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## Don Pasqual de Sta. Ana (1762–1827), *Indio Hacendero*

*Luciano P.R. Santiago*

Unique was the distinction of Don Pasqual de Sta. Ana of Pásig (now a city) in the old province of Tondo. He appeared to be the only Filipino *Indio hacendero* during the colonial regime when the Spaniards cultivated the notion of land as the main measure of wealth, power and prestige. His bold stroke was magnified by the fact that he acquired two well-known haciendas: Isla de Talim (1812) and Hacienda de Angono (1818), and that, as he made clear in his last testament, he was a self-made man. In particular, Angono is the oldest still existing hacienda in the Philippines, having been formed in the seventeenth century. After almost two centuries of uninterrupted ownership by Don Pasqual and his direct descendants, the latter continue to be hounded by the land conflicts in Angono which periodically break into print in the major newspapers.<sup>1</sup>

### **The Spanish Hacienda in the Philippines**

The concept of the *hacienda*, an organized large landed estate, was introduced to the Philippines by the colonizers. There were three types of haciendas according to ownership: (1) the royal hacienda which pertained to the king; (2) the religious hacienda, popularly known as "friar estate," which was owned by the religious orders, though a few were granted to the archdiocese of Manila; and (3) the secular hacienda which belonged to laymen. (Hacienda Pública was not an estate but referred to the Department of Finance of the government.) Spaniards and Spanish institutions, especially the religious orders, owned the haciendas in the Islands during most of the Colonial Period. However, with the rise of the Filipino entrepreneurs, mostly Chinese *mes-*

*tizos*, at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, some of the latter were able to obtain confiscated Jesuit haciendas through public bidding in 1795. The Society of Jesus was banished from the colony in 1768.<sup>2</sup>

The history of the secular haciendas in the Philippines has yet to be written. They were overshadowed in number and prominence by the religious haciendas. Only a handful of known lay haciendas in Central Luzón from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries never fell, as it were, into the hands of the religious orders. Besides Angono, these included Calauan (Laguna), Esperanza (Nueva Ecija) and Floridablanca (Pampanga). Again, of these, only Angono still remains a family-owned estate.<sup>3</sup>

Modern Filipinos tend to loosely apply the term "hacienda" to any big land area, whether real or imagined. But during the Spanish Regime, the huge landholding that was the hacienda was a formally organized estate, officially recognized as such by the colonial government and regulated by particular laws of the Indies. It was formed by royal grant, purchase or donation. As a system, it had a *casa hacienda* where lived the owner or his representative; a titular saint with a church administered by a resident chaplain (*cura capellán*) who was often a Filipino priest appointed by the bishop; a supporting cast of *inquilinos* (tenants) who were mostly gentlemen farmers who lived near the *casa*; and a legion of *casamás* or *reservas* (farmer-laborers) who constituted, though they were not acknowledged as, the backbone of the estate.<sup>4</sup> The hacienda was the microcosm of colonial society at large.

Forming boundaries with entire towns, the hacienda comprised a whole barangay or barrio or a combination of barrios and *sitios* which eventually developed into a town itself. An hacienda should be distinguished from an *encomienda*, for which it is often mistaken. The latter was a royal grant of the tributes—not the land—of a particular locality. The privilege lasted only for two or three "lives" or generations of the beneficiary's family. Like *hacenderos*, almost all *encomenderos* were Spaniards, although there were at least ten known Filipino *Indios encomenderos* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Santiago 1990, 162–84).

### The Expanding World of Don Pasqual

The future hacendero was born in Pásig on 17 May (Feast of San Pascual Baylón) around 1762. By oral tradition, his clan belonged to the pre-hispanic nobility of Caintá and Pásig, which had made the

transition to the landed gentry when the Spaniards colonized Central Luzón.<sup>5</sup>

At the time of the Conquest, Caintá, according to the Jesuit chronicler Chirino, was one of the rare vast towns ruled by a rajah on the scale of Manila and Cebú. In particular, the town made a lasting impression on the conquistadors when it offered fierce resistance, holding them at bay for at least three days before they overran the domain by superior force. The night before their defeat, still clueless as to the motive of the pale invaders, a Cainteño climbed up a palm tree and hurled a question at them to which he found no answer: "Spaniards, what did our fathers do to you or what debt did they owe you that you now come to destroy us?" Quoted by an Augustinian missionary, the anguished question rang down in the history of the Conquest and probably still reverberated to Pasqual's generation (de Herrera 1573; de la Costa 1965; Chirino 1903-1909, 13:90).

Though of the nobility, by the time Pasqual was born or was growing up, his family had gone down in the world, apparently as a consequence of the devastation wreaked in these parts by another invader, the British military (1762-64). On the other hand, it should be noted that the Sépoy soldiers in the English army decided to settle in Caintá. They became a new source of manpower, which contributed greatly to the subsequent rehabilitation and expansion of agriculture in the Pásig-Caintá region. In fact, to their deep satisfaction, Don Pasqual and his descendants would later employ in their farms the Sépoyes and their children with native women.<sup>6</sup>

It is not known where the young Pasqual studied, but he seemed well-educated as reflected by his confident signature and fluency in Spanish, dispensing with interpreters in legal transactions and in certain cases, as in his testament, dictating his will directly to the notary.<sup>7</sup>

His great-great-grandfather and great-grandfather, respectively, Don Juan and Don Marcos de Sta. Ana together with other principales of Caintá represented the town before the special commission headed by the *oidor* of the Audiencia, Don Pedro Calderón Enríquez, to investigate the causes of the Agrarian Revolt of 1745-46. They questioned the boundaries of the Jesuit Hacienda de San Isidro Labrador de Mariquina, which allegedly encroached on their communal lands.<sup>8</sup>

It was Pasqual's grandfather, Don Agustín de Sta. Ana, who lost their ancestral lands when he was forced by dire circumstances to mortgage them, one by one, to various persons. A broken man, he was unable to reclaim them before he died. Don Pasqual's parents, Don

Eustaquio de Sta. Ana and Doña Margarita Tagle, likewise failed to cope with the immense burden of redeeming their lands. Pasqual had a younger brother and two sisters: Bruno, Alexandra and Eustaquia. It fell to Pasqual, the eldest son, to restore the family to its former glory. This was the compelling goal, he, with the help of his wife, was able to accomplish and in the process, even exceed through perseverance, hard work and entrepreneurial talent.<sup>9</sup>

### The River Economy of Pásig

Around 1790, Pasqual married Ándrea Pablo, also of Pásig. In their respective last wills, they stated that they were both “poor” at the time of their marriage and could bring no material assets to their union. All their properties were, therefore, conjugal. The couple engaged in rice trading, for which the town of Pásig was the ideal site. At that time, the Pásig River flowed through the heart of the town in a meandering course inspiring Pasigueños to call it, with good humor, *Bitúkang Manok* (chicken gut). The nourishing expanse of water contributed enormously to the economic prosperity of Pásig by irrigating its vast rice plains, *Cábaban* (“the lowest parts”) behind the church hill. These fields yielded an early harvest called *paagá* (“the early one”) in November to feed the people of Pásig and the rest of the province of Tondo, as well as the walled city. It helped them celebrate the Birth of the Redeemer while they waited for the regular harvest in January.

At the same time, the cocky river—which connects the Lake of Baé with Manila Bay—saw to it that rice and other basic commodities coming from the Southern provinces of Laguna and Tayabas (now Quezón) would pass through it before reaching the capital. By casting Pásig town as the gateway to Manila, the mighty river laid out an astonishingly lucrative trade for the Pasigueños. Even the common people could eke out a decent living from the generous waterway. Outside the tariff, the Spaniards hardly interfered with the local transactions because they were then engrossed with the get-rich-faster scheme of the Galleon Trade. Besides, the hectic process demanded that those involved in it should get up before dawn—a practice alien to the lifestyle of the colonialists.

