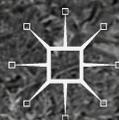


The Schism of '68

*Catholicism, Contraception and 'Humanae Vitae'
in Europe, 1945-1975*

EDITED BY ALANA HARRIS



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Alana Harris
Editor

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The Politics of Catholic Medicine: 'The Pill' and *Humanae Vitae* in Portugal

Tiago Pires Marques

On 5 August 1968, Cardinal Cerejeira, patriarch of Lisbon and a leading figure in the Estado Novo regime, made a television appearance to address the Portuguese people on *Humanae Vitae* (*HV*).¹ Interpreting the encyclical rather strictly, the Cardinal banned 'the pill' from Catholic homes and reaffirmed women's fecundity as the sole domain of God's providence. Although the cardinal's speech aimed to convey the encyclical directives to the masses, the issue of birth control had been a heated question since the early 1960s when the contraceptive pill had first entered the pharmaceutical market.² As elsewhere, the decision of Pope Paul VI to override the finding of the Pontifical Commission caused consternation in some circles in Portugal,³ and in the opinion of Manuel Neves e Castro, a Catholic doctor who opposed *HV* but drew his information from a 'Portuguese monsignor' privy to the discussions in the Vatican, 'Paul VI decided that approving the pill would constitute a lack of charity for the many couples who have suffered the consequences of the poor efficacy of periodic continence'.⁴ Issued soon after May '68,

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HV soon became the symbol of a conservative turn in the church amidst the wider counteroffensive of traditionalistic authorities.⁵

In Portugal, in congruence with the other European settings explored in this volume, *HV* produced a fracture within the Catholic community, dividing both laypeople and the clergy. Perceived as a reflection of a wider moral crisis, these divisions crossed multiple constituencies, some of them closely bound up with the Portuguese context. For example, Portuguese Catholic Action (*Ação Católica Portuguesa*), founded by Cardinal Cerejeira in 1933 to enlist both clergy and laity to the ‘Christianization of society’, and until the late 1950s ideologically close to the regime,⁶ proved a particularly significant presence in the debates around *HV*. This movement participated in the Third World Congress for the Lay Apostolate, from 11 to 18 October 1967 in a gathering of more than 3000 participants to discuss a vast number of topics, from poverty and social questions, to the role of laypeople, and women in particular, in the renewal of the church. Among the topics featured was that of the regulation of birth.⁷ Catholic Action’s official bulletin published the Congress resolutions, including one challenging the conservative naturalist theology on which the opposition to the ‘pill’ was based.⁸ The publication of this specific resolution motivated criticisms from more conservative sectors of the Portuguese church, who accused Catholic Action of disobedience towards the hierarchy.⁹ This fracture surfaced, again, soon after the publication of *HV*.¹⁰ Indeed, in September 1968, one of the members of its directive board, Henrique Santa Clara Gomes, attributed the veto of his reappointment to office as a consequence of the collective petition that a group of Portuguese Catholics signed against the encyclical.¹¹

Thus far, Portuguese historiography has approached *HV* as yet another chapter in the sexual repression conducted by the combined conservative ideologies of the Estado Novo and the Catholic Church.¹² Although power and control over sexuality were at stake, affecting women’s sexual self-determination with particular violence,¹³ this chapter argues that its history is far more complex than some all-inclusive narrative of repression—involving contradictions that cut across the Catholic clergy, lay Catholics and non-Catholics, and often juxtaposed and opposing ideologies and practices. This chapter argues that to understand the intricacies involved in managing the ‘problem of the pill’, we must situate the question at the intersection of State politics and the different agendas within the Catholic church. It maintains, more concretely, that this nexus

is best understood by focussing on the medical profession as the practical mediator between the State, church authorities and priests, and the wider population. In addition, this analysis must be fully embedded within a wider historical context of Portuguese society in the postwar period. In this regard, Paulo Fontes' chapter in the third volume of the *Religious History of Portugal*¹⁴ constitutes, virtually, the most comprehensive analysis of the changes observed in Portuguese Catholicism from 1910 to 1974. Yet, although the topic of the *HV* is referred in this chapter, the moral, religious and medical debates on the pill, as well as the reception of the encyclical in Portugal, have remained virtually unexplored by historians.¹⁵ This chapter thus presents original research largely obtained from primary sources.

This discussion is divided into four parts. The first two sections address Catholicism in Portugal, focussing, in particular, on relationships between the church and the Estado Novo regime centred on the evolution of Catholic values in the 1960s. This analysis establishes the context necessary to understand the attitudes observed towards matters of sexuality, encompassing its overarching regulation and the specific issue of the contraceptive pill. The third and fourth sections concentrate on the medical field, which is a vital focus for historical analysis of the reception of *HV* in Portugal. This chapter contends that the Estado Novo promoted a 'catholicization' of medicine and that this proved crucial in the fashioning of attitudes towards the pill among health professionals.¹⁶ Nonetheless, newspapers and publishing houses also relayed pro-pill opinions through articles and translations, as developed later in this chapter. Yet, even here, the arguments advanced within the media generally appealed to the Catholic faithful, which fundamentally set the framework for all debates by the experts. Eventually, the globalization of family planning, changing social values, and the political turn with the 1974 advent of democracy led to compromise solutions.¹⁷

CATHOLICISM AND BIRTH CONTROL IN THE ESTADO NOVO: FAITH, POLITICS AND MORAL DISCIPLINE

Until the late 1950s Portugal was, by and large, an underdeveloped country with a vast rural, impoverished working-class sector (about 45% of its working force in 1960).¹⁸ For most of the twentieth century, illiteracy remained at alarmingly high levels, attributable to the fact that in

1940 only 37% of children attended primary school.¹⁹ In 1960, a staggering 40.3% of the population could neither read nor write.²⁰ At the beginning of the 1960s, the population was still growing, yet merely ten years later the birth rate, although still high compared to more developed countries, had fallen by almost by one fifth.²¹ Together with the wave of emigration observed in the 1960s, this circumstance cost the country about 2% of its population.²² Interestingly, from 1945 to 1974, the marriage rate increased, likely an effect of the overall improvement of economic conditions during the 1960s.²³ These phenomena suggested the onset of new values with regard to conjugal fertility and the utilization of more effective means of birth control.²⁴ However, there are no studies on the use of contraceptives in this period, with the specific causes for the fertility decline remaining declaredly unknown to Portuguese historical demographers.²⁵ As Maria João Valente Rosa points out, this trend was part of a structural transformation of Portuguese society, accelerating in the 1960s and characterized by a complex interplay of economic, social and cultural factors. Among these, the rapid disaggregation of the rural world, despite significant regional differences, coupled with the growth of urban centres is likely to have had a major effect on the transformation of demographic patterns.²⁶

