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ARTICLES

Wilson, Mac J. The Mesh and the Abyss: Juan L. Ortiz's Ecopoetics	2
Estrada Orozco, Luis Miguel. Escritura documental, zozobra e intersubjetividades en <i>Había mucha neblina o humo o no sé qué</i> , de Cristina Rivera Garza	13
Gitlin, Daniella. The Mechanics of Uncertainty in Rodolfo Walsh's <i>Operación Masacre</i>	24
Cupic, Tijana. Las soberanías yuxtapuestas: los piratas y los narcotraficantes en la literatura latinoamericana y su relación con el estado	38

DOSSIER: Words and Rhythm, Sound and Text. Charlie D. Hankin, editor.

Hankin, Charlie D. Introduction to Words and Rhythm, Sound and Text	48
Campbell, Corinna. Moving Beyond Words: Awasa and Apinti in a Suriname Maroon Communicative Matrix	51
Carter, Sam. Making Sense of a Corpus: Berta Singerman, Rhythm, and Recitation	64
Fleites Lear, Marena. Estranged Intimacies: An Anticolonial Poetics of Silence in the Poetry of Raquel Salas Rivera and Ana-Maurine Lara	76
Kassavin, Jane. Underwritten Voices: Resonant Spaces and Unsound Silences in Dani Zelko, Soraya Maicoño, and Daniela Catrileo	86
Plevka-Jones, Helen. Resonantly Reading Borderlands Narratives in Valeria Luiselli's <i>Lost Children Archive</i>	100
Vergara C., Isabella. Archivos vivientes: vistas, sonidos y cantos en <i>Border cantos</i> de Guillermo Galindo y Richard Misrach	109
Milone, Gabriela. Ficciones fónicas. Insistencias en la materia de la voz	123
Díaz Frene, Jaddiel. The Two Voices of Porfirio Díaz: State, Audible Fictions, and a Letter to Edison (Mexico-United States, 1907-1910)	135
Piazza, Sarah Maria. El poder de la voz y del acto de narrar en <i>La amante de Gardel</i> de Mayra Santos-Febres	148
Velarde, Malena. Escucha hospitalaria en el arroyo entubado Medrano en Buenos Aires	159

TRANSLATIONS

"Lolo," a short story by Luis Arriola Ayala. Translated from Spanish by Megan Saltzman.	169
The "Primitive" Cecilia Valdés. A short story by Cirilio Villaverde A translation and introduction by Thomas Genova.	172

BOOK REVIEWS

REVIEW ARTICLE. Más allá de la voz. Texturas (ultra)sonicas del poder, la resistencia y el deseo <i>Portable Postsocialisms: New Cuban Mediascapes after the End of History</i> . By Paloma Duong. <i>Transatlantic Radio Dramas: Antônio Callado and the BBC Latin American Service during and after World War II</i> . By Daniel Mandur Thomaz <i>Playlist: Música y sexualidad</i> . Por Esteban Buch. Reseñados por Ricardo Andrade Fernández	186
<i>Espejismos reales Imágenes y política en la literatura rioplatense</i> . Por Diego Alonso Reseñado por Rodrigo del Río	190
<i>Unexpected Routes: Refugee Writers in Mexico</i> . By Tabea Alexa Linhard Reviewed by Mauro Lazarovich	192
<i>Holocaust Consciousness and Cold War Violence in Latin America</i> . By Estelle Tarica Reviewed by Marilyn Miller	194
<i>Un presente abierto las 24h. (Escrituras de este siglo desde Latinoamérica)</i> . Por Mónica Velásquez Guzmán Reseñado por Emanuela Jossa	196
<i>El retorno del monstruo. Figuras de lo monstruoso en la literatura latinoamericana contemporánea</i> . Por Adriana López-Labourdette Reviewed by Manuela Crivelli	198

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DOSSIER: Words and Rhythm, Sound and Text

The Two Voices of Porfirio Díaz: State, Audible Fictions, and a Letter to Edison (Mexico-United States, 1907-1910)

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ABSTRACT: During the last years of the Porfirian government, two recordings circulated with the alleged voice of President Díaz. In a record included in a 1907 Columbia Phonograph Company catalogue, the orders of the leader were captured during the battle fought on April 2, 1867 in Puebla, between the french troops and the Juarista army. In reality, it was a performance recorded in a phonograph and bicycle workshop by a group of popular actors and musicians. At the same time, a cylinder produced by the Edison Company in 1909 contained a letter from Díaz addressed to Thomas Alva Edison. Through these phonograms and other sonic, visual, and handwritten sources, I demonstrate the relevance of recorded sound for studying the diplomatic and commercial relations between the US government and the Mexican State, as well as some of the strategies of subaltern sectors to participate in daily battles for the memory of the nation. Don Porfirio's voices reveal a privileged field of social tensions, between truth and fiction, which allows the political and popular history of Mexico to be rewritten from other methodological possibilities.

KEYWORDS: Porfirio Díaz, Thomas Alva Edison, phonograph, sound culture, popular media

RESUMEN: Durante los últimos años del gobierno porfiriano, circularon dos grabaciones con la presunta voz del presidente Díaz. En un disco incluido en un catálogo de Columbia Records, publicado en 1907, fueron captadas las enérgicas órdenes del caudillo durante la batalla librada el 2 de abril de 1867 en Puebla, entre las tropas interventoras y el ejército juarista. En realidad, se trataba de una escenificación grabada en un taller de fonógrafos y bicicletas por un grupo de actores y músicos populares. Por su parte, un cilindro producido por Edison Company en 1909 contuvo una carta de Díaz dirigida a Thomas Alva Edison. A través de estos fonogramas y otras fuentes sonoras, visuales y manuscritas intentaré demostrar la relevancia de los sonidos grabados para estudiar las relaciones diplomáticas y comerciales entre el gobierno estadounidense y el Estado mexicano, así como las estrategias de los sectores subalternos para participar en las batallas cotidianas por la memoria de la nación. Las voces de don Porfirio revelan un privilegiado campo de tensiones sociales, entre la veracidad y la ficción, que permite reescribir la historia política y popular de México, desde otras posibilidades metodológicas.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Porfirio Díaz, Thomas Alva Edison, fonógrafo, cultura sonora, comunicación popular

1. A history between two recordings

Between 1907 and 1910, several phonograph companies based in the United States released recordings to the Mexican market on which the voice of Mexican President Porfirio Díaz could be heard in different situations.¹ A disc included in a 1907 Columbia Phonograph Company catalogue, for example, featured the recreation of the energetic orders of the leader given during the battle fought in Puebla on April 2, 1867, between the troops of the Emperor Maximilian and the army led by Benito Juárez.² A cylinder produced by the Edison Company in 1909 contained an audio letter from Díaz addressed to Thomas Alva Edison.

The acoustic record of an illustrious person was not a new event at the beginning of the twentieth century. The creation of the tinfoil phonograph by Edison in 1877 and the launch of other devices years later with a notable improvement in the sound quality of the recording and durability of the media (such as the graphophone, the perfected phonograph, and the gramophone) meant that diverse personalities from religious, cultural, and political spheres were given voices that have been preserved across the ages.