Thus, the suburban economy of Pásig was free by default. Evidently, Pasqual and Ándrea were quick to sense and seize the Midas touch of the river. In the booming captive market the whole year round, they started and fast prospered as the middlemen.<sup>10</sup>

## The Duke of Pásig

Pasqual methodically bought back the lands of his unfortunate grandfather as shown by the many documents which have amazingly survived at the National Archives despite the destruction wrought by wars, other calamities and human negligence through more than two centuries. His papers are fixed in amber, as it were. He continued to purchase additional residential and rice lands in Pásig and the surrounding towns as well as *paraos* (passenger and cargo sailboats) and *cascos* (long covered boats) which plied the Pásig River and Laguna de Baé.

Hence, he became involved in all aspects of the rice industry: production, merchandising, transportation and marketing. In partnership with another businessman, Don Juan Gualverto of Quiapo, he obtained the government franchise to run the cockpits of San Pedro de Macati and San Juan del Monte, which he sub-let to private parties. In recognition of his prominence in the community, the *principalía* of Pásig elected him *gobernadorcillo* in 1798.<sup>11</sup>

To herald his family's return to the upper echelons of society, he built an imposing stone house and granary on the shore of his beloved Bitúkang Manok next to the *Pariancillo* (public market) where he had a busy rice store. He extended a helping hand to poor relatives and town mates. He let his brother and sisters and their families re-occupy the family residential lands and till some of the rice lands he had reclaimed, and he would bequeath these to them in his last will. He also gave them and other relatives the option to purchase their ancestral lands from him or his heirs without time limit even after his death. Some of his doting town mates proudly dubbed him *El Duque de Pásig*; others, *El Duque de Bitúkang Manok*, for indeed he was beholden to the bountiful river.<sup>12</sup>

## Isla de Talim

Because he had two sons, Mariano and José, Don Pasqual aspired to acquire two haciendas so that both could become hacenderos in their own time. He probably had an intuitive understanding of sibling rivalry because he too had a younger brother, Bruno, although he apparently got along very well with him. He was to appoint Bruno the second executor of his will, next to his son, Mariano, besides leaving Bruno valuable properties.<sup>13</sup>

An "Indio loaded with gold" ("*Indio cargado de oro*"), as the envious Spaniards were wont to label him and his ilk, Don Pasqual was a force to reckon with not only in his hometown but also in the center of power, The Distinguished and Ever Loyal City of Manila. In 1812, the royal hacienda of Isla de Talim was put up for sale, probably because of the protracted War of Independence in Spain against Napoleon which fast emptied the royal coffers and left the distant colony in constant penury. The official reason given, however, was to look for a competent buyer who could convert the estate into a cattle ranch. The sword-shaped island on the Lake of Bae was one of the haciendas of the king in the Philippines. Compared to a private hacienda, it was largely passed over by the king's men who, as noted earlier, were bent on investing in the Galleon Trade.<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Jean Mallat, the French physician-author of *Les Philippines* (1846) notes with some irony that Talim is almost as big as the Island of St. Helena (122 sq. km.) in the South Atlantic, where Napoleon was finally exiled and died (1815–21). In the eyes of travelers, Talim is the splendor on the lake. Its marvelous mountain range, which divides it into an eastern and a western section, developed a pragmatic function during the Colonial Period: it provided stones for the construction of buildings in the provinces of Manila and Laguna. The people called the strait between the island and the lakeshore at Jala-Jala Point, Quinabutasan to signify the cleft created by some primeval upheaval. Rizal selected Quinabutasan as the site where the fleeing Ibarra, the hero of his first novel, *Noli Me Tángere* (1887), was presumed killed by the *Guardia Civil*. He reemerges, however, in the second novel, *El Filibusterismo* (1891) as Simoun.<sup>15</sup>

Don Pasqual loomed as the successful purchaser of the scenic island for 353 pesos, 4 *reales* and 6 *granos*, which was probably a bargain price though capital was very scarce at the time because of the uncertainties of the European conflict. The type of sale was not clear, because the original records are not available. But its stated purpose, as cited earlier, points to the process called *composición*, whereby the government sold unworked public or royal lands at a low price in exchange for their settlement and agricultural development. It would not have been surprising if competitors suspected some irregularity in the transactions.

Be that as it may, Don Pasqual acquired his first hacienda. On 20 October 1812, the governor and superintendent general subdelegate of the Royal Hacienda, Don Manuel Gonzales de Aguilar, issued a supe-

rior decree awarding him the island-estate. Six months later, the Spanish Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed in Manila on 17 April 1813. The most liberal charter Spain ever put together, it granted Filipinos equal rights with Spanish citizens. It would appear then that Don Pasqual was one of the beneficiaries of the liberal mood of the time. Restored to his throne in 1815, King Fernando VII quashed the Constitution. However, he confirmed the sale of Talim Island in his royal order of 19 December 1816. It was the king's Christmas gift to the Sta. Anas of Pásig although, due to the slow system of communication by sea, they probably did not receive the decree until at least a year later.<sup>16</sup>

### Hacienda de Angono

After a certain point, wealth expands exponentially. On 14 September 1818, after two years of negotiations, Don Pasqual next bought the more than 3,000 hectare *Hacienda y Estancia de San Clemente de Angono y Lagundi* for 12,000 pesos from Don Miguel Cacho of Manila. Its boundaries were formed with important towns: "in the South, with the town of Binangonan, the border town of the province of La Laguna de Bay; in the Southeast, with the town of Antipolo; and in the North, with the town of Taytay."<sup>17</sup>

Angono was a classic example of a secular hacienda in the Philippines. Its name means "The Forebear" (*Ang Nuno*) for ancient Filipinos worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. Although relatively unknown, it was a charismatic domain long before and after the Spaniards arrived. The oldest works of art in the Philippines are petroglyphs inscribed in one of its caves, named *Layang-layang* (the swallow bird) in the Late Stone Age about 2,000 years ago. To this day, the town remains an artist's haven. It is the only town which prides itself in having produced two National Artists: Carlos "Botong" Francisco for painting and Lucio San Pedro for music (Jocano 1975, 205).

From the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, Angono was part of the town of Binangonan de los Perros (which means "where the dogs rose up"). Binangonan pertained to the province of Laguna, which was under the spiritual administration of the Franciscans—the only religious order forbidden by their statutes to own haciendas.

Angono was being actively considered in 1629 as the site of the Royal Monastery of Sta. Clara, an affiliate of the Franciscans. The initial negotiations earned another name for Angono: "Bira-biran" which signified "handkerchief or veil." Its residents enthusiastically offered to



donate or sell their lands to the first monastery for women in Asia. The plan, however, was shelved, and the nuns settled permanently in the walled city.<sup>18</sup>

### **The Hacienda Controversy of 1697**

General Don Domingo Antonio de Otero Bermúdez of Manila was the first known hacendero of Angono. He apparently purchased the estate in the late seventeenth century. From whom, it is not stated in the available documents. In 1697, when the first major controversy involving the haciendas broke out, he was already its owner.

Alarmed by the large-scale expansion of the landed estates of the religious orders and the Jesuits, the government directed all hacenderos, whether ecclesiastical or secular, to present their land titles for inspection. The friars refused to comply, invoking papal bulls investing them with ecclesiastical immunity from inquiries by the civil courts notwithstanding the union of church and state in the Spanish realm. Powerless to prevail upon the religious orders, the government was left only with the few remaining secular haciendas to investigate, although the latter were not its original target.

