great, etc. is the same. The Council of Orange (529) requires a supernatural faith for our regeneration that, from the outset, is the work of grace (Dz. 178), and the Council of Trent affirms that "without this [supernatural] faith, no one was ever justified" (Session 6, Chapter 7), and anathematizes anyone who would dare maintain that justification is the fruit of human efforts and does not proceed first from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost (Canon 8).

In this regard, one finds in the decrees of the Council of Orange a definition which is an anticipated condemnation of today's ecumenism:

Canon 5. If anyone says, that just as the increase [of faith] so also the beginning of faith and the very desire of credulity...is not through the gift of grace, that is, through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit reforming our will from infidelity to faith, from impiety to piety, but is naturally in us, he is proved to be antagonistic to the doctrine of



the Apostles, since blessed Paul says: ... "By grace you are made safe through faith, and this not of yourselves; for it is the gift of God" [Eph. 2:8]. For those who say that faith, by which we believe in God, is natural, declare that all those who are alien to the Church of Christ are in a measure faithful. 10

And is not this the abnormal conclusion the ecumenists draw today from their fundamental naturalism? The absolute necessity of supernatural faith was reiterated by the dogmatic Vatican Council I:

But, since "without faith it is impossible to please God" [Heb. 11:6] and to attain to the fellowship of His sons, hence, no one is justified without it; nor will anyone attain eternal life except "he shall persevere unto the end in it" [Mt. 10:22; 24:13].¹¹

It should be noted that the Council continues by affirming that it was for this purpose that the Church was founded, "that we may satisfactorily perform the duty of embracing the true faith and of continuously persevering in it." ¹²

Moreover, it is certain that God gives all infidels without personal guilt (*infideles negativi*) grace sufficient for their salvation. The universality of the divine salvific will and the [objective] universality of redemption render inadmissible the fact that a very large part of the human race would be refused the necessary and sufficient grace for salvation. That is why Alexander VIII, in 1690, condemned the propositions of the Jansenists according to which the pagans, Jews, and heretics receive no influx of grace from Christ. The Holy Spirit thus acts outside the visible boundaries of the Church in order to push souls towards the Church, if they do not resist, at least by desire.

This Catholic doctrine on the necessity of supernatural faith for the salvation of adults was reaffirmed and defended by the Roman Pontiffs until Vatican II. Thus Pius IX (*Quanto Conficiamur Moerore*, August 10, 1863), speaking of infidels who by misfortune, without personal fault, find themselves in a state of invincible ignorance with regard to our holy religion, but diligently observe the natural law, clarifies that they can attain eternal life, not in virtue of their natural righteousness, but "by the operating power of divine light and grace," ¹⁴ (to which their natural righteousness disposes them).

Later, Pope Pius XII in the Letter of the Holy Office to the Archbishop of Boston (August 8, 1949), speaking of baptism of desire, clarified:

But it must not be thought that any kind of desire of entering the Church suffices that one may be saved. It is necessary that the desire by which one is related to the Church be animated by perfect charity. Nor can an implicit desire produce its effect, unless a person has supernatural faith. 15

Now, according to Fr. Kolvenbach, what is the novelty which, "guided by the Church and by the Vatican II Ecumenical Council," we would have discovered? It is this: "The seed of truth is to be found in all mankind, and that God will offer salvation to those who did not come to know Christ"

Now, if that means that the infidel possesses in himself a natural light (moral and religious) which, if he does not extinguish it by his personal sins but, on the contrary, regulates his life according to it, it already leads him toward salvation because God, who desires that all of us be saved, does not refuse His grace to one who does what he can to be saved, then we are in the line of Tradition, and Vatican II teaches us nothing new. But if that means that the infidel in good faith is saved in virtue of his own natural righteousness (without grace, without supernatural faith, and without the Holy Spirit), then Vatican II would be teaching us something new, but not something good; rather, it is something the Church has already condemned several times, and which we cannot accept; something that St. Francis Xavier could not have taught (and certainly did not teach) without betraying his mission.