For example, on May 17, 1878, the Governor General of Canada, Lord Dufferin, Frederick Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, recorded his voice on a tinfoil cylinder during the first exhibition of that artifact in his country, held at Rideau Hall, Ottawa (Straw, Kallmann, and Moogk). Two years earlier, Thomas Edison, the "Wizard of Menlo Park," recorded himself reciting the poem "Mary Had a Little Lamb," with the purpose of testing the effectiveness of his newly created invention. In South America, his perfected phonograph was used by Carlos Monteiro de Souza, an engineer and electrician by profession, to capture a message from the Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro II, during an exhibition held in 1889 "before the royal family" (Pérez 120). Around that same time, on the other side of the Atlantic, Stephen Moriarty, who was managing director of the United Phonograph Company, asked Pope Leo XIII to speak a few words into a talking machine. A correspondent for the Mexican newspaper *El Tiempo*, who reviewed the famous acoustic experiment, indicated that the pontiff said the following phrase in Latin: "I give you this message: keep it carefully because it expresses my love for the people of the United States."³

Important Mexican personalities also made use of Edison's invention. In Mexico City in October 1877, after the phonograph was presented in the small theater of the Sociedad Nezahualcóyotl and at the Teatro Principal, J. W. Wexel and F. De Gress, owners of an armory located at Number 5 Plateros Street in the center of the city, allowed the prominent intellectual and writer Guillermo Prieto to record a poem during a private session. These exclusive agents of Edison in Mexico also visited, at the end of October 1878, the private residence of the famous soprano Ángela Peralta y Castera on Monterilla Street. During the session, according to the chroniclers of the time, Peralta sang "several pieces from [Bellini's opera] *Norma* and the beautiful romance 'The Last Flower,'" cylinder recordings that

were later played in public exhibition in Guadalajara (Díaz Frene, *Fonógrafos imperiales* 204-210). In the late 1880s, Edison's improvements to his wax cylinder machine invention allowed many individuals to record their thoughts and experiences. By 1892, in a phonograph hall located on Plateros Street, recordings of poems by the famous Mexican author Juan de Dios Peza, recited by himself, could be heard. The public could listen to these recordings by the famous poet for only 25 cents (Díaz Frene, *Ensamblando las notas* 61). On December 23, 1889, the newspaper *La Patria Ilustrada* reported that Commander Joaquín Zendejas had taken advantage of "an Edison phonograph to preserve his memories of the War of Intervention."⁴

The two Díaz recordings released in the last years of his presidency were framed in a different context. Among its particularities, we can identify the massive consumption of talking machines, the proliferation of US companies interested in commercializing Mexican voices, and significant advances in the processes of the reproduction of disc and cylinder recordings that circulated in a large sound market of global dimensions. To decipher the processes of production, circulation, and consumption of these recordings, I propose to answer the following questions: did they really contain Don Porfirio's voice? If not, who imitated him? Did the Mexicans of the time trust the veracity of these recordings? Who produced them? Under what conditions were they recorded? At what price were they sold? In which spaces could they be consumed? How could they affect the way we imagine the vicissitudes of the French intervention, or trade relations with the United States?

2. A phonograph and an audible letter from Porfirio Díaz to Thomas Alva Edison

On October 15, 1909, an advertisement published in the pages of *El Diario* informed its readers that, at the offices of the Mexican National Phonograph Company a cylinder recording was offered for sale that reproduced the voice and words of the "President of the Republic."⁵ Those who listened to this cylinder, whether played for them for a few cents on a portable cylinder machine by a traveling entrepreneur, at a neighbor's house, or during a visit to a commercial establishment, appreciated the still-energetic voice of an elderly man who had recently turned 79, transmitting the following message of brotherhood to the creator of the phonograph:

Señor Thomas A Edison. Estimado y buen amigo: Me refiero a su grata ocho de julio. Yo también como usted recuerdo con placer el tiempo aquel en que tuve la satisfacción de conocerle y conocer sus atrevidos experimentos, haciéndome partícipe de su fe inquebrantable en el grandioso provenir de la ciencia humana. Fue allá en su patria, en los primeros días de la luz eléctrica en Nueva York, y desde entonces presentí en usted al héroe del talento, al triunfador del trabajo, al que más tarde habría de someter la disciplina el fuego

arrebatado por Franklin a los cielos para perpetuar acá en la tierra de sus maravillosos aparatos fonográficos la cariñosa voz de los seres amados reproduciendo todos los ritmos, todos los acentos y todas las modulaciones del lenguaje humano. Me es grato complacerle porque tengo en muy alta estimación a los grandes benefactores de la humanidad y usted es uno de ellos, porque usted ha creado nuevas fuentes de felicidad, de bienestar y de riqueza para el género humano utilizando las más poderosas fuerzas conocidas: luz, electricidad, trabajo y genio. Su amigo que con orgullo estrecha su mano, Porfirio Díaz.⁶

In this audible letter, Porfirio reminded his friend of the meeting they had had in the United States. The president and the inventor had met in April 1883, during Díaz's visit with his new wife, Carmen Romero Rubio, with whom he was touring the United States, interviewing prominent politicians and businessmen. Díaz was then serving as governor of his native state of Oaxaca, after having held a post in the Ministry of Development in the service of President Manuel González (Díaz Frene, *La diplomacia* 278).

Although we can find multiple references to Díaz's phonographic missive in Mexican historiography, it has been the US-based researchers John Koegel and Sarah J. Townsend, who have more closely assessed this "fascinating document" (Koegel, *Grabaciones tempranas* 66).⁷ Koegel considers that the recording is the historical result of three factors: "the luxurious machine" and "a large number of the first cylinder recordings of Mexican music" given by Edison to Díaz in 1904 on the occasion of his birthday; the president's interest in applying the advances in sound technologies to the progress of his nation; and, finally, the letter that the inventor sent to his friend in 1909 "and that Díaz himself mentions in his historic recording" (66).

Townsend, who studies talking machines through their representations and relationships with literary texts, limits her evaluation of the audible letter to the framework of the presidential speech:

In addressing the inventor as his equal and lauding his ability to submit the forces of nature to "discipline," Mexico's strongman signals an alliance between political and technological power. Yet the first voice listeners hear belongs not to Díaz but to an unnamed assistant, who sets the stage by identifying the speaker and his title. In framing the recording as a *contestación* he also grants agency to the silent party whose actions elicited this response—on one level, Edison, but in a more profound sense, the phonographic medium itself. In fact, Díaz's knowledge of the technology he lauds is rather faulty: although he links it to the discovery of electricity, the apparatus was entirely acoustic until the late twenties, when the invention of an electric recording process made it possible to register a greater range of frequencies

and eliminated much of what today comes across as graininess. (*His Master's Voice?* 206)

Townsend also wonders about who heard the cylinder and their possible reactions but does not study or provide any data about the reception process. Although both authors left relevant questions about Díaz's recording out of their analysis, they did not intend to concentrate their research on the phonogram. In general, Koegel and Townsend's texts are important starting points and inspiration to undertake this journey between voices and silences.⁸

It remains to be explored, for example, the views that circulated in the press about the sale of the cylinder and the conversations carried out between Díaz and Edison to achieve the recording. It will also be important to clarify what were the commercial and political interests that led both characters to reach an agreement. Likewise, it should be reviewed whether there were previous recordings by Díaz both for Edison's company and for other companies with the purpose of establishing connections and comparisons to decipher the particularities of the 1909 message. Finally, I am interested in exposing in the epilogue of this article, following the questions raised by Sarah Townsend, what were the practices and spaces that allowed popular sectors, often unable to buy a phonograph, to be able to hear the real or fictitious voices of the Oaxacan leader.