In 1699, Don Juan de Ozaeta y Oro, member of the Royal Audiencia and judge of the Land Commission finally got around to Angono to formally determine and mark the boundaries and measure the total area of the hacienda. Thus, Ozaeta confirmed Otero Bermúdez's title to the estate "together with the other lands and estancia of Binangonan and the lime quarries of San Guillermo, all of them consolidated under the name hacienda and estancia of Angono."<sup>19</sup>

Childless but devout, Don Domingo expressed gratitude for his blessings by forming four *capellanías* (pious trust funds) with a capital of 2,000 pesos each between 1733 and 1736, when he probably died. He offered three *capellanías* to the archdiocese of Manila and one to the Order of Preachers. All four foundations are still extant. He bequeathed the Hacienda of Angono to his nephew, the Alférez Real Don Andrés Blanco Bermúdez.<sup>20</sup>

### **The Agrarian Revolt of 1745**

The cumbersome land survey in 1699 proved to be a blessing in disguise to the new hacendero half a century later when the Agrarian Revolt erupted in Central Luzon threatening to overturn the hacienda system. During the widespread unrest in 1745, the people of

Binangonan, led by their town officials, forcibly took over the estate of Angono, claiming it belonged to them. The raging tenants and farmers of the religious haciendas made the same complaint of usurpation regarding their area of work and residence. The Commissioners for the Sale and Composition of Lands under the Special Judge Don Pedro Calderón Enríquez (successor of the aforementioned Ozaeta) betook themselves to Angono, as they did to the other sites of conflict, and carefully investigated the grievances of the Binangoneños.<sup>21</sup>

To the commissioners, Don Andrés confidently presented the certificate of title issued by Judge Ozaeta in 1699. It was noted, however, that at the time of the strife, the adjoining Hacienda de Lagundi was still under litigation in the Royal Audiencia. It had been sold by a certain Doña María Silanguin to Sargento Mayor Don Francisco Pedroso. It was evidently adjudicated and incorporated later into the Hacienda de Angono. (Hence, the name Hacienda y Estancia de Angono y Lagundi when Don Pasqual de Sta. Ana bought it in 1818.)<sup>22</sup>

With Blanco Bermúdez's land title at hand, Calderón Enríquez supervised the painstaking re-measurement of the dimensions and re-tracing of the boundaries of the hacienda as described in the 1699 document. He found almost all the landmarks, whether natural (e.g. huge trees and boulders) or man-made (boundary stones), still in place. Thus, in 1749, the judge declared the documents "genuine and legitimate" and three years later, the commission confirmed the title to the hacienda of the Alférez Don Andrés.<sup>23</sup>

In sad contrast, the people of Binangonan "failed to produce any lawful title to prove ownership or possession of the lands belonging to said hacienda." Consequently, their leaders were removed from office and sentenced to hard labor and jail at the Cavite Prison. The royal decree of 15 October 1754 approved all the decisions made by the commission.<sup>24</sup>

Following the example of his uncle, the second hacendero Don Andrés founded a chaplaincy for the hacienda, which was approved by the governor-general on 9 August 1751. Archbishop Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad Martínez de Arízala, OFM, of Manila appointed the Bachiller Don Valentín Flores (1719–ca.1765), an Indio priest, as the first cura capellán of Angono on 19 October of the same year. Unlike his uncle, however, Don Andrés changed his mind at the last minute about paying the stipend of the chaplain, but he was admonished by the archbishop. Upholding the prelate's decision was the royal order of 1754, which also settled the issue of ownership of the estate. Padre

Valentín served until 1756, when he was promoted parish priest of Santiago de Bagumbayan (now the site of the Luneta Park).<sup>25</sup>

### The Hacienda Becomes a Town

For the proverbial three generations, the hacienda remained in the Bermúdez clan. Don Andrés was succeeded by his son, Don Joseph Blanco Bermúdez who, in 1784, endowed the church with a big bell, which still summons the faithful to religious rites today. He eventually sold the estate to another Spaniard, Don Miguel Cacho probably at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. Well organized and developed by this time, the hacienda was raised to a town by the Governor General Don José de Gardoqui on November 12, 1814. Don Miguel, however, had seen better days and he had to mortgage a third of the estate to the *obras pías* (church trust funds) administered by the cathedral chapter. In the meantime, the townspeople had to shoulder the stipend of their chaplain.

In these critical circumstances in 1816, Don Pasqual de Sta. Ana came to start negotiations for the acquisition of the hacienda. He was assisted by his elder son, Mariano, to whom he gave general powers of attorney. But because of the mortgage problem, the purchase was not consummated until 1818. The seventh cura capellán, Presbítero Don Gabriel Ponce, reported that in that year, the population was 875 souls. The 55 year-old Chinese mestizo priest had been serving the hacienda since 1806.<sup>26</sup>

Rare was the hacendero who got along smoothly with his tenants. For a start, the new owner inherited from his predecessors the wearisome problem of tenants refusing to pay the customary fees (*terrasgo*) for their houses and fruit-bearing trees inside the estate. This was a common problem in the haciendas. After waiting in vain for one year, Don Pasqual filed a suit against them at the Royal Audiencia on 22 December 1819. The records of the outcome of the case are not available.<sup>27</sup>

In 1820, Fernando VII restored the Cortes and the liberal Spanish Constitution of 1812. This was announced and celebrated in Manila the following year. The municipal government was reorganized and the mayor was called *alcalde*, as in Spain, instead of the condescending title *gobernadorcillo* (little governor).

Seeking to honor the most distinguished Pasigueño of their era, the principales of the town once again elected Don Pasqual as the *alcalde constitucional* of Pasig in 1824. His younger brother Bruno had pre-

ceded him in the exalted position in 1822. However, unbeknownst to them, because of the snail-paced system of communication at the time, the despotic monarch had again suppressed the Constitution in Madrid in 1823. The dreary news reached the Philippines during Don Pasqual's term. Henceforth, the hacendero was called the *capitan reformado* of Pasig.<sup>28</sup>

While Don Pasqual was serving as the executive in his hometown, the eighth cura capellán, Padre Tiburcio Senson and the principales of Angono filed a petition to the Archbishop of Manila for a license to build a new church closer to where most of the people had settled with the town's expansion. They contended that the old church in the central sitio of Biga was falling apart and the townspeople were reluctant to make the necessary repairs because of its distance and the fact that it belonged not to the town but to the hacendero.

In his written answer, Don Pasqual opposed the move, claiming that the defects of the old edifice were mendable but exaggerated by the petitioners and that it would be far less expensive for the community to join hands with him on the repairs than build a new structure. Upon ocular inspection, the Vicar Forane Padre Mathías Pulumbarit, pastor of Taytay, concluded that the hacendero's position was not unreasonable and, thus, in the name of the archbishop, he decided in Don Pasqual's favor on 16 September 1825 (Lara 1969).

## The Testament

The triumphs and stresses of an hacendero eventually took their toll on the health of Don Pasqual. No sooner had the New Year 1827 arrived at the close of the Christmas holidays than he fell ill and felt his end was approaching. On 4 January 1827, he summoned the Manila Notary Don Clemente Cobarrubias to his residence in Pásig to dictate his last will to him. Although he was confined in bed, he declared that his "consciousness, memory, understanding and will are completely intact." He briefly recounted how his grandfather, Don Agustín, had lost their ancestral lands and how he recovered them through the years.<sup>29</sup>

"What does it profit a man if he gains the whole world but loses the salvation of his own soul? . . . It is easier for a camel to enter the hole of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven." These and other similar biblical passages—which addressed his high station in life—appeared between the lines of the testament. In the

agrarian society, even the soul was likened to a priceless piece of land being fought over by the forces of good and evil. In this sense, this was the last battle of Don Pasqual. His will was replete with spiritual ruminations and preparations. True, some of these were parts of a formula prescribed for rich Catholics when they drew up their last will. Nevertheless, they seemed to have had tremendous impact on the testator.