Hirpinus

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- ¹ This is the way B. Bartmann expresses it in his excellent *Manual of Theology* (Ed. Paoline), III, 89. The adjective "excellent" does not apply, however, to the additions to the Italian version made by Natale Bussi.
- ² De Obitu Valent., 51.
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, III, Q.68, Art.1, ad 3.
- ⁵ Ibid., Q.66, Art.11.
- ⁶ Ibid.
- Pius XII, Letter of the Holy Office to the Archbishop of Boston, August 8, 1949. [This letter has been reprinted in both Latin and English as an appendix in *Baptism of Desire: A Patristic Commentary* (Kansas City: Angelus Press, 1999), pp.65-73.–*Ed.*]
- ⁸ Pius XI, Singulari Quadam; Pius XII, Mystici Corporis
- $^9\,$ "It's the Lord who makes the difference," 30 Days, April 2006, p.14. $^{10}\,$ Dz. 178.
- ¹¹ Dz. 1793.
- 12 *Ibid*.
- ¹² *Ibid*.
 ¹³ Dz. 1294-95.
- ¹⁴ Dz. 1677.
- ¹⁵ Baptism of Desire: A Patristic Commentary, p.72.



Dear Editor,

Once again I am sending you a few newspaper clippings. In one of them (Il Giornale of November 4, 2005), Cardinal Poupard and Msgr. Gianfranco Basti accept evolution-quite wrongly, in my opinion-by citing, among other things, the words of Pope John Paul II: "Evolution is more than a hypothesis." I seem to recall that in that speech, the late Pope referred to a declaration by Pope Pius XII while turning his thinking upside down. As you can read for yourself, the article concludes with these words of Msgr. Basti: "For decades science has gotten beyond the scholastic-type [?] thesis of pure chance, abandoned because it does not hold up scientifically."

Dear Editor, things are going from bad to worse: the silent apostasy is invading the whole world despite the vast crowds that applaud Pope John Paul II in St. Peter's Square. What an illusion!

A Priest

NEO-MODERNISTS DEFEND EVOLUTION

Pope Pius XII and Evolution

The statement of Pope John Paul II to which Msgr. Basti refers is taken from his Message to the Pontifical Academy of Sciences on October 22, 1996. We shall see if it was used judiciously.

We looked at this message in a previous number of *Courrier de Rome*.² At that time we remarked that this text simplified Pope Pius XII's teaching, and made him say something which in reality he never said on the subject of evolution. He simplified it, because in the Encyclical *Humani Generis* Pope Pius XII 1) unconditionally condemned atheistic, materialistic evolution; and 2) denied the conclusiveness of the scientific



proofs of theistic evolution, which, by admitting the direct creation of the soul by God and His direct or indirect intervention in evolution, laid claim to, and still claims, a "Christian baptism" of the theory.³ That is why Pope Pius XII postponed the Church's judgment on theistic evolution until the time when science would be able to provide "clearly proved facts." Here is the passage of *Humani Generis* that is concerned with theistic evolution:

It remains for Us now to speak about those questions which, although they pertain to the positive sciences, are nevertheless more or less connected with the truths of the Christian faith. In fact, not a few insistently demand that the Catholic religion take these sciences into account as much as possible. This certainly would be praiseworthy in the case of clearly proved facts; but caution must be used when there is rather question of hypotheses, having some sort of scientific foundation, in which the doctrine contained in Sacred Scripture or in Tradition is involved. If such conjectural opinions are directly or indirectly opposed to the doctrine revealed by God, then the demand that they be recognized can in no way be admitted.

For these reasons the Teaching Authority of the Church does not forbid that, in conformity with the present state of human sciences and sacred theology, research and discussions, on the part of men experienced in both fields, take place with regard to the doctrine of evolution, in as far as it inquires into the origin of the human body as coming from pre-existent and living matter, for the Catholic faith obliges us to hold that souls are immediately created by God. However, this must be done in such a way that the reasons for both opinions, that is, those favorable and those unfavorable to evolution, be weighed and judged with the necessary seriousness, moderation and measure, and provided that all are prepared to submit to the judgment of the Church, to whom Christ has given the mission of interpreting authentically the Sacred Scriptures and of defending the dogmas of faith.4

At this point in the letter, Pius XII parenthetically references his Allocution to the members of the Academy of Sciences of November 30, 1941, in which he had said:

The many investigations in the domains of paleontology, biology, and morphology into other problems concerning the origins of man have not yet returned anything positively clear and certain. There remains nothing else to do than leave to the future the answer to the problem, should science, enlightened and guided by Revelation, one day be able to give certain and definitive results on a subject of such importance.

