

APOLINARIO MABINI AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL CHURCH*

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Apolinario Mabini (July 22, 1864 – May 13, 1903) was undoubtedly the one person who forged the philosophical and political principles of the Philippine Revolution and laid the foundation of Filipino nationhood. His numerous writings, his behavior throughout his life, short as it was, demonstrated extraordinary moral integrity and intense and uncompromising patriotism. About his personal life, he was unusually reticent. He did not dwell on his own individual emotions and tribulations, which must have been numerous, considering the state of his health. He seemed to have transmitted his feelings into reason, and despite his physical frailty, marshaled energy into well-ordered, systematic and sustained course of actions. And his deeds were guided by the highest moral principles. In whatever circumstance he found himself, whether as one of the highest officials of the Philippine revolutionary government, or as a fugitive hunted by the American invaders, or as a prisoner and in exile, he always acted with great dignity that could not but impress and draw respect even from his enemies. His greatest passion was the attainment of liberty, justice and democracy for Filipinos and dignity of the Filipino people. Mabini never wavered in his faith and belief in the capacity of the Filipino people to establish and govern a free, sovereign and progressive nation.¹ Towards this end, Mabini devoted his many talents and his life. He used all the means possible to achieve this aspiration and for this purpose, he helped establish a national church.

Having seen the failure of the first phase of the revolution from 1896-1898, Mabini provided the guiding principles for the armed struggle against Spain and the USA. While he articulated the grievances against colonial oppression of the peasants and the laboring classes, he placed these in line with higher philosophical and political ideals that made the rebellion into a national liberation movement. He saw

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to it that the revolution was not merely a vendetta against abuses and oppression of the Spanish colonial system. Nor was it going to be the replacement of Spanish with Filipino oppressors. A revolution, he said, "... is the violent means resorted to by a people in the exercise of its sovereignty which, by nature, belongs to them, in order to destroy a duly constituted government, substituting for it another one more in consonance with Reason and Justice.² Revolution required more than the violent overthrow of an unjust and oppressive system. It required, too, the replacement of that system by one that guarantees individual liberties of speech, association, assembly, a system governed through justice and law applied equally to all citizens. These aims, however, could not be attained without an internal revolution. Besides the widespread hatred of the religious orders, the cry for their expulsion, and the desire of the majority of Filipinos to rectify the injustice done to the Filipino clergy, Mabini's support for the establishment of a national church was to use an existing and powerful social institution for the moral regeneration of the Filipino people, and thereby create what Cesar Adib Majul calls, "the national community."³ Mabini, like Jose Rizal, considered that Filipinos must undergo an internal revolution as the precondition *sine qua non* for external revolution. Internal revolution required education and self-discipline of all the members of society. In writing the *Verdadero Decalogo*, Mabini certainly extended to reformulate the Christian Ten Commandments into a Filipino national ideology. In the *Verdadero Decalogo* (June 24, 1898), the *Ordinanzas* and in his numerous writings, Mabini invariably talked of the necessity for moral regeneration of Filipinos. Mabini's writings may be viewed, therefore, as the tenets that gave impetus to the philosophy and the establishment of a national church.

Among all his writings, the *Decalogo* deserves closer study for it demonstrates Mabini's fervent desire to form a new social order based on belief in God and in human capacity to do good, to act in accordance with one's conscience and the use of reason as arbiter in social relations. It showed, too, his belief in democratic ideals, his uncompromising stand on national independence and sovereignty, in social and economic progress which demands that everyone must practice industry and engage in honest labor. In essence, his concept of liberty and freedom is inextricably linked to morality and social responsibility. Mabini was, therefore, the product of both European Enlightenment, and a keen observer of world affairs and history. The *Decalogo* was one of the many documents circulated among the people, but was severely criticized not only by the Roman Catholic clergy and its pious adherents but also by some of the Filipino *ilustrados* as "sacrilege."⁴ Be that as it may, the *Decalogo* remains relevant to our contemporary society in the throes of demoralization.