For the eternal repose of his soul and those of his parents and grandparents, he requested 100 masses. He remembered his brother and sisters with whom he shared a childhood of poverty and shame because of the drastic change in their familial circumstances. He did not mention his two haciendas and most of his properties but instead, referred his four children, whom he declared as his "sole and universal heirs," to a complete list of his possessions in a notebook in his own handwriting. It was up to them to divide his estate equally among themselves except that the remainder of the fifth part (*quinto*)—which by law he was free to dispose of in any manner he pleased—would be given to Mariano, his elder son. He deducted one thousand pesos, a huge sum in those days (thrice the price of the Isla de Talim), from the *quinto* for distribution to his poor relatives and the widows and orphans of Pásig.<sup>30</sup>

His signature on the document, nearly as firm as his customary signature, seemed to indicate that he was not seriously ill at the moment. Perhaps, the mere act of completing his last disposition made him feel better. Two of the witnesses were Filipino priests: Padre Tiburcio Senson, the chaplain of his hacienda in Angono and Padre Joaquín Umali of Pásig. They must have also given him the last rites, which deeply comforted him. He lasted for almost four more months. About two weeks before his birthday, he died on 29 April 1827. During the novena following his burial, in fulfillment of his last will, his son Mariano delivered 804 cavans of palay (at 6 reales each) to the parish church for distribution to the poor.<sup>31</sup>

### The Heirs of the Hacendero

The opulent couple had been blessed with four children who lived to maturity and prominence in their own right: Mariano and José, who have been cited earlier, and the two daughters, María Salomé and Remigia. Being the children of hacenderos, although Indios, they all married well with the upper classes. Judging from the way his parents mentioned Mariano in their last wills, the elder son was the apple of

their eyes. In 1823, he married Doña Inocencia Vicenta Clemente, a Spanish mestiza of Binondo. She was the daughter of Don Francisco Clemente and Doña Romana de los Ángeles.<sup>32</sup>

Don Mariano sired eight children with Doña Inocencia: (1) Don Cristino who married (A) Doña Sinforosa Sánchez y Marcelo and (B) Doña María Raymunda Miguel y Sabino (his third cousin), both of Pásig; (2) Doña Candelaria m. Don Juan Alonzo of Sta. Cruz, Manila; (3) Don Alejandro m. Doña Lorenza González; (4) Doña Paulina m. Don Eugenio Cobarrubias, a Spanish mestizo and son of the Notary Don Clemente Cobarrubias, who took down Don Pasqual's last will; (5) Doña Antonia m. Don José María Díaz, a Spanish military officer; (6) Doña Quiteria m. (A) Don Tomás Gauna, a Spaniard and (B) Don José Martínez, a Spanish mestizo; (7) Doña María Ventura m. Don Laureano La Torre, the Spanish governor of the Batanes Islands and (8) Don Canuto who died in late adolescence. Doña Inocencia died on 17 November 1847. The widower, Don Mariano, remarried in 1852 a younger woman, Doña Josefa González (a sister of his daughter-in-law, Doña Lorenza González) and begot his last child, Doña Paulina de Sta. Ana II.<sup>33</sup>

The second son, Don José de Sta. Ana, made the "best match" of all, which stunned the aristocrats of Manila and provided them with a *cause celebré* to bruit about for a long time. Don José led to the altar a Spanish lady from an illustrious *criollo* clan of the city. Her name was Doña María Escalante, daughter of Don Mariano Escalante and Doña Clara Miranda. She was the young widow of Don José Matheo de Rocha, son of Don Luís de Rocha, the owner of the Malacañang estate (the future site of the presidential palace). It was taboo at that time for an Indio to marry a Spanish woman, but the arbiters of social norms were willing to make an exception of the son of the Indio hacendero of Pásig. The children of Don José were: (1) Doña Dominga, (2) Doña Catalina and (3) Don Antonio who will be mentioned again later because of their subsequent ownership of the Hacienda de Angono.<sup>34</sup>

The elder daughter, María Salomé gave her hand in marriage to Herr Bernhardt Florenz Hantelman, a German expatriate businessman in Manila. They were childless. The younger daughter, Remigia was united in matrimony to Don Antonio Assumpción (1794–1849), son of Don Mariano Cagalitan Assumpción and Doña María Paz Molo de San Agustín, Chinese mestizos of Sta. Cruz, Manila. (Doña María Paz was a sister of Don Paterno Molo, founder of the illustrious Paterno clan of Manila.)

A prolific family involved in the arts as well as in local politics, Don Mariano and his wife had twelve children of whom Antonio was the second. A celebrated painter, Antonio was called "Fray Angélico Filipino" because of his soul-stirring religious works. He taught painting to some of the artistic residents of Angono whose bucolic ambience drew him to paint in the hacienda. The "Master of the Portrait," Justiniano Assumpción was his youngest brother. Don Antonio and Doña Remigia raised ten children: (1) Doña Valentina m. a Yatco of Biñán, Laguna; (2) Doña Juliana m. Leoncio Bartolomé of Pásig; (3) Don Ambrocio (single); (4) Don Francisco m. (?); (5) Doña Valeriana m. Don José Arcinas; (6) Doña Plácida m. a Pasqual; (7) Don Luís m. Doña Paula Bartolomé; (8) Don Esteban (single); (9) Doña Romana (a favorite subject of her Uncle Justiniano) m. Don Andrés Carillo of Biñán, Laguna; and (10) Doña Victoria m. Don Santos José of Pasig.<sup>35</sup>

### The Partition

In the extra-judicial partition of the estate of Don Pasqual among his four children, Don Mariano, the elder son, was magnanimous enough to suffer his younger brother, Don José and his Spanish wife to succeed, instead of him, in the coveted Hacienda de Angono. After all, haciendas were usually identified with those of Spanish blood. Besides, Don Mariano had several children and it was not practical for him to own an hacienda which may have to be dismembered into several parts.<sup>36</sup> Unwittingly, in giving up the estate, he spared his posterity the trials and tribulations of owning an enormous property which the descendants of his brother, for at least six generations now, have been going through for more than a century and a half. Observers have often wondered whether this hacienda is a blessing or a curse to Don Pasqual's descendants.

Don Mariano also seemed to prefer the less developed but more challenging as well as pristine Isla de Talim together with other choice lands. Unfortunately, the towns of Binangonan and Morong belatedly questioned the original sale of the island to Don Pasqual, claiming prior jurisdiction over it. The case was elevated to the Real Audiencia. Don Mariano battled valiantly to keep his patrimony but in vain. On 12 April 1833, the high court finally ruled that the sale was null and void notwithstanding the superior decree and the royal order to the contrary. The titles to the two natural parts of the island, eastern and

western, as demarcated by the mountain range, were handed over to the plaintiffs, Morong and Binangonan, respectively.<sup>37</sup>

The widow, Doña Andrea, together with Don Mariano appealed the case to the Madrid court and appointed Spanish lawyers to pursue it further in their behalf. As a result, the Real Hacienda apparently indemnified the family with the original cost of the purchase as well as the several improvements they had made on the island in the past twenty-one years. After some delay because of red tape, Doña Andrea received one thousand pesos from the government which she later bequeathed to her elder son. The two sisters, María Salomé and Remigia also received equal shares in their father's estate in the form of residential and ricelands.<sup>38</sup>