In 1909, the Mexican press attempted to portray Díaz's phonographic message as an avant-garde object that imitated modern uses of sound technologies in US political life, specifically the numerous recordings of President William Howard Taft's political speeches. The possibility of relating both leaders as users of the phonograph was inevitable. The Mexican National Phonograph Company, Edison's Mexican counterpart, paid for an advertisement in the pages of *El Imparcial*, published on October 17, 1909, which promoted the sale of Don Porfirio's cylinder along with twelve cylinders containing the speeches of his northern counterpart.⁹ That same month, a correspondent for the *Edison Phonograph Monthly* magazine described as a "happy coincidence" the fact that the machine used by Díaz to make his speech was "the identical one into which President Taft spoke when he made his famous series of speeches prior to the late election."¹⁰ The need to highlight this connection responded to a specific context recognized by the journalist: "In view of the coming meeting between the presidents of the two great republics of North America."¹¹ Díaz and Taft met on the border between Ciudad Juárez and El Paso, in the same days in which their phonographic recordings were sold in branches of the Edison Company, both in Mexico and in the United States. Other establishments also took advantage of the popular effervescence at the scene. The W. G. Walz Company, "the leading music store along the border" with "branches in El Paso and Ciudad Juárez" (Koegel, *Cruzando las fronteras* 137), printed an advertisement flyer in which, as the Mexican newspapers had done, it jointly referred to the recordings of Díaz and Taft's political speeches (reproduced both by the Edison Phonograph Company and by the Victor Talking Machine

Company). The store had chosen October 16, 1909 to start the sale of the cylinder with the words of Don Porfirio, a date that had not been selected at random, since it was the day on which both leaders "were to meet" (Koegel, *Cruzando las fronteras* 137). Was Edison aware of the interview between Taft and Díaz when he asked the Mexican president to record his voice? Researcher Juan González Morfín illustrates that it was at the end of August that both governments were able to reach an "agreement on the general details of the meeting" (2). To do this, it was based on a report dated August 28, 1909 and directed by Francisco León de la Barra, Mexican ambassador to the northern nation, to Ignacio Mariscal, who was in charge of the foreign affairs portfolio in the Porfirian government:

En conferencia hoy con Departamento de Estado convine siguientes puntos sujetos a aprobación definitiva señores Presidentes: -Autoridades superiores locales Ciudad Juárez y El Paso señalarán común acuerdo un punto en El Chamizal aproximadamente mitad distancia entre el Río Grande y principio El Paso. Minutos antes once de la mañana llegará a ese punto Señor Presidente Díaz y comitiva. -Darále la bienvenida autoridad civil, tal vez Gobernador Texas, acompañado Ayudante militar. -Salva veintitún cañonazos. -Señor Presidente Díaz y comitiva ocuparán coches Gobierno americano y serán escoltados por Brigadier General A.L. Myer, con Estado Mayor, banda música montada, dos escuadrones de caballería, tres baterías artillería campaña. -Al frente edificio en donde recibirá señor Taft, harán honores un batallón y un regimiento de infantería. -Después de bienvenida y ligero lunch serán conducidos señor Presidente Díaz y comitiva hasta punto límite provisional con el mismo ceremonial, dejando allí carruajes americanos para tomar los suyos. -Igual ceremonial para recibir señor Presidente Taft en dicho punto antes medio día y poco antes seis tardes. -Cada escuadrón y cada batallón de infantería compónese doscientas sesenta plazas. -Cada regimiento infantería setecientas ochenta plazas. -Cada batería cuatro cañones. -Salvo opinión señor Presidente Díaz no habrá conferencia reservada tratar asuntos política internacional. -Convínose cambio notas declarando que señalamiento punto mitad Chamizal frontera provisional nada afectará derechos alegados sobre dicho terreno.¹²

As Díaz himself had pointed out in his phonographic letter, the American inventor had sent him his request in a letter dated July 8, 1909, almost two months before the details of his meeting with Taft were agreed upon. Was this true? Edison's letter referred to by the Mexican president is housed in the Edison Collection at Rutgers University:

Recalling the pleasure of my acquaintance with you in the early days of the electric light in New York, I wish to

obtain, if possible, one or more phonographic records in Spanish of any matter that you may select, each preferably not over two minutes in length. These records I am sure would be very eagerly received by your fellow citizens, and I have no doubt that they would create much interest in the United States, where your high character and distinguished services are so generally admired. Both president Taft and Mr. William J. Bryan have made twelve records for us which have been very favorably received by the public. If you would signify your willingness to oblige me, I will immediately take steps to have the records made in the best manner possible at any time and place that you may select.

Accept, Mr. President my best wishes for your health and prosperity, and believe me.

Very respectfully yours, Thomas A. Edison.¹³

At first, the date of Francisco León de la Barra's report and the references in the Edison Phonograph Monthly led me to suspect that the inventor may have been unaware of the future meeting between the leaders and that, therefore, the release of Díaz's recording in October 1909 had been a stroke of luck and not a meticulously planned commercial strategy to take advantage of a favorable political context. However, a review of the American and Mexican press revealed that the holding of the meeting between Díaz and Taft was already known at the end of April. Before Edison asked his friend to record his voice on a cylinder, dozens of newspapers, including the *Hawaiian Gazette*, *San Juan Islander*, *The Pensacola Journal*, *The Topeka State Journal*, *The Citizen Republican*, *The Los Angeles Herald*, *The News Record*, *Hawaiian Star*, *The Laclede Blade*, *The San Francisco Call*, *The Frontier*, *The Glenwood Post*, *Albuquerque Citizen*, *The Billing Gazette*, *The Colorado Statesmen*, and *The Lamar Register* had widely publicized the meeting of the leaders in El Paso. Initially, it was thought that the presidential meeting would take place in November, as demonstrated in a special dispatch published at the end of April in several newspapers:

El Paso, Tex., April 29. -A movement has been started here to induce President Diaz of Mexico to visit El Paso in November when President Taft passes through. It is planned to have the two executives meet and exchange greetings on the International bridge.¹⁴

Díaz took 21 days to respond to Edison's request, in a letter dated July 8, 1909. In a brief message he referred to the sender as a friend, thanked him for his proposal and told him that he would reach an agreement with Mr. Cook to materialize the recording required. Díaz and his advisors must have seen the Edison's offer as an opportunity to achieve valuable political publicity through a medium of great national and international impact, at a time when the figure of the president was losing legitimacy in the face of the economic cri-

sis and the publication of seditious texts by his opponents. However, the president limited himself to recording a single phonogram, without taking full advantage of the relevant audible platform that the creator of the phonograph gave him to address his subjects.