The first rule exhorts one to love God who is the source of truth, justice and all actions above all things. It equates love of God with love of one's honor, for it is one's honor that dictates one to be truthful, just and industrious. The second rule says that one should worship God in accordance with one's conscience and in a form suitable to one's dignity. God speaks to us through our conscience that judges whether we do good or evil acts. The third rule says to cultivate the innate traits endowed by God in your work and studies for the good and for justice, since their fullest fulfillment leads to one's honor that glorifies God. The fourth rule is love your country next to God, your honor over yourself; for your country is the only paradise granted by God, the only land from whence your race grew, the only heritage from your ancestors, the only hope for your future; and because your country gave you life, love, welfare, happiness, honor and your God. The fifth rule is to strive for the happiness of your country over your own; strive to make her a land of reason, justice and industry, for if your country is happy, so will you and your family. The sixth rule says to strive for the independence of your country, for only you can truly aspire for her progress and dignity, for your country's freedom is your own freedom, her progress, the source of your own glory and dignity. Seventh, recognize no other authority in your country except those elected by you and your compatriots, for all authority emanates from God who speaks through the conscience of every individual; the person designated and proclaimed by the individual consciences of all the people is the only true authority. The eighth rule says strive to establish a Republic, never a monarchy that exalts families and founds dynasties; for a democratic society is ennobled and dignified by reason; made great by liberty of its people, made prosperous and brilliant through labor. Ninth, love your neighbor as yourself, for God imposed upon him the same obligation, not to do what he does not want others to do to him. But if your neighbor fails in his sacred duty; threatens your life, your liberty and your interests, then you must destroy and annihilate him, for the supreme law is self-preservation. The tenth rule is love your countrymen more than your neighbor. You see in him your friend, your brother, or at least your comrade with whom you are bound by one fate. You share the same joys and sorrows, and common aspirations and interests.

The last paragraph of the *Decalogo* regarding the need to fight for survival and unite against the enemy was most appropriate, not only for the country at war, but was a lesson for a nation still to be formed and yet torn apart from within. The *Decalogo* concludes with these words: **Therefore as long as national frontiers exist, raised and maintained by the selfishness of race and of family, unite only with your countrymen in perfect solidarity of purpose and interest, in order to gain force, not only to resist the enemy, but also to attain all the aims of human life.**

Clearly, Mabini cautioned the Filipino people that a revolution motivated only by personal grievances and self-aggrandizement would inevitably lead to disaster. And yet, while advocating only the highest principles for waging a revolution, his experience as government official and participation in the revolutionary movement made him realize the importance of dealing with the contingencies and many contradictions of life. Fundamental principles of justice, social order and government, said Mabini, must be adaptable to specific circumstances in order to succeed. In other words, the system must be flexible to meet specific contingencies of time and place. This was one of the reasons why he opposed the immediate implementation of the Malolos Constitution. He believed that under troubled conditions, it was best to have a strong central authority that could act swiftly to deal with prosecuting the war. Unless independence and peace were attained, all the democratic guarantees about individual rights, the constitutional provisions for the separation and independence of the three branches of government, including the separation of church and state, could not be fully implemented. Evidently, Mabini's views on these issues stemmed from the vacillating attitude of many of the wealthy and educated classes towards the revolutionary government. Even those who were members of the Malolos Congress were reluctant in giving full support to the revolutionary army. Mabini and Aguinaldo had to seek support from the Filipino clergy and the church, the only functioning institution with wide networks in local communities. Mabini was, therefore, not a utopian visionary but was an astute strategist and an able and practical social organizer and administrator.⁵

Mabini drew up the necessary administrative and procedural organization to ensure that these ideals and aspirations could be realized. Upon his release from imprisonment in San Juan de Dios Hospital on July 5, 1897, Mabini rejoined the revolutionary movement in Laguna. It was at this time that he must have thought out and wrote drafts of the manifestoes, the plans and organization of the revolutionary government. His ordinances and organizational plans constitute an integrated, coherent program for the establishment of a Philippine Republic. But since he realized that the revolution must first be fought and won, Mabini began with detailed instructions to the *jefes revolucionarios*, chiefs of the revolutionary troops regarding the proper conduct of the war, how to deal with and obtain support of the populace, how to capture arms by winning over Filipinos and Spaniards in the service of the Spanish colonial army. He instructed them to avoid, as much as possible, direct frontal battle but use of various tactics to confuse, wear down, and demoralize the enemy. He cautioned them of the dangers of dealing with the Spaniards and the Americans and other foreigners who must be dealing with the Spaniards and the Americans, and other foreigners who must be assumed as "coveting our country." For a man who did not and could not take up arms himself, Mabini showed extraordinary knowl-

edge and understanding of military affairs. He provided specific organizational plans for the army and navy, described the structure of command, proper military conduct and operations, how to discipline the troops, including how the military could be financed. Mabini had the foresight that even under the chaotic conditions of war, combatants must adhere to the principles of social order and justice. Hence, he drew up the political and economic organization, and the legal system that would guide the revolutionary government.