### The Dowager

Doña Andrea survived her husband by twenty-five years. She was remarried to Don Victor Manalo of Pateros, who also predeceased her. In her widowhood, she continued to expand the family holdings on her own by the purchase of several additional rice fields. This showed that she was as much responsible for the build-up of the family fortune as her first husband, Don Pasqual. The hardy lady survived all her children except her favorite son, Don Mariano. On All Soul's Day, 2 November 1848, she decided to draw up her last will while she still felt sturdy. Four years later, at the age of almost 90, but still up and about, she made another will on 28 July 1852 to replace the first. By this time, almost all her grandchildren had become eminent people in their own right with their own families, though with some financial help from her in the form of loans. These were to be deducted from their respective inheritance according to her testament. She died later in the same year. Like her husband, she bequeathed the remainder of the *quinto* of her estate to her only surviving son, Don Mariano, whom she named the first executor of her will; the second was Mariano's eldest son, Don Cristino, in whose house she lived in her old age and died. Mariano soon followed his mother to the next life on 5 February 1854.<sup>39</sup>

Like his parents, Don Mariano had amassed a fortune with the business acumen he had inherited from them as well as through the sweat of his brow, which his parents noted and praised him for in their testaments. He possessed what may be termed a shadow haci-



enda, a large estate in terms of the total area of the non-contiguous lands, which were spread out in the neighboring towns. These could neither be formally organized into nor restricted by the laws regulating an hacienda.<sup>40</sup>

### The Grandsons as Gobernadorcillos

The same could be said of Don Mariano's worthy son, Don Cristino de Sta. Ana y Clemente (1824–1897). He simplified the spelling of the family name of their branch of the clan to Santana without the preposition "de" in the 1860s to distinguish them from the other Sta. Anas in the town, to whom they are not related. Don Mariano became the gobernadorcillo of Pásig in 1841–42 and Don Cristino, in 1854–55 and 1859–60.<sup>41</sup>

The other grandsons of Don Pasqual and Doña Andrea who served as the town executive were Don Alejandro Santana (1856–57), second son of Don Mariano; Don Ambrocio (1877–79) and Don Luís Asunción (1883–85), both sons of Doña Remigia, who had modernized the spelling of their family name. The latter's artist-husband, Don Antonio Assumpción had also been elected gobernadorcillo in 1842–43.<sup>42</sup>

The Santana ancestral house overlooking Bitukang Manok was inherited in the direct male line up to the fourth generation. Its last owner was Dr. Francisco Santana (1871–1905), son of Don Cristino and one of the pioneer physicians of Pásig (UST 1895). Unfortunately, it was looted and burned by the Americans when they forced their way into Pásig on 9 February 1899.

To invest the fortress-like house with diplomatic immunity, Dr. Santana had invited the French consul to stay in his residence. The latter accepted and duly hoisted his country's flag in the front window. With all confidence, the Filipino pastor, Padre Victor Ramos, had even deposited the church books and other valuables in the *bahay na bato*. To their chagrin, the American troops violated the diplomatic laws and practices. Limned by the Assumpción brothers, the ancestral portraits of the Santanas perished together with the library and several other priceless heirlooms and mementos. Only the first floor, of massive stone work with a grand staircase and *azotea* was left standing after the conflagration. It has been significantly restored by direct descendants to this day. The old family documents were also saved, and many of them are still well preserved by and for posterity.<sup>43</sup>

### Angono: Modern Times and the Forgotten Past

The most interesting granddaughter of Don Pasqual was perhaps the almost legendary Doña Dominga de Sta. Ana, eldest child of Don José who had inherited the Hacienda de Angono. She and her brother, Don Antonio, loomed as the seventh co-hacenderos when their father died in 1841. Their younger sister Catalina also died the following year. Don Antonio, married Doña Teresa Bartolomé y Victorino, also of Pásig and they had a son, Don José II. Unfortunately, Don Antonio was involved in a serious legal case around 1844, the nature of which has not come to light. He was sentenced to four years in the government galleys. Despite his comfortable background, he survived the hard labor. As if this were not enough, records show that his son, Don José II, was also imprisoned in 1866 for an unknown offense. He had to sell some of his lands right then and there to help defray the cost of his defense in court.<sup>44</sup>

### The Hacendera

Being one of the most eligible women in the archipelago, Dominga, a Spanish mestiza, was courted by prominent Spaniards. From among them, she chose the *Licenciado* Don Benancio González de Lara, a lawyer from Toledo, Spain who worked in Cebú as the *asesor del gobierno y la intendencia de las Islas de Visayas*. They were married in 1842 and spent their honeymoon in Spain, leaving general powers of attorney in the Islands to her mother, Doña María Escalante.

They came back two years later to live in Cebú where the lawyer was promoted to Lieutenant Governor of the province. Here, their only child, Don Eugenio González de Lara (1844–1896) was born. Don Benancio left for Spain again on business in 1848, but died there unexpectedly the next year. Henceforth, Dominga and her son returned to Angono to live in the casa hacienda for good.<sup>45</sup>

The hacendera next married in 1852 another Spaniard, Don Francisco Guido y Pérez who hailed from Villafranca del Bierzo, León Province, Spain. (It seemed quite evident that young men from Spain trekked to the Philippines in the nineteenth century to marry Filipino heiresses. Witness the cases of Doña Dominga and her cousins listed earlier.)

As their wedding gift, the thoughtful couple offered the church of Angono its second bell the following year. Dedicated to San Isidro

Labrador, the patron of farmers, it still rings in the church belfry today. As the *comandante graduado y capitán del Regimiento Infantería*, Don Francisco retired to the hacienda. Their six children all reached maturity: José Santiago, Juliana, Justo, Benito, Buenaventura and Domingo Guido. Don Francisco also assumed the guardianship of his stepson, Don Eugenio González de Lara.<sup>46</sup>

Following the preference of his uncle Mariano, Don Antonio de Sta. Ana, Doña Dominga's brother, opted—judiciously as it turned out—to own lands outside the hacienda system. In 1854, he decided to sell out his half of the family hacienda to his sister and brother-in-law Don Francisco Guido for 6,500 pesos. From the proceeds of the sale, Don Antonio bought the extensive ricelands in Cainta inherited by his Asunción cousins from their grandmother, Doña Andrea Pablo who had died two years before. After an initial payment of 1,500 pesos to Don Antonio, the Guido couple mortgaged their newly acquired half of the hacienda to the Obras Pías for a 5,000-peso loan. Thus, half of the estate became the conjugal property of the couple while the other half remained the paraphernal property of Doña Dominga who, in effect, now owned three-fourths of the whole hacienda.<sup>47</sup>

### The Yoke of Lawsuits

Reminiscent of the conflict of a century ago, the 1854 sale sparked the tenants of Angono to question anew the proprietorship of the hacienda and complain as well of Don Francisco's high-handed manner of management. They asserted this time that the Estancia of Birábirá should be distinguished from the Hacienda of Angono and that the present owners of the hacienda and their predecessors had usurped the estancia, which belonged to the ancestors of the tenants.

Don Francisco's prompt presentation of the deed of sale of the hacienda (1818) was not deemed enough evidence of ownership of the entire estate. For some reason, it took him a long time to produce the antecedent documents (1699–1752). To be sure, he had other cases to attend to, and had perhaps misplaced the important papers. But once he found and submitted them to the court, he could not but win the case, which had dragged on for eighteen years.