Continuing (in *Humani Generis*), Pius XII then deplores that "some rashly transgress this liberty of discussion" [this is all that the Encyclical conceded],

when they act as if the origin of the human body from pre-existing and living matter were already completely certain and proved by the facts which have been discovered up to now and by reasoning on those facts, and as if there were nothing in the sources of divine revelation which demands the greatest moderation and caution in this question. (§36)

This last phrase clearly shows that Pius XII's reserved judgment on "theistic" evolution was more negative (*non licet*) than positive.

The Reversal

In Pope John Paul II's Message to the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, one reads:

In his encyclical *Humani Generis* (1950), my predecessor Pius XII had already stated that there was no opposition between evolution and the doctrine of the faith about man and his vocation, on condition that one did not lose sight of several indisputable points.... Taking into account the state of scientific research at the time as well as of the requirements of theology, the encyclical *Humani Generis* considered the doctrine of "evolutionism" a serious hypothesis, worthy of investigation and in-depth study equal to that of the opposing hypothesis.⁵

That is how Pius XII is made to say what he did not say. Everyone can see for himself that, contrary to what the Message says, in *Humani Generis* Pius XII absolutely did not say that the doctrine of evolution is a "serious hypothesis"; rather, he said that it is a hypothesis that must be "weighed and judged with the necessary seriousness, moderation and measure" (which is obviously not the same thing); he does not say that it is a hypothesis "worthy of investigation and in-depth study equal to that of the opposing hypothesis," but on the contrary he finds fault with the theistic evolutionists who consider "the origin of the human body as coming from pre-existent and living matter" as something clearly demonstrated, "as if there were nothing in the sources of divine revelation which demands the greatest moderation and caution in this question" (§36). This is tantamount to saying that the "opposing hypothesis" is more in conformity with the sources of divine Revelation than theistic evolution, hence the injunction to ponder the evolutionist hypothesis "with the necessary seriousness," since the evolutionist hypothesis, even when it is theistic, requires that "the former convictions, based upon the Bible, the doctrine of the Fathers, and the usual teaching of the Church"6 be set aside.

A First Step in Favor of Evolution

Having understood Pius XII's Encyclical *Humani Generis* in this way, Pope John Paul II's Message

takes a step forward in favor of evolution: "Today, almost half a century after the publication of the encyclical, new knowledge has led to the recognition of the theory of evolution as more than a hypothesis." And after gratuitously asserting that this "theory" has been accepted because of "the convergence, neither sought nor fabricated [really? but isn't it within the habits of evolutionists to bend the facts to fit their theory, even resorting to fakery—a temptation from which even the Jesuit Teilhard de Chardin was not exempt], of the results of work that was conducted independently," the Pope then wonders:

What is the significance of such a theory? To address this question is to enter the field of epistemology. A theory is a metascientific elaboration, distinct from the results of observation but consistent with them. By means of and eventually "rethought," it does not seem to us that evolution has gained much by this promotion from hypothesis to theory. The only result is to encourage the press to publish headlines like "Faith and Science/ Appreciation of the Pope's Words Rehabilitating Darwin's Theory/ Soul or Not, Thanks to the Monkey!"

Another Step Forward and Another Reversal

Based on this fragile premise, Msgr. Basti felt authorized to take another step. John Paul II, he says, defined the principle of evolution as "more than a hypothesis"; now, "a hypothesis," Basti explains, can be true or false, and to say that it is more than

PAUL CARDINAL POUPARD (b. 1930) was named cardinal by Pope John Paul II in May 1985. He served as President of the Pontifical Council for Dialogue with Non-Believers until April 4, 1993, when this Council was incorporated in the Pontifical Council for Culture, whose mission is "to foster relations between the Holy See and the realm of human culture, especially by promoting communication with various contemporary institutions of learning and teaching, so that secular culture may be more and more open to the Gospel, and specialists in the sciences, literature, and the arts may feel themselves called by the Church to truth, goodness, and beauty" (Pastor Bonus, 166), of which he became President in 1988. In 2006 he was also appointed President of the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue. Cardinal Poupard is a prolific writer and the recipient of a knighthood from the Legion of Honor.