Regarding day-to-day administration, Mabini advised Aguinaldo regarding the necessity of keeping careful accounts of all funds collected and disbursed. Under no circumstances should any of the revolutionary troops harm the people, confiscate, expropriate or destroy their properties. Anything taken from the people must be compensated, or at the very least receipted and duly acknowledged, to be paid at a later date. He proposed a more egalitarian system of taxation. Taxes, he said, should be imposed on property and wealth, and not imposed universally on everyone, similar to the *cedula personal* imposed by the Spanish colonial government.⁶ He proposed, instead, that foreign merchants and commercial establishments operating in the Philippines, and those owning properties, should pay taxes to the revolutionary government. Believing in the value of education for the upliftment of the people, Mabini recommended that Aguinaldo issue orders to the local leaders and to Bishop Aglipay to open schools. In territories under the control of the Philippine Republic, he encouraged the initiatives of local community leaders and parents, to re-open schools and start new ones. An American reporter observed that several of the Filipino-run schools were operating smoothly, while the rest of the country was under seige by the American troops.⁷

Foremost of his contributions were his relentless efforts as the closest adviser of President Emilio Aguinaldo (June 12, 1898 to December 1899) to forge a patriotic and a truly nationalist leadership responsible for the welfare of all classes and sectors of Philippine society. He counseled Aguinaldo constantly on his duties as leader of the revolutionary army. It was Mabini who insisted on obtaining unequivocal written pledge from the Americans, that their presence in the country was intended to aid Filipinos win the war of independence against Spain. When Aguinaldo was wavering in the face of American superior arms,⁸ Mabini gave him encouragement and strengthened his resolve as the general of the revolutionary army. Mabini was virtually Aguinaldo's *guru* in dealing with political intrigues, especially the struggles for power by the more sophisticated and well-to-do *ilustrados*. It was also Mabini who exerted every effort to bring into line the abusive troops and their chiefs. Although Mabini demanded that troops behave correctly and treat the populace kindly, he also tried to curb the harsh and dictatorial measures of General Antonio

Luna against erring soldiers and officers.⁹ Mabini's compassion for the poor peasant soldiers made him forgive their transgressions and he saw to the succor of the disabled, the dispossessed, widows and orphans.¹⁰ And in the face of overwhelming force of the USA, and the desertion of many propertied leaders of the Malolos Republic to the enemy camp, Mabini exemplified the continuing faith of the people in the justice of the cause of Philippine independence.

In his desire to achieve Philippine independence and attain full dignity and equality of the Filipino people in the community of nations, Mabini saw the crucial importance of religion and of the institution of the church. Since one of the main grievances against the colonial Spanish government were the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church and the religious orders, one of the first acts of the revolutionary government was to secure the loyalty of the Filipino clergy. The betrayal of the secret of the Katipunan by Padre Mariano Gil was one of the many evidences that the Spanish clergy were first and foremost loyal to the Spanish regime rather than to their sworn oath as servants of God. The appointment of Bishop Gregorio Aglipay as Vicar General of the revolutionary army was done precisely to counteract the hostile Spanish and other foreign clergy.¹¹ Apart from ordering the Filipino clergy to take over the normal religious functions of the Spanish clergy, Mabini also wanted to ensure that churches, convents, schools, land and other properties of the church and the religious corporations were cared for and transferred under Filipino administration. The law passed on February 19, 1899 made provisions for the disposition and use of friar lands.¹² Mabini, through President Aguinaldo, ordered all Filipino clergy to transfer their allegiance from the Archbishop Bernardino Nozaleda and from bishops of their respective dioceses to Bishop Aglipay who was one of the trusted leaders of the reform movement within the Catholic Church and the Katipunan.¹³ Bishop Aglipay was chosen to mobilize the Filipino clergy, for he was a respected leader of the people of the Ilocos, Aparri, Cagayan and other northern provinces. He was, therefore, the best person to rally those regions behind the revolutionary government.