In 1872, the plaintiffs were finally ordered to turn over to Guido all the lands they had taken over during the litigation. This was duly accomplished in the presence of the mayors of Angono and of the adjacent towns of Antipolo, Morong and Binangonan. Though the

records of the case are voluminous, partly poorly preserved and disarranged, and show some gaps, its basic outline remains clear.<sup>48</sup>

The Guido couple's increased landholdings did not ensure marital bliss, which was further disturbed by legal troubles. In 1864, while Don Francisco still had his hands full with the land cases, Doña Dominga filed for annulment of their marriage at the Ecclesiastical Court in Manila. At the same time, she brought civil suits of overlapping nature against her husband at the District Courts of Intramuros and Quiapo and at the Military Court (Juzgado de Guerra) since Don Francisco was a retired officer. As if these were not enough, his stepson, Don Eugenio González de Lara, who reached the age of majority (25 years in the old Civil Code) in 1869, asked the District Court of Binondo to compel his stepfather to render a complete financial accounting of his guardianship.<sup>49</sup>

The irate hacendera petitioned the military court to order him to let her administer her paraphernal properties (that is, half of the hacienda) and give her monthly child support and alimony. She won her case on both counts in this court which also decided that Don Francisco Guido could administer their conjugal property (the other half of the estate) for the duration of their matrimony. However, it appeared that she failed to secure the church annulment, which was an even more complicated process then than it is now.<sup>50</sup>

The defendant's solution to his escalating woes was to declare bankruptcy in the Intramuros court. He claimed that he was forced to sell his half of the Hacienda de Angono to Don Manuel Genato of Quiapo in 1869 for five thousand pesos. With the money at hand, he hoped to be able to meet his enormous financial obligations especially with regards to the litigations and the child support and alimony to his wife.

On the other hand, the latter and her lawyers countered that the purchase of half of the hacienda was merely simulated besides being unlawful, since it was a conjugal and not an exclusive property of Guido. They stressed that the defendant could not be declared *pobre de solemnidad* because the hacienda still under his administration earned approximately 1,500 pesos annually in addition to his monthly pension of 20 pesos, not to mention the produce of his vineyards and some other lands in his hometown in Spain.<sup>51</sup>

In 1872, the District Court of Intramuros disapproved his claim of bankruptcy and commanded him to pay the total cost of the proceedings. On appeal, the Royal Audiencia affirmed the decision of the lower court. On the other hand, in 1873, the Quiapo court ordered the

embargo of half of the Hacienda of Angono, which Guido administered so that he could pay back his wife the income for the past three years of the other half, which belonged solely to her.<sup>52</sup>

No doubt due to his series of stresses, Guido died in 1876 or 1877. In the latter year, Don Manuel Genato, to whom Guido had sold half of the hacienda eight years earlier, entered into a compromise agreement with Doña Dominga. In exchange for her recognition of the validity of the deed of sale between Guido and Genato, the latter pledged to sell back his part of the estate to her six children for the same purchase price of five thousand pesos after the embargo would have been lifted.<sup>53</sup>

When Doña Dominga died around 1885, the eldest son, Don Eugenio González de Lara, whose father had died young, became the head of the family and administrator of the Hacienda de Angono. In 1886, his first act was to sue the towns of Antipolo and Teresa (established in 1878) for claiming parts of the family estate. He apparently won the suit after producing the titles and other basic documents of their property.<sup>54</sup>

### **A Portrait of the Hacienda**

The local artist, Juan Senson (active 1880–1925) captured on canvas “A Partial View of the Town of Angono” at the turn of the century. The estate is a beehive of activities of farmers, both men and women. The barefoot workers wear simple long-sleeved clothes and straw headgear to protect them from the searing sun. At the background is a grove of trees hovering over their nipa huts and beyond it is the serene Laguna de Bay harboring sail crafts. These all reflect the placid life in the hacienda. But is it, perhaps, just the lull before another storm? The landscape is undated and unsigned but it was exhibited in the *Exposición Regional de Filipinas* held in Manila in 1895 and duly listed in its catalogue printed in 1896. The Central Bank acquired the unique artwork from the descendants of the painter in the 1980s (*First National* 1988, 232–33; *Catálogo* 1896, 468).

### **The Tragic Streak**

As if on cue, the simmering volcano that was the hacienda erupted once again during the Revolution in 1896, when the tenants supported the patriotic cause, which seemed to them to coincide with theirs against the hacenderos. The tenants’ rage must have blinded them

from appreciating the fact that, like them, Don Eugenio was also a staunch supporter of the Katipunan. They automatically assumed that being a *cuarterón* (that is, three-fourths Spanish by blood), he was a loyalist on the side of the colonial government. A prominent colleague, Colonel Manuel Sityar, wrote in his *Memoirs* that for about a year, the hacendero was tormented with nightmares foreshadowing his violent end. True enough, during the tumult of 1896, a lynch mob formed in the hacienda seized him and put him out of his misery, as it were. Don Eugenio's family fled the estate permanently.<sup>55</sup>

Likewise for supporting the Revolution, his half-brother, Don Justo was imprisoned at the start of the conflict. This apparently saved him from suffering the same tragic fate as his brother. Together with other prominent Filipinos, he was pardoned by Governor General Don Camilo de Polavieja to mark the natal day of the boy King Alfonso XIII on 23 January 1897 (Cesariego 1897a and 1897b).

Don Eugenio's son, Captain Carlos de Lara, fared no better at the end of his life. Rising from the ranks, he became the chief of police of the city of Manila in the Early American Period. In the discharge of his duties, he was felled by an assassin's bullet. The murderer was never identified.<sup>56</sup>

### The American Regime

With the change of colonial masters from Spaniards to Americans, the laws governing landed estates also changed. Being a family holding, the Hacienda de Angono was not included in the sale of the friar lands, which belonged to the religious orders. After the protracted armed conflict of the Revolution and the Filipino-American War, the Guido heirs consisting of Juliana, Justo, Benito, Buenaventura and the children of their deceased brothers, José Santiago and Domingo, got around to buying back the other half of the hacienda from Don Manuel Genato for the original purchase price of five thousand pesos on 27 January 1903.

Under the American Torrens Title System, the three surviving Guido siblings, Justo, Buenaventura and Juliana, with the children of their three deceased brothers, had the hacienda titled in their names in 1909. Even then, the former tenants revived their case against the Guidos but the Supreme Court upheld the rights of the family as had the Royal Audiencia sanctioned the land titles of the Blanco Bermúdezes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the Sta. Ana- Lara-

Guidos, in the nineteenth century—the documents of which the Guidos had zealously preserved and duly presented in these proceedings.<sup>57</sup>

Doña Juliana was unmarried, and died in 1925. Don Justo's children were Joaquín, Victoria and Benito Guido. Don Buenaventura had two sons: Francisco and Hermógenes Guido. The names of the children of the three other brothers do not appear in the available documents. The hacienda proved too big for modern heirs to manage, even just their respective portions of it. It started to slip away from their hold. Other persons staked their claims again on various pieces of land, relatively big and small, in different parts of the estate, including those left in Binangonan (e.g. San Guillermo and Lagundi) when Angono separated from it in 1938. They apparently regarded these properties as public lands rather than parts of the hacienda whose prior existence they had conveniently forgotten or failed to acknowledge. Ignorance of history can lead to chaos and lawlessness. The resulting confusion in the land tenure led to another series of litigations, which reached the Supreme Court for the second time in the twentieth century.<sup>58</sup>

In 1991, the highest court confirmed again the proprietorship of the Guido clan et al of the lands originally encompassed by the Hacienda de Angono, both in the present town and in Binangonan. However, in order not to drastically dislocate those who had been peacefully occupying lands in it for several years, the magnanimous heirs willingly parted with 500 hectares in their favor.<sup>59</sup>

As of this writing, despite the final decision of the Supreme Court, the land conflicts in Angono and Binangonan seem far from over. Questions of ownership continue to be raised over and over again by the residents of the two towns with the aid of their lawyers. And the news media faithfully report the latest developments in the case to the rest of the nation.<sup>60</sup>

## Notes

Acknowledgement. The author would like to thank Mrs. Cristina Ranche for doing part of the research, retrieval and photocopying of the documents at the Sinupang Pambansa.