MSGR. GIANFRANCO BASTI is Professor of the philsophy of nature and science at the Pontifical Lateran University and Director of the Science, Theology and the Ontological Quest Project (STOQ, also SROQ), which was created by the Pontifical Council for Culture, the Lateran University, and the John Templeton Foundation "to illustrate the deep harmony between science and religon based on principles outlined by Pope John Paul II in such documents as *Fides et Ratio* and *Veritatis Splendor*" (*National Catholic Reporter*, November 18, 2005). The STOQ can be found online at stoquet.org.

it a series of independent data and facts can be related and interpreted in a unified explanation. A theory's validity depends on whether or not it can be verified; it is constantly tested against the facts; wherever it can no longer explain the latter, it shows its limitations and unsuitability. It must then be rethought.

The speech is not the clearest, but we believe we have correctly understood it to say that "the theory of evolution" must no longer be considered as a hypothesis, but as a "theory." But since the theory, as the Message acknowledges, must also, like a hypothesis, be verified "against the facts" a hypothesis means that proofs [sic] exist in favor of evolution which "tend towards the consolidation of a scientific theory." That is how John Paul II's Message, which reversed *Humani Generis*, is itself reversed by the interpretation given it by Msgr. Basti. Evolution becomes a solid "scientific theory" based on who knows what "proofs."



Desperate Recuperation of a "Shattered Myth"

But even a Pope's word cannot create *ex nihilo* scientific proofs in favor of a hypothesis which foundered long ago on the barrier of the fixity of the species:

The absence of links from species to species is not an exception: it is the universal rule. The more researchers have looked for transitional forms between species, the greater has been their disappointment.

This was the admission of the 160 evolutionists from all over the world who met at Chicago for a congress in 1980.8 And more recently, on August 25, 1992, the *Corriere della Sera* published a report from London entitled "Scientists at Congress: We Do Not Descend from Monkeys/Darwin Challenged on Evolution." It involved the yearly meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, an association at which the theory of evolution was first presented. The challenge was thrown down by the English scientist Richard Milton, author of *The Facts of Life: Shattering the Myths of Darwinism.* The *Corriere della Serra* added: "Milton is not alone in his challenge. Many other scientists have put in doubt Darwin's thesis."

It is in this "post Darwinian" atmosphere that churchmen, afflicted with "teilhardosis" (Teilhard de Chardin, recall, was one of evolution's mythmakers), believe they are opening the Church to the world by gathering the shards of a "shattered myth." Geneticist Giuseppe Sermonti rightly wrote:

Modernism's temptations are dangerous. One risks surrendering to modernity just when it has seen its day, of becoming a Darwinian for love of the world just when Darwin is on his way out, and of basing ethics on the descent of man from the monkey just when this theory has been definitively rejected.⁹

Hirpinus

Translated exclusively by Angelus Press from the French edition of *SiSiNoNo*, *Courrier de Rome*, November 2006, pp.4-6.

- ¹ English version: English Edition of the *Osservatore Romano*, October 30, 1996, available on line at www.newadvent.org /library/docs_jp02tc.htm.
- ² Published in the English edition of SiSiNoNo, No. 25, March 1998.–Ed.
- ³ Dictionnaire de théologie dogmatique, ed. Parente, Piolanti, and Garofalo, s.v. "Évolutionisme."
- ⁴ §§35-36.
- ⁵ §§3-4.
- ⁶ E. Ruffini, "The Responsibility of Catholic Paleoanthropologists," *Osservatore Romano* [It. ed.], June 3, 1950.
- ⁷ La Nazione, October 25, 1996.
- ⁸ Newsweek, November 3, 1980.
- ⁹ Il Tempo, July 10, 1987.

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