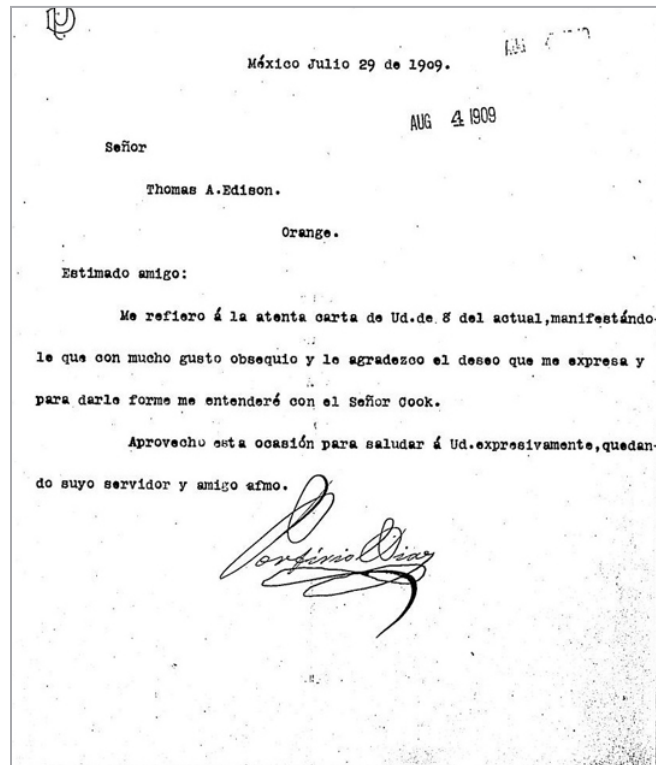


Fig. 1. Letter from Porfirio Díaz to Thomas Alva Edison, July 29th, 1909 [Dogo8ACG1].¹⁵

Edison, for his part, felt convinced of the success that a phonogram of this type could have. The same day that he wrote to Don Porfirio, he sent a letter to the aforementioned Mr. George W. Cook in which he indicated the popularity that these recordings would have both in Mexico and in the United States: "It has occurred to me that a number of phonograph records of President Díaz would be very acceptable to the Mexican people and hardless less so to our own citizens, who so warmly admire his high character and distinguished services."¹⁶

He only had to obtain the consent of the ruler and to ensure it he resorted to an infallible strategy. On the same July 8, Edison also addressed Carmen Romero Rubio, hoping that she could persuade her husband in the event of any hint of indecision. Edison had a great admiration for Romero Rubio, with whom, as I pointed out, he had spent several days in New York during the summer of 1883. Almost three decades after that meeting, the inventor recalled the beauty and refined command of the English language that the first lady of Mexico had: "President Diaz of Mexico, visited this country with Mrs. Diaz, a highly educated and beautiful woman. She spoke very good English."¹⁷

Although the inventor did not hesitate to write to his former

acquaintance, one of his employees expressed concern about the situation of Carmen Romero Rubio, since it was unknown whether she was still alive or had divorced. Fearing a situation that would affect good diplomatic procedures, Frank Lewis Dyer, president of the National Phonograph Company, addressed the head of the Foreign Department with these concerns:

Mr. Edison tells me that he met Mr. Díaz in New York in the early days and that they formed quite a pleasant friendship, so that he thinks it would be the wisest course to present a letter to Mrs. Diaz. It occurs to me, however, that Mrs. Díaz may not be alive or The President may have married again, so that Mr. Cook might prefer to present the letter to the President. In case, however, he thinks the letter to Mr. Cook will answer the purpose, I am willing to leave the matter to his judgment.¹⁸

What was the content of the letter addressed to Carmen? The text began with the following question: "Can I enlist your support in obtaining from your distinguished husband one or more phonographic records in Spanish, on any subjects that he may select, each preferably not over two minutes in length?"¹⁹ In the rest of the letter, Edison presented ideas similar to those he had written in the messages addressed to both Díaz and Cook. First, he assured her that the phonograms would be received with "respect" and "affection" by Mexican citizens, as well as by the public of other countries, since her husband was "regarded as one of the greatest men that this continent has produced."²⁰ Finally, he cited as an example of the success of this type of recording, the twelve cylinders marketed with the words of President Taft and Bryan. Two issues cannot be overlooked in Edison's requests. First, the inventor was interested in directing Don Porfirio's recording towards a Spanish-speaking market made up mainly of the population residing in Mexico, Latino migrants from the United States, and audiences in Latin American countries, where his company enjoyed excellent distribution mechanisms for cylinders through a wide network of phonographic agents. Despite Díaz's high rank, the language in which he recorded his message meant that the phonogram was labeled in the "ethnic" category. Secondly, we must bear in mind that the businessman hoped that Don Porfirio, far from being content with recording a phonogram, would decide to record several messages. Perhaps that is why he pointed out in the letters sent to the president and Carmelita the number of cylinders recorded by his American counterpart and the Illinois politician William Jennings Bryan, as an example to follow.

Although both Edison and Díaz had made reference to their meeting in New York and the friendship that arose from this experience, these figures omitted in their letters any relevant precedents of their phonographic communications. The message recorded in 1909 was not the first cylinder to record the voice of the Mexican president expressing words of gratitude towards his friend. On the

night of November 6, 1889, from his residence in Chapultepec, Díaz recorded the following words for Edison in a wax cylinder:

Doy á vd. las gracias más cumplidas por el ejemplar de su admirable fonógrafo reformado, que tuvo vd. la bondad de enviarme con el apreciable sr. Connery, por la utilidad y momentos de placer que él me dará, por la benevolencia con que vd. se expresa al enviármelo, y por la honra que recibo al ser obsequiado por el Soberano de los inventores del siglo XIX, y llamarle mi amigo.²¹

In the message, Díaz thanked Edison for the gift of a talking machine with a special inscription with his name, delivered by Thomas B. Connery, "former charge d'affaires of the United States in the Republic," leader of a delegation made up of other individuals close to the "Wizard of Menlo Park," such as the New York lawyer Edwin M. Fox and the "phonography expert" J. J. Balleras.²² During the evening, prominent Mexican guests were also present, including the Secretary of the Interior Manuel Romero Rubio and his wife, as well as Isidoro de la Torre and Jesús de Teresa.²³

Despite the two decades that separate one recording from another, the comparative exercise between them is suggestive. A first aspect to consider when searching for differences is the motivations behind the cylinder recordings. The one from 1909 was motivated by the dividends generated by its commercialization, while the communication recorded in 1889 had a personal nature, in gratitude for the fraternal attitude of the inventor, who gave the president a luxurious phonograph and a cylinder with the following message:

En víspera de la introducción del fonógrafo para uso de los ciudadanos de la República que con tanta habilidad preside vd., me ha parecido bien preliminar el hecho de que vd. lo conozca personalmente y por eso me tomo la libertad de enviar á vd. por conducto de mi amigo el Señor Tomás Connery, una máquina para su uso propio de vd. Ella es el primero de mis instrumentos perfeccionados que entra en la República de México. Y al pedir á vd. que bondadosamente lo acepte, abrigo la esperanza de que en sus cualidades hallará vd., no solo un placer, sino también alguna ayuda, aliviándole las faenas de un empleo cuyos múltiples deberes solo han servido para realizar la estimación de que goza vd. con su patria y con otras naciones.²⁴

Edison's altruistic attitude was marked in 1889 by a specific interest: the signing of a potentially lucrative agreement between his company and the government so that the postal service in Mexico would ship phonograph cylinders, a measure that, according to the Porfirian government, could benefit the illiterate population of the country. The interests at stake at that time, much more relevant

than the possible commercial success of a recording with Díaz's voice, led the inventor to take great care of each gift sent to the president and stay informed about his reactions through correspondence with his represents.