1. Sinupang Pambansa (SP) "El Último Testamento de Don Pasqual de Sta. Ana." (PSA) Año de 1827. Protocolo del sello 3.o del Esc.no (PS3E-) D. Clemente Cobarrubias. folios (ff.) 1–3 vuelto (v.). *Protocolos de Manila*. (PM)-104; "Testamento otorgado por Da. Andrea Pablo a favor de sus alb.as." (AP-1 ) Año de 1849. PS3E- D. Lino Clemente Reyes. ff. 315–317. PM-189; "Testamento otorgado por Da. Andrea Pablo a favor de sus

herederos." (AP-2) Año de 1852. PS3E- D. Lino Clemente Reyes. ff. 242-247v. PM-193; "Escritura de venta de la Hacienda de Angono otorgada por D. Miguel Cacho a favor de D. Pasqual de Sta. Ana." Año de 1816. PS3E- D. Fermín José Reyes. ff. 18v-19. PM-69. (The purchase of Angono did not push through in 1816. It was finalized in 1818. But the wording of the document usually followed the same legal form.) (Lara 1969, 11).

Archivo General de Indias (AGI). "Pleytos determinados (en superior tribunal). Año de 1833." *Filipinas* 581. ff. 4-4v. (This document records the sale of the Isla de Talim to Sta. Ana in 1812 and its royal confirmation in 1816.)

Almost all the known Filipino or native hacenderos during the Spanish Period were Chinese or Spanish mestizos (Fernández 1970, 272). To be sure, there were other Indio big landholders but their estates were not officially established or recognized as haciendas.

Some of the recent news items on the estate of Angono include: "Public warned on sale of lots," *Philippine Daily Inquirer* (PDI), 14 March 1997; Mayet Culibao, "Squatters invade artists' paradise," PDI, 13 July 1998; Nelson Flores, "Guido Estate: Rizal town lawyers seek Erap's help," PDI, 12 February 1999; Mayet Culibao, "Guido Estate: Heirs fight over vast land in Rizal town," PDI, 22 February 1999; June Navarro, "Guido Estate: Rizal residents see hope in feud," PDI, 16 April 1999.

2. Santiago 1998, 340-60; Fernández 1970, 263-65 & 272; Roth 1977, 39-66 esp. the maps on pp. 63-66 & 104; Cushner 1976, 46-53; Connolly 1992, 9, 10, 39, 45 & 89.

3. Ibid.; SP. *Terrenos de Manila y de varias provincias* (catalogues & selected documents of misc. haciendas).

4. Fernández 1970; Santiago 1998. By royal decree, the religious orders were forbidden to spiritually administer the haciendas they owned. However, this was not strictly implemented especially in the nineteenth century. See Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila, *Catálogos del Clero Secular* eighteenth-nineteenth centuries. *Passim*.

5. S.P. "Testamento (PSA)"; "Año de 1748. Confirmación de las tierras a favor de los PP. Jesuitas." *Terrenos de Mariquina*. Leg. 3; "Año de 1857; "Asunto civil de D. Vicente de Guzman contra Doña Josefa Gonzalez (vda. de D. Mariano Sta. Ana)." *Terrenos de Pásig*. Leg. 1. These documents contain information on the ancestors of Don Pasqual.

6. S.P. "Testamento (PSA)"; Zaide 1979, 2: 26. The author of this article fondly remembers Sepoy descendants working as *casamás* in their farm in Caintá, inherited from the Santanas, until the 1980s when the land developers bulldozed and transformed the last remaining riceland in the area into a subdivision.

7. S.P. "Testamento (PSA)"; Lara 1969, 23-25.

8. S.P. "Año de 1748. Confirmación de las tierras"; "Año de 1854. Asunto civil." See n. 6.

9. S.P. "Testamento (PSA)."

10. Ibid.; "Testamentos (AP-1 & AP-2). See n.1; Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga 1973, 168-74; Santiago 1996, 13-19; Cruz 1994.

11. S.P. "Testamento (PSA)." A sampling of documents on Pasqual's business activities can be found in the following *Protocolos de Manila* (PM): Año de 1807. PS3E- D. Manuel del Castillo. PM-45; Año de 1809. PS3E- D. Fermín José Reyes. PM-62; Año de 1812. PS3E- D. Manuel del Castillo. PM-50; Año de 1814. PS3E- D. Fermín José Reyes. PM-67; Año de 1816. PS3E- D. Fermín José Reyes. PM-69; Año de 1817. PS3E- D. Francisco Castro de Reyes. PM-92; Año de 1823. PS3E- D. Clemente Cobarrubias.



PM-100; Año de 1827. PS3E- D. Pedro Antonio de Vergara. PM-84. All passim.; Santiago 1994, 63-65.

12. S.P. "Testamento (PSA); Santiago 1996.

13. S.P. "Testamento (PSA)."

14. AGI. "Pleytos"; S.P. "Testamentaria de D. Mariano de Sta. Ana." (MSA) *Bienes de Difuntos*. Leg. 32

15. Jean Mallat 1983, 64; Salonga 1934, 1: 12, 16 & 49; Rizal 1956, 28, n. 1.

16. AGI. "Pleytos"; SP. "Testamentaria (MSA); Santiago 1985, 221-34.

17. Lara 1969, 11; SP. "Escritura de venta de la Hacienda de Angono." See n.1.

18. Lara 1969, 7-11. Angono was supposed to be a barrio of Pásig in the sixteenth century. This was, however, very unlikely because it is separated from Pásig by the in-between towns of Cainta and Taytay. The barrio referred to in the original sources was most probably Agojo (now Pateros town) and not Angono. I am grateful to Mr. Elmer Nocheseda, the historian of Pateros, for pointing this out to me.

19. Roth 1977, 49, 52, 62 & 100-116; Cushner 1976, 58-64; SP. "Hacienda de Angono (1886)." *Terrenos de Morong*. leg. 3 (old leg. 65). This dossier, although its initial pages are missing, pertains to D. Eugenio González de Lara and includes copies of the 1699 Certificate of Title issued by Don Juan de Ozaeta y Oro, the 1749 declaration of Don Pedro Calderón Enríquez that this title was genuine and other related documents on the hacienda.

20. Ibid.; Piniover 1954, 296 and 301; APSR. *Protocolo nuevo de las Obras Pías del convento de Sto. Domingo*. Tomo 20, f. 112.

21. SP. "Hacienda de Angono (1886)." *Terrenos de Morong*. leg. 3.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.; Lara 1969, 11, 18-19; Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila (AAM). *Libro del Gobierno Eclesiástico (LGE)* 1751-52, docs. 140 & 145 & LGE 1747-56, docs. 305, 311 & 312.

26. Lara 1969, 22-23; S.P. "Poder general otorgado por D. Pasqual de Sta. Ana á favor de su hijo, D. Mariano de Sta. Ana." Año de 1817. PS3E- D. Francisco Castro de Reyes. f.107. PM 92; "Esc.de venta de la Hacienda de Angono." See n.1; AAM. Año de 1818. *Catálogos del Clero Secular*.

27. S.P. "Hacienda de Angono de La Laguna de Bay. Año de 1815." *Terrenos de Morong*. Leg. 4; AGI. "Año de 1819. Testimonio de la Relación de las causas civiles determinadas y pendientes en esta Real Audiencia de las Yslas Filipinas." *Fil.* 581.