With the help of Bishop Aglipay, Aguinaldo and Mabini were able to organize and mobilize local communities for the cause of the revolution. Filipino clergy were asked by Bishop Aglipay to use the pulpit and their influence among their parishioners to collect funds and support the revolution. When the Malolos Congress was convened, Bishop Aglipay issued his Manifesto of October 21, 1899, which declared the necessity of rejecting the authority of the Spanish bishops in the Philippines and that Filipinos must take over authority of the church. The Manifesto outlined the steps that should "be put into effect so that Powers would recognize the independence of our country."¹⁴

The pro-Spanish and American press portrayed all Filipino revolutionaries as “barbarians,” “cruel bandits,” and claimed that it was led by “Masons” who were all “atheists” bent on destroying the Christian church. On the contrary, Filipino troops, on the whole, were probably less vicious compared to the Spaniards and the Americans. Indeed, Aguinaldo, Mabini and Bishop Aglipay were instrumental in mitigating the excesses of war, in minimizing unnecessary violence, and in instituting humane treatment of civilians and prisoners of war. Furthermore, Mabini and Aguinaldo understood the need to offset the propaganda of the Spanish clergy, that the revolution was intended to extirpate the Christian faith from the Philippines. Although Mabini was personally not a devout Roman Catholic and did not necessarily adhere to all the teachings and practices of the Church, he was astute enough to recognize the profound influence that the Church exercised on the majority of the population. He saw the necessity of going slowly in instituting religious reforms at the time when the only organized and established institution fully functioning at the local levels was the Church. To Mabini, keeping the Church and State together was a necessary expediency to obtain the support of the Filipino clergy and their parishioners for the revolutionary cause. This was one of the reasons why Bishop Aglipay was welcomed as the delegate for the Ilocos region at the Malolos Congress. Mabini’s proposal to hold in abeyance the constitutional provision on the separation of Church and State was his way of using the Church as an instrument to mobilize the people, and as a powerful vehicle for social transformation. As a strategist, he wanted to take the bull by its horns, and steer it along the direction of creating an enlightened and patriotic national community. And yet, his own vision for the nation was certainly broader and more progressive. He believed that eventually, the republic he envisioned must be one that would guarantee complete religious freedom, allowing each citizen to choose his or her religion according to the dictates of one’s conscience. He also believed that one’s loyalty would be to the nation over and above regional, tribal, linguistic, class and religious differences. Eighteen ninety-eight was not the opportune time to press for such drastic changes under conditions when religious, class, regional and personal interests counted far more than commitment to the entire nation. Nonetheless, the institution of civil marriages and registration of the population by civil officials, instead of the parish priests, were the initial steps taken in the direction of the separation of Church and State.

Simultaneously, Mabini tried, in vain, to gain recognition for the Philippine Republic from all foreign governments, especially from the Roman Pontiff. He was hiding from the American army, moving constantly by hammock and *cariton*. The poor, simple peasants risked their own lives by hiding and protecting Mabini in several places in Pangasinan and Nueva Ecija. On May 11, 1899, he sought refuge, first in Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija then to Talavera, to Umingan, to Cabaruan in

Villasis, then Rosales, Pangasinan where he continued writing the philosophical principles for the establishment of the Filipino-led church, and he provided the legal grounds for the repossession of the lands, churches, convents, schools and other properties of the religious orders and the Church. Following Bishop Aglipay's excommunication and with Mabini's encouragement, Aglipay called the Filipino clergy to an assembly in Paniqui, Tarlac on October 23, 1899.¹⁵ It was at Paniqui that they drew up the Constitution of Paniqui, where the delegates declared their full support to the Philippine government and elected the Vicar General as superior ecclesiastical governor and declared that they would not recognize any foreign bishop or pastor unless elected by Filipino priests. The only foreign authority they would recognize was the apostolic legate of the Pope. And those Filipino priests who disobeyed these provisions would not be allowed to occupy any parish or ecclesiastical office. In effect, the Paniqui Assembly was a declaration of independence from the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical authorities.¹⁶

In the meantime, Mabini set down the legal grounds for taking over the churches and other properties. Since the Spanish clergy were assigned to the Philippines under the authority of the Spanish king, under the principle of the *patronato royal*, once the Filipinos deposed the Spanish colonial government in the Philippines, the Philippine government, therefore, took over authority over the churches, including all edifices, convents, lands and properties in the country. This was one of the most contested issues that often erupted into violence in many parishes and communities, and it plagued the fledgling Philippine Independent Church during the US colonial regime.