The censuses reporting these figures also identified Catholicism as the declared religion of most of the Portuguese people, at around 97%.²⁷ This number was, in part, a result of the Estado Novo's catholicizing policy, as Catholicism served as one of the fundamental ideological pillars of the Salazar dictatorship. The 1933 Constitution, formalizing the Estado Novo regime, guaranteed freedom of worship, yet this same document also declared Catholicism as the 'nation's traditional religion'.²⁸ In 1936 Oliveira Salazar, the Estado Novo's all-powerful President of Council, proclaimed 'God and Virtue', 'Fatherland and its History', 'Authority', 'Family and Its Morals', and the 'Glory and Duty of Work' as the guiding and undisputable values of the 'Nation'.²⁹ His was the god of the conservative Catholics of his generation, politicized in reaction to the secularist First Republic (1910–1926). Deployed in the political sphere, such a god became the safeguard of moral decency and social order in a modern world which Salazar characterized as beset by widespread doubt, individualism and the questioning of traditional values and authority.

The Concordat celebrated between the Portuguese Republic and the Holy See in 1940 reinforced the privileged status of the Catholic Church.

Among the church's privileges featured the right to teach religion and morals in public schools, excluding ministers of other faiths and coupled with fiscal benefits.³⁰ Every classroom had a crucifix and it went without saying that children and adolescents were taught to abide by Catholic values. Catholicism permeated the triumphalist view of Portuguese history taught at schools. Specifically, the Catholic religion was interlinked with the very birth of the 'Nation' and other critical moments in its history, constituting the 'soul' of the Portuguese people and catalyst to its 'Discoveries', as Portuguese colonization is still often designated.³¹ However, besides generic moral values, faith and specifically religious education were generally transmitted at home, at weekly catechism classes and, for the elites entering university, in one of the youth branches of Catholic Action.³²

The testimony of one woman, representative of the elite Catholic circles of the time, proves particularly helpful in characterizing Catholicism in Portugal. In her memoirs, historian Maria Filomena Mónica recalls a spiritual crisis lived out in her early twenties. Her attempts to return to the faith clashed with the form of Catholicism on offer in Salazar's Portugal. From her diaries, she retrieved passages such as the following: 'A religion life as values bothers me. Ritual, mechanical gestures diminish me. Mass on Sunday, the Sacred Way, the rosary, fasting, abstinence, first Fridays, Fátima'; 'The specific problem of Catholicism in Portugal. The Concordat. The fact Portuguese Catholics are reactionaries. Their backing of a decadent and paternalist government. The Right is shameful. Practical concessions that shame Catholics. Religious life is made of routine habits in which I don't believe (and don't matter) [...]'.³³ Mónica hereby clearly evokes the feelings of alienation towards traditional Catholicism experienced by literate Portuguese men and women of the time, even those belonging to Catholic families. As this and other testimonies render clear, this sense of Catholicism being out of pace with modernity was felt particularly in regard to its moral conservatism around sexuality and the family.³⁴

Salazar's relationships with sections of the Catholic hierarchy were, however, sometimes under strain,³⁵ although the instrumentalization of Catholic discipline through morality proved congenial to the regime.³⁶ Because patriarchy remained structural to Portuguese society, the ideological valuing of the family as the core unit of society reinforced the restrictions on women's sexual role to that of reproduction and motherhood. As historian José Machado Pais plausibly observed, 'the sexual act for

pleasure dishonoured the woman. To officially and publicly recognize the right of women to sexuality would lead to the destruction of the whole structure of the corporatist ideology, built on the family as the basic cell of society and on the assumption of the woman as a chaste and devout spouse'.³⁷ Salazar himself affirmed that women could not obtain happiness from pleasure but solely through renouncement.³⁸ A 1964 survey of students at the Universities of Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto showed that these values still pervaded the mentalities of Portuguese youth.³⁹ Indeed, most respondents accepted that although it might be useful for young men to have sexual experiences before marriage, in the case of young women any similar conduct would be considered immoral. Only 15.3% of students of both genders considered use of well-tested contraceptive methods acceptable, with 46.8% sanctioning only the so-called natural methods defended by the church, and a further 32.8% holding no opinion on the subject.⁴⁰

After decades of dictatorship, however, large sectors of the Portuguese population, university students included, had become politically disenfranchised. From the early 1950s, the *Estado Novo* political police (PIDE) had become particularly harsh in persecuting enemies of the regime and censored the publication of news, books, films and other forms of expression suspected of diffusing communist and socialist agendas, libertarian ideals and 'immoral' behaviours, including sex education and birth control.⁴¹ For example, when the Family Planning Unit (FPU) was created in 1967 (as discussed next), a television broadcast of an interview presenting its programme was cancelled, and the bank account of the association was frozen and its site inspected by PIDE.⁴² Along with communism and individualism, the women's movement had been declared an enemy of the *Estado Novo*. The vigorous women's movements emerging in the 1st Republic were forced into oblivion. Although the first wave of feminist movements worldwide eventually waned in the aftermath of World War I, in Portugal this trend was particularly significant. The isolationist politics followed by Salazar, the regime's pro-family ideologies, and the integration of young women into the regime and church organizations hindered the development of a new generation of activists, halting their potential campaigning for full civil and political rights, 'companionate marriage' and birth control.⁴³

However, despite the overall conservative atmosphere of the country, there is also a consensus in Portuguese historiography that this decade did mark a gradual opening up of Portuguese society and, as a consequence,

the onset of new values concerning sexuality and personal freedom.⁴⁴ These changes were fuelled by the economic growth then prevailing, a new wave of emigration to European countries and the expansion of the tourist industry. Furthermore, in addition to these structural transformations, changes in values were increasingly pursued by some sectors of Catholicism itself. Movements such as the Graal represented a significant example of the vitality of the laity in this period and their demands for a responsive and renewed Catholicism. An international Catholic lay movement which started its activities in Portugal in 1957, the Graal increasingly addressed issues surrounding the liberation of women and their active involvement in the society and the church.⁴⁵ In the sixties, the movement gained momentum, in particular after the Second Vatican Council, with prominent women such as Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo (later Prime Minister of Portugal for a short period of time in 1979 and 1980), leading in its social interventions for rural populations and its intensive publishing activities.⁴⁶ Drawing upon concepts such as 'earthly realities', 'development', and 'liberation' theologies, Graal's interventions sought the improvement of women's education, autonomy, and the overall revaluing of their role in the public sphere.⁴⁷ In addition, an increasing number of militant Catholics, some of them belonging to Catholic Action youth, professional and worker groups, demanded the democratization of society and a new attitude towards the rights of women.⁴⁸