28. SP. "Protocolización de los documentos de tierras de propiedad hecha por D. Cristino Santana." (1819-50). Año de 1866. PS4E- D. Félix Dujúa. ff.160-165. PM-420; "Esc. de venta otgda. por D. Mariano Zamora a favor de D. Pasqual de Sta. Ana, Capitán Reformado de Pasig." Año de 1827. PS3E- D. Pedro Antonio de Vergara. f. 8v. PM-84; Gregorio Yabes. "Phil. Representation to the Spanish Cortes." *Phil. Social Science Review*. 8 (Feb. 1936): 40; "Documento Histórico (Gobernadorcillos de Sta. Cruz, Manila)." *Revista Histórica de Filipinas / Phil. Historical Review*. 1 (1905): 56-59.

29. SP. "Testamento (PSA)."

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.; "Testamentaria (MSA)."

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.; SP. "Testamento nuncupativo otorgado por el Sr. Don Cristino Santana y Clemente." (CSC). Año de 1895. Protocolo Público de D. Calixto Reyes y Cruz. ff. 3116-3141. PM-849.

34. SP. "Testamento (PSA)"; "Testamento (AP-1 & AP-2)"; See n.1; SP. "Testamento de D. Luis Rocha." Año de 1821. PS3E- D. Clemente Cobarrubias. PM-98; "Genealogía de los Escalante." Ms. (courtesy of Mr. Antonio Araneta); Archives of the University of Sto. Tomás (AUST). "Partida de Bautismo de Antonio de Sta. Ana." *Partidas de Bautismo de los Colegiales Internos de Sto. Tomás*. 193: 94; SP. "Año de 1845. Testamentaria de Da. Dolores Victorino de Bartolomé (DVB)." *Bienes de Difuntos*. Leg. 34.

35. SP. "Testamento (PSA)"; "Testamento (AP-1 & AP-2)"; "Asunción Family Tree." Ms. (courtesy of Prof. Rafael Asunción of U.P.& Dr. Carmen Lara Asunción of UST); Santiago 1992.

36. SP. "Testamento (PSA)"; "Testamento (AP-1 & AP-2)." See note 1.

37. Ibid.; AGI. "Pleytos."

38. Ibid.; SP. "Poder general otorgado por Da. Andrea Pablo a favor de D. Marcelo Álvaro Contreras (y otros)." Año de 1842. PS3E- D. Mariano Molina. ff. 17-18. PM-75.

39. SP. "Testamento (PSA)"; "Testamento (AP-1 & AP-2)"; "Testamentaria (MSA).

40. Ibid.

41. SP. "Testamento (CSC)." See n. 36; Santiago, "Gobernadorcillos of Pasig."

42. Ibid

43. AAM. *Inventario de los Bienes de las Iglesias de Varias Provincias (1849-99)*. Folder B; Santiago, "Padre Victor Ramos, Pastor of Pásig 1898-1901." Pásig. pp. 84-88; "The First Physicians of Pásig 1894-95." Pásig. pp. 52-57; UST Alumni Association. *UST Graduate Listing* (Manila: UST, 1972) p. 36-c.

44. SP. "Testamentaria (DVB)." See n. 37; "Poder especial procuratorio otgdo. por Doña María Escalante por si y por sus hijos habidos con su difunto marido, D. José Sta. Ana a favor de D. Mariano de Santos procurador del numero de la Real Audiencia." Año de 1843. PS3E- D. José de Aguirre. f. 22. PM-154; "Esc. de venta de una balita de tierra otgda. por Doña María Escalante a favor de Doña Agapita Flores." Año de 1843. PS3E- D. José de Aguirre. ff. 37v-38 PM-154. (This document refers to the land inherited by Doña Catalina de Sta. Ana "who died without successors.") "Esc. de venta de tierras." Año de 1866. PS3E- D. Francisco Rogent. ff. 17-18v, 802-804 & 914v- 916v. PM- 408; "Esc. de venta de unas tierras otgda. por D. José Sta. Ana (II)." Año de 1866. PS3E- D. Félix Dujúa. ff. 117-118v & 119-121v.

45. Lara 1969, 77; SP. "Poder general otgdo. por D. Venancio González de Lara y su esposa Da. Dominga de Sta. Ana a favor de Da. María Escalante." Año de 1842. PS3E- D. Clemente Cobarrubias. ff. 222v-223. PM-119; "Poder general otgdo. por D. Venancio González de Lara a favor de Da. Dominga de Sta. Ana, su esposa, (durante su ausencia en la península)." Año de 1848. PS3E- D. Lino Clemente Reyes. ff. 106v-107. PM-189; "Substitución del poder en parte otgda. por D. José Cayetano Súnico como apoderado general de Da. Dominga de Sta. Ana (sobre la averiguación de la muerte de su esposo en la península) a favor del Procurador de los Juegados D. Alejo Hilario del Pilar ." Año de 1849. PS3E- D. Doroteo Martín de Ángeles. ff. 75v-76v. PM-339.

46. Lara 1969, 26 and 77; SP. "Hacienda de Angono." (1854-78) and (1886). *Terrenos de Morong*. Leg. 5 & 3, respectively; "Venta de la mitad de la Hacienda de Angono otgda. por D. Manuel Genato y Cuejilo a favor de Da. Juliana Guido (y consortes)." Año de 1903. U.S. Military Government. Prot. del sello 10.o del Esc. D. José Ma. Rosado y Calvo. ff. 261-266v. PM-884.

47. Ibid.; SP. "Venta de la mitad de la Hacienda de Angono otgda. por D. Antonio de Sta. Ana a favor de D. Francisco Guido y Da. Dominga de Sta. Ana, su esposa." Año de 1854. PS3E- D. Pedro de Porras; "Venta de la mitad de la Hacienda de Angono otgda. por D. Francisco Guido a favor de D. Manuel Genato." Año de 1869. PS3E- D. Francisco Rogent. ff. 981-984. PM-411; "Esc. de venta de ttras. de labor otgda. por Da. Valentina Asunción y consortes a favor de D. Antonio Sta. Ana." Año de 1854. PS3E- D. Cesareo Cobarrubias. ff. 15v-19, 21v-28 & 28v-36v. PM-353.

48. SP. "Hacienda de Angono." Leg. 3 & 5.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.; SP. "Venta de la mitad." Año de 1869 & Año de 1903. (n. 49 & 50).

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.; "Revocación de poder conferido á Don José Atienza otorgada por Da. Dominga Santa Ana vda. de Guido." Año de 1878. PS3E- D. Francisco Hernández y Fajarnés. ff. 38v-39v. PM- 581.

54. SP. "Hacienda de Angono." (1886). Leg. 3.

55. Manuel Sityar, *Rebolusyong Filipino. Memorias Íntimas*, trans. T. O. Regala. (Quezon City: Sentro ng Wikang Filipino, U.P., 1998), 14-15. Col. Eugenio G. Lara, the author of *Readings in the History of Angono* (see note 1) is a direct descendant and namesake of the tragic hacendero.

56. Sityar 1998, 14-15; personal interviews with Ms. Dominga & Dr. Carmen Lara Asunción, granddaughters of Capt. Carlos de Lara. Pásig City. December 7-8, 1997.

57. Lara 1969, 15; SP. "Venta de la mitad." Año de 1903 (n. 49); "Guido vs. De Borja (No. 4013. 4 Feb. 1909)." *Reports of Cases Determined in the Supreme Court of the Phil. Islands (1908-09)* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1909), 718-31.

58. Ibid.; "Obituario," *Cultura Social*, Abril 1925, 211; "En Banc. (GR. No. 84966. 21 Nov. 1991.) Republic of the Phils., petitioner, vs. The Court of Appeals & Antonina Guido (et al), respondents." *Lex Libris. Jurisprudence. Phil. Supreme Court Reports: 1901-1995*. (Manila: CD OIOMCcd. Multimedia, n.d.). vol. 3: n.p. (21 pp.).

59. Ibid. Some of the news reports on the recent land problems in Angono are listed in n. 1.

60. Ibid.

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