After Aguinaldo's capture by the Americans in May 1899, Mabini himself was captured in Kuyapo, Nueva Ecija on December 10, 1899 and jailed in Calle Anda, Intramuros in Manila. The Americans offered him high governmental positions if only he swore allegiance to the USA and help in America's "pacification" campaign. Mabini refused. He continued writing his attack against the US invasion and gave interviews to the press. Exiled in Guam, Mabini applied himself to writing an assessment of the revolution and presented a thoroughgoing program for nation-building, which was intended for the future generations of Filipinos.

To Mabini and to his compatriots, like Bishop Aglipay and Isabelo delos Reyes, the Filipino war of independence was part of the worldwide struggle for freedom, liberty and dignity of the entire human race. To Mabini, the Philippine revolution was the sacred destiny of the Filipinos, to lead the peoples of Asia and Oceania from the benighted plight of a dominated colonized people to a stage when they would be able to enjoy the fruits of liberty and advances of civilization

in the form of science and technology. Finally, he believed that its achievement would redound to the justice and glory of God, whose wisdom is reflected in human reason.¹⁷

When Mabini was eventually allowed to come home by the US colonial government, the national church he envisioned evolved, in the hands of Bishop Aglipay and Isabelo delos Reyes, into the Iglesia Filipina Independiente, separate and independent from the Church of Rome. Bishop Aglipay led a guerilla war in the Ilocos until his capture in 1901. After his surrender, Bishop Aglipay continued the struggle for Philippine Independence by organizing the Filipino priests in the Ilocos region and nearby provinces. Two meetings were called, the first in January 1902 and the second at Kul-labeng (formerly Badoc, near Pinili, Ilocos Norte) on May 8, 1902. The Assembly reiterated their right to take charge of all parishes and administer them. And if their rights were not recognized by the Pope, they would secede from Rome.

In the meantime, in Manila, Isabelo delos Reyes led the agitation for Philippine independence by demanding social and political reforms. He helped organize the umbrella organization of various craft guilds and labor associations, combining them under the Union Obrera Democratica. It was at the meeting of labor groups on August 3, 1902 that Isabelo delos Reyes declared the founding of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente, and the Philippines' complete break from Rome. Bishop Gregorio Aglipay, although not present at that meeting, was unanimously elected as the supreme head of the Philippine church.¹⁸

Mabini helped usher into being an independent Philippine church. The Iglesia Filipina Independiente continued the struggle for independence in many imaginative and clandestine ways. It continued the attack against the American colonial government and its hypocritical "benevolent assimilation" program. Forbidden from holding public meetings and assemblies, church leaders like Bishop Gregorio Aglipay, Isabelo delos Reyes, Dominador Gomez, Aurelio Tolentino and Lope K. Santos persisted in keeping nationalism alive through theatrical and musical performances, poetry readings, and most of all, through church rituals. When any public display of the Philippine flag and any form of expression of nationalism were forbidden, the Philippine flag was embroidered on priests' vestments, on altar cloths and on the robes of church idols. The Marcha Nacional was played upon the raising of the host during mass. And what is more significant, the church identified itself with peasants, workers and the progressive sectors of Philippine society.

The Philippine revolution may have failed to bring about the independent,

sovereign, progressive and prosperous nation that Mabini yearned for throughout his life. But the nationalistic spirit that Mabini engendered did not die in the hearts of many Filipinos even under the repressive American colonial regime. Love of country and the aspirations for liberty and dignity of the Filipino nation were ideals kept alive as integral to the tenets and liturgy of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente. Thousands of Filipinos flocked to the Philippine Independent Church from 1899 and the ranks swelled upon its establishment in 1902. The struggle to take possession of churches, schools, convents, lands and other church properties consumed the energies of the church founders. At the same time, they were at pains in formulating the doctrines and tenets of the new church. The American government was cognizant of the fact that the major causes of the Philippine revolution against Spain were the abuses of the Spanish government and the clergy, and that there was widespread outcry for the expulsion of the religious orders. Although investigations were made on the issue of church properties, the Americans disregarded Filipino demands. The religious orders were allowed to return and re-take their church properties, except that the Spanish priests were replaced by Americans, and their *haciendas* were sold. To give this act a semblance of legality, the American colonial government brought the case to the court, which decided on the basis of the legal fiction that the Roman Catholic church was an international entity; that it could possess and retain properties in any country, regardless of changes of governments. All church properties were thereby restored to the Roman Catholic church and to the religious orders.