The colonial wars of this same decade eventually turned these initially timid protests into full-frontal clashes with the Estado Novo regime. In 1961, liberation movements in Angola and Guinea-Bissau initiated guerrilla campaigns against the Portuguese colonizers. In the same year, after a brief war, the Indian army took possession of the Portuguese colonies of Goa, Damao and Diu.⁴⁹ However, in Africa, the anti-colonial struggle evolved into a war that would eventually span more than a decade with important consequences for the relationships between the Portuguese State and the Holy See. This was the time of the encyclical *Pacem in terris* (1963), the appeal by John XIII for world peace and, by the mid-1960s at least, some voices in the Vatican favoured the independence of African countries.⁵⁰ In 1964, the media coverage of the visit of Pope Paul VI to India was censored and discreetly, although publically, criticized.⁵¹ In 1965, Salazar warned against the intrusion of the church in State affairs and denounced 'Catholic progressivism', fuelled by the organization of international Catholic groups which he designated as bordering on communistic.⁵²

That same year, Catholic Action militants were arrested and taken to court, accused of ‘subversive actions’.⁵³ By the end of the decade, the opposition of militant Catholics to the war, in conjunction with their demands for democracy, social justice, and basic freedoms, clashed violently both with the more conservative wings of the Catholic hierarchy and with the now ageing regime.

BIRTH CONTROL AND THE ARRIVAL OF ‘THE PILL’

In 1942, and in a crowning moment for the 1930s Catholic doctors-led pro-natalist movement, Salazar’s government criminalized the advertisement and sale of contraceptive methods, equating them with abortive instruments.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, some sectors of the population did have access to condoms, which were sold in pharmacies and distributed in the army. In both cases, this access was to be justified as a means of preventing venereal diseases. Nevertheless, ‘the pill’ went on sale from 1962, with its usage restricted to treatment of irregular menstrual cycles under medical prescription for therapeutic purposes.⁵⁵ Although there are no precise data on how widespread was knowledge of the pill nor on the levels of prescription, historian Manuela Tavares has convincingly argued that, in the atmosphere of fear surrounding the ‘pill’, and to a great extent nourished by the church, only the more educated sectors of society sought out this contraceptive method.⁵⁶

Indeed, soon after this date, some hospitals and Motherhood Institute dispensaries (created in 1943 with the aim of providing assistance to maternity and early childhood⁵⁷), as well as private doctors, began prescribing ‘the pill’ to a mostly middle-class segment of the female population. The personal case of the aforementioned historian Maria Filomena Mónica proves eloquent. At age twenty-one, Mónica was married and already the mother of one child. In 1964, with her daughter then only three months old, she again became pregnant. In her words, ‘popular wisdom’ had made her believe that she would not get pregnant while breastfeeding. Born into a Catholic family and sharing the commonly held notion that contraception was the woman’s task, her mother had taught her the Knaus-Ogino method. Mónica sought out a doctor who would virtually ‘solve the problem’ through a set of ‘injections’. Yet, this method of abortion ended up failing and a few months later, she again gave birth.⁵⁸ Having suffered postpartum depression, she decided to take ‘the pill’, which was at that time a heated issue in some newspapers.

To obtain a medical prescription, Mónica consulted an obstetrician. The doctor refused on the grounds of his Catholicism. Through a second attempt, she eventually obtained a prescription. For the following twenty years, she took 'the pill', in double dosage, 'just in case'.⁵⁹

Although Mónica's experience suggests a classed bias in access to 'the pill', as relatively few women had basic information on this 'new method' and could attend private doctors, it also shows the painstaking course that even socially favoured and well-educated women faced. The situation would only be more serious for women afflicted by poverty and illiteracy. Purificação Araújo, a female gynecologist and obstetrician working in the 1960s, evoked some of the popular representations associated around the 'the pill'. One of the most common ideas among men was that the risk of pregnancy halted women from engaging in extramarital relations. As the doctor recalled, this idea explained the behaviour of a man who found a package of contraceptive pills at home: in a bout of rage, the man forced his wife to take all the pills at once, disregarding the harm this could cause her. In another telling example, the same doctor attended a meeting in a rural zone of the country with women coming from various villages. When one of them said she was taking the pill, the others reacted with great admiration: how was that possible, given the fact that the priest said the pill caused a hole in the stomach?⁶⁰

However, since the mid-1960s, health professionals and militant Catholics, inspired by the Council and the rapidly changing values of the Western world, began to take some initiatives in response to the public debate around birth control across Europe and around the world. Susan Lowndes, a British Catholic woman married to a Portuguese citizen and a correspondent for foreign Catholic newspapers, has left a precious contemporary testimony of such events in a short memo dated 25 March 1965:

Lisbon, Portugal – Nearly 300 Catholic university students crowded into a hospital auditorium here to hear a priest declare that the regulation of births has become necessary for society as a whole. The nine-hour conference was unique for Catholics in Portugal where public discussions on population problems have not been encouraged. Father Silva Sousa, a sociologist who was trained at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome, told the students that modern conditions place new demands on life and that the Church is preoccupied with solutions to the problem. [...] A physician attending the conference urged the Portuguese government to inaugurate reforms to halt the many illegal abortions that take place in Portugal each year.⁶¹

Two years later, the same chronicler announced the formation of the Family Planning Unit (FPU). This private association, established in Lisbon, described as the first ‘family planning organization’ in Portugal, included gynecologists/obstetricians and nurses, Catholic couples, and a group of people working in the social sector as social workers, psychologists and sociologists. Some of these health professionals were also Catholic militants, motivated by both post-conciliar debates and a public health rationale, namely the reduction of the high numbers of clandestine abortions.⁶² In the same year, the FPU became an affiliated member of the International Parenthood Federation which, at a transnational level, was leading the movement for family planning and contraception.⁶³ From 1968 onwards through a series of international congresses, starting with the Alma-Ata Conference, the IPF promoted recourse to the new contraceptive methods as part of primary healthcare.⁶⁴

From 1969, the FPU launched its regional centres. In a newspaper article published in 2010, its founder, Doctor Manuel Neves e Castro (a Catholic gynecologist and endocrinologist) recalled significant details surrounding the encyclical and the debates on the pill. In 1958, Neves e Castro worked at the Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology in the United States in a research centre closely linked to the development of the pill. Under the supervision of Gregory Pincus, who he named the ‘father of the pill’, Neves e Castro recalled having accompanied the work leading the discovery of the ‘new method’.⁶⁵ In 1960, he returned to Portugal, bringing with him some samples of Enovid and thereby became, purportedly, the first doctor to prescribe the pill in the country.⁶⁶ In the article, he reminded us how, before its legalization in that year, the then Premier Marcelo Cateano consulted Cardinal Cerejeira and only with episcopal permission did Cateano formally authorize the unit.⁶⁷

PUBLIC HEALTH AS A CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS BATTLEFIELD

In Portugal in the early twentieth century, two distinct visions of person and society clashed, sometimes violently: on the one side, Catholic and clerical, and, on the other, republican and anticlerical. The 1st Republic (1910–1926), strongly influenced by French republican culture, represented the victory of the secular camp, which claimed the values of

'positive science'. The Republican State intended to replace the power of the church, simultaneously manifested in the framing of certain crucial dimensions of social life and the guidance of individual souls.⁶⁸ The presence of doctors in the government of the Republic illustrates the consecration of medicine as one of the sites in which such a displacement was to take place. Medicine had become a 'sanctuary of Reason', to employ the terms of Jean Baubérot and Raphaël Liogier, speaking about the French context but equally applicable to 1st Republic Portugal.⁶⁹ As such, medicine was cast as a modernizing force, a bulwark against the irrationality and obscurantism of religion.