A second issue to evaluate is the reasons that motivated Díaz's decision to record his voice. While in 1889 it was a spontaneous act, motivated by the entertainment of Edison and his envoys in a festive context, two decades later, Don Porfirio, already depressed by the ailments of old age and in the midst of a more complex political situation, agreed to immortalize his words on a talking machine, at the express request of his friend.

3. The Battle of April 2. Fictions by a phonograph and bicycle mechanic

Two years before Díaz agreed to Edison's request, the Espinosa Phonograph Agency, the representative of the US Columbia Phonograph Company in Mexico, put on sale at its branches in Mexico City, Puebla, and Guadalajara, a series of three albums of ten inches with the Columbia Records label in which, apparently, the voice of the Mexican president could be heard when he was a young general.

While the needle of the talking machines traveled through the grooves of the shellac, listeners of the time delighted in listening to different scenes of the battle of April 2. In the first disc, the preparations to attack Puebla were exposed; in the second the assault was addressed; the third showed the excitement over the victory of the liberal forces. The first disc began with the fragment of a military march that announced the next speech by the military leader, addressed to his troops during the siege of Puebla:

Compañeros de armas: Destruídas las fuerzas imperialistas que ocupaban Tehuantepec, Oaxaca y de haberse embarcado el ejército invasor dejando en suelo mexicano regado con más de nueve mil franceses, hemos avanzado en pocos días este sitio más que ellos en dos meses. No obstante, que al retirarse el general Valdés dejó almacenada en este heroica Puebla gran cantidad de cañones, fusiles con sus municiones en abundancia para que Maximiliano pueda sostenerse. Hay encerrado en esa plaza lo mejor del ejército imperialista. Pues bien señores, el general Márquez viene en su auxilio con más de mil quinientos hombres y un numeroso tren de artillería [...].²⁵

The answer to these unknowns was found not only in the record post, but also at the beginning of each audible episode. Here it was specified that the author of the sound series was a man named Julio Ayala.²⁶ This versatile Mexican, in addition to working as a phonograph and bicycle mechanic, had dedicated himself, since the beginning of the twentieth century, to recording various episodes of independence and the French intervention in his workshop in Cerca

de Santo Domingo. Thanks to the collaboration of popular actors and singers such as Maximiano Rosales and Rafael Herrera Robinson, Ayala staged and reproduced works such as the series *Memoirs of the Intervention*, divided into three segments: (1) departure of the French troops from the capital of the republic; (2) imprisonment of Maximiliano in the convent of Capuchinas [Querétaro]; and (3) execution of Maximiliano, Mejía and Miramón in the Cerro de las Campanas.²⁷ Another famous historical series sold by Don Julio in his workshop, in 1903, was titled *The Cry of Independence*. According to an advertisement published in the *Semanario Literario Ilustrado*, it had the following structure:

1. First part: It took place in the town of Dolores
2. Second part: It took place in the Granaditas Castle.
3. Third part: The celebration of Mexico's anniversary.
4. Fourth part: Speech and honor parade.²⁸

I do not know if this year Ayala had recorded and reproduced recordings dedicated to the Battle of April 2. The truth is that the mechanic and inventor of a phonographic diaphragm had achieved resounding success before Porfirian audiences by that date. On April 5, 1904, Mr. Rafael Cabañas, representative of the National Phonograph Company in Mexico, shared with Mr. Walter Stevens a revealing observation about the social impact of the historical phonograms recorded in the Cerca de Santo Domingo: "although this class of records are sold most extensively among the lower classes, they have a fair demand among the upper class."²⁹

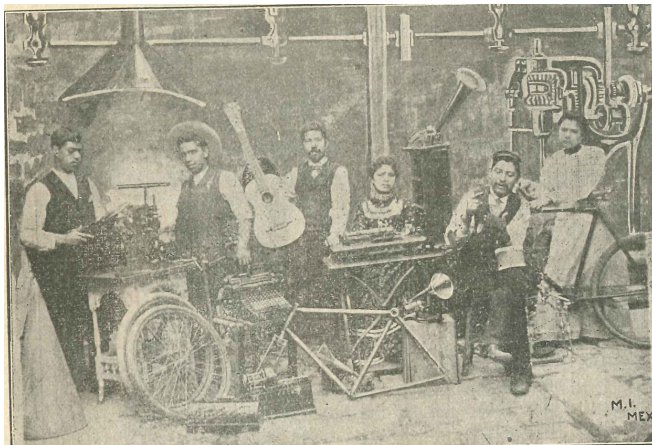


Fig. 2. Interior of Julio Ayala's workshop.³⁰

To a large extent, the passion aroused by the recordings was due to Don Julio's ability to recreate the events through a convincing alchemy of sounds. In addition to having excellent performances, their recreations had special effects to simulate the shots and cannon blasts in the recreation of the battles. This recording process not only required several talking machines and phonograms with different content, but also perfect synchronization of the actors.

The efficiency of this audible apparatus can be seen on the re-

ords of the Battle of April 2. Listening to it reveals a versatile recording process that required multiple rehearsals to synthesize the evolution of an event that lasted several days in just a few minutes. Ayala's script not only integrated Díaz's speeches, but also the speeches of officers and soldiers, improvised sounds of gunshots during the assault on the city of Puebla and the reproduction of bugle calls and military marches, the length of which also allowed filling in some seconds of the disk's contents when necessary.

One of the sound resources implemented by Ayala was the introduction of a fragment of the national anthem at the culmination of his historical series. The musical piece functioned in these performances as an audible symbol that legitimized the presence of the event in the calendar of national history and its protagonist as a member of the pantheon of heroes of the intervention. The construction of the hero president was a valuable political resource to sustain his long stay in the presidential chair. The exciting and teleological future of the country and its makers had to prevail in these nationalist stories, with the approval of the government, above the law of mortals and republican democracy.

Ayala would not have faced obstacles in obtaining a phonographic recording of the anthem, since its availability in the market was high. When reviewing the companies' catalogs we can find that the work enjoyed great acceptance. The National Phonograph Company, for example, sold a cylinder numbered 18609 that contained a performance by the Sapper's Band. As part of the "dances, romances and melodies" section of its official catalogue, the company marketed another recording with the composition of Jaime Nunó in the voices of a "mixed choir" with piano accompaniment (Edison cylinder 18698). In turn, Victor Talking Machine promoted, within the framework of its offer of "singing pieces in Spanish," a recording made by Francisco York. Under the serial number A 3073, the company also sold a seven-inch record with a version performed by the Arthur Pryor Band of New York.³¹

What was the proportions of truth and fiction in Don Julio's script? Could his recordings be reduced to a collection of narrative devices and audible effects? To answer these questions, it is necessary to immerse ourselves in the discourses of the time, with the purpose of identifying the possible sources that the ingenious actor and mechanic resorted to in the creation of his brief script. This operation faces a difficulty: the enormous amount of information produced during the Porfiriato about the battle of April 2 and the political, military, and even psychological traits of its main protagonist, as well as the wealth of news and recollections published in the press periodically during the anniversaries of the event.³²

Ayala could also have among his possible sources low-cost printed documents aimed at the popular sectors.³³ In 1894, for example, Antonio Vanegas's publishing house printed a broadside illustrated by José Guadalupe Posada, in which the population was informed about the preparations for a simulation of the battle of April 2, which would take place in the plains of San Lázaro. In the publication, Don Antonio not only praised Díaz, but also reported in

detail on the composition of the troops, the commanding officers, as well as the type and amount of ammunition that would be used in the drill. Other stagings of the battle were carried out on theatrical stages. This was the case of the episode in one act and three paintings titled *El héroe del 2 de abril*, written by the Puebla playwright Eduardo Gómez Haro (1871-1938) and premiered, with music by Carlos Samaniego, at the Teatro Principal within the framework of the thirty-eighth anniversary of the battle.