The fledgling Philippine Independent Church, deprived of churches and other necessary properties, was severely crippled in its operations. It was also beleaguered by controversy and dissensions within its ranks. For no sooner was independence from Rome declared, than breakaway and splinter groups emerged. Long repressed from participating in theological doctrinal debates and prevented from taking positions of leadership in the church, the Filipino clergy went through a period of confusion and internal strife. Matters were not helped by the concerted campaign of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and its adherents to discredit the Iglesia Filipina Independiente. Teams of priests, nuns and lay people were fielded to communities and made a house-to-house campaign, telling the people that they were not real Christians if they were baptized, married or had sacraments performed by the Philippine Independent Church.

The Philippine Independent Church survives today, although its membership has dwindled through the years and has been split into two major factions. But it remains as the church that carries on the legacy of patriotism, pride in Filipino revolutionary spirit, and the yearning for a just and egalitarian social system.

Notes

¹See Rafael Palma's *La Revolucion Filipina, con Los Documentos de la epoca, por Apolinario Mabini*, Bureau of Printing, Manila 1931:1-90.

²See "Cual es el Verdadero Mision de la Revolucion?" in *La Revolucion Filipina*, Tome II: 53-59. This was issued in Rosales, Pangasinan, 6 September 1899.

³See Cesar Adib Majul's *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution*, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, 1960, 246-256.

⁴See Mariano Sevilla's "Memorial" to the Malolos Congress, in Felipe G. Calderon, *Mis Memorias sobre la Revolucion Filipina, Segunda Etape 1898 a 1901*, Imprenta de El Renacimiento, Manila, 1907.

⁵See his articles in the revolutionary government's newspaper, *La Independencia*, from August 11, 1899-1900; and *Ordinanzas* signed by Aguinaldo, as well as *Las Cartas Politicas de Mabini*, por Teodoro M. Kalaw, Imprenta Dia Filipino, 1930. This book is a compilation of Mabini's correspondence from 1893 up to his death in 1903.

⁶February 18, 1899.

⁷See Robert G. Robinson, *The Philippines: the War and the People*, New York, Maclure and Phillips, 1901:289.

⁸American pledge was stated only verbally to Aguinaldo in Hongkong.

⁹Luna was assassinated on June 5, 1899 by guards suspected to be close to Gen. Aguinaldo.

¹⁰See Taylor, ed. *Philippine Insurgent Records*, Vol. IV: 34-36.

¹¹October 20, 1898.

¹²Majul, *ibid.*, 46-47, 57.

¹³ See "Al Pueblo y Clero Filipinos," in *La Revolucion Filipina*, Tome II, 39. This manifesto was signed by Bishop Aglipay and issued in Tarlac, 19 August 1899.

¹⁴ See *La Revolucion Filipina*, Tome II:142-148. See also Pedro S. De Achutegui and Miguel A. Bernad, *Religious Revolution in the Philippines*, Ateneo de Manila, Manila, 1962, 4 vols., Vol. I:36-142.

¹⁵ Kalaw, Vol. II:114-118.

¹⁶ Achutegui and Bernad, *ibid.*, Vol. I:65-142.

¹⁷ It should be pointed out that Mabini, in his *Programa Constitucional de la Republica Filipina*, Titulo II, no. 20, delineated Philippine territory to include, besides Luzon, Visayas, Mindanao and the Jolo archipelago, all adjacent islands known before the name Filipinas was applied to our archipelago. Thus, Mabini included Marianas, Carolinas and other adjacent islands of Oceania which came under the Spanish colonial government. See *La Revolucion Filipina*, Tome I:135.

¹⁸ See William Henry Scott, *The Union Obrera Democratica*, New Day Publishers, Q.C., 1992.

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