Catholic doctors reacted to this vision of medicine and society, accusing republicans of materialism and individualism.⁷⁰ The Association of Catholic Doctors, founded in 1915, aimed at contesting this secularizing manoeuvre by placing the notion of the 'person' at the centre of clinical practice. This association responded specifically to the call of Pope Leo XIII who urged in his encyclical *Humanum Genus* (1884) the establishment of professional bodies to handle 'errors of modernity', including atheism and naturalism. The Portuguese corporation followed the French example of the St Luke Association (founded in 1884), with which it established contact, particularly through the International Congresses of Catholic Doctors.⁷¹ During the twentieth century, these conferences disseminated the thinking of the Catholic theologians and Popes on medical ethics issues. Its publication, *Ação Médica*, demonstrated the reach and significance of this association in the catholicization of sexuality.⁷²

The articulation of a Catholic identity through medicine was given fertile grounds in which to flourish in the Estado Novo context. In the corporatist logic of the 1933 constitution, doctors were to organize as a social and professional body. In 1937, the Order of Doctors replaced the Portuguese Medical Association (founded in 1898). In Portugal, these political, socio-professional and scientific bodies shaped the context in which the concept of social hygiene was appropriated and gained momentum. The Association of Catholic Doctors also echoed the ideals of Catholic Action, and throughout the interwar period it set about rearticulating within a Catholic framework topics that had, until then, been apprehended in secular terms, such as 'social' and 'mental' hygiene'.⁷³ Faithful to Salazar, the Associations' journal editor, José de Paiva Boleo, proclaimed his loyalty to the Pope and, until the end of

the 1950s, published virtually every speech of Pope Pius XII on issues of medical ethics. Then, although cultivated during the nineteenth century by a growing interest in the questions posed by modern medicine,⁷⁴ the attention paid by this Pope to medical questions was unprecedented. Indeed, during the 1940s and 1950s, the Pope addressed many health professions, usually at national and international healthcare conferences.⁷⁵ Integrating technical and moral problems, his speeches contributed towards building an official Catholic doctrine on modern medical ethics.

During these decades, Catholic physicians and ecclesial communities together defined a Catholic medical ethos, differentiated from that of the so-called secular and naturalistic medicine. Thus, a report by the 3rd International Congress of Catholic Doctors, held in Lisbon in 1947, began with a quote from the speech of Pius XII to the Italian Medical Biological Union 'San Luca'.⁷⁶ At the congress, the major points of the Pope's speech were relayed by the President of the Association of Catholic Doctors, Joao Porto, who held an important chair of medicine at the University of Coimbra. According to Porto, and following closely the Pope's thought, medicine dealt with the human being in its unity and in its complexity, thus including psychological, spiritual and religious dimensions.⁷⁷ Porto invoked scientific arguments, namely, the interdependence between the neurological, sexual and biological components, and the psyche; yet, he also made clear the distinction between materialist and atheist doctors, and Catholic doctors, with the latter defined by their belief in a transcendent God and the existence of the soul.⁷⁸ Although the welfare of the individual remained the doctor's major goal, the Catholic physician was never to forget the collective dimensions inherent to the concept of the 'person'. By clearly distinguishing his concept of personhood from that of liberal individualism and collectivizing socialism, the Catholic doctor, he continued, in addition to his therapeutic function, carried out a threefold 'apostolate': religious, social and charitable/caring.⁷⁹

Additionally, two other features distinguished the Catholic conception of medicine from the secular medical ethos: for one, the idea that therapeutic actions have moral and religious limits; and, second, the notion that suffering takes on religious meaning. These two aspects questioned individual welfare as an absolute value, characteristic of modern, materialist medicine. For example, before a crowd that included many patients gathered in Rome in 1957, the Pope affirmed that suffering represented



Fig. 7.1 Cover of a satire by Jose Vilhena on the reception of the pill in Portugal within various social settings (Reproduced with kind permission of Luis Vilhena's estate)

a means of sanctification; with Jesus on the side of the sick and those suffering in this life gaining their rewards in the next.⁸⁰

Thus, even while attempting to keep pace with the advances in modern science and medicine, the underlying papal discourses emphasized sanctification through suffering and renouncement. Together with the restriction of sexuality to reproduction within marriage and views on the vulnerability of women, this culture of self-abnegation left little space for the revolutionary possibilities opened up by ‘the pill’, including a full acceptance of sex for pleasure and the reproductive autonomy of women (as satirized in this cartoon by Jose Vilhena in 1970; Fig. 7.1).

DISILLUSION AND PERSUASION: THE CATHOLIC RECEPTION OF *HV* AND THE WAR OF TRANSLATIONS

In the context of the Portuguese post-conciliar atmosphere of *aggiornamento*, and more generally of the cultural wars around May ’68, *HV* was understood as a major throwback with regard to the potentialities opened by the Second Vatican Council.⁸¹ The papal prohibition of the ‘pill’, based on assertions of authority and restatements of natural theology, created new fissures within Portuguese Catholicism which some commentators have defined as a ‘silent schism’.⁸² In September 1968, 41 Catholics addressed a letter to Cardinal Cerejeira on this topic, arguing that the encyclical disregarded all the work developed by the Pontifical Commission which was ‘well rooted in psychology, sociology, economy and contemporary theology’.⁸³ Previously published in the journal *O Tempo e o Modo*, the letter strongly criticized what it called ‘an exercise of authority’ which clashed with ‘human intelligence’ in the name of an outdated concept of tradition that overrode conciliar concepts such as collegiality and reading the signs of the times.⁸⁴ Decades later, a Catholic militant at that time, Joana Lopes, recalled the feeling of estrangement and disillusion caused by the encyclical:

Two months after May 1968, this was a voice that came from a world that had ceased to be ours. To expect us to accept it was to ask that we come back to believe in Santa Claus. It should be emphasized, for example, that the contraceptive pill had already been definitively acquired in the Portuguese elites, that it was part of their habits, and that it had been the passport to a first platform for the equality between men and women.⁸⁵

For clergy engaged in debates about sexuality and birth control-related pastoral issues, it had become virtually impossible to ignore the disillusionment provoked by *HV* among many Catholics. Voicing the official position of the church, a document published by Fr Antonio Leite SJ soon after the Cardinal's television announcement represented a significant example of attempts to quash the negative reactions of part of the Catholic elite.⁸⁶ In the first few lines of the text, its author mentioned the criticisms raised by the encyclical amongst lay Portuguese Catholics, clergy and theologians who attempted to mitigate the force of the pronouncement through its description as a moral orientation, without any power of compliance. Counteracting this position, Fr Leite asserted its mandatory nature, criticizing those who defended that the encyclical as not being *ex cathedra* and therefore lacking the status of dogma through recourse to *LG* §25. The argument implied that *HV* ultimately derived its authority also from the support given by bishops to the Pope's view. After all, Paul VI was not alone—such was the leitmotif of the document. Additionally, Fr Leite deployed further pro-authority arguments, in particular linking the encyclical to pontifical pronouncements from *CC*, to the speeches of Pius XII in the 1940s and the 1950s, through to John XXIII's *Mater et Magistra* (1961).⁸⁷ Throughout he affirmed a consistent, unbroken papal tradition advocating the 'invio- lability of natural laws concerning the transmission of human life'.⁸⁸ Although these arguments mobilized the concept of tradition, they did so by emphasizing the creative engagement of the church with scientific and ethical debates on eugenics and abortion.⁸⁹ Along with these theo- logical arguments, the Jesuit argued that the different approaches of the Anglican and the Catholic church to the 'neo-Malthusian' movement accounted for their differences on the issue of 'the pill'.⁹⁰ This argument was likely to elicit strong emotional responses, as the concept of 'neo- Malthusian' was charged with highly negative meanings, reminiscent of social Darwinism and Nazi politics⁹¹ and spoke into a context of increas- ingly unstable denominational differences attributable to the burgeon- ing ecumenical movement. In the closing pages of his text, the priest did acknowledge the difficulties of following authority arguments in modern times, before reminding readers that the Pope had also developed a sci- entific argumentation and proposed practical methods (i.e., the rhythm method) to approach the problem of birth control without breaching 'natural laws'.

In the following year, the Diocesan Committee for the Doctrine of Faith, an organ of the CDF, issued a document containing the ‘pastoral orientations in view of the application of the *HV*’. This text followed exactly the same argumentative strategy: an understanding attitude with regard to criticisms about the papal doctrine, coupled with an uncompromising view on the wrongfulness of the pill. Less doctrinal than the Jesuit’s text, the Diocesan document echoed the encyclical’s structure in its direct appeal to couples, to scientists, and to health professionals.⁹²

In the public debate from this moment onwards, theological issues surfaced in a significant number of publications. For example, the publishing house *Livraria Sampedro Editora* issued a number of books during the 1960s concerning women and sexuality.⁹³ The *Livraria do Apostolado da Imprensa* press, directed by the Jesuits, published progressive theologians such as Henri de Lubac and Jean Daniélou⁹⁴; while the *Edições Paulistas* published the most significant conciliar theologian authors such as Yves Congar, Bernard Häring, Karl Rahner SJ, and Eduard Schillebeeckx.⁹⁵ *Livraria Tavares Martins*, in Oporto, published Daniel Rops, Thomas Merton and Teilhard de Chardin,⁹⁶ while the ‘progressive Catholic’ journal *O Tempo e o Modo* testified to the increasing opposition of some sectors of the Portuguese Catholic elites to conservative Catholicism and its ideological support of Estado Novo. An issue published in March 1968 focused specifically on the topic of marriage and divorce, provoking much debate in the Catholic milieu, eventually leading to its seizure by PIDE.⁹⁷

Besides these publications, much of the persuasion work was carried out either in medical articles or in books on medical issues targeting a broader audience, especially in the field of sexuality. The strong Catholic investment in the medical field previously described had already created fertile grounds for such a strategy. The publishing house *União Gráfica* positioned itself on the side of *HV* and that year published a book by Dr Aureliano Dias Gonçalves, entitled *Science Stands with Paul VI as He Publishes the *Humanae Vitae**.⁹⁸ Almost simultaneously, the same editor issued a translation of the anti-pill manifesto, *Amour et contraception. Pour une sexualité responsable* (1965), by Dr Paul Chauchard, a French conservative Catholic physician who published on a wide variety of topics at the intersection of morality, religion and science such as Rusterholz’s chapter also explores. Other Portuguese medical practitioners published on this matter, among them José da Paiva Boleo, discussed earlier as the

founder of the Catholic Action-inspired *Medical Action* journal. From the late 1920s, Boleo published extensively on issues of 'social hygiene', the social function of medicine, euthanasia, abortion and sexuality.⁹⁹ In the 1930s, he pioneered the defence of the Knaus-Ogino method and at the height of the debate on the contraceptive pill, he stood out as an ardent defender of the papal position. Thus, in 1973 Boleo published seven articles in the Catholic newspaper *Novidades*, usually considered by historians as the unofficial organ of the Portuguese episcopate.¹⁰⁰ Within these opinion pieces, Boleo had three main targets in mind: his fellow colleagues who had published pro-pill articles earlier that year in the most important national newspaper, *Século Ilustrado*¹⁰¹; pro-pill Catholic doctors and 'progressive' priests (including the President of Family Planning Unit, Doctor Albino Aroso, who defended the pill to combat abortion)¹⁰²; and, most concertedly, the World Health Organization (WHO). That year, the WHO had distributed a non-official text on the role of nursing and midwifery in family planning.¹⁰³ Reacting to this move, Boleo denounced the pressure that the WHO exerted on governments and health professionals in favour of usage of the pill as a means of tackling the problem of overpopulation, and argued that the problem of overpopulation was not a Portuguese matter as the 1970 census had shown a clear fall in the birth rate¹⁰⁴ and a population decline resulting from sharp increases in migration.¹⁰⁵ Boleo went on to criticize a policy that, in his view, only benefited pharmaceutical laboratories, while causing trauma, fatigue, precocious ageing, and psychological trouble in women.¹⁰⁶ In the first paragraph of a book collecting these articles,¹⁰⁷ he linked contraception to abortion and eugenics and sought to target a line of argument voiced by Catholic doctors for whom the contraceptive pill prevented the greater evils of abortion and infanticide.¹⁰⁸ According to Boleo, this choice between contraception and abortion constituted a false dilemma: while the latter went against life, the former harmed the basic instinct of motherhood itself.¹⁰⁹ Yet, these positions in the press were not left without repost, as recalled by Manuel Neves e Castro who remembered his 'many struggles in the daily press' in which he voiced his 'regret for the ignorance of those Catholics who do not know the encyclical is not a dogma, but only a pedagogical document'.¹¹⁰