Fig. 3. Posada, José Guadalupe, and Antonio Vanegas Arroyo. "Grande y sorprendente Simulacro." México: Imprenta de Antonio Vanegas Arroyo. 1894.³⁴

I wish to begin with the second album of the historical series. Those who were able to hear him appreciated the hero of Chalchicomula ordering his officers into the following positions to carry out the assault on the city:

Señor general Gravioto señalo para este asalto la trinchera de la calle de Alcantarilla; general Carreón, las trincheras de la calle de Belem; Luis Mier y Terán, las calles de Miradores; al comandante Carlos Pacheco que tome la trinchera Siempreviva. General Bonilla, atacad el costado de San Agustín, en tanto que Figueroa, Andrade, León, Vázquez, Aldama, deben hacer sus movimientos

por el oriente de la ciudad. Y vos, general Alatorre, con la reserva acudid al punto donde fuese necesario el asalto.³⁵

Everything seems to indicate that Ayala took this information from the work *Memorias del Sr Gral. D. Porfirio Díaz*, published in 1892 by the Omega Library, with an introduction written by the Oaxacan jurist, writer, and diplomat Matías Francisco Orosio Romero Avenaño. In chapter LXXX, titled "Preparativos para el asalto de Puebla, 1 de abril de 1867," a "fragment of the order" that Díaz gave to his officers the night before the attack on the city was reproduced:

- 1a. Al General Gravioto asalto de la trinchera de la calle Alcantarilla.
- 2a. Al general Carreón asalto de las trincheras de las calles de Belem e Iglesias y la brecha abierta en la manzana de Malpica. El salto lo encabezará con 100 hombres el Jefe del Batallón de Zapadores, Teniente Coronel Don Genaro Rodríguez.
- 3a. A Don Vicente Acuña asalto de la formidable fortificación de Iglesias, quien lo llevará a efecto con ciento cincuenta hombres.
- 4o. Al Teniente Coronel Francisco Vázquez se le encomienda que penetre por una brecha abierta por la artillería republicana en la manzana de Malpica.
- 5a. A los CC. Coronel Luis Mier y Terán y Teniente Coronel Juan de la Luz Enríquez, se les previene que asalten personalmente las trincheras de las calles de Miradores.
- 6a. Al Teniente Coronel Guillermo Carbó que se posesionase del Noviciado.
- 7a. Al C. General Juan C. Bonillas se le confía la toma del parapeto del costado de San Agustín.
- 8a. A los jefes Luis Pérez Figueroa, Andrade, Doroteo León, Vázquez Aldana y otros, que concurren por la parte de Oriente sobre la calle del Deán.
- 9a. Al Mayor Carlos Pacheco el asalto de la calle de la Siempreviva.
- 10a. Al Coronel Manuel Santibáñez se le previene que en los momentos del asalto ocurra al Convento de San Agustín.
- 11a. El General Alatorre, con una columna de reserva del 3ro de Cazadores, ocurrirá a todos los lugares en que hubiere necesidad de su auxilio. (366-367)

Another probable source to extract this information could have been the volume entitled *Datos biográficos del C. General de División Porfirio Díaz*, which came to light in 1884 by the Irineo Paz Printing Office. Although the orders were not numbered, the text was the same. It was also noted that these "provisions" had been dictated at midnight on April 1 by General Alatorre, by "agreement and de-liberation with General Díaz" (126-127). By crossing this part with

the recording, we can visualize the great simplification exercise that Ayala had to carry out to adapt Díaz's detailed orders to a two-minute format. Although the scriptwriter tried to respect the essence of the document, the time limitation of the format forced him to omit the instructions offered to Lieutenant Colonels Juan de la Luz Enríquez and Francisco Vázquez and Colonel Manuel Santibáñez.

This was not the only phonographic speech by Díaz that we can trace in historical sources. On the third disc of the series, Don Porfirio is heard saying the following words after taking the city:

Como general en jefe de las fuerzas de oriente y vencedor declaro que la ciudad entera espera la ejecución sangrienta de reos sobre los cuales pesa la ley del 25 de enero, pero como no he nacido para carcelero ni para verdugo mando retirar la guardia y pongo a los prisioneros en entera libertad, pues les concedo el perdón.³⁶

I suspect that Ayala may have consulted the book *Apuntes biográficos del C. General Porfirio Díaz*, edited by J.S. Ponce de León in 1871. In this volume, a scene is narrated that demonstrates the general's magnanimous attitude in sparing the life of prisoners of war:

Conducidas las operaciones sobre los cerros de Guadalupe y Loreto con la energía y acierto de costumbre, no tardaron en rendirse. Habiéndolo hecho sin condiciones el comandante del segundo, en la noche del 3 al 4 de Abril, el general Díaz pasó personalmente á ocupar la fortaleza, é intimó desde allí á la guarnición del primero, que procedería desde luego al asalto si no se rendía en el acto. El general D. Francisco de P. Tamariz salió á conferenciar á la cortadura que media entre ámbos, y no pudiendo obtener la menor garantía, presentó su espada al vencedor, aceptando con noble altivez la responsabilidad que en ese acto declinaba su superior, el general Noriega. "Consérvela vd., compañero, le contestó el general Díaz: siempre ha sido de buen temple, y aun debe servir para la defensa de la República.

Impresionado por esta escena el general en jefe, volvió meditabundo á la ciudad, bajó del caballo en la puerta del palacio, y se dirigió á la prisión del Obispado con los generales Tamariz y Noriega. ¿Qué iba á ser de los prisioneros? Nadie lo sabía y la población temía un ejemplar sangriento. Al entrar á la prisión, el general Díaz mandó retirar la guardia y dirigiéndose á los prisioneros, les dijo: "La Nación ha juzgado la causa del imperio, pero no se hará justicia sino olvidando los extravíos de sus hijos: quedan ustedes en libertad." "No he nacido para carcelero ni para verdugo, agregó dirigiéndose á las personas que lo acompañaban." (119-120)