Nevertheless, most books on both sides of the question were of foreign origin, leading to what might be called a 'war of translations' between publishing houses. In 1969 and again in 1970, the publisher *Delfos* launched the provocative manifesto of French writer Emmanuelle

Arsan, *Letter to the Pope on the Pill*.¹¹¹ Arsan, soon to become a global celebrity following the film adaptation of her novel, *Emmanuelle, l'anti-vierge* (1968), observed that on the issue of the pill the Pope solely addressed men, leaving women with the alternatives of motherhood or objectification as 'a mere instrument of the selfish pleasure of the male'.¹¹² The historicity of morals and the 'voluptuousness of love' would triumph over the church, an institution that, more 'than disquieting or tragic, had become ridiculous'. After all, Emmanuelle defiantly asked, 'Who thinks of the Pope when surrendering to the pleasures of love?'¹¹³ Others followed clear editorial lines, whether in favour or against the pill. The well-known publisher *Livros do Brasil*, for example, was resolutely against the new contraceptive method: in the first half of the 1970s, it published a translation of the *Illustrated Encyclopedia of Sex*, first published in the United States in 1950, a book that refused to even mention the 'artificial contraceptive methods' then available, much less the newly available pill. The Portuguese preface rendered clear the objective of the publication: to popularize the Knaus-Ogino method along with values such as those contained in a quote attributed to the President of the International Congress of Gynaecology: 'All that troubles the natural course of sexual life, all that is artificial, is harmful to health'.¹¹⁴

At the opposite end of the spectrum, the well-established *Dom Quixote* press released a book defending recourse to the pill from a variety of perspectives. Entitled *Is the Pill a Danger?*,¹¹⁵ the collection assembled texts mostly signed by doctors, alongside essays by French journalists and a theological text originally published in the French journal *Frères du monde*,¹¹⁶ as Sevegrand's chapter also explores. In particular, this book reacted to the arguments emerging in some medical sectors and the Catholic medical field particularly, about the dangers of the pill to the health of women. The opening text, originally published by the journal *Nouvel Observateur*, set the tone: the medical arguments put forward by anti-pill campaigners were inconsistent and thus revealing that, behind the clinical jargon, hid 'another type of resistance'.¹¹⁷ In other words, religious values were becoming translated into medical justifications, as Kościańska expands in a Polish context. Just one article focussed on specifically religious analysis,¹¹⁸ and within it Yves Seinlet denounced the authoritarian turn behind the encyclical, drawing on personalist theology and describing the mobilization of 'nature' by Paul VI as 'archaic' and in conflict with the notion of 'human responsibility'.¹¹⁹

The trend in the editorial line of yet another well-established publishing house, *Moraes Editores*, is exemplary of the resistance strategies used by Portuguese Catholics in implicitly criticizing *HV*. Since 1958, this publishing house had belonged to Alçada Baptista, a journalist and writer well known in progressive Catholic circles. In the 1960s, *Moraes* published several books on issues of sexuality, birth control and women's emancipation, and these publications became gradually more distant from the Catholic orthodoxy. Thus, in 1964, *Moraes* published a translation of a book by Paul Chauchard, advocating the method of 'reserved union' as a natural contraceptive—sexual intercourse with renunciation of orgasm on the part of both men and women. Four years later, however, Sacha Geller's *The Pill: Yes or No?* (1968) was published,¹²⁰ in which this French gynecologist explored the 'method of temperatures' but reluctantly came down in support of the use of the pill. His moral reservations and preference for other methods allowed him to maintain some degree of loyalty towards the Catholic doctrine but he nevertheless concluded in the closing pages: 'We are condemned to the pill'.¹²¹ Simultaneously, *Moraes* published books on the emancipation of women, indirectly relating to the issue of oral contraceptives. Yet, even here, the works were carefully and diplomatically chosen. A good example was the work of sociologist Catherine Valabrègue, originally titled *La condition masculine* and translated as *A condição masculina e a emancipação da mulher* (literally, *The masculine condition and the emancipation of women*). The Portuguese title was programmatic, as the book argued that women's emancipation constituted no threat to men. As far as birth control was concerned, the author quoted the Catholic World Congress of the Lay Apostolate, proposing a concept of 'responsible fatherhood' that implied freedom of choice over contraceptive methods even while framed by the Christian faith and based on medical expertise.¹²² As these trail-blazing publications demonstrated, the transnational circulation (and translation) of birth control texts after *HV* could generate more profound reactions *outside* their country of origin and make it possible to speak about a European reaction to the encyclical, as well as a national reception or rejection.

In April 1974, a revolution initially led by the army overturned the Estado Novo regime and the climate of sexual liberation experienced in the aftermath of the revolution is a well-known page in its process. In March 1976, the government implemented family planning consultations at the health centres of the Directorate-General of Health (a State

agency working in direct dependency on the executive power)¹²³ and, reflecting the debate and struggles of the preceding fifteen years, the new political Constitution of the Republic approved in 1976 consecrated the right to family planning.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, deep-seated values and the gendered power relations in the actual fabric of Portuguese society have changed at a much slower pace.

CONCLUSION

In the early 1960s, the debate over the contraceptive pill reflected the disaffection of a growing sector of Portuguese elites towards Catholic control and authority over sexuality. However, with the colonial wars rumbling on throughout the decade, the reclaiming of sexual freedom became secondary to protests over the church's tacit support for the Estado Novo's military politics. The publication of *HV* reanimated the conflict within the church and across Catholic and non-Catholic professional sectors, a conflict in which doctors (alongside the press) eventually played a crucial, mediating role.

At this point, we may propose a more general reflection on the 'spiritual crisis' revealed and accentuated by the encyclical. If we view the ideological contestation of the Vatican's position on the pill as an index of secularization, this analysis suggests that the historical debate on religious change, especially when applied to predominantly Catholic societies, involves incorporating aspects otherwise seldom present in secularization's master narratives. Indeed, rather than a decline in faith and church attendance or, in the more sophisticated account proposed by Charles Taylor, a shift in the prevailing background of life experience from transcendence to immanence,¹²⁵ we observe the desacralization of some crucial aspects of life within religious frames of experience. This is particularly the case with sexuality. Both the Catholic ideological challenge to natural law and the favouring of personalism alongside material issues such as a marked decline of conjugal fertility prove consistent with this hypothesis. The prominence of the maternal womb among the sacred sites of Catholic theologies and imaginaries may render the idea of secularization as desacralizing within the faith all the more significant.

NOTES

1. S. Lowndes (2016) *Catolicismo em Portugal. Crónicas de Susan Lowndes, Correspondente Britânica/Catholicism in Portugal. Chronicles by Susan Lowndes, British Correspondent (1948–1992)*, A. Vicente (ed.) (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa), p. 155.
2. A. N. Almeida, D. Vilar, I. M. André, and P. Lalande (2004) *Fecundidade e Contraceção: Percursos da saúde Reprodutiva das Mulheres Portuguesas* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais), pp. 31–2.
3. Y. Seinlet (1971) “‘Humanae Vitae’ – Uma crise da Igreja”, in R. Kistner, J. Alia, P. Vaughan, and N. Bensaid (eds.) (1971) *A Pílula é um Perigo?* (Lisboa: Dom Quixote), pp. 36–48.
4. My translation from the Portuguese. J. N. Castro (2010) ‘A história da pílula contraceptiva’, *Diário de Notícias*, 2 July 2010.
5. P. Fontes (2002) ‘O catolicismo português no século XX: da separação à democracia’ in M. Clemente and A. M. Ferreira (eds.) *História Religiosa de Portugal*, Vol. III (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores), p. 306; J. Revez (2009) *Os ‘Vencidos do Catolicismo’. Militância e atitudes críticas (1958–1974)* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa), pp. 78–80.
6. P. Fontes (2011) *Elites católicas em Portugal: o Papel da Acção Católica (1940–1961)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkain/Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia).
7. Fontes, ‘O catolicismo português no século XX’, p. 305.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 305–6.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
10. J. Revez, *Os ‘Vencidos do Catolicismo’*, pp. 78–9.
11. Fontes, ‘O catolicismo português no século XX’, p. 306.
12. I. Freire (2010) *Amor e sexo no tempo de Salazar* (Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros); M. Tavares (2011) *Feminismos. Percursos e desafios (1947–2007)* (Lisbon: Texto Editores).
13. S. Aboim (2011) ‘Vidas conjugais: do institucionalismo ao elogio da relação’ in A. N. Almeida (ed.), *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. Os Nossos Dias* (n.p.: Temas e Debates/Círculo de Leitores), pp. 81–2; S. Aboim (2013) *A Sexualidade dos Portugueses* (Lisboa: Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos), pp. 43–8; V. Policarpo (2011) ‘Sexualidades em construção, entre o privado e o público’, in A. N. Almeida (ed.) *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. Os Nossos Dias* (n.p.: Temas e Debates/Círculo de Leitores), pp. 48–79.
14. Fontes, ‘O catolicismo português no século XX’.
15. F. Rosas (1994) *O Estado Novo (1926–1974)*, 7th volume of José Mattoso (ed.) *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Estampa); F. Rosas (2012) *Salazar e o poder: a arte de saber durar* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-China);

- I. F. Pimentel (2000) *História das Organizações Femininas no Estado Novo* (Mem Martins: Círculo de Leitores); I. F. Pimentel (2011). *A história da PIDE* (Mem Martins: Círculo de Leitores/Temas & Debates); Almeida et al., *Fecundidade e contraceção*.
16. T. P. Marques (2013) *La Foi Psychiatrique. Catholicisme et Médecines de l'âme au Portugal* (c.1926–c.1967) 163 *Archives des Sciences Sociales des Religions*, pp. 103–22.
 17. Almeida et al., *Fecundidade e Contraceção*, pp. 32–3.
 18. J. S. Lopes (1996) 'A Economia Portuguesa desde 1960' in A. Barreto (ed.) *A Situação Social em Portugal, 1960–1995* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais), p. 235.
 19. M. F. Mónica (1978) *Educação e sociedade no Portugal de Salazar. A Escola Primária Salazarista (1926–1939)* (Lisboa: Presença), p. 62.
 20. A. Barreto and C. V. Preto (1996) 'Indicadores da Evolução Social' in A. Barreto (ed.) *A Situação Social em Portugal*, p. 89.
 21. C. Conim (1990) 'Mudança demográfica' A. Reis (ed.), *Portugal Contemporâneo*, Vol. V (Lisboa: Publicações Alfa), p. 156.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 154–5.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
 24. *Ibid.*, pp. 153–7; F. Rosas (1994) *O Estado Novo (1926–1974)*, pp. 419–20.
 25. M. J. V. Rosa (1996) in A. Barreto (ed.) *A Situação Social em Portugal*, p. 205.
 26. *Ibid.*
 27. Lowndes, *Catholicismo em Portugal*, p. 127.
 28. Rosas, *Salazar e o poder*, p. 265.
 29. A. O. Salazar 'As grandes certezas da Revolução nacional' *Discursos e notas políticas*, Vol. II (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora), pp. 127–41.
 30. Rosas, *Salazar e o poder*, p. 257.
 31. Mónica, *Educação e sociedade no Portugal de Salazar*, pp. 287–305; Rosas, *Salazar e o poder*, pp. 261–70; M. Araújo and S. R. Maeso (2016) *Os Contornos do Eurocentrismo. Raça, história e textos políticos* (Coimbra: Almedina/Centro de Estudos Sociais), pp. 53–60.
 32. Fontes, *Elites católicas em Portugal*, p. 593; Lowndes, *Catholicismo em Portugal*, pp. 128–9.
 33. M. F. Mónica (2005) *Bilhete de Identidade. Memórias 1943–1976* (Barcelos: Aletheia), pp. 191–2.
 34. Another telling example is that of Joana Lopes, a militant 'progressive' Catholic woman in the 1960s for whom 'the fracture [around the HV] constituted yet another contribution to erase that which still remained, among some Catholics, of the flame of the Second Vatican Council'. J. Lopes (2007) *Entre as brumas da memória: os católicos portugueses e a ditadura* (Porto: Ambar), p. 120.