Both in the phonogram and in the printed story, the victorious soldier

expressed the following phrase: "no he nacido para carcelero ni para verdugo." This detail shows how Ayala was concerned, despite the limitations of the sound medium, to respect Porfirian expression, giving his staging truthfulness. This attitude was related to their intentions to promote phonograms as educational materials. In an advertisement published in 1903 in the *Semanario Literario Ilustrado*, Don Julio noted that his sound representations were "de sumo interés especialmente para las escuelas, pues se proporciona a los alumnos instrucción patria, deleitándolos y sin causarles la imaginación."³⁷ There is a possibility that the script writer had read the biographical account of Díaz published by Ponce de León in the pages of the periodical press. I have been able to verify that the famous scene was published by the newspaper *El Popular* in its edition of December 11, 1902, as part of serial number 45, titled "Porfirio Díaz. Reminiscencias Históricas."³⁸ That day's print run reached 46,135 copies, ensuring wide circulation of the story. Outside the capital, the newspaper *El 2 de abril*, based in Guadalajara and edited by Manuel Cáceres Gómez, with a circulation of 6,000 copies, had also disseminated the same historical narrative on September 16, 1889. Undoubtedly, these audible and printed representations of Díaz as an indulgent man must have pleased the government and his supporters, at a crucial moment to legitimize the figure of the president and the survival of his regime, lacerated by repressive actions against journalists, union leaders, workers, and political opponents

4. Balances, reflections, and new possibilities

Recording technologies, as we have glimpsed in this article, open a privileged door to analyze the battles over the past, transnational business networks, political legitimacy, and popular imagination. Far from being goods used by a specific social group, they constitute a conflictive and heterogeneous space. They can be used by economic and political elites for various purposes, as is the case of the cylinder with the letter from Díaz to Edison, or by subordinate sectors as a means to earn a living, achieve social recognition, and become recognized actors in the national public sphere. The interpretations of Julio Ayala, together with popular artists such as Maximiano Rosales and Rafael Herrera Robinson, prove how subaltern individuals were not limited to the function of recipients, but were also capable of constructing complex narratives, based on historical sources and with high didactic value, to recreate a vision of the past with intelligible codes for the most humble sectors.

At a historical moment in which 49.72 percent of Mexicans did not know how to read and write, a situation that often limited their access to printed media, recorded sounds ensured a massive reception (*Estadísticas sociales* 125). Those who did not have the financial resources to buy a talking machine had various options to access phonograms. One of them was to pay a cent to the many traveling phonograph exhibitors who toured the cities and were stationed in squares, parks, outside churches, and at cinemas (Díaz Frene, *Fonógrafos ambulantes*). Those who preferred a free reception had the opportunity to go to the counters of stores, candy stores, bakeries,

kiosks, nixtamal mills, and cake shops. In the Historical Archive of Mexico City, hundreds of petitions are preserved that were sent by the owners of these establishments to the capital's government, requesting permission to operate talking machines in their businesses with the purpose of attracting customers (Díaz Frene, *Fonógrafos imperiales* 2021).

Despite the time that has passed, several testimonies survive about the reception of phonograms. For example, the renowned Mexican novelist and diplomat Federico Gamboa wrote down in his diary his experiences and emotions upon hearing Díaz's audible letter, on October 31, 1922, at the house of his friend Vicente Luengas:

Honda emoción a la tarde y en casa de Luengas, en el vecino pueblo de Tacuba, la que me condujo escuchar en un fonógrafo Edison, de los antiguos de cilindro, la voz de Porfirio Díaz: una carta que le dirigió desde Chapultepec, hace años, al propio Edison.

Aunque la voz del general Díaz, en sí misma, provócame emoción, ¡todavía es mayor la que me causa el prodigio científico! ... No puntualizo lo que ocurre dentro de mí, porque es muy complejo, muy intenso, muy rápido. (89)

This fragment invites several observations. First, it demonstrates how Díaz's recording continued to be heard twelve years after it was first released. The president's voice had transcended his life and that of many of his enemies. During this period, it ceased to be a recording of the present, the novelty of a specific political and commercial context, transmuting into an object of memory and nostalgia for his close collaborators. Gamboa had been close to Díaz. Not only did he represent his government as a diplomat in Guatemala, Argentina, and Washington, but, after participating in the organization of the celebrations for the centenary of independence, he was appointed plenipotentiary minister in Belgium and the Netherlands. He was also among those who received the general in France after his exile in May 1911. A decade later, the author of *Santa* maintained contact with relevant figures of the old regime. Luengas himself had visited him on January 2, 1922, after returning from Paris, bringing him "seven packets of snuff from the Civette" and a "letter from Limantour" (51). Secondly, Gamboa reveals to us the double emotional condition of his reception of sound: the fascination with the medium, on the one hand, and the shock of hearing the voice of his deceased friend, on the other. He confesses that the impact caused by the phonograph was greater. Gamboa had interacted so many times with the "hero of April 2" that, apparently, seven years after his death, the vibrations of his old voice, far from transmitting his fascination with novelty and the unknown, must have evoked everyday memories.

The consumption of media with Díaz's voice can be appreciated even in the field of literature. An example is the novel *Las Tieras Flacas* of 1962 by writer, lawyer, and politician Agustín Yáñez,

from the state of Jalisco, who, in addition to portraying the social conflicts and the everyday language of his homeland (Pérez *El refranero*), made reference to a talking machine, property of the nefarious protagonist of its narrative:

Hay cosas arrumbadas. Inservibles. Un día llamaron la atención. Algunas causaron asombro: eran de no creerse, como un fonógrafo que compró el difunto don Epifanio Trujillo a unos norteros; la gente hacía peregrinaciones desde ranchos lejanos para oírlos; semejaba flor de yedra o azucena enorme, pintada de azul celeste con bordes dorados, por donde lo mismo se oía la voz de don Porfirio Díaz, que los repiques y clarines del Dos de Abril en Puebla. (293)

What was fiction and what was truth in this allusion to the popular uses of sound technologies? Obviously, the information revealed in this article demonstrates that the novelist's mention of the record in which "the voice of Don Porfirio Díaz could be heard" and "the chimes and bugles of Dos de Abril in Puebla" was not the fruit of his imagination. Perhaps, Yáñez witnessed the popular reception of these cylinder recordings and represented in his literary work a scene that he had already witnessed in Jalisco's daily life, among individuals who, like the public at Epifanio Trujillo's residence, must have thought that it was a reliable recording of the former Mexican president.

Finally, I would like to highlight that Columbia Phonograph Company was not the only US company that produced and sold Ayala's records about the April 2 battle, which have served as a platform for this analysis. In 1910, the Victor Talking Machine Company recorded and marketed discs with the same title and in a similar format. In the collection held by the University of California, Santa Barbara, the recording corresponding to the third part of the sound series can be consulted.³⁹

Two issues attract attention when comparing the phonograms. The first concerns the audio. Although the same script was maintained, Porfirio Díaz's voice changed. Apparently, the president was played by another actor. The second concerns the record label. While Columbia only alluded to Don Julio as the main creator, Victor introduced the famous popular artists Maximiano Rosales and Rafael Herrera Robinson as co-authors, a clue that opens a horizon of possibilities to compare the transformations made to the episodes between one company and another. The lack of a sample of the general's voice in his younger years allowed greater room for maneuverability in his sonic interpretation. Ayala faced a more complex situation in 1911 when he staged the departure of the octogenarian leader through the Port of Veracruz, after his sentence to a Parisian exile with no return. On this occasion, he had to imitate Díaz's voice, taking as reference the audible letter addressed to Edison in 1909, due to its wide national reception. The truth is that there were not two, but many voices of Don Porfirio.