35. The most serious clash with a highly positioned member of the church occurred in 1958, when the Bishop of Oporto suggested, in a publicly published letter to Salazar, that the regime acted both against the freedom of the church to teach its social doctrine and against the political rights of lay Catholics. In response, Bishop Antonio Ferreira Gomes spent the following ten years in exile—Rosas, *O Estado Novo (1926–1974)*, p. 521.
36. Rosas, *Salazar e o poder*, pp. 265–7.
37. J. M. Pais (1990) 'Austeridade e moralismo nos valores estéticos' in A. Reis (ed.) *Portugal Contemporâneo* (Lisbon: Publicações Alfa), p. 350.
38. M. Tavares (2011) *Feminismos. Percursos e desafios (1947–2007)* (Lisbon: Texto Editores), p. 90.
39. CODES/JUC, 1967, quoted by Tavares, *Feminismos*, p. 91.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Pimentel, *A história da PIDE*, pp. 45–8; Revez, *Os 'Vencidos do Catolicismo'*, p. 79.
42. D. M. Rebelo (1987) *O Movimento do Planeamento familiar* in F. A. Gomes, A. De Albuquerque, and J. S. Nunes (eds.), *Sexologia em Portugal*, Vol. II (Lisbon: Texto Editora), p. 106.
43. Tavares, *Feminismos*, pp. 68–74.
44. Fontes, 'O catolicismo português no século XX', pp. 129–351; Revez, *Os 'Vencidos do Catolicismo'*, pp. 45–104; Rosas, *Salazar e o Poder*, pp. 271–80.
45. P. B. Santos (2014) 'Aspetos do discurso religioso de Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo (1968–2004): a experiência da fé o papel das mulheres no cristianismo', in J. L. Fontes, M. F. Andrade, and T. P. Marques (eds.) *Vozes da Vida Religiosa Feminina, Experiências, Textualidades e Silêncios (Séculos XV–XXI)* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa), p. 176.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 177–8.
48. Fontes, *Elites católicas em Portugal*; N. Medeiros (2015) 'Action, Reaction and Protest by Publishers in 1960s Portugal: Books and Other Publications in the Catholic Opposition' 16(2–3) *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, pp. 137–53.
49. J. Silveira (1990) 'As guerras coloniais e a queda do Império' in A. Reis (ed.), *Portugal Contemporâneo*, Vol. V (Lisboa: Publicações Alfa), p. 75.
50. Lowndes, *Catolicismo em Portugal*, p. 139.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
54. Almeida et al., *Fecundidade e contraceção*, p. 31.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 31–2.
56. Interview with Manuela Tavares quoted by Freire, *Amor e sexo*, p. 248.

57. M. L. Levy (1999) '50 anos de pediatria em Portugal' 30(1) *Acta Pediatrica Portuguesa*, pp. 93–9 at p. 94.
58. Mónica, *Bilbete de Identidade*, p. 186.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
60. Interview with Purificação Araújo quoted by Freire, *Amor e sexo*, p. 249.
61. Lowndes, *Catolicismo em Portugal*, p. 140.
62. Almeida et al., *Fecundidade e contracepção*, p. 32.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*
65. J. N. Castro (2010) 'A história da pílula contraceptiva', *Diário de Notícias*, 2 July 2010.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. M. R. L. Garnel (2003) 'O poder intelectual dos médicos. Finais do século XIX inícios do século XX' 24 *Revista de História das Ideias*, pp. 213–53 at pp. 231–2.
69. J. Baubérot and R. Liogier (2011) *Sacrée Médecine. Histoire d'un devenir de la Raison* (Paris: Entrelacs).
70. For an extended analysis of the Catholic ethos in medicine, in this period, see T. P. Marques (2013) 'La foi psychiatrique. Catholicisme et médecines de l'âme au Portugal (c.1926–c.1967)' 163 *Archives des Sciences Sociales des Religions*, pp. 103–22.
71. D. Maurício (1947), 'Medicina individual e medicina colectiva' 45 *Brotéria*, p. 344.
72. J. P. Boleo (1937) 'A psicanálise e os médicos católicos' (Résumé of the article by Paul Cossa, *O médico católico perante a psicanálise. Métodos e doutrinas*. In *Bulletin de la Société médicale de Saint Luc*, n. 1–2, 1937), in *Acção Médica*, Vol. V, pp. 63–9.
73. Marques, 'La foi psychiatrique', pp. 106–9.
74. H. Guillemain (2006) *Diriger les Consciences, Guérir les âmes. Une Histoire Comparée des Pratiques Thérapeutiques et Religieuses (1830–1939)* (Paris: Éditions La Découverte), p. 26; Baubérot and Liogier (2011) *Sacrée Médecine*, pp. 56–8.
75. In 1953, the Catholic doctor José de Paiva Boléo listed 20 papal speeches addressed to doctors, nurses, midwives, pharmacists and social assistants health, as well as to sick people, on health-related issues from 1944 to 1952 (J. P. Boléo (1953) 'Sua Santidade Pio XII e a Medicina' 67 *Acção Médica*, pp. 190–1).
76. D. Maurício (1947) 'Medicina individual e medicina colectiva', p. 344.
77. J. Porto, Speech held at the 3rd International Congress of Catholic Doctors, published by Maurício, 'Medicina individual e medicina colectiva', pp. 344–50.

78. Ibid., p. 346.
79. Ibid., p. 359.
80. Pius XII (1957) 'Discurso di Sua Santità Pio PP. XII a miglaja di infermi del "Centro volontari della sofferenza"', Lunedì, 7 ottobre 1957. https://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/it/speeches/1957/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19571007_volontari-sofferenza.html (accessed 5 September 2017).
81. Revez, *Os 'Vencidos do Catolicismo'*, p. 78.
82. Ibid., p. 79.
83. 'Carta de católicos dirigida ao Cardeal Cerejeira a propósito da encíclica *Humanae Vitae* sobre regulação da natalidade', Appendix 11 in J. Lopes (2007) *Entre as brumas da memória: os católicos portugueses e a ditadura* (Porto: Ambar), pp. 221–2.
84. Ibid., Cited by Revez, *Os 'Vencidos do Catolicismo'*, p. 79.
85. J. Lopes (2007) *Entre as brumas da memória*, p. 120 (my translation), cited within Revez, *Os 'Vencidos do Catolicismo'*, pp. 78–9.
86. A. Leite SJ (1968) *A obrigatoriedade da Encíclica 'Humanae Vitae'* (s.l.: s.n).
87. Ibid., p. 9.
88. Ibid., p. 12.
89. Ibid., p. 6.
90. Ibid., p. 7.
91. Ibid., p. 6.
92. Comissão Diocesana da Doutrina e da Fé (1969), *Orientações pastorais em ordem à aplicação da Encíclica Humanae Vitae* (Lisbon: Comissão Diocesana da Doutrina e da Fé), p. 7.
93. J. Galot (1967) *A Igreja e a mulher (The Church and Women)*; and Silvério Guimarães (1974) *O celibato eclesiástico (Ecclesiastic Celibacy)*.
94. Fontes, 'O catolicismo português no século XX', p. 288.
95. Ibid., p. 289.
96. Ibid., p. 288.
97. Ibid., p. 290.
98. Aureliano Dias Gonçalves (1968) 'A ciência está com Paul VI, ao publicar a *Humanae Vitae'* (s.l.: s.n).
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