NOTES

¹ I thank Charlie Hankin for his support, wisdom, and enthusiasm in the process of editing this article. I am also grateful to John Koegel for his comments and recommendations. Nallely Rangel carefully read an early version.

² Between 1905 and 1906, technicians sent by the Columbia Phonograph Company recorded in Mexico City the staging by Julio Ayala and his collaborators of the Battle of April 2. Discography of American Historical Recordings, s.v. "Columbia matrix 5561. Batalla del 2 de abril, no. 2 / Julio Ayala," accessed March 3, 2024, https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/2000044126/5561-Batalla_del_2_de_abril_no._2.

³ *El Tiempo*, Mexico City, June 4, 1893, 2.

⁴ *La Patria Ilustrada*, Mexico City, December 23, 1889, 603.

⁵ *El Diario*, Mexico City, October 15, 1909, 3.

⁶ "El presidente Díaz al señor Edison", Edison Company, recording made in 1909. Fonoteca Nacional de México: <https://fonotecanacional.gob.mx>, accessed September 4, 2020. <https://archive.org/details/EDIS-SRP-0190-06>.

⁷ I thank John Koegel for kindly sharing this article with me.

⁸ In fact, the first time I learned about Díaz's recording and the relationships between the Mexican president and the American inventor was thanks to John Koegel's text titled "Grabaciones tempranas de música y músicos mexicanos." On multiple occasions, I have had the opportunity to rely on the recommendations and readings of this outstanding specialist.

⁹ *El Imparcial*, Mexico City, October 17, 1909, 16.

¹⁰ *Edison Phonograph Monthly*, October 9, 1909, 7.

¹¹ *Edison Phonograph Monthly*, October 9, 1909, 7.

¹² De la Barra a Mariscal, 28.VIII.1909, Washington, AREM, legajo L-E-1958, ff. 137-8 (González 2-3).

¹³ Letter from Thomas Alva Edison to Porfirio Díaz, July 8th, 1909. [CL220ABD]. Accessed October 20, 2022.

¹⁴ *San Antonio Light and Gazette*, San Antonio, Texas, April 29, 1909, 8. The headlines of the news varied depending on the position of the publication. For example, *Santa Fe New Mexican* referred to Díaz as a dictator in the title of the journalistic note: "Dictator Díaz to meet President Taft." *Santa Fe New Mexican*, April 29, 1909, p. 1.

¹⁵ Letter from Porfirio Díaz to Thomas Alva Edison, July 29th, 1909 [D0908ACG1], <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D0908ACG1>. Accessed October 20, 2022.

¹⁶ Letter from Thomas Alva Edison to George W Cook, July 8th, 1909 [CL220ABC]. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/CL220ABC>. Accessed October 20, 2022.

¹⁷ Reminiscence, Thomas Alva Edison, June 1909, 12 [MM004] <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/MM004>. Accessed October 20, 2022.

¹⁸ Letter from Frank Lewis Dyer to Walter Stevens, July 8th, 1909 [CL220ABB], <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/CL220AAC>. Accessed October 20, 2022.

¹⁹ Letter from Thomas Alva Edison to Carmen Rubio (Mrs Porfirio) Díaz, July 8th, 1909: <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/CL220ABE>. [CL220ABE] Accessed October 20, 2022.

²⁰ Letter from Thomas Alva Edison to Carmen Rubio (Mrs Porfirio) Díaz, July 8th, 1909 [CL220ABE] <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/CL220ABE>. Accessed October 20, 2022.

²¹ *El Tiempo*, Mexico City, November 13, 1889, 3. See: Díaz Frene 2022, 283.

²² *La Patria*, Mexico City, November 9, 1889, 3.

²³ *El Tiempo*, Mexico City, November 9, 1889, 3.

²⁴ *El Tiempo*, Mexico City, November 9, 1889, 3; see also Díaz, *La diplomacia* 282.

²⁵ Ayala, Julio, *Batalla del 2 de abril*. Columbia Phonograph Company. First part: <https://frontera.library.ucla.edu/recordings/batalla-del-2-de-abril-no-1>.

²⁶ For more on the life and work of this relevant character of Mexican popular sound culture, see: Dueñas 2009; Díaz 2016; 2022b; 2025.

²⁷ *Semanario Literario Ilustrado*, Mexico City, November 17, 1902, 774.

²⁸ *Semanario Literario Ilustrado*, Mexico City, May 18, 1903, 223.

²⁹ Letter from Rafael Cabañas to Walter Stevens on April 5, 1904. Arreola Family Collection of Mexican and Cuban Cylinders in the Lynn Andersen Collection. Consulted online: cylinders.library.ucsb.edu.

³⁰ *Semanario Literario Ilustrado*, Mexico City, November 3, 1902, 740.

³¹ See: UCSB. Discography of American Historical Recordings. University of California, Santa Barbara. <https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/>.

³² Among the various publications about Díaz that Julio Ayala could have had on hand were the following works: *Memorias del Sr. Gral D. Porfirio Díaz*; *Porfirio Díaz (septiembre 1830-septiembre 1865). Ensayo de psicología histórica; Héroe y caudillo: continuación de Méjico pacificado; El General Porfirio Díaz estudio biográfico con fundamento de datos auténticos y de las memorias del gran-militar y estadista, de las que se reproducen los principales pasajes; El Presidente de la república General Porfirio Díaz: las fiestas en Monterrey; General Don Porfirio Díaz presidente de la República Mexicana; Apuntes biográficos del ciudadano General Porfirio Díaz: publicados en Oaxaca en 1876; Porfirio Díaz y su gabinete: estudios biográficos; Vida de Porfirio Díaz. Reseña histórica y social del pasado y presente de México; Datos biográficos del General de División C. Porfirio Díaz, con acopio de documentos históricos; Memorias del Sr. Gral D. Porfirio Díaz*. The complete classification of these texts can be consulted in the bibliography.

³³ Posada, José Guadalupe y Antonio Vanegas Arroyo, 1894. Grande y sorprendente simulacro. Mexico, Imprenta Vanegas Arroyo: https://digital.iai.spk-berlin.de/viewer!/image/828741743/1/LOG_0000/.

³⁴ Instituto Iberoamericano de Berlín. Grande y sorprendente simulacro (1894000010). https://digital.iai.spk-berlin.de/viewer!/image/828741743/1/LOG_0000/. Accessed February 22, 2022.

³⁵ Ayala, Julio. *Batalla del 2 de abril*. Second part. Columbia Phonograph Company, Nueva York. <https://frontera.library.ucla.edu/recordings/batalla-del-2-de-abril-no-1>.

³⁶ Julio Ayala, *Batalla del 2 de abril*. Third part. Columbia Phonograph Company, New York. <https://frontera.library.ucla.edu/recordings/batalla-del-2-de-abril-no-1>.

³⁷ *Semanario Literario Ilustrado*, Mexico City, May 25, 1903, 239.

³⁸ *El Popular*, Mexico City, December 11, 1902, 1.

³⁹ Discography of American Historical Recordings, s.v. "Victor matrix O-565. Batalla del 2 de Abril / Julio Ayala; Rafael Herrera Robinsón; Maximiliano Rosales," accessed September 4, 2023, https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/600003818/O-565-Batalla_del_2_de_Abril.

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